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THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF
LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION.

BY

JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN,
//

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The compilation of this work was undertaken at the request of the University of Calcutta, to assist the studies of those who were desirous of competing for its honours. The author has been encouraged to publish an edition in this country on the kind assurance of friends, that it may also be found useful by those who are in search of a brief and compendious narrative of the progress of the British empire in India. So far as historical truth can be discovered he is prepared to vouch for the accuracy of the facts detailed in it, and he is not without a hope that his efforts to present an impartial and trustworthy opinion on the various transactions which have been the subject and the sport of party-feeling, may be found not altogether unsuccessful.

January 1st, 1867.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY TO THE GHUZNI INVASION.

	Page
Boundaries and divisions of India	1
Hindustan and the Deccan	1
Chronology of the Hindoos	2
Early history of the Hindoos	2
Ten divisions and ten languages...	4
The Vedus...	5
Munoo	5
The solar and the lunar race	6
Ramu	6
The great war celebrated in the Muhabharut	7
The battle of Kooroo-kshetru	8
Influence of Ramu's expedition and the great war	9
The Takshuk invasion	9
Expedition of Darius	10
Religion of Boodh, spread of Boodhism	11
Expedition of Alexander the Great	12
His progress and return	13
His great projects and death	14
Nundu, Chundra-goopu	15
The Mugudu kingdom	16
The Ugnikools	17
Expulsion of the Boodhists	18
Cave temples of India	19
Vikramadityu	19
The birth of Jesus Christ	20
The Andras	20

Date.		Page
	Early history of the Deccan	21
	The Pandyas and the Cholas	21
	Kerula, Telingana, Orissa, and Maharastru	22
	Rajpoots of Chittore	23
	Mahomed	24
	Early Mahomedan invasions	25
	War between the Mahomedans and Chittore	26
	The Cunouj Brahmins in Bengal	26

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DYNASTY OF GHUZNI TO THAT OF TOGHLUK.
1009—1321.

	Movements in Khorasan and Cabul	27
976	Subuktugeen	28
	Invasion of Jeypal repelled	28
997	Death of Subuktugeen	29
	Mahmood mounts the throne of Ghuzni	29
1001	His first expedition to India	30
1004	Second expedition....	30
1005	Third expedition	30
1008	Fourth expedition; Hindoo confederacy defeated	31
	Capture of Nagarcote ...	31
1011	Sixth expedition; Thanesur	31
1017	Ninth expedition; capture of Cunouj ..	32
1024	Twelfth expedition; plunder of Somnath	33
1030	Death of Mahmood	34
	His character	35
1030—1040	Musaood; his conflict with the Seljuks ..	36
1040—1118	Succession of seven monarchs	37
1118	Byram; his quarrel with Ghore....	38
1152	The House of Ghuzni retires to India under Khusro	39
1186	The House of Ghuzni extinguished in the reign of Khusro Malik ..	39
	Antecedents of the House of Ghore	39
1152	Alla-ood-deen gives up the city of Ghuzni to plunder	40
1157	Gheias-ood-deen mounts the throne, and associates his brother Shahab-ood-deen (Mahomed of Ghore,) with him in the government	40
1191	State of the Hindoo princes	41
	Bhoje raja ...	42
	Mahomed Ghore defeated by the Hindoos	43
1193	He conquers Delhi and Ajmere	44
1194	Conquest of Cunouj; emigration of the Rathores	45
1203	Conquest of Behar and Bengal ...	45
1206	Death of Mahomed Ghory; extent of his territories; he utterly demolishes the Hindoo power in Hindostan ..	46
1206	Kootub-ood-deen establishes an independent Mahomedan sovereignty at Delhi	47
1211	Altumsh, the slave of Kootub, ascends the throne	48
1219	Conquests of the Moguls under Jenghis Khan	48

CONTENTS.

vii

Date.		Page
1236	Death of Altumsh	50
	Sultana Rezia on the throne; her abilities, weakness, and death	50
1246	Nazir-ood-deen sovereign; Bulbun vizier	50
1266	Bulbun succeeds to the throne; his virtuous reign	51
1279	Expedition against Bengal	52
1288	Kei-kobad's atrocities bring the dynasty to an end	53
1288	Feroze Ghiljie establishes a new dynasty	53
1294	Alla-ood-deen's invasion of the Deccan	53
1295	He assassinates his father and mounts the throne	54
1297	Expedition to Guzerat	55
1303	Capture of Chittore	56
1305—1306	Mogul invasions of India	56
1306	Renewed expedition to the Deccan	57
1310	Farther invasion of the Deccan; extinction of the Hindoo dynasty of Bellal	57
1311	Kafoor carries the Mogul arms to the extremity of the Deccan, and returns laden with booty	58
1316	Mobarik succeeds to the throne, is assassinated, and Ghazee Toghluk extinguishes the dynasty	59

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TOGHLUK TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGULS, 1321—1526.

1321	Ghazee Toghluk	60
1323	Conquest of Telingana, and capture of Warungole	60
1325	Accession of Mahomed Toghluk; his wild character	61
	He attempts to conquer China and fails	61
	His tyranny and exactions	62
1338	He attempts to remove the capital to Dowlutabad	62
1340	Revolt of the provinces	63
1344	A new Hindoo dynasty established in Telingana	63
	Hindoo kingdom established at Beejyunugur	63
1347	General rebellion in the Deccan	64
1351	Death of Mahomed Toghluk	64
	Feroze Toghluk; his public works	64
1394	General anarchy and dissolution of the monarchy	65
1395—1400	Four independent kingdoms	65
1398	Invasion of Timur	66
	He plunders Delhi, and retires beyond the Indus	67
1414	Khizir Khan Syud, founds a new dynasty	68
1450	The Syud dynasty extinguished by Beloli Lodi	68
	Rise of the Lodi family	69
1478	Jounpore reannexed to the throne of Delhi	70
1488	Secundur Lodi, his bigotry and intolerance	70
1517	Ibrahim Lodi succeeds to the throne; general revolt of the provinces	71
1401	Sultan Dilawur founds the independent kingdom of Malwa	71
1396	Mozuffer Shah becomes independent in Guzerat	72
1485—1482	Reign of Mahmood Khan Ghiljie in Malwa	72

Date.		Page
1456	Alliance between Malwa and Guzerat for the conquest of Chittore	73
1482	Scraglio of Gheias-ood-deen of Malwa	73
1459—1511	Reign of the great Mahomed Shah of Guzerat	74
1512	Mahmood the Second of Malwa	75
	Grandeur of Rana Sunga of Chittore	76
1526	Extinction of the kingdom of Malwa	77
1349	Hussun Gungu, first Bahminy king	77
1358	Conflict of Mahomed Bahminy with Beejuynugur	78
1397—1435	Reigns of Feroze and Ahmed Shah	79
1435	Alla-ood-deen's wars with the Hindoos	80
1463	Mahomed Shah Bahminy	81
1481	His great minister, Mahmood Gawan, executed by his orders ...	82
1482	The Bahminy kingdom crumbles away, and five states formed out of it	83
	Rise of the Portuguese power	84
1497	Vasco de Gama conducts the first expedition to India	85
1499	Second voyage under Cabral	86
1502	Vasco de Gama's second voyage	87
1508	Almeyda's naval actions	88
1507—1515	Albuquerque	89

CHAPTER IV.

MOGUL DYNASTY. BABER TO AKBAR. 1526—1605.

	Early career of Baber	91
1519—1526	His five expeditions to India	92
1526	Baber enters Delhi	93
	State of India on Baber's accession	93
1527	Defeat of Rana Sunga	94
1529	Baber attacks Chunderee	95
1530	His death and character	95
	Humayoon succeeds to the throne	96
1533	He overruns Guzerat	97
1537	Tragic death of Bahadoor Shah of Guzerat	97
	Origin of Shere Khan Afghan	98
1539	He defeats Humayoon	98
1540	Humayoon flies across the Indus	99
1542	Birth of Akbar	99
1540—1545	Illustrious reign of Shere Shah; his death	100
1545—1554	His two successors; the crown lost to the family	101
1543	Humayoon retreats to Candahar and Persia	102
1555	He recrosses the Indus, and regains the throne of Delhi	103
1556	His death	103
	Accession of Akbar	103
	Defeat and death of Hemu	104
1560	Arrogance and fall of Byram	104
	Revolt of Akbar's generals	106
1564	Heroism of Doorgawuttee, a Hindoo princess	107
1566	Revolt of Akbar's brother	107
1567	Complete subjugation of the disaffected generals	107

CONTENTS.

ix

Date.		Page
	Matrimonial alliances with the royal Rajpoot families	108
1568	Capture of Chittore	108
	Singular mode in which it is commemorated	109
1572	Conquest of Guzerat	109
1550	Orissa conquered by the Affghans of Bengal	110
1576	Conquest of Bengal by Akbar	111
1577	Revolt of the Mogul Officers in Bengal	112
1560	Destruction of the city of Gour	113
1587	Conquest of Cashmere	113
	Attempt to curb the Khyberees	114
1591—1594	Conquest of Sinde and Guzerat	114
	History of the Deccan in the 16th century; the five kingdoms of Beder, Berar, Golconda, Beejapore, and Ahmednugur	115
	Rise and growing importance of the Mahrattas	115
1565	Hindoo kingdom of Beejuynugur extinguished at the battle of Tellicotta	116
	Portuguese during the 16th century	117
	The great Beejapore gun	117
1570	Combined attack on Goa	118
1594	Complete pacification and settlement of Hindostan by Akbar	119
1595	Akbar's views on the Deccan	119
	He enters the state of Ahmednugur; the city defended by Chand Sultana	120
1596	She cedes Berar and makes peace	121
1597	Doubtful battle of Soneput	121
1599	Akbar goes in person to the Deccan	121
1600	Capture of Ahmednugur	121
1601	Candesh absorbed	121
1605	Akbar's death and character	122
	His religious views and toleration; his revenue reforms and military system, and his Court	124
	Division of the empire into soubahs	124

CHAPTER V.

JEHANGEER AND SHAH JEHAN, 1605—1658.

1605	Jehangeer ascends the throne	125
1606	Rebellion of Khusro	126
1611	Marriage of Jehangeer with Noor Jehan	127
	Talents of Malik Amber; he defeats Jehangeer	128
1614	Subjugation of Oodypoore	129
1615	Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to Delhi	129
1617	Second expedition against Malik Amber	130
1621	Death of Khusro	131
	Empress alienated from Shah Jehan	131
1623	Mohabet sent against him	131
1625	Empress's hatred of Mohabet	132
1626	Mohabet seizes the emperor	133
	Empress fights him, and is defeated	133
	She is reconciled to him; release of Jehangeer	134
1627	His death and character	134

Date.	-	Page
	Accession of Shah Jehan	134
	His extravagant expenditure	135
	Condition of the kingdoms of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, and Golconda	135
1629—1637	Revolt of Jehan Lodi; war kindled in the Deccan	136
1637	The kingdom of Ahmednugur extinguished	137
	The emperor's accommodation with Beejapore	137
	Golconda submits to pay tribute	137
	Portuguese power in Bengal	138
1632	Capture of Hooghly and extinction of the Portuguese power...	138
1637	Ali Merdan betrays Candahar to the emperor	139
	His canal	139
1644—1647	Military operations beyond the Indus	139
	Services of the Rajpoots in the Hindoo Kosh	140
1648	Persians retake Candahar; three unsuccessful attempts to re- cover it	140
1655	Aurangzebe viceroy of the Deccan; renews the war with its princes	141
	Career and talents of Meer Joomla	142
1656	Aurangzebe attacks Golconda; plunders and burns Hyderabad; exacta a large tribute ...	143
1657	Unprovoked attack on Beejapore; he is obliged suddenly to proceed to Delhi	143
	The four sons of Shah Jehan ...	144
	Aurangzebe moves with Morad towards Delhi	144
	Soojah takes the field, and is defeated by Dara	145
1658	Dara defeated by Aurungzebe	145
	Aurangzebe deposes Shah Jehan and ascends the throne of Delhi	145
	Character of Shah Jehan	145
	His peacock throne	146

CHAPTER VI.

AURUNGZEBE, 1658—1707.

1658	Aurangzebe gets rid of his three brothers	147
1662	His dangerous illness; intrigues at the Court ...	149
	Meer Joomla's disastrous expedition to Assam, ...	149
	Rise and progress of the Mahrattas	150
	The Mahrattas trained to war during the contests between Beejapore and Ahmednugur	151
1594	Birth of Shahjee ...	151
1620	He succeeds to the jaygeer of Poona	152
1634	He endeavours to create a king of Ahmednugur	152
1627	Birth of Sevajee; his early habits	152
1646	Begins his career by capturing Torna ...	153
1649	His constant aggressions; his father seized as a hostage	153
1657	His correspondence with Aurungzebe ...	154
	He plunders the Mogul territories	155
1659	Aurangzebe cedes the Concan to him ...	155
	King of Beejapore sends Afzul Khan to subdue him ...	155

CONTENTS.

xi

Date.		Page
	Afzul Khan treacherously murdered	156
1662	The extent of Sevajee's possessions	157
	Shaista Khan sent by Aurungzebe against Sevajee	157
1664	Sevajee plunders Surat	158
	Great commercial wealth of that port	158
	Death and possessions of Shahjee	159
	Maritime exploits of Sevajee	159
1665	He submits to Aurungzebe	160
	Origin of the <i>chout</i>	160
1666	Sevajee goes to Delhi ; treated with hauteur	161
	His civil and military institutions	162
1666—1670	Prosperous state of the Mogul empire ...	162
	Aurungzebe breaks with Sevajee, who proceeds to levy <i>chout</i> ...	163
1671	Jinjeerah made over to the Moguls	163
1673	Aurungzebe baffled in the Khyber	164
1674	Sevajee assumes royalty with great pomp	167
1676	His expedition to the Carnatic	167
1676	Insurrection of the Sutnaramees	164
1677	Aurungzebe persecutes the Hindoos ; imposes the jezzia ...	165
1678	Revolt of the Rajpoots in consequence	166
1679	Aurungzebe attacks Beejapore	169
1680	Death and character of Sevajee	169
	He is succeeded by Sambajee ...	170
1683	Aurungzebe's grand expedition to the Deccan ; his splendid camp ...	172
1684	He invades the Concan and is repulsed ...	172
1686	Invasion of Beejapore, and plunder of Hyderabad ...	173
	Conquest and extinction of the kingdom of Beejapore ...	174
1687	Conquest and extinction of Golconda ...	174
	Confusion in the Deccan ...	175
1689	Sambajee made prisoner and put to death ...	176
	Sahoo becomes king ; Ram-raja regent, retires to Ginjee ...	177
1692	Extensive Mahratta depredations ...	177
	Comparison of the Mahratta and the Mogul armies ...	178
1690—1698	Siege of Ginjee ...	178
1698	Ram-raja returns and makes Satara his capital ...	179
1700	New military plans of Aurungzebe ...	179
1702—1707	His increasing embarrassments ...	180
1706	He makes overtures to the Mahrattas ...	181
	He returns to Ahmednugur pursued by them ...	181
1707	Death of Aurungzebe ; remarks on his reign ...	181

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE INVASION OF NADIR SHAH,
1707—1739.

1707	Bahadoor Shah ascends the throne	182
1708	Dissensions among the Mahrattas	183
	Daood Khan grants the <i>chout</i> to the Mahrattas ...	184
	Origin and progress of the Sikhs	184
1712	Bahadoor Shah marches against them ; his death ...	185
	Jehander Shah's brief reign ...	185

Date.		Page
1713	Ferokshere ascends the throne of Delhi....	185
	Origin and progress of Nizam-ool-moolk	186
1714	Balajec Vishwunath becomes Peshwa	187
	Hussein Ali, viceroy of the Deccan	187
	Death of Daood Khan	187
1717	Hussein grants the <i>chout</i> by a convention to the Mahrattas	188
	Remarks on this event	188
1718	Ferokshere put to death	189
1719	Accession of Mahomed Shah	189
1720	Revolt of Nizam-ool-moolk	190
	Hussein Ali assassinated	190
	Mahomed Shah abolishes the <i>jezzia</i>	190
1721	Origin of the royal family of Oude	191
1723	Nizam-ool-moolk, independent viceroy of the Deccan	191
1720	Death of Balajee Vishwunath	192
	Bajee Rao, Peshwa	192
	Affairs of Guzerat....	193
1729	Bajee Rao obtains the <i>chout</i> of Guzerat....	193
1730	The two Mahratta royal families	194
1730	Origin of the Guickwar Family	195
	Origin of the family of Sindia	195
	Origin of the family of Holkar	195
1731	Convention between the Nizam and Bajee Rao	195
1736	Malwa ceded to Bajee Rao	196
	Bajee Rao's exorbitant demands; he marches to the gates of Delhi	196
1737	The Nizam defeated by Bajee Rao at Bhopal	197
	Nadir Shah's antecedents and career	198
	He invades Affghanistan and India	199
1739	He orders the massacre at Delhi	200
	He plunders Delhi and the provinces	200
	State of India after his invasion...	201

CHAPTER VII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH, 1600—1756.

	The English in India before 1600	202
1599	Formation of the East India Company	203
	Their first adventures	204
	Power of the Portuguese at this period	204
1613	Firmans granted by the Elaperor	205
1615	Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe	205
1620	First settlement in Bengal	206
1636	Privileges obtained by Mr. Boughton	206
1639	First establishment of the factory at Madras	207
1658	Cromwell grants a new charter to the Company	207
1661	Charter granted by Charles the Second	208
1662	Acquisition of Bombay	208
1668	Introduction of Tea into England	208
1664	French East India Company established	209
1667	The Dutch begin to trade with Bengal	209
1667	The Danes establish a factory in Bengal	209

CONTENTS.

xiii

Date.		Page
1682	Bengal erected by the East India Company into a Presidency	210
	Disturbance of the English trade in Bengal	210
1685	The Company go to war with the Great Mogul	211
1688	Bengal abandoned by the Company	212
1690	Reconciliation with the Emperor	213
1690	August 24th, Charnock returns; foundation of Calcutta	214
1690	Ambition of the Court of Directors quenched for 50 years	215
1695	Fortification of Calcutta	215
1698	Rival East India Company; mutual injury	216
	Depredation of Captain Kidd, the pirate	218
1700	Embassy of Sir W. Norris to the Emperor	218
1702	Union of the two Companies	219
	Constant contests between the Soobadar of Bengal and the Company's agents from 1700 to 1756	219
	Moorshed Koolee Khan, viceroy of the three soubahs	221
1715	Embassy from Calcutta to Delhi	221
	Mr. Hamilton disinterestedly obtains great privileges for the Company	222
1715	Financial system of Moorshed Koolee Khan	223
1725	His death	223
	Succeeded by Soojah-ood-deen	223
	The Ostend East India Company	224
1739	Death of Soojah ood-deen	224
1740	Ali verdy Khan seizes the government	224
1739	Disputes between Bajee Rao Peshwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay	225
	Rughoojee's expedition to the Carnatic	225
1740	Death of Bajee Rao	226
1740	Balajee Bajee Rao, Peshwa	226
1741	Invasion of Bengal by the Berar Mahrattas	227
1742	The Mahratta Ditch of Calcutta	227
1744	Continued Mahratta depredations	228
1745	Rebellion of Mustapha, the general of Ali verdy	228
1751	Ali verdy purchases peace by ceding Orissa to the Mahrattas, and agreeing to pay <i>chout</i>	229
1710	Daood Khan appoints Sadutoola governor of the Carnatic	229
1732	On his death Dost Ali succeeds to the post	229
1736	Dost Ali defeated and killed by the Mahrattas	230
1741	Chunda Sahib sent prisoner to Satara	230
1740	The Nizam moves into the Carnatic, appoints Anwar-ood-deen governor of the province, who founds the family of the "Nabob of Arcot"	231

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO ESTABLISH AN EMPIRE IN INDIA,
1746—1761.

1744	War between the English and the French	231
	Labourdonnais' previous career	232
1746	Arrives off the coast with a large armament	232
	Dupleix's early career	233
	Labourdonnais captures Madras	233
	Fate of Labourdonnais on his return to France	234

Date.		Page
	Defeat of the Nabob's army by a handful of French troops	235
1747	Dupleix besieges Fort St. David; the Nabob changes sides and joins him	236
1748	Fruitless siege of Pondicherry by Admiral Boseawen	237
	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle terminates the war	238
1749	Expedition to Devi-cotta	238
	The ambitious designs of Dupleix	239
1748	Death of Nizam-ool-moolk	240
	Nazir Jung sets up as Nizam	240
	He defeats Anwar-ood-deen, who is killed in battle	240
1749	The English first espouse the cause of his son Mahomed Ali ..	241
	Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib besiege Tanjore	242
	They are defeated by Nazir Jung	242
	Dupleix's skilful manœuvres	243
	Nazir Jung attacked and killed by the French	243
1750	Mozuffer made Nizam by them	244
	He appoints Dupleix governor of all the districts south of the Kistna ..	244
1751	Mozuffer Jung killed by the Nabob of Kurnool	245
	Salabut Jung made Nizam by Bussy	245
1744	Clive enters the civil service of the Company	246
1751	He captures Arcot	246
	Memorable siege of that place	247
1752	French defeated by Major Lawrence	248
	Mysore Regent, the ally of Mahomed Ali	248
	French defeated at Bahoor by Major Lawrence	249
	Mysore Regent and Morari Rao go over to the French	249
1754	Godeheu arrives from Europe, supersedes Dupleix, and terminates the war by a treaty	250
	Fate of Dupleix	251
1748	Death of Sahoo	251
1750	Balajee Rao, Peshwa, attains supreme power	252
1752	Progress of Bussy	253
1753	He obtains the Northern Sircars, and acquires great power ..	254
1754	Predatory expedition of the Mahrattas	255
1755—1756	Movements of Salabut Jung	255
1756	Intrigues against Bussy baffled by his genius ..	256
1757	Bussy at the summit of success	257
1758	Bussy's career cut short by Lally	258
	Lally's antecedents; his arrival at Pondicherry	259
	He attacks Tanjore without success	260
1759	He besieges Madras, and is discomfited....	261
1760	Coote defeats Lally at Wandewash	261
1761	He captures Pondicherry....	262
	Fate of Lally	263

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA TO THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT, 1756—1761.

1747	Ahmed Shah Abdalee	264
	His first invasion of India	265

Date.		Page
1748	Death of Mahomed Shah, accession of his son Ahmed Shah to the throne of Delhi	265
	The Nabob of Oude, pushed by the Rohillas, calls in the Mahrattas	265
1751	The Abdalee's second irruption	266
1753	Nabob of Oude becomes virtually independent....	266
1754	Ghazee-ood-deen deposes and blinds the emperor	266
1756	The Abdalee's third invasion ; he sacks Delhi ...	267
	The pirate Conajee Angria on the Malabar coast	268
	Clive captures his fort of Gheriah	269
	Death of Ali verdy	269
	Seraja Dowlah succeeds him as Nabob	269
	Disputes between him and the governor of Calcutta	270
	Condition of Fort William	271
	Siege and capture of Calcutta	272
	The tragedy of the Black Hole	273
	Expedition from Madras to Calcutta	274
1757	Clive recaptures Calcutta and takes Hooghly	275
	Seraja Dowlah marches to Calcutta and is defeated	276
	Clive takes Chandernagore	277
	Confederacy against Seraja Dowlah	277
	Clive joins the Confederacy	278
	He circumvents Omichund	279
	Battle of Plassy	279
	Seraja Dowlah flies to Rajmahal ...	280
	Meer Jaffier made Nabob by Clive	280
	His large donations to the English	281
	Fate of Seraja Dowlah	281
1758	Clive quells three insurrections ...	282
	Colonel Forde sent to the Coast ...	283
1759	Ali Gohur invades Behar, and submits to Clive	284
	Dutch armament in Bengal defeated	285
1760	Clive returns to England	286
1753	Ahmed Shah Abdalee returns to Persia	286
1757	His son Timur expelled from the Punjab ; the Mahrattas plant their standard on the Indus	286
	Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, Mahratta generalissimo	286
	Peshwa wrests large territories from Salabut Jung	287
1759	Power of the Mahrattas at its summit	287
	Fourth invasion of the Abdalee	287
	Murder of the Emperor Alumgir	288
	Vast Mahratta army advances against the Abdalee, under Sudaseeb Rao Bhao	289
	Sudaseeb rejects the advice of Sooruj Mull; the Jauts withdraw from him	290
1761, January 7,	Decisive battle of Paniput; death of Sudaseeb; total defeat of the Mahrattas	291
	Peshwa dies of a broken heart	292

CHAPTER XI.

BENGAL, 1761—1772.

Date.	Page
1761 Condition of Bengal after the battle of Paniput	292
Mr. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal	293
Three members of Council summarily dismissed by the Court of Directors	293
1760 Shahzada invades Behar, and is defeated by Colonel Calliaud	294
Captain Knox defeats the Nabob of Purneah	295
Death of Meerun	295
1761 Meer Jaffier deposed, and Meer Cassim made Nabob of Moor- shedabad	296
Meer Cassim's vigorous administration; he organizes an efficient army	297
The Emperor's force in Behar dispersed by Colonel Carnac	298
1762 Meer Cassim despoils Ramnarayun, Governor of Patna	299
The transit duties; disorders arising from them	300
Mr. Vansittart's convention regarding them with Meer Cassim	300
1763 It is rejected by the Council in Calcutta; Meer Cassim abolishes all duties	301
Mr. Ellis seizes the city of Patna; is overpowered and made prisoner ...	302
The Council in Calcutta make war on Meer Cassim	302
Meer Jaffier made Nabob a second time	302
Meer Cassim's troops defeated at Cutwa and at Ghereah	302
He causes his European prisoners to be massacred. ...	303
Meer Cassim's troops defeated at Oodwanulla; he flies from Behar	303
1764 The Nabob Vizier invades Behar	304
First Sepoy mutiny quelled by Major Munro	304
The Nabob Vizier defeated at Buxar	305
Pecuniary arrangement with Meer Jaffier	306
1765 Death of Meer Jaffier	307
He is succeeded by his son, Nujum-ood-dowlah	307
Lord Clive's treatment by the Court of Directors in England; they are constrained to appoint him Governor	308
Condition of Bengal	309
Clive's arrangements with the Emperor, the Nabob of Moor- shedabad, and the Vizier	310
He restores Oude to the Vizier	310
He obtains the Dewanny of the three provinces for the Com- pany, 12th of August	311
1766 Mutiny of the European officers quelled by Clive	312
He establishes the Society for Inland Trade	314
1767 He returns to England; is subject to the most unworthy treatment	315
1774 He puts a period to his existencce	316
1767—1772 Wretched condition of Bengal	316

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1761—1772.

Date.		Page
1761	State of affairs at Madras and in the Carnatic	317
1763	Mahomed Ali instigates the Madras Government to attack Tanjore	318
	The Peace of Paris, and its anomalies	318
	Nizam Ali, having previously deposed his brother, Salabut Jung, puts him to death	318
1765	Clive induces the Emperor to make Mahomed Ali independent of Hyderabad	319
	He acquires the Northern Sirkars for the Company	319
1766	Treaty with the Nizam, 12th November	319
	Rise of Hyder Ali	320
1755	He lays the foundation of his fortunes	321
1757	Peshwa besieges Seringapatam, which is relieved by Hyder	321
1760	Hyder assists Lally; gains an advantage over the English	322
1761	His extreme danger; recovers his position, and usurps the throne	323
1763	He conquers Bednore, and constructs a navy	324
1761	Accession of Madhoo Rao as Peshwa	324
1763	Nizam Ali invades the Mahratta dominions, and is defeated by Raghoba	325
1765	Hyder defeated by the Mahrattas with great loss	325
1766	Confederacy of the Nizam and the Mahrattas against Hyder; the Madras Government drawn into it	326
1767	The Mahrattas constrain Hyder to make peace	327
	The Nizam deserts his English allies, and joins Hyder	327
	Nizam and Hyder defeated at Changama	328
	Expedition from Bengal against the Nizam	328
1768	He hastens to make peace; treaty of the 23rd of February	329
	Hyder proceeds to the western coast to repel an English invasion	330
	Campaign of 1768 unfavourable to the English	331
1769	Hyder dictates peace under the walls of Madras	332
1770—1771	War between the Mahrattas and Hyder	332
1771	He is completely defeated at Milgota	333
	He demands aid of the English in accordance with the treaty, but in vain	334
	Sir John Lindsay sent as the King's representative to Ma- homed Ali	334
1769	Mahrattas again invade Hindostan	335
1771	The Emperor throws himself on them and is installed at Delhi	335
1772	The Mahrattas invade Rohilcund; the bond of forty lacs	336
	The Mahrattas and the Emperor fall out; the Emperor obliged to submit	336
1773	The Mahrattas enter Rohilcund for the invasion of Oude; their plans disconcerted; they retreat to their own country	337

Date.		Page
1770	The singular anomaly of the Company's Government....	337
	Its vicious constitution	338
1771	Interference of Parliament	339
	Financial difficulties of the Company	339
1773	The Regulating Act; appointment of Governor-General; establishment of the Supreme Court....	340

CHAPTER XIII.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAHRATTA WAR, 1772—1782.

1773	Warren Hasting's antecedents	341
	The condition of Bengal	342
1772	Warren Hastings appointed Governor of Bengal; his reforms	343
1773	The first Rohilla war	343
1774	Destruction of the Rohillas	344
	Remarks on this transaction	345
	Arrival of the judges of the Supreme Court and the new Councillors	346
	The old Government abolished; the new Government installed	347
775	Francis and his colleagues interfere in the affairs of Oude	347
	Death of the old Vizier; treaty with his successor	348
	The begums claim the treasure and the jaygeers; Mr. Bristow's arrangement	348
	Accusations multiplied against Hastings	349
	Charge brought by Nundu koomar	349
	Charge by his son and Munny begum	350
	Nundu koomar executed on a charge of forgery brought by a native	351
	Remarks on this transaction	351
	The Court of Directors condemn Hastings	352
1776	He tenders his resignation through his agent, and retracts it	353
1777	General Clavering's violent proceedings in the Council, and his death	353
1780	Francis fights a duel with Hastings, is wounded, and retires from the service	354
1777	New settlement of the land revenue of Bengal	354
1772	Death of Madhoo Rao Peshwa	355
	Resources of the Mahratta empire at this period	355
1773	Narayun Rao Peshwa assassinated	356
1773	Raghoba becomes Peshwa	356
1774	Revolution at Poona; the widow of Narayun Rao delivered of a son; Raghoba excluded ...	357
1755—1772	Affairs of Guzerat	357
1775	Raghoba negotiates with the Bombay government	358
	Treaty concluded	358
	Bombay government send a force to his aid; battle of Arras	359
	Mahrattas driven back to the Nerbudda	360
	Treaty with Raghoba disallowed at Calcutta	360
1776	Colonel Upton sent to Poona, who concludes the Treaty of Poorunder; remarks on it	361
	Treaty of Poorunder disapproved in England ...	362

CONTENTS.

xix

Date.		Page
1777	A French envoy received at Poona	363
1778	Revolution in favour of Raghoba at Poona	363
	Counter revolution against him	364
	The Bombay government send an expedition to Poona to reinstate Raghoba	365
1779	Its disastrous termination	366
	Disgraceful convention of Wurgaum	366
1778	General Goddard's expedition across India	367
	War between France and England	368
1779	General Goddard reaches Surat safely	369
	Convention of Wurgaum disallowed at Bombay and Calcutta	369
	Raghoba sent by Sindia to Hindostan, and escapes	369
	General Goddard's success in Guzerat	370
1780	Capture of Gwalior by Major Popham	371
1781	Sindia's force defeated	373
1779	Confederacy against the English	373
1780	General Goddard captures Bassein	374
	Hartley gallantly repulses the Mahrattas	374
1781	Failure of General Goddard's expedition to Poona	375
1779	Roghoojee Bhonslay sends an expedition to Bengal which is neutralized by Hastings	375
1781	Hastings sends an expedition under Colonel Pearce down the coast to Madras ...	375
	Colonel Pearce treated with kindness by Roghoojee Bhonslay	376
	Treaty with Sindia	376
1782	Treaty of Salbye with the Mahrattas, negotiated by Sindia ...	377
	Nana Furnuvene hesitates to ratify it, till the death of Hyder	378

CHAPTER XIV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—AFFAIRS OF MADRAS, THE SECOND MYSORE WAR. 1771—1784.

1771	Mahomed Ali induces the Madras government to attack Tanjore; treaty made by his son ...	378
1773	Second attack on Tanjore on indefensible grounds ...	379
	The country delivered over to Mahomed Ali ...	379
1774	Court of Directors depose the Governor of Madras, and order the country to be restored ...	380
1775	Lord Pigot Governor of Madras ...	380
1776	Deposed by his Council ...	381
1777	Restored by the Court of Directors, and dies ...	381
1778	Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras ...	382
	His conduct about the Guntoor Sircar inflames the Nizam, who forms the grand confederacy ...	383
1781	Sir Thomas Rumbold dismissed by the Court of Directors ...	384
1773	Progress of Hyder Ali ...	384
1776	The Nizam and the Peshwa attack him and are foiled ...	385
	He negotiates with Madras without success ...	386
1778	Capture of Pondicherry ...	386
1779	Capture of Mahé incenses Hyder ...	387
	He joins the grand confederacy ...	387

Date.		Page
1779	He terminates his disputes with Poona	387
1780	His great preparations for war	388
	He bursts on the Carnatic	389
	Stupefaction of the Madras Council	389
	Total destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment	390
	Hastings's energetic measures ...	391
	He suspends the Governor of Madras	392
	Sir Eyre Coote goes to Madras and takes the command of the army	392
1781	Gallant defence of Wandewash by Lt. Flint	393
	Battle of Porto Novo	393
	Arrival of the Bengal force	394
	Battle of Pollilore	394
	Battle of Solingur	395
	Lord Macartney Governor of Madras	395
	Capture of Negapatam	396
1782	Capture of Trincomalee	396
	The revenues of the Carnatic taken over by the English	396
	Defeat of Colonel Brathwaite by Tippoo	397
	Despondent feelings of Hyder	398
	Relieved by the arrival of a French expedition	398
	Naval actions between the English and French	399
	Indecisive action before Arnee	399
	French capture Trincomalee	400
	Admiral Hughes sails for Bombay	400
	Great storm at Madras	401
	Famine at Madras	401
	Operations on the Malabar Coast	401
	Tippoo sent to oppose an English force there	402
	Death of Hyder, December 7th ...	402
	Tippoo suddenly breaks up his camp and hastens back; as- sumes the royal authority ...	403
1783	Culpable supineness of General Stuart at Madras	403
	Tippoo returns to the Malabar Coast	403
	Arrival of Bussy with a French force	404
	General Stuart proceeds against him to Cuddalore	404
	Naval action between the French and English	405
	Operations before Cuddalore	405
	Peace between France and England	405
	General Stuart arrested and sent home	405
	Expedition from Bombay to Bednore ...	406
	Tippoo reconquers Bednore	406
	He undertakes the siege of Mangalore ...	406
	Extraordinary defence of it; it surrenders	407
	Progress of Colonel Fullerton's army towards Seringapatam... ..	408
	Madras enters into negotiations with Tippoo; he cajoles them	408
	Colonel Fullerton stopped in the tide of victory by the Madras Council	409
1784	Disreputable treaty of Mangalore	410

CHAPTER XV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SUPREME COURT. PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND. 1774—1784.

Date.		Page
1774	Encroachments of the Supreme Court	411
1775	Dismay of the Zemindars	411
1775—1779	The Court interferes with the collections, and paralyzes the whole system of government	412
1779	The Cossijura case	412
	Hastings resists the violence of the Supreme Court	413
1780	Sir Elijah Impey made chief Judge of the Sudder Court	414
	Remarks on this arrangement	414
	Extraordinary aid demanded of Cheyt Sing	415
1781	He is fined fifty lacs by Hastings; he escapes across the river	416
	Hastings's danger; he escapes to Chunar	417
	Capture of Bidgegur, and distribution of the booty	417
1782	The begums of Oude; their spoliation....	418
1780	Proceedings against Fyzoolla Khan	420
1783	Court of Directors censure Hastings; he resigns	421
1785	His reception in England; his impeachment	422
1786	Charges against him	423
	The three principal charges	424
1788	Commencement of his trial	425
1795	His acquittal	427
	Remarks on his public character and administration	427
1781—1782	Parliament appoint a Select and a Secret Committee....	428
1782	Motion for the recall of Hastings	429
1783	Fox's India Bill	430
1784	Defeated in the House of Lords	432
	Pitt's India Bill	432
	Comparison of the two Bills	434
	The Nabob of Arcot's debts, their origin; their nefarious character	435
1785	Mr. Dundas orders them to be paid off without inquiry	436
1785	Court of Directors remonstrate against this injustice; Burke's celebrated speech	436
	Sequel of the Nabob of Arcot's debts	437
	The two dark spots in the Indian Administration	438
	The revenues of the Carnatic ordered from home to be restored; opposition of Lord Macarteny ..	438

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY TO THE GHUZNI INVASION.

INDIA is bounded on the north and the east by the Himalayu mountains, on the west by the Indus, and on the south by the sea. Its length from Cashmere to Cape Comorin is 1,900 miles ; its breadth from Kurrachee to Sudiya, in Assam, 1,500 miles. The superficial contents are 1,287,000 miles, and the population, under British and native rule, is now estimated at 200,000,000. It is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains called the Vindya, at the base of which flows the Nerbudda. The country to the north of this river is generally designated Hindostan, and that to the south of it the Deccan. Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus on one side, and of the Ganges on the other, with the great sandy desert on the west, and an elevated tract now called, from its position, Central India. The Deccan has on its northern boundary a chain of mountains running parallel with the Vindya, to the south of which stretches a table land of triangular form, terminating at Cape Comorin, with the western Ghauts, on the western coast, and the eastern Ghauts, of minor altitude, on the opposite coast. Between the Ghauts and the sea lies a narrow belt of land which runs round the whole peninsula.

Chronology of
the Hindoos.

Of the ancient history or chronology of the Hindoos there are no credible memorials. The history was compiled by poets, who drew on their imagination for their facts, and the chronology was computed by astronomers, who have made the successive ages of the world to correspond with the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies. The age of the world is thus divided into four periods: the *satyru yogu*, extending to 1,728,000, and the second, or *treta yogu*, to 1,296,000 years; the third, or the *dwapur yogu*, comprises 864,000 years; and the fourth, or *kulee yogu*, is predicted to last 432,000 years. A *kulpa*, or a day of Brumha, is composed of a thousand such periods, or 4,320,000,000 years. Extravagant as these calculations may appear, they are outdone by the Burmese, who affirm that the lives of the ancient inhabitants extended to a period equal to the sum of every drop of rain which falls on the surface of the globe in three years. The dates given for the first three ages must, therefore, be rejected as altogether imaginary, while the commencement of the fourth, or present age, which corresponds, to a certain degree, with the authentic eras of other nations, may be received as generally correct.

Early history of
the Hindoos.

India is designated by native writers Bharut-vursu, from king Bharut, who is said to have reigned over the whole country. That he did not enjoy universal monarchy in India is certain, though he was doubtless one of the earliest and most renowned of its rulers; but this fact loses all historical value when we are told in the shasters that he reigned ten thousand years, and, on his death, was transformed into a deer. Thus do we plod our way through darkness and mystery; at every step fact is confounded with fable, and all our researches end only in conjecture. The original settlers are identified with the various tribes of Bheels, Coles, Gonds, Meenas, and Choars, still living in a state almost of nature, in the forests of the Soane, the Nerbudda, and the Muhanuddee, and in the hills of Surgooja and Chota Nagpore. Their languages have no

affinity with the Sanscrit, and their religion differs from Hindooism. In those fastnesses, amidst all the revolutions which have convulsed India, they have continued to maintain, unchanged, their original simplicity of habits, creed, and speech. They were apparently driven from the plains by fresh colonies of emigrants; and these were in their turn conquered by the Hindoos, who brought their religion and language with them from regions beyond the Indus, and, having reduced the inhabitants to a servile condition, branded them with the name of soodras. Of the four Hindoo castes, three are designated the twice born, which seems to indicate that they all belonged to the conquering race, although the term is now applied exclusively to brahmins. In the Institutes of Munoo reference is also made to cities governed by soodras, which the twice born were forbidden to enter, and the allusion evidently applies to soodra chiefs, who continued to maintain their independence after the Hindoo invasion.

The Hindoos who originally crossed the Indus took possession of a small tract of land, 100 miles north-west of Delhi, about 65 miles by 30, which was considered the residence of gods and holy sages, while the brahmins appear to have subsequently occupied the country north of the Jumna and the Ganges, stretching to the confines of north Behar. The India of the Vedus, of Munoo, and the earliest writers was exclusively confined to the region north of the Nerbudda, and comprised but a small portion even of that limited quarter. It was in the north that the four places of greatest sanctity were situated during the early ages, though the Deccan now contains many places of distinguished merit. The north was also the seat of the solar and lunar races, the scene of chivalrous adventures, and the abode of all those who are celebrated in the legends, the mythology, and the philosophy of the Hindoos. Even in the polished age in which the Ramayun and the Muhabharut were composed, the south was the land of fable, the dwelling of bears and monkeys, and it was not till a very late period that these apes and goblins and mon-

sters were transformed into orthodox Hindoos. It must, therefore, be distinctly borne in mind that the revolutions described in the sacred books of the Hindoos belong to Hindostan, and not to the Deccan.

Some of the Poorans describe India as having been formerly divided into ten kingdoms; of these five were situated in Hindostan,—Suruswuttee, comprising the Punjab; Cunouj, embracing Delhi, Agra, and Oude; Tirhoot, from the Coosee to the Gunduk; Gour, or Bengal, with a portion of Behar; and Guzerat, which evidently included Candesh, and part of Malwa. Five are assigned to the Deccan,—Muharastu, or the Mahratta country on the western coast, and Orissa on the eastern coast; Telingana, lying between the Godavery and the Kistna; Dravira, or the Tamul country, stretching down to Cape Comorin; and Carnata on the western face of the peninsula. In correspondence with these divisions, which are comparatively modern, ten languages, of similar names, are enumerated as being current in them. Of these, the language of the five divisions of Hindostan, as well as the Mahratta and the Orissa are branches of the Sanscrit, modified by the mixture of local and foreign words, and new inflections. The Teloogoo—spoken in Telingana—as well as the Tamul and the Carnata belong, however, to a distinct family, and the only Sanscrit words found in them are those which have reference to religious observances. The brahmins, crossing the Indus, brought their own language from the west, where it was in constant use—as the ancient inscriptions in Persia testify—and diffused it through the north of India in connection with their religion. It thus became gradually mixed up with the dialects of the different provinces, which at length lost their original distinctions. The word Sanscrit signifies refined, and that language bears every indication of having received the improvements of the literati for many centuries, till it became the most exquisite medium of communication in the world.

The Vedus.

The worship taught in the Vedus was the earliest form of the Hindoo religion, and was introduced into Hindostan by a body of priests, who crossed the Indus either in the train of a conqueror or on a mission of proselytism, possibly 1,400 years before our era. The Vedus are a collection of hymns, prayers, and precepts, composed by different authors, at different periods, and were delivered down orally till the time of Vyasu, the bastard son of a fisherwoman, though, on his father's side, of royal lineage, who employed four brahmins to collect and arrange them. Their leading doctrine is the unity of God, and the various divinities, the personification of the elements, whom the devotee is required to invoke, are manifestations of the Supreme Being. The gods are mentioned, it is true, but without any pre-eminence, and never as objects of adoration; and there is no trace of the legends of Krishnu and Sivu to be found in them. In that early age, indeed, there appears to have been no images, and no visible types of worship. Though the customs and habits of the Hindoos are said to be immutable, yet, strange to say, in a country which still regards the Vedus with profound veneration as the great fountain of religion, the ritual they prescribe has become so obsolete that the man who ventured to regulate his devotions by it would be considered in the light of an infidel.

Munoo.

Next in order comes the work called the "Institutes of Munoo," a code of rules and precepts, religious and secular, collected together about 900 years before our era, and attributed to Munoo. It inculcates the worship of the elements, of the heavenly bodies, and of inferior deities; but none of the objects of modern worship are alluded to. Brumha is mentioned more than once, but the names of Vishnoo and Sivu do not occur. Idols are noticed, and one passage enjoins that they shall be respected, but the adoration of them is discountenanced. The caste of brahmins is in this code placed on an equality with the gods, and endowed with extraordinary privileges; but they were at the same time

allowed to eat flesh, and even beef, when it had been offered in sacrifice—which was a daily practice—and to intermarry with soodras. The worship enjoined in Munoo appears to have been succeeded by that of Brumha, which was almost, if not altogether, spiritual. Then came the deification of heroes, with which the popular system of idolatry may be said to have commenced. Perhaps the creed of Boodh and of the Jains may have been next in succession; and there is every probability that it was not till the boodhists had been expelled from the soil of India that the Hindoo pantheon was completed to its full complement of three hundred and thirty-three millions of gods; and this was apparently effected under the authority of the Poorans, of which the oldest is only a thousand years old, and the latest about four hundred and fifty.

The solar and
lunar race.

The Hindoo annals describe two races of kings as having reigned in India, that is, in Hindostan, from the earliest age, the race of the sun and the race of the moon. Ikswakoo, the progenitor of the former, founded the kingdom of Oude, and Boodh, the ancestor of the latter, made Priyag, the modern Allahabad, the seat of his government. We are, moreover, told that there was constant war between the brahmins, the champions of the solar race, and the military tribe of the kshetriyus, the adherents of the lunar race, until Purusramu, a great solar prince, arose and extinguished the warriors. They are said to have recovered their strength, and chased king Sagur up into the Himalayu. Sagur was evidently the sea-king of the Bay of Bengal, who engaged largely in maritime expeditions, and extended his power, and with it probably his religion, to the islands of the eastern archipelago, in one of which, Bali, he is still worshipped as the god of the ocean.

Ramu.

The Hindoo writers assign fifty-seven reigns to the period between Ikswakoo and Ramu, the great hero and ornament of the solar race, whose deeds have been immortalized in the great epic of Valmeeki. He was

married at an early age to Seeta, the daughter of the king of Mithila, another branch of the solar line, whose capital lay within a hundred miles of Oude. He passed many years with her in religious retirement in the forest till she was carried off by Ravunu, the king of Ceylon. Ramu assembled a large army, and having in his progress secured the assistance of the king of the monkeys, marched southward through the great forest of Dunduku, which terminated on the banks of the Cavery. That forest is described as the abode of holy sages and devotees, and of apes and bears. Crossing the Cavery, Ramu entered on Junustan, or the abode of men—the continental territory of Ravunu. The expedition was crowned with success, and Ramu recovered his wife; but having inadvertently caused the death of his brother, he cast himself into a river, and as the Hindoo writers affirm, was reunited to the deity. The expedition of Ramu was the most chivalrous exploit of that age, more especially when we consider the very limited resources of the kingdom of Oude, with two independent sovereigns—one at Mithila, and the other at Benares,—within a hundred and fifty miles of his capital. He is, perhaps, the earliest of deified heroes, as his age is generally fixed at 1,200 years before our era, though on calculations by no means satisfactory.

The
Muhabharut. The next great event in the heroic age of India was the great war, celebrated in another Hindoo epic, the Muhabharut. The main object of this poem is to commemorate the exploits of Krishnu, another deified hero, who took a prominent part in the contest between the Pandoos and the Kooroos, two branches of the lunar line, for the possession of Hustinapore, situated in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Yoodistheer, the chief of the Pandoos, was resolved, it is said, to celebrate the sacrifice of the horse, which implied the possession of supreme dominion. The Kooroos burned with indignation at this arrogant assumption; and their chief, unable to prevent it, had recourse to artifice. He engaged Yoodistheer in deep play, and led him on to stake his wife and

his kingdom, both of which were lost at one throw of the dice, and he was obliged to go into exile for twelve years. Krishnu, a scion of the royal family at Muttra, on the Ganges, had already signalized himself in a conflict with the king of Mugudu, in south Behar, and now, in conjunction with Buluram, accompanied Yoodistheer and his four brothers in their exile. The heroes wandered through the various provinces of India, performing notable feats of valour, and leaving some memorial of their romantic adventures in every direction. At the close of the period of exile Yoodistheer returned with his companions to the banks of the Jumna, and demanded the restoration of his kingdom. His opponent, Dooryudhun, refused his claim, and declared that he should not have as much land as could be covered by the point of a needle. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to decide the question by an appeal to arms.

The battle of
Kooroo-kshetru. In this great battle fought on the plain, where, in after time, the last decisive battle between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans took place, all the tribes in northern India were ranged on one side or the other. Chiefs from Culinga, the sea-coast of Orissa, and even the Yuvuns—the name generally given to the residents beyond the Indus—are said to have taken a share in it. It lasted eighteen days, and the carnage on both sides was prodigious. Dooryudhun was at length slain, and victory declared for the Pandoos; but when Yoodistheer beheld the field covered with the bodies of friends and foes, all descended from a common ancestor, he became disgusted with the world and determined to withdraw from it. He entered Hustinapore and performed the funeral obsequies of his rival; after which he placed the grandson of his brother Urjoon on the throne, and retired to Dwarka, in Guzerat, in company with Krishnu, who had founded a kingdom there. That hero was soon after slain “at the fountain of the lotus,” by one of the wild foresters of the tribe of the Bheels. Yoodistheer proceeded through Sinde towards the north, and is supposed to have perished in

the snowy range. According to the popular notion, he ascended to heaven, which was by no means incredible, as the paradise of more than one of the Hindoo deities is placed on the inaccessible peaks of the Himalayu.

Influence of these two events These two events, the expedition of Ramu, and the battle of Kooroo-kshetru, are the most important in the annals of the lunar and the solar race. The genius of poetry has fixed the admiration of a hundred generations on them, and supplied a rich mine of images from age to age. The author of the Ramayun was Valmeeki, whom the gratitude of his fellow countrymen has crowned with the wreath of immortality, by ranking him among those who never die. He is supposed to have flourished in the second century before our era. The same period has also been assigned to the composer of the Muhabharut. Indeed, from the terms in which he describes the Yuvun Usoor, the demon or giant who engaged in combat with Krishnu, it has been conjectured that the poem must have been written after the invasion of Alexander the Great. The author was Vyasu, who has been confounded, through ignorance or flattery, with the great man who collected the Vedus, which is chronologically impossible. It is, moreover said, that a Vyasu appears in every age, though it is certain that no second Vyasu has since appeared among the poets of India. Krishnu was deified after his death. His adventures, and more particularly his flirtations with the milkmaids, have rendered him the most popular of gods among an amorous people; but the sects founded on the worship of Ramu, Krishnu, and other deities, are among the more modern innovations of Hindooism. Buluram, the brother of Krishnu, is said to have founded a kingdom, of which Palibothra, the capital, became the wonder of India, though even the site of it is now matter of conjecture.

The Takshuk invasion. The annals of Hindostan for several centuries after the assumed period of the great war, are involved in impenetrable obscurity, but it would appear that

about six centuries before our era, a new swarm from the teeming hive of Scythia poured across the Indus upon the plains of India. Another swarm is supposed to have moved down at the same time on the north of Europe, and settled in Scandinavia, the cradle of the English nation. This simultaneous emigration to the east and to the west, may assist in explaining that similarity of manners and customs which has been discovered on many points between the Scandinavians and the natives of India. These invaders were denominated the Takshuk, or serpent race, because the serpent was said to be their national emblem. Under their chief, Suhesnag, they probably overran the northern provinces of Hindostan, and became gradually incorporated with the tribes which had preceded them. They flourished for ten generations, and appear to have professed the Boodhist creed. Of this dynasty was Nundu, or Muhanundu, who was seated on the throne when Alexander the Great appeared on the banks of the Sutlege, and was denominated by the Grecian historians, the king of the Prasii, or of the east.

The expedition
of Darius.

The first expedition to India from the west of which we have anything like an authentic record, is that of Darius, the king of Persia, who ascended the throne of Cyrus, in the year 518 before our era, and extended his conquests from the sea of Greece to the confines of India. His admiral, Scylax, was then directed to construct a flotilla on the higher Indus, and proceed down that stream to the ocean. The report which he made of the wealth and magnificence of the country through which he passed, determined Darius to attempt the conquest of it. He crossed the Indus with a large army, and succeeded in annexing the countries bordering on that river to his great empire. The precise extent of his conquest cannot be determined, but there is every reason to conclude that his Indian province must have been of no inconsiderable magnitude, since it was esteemed more valuable than any other satrapy, and is said to have furnished one-third the revenues of the Persian empire. This

tribute, moreover, is said to have been paid in gold, while that from the other divisions west of the Indus was delivered in silver.

Religion of
Boodh.

It was about the period of the Persian invasion, that Goutumu gave a fixed character to the institutions of Boodhism. It has been supposed that all the fifty-six tribes of the lunarrace professed that creed, and Goutumu was reckoned the seventh Boodh. He was born at Kupilu, but the seat of the religion was planted at Gya, in the kingdom of Mugudu, or Behar, which the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations consider the most sacred spot in the world. The Boodhists rejected the whole of the brahminical system of gods and goddesses, repudiated the doctrine of caste, and adhered exclusively to the spiritual worship of the Vedus. The priesthood amongst them was not hereditary, but formed a distinct community, recruited from the secular ranks, bound to observe a vow of celibacy, and to renounce the pleasures of sense. The hereditary priesthood of the brahmins, on the contrary, admitted no accessions from the lay classes, and considered marriage as indispensable as investiture with the thread, in the hope of giving birth to a son who should perform the funeral rites of his father, and secure him a seat in paradise. The death of Goutumu, is fixed by the general concurrence of authorities, in the year 550 before our era.

Spread of
Boodhism.

The religion of Boodh made prodigious progress after the death of Goutumu, while the creed of the brahmins was confined to the small kingdom of Cunouj. Two centuries later, in the reign of Asoca, Boodhism was triumphant through Hindostan. His edicts are still to be seen inscribed on the celebrated column at Delhi, on a similar column in Guzerat, and on a third in Cuttack, as well as in numerous caves and rocks. Boodhism was introduced into Ceylon about the end of the third century before our era. Shortly after, it spread through Tibet and Tartary, and was carried into China about the year 65. In Hindostan the brahmins exhibited the most rancorous hostility to their powerful rivals; and we

learn from the report of a Chinese pilgrim to the shrine at Gya, in the fifth century, that the strength of Boodhism had materially declined. But it appears subsequently to have recovered some of its pristine vigour, and was not finally expelled from India till the tenth century; though we have the assurance that it was the prevailing creed at Benares a century later, and was predominant in Guzerat as late as the twelfth century. At the present time its votaries throughout Asia are more numerous than those of any other religion.

Alexander the Great. The empire of Persia was broken up by Alexander the Great, the Grecian king of Macedon, and the greatest military genius of antiquity. After the defeat and death of Darius, the last Persian monarch of his dynasty, the troops of Alexander were engaged for three years in the most arduous military enterprises, and suffered incredible hardships in their winter campaigns, amidst mountains covered with snow. As a recompense for these toils their commander held out to them the spoils of India; and, having subjugated Cabul, arrived on the banks of the Indus, in the year 331 before our era, at the age of thirty. Hindostan was ill-prepared to resist the legions of this mighty conqueror. It was split up into a number of independent states, oftener at war than at peace with each other; and a Greek historian affirms that there were no fewer than a hundred and eighteen different kingdoms in the north. Alexander, after having sent envoys to demand the submission of the princes in the Punjab, crossed the Indus, like all previous invaders, at Attok, and entered India with 120,000 troops. Of the principal chiefs of the country, Abissares, whose territory lay in the mountainous region, probably of Cashmere, sent his brother with rich presents to conciliate the invader. Taxiles, who ruled the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, or Jelum, entertained him with great hospitality at his capital, Taxila, where Alexander left his invalids. But Porus, whose dominions stretched eastward in the direction of Hustinapore, or Delhi, resolved to offer the most determined resistance to the progress of Alexander, and

assembled his whole force on the banks of the Jelum. The river, swelled by the periodical rains, and at the time a mile broad, rolled impetuously between the two camps. Porus planted a long line of elephants on the margin of the stream, and presented an impenetrable line of defence to his opponent. But Alexander discovered an island in the river, about ten miles above the camp, and took advantage of a dark and tempestuous night to cross over to it with 11,000 men, who were landed on the opposite bank before dawn. The main body of the Grecian army was in the meantime drawn up as usual, facing the Indian camp, and Porus was thus led to believe that the troops who had crossed consisted only of a small brigade. But he was speedily undeceived by the rout of the force which he had sent to meet it, and the death of his son who was in command, and being now certain that it was Alexander himself who had crossed the river, prepared to encounter him with 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot, all of the kshetriyu tribe; warriors by birth and profession. Alexander's small army was composed of veterans, strangers to defeat, and, under such a leader, invincible. The field was obstinately contested, but nothing could withstand the charge of Alexander's cavalry. Porus continued to maintain the conflict long after the great body of his troops had deserted him, but was at length persuaded to yield. Alexander, who always honoured valour in an enemy, received him with distinguished courtesy; and not only restored his kingdom, but made considerable additions to it. Porus did not abuse this confidence, but remained ever after faithful to his generous victor.

Progress and
return of
Alexander.

After the defeat of Porus, Alexander crossed the Chenab and the Ravee, and came in contact with a body of Cathaians, probably Tartar immigrants, who maintained an obstinate struggle, which is said to have terminated only after the slaughter of 16,000, and the captivity of 70,000 of their number. On reaching the banks of the Sutlege Alexander heard of the great Gangetic kingdom of Mugudu, the king of which, it was reported, could bring

30,000 cavalry, and 600,000 foot, and 9,000 elephants into the field. He determined to march down and plant his standard on the battlements of its magnificent capital, Palibothra, which was nine miles in length; and his troops received orders to prepare for crossing the river. But they were worn out with the fatigue and wounds of eight campaigns; their spirits had moreover been depressed by the deluge of rain to which they had been exposed during the monsoon, and they refused to accompany him any farther. He employed menace and flattery by turns, but nothing could shake their resolution, and he was reluctantly obliged to make the Sutlege the limit of his expedition, and return to the Indus, where he caused a large flotilla to be constructed, and sailed down the stream with all the pomp of a conqueror.

The views of Alexander were gigantic and beneficial beyond those of every other ruler in ancient times. He had erected the port of Alexandria on the Mediterranean shore of Egypt, and at the end of twenty-two centuries it still continues to attest the grandeur of his plans. He now resolved to establish a commercial intercourse between the coast of India, the rivers of Persia and the Red Sea. For this object he built a city and harbour at the estuary of the Indus, and fitted out a large fleet, which he entrusted to his admiral, Nearchus, with orders to proceed to the mouth of the Euphrates. The voyage, though tedious, proved successful, and was justly considered one of the greatest naval achievements of the age. In the midst of these great projects Alexander caught a jungle fever in the marshes of Babylon, and died two years after his return from India, at the early age of thirty-two. He was fully bent on returning to it; and there can be little doubt that if he had succeeded in crossing the Sutlege he would have made a complete conquest of the country, and given it the benefit of European civilization. His name does not appear in any Hindoo work—a proof of the lamentable imperfection of the records which have come down to us; but his fame was widely

Alexander's
projects and
death.

diffused through India by the Mahomedan conquerors, among whom he was esteemed a magnificent hero. It was carried far and wide on the ocean with the stream of their conquests; and the distant islander of Java and Sumatra may be found singing the deeds of the mighty "Iscander."

Nundu, Chundra-goopta. At the period of Alexander's invasion, Nundu, a prince of the Takshuk race, was seated on the Mugudu throne at Palibothra. He was assassinated by his prime minister, and is said to have been succeeded by eight sons in succession. Their illegitimate brother, Chundra-goopta, the offspring of a barber's wife, was expelled from the kingdom, and wandered for some years through the various provinces of Hindostan. He was at length placed upon the throne through the efforts of the minister, Chanikya, who put all the members of the royal family to death, and afterwards endeavoured to atone for the crime by penances so severe, that after the lapse of 2,000 years, the "remorse of Chanikya," is still the popular emblem of penitence. Chundra-goopta was a prince of extraordinary energy and talent, and, though a soodra, is stated in the hyperbolic language of the Poorans to have "brought the whole earth under one umbrella." The empire of Alexander the Great was, on his death, divided among his generals, of whom Seleucus, one of the ablest and most enterprising, obtained the province of Babylon, which comprised all the territory up to the Indus which had been subjugated by his master. Having determined to carry out his ambitious views on the east, he crossed the Indus with a powerful army, and was opposed by Chundra-goopta and the whole strength of the Mugudu empire. According to the Greek historians, Seleucus was completely victorious, which it is difficult to reconcile with the fact that in the treaty he made with the Indian prince, he resigned all the territory which had been acquired east of the Indus for an annual subsidy of fifty elephants, and likewise bestowed his daughter in marriage on him. Megasthenes was at the same time appointed his representative at the court of Palibothra, and it is from his reports

that the Greek writers chiefly derived their knowledge of India.

The Mugudu
kingdom.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Chundra-goopta was succeeded by his son, Mitra-goopta, with whom Seleucus renewed the treaty. The great kingdom of Mugudu maintained its pre-eminence in the valley of the Ganges, under a succession of royal families who appear to have been either soodras or boodhists, for a period of eight centuries from the year 350 before our era to 450 after it. Under their government the country is said to have attained the highest prosperity. A royal road extended from Pali-bothra to the Indus, with a small column at every stage. Another road stretched across the country to Broach, at that time the great emporium of commerce on the western coast. They encouraged learning with great munificence, and it is recorded that they endeavoured to diffuse it among the common people by the cultivation of the vernacular tongues; and this, as it would seem, at the period when the Sanscrit had reached the summit of perfection in the two epics of the Muhabharut and the Ramayun. They appear also to have given every encouragement to trade, both domestic and foreign. While the silent Indus, as at present, exhibited no sign of commercial activity, the Ganges was covered with sails, and the produce of its various provinces was brought down to the sea-coast and conveyed across the ocean to the east and the west. The kingdom of Mugudu embraced what is designated in history the three *Culingas*; that is, the northern section of the Coromandel coast;—the sea face of Bengal from Balasore to Chittagong,—then the abode of men and not of tigers,—and the coast of Arracan. Its subjects were thus stimulated to engage in maritime enterprise, and the Mugudu fleet crossed the bay of Bengal to the island of Java, and introduced the Hindoo religion to its inhabitants either in the current of conquest or of commerce. The native historians of that island fix the year 75 before our era as the time when they received Hindooism from India. Many magnifi-

cent monuments attest the diffusion of this religion, besides the fact that the language of literature and devotion in Java is a form of the Sanscrit. In the fourth century a Chinese pilgrim recorded that the island was peopled by Hindoos; that in its ports he found vessels manned by Hindoo sailors which had sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, and from thence to Java, and were preparing to proceed on to China. A Hindoo government existed in Java till within the last 400 years, when it was subverted by the Mahomedans. Hindooism still continues to flourish in the neighbouring island of Bali, where the fourfold division of caste still survives, and widows are said still to ascend the funeral pile. Yet so signal has been the mutation of habits and opinions among the Hindoos of India, that any Hindoo who might visit the country to which his ancestors carried the institutes of his religion, and in which they exist in greater integrity than in India itself, would not be permitted to remain within the pale of the caste.

The Ugnikools.

The Hindoo annalists affirm that about two centuries before our era, the brahmins "regenerated the Ugnikools," literally the fiery generation, to fight their battles with the boodhists. The real origin of this race is lost in hopeless obscurity, and we have only a poetical version of their appearance, which may serve as an example of the mode in which historical facts have been bequeathed to posterity, and of the difficulty of separating them from allegory. Ignorance and infidelity, we are told, had spread over the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood—of boodhists. At the summit of Mount Aboo dwelt the holy sages who had carried their complaints to the sea of curds, on which the father of creation was floating on the back of a hydra. He commanded them to return to Mount Aboo, and recreate the race of the kshetriyas—whom Purusramu, an incarnation of the deity, had exterminated. They returned accordingly with the four chief divinities, and a multitude of

secondary gods. The fountain of fire was purified with water brought from the sacred stream of the Ganges. After the performance of expiatory rites, each of the four gods formed an image and cast it into the fountain, and there sprung up the four men who became the founders of Rajpoot greatness. They were sent out to combat the monsters, who were slaughtered in great numbers, but as their blood touched the ground fresh demons arose; upon which, the four gods stopped the multiplication of the race, by drinking up their blood. The infidels thus became extinct; shouts of joy rent the skies; ambrosial showers descended from above, and the gods drove about the firmament in their cars, exulting in the victory they had gained.

Expulsion of
the boodhists

This allegory of the regeneration of the Ugnikools at the fire fountain, evidently points to some religious conversion, or some political revolution. Of the four divisions into which they branched, the Prumuras became the most powerful. Their dominions extended beyond the Nerbudda, and comprehended all central and western India. The Indus formed their boundary on the west. They carried their arms into the Deccan, and appear, in fact, to have been the first to extend the Hindoo religion and power to the south of the Nerbudda. As brahminism did not become predominant till after many bloody conflicts with boodhism, it is not improbable that it was the alliance with the Ugnikools, which rendered the brahmins triumphant, and enabled them to extend their religious power from the kingdom of Cunouj to the southern extremities of the peninsula. The boodhists retreated in great numbers to Ceylon, carrying with them that passion for cave temples, for which they were distinguished. In that island they raised one of the most stupendous monuments of human labour in the world. Excavated by their exertions from the solid rock, we discover a series of temples, of which the largest is 140 feet long, 90 wide, and 45 in height, and which contains a recumbent image of Boodh, 30 feet in length. The temples which the

boodhists were constrained to relinquish were speedily occupied by the brahmins, and Vishnoo and Sivu displaced Boodh.

Cave temples
in India.

Under the brahmins, the construction of these cave temples was extended and improved. Those which they erected at Ellora, in the Deccan, exceed in magnificence anything to be seen elsewhere. In a range of hills which extend five miles in the form of a horse shoe, we discover a range of grotto temples, two and often three stories in height. The most remarkable of them is the temple of Koilas, or the palace of Muhadevu. Here is to be found whatever is splendid in architecture, or exquisite in sculpture. The scene is crowded with staircases, bridges, chapels, columns, porticoes, obelisks, and colossal statues, all chiselled out of the solid rock. The sides of these wonderful chambers are covered with figures of the Hindoo gods and goddesses, and representations from the Ramayun and the Muhabharut. The pantheon of Ellora seems to have been the citadel of Hindooism when it spread into the Deccan. The precise age of these magnificent excavations it is impossible to fix, but it must have been at some period during the ten or twelve centuries which elapsed between the subjugation of the boodhists, and the arrival of the Mahomedans, in the high and palmy state of Hindooism, when the brahmins swayed the ecclesiastical sceptre of India without a rival or an enemy.

Vikramadityu.

The age of Vikramadityu follows the supposed subjection of the boodhists. He is said to have been descended from one of the Ugnikool chieftains, the Prumura, now contracted to Puar. His reign began fifty-six years before our era, and the ancient city of Oojein was his capital. He is described as the greatest monarch of his age, of which there is the most satisfactory proof in the fact that his era is still current throughout Hindostan. He encouraged literature beyond all former example. He invited learned brahmins from every part of India, and rewarded them with magnificent presents, and they have repaid him by investing

him with immortality. They have exhausted the resources of flattery in their attempt to describe the magnitude of his power, and have assured us, that without his permission the loadstone had no power over iron, or amber on the chaff of the field. So exemplary was his temperance, that while in the enjoyment of supreme power, he constantly slept on a mat, which, with a waterpot replenished from the spring, formed the whole furniture of his chamber. It is stated that while he extended his patronage to the worship of the gods and goddesses, then rising into popularity, he himself continued to profess the old creed, and adored the one infinite and invisible God.

The birth of
Jesus Christ.

Fifty-six years after the accession of Vikramadityu, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, became incarnate in the land of Judea, and made an atonement for the sins of men, by offering himself as a sacrifice. On the third day he rose from the dead, and after giving his disciples a commission to proclaim to mankind the glad tidings of salvation through his redemption, ascended to heaven. One of his disciples, St. Thomas, is generally supposed to have introduced Christianity into India, where he obtained many converts. The Hindoo legends present so many points of similarity with the facts of the New Testament, as to leave little doubt that the events connected with the life and death of the Saviour of mankind were widely disseminated through India, and embodied, though in a distorted form, in the writings of Hindoo poets and sages.

The Andras.

It is about this period that we find the Andras dynasty enjoying great power in the Gangetic provinces, and their fame extending even to Rome. They were probably one of the families which successively filled the Mugudu throne. They appear to have gained it about twenty years before our era, and to have held it on till the year 436. The only notice of any of the monarchs of this line which has survived their extinction refers to Kurnu, whose fame was spread to the islands of the eastern archipelago, which were

probably visited by his fleet. He still lives in the memory of posterity, and a man of extraordinary liberality is always compared to king Kurnu. The centuries which elapsed between the decay of the Andras and the invasion of the Mahomedans are filled up by the historians with barren lists of dynasties and kings which can be turned to no account; and we turn therefore from the history of Hindostan to the annals of the Deccan.

Early history of the Deccan. The early history of the Deccan is less obscure and less romantic than that of the northern division of India. All the traditions and records recognise in every province of it a period when the inhabitants did not profess the Hindoo religion. The brahminical writers describe them as mountaineers and foresters, goblins, and monsters; but there is every reason to conclude that they had reached a high degree of civilization at a very early age. Ravunu, when attacked by Ramu, was the sovereign of a powerful and civilized state, which embraced not only the island of Ceylon, but the whole of the southern division of the peninsula; and his subjects were, doubtless, far more advanced in the arts and literature than the invaders. A Tamul literature existed before the introduction of brahminism; and some of the best authors in that language were of the tribe now stigmatised as *pariars*, which incontestibly proves that the *pariars* were the aborigines of the country, and a highly cultivated people, who were reduced to subjection and degraded by the triumphant brahmins. This remark applies to the group of tribes comprised in the ancient Telingana, Draviru and Kerulu.

The Pandyas and the Cholas. The most ancient kingdoms of the Deccan appear to have been those of the Pandyas and the Cholas, established in the extreme south, where the Tamul language prevailed. Of the former, the seat of government, after having been twice removed, was fixed at Madura, where it was in existence in the time of Ptolemy, the great geographer of antiquity. In the ninth century the reigning family lost its consequence, but continued to linger in the

scene of its early power till 1736, when the last of that royal line was conquered by the nabob of Arcot. The kingdom of Chola—which some identify with Coromandel—had Canchi, or Conjeveram, for its capital, and retained its vigour for many centuries, and, about the eighth century, appears to have extended its authority over a considerable portion of Carnata and Telingana. But its princes were driven back and confined to their former limits about the tenth century, and maintained a feeble existence, either as independent sovereigns, or as tributaries to the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejuynugur, till the province was subdued in the middle of the seventeenth century by Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, the founder of Mahratta greatness.

Kerulu and
Telingana.

The ancient division of Kerulu included Malabar and Carnata, which are said to have been miraculously peopled with brahmins by their champion Purusramu, the renowned destroyer of the kshetriyus. Apart from this legend, it would appear that about the second century a colony of brahmins introduced themselves and their religion into this province, which they divided into sixty-four districts, and governed for a time by an ecclesiastical senate, over which a brahmin was chosen to preside every three years; but they were subsequently subjected to the Pandya kingdom. About the ninth century the country was broken into various principalities; one of the most important of which, Calicut, was under the government of the Hindoo Zamorin when the Europeans first landed in India, under Vasco de Gama, in 1498. Of the history of Telingana no authentic records have been discovered, but it appears that about the eleventh century the Bellal dynasty attained paramount power in this region. They dignified themselves with the title of Rajpoots, of the Yadoo branch, and at one period extended their authority over the whole of Carnata, Malabar, and Telingana; but it was extinguished by the Mahomedans in 1310. The early annals of Orissa are equally indistinct. The authentic history of the province

Orissa and
Maharashtra.

does not commence before the year 473, when the Kesari family obtained the throne, and held it till 1131. They were succeeded by the line of Gungu-bungsu, who maintained their power till it was subverted by the Mahomedan in 1568. Of the Mahratta province there are only two facts distinctly visible in history; the existence, more than twenty centuries ago, of the great commercial mart of Tagara, so well known to the Romans, which has been identified with Deogur, the modern Dowlutabad, and was the capital of a long line of monarchs. The other event is the reign of Salivahun. All that is known of that prince, however, is that he was the son of a potter, that he headed a successful insurrection, dethroned the reigning family, and established a monarchy so powerful and extensive that it gave rise to an era which has survived him for eighteen centuries, and still continues current in the Deccan.

The Rajpoot
family of
Chittore.

While the Gangetic empire of the Andras was crumbling to pieces, the Rajpoot family of Chittore, now settled at Oodypore, was rising into notice. By the general suffrage of the Hindoos in the western provinces its descent is traced from Loh, the eldest son of Ramu, the hero of the Rumayun, and it, therefore, claims pre-eminence among the Hindoo princes of India. The family originally migrated to the country of Surat, and fixed their capital at Balabhipore, in the Gulf of Cambay. The town was sacked about the year 524 by the son of Noshirvan the just, king of Persia, but the Rajpoot queen escaped the general destruction and took refuge in a cave, where she gave birth to a son, Goha. The youth subsequently established a kingdom at Edur, and married the granddaughter of the Persian king, and of his queen, the daughter of Maurice, the Christian emperor of Constantinople. From Goha are lineally descended the rajas of Oodypore. "Thus," remarks the historian of Rajpootana, "we are led to the singular conclusion that the Hindoo *sooruj*, or sun, the descendant of a hundred kings, the undisputed possessor of the honours of Ramu, the patriarch

of the solar race, from whom other Hindoo princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must obtain the *teluk*, or sign of royalty and investiture, is in fact the offspring of a Christian princess." Eight princes succeeded Goha on the throne of Edur, the last of whom was put to death by his sons while hunting, but his infant son, Bappa, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere, and brought up among the shepherds. His mother aroused his ambition by revealing to him the secret of his royal birth, and he immediately proceeded to the court of Chittore, together with the followers he had been able to collect, and was favourably received by the king, but the nobles took umbrage at the favour shown to an unknown youth. At this juncture a formidable foe came down upon the country, and the chiefs refused to furnish their feudal contingents, but Bappa offered without any hesitation to lead the national troops into the field. That enemy was the Mahomedans, who now for the first time advanced into the heart of a country destined in after times to form one of their most magnificent empires.

Rise of Maho-
medan power.

Mahomed was born at Mecca, in Arabia, in the year 569, and at the age of forty, announced himself a prophet commissioned by God to convert the human race to the "true faith," by the agency of the sword. Having, by the force of his genius and eloquence, gained many proselytes in his native land, he raised an army of Arabs to subjugate the surrounding nations to his power and his creed, and commenced that career of conquest which was pursued by his successors with unexampled vigour and rapidity. Province after province, and kingdom after kingdom submitted to their arms, and in the brief period of half a century, they had subverted or shaken the political institutions of the west. From the birth of Mahomedanism, its votaries were animated with the resolution to establish, by force of arms, a universal monarchy in which there should be but one law civil and religious, one prophet and one creed. Every Musulman who fell in this warfare, was promised a residence

in paradise in the society of the black-eyed houris. It was not to be expected, that when the "Faithful," as they were termed, had conquered Africa and Spain, subverted the Persian empire, and looked on Europe as already their own, the rich provinces of India, which had been for ages the prey of every invader, should escape their notice.

First Mahomedan invasion. Within a few years after the death of Mahomed, the Caliph Omar founded Bussorah, at the estuary of the Tigris, and despatched an army into the province of Sinde. The invasion was repeated under his successors, but it was not till the days of Walid, that any successful effort was made to obtain a footing in the country. Between the years 705 and 715, he not only made an entire conquest of the province, but carried his victorious army to the banks of the Ganges. It was the generals of this caliph who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, planted the standard of the crescent on the soil of Europe, and subdued Spain in a single campaign. So lofty was the ambition which animated the early successors of Mahomed, that their arms were triumphant at the same time on the banks of the Ebro and the Ganges, and they aspired to the conquest both of Europe and India. Three years after the invasion of Walid, his general Mahomed ben Cossim overran the kingdom of Guzerat, and called on every city either to embrace the creed of the prophet, or to pay tribute. In case of refusal, the fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children reduced to slavery, but the cultivators, artizans, and merchants are said to have suffered little molestation. Cossim at length advanced to Chittore, when the young Bappa placed himself at the head of the Rajpoot army, and not only completely defeated him, but expelled him from India. On his return to Chittore, Bappa was hailed by the nobles and people as their deliverer, and advanced to the throne, and from him are descended the ranas who now reign at Oodypore. After having governed the country for many years with great success, he abandoned his kingdom and his religion, and marched with his troops

across the Indus to Khorasan, where he married many Mahomedan wives, and left a numerous progeny.

Renewed attack on Chittore. It was about this period that the Prumura family, which had ruled for many centuries at Oojein, is supposed to have lost its authority in the north of India, and other kingdoms rose on its ruins. The Tuars occupied the districts around Delhi, and made that city their capital. Guzerat became independent, and was governed at first by the Chouras and then by the Solankis. The Rajpoot annalists state, that in the days of Khoman, the great grandson of Bappa, whose reign extended from 812 to 836, Chittore was again invaded by the Mahomedans under Mahmoon, the governor of Khorasan, probably the son of the celebrated Caliph, Haroun-ul-Rashid, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne. The other princes in the north of India hastened to the assistance of the Rajpoots against the common enemy, and the national bard gives an animated description of the different tribes who composed the chivalry of the north on this occasion. With the aid of these allies, Khoman defeated and expelled the Musulmans, with whom he is said to have fought no fewer than twenty-four engagements. For a century and a half after this period, we hear of no further Mahomedan invasion, and it cannot but appear a very notable circumstance, that while the followers of the Prophet completely subjugated Persia and Spain in two or three campaigns, the resistance which they met in their early encounters with the Hindoos was so compact and resolute, that nearly three centuries elapsed after the first invasion, before they could make any permanent impression on India.

The only authentic event to be further noticed previous to the irruption of Mahmood of Ghuzni, relates to the kingdom of Bengal. Cunouj, the cradle and the citadel of Hindooism, had recovered its importance under a new dynasty. Adisoor, of the Vidyū, or medical race of kings then ruling Bengal, and holding its court at Nuddea, became dissatisfied with the ignorance of his priests,

The Cunouj
brahmins in
Bengal.

and applied to the king of Cunouj for a supply of brahmins well versed in the Hindoo shasters and observances. That monarch, about nine centuries ago sent him five brahmins, from whom all the brahminical families in Bengal trace their descent; while the kayusts, the next in order, derive their origin from the five servants who attended the priests.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DYNASTY OF GHUZNI TO THAT OF TOGHLUK,
1009—1321.

Movements in
Khorasan and
Cabul.

WE have now reached the period when the Mahomedan empire in India may be said to have had a substantial beginning.

The opulent regions of Khorasan and Transoxiana had been conquered by the Arabs in the first century of the hejira, and continued under the government of the lieutenants of the Caliphs, for more than 180 years. But after the death of Haroun-ul-Rashid, the most illustrious of that line of princes, their authority began to decline, and the different provinces aspired to independence, till at length, little, if anything remained of the once splendid empire of the Caliphs, except the city of Bagdad and its immediate dependencies. Among the governors who thus assumed royalty, was Ismael Samani, a Tartar and a Turk, who seized on Transoxiana and Khorasan as well as Afghanistan, about the year 862, and fixed the seat of his government at Bokhara. This dynasty, called that of the Samanides flourished for about 120 years. The fifth prince of the line had a Tartar slave of the name of Aluptegeen, a man of good sense and courage, who rose through the gradations of office to the government of Candahar, or

Ghuzni. On the death of his patron, a controversy arose about the succession, and Aluptugeen voted against his son, who was, however, raised to the throne by the other chiefs. Aluptugeen having thus incurred his resentment, retreated to his own government, and declared himself independent; and after defeating two armies sent against him, was allowed to remain unmolested. He had purchased a slave of Turkistan, of the name of Subuktugeen, who, though claiming descent from the illustrious Persian dynasty of the Sassanides had been reduced to the most abject poverty. His master, who had discovered great powers of mind in him, gradually raised him to such trust and power, that he became the first subject in the kingdom, and in 976 succeeded to the throne.

Hindoos attack
Subuktugeen,
977 The provinces in the extreme north of India, and more particularly the Punjab, had for many centuries been linked with the fortunes and policy of Cabul and Candahar which lay to the west of the Indus. Hence, the establishment of a powerful Mahomedan kingdom, under a vigorous ruler, at no greater distance from the frontier of India than Ghuzni, gave no little disquietude to Jeypal, the Hindoo chief of Lahore. He determined to anticipate any designs which Subuktugeen might form on India, and crossed the Indus with a large army to Lughman, at the entrance of the valley which extends from Peshawur to Cabul, where he was met by that prince. While the two armies faced each other, a violent tempest of wind, rain, and thunder arose, which is said to have terrified the superstitious soldiers of Jeypal to such a degree, as to constrain him to sue for an accommodation, that he might escape to his own country. The Hindoo was the aggressor, and the treaty was not granted except on the surrender of fifty elephants, and the promise of a large sum of money. The envoys of Subuktugeen followed Jeypal to Lahore for payment, but on hearing that his opponent had been obliged to march towards the west to repel an invasion, he was disposed to withhold it. The brahmins, says the native historian, stood on the right of the throne, and urged

him to refuse the tribute, since there was nothing to be any longer apprehended from Ghuzni; while his kshetriyu officers, standing on the left, reminded him of the sufferings beyond the Indus which had extorted the contribution, and, above all, of his royal word which he had pledged to the Mahomedan prince. In an evil hour, Jeypal listened to the priests, and imprisoned the envoys. Subuktugeen speedily disposed of his enemies in the west, and marched with a large army towards the Indus, breathing vengeance against the author of the insult. Jeypal, notwithstanding his perfidy, succeeded in enlisting the aid of the kings of Delhi, Ajmere, Calinjer, and Cunouj, and advanced across the Indus, it is said, with 100,000 horse and countless infantry. The Hindoos were utterly routed, and pursued to the banks of the river. Subuktugeen found a rich plunder in their camp, and obliged all the tribes up to the Indus to submit to his authority.

Mahmood's first
and second
irruption, 1001.

Subuktugeen died in 997, and was succeeded, in the first instance, by his son Ismael, but he was superseded in a few months by his brother, the renowned Mahmood of Ghuzni, who inflicted the severest blow on the Hindoo power which it had ever experienced since its original establishment in India. From his early youth Mahmood had accompanied his father in his numerous expeditions, and thus acquired a passion and a talent for war. He succeeded to the resources of the kingdom at the age of thirty, burning with ambition to enlarge its boundaries. Having spent the first four years of his reign in consolidating his government west of the Indus, he cast his eye on the rich plains of Hindostan filled with idolaters, and invested with a romantic interest. In addition to the wealth he might acquire, the glory of extending the triumphs of Mahomedanism through new and unknown regions, possessed an irresistible charm for his mind. He began his crusade against the Hindoos in the year 1001, and conducted no fewer than twelve expeditions against the northern provinces, which, being held by various independent princes, fell an easy prey to his arms.

He left Ghuzni in August with 10,000 chosen horse, and was met at Peshawur by his father's old antagonist, Jeypal, who was totally defeated and taken prisoner, but released on the promise of paying tribute. According to the Persian historian, it was a custom or law of the Hindoos that a prince who had been twice defeated by the Mahomedan arms was considered unworthy to reign. Jeypal, therefore, resigned the throne to his son Anungpal, and closed the misfortunes of his reign by ascending the funeral pyre in regal state. Some of the chiefs subordinate to Lahore, however, refused to pay the contributions demanded of them, among whom was the raja of Bhutnere, situated at the northern extremity of the Bikaner desert. The Sultan proceeded against him; the fort was taken after a siege of three days, and the prince, to avoid falling into the hands of the victor, fell upon his own sword.

His third and fourth expeditions, 1005—8.

Mahmood's third expedition was undertaken to subdue Daood, whom he had left governor of Mooltan, but who, under the encouragement of Anungpal, had revolted against his master. Mooltan was invested for seven days, but an irruption of the Tartars from beyond the Oxus, constrained Mahmood to accept the submissions of the governor. Having succeeded in driving the Tartars back to their seats, he returned to India on his fourth expedition to chastise Anungpal for the revolt he had instigated, and for his repeated perfidies. That prince had sent envoys to the Hindoo monarchs in the north of Hindostan to the kings of Oojein, Calinjer, Gwalior, Cunouj, Delhi, and Ajmere, who formed a confederation and assembled the largest army which had as yet taken the field against the Mahomedans. The Hindoo women are said to have melted down their gold ornaments and sold their jewels to support the war, which was considered holy. The Hindoo troops again crossed the Indus and advanced to Peshawur, where the two armies were encamped opposite to each other for forty days, before joining issue. Mahmood at length commenced the

engagement by a large body of archers, but they were driven back with the loss of 5,000, by the impetuosity of the bare-headed and bare-footed Gukkers, a tribe of savages, living in the hills and fastnesses to the east of the Indus, the ancestors of the modern Jauts. The battle was long doubtful, but was at length decided by the flight of the wounded elephant of Anungpal, when the whole body of Hindoos, no longer having their leader before their eyes, dispersed in utter disorder, leaving 20,000 dead on the field. Mahmood determined to allow them no time to rally, but on reaching the Punjab found their discomfiture so complete so as to afford

Capture of Nagarcote, 1008. him leisure for a plundering expedition to the temple of Nagarcote, north-west of Lahore, a place of peculiar sanctity, built over a natural flame which issued from the mountain, and was the origin of its religious renown. It was so strongly fortified as to be deemed impregnable; it was therefore selected as the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood, and was said at this time to contain a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls than was to be found in the treasury of any prince on earth. It was, however, captured with ease, and Mahmood is said to have carried away 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, and 200 mauns of jewels. His next expedition was directed against Thanesur, about sixty miles from Delhi, one of the most ancient and

Capture of Thanesur, 1011. opulent shrines in the north of India. Anungpal sent his brother to entreat the sultan to spare the temple which was held in the same veneration by the Hindoos as Mecca was by the Mahomedans. Mahmood replied, that the religion of the prophet inculcated this precept that the reward of his followers in heaven would be in proportion to the diffusion of its tenets and the extermination of idolatry. His mission to India was to root out the idols; how then could he spare Thanesur? The Hindoo princes were therefore summoned to its defence, but before their arrival, the shrine was captured and all the costly images, and shrines, and wealth, together with 200,000 captives were

sent off to Ghuzni, which now began to wear the appearance of a Hindoo city.

Capture of
Cunouj, 1017. During the next three years Mahmood was engaged in two expeditions to Cashmere, of minor consequence—reckoned the seventh and eighth; after which he subdued the whole of Transoxiana, and extended his dominion to the Caspian sea. In the year 1017 he resolved to penetrate to the heart of Hindostan, and assembled an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn chiefly from the recently conquered provinces, the inhabitants of which were allured to his standard by the love of plunder and of adventure. He set out from Peshawur, and passed three months in skirting the hills, after which he marched southward, and presented himself unexpectedly before the city of Cunouj, which had been renowned in Hindoo history for twenty centuries. The description given of its grandeur, both by Hindoo and Mahomedan writers, staggers our belief, more especially when we consider the limited extent of the kingdom, and the ease with which it was subdued on this occasion. Its standing army is said to have consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horsemen, with quilted mail, and 500,000 well equipped infantry. The city, moreover, is reported to have contained 60,000 families of musicians. The raja, taken unawares, was constrained to submit, and to enter into an alliance with the sultan, who remained in the city only three days and then turned his steps towards Muttra. This ecclesiastical city, the birth-place of the deified hero Krishna, was filled with temples, and the shrines blazed with jewels. But it fell an easy prey to the Mahomedans, and was given up to plunder for twenty days, during which the idols were melted down or demolished. Some of the temples, however, were spared, on account either of their matchless beauty, or their solidity. “Here are a thousand edifices,” writes the sultan, “as firm as the creed of the faithful—most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Such another city could not be constructed under two centuries.” After capturing many other towns, and ravaging many districts, Mahmood at length returned to Ghuzni, laden

with plunder and captives; and the latter became so common as not to be worth more than two rupees a head.

Passing over two expeditions of less moment, Somnath, 1024. we come to the last and most celebrated in which Mahmood was engaged, and which is considered by the Mahomedans as the model of a religious crusade—the capture and plunder of Somnath. This shrine was at the time one of the most wealthy and celebrated in India. It is affirmed that at the period of an eclipse it was crowded with 200,000 pilgrims, that it was endowed with the rent of 2,000 villages, and that the image was daily bathed with water, brought from the sacred stream of the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles. Its establishment consisted of 2,000 brahmins, 300 barbers to shave the pilgrims when their vows were accomplished, 200 musicians, and 300 courtesans. To reach the temple Mahmood was obliged to cross the desert with his army, 350 miles in extent, by no means the least arduous of his exploits. He appeared unexpectedly before the capital of the province, and the raja, though considered one of the most powerful princes in India, was constrained to abandon it and take to flight. Pursuing his route to the temple the sultan found it situated on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, which was manned at every point with soldiers. As he approached it, a herald issued from the portal and menaced the invader with destruction in the name of the god. Mahmood ordered his archers to clear the fortifications; the defenders retired to the temple, and prostrating themselves before the image supplicated with tears for help. The next day there was a general charge by the Mahomedan troops; but the Hindoos were roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and vigorously repulsed the assailants. On the third day the chiefs in the neighbourhood assembled their troops for the defence of the shrine. The battle raged with great fury, and was for a time doubtful. The Mahomedans began to waver, when the sultan prostrated himself to implore the Divine assistance, as he was accustomed to do in every

emergency; and then leaping into the saddle cheered on his troops. Ashamed to abandon a prince under whom they had so often fought and bled, they rushed on their enemies with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand. Five thousand Hindoos fell under their sabres, and the remainder rushed to their boats. On entering the temple Mahmood was struck with its grandeur. The lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and richly studded with precious stones. The external light was excluded, and the shrine was lighted by a single lamp, suspended by a golden chain, the lustre of which was reflected from the numerous jewels with which the walls were embossed. Facing the entrance stood the lofty idol five yards in height, two of which were buried in the ground. Mahmood ordered it to be broken up, when the brahmins cast themselves at his feet and offered an immense sum to ransom it. His courtiers besought him to accept the offer, and he hesitated for a moment; but he soon recovered himself, and exclaimed that he would rather be known as the destroyer than the seller of images. He then struck the idol with his mace; his soldiers followed the example; and the figure, which was hollow, speedily burst under their blows, and poured forth a quantity of jewels and diamonds, greatly exceeding in value the sum which had been offered for its redemption. The wealth acquired in this expedition exceeded that of any which had preceded it; and the mind is bewildered with the enumeration of treasures and jewels estimated by the maun. The sandal-wood gates of Somnath were sent as a trophy to Ghuzni, where they remained for eight centuries, till they were brought back to India in a triumphal procession by a Christian ruler.

Mahmood's
projects and
death, 1030.

Mahmood was so charmed with the beauty and the fertility of the country around Somnath, that he proposed at one time to make it the seat of his empire, and likewise to construct a navy to be sent in search of the pearls of Ceylon, and the gold of Pegu. But he had the wisdom to relinquish these projects, and, having placed a

prince of his own choice on the throne of Guzerat, returned to Ghuzni, after a toilsome and perilous march through the desert. Two years after, his power reached its culminating point by the conquest of Persia, but his reputation was tarnished by the slaughter of some thousands of the inhabitants of Ispahan, who had obstinately resisted his arms. This execution was the more remarkable, as in all his campaigns in India, he never shed the blood of a Hindoo, except in the heat of battle, or in a siege. Soon after his return from this expedition, he expired at his capital in the year 1030, and in the sixtieth of his age. Two days before his death, he caused all the gold and silver and jewels of which he had despoiled India, to be spread out before him, that he might feast his eyes for the last time with the sight, and then burst into tears. The next day he commanded his army, infantry, cavalry, and elephants, to be drawn up in review before him, and wept at the prospect of leaving them.

Mahmood was the greatest prince of his time; the Mahomedans, indeed, consider him the greatest prince of any age. He had all the elements of greatness, exemplary prudence, boundless activity, and great courage. His success in war has given him the highest military reputation, while the perfect order which prevailed throughout his vast dominions, notwithstanding his frequent absence in the field, proves that he likewise possessed the greatest talent for civil affairs. His court was the most magnificent in Asia; his taste in architecture was more particularly developed after his return from Cunouj and Muttra, when he determined to make his own capital worthy of his empire. He erected a mosque of granite and marble, called the Celestial Bride, which filled every beholder with astonishment, and became the wonder of Central Asia. His nobility vied with him in the erection of magnificent buildings, and in a short time the metropolis, which had been a mere collection of hovels, was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts and palaces, beyond any other city in the east. He has been

charged with avarice, but if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was noble and judicious in the employment of it. Few Mahomedan princes have ever equalled him in the encouragement of learning. He founded a university at Ghuzni, and furnished it with a large collection of valuable manuscripts, and a museum of natural curiosities. He set aside a lac of rupees a year for pensions to learned men, and his munificence brought together a larger assembly of literary genius than was to be found in any other Asiatic court. In the space of thirty years, he extended his dominions from the Persian gulf to the sea of Aral, and from the mountains of Curdestan to the banks of the Sutlege; yet while in possession of this great empire, he considered it his highest glory to be designated the "image-breaker."

Mahmood left two sons, twins; the eldest, Musaood, 1030—1040. Mahomed, had recommended himself to his father by his gentleness and docility, and was nominated his successor. The younger Musaood had become popular with the nobles and the army, by his martial qualities, and within five months of his father's decease, marched to Ghuzni, deprived his brother of his throne and his sight, and made himself king. In the year 1034 he conducted an expedition to Cashmere, which he subdued, but was recalled to the defence of his dominions by the irruption of a horde of Turki-Tartars, denominated Seljuks. His father had on one occasion defeated them, but he let them off on easy terms, and they recrossed the Oxus in such numbers as to threaten the safety of his empire. Among the generals now sent to oppose their progress, was Jey-sen, the commander of Musaood's Indian battalions, from which we infer, that even at that early period the Mahomedan invaders found the Hindoos ready to enlist under their banners, and even to cross the Indus and fight their battles. The Seljuks offered their submission and were admitted to terms, which only served to increase their ambition and cupidity; Musaood was impatient to renew his attacks on the Hindoos, but was opposed by advice of his

wisest councillors, who represented to him that the incessant encroachments of the Seljuks required his exclusive attention. He persisted, however, in marching to India, where he captured the fortress of Hansi, but was recalled by a fresh invasion of the ever-restless Seljuks. Musaood appointed his son governor of the two provinces of Mooltan and Lahore, which were now permanently annexed to Ghuzni, and marched against the invaders in person, but after two years of indecisive warfare, Togrul Beg, the great Seljuk chief, advanced up to the gates of Ghuzni. At length, the two armies met on equal terms, when Musaood was deserted in the field by some of his Turki followers, and totally and irretrievably defeated. He then resolved to withdraw to India, in the hope of being able quietly to retrieve his fortunes in that country. But his army was totally disorganized, and, on crossing the Indus, deposed him, and restored his brother Mahomed to the throne. The blindness of that prince rendered him incapable of conducting the government, and he transferred it to his son, Ahmed, whose first act was to put the dethroned Musaood to death—in the tenth year of his reign.

Succession of
Kings,
1040—1118.

Modood, the son of Musaood was at Balkh, watching the movements of the Seljuks, when he heard of the assassination of his father, and hastened to Ghuzni, where he was saluted king. He then set out for Hindostan, and at Lughman encountered the forces of Mahomed and Ahmed, who were defeated and slain. The Seljuks took advantage of these troubles to push their conquests, and having assembled at Nishapore, placed the crown upon the brows of their chief, Togrul Beg, and divided the country they had conquered, and that which they intended to occupy, into four parts; but Modood was able not only to maintain himself in Ghuzni, but to recover Transoxiana. Meanwhile, the king of Delhi took advantage of his absence, and, as the Mahomedan historian observes, “those, who like foxes, dared not creep from their holes, now put on the aspect of lions.” A large army of Hindoos was assembled. Tha-

nesur, Hansi, and the Mahomedan possessions south of the Sutlege were recovered, and Nagarcote fell after a siege of four months. The idol which Mahmood demolished had been miraculously preserved—so at least it was announced—and was now discovered by the brahmins, and installed; the oracle was re-established, and the shrine was again enriched by the gifts of princes and people. All the other temples which had been subverted were restored, and recovered their sanctity. The Hindoos, flushed with success, thought themselves strong enough to expel the followers of the Prophet from the soil of India, and proceeded to lay seige to Lahore, but after beseiging it seven months, were driven back by a vigorous sally of the besieged. Modood expired at Ghuzni, after a reign of nine years, in 1049, and was succeeded by four monarchs in succession, whose insignificant reigns extended over nine years. Then came Ibrahim, in 1058, remarkable for his mildness and devotion, whose first act was to make peace with the Seljuks, and to confirm them in possession of all the territories they had usurped. He extended the fast of the Ramzan to three months; he attended religious lectures, and bore patiently with priestly rebukes; he gave away large sums in charity; he presented two copies of the Koran of his own beautiful penmanship to the Caliph, and then died, after a reign of forty years, leaving thirty-six sons and forty daughters. The reign of his son, Musaood the second, extended over sixteen years, and the throne descended on his death to his son Arslan, who immediately imprisoned all his brothers. One of their number, Byram, was, however, so fortunate as to escape to his maternal uncle, the Seljuk monarch, who marched against Arslan, and defeated him, placing Byram on the throne. But on the retirement of the Seljuk army, Arslan returned and expelled Byram, and was in turn displaced a second time by Sanjar, the Seljuk general, and soon after overtaken and put to death; Byram, finally ascended the throne in 1118.

Byram, the last Byram governed the kingdom with great wisdom

king of Ghuzni, and moderation, and like all the monarchs of
1118.

his line, extended a liberal patronage to men of learning. Towards the close of his reign, which reached thirty-five years, he was involved in a feud with the ruler of Ghore, which cost him his life and his crown. His family was expelled from Ghuzni, and the seat of his kingdom transferred to Lahore, which his son, Khusro, governed for seven years, and then bequeathed to his son, Khusro Malik, under whom all the provinces which had ever been held by the Mahomedans, east of the Indus, were recovered. His reign extended to twenty-seven years, when he was overpowered by Mahomed, of Ghore, in 1186, and with him the family of Subuktugeen became extinct, at the close of the usual cycle of 200 years.

The dynasty
of Ghore.

The dynasty of Ghore, which superseded that of Ghuzni, and rapidly extended its dominion from the Caspian Sea to the Ganges, was flattered by Mahomedan poets and historians with an ancient and honourable lineage, but the founder of the family was Eiz-ood-deen Hussein, a native of Afghanistan, of little note. He entered the service of Musood, the king of Ghuzni, and rose in his favour, until he obtained the hand of his daughter, and with it the principality of Ghore. His son, Kootub-ood-deen, espoused the daughter of Byram, who put him to death in consequence of some family disputes. Seif-ood-deen, his brother, took up arms to revenge the murder, and captured Ghuzni, from which Byram retreated in haste. Seif-ood-deen, who had sent back the greater part of his army, failed to conciliate his new subjects, and Byram was encouraged to return. He succeeded in defeating and capturing his opponent, whom he put to death under every circumstance of ignominy. His brother, Alla-ood-deen, on hearing of this tragic event, marched with a numerous army to Ghuzni, thirsting to revenge the murder. A long and bloody battle was fought under the walls of the city, which ended in the utter rout of Byram's army, and his retreat to India, during the progress of which, fatigue and misfortune put an end to his life. Alla-ood-deen

entered Ghuzni, and gave up this city, then the noblest in Asia, to indiscriminate plunder for three, and, according to some historians, for seven days. The superb monuments of the kings of Ghuzni were destroyed, and the palaces of the nobles sacked, while the most distinguished and venerable men in the city were carried into captivity. Whatever provocation Alla-ood-deen may have received in the murder of his brother, the savage vengeance wreaked on this magnificent capital, has fixed an indelible stain on his memory, and led the historians to stigmatize him as the "incendiary of the world."

Alla-ood-deen Ghory, 1162. Alla-ood-deen, after having satiated his fury at Ghuzni, returned to his capital at Ferozekhoh, but was immediately summoned by Sultan Sanjar to make good the tribute which had been usually paid by his predecessor, Byram. The demand was refused, and the Seljuk Sanjar immediately marched to Ghuzni, and defeated and captured Alla-ood-deen. But on hearing that his own lieutenant in Kharism had revolted, and invited the Khitans, a Tartar horde, who had been driven from the north of China, to assist him, Sanjar replaced Alla-ood-deen on the Ghuzni throne, and marched against this new enemy, by whom he was defeated. He was enabled, however, to recover his strength, but was brought into collision with another tribe of Tartars, generally called the Euz, and though he assembled 100,000 men in the field was totally routed, and made prisoner. He died in the course of three years, in 1156, and with him ended the power which the Seljuks had been a century in building up. Alla-ood-deen died in the same year, and was succeeded by his son, an amiable but inexperienced youth, who was killed in the course of the year by one of his own nobles, when his cousin, Gheias-ood-deen, mounted the throne, and associated his own brother, Shahab-ood-deen, known in history as the renowned Mahomed Ghory, with him in the government. It is a most singular circumstance that in that age of violence, when the

Shahab-ood-deen, 1157.

love of power overcame all natural affections, and instigated men to the murder of fathers, and brothers, and kindred, Mahomed should have continued faithful in allegiance to his feeble brother for twenty-nine years. It was he who established the second Mahomedan dynasty at Delhi, generally known as the house of Ghore.

State of the
Hindoo princes,
in 1191. Mahomed Ghory was the real founder of Mahomedan power in India; and it may therefore be of

service to glance at the condition of the Hindoo thrones in the north, immediately on the eve of their extinction. The king of Cunouj, of the Korah family, had been compelled to make his submission, as already stated, to Mahmood of Ghuzni, which excited the indignation of the neighbouring Hindoo princes, who expelled him from the throne, and put him to death. The kingdom was then occupied by the Rathore tribe of the Rajpoots, and five princes of that line had governed it, when it was finally absorbed by the Mahomedans. The kings of Benares, who bore the patronymic of Pal, and professed the Boodhist religion, attained great power, and one of them is said to have extended his conquests to Orissa. The family, however, became extinct before the invasion of Mahomed Ghory, when the king of Bengal seized Gour and Behar, and the king of Cunouj, the western districts of Benares, which greatly increased his power and his arrogance. In the west, the kingdom of Guzerat was governed by the family of Bhagilas, who were generally found in alliance with the kingdom of Cunouj. Ajmere, then a powerful monarchy, was governed by the Chohans, and always sided with the sovereigns of Delhi, of the Tuar dynasty. The last king of this line having no son adopted his grandson, Prithiraj, the offspring of his daughter, who was married to the king of Ajmere. The king of Cunouj refused to acknowledge the superiority which had been conceded to the kings of Delhi; and they were engaged in incessant warfare. Thus, at the period when Mahomed Ghory was preparing to extirpate the Hindoo power in the north of

India, its princes, instead of combining against the common foe, were engaged in mutual hostilities, or alienated from each other by family jealousies. Hindostan was divided into two irreconcilable parties—the one comprising Guzerat and Cunouj, the other Delhi, the Chohan of Ajmere, and the Hindoo raja of Chittore. It is asserted by some native authors that Jeychunder, the king of Cunouj, impelled by hatred of the young king of Delhi, invited Mahomed Ghory to invade India, but the evidence of this act of treason is doubtful, and the Mahomedan prince required no prompting to an enterprize of such large promise. But it is certain that the king of Cunouj assumed the arrogant title of lord paramount of India, and resolved to support his pretensions by celebrating the magnificent sacrifice of the horse. The other princes of the north hastened to pay their homage to him, but Prithiraj, the king of Delhi, supported by the raja of Chittore, refused to acknowledge the claim of superiority put forward by his rival. In this gorgeous ceremony it is required that every office, however menial, shall be performed by royal hands. As the king of Delhi refused to appear, an effigy of gold was made to supply his place, and planted at the entrance of the hall, to represent him in the capacity of the porter. In such acts of folly were the Hindoo princes in the north wasting their time and their energies, while the Mahomedan was thundering at their door.

On the threshold of the great revolution produced by this invasion, we pause for a moment to record the civil virtues of Bhoje Raja, the last of the really great Hindoo sovereigns of Hindostan. He was of the race of the Prumuras, who still continued to reign, though with diminished splendour, at Oojein and at Dhar. Seated on the throne of Vikrumadityu, he determined to revive the literary glory of his court, and to render his own reign illustrious by the encouragement of literature. While the silly king of Cunouj was engaged in celebrating the sacrifice of the horse, and the princes of the north were hastening to that imperial

pageant, the learned were crowding to the court of Bhoje, by whom they were entertained with royal hospitality. His memory is consecrated in the recollections of posterity, and his reign has been immortalized by the genius of poetry. His name is as familiar to men of the present age as that of Ramu and Yoodistheer; yet few recognise the fact that he reigned only seven centuries ago, and that he was the last Hindoo sovereign who had the wish as well as the power to patronise letters.

Mahomed defeated, 1191. Mahomed now turned his attention to foreign conquest with all the vigour of a new dynasty. Having reduced the greater part of Khorasan to subjection, he led several expeditions to India, and at length defeated Khusro Malik, the Ghuzni prince of Lahore and Mooltan, and annexed those provinces to the empire of Ghore, thus extinguishing the Ghuznave dynasty, and paving the way for the subversion of Hindoo power in Hindostan. At this period there was little trace left of the early Mahomedan invasions. The ravages committed by Mahmood had been repaired; population was renewed, and prosperity revived; the country was again filled with wealth and idols, and the Hindoo princes were engaged, as they had been from time immemorial, in fighting with each other. But the year 1193 brought with it a tempest of desolation which swept away the Hindoo monarchies and institutions, planted the standard of the crescent on the battlements of Delhi, and extended its triumphs throughout Hindostan. Prithiraj, the heroic but unthinking king of Delhi, had wasted his strength in a vain struggle with the house of Cunouj, and only 64 out of 108 of his military chiefs had survived it. But he still was able to bring 200,000 horse into the field, and a battle was fought at Tirouri, fourteen miles from Thanesur, on the great plain where most of the contests for the possession of India were subsequently decided. After performing prodigies of valour Mahomed found both the wings of his army give way, and was obliged to fly. He was pursued for forty miles by the victorious Hindoos, and was happy

to escape across the Indus with the wreck of his army. Though he appeared outwardly to forget his disgrace, it was silently preying on his mind; and he stated in one of his letters that he "neither slumbered at ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety."

Defeat of the
king of Delhi,
1193.

Having in the course of two years recruited his army with Tartars, Turks, and Afghans, he moved again over the Indus, and entered Hindostan. A hundred and fifty chiefs rallied around the king of Delhi, who was enabled, on the lowest calculation, to bring 300,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, and a vast body of infantry into the field. The allied sovereigns, inflated with an idea of their superiority, sent Mahomed a lofty message, granting him their permission to retire without injury. He replied, with great apparent humility, that he was merely his brother's lieutenant, to whom he would refer their message. The Hindoos misinterpreted this answer to denote weakness, and spent the night in revelry. The Caggar flowed between the armies. Mahomed crossed his army during the night, and fell upon the Hindoos before they had recovered from their debauch. But in spite of the confusion which ensued, so vast was their host that they still had time to fall into their ranks; and Mahomed, reduced again to difficulty, sounded a retreat. The Hindoos were, as he expected, thrown into disorder in the pursuit, when he charged them with his reserve; and as the historian observes, "this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The gallant raja of Chittore, Somarsi, fell nobly fighting at the head of his Rajpoots; and the king of Delhi, who was taken prisoner, was butchered in cold blood. Mahomed then proceeded against Ajmere, and captured the town, and put several thousands of the inhabitants to the sword.

Progress of
Kootub, 1194.

Mahomed returned to Ghuzni laden with plunder, and Kootub-ood-deen, a slave who had gained his confidence by the display of great talents both as a

general and as a statesmen, was left in charge of his conquests. He followed out his master's plans, by the capture of Meerut and Coel, and eventually of Delhi which was now, for the first time, made the seat of the Mahomedan government of India. The kings of Cunouj and Guzerat, who had looked on with malicious delight while the Mahomedan smote down their Hindoo opponents, had no long respite themselves, Mahomed returned the next year to India with a still larger force, and a battle was fought at a place between Chundwar and Etawah, in which Jey-chunder, the king of Cunouj, was totally defeated, and perished, and the oldest Hindoo monarchy in the north was finally subverted. This reverse induced the whole tribe of the Rathores to emigrate in a body to Rajpootana, where they established the kingdom of Marwar or Joudhpore, which still continues to exist. Mahomed then advanced against Benares, which was captured with ease, and demolished 1,000 temples. And thus, in the short space of four years, was the Hindoo power in Hindostan completely and irrevocably extinguished.

Conquest of
Behar and
Bengal, 1203.

Kootub lost no time in despatching one of his slaves, Bukhtiyar Ghiljie, who had risen to command by his native genius, to conquer Behar. The capital was sacked and the country subdued, and the army returned within two years to Delhi, bending beneath the weight of its plunder. An attempt was soon after made to supplant Bukhtiyar in his master's favour, but it was defeated by the prowess he exhibited in single combat with a lion, which his enemies at court had forced on him. This event established him still more firmly in the confidence of Kootub, who sent him in 1203 to reduce Bengal. That kingdom had for a long period been under the government of a dynasty of Vidyus, of the medical caste, who established an era which continued in vogue in the province till it was abolished by Akbar, two centuries and a half ago. The throne was then filled by Lucksmun Sen, who had been placed on it in his infancy, and had now attained the age of eighty. His long

reign was distinguished by his liberality, clemency and justice. His court was usually held at Nuddea, though he occasionally resided at Gour, or Lucknouttee. On the approach of the Mahomedans, he was advised by his brahmins, in accordance, as they said, with the instructions of their sacred books, to retire to some remote province. He refused to follow their advice, but he made no preparation for the emergency, and allowed himself to be surprised at a meal by Bukhtiyar, who rushed into his palace with a handful of troops. The king contrived to escape through a back gate to his boats, and did not pause until he had reached Jugunnath, in Orissa. It is worthy of remark, that while the king of Delhi offered an honourable resistance to the Mahomedans, and the king of Cunouj fell bravely defending his liberty, and Chittore made the most heroic struggle, Bengal fell without even an effort for its independence. The whole kingdom was conquered within a single year, and submitted patiently to the rule of the Mahomedan for five centuries and a half, till he was supplanted by the Christian. Bukhtiyar delivered up the city of Nuddea to plunder, and then proceeded to Gour, which offered no defence. The Hindoo temples were demolished, and Mahomedan mosques, palaces, and caravanseras built with the materials. After the conquest of Bengal, Bukhtiyar marched with a large army to Bootan and Assam, but was signally defeated by those brave highlanders, and driven back to Bengal, where he died of chagrin, three years after he had entered the province.

Mahomed's
death, 1206.

During these transactions, Mahomed was engaged in ambitious expeditions in the west. The empire of the Seljuks having fallen to pieces, he was anxious to come in for a share of it. Of the new kingdoms which had arisen upon its ruins, that of Kharism, on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, had attained great power under Takash, against whom Mahomed now led his forces, but experienced a signal defeat, and was obliged to purchase a retreat by a heavy ransom. On his return to his own do-

minions, he resolved to punish the Gukkers for their incessant rebellions, and not only brought them under subjection, but is said to have constrained them to embrace the creed of the Prophet; but on his way back to Ghuzni, he was assassinated by two of the tribe as he was reposing in his tent, in the year 1206. He governed the kingdom in his brother's name for forty-five years, and was king in his own right for only three. In the course of ten years, he completely demolished the Hindoo power from the banks of the Sutlege to the bay of Bengal, and at the period of his death, the whole of Hindostan, with the exception of Malwa, was under a settled and permanent Mahomedan government. The treasure he left, the fruit of nine expeditions to India, is stated at a sum which appears incredible, particularly when it is said to have included five mauns of diamonds.

Kootub-ood-deen, 1206.

Mahomed, who was childless, was in the habit of training up the most promising of his slaves, and raising them according to their merit, to posts of dignity and power. His nephew, Mahmood, who was in possession of Ghore, was indeed proclaimed king throughout all the provinces on both sides the Indus, but the kingdom was soon broken up into separate states. Of the slaves of the deceased monarch, Eldoze, the governor of Ghuzni, seized on Cabul and Candahar, while Kootub retained the sovereignty of Hindostan. Eldoze, who affected still to consider India a dependency of Ghuzni, marched against him, but was defeated at Lahore. Kootub followed up the victory and recovered Ghuzni, where he assumed the crown, but was soon after expelled by his rival, and driven back to India, with which, after this reverse, he determined to remain content. The establishment of the Mahomedan empire in India is, therefore, considered to date from this event, in the year, 1206. Kootub was the first of those Turki slaves who rose to sovereignty, and furnished a succession of rulers to India. Meanwhile, Takash, the great monarch of Kharism, having overrun Persia, marched against Eldoze and extinguished his brief reign, as well as that of

Mahmood of Ghore, and annexed all the provinces west of the Indus to his possessions. Kootub did not enjoy his Indian sovereignty more than four years, when he was succeeded by his son, Aram, who was displaced within a twelvemonth by Altumsh, the slave and the son-in-law of Kootub, in 1211. He justified the preference of his master during a long reign of twenty-five years.

Jenghis Khan. It was in the tenth year of his reign that Jelal-ood-deen, the king of Kharism, was driven to seek shelter in India by the irruption of Jenghis Khan, the greatest conqueror of that age, and the original founder of Mogul greatness. The Moguls were a tribe of Tartars, who roamed with their flocks and herds on the northern side of the great wall of China, without any fixed abode. When their numbers increased beyond the means of subsistence they poured down on the fertile provinces of the south. The father of Jenghis Khan presided over thirteen of these nomadic tribes, whose number did not exceed 40,000. At the age of forty, Jenghis Khan had established his power over all the Tartar tribes, and at a general convention held about the year 1210, was acknowledged the great Khan of the Moguls by the shepherd hordes from the wall of China to the Volga. He had received no education, and was unable either to read or write; but a natural genius for conquest, and the fiery valour and insatiable cupidity of his followers, raised him to the summit of human power. The Moguls burst with impetuosity on China, overleaped the barriers which the Chinese monarchs had erected to exclude them; and after storming ninety cities compelled the emperor to cede the northern provinces to them and retire to the south of the Yellow river. In the west, the progress of Jenghis Khan brought him into collision with Mahomed, the great sultan of Kharism, who held in contempt the shepherd soldiers of Tartary, with no wealth but their flocks and their swords—and no cities but their tents. He put three of Jenghis Khan's ambassadors to death, and refused all redress, and the Mogul poured down on his dominions

with an army of 700,000 men. Mahomed met him with 400,000 troops, but was defeated and obliged to fly, leaving, it is said, 160,000 of them dead on the field. Mahomed then distributed his soldiers among his various cities in the hope of impeding the career of the enemy; but the cities fell to him rapidly, and the magnificent monarch of Kharism, recently the most powerful in Asia, died without an attendant in a barren island of the Caspian Sea. From that sea to the Indus, more than 1,000 miles in extent, the whole country was laid waste with fire and sword by these ruthless barbarians. It was the greatest calamity which had befallen the human race since the deluge, and five centuries have barely been sufficient to repair that desolation. The son of Mahomed, the heroic Jelal-ood-deen, continued to fight the Moguls at every stage, but nothing could arrest their progress. He encountered them for the last time on the banks of the Indus, when his whole army perished, and he sprung with his horse into the stream, attended by only a few followers, and sought an asylum from Altumsh; but that prince was too prudent to provoke the vengeance of the man who had made himself the scourge of Asia, and Jelal-ood-deen was obliged to seek some other refuge. After a variety of adventures he was killed about ten years after in Mesopotamia. The victorious and destructive career of the Moguls does not belong to the history of India, the soil of which they did not then invade. But Jenghis Khan effected a complete revolution in the policy and destinies of Central Asia, and gave a predominant influence to the Moguls, who, after the lapse of three centuries, were led across the Indus, under the auspices of Baber, and eventually established on the throne of India.

The emperor Altumsh was employed for several Altumsh, 1236. years in subduing his own insubordinate viceroys, and subjugating those provinces of Hindostan which still maintained some show of independence. He reduced the fortress of Rintambore in Rajpootana, captured Gwalior and Mandoo, and then proceeded against Oojcin, the capital of Malwa, one of

the sacred cities of the Hindoos, where he destroyed the magnificent temple of Muha Kal, erected 1,200 years before by Vikrumadityu, sending the images to Deihi to be broken up at the entrance of the great mosque. He died in 1,236, and was succeeded by his son; but he was deposed for his vices within six months by the nobles, who raised his sister Sultana Rezia to the throne. This celebrated princess, endowed, according to the historian, with every royal virtue, governed the empire for a time with the greatest ability and success. She appeared daily on the throne in the habit of a sultan, gave audience to all comers, and set herself vigorously to the revision of the laws, and the reformation of abuses; but she exalted to the highest dignity in the empire an Abyssinian slave to whom she had become partial, and her jealous nobles took up arms against her. She fought them in two severe battles, but was defeated, captured, and put to death, after a brief reign of three years and a-half. The two succeeding reigns occupied only six years when Nazir-ood-deen,

Nazir-ood-deen, a grandson of Altumsh mounted the throne. 1246.

Bulbun, a Turki slave, and the son-in-law of Altumsh was appointed his chief minister, and proved to be one of the ablest statesman of his time. Under his administration the government was strengthened by the more complete reduction of the Hindoo chiefs; and his nephew, Shere Khan, who was charged with the defence of the Indus against the Moguls, succeeded likewise in re-annexing the province of Ghuzni to the throne of Delhi. Bulbun was for a time supplanted in his office of vizier by an unworthy favourite of the emperor; but the disasters which followed his dismissal, and the remonstrances of the nobles, constrained his master to reinstate him. In the tenth year of this reign an embassy arrived from Hulakoo, the grandson of Jenghis Khan, before whom Asia trembled; and it was resolved to make every exertion to give his envoy the most honourable reception. The vizier himself went out to meet him with 50,000 horse and 200,000 infantry, 2,000 war elephants, and 3,000 car-

riages of fireworks. By this noble escort he was conducted to the durbar of the emperor, around whose throne stood twenty-five of the princes who had been expelled from their hereditary seats by the Moguls, and obtained an asylum at Delhi. Nazir-ood-deen's private life was that of a hermit; his personal expenses were defrayed from the sale of the books which he transcribed; his fare, which was of the simplest character, was prepared by his wife, who was his sole female companion. He died without leaving any son, and was succeeded by his minister Bulbun.

This prince was equally renowned for his Bulbun, 1266. justice and generosity and for the vigour of his administration, though his cruelty on certain occasions has induced some of the historians to represent him as a monster. He continued the hospitality which his predecessor had shown to the dethroned princes of Tartary, Transoxiana, Khorasan, Persia, Irak, and other provinces, placed the royal palaces at their disposal, and granted them the most liberal allowances. These princes were accompanied by the accomplished scholars who had been assembled around them, and the court of Bulbun was thus considered the most polite and magnificent in Asia. He banished all usurers, players, and buffoons from its precincts, and set an example of the severest frugality and temperance. At the same time he endeavoured to curb the insolence of the royal slaves who had begun to arrogate great power; but he made it a rule to give no promotion to any Hindoo. He was advised to reconquer Malwa and Guzerat which had revolted, but wisely replied that the portentous cloud of Moguls, ever hanging over his northern frontier, demanded his undivided attention. He resolved, however, to inflict a severe retribution on Togrul Khan, the viceroy of the opulent province of Bengal, who had omitted to remit the plunder recently acquired from a rebel chief, and on hearing of his master's illness, had raised the red umbrella, and assumed the title of king. Two armies were sent in succession against him and defeated, and Bulbun took the field in person.

The refractory governor fled to Orissa, and was pursued by the imperial troops. Mullik, one of the emperor's generals, advanced to the camp of the enemy with only forty followers, and rushing into Togrul Khan's tent shouted "Victory to king Bulbun," cutting down all who opposed him. The viceroy, imagining that the whole of the imperial army was upon him, took to flight, and his army was entirely dispersed. Bulbun made an ill use of his victory, by putting to death every member of the rebel's family, even to the women and children. During these transactions the Moguls again burst on Hindostan; and Mahomed, the accomplished son of the emperor, who had collected around him the men most celebrated in Asia for learning and genius, marched to oppose them. The Moguls dispersed after a long and sanguinary action. Mahomed pursued them with imprudent haste and, on his return was unexpectedly enveloped by a body of their cavalry, superior in number to his own followers, and fell in the combat. With him perished the hopes of the dynasty. The army and the empire was equally filled with lamentation, for he was the idol of both; and his father, then in his eightieth year, soon after died of a broken heart.

End of the
dynasty, 1288. The son of the deceased prince was appointed to succeed him, but was speedily superseded by Kei-kobad, another of Bulbun's grandchildren, and the son of Kurrah, who had been appointed governor of Bengal after its reconquest. He was a youth of eighteen, addicted only to pleasure, and the slave of a profligate minister, who endeavoured to pave his own way to the throne by encouraging him in every vice. Kurrah, aware of the dangers which surrounded his son, succeeded, after great difficulty, in extorting his consent to an interview; but the minister imposed so many humiliating ceremonies on him as he approached the royal presence that he burst into tears. The son was overpowered by this sight, and leaping from the throne threw himself at his father's feet. Many happy meetings took place between them during a period of twenty days, when Kurrah, after giving his

son the most salutary advice, returned to his own government. But the youth again abandoned himself to indulgence on his return to the capital, and it terminated in palsy. Then came a scramble for power between the Tartar mercenaries around the throne, and the Afghan mountaineers of Ghuzni and Ghore denominated the Ghiljies. The Tartars were cut to pieces: Kei-kobad was killed in his bed, and the Ghiljie chief, Feroze mounted the throne at the age of seventy, taking the title of Jelal-ood-deen. Thus closed the dynasty which has been denominated that of the slaves, which commenced with the slave Kootub, in 1206, and terminated in 1288, within three years of the death of the slave Bulbun.

The period of thirty-three years, during which Feroze, 1288. the Ghiljie family occupied the throne of Delhi, was rendered memorable in the history of India, by the subjugation of the Deccan to the Mahomedan arms. Feroze, on mounting the throne, put to death the infant son of the late king, whose cause had been espoused by the opposite faction; but this was the only act of cruelty during his reign, which was, on the contrary, marked by a very impolitic lenity, which seemed to multiply crime, and to weaken the authority of government. In the fifth year of his reign, in the year 1294, a century after the battle of Thanetur, which Expedition to the Deccan 1294. gave the final blow to Hindoo power in Hindostan, his nephew, Alla-ood-deen, a man of great energy and violent ambition, but without a conscience, carried his arms across the Nerbudda, and paved the way for the conquest of the Deccan. He had been appointed to the government of Oude and Korah, and was successful in subduing some refractory chieftains in Bundelcund and Malwa, which led him to project a marauding expedition to the south. He collected an army of 8,000 men, and swept across the Nerbudda with a degree of rapidity, which confounded the native princes, and suddenly presented himself before Deogur, the Tagara of the Roman writers, the Dowlutabad of modern history. The raja, living in the security of perfect peace,

was ill prepared for resistance, but he contrived to assemble a respectable force, which was, however, signally defeated. The town was captured and given up to pillage, but the raja shut himself up in the citadel, which was considered impregnable. Alla-ood-deen spread a report that his force was only the advanced guard of a vast Mahomedan army advancing from Delhi, and the raja, from whom all his Hindoo neighbours held aloof, was so alarmed at the prospect before him, that he sent proposals of peace, with the offer of a large ransom. During the negotiation, his son advanced with an army to his relief, but was defeated, and the terms of the ransom were raised. Some idea of the immense wealth which Alla-ood-deen obtained, may be formed from the assertion, that the jewels were counted by mauns, even though the maun may have been of a lower denomination. From this daring exploit Alla-ood-deen returned on the twenty-fifth day, passing through various and hostile provinces without molestation, from which we gather that the same fatal want of political unity which had paved the way for the conquest of the north, existed also in the Deccan. It was this expedition which exposed the wealth and the weakness of the Hindoo princes of the south to the Mahomedans, and opened the door of plunder and conquest.

Accession of
Alla-ood-deen,
1295.

Feroze was delighted to learn that his nephew, who had suddenly disappeared, was returned covered with glory, and laden with wealth. The latter he already reckoned his own, but his wary courtiers suspected that the victor had other views than those of submission, and advised the emperor to adopt measures for his own security; but the generous prince resolved to repose confidence in the fidelity of his nephew, and was insiduously encouraged to advance and meet him. Alla-ood-deen fell at his feet, and the affectionate old man was patting him on the cheek, when the assassins, who had been posted in ambush, rushed in and despatched him. His reign extended to seven years. Alla-ood-deen hastened to Delhi and ascended the

throne, and endeavoured to divert the people from the odious crime to which he owed his elevation, by the exhibition of games and amusements. He was unable to read or write when he became king, but applied to letters with such assiduity, as to become a good Persian scholar; after which, he surrounded himself with learned men, and took great pleasure in their society. His government was stern and inflexible, but admirably suited to the exigencies of the time. The insurrections which broke out in various provinces immediately on his accession, were quelled by his promptitude and energy; and his reign, which was prolonged to twenty-one years, was constantly occupied in efforts to repel the Moguls in the north, and to subjugate the Hindoos in the south.

Conquest of Guzerat, 1297. Two years after he had mounted the throne, he dispatched an army to Guzerat, where the raja had resumed his independence. The country had recovered from the effect of previous invasions, and was again smiling with prosperity, but this new torrent of destruction swept away every vestige of improvement, and the Hindoo power sunk to rise no more. The magnificent city of Puttun, with its marble edifices, built from the quarries of Ajmere, was completely demolished. The images of its opulent shrines were destroyed, and a Mahomedan mosque erected in front of the principal temple. Among the prizes of this campaign the historians particularly note Kowla Devee, the wife of the king, a woman of unrivalled beauty, who was transferred to Alla-ood-deen's seraglio, and Kafoor, a handsome slave, who rose to distinction at Court, and eventually became the scourge of the Deccan. The expedition to Guzerat was no sooner completed, than the attention of the emperor was

Mogul invasion, 1298. distracted by another Mogul invasion. Two hundred thousand horsemen, under Kutlugh Khan, crossed the Indus, and marched down upon Delhi. The wretched inhabitants were driven before them like sheep into the city, and famine began to stare that vast multitude

in the face. The emperor marched out at the head of his troops, and the native historian affirms, that on no former occasion had so great a multitude of human beings been collected together in India in one place. The Indian troops won the day, chiefly through the exertions of Zuffer Khan, the most distinguished of the emperor's generals. But in the pursuit of the enemy he was carried away by his impetuosity; the emperor's brother who was jealous of his increasing power withheld all succour from him, and he was cut to pieces after having performed prodigies of valour. His ungenerous master who dreaded his genius, did not hesitate to say, that his death was as fortunate a circumstance as the defeat of the Moguls.

Capture of Chittore, 1303. In the year 1303, Alla-ood-deen attacked the fortress of Chittore, the seat of the Rajpoot family, which now reigns at Oodypore. The siege was pushed with great vigour, and when all further defence appeared hopeless, a large funeral pile was kindled in the fort, into which the queen, Pudmanee, a woman of exquisite beauty, and the females of the noblest families, threw themselves. After this fearful sacrifice, the gates were thrown open, and the raja, with his faithful followers, rushed on the weapons of the enemy, and obtained the death they sought. The emperor destroyed all the temples and palaces which had adorned the city, but spared the residence of the king and queen. From these transactions he was recalled by another invasion of the Moguls, who extended their ravages up to the gates of Delhi, and retired in consequence, it was said, of a panic created among them by the prayers of a saint. These invasions were renewed in 1305 and 1306, but the Moguls were defeated in both expeditions. To make an example of them, the emperor ordered the heads of all the male prisoners to be struck off, and a pillar to be constructed of them at Delhi, and the women and children to be sold into slavery. After this event, there was but one farther irruption of these tribes during the reign.

Invasion of the Deccan, 1306. The first expedition to the Deccan in this reign in 1303 was interrupted by the invasion of the Moguls; and the generals who were left to conduct it, when the emperor was recalled, were unsuccessful. Another army was assembled in 1306, under the command of Kafoor, once the slave, but now the favourite general of his master, and sent to chastise the raja of Deogur, who had neglected to pay up his tribute. It was in this expedition that Kafoor subdued the Mahrattas, whose name now appears for the first time in history. Ram-deva, the king of Deogur, made his submission, and proceeded to Delhi to wait on the emperor, when he was restored to power. Kafoor, likewise, recovered Dewal Devee, the daughter whom the empress had borne to her former husband, and who had inherited all her mother's beauty. After a long pursuit she was overtaken near the caves of Ellora—and this is the earliest notice of them—and on her arrival at Delhi became the bride of the emperor's son; at so early a period do we find intermarriages between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans. An expedition sent from Bengal along the coast to Warungole, which was for nearly two centuries the capital of Telingana, having failed, Kafoor was sent against it in 1309. He ravaged the northern provinces, obtained a great victory, and took the fort after a siege of some months. The raja was condemned to pay tribute, and Kafoor returned to Delhi.

Farther Deccan expedition, 1310. The next year he was sent with a large army to the Deccan to reduce the raja of the Carnatic, of the Bellal family. After a march of three months he reached the capital of Dwar Sumooder—literally the gate of the ocean—which has been identified with the modern town of Hallabee, a hundred miles north west of Seringapatam. Bellal Deb fought a great battle, but was defeated and made prisoner, and with him terminated the Bellal dynasty of the Deccan. The capital was captured and neglected; and, ceasing to be the abode of royalty, dwindled down, like other regal seats, into a hamlet. Kafoor does not appear to have

proceeded farther down on the western or Malabar coast ; but he overran the whole of the eastern provinces on the Coromandel coast, to the extreme limit of the Peninsula ; and at Ramisseram, opposite Ceylon, erected a mosque, as a memorial of his victories. He returned to Delhi, in 1311, laden with the plunder of the Deccan ; the value of which has been calculated by "sober" historians at 100 crores of rupees. The emperor made a liberal distribution of this wealth, but his generosity was forgotten in the barbarous massacre of 15,000 of the converted Moguls who had manifested a disposition to revolt on being capriciously dismissed from his service. In the year 1312, Kafoor was again sent into the Deccan to coerce the son of Ram-deva, the raja of Deogur, who had succeeded his father, and "withdrawn his neck from the yoke of obedience." He put the raja to death, annexed his kingdom to the throne of Delhi, and carried his arms over the whole of the Carnata and Mahratta territories.

Extinction of
the Ghiljic
dynasty, 1321.

Towards the latter period of his reign Alla-ooddeen gave himself up to indulgence, which enfeebled both his mind and his body ; but the vigour which he had infused into the government still continued to animate it. At length his infatuated attachment to Kafoor, whose baseness was equal to his talents, created general discontent. It was at the instigation of this wretch that he imprisoned his queen, and his two elder sons. Rebelions broke out in rapid succession in the countries he had conquered. Hamir, the renowned Rajpoot chieftain, recovered Chittore ; the son-in-law of Ram-deva raised a revolt in the Deccan ; Guzerat was for a time in a state of insurrection, and the emperor sunk into the grave amidst these dark clouds, not without the suspicion of poison. It was during his reign that the Mahomedan arms were first carried to Cape Comorin, and the authority of the emperor for a time predominated through the length of India ; but the more southern conquests were transient. Though he was often capricious, and sometimes cruel, his rule was energetic and beneficial ; the in-

cessant wars of the Hindoo princes with each other were suppressed by his sovereignty, and a general feeling of security gave prosperity and wealth to the country, and magnificent buildings rose in every direction. Alla-ood-deen had thoughts at one time of setting up for a prophet; but he gave up the project, and contented himself with assuming the title of a second Alexander on his coins. Kafoor produced a pretended will of his patron, appointing his youngest son his successor, and himself regent. Then began the usual destruction of the royal family in the struggle for power. Cafoor put out the eyes of the two eldest sons. The officers of the court in a few days caused Cafoor himself to be assassinated, and placed the third son, Mobarik, on the throne, who immediately put to death the instruments of his elevation, and extinguished the sight of his youngest brother. On the other hand he released 17,000 prisoners, restored lands which had been unjustly confiscated, and repealed oppressive taxes. He put himself at the head of his army, and by an act of vigour reduced Guzerat, and captured the insurgent son-in-law of Ram-deva, whom he caused to be flayed alive. But on his return to the capital he gave himself up to the most degrading debaucheries, while his favourite Khusro, a converted Hindoo, was sent to ravage the maritime province of Malabar which Kafoor had left untouched, though by some the expedition is supposed to have extended only to the province of Coorg. Khusro returned to Delhi with abundance of treasure, assassinated his master, and usurped the throne. To secure the possession of it, he proceeded to put every surviving member of the royal family to death; but Ghazee Toghluq, the governor of the Punjab, soon after marched on Delhi, with the veteran troops of the frontier province, disciplined by constant conflicts with the Moguls, and put an end to the reign and life of the monster.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TOGHLUK TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGULS, 1321—1526.

Ghazee
Toghluk, 1321. GHAAZEE TOGHLUK, after this victory, was anxious to place some scion of the royal line on the throne, but it was found that the family of Alla-ood-deen had been utterly exterminated during the recent convulsions, and he was compelled to yield to the wishes of the nobles and the people, and accept the supreme dignity for himself. His father was originally a slave of the emperor Bulbun, who rose through various offices to the government of Mooltan, which devolved on his son at his death. The administration of the empire in his hands was as commendable as the acquisition of it had been blameless. His son, Jonah Khan, was sent against the king of Telingana, but was completely baffled, and brought back only 3,000 of his troops to Delhi. But a second expedition which he undertook in 1323 was more successful, and resulted in the capture of the capital, Warungole, and the extinction of the Hindoo dynasty, which had flourished for two centuries and a half. Complaints were at this time carried up to the throne of oppressions in Bengal. That province had been under the government of the noble Kurrah, the son of the emperor Bulbun, for forty years, during which period he had witnessed the rise and fall of an entire dynasty, consisting of four sovereigns. The charges against him proved to be groundless; the emperor confirmed him in his government, and the native historian illustrates the mutations of fortune by remarking, that it was the slave of the father who accorded the use of the royal umbrella to the son. On his return to the capital, the emperor was entertained at Afghanpore by his son Jonah Khan, in a magnificent pavilion which he had erected for the occasion; but the son had

no sooner retired from the edifice than it fell and crushed the father to death.

Mahomed Toghluks, 1325. Jonah Khan ascended the throne in 1325, and assumed the title of Mahomed Toghluks. This prince, whose follies brought on the dismemberment of the empire, was a compound of the most contradictory qualities. He was the most accomplished prince of his day, skilled in every science, and learned even in the philosophy of the Greek schools, a liberal patron of learning, temperate, and even austere in his private life, and distinguished in the field by his courage and military talents. But all these noble qualities were neutralized by such perversity of disposition, and such paroxysms of tyranny, as made him the object of universal execration. It was the intoxication of absolute power which incited him to acts which none but a madman would have thought of. "So little," says the native historian, "did he hesitate to shed the blood of God's creatures, that when he took vengeance, it seemed as if he wished to exterminate the human family." The very first act of his reign was an enigma. The Moguls invaded the Punjab, under one of their most celebrated generals, and the emperor bought them off with a large subsidy, though he could not fail to perceive that this display of weakness would inevitably bring them back with a keener appetite for plunder. He then assembled a large army for the conquest of Persia, but, after consuming his resources, it was broken up for want of pay, and became the terror of his own subjects in every direction. Finding his treasury exhausted by his extravagant schemes, he determined to replenish it by levying contributions on the empire of China. A body of 100,000 men was accordingly sent across the snowy range, but it was attacked by a superior force on reaching the confines of that empire, and obliged to retire. Harassed in their retreat by the Chinese troops, and the exasperated mountaineers, and worn out by fatigue and privation, few of the unfortunate troops returned to tell the tale of their disgrace, and those who

survived the sword and famine were butchered by their own master. Having heard that the Chinese were in the habit of using a paper currency, he determined to adopt this mode of filling his coffers, only substituting copper tokens for paper. The insolvency of the treasury depreciated the value of the tokens, and foreign merchants refused to touch them. The mercantile transactions of the empire were thrown into confusion, and the universal misery and discontent which the measure entailed, constrained him to withdraw the tokens, but not before thousands had been ruined by them. So exorbitant were his exactions, that the husbandmen sought refuge in the woods, and were driven to robbery for a subsistence. The towns were deserted, and the inhabitants goaded into resistance by despair. The enraged emperor ordered out his army as if for a royal hunt, surrounded a large circle of territory, and drove the wretched people into the centre, where they were slaughtered like wild beasts. On a subsequent occasion, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Cunouj.

Continued fol-
lies of Mahomed,
1338.

In the year 1338 he took the field in person against his nephew, who had been driven to revolt in the Deccan. The young prince was captured and flayed alive. On reaching Deogur, Mahomed was so charmed with the beauty of its situation, and the mildness of the climate, that he resolved to make it the capital of his empire, and at the same time changed its name to Dowlutabad. With his usual fatuity, he ordered Delhi to be abandoned, and its inhabitants, men, women, and children, to travel to the new city, a distance of 800 miles, along a road which he caused to be planted with full-grown trees. This wild attempt to change the long established metropolis of the empire was for a time suspended in consequence of the intolerable misery it created. It was subsequently revived, but though Delhi was deserted, Dowlutabad did not prosper, and the project was eventually abandoned, after thousands of families had been ruined by it. At the same time, as if to

mock the calamities of his subjects, he caused a decayed tooth, which had been extracted, to be interred at Beer, and erected a magnificent mausoleum over it. At length he conceived the notion that the disasters of his reign arose from the fact of his not having received investiture from the Caliph, the successor of Mahomed. A splendid embassy was accordingly sent to Bagdad, and on its return with the firman, he ordered the names of all his predecessors who had not received the same honour, to be struck out of the royal calendar.

Revolt of the
provinces, 1340. These caprices and oppressions produced the natural harvest of insurrections. The province of Bengal revolted in 1340, and it continued to be independent of the throne of Delhi for more than two centuries. Two Hindoo fugitives from Telingana, under a divine impulse, as the local historians affirm, and, under the guidance of a holy sage, proceeded to the banks of the Toombudra, and established a Hindoo kingdom, with Beejuynugur for its capital. The site of this city is supposed to correspond with that of the ancient capital of Hunooman and Soogrevu, who assisted Ramu in his expedition against Ravunu with their half savage subjects, and were described by the poet as the kings of the monkeys, and elevated by the piety of the brahmins to the rank of gods. About the same time a descendant of the royal house of Telingana established an independent principality at Golconda, and for two centuries after this period, we find these two Hindoo powers taking an active part in the politics of the Deccan, and maintaining a vigorous struggle with the power of the Mahomedans. A still more important revolution wrested all the remaining provinces south of the Nerbudda from the sceptre of Delhi. Of the foreign mercenaries from Tartary, Afghanistan, and other countries beyond the Indus, with whom the imperial armies were constantly recruited, a large body consisted of the Moguls, who had embraced the creed of Mahomed. A large colony of them was also settled in Guzerat, and they rose at this time to

avenge the wanton slaughter of seventy of their nobles. The emperor immediately proceeded against them, gave up the cities of Surat and Cambay to plunder, and ravaged the whole province as if it had been an enemy's country. The Guzerat Moguls obtained an asylum in the Deccan, where they were joined by all whom the atrocities of Mahomed had exasperated, and, having taken possession of Dowlutabad, proclaimed Ismael Khan, an Afghan, king. The emperor marched against them with great promptitude, inflicted a signal defeat on them, and shut them in that fortress. But, while engaged in besieging it, he was called away by a fresh conspiracy in Guzerat. The Moguls defeated his son-in-law, who had been left in command, and in conjunction with the governor of Malwa, who had likewise revolted from his master, succeeded in establishing a new monarchy in the Deccan, which is known in history as the Bahminy kingdom. In 1351, Mahomed proceeded against the prince of Tatta, in Sinde, who had given an asylum to the Guzerat insurgents. He halted within a few miles of that city to celebrate the Mohurrum, and surfcited himself with fish, which brought on a fever, of which he died in 1351. At the time of his death all the Mahomedan possessions in the Deccan, as well as the province of Bengal, had been alienated from the throne of Delhi.

Mahomed was succeeded by his nephew Feroze Toghluq, 1351—1388. Toghluq, who endeavoured to recover Bengal, but seeing no chance of success, acknowledged the independence of Hajee, who had assumed the government, and wisely fixed the boundaries of the kingdom. Soon after, he consented to receive an envoy from the Bahminy king of the Deccan, and thus admitted the fact of his sovereignty. The reign of Feroze, though by no means brilliant, was marked by a wise administration. He discouraged luxury by his own example, repealed vexatious imposts, limited the number of capital punishments, and abolished torture and mutilation. But the erection of public works was his ruling passion,

and the historians of his day enumerate with exultation among the monuments which he left, fifty dams across rivers to promote irrigation, forty mosques, thirty colleges, twenty palaces, thirty reservoirs, five mausoleums, a hundred caravanseras, a hundred hospitals, a hundred public baths, a hundred and fifty bridges, and two hundred towns. The greatest achievement of his reign, however, was the canal from the source of the Ganges to the Sutlege, which still bears his name, and places him among the most renowned benefactors of mankind. After a reign of thirty-four years, he resigned the throne to his son, usually called Mahomed Toghluk the second, who gave himself up to indulgence, and was deposed by the nobles, when Feroze was constrained to resume the imperial power. But he was now in the ninetieth year of his age, and in 1388 transferred the sceptre to his grandson, Gheias. During the next ten years, the throne was occupied by no fewer than four princes. The court was filled with plots; two kings resided within the circuit of the capital, for three years, and waged incessant war with each other. Hindostan was thrown into a state of complete anarchy, and four independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Delhi, leaving nothing to that august throne but the districts immediately around it.

The four independent kingdoms established about the close of the fourteenth century, upon the ruins of the imperial power, were those of Malwa, Guzerat, Cándesh, and Jounpore. Dilawur Khan, of Ghore, the governor of Malwa, who raised the standard of independence, fixed his capital at the time-honoured city of Dhar, and subsequently removed it to Mandoo, fifteen miles to the north of the Nerbudda, the ramparts of which are said to have been thirty-seven miles in circumference. Mozuffer Khan, a Rajpoot converted to Mahomedanism, and like all converts, in India at least, a ruthless persecutor of his former creed, had been sent to Guzerat by one of the successors of Feroze to supersede the governor, who was

suspected of treachery. His independence may be said to date from the day of his accession to the government, as there was no power at Delhi to enforce his obedience. It was about the year 1398 that Nazir Khan, the viceroy of Candesh, which consists of the lower valley of the Taptee, threw off his allegiance, and espoused a daughter of the new king of Guzerat, to which more powerful state his little principality was generally considered subordinate. Still nearer the capital, Khojah Jehan, the vizier of Mahomed Toghluk the third, and likewise viceroy of Jounpore, availed himself of the troubles of the times to assume the royal umbrella. The empire of Delhi, thus despoiled of its fairest provinces, fell an easy prey to the invader, who was now approaching it,—the most ferocious of any of those who have laid waste the plains of Hindostan.

Timur, 1398.

The Ameer Timur, or Tamerlane, was born within forty miles of Samarcand, and came of a Turki family, which had long been in the service of the descendants of Jenghis Khan. His lot was cast at a period in human affairs when the decay of vigour in the established kingdoms presented the fairest opportunity for the foundation of a new empire by any daring adventurer. Timur was possessed of the spirit suited to such an enterprise, and, having been raised at the age of thirty-four, to the throne of Samarcand by the general voice of his countrymen, in the course of a few years prostrated every throne that stood in the way of his progress, and became at once the scourge of Asia, and the terror of Europe. Animated by a stupendous ambition, he led the hordes of Tartary to the conquest of Persia, Khorasan and Transoxiana, and subjugated the whole of Mesopotamia and Georgia, and a portion of Russia and Siberia. Having made himself master of the whole of Central Asia, he despatched his grandson, Peer Mahomed, with a powerful army to invade India. The youth, however, encountered more opposition than was expected, and Timur found it necessary to advance to his support. He arrived on

the banks of the Indus on the 12th of September, 1398, with ninety-two squadrons of horse, and crossed it at Attock, where Alexander the Great had crossed it before him. His grandson soon after joined his camp, and the two armies marched to Bhutnere, but though the town was surrendered on terms, it was burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. The villages and towns were deserted as he advanced, but a considerable number of prisoners necessarily remained in his hands, and as they were found greatly to encumber his march, he ordered them all to be massacred in cold blood, to the number of 100,000. A battle was soon after fought under the walls of Delhi, between the veterans of Timur and the effeminate soldiers of the empire, with the result which might have been expected. The emperor was defeated and fled to Guzerat, and Timur entered the city, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. His soldiers could not be restrained from their usual violence which brought on resistance, and the whole of the Mogul army was let loose on the devoted city. The scenes of horror which ensued defy all description. The citizens sold their lives dear, but their valour was quenched in their blood, and many streets were choked up with dead bodies. After Timur had satiated his revenge and satisfied his cupidity, by the desolation of the city, "he offered up to the divine Majesty," as his historian observes, "the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise in the noble mosque of polished marble," erected by Feroze on the banks of the Jumna, and directed his army to prepare for its return. On his way back he ordered a general massacre in the city of Meerut, and then proceeding to Hurdwar, skirted the hills, and recrossed the Indus in March, 1399. He contented himself with the mere title of emperor of India, and left the country a prey to the distractions which his invasion had intensely aggravated.

Government of
the Syuds,
1412—1450.

Mahomed Toghluk, the third, who had fled to Guzerat after his defeat, returned to Delhi on the departure of Timur, but his minister, Ekbal, monq-

polized all the power of the state. Khizir, the governor of Lahore and Mooltan, resenting this usurpation, attacked and slew him, and thus restored to Mahomed some portion of his authority which he exercised till 1412. On his death, Khizir marched a second time to Delhi, and extinguished the Toghluks dynasty. He was a descendant of the prophet, and his family, which filled the throne for thirty-six years, has from that circumstance, been denominated that of the Syuds. Khizir affected to decline the title of emperor, and styled himself the viceroy of Timur, in whose name he struck the coin, and caused the *Khootba* to be read in the mosques. His administration was beneficial, and prosperity began again to dawn on the desolated provinces. He added his own principality of the Punjab to the dominions of the imperial crown, but he made little progress in recovering the other districts which had become independent. His son, Mobarik, succeeded him in 1421, but his reign of thirteen years was marked by no event except an indecisive battle with the king of Jounpore. The territories subject to Delhi were as limited in extent at his death as they had been at his accession. He was assassinated by some Hindoos at the instigation of his vizier, who raised his son Syud Mahomed to the throne, but was himself cut off by the exasperated nobles. The youth was found to be totally unfit for the duties of government, and the governors of the few districts still attached to the throne, began to aspire to independence. Among these, was Beloli Lodi, an Afghan, who made himself master of Mooltan, and the greater part of the Punjab. Encouraged by the weakness of the throne, the king of Malwa marched to the capital, but was repulsed by Beloli, within two miles of its gates. That chief subsequently laid siege to the city which he had saved, but finding himself unable to capture it, withdrew to his own province, to await the demise of the crown, which occurred in 1445. Mahomed was succeeded by his son Alla-ood-deen, during whose weak reign the domains belonging to the throne were still farther reduced, till at length

they extended only twelve miles from the city in one direction, and scarcely a mile in the other. Beloli Lodi, thinking the pear was now ripe, marched down upon Delhi. The king resigned the throne to him without a sigh, and retired on a pension to Budaon, where he passed twenty-eight years of his life in cultivating his gardens. With him, in 1450, ended the house of the Syuds.

Beloli Lodi,
1450—1488. Beloli was an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, now known as the Lohanee, which is engaged chiefly in the conveyance of merchandise between Hindostan and Persia. His grandfather, a wealthy trader, repaired to the court of Feroze Toghluk, the first great patron of the Afghans, where he acquired sufficient interest to obtain the government of Mooltan, to which was subsequently added that of the Punjab. This rich inheritance eventually came to Beloli, though not without great opposition on the part of his relatives. His success was chiefly owing to the talents of Humced, the vizier of his predecessor, whom he subsequently banished from his court, on the plea that he was becoming too powerful for a subject. The ambitious Beloli was not likely to remain content with the humble limits to which the imperial territory had been reduced, and the great object of his reign was to extend his authority, and more particularly to re-annex the kingdom of Jounpore to the crown, which, since its establishment, had become, in every respect, the rival of Delhi. Beloli had not been two years on the throne before he made an inroad into it, but was vigorously repulsed. The struggle between the two kingdoms was prolonged with various successes for twenty-eight years, during which period Delhi was twice besieged by the armies of Jounpore. Hostilities were occasionally suspended by a truce, but it only afforded the combatants the opportunity of recruiting their strength for fresh conflicts. It is distressing to reflect on the desolation entailed on these districts, which form the garden of Hindostan, and the misery inflicted on the wretched inhabitants, by the internecine wars of these two royal houses,

in comparison with which even the oppression of the worst of governments must appear light. Happily for the interests of humanity, the conflict was brought to a close in 1476, when the "King of the East," as he was styled, fled to Bengal and the kingdom of Jounpore was absorbed in the territory of Delhi. The dynasty existed for eighty years, of which period one-half was comprised in the reign of Ibrahim, one of the most illustrious princes in the history of Hindostan. Under his beneficent administration, the prosperity of the country reached its summit. Learned men from all parts of India were invited to the court, which was universally acknowledged to be the most polished and elegant in India. The city of Jounpore was adorned with superb and massive structures, the remains of which to this day testify the magnificence of the dynasty. Beloli survived this protracted warfare ten years, and died in 1488, after a reign of thirty-eight years, during which he succeeded in extending the territory of the crown from the Jumna to the Himalayu, and from the Indus to Benares.

Secunder and
Ibrahim Lodi,
1483—1526.

Beloli, as if he had determined to render family feuds inevitable, divided his territories among his sons, but Secunder, to whom he had bequeathed the largest share, together with the throne, lost no time in dispossessing his brothers. His prosperous reign of twenty-eight years was marked by the recovery of Behar. Though just and equitable in his administration, he followed the rule rather than the exception of the Mahomedan conquerors of India with regard to the treatment of the Hindoos. He lost no opportunity of manifesting his hatred of them, and in every quarter demolished their temples and erected mosques with the materials. In the holy city of Muttra he planted a mosque in front of the stairs leading to the sacred stream, and at length forbade the devotees to bathe in it, and the barbers to shave the pilgrims. In the year 1517, he was succeeded by Ibrahim, the third and last of his line, who alienated the nobles by his suspicious temper and his haughty

demeanour. His reign was a constant struggle with rebellion. Behar revolted under its governor, who is said to have brought a body of 100,000 men into the field, and repeatedly defeated the armies of the emperor. A prince of his own family took possession of the eastern districts and endeavoured to revive the kingdom of Jounpore. Dowlut Khan, the governor of the Punjab, the viceroys of which had frequently imposed their own orders on the emperor of Delhi, and more than once usurped the throne itself, now entered into negotiations with Sultan Baber for the invasion of Hindostan. Even the emperor's own brother, Alla-ood-deen, joined that prince at Cabul, and encouraged him in his designs on Hindostan. The success which attended his invasion will be the subject of a future chapter. Having thus reached the period when the throne of Delhi was transferred to the fifth and last Mahomedan dynasty, we turn to the progress of events in the Deccan, in Malwa, and in Guzerat, from the period when those provinces were separated from the empire.

Candesh,

Malwa, Guzerat,
and Mewar, to
1443.

The principality of Candesh, the governor of which had revolted from the throne of Delhi, though abounding in population and wealth was too limited and weak for independent action, and became subservient to its more powerful neighbours. During the period of more than a century and a half which elapsed between the dismemberment of the empire under Mahomed Toghluk, and the rise of the Mogul dynasty, the two Mahomedan kings of Guzerat, and Malwa, and the Hindoo raja of Mewar, or Oodipore, were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other, and their history may therefore be conveniently grouped together. Sultan Dilawur, the first independent king of Malwa, bequeathed the kingdom in 1405, to his son, Sultan Hoshung, who was engaged for more than twenty-five years in wars with his neighbours, in which he was seldom successful. His name is perpetuated in the town of Hoshungabad, which he founded. He was attacked and made prisoner by Mozuffer, the king of Guzerat, but was released, upon a report

that his subjects were about to elect another sovereign, and take the field. Mozuffer was succeeded in 1412 by his grandson, Ahmed Shah, whose long reign of thirty years, was passed in constant hostilities either with Malwa or Mewar. His name survives in the new capital, Ahmedabad, which he erected on the banks of the Sabarmuttee, and adorned with magnificent mosques, caravanseras and palaces, in such profusion, that the Mahomedan historians described it as the handsomest city in the world. He was a zealous Mahomedan, and a great destroyer of Hindoo temples and images. He was succeeded in 1443 by his son, Mahomed Shah, surnamed by his subjects, the "merciful," and by his enemies, the "weak." Sultan Hoshung, the turbulent king of Malwa, died in 1432, and bequeathed the kingdom to his son, who was soon after put to death by his minister, Mahmood Khan Ghiljie, the Afghan, who mounted the throne, and proved to be the ablest of the kings of Malwa, during a long reign of forty-seven years, which extended from 1435 to 1482. Some years after his accession, he invaded Guzerat with an army of 100,000 men, and pursued the feeble monarch to the promontory of Diu. The Guzerattee nobles, anxious to retrieve the national honour, persuaded the queen to administer poison to him, and then raised his son, Kootub Shah, to the throne, and resolved to make a vigorous effort for their independence. A pitched battle was accordingly fought under the walls of Ahmedabad, in which Mahmood was for the first and last time defeated; but seeing the day lost, he put himself at the head of some troopers, and pushing through every obstacle, bore off the regalia in triumph from the tent of the king. Notwithstanding this partial reverse, he seems to have had the unobstructed range of northern India, as we find him the next year marching to Biana, and establishing his son governor of Ajmere. On his return to Malwa he proceeded first against the Bahminy kingdom in the Deccan, then to Candesh, and finally against the rajah of Chittore.

War with

During the scenes of confusion at Delhi, which

Chittore, 1554. have been previously described, one Hindoo kingdom in the north recovered its independence, and succeeded in maintaining it for two centuries—the Rajpoot state of Chittore, or Mewar. In the days of sultan Hoshung the throne was filled by Koombhoo, one of the most illustrious princes of that ancient line, who applied himself for fifty years vigorously to the consolidation of Rajpoot power, and founded the city of Koomulnere. In 1456, Kootub Shah of Guzerat, formed an alliance with Mahmood of Malwa, for the conquest and partition of Mewar, but the result of the war is differently related. The Mahomedan historians affirm that the Rajpoot prince acknowledged himself the vassal of Mahmood, while Hindoo writers state that he was triumphant, and erected a column to commemorate his victory on the brow of Chittore. In 1461, Mahmood, seeing the throne of the Deccan filled by a child, and the country distracted by factions, marched against the capital, Beder, under the walls of which a battle was fought in which he proved victorious. He renewed the invasion the next year, when the ministers, unable to cope with his superior force, implored the aid of the king of Guzerat, who readily granted it, and obliged the invader to retire, by creating a diversion in his own territories of Malwa. A treaty appears to have been subsequently concluded between him and the Bahminy cabinet, based upon the cession of certain districts. The career of Mahmood, the greatest of the kings of Malwa, “whose tent was his house, and the battle field his resting place,” was at length brought to a close in 1482, and the court of Mandoo exhibited a sudden and ludicrous change.

His son and successor, Gheias-ood-deen, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he invited his nobles and officers to a splendid entertainment, and in a set speech informed them, that he had passed thirty-four-years in the field, fighting by the side of his gallant father, and was determined to spend the remainder of his life in peace and enjoyment, that he intended to retain the royal

Gheias-ood-deen's seraglio,
1482.

dignity, but to transfer the management of affairs to his son. The youth was accordingly proclaimed vizier, and the king retired to his seraglio, which he had filled with 15,000 of the most beautiful women he could procure. In this female court, the pomp and distinctions of royalty were strictly maintained; the royal body guard consisted of 500 Turki maidens dressed in male attire and armed with bows and quivers, and of 500 Abyssinian girls furnished with firearms. Strange as it may appear, the king was allowed to enjoy this pageantry for eighteen years, without a single attempt at rebellion. His son, Nazir-ood-deen, succeeded him in 1500, and his reign of twelve years was noted only by its cruelty and sensuality.

During the listless reign of Gheias-ood-deen, of Mahmood Shah, Malwa, and the dissolute reign of his son, the rival of Guzerat, throne of Guzerat was filled by Mahmood Shah, 1459—1511. the brother of Kootub Shah, who ascended the throne in 1459, and shed lustre on it for fifty years. Though crowned at the early age of fourteen, his talents were soon matured, and it was while yet a youth that he marched into Malwa, and created the diversion which has been noticed. The European travellers who visited his court, awed by the dignity of his personal appearance, conceived the most extravagant opinion of his power. They affirmed that a portion of his daily food consisted of mortal poisons, with which his system became so impregnated, that if a fly sat on him it dropped down dead. He was the original of the picture drawn by the British poet of the prince of Cambay, "whose food was asp, and basilisk and toad." But even without the power of digesting poisons, he was a most puissant prince. In 1469, he attacked Gernal, a Hindoo fortress, of boundless antiquity and impregnable strength. It fell on the third assault, when the king is said to have persuaded the raja and all his court to embrace Mahomedanism. Three years after, he overrun Cutch and defeated an army of Beloches, annexed Sinde to his dominions, and extended his boundary to the Indus. Soon after, a Mahomedan saint complained to him that on his

return from Ormuz in Persia, he had been ill-used and plundered by the people of Jugut, the land's end of India on the western coast. The king and his soldiers were equally inflamed by the story of the holy man's wrongs, and they marched with great zeal "against the infernal-minded brahmins," as the Mahomedan historian, Ferishta, calls them. Jugut was reduced, but the pirates on the coast, who fled to the island of Bete, in the gulf of Cambay, are said to have fought twenty naval battles before they were finally subdued. In 1482, Mahmood led an army against the Hindoo ruler of the very ancient principality of Chumpanere. The place is said to have been defended by 60,000 Rajpoots, of whom a large number fell in the siege, and the prince and his ministers were put to death, when it was found that they refused to become Musulmans. The conflicts of the Guzerat navy with the Portuguese during this reign, will be narrated hereafter. On the death of this renowned prince in 1511, he was succeeded by his son, Mozuffer the Second.

Mahmood the Second, the last king of Malwa, Mahmood, the second, of Malwa, 1512. ascended the throne in 1512, when his nobles conspired to unseat him and to elevate his brother. The confederacy was defeated through the exertions of Medni Roy, the Rajpoot chief of Chunderree, who was thereupon appointed the chief minister as the reward of his services, and proceeded forthwith to fill the court and the army with his own countrymen. The Mahomedans, considering all the offices of state as their own property, resented this intrusion, and endeavoured to infuse suspicions into the mind of the king, who is said to have dismissed 40,000 Rajpoots at once from his service, and to have employed assassins to despatch the minister himself. He escaped with a few wounds, and eventually succeeded in regaining his power at the Malwa court. Mahmood, feeling himself little better than a prisoner in his own capital, escaped to Guzerat, where he found the king, equally with himself, alarmed at the growing power of the Hindoos. The neighbouring kingdom of Chittore was go-

verned at the time by Rana Sunga, who had raised it to the summit of prosperity by his genius and valour. His army consisted of 80,000 horse, supported by 500 war elephants. Seven rajas of the highest rank, and a hundred and thirteen of inferior note attended his stirrup to the field. The rajas of Jeypore and Marwar served under his banner, and he was the acknowledged head of all the Rajpoot tribes. The historian of Rajpootana enumerates eighteen pitched battles which he had fought with Malwa and Guzerat. Those two sovereigns dreaded lest Medni Roy should obtain possession of the resources of Malwa, and unite with the Rana in establishing Hindoo sovereignty throughout central India. To meet this danger, they marched against Mandoo, the capital of Malwa, which was then held by the son of Medni Roy, and which did not surrender until 19,000 Rajpoots had fallen in its defence. Mahmood was restored to his kingdom, and in 1519 measured his strength with Rana Sunga. In the battle which ensued, the Malwa king was totally defeated and captured. The generous Rajpoot prince personally attended to his wounds, and, when they were healed, liberated him without a ransom. Hostilities, however, continued between the king of Guzerat and the Rana, which, after a succession of successes and defeats, terminated in a solid peace.

Extinction of Malwa. On the death of Mozuffer of Guzerat in 1526, the throne was successively occupied by two princes, who speedily disappeared, when the wild and wayward Bahadoor Shah ascended it. A brother of his fled to Malwa, and, in an evil hour, the king Mahmood granted him an asylum, which so incensed Bahadoor, that he immediately equipped a large army for the invasion of the country. While this storm was gathering on one side, the ill-starred king provoked the wrath of Rana Sunga, who lost no time in forming an alliance with Bahadoor Shah, and their united forces poured down like a torrent upon Malwa. Mahmood in some measure retrieved his reputation by his noble conduct in the last scene of his life. Though his army was reduced

to 3,000, he still continued to defend his capital with great courage, but he was at length obliged to capitulate; and on the 26th of May, a month after Baber had established the Mogul dynasty on the throne of Delhi, the standard of Guzerat was planted on the battlements of Mandoo, and the kingdom of Malwa, then in its hundred and twenty-fifth year, was absorbed in the dominions of its rival. Mahmood and his seven sons were sent prisoners to Chumpanere, but were put to death on the road, in consequence of an attack by the Bheels.

The Bahminy
dynasty,
1347—1397.

It has been stated that the oppressions of Mahomed Toghluk produced a revolt in the Deccan, which issued in the establishment of an independent kingdom. Ismael, the Afghan, who had been raised to the throne, voluntarily ceded it soon after to the general Hussun Gungu, who had been the chief instrument in achieving the revolution. He was likewise an Afghan, but of humble extraction, who leased a plot of ground from a Hindoo astrologer in the city of Delhi, and resigned to him of his own accord some valuable treasure which he had discovered in it. The astrologer was so highly pleased with his honesty as to recommend him to the notice of the emperor, under whose favour he rose to great distinction. Out of gratitude to the astrologer Gungu, his early patron, he had assumed his name, and on his elevation to the throne of the Deccan in 1347, took the additional title of Bahminy, by which the dynasty is generally known in history. The kingdom comprised all the territories held by the emperor of Delhi south of the Nerbudda, with the exception of the provinces of the two Hindoo kingdoms of Telingana and Beejuynugur, the establishment of which circumscribed the Bahminy dominions, and led to incessant war. Hussun died in 1358, after a prosperous reign of eleven years, and was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who commenced his reign by attacking the king of Telingana, and obliging him to sue for peace, which was granted on the cession of the hill of Golconda, and the sur-

render of a throne of immense value, which was subsequently enriched with additional jewels till it was estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Soon after Mahomed, in a drunken revel, granted an order on the treasury of Beejyunugur, and the raja immediately sent an army across the Kistna to revenge the insult, when the town of Moodgul was captured and its inhabitants put to the sword. Mahomed, on hearing of the slaughter, swore "that food and sleep should be unlawful to him till he had propitiated the martyrs of Moodgul by the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidels." He crossed the Toombudra and pursued the raja for three months from district to district, putting to death every Hindoo who fell into his hands. A pitched battle was at length fought, in which the Bahminy monarch was victorious, when having, as he hoped, completed his vow of revenge, he granted his opponent honourable terms, and, on his return to his own capital, devoted his time to the improvement of his dominions. He died in 1375, after a reign of seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah, who possessed the most majestic beauty of all the princes of his line, and was exceeded by none in valour and fortitude. He began his reign by demanding from the raja of Beejuynugur, Raichore, Moodgul, and other places lying in the *doob* of the Kistna and the Toombudra, the object of perpetual strife between the rival Hindoo and Mahomedan powers. The demand was refused, and a war commenced, during which Mujahid chased the raja for six months through the whole extent of the Carnatic, and at length accepted his submission. The merit of the young king in this campaign was rendered the more conspicuous by the disparity of his resources as compared with those of the Hindoo raja, whose territories stretched from sea to sea, and who reckoned the rulers of Malabar and Ceylon among his tributaries. Mujahid was assassinated by his own uncle, after a brief reign of four years.

Feroze and

Feroze, the son of the assassin, mounted the

Ahmed Shah, 1397—1435. throne in 1397, and his reign and that of his brother, which occupied thirty-seven years, are considered the most palmy days of the dynasty. Feroze reigned twenty-five years, and made twenty-four campaigns. He carried fire and sword through the whole extent of the Carnatic, and constrained the raja of Beejuynugur to submit to an annual tribute of a crore of rupees, and to give him his daughter in marriage. He was a great patron of learning, and erected an observatory. He established a mercantile navy, and instructed his commanders to bring the most learned men and the most handsome women from the ports they visited. His seraglio is said to have contained beauties from thirteen different nations; and the historians affirm that he was able to converse with each one in her own tongue. He likewise made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran every fourth day. The close of his reign was gloomy. He wantonly engaged in hostilities with the raja of Beejuynugur, and was totally defeated. The triumphant Hindoos appeared anxious to bring up the arrears of vengeance due to their relentless enemies. In the various towns which they captured they razed the mosques to the ground, and erected platforms of the heads of the slain. The end of Feroze was hastened by these reverses, and he was succeeded by his brother Ahmed Shah, denominated Wully, or the saint, for the supposed efficacy of his prayers in procuring rain in a season of drought. Anxious to recover the prestige of the Mahomedan power he proceeded immediately to the invasion of the Hindoo kingdom. He crossed the Toombudra in great force, defeated the raja, and pursued the Hindoos in every direction with unrelenting ferocity, halting only to celebrate a feast whenever the number of the slain was computed to have reached 20,000. He obliged the raja to pay up all arrears of tribute, and then turned his arms against Telingana, captured and despoiled the capital, and, according to the usual Mahomedan practice, pulled down the temples, and erected mosques with the materials. He then marched to the north,

where he was captivated with the situation of Beder to such a degree that he caused a new city to be built on the site, which he called after his own name, Ahmedabad Beder, and adorned it with magnificent buildings. He was likewise engaged in two wars with Malwa, and a third was averted only by the cession of Berar. His generals were also sent to seize the Concan, or strip of land lying between the ghauts and the sea, from Mahim, or Bombay, to Goa. But this expedition brought him in contact with the formidable naval power of Guzerat, and he was constrained to relinquish it. His wild career terminated in 1435.

Alla-ood-deen, 1435. He was succeeded by his son Alla-ood-deen, who immediately went to war with Beejuynugur, and was successful. He then proceeded to invade Candesh, took the capital, Boorhanpore, and levelled the royal palaces with the ground. The Hindoo rajas of Beejuynugur had seldom been able to cope with their Mahomedan neighbour; but, though their dominions were superior in extent, population and wealth, had been constantly subjected to the payment of tribute. It was about this time that the raja, Deva Roy, is said to have assembled his nobles to investigate the cause of this disgrace. Some ascribed it to the decree of the gods; others to fate, which is stronger than the gods; while a third party traced it to the superior cavalry and archery of the Mahomedans. The raja, therefore, enlisted 2,000 Mahomedan archers in his service, and, in conjunction with 60,000 of his own bowmen, took the field against Alla-ood-deen, and fought two battles, but with doubtful success. Two Mahomedan officers of rank, however, fell into his hands, and the Bahminy monarch swore that if they were not instantly given up he would sacrifice 100,000 infidels for each. Deva Roy had not forgotten the result of a similar vow on a former occasion, and sued for peace, paying up all the tribute that had become due. Alla-ood-deen died in 1457, and was succeeded by his son—a monster of cruelty—who was assassinated by his own servants as he lay on his couch helpless from intoxication.

We pass on to the last substantive king of the Deccan, Mahomed Shah, who was placed on the throne at the age of nine, in 1463.

Mahomed Shah,
1463—1486.

During his minority the administration was conducted by the queen mother and two ministers, one of whom, the preceptor of the prince, was assassinated by her orders, because he was supposed to have acquired too great an influence over his pupil. The other, Mahmood Gawan, was the greatest general and statesman of the age, and one of the most distinguished characters in the Mahomedan history of India. He marched into the Concan, where two former expeditions had failed, and not only reduced the province and the ghauts above it to subjection, but wrested the island of Goa from the raja of Beejuynugur, who had usurped it. He then turned his attention to the eastern coast, reinstated the Ray of Orissa, who had been expelled and sought protection, and added Condapilly and Rajahmundry to the Bahminy territories. But the Ray subsequently took advantage of a famine which was desolating the country to make an attempt to regain the districts he had lost. Mahmood Gawan marched down upon him with promptitude, and speedily extinguished all opposition, and annexed Masulipatam to the kingdom. The king, who had accompanied the expedition, having heard of the renowned temple of Canchi, or Conjeveram, near Madras, the walls and roof of which were reported to be covered with plates of gold, rushed through the intervening country, at the head of 6,000 chosen horse, with such rapidity as to astound the various chiefs, took possession of the temple, and despoiled it of its wealth before they could come to its rescue.

Murder of
Mahmood
Gawan.

Under the powerful genius of Mahmood the Bahminy kingdom reached its greatest limits.

It stretched from the Concan to Masulipatam, and from the Nerbudda to the Kistna. The minister now resolved to turn his attention to the improvement of the administration. He divided the kingdom into eight provinces,

and curtailed the power of the governors, thus diminishing the chance of their revolt. He introduced vigorous reforms into every branch of the government to the great disgust of all whose private interests were affected by them. They determined, therefore, on his destruction; and having ingratiated themselves with the Abyssinian who had charge of his seal, induced him, when half drunk, to affix it to a blank sheet of paper, which they filled up with a treasonable letter to the Ray of Orissa, inciting him to revolt, and offering him assistance. The paper was artfully produced before the king, as if it had been found by accident; and Hussun Bheiry, a converted Hindoo, the mortal enemy of Mahmood, who had been his benefactor, endeavoured to inflame his mind against the minister. He was ordered into the royal presence and upbraided with his treason. He exclaimed, "This is a great forgery; the seal is mine, but of the letter itself I am totally ignorant." The king, inflamed with wine and passion, ordered one of his Abyssinian slaves to cut him down. Gawan calmly replied that the fate of an old man could be of little consequence, but that his death would seal the doom of the kingdom. The king turned into his seraglio; the slave approached the minister, then in his seventy-eighth year, and he knelt down, with his face towards Mecca, and received the fatal blow. He died in graceful poverty. Though he had served five monarchs, his cabinet was found to contain only 10,000 rupees. The proceeds of the jaygeer allotted for the support of his office, he had, in part, distributed among his officers, and, in part, disbursed among the poor in his master's name. The money which he had brought with him into the country had been employed in commerce, the profits of which, after providing for his kitchen on the moderate scale of two rupees a day, were assigned to the poor in his own name. The king died within a twelve month of his minister, a prey to remorse, exclaiming, in the paroxysms of his agony, that Mahmood Gawan was tearing him to pieces.

Dissolution of

It is unnecessary farther to pursue the history

the Bahminy
kingdom,
1489—1512.

of the Bahminy dynasty; the sun of its prosperity set with the stroke which deprived the great minister of life. Mahmood Shah, the son of the late king, ascended the throne in 1482, and lived on, though he can scarcely be said to have reigned, for thirty-seven years; the kingdom crumbled away, as governor after governor revolted, and it was at length resolved into five independent states.

The five king-
doms.

1. Eusof Adil Shah, the adopted son of Mahmood Gawan, a Turk, who claimed descent from the conquerors of Constantinople, established the Adil Shahy dynasty at Beejapore. 2. Hussun Bheiry, who had instigated the murder of Mahmood, and was subsequently executed by order of his master, was a brahmin of Beejapore, who was taken prisoner and sold to the Bahminy king, who circumcised him and raised him to distinction. His son, Ahmed Nizam, on hearing of his father's fate, raised the standard of revolt at Ahmednugur, and established the Nizam Shahy dynasty. 3. Imad-ool-moolk, on the general dissolution of the monarchy, made himself independent in the province of Berar, of which he was governor, and gave rise to the Imad Shahy line of princes. 4. Koollee Kootub was a Turkoman of Hamadan in Persia, who came to India in search of employment, and rose to the post of governor of Golconda, where, on the decomposition of the Bahminy kingdom, he established an independent dynasty, which is known in history as the Kootub Shahy. 5. Ahmed Bereed was appointed minister on the execution of Mahmood Gawan, and gradually substituted his own influence for that of the king at the capital and in the adjacent districts, and at length established the Bereed Shahy dynasty at Beder. This division of sovereign power among five independent states who were incessantly at war with each other, was the greatest calamity which could have befallen the country, and subjected the wretched provinces for a century and a half to merciless rapine.

Rise of the Portuguese power.

While the Bahminy kingdom was thus crumbling to pieces, another race of adventurers appeared on the western coast of India, and gave a new direction to its politics and commerce. A Portuguese expedition landed in the harbour of Calicut, and paved the way for the eventual transfer of power from the Mahomedans to the Christians. For some time previous to this memorable event, the general progress of improvement in Europe and the increase of nautical skill and boldness, had inspired its maritime nations with a strong desire to discover the way to India by sea, and to participate in its rich commerce, which was then monopolised by the Venetians. The Portuguese were at this time the foremost and most enterprising among the navigators of Europe; and John, king of Portugal, anxious to make the circuit of the continent of Africa, had sent his admiral, Bartholomew Dias, on this perilous undertaking. It was he who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he named the Cape of Storms in reference to the tempestuous weather which he encountered. But the king was so highly elated with the success of the expedition and the prospects which it opened to him, that he changed the name to that which it has ever since borne. Soon after, Christopher Columbus, hoping to reach India by sailing westward, obtained the patronage of the king of Spain, and, launching boldly into the ocean, which had never been traversed before, made the discovery of America. His successful return from this voyage of unexampled peril filled all Europe with astonishment.

Portuguese expedition to India, 1497.

The king of Portugal was deeply chagrined to find that the neglect with which he had treated the advances of Columbus, had deprived him of the opportunity of adding another continent to his dominions; but he resolved to seek compensation for this loss in an attempt to reach India, by doubling the Cape, and stretching to the eastward. An expedition was accordingly fitted out for this purpose, consisting of three vessels, the command of

which was entrusted to Vasco de Gama. The whole population of Lisbon poured out to witness his departure on the 8th of July, 1497, and the sailors went through various religious ceremonies, as men who never expected to return. Vasco was four months reaching the Cape, which, however, he doubled with a fair and gentle breeze. He anchored at Melinda, on the African coast, where he was supplied with a pilot to conduct his vessels to India. On the 22nd of May, 1498, he cast anchor on the Malabar coast, off Calicut, which presented to his delighted eyes the appearance of a noble town with a fertile plain rising up in the back ground, bounded by a distant range of lofty mountains. Calicut, then a place of extensive traffic, belonged to an independent Hindoo raja, called the Zamorin, and lay considerably to the south of the limit to which the Mahomedan conquests had extended. The harbours on the coast immediately to the north of it, belonged to the Hindoo raja of Beejuynugur; those higher up to the Bahminy kingdom, while those in the extreme north were within the limits of Guzerat. The Zamorin was greatly struck with the appearance of strangers from a remote and unknown region, differing so entirely in aspect, manners, and arms from the foreigners who frequented the port. He received them at first with cordiality, and manifested every disposition to promote their views. But the Moors, as they were called, or the Musulmans from Egypt and Arabia who had engrossed the maritime traffic of that coast, and enjoyed no small influence in its ports, viewed the arrival of the interlopers with great jealousy, and determined to defeat their object. They bribed the minister of the raja to insinuate to him that the strangers were not the men they represented themselves to be, but pirates, who had plundered the coast of Africa, and were now come to India on the same errand. The Zamorin, swayed by these accusations, authorized the Moors to adopt violent measures against them, and two of Vasco's principal officers, who were on shore, were treacherously arrested. He immediately retaliated by seizing six of

the respectable natives who happened to be on board his vessel, and refused to release them till his own officers were surrendered. The raja manifested some hesitation to comply with this reasonable demand, and Vasco weighed anchor in haste and began to sail out of the harbour with the hostages. Presently, several boats were seen to pull off from the shore, one of which contained his officers whom the Zamorin now hastened to release. Vasco sent back some of the natives he had detained, but resolved to take several of them with him to Lisbon, to give them an opportunity of viewing the city and reporting its grandeur on their return. Having now completed his cargoes, he set sail for Europe, and, on the 29th of August, 1499, re-entered the Tagus, in regal pomp, after an absence of twenty-six months. Men of all ranks crowded to welcome him, and to admire the vessels which had performed so marvellous a voyage; the king showered honours on him, and the nations of Europe were enraptured with the discovery of a new and easier path to the land of fabulous wealth.

Second voyage
under Cabral,
1499.

A second expedition was fitted out in the same year, consisting of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of which was given to Cabral. He was accompanied by eight friars, who were sent to preach Christianity to the natives, and he was directed to carry fire and sword into every province that refused to listen to them. In the course of the voyage he discovered Brazil, on the coast of South America, and took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, in the year 1500. In doubling the Cape he encountered terrific gales, and lost four of his ships, in one of which was the celebrated admiral Dias, who thus found a grave in the seas which he had been the first to explore. Cabral, on reaching Calicut, restored the natives who had been taken to Portugal, where they had been treated with distinguished kindness. He was received with much courtesy by the Zamorin, to whom he presented gifts of rare beauty and value. But the Moorish merchants, annoyed at

the return of the strangers whom they hoped to have finally driven from the shores of India, effectually prevented them from obtaining cargoes. Cabral presented a remonstrance to the Zamorin, and received authority, as he supposed, to sequester vessels carrying the Mahomedan flag. A Moorish ship with a rich cargo was accordingly seized; the merchants hastened to the raja with their complaints, and obtained permission to expel the intruders. The factory which the Portuguese had erected was forthwith attacked, and all the foreigners in it were put to death. Cabral immediately seized and burnt ten Moorish craft, after having transferred their cargoes to his own ships. He then laid his vessels abreast of the town, and having set it on fire with his artillery, set sail for the neighbouring town of Cochin, where he formed a treaty with the raja, and returned to Lisbon in July, 1501.

Second voyage of Vasco, 1502. The report of these transactions inflamed the desire which the king of Portugal had been cherishing to establish an empire in the east. He assumed the title of Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, Arabia and India, and fitted out a more formidable expedition than any that had as yet left the shores of Portugal. Vasco de Gama, who was placed in command of it, reached the coast of India without any accident, and anchoring off Calicut, demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to Cabral, which was at once refused, and Vasco is said to have put to death fifty of the natives who had repaired to his vessels. At the same time he poured a destructive fire into the town of Calicut, and then weighing anchor proceeded to the friendly port of Cochin, which now became the mart of the Portuguese trade. Three expeditions of minor importance were successively sent out, and cargoes obtained partly by barter, and partly by terror. The Portuguese were lulled into security by the success which attended them, and Pacheco was left with a handful of men to protect their settlement at Cochin. The Zamorin was thus encouraged to make

an attempt to expel them, and at the same time to punish the raja of Cochin for having fostered them. The troops of Calicut exceeded those of Pacheco as fifty to one, but his admirable strategy, and the valour of his soldiers, repulsed every assault; and he was the first to exhibit that decisive superiority of European over Asiatic troops, which three centuries and a half have now abundantly confirmed.

In the year 1505, the king of Portugal sent out Francis Almeyda, with the title of viceroy of India, though as yet he did not possess a foot of land in it. The early success of the Portuguese in India is to be attributed to the singular genius and audacity of the men who conducted their expeditions, and Almeyda was inferior to none of them. Soon after his arrival, the Hindoo raja of Beejuynugur, who could not fail to perceive that the power of the strangers would become paramount on the western coast, sent an envoy with rich presents for the king of Portugal, to whom he proposed a treaty of alliance, and offered his own daughter in marriage. But the bright prospects thus opened to the Portuguese were soon overclouded. Before the discovery of the passage to India round the Cape, the whole trade of the east, conveyed overland, had been monopolised by the Venetians, and the "Queen of the Adriatic," as Venice was called, became the envy of Europe. The Venetians had reason now to apprehend that this magnificent traffic would be diverted into a new channel, and pass altogether out of their hands. They possessed great influence in Egypt, which was one of their most important marts, and they urged the Sultan to fit out a fleet in the Red Sea, to sweep their rivals from the Indian Ocean, and assisted him with timber from their own forests in Dalmatia. A powerful fleet was speedily equipped and sent to India, under the command of Meer Hookum, the Egyptian admiral. The king of Guzerat, who was equally alarmed at the progress of the Portuguese, ordered his admiral to co-operate with the Egyptians. Lorenzo, the son of Almeyda, was cruising in the

Naval battle
with the Maho-
medans, 1508,

north with a division of the Portuguese fleet, when the combined squadrons bore down upon him. The Portuguese fought with the gallantry of European sailors, but the superiority of the enemy in the number of their ships, and the calibre of their guns, gave them the victory. The gallant Lorenzo, whose vessel was entangled in some fishing stakes, and thus exposed singly to the fire poured in upon him from all sides, fell covered with wounds, after performing prodigies of valour, which filled even the Mahomedans with admiration. To avenge the death of his son, Almeyda reduced the flourishing port of Dabul to ashes, and then proceeded in search of the enemy, whom he found anchored in the harbour of Diu. The conflict was long and doubtful, for the Egyptian and Guzerattee admirals were men of great nautical experience and valour, but all their larger vessels were at length either burnt or captured, and the smaller craft escaped up the river. Peace was subsequently concluded between the belligerents, and all the European prisoners were restored.

Albuquerque,
1507—1516.

Almeyda soon after resigned his post to Albuquerque, the greatest of all the Portuguese commanders. It was his ambition to found an empire in the east, and he succeeded in this bold enterprise. Abandoning the system of predatory excursions along the coast which had satisfied his predecessors, he resolved to establish and fortify a port which should serve as the centre of his operations. He fixed on the island of Goa, lying on the Malabar Coast, about twenty-three miles in circumference, of which he took possession, and though at one time driven from it by the native prince, recaptured it, and erected fortifications which effectually baffled all the efforts of the country powers. From that time Goa became the seat of the Portuguese power in the east, and Albuquerque sent and received embassies with all the magnificence of an eastern monarch. Having placed the government of his new settlement on the wisest foundation, he turned his attention to more distant regions and enterprizes. He proceeded eastward, to the port of Ma-

lacca, then the great emporium of trade in the eastern archipelago, with an armament of 800 Portuguese soldiers and 600 natives whom he had enlisted and trained. The native prince is said to have assembled an army of 30,000 men to resist him, but the valour and discipline of his little force soon placed the city in his hands. The possession of this important position was immediately secured by the erection of a strong fort, and a new field of commercial enterprize to Siam, Java, and Sumatra, was thus opened to his countrymen. His efforts were next directed to the west, and he equipped a powerful squadron for the conquest of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulph. The imposing force which accompanied him effectually deterred the native prince from resistance, and Albuquerque was permitted to take possession of the island, and to raise a fortification in it. Ormuz rose rapidly in importance, the town was filled with 40,000 inhabitants, and became one of the most flourishing settlements in those seas. Thus had the genius of Albuquerque, in the short space of nine years, built up the Portuguese power in the east, and given them the command of the sea, and the control of the traffic throughout the eastern archipelago, which they continued to enjoy for a hundred years without a rival. Though he never obtained possession of a single province on the continent of India, his authority was supreme over 12,000 miles of coast, and it was sustained by an irresistible fleet and thirty factories, of which many were fortified. He was at length abruptly superseded in his command by the orders of his own sovereign, who did not condescend to soften the disgrace by any mark of distinction, or even by the courtesy of a letter. The ingratitude of which he was the victim, broke his heart; he expired on the barque which was conveying him to Goa, and was interred in the settlement which he had created, amidst the lamentations and tears of natives and Europeans, by whom he was equally beloved.

CHAPTER IV.

MOGUL DYNASTY. BABER TO AKBAR. 1526—1605.

The Mogul
dynasty, 1526.

IN the month of April, 1526, Sultan Baber captured Delhi, and established the Mogul dynasty, which continued to flourish for a hundred and eighty years, under a succession, unprecedented in India, of six monarchs, distinguished by their prowess in the field, and, with one exception, by their ability in the cabinet.

Baber's early
career.

Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur, was the son of Sheikh Mirza, to whom the fertile province of Fergana, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, had been allotted in the distribution of the family possessions. His mother was a descendant of Jenghis Khan, and it has been noted by historians as a remarkable fact, that the empire founded by Baber should be known in history only as the Mogul empire, while he himself execrated the name of Mogul. Baber appears to have inherited that spirit of enterprise which distinguished both his renowned ancestors, and at the early age of fifteen, when he succeeded to the throne, commenced that adventurous career, which he pursued without interruption for thirty-five years. His first campaign was against the city of Samarcand, the metropolis of Transoxiana, which he captured with little difficulty, but he had not held it a hundred days before he was recalled to the defence of his paternal kingdom. He subsequently made three successful efforts to obtain possession of that city, which he coveted as the capital of Timur, and was thrice expelled from it.

Baber seizes
Afghanistan,
1504.

Baber was engaged for eight years in a series of the most perilous enterprises, and experienced vicissitudes of fortune, which would have crushed an ordinary mind, but they only served to give fresh vigour

to his buoyant spirit. Seeing no hope of extending his conquests beyond the Oxus, he seized the city of Cabul in the year 1504, and succeeded in maintaining possession of it for twenty years. During this period he was incessantly employed in defending or enlarging his dominions, and never enjoyed a year of repose. His greatest peril arose from the progress of the Uzbeks, a tribe of ferocious Tartars, now swarming from their native hive, and seeking new settlements in the south. Their leader Shaibek had swept the posterity of Timur from Transoxiana and Khorasan, and in his progress towards the Indus had captured Candahar and threatened Cabul. Had he been able to march at once on that capital, he would probably have extinguished for ever the hopes of Baber, but he was recalled from these conquests by the hostility of Ismael Shah, the powerful chief of the tribe which had recently seized the throne of Persia, and established the dynasty of the Sophis. The Uzbek chief was routed and slain, and Baber seized the opportunity of again occupying Samareand, from which he was again expelled in the course of a few months.

Baber's five ex-
peditions to
India, 1519—
1525.

To compensate for this disappointment, he turned his attention to India, where the imbecility of the emperor of Delhi presented a temptation too strong to be resisted by a descendant of Timur. His first irruption was in the year 1519, and it was followed by two others, in five years, though with partial success. In 1524 he resumed this ambitious project, and overran the Punjab, where he was joined by Alla-ood-deen, the brother of the emperor, with Dowlut Khan, and other officers, who had been alienated from him by his constant oppressions. But Baber, after having advanced as far as Sirhind, was obliged to return across the Indus, to repel an invasion from the north, and Dowlut Khan, on his departure, deserted his standard and took possession of the Punjab. Alla-ood-deen, who had been left in charge of the province, fled to Cabul, and was immediately sent back to India by Baber, with a well-

appointed army; but was signally defeated by the emperor, under the walls of Delhi. Baber now advanced on his fifth and last expedition with an army not exceeding 12,000 men, but they were all experienced veterans. The emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, advanced to meet him with an army generally estimated at 100,000, and a thousand elephants. The destiny of India was decided on the field of Paniput. The engagement lasted from sunrise to sunset, and resulted in the total defeat of the imperial army, and the death of the emperor, and 15,000 of his troops. Delhi opened her gates to the victor in May, 1526, and Baber vaulted into the vacant throne, and, as a token of his success, sent gifts from the treasury to the most celebrated Mahomedan shrines in Asia.

State of India
on Baber's ac-
cession.

But Delhi had long ceased to be the capital and the mistress of India. The great Mahomedan empire had been broken up more than a century and a half before, by the extravagances of Mahomed Toghluq, and at the period of Baber's accession the various provinces were in the possession of independent rulers. In the southern extremity of Hindostan, the great Hindoo monarch of Beejuynugur claimed the allegiance of the various native chiefs who had never submitted to the Mahomedan yoke. Farther to the north lay the territories of the five kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, Beder, and Berar, who were established on the dissolution of the Bahminy kingdom. The province of Gujerat was governed by a wild youth, who was ambitious of trying conclusions with the Mogul in the field. Rana Sunga, the most powerful prince of his race, was paramount in Rajpootana. The opulent kingdom of Bengal, including Behar, was ruled by an Afghan family, and the "sacred soil," as it was called, of Orissa, was in the possession of its ancient Hindoo dynasty. Still nearer Delhi, an independent prince held his court at Jounpore, and supported it from the revenues of Oude. The victory of Baber, therefore, only gave him the command of the districts to the north-west of Delhi, and a narrow tract of land, stretching along the

Jumna to Agra. He had India yet to conquer, but his generals shrunk from the task, and entreated him to return to the cooler and more genial climate of Afghanistan, where they might enjoy the booty they had acquired at Delhi and Agra. But Baber had crossed the Indus, not simply to plunder provinces, but to found an empire, and he announced his unalterable resolution to continue in India, and pursue his career; at the same time, however, he granted permission to all those to return who preferred ease to glory. His ardour subdued their reluctance, and only one of his generals availed himself of this privilege, and he and his soldiers were dismissed with honour, and laden with wealth, in the hope of inducing others to resort to Baber's standard. In the course of four months after the battle of Paniput, all the country held by Ibrahim Lodi had been secured, and the revolted kingdom of Jounpore brought under subjection.

But a more formidable enemy now appeared in the field. Rana Sunga, the Rajpoot prince of Chittore, and at this time the most powerful of all the sovereigns north of the Nerbudda, elated by a recent triumph over the king of Malwa, espoused the cause of the dethroned dynasty of Delhi. All the princes of Rajpootana ranged themselves under his banner, and he advanced with 100,000 men to drive Baber back across the Indus. The first conflict took place at Futtehpoore Sikri, where the advanced guard of the Moguls was totally routed by the Rajpoots. Many of Baber's troops on this deserted their colours, some even went over to the enemy, and all were dispirited. Accustomed as he had been to dangers for thirty years, this extraordinary peril staggered him, but he never despaired. He states in his memoirs that in this emergency he repented of his sins, and determined to reform his life; that he foreswore the use of wine, and broke up his gold and silver cups, and distributed their value among the poor. He resolved to allow his beard to grow like a true Musulman, and promised, if God gave him the victory, to remit the stamp tax to the faithful.

Animated by his example, his generals took an oath on the Koran to conquer or to die. In this fever of enthusiasm Baber led them against the enemy, and by the aid of his efficient artillery obtained a signal victory, which completely broke the power of Chittore. He celebrated his success by constructing a pyramid of the heads of the slain, and assuming the title of Ghazee, or champion of the faith.

Conquest of
Chunderee,
Oude, and
Behar, 1529.

The next year Baber attacked Chunderee, held by Medni Roy, whose history, in connection with the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malwa has been already related. Finding his position untenable, he and his Rajpoots devoted themselves to death with the usual ceremonies, and rushed with frenzy on the Mogul swords. Those who survived the onset put themselves to death. In the following year, Baber extended his authority over Oude and south Behar. But his constitution, which had been gradually impaired by long indulgence, was worn out by these severe exertions in an uncongenial climate. So active had been his life, that for thirty-eight years he had never kept the feast

Death of
Baber, 1530,
his character.

of the Ramzan twice in the same place. He died at Agra in 1530, at the age of fifty, and his remains were conveyed to Cabul and interred in a beautiful spot which he had himself selected for his tomb. The simple and chaste monument raised over his grave continued to attract admiration three centuries after his death. Among the Mahomedan princes of India, no monarch is held in higher estimation than Baber. His career exhibited that romantic spirit of adventure of which nations are always proud. His personal courage bordered on rashness; his activity was almost fabulous. While labouring under a wasting disease he rode a hundred and sixty miles in two days, and swam across the Ganges. He was, however, rather a valiant soldier than a great general, and he lost nearly as many battles as he won; but he never lost heart, and was as buoyant after a defeat as after a victory. Amidst all the bustle of war, he found time for the cultivation of

literature, and his Persian poetry has been always admired for its elegance. The little leisure he enjoyed from the labours of the field, he devoted to the construction of aqueducts, reservoirs, and other works of public utility. There is no Indian prince with whose individual character we are so familiar, and this is owing to his own vivid delineation of it in the volume of personal memoirs he compiled, in which he records his transgressions with so much candour, and his repentance with so much sincerity, and recounts his friendships with so much cordiality, that in spite of all his failings he becomes an object of personal esteem.

Humayoon succeeded his father at the close of 1530, but the first incident in his reign exhibited that easiness of disposition to which his subsequent misfortunes were chiefly to be attributed. His brother, Kamran, the governor of Cabul and Candahar, hesitated to acknowledge his authority, and Humayoon, not only consented to resign these provinces to him, but added the Punjab also. By this injudicious act he was deprived of the means of recruiting his army from the countries beyond the Indus, a loss which was severely felt in proportion as Baber's veterans died out, and Humayoon was obliged to depend on the troops he could enlist in Hindostan. In the third year of his reign, Humayoon became involved in hostilities with Bahadour Shah. This impetuous prince who ascended the throne at the age of twenty, was incessantly engaged

in aggressive wars during the eleven years of his reign. He had subjugated the independent kingdom of Malwa, and annexed it to his own dominions. He had compelled the kings of Ahmednugur and Beder to do him personal homage. He had added the ancient and venerable city of Oojein to his conquests, and sacked the city of Chittore, in the defence of which 32,000 Rajpoots are said to have fallen. Humayoon demanded the surrender of a fugitive conspirator, which was haughtily refused, on which he marched at once into the country.

Humayoon
succeeds to the
throne, 1530.

King of Guze-
rat defeated,
1533.

Bahadoor Shah had planted his army in an entrenched camp at Mandishore, trusting to his fine artillery, manned by Portuguese gunners and commanded by Roomy Khan, originally a Turkish slave, but now the first engineer officer in India. Humayoon besieged the camp for two months, cut off its supplies, and reduced the king to such straits, that he was obliged to fly, and eventually to take refuge in Diu, the most remote harbour in the peninsula of Guzerat.

Humayoon's
gallant capture
of Chumpanere,
1535.

Humayoon immediately overran the province, and proceeded against the fortress of Chumpanere, in which the accumulated wealth of the dynasty was deposited. With only three hundred select troops, he climbed up the perpendicular rock on which it was built by means of steel spikes, and mastered it by an exhibition of heroism which rivalled the exploits of his father. The gallantry of his officers and soldiers was rewarded with as much gold and silver as they could heap on their shields. But his further progress was arrested by the necessity of returning to Agra, to arrest the progress of Shere Khan. On his retirement, Bahadoor Shah again took the field and regained his kingdom as rapidly as he had lost it; but he did not long enjoy it. While at Diu, he had negotiated with the Portuguese for three hundred Europeans to assist him in recovering his kingdom, and in return granted them permission to establish a factory at that port. They began immediately to surround it with a wall, the rudiments of a fortification, and brought up a fleet to protect the progress of the work. Bahadoor Shah had all the native horror of European intrusion, and was determined to prevent the completion of the work. He proceeded on board the admiral's ship, and invited him and his officers to an entertainment at which he had laid a plot to assassinate them. The admiral, it appears, was equally anxious to obtain possession of the king's person. An affray ensued in which the king lost his life, by accident, according to the Portuguese historians, by treachery, if we are to believe the Mahomedans.

Tragic death of
Bahadoor Shah,
1537.

Origin and progress of Shere Khan.

Shere Khan, who now appears on the scene, was one of the most distinguished characters in the annals of Mahomedan India. He was an Afghan of noble birth, of the tribe of Soor, which claimed affinity with the kings of Ghore. His father held the rank of a commander of 500, and the jaygeer of Sasseram, in Behar, where Shere Khan was born. At an early age he quitted his home in disgust, and enlisted as a private soldier under the king of Jounpore, but at the same time endeavoured to store his mind with knowledge, and prepare himself by study for future eminence. A long series of adventures in which he was engaged on his own account for several years, ended in the occupation of Behar and the siege of Gour, the capital of Bengal. Humayoon was recalled from Guzerat by the tidings of his alarming progress, and moved down to oppose him with a large army, but was detained six months beseiging Chunar, though it was assaulted by the floating batteries of Roomy Khan, whom Humayoon had allured to his service after the defeat of Bahadoor Shah. During this protracted siege Shere Khan captured Gour, conquered Bengal, and sent the king flying for shelter to the imperial camp.

Humayoon defeated by Shere Khan at Buxar, 1539.

As Humayoon entered Bengal, Shere Khan retired to the hilly and inaccessible region of the south-west, and deposited his family and treasures in the fortress of Rhotas. The emperor took up his residence in Gour, then in the zenith of its grandeur, and on the eve of its decay. When the rains set in, the delta of the Ganges became a sheet of water, and the great army of Humayoon was reduced by disease and desertions. He was constrained to retreat with his dispirited troops towards the capital, where his brothers were beginning to take advantage of his difficulties and to intrigue for the throne. Shere Khan now issued from his fastnesses, interrupted the progress of Humayoon's force, and after cutting up a detachment at Monghir, came up with the main army at Buxar. At a time when every moment was precious, Humayoon wasted two months

in constructing a bridge across the Ganges. Before it was completed, he was attacked and completely defeated by his rival, who now assumed the title of Shere Shah, and openly aspired to the empire.

Humayoon again defeated, and flies across the Indus, 1540. Humayoon at length reached Agra, and extinguished the hostile schemes of his brothers. Eight months were passed in assembling an army for the great struggle with his formidable rival, who employed this period in subjugating and organizing Bengal. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Cunouj, and Humayoon experienced a second and more fatal defeat. He fled from the field of battle to Agra, pursued by Shere Shah, and had barely time to remove his family to Delhi. From thence he was driven to Lahore, where his brother, instead of affording him an asylum, hastened to make his peace with the victor, and was allowed to retire to his territories beyond the Indus. Thus fell the kingdom which Baber had established, and not a vestige of Mogul sovereignty remained in India at the end of fourteen years. The throne of Delhi was restored to the Afghans. Humayoon made the best of his way with his few remaining adherents to Sinde, where he spent eighteen months in fruitless negotiations with its chiefs. He then resolved to throw himself on the protection of Maldeo, the powerful Rajpoot prince of Marwar, but on approaching the capital, found the raja more disposed to betray than to succour him. The wretched emperor endeavoured to cross the desert to Amercote, and was subjected to incredible hardships during the march. The son of Maldeo, eager to revenge the intrusion of the emperor and the slaughter of kine in his territories, pursued him with the utmost rigour. At length Humayoon reached Amercote with only seven mounted attendants, and it was in these wretched circumstances that his queen, who had nobly shared with him all the disasters of this journey, gave birth to a son, afterwards the illustrious Akbar, destined to raise the Mogul empire to the pinnacle of greatness. After another series of reverses,

Birth of Akbar,
1542.

Humayoon was obliged to quit India, and seek an asylum at Candahar.

Leaving Humayoon across the Indus, we turn to the progress of Shere Shah, who now mounted the throne of Delhi, and established the Soor dynasty. While he was combating the emperor, Bengal revolted, as a matter of course, but was speedily reduced to subjection. In 1542 he conquered the province of Malwa, and in the succeeding year reduced the fortress of Raisin, remarkable for its unfathomable antiquity, and for the honour of having been erected, according to local tradition, by the great national hero of the Ramayun. It was here that his reputation was tarnished by the only stain ever attached to it. The Hindoo garrison had surrendered on terms, but the Mahomedan doctors assured him that, according to the precepts of the Koran, no faith was to be kept with infidels, and the infidels were, therefore, slaughtered almost to a man. In 1544 Shere invaded Marwar with 80,000 men. It was defended by a body of 50,000, and by its own sterility. Through the artifice of letters intended to be intercepted, he contrived to raise suspicions regarding his chiefs in the mind of the raja, and thus induced him to retire from the contest; but one chief, indignant at this distrust, fell on the emperor's force with 12,000 men with such fury as to expose him to the greatest peril; and the emperor, alluding to the barrenness of the country, said that "he had nearly lost the empire for a handful of millet." Soon after, the capture of Chittore placed Rajpootana at his feet, and he proceeded to the attack of Calinjer, one of the strongest fortresses in Bundelcund, but was killed by the explosion of a magazine as he was superintending the batteries.

Five years' brilliant reign of Shere Shah, 1540—1545.

His death, 1545, and character.

Thus prematurely ended the career of Shere Shah. As he inflicted the greatest humiliation on the Moguls, the historians of their party have treated him as a usurper, and loaded his memory with obloquy. But his right to the throne was as valid as that of the Tartar adventurer Baber, and in

both cases it was equally based on the decision of the sword. But the kingdom which he gained by conquest, he governed with the greatest beneficence, and the brief period of five years in which he held supreme power, is the most brilliant in the annals of India. He was a man of consummate ability, distinguished not less by his military exploits than by the triumphs of his civil administration. Though incessantly engaged in the field, he found time for a complete reform of every branch of the government, and his civil institutions survived his dynasty and became the model of those of Akbar. He constructed a grand trunk road from the banks of the Indus to the bay of Bengal, through a distance of 2,000 miles, and planted it with trees, and adorned it with wells and caravanseras, at short distances, for the convenience of travellers, and erected mosques for the benefit of the devout. He appears to have been the first prince who established a mounted post for the conveyance of the mails. At the end of three centuries, his stately mausoleum at Sasseram, the place of his birth and of his burial, continues to recall the remembrance of his grandeur and his glory to the mind of the traveller.

Reign of his
son and
nephew, 1554.

His eldest son was set aside by the nobles for imbecility, and his second son, Jelal Khan, was raised to the throne under the title of Selim Shah. After quelling a dangerous rebellion by his promptitude and vigour, he was enabled to pass nine years in tranquillity, indulging his hereditary taste for public works; and if his reign had extended over a longer period, we should probably have heard little or nothing of a Mogul dynasty. It was the profligacy of his successor that brought the son of Baber again to India. He was the brother of Selim, and after having murdered his son, mounted the throne, and is generally known in history simply by the name of Adili. He was remarkable only for his ignorance and prodigality, and exhibited all those purple-born vices which, in India, presage the fall of a dynasty. But the ruin of this royal

Hemu sustains the throne. house was retarded by the matchless talents of Hemu, a Hindoo, originally a shopkeeper, whose figure is said—but only by Mogul historians—to have been as mean as his origin. Adili having exhausted his treasury by profligate waste, began to resume the jaygeers of his Patan nobles, and they went one by one into insurrection. Five independent sovereignties were forthwith established in the dominions under the crown, till nothing was left to it, except some of the districts around the metropolis. Hemu presented a bold front to these difficulties, and had succeeded in reducing two of the rebels, when the aspect of affairs was at once changed by the appearance of Humayoon on the banks of the Indus.

Progress of Humayoon after leaving India.

We left this prince a refugee at Candahar in 1543, where his adverse fortune still continued to pursue him. The hostility of his brother obliged him to retreat, and he sought shelter in Persia, the throne of which was then filled by Shah Tamasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, who directed that he should be received with royal hospitality in his progress, but did not condescend to give him an interview for six months. The fugitive prince was subjected to all the humiliating caprices of a despot and a bigot, for Tamasp was an intolerant Shea, and regarded the Soonces with more than the usual measure of polemical hate. His father had invented a peculiar cap—the kuzelbash—as an emblem of religious distinction, and Humayoon was required to place it on his head in the presence of the Persian monarch, though the courtly historians of the Mogul dynasty speak with much reserve on this subject. He was also required to sign an engagement to embrace and to enforce the Shea creed, and to cede the frontier provinces of Afghanistan to the Persian crown. The Persian monarch then furnished him with a body of 14,000 horse, with which he marched to Candahar, and captured it after a siege of five months, making it over, with all the treasure found in it, to Morad Mirza, the Persian

prince. On his death, which happened soon after, Humayoon entered the city as a friend, but put the greater portion of the Persian garrison to the sword, an act of perfidy which has fixed an indelible stain on his memory. Having thus obtained possession of Candahar, he marched to Cabul and established his authority in that province, but had to maintain a protracted struggle with his brothers, in which he was alternately victorious and defeated. His brother Kamran at length fell into his hands, and to his disgrace, he ordered the sight of the unfortunate prince to be extinguished.

He crosses the Indus and remounts the throne, 1555.

After ten years of incessant warfare, the increasing confusion at the capital of India tempted Humayoon to make a bold stroke to regain the throne. He crossed the Indus in 1555, and obtained a complete victory over Secunder Soor, who had usurped the imperial authority at the capital, and who was posted at Sirhind with a body of 80,000 men. In this battle the young Akbar gained his first laurels. Leaving the young prince in the Punjab to watch the movements of the usurper, Humayoon hastened to Delhi, and mounted the throne he had lost fifteen years before. But before he could recover the dominions attached to it his career was brought to a close by a fatal accident. Six months after he had entered Delhi, while descending the steps of his library, he heard the muezzin's call to prayer, and stopped to repeat the creed, and sat down. As he endeavoured to rise, leaning on his staff, it slipped on the polished steps, and he fell over the parapet, and four days after closed his chequered life, at the age of forty-nine.

Accession of Akbar, 1556.

Akbar, the greatest prince of the dynasty of Baber, whose genius raised the empire of the Moguls to the summit of renown, was only thirteen years and three months of age when the death of Humayoon placed him upon the throne, which he continued to adorn for fifty years. He was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth,

his reign having begun two years before, and ended two years after hers ; and thus, by a memorable coincidence, this period of half a century has been rendered as illustrious in the annals of England as of India. During the minority of Akbar, the regency continued in the hands of Byram Khan, a Turkoman, the companion of Humayoon in all his vicissitudes, and the greatest captain and statesman of the age, but a man of austere manners and stern bigotry. Hemu, the Hindoo general of Sultan Adili, was employed in quelling a rebellion in Bengal when he heard of the death of Humayoon, and conceiving fresh hopes from that event deposited the emperor at Chunar, and moved up with an army of 30,000 men which was swelled to 100,000 as he advanced. Agra and Delhi opened their gates to him, and so completely were the commanders in Akbar's army confounded by the rapidity of his successes, that they entreated their master to abandon India and return to Afghanistan. Byram alone advised an immediate and vigorous attack, and Akbar, though only a stripling, seconded his ardour. The two armies met at Paniput, and the destiny of India was a second time decided on that field. Hemu, after prodigies of valour, was completely defeated, and conducted, bleeding from his wounds, to the tent of Akbar. Byram urged him to secure for himself the religious merit of slaying an infidel, but the generous youth refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of a gallant and now helpless foe, and Byram struck off the head of the captive with one stroke of his scymetar.

Arrogance and
fall of Byram,
1560.

It was the military talent of Byram, and the vigour of his measures, which had seated Akbar on the throne, but the minister had grown too big for a subject. So great indeed was his power and influence that for four years after his accession, Akbar felt himself a mere cypher in his own dominions. Such thralldom was intolerable to a high spirited prince, and when he had reached the age of eighteen he resolved to throw off the yoke. On the plea of the sudden illness of his mother, he repaired abruptly to Delhi,

and immediately issued a proclamation announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and that no orders were to be obeyed but those which issued from himself. Byram felt that his power was slipping away, and endeavoured to regain it, but he had alienated all the public officers by his haughty demeanour, and in the time of his adversity found that he was without a friend. He retired to Nagore, giving out that he was proceeding on pilgrimage, but he lingered there in the hope of receiving some gracious message from his master. Akbar, however, discharged him from all his offices, and requested him to hasten his departure. Stung by this indignity, he assembled an army, and marched against the imperial troops. He was signally defeated, and constrained to throw himself on the mercy of the emperor. As the fallen minister entered the royal tent, with his turban humbly suspended on his neck, and cast himself at the feet of the prince whom he had cherished from his cradle, Akbar hastened to raise him, and seated him on his right hand, investing him with a robe of honour, and offering him the choice of any post in the empire. The pride of Byram, who had been the instrument of erecting the Mogul throne a second time in India, led him to prefer a retreat to Mecca, and he accordingly proceeded to the sea coast, but was assassinated on the route by an Afghan, whose father he had put to death.

Akbar his own
master at
eighteen.

Akbar was now his own master, at the age of eighteen, but he was surrounded with difficulties which would have broken a spirit of less energy. For some time after its establishment, the dynasty of the Moguls was weaker than any which had risen to power since the Mahomedans first crossed the Indus. It was not connected with any large and powerful tribes beyond that river, ready to support the progress of their countrymen. It had no resources in reserve. Akbar's army was simply an assembly of mercenaries drawn together by the hope of plunder from the various countries of Central Asia. His officers were only a band of adventurers, bound to his family by no ties of here-

ditary loyalty, and more disposed to carve out kingdoms for themselves, as other adventurers had done for five centuries, than to unite in building up a Mogul empire. Their ambition had been effectually curbed by the iron despotism of Byram, but blazed forth on his removal, the effect of which soon became visible in the growth of disorders. In the fourth year of his reign, Akbar extended his authority along the banks of the Ganges to Jounpore; the son of the last king, Adili, advanced to recover his dominions, and was defeated by Zeman Khan, but that general, despising the youth of his sovereign, withheld the royal share of the booty, and manifested such a spirit of independence, that Akbar was obliged to take the field, and reduce him to obedience.

Revolt of Akbar's generals, 1560—1567.

Adam Khan, another of Akbar's generals, was sent to expel the Afghans from Malwa, but after defeating their general, he determined to keep the fruits of his victory to himself. Akbar marched against him in person, and accepted his submission, but he soon after requited this lenity by stabbing the vizier when at prayers in a room adjoining that occupied by the young king. For this atrocious deed Akbar ordered him to be thrown headlong into the Jumna. Abdoolla Khan, a haughty Uzbek, who had been received into the Mogul service, with many of his countrymen, was then entrusted with the government of Malwa, but within a twelvemonth raised "the standard of revolt." Akbar came down upon him with promptitude, and drove him ignominiously to seek shelter in the kingdom of Guzerat. This event created great discontent in the minds of the Uzbek officers, who were induced by the arts of Abdoolla to believe that Akbar was animated with a hereditary hatred of their tribe and had formed a resolution to disgrace them. The spirit of disaffection spread rapidly through the Mogul army. Asof Jah, one of its generals, had been sent to subjugate the little Hindoo principality of Gurra on the Nerbudda. It was then under the regency of the princess Doorgawuttee, renowned no less for her beauty than

Heroism of a Hindoo princess, 1564. her valour. She led her army in person against the invader, and maintained the conflict with the greatest heroism till she received a wound in her eye. The troops, missing her command, began to give way, when she, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, seized the weapon of the elephant driver and plunged it into her own bosom. Her exploits are still a favourite theme with the Hindoo bards. The booty obtained by this capture consisted of a hundred jars of gold coin, independently of jewels and gold and silver images, and Asof Jah appropriated the largest portion of it to his own use and then joined the hostile confederacy, which now included the most eminent of Akbar's generals.

Revolt of Akbar's brother, 1566. The danger of the emperor was extreme. It was as much a struggle for the throne, as the

battle of Paniput, and the question at issue was, whether the empire should be Mogul or Uzbek. Akbar's detachments were repeatedly defeated, but he maintained the conflict with unflinching resolution for two years. Just at this critical juncture, his brother Hakim ungratefully took advantage of his embarrassments, and endeavoured to wrest the province of Lahore from the crown. Akbar was obliged to quit the pursuit of the Uzbeks to meet this new revolt, which, however, he succeeded in crushing at once. On his return to the south, he found that the revolted generals had obtained possession of the districts of Allahabad and Oude, and were preparing to advance on the capital. The rains had set in when all military operations are generally suspended; but he did not hesitate to march against them, and by the promptitude and vigour of his attack, completely broke the strength of the confederacy, and, at the age of twenty-five, had the happiness of seeing his authority firmly established

Akbar's authority fully established, 1567. throughout his dominions. Nothing gives us a higher idea of the real greatness of Akbar's character, than the conflict which, at so early an age, he successfully maintained against his own mutinous troops and officers.

Baber, with a liberality of spirit foreign to every preceding conqueror, had determined to strengthen his government by matrimonial alliances with the Hindoos. He encouraged his son Humayoon to espouse a daughter of Bhugwan Dass, the raja of Jeypore. Akbar, following his father's example, allied himself with the same house, as well as with the ruling family of Marwar, or Joudhpore. At the same time he conferred an office of high dignity at his court on the raja of Jeypore. Thus the purest Hindoo blood was mingled with that of the Mahomedan conquerors, and the princes of Rajpootana gloried in these imperial alliances as conferring additional dignity on their families. But the orthodox house of Chittore, wrapped up in its religious pride and exclusiveness, disdained any such connection, and even excommunicated the rajas of Jeypore and Marwar; though Bappa, the founder of that family, considered by his countrymen as the "sun of Hindoo dignity," married Mahomedan wives without number, and left a hundred and thirty circumcised children.

Akbar, having reduced his military aristocracy to submission, determined to chastise the raja of Chittore for having given encouragement to the king of Malwa. The throne was then filled by Oody Sing, the degenerate son of the renowned Rana Sunga. On the approach of the Moguls, he fled to the hills, and left the defence of his capital to Jeymul, the Rajpoot chief of Bednore, esteemed by his countrymen the bravest of the brave. Akbar, with a powerful artillery, made his approaches in the most scientific mode, closely resembling the practice of modern Europe. The siege of Chittore was protracted by the genius and valour of Jeymul, but he was at length slain by a bolt from the bow of Akbar, while inspecting the ramparts. His death deprived the garrison of all confidence, and they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. The women threw themselves on the funeral pile of the raja, and the men rushed frantically on the weapons of the Moguls, and perished

Matrimonial alliances with the Rajpoot princes.

Attack on the raja of Chittore, 1568.

to the number of 8,000. With that generosity of character which distinguished Akbar, he erected a statue to the memory of his heroic foe in the most conspicuous place of his palace at Delhi. The fall of Chittore—which from that period was abandoned for the new capital, Oodypore, called by the founder after his own name—was considered the most fatal blow which had fallen for ages on that royal house. The remembrance of this event has been perpetuated throughout India by a most remarkable practice. Akbar estimated the golden ornaments taken from the Rajpoots at seventy-four maunds and a-half. The numerals, $74\frac{1}{2}$, were therefore deemed accursed. The Rajpoots, and more particularly the Marwarees, are now the largest and most enterprizing mercantile community in India, and their commercial correspondence bears the impress of these figures, signifying that “the sin of the slaughter of Chittore is invoked on any one who violates the secrecy of the letter.” The practice has now become universal throughout India.

Akbar's next enterprize was one of greater magnitude. The province of Guzerat, enlarged by the conquests of Bahadoor Shah about forty years before this period, and enriched by maritime commerce, was estimated to yield a revenue of five crores of rupees, and to be equal to the support of 200,000 troops; but it had been a prey to faction since his death. Four weak and profligate monarchs had filled the throne in thirty-six years. The distraction of the kingdom had been increased by the arrival of the Mirzas, as they are styled by the native historians, a family connected with Akbar by the ties of blood, who had revolted against his authority, and, having been driven out of his dominions, transferred their intrigues to Guzerat. Etimad Khan, originally a Hindoo slave, who now managed the government in the name of Mozuffer the Third, seeing no other mode of quelling the factions in the country, invited Akbar to take possession of it. The emperor proceeded with a powerful army to Puttun, where that feeble monarch advanced to meet

Capture and
abandonment of
Chittore, 1568.

Conquest of
Guzerat, 1572.

him, and resigned his crown without an effort; and Guzerat, after two centuries and a-half of independence, was again annexed to the crown of Delhi. As soon, however, as Akbar returned to his capital with a large portion of his army, Mirza Hussein, the most turbulent of the brothers, raised a new revolt, and the imperial generals were reduced to great straits, and obliged to act on the defensive. The rains had set in, but Akbar was ready for action at all seasons. He immediately dispatched a force of 2,000 choice cavalry from Agra, and followed it with 300 of his own guards, marching, in that season, no less than four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. The rapidity and vigour of his movements confounded the rebels; they suffered a signal defeat, and the subjugation of the province was completed.

Orissa conquered by the Afghans, 1550.

The attention of Akbar was next directed to the recovery of Bengal, but before narrating this expedition, it is necessary to advert to the fortunes of the neighbouring kingdom of Orissa. That country had been governed by the family of the Guju-putees, or lords of the elephant, from a very remote period of Hindoo history. About 400 years before the time under review, the throne was occupied by the dynasty of the Gunga-bungsus. The princes of this race expended the revenues of the country in the erection of the most magnificent temples, and extended their authority from the river Hooghly to the Godavery, and on one occasion carried their arms as far south as Conjeveram, in the vicinity of Madras. A little before the period of Akbar's accession, the king of Golconda, who was endeavouring to extend his power over the Hindoo tribes on the sea coast, attacked the king of Orissa, Mookund Rao, the last of his race; at the same time, Soliman, the king of Bengal, sent his general Kala-pahar with a large body of Afghan cavalry, to invade it from the north. The valour of the raja was of little avail; he was defeated and slain in 1558, and this venerable Hindoo monarchy, which had never before felt the shock of a Mahomedan invasion, was extinguished, and

the Afghans parcelled the country out in jaygeers among themselves. The native inhabitants, who had enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion from time immemorial, were now to taste the bitterness of persecution. Kala-pahar was a brahmin by birth, but had embraced the religion of the Prophet to obtain the hand of a princess of Gour, and now became a relentless oppressor of his former creed. So terrific did he appear to the Hindoos, that it was popularly reported that the legs and arms of the idols dropped off at the sound of his awful kettle-drum. He made every effort to root out Hindooism; he persecuted the priests, and confiscated the religious endowments which had accumulated during twenty generations of devout monarchs; he pulled down the temples, and erected mosques with the materials, and seized the image of Jugunnath, which he committed to the flames on the banks of the Ganges.

Akbar invades
Bengal, 1576.

The attention of Akbar was drawn to Bengal, even while he was engaged in the subjugation of Guzerat. Under the successor of Shere Shah, the Afghan governor had assumed independence, and four kings reigned in Bengal during a period of thirty years, of whom the most distinguished was Soliman, the conqueror of Orissa. In the height of his prosperity, he had the wisdom to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. But his successor, Daood Khan, a debauchee and a coward, who ascended the throne in 1573, finding himself at the head of an army which was estimated, by oriental exaggeration, at 140,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, and 20,000 guns of all sizes, considered himself a match for Akbar, and while he was engaged in Guzerat attacked and captured a fort above Ghazeepore. Akbar immediately ordered a large army to proceed to the conquest of Bengal. Ghazeepore, which was strongly garrisoned, submitted after a brave resistance, and the king fled to Orissa, where he made one bold stand for his throne. He was defeated, but allowed to retain Orissa, as a feudatory of Delhi. The year after, on the withdrawal of a portion of the imperial

troops, he invaded Bengal, but was defeated and slain, and his head sent to the emperor. With Daood Khan, in 1576, terminated the line of Afghan kings in Bengal, who had reigned in succession over it for two hundred and thirty-six years. During the sovereignty of these foreigners, not only was every office of value bestowed on their countrymen, but the whole of the land was parcelled out among them in jaygeers, and the natives of the country were employed only as managers, or cultivators, of the estates.

The jaygeers of the discomfited Afghans were seized by the victorious Mogul officers. Akbar was resolved, however, to introduce the same fiscal economy into Bengal which he had established in other provinces. But when his revenue officers called on the Mogul jaygeerdars to account for the revenues they collected, and to furnish a muster of the troops they were bound to maintain, they rose in a body in Bengal and Behar, and 30,000 of Akbar's finest cavalry appeared in arms against him. His new conquest was for the time lost, and the spirit of disaffection spread to the neighbouring province of Oude. Finding it difficult, in this emergency, to trust any of his Mogul officers, he sent an army of Rajpoots, under the celebrated Hindoo raja Toder Mull, who succeeded in giving a severe blow to the revolt; but the war languished for a time, and was terminated by Azim Khan, whose success was owing as much to the offer of a compromise, as to the vigour of his arms. The Afghans in Orissa took advantage of this confusion, and recovered their footing in the lower provinces of Bengal. The great Rajpoot raja Man Sing, the near relative of the emperor, was sent to quell this formidable revolt, which was not effected without great difficulty; and it was not till the year 1592, after a dozen battles and seventeen years of conflict, that the authority of Akbar was conclusively established in a province which, a century and a half later, was at once and finally conquered by Clive in one decisive action.

Revolt of the
Mogul officers,
1577.

Destruction of
Gour, cii. 1560.

It was a short time previous to the invasion of Bengal by Akbar, that the ancient city of Gour was depopulated and abandoned, after having existed more than twenty centuries. It was admirably situated on the confines of Bengal and Behar for the government of both these provinces; it had been the capital of a hundred kings, by whom it was successively adorned with the most superb edifices. It extended along the banks of the Ganges, and was defended from the encroachments of the river by a stone embankment, not less than fifteen miles in length. This magnificent city, the seat of wealth and luxury, was suddenly humbled to the dust by some pestilential disease, which has never been satisfactorily explained. The establishments of government were transferred, in the first instance, to Tondah, and then to Rajmahal.

Conquest of
Cashmere, 1587.

The next important event in the reign of Akbar was the conquest of Cashmere, by his brother-in-law, the raja of Jeypore, when the Mahomedan king of that province was enrolled among the nobles of the court, and this lovely valley, the paradise of Asia, became the summer retreat of the emperors of Delhi. The attempt which Akbar was required to make, soon after, to curb the highland tribes around the plain of Peshawur, proved far more arduous. These wild mountaineers, of whom the Eusufzies and the Khyberees were the most considerable and most turbulent, had been for ages the plague of every successive ruler of the province. It was their hereditary belief that the fastnesses of the mountains had been bestowed on them by the Creator, to enable them to levy contributions on the industry of the plains. Every form of conciliation and coercion had been employed in vain to restrain their inroads. On this occasion Akbar sent an army against them, under the joint command of his foster brother, and his great personal friend and favourite, the Hindoo raja Beerbull. Their troops were decoyed into the defiles and cut off, and, to the infinite regret of the emperor, Beerbull was among the slain. So complete

was the disgrace, that according to the historian of this reign, of 40,000 horse and foot, who entered the hills, scarcely an individual escaped. Such wholesale destruction would appear incredible, if we had not witnessed an example of it in the same scene in our own day. The task of subjugating them was then committed to the rajas Toder Mull and Man Sing, who established military posts in the hills, and cut off the supplies of the mountaineers from the plains, and thus imposed some restraint on their violence. They became, however, as troublesome a century after, in the days of Aurungzebe, as they had been in the time of Akbar, and it is only since the establishment of British authority at Peshawur, that they have felt themselves in the presence of a master.

Conquest of Sinde and Candahar, 1591—94. Akbar, having no other war on his hands, proceeded to annex the kingdom of Sinde to his dominions, and soon after reconquered the province of Candahar. Thus, after a series of conflicts, which extended over a period of twenty-five years, Akbar saw himself the undisputed monarch of all his hereditary territories beyond the Indus, and of all the principalities which had ever belonged to the crown of Delhi, north of the Nerbudda, and it only remained to extend his authority over the Deccan. A brief notice of the events in that region, during the sixteenth century, will form a suitable introduction to the Mogul expedition, on which Akbar now entered.

History of the Deccan in the 16th century. It has been stated in a previous chapter that on the decline of the Bahminy kingdom, the governors of the different provinces threw off their allegiance, and that at the period of Baber's invasion, five separate kingdoms had been established in the Deccan, at Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, Beder, and Berar. Of these Beder, the most insignificant, was gradually absorbed by its more powerful neighbours. Berar was scarcely of more weight in the politics of the Deccan, and was extinguished about the year 1572 by the Nizam Shahee ruler of Ahmednugur. The kingdom of Golconda,

The kingdoms of Beder and Berar.

which was sometimes called Telingana, as comprising the districts of that extinct Hindoo monarchy, was consolidated by Koolee Kootub Shah, who claimed homage on the ground of being lineally descended from Japhet, the son of Noah. His reign extended over sixty years, during which he was employed, as he delighted to say, "in spreading the banners of the Faith, and reducing the infidels from the borders of Telingana to Masulipatam and Rajahmundry." Year after year he took the field against the Hindoos, reducing their villages to ashes, and turning their temples into mosques. Though the kings of Golconda mixed freely in the intrigues of the two other princes of the Deccan, and were always ready to enter the lists against them when plunder or territory was to be gained, their attention was more particularly directed to the subjugation of the Hindoo districts lying between the eastern border of their kingdom and the Bay of Bengal.

Kingdoms of
Beejapore and
Ahmednugur.

The two states of Beejapore and of Ahmednugur, called the Adil Shahee, and the Nizam Shahee, which bordered on each other, were incessantly engaged in mutual hostility. Within the circle of those kingdoms was included the region inhabited by the Mahrattas, the rise and importance of whose power is to be attributed primarily to the perpetual warfare in which these royal families were involved. As early as 1499, we find a body of 5,000 Mahrattas enlisted in the service of one of them, and throughout the sixteenth century, their armies were strengthened by Mahratta contingents, consisting of five, ten, and sometimes even twenty thousand troops. Not a few of the Mahratta families, which subsequently rose to distinction, traced the origin of their dignity to these appointments. There was as yet no bond of national unity among them, and their mercenary weapons were sold to the highest bidder, even though their own countrymen might be in the opposite ranks. As the object of the kings of the Deccan was to inflict the greatest amount of havoc on their

opponents, the aid of men who were bandits by birth and profession, must have been invaluable.

To the south of the three Deccan kingdoms, lay the territories of the great Hindoo monarch of Beejuynugur, who exercised authority, more or less complete, over all the Hindoo chiefs in the south. The kings of this race had incessantly waged war with the powerful Bahminy sovereigns, and on the extinction of their power, were always engaged either in alliance or in war with some one of the Deccan kings, the ally of one year being frequently the foe of the next. The revenues of Beejuynugur, which were said to have been enriched by the commerce of sixty seaports, on both coasts, enabled the king to maintain a force with which no other single state was able to cope. Ram Raja, the reigning monarch in the middle of the sixteenth century, had recently wrested several districts from Beejapore; he had also overrun Telingana, blockaded the capital, and constrained the king to make large concessions. His growing power gave just alarm to the Mahomedan kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, and Beder, and they resolved to suspend their mutual jealousies and form a general confederacy to extinguish it. This was nothing less than a conflict for supremacy between the Hindoo and the Mahomedan powers in the Deccan. Ram Raja, then seventy years of age, called up to his aid all his Hindoo feudatories as far as Ceylon, and was enabled to assemble an army, consisting, on the most moderate computation, of 70,000 horse. 90,000 foot, 2,000 elephants, and 1,000 pieces of cannon. The great and decisive battle was fought on the 25th of January, 1565, at Tellicotta, about twenty miles north of Beejuynugur, and terminated in the total defeat and capture of the raja, and the slaughter, according to the Mahomedan historian, of 100,000 infidels. The aged raja was put to death in cold blood, and his head was preserved as a trophy at Beejapore, and annually exhibited to the people for two hundred years on the anniversary of his death. The

The Hindoo
kingdom of
Beejuynugur.

Battle of Telli-
cotta, 25 Jan.,
1565.

capital was plundered of all its treasures, and gradually sunk to insignificance. The power of the Hindoos in the Deccan was irretrievably broken, but the confederate monarchs were prevented from following up their victory by mutual dissensions, and the brother of the raja was thus enabled to save some portion of the territory, and to establish his court at Penconda. The capital was subsequently transferred to Chundergiree, which has been rendered memorable in the history of British India as the town where, seventy-four years after the battle of Tellicotta, the descendant of the raja granted the English the first acre of land they ever possessed in India, and on which they erected the town of Madras.

The Portuguese during the 16th century. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese made little effort to extend their conquests into the interior of the country. They were content with being masters of the sea, from which they swept all the fleets of India and Arabia, and with the monopoly of the commerce between Europe and India. There are, therefore, few events of any consequence in their history. It was about thirty years after they had landed at Calicut that they determined to obtain possession of the harbour of Diu at all hazards. A large expedition was fitted out, consisting of 400 vessels, with a force of 22,000 men, of whom 5,000 were said to be European soldiers and sailors; but it was defeated by the artillery and the extraordinary talents of Roomy Khan, the great engineer officer of the Guzerat army. Here it may be useful to note, that the Portuguese, on their arrival in India, found the native princes furnished with artillery fully equal to their own, and in some cases superior to it. The engineers in the native armies, who came from Constantinople and Asia Minor, and usually bore the title of Roomy, were skilled in every branch of the science of artillery, and few battles were fought without the aid of field guns. It was Roomy Khan who, in 1549, cast, or constructed, the great gun at Ahmednugur—now called the Beejapore gun—the calibre of which was 28 inches and the weight 40 tons. In 1535,

Bahadoor Shah, the king of Guzerat, was driven from his throne by Humayoon, and took refuge at Diu, where the Portuguese, after their repulse, had succeeded in forming an establishment. There he entered into a treaty with them, granting permission to erect a fortress in return for a contingent of 50 European officers and 450 soldiers, with whose aid he was enabled to reconquer his kingdom on the departure of Humayoon. The disputes which arose regarding this fortification, and the tragic event in which they ended, have been already narrated. The fortress was completed in 1538, and contributed to strengthen the power of the Portuguese, who had now become the terror of the eastern seas through the superiority of their naval equipments. It became, therefore, the interest of all the Mahomedan powers in Asia to extirpate them, and the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople entered into a combination with the king of Guzerat to accomplish this object. The Turkish admiral sailed from Suez to Diu, with a force of 7,000 men and a superb train of artillery. A body of 20,000 men co-operated with them from Guzerat. Sylveira, the Portuguese Commander, had only a force of 600 men, but defended himself with such gallantry, that the siege is one of the most remarkable transactions in the history of the Portuguese. When, at length, forty alone of the garrison remained fit for duty, and there was no prospect before them but an unconditional surrender, the Mahomedans, exhausted by this long and fruitless siege, drew off their troops, and Diu was saved.

Combined
attack on Goa,
and the Portu-
guese settle-
ments, 1570.

The greatest event of this century, however, was the siege of Goa, in 1570. The kings of Beejapore and of Ahmednugur formed a coalition with the Zamorin of Calicut to expel the Portuguese from the coasts of India, each of the confederates engaging to attack the settlements contiguous to his dominions. Ali Adil came down upon Goa, with a force of 100,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry, and 350 pieces of cannon; Don Luis, the governor, was able only to muster 1,600 men, including

the monks; but he obliged the king to raise the seige with ignominy, after ten months had been wasted, and 12,000 of his troops slain. Mortiza Nizam Shah of Ahmednugur, descended the ghauts with an army scarcely less numerous, composed of natives of Turkey, Persia, Khorasan, and Ethiopia, and attacked the port of Choul, in the neighbourhood of Bombay, but he was repulsed at all points, and 3,000 of his troops perished in the assault. The Zamorin, at the same time, laid seige to the port of Chale, but it was rescued from danger by the timely arrival of reinforcements from Goa. The Portuguese, having thus repulsed the most formidable attempt made on their settlements since they became a power in India, constrained the discomfited princes to sue for peace, and retained their supremacy in the Indian ocean, and on the coasts of India to the close of the century, when they had to encounter the rivalry of the new power introduced by the Dutch, to which they were obliged eventually to succumb.

Akbar's views
on the Deccan,
1595.

Akbar, having consolidated his empire to the north of the Nerbudda, resolved to conquer the Deccan. There can be little doubt that this movement was dictated simply by the "lust of territorial aggrandisement," and that it is open to all the censure which English historians have bestowed on it. Yet aggression had been the normal principle of every government, since the Mahomedans "turned their face to India," in the year 1000; perhaps even long before that period; and if the enterprise of Akbar had been crowned with success, it would doubtless have been an incomparable benefit to India.

It is difficult to imagine a more deplorable condition than that of the unhappy provinces of the Deccan during the whole of the sixteenth century. The kings seem to have had no occupation but war. Scarcely a year passed in which the villages were not subjected to rapine, and the fair fruits of industry blasted by their wanton irruptions. No government, however tyrannical, could have inflicted anything like the wretchedness occasioned by these unceasing devastations.

So inestimable is the blessing conferred by a strong government in India, in putting down intestine war, and giving repose and confidence to the people, that it appears mere affectation to inquire into the origin of its rights, which, in nine cases out of ten, will be found to be as valid as those of the power it subverts.

Akbar enters the Ahmednugur state, 1595. On the death of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednugur, in 1595, four rival factions arose in the state, the most powerful of which called in the aid of the Moguls. Akbar, who had long been watching an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Deccan, readily accepted the overture, and lost no time in sending forward two armies. But before they could reach the capital, another revolution had placed the power of the state in the hands of Chand Sultana. She was a princess of Ahmednugur, who had been bestowed in marriage in 1564 on Ali Adil Shah of Beejapore, to bind him to the alliance then formed by the Mahomedan kings against the raja of Beejuynugur. On his death she returned to her native country, and now assumed the regency on behalf of her nephew, Bahadoor Nizam Shah.

The celebrated Chand Sultana, 1595. This celebrated woman, the favourite heroine of the Deccan, the subject of a hundred ballads, determined to defend the city to the last extremity, and persuaded the rival factions to merge their differences in a combined effort against the common foe. The Moguls had constructed three mines, two of which she countermined; the third blew up, carrying away a portion of the wall, and many of her principal officers prepared to desert the defence. The Sultana flew to the spot in full armour, with a veil over her countenance, and a drawn sword in her hand, and recalled the troops to a sense of their duty. Combustibles of every description were thrown into the breach, and so heavy a fire was directed against it, that the besiegers were constrained to retire. During the night she superintended in person the repairs of the wall. It is a popular and favourite tradition, that when the shot was exhausted, she loaded the guns with

copper, then with silver, and then with gold, and did not pause till she had begun to fire away her jewels. The allies whom she had importuned to aid her, were now approaching; the Mogul camp began to be straitened for provisions, and prince Morad, the son of Akbar, who commanded the army,

She cedes Berar to the Moguls, 1596. offered to retire on obtaining the cession of the province of Berar. Chand, having little confidence in the fidelity of her troops or of her allies, was constrained to accede to these terms.

Battle of Soneput, Jan., 1597. Within a year of this convention, the kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, and Golconda formed an alliance to drive the Moguls back across the Nerbudda, and brought an army of 60,000 men into the field. An action was fought at Soneput, which lasted two days, without any decisive result, though both parties claimed the victory. Dissensions at length broke out among the officers of the Mogul army, and Akbar, who had resided for fourteen years in the countries bordering on the Indus, felt the necessity of proceeding in person to the Deccan. On reaching Boorhanpore he sent an army to lay seige again to Ahmednugur. The government of the Sultana, which she had maintained with great difficulty, was now distracted by factions, and feeling the city to be incapable of defence, she endeavoured to make the best terms in her power with the Moguls. The populace, inflamed by her enemies, rushed into her chamber and put her to death. But they soon had reason to deplore their ingratitude. The Mogul army stormed and plundered the city, giving no quarter to the defenders, and the young king and his family were sent as state prisoners to Gwalior.

Capture of Ahmednugur, July, 1600 The fall of the capital did not, however, ensure the submission of the kingdom, and it was not incorporated with the Mogul dominions till thirty-seven years after this period. Soon after, Akbar deprived his vassal, the king of Candesh, of all authority, and that kingdom was re-annexed to the Mogul empire.

This was the last event of importance in the reign of Akbar, who returned to the capital in 1601—1605.

1601. The close of his life was embittered by the misconduct of his son Selim, then thirty years of age, a prince not altogether destitute of that talent, which for a century and a half distinguished the family of Baber, both in the cabinet and in the field, but violent and vindictive, and the slave of wine. The emperor had declared him heir to the throne, but he was so impatient to occupy it, as to take up arms against his father, which, however, he was induced to lay down by a fond and paternal letter, and a grant of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He had contracted an inveterate hatred of Abul Fazil, one of the most illustrious officers of Akbar's camp, and, after the death of raja Beerbull, his most intimate friend. Prince Selim caused him to be assassinated by a zemindar of Bundelcund. Abul Fazil was equally eminent as a general, a statesman, and a historian; and Akbar is indebted for his renown in no small degree to the pen of his noble historian.

In September, 1605, Akbar began to feel the approach of death. The profligacy of Selim had induced an influential body of courtiers, among whom was raja Man Sing, to contemplate the elevation of his son Khusro, a minor, to the throne; but Akbar nipped the project in the bud. He summoned his courtiers and his son around his couch, and ordered the prince to bind his favourite scymetar to his side as a token that the empire had been bequeathed to him, and recommended his personal friends and the ladies of the harem to his protection. Then, addressing the omrahs around him, he asked forgiveness for any offence he might have given them; a priest was soon after introduced, and Akbar repeated the confession of faith, and died in the odour of Mahomedan sanctity, though he had lived the life of a heretic.

Akbar was not only the ornament of the Mogul dynasty

Akbar's character and civil institutions. but incomparably the greatest of all the Mahomedan rulers of India. Few princes ever exhibited greater military genius or personal courage. He never fought a battle which he did not win, or besieged a town which he did not take; yet he had no passion for war, and as soon as he had turned the tide of victory by his skill and energy, he was happy to leave his generals to complete the work, and to hasten back to the more agreeable labours of the cabinet. The glories of his reign rest not so much on the extent of his conquests, though achieved by his personal talent, as on the admirable institutions by which his empire was consolidated. The superiority of his civil administration was owing not to his own genius alone, but also to the able statesmen whom, like Queen Elizabeth, he had the wisdom to collect around him.

His religious views and his toleration.

In the early period of his career he was a devout follower of the Prophet, and was at one time bent on a pilgrimage to his tomb, the aspiration of every Mahomedan; but about the twenty-fifth year of his reign he began to entertain sentiments incompatible with fidelity to the Koran. He professed to reject all prophets, priests, and ceremonies, and to take simple reason as the guide of his thoughts and the rule of his actions. The first article of his creed was, "There is no God but one, and Akbar is his prophet." Whether he ever intended to become the founder of a new creed may admit of controversy; but all his measures tended to discourage the religion of the Prophet. He changed the era of the Hejira; he restrained the study of Arabic and of Mahomedan theology; and he wounded the dearest prejudices of the faithful by proscribing the beard. Nothing but the ascendancy of his character, and his dazzling success in war and in peace, could have preserved the throne amidst the discontents produced among his own chiefs by these heterodox measures. Among a people with whom persecution was considered the most sacred of duties, Akbar adopted the principle not only of religious toleration, but, what has been found a more difficult task even in the most enlightened Christian com-

munities, of religious *equality*. He formed the magnanimous resolution of resting the strength of his throne on the attachment of all his subjects, whether they belonged to the established religion of the state or not. He disarmed the hostility and secured the loyalty of the Hindoos by allowing them to share the highest civil offices and military commands with the Mahomedans, and thus placed himself a century ahead of the Stuarts in England. He abolished the odious jezzia, or capitation tax; he issued an edict permitting Hindoo widows to marry; he discouraged suttees to the full extent of his power, and he abolished the practice of reducing captives to slavery.

His revenue reforms. Under the supervision of the great financier of the age, the raja Todér Mull, Akbar radically remodelled the revenue system of the empire. He caused all the lands to be measured according to a uniform standard, and with the most perfect instruments procurable. He divided them, according to their character and fertility, into three classes, and fixed the demand of the state generally at one-third the annual produce, and then commuted it to a money payment. He abolished all arbitrary cesses, and made the settlement for ten years, and with the cultivators themselves, to the exclusion of all middlemen. It is questionable therefore whether, during his reign, there were any zemindars in India at all, and whether those who afterwards assumed their prerogatives were, at this period, and for more than a century after, anything beyond mere officials employed in collecting the public dues.

Division of the empire. The whole empire was divided into fifteen provinces, or soubahs:—Cabul, beyond the Indus; Lahore, Mooltan, Delhi, Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Ajmere, Guzerat, Malwa, Behar, and Bengal; and south of the Nerbudda, Candesh, Berar, and Ahmednugur. Each province was placed under a soobadar, who was entrusted with full powers, civil and military, and assisted by a dewan, or minister of finance, who, though nominated by the emperor, was

accountable to the soobadar. The military duties of each province were entrusted to a fouzdar, who also commanded the police force, and was responsible for the peace of the country. Civil law was administered by a Mahomedan chief justice, assisted by local judges, and the decisions were invariably in accordance with the precepts of Mahomedan law.

His military system and the economy of his court.

The military system of Akbar was the least perfect of all his arrangements, and his extraordinary success is to be attributed more to the weakness of his opponents than to the superiority of his own army. He perpetuated the great military error of paying the commanders for their soldiers by the head, which created an irresistible temptation to make false musters, and to fill the ranks with ragamuffins. The same organization which pervaded the various offices of state was carried into all the establishments of his court, down to the department of the fruits and the flowers, the perfumery, the kitchen, and the kennel, which were regulated to the minutest details under the personal directions of the emperor. Every establishment was maintained upon a scale of imperial magnificence. He never had fewer than 12,000 horses and 5,000 elephants in his own stables, independently of those required for hawking, and hunting, and war. During his progress through the provinces his camp was a great moving city, and the eye was dazzled by the sight of the royal tents surmounted with gilt cupolas, and enriched with the most gorgeous ornaments.

CHAPTER V.

JEHANGEEER AND SHAH JEHAN, 1605—1658.

ON the death of Akbar, Prince Selim quietly stepped into the throne, at the age of thirty-seven, and adopted the title of Jehangeer, the conqueror of the world. The great empire to which he suc-

Jehangeer ascends the throne, 1605.

ceeded was in a state of profound tranquillity, and there was no spirit of insubordination among the military or civil chiefs. His proceedings on his accession served not only to calm the fears which his previous misconduct had excited, but even to win him the esteem of his subjects. He confirmed his father's ministers in their posts, abolished some vexatious taxes, and, though strongly addicted to wine himself, prohibited the use of it, and endeavoured to control the indulgence in opium. He replaced the Mahomedan creed on the coin, and manifested a more superstitious attention to the precepts of the Prophet than his father had done. At the same time he courted popularity by affording easy access to the complaints of his people. But a subject of disquietude soon arose.

Rebellion of his
son Khusro,
1606.

His son Khusro had become the object of his detestation by the effort made during the last days of Akbar's life to place him on the throne by some of the leading courtiers, and the youth now fled to the Punjab, where he collected a body of 10,000 men. He was promptly pursued and captured, and the emperor exhibited the brutality of his nature by causing seven hundred of his adherents to be impaled alive, while the wretched Khusro was carried along the line to witness their agony.

Parentage and
marriage of
Noor Jehan.

The event which exercised the greatest influence on the conduct of Jehangeer for sixteen years was his marriage with the celebrated Noor Jehan. She was descended from a noble Persian family of Teheran, but her father, having been reduced to poverty, determined to follow the prevailing current of emigration, and proceed to India to repair his fortunes. During the journey, his wife gave birth to a daughter under the most calamitous circumstances, though they were subsequently embellished with all the romance of poetry when she became the Queen of the East, and was in a position to reward the pens of poets. A merchant who happened to be travelling on the same route afforded assistance to the family in their exigency, and, on reaching the capital, took the father into his own employ, and,

perceiving his abilities, introduced him to the service of Akbar, in which he gradually rose to eminence. His daughter, Noor Jehan, received all the accomplishments of education which the capital of India could afford, and grew up into a woman of the most exquisite beauty. In the harem of Akbar, which she occasionally visited with her mother, she attracted the attention of the prince Selim, who became deeply enamoured of her. But she had been already betrothed to a Turkoman of the noblest descent, who had acquired the title of Shere Afgun, from having killed a lion singlehanded. He had served with renown in the wars of Persia and India, and was distinguished no less by his gigantic strength than by his personal valour. Akbar refused to annul the nuptial engagement, even in favour of his own son, and, in the hope that absence would allay the passion of the prince, appointed Shere to a jaygeer in the remote district of Burdwan.

But Jehangeer had no sooner mounted the throne than he determined to remove every obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, and Shere perished in a scuffle, which was not believed to be accidental. His lovely widow was conveyed to Delhi, when Jehangeer offered to share his throne with her; but she rejected the offer with disdain, and was consigned to the neglect of the harem, where she had leisure for reflection and repentance. Anxious to regain Jehangeer's attachment, she contrived to throw herself in his way, and her youth and beauty did not fail to rekindle his former passion. Their marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and she was clothed with honours greater than any Sultana had ever enjoyed before. The emperor went so far as to associate her name with his own on the coin, in these graceful terms: "By order of the emperor Jehangeer, gold acquired a hundred times additional value by the name of the empress Noor Jehan"—the light of the world. Her talent for business was not less remarkable than her personal charms, and her influence was beneficial to the interests of the state. She softened the natural cruelty

Noor Jehan
raised to the
throne, 1611.

of the emperor's disposition, and constrained him to appear sober at the durbar, however he might indemnify himself for this restraint in the evening. Her taste imparted grace to the splendour of the court, at the same time that she curtailed its extravagance. Her brother, Asof Khan, was raised to a post of high dignity, and her father, who was placed at the head of affairs, proved to be one of the ablest of viziers.

The city of Ahmednugur, as previously stated, was captured by Akbar, on the murder of Chand Sultana, in 1600, and the royal family was consigned to the fortress of Gwalior ; but the kingdom was not subdued, though Akbar designated it as one of the soobahs of his empire. Malik Amber, the chief of the Abyssinian nobles of the court, assumed the control of public affairs, and placed a kinsman of the late king on the throne. He attacked the Mogul forces with vigour, and erected the national standard on what had been regarded the impregnable rock of Dowlutabad; he founded a new capital at the foot of it, at Kirkee, and adorned it with many splendid buildings. Malik Amber stands foremost in the history of the Deccan as a statesman of surpassing genius, who maintained the sinking fortunes of the Ahmednugur dynasty for twenty years with the greatest energy. Planting himself on the borders of the Deccan, he continued to repel the encroachments of the Moguls, and repeatedly drove their armies back to Boorhanpore. He availed himself to so great an extent of the services of the Mahratta chieftains, that he may be said to have cradled their power; more especially was it under his banner that Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, laid the foundation of his greatness. With a natural genius for war, he was still more remarkable for the assiduity with which he cultivated the arts of peace; and it is the revenue settlement he brought to perfection which has given lasting celebrity to his name. He was the Toder Mull of the Deccan.

Jehangeer at-
tacks Amber,
1612.

In the year 1612 Jehangeer resolved to recover the footing which the Moguls had lost

in the Deccan, and two armies, the first commanded by Abdoolla Khan, were sent against Malik Amber. But he avoided a general engagement, while his light Deccanee horse hovered on the flanks and rear of his enemy, cut off his communications and supplies, and harassed him by night and by day so inexorably as to oblige him to sound a retreat, which the Abyssinian soon converted into a disgraceful flight. The second army met the Ahmednugur troops in the flush of victory, and wisely retraced its steps across the Nerbudda.

Subjugation of Oodypore, 1614. These disappointments were balanced by success against Oodypore. It has been already stated that Oody Sing, the feeble rana of Chittore, the founder of the town of Oodypore, was obliged by the generals of Akbar to seek refuge in the hills. He was succeeded by his son, Pertap Sing, who is still idolized by his countrymen for the heroism with which he repelled the attacks of the Moguls, and preserved the germ of national independence in his wild fastnesses. Although the Rajpoot rajas of Jeypore and Marwar were ranged against him, he succeeded in recovering the greater portion of his hereditary dominions before the death of Akbar. His son Omrah, equally valiant, but less fortunate, after having repeatedly defeated the Mogul troops, was, in the year 1614, attacked by Shah Jehan, the gallant and favourite son of the emperor, and compelled to acknowledge fealty to the throne of Delhi. That generous prince, himself, on the mother's side, of Rajpoot blood, restored the territories of the fallen prince, but only as the vassal of the emperor, at whose court, however, he was assigned the highest post of honour. Thus was the independence of the family of the great ranas of Chittore, which had been maintained for eight hundred years, at once extinguished.

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1616.

The tenth year of the reign of Jehangeer was rendered memorable by the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassador from James, the king of England, to solicit privileges for the East India Company, then recently

established. He landed at Surat, and proceeded by slow journeys to the court, then held at Ajmere, where he was received with greater distinction than had been conferred on any foreign envoy. Of the result of his embassy we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; here it may be sufficient to state, that he was fascinated by the oriental magnificence of the court, which so completely eclipsed the tinsel pomp of that of his own master. He was dazzled with the profusion of gold and jewels on every side, and, not least, with those which adorned the foreheads of the royal elephants. But he perceived little comfort among the subjects of the empire, who were ground down by the extortions of the public servants of every grade. The emperor dispensed justice daily in person; but he retired in the evening to his cups, which he never left while there was any reason left in him. He was maudlin and easy, and his courtiers were universally corrupt and unprincipled. Military discipline had decayed after the death of Akbar, and the only good soldiers in the army were the Rajpoots and the Afghans. There was a large influx of Europeans at the capital, and so greatly was Christianity encouraged, that one of the emperor's nephews had embraced it, and the Emperor himself had an image of Christ and the Virgin in his rosary.

Second cam-
paign against
Malik Amber,
March, 1617.

The attention of Jehangeer was now called to the state of affairs in the Deccan, and he marched down to Mandoo to superintend the war, which he entrusted to the command of Shah Jehan, at the same time declaring him the heir of the throne. The prosperity of Malik Amber had created a feeling of envy at the Ahmednugur court, and alienated many of his confederates. On the approach of Shah Jehan, he was still further weakened by the defection of the king of Beejapore, and was obliged to enter into negotiations, and cede the fortress of Ahmednugur, together with all the conquests he had made from the Moguls. But within four years he renewed the war, and succeeded in driving the imperial forces across the Taptee.

Shah Jehan was again selected by his father to command the army; but he accepted the charge only on condition that his brother Khusro should accompany him. Before he reached the province of Malwa, Malik Amber had crossed the Nerbudda and burned down the suburbs of Mandoo. But success still attended the arms of Shah Jehan. He contrived to corrupt the principal Mahratta chiefs in the army of Malik Amber—some of them by the most extravagant offers—and that general, deserted by his own officers, suffered a defeat, and was obliged to purchase peace in 1621, by a large sacrifice of treasure and territory.

Death of Khusro,
and intrigues of
Noor Jehan,
1621.

Just at this juncture Khusro died, and the misfortunes of Shah Jehan began. Noor Jehan had bestowed her daughter by Shere Afgun on Shariar, the youngest of the emperor's sons, and determined to raise him to the throne, in the hope of perpetuating that unbounded influence which she had enjoyed under Jehangeer. Her father, the vizier, whose virtue and wisdom had maintained order in the empire, notwithstanding the dissoluteness of the Court, had recently died, and the salutary restraint of his authority being removed, she was at liberty to indulge her passions without control. The Persians had recently reconquered Candahar, and, in the hope of removing Shah Jehan out of her way, she persuaded Jehangeer to employ his great military talents in regaining it. Shah Jehan was alive to the danger of quitting India, and began to stipulate for securities. His demands were regarded as treasonable; all his jaygeers and estates were sequestered, and he was driven into rebellion by the force of circumstances.

Mohabet hunts
Shah Jehan
through the
country, 1623.

To meet this difficulty, Mohabet, the ablest general in the emperor's service, was drawn from his government of Cabul, and directed to march against Shah Jehan. A partial and indecisive action took place in Rajpootana, and the prince unwisely determined to retire to the Deccan. This retrograde movement was attended, as might have been expected, with the most fatal conse-

quences. Malik Amber and the kings of Beejapore and Golconda refused him any assistance; his own troops began to desert, and he was obliged to retreat to Telingana. On reaching Masulipatam he marched along the coast to Bengal, took possession of that province and of Behar, and advanced to Allahabad. Mohabet, who was lying at Boorhanpore, on hearing of his sudden appearance on the Ganges, hastened to encounter him; his raw levies were speedily dispersed, and he fled a second time to the Deccan. Malik Amber was now at issue with the emperor, and made common cause with his fugitive son, and they advanced together to the siege of that city. But Mohabet pursued the prince with such energy that he was fain to seek reconciliation with his father, which, however, was not granted but on the hard condition of surrendering all his forts, and giving two of his sons as hostages.

Noor Jehan
contracts a
hatred of
Mohabet, 1625.

A new scene now opens in this eventful drama. Mohabet, the greatest subject of the empire, and the prime favourite of the emperor, had acquired additional importance by his brilliant success; but as he manifested no disposition to second Noor Jehan's views regarding the succession of Shariar, her confidence was capriciously converted into hatred, and she resolved on his ruin. Jehangeer was at this time on his way to Cabul. A charge of embezzlement during his recent campaign was trumped up against Mohabet, and he was summoned to the court to answer it. He came, but with a body of 5,000 Rajpoots who were devoted to his service. He had recently betrothed his daughter to a young noble without obtaining the usual consent of the emperor. Jehangeer, on hearing of the circumstance, ordered the youth into his presence, and in a fit of brutal rage directed him to be stripped naked and whipped with thorns in the presence of the court, and confiscated all his estates. When Mohabet approached the royal encampment he was refused admission. He could not fail to perceive that his ruin was determined on, and he resolved to strike

Mohabet seizes
the Emperor,
1626.

the first blow. The following morning the army crossed the Hydaspes, and Jehangeer, who had not recovered from the debauch of the previous night, remained behind with a slender guard. Mohabet proceeded to the emperor's tent and seized his person. Jehangeer was frantic at this indignity, but seeing himself absolutely in the power of his general, was persuaded to mount an elephant, with his goblet and his cup-bearer, and proceed to Mohabet's tent.

Noor Jehan
fights for his
rescue, 1626.

Noor Jehan crossed the bridge in disguise and joined the imperial army, and the next morning proceeded to the rescue of her husband. The bridge having been destroyed during the night by the Rajpoots, she advanced at the head of the troops to a ford which had been discovered, mounted on a lofty elephant, with a bow and two quivers. The struggle was long and deadly. She endeavoured to animate the soldiers by her exertions, but they were driven into the stream by the shower of balls, rockets, and arrows which the Rajpoots poured into the files massed on the narrow ford. Noor Jehan's elephant reached the opposite bank, but was assailed with redoubled fury; her guards were cut down, and among the hundred missiles aimed at her one struck the infant son of her daughter whom she carried in her lap. The elephant driver was killed, the animal was wounded, and carried down the stream in endeavouring to recross it, and the life of the empress was in imminent danger. When her female attendants came shrieking to the spot, they found the howda, or seat, covered with blood, and the empress employed in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.

Noor Jehan
feigns reconcili-
ation; the Em-
peror's release,
1626.

After this vain attempt at a rescue the empress yielded to necessity, and joined Jehangeer, who continued a captive in the hands of his revolted subject, but was treated with the greatest respect. Mohabet, now in full command of the army, crossed the Indus, and encamped at Cabul. There, her fertile genius, by a

series of skilful manœuvres, contrived gradually to turn the tables on him; he saw that his position was becoming daily more insecure, and made offers for a reconciliation. Noor Jehan condoned his revolt on condition that he should proceed in pursuit of her other enemy, Shah Jehan. That prince, after making his submission to the emperor, had fled to Sinde, intending to seek an asylum in Persia, but he was still a formidable obstacle to her views. But when his prospects were at the lowest ebb they began to brighten. Mohabet, dreading a reign of weakness and violence if Shariar succeeded to the throne through the influence of Noor Jehan, resolved to assist the efforts of Shah Jehan, and, instead of proceeding to attack him, joined him with the troops yet remaining under his standard.

The empress on hearing of this defection ordered him to be hunted through the empire, and set a price on his head. But her power was at once annihilated by the death of

Death and
character of
Jehangeer,
1627.

Jehangeer, whose constitution was completely exhausted by a life of indulgence, and who expired at Lahore on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was contemporary with James the First of England. Not only was their reign of the same duration, but there was a remarkable accordance in their characters. They were both equally weak and contemptible, both the slaves of favourites and of drink, and, by a singular coincidence, they both launched a royal decree against the use of tobacco, then recently introduced into England and India, and, in both cases, with the same degree of success.

Accession of
Shah Jehan,
1627.

On the death of Jehangeer, Asof Khan, the brother of Noor Jehan, and one of the chief ministers, determined to support the claims of Shah Jehan on the same ground which had influenced the decision of Mohabet. He despatched a messenger to summon him from the Deccan, and at the same time placed the empress dowager under restraint. Her influence expired with the

death of her husband, and she retired from the world with an annuity of twenty-five lacs of rupees a-year, and passed the remaining years of her life in cherishing his memory. Shariar, who was at Lahore, was attacked and defeated by Asof Khan, and put to death by order of Shah Jehan. That prince lost no time in coming up from the Deccan, in company with Mohabet Khan, on whom, as well as on Azof Khan, the instruments of his elevation, he bestowed the highest dignities. He was proclaimed emperor, at Agra, early in 1628, and began his reign by indulging that passion for magnificence in which he eclipsed all his predecessors. The anniversary of his accession was commemorated by a display of incredible extravagance. A suite of tents was manufactured of the finest Cashmere shawls, which, in the figurative language of his biographer, it required two months to pitch. In conformity with the usage of the ancient Hindoo sovereigns he was weighed against silver, and gold, and jewels, which were then lavished among the courtiers. Vessels filled with gems were waved over his head and emptied on the floor for a general scramble. The expense of this festival was computed at a crore and a half of rupees.

Condition of
the three King-
doms in the
Deccan.

The first eight years of the reign of Shah Jehan were occupied with military operations in the Deccan. Thirty years had now elapsed since Akbar crossed the Nerbudda, and overran the kingdom of Ahmednugur, on which occasion he added to his titles that of king of the Deccan. The genius of Malik Amber had, however, succeeded in restoring the independence of the kingdom, together with much of its ancient power; but he had recently died, at the age of eighty. The king of Beejapore, Ibrahim Adil Shah, renowned for the grandeur of his edifices, had died about the same time, bequeathing a full treasury and an army of 200,000 men to his successor. The king of Golconda was engaged in extending his authority over his Hindoo neighbours to the east and south. Of all the acquisitions made by Akbar south of the Nerbudda, there remained to the crown of

Delhi only the eastern half of Candesh, and the adjoining portion of Berar.

War in the Deccan occasioned by the revolt of Khan Jehan Lodi, 1629—1637.

The war in the Deccan on which Shah Jehan now entered, and which continued for eight years, was occasioned by the revolt of Jehan Lodi. He was an Afghan of ignoble birth, but great ability and arrogance, who had raised himself to eminence in the Mogul army, and obtained the office of governor of the Deccan, from which post he was removed to Malwa under the new reign. He was invited to court, and treated apparently with great distinction; but, having imbibed a suspicion that the emperor, to whom he was personally odious, had a design on his life, he quitted the capital abruptly with the troops which had accompanied him. He was immediately pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Chumbul; and it was only with extreme difficulty that he was able to elude pursuit and reach the Deccan; but, having once reached it, he was joined by numerous adherents, and supported by the king of Ahmednugur. The emperor considered the revolt so serious as to order three armies, each consisting of 50,000 men, into the field, and even to proceed to the Deccan in person. Jehan Lodi was driven out of Ahmednugur by the Mogul force, and sought the aid of the king of Beejapore, which was peremptorily refused him. His friend, Shahjee, the Mahratta chieftain, considering his cause desperate, abandoned it, and joined the Moguls; for which act of treachery he was rewarded with a title of nobility. Meanwhile his allies, the Ahmednugur troops, were defeated by the Moguls at Dowlutabad; and Jehan Lodi, overwhelmed by the defection of his friends and the discomfiture of his allies, fled northward, in the hope of reaching Afghanistan, and rousing his countrymen; but he was brought to bay on the borders of Bundelkund, and, after performing prodigies of valour with the small body of 400 men who still adhered to his fallen fortunes, was struck dead by a Rajpoot, and his head sent as an acceptable offering to Shah Jehan.

Termination of
the war in the
Deccan.

The war with Ahmednugur did not, however, cease with the cause of it. The king, Mortiza Nizam, had fallen out with his minister, Futeh Khan, the son and successor of Malik Amber, and thrown him into prison; but, having experienced nothing but mortification in his struggle with the Moguls, released him, and restored him to power. The Abyssinian rewarded the kindness of his master by causing him and his adherents to be assassinated; and, having placed an infant on the vacant throne, offered his submission to the emperor. Meanwhile, the king of Beejapore, alarmed at the progress of the Mogul arms, determined to make common cause with Ahmednugur, and thus brought down the imperial armies on his own territories. It would be wearisome to go into a detail of all the intrigues, the treachery, and the vicissitudes which form the history of this period of five years. Suffice it to record that the war with Beejapore was conducted with varied fortunes; that the king baffled the Mogul generals by creating a desert for twenty miles around his capital, and depriving their armies of food, forage, and water; and that both parties, becoming at length weary of this war of fruitless desolation, listened to terms of accommodation. The result of this conflict of eight years may be thus summed up: the kingdom of Ahmednugur was entirely extinguished, after it had flourished a century and a half; a portion of its territory was ceded to Beejapore for a tribute of twenty lacs of rupees a year, and the remainder absorbed in the Mogul dominions; while the king of Golconda, overawed by the neighbourhood of the Mogul army, consented to pay an annual subsidy.

The Portuguese
power in Bengal
—1537.

We turn now to Bengal. At what period the Portuguese formed their first establishment in that province is not accurately known; but in the year 1537, the king, Mahmood, when pressed, as we have already stated, by the famous Shere Shah, invoked the aid of the Portuguese governor on the Malabar coast, and Samprayo, his admiral, entered the Ganges with nine vessels. Though they arrived

too late to afford him assistance, it is supposed that they formed a settlement in the neighbourhood of the great port of Satgong, at a place called Golin, or Gola, the granary, afterwards corrupted to Hooghly, where they continued to flourish for a hundred years. Towards the close of the century they appear to have formed another and larger settlement at Chittagong, where Gonzales is said to have held the district around it in subjection with the help of a thousand Europeans, two thousand natives, and eighty ships. So formidable was his power, that the Mogul viceroy made Dacca the seat of his government, in order more effectually to check his progress. With the command of the only two ports of the Gangetic valley, the power of the Portuguese in Bengal during the sixteenth century must have been an object of no little alarm to the Mogul authorities.

Hooghly.

At Hooghly they had fortified their factory, and obtained the complete control of the commerce of the river, and the prosperity of Satgong began to wane under this rivalry. At the time when Shah Jehan, flying before Mohabet, in 1624, advanced from Masulipatam to Bengal, he besought the Portuguese chief at Hooghly, Michael Rodrigues, to assist him with some guns and artillerymen, but, as the governor had no confidence in the success of that rash enterprise, the request was refused. Six years afterwards when Shah Jehan had become emperor, a representation was made by the soobadar of Bengal that some European idolaters, who had been allowed to establish a factory in Bengal, had erected a fort and mounted it with cannon, and grown insolent and oppressive. Shah Jehan had not forgotten the repulse he received from Rodrigues at Hooghly in his adversity, and curtly replied, "Let the idolaters be immediately expelled from my dominions."

Capture of
Hooghly, 1632.

The viceroy lost no time in investing Hooghly, and, finding that it could not be carried by storm, undermined the defences. The great bastion was blown up; the Moguls rushed with fury into the breach, and slaughtered

more than a thousand Portuguese. Of three hundred vessels then in the river, it is stated that only three escaped. More than four thousand were made prisoners; the priests were forwarded to Delhi, and the most beautiful of the women reserved for the royal seraglio; the churches and images were demolished. By this blow, the power of the Portuguese in Bengal was irretrievably broken; and no vestige now remains of their former influence, save the few vocables they contributed to the language of the country, and the old church at Bandel, within sight of Hooghly, erected two centuries and a half ago. The Mogul viceroy directed that it should thenceforth be made the royal port of Bengal; all the public records and offices were removed to it from Satgong, and that city, which may be traced back to the days of the Cæsars, sunk into a little paper making hamlet.

Acquisition of Candahar, 1637
—Ali Merdan—
His canal.

In the year 1637 the emperor was gladdened by the unexpected recovery of Candahar, which had been so often lost and gained by the family of Baber. Ali Merdan, the governor under the Persians, was driven into rebellion by the tyrannical proceedings of his sovereign, and made over the town and territory to the Moguls; after which he sought a refuge at the court of Delhi. He was received, as may well be supposed, with great honour by Shah Jehan, and subsequently employed in many military expeditions beyond the Indus. But his fame has been perpetuated in India by the great public works which he executed, and more especially by the canal, near Delhi, distinguished by his name, which has proved an incalculable blessing to the country it irrigates.

Military operations beyond the Indus—1644-47.

The military operations which were undertaken beyond the Indus, can scarcely be said to belong to the history of India. The emperors of the house of Baber retained the same ardent interest in all the political movements of the region from which they sprung, as the first and second George took in the fortunes of Hanover. India was, therefore, drained of men and money for the con-

quest or defence of those distant, and, as compared with India, unprofitable possessions. The son of the Uzbek ruler of Balkh had revolted against his father; the government was thrown into confusion, and Shah Jehan, who had enjoyed seven years of repose, could not resist the temptation of again prosecuting the dormant rights of his family on that remote province. Ali Merdan was sent across the Indus with a large army, and ravaged Budukshan, but was constrained, by the severity of the winter, to retreat. Raja Jugut Sing was then sent to conduct the war with 14,000 Rajpoots; and never did the chivalry of that race of warriors, and their sympathy with a tolerant and just government, shine more conspicuously than in this expedition. Regardless of Hindoo prejudices, they crossed the Indus, and surmounted the Hindoo Kosh, and encountered the fiery valour of the Uzbeks in that frozen region. To be near the scene of operations, Shah Jehan took up his residence at Cabul. His third son, Aurungzebe was also employed in these operations, and at first gained a great victory, but was soon after obliged to retire upon Balkh, and then to make a most disastrous retreat to Cabul, with the loss of a great portion of his army. The emperor was at length induced calmly to weigh the policy of continuing an expensive war in that distant quarter; and he had the moral courage to relinquish the enterprize.

The Persians retake Candahar, and three efforts made in vain to recover it, 1648. The repose gained by abandoning Balkh was, however, of short duration. Shah Abbas, the king of Persia, having now attained his majority, came down on Candahar and retook it, after a siege of two months. Shah Jehan was resolved to recover it, and the following year Aurungzebe invested it for four months, but without success. Two years after, the vizier as well as the prince again invested the town with a larger force, but the attempt was a second time unsuccessful, and Aurungzebe was sent as viceroy to the Deccan. A third army was despatched in 1653, under prince Dara, the eldest son of the emperor, who was impatient to achieve success in

an expedition in which his ambitious brother had been twice foiled; but, though it set out at the precise moment which the royal astrologer had pronounced to be most auspicious, it was equally destined to disappointment. Thus terminated the third and last attempt of the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but a precarious possession since the days of Baber. The failure was followed by two years of repose, when Shah Jehan completed the revenue settlement in the Deccan, on which he had laboured for twenty years, and introduced the financial system of Toder Mull.

The year 1655 marks the commencement of an important series of events;—the renewal of the war in the Deccan, which continued for fifty years to consume the resources of the Mogul empire, and served to hasten its downfall. During the twenty years of peace which followed the treaty with the king of Beejapore, in 1636, that prince had given his attention to the construction of those splendid palaces, mausoleums, and mosques which distinguished his reign; and to the conquest of the petty principalities in the Carnatic which had sprung out of the ruins of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejuyanugur. The tribute which he exacted at the same time from the king of Golconda, had been paid with punctuality, and that prince had manifested every disposition to cultivate the friendship of the emperor. There was no cause of difference with these rulers, and Shah Jehan appeared to be completely satisfied with the relation they maintained with his throne. But in 1653, Aurungzebe, after his second repulse from Candahar, was appointed to the Deccan, and determined to obtain an indemnity for his disappointment in the subjugation of the two kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda.

Meer Joomla. An unexpected event gave him the pretext he was seeking for an interference in their affairs. Mahomed, generally known by his title of Meer Joomla, then the chief minister of Abdoolla Kootub, king of Golconda, was born of indigent parents at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and was placed

in the service of a diamond merchant, who took him to Golconda, and bequeathed his business to him. The enterprising youth embarked in maritime trade, and amassed prodigious wealth, and came to be held in high estimation for his talents and probity in every Mahomedan court in Asia. He entered the royal service of Golconda, and gradually rose to the supreme direction of affairs. He led an army to the south, and extended the authority of the king over the chiefs who yet enjoyed independence; and it was while absent on this expedition that his son, Mahomed Amin, by some supposed act of disrespect, incurred the displeasure of his sovereign.

Meer Joomla solicited that consideration for his son, which he considered his own services entitled him to, but meeting with a refusal, made an appeal to Aurungzebe, which that prince was but too happy to take up. Under his influence, Shah Jehan was induced to send a haughty missive to Abdoolla to grant redress to the youth, which the king answered by placing him in confinement, and confiscating his father's estates. An order was then sent to Aurungzebe from Delhi to enforce compliance by the sword, and he entered upon the execution of it with that craft which was the prominent feature of his character through life. He assembled a large army, giving out that he was about to proceed to Bengal to celebrate the marriage of his son with the daughter of his brother, the viceroy of that province. He advanced towards Hyderabad with the most friendly professions, and the unsuspecting Abdoolla, prepared to welcome him with a magnificent entertainment, when he found himself treacherously assailed by the Mogul army, and constrained to seek refuge in the fortress of Golconda. A large portion of Hyderabad was burnt down, and the city subjected to indiscriminate plunder, by which the booty which Aurungzebe had destined to himself, fell to his soldiers. The king of Golconda, reduced to extremity by this sudden and unprovoked assault, was constrained to submit to the harsh terms imposed by Aurungzebe,—that he

Meer Joomla—
Attack of Gol-
conda. submis-
sion of the king,
1653.

should bestow his daughter on one of his sons, with a rich dowry, and pay up a crore of rupees, as the first instalment of an annual tribute. Shah Jehan, who had a conscience, remitted one-fifth of this sum, and, inviting Meer Joomla to Delhi, invested him with the office of vizier.

Assault on Bee-
japore, 1657.

Having thus reduced Golconda to submission, Aurungzebe resolved to attack Beejapore, and he had not long to wait for a pretext. Mahomed Adil Shah died in 1656, and bequeathed the kingdom to his son, a youth of nineteen, who mounted the throne without paying that homage which the emperor pretended to consider due to him. It was, therefore, given out that the youth was illegitimate, and that it belonged to the emperor to nominate a successor. The war which arose on this unwarrantable claim was, perhaps, a more wanton and heinous aggression than any to be found in the darkest annals of India. Meer Joomla, as commander-in-chief, and Aurungzebe, as his lieutenant, suddenly invaded the territories of Beejapore. The Mahratta chieftains in the service of that state, nobly rallied round the throne, but the abruptness of the irruption, rendered it impossible to collect a sufficient force—a large portion of the army being absent in the Carnatic—or to resort to the usual means of defence. The forts of Beder and Koolburga were captured, the country was laid waste with fire and sword, and the capital was invested. The king made the most humble supplications, and offered to purchase peace by the payment of a crore of rupees, or any sacrifice the prince might demand; but every offer was sternly rejected. The extinction of the dynasty appeared inevitable, when an event occurred in the north, which gave it a respite of thirty years. News came posting down to the Deccan that the emperor was at the point of death, and that the contest for the empire had begun. Aurungzebe was obliged to hasten to the capital to look after his own interests, and the siege of Beejapore was raised.

The four sons of Shah Jehan. Aurungzebe advances to Delhi, 1657.

Shah Jehan had four sons; Dara, the eldest, had been declared his successor, and admitted to a considerable share of the government. He had great talents for command, and an air of regal dignity; he was frank and brave, but haughty and rash. Soojah, the second son, the viceroy of Bengal, had been accustomed to civil and military command from his youth, but was greatly addicted to pleasure. The third, Aurungzebe, was the most able and ambitious, as well as the most subtle and astute member of the family; while Morad, the youngest, though bold and generous, was little more than a mere sot. Dara was a free thinker of Akber's school; Aurungzebe was a bigoted Mahomedan, and contrived to rally the orthodox around him by stigmatizing his brother as an infidel. The claims of primogeniture had always been vague and feeble in the Mogul dynasty, and the power of the sword generally superseded every other right; when, therefore, four princes, each with an army at his command, equally aspired to the throne, a contest became inevitable.

Soojah takes the field, 1657. Soojah was the first in the field, and advanced from Bengal towards the capital. Morad, the viceroy of Guzerat, on hearing of his father's illness, seized the public treasure, and assumed the title of emperor. Aurungzebe, after having extracted a large supply of money from the king of Beejapore, granted him a peace, and advanced with his army to the northern boundary of his province. His object was to cajole Morad, whom he saluted as emperor, and congratulated on his new dignity, declaring that as for himself his only desire was to renounce the world and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, after he had liberated his father from the thralldom of the irreligious Dara. Morad was simple enough to believe these professions, and united his army to that of Aurungzebe on the banks of the Nerbudda, when the two brothers advanced towards the capital.

Dara defeats
Soojah. Aurung-
zebe is victo-
rious, and de-
poses Shah
Soojah, 1658.

Dara prepared to meet both these attacks. He despatched raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, to oppose Soojah, and raja Jesswunt Sing to encounter Aurungzebe. The selection of two Hindoo generals to command the armies which were to decide the fortunes of the Mogul throne affords strong evidence of the feelings of loyalty which the wise policy of Akbar had inspired. Just at this juncture Shah Jehan was restored to health and resumed the functions of government; but it was too late to quench the elements of strife. The imperial force came up with Soojah at Benares, and he was defeated, and obliged to fly to Bengal. The united armies of Aurungzebe and Morad encountered Jesswunt Sing near Oojein, and defeated him, and then advanced with 35,000 troops to the neighbourhood of Agra. Dara came out to meet them with a superior force, estimated at 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 80 pieces of cannon. In the fierce and bloody battle which ensued, Dara was completely overpowered and fled from the field with a remnant of barely 2,000 men. The victorious Aurungzebe entered the capital, deposed his father, and assumed the whole power of the empire.

Character of
Shah Jehan.

The character of Shah Jehan is aptly described by his native biographer. "Akbar was pre-eminent as a warrior and as a lawgiver. Shah Jehan for the incomparable order, and arrangement of his finances, and the internal administration of the empire." Though he drew a revenue of thirty crores of rupees annually from his dominions, which did not include the Deccan, it is generally asserted that the country enjoyed greater prosperity during his reign than under any of his predecessors; it has therefore been characterized as the golden age of the Mogul dynasty. This is a significant fact, since this prosperity cannot be attributed to any enlightened policy, or to any encouragement given by the emperor to the pursuits of industry; it was owing simply to that respite from the ravages of war, which afforded the provinces within the Indus scope for the development of their

resources. Shah Jehan was unquestionably the most magnificent prince of the house of Baber, and perhaps of any other Mahomedan dynasty. The pomp of his court, and the costliness of all his establishments almost stagger our belief; but with a treasury which received 600 crores of rupees during twenty years of peace, what might not a monarch do, who had only his own will to consult? In nothing was the splendour of his taste more manifest than in his buildings. It was he who founded the new city of Delhi, in which his castellated palace, with its spacious courts, and marble halls, and gilded domes, was the most attractive object. Of that palace the noblest ornament was the far-famed peacock throne, blazing with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, and the most costly stones, the value of which was estimated by a European jeweller and traveller at six crores of rupees. To him the country was indebted for the immaculate Taj Mehal, the mausoleum of his Queen, the pride of India, and the admiration of the world. But all his establishments were managed with such circumspection, that after defraying the cost of his expeditions beyond the Indus, and maintaining an army of 200,000 horse, he left in his treasury, according to his native historian, a sum not short of twenty-four crores of rupees.

CHAPTER VI.

AURUNGZEBE, 1658—1707.

Accession of Aurungzebe; his conduct towards his three brothers, 1658.

AURUNGZEBE having thus obtained possession of the capital and the treasury, threw off the mask. He no longer talked of a pilgrimage to Mecca, but at once assumed all the powers of government, and took the title of Alumgeer, the Lord of the

World. His father was placed in captivity in his own palace, yet treated with the highest respect; but though he survived this event seven years, his reign ended with his confinement. Aurungzebe did not, however, consider himself secure while there was a single relative left, who might disturb his tranquillity. As he had now no further use for Morad, he invited him to an entertainment, and allowed him to drink himself into a state of helplessness, when he was taken up and conveyed to the fortress of Agra. Dara, after his defeat near Agra, had escaped to the Punjab, where, with the resources of that province and of Afghanistan, he might possibly have made a stand had not Aurungzebe pursued him with promptitude, and obliged him to retreat to Mooltan, and thence to Guzerat. The emperor then quitted the pursuit, and hastened to encounter his brother Soojah, who was advancing a second time from Bengal to contest the throne. The battle between the brothers was fought near Allahabad, when Aurungzebe was for a time placed in extreme peril, by the treachery of raja Jesswunt Sing, who, in a fit of disappointment, had come to an accommodation with Soojah, and suddenly fell on the emperor's baggage. The constancy and valour of Aurungzebe, however, restored the day. At one period of the engagement his elephant became unmanagable from its wounds, and the emperor was on the point of descending from his seat, when Meer Joomla, who was by his side, exclaimed, "you descend from the throne," on which the legs of the animal were bound, and Aurungzebe continued to animate his troops by his presence. Soojah was completely defeated, and the emperor returned to Delhi, leaving his own son Mahomed, and Meer Joomla, to follow up the victory. They pursued the prince to Monghir, and from thence to Rajmahal, which he had made his capital, and adorned with noble edifices; but his pursuers gave him no respite and hunted him down to Dacca, and then out of Bengal. He took refuge, at length, with the King of Arracan, by whom he and his whole family were barbarously murdered.

Dara is captured and put to death, with his son, 1659.

Meanwhile, Dara having obtained aid from the governor of Guzerat was enabled to assemble an army and move up to join raja Jesswunt Sing, who was prepared to make common cause with him against the emperor. Aurungzebe, who dreaded this junction, employed all his devices to detach the raja from the alliance. Dissembling the resentment which his recent treachery at the battle of Allahabad had naturally excited, he wrote him a complimentary letter with his own hand, and conceded all the honours, the refusal of which had driven him into rebellion. Under the influence of these flatteries Jesswunt Sing deserted the cause of Dara, who was defeated, and driven to seek refuge with the raja of Jun, whom he had formerly laid under the greatest obligations. By that ungrateful chief he was received with apparent cordiality, and then betrayed into the hands of his vindictive brother, who ordered him to be paraded, with every token of indignity, through the streets of Delhi, where he had recently been beloved as a master. A conclave of Mahomedan doctors was then convened, who gratified the Emperor's wishes by condemning him to death as an apostate from the creed of the Prophet. His son Soliman, who had taken shelter with the raja of Sreenugur, by whom he was basely betrayed, was, like his father, exhibited in the streets of the capital, but in fetters of gold, and his noble bearing and deep calamity are said to have moved the spectators to tears. He and his younger brother, together with a son of Morad, were consigned to death in the dungeons of Gwalior.

Aurungzebe's dangerous illness, 1662.

It only remained now to dispose of Morad himself, who had lain in confinement for three years. To add insult to injury, he was subjected to a mock trial for some execution which he had ordered while viceroy of Guzerat, and condemned and executed. Thus, in the course of three years, had Aurungzebe, by a series of atrocious murders, secured, to all appearance, the stability of his throne, when his own life was threatened by an alarming

illness; and the edifice of his greatness, reared by so many crimes, was threatened with sudden destruction. While he lay helpless on his couch the court began to be filled with intrigues. One party espoused the cause of his son, Muazzim, another that of Akbar. Jesswunt Sing was advancing from Joudhpore, and Mohabet from Cabul, to liberate and restore Shah Jehan; but Aurungzebe, having passed the crisis of his disease, caused himself to be propped up in his bed, and summoned the officers of his court to renew their homage to him. His recovery dissolved the various projects to which his illness had given birth; and Muazzim had to wait forty-five years for the crown.

Meer Joomla's expedition to Assam, and his death, 1662. A short time previous to the illness of the emperor, Meer Joomla, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, on the expulsion of Soojah, entered upon his unfortunate expedition to Assam, in the hope of adding that kingdom to the Mogul dominions. He assembled a large army and conveyed it up the Berhampooter in boats. The capital of the province having been mastered without difficulty, he sent a pompous despatch to the emperor with a report of his success, promising in the following year to plant the Mogul standard in the rich empire of China. The emperor was delighted with the prospect of treading in the footsteps of his renowned ancestor, Jenghis Khan, and ordered large reinforcements to Bengal. But a sad reverse was impending. The rains set in with extraordinary violence; the Berhampooter rose beyond its usual level, and the whole of the country was flooded; the supplies of the army were cut off; a pestilence, probably the Asiatic cholera, broke out in the camp; and Meer Joomla was obliged to retreat in haste and disgrace from the country, pursued by the exasperated Assamese. On his return to Bengal, he expired at Dacca, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest statesmen, and of the greatest generals of that stirring period. Aurungzebe conferred all his titles on his son, Mahomed Amin, the youth who had been disgraced by the king of Golconda; and in the

letter of condolence sent to him, remarked "You have lost a father, and I have lost the greatest and most dangerous of my friends." Soon after the recovery of the emperor he was obliged to send an army to check the devastations committed by the Mahrattas in the Mogul provinces of the Deccan; and it becomes necessary, therefore, to pause and trace the origin and progress of this power, which rose to dominion on the ruins of the Mogul empire, and for more than a century governed the destinies of India.

Rise and progress of the Mahrattas.

The country inhabited by the Mahrattas, designated Maharastra in the Hindoo shastrus, is considered to extend from the Wurda on the east to the sea on the west; from the Satpoora range on the north to a line in the south drawn due east from Goa. The great feature of the country is the Syhadree mountains, more commonly called the Ghauts, which traverse it from north to south at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles from the sea, and rise to the height of four or five thousand feet above its level. The strip of land lying along the coast, at the foot of the mountains, is called the Concan. The inhabitants are of diminutive stature and vulgar in appearance, presenting a strong contrast to the noble figure of the Rajpoot; but they are sturdy, laborious, and persevering, and distinguished for cunning. This mountainous region was exceedingly difficult of access, and the strongest points had been improved by fortifications. For centuries the Mahrattas had been known chiefly as plodding accountants and village officers; and it was not before the sixteenth century that they were deemed worthy of notice by the Mahomedan historians. Their country was comprised in the dominions of the kings of Beejapore and Ahmednugur; and the noblest Mahratta families trace their distinction to the civil and military employments which they held under these two dynasties.

The Mahrattas trained to war.

These sovereigns were incessantly at war with each other, or with their neighbours; and they were happy to employ the Mahratta chieftains in raising

levies among their own hardy countrymen, each one commanding his own muster of free lances. Jaygeers, or lands given for maintaining a body of troops, were frequently granted for their support. Titles were likewise conferred upon many of the Mahratta chieftains, but they were generally ancient Hindoo appellations. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, seven Mahratta chiefs are enumerated as being ranged under the banner of Beejapore, and two—but of superior importance—under that of Ahmednugur. It was the wars which raged for a century in the Deccan, between the Kistna and the Taptee, that first taught the Mahrattas their own importance, and paved the way for their future predominance; but it was chiefly under Malik Amber that they made the most rapid strides towards political influence. A community of village clerks and husbandmen was thus transformed into a nation of warriors, and only required the appearance of some master spirit to raise it to empire. That spirit appeared in Sevajee.

Origin of Shah-
jee, the father of
Sevajee.

Mallojee Bhonslay, an active captain of horse, was employed about the year 1600 in the service of the king of Ahmednugur. His wife, who had long been childless, offered her prayers and vows at the Mahomedan shrine of Shah Seffer; and the child to whom she gave birth was named Shahjee in gratitude to the saint. He was born in 1594, and his father sought an alliance in the patrician family of Jadow Rao. In after times, when the Mahrattas had become the arbiters of India, the national historians endeavoured to trace the family of Mallojee from the rajas of Chittore, who claimed to be the lineal descendants of the great deified hero, Ramu; but at this period Jadow Rao spurned the alliance of so plebeian a family. Soon after Mallojee suddenly came into possession of a large treasure, acquired, doubtless, in the Mahratta mode; and he obtained from the venal court of Ahmednugur the jaygeers of Poona, Sopa, and several other places. No further objection was raised to the alliance, and the nuptials are said to have been graced by the presence of the

king of Ahmednugur. On the death of his father, in 1620, Shahjee succeeded to the jaygeer, and augmented his military force and importance, and entered into a close connection with Malik Amber. Nine years after, we find him espousing the cause of Jehan Lodi; but when the fortunes of that Afghan chief appeared to be on the wane, he deserted his cause and joined the Moguls, for which he was rewarded with the nominal honour of a commander of 5,000, and the substantial boon of a confirmation of his jaygeer. But Shahjee was speedily disgusted with the shuffling policy of the Mogul commanders, and again changed sides.

Places a prince
on the throne
of Ahmednugur,
1634.

On the capture of the young prince of Ahmednugur, in 1634, he considered himself strong enough to aspire to the regency, and raised another prince to the throne as the lawful heir of Nizam Shah. For three years he appears to have maintained a desultory warfare with the imperial generals, but was at length driven out of the country and obliged to seek refuge in the court of Beejapore, where his ability was known and appreciated; and he was entrusted with the command of an expedition to the Carnatic. His zeal and success were rewarded with the grant of extensive jaygeers in Bangalore, and the neighbouring districts where he conceived the design of establishing an independent Hindoo sovereignty, and resigned the petty jaygeer of Poona to his son Sevajee.

Birth and early
life of Sevajee,
1627.

Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, was born in 1627, and was sent, three years after, to reside with his mother at Poona, under the tutelage of Dadajee Punt—his father having taken a second wife. Dadajee managed the estate with the strictest economy as well as fidelity, and remitted the revenue with punctuality to Shahjee, but contrived to reserve a small sum annually at Poona. He watched over his youthful charge with assiduity, and is said to have given him an education suited to his station and prospects. Sevajee, however, was never able to read or write; but he was skilled in the use of

the bow and the sword, and the weapons employed in the hills; he was expert in all manly exercises, and, like his countrymen, an accomplished horseman. His tutor did not neglect his religious instruction, and Sevajee grew up a devout and rigid Hindoo, with a profound veneration for brahmins, and a hearty hatred of Mahomedans. His imagination was excited in youth by the perusal of the great epic poems of India, and he longed to emulate the exploits which are immortalized in them. At the age of sixteen he formed an association with youths of wild and lawless habits, and engaged in hunting or marauding expeditions, which made him familiar with all the paths and defiles of the tract which became the cradle of his power. Having trained the inhabitants of his native glens—the Mawullees—to arms and discipline, he began his career of ambition at the age of nineteen, by capturing Torna, a hill fort of very difficult access. In the succeeding year he erected a new fortress, to which he gave the name of Raigur. These proceedings did not fail to excite observation at Beejapore, and letters were sent to Shahjee in the Carnatic calling him to account for the doings of his son, but he replied that he had not been consulted by him, though he could not doubt that they were intended to improve the jaygeer. At the same time he remonstrated with Dadajee on the conduct of Sevajee, and the tutor failed not to reprimand his pupil; but, finding that he was bent on pursuing a course which appeared likely to injure the prospects of the family, fell a prey to anxiety. As his end approached he is said to have called Sevajee to his death bed, and urged him to continue the career on which he had entered; to protect brahmins, kine, and cultivators, and preserve the temples of the gods from violation.

Sevajee's progress; his father seized as a hostage, 1649.

Sevajee immediately took possession of the jaygeer, in his father's name, but employed the treasure which Dadajee had husbanded, as well as the resources of the district in augmenting his little army,

and in the course of two years extended his authority over thirty miles of territory. He attacked a convoy of treasure proceeding to Beejapore, and carried off three lacs of pagodas to his eyry in the mountains. In quick succession it was announced that he had captured seven other forts, and had, moreover, surprised the governor of Callian, and extorted the surrender of all his fortresses. The audacity of these proceedings raised the indignation of the Beejapore court and Shahjee, who managed all their recent acquisitions in the Carnatic, was held responsible for the proceedings of his son, though he pleaded, and with truth, that he had long ceased to possess any influence over his movements. Shahjee was treacherously seized by the Mahratta chief of Ghorepuray, and brought a prisoner to the capital, where he was threatened with a cruel death. To procure his release, Sevajee, then only twenty-two, memorialized the emperor, and offered to enter the imperial service, and it is not improbable that Shahjee owed his life to the representations made by the court of Delhi. He was, however, detained for four years as a hostage, until the increasing disorders in the Carnatic conquests constrained the king of Beejapore to restore the government of them to him. During his father's detention, Sevajee discreetly suspended his incursions, but on hearing of his release resumed his predatory and ambitious course, and, by an act of base treachery murdered the brother chieftains of Jaolee, and appropriated their lands to himself.

Sevajee's intercourse with Aurungzebe, 1657.

While Aurungzebe was engaged in the war with Beejapore, in 1657, Sevajee entered into correspondence with him, and professed himself a devoted servant of the throne of Delhi. He was thus enabled to obtain a confirmation of the territory he had wrested from Beejapore, and was encouraged to farther encroachments. But no sooner had Aurungzebe marched towards Delhi than Sevajee began to ravage the Mogul territories, and carried off three lacs of pagodas from the town of Jooncre. For the more distant enterprizes to which

he aspired, he felt the necessity of an efficient body of horse, and he now began to make the most vigorous efforts to organize that light cavalry, which subsequently became the scourge of Hindostan. About the same time he enlisted his first body of Mahomedan troops, taking into his pay 700 Patans who had been unwisely discharged from the service of Beejapore; but he took the precaution of placing them under the command of a Mahratta officer. The success of Aurungzebe's efforts to obtain the throne gave just alarm to Sevajee, who sent an envoy to Delhi to express his deep regret for what had occurred, and his attachment to the throne; and he had the effrontery to offer to protect the imperial territories during the emperor's absence, asking only for the transfer of the Concan to himself. Aurungzebe, conceiving that the security of the Mogul districts would be promoted by giving encouragement to Sevajee, consented to his taking possession of the Concan. He lost no time in sending an army to occupy the province, but his troops were defeated with great slaughter, and he experienced the first reverse he had sustained since the beginning of his career.

The Concan
ceded to him;
his first reverse,
1659.

The court of Beejapore was at length roused to a sense of the danger arising from the incessant encroachments of this aspiring chief, and Afzul Khan was sent against him with 12,000 horse and foot, and a powerful artillery, consisting of swivels mounted on camels, rockets, and other ordnance. He was a vain, conceited noble, and manifested the greatest contempt for his antagonist. Sevajee determined to defeat the object of the expedition by treachery. He professed the humblest submission to the king of Beejapore, and offered to surrender all his territories, if he might but be allowed to hope for pardon and acceptance. Afzul Khan was thrown off his guard by these artifices, and agreed to meet the Mahratta chief with only a single attendant. The Mahomedan army was stationed at a distance; but Sevajee, acquainted as he was with the

Afzul Khan is
sent against him,
and murdered,
1659.

mountain defiles, placed a select body of Mahrattas in ambuscade. Having performed his religious devotions with great fervour, he advanced to the interview with all humility, and while in the act of embracing Afzul Khan, plunged a concealed weapon in his bowels, and despatched him with his dagger. The troops of the murdered general, thus taken by surprise, were surrounded and defeated, and the whole of the camp equipage, including 4,000 horses, fell to the victor. The success of this stratagem, notwithstanding the atrocity of the deed, served to exalt the character of Sevajee in the opinion of his countrymen, and greatly improved his position. He followed up this victory by the capture of numerous forts, and plundered the country up to the very gates of Beejaporc.

Sevajee is reconciled to the king of Beejapore, 1662.

The king now took the field in person, and succeeded in regaining many of the forts and much of the territory he had lost. The war was protracted with various success for two years; but the balance of benefit remained with the Mahratta. A reconciliation was soon after effected between the parties, chiefly, as historians conjecture, through the mediation of Shahjee, who had paid his son a visit. It will be remembered, that in 1649, Shahjee was betrayed to the king of Beejapore by the Mahratta chief, Ghorepuray. On that occasion, he wrote to Sevajee:—"If you are my son, you must punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole." Thirteen years had elapsed since that act of treachery, but Sevajee had not forgotten his father's injunction. During the war with Beejapore, he learned that his enemy had proceeded to Moodhole with a slender escort, and he resolved not to lose this opportunity of avenging his family wrongs. He appeared suddenly before the town, captured and burned it to the ground, and with one exception, slaughtered the whole of the family and adherents of Ghorepuray, even to the infants in the womb. Shahjee was delighted on hearing of this vindictive exploit, and resolved to visit his son, whom he had not seen for twenty years. He was received with the

highest distinction, and Sevajee attended him on foot for twelve miles. Shahjee congratulated him on the progress he had made towards the establishment of a Hindoo power, and encouraged him to persevere. On his return, he was entrusted with presents for the king of Beejapore, which served as a peace offering and led to a treaty. At this period, Sevajee, in his thirty-fifth year, was in possession of the whole coast of the Concan, from Callian to Goa, extending about four degrees of latitude; and of the ghauts, from the Beema to the Wurda, about 130 miles in length, and 100 in breadth. His army, which consisted of 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse, was out of all proportion to the territory under his authority; but he was incessantly engaged in war, and he made war support itself by exactions.

Extent of Sevajee's possessions in 1662.

Sevajee being now at peace with Beejapore, let loose his plundering hordes on the Mogul territories, in utter violation of his engagements with Aurungzebe, and swept the country up to the suburbs of Aurungabad. The emperor appointed Shaista Khan, his own maternal uncle, and the nephew of Noor Jehan, viceroy of the Deccan, with orders to chastise this aggression, and carry the war into the Mahratta domains. Shaista captured Poona, and took up his residence in the very house where Sevajee had passed his childhood; and Sevajee conceived the design of assassinating him in his bed. A Mahratta foot soldier in the imperial service whom he had gained, got up a marriage procession, which Sevajee joined in disguise, and was enabled to enter the town with thirty of his followers in the suite. After nightfall, when the town was dark and quiet, he proceeded unperceived to the palace, with every corner of which he was familiar, and suddenly fell on its inmates. The viceroy, awaking suddenly from sleep, escaped with the loss only of a finger, but his son, and most of his guards were cut down. Sevajee, foiled in his chief object, the destruction of the viceroy, retired before the troops could be assembled, and was seen returning to his encampment amidst a blaze of torches.

Shaista Khan sent to repress Sevajee, 1662.

This daring exploit, so congenial with the national character, was regarded with greater exultation by his own countrymen than his most splendid victories. Shaista Khan was soon after recalled and sent to govern Bengal, and the Rajpoot raja Jesswunt Sing, the governor of Guzerat, who was left in command was little disposed to push matters to extremity against men of his own faith.

Sevajee attacks Surat, 1664. The operations of Sevajee, which had hitherto been limited to the neighbourhood of the ghauts, were now extended to a more remote and a bolder enterprize. The city of Surat, a hundred and fifty miles distant from Poona, was at that period the greatest emporium of the western coast of India. The annual importation of gold and silver from Arabia and Persia alone amounted to fifty lacs of rupees, and two families in the town were accounted the richest mercantile houses in the world. It was, moreover, considered pre-eminently *the* port of the Mogul empire, where all the devout Mahomedans, official and private, from the various provinces which yielded a revenue of thirty millions a year, embarked on pilgrimage for Mecca. Sevajee is said to have visited the city in disguise, and during four days marked the houses of the most opulent for plunder. Taking with him 4,000 of his newly raised horse, he appeared suddenly before the town, which was ill fortified, and having deliberately plundered it for six days, returned leisurely to his capital at Raigur. He met with no resistance except from the European factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English chief at Surat, defended the property of his masters, and also that of the natives, with such valour and success as to obtain the applause of Aurungzebe, as well as a perpetual exemption from some of the duties exacted of other merchants. This was the first occasion on which English and native troops came into contact with each other, and the result filled both Mahomedans and Hindoos with astonishment. On his return from this expedition, Sevajee heard of the death of his father, at the age of seventy, and immediately assumed the

Death of Shah-
Jee, 1664.

title of raja, and began to strike the coin in his own name. At the period of his death Shahjee was in possession, not only of the extensive jaygeers around Bangalore which he had received from the raja of Beejapore, but of Arnee, Porto Novo, and Tanjore, in the south of the peninsula, which he had subjugated, and, in consideration of his fidelity to the state, had been permitted to retain.

Sevajee, finding that his power would not be complete unless he could command the sea as well as the land, had been engaged for some time in creating a fleet. While his troops were employed in ravaging the Mogul territories up to the walls of Ahmednugur, his ships were capturing Mogul vessels bound to Mecca, and exacting heavy ransoms from the rich pilgrims embarked on them. In February, 1665, he secretly drew a large fleet together at Malwan, consisting of eighty-eight vessels, of which three were large ships of three masts and the remainder of from 30 to 150 tons burden. Having embarked with 4,000 troops, he proceeded to Barcelore, a hundred and thirty miles south of Goa, which had long been considered one of the greatest marts of commerce on the western coast, but has now disappeared even from the map. There he obtained immense booty and returned to his capital before it was known that he had embarked. This was the first expedition at sea which he headed in person; it was also his last, for a violent gale drove his vessel down the bay; he suffered seriously from sea-sickness, and his spiritual guide assured him that this was the mode in which his tutelar deity had manifested his displeasure at such a heterodox enterprise.

On his return from this voyage Sevajee found that a powerful Mogul army, commanded by the renowned raja Jey Sing and Dilere Khan, the Afghan general, had entered his territories. Aurungzebe, who was an intense bigot, felt greater indignation at the interruption of the holy pilgrims proceeding to the Prophet's tomb

Sevajee plunders Barcelore, 1664.

Sevajee submits to Aurungzebe, 1665.

than at the assumption of the title of raja, the plunder of Surat, the coinage of money, or any other aggression of Sevajee. On this occasion Sevajee was attacked with the greatest impetuosity by the imperial generals, and felt his inability to cope with an army so greatly superior to his own. He was, therefore, induced to call a council of his officers, at which he appeared the most irresolute of all; and it was resolved to enter into negotiations with the enemy. They ended in the Convention of Poorunder, by which he engaged to restore all the forts and districts he had taken from the Moguls, with the exception of twelve, which, with the territory around them, yielding a revenue of a lac of pagodas a year, he was to hold as a jaygeer dependent on the emperor. But he dexterously inserted a clause which would have overbalanced all his losses. In lieu of some pretended claims on the old Nizam Shahee state, he asked for certain assignments which he termed the *chout*, and the *sur-desh-mookhee* on some of the Beejapore districts above the ghauts, the charge of collecting which he offered to take on himself. This is the first mention in history of the celebrated claim of the *chout*, or fourth of the revenue, which the Mahrattas subsequently marched over

The origin of
the *chout*.

India to enforce. So anxious was Sevajee to get the principle of these exactions admitted, that he offered a peshcush or donative of forty lacs of pagodas—nearly a million sterling—to be paid by annual instalments, and engaged to maintain an additional body of troops for the emperor's service. In the letter which Aurungzebe wrote to him on this occasion he confirmed all the stipulations of the convention, but made no allusion to the *chout* or *sur-desh-mookhee*, probably because he did not comprehend the insidious tendency or even the import of these barbarous terms. But Sevajee chose to consider the silence of the emperor as an acknowledgment of these claims, which, from this time forward, it became the paramount object of Mahratta policy to extend to every province.

Sevajee, having now entered the emperor's service,

Sevajee attacks
Beejapore, and
visits Delhi,
1666.

joined the imperial army with 2,000 horsemen and 8,000 foot, and marched against Beejapore. The Mahratta horse in the service of Beejapore,—a portion of which was commanded by Vencajee, the half-brother of Sevajee,—greatly distinguished themselves in this war; nor were the Mahrattas in the service of the emperor less conspicuous for their valour. Aurungzebe wrote a complimentary letter to Sevajee, inviting him to court, and he proceeded to Delhi with an escort of 1,500 horse and foot. The emperor had now an opportunity of converting a formidable foe into a zealous adherent; but, either he had not the tact of conciliation, or his pride rendered him blind to his interests. Sevajee found himself treated with wanton insult, and presented at the durbar in company with nobles of the third rank. He left the imperial presence burning with indignation, and asked leave to return to his jaygeer. But the object of the emperor was to detain him, and his residence was beleaguered and all his movements watched; he contrived, however, to elude the vigilance of the emperor's guards, and escaped in a basket, and reached his own dominions in the disguise of a pilgrim in December, 1666.

Aurungzebe's
moderation.
Sevajee's civil
polity, 1668-69.

The raja Jesswunt Sing, and prince Muazzim were sent to command in the Deccan,—the Mahomedan fond of pleasure, and the Hindoo of money. Sevajee gratified the avarice of the raja with large gifts, and through him was enabled to make his peace with the emperor, who made an addition to his territories and conferred on him the title of raja. The Mahratta manuscripts ascribe this unexpected lenity on the part of the emperor to the design he cherished of again decoying Sevajee into his power. About the same time a treaty was concluded between the king of Beejapore and Aurungzebe, by which the former ceded the fort and territory of Solapore, yielding near two lacs of pagodas a-year. Sevajee now prepared to enforce his claim of *chout* on the districts of Beejapore, alluded to in the Convention of Poorunder, but the vizier of that state purchased

exemption by agreeing to an annual payment of three lacs of rupees. Some agreement of a similar character appears to have been entered into by the minister of Golconda for a sum of five lacs of rupees. Having now a season of greater leisure than he had hitherto enjoyed, Sevajee employed the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government. There is nothing which gives us so high an opinion of his genius as the spirit of wisdom which pervades his civil polity. It is impossible to behold without the greatest admiration, a rough soldier, who was unable to read or write, and who had for twenty years been simply a captain of banditti, establishing a system of administration so admirably adapted to the consolidation of a great kingdom. His military organization, which was distinguished for its vigorous discipline and its rigid economy, was equally suited to the object of creating a new and predominant power in Hindostan.

Prosperity of
Aurangzebe and
his people,
1666—70.

This was also the most prosperous period of Aurungzebe's long reign. The empire was at peace. His father Shah Jehan had recently sunk into the grave, and there was no longer any dread of projects for his restoration. The emperor was held in the highest respect throughout the Mahomedan world, and received tokens of deference from the most distant sovereigns. The Scheriff of Mecca, the Khan of the Uzbeks, the king of Abyssinia, and even the sovereign of Persia, had sent complimentary embassies to Delhi. But the restless ambition of Aurungzebe again kindled the flames of war, which continued to rage without the intermission of a single year through the period of thirty-seven years to which his reign was prolonged. Finding it impossible to inveigle Sevajee into his power, and knowing that his general Jesswunt Sing was inactive under the influence of Mahratta gold, he issued the most peremptory orders to seize him and some of his principal officers, threatening vengeance for neglect. Sevajee, seeing hostilities inevitable, prepared for the conflict with the most determined reso-

lution. He opened the campaign by the capture of Singurh, a fortress deemed inaccessible to an enemy, but which his general Maloosray escaladed with his mountaineers, the Mawullees, and fell in the moment of victory. Sevajee rewarded every private soldier with a silver bangle. Poorunder, a fortress of equal strength and importance, was also recovered. With an army of 14,000 men he again plundered Surat, and again the factors of the East India Company covered themselves with renown by the gallantry of their defence. One of Sevajee's generals overran the province of Candesh, and for the first time levied the *chout* from a Mogul district. The most remarkable circumstance attending this distant invasion was the exaction of a written document from the village authorities, in which they engaged to pay one-fourth of the government dues to Sevajee, or to his officers. Sevajee, on his part, engaged to furnish them with regular receipts, which would exempt them from future pillage and ensure them protection.

Jinjeerah made
over to the
Moguls, 1671

The great naval arsenal of the Beejapore state was the port of Jinjeerah, and it was under the command of an Abyssinian admiral. It had long been the earnest desire of Sevajee to obtain possession of this important harbour, and he had besieged it annually for nine years, but, owing to the inferiority of his artillery, had invariably failed. In 1670 he again brought his whole force against it, but was again baffled. He endeavoured to seduce the admiral from his allegiance by large offers; but three of the subordinate officers of the port, who were personally obnoxious to Sevajee and detested the very name of Mahratta, imprisoned the admiral, and placed both the arsenal and the fleet under the protection of the Moguls. This was a severe blow to the projects of Sevajee, as it strengthened his most formidable and inveterate foes, the Sedees of Jinjeerah, by enabling them to obtain reinforcements from Surat, which rendered the port impregnable. Meanwhile, the emperor, dissatisfied with the inactivity of his son Muazzim, sent

Mohabet Khan, with an army of 40,000 men to the Deccan. Sevajee had always avoided a pitched battle with the superior forces of the Moguls, but on this occasion he boldly resolved to try conclusions with them in the open field. The result was the most complete victory the Mahrattas had ever gained, and no trifling increase of their confidence. The attention of the emperor was soon after drawn to Afghanistan, and the war with Sevajee languished.

Aurungzebe in the Khyber, 1673. The turbulent Khyberees and Eusufzies, the perpetual enemies of peace and order, had again broken out in open revolt. They had defeated Mahomed Amin, the son of Meer Joomla, and destroyed his army in the passes, —subsequently rendered memorable by the annihilation of a British army,—and obliged him to redeem his women and children by a heavy ransom. The emperor determined at first to undertake the subjugation of these incorrigible highlanders in person, and marched with a large force as far as Hussun Abdal, but soon after transferred the command of the expedition, in which little glory was to be reaped, to his son. The war occupied two years, and the emperor was at length happy to terminate it by accepting the nominal submission of the tribes. On his return to Delhi he found himself suddenly involved in a most formidable difficulty arising from a most insignificant cause.

Revolt of the Sutnaramees, 1676.

A sect of Hindoo devotees, called Sutnaramees, living in the town of Narnoul, agriculturalists by profession but always bearing arms, were thrown into a state of extreme excitement by the violence of a police soldier. The emeute gradually grew into a revolt. The devotees assembled by thousands, and being joined by some disaffected zemindars and men of note, defeated a body of troops sent against them. The provinces of Agra and of Ajmere were thrown into commotion, and the imperial army shrunk from collision with enthusiasts, who were said to possess the magical power of resisting bullets. The tact of Aurungzebe at length succeeded in putting down a rebellion which threatened his empire. He

caused texts of the Koran to be written on slips of paper and attached to his standard, and his troops, now believing themselves protected from the spells of the enemy, obtained an easy victory.

Aurangzebe persecutes the Hindoos, 1677.

This event would scarcely be worthy of notice, but for the disastrous results which sprung from it. Akbar and his two successors had adopted the liberal and sound policy of reconciling the Hindoos to the Mogul power by granting them religious liberty and equality. During a century of toleration the Rajpoot chiefs became the firmest supporters of the Mogul throne. But the bigotted Aurungzebe entertained a strong religious hatred of all infidels, though from motives of policy, he still continued to employ Rajpoot troops, as a counterpoise to his Mahomedan soldiers, and had formed two family alliances with Rajpoot princesses. From the beginning of his reign, all his measures had breathed a spirit of intolerance, but it was not till his feelings were embittered by the want of success in the Khyber, and the revolt of the Hindoo devotees, that he entered upon a systematic persecution of the Hindoos. He issued an edict forbidding all governors any longer to receive Hindoos into the public service, and ordered the *jezzia*, or poll tax, to be imposed on all who were not Mahomedans. The tax was odious, not so much from its pressure, being less than three quarters per cent. on income, as from its being a "tax on infidels," and a token of religious degradation. On going to prayers at the mosque after this edict, his way was blocked up by suppliants whom his guards were ordered to disperse, and many of whom were trampled to death by his horses and elephants. After this example of severity, the tax was sullenly submitted to. So severe was the persecution, that not only were the pagodas destroyed throughout Bengal, but in the holy city of Benares, the sanctuary of Hindooism, the most sacred temples were demolished and mosques erected on the ruins, while the images were used as steps for the faithful to tread on.

Revolt of the
Rajpoots, 1678.

These violent proceedings produced great disaffection in every provincc, but no open revolt, except in Rajpootana, and for the Rajpoots the emperor had no sympathy. His father and grandfather were, indeed, the offspring of Rajpoot princesses, but he himself was of unmixed Tartar blood. It was not, however, till after the death of the two celebrated Mahratta generals who had been the prop of the throne, raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, and raja Jesswunt Sing, of Joudhpore, that Aurungzebe ordered the jezzia to be imposed on his Hindoo subjects. Jesswunt Sing had recently died in the imperial service at Cabul, and his widow had returned to Delhi with her two sons, on her way to their native country. Aurungzebe, anxious to detain the children as hostages, surrounded their encampment with his troops; but Doorga Dass, the faithful servant of the family, extricated them by the most ingenious contrivances from the toils of the emperor, and conveyed them in safety to their own capital. The insult thus inflicted on this noble house served to rouse the indignation of the Rajpoots, and, with the exception of the raja of Jeypore, who was bound to the imperial family by many intermarriages, the whole of Rajpootana was in a blaze. The emperor lost no time in marching into the country, and constrained the rana of Oodypore to make his submission. Favourable terms were granted to him, and a cession of territory was accepted in lieu of the poll tax. But soon after he took up arms again, and Aurungzebe, exasperated by this renewed opposition to his wishes, summoned troops from every part of India, even from the province of Bengal, and let them loose on this unhappy country. The prince was again driven to the mountains, the women and children were carried into captivity, and the country was consumed by fire and sword. The alienation of the Rajpoots from the Moguls was now complete. After this period they were often at peace with Aurungzebe and his successors, and furnished their contingents of troops, and accepted the government of provinces; but that cordial attachment which had made them the bulwarks of the empire for

more than a hundred years, was gone. During this war with the Rajpoots, the embarrassments of the emperor were increased by the defection of his son, prince Akbar, who went over to the enemy and advanced suddenly upon the imperial camp with an army of 70,000. Aurungzebe was in imminent danger of being captured with his slender escort, but with his accustomed craft he succeeded in sewing dissensions among the adherents of the prince, who found himself generally deserted, and sought refuge with the Mahrattas, accompanied by the faithful Doorga Dass, and 500 Rajpoots.

Sevajee assumes royalty, 1674. To return now to the progress of Sevajee. In 1672 he appears to have proceeded on a secret expedition to Golconda, and extracted nine lacs of pagodas from the king. While Aurungzebe was employed in Afghanistan, he took advantage of the death of the king of Beejapore and the weakness of a minority, to annex the whole of the Concan and the adjoining ghauts, with the exception of the ports held by the English, Portuguese, and Abyssinians. He had long struck the coin in his own name, and he now determined to proclaim his independence and assume all the ensigns of royalty. After many religious solemnities, on the auspicious day fixed by the brahmins, the 6th of June, 1674, he was enthroned at Raigur, and announced himself as the "ornament of the Khsetriyu race, the lord of the royal umbrella,"—the *chuttru putee* of modern India, the *satrap* of ancient Persia. In accordance with the custom of oriental princes he was weighed against gold, and the money was distributed amongst the brahmins to the amount of 16,000 pagodas, for, to their chagrin, he was found to weigh only ten stone. The next year he sent an army for the first time across the Nerbudda, and ravaged the province of Guzerat.

Sevajee's expedition to the Carnatic, 1676. In the year 1676 he undertook one of the most extraordinary expeditions recorded in Indian history, whether we regard the boldness or the success of the design. It was directed to the recovery of the paternal jaygeer, held by his half-brother Vencajee, as a vassal

of Beejapore, and the extension of his conquests in the south of India. Having bribed the Mogul general Khan Jehan who directed the operations against him, and obtained an armistice, he made the most judicious provision for the protection of his forts until his return. At the close of 1676 he marched to Golconda with a force of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot, and, through the medium of the chief minister, a Mahratta, entered into a compact with the sovereign, who engaged on his part to cover Sevajee's territories during his absence, while Sevajee agreed to grant him a moiety of all his conquests, with the exception of the paternal estates. After a month of negotiation and the receipt of a large supply of money and artillery, he sent forward his army and proceeded himself to pay his devotions at the celebrated shrine of Purwuttun. Naked and covered with ashes, he assumed the guise of a Hindoo jogee or devotee, and having for nine days committed various acts of superstitious folly, which at one time alarmed his attendants for his sanity, resumed the command of the army, and marched by Madras in the beginning of May. Fort after fort was surrendered to him; but the most extraordinary exploit of this expedition was the capture of Ginjee, the inaccessible fortress of the south, "tenable by ten men against any force that could be brought against it." He had now advanced six hundred miles from his own capital, and at Trivadee had an interview with his brother, Vencajee, who held Tanjore and the other territories bequeathed to him by Shahjee. These domains he refused to share with Sevajee, who thereupon took forcible possession of the whole of the jaygeer; while his horse ranged through the Carnatic and subjected it to plunder wherever the exaction of the *chout* was resisted, but no portion of either land or money did he allot, according to his agreement, to the king of Golconda. Meanwhile the Moguls attacked that state, and Sevajee, having come to an understanding with his Tanjore brother, returned to his own dominions and reached Raigur in the middle of 1678, after an absence of eighteen months.

Attack of Beeja-
pore, 1679.

A formidable army had been sent by Aurungzebe under Dilere Khan to besiege Beejapore; and the regent, during the king's minority, invoked the aid of Sevajee, who stipulated as the price of his assistance, for the cession of the Raichore dooab, or country lying between the Toombudra and the Kistna, and the sovereignty of his father's jaygeer and of the conquests he had made in the south. To create a diversion in favour of Beejapore, he proceeded northward, and laid waste all the country between the Beema and the Godavery, and plundered the town of Aurungabad for three days, though the Mogul viceroy was at that time residing in it. After his return from this expedition he captured twenty-seven forts, and on the receipt of an express from the regent of Beejapore hastened to the succour of the town. On the line of march, his son, Sambajee, who had been placed in confinement by his father for an attempt to violate the wife of a brahmin, made his escape and went over to the Mogul general. Sevajee retired to Panalla to devise means for the recovery of the youth, and sent his army to Beejapore, which was making a noble defence. The Mahratta generals cut off all supplies from the enemy's camp, and eventually obliged Dilere Khan to raise the siege. At the same time Sambajee returned to his allegiance and was placed under restraint by

Death of Seva-
jee, 5th April,
1680.

his father. But in the midst of these events all Sevajee's plans of ambition were cut short by his death, which happened at Rairee on the 5th of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age.

His character.

Aurungzebe could not conceal the satisfaction he felt on the death of his most formidable enemy. During the long struggle which he was constrained to maintain with Sevajee, he affected to despise his power, and was accustomed to deride him as the mountain rat; but after his death he did full justice to his character. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India; my armies have

been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing." This state, at his death, comprised a territory estimated at four hundred miles in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth, in the north; in the south he was in possession of half the Carnatic, which alone was equal in extent to many kingdoms in India. These large possessions were created by the efforts of his own genius, and consolidated by a communion of habits, religion, and language, and a common hatred of the Mahomedans. Sevajee is one of the greatest characters in the native history of India, greater than Hyder Ali, greater even than Runjeet Sing who, in after times followed his example, and beginning life as adventurers closed it as mighty sovereigns. He did more than found a kingdom; he laid the foundation of a power, which survived the decay of his own family. His son was a dissolute tyrant, and his grandson a simpleton, from whose hands the sceptre fell; but the spirit of national enthusiasm which he infused into the Mahrattas, in a few years made them the arbiters of the fate of India.

Succession of Sambajee, 1680. Sambajee, the eldest son of Sevajee, was living in durance at the time of his father's death, in the fortress of Panalla, and a party was formed among the Mahratta chiefs to exclude him from the throne, on the ground of his profligacy. But he succeeded in establishing his authority, and was acknowledged the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, after which he gave loose to the ferocity of his disposition. He caused one of his father's widows as well as those who had opposed his succession to be executed, not sparing Anajee, a brahmin, to whom he was under the greatest obligations. He had none of the virtues of his father, except his courage. His cruelties soon alienated the great generals and statesmen who had assisted in building up the Mahratta throne; and he rendered himself an object of general contempt by his slavish devotion to a favourite of the name of Kaloosu, a Cunouj brahmin. His inglorious reign of nine years was marked only by rash enterprizes, or

voluptuous excesses. At the beginning of his reign he was induced to renew the siege of the island of Jinjeerah, the great naval arsenal of the Moguls, which his father had attacked year after year in vain. He was obliged to relinquish the enterprize with disgrace, and the Seedee or Abyssinian admiral retaliated on him by ravaging the coast, and slaughtering kine, and eventually by destroying the fleet which Sevajee had been at the greatest pains to create. In the year 1681, the emperor's son, Akbar, who had at first joined the Rajpoots, sought refuge at the court of Sambajee and received a cordial welcome; but, becoming at length disgusted with the follies of that prince, he retired to Persia.

Aurangzebe in
the Deccan,
1683.

Aurangzebe had never relinquished his designs on the Deccan. Though he had not prosecuted them with vigour, his generals had from time to time invaded Beejapore, and he himself had steadily fomented all the internal discords in that state, as well as in Golconda, and encouraged the Mahrattas to assail and plunder them both. Having now, in a great measure, subdued the opposition of the Rajpoots, which had been excited solely through his own bigotry, he resolved to bring the whole strength of the empire to bear on the subjugation of the south. It was a war of wanton aggression, and, by a righteous retribution, it exhausted the resources and hastened the downfall of the Mogul power. In the year 1683 he quitted Delhi, which he was destined never again to enter, with an army magnificent beyond all former example. The finest cavalry was assembled from the provinces beyond the Indus, and within it, and supported by a vast and well equipped infantry. The artillery consisted of several hundred pieces, served by native gunners, but directed by Europeans, as well as an efficient body of sappers and miners. A long train of elephants, intended both for war and equipage, and a superb stud of horses accompanied the camp. There was, moreover, a large menagerie of leopards and tigers, and hawks and hounds without number,

and all the appliances of field sport. The camp, which resembled a moving city, was supplied with every luxury the age or country could furnish. The canvas walls which surrounded the emperor's personal encampment were twelve hundred yards in circumference, and the tents contained halls of audience, courts, cabinets, mosques, oratories, and baths adorned with the finest silks and velvets, and cloth of gold. There is no record of such extravagant luxury in any modern encampment, and it may be questioned whether it was equalled by the Persian splendour of the army of Xerxes. But there can be no question that a thoroughly equipped and well commanded force of 10,000 Europeans—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—would have dispersed this host like chaff before the wind. Yet, amidst all this grandeur, the personal habits and expenses of the emperor were as frugal and austere as those of a hermit.

Invasion of the
Concan, 1684.

With this unwieldy army the emperor moved down to Boorhanpore, and then to Aurungabad, and, by a strange infatuation, commenced his operations by directing the odious jezzia to be imposed on all the Hindoos of the south. Contrary to all military principles he sent a body of 40,000 horse, under his son, prince Muazzim, to traverse the stupendous ghauts, and enter the maritime province of Concan. The prince reached the Concan without opposition, except from the natural obstacles presented by this region of mountains, and he plundered and laid waste every village as he proceeded. But the work of destruction recoiled on the invaders. The resources of the province were destroyed, and by the time the army reached the neighbourhood of Goa, it was in a state of starvation. The Mahratta cruizers intercepted the supplies sent from the Mogul ports, and their cavalry blocked up the passes. The wreck of this fine army, exhausted by hunger and pestilence, was at length happy to find shelter under the walls of Ahmednugur, while Sambajee, advancing to the north, insulted the emperor by plundering and burning down the town of Boorhanpore.

Invasion of Beejapore, 1686. In 1686 Aurungzebe moved his camp to Solapore, and sent his son, prince Azim, to attack Beejapore. In this, the last year of its national existence, the troops of that state exhibited the most devoted gallantry. They cut off the supplies of the Moguls, intercepted all their communications, and reduced the army to a state of extreme peril, from which it was extricated only by the extraordinary exertions of Ghajee ood deen, who, after a desperate engagement, succeeded in bringing up a convoy of 20,000 brinjaree bullocks with grain; but the prince could effect nothing. In the meantime, the king of Golconda, Aboo Hussein, formed an alliance with Sambajee, who took advantage of the embarrassment of the Mogul troops before Beejapore to lay waste the province of Guzerat, and sack the town of Broach. On the failure of the Beejapore expedition the emperor sent his general, Khan Jehan, to attack Golconda. Mudhoona Punt, the Mahratta minister of that state, had equipped an army of 70,000 men to meet the invasion. It was commanded by Ibrahim Khan, whose superiority in the field was so great as to place the Mogul commander completely in his power; but instead of pressing his advantages, he treacherously went over to the enemy with a large portion of his army. Mudhoona was assassinated in a popular tumult excited by his enemies, and the helpless king sought refuge in the fortress of Golconda. For three days Hyderabad was subject to plunder, which the Mogul commander could not restrain, and the wealth which Aurungzebe had destined for his own coffers was, to his infinite chagrin, shared among the soldiers. The king at length sued for peace, and a treaty was concluded with him, on condition of his paying a contribution of two crores of rupees.

Conquest of Beejapore, 1686. Aurungzebe was now at liberty to turn his whole strength against Beejapore. The walls were of hewn stone, six miles in circumference, and the artillery was as superior to that of the Moguls as it had ever been; Aurungzebe determined therefore to blockade the town. The

garrison began to be straitened for provisions, and its brave Patan defenders were at length obliged to capitulate. The emperor, seated on a portable throne, was carried in triumph through a breach in the walls, and the young king was consigned to captivity, and died within three years, not without suspicion of violence. On the 15th of October, 1686, Beejapore was blotted out of the roll of Indian kingdoms, after having enjoyed a career of independence for more than a hundred and fifty years. The revenues of the country were estimated in the imperial registry at seven crores of rupees a year, a sum which appears incredible, notwithstanding the fertility of its soil, and the wealth poured into it by maritime commerce. Whatever may have been the resources of the kingdom, the Adil Shahee dynasty employed them in works of utility or magnificence which had no rival in India. No race of princes ever adorned their capital in so brief a period with such magnificent mosques, palaces, and tombs. Even at the present day, after nearly two centuries of decay in an Indian climate, the majestic ruins of the city attract the admiration of the traveller, more especially the mausoleum of Mahomed Adil Shah, with its dome of simple grandeur, which, like the dome of St. Peter's, fills the eye of the beholder from every quarter.

The fate of Golconda was not long delayed. Conquest of Golconda, 1687. Aurungzebe was determined not to allow the treaty which he had recently concluded with the king, to impede the absorption of the kingdom. Though the Mogul army was now sufficiently strong to overwhelm it, the emperor again had recourse to his habitual craft. He advanced into the territory with a large force, under pretence of a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint, and began to practise on the fears of the bewildered monarch, from whom he gradually extracted all his treasure and jewels. It is recorded, that Aboo Hussein stripped the inmates of his seraglio of their ornaments to propitiate the emperor. But Aurungzebe's cold and selfish nature was never capable of a generous emotion. The only return he made for these offerings was a declaration

of war against the unhappy prince, charging him, a follower of the Prophet, with the crime of having employed a brahmin for his minister, and formed an alliance with the infidel Mahrattas. The king, though addicted to pleasure, was roused to indignation by the baseness of this treatment, and for seven months defended himself with a heroism worthy his ancestors. The fort of Golconda was at length captured, but only by an act of treachery, and the royal house of Kootub Shah became extinct, after a brilliant career of a hundred and seventy years. Mogul generals were sent to take possession of the districts in the Carnatic and Telingana, which had been held by the kings of Beejapore and Golconda, and the Mahrattas, leaving nothing but the principality of Tanjore in the possession of Vencajee, in whose line it continued till it was absorbed in the British dominions.

Confusion in
the Deccan.

The ambition of Aurungzebe was now consummated. He had extended his authority in the south over tracts which had never before acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mahomedans, and for the first time in seven hundred years the whole of India appeared to be bound in allegiance to a single head. The year 1688 is the culminating point of Mahomedan rule. The calamities of Aurungzebe commenced as soon as he had reached the summit of success, and the decay of the Mogul empire may be dated from the fall of Golconda. The governments which had maintained order in the Deccan had disappeared; no system of equal vigour was established in their stead. The suspicious nature of Aurungzebe prevented him from entrusting any of his generals with a force which they might be tempted, by its magnitude, to turn against him. The two states of Beejapore and Golconda had maintained their authority by an army of 200,000 men; the Mogul army, after their subjugation, did not exceed 34,000 men. The disbanded soldiery enlisted under disaffected commanders, or joined the predatory bands of the Mahrattas, and each petty chief, in accordance with the prescriptive habits of the country, "withdrew his

neck from the yoke of obedience," whenever it could be done with the prospect of impunity. Aurungzebe was incessantly employed in the siege of forts; there was no energy at the head-quarters of government; there was no redress for the oppression of the governors, while the collectors of the jezzia extorted millions from the wretched Hindoos, and exasperated them against the Mogul conquerors. The Deccan became a scene of boundless confusion, and the last twenty years of the reign of Aurungzebe presented a constant succession of conspiracies and revolts, which consumed the strength of his army and of the empire.

Death of Sambajee, 1689. Sambajee, infatuated with his favourite and immersed in low pleasures, viewed with indifference the fall of Beejapore and Golconda, though it enabled the Moguls to concentrate their efforts upon the Mahrattas. Aurungzebe had taken possession of the open country, and was engaged in besieging the forts, when Sambajee was surprised during a drunken revel, and conveyed as a prisoner to his presence. After the insult offered to the imperial power by the plunder of Boorhanpore and Broach he had sworn that "he would never return to Delhi till he had seen the head of the Mahratta weltering at his feet." The life of Sambajee was offered him on condition that he would turn Musulman. The haughty son of Sevajee replied, "Not if you would give me your daughter in marriage," and at the same time poured a torrent of abuse on the Prophet. Aurungzebe ordered his tongue to be cut out for his blasphemy, and finally put him to death with the most excruciating tortures. Though Sambajee had lived nine years amidst the contempt of his subjects, his tragic end created a strong feeling of pity among them, and gave a keen edge to that spirit of hostility which they cherished towards the Mahomedans. The flagitious execution of Sambajee, which has left a stain of the deepest die on the character of Aurungzebe, was not only a crime, but an error. It was the sowing of the dragon's teeth, of which the emperor reaped an abundant harvest before his death.

Sahoo, king of
the Mahrattas,
1689.

The Mahrattas, unable any longer to look abroad for assistance, and pressed by the whole power of the Mogul empire, were obliged to bend to the storm. The cabinet of ministers elected Sahoo, the infant son of Sambajee, though then a captive in the emperor's camp, to fill the throne, and appointed his uncle, Ram raja, regent. Of the great kingdom founded by Sevajee little remained in the north, and it was determined to make suitable arrangements for preserving the remnant, and to transfer the seat of Mahratta power to the south. Ram-raja, with twenty-five chiefs, made his way in disguise through the Carnatic amidst a variety of adventures, on which the national historians delight to dwell, and established his court at the fortress of Ginjee, which Sevajee conquered in 1676, little dreaming at the time that it was one day to become the refuge of his family. Ram raja, on his arrival, laid aside the character of regent and assumed the ensigns of sovereignty, arranging his court on the model of that of his father.

Mahratta depredations, 1692.

In the following year he sent two of his generals, Suntajee and Dhunnajee, with a force which increased on its progress, to plunder the Mogul territories and distract their attention. They extended their ravages to the neighbourhood of Satara, where Ramchunder, who had been entrusted with the Mahratta interests in the north, devised a new plan for damaging the Moguls. He conferred the right of levying the *chout* and *sur desh mookee*, and of laying waste the districts which refused these exactions, on every Mahratta chief who could bring his retainers into the field. At the same time he created a new demand of *ghaus dana*, or forage money, which was to be the individual perquisite of each chieftain. Under this new impulse, every mountain and valley poured forth its inhabitants to desolate the plains, and the Mogul authorities instead of having one great predatory army, directed by a single head, and amenable to obligations on their hands, had a monster with a hundred heads to deal with.

Comparison of
the Mogul and
Mahratta armies.

The Mogul army was ill fitted to contend with this new swarm of warriors. Its commanders were silken generals compared with the iron chiefs of Akbar's days. They vied with each other only in extravagant display, while their persons were protected from danger by wadding and chain armour. The spread of luxury had eaten out the spirit of valour and discipline, and nothing was so little desired by them as the sight of the enemy. The number of men for whom the officers drew pay, was never honestly maintained, and the ranks were filled with any cheap and beggarly recruits they could pick up. A force thus constituted was no match for the Mahratta troops, accustomed to hard fare and harder work. "The horse without a saddle was rode by a man without clothes, whose constant weapon was a trusty sabre; footmen inured to the same travel, and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horse; spare horses accompanied them to bring off the booty, and relieve the wearied or wounded. All gathered their daily provisions as they passed. No pursuit could reach their march; in conflict their onset fell wherever they chose, and was relinquished even in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known, as a terror to others to redeem the ravage."

Siege of Ginjee,
1690—98.

The rallying point of the Mahrattas was the fortress of Ginjee, the siege of which was as protracted as the siege of Troy. On hearing that Ram raja had taken up his abode in that fortress, Zulfikar Khan was in the first instance sent to capture it; but the suspicious temper of the emperor led him repeatedly to change the commanders, and the operations necessarily languished. Zulfikar was often in collusion with the Mahrattas, and it was even suspected that he contemplated the establishment of an independent authority through their aid, on the death of the aged emperor. It was during the languor of this siege that Suntajee Ghorepuray, having defeated the Mogul generals in the north, appeared before the place with a body

of 20,000 horse. The besieging army was besieged in its turn, and Cam buksh, the son of the emperor, and the nominal commander-in-chief, was driven to a humiliating convention. Aurungzebe disallowed it, recalled his son, and entrusted the command for the third time to Zulfikar. But as he was in communication with the enemy, the siege was again prolonged, till the emperor, indignant at his inactivity, gave him the option of its immediate capture, or his own degradation. Zulfikar now assaulted the fort in earnest, and it was reduced in the year 1698.

Ram raja makes
Satara his capital, 1698. Ram raja, who had been allowed, through the connivance of Zulfikar, to escape from Ginjee before its capitulation, made his way back to his native mountains and selected Satara as his capital. He was soon enabled to assemble a larger army than Sevajee had ever commanded, and proceeded to levy what he termed "the Mahratta dues" through the provinces of Candesh and Berar. The greater portion of the maritime forts of the Mahrattas had been preserved or recovered; and, with Colaba for their arsenal, they were enabled to keep the sea against the Moguls. On the other hand, the Mahratta cause suffered the severest injury by the death of Suntajee Ghorepuray, who had been the terror of the Mogul armies for seven years. Dhunnajee, his former associate, became his mortal enemy; he was hunted by his own countrymen like a wild beast, through the region which he had filled with his exploits, and was at length brought to bay and his head cut off and sent as an acceptable present to the emperor.

New plans of
Aurungzebe,
1700.

To meet the increasing audacity of the Mahrattas, Aurungzebe devised the plan of separating his army into two divisions—one to be employed in protecting the open country from their depredations—the other in capturing their forts. The first duty was committed to Zulfikar Khan, the ablest and the most energetic of the Mogul generals, at a time when they were universally enervated by indulgence and venality. He repeatedly defeated the

Mahrattas in the field; but he was unable to reduce their strength, and they always appeared more fresh after a defeat than his own troops after a victory. Aurungzebe reserved the task of capturing the fortresses for himself; and, breaking up his encampment on the banks of the Beema, to the deep regret of his voluptuous officers, commenced operations by the siege of Satara, which was surrendered to him in four months, in April, 1700. A month before this period Ram raja expired at Singur, and his son, a child of ten years of age, was declared king under the regency of his mother, Tara Bye.

His increasing
difficulties, 1702
—1707.

During the succeeding five years Aurungzebe was incessantly engaged in reducing the Mahratta forts; but while thus employed he continued to superintend the minutest details of business throughout the empire, and not even a petty officer was admitted to the service at Cabul without his concurrence. When we are assured that the climate of India invariably relaxes the vigour of the body and the energies of the mind, we turn with astonishment to this octogenarian chief, engaged incessantly with youthful vigour in the duties of the cabinet or in the severer labours of the field, in a wild country and a vile climate. But all the energy of Aurungzebe was unable to cope with the disorders which multiplied around him. The Rajpoots were again in open hostility; other tribes in the north, encouraged by his continued absence, and the consequent weakness of the administration, began to exhibit a refractory spirit. His treasury was exhausted by a wasting war of twenty-five years. The Mahratta chiefs began to recover their forts; and in 1705 he received accounts at one and the same time that they had crossed the Nerbudda in great force, and extended their ravages to Malwa, and overrun Berar and Candesh, and also despatched 15,000 troops to levy contributions in Guzerat. In every direction around his camp, north, south, east, and west nothing was seen but the sack of villages, the slaughter of troops, and devastation of the country.

Overtures to the Mahrattas, 1706. In these deplorable circumstances the emperor made overtures to the Mahrattas, and offered them a legal title to the *fourth* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the six soobahs of the Deccan, on condition of their maintaining order and repressing violence. But they immediately rose in their demands, and had the effrontery to require dresses of honour for more than seventy of their marauding chiefs. The negotiation was therefore broken off, and the imperial encampment began to retire to Ahmednugur, closely followed by the Mahrattas, who plundered up to the verge of the camp, and converted the retreat into an ignominious flight. Twenty years before Aurungzebe had marched from this capital in all the pride and pomp of war, to extend this dominion to Cape Comorin; he now returned to it with the remnant of a discomfited army, and pursued by a victorious foe, and there he expired on the 22nd of February, 1707. By his will he directed that his funeral expenses should be limited to four rupees and-a-half, to be defrayed from the sum he had received for the caps he had made and sold; and that the sum of 805 rupees, which he had acquired from the sale of the Korans he had copied with his own hands, should be distributed among the poor.

Remarks on his reign.

Aurungzebe has been considered by the native historians the type of Mogul greatness, and his name is invested with an indefinite idea of grandeur, even in the minds of Europeans. But this feeling is corrected by a close inspection of the events of his reign, and it is impossible to resist the conviction that few characters in Indian history have ever been more overrated. His personal bravery, his military talents, and his application to business, are deserving of all praise; but he persisted in a policy which was inherently vicious, after he perceived the ruin it was bringing on the empire. He was engaged for twenty-five years in a war, first of intolerance, and then of aggression, which exhausted the resources of the country, and hastened

the downfall of the house of Baber. The great oriental despotism of the Moguls, like others which preceded it, had nearly run out the usual period of two centuries, and began to crumble to pieces, as soon as the genius or the prestige of Aurungzebe ceased to sustain it.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE INVASION OF NADIR SHAH, 1707—1739.

ON the death of Aurungzebe, prince Azim, who had been banished through his father's dread of being treated by his own sons when weakened by disease, as he had treated Shah Jehan, immediately returned to the encampment, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and prepared to march to the capital; but his elder brother, Muazzim, with better reason, assumed the crown, and advanced from Cabul to meet his rival. His son, who had governed Bengal for eleven years, materially assisted his cause by opportunely bringing up eight crores of rupees which he had amassed during that period. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Agra, when prince Azim was defeated and fell, together with two of his sons. Zulfikar, who had remained neuter during the engagement, at once declared for the victor. It only remained to dispose of the pretension of the youngest son of the late emperor, Cam buksh, who was assembling troops in the Deccan. Zulfikar marched against him with a contingent of Mahrattas, and defeated him. He died shortly after of his wounds, and Muazzim, who was left the undisputed master of the empire, assumed the title of Bahadoor Shah.

Mahratta affairs
—Sahoo—Tara
Bye, 1708.

The Mahrattas, who had baffled the power of Aurungzebe for thirty years, were now weakened by intestine discord. Tara Bye, the widow of

Ram raja held the reins of government for seven years, in the name of her son. Sahoo, the son of Sambajee, the legitimate heir to the throne, had been for seventeen years a captive in the Mogul camp, where he had been treated with great kindness by the emperor, who married him to the daughters of two of the principal Mahratta sirdars in his service. Prince Azim, when setting out to seize the prize at Delhi, adopted the sage advice of Zulfikar, and not only granted Sahoo his liberty but furnished him with assistance to assert his claim to the Mahratta throne, on condition that he should hold it as a vassal of the empire. Tara Bye immediately proclaimed him an impostor, and collected an army to oppose him; but he succeeded in obtaining possession of Satara, and in March, 1708, assumed the functions of royalty. In this family contest, the great Mahratta chieftains embraced opposite sides, and drew their swords against each other; a happy event for the neighbouring provinces. At the end of five years, Sevajee, the son of Tara Bye, died, and her minister seized the opportunity of superseding her authority, and placing another of the sons of Ram raja, Sambajee, on the throne at Kolapore, which, from that period became the seat of the younger branch of the royal family, and the rival of Satara.

Daood Khan
grants the
chout, 1708.

Zulfikar Khan was rewarded for his adherence to Bahadoor Shah with the vice-royalty of the Deccan, which he committed to the care of Daood Khan, while he himself continued to reside at the capital. Daood Khan was a Patan of noble birth, famous throughout the Deccan for his matchless courage, and his love of strong drink. He paid frequent visits to Madras, and did not hesitate to partake of English hospitality. The Madras President always "took care to supply him with liquors, because he was so generous under their influence." It is recorded that in 1701, Mr. Pitt, the father of Lord Chatham, who then occupied that post, gave him a grand entertainment in the Council Chamber, when the Patan "pledged the chief largely in cordial waters and French brandy, amidst a discharge of cannon."

Zulfikar, who was desirous of cultivating peace with the Mahrattas, of whom he had been the most formidable foe in the field for fifteen years, authorized his lieutenant to offer Sahoo the *chout* which the Mahrattas had so long extorted by violence. Though the concession came only from a local officer, and was not therefore conclusive, it was not the less prized by the Mahratta cabinet, as the first legitimate title they had been able to acquire to their exactions. The tranquillity of Rajpootana was secured by the same spirit of concession to its three principal rajas.

Origin of the
Sikhs.

These arrangements which clearly indicated the growing weakness of the empire, appear to have been hastened by the inroads of the Sikhs in the north. Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh community, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century, taught, that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial, and that the worship of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans was equally acceptable to the deity. The sect which he founded gradually increased in numbers for a century, and became an object of detestation to the bigotted Mahomedans, who massacred its pontiff in 1606. In 1675, Gooroo Govind, the tenth spiritual chief in succession from Nanuk, conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a military, as well as a religious, commonwealth. He abolished all distinction of caste, and admitted all converts to perfect equality; but every member of the body was required to be a pledged soldier from his birth, or his initiation. He inculcated reverence for the Hindoo gods and brahmins, and prohibited the slaughter of kine. After a long struggle with the Mahomedans, he saw his strongholds captured, his mother and children destroyed, and his followers slaughtered, mutilated, or dispersed. These severities exasperated the fanaticism of the Sikhs, and planted an inextinguishable hatred of the Mahomedans in their minds. Under a new chief, of the name of Bandoo, they issued from their retreats, overran the Punjab, and, if we are to believe the Mahomedan historians, committed unheard of atrocities.

Death of Bahadur Shah, 1712.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they had extended their inroads, on the one side to Lahore, and on the other to Delhi; and Bahadur Shah marched against them in person and drove them back to the hills. He died on his return to Lahore, in February, 1712, after a brief reign of five years, at the age of seventy-two.

Accession and death of Jehander Shah, 1712.

His death was immediately followed by the usual contest among his sons, which terminated in the defeat and death of three of them, when the survivor mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Jehander Shah. One of the earliest acts of his reign, was to put to death all the princes of the blood royal within his reach. He appointed Zulfikar Khan, who had supported him through the conflict to the post of vizier, while he resigned himself to the most degrading pleasures, and raised the relatives of a dancing girl who had become his favourite mistress, to the highest honours in the state. But his ignoble career was speedily cut short by his nephew, Ferokshere, who had escaped the massacre of his family, by his absence in Bengal, of which he was the viceroy. He advanced with an army of 70,000 men, and defeated the emperor in the neighbourhood of Agra. The noble Zulfikar Khan, the last of the great captains of the Mogul dynasty, whose ancestors had served it in the highest offices for more than a century, was basely strangled by the orders of Ferokshere, and the wretched Jehander Shah was put to death after a reign of six months.

Ferokshere, 1713.
—The Syuds.

Ferokshere, the most contemptible, as yet, of any of the princes of his line, ascended the throne in 1713, and dishonoured it for six years by his vices and his cowardice. He owed his elevation to the exertions of two brothers, Hussein Ali, the governor of Behar, and Abdoolla Khan, the governor of Allahabad, generally denominated the Syuds, to denote their descent from the Prophet, and his reign was little else but a series of machinations to destroy them. The one was advanced to the post of vizier, and Hussein Ali was appointed commander-in-chief. They were both men

of talent and valour, but, as they monopolised all power, they incurred the jealousy of the emperor and the enmity of his favourites. Immediately on his accession Ferokshere made a native of Mooltan, who had been a cazee at Dacca, his chief confidant, and under his influence sent Hussein Ali against Ajeet Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, in the hope that the expedition might prove fatal to him. But he disappointed his enemies by concluding an honourable peace with the raja, and inducing him to give one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor. The nuptials, which were celebrated at Delhi with extraordinary splendour, have become memorable in the history of British India by the patriotic conduct of a British surgeon, the particulars of which will be given in a future chapter.

Nizam-ool-
moolk, viceroy
of the Deccan,
—1713.

Daood Khan, who had governed the Deccan as the deputy of Zulfikar Khan, was removed after the destruction of his patron, and sent as governor to Guzerat. The agreement he had made with the Mahrattas regarding the *chout* and other dues fell to the ground on his removal and they began to collect them again by violence. The office of soobadar of the Deccan was bestowed on the son of Ghazee-ood-deen, who has been already mentioned in connection with the siege of Beejapore in 1686. The family had emigrated from Turkey, or rather Tartary, to seek its fortunes in India, and belonged to a clique of officials at the capital who were commonly designated the Tooranee nobles. Chin Kilich Khan, the new soobadar, rose to distinction in the court of Aurungzebe, by whom he was decorated with the titles of Asof-Jah and Nizam-ool-moolk. As it was on this occasion that he laid the foundation of the kingdom of Hyderabad, we shall anticipate the period of his independence by designating him henceforward as the Nizam. He was a statesman of great experience and ability, but of still greater subtlety. During the seventeen months of his incumbency he fomented the dissensions between the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara, and thus established some check on the ravages of the Mahrattas. Sahoo was induced to acknowledge himself

a vassal of the emperor, and though in his own circle he assumed the title of king of the Hindoos, in the court calendar he was ranked as a Mogul commander of 10,000. The increasing contentions of these two branches of the family of Sevajee had created such anarchy as to bring the Mahratta state to the verge of ruin, when the genius of Balajee Vishwunath placed the party of Sahoo in the ascendant, and rekindled the smouldering energies of the nation. Balajee was originally a simple karkoon, or village accountant, but rose through various gradations of office till he reached the dignity of Peshwa, or chief minister. It was to his energy that the rapid expansion of the Mahratta power, when it had reached the limit of depression, is to be attributed, and he may justly be regarded as the second founder of its greatness.

Balajee Vishwunath, Peshwa, 1714.
Hussein Ali Soobadar of the Deccan, 1714. Death of Daood Khan.

The Nizam was discharged from the office of viceroy of the Deccan to make room for Hussein Ali, one of the Syuds, who was sent thither to remove him from the court. Instructions were at the same time given to Daood Khan to offer him the most strenuous but covert opposition, and the reversion of the appointment was held out to him as the reward of success. But Daood Khan was too daring and impetuous for any subterfuge, and he determined to bring the dispute to an immediate issue. He accordingly met Hussein Ali with his own veteran force, and attacked him with such fury as to scatter his forces like a flock of sheep. But in the moment of victory a cannon-ball struck him dead, and the fortune of the day was changed. His devoted wife, a Hindoo princess, on hearing of his fate, stabbed herself to the heart. The memory of his reckless courage and his chivalrous exploits is still preserved in many a ballad and proverb in the Deccan. Hussein Ali, flushed with this victory, took the field against the Mahrattas, but was completely defeated, and they immediately extended their encroachments and enlarged their claims. The emperor, anxious only for the destruction of his own obnoxious general,

gave them every encouragement to resist him, and promised to reward them if they were successful.

Convention with the Mahrattas, 1717. Hussein Ali, distracted on the one hand by the incessant plots hatched against him at Delhi, and on the other by the depredations of the Mahrattas, who were stimulated by the court, adopted the desperate resolution of winning them over to his cause by concessions. He entered into negotiations with the Mahratta cabinet, which were conducted with consummate skill by Balajee Vishwunath, and resulted in a convention as advantageous to the Mahrattas as it was disgraceful to the Moguls. Sahoo was acknowledged as the independent sovereign of the districts comprised in the family jaygeer, and of subsequent conquests. The "fourth" and the "tenth" of the revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan, and of the tributary states of Tanjore, Mysore, and Trichinopoly, were bestowed on him on condition that he should, in addition to the usual fee on such grants, pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees, furnish a contingent of 15,000 troops, and become responsible for the peace of the Deccan.

Remarks on this Convention. This was the greatest stride to power the Mahrattas had yet made, and it fulfilled the fondest wishes of the founder of this system of spoliation. It furnished them with a large and permanent revenue, for though the six soubahs had been exhausted by the incessant ravages of war, the assignment granted to the Mahrattas was, at their dictation, calculated on the sum of 18 crores, which those provinces had yielded in the years of peace and prosperity. It would apparently have been more to the pecuniary advantage of the Mahrattas to exchange assignments spread over a country which extended from sea to sea, and from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, for a compact territory. But the great object of the Peshwa was to render the claims of the Mahratta nation as complicated, as extensive, and as vague as possible, and thus to acquire a right of constant interference in the revenue administration of the entire Deccan,

well knowing that the interpretation of its demands would rest with the strongest. This famous convention gave a new impulse to the Mahratta policy, and at the same time placed the government more exclusively in the hands of the cabinet of brahmins at Satara, of whom the Peshwa was the head. It likewise provided congenial employment for a host of Mahratta officers, who were now planted in every district of the south to collect the tribute, with every motive to multiply their exactions.

This convention enabled Hussein Ali to withdraw his armies from the Deccan, and to march to Delhi. The emperor was advised to disallow the treaty, and the breach between him and the Syuds became wider. Hussein Ali hastened to the capital to restore the ascendancy of his family, accompanied by Balajee Vishwunath, and 10,000 select Mahratta horse. A confederacy which included the chief ministers of state, was formed by the emperor for the destruction of the brothers, but he had not the courage necessary for such an enterprise, and had, moreover, come under the influence of a new favourite. Hussein Ali was therefore enabled to march into the city with little opposition. Ferokshere made the most abject submissions, but was dragged from the recesses of the seraglio where he had taken refuge, and privately assassinated.

Two puppets were successively placed on the vacant throne by the triumphant Syuds, but they disappeared by poison or disease in a few months, when Rustum Khan, a grandson of Aurungzebe, was made emperor, and assumed the title of Mahomed Shah, the last who deserved the name of emperor of India. Weak and despicable as Ferokshere had been on the throne, his tragic death created great sympathy throughout the country, and the popular indignation against his assassins was manifested by risings and rebellions in various districts; but the greatest subject of disquietude to the brothers arose from the conduct of the Nizam. Though he had joined the Syuds against the

Hussein Ali
marches to Del-
hi.—Death of
Ferokshere,
1718.

Accession of
Mahomed Shah,
1719.

late emperor, he was alienated from their interests by being nominated to the inferior post of governor of Guzerat, when he had every reason to expect the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He began to collect troops, on the plea of restoring order in the province assigned to him, but in reality to establish his own power in the south, where he had many adherents, both among the Mahrattas and the Mahomedans. He Revolt of the Nizam, June, 1720. marched southward with 12,000 men, and having captured the important fortress of Asseergur, and overrun Candesh, defeated two armies which were sent against him, and thus became master of his position.

Meanwhile the young emperor was fretting under the yoke of the Syuds, and, under the discreet guidance of his mother, formed a combination among the nobles of his court to release himself from their power. The plot, which embraced some of the most eminent of the courtiers, could not be concealed from the brothers; but they were distracted by the difficulties which surrounded them on every side. At length it was resolved that Hussein Ali should march against the Nizam, taking the emperor with him, and that Abdoolla should return to Delhi, the court being then at Agra, to look after the family interests. Five days after the army had commenced its march, a savage Calmuck, who had been selected to strike the blow, approached the palankeen of Hussein Ali, on pretence of presenting a petition, and stabbed him to the heart. In the conflict which necessarily ensued, the partisans of the emperor were victorious, and the army marched back to Delhi. Abdoolla, hearing of his brother's fate, set up a new emperor, and marched to encounter Mahomed Shah, but he was entirely defeated, though his life was spared in consideration of his august lineage.

Mahomed Shah enters the capital, 1720. now a free monarch, entered his capital with great pomp a twelvemonth after he had been elevated to the throne, and made a liberal distribution of offices. The odious *jezzâ*, the tax on infidels, was abolished. The Rajpoot rajas of Joudhpore and

Jeypore were promoted to governorships; while the raja of Oodypore, still isolated by his orthodox dignity, refused all intercourse with the court, and sunk into contempt. Sadut

Ali, a Khorasan merchant, who had raised himself by his talents to the charge of Biana, was made soobadar of Oude, where he founded the royal dynasty which was extinguished in 1856. The office of vizier was reserved for the Nizam, who came up from the Deccan

to assume the control of public affairs. But he found the new emperor utterly unworthy of his station, immersed in pleasures, and so besotted with a favourite mistress as to have given her the custody and use of the royal signet. He endeavoured to rouse Mahomed Shah to a sense of his duties as the head of a great empire which was exposed on every side to danger. But his master turned a deaf ear to this sage counsel, and listened with more delight to the advice of his dissolute companions, who amused him by turning the antiquated habits and solemn manner of the venerable statesman, then in his seventy-fifth year, into ridicule.

The courtiers, to rid themselves of the presence of the vizier, sent him against the refractory governor of Guzerat, whom their own folly had driven into rebellion. He quelled the revolt at once by his tact, and returned to the capital, where, however, he did not long remain. Disgusted with the weakness and profligacy of the court, and despairing of any reform, he threw up his office, and proceeded to the Deccan. The emperor loaded him with honours on his departure, but at the same time instigated the local governor of Hyderabad, Mobariz Khan, to resist his authority, and held out the reversion of the viceroyalty as a bait. The Nizam defeated Mobariz, and sent his head to Delhi, congratulating the Court on the extinction of the revolt. He then fixed on Hyderabad, the ancient capital of the Kootub-Shahee dynasty, as the seat of his government, and from this period

may be dated the rise of the Nizam's dominion.

Origin of the
Oude family,
1721.

The Nizam ap-
pointed Vizier,
1722.

He returns to the
Deccan, 1723.

Founds
Hyderabad, 1724.

Balajee Vishwunath, as already stated, had accompanied Hussein Ali with a Mahratta contingent to Delhi, and, on the accession of Mahomed Shah, obtained the imperial confirmation of the grants of the "fourth" and the "tenth," and returned in triumph with the invaluable charters, fourteen in number, to Satara, where he soon after died. Before his death he completed the arrangements for the collection of the assignments he had acquired, and established a system of the most intricate subdivision of interests, by which ample provision was made for a whole army of Mahratta officials. A preponderating power was thus given to the cabinet of brahmins at Satara, which eventually resulted in the transfer of all the authority of the state to their chief, the Peshwa. He was succeeded in his office by his son Bajee Rao, who exhibited in the highest degree the enterprize of the Mahratta character, and in talent and vigour proved to be second only to Sevajee. The interest of the succeeding twenty years of the history of India centres in the alliances, and disputes, and strategy of the young Mahratta statesman of Satara, and the subtle old Turk at Hyderabad, who made peace and war without any reference to the emperor at Delhi.

The impetuosity of Bajee Rao's character led him to propose the boldest schemes of ambition to his master Sahoo. He felt that unless employment could be found abroad for the large body of predatory horse which formed the sinews of the Mahratta power they would be engaged in mischief at home. Fully aware of the decay of the Mogul power, he urged the king "to strike the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves. Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindostan the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kistna to the Attok." "You shall plant it on the Himalayu," replied Sahoo. But he had been bred in the luxury of a Mahomedan seraglio, and had lost the boldness

Death of Balajee Vishwunath, 1720.

Bajee Rao, Peshwa, 1721

Bajee Rao's advice to Sahoo, 1723.

and energy of the Mahratta character. Bajee Rao found that his own ardour was ill seconded by his sovereign, and was constrained to act under his own discretion; and thus the house of Sevajee waxed weaker, and the house of the Peshwa waxed stronger.

Affairs of
Guzerat.

The Nizam had appointed his uncle, Humeed Khan, his representative in Guzerat, in opposition to the court at Delhi. The court appointed Sir-boolund Khan governor of the province, with directions to extinguish this revolt. With the aid of two Mahratta commanders, Kantajee and Peelajee, Humeed Khan was enabled to defeat the Mogul armies, and rewarded them with a grant of the "fourth" and the "tenth" of the revenues of Guzerat. Bajee Rao took advantage of this discord, and renewed his excursions into Malwa, granting Sindia, Holkar, and Powar of Dhar, commissions to levy *chout* in that province, while he himself proceeded to the south, and exacted contributions from the ruler at Seringapatam. Alarmed by the increasing audacity of the Peshwa's depredations, the Nizam endeavoured to revive the dissensions of the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara. Sambajee claimed his share of the assignments which had been granted to the Peshwa, Balajee Vishwunath, on the six soubahs of the Deccan, and the Nizam, as the official representative of the emperor, called on both parties to produce their titles and substantiate their claims before him. Sahoo and his cabinet were filled with indignation by what they deemed an insolent attempt to interfere in their domestic quarrels. Bajee Rao instantly assembled a large army, and marched against the Nizam, who was likewise supported by a large body of Mahrattas, but he was driven into a position where the want of provisions constrained him to enter into negotiations, which terminated more favourably than could have been expected.

Peshwa obtains
the *chout* of
Guzerat, 1729.

The singular moderation of the Peshwa on this occasion, when the Nizam was at his mercy, was not without a cause. He was at the time negotiating with Sir-boolund Khan, the imperial governor of Guzerat,

who had succeeded in establishing his authority, for the *chout* and other assignments which had been granted to the two Mahratta officers already mentioned, and, to expedite the bargain, sent his brother to lay the country waste. Sir-boolund at length found it expedient to purchase some measure of peace by yielding to these demands. The concession was, however, more restricted than that which had been granted by Hussein Ali, and confirmed by Mahomed Shah. The *chout* was to be calculated on the actual amount of collections; only two or three officers were to be placed in each district to collect the dues; no other exactions were to be inflicted on the ryots, and every assistance was to be given to the imperial authority. From these limitations we are enabled to perceive how greatly the Mahrattas had abused the power conferred on them by the charters which they obtained eight years before. Never was a more flagitious and intolerable system of extortion invented by human ingenuity than that which the genius of Sevajee had devised, and which the Mahrattas considered it their mission to extend over the whole of India.

Kolapore and Satara at peace, 1730. While Bajee Rao was employed in settling his demands on Guzerat, Sambajee crossed the Wurna and plundered the territory of his rival, Sahoo. He was, however, subsequently defeated, and obliged to sign an acknowledgment of his cousin's right to the entire Mahratta territory, with the exception of a small tract around Kolapore, to which his branch of the royal family was thenceforward to be confined, and thus ended the dissensions of twenty years. The Nizam, foiled in his attempt to weaken the Mahrattas by internal discord, found a new instrument of mischief in Dhabarry, the Mahratta commander-in-chief. He had been intrusted with the Mahratta interests in Guzerat, and was mortified to find that the *chout* and other dues in his own province had been carried off by Bajee Rao. Under a feeling of resentment and at the instigation of the Nizam, he marched towards Satara with 35,000 men, with the avowed object of releasing Sahoo from the tyranny of the Peshwa, but

he was defeated by an inferior force, and fell in battle. The influence of his rival was increased in no small degree by this attempt to destroy it. But the Peshwa acted with generosity, and conferred the office which had been held by Dhabarry on his son, an infant, and entrusted the management of affairs to

Origin of the Guickwar. Peelajee Guickwar, whose immediate ancestor was a cow-herd, and whose descendants now occupy the throne of Baroda.

Origin of Holkar and Sindia. To this period also belongs the rise of the families of Holkar and Sindia, destined to take a prominent share in the politics of India. Mulhar Rao Holkar was the son of a herdsman, but, being a youth of adventurous disposition, exchanged the crook for the sword, and by his daring courage recommended himself to Bajee Rao, who entrusted him with the charge of levying contributions in eighty-four districts or villages in Malwa. Ranojee Sindia, though said to be allied to the noblest families in Rajpootana, was of the caste of cultivators, and entered the service of Balajee Vishwunath as a menial servant. It is related that on one occasion his master, returning from an interview with the raja Sahoo, found his attendant asleep on his back with the slippers firmly grasped in his hand. Struck with his fidelity in so humble an occupation, the Peshwa introduced him into his body-guard. He soon became one of the foremost of the Mahratta chieftains, and, like Holkar, received assignments on the districts of Malwa, which formed the nucleus of the family domain.

After the defeat of Dhabarry, the Peshwa and the Nizam came to a mutual understanding for the promotion of their respective interests, and it was agreed that Bajee Rao should be at liberty to plunder the Mogul territories in the north without restraint, and that the Nizam's possessions in the south should not be molested by the Mahrattas. In fact, the Nizam, the representative of the emperor in the Deccan, purchased peace by letting the Mahrattas loose on the dominions of his sove-

reign beyond the Nerbudda. Bajee Rao crossed that river in 1732, and laid waste the devoted province of Malwa. The Mogul governor, Mahomed Bungush, was engaged at the time in besieging a refractory chief in Bundlecund, who invoked the aid of Bajee Rao. Bungush was soon, in his turn, besieged, and was rescued only by the prompt arrival of his countrymen from Rohilkund. The Bundlecund raja evinced his gratitude to the Peshwa by bequeathing him a third of his territory of Jhansi; and thus was the Mahratta standard planted for the first time on the banks of the Malwa ceded to Bajee Rao, 1736 Jumna. The government of Malwa was soon after conferred by the emperor on the Rajpoot prince, Jey Sing, whose reign was rendered illustrious by the encouragement of science and the erection of the beautiful city of Jey-pore, with its palaces, halls, and temples, and, above all, its noble observatory. The profession of a common creed had promoted a friendly intercourse between the Mahratta and the Rajpoot chiefs, and Jey Sing, who was more of a scholar than a statesman, made over the whole province of Malwa to Bajee Rao, though not without the supposed concurrence of the feeble court of Delhi.

Bajee Rao's demands, 1736.

These concessions only served to inflame the ambition of Bajee Rao, and the necessities of his position constrained him to extend his aggressions. Great as were the resources of the Mahratta state, the greater portion of the revenue was absorbed by the chiefs who collected it, and only a fraction reached the national treasury. The magnitude of Bajee Rao's operations had involved him in debt; the bankers were slow to make further advances; his troops were clamorous for their pay, and discipline was weakened by his inability to meet their claims. He therefore demanded of the imperial court a confirmation of the assignments on Guzerat which had been granted by Sir-boolund Khan, and of the recent cession of the province of Malwa, as his personal jaygeer. The emperor, or rather his minister, Khan Dowran, offered him an assignment of thirteen lacs of

rupees on the districts south of the Chumbul, with permission to levy tribute in Rajpootana, in the hope that this claim would embroil him with the Rajpoot princes. But Bajee Rao, having learnt from his agent at Delhi that all his demands were likely to be conceded with a little more pressure, immediately increased them, and did not scruple to claim the whole territory south of the Chumbul, the surrender of the holy cities of Benares, Gya, Muttra, and Allahabad, and the immediate payment of fifty lacs of rupees. The court endeavoured to appease him with smaller sacrifices, which he readily accepted, but without abating the price of his forbearance, or the progress of his army. Holkar crossed the Jumna, by his orders, and plundered the Dooab, but was driven back by Sadut Khan, the soobadar of Oude; and this success was magnified at Delhi into a grand victory, in which thousands of infidels were said to have perished. It was even reported that Bajee Rao had been obliged to retire. "I was compelled," he wrote, "to tell the emperor the truth, and to prove to him that I was still in Hindoostan; to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital." He advanced towards Delhi by forced marches of forty miles a day. The consternation in the imperial city may well be conceived; but his object was not to sack the capital, but to intimidate the court into concessions, and circumstances rendered it advisable for him to withdraw. His moderation encouraged a party of eight thousand horse under some of the nobles to attack his camp, but they were easily repelled by Holkar. Bajee Rao now retired from the north, recrossed the Nerbudda, and proceeded to Satara.

The Mahrattas appeared now to be paramount in India, and the Nizam was considered by the emperor and his ministers, the only man who could save the empire from extinction. He himself perceived, when too late, the impolicy of his compact with Bajee Rao in 1732, which had enabled the Mahrattas to plunder the northern provinces without interruption, and augmented their power to

The Nizam defeated by Bajee Rao, 1737.

an extent which now threatened his own safety and that of every other Mahomedan potentate in India. He listened to the overtures of the court, and repaired to Delhi, where the government of Malwa and of Guzerat was conferred on him, and all the power and resources of the empire were placed at his disposal. But these resources were now reduced to so low an ebb that he could assemble an army of only 34,000 men, with which he moved down to Malwa, while the Peshwa advanced to oppose him with 80,000. Owing, perhaps, to his great age—he was now ninety-three—perhaps to an over-confidence in his artillery, which was esteemed the best in India, he intrenched himself near Bhopal, instead of boldly encountering the enemy in the field. Bajee Rao adopted the usual Mahratta system of warfare—laying waste the country around, intercepting all supplies, and harassing his opponent with incessant attacks. At length, on the twenty-fourth day from the commencement of the siege, the Nizam, receiving no reinforcements, while his enemy called up every Mahratta chief in the Deccan to his aid, was constrained to sign a humiliating treaty, granting to the victorious Mahratta the sovereignty of Malwa, and of all the territory up to the banks of the Chumbul, and engaging to use all his influence to obtain the grant of fifty lacs of rupees from the treasury at Delhi. But that treasure was to find a different destination.

Invasion of Nadir Shah, 1738. It was in the midst of these distractions, which exhausted the strength of the empire, that Nadir Shah made his appearance on the banks of the Indus, and India was visited with another of those desolating irruptions to which it had been repeatedly subject during seven hundred years.

Nadir's antecedent career. The Persian dynasty of the Sofis, which had lasted for two centuries, the usual term of Asiatic monarchies, was subverted in 1722 by the Ghiljies, the most powerful of the Afghan tribes. Shah Hussein, the last of that royal line, was blockaded by them in his capital, Ispahan, which had then attained the summit of pros-

perity, and contained a population of 600,000. After the besieged had endured the greatest extremities of misery and want, the king with his court went out attired in deep mourning and gave himself up to Mahmood, the victorious chief, and placed the diadem on his brows. Mahmood, after a reign of two years, rendered execrable by his cruelties, left all his conquests to his son Asruf. Nadir Shah, the greatest warrior Persia has produced since the days of Darius, was the son of a shepherd of Khorasan. His enterprising spirit led him to collect a band of freebooters; their number increased with their success, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable force, with which he freed Khorasan from the Abdalee Afghans who had overrun it. The Ghiljie king of Persia was the next to feel his power, and was obliged to resign all his father's conquests in Persia. Nadir, after his first success, raised Thamasp, the son of the dethroned Sofi monarch to the throne; but when he had expelled the Turks and the Russians from the provinces they had occupied, and restored independence and dignity to his native land, he ascended the throne himself, on the assumed importunity of a hundred thousand of his subjects,—nobles, soldiers, and peasants,—assembled together on a vast plain to offer him the crown.

He invades Af-
ghanistan and
India, 1737-38

To find employment for his troops, and to gratify the resentment of his countrymen, he carried his arms into the country of the Ghiljies, by whom they had been oppressed; but Candahar was besieged for a twelvemonth before it surrendered. While engaged in the siege, Nadir sent a messenger to Delhi to demand the surrender of some of his fugitive subjects. The court was at the time distracted by the claims of Bajee Rao, and the demand was neglected. A second messenger was assassinated at Jellalabad. The government of India had, from time immemorial, been in the habit of paying an annual subsidy to the highlanders who occupy the passes between Cabul and Peshawur, and who were in a position to arrest the progress of any invader. In the confusion of the times the

payment of this black mail had been discontinued, and the highlanders now opened the gates of India to Nadir Shah, who crossed the Indus, on a bridge of boats, with 65,000 hardy veterans, and overran the Punjab before the court of Delhi was aware of his approach.

Massacre of
Delhi, 1739.

The emperor marched to Curnal to repel the invasion, but experienced a fatal defeat, and, being without the means of resistance, proceeded immediately to the Persian camp, and threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The object of Nadir was wealth, not conquest, and it has been affirmed that he was prepared to retire on receiving a contribution of two crores of rupees; but Sadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude, who had been refused some favour by the emperor, sought revenge by representing to Nadir that this was a very inadequate ransom for an opulent empire, adding, that he was able to furnish such a sum from his own province alone. On this Nadir determined to levy the exactions under his own eye. He entered Delhi in March, 1739, in company with the emperor, and took up his residence in the palace. On the succeeding day a report of his death was spread abroad, and the citizens rose on the Persians, of whom a thousand perished in the tumult, which continued throughout the night. The next morning Nadir mounted his horse and went forth to restore order, but the first sight which met his eye was the mangled corpses of his soldiers; at the same time he himself was assailed with missiles from the windows, and a favourite officer was struck dead at his side. Unable any longer to restrain his fury, he issued orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants. For several hours the metropolis of India presented a scene of violence, lust, and bloodshed, and 8,000 are said to have fallen under the swords of the infuriated soldiery; yet so complete was Nadir's discipline, that every sword was sheathed the moment he issued the order.

Plunder of
Delhi, 1739.

Nadir Shah now entered deliberately on the work of spoliation. He despoiled the emperor and his nobles of all their treasures and jewels, caused every house

to be searched and sacked, and spared no cruelty to extort confessions of wealth. Of the infamous Sadut Ali he demanded the whole of the sum which he had said his soubah was able to furnish, and the traitor terminated his existence by swallowing poison. The governors of the other provinces were likewise laid under heavy contributions. Having thus subjected Delhi to fifty-eight days of ruthless pillage, and exhausted, as he supposed, the wealth of the country, he prepared to take his departure with plunder estimated at thirty-two crores of rupees. Before his departure he reseatd Mahomed Shah on the throne, but annexed all the countries west of the Indus to the crown of Persia. He likewise sent a circular to all the princes of India to acquaint them that he was moving to the conquest of other regions, and had replaced his dear brother Mahomed Shah on the throne of his extensive empire, and that if any report of their rebellion reached his ears, he would return and blot their names out of the book of creation.

State of India
after Nadir's
irruption in 1739.

The Mogul empire, which had been in a state of rapid decay for more than thirty years, since the death of Aurungzebe, received its death-blow from the irruption of Nadir Shah and the sack of the capital. Its prestige was irrecoverably lost, and the various provinces ceased to yield any but a nominal obedience to the throne of Delhi. All its possessions beyond the Indus were alienated to the crown of Persia. In the extreme south the Mogul authority was extinct in the principalities of Tanjore, Madura, and Mysore. The nabob of the Carnatic recognised no superior. The government of the Deccan was shared between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas had recently extended their ravages to the gates of Delhi. In the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa the authority of the emperor was trembling in the balance. The rajas of Rajpootana had ceased to be the vassals of the throne. The soobadars of Oude and Bengal acknowledged the emperor as the source of authority, but yielded him no obedience. Even in the imme-

diate vicinity of the metropolis new chiefs were, as the Mahomedan historian remarks, "beating the drum of independence." Towards the close of Aurungzebe's reign a tribe of sooders called Jauts emigrated from the banks of the Indus to the districts lying between Agra and Jeypore, and founded their capital, Bhurtpore, out of the plunder of the emperor's camp equipage; and their leader, Chooramun, did not scruple to set the imperial authority at defiance. To the north of Delhi, a tribe of Rohilla Afghans, recently embodied under a circumcised Hindoo, were rapidly rising into importance. The house of Baber had accomplished the cycle of its existence, and the sceptre of India was about to pass into other hands. Having thus reached the verge of a new era, we turn to the origin and progress of the strangers to whose lot that sceptre was to fall, though at this period they were engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, and dreaming of nothing so little as the establishment of an empire in India. The main stream of this narrative will now follow the fortunes of the British power, to which the history of the various kingdoms which rose upon the decay of the Moguls will be subsidiary. But, it may be useful to bear in mind, that, with the exception of the Rajpoot chiefs and the puppet emperor at Delhi, not one of the kingdoms which were subsequently absorbed in the British empire had been in existence even a quarter of a century when the English first took up arms in Hindostan.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH, 1600—1756.

The English in
India before
1600.

THE rich trade which the Portuguese had established in the East during the sixteenth century served to quicken the spirit of enterprise which Queen Elizabeth laboured to foster in England, and her subjects were impatient to share in its profits. The splendid and

successful voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and other English navigators to the eastern hemisphere tended to augment the national ardour. In 1583, Fitch and three other adventurers started on a commercial expedition to India, by way of Aleppo and Bagdad. They carried letters of introduction from the queen to the emperor Akbar, soliciting his kind offices to her subjects who were proceeding from a far country to trade in his dominions, and offering the same kindness in return to any of his subjects who might visit England. Fitch travelled through the length and breadth of Hindostan, and was struck with the splendour of the court, the grandeur of the nobility, and the magnitude and opulence of the cities.* The information which he collected regarding the commodities of the country, and the industry and wealth of the people, opened up visions of a lucrative commerce to his fellow-countrymen. A petition was accordingly presented to the Queen for permission to send three vessels to India, but the political caution of her ministers rendered it fruitless.

An association was at length formed in London, The East India Company, 1599 in 1599, consisting of merchants, ironmongers, clothiers, and other men of substance, who subscribed the sum of 30,133*l.* for the purpose of opening a trade with the East. In the following year they obtained a charter of incorporation from Queen Elizabeth, which granted them the exclusive privilege of this traffic for fifteen years, if it proved advantageous to the nation; if otherwise, it was liable to be annulled on two years' notice. Such was the origin of the East India Company, which confined itself to commerce for a hundred and fifty years, and then took up arms in defence of its factories, and in less than a century established British sovereignty from the Himalayu to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawur to the borders of Siam.

The first adventure of the Company was placed under the command of Captain Lancaster, and consisted of five vessels freighted with iron, tin, lead, cloth, cutlery, glass, quicksilver, and Muscovy hides, of the value of 68,000 rupees, and 287,420

rupees in bullion. It sailed from Torbay on the 2nd of May, 1601, with letters of introduction from the Queen to the princes to whose kingdoms it might resort. The new Company had no distinct knowledge of any part of India, and the fleet sailed to Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where a cargo of pepper was obtained, and a treaty concluded with the Malay chiefs. In the Straits of Malacca, Captain Lancaster captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons, richly laden with calicoes and spices, and then steered for Bantam, the most flourishing port in the island of Java, where he erected a factory and left agents. The expedition returned to England in September, 1603, with a satisfactory profit to the adventurers. During the following ten years eight voyages were undertaken, which gave a return of from one to two hundred per cent. In 1608 the factors at Bantam represented that the calicoes of India were in great request in the islands of the Archipelago, and a fleet was therefore despatched, for the first time, to the coast of India; but the object was defeated by the jealousy of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese
power.

The Portuguese at this period enjoyed a commercial supremacy in the eastern hemisphere, and were anxious to prevent the intrusion of rivals. They held little territory on the continent of India, but they completely monopolised its foreign trade. By the possession of Aden and Ormuz they entirely commanded the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. They occupied the coasts of Ceylon, and had no rival on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. They were paramount on the Malay seaboard, and held possession of the Moluccas, or spice islands. They had erected a factory at Macao, and enjoyed the exclusive trade of China. Their well-fortified settlement at Hooghly, second only to that of Goa, rendered them a most formidable power in Bengal. It was with this great mercantile monopoly that the English had now to enter into competition. In 1611 the East India Company sent two vessels to Surat, and the Portuguese prepared to resist their advance with four ships, the largest

of which carried thirty-eight guns. In the several encounters which took place between them, the Portuguese were discomfited and disgraced in the eyes of the natives. The Mogul governor of Surat and his officers spent an evening on board the vessel of the commander, and was the first native chief who ever partook of the hospitality of the English. As the Portuguese power was an object of dread along the Coast, the reputation of the East India Company was relatively exalted, and they obtained authority to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, and other towns. These privileges were confirmed by an imperial firman granted by Jehangeer on the 11th of January, 1613, and Surat became the chief seat of English commerce on the western coast of India.

Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 1615. To improve the footing which had been obtained in India, the Company prevailed on King James to send an embassy to the great Mogul. Sir Thomas Roe was appointed envoy, and proved to be admirably adapted for so delicate and difficult a mission. He sailed from England in January, 1615, and landed at Surat with great pomp, attended by a brilliant suite and eighteen men-at-arms, and proceeded to the imperial Court, where he was received with greater distinction than had been accorded to any Persian or Turkish ambassador. Having stated the chief object of his embassy, he was assured that the grievances of which he complained should be redressed. But he found himself thwarted by the influence of the Portuguese, as well as by the vizier and Shah Jehan, who subsequently succeeded to the empire. His talent and address enabled him to overcome these obstacles, and he obtained some valuable privileges for the Company, on whom, after his return, he bestowed the salutary advice which they did not forget for more than sixty years, "to seek their profit at sea and in quiet trade, and not to affect garrisons and land wars in India."

It does not lie within the scope of this work to dwell on the long-continued struggle of the East India Company with

the Dutch for a share in the spice trade of the eastern islands, or on the massacre at Amboyna, which continued for thirty years to rankle in the minds of Englishmen, till Cromwell compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for it. In like manner we pass over the contests with the Portuguese for the possession of Ormuz and the trade with Persia, which, when obtained, was not found worth retaining. We move on to the establishment of the Company in Bengal. In 1620 two of their factors visited Patna, but met with little encouragement. In 1634 a firman appears to have been obtained from the emperor, Shah Jehan, for the establishment of a factory in Bengal; but the resistance of Rodrigues at Hooghly was yet fresh, and the residence of their agents was restricted to the port of Piplee, near Balasore. Two years after, the daughter of the emperor, who was then encamped in the Deccan, having fallen ill, the vizier dispatched an express to the English factory at Surat to request the services of a surgeon. Mr. Boughton, attached to one of the ships, was accordingly sent to the imperial camp, and having succeeded in restoring the princess to health, was desired to name his own reward. In a spirit of the noblest patriotism, he stated that the only remuneration he would accept was an order granting his countrymen the privilege of trading in Bengal free of duty, and planting factories in the interior of the country. The request was at once granted, and he proceeded across the Deccan to Bengal at the charge of the emperor. Soon after his arrival at Piplee, the first English vessel which had ever visited Bengal entered the port, and he was enabled to negotiate the sale and purchase of the investment without being subject to extortion. Two years after, the emperor's second son, prince Soojah, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, established his court at Rajmahal. Mr. Boughton proceeded to pay his respects to the prince, and was requested to prescribe for one of the ladies of the seraglio. He was again successful, and enjoyed a

second opportunity of promoting the interests of his country. At his request the prince granted letters patent to the English to establish factories at Balasore and Hooghly.

Establishment of Madras, 1639. The first factory of the Company on the Coromandel coast was opened at Masulipatam, from whence it was removed, in 1625, to Armegan. The trade was not however found to be remunerative, and Mr. Day, the superintendent, accepted the invitation of the raja of Chundergiree, the last representative of the great Hindoo dynasty of Beejuynugur, to remove the establishment to his territories. In a small village on the coast a plot of ground was marked out, on which, in 1639, he erected the factory which afterwards expanded into the great city of Madras. To give confidence to the native merchants, it was surrounded by a fortification, with twelve guns, and in honour of the champion of England was called Fort St. George.

For fifteen years after this period there is no event in the transactions of the Company worthy of attention. The unsettled state of England during the civil wars was not favourable to the interests of commerce, and the trade of the Company languished. The investments were small, and the profits smaller; but as soon as domestic tranquillity was restored under the Protector, an attempt was made by a body of men, calling themselves the "Merchant Adventurers," to break up the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. The arguments they employed for free trade appear at the present day to be unanswerable, but their validity was not likely to be admitted by those who had devised the Navigation Act. Cromwell referred the question to the Council of State, who recommended him to confirm the privileges of the Company, and a new charter was accordingly granted to that body. There can be little doubt that, in the circumstances of the times, the decision of Cromwell was sound, and that the power of a corporation was essential to the maintenance of a trade exposed to the caprice and the hostility of the native powers of the East. The Merchant Adventurers were therefore incor-

porated with the old Company, and the two bodies united in soliciting a confirmation of their privileges from Charles the Second at the Restoration. A charter was granted on the 3rd of April, 1661, which, in addition to the usual commercial privileges, conferred the right to make peace and to wage war with any people in India not Christians, to seize and deport to England all unlicensed Englishmen, and to administer justice. The Company, which existed only for trade, was thus invested with the most essential attributes of government.

Acquisition of
Bombay, 1662.

In the succeeding year Charles II. married the daughter of the king of Portugal, and received the island and dependencies of Bombay as part of her dower. A grand expedition was dispatched to India by the Crown, under the Earl of Marlborough, to receive possession of the settlements; but after having held it for six years, the ministers of the Crown found that it cost more than it yielded, and ceded it to the Company, under whose fostering care the population has increased from 10,000 to 500,000, and the trade has risen from a few lacs of rupees to thirty crores.

First tea in
England, 1668.

The year, in which the Company acquired the island of Bombay, is also memorable as that in which the first order for the purchase of tea was sent out by them to the East. Tea had been used at the period of the civil war as a "regalia in high treatments and entertainments, and presents to princes and grandees," and was sold as high as 100 shillings the pound weight, or 100 rupees the seer. But in 1657, Thomas Garraway, the founder of Garraway's coffee-house, which still exists in London, was the first to sell it "in drink made according to the directions of the most knowing merchants and travellers into the eastern countries, and many noblemen, merchants, and physicians resorted to his house in Change Alley to drink the drink thereof." He sold it at a rate varying from 16s. to 50s. the pound. But it was not till ten years after that the Company issued an order for "100 lbs. weight of the best tey they could gett to be sent home by their ships." The consumption

in England has increased from one hundred pounds weight to more than eighty millions of pounds.

Turning now to the progress of events in Bengal. Events in Bengal, 1640—1680. With the exception of two brief intervals, the administration of the province was, during thirty-two years, in the hands of two princes of the imperial family, Soojah Khan and Shaista Khan, under whose mild and beneficent rule it enjoyed repose and increased in prosperity. Shaista Khan is charged by the factors of the Company with insatiable rapacity; but they winced under every demand, however petty, and they did not deny that he fostered their commerce and obtained many favours for them from Delhi. In 1664, the French, under the auspices of the great minister Colbert, established an East India Company, in the hope of participating in the trade which had enriched England and Holland. Soon after, a large French fleet sailed up the Hooghly and formed a settlement at Chandernagore. Three years after, the Dutch, whose trade had been confined to Balasore, were permitted to establish a factory at Hooghly, but eventually fixed on Chinsurah, two miles distant, as the seat of their traffic, and erected a fortification capable of resisting the native powers, which they named Fort Augustus. About the same period the Danes entered the river, and embarked in the trade of the country. Bengal, thus blessed with tranquillity, and enriched by foreign commerce, became the most flourishing province in the empire. The general trade of the Company, which had been drooping for many years, received a new impulse from the rapid increase of prosperity in England after the Restoration, and their exports rose from 10 lacs in 1666, to 100 lacs of rupees in 1682. The ambitious fortunes to which this trade gave birth in England created a brood of interlopers, and gave rise to disputes which at one time threatened to embroil the two Houses of Parliament.

Disturbance of the trade, 1682. Shaista Khan had been relieved from the government of Bengal at his own request, and the Company's agents in Calcutta took advantage of his return to the

court to solicit a perpetual firman to exonerate them from the necessity of taking out a fresh firman on the arrival of every new governor, for which they were required to pay most heavily. It was granted through his intercession, and received in Calcutta with a salute of 300 guns. The trade of Bengal had moreover acquired such importance that the Court of Directors who managed the affairs of the Company raised it to the dignity of a separate and independent Presidency, and Mr. Hedges, the first governor, entered Hooghly with a body-guard of a corporal and twenty European soldiers. But these prospects were soon to be darkened by the wild ambition of the Court of Directors and the folly of their officers. Mr. Peacock, the chief of the factory at Patna, had remained neutral during a local *émeute*, and was charged by the Mogul governor with complicity, and placed in confinement, from which he was not released without much difficulty. The Company's lucrative trade in saltpetre was stopped at the same time. A rival East India Company had been formed in London under high auspices, and great efforts were made to obtain a charter for it; but the old Company was still patronized by the Court, and was endowed with the additional powers of admiralty jurisdiction, which authorized them to seize and confiscate the property of their rivals abroad. They now solicited the permission of the viceroy to erect a fort at the mouth of the Hooghly, or on its banks, that they might more effectually intercept the vessels of interlopers. The representative of the Mogul had a horror of European fortifications, and, if he took any interest in the question of rival companies, must naturally have desired that the number of investments on which he could levy contributions, should be increased. The request was therefore refused, and not without reason, for such a fortification would have given the Company the absolute control of the port and of the commerce of the province. But the viceroy went further, and imposed a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their goods, notwithstanding the exemption acquired by the imperial firman.

Such demands had been often made before, and as often eluded by a liberal donative; but the East India Company had become inflated with an idea of their own power and importance, and determined to extort redress by going to war with the Mogul empire. They applied to James II. for permission to retaliate the injuries of which they complained, and fitted out the largest armament which had ever been dispatched from England to the East. Admiral Nicholson was sent out with twelve ships of war, carrying 200 pieces of cannon and a body of 600 men, to be reinforced by 400 from Madras. His instructions were to seize and fortify Chittagong, for which purpose 200 additional guns were placed on board, to demand the cession of the surrounding territory, to conciliate the zemindars, to establish a mint, and to enter into a treaty with the raja of Arracan—in short, to found a kingdom. But these ambitious projects were destined to a severe disappointment. The fleet was dispersed during the voyage, and several of the vessels, instead of steering for Chittagong, entered the Hooghly, and being joined by the Madras troops, anchored off the Company's factory. The arrival of so formidable an expedition alarmed the viceroy, and he offered to compromise his differences with the English; but an unforeseen event brought the negotiation to an abrupt close. Three English soldiers, strolling through the market-place of Hooghly, quarrelled with some of the government policemen, and were severely beaten. Both parties were reinforced, and a regular engagement ensued, in which the natives were completely discomfited. At the same time the admiral opened fire on the town and burnt down 500 houses, as well as property belonging to the Company to the extent of thirty lacs of rupees.

The English
retire to Ingelee,
1686.

The Mogul commandant hastened to solicit a suspension of arms, and assisted in conveying the remainder of the saltpetre on board the ships. Job Charnock, the English chief, considering Hooghly no longer safe, retired on the 20th December, 1686, to the little

hamlet of Chuttanutty, about twenty-six miles down the river, on the site of which subsequently arose the magnificent capital of British India. There the viceroy renewed and spun out the negotiations till his troops could be assembled, when he marched down to attack the English encampment, and Job Charnock retired with his soldiers and establishments to the island of Ingelee, at the mouth of the river. It was a low and deadly swamp, covered with long grass, and destitute of any fresh water. It appears incredible that a man of Charnock's experience, who had been thirty years in India, and who must have known the nature of that jungle, should have selected the most unhealthy spot in Bengal for an entrenched camp. The Mogul general allowed him to remain there without molestation, well knowing that disease would spare his soldiers the use of their swords. In three months one half of the troops were dead, and the other half fit only for hospital.

Bengal abandoned, 1688.

At this juncture, when the prospects of the English were reduced to the lowest ebb, the viceroy made unexpected overtures to Charnock. It appears that simultaneously with the dispatch of Admiral Nicholson's expedition from England, the Court of Directors instructed Sir John Child to withdraw their establishments from Surat and the neighbouring ports, and to commence hostilities on the western coast. An English fleet was therefore employed in blockading the Mogul harbours, and the pilgrim ships were captured. The bigotted Aurungzebe hastened to seek a reconciliation with those who commanded the highway to Mecca, and orders were issued to the governors of provinces to make terms with them. Charnock returned to Chuttanutty, and the pacification was on the point of being completed when the appearance of Captain Heath rekindled the flame. The Court of Directors, on hearing of the failure of Admiral Nicholson's expedition, instead of folding up their ambitious project, determined to prosecute it with increased vigour, and sent out reinforcements under Captain Heath. Immediately on his arrival he disallowed the treaty then pending, and having em-

barked on board the ships under his command, lying off Chuttanutty, the whole of the company's officers, civil and military, proceeded to Balasore, which he bombarded and burnt. He then sailed to Chittagong; but finding the fortifications stronger than he had anticipated, crossed the bay, and landed the whole of the company's establishments at Madras; and not a vestige was left of the commercial fabric which had been reared in Bengal by fifty years of painful exertion.

Reconciliation
with the
emperor, 1690.

This fresh insult exasperated the haughty spirit of the emperor, and he issued orders for the extirpation of the English, and the confiscation of their property. His orders were literally obeyed, and the English possessions were reduced to the fortified towns of Madras and Bombay. Sir John Child sent two gentlemen from Bombay to the emperor's encampment at Beejapore to propose terms of accommodation. Aurungzebe never allowed his passions to interfere with his interests. He was aware that his dominions benefited greatly by the commerce of the English, the value of which exceeded a crore of rupees a year; that their ships of war could sweep his coasts and extinguish his navy; and, above all, that it was in their power to prevent the resort of pilgrims to the tomb of the Prophet. He was therefore induced to accept the proposition of the commissioners, and directed the viceroy of Bengal to invite Mr. Charnock back to the province.

Shaista Khan, who had now governed Bengal for twenty years, solicited permission to retire, and quitted Dacca in 1689. On his departure he closed one of the gates of the city, and placed an inscription over it to commemorate the fact that the price of rice had been reduced during his administration to 320 seers the rupee, and he interdicted any future governor from opening it till rice was again sold at the same rate. It consequently continued closed for thirty-six years.

Establishment of
Calcutta, 1690.

Shaista Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ali Merdan, whose name is perpetuated

by his canals. The new viceroy, who was partial to the English, lost no time in inviting Charnock to re-establish the Company's factories in Bengal. Charnock, however, resented the humiliating as well as vague terms in which Aurungzebe had conceded the restoration of the settlements of the English, in consequence,—so ran the proclamation,—of their having “made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they had committed should be forgiven.” He replied that he could not accept the proposal unless the emperor granted a specific firman for Bengal, setting forth the precise terms on which they were to carry on their trade in future. The viceroy sent him a second communication, stating that several months must elapse before the firman could be received from the imperial Court, and importuned him to return without delay, offering a compensation of 80,000 rupees for the goods which had been plundered. Charnock could not resist this friendly appeal, and embarked for Bengal with the commercial establishments of the Company, and on the 24th of August, 1690, hoisted the standard of England on the banks of the Hooghly, and laid the foundation of the city of CALCUTTA. But he did not survive this memorable event more than two years. His name is perpetuated at Barrackpore, which the natives still continue to designate Achanuk, and a simple monument in the churchyard of St. John's, in Calcutta, marks the grave of the man who founded the “city of palaces.” It was not, however, till eight years after that the agent of the Company was enabled to obtain permission, by a present of 16,000 rupees to the viceroy, to purchase the three villages of Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpore, on which the city stands; though the Court of Directors did not fail to remark that “they considered the price very high.”

Ambition of the Court quenched. The sudden spasm of ambition which seized the Court of Directors, in 1685, and induced them to fit out this grand armament to establish a political power in India, did not, however, last more than five years. The dying indication of it appears in their despatch of 1689: “The

increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united by his Majesty's charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to oppose us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning their trade." But adversity was not lost upon the Court of Directors; from this time forward, and for more than fifty years, their views were confined so exclusively to the pursuits of commerce that in the year 1754, only three years before the battle of Plassy, which laid the foundation of their magnificent empire, they continued to inculcate on their servants, the necessity of "avoiding an expensive manner of living, and of considering themselves the representatives of a body of merchants, for which a decent frugality would be much more in character."

Fortifications of Calcutta, 1695. After the establishment of the factory at Calcutta, the Court of Directors were anxious to place it in a state of defence. They felt that their existence in India during the recent convulsion had been owing solely to the fortresses of Madras and Bombay, which were impregnable to the assaults of any native force. Those forts had been erected before the Mogul authority was extended over the territory in which they were situated; but any increase of such defences was prohibited by the policy of the empire. Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, resisted all the importunities of the Company's chief to fortify Calcutta, though it was backed by an offer of 40,000 rupees. But five years after that settlement had been established an unexpected event led to the gratification of this wish. Sobha Sing, a landed proprietor of Burdwan, irritated by the proceedings of his superior, created a rebellion, and invited Ruhim Khan, the

leader of the remnant of the Orissa Afghans, who had not been heard of for seventy years, to join his standard. Their united force defeated the raja Krishnu Ram, plundered the town of Hooghly, and took possession of the district. The English at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, with a ferocious enemy at their gate, asked permission to put their settlements in a state of defence. The pacific and irresolute viceroy, who was unequal to the crisis of a rebellion, desired them in general terms to provide for their own security. Immediately every hand was employed day and night in erecting fortifications. The fort, built with lime brought up from Madras, was so substantial, that the demolition of it a hundred and twenty years after was supposed to have cost more labour than its erection. In compliment to the reigning monarch, it was named Fort William. Meanwhile the rebellion made head, and the Afghans became masters of the whole country on the right bank of the river, from Orissa to Rajmahal; but they were at length completely defeated and dispersed by Zuberdust Khan, the valiant son of the feeble viceroy. But both father and son were soon after superseded by the emperor, who dreaded the success of his generals only less than that of his enemies, and sent his grandson, Azim, to take charge of the province. The character of this prince encouraged the rebels to reassemble their forces; the royal encampment was furiously assaulted, and the viceroy himself was saved from an ignominious defeat only by the death of Ruhim Khan. He fell in single combat with one of his officers, who announced himself to be the prince, and thus saved his master's life. On the death of their leader, the Afghans made their submission to the government, the revolt died out, and the Orissa Afghans disappear from the page of history.

Rival Company, Scarcely had the Company surmounted their
1698. difficulties in India, than they were threatened with a new and more appalling danger in England. The dazzling profits of the Indian trade had drawn forth a multi-

tude of competitors ; but the Company were enabled to obtain a confirmation of their exclusive privileges from the Crown in 1693. A few months after this event the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." This gave fresh animation to the interlopers, and many of them turned pirates, attacking the Mogul ships and plundering the Mecca pilgrims. In revenge for these injuries, the Mogul governor of Surat arrested fifty-three of the Company's servants, and put them in irons, and they were not liberated without the payment of heavy contributions. In 1698 the interlopers, and others who were eager to participate in the trade of the East, presented a petition to Parliament for a charter, and accompanied it with the tempting offer of accommodating the treasury with a loan of two millions sterling, at eight per cent. Their exertions were successful, and the old Company, who had established British interests in India by a century of labour and expense, being unable to offer more than 700,000*l.*, were ordered to wind-up their affairs and expire in three years. But the rivalry of the two bodies was found, even in the first year, to inflict the most serious injury on the national interests in India. At Surat the gentlemen on the staff of the old Company were seized by the agents of the new body, and conveyed through the streets like malefactors, with their hands bound behind them, and delivered as prisoners into the custody of the Mogul governor. In every market the competition of the two bodies created a scarcity, and enhanced the price of goods. The officers of the native government, courted by two parties, received bribes from each, and oppressed both. "Two East India Companies," exclaimed the old Court of Directors, "can no more subsist without destroying each other than two kings regnant at the same time in the same kingdom ; that now a civil battle was to be fought between them, and two or three years must end this war, as the old or the new must give way."

Embassy of Sir
W. Norris, 1700.

On the establishment of the new Company, Sir William Norris was sent at their expense as ambassador from the court of England to the court of the Mogul, to obtain firmans for the establishment of factories. His difficulties began before he entered the port. The Mogul governor of Surat exacted 15,000 gold mohurs for granting him permission to make a public entry into the city. The vizier at Boorhanpore refused him an audience unless he came without drums and trumpets; and he therefore turned off to the imperial encampment at Panalla, which he reached in April, 1701. Three weeks after, he proceeded to the durbar with a splendid *cortège*, and preceded by magnificent presents. The aged emperor, then in his 88th year, but in the fullest enjoyment of his faculties, received him with great courtesy, and ordered the grants which he solicited to be prepared. But the Armenian agents of the old Company were present to thwart Sir William. Both parties were offering bribes and lavishing money, and decrying each other as impostors. With these conflicting claims before him, the emperor ordered a reference to be made to one Syud Sedoolla, a "holy priest of Surat," who was to determine by examination which was "the real English Company." The holy priest put his award up to sale, and knocked it down for 10,000 rupees; but the governor of Surat refused to report it without a donative of more than two lacs and a half of rupees. Before the terms could be settled, it was reported at the Court that three Mogul ships coming from Mocha had been captured by English pirates. These pirates, of whom Captain Kidd was now the chief, had long been the terror of India. Their vessels were fitted out at New York and in the West Indies, and they possessed several fortified stations on the island of Madagascar. With a fleet of ten ships, some carrying fifty guns, and divided into squadrons, they kept possession of the Indian seas. Two of the Company's vessels, which were sent against them, were seized by the crews, after the massacre of the officers, and added to the pirate

The English
pirates, 1698.

fleet. A squadron of four ships of war was sent against them under Commodore Warren, but one of his vessels was wrecked, and so lax was the naval discipline of the period, that the other three, instead of going in pursuit of the pirates, returned to England laden with cargoes of private merchandize. The emperor, on hearing of these renewed piracies, ordered the ambassador to furnish security for the restoration of the captured vessels, and to enter into an engagement to prevent all piracies in future. With this unreasonable request he of course, refused to comply, on which he was informed that he knew his way back to England. He left the camp after seven months of fruitless negotiation, with a letter and a sword from Aurungzebe to the King of England; and thus ended a mission which had cost the new Company nearly seven lacs of rupees. The embassy itself was a mistake. One of Cromwell's ambassadors—a sixty-four gun ship, which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal—would have been far more efficacious with this unprincipled court. Sir John Gayer and the other servants of the new Company at Surat would not then have been consigned to a jail as a retaliation for piracies they had no means of preventing.

Union of the Companies, 1702. The King, the Parliament, and the nation became at length sensible of the fatal results of the rivalry they had created, and the two Companies were amalgamated by universal consent, under the title of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East," the indenture of which passed the Great Seal on the 22nd of July, 1702. On the completion of this union the Court of Directors, formed by the selection of an equal number from each Company, wrote to their representative at Calcutta, that "now they were established by a Parliamentary authority they deemed it a duty incumbent on them to England and their posterity to propagate the future interests of the nation in India with vigour." They directed their attention to the building of the town of Calcutta, and gave minute directions regarding its streets and houses. They completed the fort, surrounded it with an

entrenchment, and mounted it with cannon. The military commandant of Hooghly was, on the occasion of a dispute with the Company's chief, deterred by its strength from attacking it, and the native merchants who resorted to it in large numbers were inspired with increased confidence. The Court of Directors then remodelled their Indian establishment, fixing the salary of the President at 300*l.*, of the eight members of council at 40*l.*, of the junior merchants at 30*l.*, the factors at 15*l.*, and the writers at 5*l.*; but these inadequate salaries were eked out by the addition of commons, an annual supply of madeira, and the privilege of private trade. The trade proved so lucrative that we find the Directors soon after this period, complain that even the junior servants sat down to dinner with a band of music, and rode out in a coach and four.

From this time forward to the battle of Plassey the history of Calcutta is little else but a chronicle of the exactions of the native government and the resistance, alternately bold and feeble, of the Company's agents. On one occasion the Directors complain that the extortions by the Fouzdar of Hooghly, who "was merely the jackal of the prince and the dewan to discover the prey, had made a great hole in their cash." Then, again, they remonstrate against the exorbitant demand of 30,000 rupees by the nabob—that is, the viceroy—and recommend greater discretion to their agents. Two years after, the nabob makes a new demand of 60,000 rupees, but is pacified with half that sum. The year after, the sum of 22,000 rupees is "squeezed out of them by the Patna king." Again, in 1717, they complain that "the horse-leeches of Moorshedabad had been practising on their servants." "It was actual war which made Aurungzebe restore their privileges." Their servants are therefore ordered to stop, but not to seize, the vessels of the Mogul, "for reprisals, like extreme unction, must never be used except in the last extremity." "They never thought of carrying their contests so far as an open rupture with the viceroy of the whole country, though it might be expedient to

Contests with the
viceroy, 1700—
1756.

speak and look big with the under-governors." But this brought them no respite. Soon after, their native agent was "chabooked," or flagellated at Moorshedabad to extort a bond of 45,000 rupees from him, which was commuted to 20,000 rupees. Even so late as 1750, the President, having seized and confiscated the vessel of an Armenian interloper, was fined a lac and a half of rupees to compensate the merchant, of which, however, he never received more than 20,000 rupees. It was amidst the constant recurrence of these outrageous demands that the President and council in Calcutta contrived to carry on the trade of the Company till the young nabob of Moorshedabad filled up the measure of iniquity by the sack of Calcutta and the atrocity of the Black Hole, and Clive marched up to Moorshedabad and seated a nabob of his own on the throne of the three provinces.

Moorshed Koolee Khan, 1702. In the year 1702 Meer Jaffer was appointed dewan of Bengal, and eventually viceroy of the three soubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He was the son of a poor brahmin in the Deccan, and was purchased and circumcised by a Persian merchant of Ispahan, on whose death he was manumitted. He then entered the public service, where his talents attracted the notice of Aurungzebe and led eventually to his being intrusted with the finances of Bengal. At the same time he was dignified with the title of Moorshed Koolee Khan, which was perpetuated in the new capital which he founded, Moorshedabad.

Embassy to Delhi, 1715. He manifested no little jealousy of the growing power of the Company, and interfered to such an extent with their trade that the President was induced to send an embassy to Delhi to seek a redress of grievances. Two of the senior officers in the service were selected for this office; but their appeal was thwarted at every point by the agents of the Bengal viceroy, and not less by the profligate courtiers of Ferokshere. At length, however, their mission was unexpectedly crowned with success when they were on the eve of abandoning it. The emperor, as stated in a former

chapter, was betrothed to the daughter of Ajeet Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, whom Hussein Ali had brought with him to the court. But the marriage was interrupted by a disease from which the imperial physicians were unable to relieve Ferokshere. The surgeon of the embassy, Mr. Hamilton, was called in and effected a complete cure. He was desired to name his own recompense, and, with the same feeling of patriotism which had distinguished Mr. Boughton, he asked only for the concessions which the British envoys had hitherto solicited in vain. His request was granted, and thirty-four patents embracing the different objects of the memorial were issued in the Emperor's name and authenticated by the imperial seal. The privileges now obtained were, that a *dustuck*, or pass, signed by the President should exempt the goods it covered from examination by the native officers of government; that the mint at Moorshedabad should be employed three days in the week in coining money for the Company; that all persons, European or native, indebted to the Company, should be made over to the President; and that the English should be at liberty to purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns in the vicinity of Calcutta. The embassy returned in triumph to Calcutta; but the viceroy did not fail to perceive that this accession of territory would give them the complete command of the port and make their power formidable, and he determined to defeat the grant. He sternly prohibited the zemindars to grant a foot of land to the Company on pain of his severe displeasure. But though the hope of enlarging their settlement was thus frustrated, the minor privileges they had acquired gave a new impulse to the prosperity of Calcutta, and the port was often crowded during the year with 10,000 tons of shipping.

System of the viceroy. Moorshed Koolee Khan was the greatest and the most energetic ruler Bengal had enjoyed since the days of Shere Shah. A hundred and fifty years before this period the great financier of Akbar, raja Toder Mull, had formed a settlement of the land rent of Bengal and Behar

with the ryots, to the exclusion of all middlemen. To facilitate the collection of the public revenue Moorshed Koolee modified this system and divided the province into *chuklas*, over each of which he appointed an officer to collect the rents and remit them to the treasury at Moorshedabad. It was these officers, who, in process of time, claimed zemindary rights, imperceptibly enlarged their power, and having assumed the title of *raja*, made their office hereditary. The viceroy, who considered a Mahomedan a sieve, which retained nothing, and a Hindoo a sponge, which might be squeezed at pleasure, employed none but Hindoos in these financial duties. This will account for the singular fact that, at the period of the battle of Plassy, all the zemindary rajas of Bengal were Hindoos, while the government itself was Mahomedan. The viceroy was stern and oppressive in matters of revenue. Defaulting zemindars were subject to torture, and some were dragged through a pond filled with insufferable ordure, which was called, in derision, *bykoont*, or paradise. Before appointing these fiscal officers he caused the lands to be surveyed, and fixed the assessment at 142,00,000 rupees, of which sum 109,00,000 rupees were punctually remitted to Delhi year by year. The viceroy himself accompanied this convoy of treasure the first stage out of Moorshedabad. The whole expenditure of government was covered by the remaining 33,00,000 rupees; but so tranquil was the province that 2,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry were found sufficient to maintain the public authority.

Soojah-ood-deen. 1725. Moorshed Koolee died in 1725, and was succeeded

by his son-in-law Soojah-ood-deen, a Turkoman, who was confirmed by the emperor in the government of Bengal and Orissa, while that of Behar was conferred on another. He administered the government for fourteen years, and punctually remitted the annual tribute to Delhi. During these two reigns the sum abstracted from the resources of this flourishing province and squandered at the capital exceeded thirty crores of rupees. Soojah augmented his army to 25,000, and adopted a more magnificent style at his court than his frugal father-in-law. The only event of any

note during his reign was the destruction of the Ostend East India Company established by the emperor of Germany at the factory of Banky-bazar, on the Hooghly, opposite Chandernagore. The settlement of these interlopers was regarded with feelings of intense jealousy by the Dutch, and more particularly by the English, who declared their intention to "cut up the Ostender's trade by the roots and not simply to lop off the branches." One of their ships was captured by an English vessel which blockaded the Hooghly. The emperor of Germany was induced, by powerful remonstrances, to withdraw the charter, and a bribe of 320,000 rupees from the English and Dutch induced the viceroy to send a force against Banky-bazar, which fell after a gallant defence, and the Ostenders were chased out of Bengal.

Ali verdy Khan, 1740. Soojah-ood-deen died at the period of Nadir

Shah's invasion, and his son Serferaj Khan took possession of the government, and ordered the coin to be struck and prayers to be read in the name of the Persian. But on his departure, Ali verdy Khan, the governor of Behar, who owed his fortunes entirely to the deceased viceroy, conspired against his son, and, by large douceurs and larger promises to the profligate ministers of Mohamed Shah, the emperor of Delhi, obtained a sunnud appointing him soobadar of the three provinces. With the army he had been for some time engaged in training, he marched against Serferaj, who was killed by a musket-ball in the battle which ensued, and Ali verdy mounted the throne, for which, however, he was eminently fitted by his great talents and experience. The promises he had made were faithfully performed, and he remitted to Delhi a crore of rupees in money and seventy lacs in jewels, obtained from the estate of the deceased nabob—a most welcome supply after the imperial treasury had been drained by Nadir Shah. The presence of the new viceroy was required, soon after his accession, in Orissa, where the brother-in-law of Serferaj refused obedience; but he was speedily defeated and fled to Masulipatam. Having settled the province, Ali verdy disbanded his new levies, and was

marching back at his leisure to Moorshedabad with a small body of troops, when he received intelligence that the Mahrattas were rapidly advancing with 12,000 predatory horse to levy contributions in Bengal; and the difficulties of his reign began.

Mahratta proceedings, 1739.

We turn now to the proceedings of the Mahrattas after the departure of Nadir Shah. It was a fortunate circumstance for India that Bajee Rao was prevented from taking advantage of the confusion of the times by the necessity of watching the movements of his formidable rivals, the Guickwar of Guzerat and the Bhonslay of Berar. Parsojee Bhonslay was originally a private horseman of Satara, who raised himself to notice in that age of adventure, and was entrusted with the charge of collecting the Mahratta dues in the province of Berar, where he founded the Mahratta state of Nagpore. At the period when Holkar and Sindia were only commanders in the service of the Peshwa, Roghoojee Bhonslay, who had succeeded his cousin Parsojee, was in command of a powerful force of his own, with large independent resources for its support. While the Nizam was besieged, as already stated, at Bhopal, he resisted the orders of the Peshwa to join the Mahratta standard, and proceeded on a plundering expedition to the province of Allahabad. Bajee Rao resented this intrusion into his own exclusive quarry, and sent an army to ravage Berar, but it was defeated by Roghoojee. That leader was now sufficiently strong to entertain a jealousy of the ascendancy which the Peshwa had acquired in the Mahratta councils, and was intriguing to supplant him; in which design he was eagerly seconded by the Guickwar. The difficulties of Bajee Rao's position were relieved by his own tact. Roghoojee was persuaded to take the command of an expedition to the Carnatic, consisting of more than 50,000 troops. During his absence Bajee Rao attacked Nazir Jung the second son of the Nizam, but was repulsed with great vigour. The war was protracted for many months, chiefly to the disadvantage of the Peshwa, and both parties, wearied

with a fruitless struggle, at length agreed to an accommodation. The Peshwa, dispirited by his ill-success and overwhelmed by his debts, started for the north, but expired on the banks of the Nerbudda on the 28th of April, 1740. During the twenty years in which he wielded the power of the Mahratta confederacy he raised it to the highest position in India, and his power was equally felt on the banks of the Coleroon and of the Jumna. The impulse and the confidence he gave to the ambition of his countrymen continued to animate them after his decease to fresh conquests, and in the course of twenty years rendered them supreme throughout India. He left three sons—Balajee Rao, Roghoo-nath Rao, afterwards the notorious Raghoba, and the illegitimate Shumshere Bahadoor to whom he bequeathed his possessions in Bundelkund.

Death of Bajeo Rao, 1740. Balajee Rao was placed in his father's seat, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Bhonslay, and obtained, from his feeble sovereign, a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and the districts recently wrested from the Portuguese in the Concan, as well as the exclusive right of levying contributions to the north of the Nerbudda, with the exception of Guzerat, and this brought him into direct collision with Roghoojee. While that chieftain was engaged in the Carnatic, Bhaskur pundit, who had been left to manage his principality, entered Behar with a body of 12,000 horse, and, emerging from the Ramghur hills, spread desolation over the western districts of Bengal. Ali verdy was returning from Cuttack with a slender force when the Mahratta commander encountered him, and demanded the immediate payment of ten lacs of rupees; and, on its being indignantly refused, enveloped the Mogul army with his horse, capturing its tents, baggage, and artillery, and reduced the viceroy to the humiliation of offering the payment he had previously refused. But the Mahratta now raised his demand to a hundred lacs, and Ali verdy resolved to run every risk rather than submit to the exaction. With great gallantry he

The Mahrattas invade Bengal, 1741.

fought his way to Cutwa, where he considered himself secure from any farther attacks. The rains had by this time commenced in Bengal and the Mahratta army prepared to return to Berar; but this resolution was opposed by Meer Hubeeb, who represented the folly of throwing away so rich a prize as Bengal without an effort. Hubeeb was a native of Sheraz, in Persia, and had been a broker at Hooghly, though unable to read and write. He entered the service of the viceroy, and by his distinguished talents and spirit of enterprize rose high in his estimation; but having been taken prisoner by Bhaskur pundit was induced to accept service with the Mahrattas, and for eight years was the soul of their expeditions and the cause of incalculable misery to Bengal. On the present occasion he obtained a large force from Bhaskur and advancing against Moorshedabad, before Ali verdy could come to the rescue, plundered the suburbs and despoiled the banking-house of Jugut Sett of two crores and a half of rupees. On the appearance of Ali verdy, Meer Hubeeb recrossed the river, and laid waste the country from Balasore to Rajmahal. He got possession of Hooghly by a stratagem. The wretched inhabitants crowded into the foreign factories, and more especially to Calcutta, for protection from this storm, and the President sought permission of the nabob to surround the Company's territory with an intrenchment. It was readily conceded, and the work was commenced and prosecuted with vigour, but suspended on the retirement of the enemy. This was the celebrated Mahratta ditch, which, though it has disappeared, like the old walls of London, still continues to mark the municipal boundaries of the city, and has fixed on its citizens the sobriquet of the Inhabitants of the Ditch.

Continued Mahratta invasions. Before the close of the rains, Ali verdy crossed the river with the army he had recruited, and the Mahratta general was eventually defeated, and obliged to evacuate the province. Roghoojee, who had returned from the Carnatic expedition, determined to support his pretensions

in Bengal, and entered the province with a large army. On the first appearance of the Mahrattas, Ali verdy had applied for aid to the court of Delhi, and the emperor invoked the succour of the Peshwa, offering him an assignment on the Bengal treasury, and a confirmation of the grant of Malwa. Balajee Rao, with his old grudge against Roghoojee, readily accepted the offer, and marched with a large force through Allahabad and Behar to the gates of Moorshedabad, where he is said to have exacted a crore of rupees from Ali verdy as the price of his services, after which he marched against Roghoojee, defeated his army, and despoiled him of the plunder he had acquired. Soon after, the two Mahratta chiefs found that their views would be most effectually promoted by coming to an understanding. The Peshwa agreed to assign the right to levy contributions from Oude, Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, to Roghoojee, who agreed, on his part, not to interfere with any of the plans or acquisitions of the Peshwa. The next year, 1744, Roghoojee sent Bhaskur pundit to renew his ravages in Bengal, when Ali verdy inveigled him to an interview, and by an act of the basest treachery caused him to be assassinated, upon which his army dispersed.

Rebellion of
Mustapha, 1745.

This crime did not long remain unavenged. The next year witnessed the revolt of his great general, Mustapha Khan, who had been employed to decoy the Mahratta general to the fatal conference. Mustapha was the head of the Afghan troops who formed the strength of the Bengal army, and it was chiefly to his talents and valour that Ali verdy was indebted for his elevation. The government of Behar, which had been promised him, was refused by the viceroy, and he marched into that province with an army of 8,000 horse and a large body of infantry, and, at the same time, invited the Mahrattas to invade Bengal anew. The viceroy, menaced by this double attack, manifested the utmost vigour, though then verging on seventy, and took the field with the Afghan generals who still remained faithful to him. Mustapha was at length defeated near Jugudeshpore and slain, and his body was quartered and exposed on the

walls of Patna. The Mahrattas who were advancing to his aid, retreated on hearing of his death, but they returned the next year, and, for four successive seasons, ravaged all the districts on the right bank of the river. The recollection of these devastations was not effaced for generations, and to a late period in the present century the dread of the Burgees, by which name the Mahrattas were designated, continued to haunt the natives from Balasore to Rajmahal. The viceroy, worn out by the inroads which had for ten years harassed his wretched subjects and exhausted his own treasury, was compelled, in 1751, to purchase peace by agreeing to an annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees as the *chout* of Bengal, and the cession of the province of Orissa. The *chout* ceased, as a matter of course, seven years after, when British authority became paramount in Bengal; but the province continued in the possession of the Nagpore family for half a century.

Events in the
Carnatic, 1701
—1744.

The Carnatic was now to become the theatre of great events, which exercised an important influence on the destinies of India. This extensive province on the Coromandel coast, on the seaboard of which lay the English and French settlements, extended about five hundred miles from north to south, and about a hundred miles inland. After the conquest of the southern provinces by the Moguls under Aurungzebe, it was included in the soubah of the Deccan. Zufikar Khan, with whose name the reader is familiar, when recalled from his government by the emperor, transferred his authority to Daood Khan, who drank “cordial waters and French brandy” with the governor of Madras, and Daood Khan, when summoned to take a command in the imperial army in 1710, appointed Sadutoolla to act as his deputy, and he continued to administer the government of the Carnatic for twenty-two years, to the great benefit of the people. His nephew, Dost Ali, assumed the office on his death in 1732, without seeking the sanction of his superior, the Nizam, who was, however, too deeply embroiled in his contest with Bajee Rao to resent this assumption. Dost Ali

had two daughters; one married to his nephew, Mortiz Ali, the most truculent and unprincipled prince in the Deccan, the other to Chunda Sahib, distinguished equally by his talents and his liberality. In 1736 he obtained possession of the impregnable fortress of Trichinopoly by treachery, siezed the surrounding country, and extinguished the independence of the reigning family. Soon after came the great Mahratta invasion, under Roghoojee Bhonslay. Dost Ali advanced to meet him, but was defeated and slain. The Mahrattas then proceeded to levy contributions in every direction, until they were bought off with the promise of a crore of rupees, to be paid by instalments by Sufdur Ali, the son of Dost Ali, who now assumed the title of nabob of the Carnatic. During this irruption Chunda Sahib placed his family, for greater security, under the protection of the French at Pondicherry, which led to important results.

The popularity of Chunda Sahib had, however, excited apprehensions in the mind of Sufdur Ali, and it was a part of his compact with the Mahrattas that they should return the next year and extinguish his power; retaining the principality of Trichinopoly for themselves. They came down, accordingly, in 1741 and laid siege to that fort, which Chunda Sahib defended with great skill and valour for three months, but was eventually constrained to capitulate; and as he was considered the ablest and most formidable soldier in the south, he was conveyed to Satara and placed in strict confinement. Morari Rao, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, with 14,000 men, kept possession of the fort and territory of Trichinopoly. A year after, Sufdur Ali was assassinated by Mortiz Ali, who proclaimed himself nabob; but the friends and relatives of the murdered prince withdrew his infant son from Madras, where he had obtained shelter, and raised him to the throne. Meanwhile the Nizam, who had returned from Delhi to the Deccan, resolved to put an end to the anarchy of the Carnatic, and moved down with an army little short of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. All parties hastened to make

their submission to this overwhelming force, and the Nizam placed the administration of the province in the hands of one of his old and faithful servants, Anwar-ood-deen, as the guardian of the youthful son of Sufdur Ali, on whom he engaged to confer the nabobship when he came of age. The

youth was soon afterwards assassinated, but Anwar-ood-deen is not chargeable with complicity in this crime, though he obtained the benefit of it.

Anwar-ood-deen founds the family of nabobs of the Carnatic, 1740. He was placed in the vacant post, and founded the family of the nabobs of Arcot, or of the Carnatic, subsequently so notorious in the history of British India. Sadut-oollah and his son, Dost Ali, had governed the Carnatic for thirty years with great moderation and no little advantage to the people. To them are apparently due the merit of constructing those works of irrigation which diffused fertility through the district. During their reigns the country enjoyed a respite from desolation, and begun to flourish. The people, grateful for so unusual a blessing, had contracted a warm attachment to the family, while the nabob of the Nizam was considered an interloper and regarded with a proportionate feeling of antipathy.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO ESTABLISH AN EMPIRE IN INDIA. 1746—1761.

War with France, 1744. WE are now entering on a series of events, which, though of little significance at the time, produced the most momentous results, and laid the foundation of European supremacy in India. Up to this time the French and English in India had been engaged only in the pursuits of commerce, and though they were repeatedly at war, during a period of seventy years, in Europe, there was

peace between their factories, lying side by side on the same coast and the same river. But in the war which broke out in 1744, the French ministry determined to extend the conflict to the east, and fitted out an expedition for the destruction of the English factories in India. So little apprehension was entertained in those settlements, at the time, of any hostilities which might affect their security, that the whole amount of the European force at all the Presidencies and forts did not exceed six hundred, of whom more than one-half were untrained recruits. It was in this unexpected emergency, that the English were obliged to take up arms in the defence of their interests; and we have now to trace the steps by which they gradually became involved in hostilities with the native powers, by the irresistible current of circumstances and contrary to their own wishes, till they found themselves in possession of the empire of India.

Labourdonnais. Labourdonnais, who was the first to break a lance with the English in India, had embarked for the east at the early age of fourteen, and in a long succession of voyages, acquired a complete knowledge of its trade, navigation, and resources. His application to business was indefatigable, and his spirit of enterprize was only strengthened by difficulties. He was a man of large views, and yet personally directed the minutest details. In 1734, he was appointed governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, which he found a wilderness, and left flourishing colonies. On his return to Europe, seeing the nation on the eve of a war with the English, he persuaded the minister to strike a blow at their commercial prosperity in India, and the command of the armament was judiciously entrusted to him. At the same time the British ministry despatched a squadron, consisting of six men of war, to protect the settlements of the Company on the Coromandel coast. On the morning of the 26th of June, 1746, the French fleet of nine vessels under Labourdonnais, appeared off the coast, and the British commodore brought on an immediate action, which, however, terminated

without any result. The French general, impatient to plant the French flag on the ramparts of Madras, proceeded to Pondicherry to obtain the co-operation of the governor, Dupleix.

Dupleix. He was the son of a farmer general, and was sent in his youth to India, where he embarked in an extensive trade with all the ports of the east, and acquired great wealth. Having been appointed governor of Chandernagore, he enriched it by commerce till it became more than the rival of Calcutta, and left two thousand brick buildings as a monument of his enterprising spirit. He was a man of inordinate ambition and egregious vanity, but at the same time of vast energy and resources. He had been employed for four years in fortifying Pondicherry, when Labourdonnais arrived with plenary powers, but instead of co-operating with him to promote the common interests of the nation, a jealousy of the reputation he might acquire, induced Dupleix to thwart all his projects. But the indomitable zeal of Labourdonnais overcame every obstacle, and his fleet was rapidly equipped for a descent on Madras. On the other hand, the English squadron, sent out for the express purpose of protecting the settlements, was unaccountably withdrawn at this critical juncture, and the commodore abandoned them to their fate.

Capture of
Madras
September, 1746.

Labourdonnais, finding the coast clear, lost no time in steering for Madras. That settlement had grown up from an insignificant hamlet in 1640 to a town of 250,000 inhabitants in 1746. The territory extended about five miles along the coast, and a little more than a mile inland. After a century of peaceful commerce, undisturbed by the appearance of any enemy by land or by sea, it was ill prepared for the formidable attack now impending. The fortifications, which had never been strong, were now dilapidated, and the store of ammunition was scanty. Of the 300 Europeans in the town, 200 were soldiers, and few of these had ever seen a shot fired in earnest. On the 15th of September, 1746, Labourdonnais appeared off the town with 1,100 Europeans, 400 Malagasees, and 400 sepoy, or native

soldiers, trained and disciplined by Europeans, an expedient which the French were the first in India to adopt. After a bombardment of five days, during which the French did not lose a man, and the English lost only five, and that by the bursting of one of their own bombs, the town and fort were surrendered. The French commander was interdicted by his instructions from retaining any of the settlements he might capture, and he, therefore, held the town to ransom, for the sum of forty-four lacs of rupees, independently of the merchandize, the military and naval stores, and the money belonging to the Company. None of the residents were molested in person or property; and it was agreed that the town should be evacuated by the French troops in three months, and that it should not be again attacked during the war. The success and the moderation of Labourdonnais only served to inflame the animosity of Dupleix, who protested against the ransom, and declared that the town and factory ought to have been razed to the ground.

Fate of Labourdonnais. Labourdonnais was reinforced in a few days by fresh arrivals from France, which raised the number of Europeans under his command to more than 3,000, a force sufficient to have crushed every English settlement in India. But they were happily saved from destruction by the spleen of Dupleix, who obstructed all the projects of Labourdonnais, and by the weather. The monsoon set in with extraordinary violence; and, though the ships freighted with the booty of Madras escaped the typhoon, some of the largest vessels in the squadron were stranded, and the whole of the fleet was disabled. Labourdonnais was constrained to quit the coast and return to the Mauritius, and eventually to Europe. On the voyage home in a Dutch vessel he was forced into an English harbour, and became a prisoner of war. But his great abilities, and his generous conduct after the capture of Madras, were so highly appreciated that he was immediately liberated on his parole. Far different was his reception in his native land. The representations of the envious Dupleix, and other

enemies he had made in India by his energy and patriotism, were favourably received; his great services were overlooked, and he was thrown into the Bastile, where he lingered for three years, and died of a broken heart on his liberation.

On the appearance of Labourdonnais' army before Madras, the Nabob of the Carnatic, Anwar-ood-deen, sent an agent to Pondicherry to remonstrate on the presumption of the French in attacking a settlement in his dominions which was under his protection. Duplex endeavoured to pacify him by the promise of delivering the town to him when captured, that he might enrich himself by its ransom. But after its surrender, the Nabob discovered that the promise had been made only to cozen him, and he sent his son with a force of 10,000 men to drive out the French. They advanced with confidence to attack the handful of Europeans, not exceeding a thousand, whom Labourdonnais had left to protect the town. But the field-pieces of the French fired three or four times a minute, while the native artillery thought they did wonders by firing once in a quarter of an hour. This rapid and galling fire staggered the Nabob's troops, and the resolute advance of the French infantry took all conceit of fighting out of them. The young Nabob, mounted on a lofty elephant which carried the great standard of the Carnatic, was the first to make his escape from the field, and he was followed by the whole army. This dastardly flight of ten thousand Indians before a single battalion of Europeans, is a memorable event in the history of India. It dissolved at once and for ever the spell which had hitherto kept Europeans in dread of native armies. It demonstrated their inherent weakness, however strong in numbers, and it gave the English that confidence in their own valour and strategy which contributed more than anything else to the successive subversion of the native thrones.

The Nabob
abandons the
English, 1749.

On the departure of Labourdonnais, Duplex made no scruple to annul the treaty and confiscate all the property, private and public, found in

Madras. The governor and the principal inhabitants were declared prisoners of war and marched down to Pondicherry, where, under pretence of doing them honour, they were marched through the streets, amidst the jeers of fifty thousand spectators. Dupleix followed up this act of bad faith by laying siege to Fort St. David, another settlement of the Company on the Coast, about a hundred miles south of Madras, which was at the time defended only by 200 European troops. The English chief solicited the aid of the Nabob of the Carnatic, who was smarting under the disgrace inflicted on his son at Madras, and readily advanced with a large force. A French detachment was unexpectedly attacked by the Nabob's general, and seized with a panic, and retired in disorder to Pondicherry with considerable loss. Dupleix who had a thorough knowledge of the native character, now set himself to detach the Nabob from the English alliance. The singular departure of the English fleet in the preceding year, and the arrival of four French vessels with reinforcements, enabled him to decry the one, and to extol the resources of the other. An Asiatic prince never considers himself bound by any principle of honour, or even consistency; his own supposed advantage is the only rule of his conduct, and he changes sides without the smallest scruple. Dupleix succeeded in persuading the Nabob that the English were the weaker party, and the Nabob did not hesitate for a moment to abandon them. His son was accordingly sent to Pondicherry to form an alliance with Dupleix, by whom he was received with the greatest ostentation, and loaded with presents. The French now advanced against St. David a second time with a greater force, but a large fleet was descried in the offing, which proved to be an English armament, and the besiegers retreated rapidly to Pondicherry.

Fruitless siege
of Pondicherry,
1743

This armament, which had been despatched from England for the defence of the Company's settlements, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, arrived off Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and was

immediately joined by the vessels of Admiral Griffin. The junction of the two squadrons formed the largest maritime force which had ever been seen in the eastern seas. It consisted of more than thirty vessels, none of which were of less than 500 tons, and thirteen of them men of war of the line. The English troops now on the Coast comprised in all 3,720 Europeans, 300 topasses, and 2,000 sepoy, equal to any enterprise. The Nabob still changing sides as the power of the English or the French appeared to predominate, promised the aid of a body of his troops. Every bosom was beating with the hope that the loss of Madras would be avenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the English were subjected to a bitter disappointment. The army began its march to that settlement on the 8th of August, and the siege was prosecuted for fifty days, but, notwithstanding the valour of the officers and men, it was at length disgracefully raised, after more than a thousand European lives had been sacrificed. Seldom, if ever, has any siege in India exhibited more egregious blunders on the part of the commanders. Dupleix announced the abandonment of the siege as a magnificent triumph of the French arms, to all the various princes of India, not forgetting even the great Mogul, and he received from all quarters the most flattering compliments on his own ability, and the valour of his nation. For the time, the French were regarded as the greatest European power in the Deccan, and the English, who had not only lost their own settlement, but failed to capture that of their rivals, sunk into contempt. Seven days after the retirement of the English force, information was received of the suspension of hostilities in Europe, which ended in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and Madras was restored to the East India Company.

Effects of this
two years' war

This war, of little more than two years' duration, opens a new era in the politics of India. In 1746, neither the English nor the French were viewed by the native rulers in any other light than as inoffensive traders. By the end of 1748, they had come out as great military powers

whose alliance or opposition was an object of importance to the princes of the country. It might have been expected that on the return of peace both parties would lay aside their armour, and return to the counting-house. But as the eloquent historian of these transactions, who was at the time at Madras, observes, "The war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David, a number of troops greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had assembled in India, and as if it was impossible that a military force which feels itself capable of enterprises should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorised to fight with each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the princes of the country; the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition."

Expedition to
Devi-cotta, 1749. The English were the first to take the field. The little principality of Tanjore, seventy miles long and sixty in breadth, with the history of which the reader is already acquainted, was at this time governed by Pretap Sing, the fifth in succession from the Mahratta chieftain who had conquered it. His brother, Sahoojee, who had been deposed for his imbecility, applied to the governor of Madras to reseate him on the throne, engaging to defray all the expenses of the expedition and to cede the town and district of Devi-cotta, at the mouth of the Coleroon. The English had no right to interfere in this foreign quarrel, but their troops were unemployed, and the opportunity was very tempting. This forms, perhaps, the only instance during a century of warfare of an expedition undertaken by them without any plea of necessity. The force which was sent to conquer Tanjore consisted of 430 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys, with eight field pieces and mortars, under the command of Major Stringer Lawrence, the first of that long train of heroes who have rendered the British name illustrious on the plains of Hindostan. The commencement of the siege was inauspicious. The typhoon which ushered in the monsoon, sunk some of the largest of the ships, and inflicted such destruction

on the army as to oblige the Major to retire to Porto Novo to refit. It would be tedious to follow the varied events of the siege, which was our first and most clumsy attempt to take an Indian fort, and which derives its chief interest from the circumstance that it afforded the first opportunity for developing the genius of Clive. The fort was captured after two unsuccessful attacks; but it had now become manifest to the Madras Presidency that the cause of our *protégée* was unpopular and hopeless. The raja of Tanjore, menaced by Chunda Sahib, offered to defray all the expenses incurred by the Company in war, to cede Devi-cotta with the district around it, and to grant a pension of 50,000 rupees a year to his disinherited brother. These terms were accepted, and the troops returned to Madras.

Dupleix's ambitious designs. While the English army was thus wasting its strength on the walls of Devi-cotta, Dupleix was playing a higher game. He had seen a thousand European troops disperse an army of ten thousand native soldiers like a flock of sheep, and he had received the congratulations of the native princes on the success of his arms. He had at his disposal an army capable of any enterprise, and, in Bussy, a general fit to command it. He determined, therefore, to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and the prestige he had acquired, to set up a French empire in the Deccan. Chunda Sahib was considered by the natives of the Carnatic, the ablest soldier in the country, and the only man who could deliver them from the yoke of the hated Anwar-ood-deen, and Dupleix at once perceived how greatly his ambitious projects would be forwarded if Chunda Sahib were placed on the throne of the Carnatic by his instrumentality. He accordingly opened a correspondence with that prince, who had been a prisoner for eight years at Satara, through the medium of his wife who was residing at Pondicherry under the protection of the French government. After much negotiation Dupleix succeeded in obtaining the liberation of Chunda Sahib by the payment of seven lacs of rupees, and he appeared on the

confines of the Carnatic with 6,000 troops whom he had enlisted, when the death of the old Nizam, at Hyderabad, gave a new turn to public affairs.

Death of the
Nizam, 1748.

Towards the end of 1748 Nizam-ool-moolk, the soobadar of the Deccan, the great founder of the kingdom of Hyderabad, closed his long and eventful career at the age of a hundred and four. His eldest son, Ghazee-ood-deen, was at the time high in office at Delhi. His second son, Nazir Jung, who was with his father at the period of his decease and in command of the army, immediately seized the public treasure and the supreme authority, giving out that his elder brother had resigned the office of soobadar to him. But there was a grandson of the old Nizam whom he had cherished with great affection, and who now aspired to this honour. He affirmed that it had been conferred on him by the emperor himself, with the title of Mozuffer Jung, and he assembled an army of 25,000 men with which he hovered on the west of Golconda, watching the opportunity of action. Chunda Sahib, hearing of the position and designs of the young prince, immediately offered him the service of his sword. He was received in the camp with open arms, and his troops were at once taken into the pay of Mozuffer, who was persuaded to appoint him Nabob of the Carnatic, and to march, in the first instance, to the conquest of that province, on the ground that its resources would be invaluable in the struggle with Nazir Jung. A communication was at the same time made to Dupleix, inviting him to join the confederacy, and offering him great advantages for the French Company. The proposal, if it did not originate with Dupleix, was most acceptable to him, and a contingent of 400 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys was immediately sent to join the confederates. Their united force, swelled in its progress to 40,000 men, entered the Carnatic and began to levy contributions. The Nabob, Anwar-ood-deen, advanced to repel the invasion with a force of only half that number, and a battle was fought in July, 1749, at Amboor, fifty miles from Arcot, which decided the fate of

the Carnatic. The army of the Nabob was completely routed, chiefly through the valour of Bussy's troops; the Nabob himself was shot dead in the action, and his son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly, where the family and the treasures of the deceased Nabob had been deposited.

Mozuffer Jung marched the next day to Arcot, The English aid Mahomed Ali, 1749. and assumed the state and dignity of soobadar of the Deccan, conferring the government of the Carnatic on Chunda Sahib. From thence they proceeded together to Pondicherry, where Dupleix received them with all the oriental ceremonies due to the rank they had assumed, and was rewarded by the grant of eighty-one villages. Mahomed Ali, on his arrival at Trichinopoly, came to the conclusion that it could not be successfully defended against the victorious army of Chunda Sahib, backed by his French allies, although it was one of the strongest and most important fortresses in the south. He sent, therefore, to implore the assistance of the English governor of Madras, who was, however, without any instructions for such an emergency. The Madras Council had bitterly repented of their wild expedition to Devi-cotta, and were anxious not to involve their masters again in the risk of alliances and disputes with the native powers. At the same time, they could not shut their eyes to the danger arising from the ambitious schemes of Dupleix, and the ascendancy he was acquiring in the Carnatic. But they were incapable of that resolution which the crisis demanded, and they aided Mahomed Ali only with the contemptible force of 120 men, while by an act of incredible fatuity they sent back the fleet with the greater part of the land forces to England. Dupleix urged Chunda Sahib to lose no time in marching against Trichinopoly, where the adherents of the deceased Nabob were maturing their plans, and he placed 800 French troops at his disposal. But Chunda Sahib had an old quarrel to settle with the raja of Tanjore, and was resolved to exact a heavy contribution from him. He immediately marched against that town, and,

after two months had been wasted in the siege, the raja engaged to pay down seventy lacs of rupees to the allies, and to cede more than eighty villages to the French, around their settlement at Carical. With the view of gaining time, he doled out the money in driblets, but before the first instalment had been counted down, Dupleix informed the allies that Nazir Jung was approaching the Carnatic with an overwhelming force; upon which they broke up their encampment in dismay, and retired to the vicinity of Pondicherry.

Defeat of
Mozuffer Jung
and Chunda
Sahib, 1749.

The army with which Nazir Jung entered the Carnatic to drive out the two adventurers did not fall short of 300,000 men, one-half of whom consisted of cavalry, and a tenth of mercenary Mahrattas, with 800 guns and 1,300 elephants. He summoned to his standard all the tributaries of Hyderabad, and, among others, the Patan nabobs of Cuddapah, Kurnool, and Savanore. Their ancestors had held those districts under the crowns of Beejapore and of Golconda, and they themselves were at the head of the Patans, who were constantly streaming down from Afghanistan to seek employment and plunder in India. The encampment of Nazir Jung was established at Valdore, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry, and the Governor of Madras sent an English force of 600 Europeans to join it under Major Lawrence. Dupleix, on his part, augmented the French contingent with Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib to 2,000 European bayonets. But on the eve of the day fixed for battle, thirteen French officers, who were dissatisfied with their share of the treasure obtained from the raja of Tanjore, basely deserted their colours and returned to Pondicherry. The soldiers were panic struck, and followed their example. Chunda Sahib fought his way back gallantly to the French settlement, but Mozuffer Jung surrendered himself to his uncle, who took an oath to protect him, and then placed him in captivity.

Dupleix's skilful The ambitious schemes of Dupleix were inter-

movements,
1749.

rupted by this reverse, but he showed himself as great an adept in oriental intrigue as if he had been bred a Mahomedan courtier. He immediately opened a negotiation with Nazir Jung, and was allowed to send an envoy to his camp, who had thus an opportunity of ascertaining the precise position of affairs. Though the mission of his emissary was not successful, he discovered that the three Patan nabobs mentioned above were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Nizam, and ready to revolt. Dupleix established a correspondence with them, and, with the view of securing their confidence and intimidating the Nizam, sent an expedition to Masulipatam, and captured the fort; attacked the camp of Mahomed Ali, and, after a prodigious slaughter, constrained him to fly with only one or two attendants, and then seized on Ginjee, the stronghold of the south, the siege of which had detained Zulfikar Khan nine years. These daring exploits at length roused Nazir Jung from the voluptuous sloth in which he was buried at Arcot, and induced him to send two of his officers to renew the negotiations with Dupleix. But Dupleix, seeing the game in his own hands, rose in his demands, and required the liberation of Mozuffer Jung and the restoration of his estates, together with the acknowledgment of Chunda Sahib as Nabob of the Carnatic, and the cession of Masulipatam and its dependencies to the French.

Nazir Jung at-
tacked and
killed, 1749.

Nazir Jung, indignant at these audacious proposals, instantly ordered his army to march against the French. Though it had been reduced in number by the dismissal of many detachments, fifteen days were occupied in marching a distance of only thirty miles. Scarcity and disease began to thin its ranks, and the Nabob, weary of a war in which he had wasted a twelvemonth to no purpose, conceded all the demands of Dupleix, and they were embodied in a treaty. But Dupleix had been for seven months in correspondence with the discontented nabobs, and on the

maturity of the scheme, had ordered his commandant at Ginjee to proceed against the camp of Nazir Jung, as soon as he received a requisition from them. Their summons unfortunately reached him before the ratification of the treaty, in total ignorance of which, he marched on the 4th of December, 1749, towards the Nizam's camp, with 800 Europeans and 3,000 sepoy. After a long and fatiguing march of sixteen miles, he came in sight of it as it stretched over an area of eighteen miles, and immediately commenced the attack. His small force was repeatedly charged by different divisions of the enemy, but his field-pieces shattered their ranks, and by mid-day half their army was in flight. Nazir Jung could not credit the report, that the French with whom he had just concluded a treaty were engaged in attacking his troops; but when he was assured of the fact, he rode up with indignant haste to the three nabobs, who were marching to join the French, and singling out the Nabob of Cuddapah, reproached him with his cowardice and treachery. The Nabob lodged two balls in the heart of his unfortunate master, and having caused his head to be struck off, hastened to present it to Mozuffer Jung.

Mozuffer Jung
becomes Nizam,
1750.

Mozuffer Jung was immediately released from confinement, and saluted Soobadar of the Deccan. "Never," remarks the great historian of this period, "since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, did so small a force decide the fate of so large a sovereignty." The new Nizam proceeded to Pondicherry, and was welcomed with a grand display of eastern pomp. The day following his arrival he was installed as Soobadar, and Dupleix, arrayed in the gorgeous robes of a Mahomedan omra, appeared as the chief actor in the pageant. Chunda Sahib was declared Nabob of the Carnatic, and Dupleix was nominated governor on the part of the Mogul, of all the country lying south of the Kistna. Thus had this daring politician, in the brief space of twenty months, outrun even his own large scheme of ambition. He had not only created a Nabob of the Carnatic, but even a

Viceroy of the Deccan, and had obtained the supreme control of a kingdom larger than France.

But Mozuffer Jung was not to enjoy this dignity long. After having made a profuse distribution of the treasures of Nazir Jung, amounting to two crores of rupees among his partisans, he left Pondicherry on his return to Hyderabad on the 4th of January, 1751, accompanied by a French force of 300 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys, under the command of Bussy. He had not proceeded more than sixty leagues, when the three Patan nabobs, who were dissatisfied with the rewards they had received on the occasion of his elevation, broke into open rebellion. Bussy's force was immediately called forth, and his artillery swept down their battalions; the treacherous Nabob of Savanore was hacked to pieces, and the revolt was quenched in the blood of those who had excited it. But the irritated Nizam, rejecting the sound advice of Bussy, insisted on the pursuit of the fugitives, and was struck dead by the javelin of the nabob of Kurnool, who was in his turn slain in the conflict. The whole camp was thrown into the greatest confusion by this unexpected event, but Bussy never lost his presence of mind. He assembled the bewildered generals and ministers, and, such was the influence he had acquired, that he induced them to confer the vacant dignity on Salabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, who was then a prisoner in the camp. Tranquillity was immediately restored, and the army resumed its progress. Leaving it now to pursue its march to the north, we turn to the movements of Chunda Sahib.

Chunda Sahib proceeded from Pondicherry with 8,000 of his own troops and 800 French auxiliaries to Arcot, in February, 1751, to receive homage as Nabob of the Carnatic, and then advanced to the siege of Trichinopoly. Mr. Saunders, now Governor of Madras, felt that a great error had been committed in permitting Duplex to obtain such a footing in the south, and he resolved to counteract his schemes by a more decisive support of the

Death of Mozuffer Jung, 1751.

Siege of Trichinopoly, 1751.

cause of Mahomed Ali. A large detachment was accordingly sent to the relief of the small English garrison cooped up in the fort of Trichinopoly, but the troops of our ally scarcely exceeded a tenth of those assembled under the banner of Chunda Sahib. Captain Clive, who accompanied the reinforcement, returned to Madras and urged on the Governor the importance of creating a diversion, and suggested an expedition to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, had gone out to Madras in the civil service of the East India Company in 1744, and was present at the surrender of that town to Labourdonnais, two years after. Following the bent of his genius, he exchanged the pen for the sword, and obtained an ensign's commission. He distinguished himself in the operations before Devi-cotta, where he attracted the admiration of Major Lawrence. He was also at the abortive and disastrous siege of Pondicherry under admiral Boscawen. Mr. Saunders adopted his advice, and confided the Arcot expedition to his charge, though he was only twenty-six years of age at the time. The only force that could be spared from Madras consisted of 200 Europeans, and 300 sepoy, and eight field pieces. Of the eight officers who accompanied it one-half were civilians, attracted to the expedition by the example of Clive, and six of them had never been in action. But Clive had seen from the ramparts of Madras a mere handful of Europeans defeat and disperse ten thousand native soldiers; and he had confidence in his own powers. During the march of the troops they were overtaken by a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; but they continued their progress with the utmost coolness, and this circumstance impressed the superstitious garrison with so exalted an idea of their prowess, that they were allowed to enter the fort without opposition. The expedition produced the desired effect; Chunda Sahib was obliged to detach a large force to Arcot, and the pressure on the English garrison at Trichinopoly was alleviated.

The fort of Arcot was more than a mile in circumference, with a low and lightly-built parapet; several of the towers were decayed, and the ditch, where not fordable, was dry and choked up. From the day of its occupation, Clive had been incessantly employed in repairing the defences, but the place seemed little capable of standing a siege. Of his eight officers, one had been killed and two wounded in successive encounters with the enemy, and a fourth had returned to Madras. The troops fit for duty had been reduced by casualties and disease to 120 Europeans and 200 sepoy, and it was with this small body that Clive sustained, for seven weeks, the incessant assaults of 10,000 native troops and 150 Europeans. On the last day of the siege the enemy endeavoured to storm the fort, but, during a conflict which lasted more than eighteen hours, they were repulsed on every point, and the next morning were seen to break up their encampment and retire. "Thus ended this memorable siege," as Orme remarks, "maintained fifty days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men, in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops, and conducted by the young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken confidence, and undaunted courage; and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books or conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art, all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as were dictated by the best masters in the art of war." His character was completely defined in a single expression of the great minister of England, William Pitt, when he styled him the "heaven-born general."

Defeat of the
French, 1752.

Chunda Sahib still continued to beleaguer Trichinopoly with a large force, and Mahomed Ali was induced, by his terror, to invite the aid of the regent of Mysore and Morari Rao, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, as well as the general of the Tanjore troops. Clive, on his return from Arcot, proceeded to Trichinopoly, and was

employed in various enterprises of a minor character, which, however, served to mature his military talents. The campaign was brought to an early and successful issue by Major Lawrence, who, in June, 1752, compelled the French commander Law, to surrender at discretion, with all his troops, stores, and artillery. Chunda Sahib, deserted by his own officers, yielded himself up to the Tanjorine general, who appeared to be the least inveterate of his enemies. The general took the most solemn oath to conduct him in safety to a French settlement, but immediately after caused him to be assassinated, at the instigation of Mahomed Ali, who, after feasting his eyes with the sight of his murdered rival, bound his head to the neck of a camel, and paraded it five times round the walls of the city.

The war with Chunda Sahib had no sooner terminated, than the English found themselves involved in hostilities with the allies who had co-operated with them in the cause of Mahomed Ali; so utterly impossible did they find it to shake off their connection with country politics, when once entangled in them. The Mysore regent came forward and claimed possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and the Nabob was constrained to confess that he had secretly contracted to transfer the city, and the territory south of it, to the Mysore prince, as the price of his alliance. It is easy to conceive the disgust of Major Lawrence on finding that the fortress which his own government had drained their treasury to secure for the Nabob, was now to be made over to a native chief who had rendered no assistance, and whose fidelity was exceedingly doubtful. He retired in disgust to Madras taking care, however, to leave Captain Dalton, with 200 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy, to guard the citadel against the artifices of the regent. Meanwhile Dupleix, having received large reinforcements from Europe, proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib nabob of the Carnatic, and sent a powerful force to renew the siege of Trichinopoly. But Major Lawrence over-

Discontent of the
Mysore Regent,
1752.

Battle of Bahoor,
Aug., 1752.

took the French at Bahoor, inflicted a signal defeat on them, and a second time captured their guns and ammunition.

The Mysoreans and Mahrattas join the French, 1752. The Mysore regent, seeing it vain to expect the acquisition of Trichinopoly, or any portion of the sum of eighty lacs of rupees, which he demanded in lieu of it, transferred his alliance, in conjunction with Morari Rao, to the French. The town was regularly besieged by the confederates, who experienced many vicissitudes during the two years the investment lasted. These various actions it is not necessary to detail, and it may be sufficient to state that the French were three times worsted by the superior strategy of Lawrence, and that, on one occasion, the English sustained a memorable reverse. At length Morari Rao, on the receipt of three lacs of rupees from Mahomed Ali, consented to withdraw his force, and not to appear again in the field against the English, the Nabob, or the raja of Mysore. Before his departure, however, he contrived to extort a further sum from the Mysore regent, under the threat of attacking him. He was the ablest and the boldest native general of his time, and his little army, composed of Mahrattas, Mahomedans, and Rajpoots, was the most compact and formidable body of native troops in the south. They had stood the assault of European troops, and, what was of more importance, the fire of field-pieces, which were now, for the first time, introduced into Indian warfare, and they had unshaken confidence in each other, and in their chief.

Termination of the war, 1754. The French and English had now been engaged in mutual hostilities for nearly five years, madly exhausting their resources in the cause of native princes. The Court of Directors were anxious to put an end to this anomalous and wasting warfare, and, in 1753, made an earnest appeal to the ministers of the crown for aid, either to prosecute, or to terminate it. The ministry ordered a squadron and a military force to India, and then remonstrated with the French government on the proceedings of their functionaries

in the East. Anxious to avoid a war between the two countries, the French cabinet despatched M. Godeheu, one of the directors of their East India Company, to India, with orders to supersede Dupleix, to assume the control of their affairs, and bring these hostilities to an immediate close. He landed at Pondicherry, on the 2nd of August, 1754, and all the schemes of ambition in which Dupleix had been so long engaged, were at once quenched. He immediately laid down his office; but his vanity was soothed by being allowed to retain the emblems of his "Moorish dignity—his flags, and ensigns, and instruments of music, and the dress of his nabobship, in which he went, in great pomp, to dine with M. Godeheu on the feast of St. Louis."

Treaty between the English and French, 1754. The negotiators, M. Godeheu and Mr. Saunders, agreed upon a suspension of arms at their first meeting. A conditional treaty was soon after signed, the salient points of which were, that both parties should, for ever, "renounce all Moorish government and dignity," and never interfere in the differences of the native princes; that the possessions held by both nations should eventually be of equal value, but that they should retain all their acquisitions till a final treaty was concluded in Europe. Mahomed Ali was, likewise, to be confirmed as Nabob of the Carnatic. The balance of advantage was on the side of the French. Independently of the Northern Sircars, held by Bussy, they remained in possession of a territory yielding eighteen lacs of rupees a year, while that occupied by the English was not of more value than ten lacs; but, the East India Company was rid of the restless ambition of Dupleix, which outweighed every other consideration. The treaty was, however, little respected by those who made it. The ink was scarcely dry before the Madras government sent an auxiliary force with the army of their Nabob, to subjugate the districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and the French despatched a body of troops to subdue Terriore. And as to any definitive treaty in Europe, every prospect of it was extin-

guished by the war, which soon after broke out between England and France.

Fate of Dupleix. Dupleix embarked for Europe in September, 1754. He had expended a sum exceeding thirty lacs of rupees in the public service, partly from his private estate, and partly from funds raised on his own bonds. Godeheu refused to audit his accounts, and referred the adjustment of them to the Directors of the French East India Company, in Paris, who, to their disgrace, basely disallowed the greater portion of the claim, under the pretence that these expenses had been incurred without their sanction. Dupleix was consigned to neglect and poverty—the second instance of national ingratitude towards Indian servants. He merited a different return from his own nation; for, whatever may have been the defects of his character, the French never had an officer more desirous, or more capable, of extending their reputation and power. At a time when Europeans, without exception, entertained a morbid dread of native armies, he boldly encountered them in the field, and demonstrated their weakness; and, if he had been adequately supported from France, he would probably have succeeded in the great object of his life—the establishment of a French empire in India.

Death of Sahoo, 1748—Mahratta politics. Before we follow the career of Bussy, in the north, it is necessary to glance at the progress of Mahratta affairs. Sahoo, the grandson of Sevajee, who had been seated on the Mahratta throne for more than fifty years, and had always been imbecile, now exhibited signs of idiocy—dressing up a favourite dog in gold-brocade and jewels, and placing his own plumed turban on his head in open durbar. All substantial power had long since passed into the hands of the Peshwa; but the wife of Sahoo was his mortal foe, and, at this crisis, endeavoured to weaken him, by persuading her husband, now in his dotage, to adopt his kinsman the raja of Kolapore. But Tara Bye, who had taken no share in Mahratta politics for more than twenty years, since the

death of her son, now came forward and conveyed information to Sahoo, that her daughter-in-law had been delivered of a posthumous child, whose life she had succeeded with great difficulty in preserving, and who was now the nearest heir to the throne. The Peshwa, whether he believed the story or not, determined to support it, and advanced to Satara with a powerful army. Every avenue to the couch of the dying monarch was strictly guarded by his wife; but the Peshwa found the means of access to him, and induced him to affix his seal to a most extraordinary document, by which all the authority in the state was transferred to the Peshwa, on condition that he should maintain the royal title and dignity of the house of Sevajee, in the person of Tara Bye's grandson. Sahoo died two days after the execution of this document, and the Peshwa dexterously constrained his widow to ascend the funeral pile by giving out that she had announced her intention to do so; and from such an announcement she could not recede without infamy.

Supremacy of
the Peshwa,
1750

Balajee Rao, the Peshwa, immediately proclaimed the adopted prince sovereign of the Mahrattas, under the title of Ram raja. The Mahratta feudatories who had been summoned to the Court, accompanied the Peshwa to Poona—thenceforward the capital of Mahratta power—to confirm and complete the provisions of Sahoo's testament. Rughojee Bhonslay received new sunnuds for levying *chout* in Bengal and Behar; the province of Malwa was divided between Holkar and Sindia, and the old cabinet of Ministers was confirmed in office. These appointments were made in the name of Ram raja, but they served to strengthen the authority of the Peshwa. The year 1750 may, therefore, be considered the period at which the power of the Mahratta state was definitively transferred to his family, and the descendant of Sevajee became a puppet at Satara. But Tara Bye, though seventy years of age, was mortified by this alienation of all power from the regal sceptre, and called to her aid the troops of the Guickwar,

now the substantive ruler of Guzerat. At the same time she urged her grandson to strike for his independence, but he had no spirit for such a task, and she reproached him bitterly with his degeneracy, and then placed him in confinement. The Peshwa, who was then on a distant expedition, hastened to Satara, and, by an act of treachery which has sullied his character, seized on the Guickwar, but left Tara Bye unmo-lested. He felt that by consigning the legitimate monarch to a prison she was in reality playing his game.

Progress of
Bussy, 1752.

To return to the progress of Bussy. After the defeat of the three Patan nabobs and the elevation of Salabut Jung, he accompanied the army to Golconda, where he and his officers received the most liberal donations. In June the Nizam proceeded with great pomp to the city of Aurungabad, then considered second in magnitude and importance only to Delhi. But Ghazee-ood-deen, the elder brother of Salabut Jung, who held one of the highest posts at the court of Delhi, on hearing of the death of Nazir Jung, obtained a patent of appointment as Soobadar of the Deccan, and excited the Peshwa by the promise of large jaygeers to come down and attack Salabut Jung. The Mahrattas employed all the arts of their national warfare against Bussy, to whom the Nizam had confided the management of the campaign, but the superiority of European tactics and valour baffled all their efforts. The French artillery mowed down their ranks; they were routed in every encounter, and chased back to within thirty miles of their capital. The Peshwa now hastened to offer terms of conciliation. Salabut Jung's army was, moreover, on the verge of mutiny, for want of pay and food, and he adopted the advice of Bussy and rid himself of this troublesome foe, by a cession of territory equivalent to that which Ghazee-ood-deen had promised him. Roghoojee Bhonslay, who had also been incited to attack Salabut Jung and lay waste his territories, was bought off with similar concessions. Meanwhile, Ghazee-ood-deen himself advanced to Aurungabad with an army of 150,000 men, and immediately

dispatched an envoy to Dupleix, offering him the most brilliant advantages if he would detach the corps of Bussy from the interests of his rival and brother. To conciliate Dupleix, he went so far as to send him a sheet of blank paper with the broad seal of the Mogul empire affixed to it, for him to fill up with his own terms. But Salabut Jung cut short all his schemes by inducing his own mother to send him a poisoned dish, which she knew he would partake of, when he found that it had been prepared with her own hands.

Bussy obtains
the Northern
Sircars, 1753.

The ascendancy which Bussy had acquired at the court of Hyderabad raised him many enemies, and even the minister, who was under the greatest obligations to him, became his determined foe, and plotted his destruction. In January, 1753, Bussy was obliged to visit the coast to recruit his health, and the minister during his absence endeavoured to break up his force by withholding the payment of their allowances, and subjecting them to a variety of insults. Bussy was obliged to return before his health was confirmed, and marched with a body of 4,500 men to Aurungabad, where the court lay. The minister, distracted by the appearance of this force, determined to seek a reconciliation, to which Bussy, who wished to avoid extremities, was not less inclined. But to avoid all future occasion of discord regarding the pay of his troops, which amounted to forty lacs of rupees a year, he obtained the cession of the four districts on the coast, generally known as the Northern Sircars. By this bold stroke the French acquired an uninterrupted line of coast, six hundred miles in extent, yielding a revenue of fifty lacs of rupees a year, which rendered them absolute masters of a greater dominion than had been in the possession of any European power in India, not excepting even the Portuguese. The districts were admirably adapted by the bounty of Providence and the industry of the inhabitants for a large and lucrative commerce; they were protected on one side by a chain of mountains, and on the other by the sea, and they afforded every fa-

cility for the introduction of reinforcements and munitions of war into the Deccan.

The Peshwa, having completed his arrangements in the territory ceded to him by Salabut Jung and terminated his differences with Tara Bye,

sent an army to levy contributions in the Carnatic, and the expedition was considered the most profitable he had ever undertaken. Where the villages and towns refused immediate compliance with the demands of the Mahrattas, the local officers were seized, and compelled by threats and sometimes by torture, to make a settlement. Where no ready money could be obtained, bills were exacted from the bankers and forcibly cashed in other parts of the country. When a garrison presumed to offer resistance it was at once put to the sword. On the cessation of the rains, Rogoonath Rao, his fighting brother—the Raghoba of British Indian history—was dispatched to plunder Guzerat. From thence he proceeded to the north with a body of Sindia's and Holkar's troops, and after ravaging the territories still belonging to Delhi, exacted heavy payments from the Rajpoots and Jauts.

Bussy, on his return to Hyderabad at the beginning of 1755, found Salabut Jung about to proceed to Mysore, to extort tribute. The Mysoreans then before Trichinopoly were acting in alliance with the French, but Bussy, as a feudatory, was obliged to “attend the stirrup” of his suzerain, though much against his will. The imbecile raja at Seringapatam directed his brother, the Regent, to hurry back with his troops from the Carnatic, and he was obliged to return without receiving the smallest compensation for the heavy expense incurred in the support of 20,000 troops for three years in that luckless expedition. So completely had the treasury been drained by this continued requirement that when the demand of the Nizam had been compromised, through the mediation of Bussy, for fifty-six lacs of rupees, it became necessary to despoil not only the members of the court, female as well as

Proceedings of
the Mahrattas,
1754-55.

Attack on
Mysore and Sa-
vanore, 1755-56.

male, of their jewels and plate, but also the temples of the idols. The next year Salabut Jung marched against the nabob of Savanore, who had refused to acknowledge his authority. Morari Rao had equally resisted the authority of the Peshwa, and the Peshwa and the Nizam marched against their refractory vassals with a combined army of 100,000 men. It was in the presence of this force, the flower of the Deccan soldiery, that Bussy opened fire on the fort of Savanore from his splendid artillery, in such style as to astound the allied princes, and constrain the enemy to send immediate proposals for a surrender; and an accommodation was soon after effected through his good offices.

*Intrigues
against Bussy,
1756.*

The superiority which Bussy had exhibited in this expedition served only to inflame the animosity of the Nizam's minister, and increase his anxiety to rid the Deccan of this foreign influence. It was even determined, if necessary, to assassinate him. As soon, therefore, as peace was concluded with Savanore, Bussy was ordered to quit the territories of the Nizam, who was said to have no farther occasion for his services. He received the message without any feeling of resentment, and immediately began his march back to Masulipatam, but at the same time desired the government of Pondicherry to dispatch every soldier who could be spared to that port without any delay. On the departure of Bussy the minister of the Nizam applied to Madras for a body of English troops to aid in completing the expulsion of the French from the state. The two nations were then at peace, and a convention had been entered into which bound the two Companies to avoid all interference in the quarrels of the native powers. But the bait was too tempting to be resisted, and the government of Madras was on the point of sending a large force to demolish the power of Bussy in the Deccan, when intelligence arrived of the sack of Calcutta, and another direction was given to the expedition. Bussy, while yet two hundred miles from the coast, found his ammunition running short and his military chest

exhausted, and turned aside to Hyderabad, where his influence would more readily procure supplies of every kind. On the 14th of June, 1756, he took up a position at Charmaul, in the neighbourhood of the city. Salabut Jung, whom he had raised from a prison to the throne, summoned every tributary and dependent in the kingdom to his standard, and brought its whole strength down to crush his benefactor. Bussy defended himself with his usual skill and gallantry for nearly two months, but his position was daily becoming more critical, when Law, marching up from the coast with reinforcements through a wild and mountainous track, and baffling a corps of 25,000 men sent to oppose him, succeeded in forming a junction with his chief at Charmaul. Salabut Jung, in a fever of alarm, sent proposals of peace, which Bussy was not unwilling to accept, and his authority became more firmly established in the Deccan than ever.

Bussy at the
summit of suc-
cess, 1757—58.

Towards the close of the year, Bussy proceeded to the districts assigned to him on the coast, to restore his authority, which had been impaired during the recent conflict, and he devoted the next year to the regulation of the government, in which he exhibited not less talent than he had shown in the field. Early in the year, he received a pressing request from the young Nabob of Moorshedabad, to march up and assist him in expelling Clive from Bengal; but, on hearing of the capture of Chandernagore and the imbecility of the Nabob, he resolved not to move out of his province. But, as war had now been declared between France and England, he proceeded to capture Vizagapatam and the other English factories on the coast, but he treated the officers with the utmost liberality. During his absence from the court of Salabut Jung, that helpless prince was threatened with destruction by the machinations of his unprincipled minister, who had taken possession of the fortress of Dowlutabad, and of his own ambitious brothers, one of whom, Nizam Ali, had obtained possession of the royal seal, and usurped the authority of the state. The Mahrattas did

not, of course, fail to throw themselves into the arena, when they saw the prospect of booty. The crown was falling from the head of Salabut-Jung, and the country was on the eve of a convulsion, when Bussy started with his army from Rajmundry, and, traversing a country never seen by Europeans, reached Aurungabad, a distance of 400 miles, in twenty-one days. There he found four armies assembled by the different parties to take a share in the struggle for power and plunder. His sudden appearance, with a force which all were obliged to respect, combined with the natural ascendancy of his character, at once extinguished all intrigues. The authority of Salabut Jung was restored; the venomous minister was killed in a tumult provoked by his own devices; Nizam Ali was constrained to fly to Boorhanpore; and Bussy, by a *coup d'état*, secured the citadel of Dowlutabad, the strongest in the Deccan.

Extinction of
Bussy's power
1758.

Bussy, who had for seven years exercised the chief influence on the destinies of the Deccan, had now reached the summit of his grandeur. The provinces on the coast, which were governed with great wisdom and moderation, furnished abundant resources for the support of his troops, and he had secured an impregnable stronghold in the heart of the country. He had placed the interests of his nation on a foundation not to be shaken by ordinary contingencies. With a genius which was in every respect fully equal to that of Clive, he had succeeded in establishing the authority of France in the southern division of India, to the same extent as the authority of England had been established in the north; and it appeared, at the time, by no means improbable, that the empire of India would be divided between the two nations. But the power of the one was destined to permanence and expansion, the prospects of the other were swept away by the folly of one man. At the commencement of the war in 1756, Lally was sent out as Governor-General of the French possessions in India, and immediately on his arrival, partly from caprice and partly

from envy, ordered Bussy to repair to Pondicherry, with all the troops not absolutely required for the protection of the maritime provinces. Bussy, who considered obedience the first duty of a soldier, withdrew his garrison from Dowlutabad; and, to the unutterable surprise of the native princes, who trembled at the sound of his name, retired with all his troops from the Deccan, just at the time when he had become arbiter of its fate. He took leave of Salabut Jung on the 18th of June, 1758; and, with his departure, the sun of French prosperity in India sunk, never to rise again.

War with France
—Lally, 1758. The command of the armament which the French government fitted out in 1756, to extinguish the British commerce in India, was committed to Count Lally. He was descended from one of those Irish Roman Catholic families who had emigrated to France after the expulsion of James the Second. He inherited that implacable hatred of England which the exiles carried with them, and was, therefore, fitted, as much by his own animosities, as by his military talents, for the mission on which he was sent. He had been more than forty years in military service, and had gained some distinction in the field; but, with all his bravery, he was headstrong, rash, and arrogant. He proceeded to India with a powerful fleet and army, and, after an indecisive action with the English at sea, landed at Pondicherry in April, 1758. Before twenty-four hours had elapsed he was on his march to the English settlement of Fort St. David. It was garrisoned by 870 Europeans and 1,600 sepoys, and, but for the extraordinary incapacity of the commander, might have made an honourable defence; but it was scandalously surrendered after a siege of only a month. The fortifications were immediately razed by Lally.

Lally attacks
Tanjore, 1758. The government of Madras naturally concluded that Fort St. George would be the next object of the victorious general, and they called in the garrisons from the subordinate stations, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Fortunately for them, Lally was as resolutely,

thwarted by the civil authorities at Pondicherry, as La-bourdonnais had been in 1746, and his movements were, at the same time, crippled for want of resources. To obtain a supply of money he looked, in the first instance, to Tanjore. Seven years before this time, the raja, pressed by the demands of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, had given them a bond for fifty-six lacs of rupees, which, as being of little value, they had made over to their French allies. This document Lally determined now to turn to account, and proceeded with his army to enforce payment. The town was besieged for more than a fortnight, a practical breach had been made in the walls, when an English fleet suddenly appeared on the coast, off the factory of Carical, on which the French army depended for its supplies. Lally, who had only twenty cartridges left for each soldier, and but two days' provisions in the camp, was obliged to raise the siege and return to Pondicherry, poorer than he had left it. To his infinite chagrin, the French admiral resisted his pressing importunities and sailed away, with the whole fleet, to the Mauritius.

Returning from Tanjore, Lally marched in the first instance to Arcot, which the venal governor Unsuccessful
siege of Madras,
1758—59. surrendered without resistance. Bussy who had now arrived in the French camp from Hyderabad, implored Lally to employ the great resources at his command in strengthening the position which the French nation had acquired in the Nizam's dominions. But Lally's head was filled with the magnificent project of driving the English from Madras, and then from Calcutta, and, finally, from the coasts of India. The wise counsel of Bussy was treated with contempt, and Lally scarcely condescended to read his letters. Contrary to the remonstrances of the Council at Pondicherry, he now determined to undertake the siege of Madras. The English governor had taken advantage of the respite gained while Lally was otherwise employed, to strengthen the defences and to lay in a full supply of provisions. The enemy brought up a force of 2,700 Europeans and 4,000

sepoys, with 400 European cavalry, the first ever seen in India. The garrison consisted of 1,750 Europeans and 2,200 sepoys; but they were commanded by the veteran Lawrence, supported by thirteen officers who had been trained under his own eye, in the wars on this coast. Lally sat down before the fort on the 12th of December, 1758, and the siege was prosecuted for two months with the greatest vigour. There was no lack of military skill or courage on either side. But on the 16th of February, when a breach had been made which the French were about to storm, an English fleet appeared in the roads. The French army was seized with a sudden panic, the trenches were abandoned without orders, and Lally was obliged to retreat with precipitation, leaving fifty pieces of cannon behind him.

Coote baffles
Lally, 1759.

In the course of the year there was an indecisive action at sea between the English and French fleets, and a variety of movements and counter-movements by land without any definite result. Towards the close of the year the French troops, who were twelve months in arrears, out of provisions, and in rags, unable any longer to bear their privations, broke into open mutiny. Lally succeeded, at length, in quelling the revolt, but was, at the same time, constrained to take the fatal step of dividing his force, and sending a large portion of it to the south in search of money and food. This movement gave a great advantage to the English; but they derived still greater service from the arrival of Colonel Coote, a general second only to Clive, to take the command of the army. He entered upon the campaign with his accustomed energy, and recaptured Wandewash, which the French had occupied in the previous year. In January, 1760, Lally moved up to retrieve this loss, and Coote compelled him to fight, to great disadvantage, in the neighbourhood of the town, which has given its name to the battle. Independently of sepoys, the French brought 2,250 and the English 1,900 Europeans into the field on this occasion. Lally sustained a complete and disastrous defeat, and Bussy

was taken prisoner; but, in consideration of his high character and his generous conduct to the English in the Northern Sircars, was immediately allowed to return to Pondicherry. Victory appeared now to desert the French standard. During the year 1760, Coote succeeded in depriving Lally of all the places he had taken, and Ginjee and Pondicherry were at length the only possessions remaining to the French. Lally's troops were not only without provisions, stores, or equipments, but without hope of obtaining any. The supplies from Europe had ceased. The settlements of the French, in Africa, in the West Indies, and in Canada, were attacked with such vigour as to leave them no leisure to attend to their affairs in the east. The extinction of the hope they had cherished of establishing an empire in India may thus be traced, indirectly, to those energetic measures by which William Pitt, the great minister of England, defeated their attempts to establish an empire in America.

Capture of
Pondicherry,
1760.

Coote now prepared for the siege of Pondicherry, when an event occurred which had well nigh marred the prospects of the campaign. The fleet from England brought a new commission to Col. Monson, the second in command, which virtually superseded Coote. Instructions were, it is true, given that the commission should not be acted on during the continuance of the war, but Coote at once yielded the command of the expedition to the man whom the authorities at home had thought fit to put over his head, and retired to Madras. The gallant Lawrence had, in like manner, been superseded on a previous occasion, and this is, unfortunately, not the only instance we shall have to notice in the course of this narrative in which Government has deposed a general from his command in the full tide of victory. In the present case there was at least this excuse for the conduct of the people at home, that they were at the time ignorant of the great merit and brilliant success of Coote. Monson was baffled and wounded in his first independent enterprise, and requested Coote to resume the command of

operations, which he did not hesitate to do. Pondicherry was now subject to a close blockade. The brave garrison held out till, even at the scanty rations to which they had been reduced, provisions were left only for two days. Lally, worn out with fatigue, ill health, and vexation, capitulated on the 14th of January. As the victors marched into the town, their feelings were strongly affected by the skeleton figures to which the noblest forms in the two French regiments had been reduced by long and painful privation. Pondicherry was levelled with the ground. The instructions sent to Lally by his own government to annihilate the English settlements which he might capture had fallen into the hands of the Court of Directors, and they issued orders to retaliate, and in the course of a few months not a roof was left of this once fair and flourishing colony.

Thus ended a war between the English and
Fate of Lally. French for the exclusive possession of commerce and power in India, which, with the exception of less than a twelvemonth, had lasted for fifteen years, and it terminated by leaving the French without an ensign in the country. Their settlements were restored at the Peace of Paris, two years subsequently, but they have never again been able to raise their heads in India. Lally returned to Paris, and was thrown into the Bastille. The French ministry were happy to be able to turn the popular indignation created by the loss of India, from themselves on the unfortunate commander. A charge of high treason was brought against him which deprived him of the benefit of counsel, and he was condemned to death by the Parliament of Paris, drawn through the streets on a dung-cart, and executed the same day: "a murder committed by the sword of justice." Thus had the French government, in the course of fifteen years, destroyed three of their most eminent citizens, who had laboured with unexampled zeal and the highest patriotism to promote the national interests; and the expulsion of the French Company from the shores of India ceases to raise any emotion of regret

when it is viewed as the just retribution of their iniquitous proceedings.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA TO THE BATTLE OF PANNIPUT,
1756—1761.

DURING these transactions on the coast, a revolution was in progress in Bengal, which resulted in transferring the empire of India to a European power. But before entering on the narrative of these events, it is necessary to glance at the progress of affairs at Delhi, though they had long ceased to exercise any influence on the destinies of Hindostan.

Ahmed Khan
Abdalee, 1747. In the year 1747, a new and formidable enemy, from the region beyond the Indus, appeared on the scene, in the person of Ahmed Khan, the chief of the Abdalee tribe of Afghans, and of the venerated family of the Sudoozies, whose persons were held inviolate. He was rescued from the Ghiljies, when Nadir Shah appeared before Candahar, and at the early age of twenty-three, attracted the notice of that conqueror. He was present with him at the sack of Delhi, the horrors of which he was one day destined to renew. In June, 1747, the atrocities of Nadir Shah, which are without a parallel on the page of history, constrained his subjects to rid the world of him. Ahmed Khan immediately after rose to distinction, and extended his influence over the tribes around him, and so great was his success, that he was crowned at Candahar before the close of the year. From some motive of superstition, he was led to change the name of his tribe to that of Dooranee; but he will continue to be designated in this work, by his original title of Abdalee.

His coronation was scarcely completed before he turned his attention to India, as the region in which his soldiers would most amply find both employment and plunder. Having crossed the Indus with a force estimated at 15,000 men, he overran the Punjab, and pushed on to Sirhind. An army was despatched against him from Delhi without delay, under Ahmed Shah, the eldest son of the emperor, who successfully resisted all the assaults of the Abdalees for ten days, and on the eleventh, completely discomfited them, and constrained them to retreat towards their own country. The battle of Sirhind was the last expiring effort of the dynasty of the Moguls, and the last event in the life of Mahomed Shah, who died a month after, in April, 1748, after an inglorious reign of twenty-eight years.

His son, Ahmed Shah, was in pursuit of the Abdalees when he heard of the event, and returned to Delhi to ascend the throne. Ahmed Shah, Emperor, 1748. The Rohillas. to Delhi to ascend the throne. Sufder Jung, the viceroy of Oude, was appointed vizier, and devoted his first attention to the subjugation of the Rohillas, who had been expelled from the provinces to which they had given their name, but had taken advantage of the invasion of the Abdalees, to re-establish themselves in it. He marched against them with a numerous but ill-disciplined army, and was defeated by a far inferior force. The Rohillas pursued him into his own provinces, and though beaten off from Lucknow, penetrated to Allahabad, and set the Emperor and the vizier alike at defiance. In this emergency the vizier called up the Mahratta chieftains, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Jyapa Sindia, as well as the Jaut chief, Sooruj mull, and with their aid, completely defeated the Rohillas, and obliged them to seek refuge in the hills. The Mahrattas were allowed to repay themselves by the unrestricted plunder of the province, which did not recover from the effect of these ravages for many years. Before his retirement, Holkar, true to his Mahratta instincts, exacted a bond of fifty lacs of rupees from the despoiled Rohillas.

The Abdalee availed himself of these commo-
Second invasion of Ahmed Shah, 1751. tions to invade India a second time, and having
 overrun Lahore and Mooltan, sent an envoy to
 Delhi to demand the cession of those provinces. The vizier
 was absent in pursuit of the Rohillas; the emperor was under
 the influence of a favourite eunuch, and the whole country was
 under the dominion of terror. The provinces were formally
 surrendered to the invader. The vizier arrived at the capital
 too late to prevent this dastardly submission, but he mani-
 fested his disapproval of it, by inviting the favourite to an
 entertainment, and causing him to be assassinated. The
 incensed emperor soon found a fit instrument to avenge the
 insult, in the person of a youth destined to play an important
 part in the closing scenes of the Mogul empire. This was the
 grandson of the first Nizam, and the son of Ghazee-ood-deen,
 who was poisoned by his stepmother. The youth, whose
 original name was Shaha-boo-deen, but who is more gene-
 rally known by his title of Ghazee-ood-deen, was courageous
 and resolute, but at the same time, one of the most accom-
 plished villains of the age. He had been raised to the post
 of commander of the forces, through the favour of the vizier,
 but did not hesitate to turn against him at the bidding of the
 emperor. A civil war was carried on between the parties
 for six months in the city of Delhi, the streets of which were
 deluged with blood. Ghazee-ood-deen at length called Holkar's
 mercenaries to his aid, and the vizier finding himself no longer
 equal to the contest, consented to an accommodation, and
Independence of Oude, 1753. retired to his own government of Oude. That
 province may be considered as finally alienated
 from the crown of Delhi in the present year, 1753. But the
 emperor was unable long to support the insolence of his
 overbearing minister, and marched out of the capital to
 oppose him, but was defeated and captured by Holkar. The
Ghazee-ood-deen deposes and blinds the emperor, 1754. infamous Ghazee-ood-deen repaired forthwith to
 the Mahratta camp, deposed the unfortunate cap-
 tive, and put out his eyes, proclaiming one of the
 princes of the blood emperor, under the title of Alumgeer.

Third Abdalee
invasion, 1756.

During these events, the vizier, Sufder Jung, died, and Ghazee-ood-deen invested himself with the office. His insufferable tyranny soon after drove his soldiers to revolt, and he was dragged by them through the streets, without his turban or slippers. He was eventually rescued from their hands by his own officers, and glutted his revenge by slaughtering the whole body of the insurgents. In an evil hour his ambition led him to invade the Punjab, and to expel the officers whom Ahmed Shah had left to govern it. That prince immediately crossed the Indus, and advanced to avenge the insult. Ghazee-ood-deen, unable to cope with such an adversary, repaired to his camp, and made the most humiliating submission. But though he obtained forgiveness, the Abdalee was resolved to obtain a pecuniary compensation on this his third irruption. He accordingly marched on to Delhi and gave it up to plunder for many days. All the atrocities of Nadir Shah's invasion were repeated, and the wretched inhabitants were subjected a second time, in less than ten years, to the outrages of a brutal soldiery. Ghazee-ood-deen was sent to plunder the province of Oude, and Ahmed Shah himself undertook to pillage the territories of the Jauts. In this expedition he inflicted an indelible stain on his character, by the indiscriminate slaughter of thousands of unoffending devotees who were assembled during a religious festival at the shrines of Muttra. Agra was saved from destruction only by a great mortality which broke out in the Abdalee army, and constrained Ahmed Shah to hasten his retreat across the Indus. The wretched emperor entreated that he might not be abandoned to the tender mercies of his ruthless vizier, Ghazee-ood-deen, and Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, an able and energetic Rohilla chief, was installed as commander-in-chief.

The pirates on
the Malabar
coast.

The attention of the reader is now transferred to the Malabar coast, which had for centuries been denominated, and not without reason, the pirate coast of India. The western shore of the Peninsula is as thickly studded with harbours as the eastern coast, from the

mouths of the Hooghly to Ceylon, is destitute of them. For fifty years the piratical princes on the coast had been increasing in power and audacity. Among the most formidable was Conajee Angria, who had raised himself from the condition of a common sailor to the command of the Mahratta fleet, and then declared his independence and set up a terrific piratical power, boasting that he was as great a freebooter at sea as the Peshwa was by land. He established fortifications in every creek, bay, and harbour, for a hundred and twenty miles on the Concan coast, but his most important arsenal was in the noble port of Gheriah, about a hundred and seventy miles south of Bombay. In 1752, an expedition, consisting of three British ships of the line and a Portuguese squadron attacked Colaba, another of his ports, but without success. In 1754, his corsairs overpowered three Dutch vessels, respectively of 50, 36, and 18 guns, the two largest of which were burnt, and the third captured. The following year the Peshwa and the Bombay government sent a joint expedition against Angria, and Commodore James attacked and carried the strong fortress of Severndroog, without the loss of a single man. The fort was made over to the Mahrattas, though their pigmy fleet of grabs had never come within gunshot of the place.

Clive arrives at
Bombay, 1755.

The Court of Directors viewed the progress of Bussy in the Deccan with great alarm, and resolved to form an alliance with the Peshwa with the view of arresting it, and to send a powerful force to Bombay to cooperate in this design. Clive, on his return to England from Madras, had been received with great distinction by the Company and by the Ministers, and to him the Court of Directors committed the command of the troops destined to act against Bussy. On his arrival at Bombay, however, in October, 1755, he found the government of the Presidency firmly and conscientiously opposed to the enterprize. They considered themselves precluded from entering upon it by the Convention made in the preceding year between M. Godcheu

and Mr. Saunders, of which their masters in England were ignorant when this design was formed. Admiral Watson happening to arrive with the fleet from Madras about the same time, it was resolved to take advantage of the presence of this large armament to root out the piratical power on that coast, which it was costing the Company five lacs of rupees a year to oppose. An arrangement was accordingly made with the Peshwa for a joint expedition against Gheriah. The Mahrattas marched down by land, and Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson proceeded by sea, with 14 vessels and 800 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy. The fire from the ships set the pirate fleet in a blaze within an hour. The next morning Clive attacked the fort by land, while the Admiral kept up so vigorous a cannonade from the sea that the defenders were obliged to capitulate in half an hour. In the arsenal were found 200 pieces of cannon, together with large quantities of ammunition and two large vessels on the stocks, as well as twelve lacs of rupees. The money was immediately distributed among the captors, without any reservation for the Mahrattas, or the Company, and the port and arsenal were, eventually, made over to the Peshwa. Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive soon after sailed for Madras, and, on the 20th of June, the latter took charge of the government of St. David, to which he had been appointed in England.

Seraja dowlah
viceroy of
Bengal, 1756.

The brave old Tartar viceroy of Bengal, Ali verdy, expired at Moorshedabad at the age of eighty, on the 9th of April, 1756, bequeathing the government to Seraja Dowlah, a grandson on whom he had long doated. The youth, though only twenty years of age, was already cruel and profligate beyond the usual run of purple-born princes in India. The little understanding with which nature had endowed him was obscured by intemperance; he was the slave of parasites and buffoons; he had carried pollution into the families of the nobility, and had become the object of general abhorrence before he ascended the throne. His young cousin, Sokut Jung, with a character not less

abandoned than his own, had recently succeeded to the government of the district of Purnea, and sent large sums to the court of Delhi to obtain his own nomination to the viceroyalty of the three provinces. Seraja Dowlah resolved to lose no time in extirpating him, and marched with a large force to Purneah; but on reaching Rajmahal he received a letter from Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta which gave another direction to his purpose.

Disputes with the governor of Calcutta, 1756. Raja raj bullub, one of the Hindoo officers whom it was the policy of Ali verdy to place in public employments, had amassed great wealth in the service, and shortly before the death of the old viceroy had been nominated governor of Dacca. His predecessor in that office had been assassinated and plundered by order of Seraja dowlah, and he was anxious to place his family and treasures beyond the reach of the tyrant; he, therefore, obtained a letter of recommendation from Mr. Watts, the Company's chief at Cossimbazar—the factory adjoining Moorshedabad—to the governor of Calcutta; and his son, Kissen-dass, embarked at Dacca with a large retinue, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Jugunnuth, and landed at Calcutta, where he received a cordial welcome. Seraja Dowlah, a day or two after the death of his grandfather, for which he had been waiting, despatched a letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, demanding the immediate surrender of Kissen-dass and his wealth. The messenger, though the brother of the raja of Midnapore, the head of the spy department, came in a small boat, and was expelled from the settlement as an impostor. A second communication was soon after sent to Mr. Drake, ordering him peremptorily to demolish all the fortifications which the Nabob understood he had been erecting. The governor replied that the Nabob had been misinformed, that no new defences had been attempted, and that nothing in fact had been done but to repair the ramparts facing the river, in the prospect of another war with France. The Nabob was not in a humour to brook the slightest resistance of his will; his

indignation was kindled to a degree which astonished even those who had been accustomed to the violence of his passions, and he ordered the army to march down instantly to Calcutta.

State of Fort
William, 1756.

Calcutta was ill-prepared for such an assault. During fifty years of peace, the fortifications had been neglected, and warehouses built up to the ramparts. The defenceless state of the fort at this juncture was owing to the neglect of the Council, not to the inattention of the Court of Directors. After the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais in 1747, they were naturally anxious to protect their settlement in Bengal from a similar fate, and sent orders to strengthen the defences, however the viceroy might oppose them. Year after year were these injunctions repeated, and on one occasion no fewer than 250 recruits were sent out, and the artillery establishment augmented to 114 gunners and four officers. Colonel Scott arrived at Calcutta in 1754 as commandant, with the most stringent orders to complete the fortifications, and, if necessary, to conciliate the Nabob by an offering of a lac of rupees. At the same time the Court directed that none but Europeans should be received into their military service, but Colonel Scott represented that there was "a set of men called Rashpoots, natives, on the banks of the Ganges near Patna, gentoos of the fighting caste, and he was of opinion that when disciplined they would make excellent soldiers." The Court thereupon permitted the garrison to be recruited with Rajpoots, and the nucleus was thus formed of that army of which a hundred thousand endeavoured a century afterwards to subvert the British Empire. In 1755 the Court stated in their despatch that the death of the Nabob might be daily expected; that it would be attended with great confusion and trouble; that they trusted their officers had put Calcutta in a state of defence; and that they were to be on their guard to protect the possessions, effects, and privileges of the Company. But these warnings were lost on the authorities in Calcutta, who were heedful only of their own pelf, and whose infatua-

tion up the latest moment, was exceeded only by their cowardice when the danger came. Colonel Scott died in 1755, and all the works in progress for the defence of the settlement were immediately suspended; the militia was not embodied till it was too late; the gunpowder, made by a fraudulent contractor, whom no one looked after, was deficient both in quantity and quality, and there were only 174 men in garrison, not ten of whom had ever seen a shot fired.

Siege of Calcutta, June, 1756.

The army of the Nabob, 50,000 strong, approached the town on the 17th June. Under every disadvantage, Clive would have made as noble a defence of Calcutta as he had made of Arcot, but the governor was Drake, and the commandant, Minchin. Instead of clearing the space round the fort of houses and encumbrances, batteries were injudiciously planted at a great distance from it, which the enemy captured on the first day, and were thus enabled to bring a galling fire to bear directly on the fort itself. At two in the morning of the 19th a council of war was held, when it was resolved to send the women and children on board the vessels lying off the town. But as soon as the water gate was open there was a general rush to the boats, many of which were capsized, and the rest pushed off without order or discipline. After the fugitives had reached the ships, a shower of "fire-arrows," by no means dangerous, was discharged on them, and the captains immediately weighed anchor, and dropped down two miles out of their reach. At ten in the morning only two boats remained at the wharf, into one of which, the governor, Mr. Drake, quietly slipped, without leaving any instructions for the conduct of the garrison. The military commander, Minchin, followed his example, and they rowed down to the ships in all haste.

Surrender of Calcutta.

As soon as this base desertion was known, nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations. When calmness had been in some measure restored, Mr. Howell was, by common consent, placed in command, and it was resolved to defend the fort to the last extremity. It held out

for forty-eight hours, during which signals of distress were made, day and night, to the vessels anchored below the town. They might have come up with perfect safety, and rescued the gallant garrison with ease; but to crown this scene of infamy, not a vessel was moved to its assistance. On the 21st, the enemy renewed the assault with increased vigour, and more than half the remaining force was killed or wounded. The European soldiers broke into the liquor stores and became unfit for duty. A flag of truce was deceitfully sent by the Nabob, and Mr. Holwell, seeing the utter helplessness of the garrison, agreed to a parley, during which the enemy treacherously rushed into the fort, and the officers were obliged to surrender their swords. The Nabob entered the fort about five in the afternoon, and ordered Kissen-dass, the cause of these calamities, to be brought before him, but received and dismissed him with courtesy. Mr. Holwell was then ushered into his presence, and he expressed his resentment that the sum in the treasury was found not to exceed five lacs of rupees, but gave him every assurance of protection, and retired about dusk to his encampment.

The Black Hole,
1756, The European prisoners were collected together under an arched verandah, while the native officers went in search of some building in which they might be lodged for the night. They returned about eight in the evening and reported that none could be found. The principal officer then desired the prisoners to move into one of the chambers behind the verandah, which had been used as the prison of the garrison. Orme calls it a dungeon; but the room immediately adjoining it was used as the settlement church for twenty-eight years after the recovery of the town. It was not twenty feet square, and however suited for the confinement of a few turbulent soldiers, was death to the hundred and forty-six persons, now thrust into it at the sword's point, in one of the hottest nights of the most sultry season of the year. The wretched prisoners soon became frantic with suffocating heat and insufferable thirst. The

struggle to reach the window and catch a breath of air proved fatal to many. At length they began to sink one by one into the arms of death; and the few who survived that awful night owed their lives to the more free ventilation obtained by standing on the bodies of their deceased companions. When the door was opened in the morning, only twenty-three came out alive—the most ghastly forms ever seen. This is the tragedy of the Black Hole, which has rendered the name of Seraja Dowlah the type of infamy among all the nations of Christendom. Yet so little did it appear to be out of the ordinary course of events in the East, that it was scarcely marked by the native community, and was not considered of sufficient importance to demand even a passing notice from the Mahomedan historian of the time. The next morning the Nabob came down to the fort, and inquired whether the English chief still lived; and when Mr. Holwell was borne into his presence, he manifested no compassion for his sufferings, nor the least remorse for the fate of the other prisoners, but reproached him anew with the concealment of the public treasure, and ordered him to be placed in confinement. The Nabob returned to Moorshedabad, after having extorted large sums from the French and the Dutch, and confiscated all the property of the English throughout the country; and thus was the East India Company expelled a second time from Bengal, as completely as they had been seventy years before, in the days of Aurungzebe.

Expedition to
recover Cal-
cutta, 1756.

Information of this catastrophe was seven weeks in reaching Madras, where the military force consisted of 2,000 Europeans and 10,000 sepoy. But, while the national honour required immediate vindication in Bengal, there was a strong party in the council desirous of employing the resources of the Presidency in assisting Salabut Jung to expel Bussy from the Deccan, although the Convention which they themselves had entered into with M. Godeheu was still fresh and binding. Much time was wasted in discussing whether the expedition should be sent

to Hyderabad or Calcutta. When the council at length came to the resolution to retrieve the affairs of the Company in Bengal, in the first instance, further time was lost in disembarking the royal artillery and stores, which Col. Adlecron would not allow to proceed when he found that the command of the expedition was not to be given to him. Happily it was entrusted to the genius of Clive, who was instructed, after the recapture of Calcutta, to march up to Moorshedabad, if the Nabob continued refractory, and to attack Chandernagore, if the declaration of war with France, then hourly expected, should arrive before the time fixed for the return of the troops. Admiral Watson and Col. Clive sailed from Madras on the 10th of October with five ships of war, and five of the Company's vessels, on which 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy were embarked.

On the 15th of December the expedition reached Recapture of Calcutta, 1757. Fulta, about forty miles below Calcutta, where Mr. Drake and the other fugitives were lying in the vessels on which they had taken refuge. A Mogul fortification on the river at Budge-budge was soon after attacked. Manickchand, the Nabob's Hindoo general, who had been left in charge of Calcutta, had arrived there two days before with a large reinforcement of horse and foot; but a shot happening to pass too near his turban, he gave the signal of retreat, and the whole body of his troops marched back in disorder to Calcutta. Not considering himself safe even there, he left 500 men to defend the fort, and fled with the remainder to Moorshedabad. Colonel Clive entered the dismantled town on the 2nd of January, and the fort surrendered at discretion. To impress the Nabob with a conviction of the power and resolution of the English who had come to avenge their wrongs, an expedition was sent about a week after to the important post of Hooghly, which submitted without resistance.

Defeat of the Nabob, 1757.

The Nabob had persuaded himself that the English would never again venture to set foot in

his dominions, and the news of these transactions filled him with indignation, and he lost no time in marching down to Calcutta with an army of 40,000 men. Clive was anxious for an accommodation, and offered him the most moderate and reasonable terms. But while the negotiations were in progress, the army of the Nabob was in full march towards the town, burning down the villages as it advanced. Two envoys whom Clive had sent on the 4th of February to request the Nabob to withdraw his army, if his intentions were pacific, were treated with contumely. Finding a contest inevitable, Clive determined to take the initiative; and, on the morning of the 5th, marched with his whole force, augmented by 600 marines, to the assault of the enemy's entrenchment, which lay to the north-east of the town. But a little before sunrise he was confounded by one of those dense fogs which are common at that season of the year, and although his troops fought with the greatest gallantry, they became bewildered and disheartened, and he withdrew his force with the loss of more than 200 soldiers. But the Nabob was still more disheartened. He had lost twenty-two officers of distinction; he had never been so much involved in the perils of a battle before, and, passing at once from the extreme of arrogance to the extreme of pusillanimity, hastened to make overtures of peace; and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded by which all their former privileges were restored to the English, and permission was given to fortify Calcutta and to establish a mint, and a promise of compensation for their losses was held out.

Capture of
Chandernagore,
1757.

Clive was directed, and had engaged, to return with the troops to Madras after the recovery of Calcutta, and he has been censured for disregarding his promise; but in his determination to remain in Bengal he exercised a wise discretion. Information had been received, through Aleppo, of a declaration of war between France and England on the 9th of May in the preceding year. Chandernagore was garrisoned with 700 Europeans. Bussy, with a

victorious army, was encamped in the Northern Sircars, not 300 miles from Calcutta, and the Nabob, immediately on signing the treaty, had importuned him to march up and expel Clive from Bengal. The junction of the two French armies with that of the Nabob would have endangered the position of the English, more especially as, on Clive's departure for the coast, the management of affairs would have devolved on the wretched Drake, who still held his commission as governor. Calcutta would probably have been lost a second time. Clive justly concluded that it was his duty to remain and dislodge the French from Chandernagore. The Nabob was extremely averse to this proceeding, but Admiral Watson terrified him into a vague and reluctant consent, by threatening to "kindle such a flame in his country, as all the waters in the Ganges would be unable to extinguish." The Admiral proceeded up the river, with his ships of the line, while Clive attacked the town by land; and Chandernagore surrendered, chiefly through the exertions of the fleet, after a noble defence of nine days. As Clive was preparing for the attack he uttered these memorable words, "If we take Chandernagore, we cannot stop there;" and a century of progress has verified his prediction.

Confederacy
against the
Nabob, 1757,

The capture of Chandernagore still farther incensed the Nabob, and he encamped his army at Plassy, forty miles south of Moorshedabad, and Clive kept the field in the neighbourhood of Hooghly, instead of withdrawing his army to Calcutta. Meanwhile, the violence and atrocities of the Nabob continued to augment the disgust of his ministers and officers, none of whom considered themselves secure from the caprices of his passion. Every day produced some new act of provocation; and in the month of May, Meer Jaffier, the paymaster and general of his forces, Roy-doorlub, his finance minister, and the all-powerful bankers, the Setts, entered into a combination to dethrone him. They were constrained to admit into their councils one, Omichund, the Shylock of this drama, who had settled in Calcutta forty years before, and accumulated great wealth by his contracts

with the Company,—in which, however, they always complained of having been overreached,—and by his extensive commercial dealings throughout the country. He maintained the establishment of a prince in Calcutta, and rendered himself important at the Court of Moorshedabad. He accompanied Seraja Dowlah on his return to the capital, and became a great favourite with that weak prince. He daily attended the durbar, thrust himself into every affair, and acquired such influence in the public councils that the confederates were constrained to take him into their confidence, as the least of two evils.

Clive joins the Confederacy. As the plans of the party proceeded, Jugut Sett, the banker, assured his friends that there was little, if any, chance of success without the co-operation of Clive, and they invited him to join them, holding out the most magnificent offers for the Company. Clive felt “that there could be neither peace nor security while such a monster as the Nabob reigned,” and readily entered into their plans, notwithstanding the reluctance of the timid Council in Calcutta. A secret treaty was concluded between the confederates and Clive, the chief stipulations of which were that he should march with his army to Moorshedabad and place Meer Jaffier on the throne, and that Meer Jaffier should make the amplest reparation to the English for all losses, public and private. The whole scheme, however, had well nigh miscarried, through the rapacity of Omichund, who came forward in the last stage, and demanded, by the threat of disclosure—which would have been certain death to all the confederates—the insertion of a specific article in the treaty, guaranteeing to him thirty lacs of rupees, and a commission of five per cent. on all payments. Clive, on hearing of this outrageous demand, came to the conclusion “that art and policy were warrantable to defeat the designs of such a villain;” and he formed the plan of deceiving the man by a fictitious treaty, written on red paper, which provided for his demand, while the real treaty, authenticated by the seals and signatures of the con-

tracting parties, contained no such stipulation. This is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive, which, in the opinion of posterity, does not admit of vindication. But it is due to his memory to state that, to the end of his life, he conscientiously asserted the integrity of his motives and of his conduct on this occasion, and declared that he "would do it a hundred times over." When the treaty was complete, Meer Jaffier took an oath on the Koran to be faithful to his engagements, and to withdraw with his troops from the army of the Nabob, either before or on the day of the battle.

Battle of
Plassy, 1757.

Clive, having concluded his arrangements, addressed a letter to the Nabob, recapitulating the grievances of which the English had to complain, and stating that he was coming to Moorshedabad to submit them to the judgment of the durbar. He marched from Chandernagore, on the 13th June, with 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 natives, and eight pieces of cannon. On the 17th he reached Cutwa, and captured the fort, but looked in vain for Meer Jaffier, who had, in the meantime, taken another oath of fidelity to his master. On the 19th the rains set in with extreme violence, and Clive paused on the threshold of the campaign, doubting the propriety of opening it at the beginning of the rainy season, and on "their own bottom, without any assistance." But on second thoughts he felt he had advanced too far to recede, and that there would be more peril in returning than in advancing. The whole army crossed the river on the 22nd, and encamped for the night in the grove of Plassy, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the Nabob was posted with an army of 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, in an entrenched camp. The next morning, the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, the Nabob's troops moved out and assaulted the English force which was sheltered by a high bank, but with little effect. About noon the enemy withdrew their artillery, and Clive advanced vigorously to the attack of their lines. Meer Mudun, the general-in-chief, was mortally wounded, and expired in the presence of the Nabob, who was unable

any longer to control his terror, but mounted a camel and fled at the top of its speed, accompanied by about 2,000 horse. His whole army immediately dispersed, and this battle, so momentous in its eventual result on the destiny of India, was gained with the loss of only 72 killed and wounded on the part of the English, while, even on the side of the enemy, the casualties did not exceed 500. As soon as victory appeared to declare in favour of the English, Meer Jaffier moved off with his troops and joined their standard. Seraja Dowlah, on his arrival at the capital, found himself deserted by his court, and, after passing a day in gloomy reflections, disguised himself in a mean dress and escaped out of a window in the palace at ten at night, with a favourite concubine and a eunuch, and embarked in a little boat which had been secured for him.

Elevation of
Meer Jaffier,
1757.

Clive entered Moorshedabad on the 29th of June, and proceeding to the palace, where all the great officers were assembled, conducted Meer Jaffier to the throne, and saluted him Soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The change in the position and projects of the English was so rapid and stupendous as almost to exceed belief. In June, 1756, Calcutta had been plundered and burnt, its European inhabitants murdered, and the Company exterminated from Bengal. In June, 1757, they had recovered their capital, extinguished their European rivals, defeated and dethroned the Nabob, and disposed of the government of the three provinces, with a population of twenty-five millions, to their own partizan. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the sum of two crores and twenty lacs of rupees was gradually paid out of the treasury at Moorshedabad, to make good the losses of the Company and of individuals. The first instalment of eighty lacs was conveyed to Calcutta in a triumphant procession with bands playing and banners floating—a bright contrast to the spectacle of the previous year when Seraja Dowlah marched back to his capital with the plunder of Calcutta. While Clive was thus giving away a

kingdom larger and more populous than England, he reserved for his own masters only the fee simple of the land six hundred yards around the Mahratta ditch, and the zemindary rights of the country lying to the south of Calcutta. Nor was his moderation as a private individual less conspicuous than as the representative of a victorious nation. While the opulent nobles of the court were anxious to conciliate his favour by pouring uncounted wealth into his lap, he refused every gift except that which the gratitude of Meer Jaffier pressed on him, not exceeding sixteen lacs of rupees. When, in aftertimes, his great services had been forgotten and he was upbraided with rapacity, he indignantly replied, "When I recollect entering the treasury at Moorshedabad, with heaps of silver and gold to the right hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation."

Fate of Seraja Dowlah, 1757. Seraja Dowlah proceeded up the river in his boat in the hope of overtaking Mr. Law, the French officer, whom he had been constrained to dismiss at the mandate of Clive. Had Law, who had a large body of officers, and about 200 soldiers with him, succeeded in joining the Nabob, the history of Bengal, and perhaps of India, might have borne a different stamp. But Law, who had retraced his steps on hearing of the advance of Clive to Moorshedabad, retired with rapidity to Oude, after receiving news of the battle of Plassy. The fugitive prince landed at Rajmahal to prepare a meal, and unfortunately proceeded to the hut of a fakeer, whose ears he had ordered to be cut off in the previous year. The man immediately gave information of his arrival to those who were in pursuit of him, and he was conveyed back as a prisoner to Moorshedabad, eight days after he had quitted it. On the night of his arrival, Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier, a youth as heartless and abandoned as Seraja Dowlah himself, caused him to be put out of the way by assassination. The next day his mangled remains

were paraded on an elephant through the streets, and then buried in the tomb of his grandfather.

Intelligence of the destruction of Calcutta did not reach England for eleven months. On the 3rd of August, 1757, the Court of Directors wrote to the President in Calcutta: "On the 4th of June, we heard of the melancholy news of the loss of Fort William and the rest of our settlements in Bengal. On the 22nd day of July, Mr. Holwell arrived on the Siren, and gave a most agreeable turn to our thoughts by bringing advice of the recapture of Fort William." A few months after, they heard of the battle of Plassy, and the great revolution which had been effected by their troops. That victory more than realised the expectations which the Court had entertained seventy years ago, when they sent out Admiral Nicholson to make them "a nation in India." It had laid the foundation of a great empire. Yet so little conception had the Court of the high destiny which was opening before them that their chief source of gratification was derived from the hope that their servants in Bengal would now be able to provide the investment for two years without drawing on them.

The first object of Meer Jaffier, after his elevation, was to plunder the Hindoo minister of finance, Roy-doorlub, and the officers who had amassed wealth in the governments conferred on them by Ali verdy. These proceedings provoked no fewer than three revolts within three months, in Behar, Purneah, and Midnapore. But they were quelled without bloodshed, by the mere exercise of Clive's influence, to whom the whole country looked up as to a demigod. The ascendancy which he thus acquired, though inseparable from his position and his genius, could not fail to lessen the importance of the Nabob, and to irritate his mind, while it gave umbrage to his family and his officers. They could not forget that it was only two years since the foreigners, who now bore the supremacy in Bengal,

The Court of Directors on Plassy, 1757.

Clive quells three revolts, 1757.

had approached them as suppliants, with gifts and flatteries; and it required the most delicate management on the part of Clive to prevent the explosion of their discontent. A few months after the battle of Plassy, a Mahratta envoy arrived at Moorshedabad to demand the arrears of *chout* now due for two years, but he soon found that the days of *chout* had ceased with the advent of the English.

Expedition to
the coast, Sep-
tember, 1758.

The Court of Directors, on hearing of the great victory of Plassy, placed the government of Calcutta in the hands of Clive, and he was anxious to afford substantial relief to Madras, now menaced by Lally; but the presence of a formidable French force on the confines of Orissa, and of Law with 200 Europeans on the borders of Behar, combined with the growing alienation of the Nabob, made it impolitic to weaken Bengal. The number of European troops at Madras was, moreover, twice as large as the number at the disposal of Clive, and, above all, that settlement had Lawrence for its military commander, which Clive considered an ample guarantee of its safety. He, therefore, supplied it most liberally with funds from his own full treasury, and took steps to remove one cause of disquietude by an attack on the French possessions in the Northern Sircars, now no longer protected by the genius of Bussy. He entrusted the expedition to Colonel Forde, one of the great soldiers created by the long-continued wars on the Coast. Clive had begun to enlist the Rajpoots, and was enabled to send 2,000 sepoy with Forde, in addition to 500 Europeans and 14 guns. That officer landed at Vizagapatam, and, after defeating Bussy's feeble successor, the Marquis of Conflans, formed the bold design of laying siege to Masulipatam, the great stronghold of the French on the coast, though it was garrisoned by a larger force than that of the besiegers. Conflans solicited the immediate aid of the Nizam, Salabut Jung, who marched down to the coast with a large army in support of his friends. Forde, however, pushed the siege with such skill and energy as to oblige the French general to capitulate before the

arrival of the auxiliary force. The Nizam was thunderstruck at this early and unexpected surrender, and lost no time in changing sides, and courting the victor. A treaty was speedily concluded, by which Salabut Jung ceded Masulipatam and eight districts around it to the English, and engaged to exclude the French from his dominions. This brilliant exploit raised the reputation of the English as high in the Deccan as it stood in Bengal, and entirely deprived the French of the resources of the Northern Sircars.

While the troops were thus employed on the coast their presence was urgently required in Bengal. The emperor at Delhi was a mere puppet in the hands of his unprincipled vizier, from whose thralldom the heir apparent, Mahomed Ali Gohur, had contrived to make his escape, not without his father's connivance. India, at this time, abounded with military adventurers ready for any service, and the name of the emperor was sufficient to attract crowds to the standard of his son. The Soobadar of Oude was likewise anxious to turn the unsettled state of Bengal to his own profit, and joined the camp of the prince with a large force, and induced him, in the first instance, to invade the province of Behar. An army of 40,000 men now suddenly appeared before Patna, the provincial capital, which Ramnarayun, the Hindoo governor, defended with great valour for twelve days. Meer Jaffier was thrown into a fever of anxiety by this invasion, and importuned Clive to hasten to the rescue. On his march towards Patna, Clive received repeated letters from Ali Gohur, offering him province after province for his assistance, but he handed them to the Nabob, who had likewise received letters from the emperor, written under the dictation of the vizier, and commanding him to seize his rebellious son, and chastise his adherents. Clive's advanced guard appeared in sight of the city on the 4th of April, and the Prince instantly raised the siege and endeavoured to escape from the province faster than he had entered it. As a matter of course, the Nabob of Oude deserted him on the first

Ali Gohur
invades Behar,
1759.

appearance of adversity, and he was reduced to such straits during his flight as to throw himself on the compassion of Clive, who sent him 500 gold mohurs to relieve his necessities.

Conflict with the Dutch, 1759 Scarcely had this cloud blown over than another gathered on the horizon. The Nabob, fretting under the supremacy of Clive and the restraints it imposed on him, cast about for some means of counterbalancing it, and hit on the device of inviting the Dutch to introduce a large European force into their settlement at Chinsurah. The Dutch government at Batavia appear to have viewed the prosperity of the English in India with no small feeling of envy, and eagerly embraced the proposition, hoping to fish up some prize in the troubled waters of Bengal. They accordingly dispatched a fleet of seven vessels to the Hooghly, with 700 Europeans and 800 well-trained Malay sepoys. Clive would tolerate no European rival in Bengal; and, on hearing of the arrival of the expedition, blocked up the river and took measures to prevent the junction of this force with that already cantoned at Chinsurah. The two nations were at peace in Europe; but, according to the established practice, this did not impede their waging war with each other in India. Even if Clive had felt any delicacy on the subject it was removed by the aggressive movement of the Dutch commander, who seized upon some of the British vessels, hauled down their colours, and transferred their guns and stores to his own ships. Clive retaliated by sequestering the vessels which had arrived from Batavia, and sending Colonel Forde, who had returned from the coast, with all the troops available to intercept the progress of the Batavian force. Forde, dreading the responsibility of attacking the troops of a friendly power, requested a written order from Clive. He was sitting at cards when the letter was put into his hands, and without rising, wrote on one of the cards with his pencil,—“Dear Forde, fight them immediately, I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow.” That officer hesitated no longer, but advanced to meet the Dutch army, which he came up with

just as it arrived within sight of Chinsurah, and defeated in half an hour. Immediately after the action, the Nabob's son, Meerun, appeared with an army of 7,000 men, who were destined to turn on the English if the fortune of the day had been different. Clive restored the vessels he had taken to the Dutch authorities, on their engaging to make good all the expense incurred in defeating their plans, and embarked for England on the 25th of February, 1760.

Ahmed Shah and the Mahrattas, 1757—58. We now resume the thread of Mahratta and Mogul affairs. Ahmed Shah Abdalee returned to

Persia in June, 1757, leaving his son, Timur, in charge of the Punjab, and Nujeeb-ood-dowlah in command at Delhi, to protect the emperor from the designs of Ghazee-ood-deen. That profligate minister called the Mahrattas to his aid, and Raghoba, the fighting brother of the Peshwa, marched up to Delhi, and captured it after a month's siege. Nujeeb retreated to Rohilcund, and Ghazee-ood-deen was reinstated in the office of vizier. Soon after the capture of the capital by Raghoba, one Adina-beg, a veteran intriguer in the Punjab, invited him to seize on that province, as well as Mooltan, and annex them to the Mahratta dominions. He marched to Lahore, in May, 1758; the Abdalees were totally routed; Prince Timur retreated to Persia; and the Mahratta standard was planted, for the first time, on the banks of the Indus. Raghoba then returned to the Deccan, but with more glory than money; and, instead of the loads of booty which usually marked the return of the Mahratta expeditions, brought back a load of obligations little short of a crore of rupees. This disappointment gave rise to a serious altercation with Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, the cousin and civil administrator of the Peshwa. "Then take charge of the next expedition yourself," was the tart reply of Raghoba. The Peshwa took him at his word, and compromised the differences between them by transferring the command of the army to Sudaseeb, generally known as the Bhao, and placing his brother at the head of the civil department.

Territory wrest-
ed from Salabut
Jung, 1758.

The Peshwa had been, for some time, engaged in intrigues for the acquisition of Ahmednugur, the most important city south of the Nerbudda, and, at length, obtained possession of it by an act of base treachery. This aggression brought on hostilities with Salabut Jung and his brother, Nizam Ali, who had been recently reconciled to him. The master-spirit of Bussy no longer animated the councils or the army of the Nizam. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, one of the ablest native generals of the time, who was in command of the sepoy battalions trained by Bussy, and a powerful and well served artillery, had been dismissed from the service. He immediately transferred his sword to the Peshwa, and, in the conflict now raging, contributed, in no small degree, to reduce Salabut Jung and his brother to such straits, that they were constrained to submit to the most humiliating conditions as the price of safety. A treaty was wrung from them, which conceded to the Mahrattas five of the most important fortresses in the Deccan, and some of its most flourishing districts, yielding a revenue of not less than sixty lacs of rupees a year. The Mahrattas had now reached the zenith of their power. Their authority was equally acknowledged on the banks of the Cavery and the Indus. All the territory within these limits, which was not their own, paid them tribute. The vast resources of the Mahratta community were guided by one head and directed to one object—the aggrandisement of the nation, and they now talked proudly of establishing Hindoo sovereignty over the whole of Hindostan. The only hope of preserving the country from subjection to this power, of which tyranny, rapine, and destruction were the constant attendants, now rested on the arms of a foreign potentate—Ahmed Shah Abdalee.

Fourth invasion
of Ahmed Shah,
1759.

Raghoba had left Mulhar Rao Holkar and Datajee Sindia to extort contributions from the Rajpoot princes, and to maintain the conquests he had made in the Punjab. At the instigation of Ghazee-ood-deen,

Sindia sent his officers to invade Rohilcund, and in the course of a month they laid waste thirteen hundred villages in that flourishing province. The ulterior object of the vizier and of the Mahrattas was the possession of Oude, and as the Nabob dreaded them more than he hated the Rohillas, he entered into a treaty with Hafiz Ruhmut, the bravest of their chiefs, and, in conjunction with Nujeeb-ood-dowlah drove Sindia across the Ganges with great slaughter. Just at this juncture both parties were astounded by the intelligence that Ahmed Shah was entering India with a grand army to recover and extend his conquests. The remembrance of the sack of Delhi by his troops gave a portentous character to this, his fourth invasion; and the Nabob and the Mahratta were induced, by a common alarm, to patch up an accommodation. The Abdalee crossed the Indus in September, 1759, and marched direct to Lahore. During his advance, the vizier, who had deprived his former master of sight, dreading the intercourse of the emperor with Ahmed Shah, on whom he felt that he had inflicted inexpiable injury, gave orders for his assassination, and placed some unknown youth on the throne, who was however never acknowledged.

Murder of the
emperor, Alum-
geer, Nov., 1759.

The two Mahratta chiefs, supported by their allies, the Jauts, advanced to encounter Ahmed Shah, but they were in two divisions, widely separated from each other, and he resolved to attack them before they could form a junction. The army of Sindia was surprised, and two-thirds of the troops, including the general, slaughtered. Holkar made all haste to retreat, and might have escaped, but he could not resist the temptation of turning out of his way to plunder a rich convoy, of which he had received intimation. Ahmed Shah overtook him by forced marches of extraordinary length, and routed him with great carnage. Of these reverses the Peshwa received information, immediately after he and his cousin had succeeded in wresting the forts and districts already mentioned from Salabut. The

Defeat of Sindia
and Holkar;
1760.

Bhao, flushed with his recent success, entreated the Peshwa to allow him to proceed to Upper India, and restore the reputation of the Mahratta arms, and expel the Abdalees from the country. In an evil hour permission was granted, for though personally brave and resolute, he was rash and arrogant, and filled with an overweening conceit of his own abilities, which were unequal to the great expedition on which the fortunes of the Mahratta nation were about to be staked.

The Mahratta
army.

The army which now proceeded against Ahmed Shah was the largest and best equipped with which the Mahrattas had ever taken the field. It resembled rather the gorgeous array with which Aurungzebe had crossed the Nerbudda eighty years before than that of the humble and hardy mountaineers who had baffled him. The spacious and lofty tents of the chiefs were lined with silk and brocades, and surmounted with gilded ornaments. The finest horses, richly caparisoned, together with a long train of elephants, accompanied the army. The wealth which half a century of plunder had accumulated was exhibited in all its splendour. The officers, dressed in cloth of gold, vied with each other in profuse and prodigal display. The military chest was laden with two crores of rupces. Every commander throughout the Mahratta commonwealth was required to join the Bhao, and the whole of the Mahratta chivalry marched under the national standard. The Rajpoot chiefs contributed their cavalry brigades; the Pindarrees, who now appear for the first time in history, swarmed to the conflict, and Sooruj Mull, the Jaut chieftain, brought up a contingent of 30,000 men. The entire force did not fall short of 270,000. It was the grand struggle of Hindoo and Mahomedan for the sovereignty of India.

Arrogance of
the Bhao.

The expericenced old Jaut did not fail to perceive that the unwieldy masses of the Bhao, encumbered with artillery and other accessories unsuited to their national mode of warfare, were ill calculated for such a campaign. He strongly advised that the guns and the

infantry should be left in his forts, and that the army should revert to the old system of warfare, and harass the enemy with incessant attacks and cut off his supplies, till the hot season obliged the Abdalee to withdraw his troops to a more congenial climate beyond the Indus. But this sage advice, though supported by the ablest of the Mahratta generals, was rejected with scorn by the Bhao. The city of Delhi was occupied almost without a struggle, and he was with difficulty dissuaded from proclaiming Wiswas Rao, the eldest son of the Peshwa, Emperor of India. But, in a spirit of wanton barbarity, he destroyed the monuments of art which even Nadir Shah had spared. Disgusted with these acts, and not less with the overbearing conduct of the Bhao, the Rajpoots and the Jauts withdrew from his army.

Ahmed Shah was cordially supported by the Rohillas, and with less zeal by the Nabob of Oude. His regular army consisted of 38,000 foot and 41,800 horse, with seventy pieces of artillery. His irregular force was computed to be equally strong. After a variety of manœuvres the two armies confronted each other on the field of Paniput, where for the third time the fate of India was to be decided. The Bhao entrenched himself behind a ditch, forty feet wide and twelve feet deep. Ahmed Shah fortified his camp with felled trees. Numerous encounters took place from time to time between different detachments without any decisive result. The Rohillas and the Nabob of Oude were impatient to be led at once against the enemy, but the wary and experienced Abdalee prudently determined to wait the certain progress of famine in their encampment. The resources of the Mahrattas were gradually exhausted; their foraging parties were constantly driven back, and starvation stared them in the face, while the stench from the dead bodies of men and animals within the narrow limits of the camp became at length insupportable. Unable any longer to bear these privations and evils, men and officers equally demanded, in a voice of

Movements of
the Mahrattas
and Moguls,
1760.

thunder, to be led against the enemy instead of being cooped up to die like dogs. The Bhao was obliged to yield; with the provisions which were left they partook together of one full meal, and then prepared for the struggle of the morrow.

Battle of Paniput, January 7, 1761. An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January, the Mahratta army issued from its en-

trenchments, not, as on many former occasions, in the full confidence of victory, but with the recklessness of despair. The engagement was opened by Ibrahim Khan Gardee and his 10,000 sepoy, trained under Bussy, and his splendid artillery, with which he swept down the ranks of the Rohillas who were opposed to him. He then charged them with the bayonet, but they did not retire till 8,000 of their number lay dead or wounded on the field, while the loss of half the corps of Ibrahim shewed the desperate character of the conflict. The retirement of the Rohillas uncovered the right of the centre division of the Abdalees, and the Bhao and his cousin, with the flower of the Mahratta force, charged them with such vigour, that the day at one time seemed to belong to the Mahrattas, but at this critical juncture Ahmed Shah brought up his reserve, and the conflict became closer and more ferocious than ever. With the exception of Mulhar Rao Holkar, all the chiefs maintained their reputation, but about two hours after noon, Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was mortally wounded, and the Bhao immediately mounted his horse, and disappeared in the confusion of the fight. Holkar likewise marched off, and was followed by the Guickwar. As soon as the leaders were no longer seen the army fell into disorder and fled. No quarter was given, and the carnage was prodigious. Men, women, and children crowded into the village of Paniput, where they were surrounded for the night, but the men were drawn out the next morning, and ranged in files, when, to the eternal disgrace of Ahmed Shah, his soldiers were encouraged to amuse themselves in cutting off their heads, and piling them up as trophies in front of their tents. The body of Wiswas

Rao was found, and the Abdalee was with reluctance prevailed on to allow it to be burnt, instead of having it dried and stuffed, to take back with him to Cabul. Junkajee Sindia and the illustrious Ibrahim Khan Gardee, were taken prisoners and put to death, the latter on the ground of having fought on the side of the Hindoos against the true believers. Only one-fourth of the troops escaped; and the entire loss of the Mahrattas, from the beginning of the campaign, was computed at 200,000. Never was defeat more complete or more fatal. There were few families which had not lost some relative, and grief and despondency overspread the community. The Peshwa died of grief, and with him perished the prestige of his family. The formidable unity of the Mahratta power was destroyed, and the hope which the Mahrattas had cherished of becoming masters of all India, was at once and for ever annihilated.

CHAPTER XI.

BENGAL, 1761—1772.

Condition of
India after the
battle of Pani-
put, 1761.

THE battle of Paniput forms an important epoch in the modern annals of India, and a brief notice of the position and strength of the various princes at that period will serve to elucidate its subsequent history. The great empire of the Moguls was dissolved, and the emperor was wandering about in Behar, accompanied by a small band of mercenaries. In the districts around Delhi, the Jauts on one side, and the Rohillas on the other, were consolidating the power they had usurped. The Rajpoot rajas had been humbled during the encroachments of the Mahrattas, and manifested little of their former energy. The Nabob vazier of Oude possessed a rich territory, and a large undisciplined army, but was deficient in every military

quality, except courage. The Mahratta dream of universal empire in India, under a Hindoo sceptre, had been dissipated by the recent defeat, and although the Peshwa was still the head of the federation, its power was henceforth partitioned among the Guickwar, the raja of Nagpore, and Holkar and Sindia, who were seldom at peace with each other. The Nizam at Hyderabad, had been crippled by the surrender of some of his most valuable districts to the Mahrattas. The power of the French was completely broken. In the south of the peninsula, the Nabob of the Carnatic had been seated on the throne by the English, and was maintained solely by their arms, and Hyder Ali was on the point of grasping the supreme control in Mysore. The power destined eventually to bring these various principalities "under one umbrella," had recently subdued its European rivals in the south, and established its predominance in the valley of the Ganges, but was contemplating nothing so little as the conquest of India.

Clive had become so completely identified with the existence of British power in Bengal, that his departure appeared to those who remained, as if the 'soul was departing from the government. He was succeeded in the chair by Mr. Vansittart, a Madras civilian, a man of the greatest probity, but utterly incompetent to manage the complicated machinery of the government. The appointment, though recommended by Clive, proved in every respect disastrous. The members of the Bengal Council were irritated by his intrusion into a seat which they considered to belong to them of right, and set themselves to thwart his measures, at a period when the exigencies of a novel and foreign administration required the greatest unanimity. Soon after Mr. Vansittart's appointment, moreover, an order from the Court of Directors reached Calcutta, summarily dismissing three of the ablest and most experienced members of Council, on account of a contumacious letter which had been provoked by their own arbitrary proceedings. The opponents of Mr. Vansittart thus obtained a majority in the Council, and

Vansittart,
Governor of
Bengal, 1760-61.

this circumstance, combined with his imbecility, rendered the four years of his administration a period of extraordinary criminality.

Invasion of Behar by the Shah zada, 1760: The Shah Zada, the son of the emperor, invaded Behar a second time at the beginning of 1760, with the rabble of troops he had collected around him. As already stated, the intelligence of his father's death reached him after he had crossed the Curumnussa, and he immediately assumed the imperial dignity with the title of Shah Alum, which brought a large accession of troops to his standard. The Nabob of Oude was appointed vizier of this relic of an empire, and, in the hope of adding Behar to his territories, joined the emperor with a considerable force. Colonel Calliaud, one of the generals created by the wars on the coast, the comrade of Lawrence and Clive, of Coote and Forde, had been sent up from Madras to take the command of the army in Bengal, and had proceeded to Moorshedabad, where Clive, then on the eve of embarking for England, was making the necessary dispositions for repelling the invasion. Meer Jaffier contributed 15,000 horse to the expedition under the command of his son, Meerun, whose oppressions had made even Seraja Dowlah an object of regret. The united forces of the emperor and the vizier advanced towards Patna on one side, while Colonel Calliaud was moving up in an opposite direction to its succour. Ramnarayun, the Hindoo governor, had been strictly enjoined to await the arrival of these reinforcements, but he chose to march out and encounter the enemy alone, and was totally defeated. The city must have surrendered at discretion, if it had been immediately invested, but the emperor wasted the precious moments in plundering the district. On the 20th of February, Colonel Calliaud came up with the emperor, and, notwithstanding the misconduct of Meerun's horse, completely routed his army.

The Emperor marches to Moorshedabad, 1760.

The emperor had received the promise of assistance from the Mahrattas, and made a sudden and rapid march through the hills on Moorshedabad

to meet them. Calliaud lost no time in following his steps, and the two armies confronted each other about thirty miles from that city. But the emperor, hearing nothing of his allies, abruptly broke up his camp and marched back to Patna, to which he laid close siege for nine days. All hope of prolonging the defence was fading away, when Captain Knox, who had advanced from Bengal by forced marches to its rescue, at the hottest season of the year, was descried approaching it with a small force. The following day the two armies met, and the emperor was defeated, and his force dispersed. The Nabob of Purneah, who had been for some time intriguing with the emperor, now advanced to his assistance with 30,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. Captain Knox, to the utter amazement of the natives of Patna, immediately crossed the Ganges to oppose his progress, with a handful of men not exceeding a battalion of sepoys and 200 Europeans, and a small squadron of cavalry. The native historian of that period vividly describes the breathless anxiety with which the inhabitants crowded on the walls to watch the issue of this desperate encounter. It was one of those battles in the early career of the English which gave prestige to their arms, and bewildered the native princes. It lasted six hours, and ended in the total defeat of the enemy. The result of the conflict was rendered the more grateful to the natives by the extraordinary valour displayed by one of their own country, raja Shitabroy, and by the high encomium bestowed on him by the English commander, as they entered the city together covered with dust. Colonel Calliaud and Meerun soon after arrived at Patna, and proceeded across the river to follow up the victory. But they had not marched far when Meerun, as he lay on his couch listening to a tale, was struck dead by a thunderbolt, and the country was rid of a monster, in whose cabinet was found a list of three hundred men of note whom he had doomed to destruction on his return.

Death of
Meerun, July 2,
1760

Meer Jaffier
deposed, 1760.

The vigour of Meerun, in spite of his profligacy, had been the mainstay of the government of Moorshedabad, and his death brought on an immediate crisis. Meer Jaffier lost the little reason he ever possessed, and the administration fell into a state of complete anarchy. The troops surrounded the palace, and demanded the arrears of their pay with loud menaces, when Meer Cassim, the Nabob's son-in-law, came forward and offered to satisfy their claims from his own funds, on condition of being appointed the successor of Meerun. The Nabob accepted his terms and his services, but, in an evil hour, sent him to Calcutta, to make pecuniary arrangements, in his name, with the Council. They had an expensive war on their hands, without a rupee in their exchequer. The treasure accumulated at Moorshedabad had been exhausted, and, in the confusion and scramble of the times, no thought had been bestowed on the future. The imbecile Meer Jaffier was not the man to remove their embarrassments; on the other hand, Meer Cassim appeared to possess great talent and energy. Mr. Holwell, who had taken the command of Fort William when it was deserted by Mr. Drake, was the inveterate enemy of Meer Jaffier, and urged his colleagues at once to determine on deposing him, and elevating his son-in-law to the throne. After a show of hesitation, the members of the Council adopted his advice, and Mr. Vansittart was requested to proceed to Moorshedabad with 180 Europeans, 600 sepoy, and four guns, to persuade Meer Jaffier to resign the government of the three soobahs. The old man refused to abdicate, and threatened to appeal to Clive, his friend and protector; but the arguments of Mr. Vansittart were irresistible, and he was obliged to submit to his fate, only stipulating for a safe asylum in Calcutta, well knowing that in India deposition meant

Meer Cassim
Nabob, 1760-
1761.

death. Meer Cassim became soobadar, and, as the price of his elevation, ceded to the Company the three districts of Midnapore, Chittagong, and Burdwan, which were then estimated to furnish a third of the

revenue of Bengal. He agreed, moreover, to make good all arrears, and, above all, to bestow a gratuity of twenty lacs of rupees on his benefactors, of which Mr. Vansittart received five, and Mr. Holwell three lacs. The disorders of the times required a sharp remedy, but one might have been discovered without resorting to this odious breach of faith. Avarice was at the root of the transaction, and it ended in a fearful tragedy.

Meer Cassim's
vigorous
administration,
1751-63.

Meer Cassim met the difficulties of his position with great energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments. He abolished "the ram office, the antelope office, and the nightingale office," and many other useless and costly appendages of the menagerie department. He subjected the public accounts to a severe scrutiny, and obliged the officers to disgorge the plunder they had acquired. He exacted all arrears of rent with unexampled rigour, revised the assessment of the land, and made an addition of a crore of rupees to the annual revenue of the three provinces. These measures gave him the means of discharging all the obligations he had contracted to the English, after which he gave his entire attention to the great object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the soobah. He removed the seat of government to Monghir, a distance of 320 miles from Calcutta, where, free from observation, he prosecuted his plans of independence with such earnestness, that in less than three years, he considered himself in a position to set their power at defiance. For this rapid progress, he was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian, born at Ispahan, generally known by his orientalized name of Gurghin Khan. He was originally a clothseller at Hooghly, but when entrusted with the responsibilities of office, turned out to be a man of original genius and vast resources. In less than three years, he created a force of 15,000 cavalry, and 25,000 infantry, disciplined on the model of the Company's army; he manufactured firelocks which were superior

to the Tower proof muskets; he established a foundry for casting cannon, and trained up a corps of artillerymen who would have done credit to the Company's service. Nothing was wanting to render Meer Cassim more powerful than Aliverdy Khan had ever been, but a few years of undisturbed leisure.

Transactions
with the
emperor, 1761.

The emperor, Shah Alum, unable to regain his capital, lingered within the limits of Behar with a horde of troops, which wasted the districts like a flight of locusts. As soon, therefore, as the rains of 1761 had subsided, Colonel Carnac marched to Gya with an English force and dispersed them. Law, the French general, whose little band of Europeans had been the chief support of the prince, was taken prisoner on this occasion. The distinguished courtesy with which he was treated by the English commander, confounded the ideas of the natives, who expected that he would have been led out to immediate execution, in accordance with the practice of oriental warfare. "Nothing," exclaims the native historian in his remark on this circumstance, "can be more modest and becoming than the behaviour of these strangers, whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success." After the action, Colonel Carnac sent raja Shitabroy with a conciliatory message to the emperor, which was cordially welcomed, and he was conducted with suitable honours to Patna. Meer Cassim felt no little alarm on hearing of this friendly intercourse between the English commander and his own liege sovereign, and hastened to the English camp, but sullenly refused to pay his respects to the emperor. Colonel Carnac obviated his objections by bringing the parties together in his own tent, when Shah Alum received the homage of the nabob, and conferred on him the office of soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and obtained in return the promise of an annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees. The emperor then proceeded on his route to Delhi, and, on taking leave of the colonel, made an offer to the Company of the dewanny of the three provinces.

Spoilation of
Ramnarayun,
1762.

One of the earliest objects of Meer Cassim after his elevation was the spoliation of the great provincial officers, who had amassed wealth in their respective governments. Ramnarayun, the Governor of Patna, was destined to be the first victim, but the Council in Calcutta had pledged their honour to protect him from the designs of his enemies, and the Nabob was for a time baffled. But Mr. Vansittart yielded at length to his importunities; Colonels Coote and Carnac, who insisted on keeping faith with Ramnarayun, were removed from the province, and Meer Cassim was left to wreak his vengeance on him. The unfortunate governor was immediately seized and despoiled, while his subordinate officers were pursued with all the ardour of cupidity, and tortured to disclose their wealth. Of all the proceedings of the feeble Vansittart, this was considered the most baneful, inasmuch as it destroyed the confidence which the natives had hitherto reposed in the protection of the Company's officers, and strengthened the hands of the Nabob, whose hostility to the English was daily becoming more palpable.

The transit
duties, 1762.

Meer Cassim had made great progress in consolidating his government, when a storm was raised by the unprincipled conduct of the Council board in Calcutta, which eventually swept him from the throne. From the days of Munoo, the duties levied on the transit of merchandise through the country had formed one of the principal sources of the public revenue, and the highways of commerce, both by land and by water, were obstructed by custom-houses. Under the old imperial firmans, the goods of the Company intended for export by sea were allowed to pass duty free, when protected by the *dustuck*, or permit of the President. But the battle of Plassy transferred the power of the state to the Company, that is, to their servants, and they rushed eagerly into the inland trade of the country, and claimed the same exemption from duty for their own goods, which had been conceded to the merchandise of their masters.

Their servants and dependants soon came to demand the same privileges for their own adventures. The native merchants, moreover, anxious to pass their goods duty free, were led to purchase *dustucks* from some of the Company's servants, even at a high premium, and the boys in the service, with less pay than fifty rupees a month, were enabled to realise an income of 15,000 or 20,000 rupees a year. To increase the confusion, any native trader who wished to evade the duties, had only to hoist the English *nishan*, or flag, on passing a custom-house. In every instance in which this symbol of impunity was not respected, sepoy were sent to drag the Nabob's officers as culprits to the nearest factory, and they soon came to understand the danger of offering the slightest resistance to the most glaring frauds. The Nabob was deprived of his revenues; the entire trade of the country was disorganised, and nothing appeared on every side but the most perilous confusion.

Mr. Vansittart's
convention,
1762.

These encroachments were rare during Clive's administration; but when his strong arm ceased to be felt, they increased to an indefinite degree. To provide a remedy for the disorders which thus threatened the peace of the country, Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Monghir, and, after a long conference with the Nabob, made an offer by way of compromise, which he at length accepted, that the trade of the Company's servants should be subject to a duty of only nine per cent., though that of his subjects was, in many cases, saddled with twenty-five per cent. This convention necessarily required the sanction of the Council board, to whom Mr. Vansittart had intended to break it with great caution, but the Nabob imprudently directed his officers to carry it at once into execution, and they entered upon the duty with little delicacy. Numerous collisions ensued, and the breach was widened. On his return to Calcutta, Mr. Vansittart encountered the most ferocious opposition from his colleagues at the board. To men with their lofty pretensions, who con-

sidered themselves masters of the country, it appeared intolerable that their commercial agents should be subjected to the authority of one whom they had themselves raised to the throne, and to the insolence, as they deemed it, of his servants. All the members of Council at the out stations were called down to Calcutta, to overawe the President, and they declared that they would pay no higher duty than two-and-a-half per cent., and that on the article of salt alone.

The Nabob, incensed by this declaration, determined to place his own subjects and the foreigners upon an equality by abolishing all transit duties throughout the country. The members of Council voted this measure a crime, and demanded, as a matter of right, that the native trade should be subject to the usual duties, while their own was exempted from them. It was in vain that Mr. Vansittart raised his voice against this iniquitous doctrine; he was supported only by Mr. Hastings. From words the Council at length came to blows, and Stanlake Batson, one of its most turbulent members, denounced Mr. Hastings as a partizan of the Nabob, and struck him a blow which led to a hostile challenge. After having passed this disgraceful resolution, the majority deputed Mr. Hay and Mr. Amyatt to announce it to the Nabob at Monghir.

During these transactions a boat proceeding to Patna with concealed arms, was searched and detained by the Nabob's officers. The affairs of the Company in that city were unfortunately at this juncture under the direction of Mr. Ellis, one of the most unscrupulous and headstrong of all the public servants. He had violently opposed the elevation of Meer Cassim, and seemed now to be anxious to precipitate a rupture with him. The boat was eventually released, but Mr. Ellis continued his hostile preparations with so little disguise, that Meer Cassim thought fit to detain Mr. Hay as a hostage for some of his own servants who had been seized; but Mr. Amyatt was allowed to return to Calcutta. Mr. Ellis waited for the day which

The Nabob
abolishes all
duties, 1763.

Mr. Ellis's in-
temperate con-
duct, 1763.

had been fixed for their departure, and when he calculated that both of them were beyond the reach of the Nabob, seized on the city of Patna. The native commandant was obliged to retire, but on hearing that the European soldiers were confused with liquor, returned suddenly and recaptured the town. Mr. Ellis and the English gentlemen took refuge in their boats and proceeded up the river, but were overtaken and brought back prisoners to Patna. The Nabob, incensed at this outrage, ordered every Englishman throughout his dominions to be seized; and Mr. Amyatt, then on his way to Calcutta, having refused to surrender, was slain in the scuffle. The Setts, the great bankers of Moorshedabad, who were possessed of incredible wealth, and had manifested a favourable disposition to the English, were at the same time seized and conveyed to Monghir.

War with Meer
Cassim. Re-
stitution of
Meer Jaffier,
1763.

Both parties now prepared for war. The Nabob augmented his army, and applied for assistance to the emperor and the Nabob vizier. The Governor and Council in Calcutta ordered their army into the field, and, at the same time, determined to reseat Meer Jaffier on the throne. The old man, seventy-two years of age, and scarcely able to move for the leprosy, was withdrawn from the obscurity to which he had retired, and required to confirm the cession of the three districts which had been made by his predecessor, to concede the flagrant exemption from duty claimed by the majority of the Council, and likewise to make large donations to them individually. The English army consisted of 650 Europeans, 1,200 sepoys, and a troop of native cavalry; and although the rains had set in, opened the campaign on the 2nd of July. On the 19th, the troops of the Nabob were defeated at Cutwa; and on the 24th, Moorshedabad was occupied and Meer Jaffier, who had accompanied the army, was placed a second time on the throne. The army reached Gheriah on the 2nd of August, and found the Nabob's well disciplined troops drawn up to dispute their advance. The battle lasted

Actions of the
19th and 24th
July, and the
2nd August,
1763.

four hours, and, in the opinion of Clive, never did troops fight better than those of the Nabob. At one period of the action, indeed, they penetrated the English lines and captured two guns, and victory appeared, for a time, likely to incline to them, but the gallantry of the Europeans, and the steadiness of the sepoys bore down all opposition, and the Nabob's troops were constrained to abandon all their guns and stores, and retreat to Oodwanulla.

This reverse threw Meer Cassim into a paroxysm of rage, and he gave way to the ferocity of his disposition. Massacre of the English prisoners, 1763. Ramnarayun, the deposed governor of Patna, was cast into the river with weights attached to his neck. Raja Rajbullub, the former governor of Dacca, was put to death, with all his sons. The Moorshedabad bankers were thrown into the Ganges from one of the bastions of the fort of Monghir. One of their favourite servants, the faithful Chunee, begged permission to share their fate, and when his request was denied, plunged into the river, determined not to survive them. Early in the month of November, the English army carried the entrenched camp at Oodwanulla, and the Nabob fled to Patna. But before his departure he ordered his officers to proceed to the house where his European prisoners were confined, and put them to death without distinction. They nobly replied that they were soldiers and not executioners. "Turn them out," they said, "with arms in their hands, and we will fight them to the death." But there was in the camp one Walter Raymond, who had been a sergeant in the French service, and now, under the name of Sumroo, held a commission in the Nabob's army, who came forward and offered to do the bloody deed. The wretch proceeded to the house with a file of soldiers, and poured in volley after volley through the venetian windows upon the defenceless victims, till forty-eight gentlemen—among whom was Mr. Ellis—and 100 soldiers lay stretched on the floor. Patna was captured on the 6th of November, and the campaign ended in four months by the flight of Meer Cassim to the court of the

The Nabob
vizier marches
to Patna, 1764.

Nabob vizier. The vizier had fought by the side of Ahmed Shah Abdalee at Paniput, and, in the language of the native historian, "considered himself a second Rustum." He determined to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and, six months after the termination of the war with Meer Cassim, marched down to Patna with a large but ill-trained army. It was an act of wanton aggression on his part, dictated by ambition and avarice. The emperor and the disinherited Nabob of Bengal joined his camp with a small body of followers. The English army in the field was straitened for provisions, and retired to the city of Patna, which was vigorously attacked on the 3rd of May, 1764. The assailants were repulsed, but not without great difficulty, and not before the close of the day. The Nabob vizier, after hovering about Patna for four weeks, retired to Buxar to encamp for the rains.

The first sepooy
mutiny, 1764.

Major Munro, who now assumed the command of the Company's army, found the sepoys in a state of open revolt. There is no instinct of obedience in native armies in India, as in those of Europe, and their normal condition under every dynasty, native or foreign, Hindoo or Mahomedan, and in every province, has from time immemorial been that of insubordination. The British army of sepoys was no exception to the general rule. During the seven years in which they had been embodied as mercenaries under the colours of a foreign power, they had been instrumental in defeating and deposing two Nabobs of Bengal. They became inflated with an idea of their own importance, and they now manifested it by the demand of a large donation and increased pay. Such a demand from men with arms in their hands was necessarily refused, and a whole battalion marched off to the enemy with their arms and accoutrements. Major Munro, an officer of undaunted resolution, determined to subdue this spirit at all hazards. The battalion was pursued and brought back. Twenty-four of the most active of the mutineers were selected, arraigned before a field court-martial,

consisting of native officers, and found guilty. The Major ordered four of them to be blown away from the guns, when four noble looking grenadiers came forward, and demanded to be the first to suffer, as they had always been the foremost in danger. The European officers then reported that the sepoy had announced their firm resolution not to allow any further executions; but the unflinching commander loaded his guns with grape, placed his European soldiers in the intervals, and commanded the native battalions to ground arms, threatening to discharge the guns on them if a single man was seen to move. The sepoy were awed by his resolution; sixteen more were blown away; the mutiny was quenched in their blood, and discipline was restored. This was the first of that series of mutinies which broke out from time to time among the native sepoy—chiefly after a successful campaign, when they are least amenable to reason—and terminated in less than a century in the dissolution of the whole Bengal army. Major Munro shewed his masters how the insubordination of sepoy was to be dealt with, and there can be no doubt that if the same spirit and promptitude had been exhibited on every future emergency, the result would have been equally auspicious.

Battle of Buxar,
October 23,
1764. This example of severity restored the discipline of the army so effectually that within four months of the mutiny, Major Munro did not hesitate to lead his troops against the Nabob vizier, who had been encamped for several months at Buxar with an army of 50,000 men. On the 23rd of October he was attacked and completely routed, and obliged to abandon his camp, with all its stores and 130 pieces of cannon. The victory of Buxar was scarcely less important to the interests of the Company than that of Plassy. It demolished the power of the Vizier, Soojah-ood-dowlah, the only chief of any importance in the north. It made the English masters of the entire valley of the Ganges, from the Himalayu to the sea, and placed Hindostan at their feet. The Nabob sent off his women and his treasure to Bareilly, and

opened negotiations with the victor, offering as the price of his forbearance, fifty lacs of rupees for the Company and the army, and eight lacs for himself. But the Council board demanded the surrender of Meer Cassim and Sumroo, as an indispensable preliminary. The former, who had been stripped of his wealth and imprisoned by his treacherous host, hastened to seek refuge among the Rohillas. With regard to Sumroo, the Vizier offered to invite him to an entertainment, and cause him to be assassinated in the presence of any English gentleman who might be deputed to witness and certify his death. The offer was indignantly rejected.

Arrangement
with Meer
Jaffier, 1764.

Immediately after the battle of Buxar, the emperor joined the English camp, and commenced negotiations with the Council in Calcutta. They proposed that the forfeited territories of the Vizier should be partitioned between them, the Company receiving the zemindary of Benares, and the emperor the remainder, on condition of defraying all the expenses of the war. But the arrangement fell to the ground. Meanwhile, the government in Calcutta was on the verge of bankruptcy. The war was not only expensive, as all wars must be, but it was conducted on a system of profligate extravagance and peculation which completely exhausted the treasury. Meer Jaffier was, therefore, brought down to Calcutta to concert some means of relieving the pressing necessities of the Council. His position required a passive acquiescence in whatever they might chose to dictate, and they required him to contribute five lacs of rupees a month towards the expenses of the war, as long as it might last; but they did not forget themselves. He was also charged with the payment of what they had the impudence to call "compensation for losses," that is, for losses, real or fictitious, sustained by them and their friends in the illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life. The demand was at first stated at ten lacs of rupees, but they soon dismissed all delicacy of feeling and raised it to thirty, and then to forty lacs, and did not pause till it had reached fifty-three lacs. It

was, moreover, provided that this nefarious claim should be satisfied before any payment was made to the Company's treasury for the expenses of the war; which were met by the ingenious device of lending to the Government at an exorbitant rate of interest, the sums paid to individuals by the Nabob. The effrontery exhibited during these five years' of crime makes one blush for the honour of England; and the only relief to the mind is to be found in the consideration that it was an exceptional case.

These importunities, combined with the age and infirmities of the Nabob, hastened his end, and he expired in January, 1765. Then came the question of appointing his successor. The making of Nabobs had been, for seven years, one of the most lucrative employments of the Council, and the fourth opportunity which was now presented, was not to be neglected. Mr. Vansittart had retired from the chair, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, a Bombay civilian, without either talent or probity. The Court of Directors, exasperated by the iniquity of their servants in Calcutta, had issued peremptory orders for the suppression of the inland trade, and for the execution of "covenants," binding them not to receive presents from native princes. These injunctions reached Calcutta before the death of Meer Jaffier. Mr. Spencer and his colleagues, were, moreover, aware that Lord Clive was on the eve of embarking for India to root out abuses; no time was, therefore, to be lost in the appointment of another Nabob. The covenants were thrown aside, and Nujum-ood-dowlah, the son of Meer Jaffier, was raised to the throne, and required to make donations to the members of the Council to the extent of twenty lacs of rupees, as well as to sanction the inland trade, exempt from the payment of all duty.

Clive's second
administration,
1765.

Clive, on his return to England in 1760, was received with great distinction by the king, the minister, Mr. Pitt, and the nation, and honoured with an Irish peerage. The India House, likewise, paid

homage to his talents and his success; but the Court of Directors was scarcely less demoralized by intrigue and jobbery than the Council board in Calcutta by venality and rapacity, and Clive was speedily brought into collision with the leading faction, at the head of which was Mr. Sullivan. In 1757, Meer Jaffier had ceded to the Company certain lands lying to the south of Calcutta, of the annual value of ten lacs of rupees, reserving to himself the quit-rent of three lacs a year. Two years after, the Nabob manifested his gratitude for the services of Clive by making him a donation of the quit-rent, which he received for several years without interruption. But Mr. Sullivan and his party having gained the ascendancy in the Court of Directors in 1763, sent out orders to Calcutta, without any communication with Clive, to withhold the usual payment, assigning no other reason for this act of injustice than the cessation of all cordiality between him and the Court. Clive was, therefore, obliged to file a bill in chancery for the recovery of his rights. But while this contest was raging, intelligence was received in London of the war with Meer Cassim, the massacre of the European prisoners, and the total disorganization of the government in Calcutta. The proprietors of India stock saw with dismay the golden dreams of prosperity in which they had indulged vanishing away, and, in spite of the opposition of the Directors, resolved to send out the man to whom they owed all their greatness, to retrieve their affairs. They determined also to entrust the powers of government, which had hitherto been vested in a council of sixteen, to a select committee of five. Clive was surrounded by friends and admirers, and in the enjoyment of an income of four lacs of rupees a year; there was therefore no inducement for him to return to India, but he had been actuated throughout life by a high sense of duty, and he did not hesitate to accept the charge of a government which was justly described as "headstrong and corrupt, and lost to every sense of honour."

Clive landed at Calcutta on the 3rd of May, and found

Condition of
Bengal, 1765.

that the political dangers had passed off. Meer Cassim had been expelled from Bengal, the Nabob vizier had been vanquished, and the emperor was a suppliant. But there were other and more alarming perils to be encountered. Vast fortunes had been amassed by "the most nefarious and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country." The power of the Company's servants had been employed in levying contributions on every class, from the Nabob down to the lowest zemindar. Even the exaction of twenty lacs of rupees from the young Nabob on his elevation, in defiance of the express orders of the Court of Directors, was openly avowed without a blush. Luxury, corruption, and debauchery pervaded every rank of the service, and threatened the dissolution of all government. Clive found Spencer, the governor, "as deep in the mire as any other," and he felt himself justified in affirming that "there were not five men of principle left at the Presidency." The massacre of the English gentlemen by Sumroo had thinned the ranks of the civil service; many of the seniors had returned to England laden with plunder, and young men had thus been pushed forward to posts of importance, with little judgment or experience, but inflamed with the most extravagant expectations by the success of those who had preceded them. Clive's first duty was to enforce the execution of the covenants which abolished the receipt of presents, but he was met on the threshold by an attempt to question the powers of the Select Committee, and an effort was made to brow-beat him, but he soon reduced the refractory to silence by declaring that he would not allow his authority to be controverted for a moment, and that he would peremptorily dismiss from the service every officer who refused to sign the covenants.

Arrangement
with the nabob,
the vizier, and
the emperor,
1765.

On the 25th of June, Clive left Calcutta for the upper provinces, to dispose of the weighty questions which awaited his decision. He attributed the recent war with Meer Cassim to the impru-

dence of Mr. Vansittart, in advising him to form and discipline an army, and to render it efficient by just and punctual payment. To prevent the recurrence of this cause of anxiety, the Nabob of Moorshedabad was relieved of all responsibility for the military defence of the country, and of the management of the revenue. The sum of fifty-three lacs of rupees a year was assigned him for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. He received the proposal with ecstasy. "Thank God," he exclaimed, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I like." With regard to the Nabob vizier, he had invaded Behar without the least provocation, on the mere impulse of cupidity, but his power had been irretrievably crushed by the battle of Buxar, the capture of Lucknow, and a second defeat at Corah. Seeing his fortunes desperate, he repaired to the camp of General Carnac, and threw himself on the consideration of the English authorities. His kingdom was forfeited by the laws of war and the usage of the country, but Clive evinced his moderation by restoring it to him, with the exception of the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were reserved for the emperor. Such an instance of generosity in a victorious enemy was unknown in India, and excited emotions of the deepest gratitude. The emperor, though he had appeared in arms against the English at the battle of Buxar, was gratified with the revenues of the two districts assigned to him, which, with the annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees from Bengal and Behar, for which he was likewise indebted to the kindness of the English chief, constituted his whole dependence.

The Dewanny, After the completion of these arrangements, Aug. 12, 1765. Clive requested that the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which the emperor had repeatedly offered to the Company, should be conferred on them by an imperial firman. The act was completed on the 12th of August, 1765, a memorable day in the political and constitutional history of British India. As a substitute for a throne, two dining-tables were joined together in Clive's tent, and covered with em-

broidery. The emperor took his seat on a chair planted on them, and transferred the government of twenty-five millions of people, and an annual revenue of four crores of rupees to Lord Clive, on behalf of the Company. The Mahomedan historian of the time, scandalized by the simplicity which marked the completion of this grand transaction, exclaims with indignation that "a business of so much importance, which, at other times, would have required the sending of wise ministers and able envoys, was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up in the sale of a jackass." This affair serves to exemplify that expansion of views which results from the progress of events in the East. On the eve of his departure from England, in April, 1764, Clive assured the Court of Directors that "nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce us to extend our ideas of territorial acquisitions beyond the three districts ceded by Meer Cassim, in his treaty with Mr. Vansittart." Before sixteen months had elapsed, he congratulated the Court on the acquisition of three provinces, and a clear revenue of two crores of rupees a year. Yet with this pregnant proof of the fallacy of his judgment, he thought fit again to fix the limits of the British empire in India, and informed the Court that "it was his resolution and hope always to confine our possessions to these provinces, and he declared that to go farther was a scheme so extravagantly ambitious that no government in its senses would ever dream of it." The Court of Directors, with all due modesty, concurred in the necessity of accepting the provinces. "When we consider," they wrote, "that the barrier of the country government was entirely broken down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression of the helpless natives, who knew not whom to obey; at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company."

The mutiny of
the officers,
1766.

In announcing this acquisition to the India House, Clive remarked, "we have established

such a force that all the powers in Hindostan cannot deprive us of our possessions for many years," little dreaming that within a few months, the existence of that power would be endangered by that very force. The military expenses had hitherto swallowed up the resources of the Company. The army considered itself the most important department of the state, and the commanders, in the pride of their position, had endeavoured to imbue the native princes with the conviction that the power of the British government was lodged with them rather than with the civil authorities in Calcutta. A few months more of Mr. Spencer's servile administration would probably have rendered them masters of the country. The officers had been in the habit of receiving an allowance called *batta* when they took the field. Meer Jaffier, out of gratitude for his elevation, had increased this gratuity, and the army soon came to consider double *batta* as their right. When the Court of Directors became responsible for the finances of the country, they resolved to discontinue this extravagant allowance; but the officers resented any interference with their interests, and the Council board was deterred by their imperiousness from carrying the orders into execution. The abolition of the double *batta* was enjoined on Clive when he was leaving England, and he lost no time, after his arrival, in announcing that it would cease after the 1st of January, 1766. The officers were little disposed to submit to a measure which affected even a captain's allowance to the extent of 1,000 rupees a month, and those in the higher grades in a larger proportion. The announcement of the order was the signal for mutiny, and a universal combination was formed to compel Clive to retract it. A committee of secrecy was organized in each of the three brigades, and a fund created to reimburse officers for any loss they might sustain; and to this fund the discontented and factious civilians in Calcutta contributed more than a lac and a half of rupees. It was agreed that two hundred officers should throw up their commissions on the same day; and, as an

army of 50,000 Mahrattas was advancing for the invasion of Behar, it was calculated that the government would be under the necessity of giving way to retain their services.

Resolution of Clive, 1766. It was a crisis of singular peril, but exactly fitted to the daring genius of Clive. He felt that to yield to the demands of men with arms in their hands was to abandon the government to them, and he declared that he must see the soldiers' bayonets levelled at his throat before he could be induced to give way. He directed the commanders to accept every commission that was tendered, and to send the offender under arrest to Calcutta; at the same time, he ordered up all the officers and cadets who could be spared from Madras. Taking with him the officers who yet remained faithful to their colours, he hastened to Monghir, arrested the ringleaders, and ordered them to be tried by court-martial. His undaunted resolution overawed the spirit of insubordination, and many of the officers who had been persuaded to join the malcontents, entreated permission to recall their resignations, and were allowed to return to their duty. He then proceeded to Benares, where the same energy produced the same beneficial results. In two instances the sepöys, who had themselves been in a state of mutiny two years before, were actively employed in coercing their European officers, and exhibited such fidelity and steadiness, that one battalion marched more than a hundred miles in fifty-four hours, and arrived at its destination in time to avert an outbreak. Thus was this formidable confederacy, which brought the affairs of the Company to the brink of destruction, dissolved in the brief period of a fortnight, by an energy which reflected not less credit on the name of Clive than the battle of Plassy.

Society for in
land trade.
1766

It remained for Clive to deal with the difficult question of the trade of the public servants, to which the Court of Directors attributed all the anarchy and bloodshed of the preceding five years. From the earliest period, the East India Company had followed the

example of all other commercial companies, in restricting their agents abroad to a mere pittance of salary, and allowing them to eke it out by private trade, and thus were the servants enriched at the expense of the masters. The same system was continued when the factory had expanded into a kingdom, and their servants entered on the government of provinces with unchecked power. The consequence was that from the governor to the youngest writer, from the general to the ensign, not excepting even the chaplains, all classes were busily engaged in commercial pursuits, which were rendered lucrative by the influence of their dominant position. In April, 1764, the Court of Directors thought that the evil might be remedied, simply by ordering that the trade should cease, without proposing any compensation to their officers; but in a subsequent despatch they had the wisdom to modify this order by directing Clive to devise some equitable plan which should be satisfactory both to the government and the service. Clive felt that it was indispensable to the peace and prosperity of the country that the servants of the state should not be allowed to compete with the native dealers in every market, and equally indispensable to the integrity and efficiency of the public service that the officers of the government should not be left to starve in the midst of wealth which their position enabled them to grasp. He, therefore, established a Society for conducting a traffic in salt, on the principle of a monopoly, the profits of which, after a reservation of ten lacs of rupees a-year to the Company, should be divided among the servants of the Company according to their rank; the member of Council and the colonel receiving 70,000 rupees a-year, and the subordinate officers, civil and military, in due proportion. The scheme continued in operation for two years, and was then abolished by orders from home, which substituted in its stead a commission of two-and-a-half per cent. on the gross revenue of the provinces.

After a residence of twenty-two months in India, Clive was driven back to England by a

severe attack of disease. In the large transactions in which he had been engaged, involving the fate of great kingdoms, and the disposal of crores of rupees, he might easily have added fifty lacs of rupees to his fortune, but he returned to his native land poorer than he had left it. It has fallen to the lot of few men to exercise so important and permanent an influence on the course of human affairs. When he landed in Calcutta in 1757, he found the Company's factory in ruins, and their servants in exile. By 1767, he had made the Company the sovereigns of twenty-five millions of people, and masters of a revenue, little short of one-half that of England. He had laid the foundation of a great empire containing an irrepressible element of expansion. He had established the supremacy of Europe in Asia. His reception in England corresponded at first with his eminent merits, but it was not long before he was made to taste the bitterness of ingratitude. His greatness excited envy and censure. The members of the civil service, whose rapacity he had defeated abroad, made large purchases of India stock on their return to England, and became members of the corporation in Leadenhall-street, that they might more effectually wreak their vengeance on him. His rancorous enemy, Sullivan, endeavoured by garbled statements to persuade Parliament that all the difficulties of the Company were to be attributed to his measures. The Court of Directors restored almost every civil and military culprit whom he had cashiered for peculation or mutiny. The Attorney-General proposed to confiscate all the donations he had received from native princes in India, and the Prime Minister joined the hue and cry against him. In Parliament his conduct was described by his opponents "as a mass of the most unheard-of villanies and corruption." But when a vote of censure was pressed on the House, the members shrunk from the scandal of fixing a brand of infamy on the man who had given England a kingdom larger than itself, and came to the resolution that he had rendered great and

meritorious services to his country. But his lofty spirit could ill-brook the persecution he had been subjected to, and under the pressure of bodily and mental suffering, he put a period to his existence in November, 1774.

Death of
Clive. 1774.

Wretched con-
dition of Ben-
gal, 1767-1772.

Lord Clive was succeeded in the government by Mr. Verelst, a man of strict integrity, but without sufficient resolution to cope with the disorders of the times. Clive, with all his genius, had committed the great error of establishing the system of double government, which for five years proved to be the curse of Bengal. The administration was nominally vested in the Nabob, in whose name the revenue was collected and justice administered, by native officers, but the irresistible power of the rapacious servants of the Company paralysed the whole system of government, and introduced endless intrigue and oppression. Those whom Clive had constrained to sign the covenants against presents, treated them as waste paper as soon as his back was turned, and plunged with increased ardour and perfect impunity into the trade of the country. Every man who was permitted to make out a bill, made a fortune; and the nefarious charges of contractors, commissaries, engineers, and other officers drained the treasury. The Council was without the power, even if they had possessed the will, to check these abuses. The three natives who managed the revenues enriched themselves, and left the governor to borrow money for the public service. It was at this period, and through their connivance, that the great majority of rent-free tenures was created, and an annual revenue little short of forty lacs of rupees was alienated from the resources of the state. It was a period of transition between the dissolution of the old Mahomedan government and the vigorous development of British sovereignty, and it was, as usual, fruitful of anomalies, and not wanting in guilt. These evils were aggravated to a fearful extent by the great famine of 1770, which swept away one-third of the population of the lower provinces.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1761—1772.

To return now to the progress of events at the State of affairs at Madras. Madras Presidency. The extinction of the French power in India by the capture of Pondicherry, had given Mahomed Ali, the ally of the English, the undisputed title of Nabob of the Carnatic, and, though he had afforded them no assistance during the war, he regarded himself as the absolute ruler of the country. But he was conspicuous even among the princes of India for his imbecility; and his army was a mere rabble, which devoured the resources of a territory they were unable to protect. The Company thus found themselves, by the issue of the war, saddled with the defence of a province comprising 50,000 square miles, without any resources for the maintenance of a costly army, but the profits of their trade, which belonged to their constituents in London. They were constrained, therefore, to demand a contribution of fifty lacs of rupees from Mahomed Ali, to discharge the obligations they had contracted during the recent conflict. But the Carnatic had been without any settled government for twenty years; every invader had desolated its districts, and the polygars paid no revenue but at the sword's point. The country was, moreover, now in the hands of a court at once wasteful and neglectful, which had been subsisting for many years on loans raised on exorbitant terms at Madras, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed the money, and the morals of those who lent it.

Affairs of Tanjore, 1763. To meet this demand, the Nabob proposed to the government of Madras to despoil the governors of Vellore and the Marawars, and more particularly the rajah of Tanjore, whose principality had, to a certain extent, escaped the ravages of war, and which he was anxious to appropriate to himself. Tanjore was an independent province,

which had never been incorporated with the Mogul empire, though it had often yielded to the pressure of invasion, and paid contributions when unable to evade them. The President at Madras, with an exhausted treasury, manifested the greatest reluctance to go to war with this state, and effected an amicable adjustment of the Nabob's demand for a payment of twenty-two lacs of rupees in four instalments, and four lacs of rupees a year as tribute. But the Nabob derived little benefit from this arrangement, as the Court of Directors ordered the sums as they arrived, to be taken to the treasury at Madras, and placed to the credit of his account.

The peace of
Paris, 10th
February, 1763.

The war between the French and the English was terminated by the peace of Paris, which restored to the former all the factories they had possessed in India. It likewise stipulated that in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, the English and the French should acknowledge Mahomed Ali for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung, for lawful Soobadar of the Deccan. Clive was then in England, and endeavoured to convince the ministry, who knew nothing about Indian politics, of the danger and embarrassment which this clause would inevitably entail, but could only secure a slight and unimportant modification of it. It involved the double absurdity of disposing unceremoniously of territories belonging to the crown of Delhi, and of acknowledging the authority of Salabut Jung, eighteen months after he had ceased to reign. He had been deposed and confined on the 10th of July, 1761, by his brother, Nizam Ali, who, on finding that his rights were acknowledged by the two foreign European powers, so formidable to the princes of the Deccan, lost no time in causing him to be assassinated, and the treaty which was intended to secure to him the possession of the throne, became the cause of his death. Soon after, Nizam Ali invaded the Carnatic with a large army, laying waste the districts through which he passed, with the greatest barbarity. The English troops came up to the rescue, and

faced the Nizam at Tripety, but he had no mind to try conclusions with them, and instantly evacuated the country. During these events, Clive happened to touch at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and was requested by the Nabob to obtain a firman from Delhi, releasing him from dependence on the Nizam; and on the 12th of August in the same year, Mahomed Ali was empowered by the emperor's sunnud to hold his fief directly of the imperial crown.

To meet the expenses of their military establishment at Madras, the Court of Directors were anxious to obtain a permanent right to the Northern sircars on the Coromandel coast, which had furnished the sinews of war to Bussy, and which were embraced in the districts ceded to Colonel Forde by Salabut Jung in 1758. The Madras President had, at one time, offered to farm them of the Nizam at a high rent, but the proposal was declined. Clive, however, during his second administration, disposed of the question in a very summary manner. On the memorable 12th of August, when he received the Dewanny from the emperor, he likewise requested an imperial grant of the Northern sircars for the Company, which was necessarily granted. The Nizam, who had already lost his hold on the Carnatic, was not disposed tamely to part with this province likewise, and on hearing that an English force had been sent to take possession of the districts, threatened to march down and exterminate them, and also made preparations for the invasion of the Carnatic. The timid Presidency of Madras, alarmed at these menaces, directed their commander, General Calliaud, to suspend all military operations, and proceed to Hyderabad to enter into negotiations with the Nizam.

They resulted in the disastrous and humiliating treaty of the 12th of November, 1766, by which the Madras authorities agreed to hold the Northern sircars, which had been conferred on them by the paramount power in India, as a tributary tenure under the Nizam, at eight lacs of rupees a year, and, in addition, to make an immediate

Acquisition of
the Northern
sircars, 12th
Aug. 1765.

Treaty with the
Nizam, 12th
Nov. 1766.

donation of five lacs. But what was still more objectionable, the President involved the Company in the intricate web of Deccan politics, by engaging to furnish the Nizam with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon, "to settle, in everything right and proper, the affairs of his highness's government," well knowing that the first requisition for the troops would be to assist in attacking Hyder Ali, who had recently usurped the Mysore throne, and against whom a confederacy had been formed of the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

Rise of
Hyder Ali. We turn, therefore, to the rise and progress of this extraordinary chief, who proved, eventually, to be the most formidable and inveterate foe the English ever encountered in India. The principality of Mysore was one of the provinces of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejuynugur, which was extinguished on the field of Tellicotta in 1564. In the confusion created by this event, it fell to the lot of a Hindoo prince, whose descendants continued, for two centuries, to maintain their independence and to encroach on their neighbours. About the year 1750, the old dynasty having become effete, the whole power of the state fell into the hands of the minister, Nunjeraj. It was at this juncture that Hyder appeared on the scene, and, in a few years, superseded both king and minister. His family came originally from the Punjab, and his father, Futteh Mahomed, gradually rose to be a sirdar of peons, or head constable, and then obtained the command of a small body of troops. Hyder was born about the year 1702, and, as he advanced in years, gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, and plunged into voluptuous riot. Like Sevajee, he was never able to read or write, but this deficiency was in some measure supplied by an extraordinary memory. He remained in complete obscurity during forty-seven years of his life, and first entered the Mysore army as a volunteer at the siege of Deonhully, where his energy and self-possession attracted the notice of Nunjeraj.

The foundation
of his fortune,
1755.

The minister immediately promoted him to the command of 50 horse and 200 infantry, with instructions to augment their number, and it was this commission which laid the foundation of his future fortune. In 1755, the difficult task of providing for the safety of the fortress of Dindigul, lying to the south of Trichinopoly, was committed to him, and it was while in command of this post that he appears first to have entertained those ambitious views which he was enabled to bring to a consummation in the brief space of six years. Dindigul became the cradle of his power, and it was there that he increased his resources by a system of plunder, of which there had been no example since the days of Sevajee. His troops were let loose indiscriminately on every one, friend or foe, who had anything to lose, and their zeal was sharpened by permission to retain half the booty for themselves. Hyder's progress to power was aided in no small degree by his unrivalled power of dissimulation. Having on one occasion reported a great victory to Nunjeraj, that minister sent his commissary to bestow the usual pensions for wounds, when 700 men were exhibited to him, wrapped in bandages which had been steeped in turmeric, whereas only 67 had been wounded. By similar acts of deceit, and by the repetition of false musters, he was enabled to obtain large supplies of money, and to increase his force to 7,000. At the same time, he procured skilled artizans from the French settlements on the coast, and established an arsenal and a laboratory, and brought his artillery to a high degree of perfection.

The Peshwa be-
sieves Seringa-
patam, 1757.
Hyder's acqui-
sitions.

In 1757, the Peshwa, Balajee Rao, made one of his periodical raids into Mysore, and, with the aid of the European engineers whom he had enlisted, laid close siege to Seringapatam. The minister was obliged to purchase a respite by the sacrifice of thirty-two lacs of rupees, and to pledge a large territory for the amount he was unable to furnish in money and jewels. The Mysore treasury was exhausted by this heavy drain, and the troops

became mutinous for their arrears. Hyder hastened to the capital, and engaged to satisfy their claims, on receiving the assignment of fresh jaygeers. By this politic act he increased his resources, and at the same time obtained an influence over the troops, and all classes began to regard him as the guardian of order. Soon after, he persuaded the minister to expel the Mahratta officers from the districts which had been pledged to the Peshwa, who immediately entered the country with a large force. Hyder was appointed to the command of the Mysore army, and harassed the Mahrattas in their own style of warfare, with so much effect that they offered to relinquish the mortgaged territory for an immediate payment. Hyder raised the money from the bankers of the city on his own personal security, and the districts were transferred to him. Then came fresh mutinies, and the raja and the minister were besieged in their palaces. Hyder was at hand to satisfy the troops and received fresh assignments, till he found himself in possession of half the domains of the state.

Hyder assists
Lally, 1760.

Lally was at this time besieged by Coote in Pondicherry, and solicited the aid of Hyder, who engaged to furnish him with 8,000 horse and foot and a due proportion of artillery, on being put in possession of the important fortress of Thiagur. His relative and general, Mukdoom Ali, on his way to Pondicherry with the troops, fell in with a small English detachment, and defeated it. Hyder was so elated with this success, that he immediately ordered the strength of his contingent to be doubled. If this increased force had reached the French settlement while it was besieged, the war between the English and the French might have exhibited a very different result. But Hyder was suddenly obliged to recall the whole force for the protection of his own interests. His usurpation of authority had created great indignation at the court, and the queen-mother and the raja, in conjunction with his bosom friend, Khundeh Rao, determined to take advantage of the absence of these troops

to crush his rising power. He was encamped under the fort of Seringapatam with only 1,600 men, when the guns were unexpectedly opened on him, and he was obliged to fly for his life. He retreated to Bangalore, and recalled his troops from Pondicherry, but was overtaken and signally defeated by Khundeh Rao.

Hyder recovers his fortunes, and usurps the throne, 1761.

Hyder's fortunes now appeared desperate, but they were restored by his matchless tact and hypocrisy. Unarmed and alone, he suddenly presented himself before the minister, Nunjeraj, acknowledged his ingratitude with an appearance of the deepest penitence, and entreated that he might be forgiven, and allowed to serve under him in any capacity, however mean. Nunjeraj was so simple as to give faith to these professions and condone his offence, and Hyder was thus enabled to assemble an army, but Khundeh Rao still followed him with such vigour that his escape appeared impossible. In this emergency, he contrived to throw in the way of his pursuer letters addressed to his officers, with the seal of Nunjeraj, in which allusion was made to certain treacherous proposals. Khundeh Rao, considering himself betrayed by his own officers, quitted his army, and fled with precipitation to Seringapatam. Hyder was now enabled to assemble a powerful army, with which he ascended the ghauts, and on his arrival at the capital in May, sent a message to the raja stating, "that large sums were due to him from the state, which must be liquidated, after which, if the raja thought fit to continue his services, it was well; otherwise he would depart and seek his fortune elsewhere." Such a message, backed by an overwhelming force, could not be misunderstood. The raja yielded to necessity, and in June, 1761, relinquished the government to Hyder Ali, on receiving an assignment of lands of the annual value of three lacs of rupees for himself, and one lac for Nunjeraj.

Augmentation of Hyder's power, 1763.

Hyder, now master of the kingdom of Mysore, directed all his energies to its aggrandisement,

and in the course of two years extended his frontier to the banks of the Kistna. In 1763, he invaded the territory of Bednore, on the summit of the ghauts, which overlooked the maritime province of Canara. The capital was eight miles in circumference, and the country had not been exposed to the desolation of war. The queen set fire to her palace, and fled with a large portion of the inhabitants into the woods, and Bednore submitted without a struggle. It is said to have been the most wealthy city in the Deccan, and the plunder which Hyder acquired has been estimated at twelve crores of rupees. This sum is a manifest exaggeration, but he himself always attributed his subsequent prosperity to the treasure he acquired in this city. He had previously changed his name from Hyder Naik to Hyder Ali Khan Bahadoor, and he now introduced greater etiquette and splendour into the arrangements of his court, and moreover took advantage of the access he had obtained to the sea coast, to commence the construction of a navy.

Accession of
Madhoo Rao,
Peshwa, Sept.,
1761.

To turn now to the progress of affairs among the Mahrattas. On the death of Balajee Rao, after the fatal defeat at Paniput, his son, Madhoo Rao, a youth of eighteen, proceeded to Satara, in company with his uncle, Roghoonath Rao, known in British annals as Raghoba, and was invested with the office of Peshwa by the descendant of Sevajee, who was still held in confinement by his cruel grandmother, Tara-bye. Nizam Ali, the dewan, or prime minister of his brother Salabut Jung, who had usurped the whole power of the Hyderabad kingdom, resolved to take advantage of the crippled state of the Mahrattas, and the confusion of a new reign, to recover the district which the deceased Peshwa had wrested from him in the preceding year. He marched to Poona with a large army, but, on arriving within fourteen miles of it, was induced to relax his demands, and accept lands yielding twenty-seven lacs of rupees a year. Six months after, he placed his brother under restraint, and not long after, when intelligence

arrived that he had been recognised soobadar of the Deccan, by the peace of Paris, caused him to be put to death. Before the cession of the districts was completed, the restless Raghoba assembled his troops to oppose Nizam Ali, who immediately formed an alliance with Bhonslay, the raja of Berar, and marched again to Poona which, on this occasion, he plundered and burnt. Raghoba retaliated on him by marching to Hyderabad, and laying it under contributions. The two armies met on the banks of the Godavery. The faithless

Bhonslay was induced by the promise of lands, valued at thirty-two lacs of rupees a year, to desert Nizam Ali, and join Raghoba; and the result of this treachery was the entire defeat of the Nizam with immense slaughter. The raja of Berar, however, was not long permitted to retain the fruits of his perfidy. He had incensed the Peshwa by joining Nizam Ali, and Nizam Ali by deserting to the Mahrattas on the eve of the battle, and in 1766, the united armies of these princes invaded Berar, and constrained him to restore four-fifths of the territory he had gained by his treachery.

Mysore had hitherto been considered by the Mahrattas a submissive province, paying *chout*, and affording a field for plunder when no other expedition happened to be on hand. The sudden rise and rapid encroachment of a new power roused the indignation of the Peshwa; and, having disposed of Nizam Ali, he determined to chastise the audacity of Hyder, who had already increased his force to 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, one-half of which consisted of well-disciplined infantry battalions. It was his first regular encounter with the Mahrattas, and he was completely foiled in all his movements. At the close of the monsoon, the Mahrattas again took the field, and forced Hyder to a general action in which he was again routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. The Mahratta horse spread over the country and plundered it without mercy, and Hyder considered himself fortunate in obtaining peace by the restora-

Nizam Ali defeated by Raghoba, 1763.

Mahrattas attacked and defeated Hyder, 1765.

tion of the greater portion of the districts he had usurped, and the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. These disasters shook his power in the other provinces he had recently conquered, and it required a full year to restore his authority. Early in 1766, his ambition led him to invade the maritime province of Malabar. The Nairs, or military chieftains, anxious to maintain their hereditary renown, and to preserve their independence, offered a noble resistance, but their chivalrous valour could not avert their fate, and the whole province was reduced to subjection. In his progress along the coast, Hyder reached the town of Calicut, memorable as the place where the Europeans first set foot on the soil of India. The district had never been invaded by the Mahomedan arms, and the Hindoo chief still bore the title of Zamorin, as in the days of Albuquerque. He was awed into submission by the overwhelming force of Hyder, but seeing his minister subjected to torture, he set fire to his palace, and voluntarily perished in the flames to avoid a similar fate.

Confederacy
against Hyder,
1766.

From these schemes of conquest Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam, to meet a confederacy which had been formed towards the close of 1766 by the Nizam and the Mahrattas, for the entire conquest of his country. Into this league the Madras Presidency was unfortunately drawn by the treaty concluded with the Nizam on the 12th of November in that year, which stipulated that the English should assist him with an auxiliary force, of undefined strength, "to settle the affairs of his government in everything that was right and proper," though it was distinctly understood that the first service in which it was to be employed was the conquest or plunder of Mysore. The government of Madras was then under Mr. Palk, who had gone out to India as a chaplain, but renounced his orders to enter the more lucrative civil service of the Company, in which he amassed a large fortune, and on his return to England was created a baronet. It was this unfortunate treaty which involved the Presidency in a war with Hyder,

and subjected them eventually to the greatest ignominy. The Mahrattas determined to forestal the Nizam, and without waiting for his co-operation, crossed the Kistna in January, 1767, and before the end of March had plundered the northern districts to the extent of seventeen lacs of rupees. Hyder discreetly bought them off by a payment of thirty lacs more. Madhoo Rao, the Peshwa, on his return from this successful expedition in May, met the Nizam's army at Colar, and was requested to share the plunder with it, but he treated the request with derision, and returned to his capital, leaving him and his English ally to settle with Hyder as they best could.

Colonel Smith who commanded the contingent of British troops, found, on joining the Nizam's camp, that this perfidious prince, had already entered into negotiations with Hyder, and the Colonel advised the Presidency to be prepared for the invasion of the Carnatic by their ally, as well as by their enemy. To remove suspicion the Nizam made the strongest protestations of inviolable good faith; but Colonel Smith, on entering the Mysore territory in May, 1767, perceived such unequivocal tokens of collusion, that he retired with the bulk of his force towards his own frontier, leaving only three battalions and some field pieces with the Nizam, at his special request. While this negotiation was in progress, the Nizam was intriguing with Nunjeraj, formerly minister of the old raj of Mysore, for the subversion of Hyder's power. Hyder, who had discovered the plot, invited Nunjeraj to Seringapatam, after taking a solemn oath on the Koran to do him no harm, and, on his arrival, showed him that the oath had been taken on a book of blank leaves, and then stripped him of all his property, and consigned him to perpetual imprisonment. The bargain being now completed, the Nizam engaged to join in an attack on the English, on receiving an immediate payment of twenty lacs of rupees, and a promise of six lacs of tribute. But this scene of treachery was relieved by one act of gene-

Nizam deserts
the English and
joins Hyder,
1767.

rosity; the English contingent of three battalions was allowed to leave the Nizam's camp without being attacked. The combined army of Hyder and the Nizam which now advanced against the English, numbered 42,000 cavalry, 28,000 infantry, and 100 guns, while Colonel Smith was only able to muster 1,030 sabres, and 5,800 bayonets, with 16 guns.

The first encounter with the English troops Battle of Changama, 3rd Sept., 1767. took place on the 25th of August, when a small detachment was surprised and discomfited. The honour of the British flag was, however, retrieved at Changama, where Colonel Smith totally routed the allied force; but as the Madras Council had entrusted the charge of the commissariat to their Nabob, Mahomed Ali, and he had, as usual, disappointed them, Colonel Smith found his army straitened for provisions, and was obliged to fall back on Trinomalee, where, after various manœuvres, he was able to offer battle to the allies. The engagement lasted two days, and ended in their total defeat, with the loss of 4,000 men and 64 guns. Their discomfiture would have been more complete, if the officer sent to improve the victory had not been led into a swamp by his guide, who, like most of the guides attached to this force, was one of Hyder's spies. Meanwhile his eldest son, Tippoo, then seventeen years of age, was employed with a body of 5,000 horse, in plundering the country houses of the Madras gentry in the vicinity of the town, and the members of government escaped capture only by the eagerness of the Mysore troops for booty; but on hearing the result of the action at Trinomalee, he hastily retired and rejoined his father's camp. For the next three months both parties were engaged in various operations, without interest or result, and Hyder was soon after called to the western coast, and deserted by the Nizam.

Expedition from Bengal, and treaty with the Nizam, 1767—68.

The government of Bengal had not only assisted Madras with money for the support of the war, but sent an expedition under Colonel Peach by sea into the Hyderabad territories to create

a diversion. He landed in the Northern Sircars, and penetrated the country to Warungole, the ancient metropolis of Telingana, only eighty-six miles from Hyderabad. Nizam Ali began to repent of his alliance with Hyder, which had brought him neither plunder nor territory, but abundant disgrace. He began, moreover, to tremble for his own capital, on which Colonel Peach was steadily advancing, and he determined at once to abandon his ally, and come to terms with the English. After several weeks of negotiation with Colonel Smith, the President at Madras concluded that memorable Treaty of the 23rd of February, 1768, which was not less ignominious than that which had been made two years before. The Nizam had been twice defeated in the south; his dominions had been successfully invaded in the north, and his capital was threatened. The President was in a position to dictate his own terms, but he abandoned every advantage and voluntarily placed his government in the most humiliating position. Instead of insisting on the right to hold the Northern Sircars on the strength of the imperial firman, he agreed to pay tribute for them, and to postpone the possession of the Guntoor Sircar, till the death of Basalut Jung, the brother of the Nizam, to whom he had assigned it. Hyder Ali, moreover, who had been absolute master of Mysore for seven years, and was one of the greatest powers in the Deccan, was contemptuously styled Hyder Naik, and treated as a rebel and a usurper. It was also stipulated that the English should conquer the Carnatic Balaghaut from him, and hold it of the Nizam, subject to a tribute of seven lacs of rupees a-year, and, to the payment of *chout* to the Mahrattas, though they were no parties to the treaty. To crown their folly, the Madras Council again involved their masters in the labyrinth of Deccan politics, by agreeing to assist the Nizam with two battalions of sepoy, and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Europeans, whenever he should require them. The treaty was reprobated by their masters in Leadenhall Street, who indignantly remarked, "We cannot take a view of your con-

duct from the commencement of your negotiations for the sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when we see the opulent fortunes acquired by our servants since that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion, that this rage for negotiations, treaties, and alliances has private advantage for its object, more than the public good."

Hyder on the
western coast,
1768.

Hyder's presence was required on the western coast, to make head against a formidable expedition fitted out from Bombay against his ports and his naval power. Mangalore and Onore were captured, and the Mysore fleet destroyed; but in the month of May Hyder descended the ghauts with an imposing force, and completely turned the scale. The British commander at Mangalore, after a wretched defence, re-embarked his troops, 1,500 in number, abandoning, not only all his stores, but 260 of his wounded soldiers, among whom were 80 Europeans. Hyder, after wreaking his vengeance on the districts which had manifested a spirit of rebellion during the brief ascendancy of the English power on the coast, returned, after the lapse of seven months, to prosecute the war in the eastern districts. But the great opportunity which his long absence afforded to the British army in the Carnatic had been completely sacrificed by the imbecility of the Madras authorities. As if the kingdom of Mysore were already in their possession, they had given it away to their Nabob, Mahomed Ali, and he accompanied the army to take charge of the districts as they were occupied. The provision of the commissariat, on which the movements of the army entirely depended, was, by a fatal error, committed to him, and Colonel Smith, the commandant was controlled and hampered by the deputation of two members of Council to regulate its movements. In spite, however, of these embarrassments, his exertions were attended with such success, that nearly one-half the dominions of Hyder, together with eight of his principal forts, and the most important mountain passes fell into his hands. Hyder, after a calm consideration of the progress and prospects of the campaign,

deemed it the part of prudence, in the month of September, to make overtures to Colonel Smith, offering to cede the Baramahal to the Company, and to pay down ten lacs of rupees. But the President and Council, inflated with recent success, made the most extravagant demands, and Hyder broke off the negotiation, and prepared for a mortal conflict.

The tide turns
against the En-
glish, 1768.

The tide of success now turned against the English. Colonel Smith was constrained by the skilful manœuvres of Hyder to raise the siege of Bangalore, and it was with great difficulty that he was able to maintain his ground. The "field deputies" and the Nabob had remained at Colar, where a body of troops, equal to a division, was idly detained for their protection. They had managed between them to ruin the prospects of the campaign; the deputies, by their mischievous interference, the Nabob by his neglect in regard to the supply of provisions. On the appearance of a detachment sent by Hyder to terrify them, they hastened back to Madras, accompanied by Colonel Smith, who had been invited to return to the Presidency to make room for a more favourite commander, Colonel Wood. Thus ended all the bright visions of conquest, in which the Madras Council had been indulging during the year, and they were now obliged to limit their efforts to the defence of the Company's territories. On the 6th of December, Hyder descended into the Baramahal, and in the course of six weeks recovered all the districts which he had lost. It was now the turn of the Council to solicit an accommodation with him, but the terms they proposed did not suit him, and, after two months of fruitless negotiations, he resumed his ravages, marking his progress by the flames of villages, and the flight of the wretched inhabitants. Colonel Smith was placed at the head of the troops, and, by his rapid and skilful movements, so effectually baffled the plans of Hyder, that he determined to attempt, by one bold stroke, to bring the war to a termination. Sending all his guns, heavy baggage, and infantry back to Mysore by the pass of Ahtoor,

Hyder dictates
peace, 1769.

he placed himself at the head of 6,000 chosen horse, unencumbered by a single gun, and marched a hundred and thirty miles in three days and a half. Early on the morning of the 29th of March, his advanced guard appeared at St. Thomé, five miles from Madras, and a messenger soon after announced to the bewildered Council that he had come to conduct the negotiations in person. Colonel Smith had been rapidly following in his track, and would shortly have reached Madras. Hyder therefore demanded that an order should be immediately sent requiring him to halt, wherever he might be, on the arrival of the communication, which was despatched by one of his own dromedaries, and the Colonel, to his great chagrin, was obliged to remain inactive during this disgraceful negotiation. Hyder likewise required that Mr. Dupré, who had recently arrived at Madras, to succeed to the office of President, should be sent to his camp to adjust the conditions of peace. On the 4th of April a treaty was concluded on the very moderate terms of a mutual restitution of conquests. But it was at the same time stipulated that "in case either of the contracting parties should be attacked, they should from their respective countries mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out." Thus ended this ill-managed and unfortunate war by a treaty dictated by Hyder, under the walls of Madras.

Hyder, having concluded peace with the English, and obtained the promise of their support, began to set the Mahrattas at defiance, and not only withheld the payments due to them, but levied contributions on their districts. Madhoo Rao, the Peshwa, therefore, assembled a large army for the entire and final subjugation of Mysore. The forts in the eastern provinces were rapidly reduced, and the districts laid waste; and Hyder, knowing that his infantry, even with their high discipline, could ill stand the charge of the Mahratta horse, retired westward, and made overtures of peace, offering to pay *chout*, but refusing to surrender territory. Madhoo Rao

War between
Hyder and the
Mahrattas,
1770-71.

demanded a crore of rupees, and the negotiation was broken off. In the month of May, 1771, he was constrained, by the state of his health, to relinquish the command of the Mahratta army, which devolved on Trimbeck mama. Hyder, who dreaded the abilities of the Peshwa, but held the new commander in contempt, advanced with 35,000 men and forty guns, to the pass of Milgota, where he found himself entrapped into a false position. After sustaining an incessant cannonade for eight days, he was constrained, on the 5th of March, to break up his encampment, and commence his retreat to Seringapatam, a distance of about twenty-two miles. The army commenced its stealthy march by night, but it was revealed to the Mahrattas by accident or treachery, and they instantly made a vigorous assault on the retiring force. Hyder, who had been drinking to excess, and had not been able to relieve the effects by his usual period of sleep, was in a state of helpless inebriety. Tippoo was nowhere to be found, and when he presented himself to his father, the next morning, was overwhelmed with abuse, and beaten without mercy, on which he threw his turban on the ground, and swore by the prophet that he would not draw sword any more that day. The rout was complete, and the carnage prodigious, and the army was saved from extermination only by the avidity of the Mahrattas for plunder. Hyder, on recovering his senses in the morning, mounted a swift horse, and did not draw rein till he reached his capital. The Mahrattas laid close siege to it, but as they managed it with more than usual absurdity, Hyder had leisure to collect his scattered forces. During these troubles, he repeatedly importuned the President of Madras for that succour which the English government was bound, by the recent treaty, to afford him. He offered to pay twenty lacs of rupees for a brigade of troops, and to cede the Baramahal, Salem, and Ahtoor, and threatened to throw himself into the arms of the French if the assistance was withheld. The President considered it of vital importance to the honour and interests of

the Company to support Hyder. But he was paralysed by the presence and the interference of Sir John Lindsay, whom the ministry of the day had, by an act of incredible folly, sent out as the King's representative to the court of Mahomed Ali, and that prince was thus relieved from the salutary control of the Madras government. It was two years before this mischievous mission was recalled, during which time the Nabob was enabled to indulge his extravagant propensities with perfect impunity, to the great delight and benefit of his European creditors. He insisted on an alliance with the Mahrattas, which was supported by Sir John Lindsay, and the Madras Council, not daring to act in opposition to one who was clothed with the royal authority, were constrained to abandon Hyder to his fate. The desolation of his districts, and the exhaustion of his resources, at length compelled him to sue for peace to the Mahrattas, which was not granted without the immediate payment of thirty-six lacs of rupees, besides the stipulation of fourteen lacs of rupees of annual tribute, and the cession of territory, which reduced the kingdom of Mysore to narrower limits than it comprised at the beginning of the century. Nothing exhibits the incapacity of the Madras authorities during the war with Hyder so conspicuously as the contrast between the disgrace which he inflicted on them and the humiliation he sustained from the Mahrattas two years later. The breach of faith to which he attributed his misfortunes he never forgot or forgave, and it resulted in establishing Mahratta garrisons on the northern frontier of the Carnatic.

Mahratta
expedition to
Hindostan,
1769.

The incursions of the Mahrattas into Hindostan were for a time checked by the battle of Paniput, and the discord of their chiefs; but in 1769, the Peshwa equipped a grand expedition to renew their ravages, and recover their authority. It was accompanied by a large body of horse belonging to Mahdajee Sindia, the illegitimate son of Ranojee, the founder of the house; and also by Tokajee Holkar, who, though he bore the patronymic of the great chief by whom the dynasty was

established, was not of his family, but was placed at the head of the army by Aylah-bye, the princess who, for thirty years, managed the state with consummate ability. The army, consisting of 300,000 horse and foot, and commanded by Visajee, the Peshwa's general, burst like a flood on Rajpootana, and levied contributions to the extent of ten lacs of rupees. The Jauts, the next victims, were constrained to make a composition for sixty-five lacs, of which ten were paid down at once. During these transactions, the Mahratta chiefs invited the emperor to return to Delhi under their protection. That prince had continued to reside at Allahabad, after the arrangement concluded by Clive in 1765, in the tranquil enjoyment of the stipend allotted to him. The government of Delhi and of the districts still attached to the crown, were administered for seven years with extraordinary talent and success, by Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, the Rohilla chief, whom Mr. Verelst, the governor of Bengal, justly designated "a great and good man," and on his death in October, 1770, by his son Zabita Khan. The emperor was naturally desirous of proceeding to Delhi, and mounting the throne of his ancestors. The Mahrattas were equally desirous of becoming the instrument of seating him on it, and turning the influence of his name to account. The Council in Calcutta, however, strongly dissuaded him from this measure, feeling confident that it would involve the affairs of Hindostan in confusion, and eventually prove detrimental to his own interests. But the emperor turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and threw himself on the protection of the Mahrattas, by whom he was conducted to Delhi, and installed on the 25th of December, 1771.

Early in 1772, they entered Rohilcund, reduced the Doab, and laid waste the whole province. The family of Zabita Khan was made prisoners, and the great wealth accumulated by him and his father they appropriated to their own use. The Rohilla chiefs, in their extremity, were driven to solicit the aid of the Vizier, though they were fully aware that the

possession of their territories was the object which lay nearest to his heart. There are few transactions in the history of the times more complicated and obscure than the negotiations which ensued between the Rohillas, the Vizier, and the Mahrattas. As some approach to the truth, it may be stated that the Mahrattas agreed to retire for a sum of forty lacs of rupees, but insisted on the guarantee of the Vizier; that the Vizier required Hafiz Ruhmut, the chief of the Rohillas, to become responsible for the amount, and Hafiz requested the other chiefs to contribute their quota. These engagements appear to have been completed in June, 1772, and Hafiz paid the first instalment of five lacs to the Vizier, who, however, never paid the Mahrattas a cowrie, while the chiefs pleaded poverty for withholding their shares. As soon as the rains set in, the Mahrattas recrossed the Ganges for the season. Meanwhile, their arrogance and rapacity had become intolerable to the poor emperor, who determined to incur every risk to rid himself of them. His general, Nujeef Khan, a man of superior talent, and descended from the Sophi kings of Persia, led the imperial troops against them, but was totally defeated. It was a twelvemonth to a day after the emperor had entered his capital on the shoulders of the Mahrattas, that he was constrained to open its gates to their hostile battalions, and submit to all their demands. Among other exactions, they required him to cede the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, and they made preparations to occupy them. But the government of Calcutta wisely determined not to sanction the surrender of them to the Mahrattas, and thus introduce these unscrupulous marauders into the heart of the Gangetic provinces.

The Mahrattas retire to their own country, 1773.

At the close of the monsoon of 1772, the Mahrattas resolved on the plunder of Oude, and offered Hafiz Ruhmut and the other Rohilla chiefs to make over to them the Vizier's bond for forty lacs of rupees, and to share the territory which might be conquered with them, if they would grant a passage through

their country, and make common cause in the expedition. The Vizier, in an agony of terror, offered, when the Mahrattas retired, to restore the bond Hafiz had given him. But the Rohilla chief needed no such inducement to refrain from an alliance with those whom he regarded as "the savage and infidel Mahrattas," and resolved to co-operate with the Vizier in opposing them. That helpless prince, at the same time, implored the aid of the Council in Calcutta, who directed a brigade of troops to advance for the protection of the country. Several detachments of Mahratta horse laid waste a portion of Rohilcund, but the main body was held in check by the combined forces of the Rohillas, the Vizier, and Sir Richard Barker. Meanwhile, the young Peshwa, having planned an expedition to the south, required the presence of the troops employed in Hindostan, and the Mahratta general suddenly broke up his encampment in the month of May, and retired across the Nerbudda, laden with the booty of three campaigns. But, even before the disappearance of the Mahrattas, and while the Rohilla chiefs were cordially engaged in supporting the cause of the Vizier, that prince was plotting their expulsion from Rohilcund, and the appropriation of their estates. The sequel of these transactions, belongs to the history of Hastings's administration, and we turn therefore to the progress of Indian affairs in England.

The strange anomaly of the Company's government.

The British Government in India, at this period was a strange and unprecedented anomaly. The agents of a London trading Company had in a few years acquired the sovereignty of provinces twice the size of England, and were employed in ruling a population twice as numerous as the subjects of their own king. The directors of a counting-house in London were making peace and war, setting up thrones and pulling them down, and disposing of princely revenues. Their servants abroad, with salaries of only three or four hundred pounds a year, were moreover, coming home, year after year, with colossal fortunes, made in four or five years, and setting up

establishments which cast the ancient nobility of the country into the shade. Lord Clive was spending £40,000 a-year, and one retired member of Council was known to keep a dozen chariots. The time had not arrived for millionaire manufacturers and contractors, and the progress of national industry had not as yet trebled the value of landed estates. The servants of the Company presented to the envy of the country the only instances of sudden and enormous wealth. At the same time it was reported that the fortunes of the Indian Nabobs, as they were styled, had been acquired by the deposal of princes, the oppression of their subjects, and the most nefarious peculation, and a general feeling of indignation began to pervade the nation.

The machinery of the Home Government of India had been constructed for the management of trade, and was utterly unsuited to the administration of government. The Directors were elected for only one year, and half their time was, therefore, devoted to the arrangements necessary for their re-election. The grand principle that the Directors should appoint men to the service, and that the government in India should appoint them to office, had not then been discovered. The offices in India, which afforded the means of amassing invidious wealth, were considered to be at the disposal of the Directors in London, and it was chiefly to the discreet use of this patronage, that they looked for the support of the Proprietors, and the retention of their office. The possession of £500 of stock gave one vote, and there was no limitation to the number of votes which might be held by a single individual. Stock was, therefore purchased not simply for investment, but for power and pelf. Those who returned from India with fortunes, found it useful to invest their property in India Stock, and thus acquire influence at the India House. In 1771, the ship's husbands, a wealthy and powerful body, bought £150,000 of stock, to create 300 votes. Lord Shelburne laid out £100,000 for 200 votes, to secure the return of the factious Sullivan. The India House

Vicious constitution of the Company, 1770.

thus became a scene of jobbery and corruption, such as had never, perhaps, been seen in England before, and was scarcely paralleled by the depravity which prevailed among their servants abroad. The great marvel is, how the British power in India survived the crime and confusion which, with some brilliant exceptions, characterised the period of fifteen years, between the battle of Plassy, and the new organisation of 1773.

In these circumstances there was a general demand for Parliamentary enquiry. It was seventy years since the House of Commons had interfered in the affairs of the Company; it was then only a commercial interest; it was now a political power. The first movement of the Minister was to claim for the Crown the sovereignty of the territories acquired by its subjects in India. The Company resisted the demand, and maintained that the possessions which had been obtained by their arms belonged exclusively to them. The dispute was for a time compromised by conceding the territorial revenues to them for five years, on the payment of forty lacs a year to the nation. It was likewise proposed to remedy the disorders in India by sending out three of the most eminent of the retired servants of the Company with unlimited powers, but the vessel in which they embarked foundered at sea.

Meanwhile, the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis. All the golden dreams which the acquisition of the three soobahs had created, were rudely dissipated. Fraudulent bills in India for contracts, cantonments, and fortifications, and extravagant charges for travelling, diet, and parade, had exhausted the surplus revenue, and created a deficit. With a revenue of two millions and a half a year, there was a debt of a million and a quarter in London, and of more than a million in Calcutta. The Court of Proprietors, as if they were anxious to compete with the profligacy of their servants in India, chose this period of impending bankruptcy, to vote themselves a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. The Court of

Parliamentary
interference,
1771.

Financial diffi-
culties, and the
Regulating Act,
1773.

Directors borrowed repeatedly of the Bank of England, until the Bank would lend no more. They then applied to the minister, Lord North, for a loan of a million from the public, to prevent closing the doors of the India House, and he coolly referred them to Parliament, which was convened earlier than usual, to take their affairs into consideration. A Select Committee was appointed in 1772 to collect evidence, when the whole system of violence and iniquity, by which the British name had been tarnished in India, and individuals enriched, was laid bare to the nation. Parliament determined at once to take the regulation of Indian affairs into its own hands. The Directors protested against this violation of their chartered rights, as they termed the intervention of Parliament; but they had incurred universal odium and contempt, and the Minister was enabled to carry his measures with a high hand. The immediate necessities of the Company were relieved by the loan of a million sterling from the exchequer. The vicious constitution of the India House was corrected; the qualification for a single vote was raised from £500 to £1,000, and twelve hundred proprietors were thus disfranchised at one stroke; no individual was to enjoy more than four votes, whatever amount of stock he might hold; and six Directors only were to go out annually, which extended the tenure of office to four years. The Governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General, on a salary of £25,000 a year, with four counsellors at £10,000, and they were in the first instance nominated by Parliament. At the same time a Crown Court was established in Calcutta, to administer English law on the model of the Courts in Westminster, with a Chief Justice at £8,000, and three Puisne Judges, at £6,000 a-year. The Act which embodied these provisions is known as the Regulating Act. Its enactments regarding the home government were highly judicious and beneficial; but those which referred to the government in India, concocted without knowledge or experience, only seemed to increase the complication of affairs, and shook the power of Britain in the East to its foundation.

CHAPTER XIII.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAHRATTA WAR,
1772—1782.

WARREN HASTINGS was appointed the first Governor-General under the new Act,—a man endowed by nature with the greatest talent for government, and whose renown has not been eclipsed by the most illustrious of his successors. He landed in Calcutta in January, 1750, at the age of eighteen, and was employed for six years in the duties of appraising silk and muslins, and copying invoices. The political exigencies which arose out of the battle of Plassy suddenly developed his administrative abilities, which Clive was the first to discover and foster. He was selected to represent the Company at the Moorshedabad durbar, which, at the time, was one of the most arduous and delicate posts in the service. Three years after, he came by rotation to the Council board in Calcutta, and strenuously supported Mr. Vansittart in his opposition to those profligate measures which issued in the war with Meer Cassim. In the most venal period of the Bengal administration, he was distinguished by high principle and unsullied probity, and returned to England on furlough in graceful poverty, while his colleagues were retiring from the service with ambitious fortunes. By this step he forfeited his position in the service, according to the rules then in force, and he long solicited to be restored to it, but without success. By a happy accident, however, he was at length required to give evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, when the clearness of his statements, and the breadth of his views, excited the admiration both of the Court of Directors and the Ministry, and he was at once appointed second in Council at Madras.

State of Bengal,
1765-1772.

The double government established by Clive after the acquisition of the Dewanny, though re-

garded at first as a master-piece of policy, soon proved to be the curse of Bengal. It combined all the vices of a native government with all the confusion and mischief inseparable from foreign interference. The management of the revenue, which included the entire administration, was in the hands of native agents, who were subject to the supervision of the British resident at Moorshedabad, but his control was merely nominal. There was no European functionary in Bengal conversant with revenue details, and the zemindars were at liberty to make their own terms with the ryots on the one hand, and with the treasury on the other; in every case it was the interests of the state which suffered. Individuals grew rich, while the government was sinking in debt. To check these abuses, supervisors or collectors were appointed in 1769 to look after the revenue; but they were both ignorant and rapacious, and became mere tools in the hands of their banians, or native factors. The public money they collected was employed, for the most part, in supporting the monopolies which they and their native banians had established in the traffic of the district, and the value of their appointments consequently ranged from one to three lacs of rupees a year. The Court of Directors determined, therefore, "to stand forth as Duan, and to take on themselves the entire care and management of the revenues through the agency of their own servants." This decision involved a complete revolution in the whole system of administration, civil, criminal, and fiscal, among twenty-five millions of people, and a more momentous change than any which had taken place since the days of Akbar and Toder Mull. Hastings was considered the only man in the Company's service capable of inaugurating this new policy, and he was accordingly elevated to the chair in Bengal, and took charge of the government on the 13th April, 1772.

Warren Hastings, President of Bengal, 1772. Great changes.

Upon this arduous task he entered with great zeal and energy. It was resolved to farm out the lands for five years, and the President and four

members of the Council proceeded through the districts to conduct the settlements. The offers made by the zemindars were, however, deemed unsatisfactory, and it was determined to put the lands up to competition, after abolishing some of the most oppressive of the imposts with which the land had latterly been saddled. Where the old zemindars were displaced by higher bidders, an allowance was granted for their support out of the rents. The Khalsa, or exchequer, was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, to which the entire administration of the country, in every branch, was transferred, and which became, from this date, the capital of Bengal. The charge of civil and criminal justice in each district was entrusted to European officers, and two courts of appeal were established at the seat of government. Without the aid of an English lawyer, Hastings drew up a short and simple code of regulations for the new courts, which exhibited in a remarkable degree the versatility of his talents. All these organic changes in the system of government were completed in six months.

The first Rohilla war, 1773.

The Mahrattas had no sooner crossed the Ganges on their return home, than the Vizier began to importune Hastings to assist him in seizing the province of Rohilcund, and offered a donation of forty lacs of rupees, and the payment of two lacs a month for the services of the English force. The Court of Directors, overwhelmed with debt and disgrace, were imploring the Council in Calcutta for remittances, and urging a reduction of the military expenditure, which was devouring the resources of the country. The treasury in Calcutta was empty, but the offer of the Vizier seemed to be exactly adapted to meet the exigency. Mr. Hastings was assured that the Rohillas had offered to pay the Vizier the sum of forty lacs of rupees if he would deliver them from the Mahrattas; that they had been saved from destruction by the presence of the Vizier's troops and those of his English ally, and, that now the danger was passed, they refused to pay anything. With this garbled

statement of the case, Hastings satisfied his conscience, and concluded that their ingratitude deserved punishment, and that, on the plan suggested by the Vizier, an act of just retribution might be made the means of replenishing the Company's coffers. The Vizier wanted territory, and Hastings wanted money. "Such," he wrote, "was my idea of the Company's distress in England and India, that I should have been glad of any occasion of employing these forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses." Hastings accordingly proceeded to Benares in August, 1773, and concluded a treaty with the Vizier on the terms proposed by him. The districts of Corah and Allahabad were considered to have lapsed to the Company, when the emperor, to whom Clive had given them, was compelled to make them over to the Mahrattas. The defence of these districts—such was the extravagance and embezzlement in the military department—had cost the treasury two crores of rupees in five years, and Hastings wisely determined to "free the Company from this intolerable burden," and transferred them to the Vizier who offered an additional payment of fifty lacs of rupees for them. The subsidy of twenty-six lacs of rupees a-year from the revenues of the three soobahs, which had been settled on the emperor, was suspended during the great famine which depopulated and pauperised Bengal, and, as he had now ceased to be a free agent, it was finally abolished.

Destruction of
the Rohillas,
23rd April,
1774.

The Vizier having secured the aid of an English force, demanded of Hafiz Ruhmut the payment of the balance of his bond, thirty-five lacs of rupees.

Hafiz offered to make good whatever sum the Vizier had actually paid the Mahrattas for their forbearance, but as he knew that he had never paid them anything, the offer was treated with contempt. Hafiz, seeing the storm ready to burst upon his head, proposed a compromise, but the Vizier raised his demand to two hundred lacs of rupees, and the Rohillas adopted the resolution of defending their independence to the last extremity. Colonel Champion, the

British commander, advanced into Rohilcund, accompanied by the Vizier's army, and the campaign was decided in a single engagement, on the 23rd of April, 1774. Hafiz brought 40,000 Rohillas into action, and exhibited a degree of military skill and courage, which excited the admiration of his European opponents. But nothing could withstand the steady charge of British bayonets, and after two hours of severe conflict, and the slaughter of more than 2,000 Rohillas—among whom was the brave Hafiz and his son—they were obliged to fly. The dastardly Vizier remained with his troops beyond the reach of fire, till the Rohillas were defeated, when he let them loose to plunder the camp. "We have the honour of the day," exclaimed the indignant Champion, "and these banditti the profit."

Reflections on
this transaction. This transaction is one of the few stains on the bright and honourable career of Hastings. It has been urged in extenuation of it that the Rohillas were mere usurpers, with no right to the province but that of the sword. But so were nine-tenths of the princes of India at the time. The usurpation of Holkar, and Sindia, and Hyder Ali, and even of the Peshwa, and the Nizam, was quite as modern as that of the Rohillas, and the Nabob vizier himself was only the grandson of the Khorasan merchant, who had alienated Oude from the crown of Delhi. That the Rohillas formed a powerful confederacy on the borders of Oude, which, in the unsettled state of India, might have joined the Mahrattas and endangered the safety of a province which the Company was bound, no less by policy than by treaty to defend, cannot be controverted. The extinction of this dangerous power was a wise and politic measure, so far as anything that is intrinsically unjust can be wise and politic. Such transactions were, moreover, of constant occurrence in India; no native prince saw anything unusual or unjust in it, and even the Rohillas themselves considered it only as one of the chances of war to which they, in common with all states, were constantly liable. But it was inconsistent with that higher standard of morals by which Hastings's conduct was judged

in England, and it has been invariably condemned, even by those who admire his genius. The conduct of the Vizier towards the conquered, in spite of Hastings's remonstrances and threats, was infamous; but the assertion that 500,000 husbandmen were driven across the Ganges, and that the country was reduced to a bare and uninhabitable waste, was an Oriental exaggeration. The "extermination," which was so loudly denounced by the enemies of Hastings, had reference only to the power of the Afghans, who did not exceed 20,000 in number. The Hindoo natives of the soil, numbering more than a million, experienced no other distress than that which follows every change of masters in India.

Arrival of the
Judges and
members of
Council, 1774.

Hastings had succeeded in reorganising the administration, and extinguishing the Indian debt. He had overcome all the difficulties which beset his position on his arrival; but he was now called to encounter the more serious dangers which arose out of the provision made by the wisdom of Parliament for the better government of India. The judges of the Supreme Court and the new members of Council arrived from England, and landed at Chandpal ghaut on the 19th of October, 1774, with the firm conviction that the government was a compound of tyranny and corruption, which it was their mission to purify. As the judges stepped on shore, one of them, observing the bare legs and feet of the natives who crowded to the sight, said to his colleague, "Our court, brother, certainly was not established before it was needed. I trust we shall not have been six months in the country before these victims of oppression are comfortably provided with shoes and stockings." Of the counsellors, Colonel Monson had served on the coast, General Clavering was the favourite of the King and the Ministry, and Mr. Francis, the undoubted author of Junius's letters, had been an assistant in the War Office, and was distinguished for his talents and his malignity. They had all imbibed the most violent prejudices against Mr. Hastings, and regarded him as a monster of iniquity, whom it was the part of virtue

to censure and oppose. The spirit in which they entered on their duties may be inferred from the fact that their first complaint was that he had received them with a salute of only seventeen guns, when they expected nineteen. The old government was abolished, and the new government installed by proclamation on the 20th of October. Mr. Francis and his two colleagues, commenced their opposition on the first meeting of Council, and, as they formed a majority, Hastings found that the government of India had at once passed out of his hands, and was transferred to men utterly ignorant of the feelings, the habits, and the weaknesses of the natives, and bent on thwarting and degrading him.

The affairs of Oude, 1775. The first exercise of their authority had reference to the affairs of Oude. Nine months previously, Hastings had placed Mr. Middleton as the representative of the Company at the court of the Vizier. They demanded the production of every letter which had ever passed between them, even in the confidence of private friendship. Hastings refused this preposterous request, but offered to furnish them with an extract of every paragraph which had the smallest bearing on public business. The triumvirate protested against this reservation, and immediately superseded Mr. Middleton, and appointed Mr. Bristow, one of their own friends to the durbar, and thus proclaimed the extinction of Hastings's authority to all the princes of India. They reprobated the treaty of Benares made with the Vizier, as well as the Rohilla war, which was to be expected; but they went further, and issued orders to the officer commanding the brigade in Rohilcund to withdraw it immediately from the province, and to demand payment, within fourteen days, of all arrears due from the Vizier. Hastings warned them of the danger of these precipitate measures, which compromised equally the safety of Oude and the honour of the British name, but they turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance. During these transactions, the Vizier died, and his successor was informed by Mr. Francis and his col-

leagues that all the engagements between the two states were cancelled by this event, except those which referred to the payment of arrears; and that whatever assistance he might receive from British troops must be based on a new arrangement. A treaty was accordingly concluded under the auspices of Mr. Francis, and although he had condemned Hastings in no measured terms "for letting out British troops for hire to the Vizier," the services of the brigade were continued to him; but the amount of the hire was augmented by half a lac of rupees a month. The Vizier was likewise peremptorily commanded to cede to the Company, the zemindary of Benares, which yielded twenty-two lacs of rupees a year, and this was the only addition made to the British territory during the long period of Hastings's administration.

The treasure
and the be-
gums, 1775.

The deceased Vizier had amassed treasure to the extent of two crores of rupees, and deposited it in vaults in the zenana. His widow and his mother, known in history as "the begums," claimed the whole of this property on his death, under a will which they affirmed had been made in their favour. The will was never produced, and probably never existed; at all events it could not supersede the right of the state to these public funds, and, least of all, in favour of females. The late Vizier was under heavy obligations to the Company at the time of his death, and his troops, a hundred thousand in number, were twelve months in arrear. The funds were therefore primarily chargeable with these liabilities, but Mr. Bristow, the resident, lent himself to the views of the begums, and constrained the Vizier to affix his seal to a deed, under the guarantee of the government in Calcutta, which assigned three-fourths of this state property to them. Mr. Francis and his colleagues recorded their approval of this alienation, in spite of an earnest protest from Hastings and Mr. Barwell, who invariably supported him. The Vizier thus ascended the throne with an empty treasury; the troops

mutinied for their pay, and according to the report of the British resident, 20,000 of them were slaughtered, and nothing but the presence of the English brigade saved the country from a revolution.

Accusations
against
Hastings, 1775. The discord in the Council soon began to tell upon the government. The triumvirate had diligently studied the public records to discover grounds for criminating Hastings. They raked up information from the kennels of Calcutta, and offered every encouragement to the miscreants in the provinces to come forward and defame him. As soon as it was known that his authority was extinct, and that any accusation against him would be welcome to those who now enjoyed the power of the state, a host of informers hastened to Calcutta and crowded their anti-chambers. Charges were manufactured with great activity. The widow of Teluk Chand, the zemindar of Burdwan—a zemindary then scarcely a century old—brought a charge against Mr. Graham, whom Hastings had appointed guardian of the person and property of his minor son, of having embezzled more than three lacs of rupees in five months, of which Hastings was accused of having received fifteen thousand. The native fouzdar of Hooghly had continued to receive an allowance of seventy-two thousand rupees a year, after the administration of the Company had commenced, and some native who coveted the place, charged Hastings with having appropriated to his own use one half this sum. No evidence was produced of the charge, which was in itself preposterous, but Mr. Francis and his two colleagues placed it on record “that there appeared to be no species of peculation from which the Honourable Governor-General has thought it reasonable to abstain, and that they had now obtained a clear light on his conduct, and the means by which he had amassed a fortune of forty lacs of rupees in two years and a half.”

Charge of Nundu
koomar, 1775. A more important charge was preferred by Nundu koomar. This man, who had been re-

peatedly denounced by the Court of Directors for his perfidy, and whose career had been marked by the most nefarious intrigues and treachery, offered to impeach Hastings, and was immediately taken into the alliance of the three counsellors. Under their auspices, he held his durbar in state in Calcutta, and issued his mandates to the zemindars throughout the country. At length, he came forward with a charge against Hastings of having received a bribe of three lacs and a half of rupees on the appointment of Muneé Begum, the widow of Meer Jaffier, and his own son, Raja Gooroodass, to the management of the Nabob's household at Moorsshedabad, and likewise of having connived at the embezzlements of Mahomed Reza khan for a douceur of ten lacs. Mr. Francis and his colleagues proposed that Nundu koomar should be called before the Council board to substantiate the charge. Hastings, as might have been expected, opposed this proceeding with great indignation. "I know," he said, "what belongs to the dignity and character of the first member of this administration, and I will not sit at this board in the character of a criminal." It does not appear that on this or any other occasion, Hastings endeavoured to stifle enquiry, or objected to his opponents forming a committee of investigation, and reporting their proceedings to their masters at home, or referring the questions at issue to the arbitrament of the Supreme Court; but he felt that the government would be degraded in the eyes of the native community, if the dregs of society were introduced into the Council chamber to criminate the President at the instigation of Nundu koomar, and he dissolved the meeting and left the chamber. The majority immediately placed General Clavering in the chair, and called in Nundu koomar who dilated on the venality of Hastings, and moreover, produced a letter purporting to be written by Muneé begum herself, which admitted the payment of two lacs and a half of rupees to the Governor-General, on which Mr. Francis and his friends resolved with one consent, that Hastings had clandestinely and illegally received three lacs and forty

thousand rupees, and that measures should be taken to compel him to repay it into the public treasury. The signature to the letter was pronounced on the most impartial examination to be spurious, but the seal appeared to be genuine. The begum herself denied all knowledge of the letter, and the mystery of the seal was not discovered till after the death of Nundu koomar, when fac-similes of the seals of all the most eminent personages in Bengal were found in his cabinet.

Execution of
Nundu koomar,
1775.

Hastings, in self-defence, now brought an action in the Supreme Court against Nundu koomar and others for a conspiracy to induce one Kumal-ood-deen, a large revenue farmer, to criminate him. The judges admitted the charge and held Nundu koomar to bail, and Mr. Francis and his two associates immediately paid him a complimentary visit at his own residence. Eight weeks after the commencement of this action, one Mohun Prasad, a native merchant, renewed an action for forgery against Nundu koomar, which had been originally instituted in the local court, when Nundu koomar was arrested, but released, through the intervention of Hastings. On the establishment of the Supreme Court, this suit, along with others, was transferred to its jurisdiction. The forgery was established on the clearest evidence; the jury found him guilty, and the judges ordered him to be hung. It was the first instance of the execution of a brahmin, since the English became lords of the country, and it created a profound sensation in the native community. Thousands of Hindoos surrounded the scaffold, unwilling to believe their own eyes, and when the deed was completed, rushed down to the sacred stream to wash out the pollution.

Reflections on
this transac-
tion.

This transaction was long considered the most atrocious crime of Hastings's administration. It was asserted in high quarters that Nundu koomar had been judicially murdered by him through the agency of Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice. But time has dispelled

the clouds of prejudice. For this foul imputation there was no other ground than the coincidence of this trial, in point of time, with the accusations brought by Nundu koomar against Hastings. There never was the slightest evidence that Hastings had ever prompted, or even encouraged the action. The capital sentence, however conformable to the barbarous laws of England at the time, was, on every consideration, most unjust. The offence was venial by the laws of the country, and the English code, which made it capital, was not introduced till several years after it had been committed. Mr. Francis and his colleagues protested against the whole proceeding, but the judges indignantly refused to submit to any dictation in the exercise of their judicial functions. But after the sentence had been passed, it was still within the power of the majority of the Council who exercised the whole authority of the government, to suspend the execution of it, pending a reference to England; they did not, however, choose to interfere, and the odium of this transaction must be divided between them and the judges. Nundukoomar, who began life a poor man, left a fortune of a crore of rupees.

The Court of
Directors con-
demn Hastings,
1775.

Towards the close of 1775, the decision of the Court of Directors on the matters in dispute between Mr. Francis and Hastings, was received in Calcutta. They condemned the measures of the Governor-General in strong language, but they neither ordered the restitution of Rohilcund to the Rohillas, nor the return of the forty lacs which had enriched their treasury, to the Vizier. But they recommended concord and unanimity to the Council, and the advice was received with a shout of derision by both parties. The adverse resolutions of the Directors were, however, overruled by the Proprietors, who held Hastings in the highest estimation; and the dissensions abroad, aggravated by the discord at home, brought the British interests in India to the verge of destruction, from which they were rescued only by the firmness and resolution of the Governor-General. In September, 1776, his authority in the government was re-

stored by the death of Colonel Monson, which gave him the casting vote in an equally-balanced Council. But in the preceding year, worried by the opposition and insults of his opponents, he had informed his agent in England, Colonel Macleane, that it was his intention to resign his appointment, if he found that his measures were not approved of at home. But within two months of this communication, he recovered his spirits, revoked his resignation, and, at the same time, informed the Minister, Lord North, that he would remain at his post till he was recalled by the same authority,—that of Parliament,—which had placed him at the head of the government. But Colonel Macleane, finding the current against Hastings as strong in Leadenhall Street as it was in Downing Street, took upon himself to announce to the Court of Directors that he was authorised, on certain conditions, to tender his patron's resignation. After several months of violent intrigue, which it is not necessary to detail, the Directors came to the resolution that Mr. Hastings had positively resigned his office, though his latest as well as his earliest letters were before them, and appointed Mr. Wheler to the vacant seat in Council.

When intelligence of this resolution reached Calcutta, General Clavering, whom Lord North had encouraged in his opposition to Hastings, by the Order of the Bath, attempted to seize the government, as being the senior member of Council, obtained possession of the Council Chamber, and took the oaths as Governor-General. He likewise demanded the keys of the Treasury and of the fort from Hastings, and wrote to the commandant to obey no orders but those which emanated from him. Hastings, who did not admit the fact of his resignation, had anticipated Sir John Clavering by securing the gates of Fort William, and his messengers found them closed against him. The dispute was rapidly tending to a collision, which must have proved in the highest degree disastrous to the interests of the Company, when Hastings prudently

Clavering's
violent proceed-
ings and death,
1777.

averted it by referring the question to the Judges of the Supreme Court. After a careful investigation of all the documents connected with this transaction, they came to the decision, that any assumption of authority by Sir John Clavering would be illegal, and the storm blew over. He did not survive the chagrin of this disappointment many months. Mr. Wheler, who had taken his seat in Council, though professing neutrality, generally sided with Francis, but the casting vote of the Governor-General overruled all opposition. At the beginning of 1780, Mr. Barwell was anxious to return to his native land with the colossal fortune he had accumulated, but he hesitated to embark and leave his friend Hastings in a minority. Mr. Francis, unwilling to stand in the way of Mr. Barwell's retirement, came to an understanding with Hastings not to take advantage of it, and Mr. Barwell embarked for England. But the discord was speedily renewed; the antagonists could not agree on the nature or extent of the neutrality. Hastings charged Francis with having duped him, and the dispute was settled, according to the barbarous custom of the times, by a hostile meeting, in which Mr. Francis was wounded. At the close of the year he returned to England.

New settlement
of the land
revenue, 1777.

The settlement of the land revenue, which had been made for five years, expired in 1777, when it was found that the country had been grievously rack-rented. Many of the zemindars, ambitious of retaining their position in the country, had made offers which they soon found themselves unable to support. The speculators, who had in many cases outbid and dislodged the old landholders, had no object but to enrich themselves by oppressive exactions, and throw up their engagements as soon as the ryots were exhausted. The government, new to their duties, had committed serious errors. To the usual imperfection of all new institutions, was in this instance added an entire ignorance of the quality and value of the lands and even of the language of those who held them. The whole system collapsed; the country was impoverished, and, what with remissions and

irrecoverable balances, the Company lost little short of two crores and a half of rupees in five years. Before the expiration of the old settlement, Hastings had wisely appointed a commission of inquiry to travel through the country and collect data for a new arrangement. The Court of Directors denounced the commission as a flagrant job, and charged Hastings with "the meanest and most corrupt motives in the selection of the members." They expressed their surprise that any such inquiry should be found necessary, after they had held the Dewanny for ten years. But they seemed to forget that their own time had been occupied in cabal and intrigue at home, to the neglect of the duties of administration, and that their ill-paid revenue officers in India had been too closely occupied in making fortunes by private trade to have any leisure to attend to the interests of the state. By order of the Directors, the settlement was therefore made for one year only.

Death of
Madhoo and
Narayun Rao
Peshwas,
1772-73.

To resume the thread of Mahratta affairs. The young Peshwa, Madhoo Rao, little inferior to any of his race in the cabinet or in the field, died of consumption, on the 18th of November, 1772.

At the period of his death, the nominal revenue of the Mahratta empire in Hindostan and in the Deccan, was ten crores of rupees, but the amount actually realized did not greatly exceed seven crores, of which the sum at the absolute disposal of the Peshwa was only three crores, the remainder of it belonged to the Guickwar, Bhonslay, Holkar, Sindia, and minor chieftains. The Peshwa's own army consisted of 50,000 horse, besides infantry and artillery, but the entire army he was able to assemble under the national standard was not less than 100,000 splendid cavalry, and a proportionate strength of foot and artillery, not including the Pindarrees, or hereditary freebooters of the country. It was a fortunate circumstance for India that this formidable force, animated by the instinct of plunder, and stimulated by the remembrance of past successes, was not under the control

of a single leader, but divided by allegiance to five princes, each one of whom had his own individual interests to promote. Madhoo Rao was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayun Rao, who immediately proceeded to Satara, and was invested with the office of Peshwa. Though not twenty, he was ambitious of military glory, and determined on an expedition to the Carnatic, which induced him to recall the Mahratta army from Rohilcund. But, after a reign of nine months, he was assassinated by the orders, or by the connivance of his uncle, Roghoonath Rao, or Raghoba. Raghoba had long been distinguished as a brave soldier, and, in 1759 had led a body of 50,000 Mahratta horse from the banks of the Nerbudda to the banks of the Indus. But he was an inveterate intriguer, and had been repeatedly confined by Madhoo Rao for his turbulence and treason. He was, moreover, always imprudent, and rarely fortunate.

Raghoba
Peshwa, suc-
ceeded by
Madhoo Rao,
1773.

Raghoba took possession of the vacant office, and after having obtained investiture from Satara, plunged into hostilities with the Nizam, whom he pursued with such vigour as to oblige him to purchase peace by the sacrifice of territory valued at twenty lacs a year. With his usual folly, Raghoba restored the lands to the Nizam, instead of judiciously distributing them among his military chiefs, and thus increasing the strength of their loyalty. He then marched against Hyder, but his pecuniary difficulties obliged him to be content with a promise of six lacs of rupees, and the acknowledgment of his title as Peshwa. From this southern expedition he was recalled by a formidable confederacy of the ministers at Poona, who were hostile to him, and had, moreover, received intimation that the young widow of the late Peshwa was pregnant. They conveyed her, on the 30th of January, to the fort of Poonrunder, taking the precaution of sending with her a number of females in the same condition, to provide against the chance of her giving birth to a daughter. They then proceeded to form a Regency composed of Succaram Bappoo, an

old and astute statesman, Nana Furnuverse, and the military commandant, and at once assumed all the functions of government. Raghoba, on the news of this revolution, hastened to meet his opponents, accompanied by Morari Rao, one of the greatest soldiers of the age, who had measured swords with Lawrence and Coote in the Carnatic, and on the 4th of March inflicted a signal defeat on the army of the Regency. This success replenished his military chest, and brought crowds to his standard; fortune seemed to declare in his favour, when, having conceived suspicions of the fidelity of his own generals, he threw away his chance of power by turning off to Boorhanpore, instead of marching at once on Poona, which its terrified inhabitants had begun to desert. The widow was delivered of a son on the 18th of April, 1774, who was installed as Peshwa when only ten days old, under the title of Madhoo Rao the Second.

Proceedings of
Raghoba, 1774.

After remaining a short time at Boorhanpore, Raghoba crossed the Nerbudda to Indore, where he was joined by Holkar and Sindia, who had returned from Rohilcund with about 30,000 horse. He also indulged the hope of receiving aid from the raja of Berar, and advanced to the banks of the Taptee, to secure the co-operation of the Guickwar army. In reference to the province of Guzerat, then under the rule of this family, it is to be observed that the authority of the Emperor was finally extinguished in it during the year 1755, when the capital, Ahmedabad, was captured by Damajee Guickwar, the Mahratta sirdar. At the period of his death, in 1768, his son, Govind Rao, who happened to be at Poona, obtained his father's title and possessions on the payment of various sums, which eventually reached fifty lacs of rupees. In 1771, his brother, Futteh Sing, proceeded to the Peshwa's court, and succeeded in supplanting him; but Govind Rao's cause was espoused by Raghoba, on becoming Peshwa, and the province was distracted by these rival claims. Raghoba now advanced to claim the support of his *protégée*.

During the year 1772, the Court of Directors resolved to place a representative at the Poona durbar, in the hope of promoting their commercial interests, and, more especially, of obtaining possession of the port of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, which was separated from Bombay by a narrow channel, and comprised an area of about 150 square miles. With these acquisitions the Directors hoped to render Bombay the great emporium of the trade of the western coast with Persia, Arabia, the Red Sea, and China. These possessions fell into the hands of the Portuguese in an early period of their career, but were conquered by the Mahrattas in 1739, by whom they were prized beyond their value, as having been wrested from a European power. Raghoba, on his arrival at the Taptee, sent an envoy to Bombay to solicit the aid of a sufficient force to establish him in the government at Poona, and offered to defray all the expenses of the troops, as well as to make large grants of territory to the Company. The President and Council eagerly grasped at the proposal, and on the 6th of September, 1774, offered to assist him with 2,500 troops, on condition of his advancing fifteen or twenty lacs of rupees, and engaging to cede Salsette and Bassein in perpetuity to the Company. But Raghoba, even in his extremity, refused to alienate Salsette from the Mahratta dominions. While these negotiations were pending, the Bombay authorities received information that a large armament was fitted out at Goa for the recovery of these possessions, and as it was felt that the Portuguese would be more dangerous neighbours than the Mahrattas, an expedition was sent to Salsette, and the island occupied before the end of the year.

Raghoba's
treaty with
Bombay, 1775.

Meanwhile, the Regency at Poona having succeeded by large offers in detaching Holkar and Sindia from the cause of Raghoba, moved against him with a body of 30,000 men, and he narrowly escaped being captured by his perfidious allies and delivered up to his enemies. He retreated in all haste, leaving his begum at

Dhar, where she gave birth to a son, Bajee Rao, the last of the Peshwas. On the 17th of February, the troops of the Regency overtook him at Wassud, where his army was totally routed and dispersed, and he fled from the field with only a thousand horse. Ten days after this event, Colonel Keating arrived at Surat with the force which had been despatched from Bombay to his aid. Raghoba soon after joined his camp, and, after some further negotiations, affixed his seal on the 6th of March, 1775, to a treaty, known in history as the Treaty of Surat, concluded by the Bombay President, without the authority of the Calcutta Government, and which involved the Company in the first Mahratta war. The President had no evidence that Raghoba was chargable with the assassination of his nephew, but his guilt was universally believed by the Mahrattas, and the alliance of the English with a man branded with the crime of murder created a deep and lasting prejudice against them. By this treaty the Bombay Government engaged to furnish Raghoba with 3,000 British troops, and he pledged himself to the payment of eighteen lacs of rupees a-year, made an assignment of lands of the annual value of nineteen lacs, and—such was the desperate state of his affairs—agreed to concede Salsette and Bassein. The army of Colonel Keating, joined by the troops whom Raghoba's officers had succeeded in collecting together after their dispersion, manœuvred for a month between the Sabermuttee and the Myhee. It was during this period that Colonel Keating indiscreetly attempted to detach Futteh Sing Guickwar from the Poona regency; but the English troops had as yet achieved nothing, and the Colonel's envoy, a young lieutenant, was treated with the most humiliating contempt.

Battle of Arras,
17th May, 1775. The Bombay Government having thus embarked in a war with the Mahratta Regency, ordered Colonel Keating to quit Guzerat, and march upon Poona; but, as he moved down to the Myhee, he found the Mahratta army posted at Arras to dispute his progress. It was on this field that the English and Mahratta forces encountered each

other, for the first time since the gentlemen of the factory at Surat had so gallantly repulsed Sevajee in 1669. The brunt of the action fell on Colonel Keating's brigade, which was attacked by an army of ten times its number. The loss of life was severe, but, though the English troops were for a time staggered, their final triumph was complete, and the Mahrattas retreated in haste and disorder to the Nerbudda. Colonel Keating pursued them with vigour, and they considered themselves fortunate in effecting their escape across the river, after they had thrown all their heavy guns into it. Futteh Sing now hastened to make his peace with the victors, and engaged to furnish Raghoba with twenty-six lacs of rupees in two months, together with a large body of troops, and to secure to the Company a share of the Broach revenues to the extent of two lacs a-year. The Mahratta navy, moreover, which consisted of six vessels, carrying from 26 to 46 guns, was completely crippled by the English commodore. The campaign had been prosperous by sea and land; the Company had obtained a territorial revenue of twenty-four lacs a-year; the Mahrattas had been driven with disgrace across the Nerbudda, and so effectually damaged was their reputation, that the Nizam was emboldened to take advantage of their distress, and, under the threat of joining Raghoba, exacted a cession of lands valued at eleven lacs a-year. But the brilliant prospects which this success opened up were ruined by the proceedings of the Calcutta triumvirate.

Treaty with
Raghoba disal-
lowed at Cal-
cutta, 1775.

The treaty with Raghoba, which appeared likely to involve a war with the Regency, was severely condemned by both parties in the Council in Calcutta, as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust." When the war, however, had actually commenced, Hastings considered it almost impossible to withdraw from it with honour and safety, before the conclusion; and he advised that the Bombay Government should be vigorously supported in conducting it, and instructed to bring it to a termination as speedily as possible. But Mr. Francis and his colleagues

resented the audacity of the Bombay Council in making war without their consent, ordered the treaty with Raghoba to be immediately annulled, and all the British troops to be withdrawn from the field. At the same time, they announced their intention to send an agent of their own to open an independent negotiation with the ministers at Poona. In vain did the Bombay Council remonstrate with them on the disgrace of violating a solemn treaty. Colonel Upton was sent to Poona to disavow their proceedings; their authority was paralysed, and their character wantonly disgraced in the eyes of the princes of India.

The Treaty of
Poorunder,
March 1, 1776.

The astute ministers at Poona were not slow to take advantage of these discords, and extolled to the skies the wisdom of "the great governor of Calcutta, who had ordered peace to be concluded." When, however, Colonel Upton came to propose that Salsette and Bassein and the assigned revenues of Broach should be retained by the Company, they assumed a lofty tone, and spurned the conditions, demanding the immediate surrender of Raghoba and of all the territory recently acquired by the English; but they offered, as a matter of favour, to contribute twelve lacs of rupees towards the expenses which had been incurred in the war. The majority of the Council had, in fact, cut the sinews of the negotiation by the precipitate recal of the army from the field, but the insolent reply of the Regency roused their indignation, and they determined to support Raghoba, and to prosecute the war with all vigour. Letters were at once despatched to the various princes of India to secure their alliance, or their neutrality; a supply of treasure was despatched to Bombay, and troops were ordered to be held in readiness to take the field. But the Poona ministers, after this display of arrogance, unexpectedly conceded the greater part of Colonel Upton's demands, and the Treaty of Poorunder was signed on the 1st of March, 1776, by Succaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuvene. It annulled the engagements of the Bombay Government with Raghoba, who was to disband his army and retire

to the banks of the Godavery on a pension of three lacs of rupees a-year. The British army was to quit the field. Salsette was to be retained by the Company if the Governor-General desired it, but all the other acquisitions were to be relinquished; the claim on the revenues of Broach was conceded, together with twelve lacs of rupees, towards the expenses of the war, "by way of favour." Considering that all the advantages of the campaign had been on the side of the English, the Bombay Presidency was fully justified in reprobating the treaty, as "highly injurious to the reputation and the interests of the Company." It was a flagrant breach of faith with Raghoba, and it served to impair the confidence of the native powers in the engagements of the British Government. It inspired the Poona Regency with an undue sense of their own importance, and rendered a second war inevitable. The Bombay Council did not conceal their anxiety to obstruct the treaty. They gave an asylum to Raghoba at Surat, and threw their field armies into Surat and Broach. The Poona ministers raved at this infraction of the treaty, and threatened to carry fire and sword into every part of the Company's dominions; but all their menaces were treated with contempt at Bombay.

On the 20th of August, 1776, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors, approving of the treaty concluded with Raghoba at Surat, and directing the other Presidencies to give him their support, and to retain the territories which had been ceded by him. The Bombay Council, smarting under the degradation inflicted on them by the Supreme Government, lost no time in turning this favourable decision to account. To the great annoyance of the Poona Regency, they gave countenance to an impostor, who claimed the office of Peshwa, as the identical Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, who had disappeared at the battle of Paniput. They invited Raghoba to Bombay, and settled 10,000 rupees a month on him. The Mahratta cabinet remonstrated against this fresh violation of the treaty of Poorunder, but it was weakened by internal discords. Succaram Bappoo, the head

Decision
of the Court,
of Directors
1776.

of the ministry, was jealous of the growing power of his younger associate, Nana Furnuvene, who had fled from the field of Paniput, and who united the highest political talent with a singular want of personal courage. His cousin, Maroba Furnuvene, had been the minister of the deceased Madhoo Rao, and took a prominent part in public affairs, but in the interests of Succaram. Mahdajee Sindia was endeavouring to increase his own consequence by acting as umpire between the two factions. To increase the confusion at Poona, a French adventurer, of the name of St. Lubin, arrived there in March, 1777, and announced himself as the envoy of the King of France, who was on the eve of a war with the English. He was authorised, as he said, to offer the Mahrattas the support of 2,500 European troops, an abundant supply of stores and munitions of war, and officers to discipline 10,000 sepoys. He affected horror at the connection of the English with the assassin Raghoba, and produced in the durbar, with a burst of grief, a picture of the barbarous murder of Narayun Rao, which had been painted under his direction at Paris. Nana Furnuvene affected to credit his mission, and, with the view of annoying the English government, afforded him every encouragement, and made over to him the harbour of Choul, only twenty-three miles from Bombay.

Revolution in
favour of
Raghoba, 1778.

Meanwhile, a despatch was received at Bombay and Calcutta from the Court of Directors, regretting the sacrifices made by the treaty of Poorunder, and stating that, although they considered themselves bound in honour to adhere to it, yet, if there was any attempt on the part of the Poona Regency to evade its provisions, the Bombay Presidency was at liberty to renew the alliance with Raghoba. The President and Council found little difficulty in discovering infractions of a treaty which those who had dictated it never intended to respect but as it suited their interests, and prepared to espouse the cause of Raghoba. Their movements were hastened by the course of events at the Mahratta capital. Moraba Furnuvene, assisted

by Holkar, resolved to support Raghoba, and Succaram Bappoo joined the confederacy, and despatched an envoy to Bombay to request the government to conduct Raghoba to Poona with a military escort. The proposal was eagerly accepted, and preparations were immediately made for the expedition. Hastings, who had now regained his ascendancy in the Council, gave the project his approbation, partly because it was countenanced by Succaram Bappoo, one of the parties to the treaty of Poorunder, but chiefly because Nana Furnuvene was giving encouragement to the French, whose influence in Indian politics he considered the greatest of calamities. In a letter dated the 23rd of March, 1778, he authorized the Bombay Government "to assist in tranquilizing the Mahratta state," and engaged to send a large force across the continent to resist the aggressions of the French, which, in his opinion, threatened the existence of the Company's possessions in the west of India.

Counter revolution at Poona,
8th July, 1778

Nana Furnuvene was obliged to bend to the storm, and retire to Poorunder. Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief, and one of his partizans, was, at the time, on his way to Meritch, to join Sindia in resisting the encroachments of Hyder, to which reference will be made hereafter. They were hastily recalled from the south, and reached Poorunder on the 8th of July, where they united with the army of Holkar, who had been, in the meantime, detached from the opposite party by a bribe of nine lacs of rupees, and restored Nana Furnuvene again to power. Maroba and his colleagues were arrested on the 11th, and many of them put to death, but Succaram Bappoo, whose name it was deemed important to associate with the proceedings of the state, was simply placed under restraint. The party of Raghoba was thus extinguished at Poona. But the Bombay President and Council were not disposed to desert him. They addressed certain questions to the new ministry at Poona; the replies were considered a violation of the treaty of Poorunder, and it was resolved to put to use the

liberty granted to them in the despatch of the Court of Directors and in the letter of Hastings. Towards the end of August, he informed them that he was endeavouring to form an alliance with the Rajah of Berar, which would embrace the politics of Poona, and enjoined them to avoid any measure hostile to the Poona Regency. But their passions were enlisted in the cause of Raghoba, which, in effect, they made their own; and without adequate preparation, without a commander on whom they could depend, and without alliances, they determined to send a handful of men against the strength of the Mahratta empire. Nana Furnuverse perceived the gathering storm, and prepared to meet it; he enlisted recruits in every direction, repaired and provisioned his forts, and refitted his vessels.

Expedition to
Poona, 25th
Nov. 1778.

A new treaty was now made with Raghoba, which differed little from that of Surat. An army of 4,000 men, of whom 600 were Europeans, was equipped and entrusted to Colonel Egerton, who had seen some service in Europe, but was little qualified for the duty assigned him. Disregarding the experience so dearly bought in the war with Hyder in 1768, "field deputies," under the name of civil commissioners, were sent with the army to control its movements, and to check speculation. Carnac, who had won some credit in the field in Bengal, was appointed the senior commissioner, and he exhibited his fitness for such a trust by a squabble, on the first day, with Colonel Egerton about the military honours to be paid him. The troops, encumbered with 19,000 bullocks besides other cattle, embarked at Panwell on the 25th of November, and, as if it had been designed to afford Nana and Sindia the most ample leisure for preparation, moved at the rate of two miles a day. It was the 23rd of December before the army ascended the ghauts, when its disasters began by the loss of one of the most energetic, bold, and judicious officers in its ranks, Captain Stewart, whose name, after the lapse of half a century, was still held in veneration by the inhabitants

of those valleys as Stewart Phakray, or Stewart the gallant.

Disastrous progress of the army, 1779.

On the 6th of January, Colonel Egerton resigned the command to Colonel Cockburn, but though he acted as civil commissioner, the responsibility of all subsequent movements rested with Carnac. On the 9th, the army reached Tullygaum, and found it destroyed. A report was spread that the enemy intended also to burn Chinchore, and even the capital itself. Carnac was panic-struck, and though within eighteen miles of Poona, with eighteen days' provisions in the camp, determined, in the first instance, to open a negotiation with the enemy, and then to retreat. Raghoba, who, with all his faults, was a gallant soldier, protested against this cowardice, so contrary to the British character, but the commissioners were so completely under the control of their own terrors, that they refused to wait even a single day for the result of their negotiations, threw their heavy guns into a pond, and begun their retreat that very night, hotly pursued by the enemy. The rear-guard, upon which the enemy's assaults were chiefly directed, was commanded by a young and gallant officer of the name of Hartley, who had been in the service about fourteen years, and gained the entire confidence of the sepoys. He received every attack with the utmost steadiness and animation, and drove back the enemy at every point. The sepoys fought with perfect enthusiasm. Had the command of the expedition been entrusted to him, he would, doubtless, have planted the British standard on the battlements of Poona: but in this, as in many subsequent campaigns, while the army contained men of the most heroic mould, and of the highest talent, it was under the command of wretched drivellers.

Disgraceful convention of Wurgaum, Jan., 1778.

The British force encamped, on the night of the 12th, at Wurgaum, and was assailed in the morning by the guns brought up by the enemy during the darkness. The troops began to lose heart;

the commander was bewildered, and declared that even a retreat had ceased to be possible. Captain Hartley in vain pointed out the mode in which it might be effected with little loss. Overtures were made to Nana Furnuverse, who demanded the surrender of Raghoba, before he would listen to terms, and the commissioners would have complied with the demand if that prince had not saved them from this infamy by surrendering himself to Sindia. Nana Furnuverse, however, appeared to be impracticable, and the commissioners turned to Sindia to whom they sent Mr. Holmes with full powers to treat. This separate negotiation flattered his vanity and increased his importance, and a convention, known as that of Wurgaum, was concluded under his auspices, which rescued the British army from destruction by the sacrifice of all the acquisitions which had been made since 1773. The advance of the army under Colonel Goddard across the country was countermanded, and for the first time in the history of British India, two hostages were given for the performance of the treaty. The failure of this expedition, which was owing to the interference of the imbecile Carnac, was a severe blow to the interests of the Company, who lost no time in dismissing him, as well as Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, from the service. The Bombay Presidency lost its reputation and its strength, and its only hope of safety now rested on the arrival of the Bergal army.

Goddard's expedition, 1778.

This expedition was despatched from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay through a thousand miles of unknown country, occupied by chiefs who were more likely to prove hostile than friendly. It was described by Mr. Dundas, the Indian minister, as "one of the frantic military exploits of Hastings," but he forgot that it was by a succession of such "frantic exploits" that British power and prestige had been established in India by a handful of foreigners. The force consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, under the command of Colonel Leslie, a fair soldier, but unequal to such an enterprise. He crossed the Jumna in May,

1778, and was expected to reach the Nerbudda before it was swelled by the rains, but he wasted his time in discussions with petty chiefs, and in the course of five months had only advanced 120 miles. He was accordingly displaced, but died before the news of his supercession reached him, and the command of the army was entrusted by Hastings to Colonel Goddard, one of the brightest names in the history of British India. Through his energy, the expedition advanced at a rapid pace, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the chieftains. The raja of Bhopal, however, treated Goddard with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and furnished his troops with ample supplies, though at the risk of bringing down on himself the vengeance of the Mahratta powers. This generous conduct in a season of difficulty has not been forgotten by the British government in the height of its prosperity. The house of Bhopal has been treated by successive Governors-General with marked consideration; it has always been distinguished by its fidelity to the English crown, and the present Muha-ranee is the only female decorated with the most exalted Order of the Star of India.

War between
France and
England, 7th
July, 1778.

During the progress of Colonel Goddard's expedition, intelligence was received in Calcutta of the declaration of war between France and England, and the difficulties of Hastings's position were greatly multiplied. The mission of St. Lubin—who had not then been detected as a charlatan—and the countenance given to him by Nana Furnuvene, created the apprehension that the Mahrattas would be strengthened by a large French armament, and possibly under the command of the redoubted Bussy, who had retired to France with a magnificent fortune, and married the neice of the minister, but was thirsting for service in the country where his exploits were still held in honour. Hastings adopted the most vigorous measures to meet this new crisis; he augmented the army; he embodied the militia of Calcutta, to the number of a thousand; and sent Mr. Elliott to the Rajah of Berar to secure his alliance by

the offer of assisting him to obtain the office of Peshwa. The negotiation, the success of which would have involved the Company in endless complications, was happily nipped in the bud when the raja heard that the Bombay government were about to support the claims of Raghoba by force of arms; but he liberally supplied Colonel Goddard with money and provisions, and thus enabled him to reach Boorhanpore without difficulty on the 30th of January, 1779. So strict was the discipline which the Colonel maintained in his army, and so punctual were his payments, that the chiefs and people on the route hastened to furnish him with supplies. At Boorhanpore, he heard of the disaster of the Bombay force at Wurgaum, and immediately turned off to Surat, a distance of 300 miles, which he traversed in twenty days, though he was without any map of the country. By this prompt movement he avoided a body of 20,000 Mahratta horse sent from Poona to intercept him. His timely arrival on the western coast proved the salvation of the Bombay Presidency. The unexpected appearance of so large a force from the banks of the Jumna, augmented the reputation of the British power, and confirmed its influence at the native courts, which the convention of Wurgaum had impaired.

Progress of
events, 1779.

This convention was repudiated equally by the Bombay Council and by Hastings, who directed Colonel Goddard to open a fresh negotiation with Nana Furnuvene, on the basis of the treaty of Poorunder, but with an additional stipulation for the exclusion of the French from the Mahratta dominions. In the meantime, Sindia had granted a jaygeer of twelve lacs of rupees in Bundelcund to Raghoba, and sent him under a slender escort to take possession of it. Raghoba, who was permitted to take his body guard and his guns with him, attacked and overpowered the escort on the route, and escaped to Surat, where he was honourably entertained by Colonel Goddard, who settled an allowance of half a lac of rupees a month on him. The whole scheme was evidently a contrivance of Sindia, to procure the release of

Raghoba, and hold Nana Furnuverse in check, by his habitual fears. Towards the close of the year, Succaram Bappoo, being no longer considered necessary, was confined by Nana in the fortress of Pertabgur, 4,000 feet above the level of the plain, from the windows of which he could discern the spot, where, a hundred years before, his ancestor Puntajee had basely betrayed his confiding master, Ufzul Khan, into the hands of Sevajee. The venerable old man was soon after removed to Raigur, where he closed a life which had been marked by every vicissitude of privation and grandeur, of toil and triumph.

Goddard's success in Guzerat, 1779—80.

The ministers at Poona considered the convention of Wurgaum as a final settlement of their differences with the English, and invited them to unite in an attack on Hyder, who had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to overrun the Mahratta territories up to the banks of the Kistna. But the reception accorded to Raghoba by Goddard on the 12th of June gave them mortal offence, and they immediately turned round and proposed to Hyder a union against the English, in pursuance of the confederacy which had been formed by the Nizam at the end of the monsoon. When, therefore, Goddard, who had early intimation of this alliance, demanded a categorical reply to the proposals he had made, Nana Furnuverse at once stated that the restitution of Salsette, and the surrender of Raghoba were necessary preliminaries to any treaty; and Goddard immediately dismissed the vakeels, and prepared for war. At the same time he endeavoured to negotiate with Futteh Sing Guickwar, whom Hastings had determined to acknowledge as the ruler of Guzerat, but that prince manifested a disposition to procrastinate, and Goddard lost no time in laying seige to Dubhoy, garrisoned by 2,000 of the Peshwa's troops, which surrendered on the 20th of January, 1780. Futteh Sing now began to negotiate in earnest, and a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded six days after, in which it was agreed that he should join the English camp with 3,000 horse, and

receive possession of all the Peshwa's territories north of the Myhee, and that certain districts to the south should be made over to the Company. On the 10th of February, Goddard captured the noble city of Ahmedabad, the modern capital of the province, surrounded by walls of immense extent, and filled with a population of 100,000. The capital was scarcely reduced, when Goddard heard that Sindia and Holkar had forded the Nerbudda with 20,000 horse on the 29th of February, and were advancing to encounter him. Sindia professed great enmity of Nana Furnuvene, and great friendship for the English, and liberated the two hostages of Wurgauum, whom he had treated with hospitality. He endeavoured to open negotiations, but Goddard could not fail to perceive that his chief object was to waste the season of operations. Seven days were, therefore, allowed him for a definite reply, and as it did not prove satisfactory, Goddard attacked and dispersed his troops on the 2nd, and again on the 14th of April, and cantoned his army for the season on the banks of the Nerbudda.

On the side of Bengal, the war was conducted with brilliant success. Sixty miles south-east of

Capture of Gwalior, 3rd August, 1780.

Agra lay the little independent principality of Gohud, erected by a Jaut chieftain on the decay of the Mogul empire. The rana was incessantly threatened by the encroachments of Sindia, and solicited the protection of Hastings, who determined to take advantage of the appeal, and despatch an expedition, chiefly however with the view of creating a salutary diversion. It consisted of only 2,400 infantry, with a small body of cavalry, and a detail of European artillery, but it was commanded by Major Popham, one of the best soldiers in the service. He proceeded on his march in February, 1780, and having expelled the Mahratta invaders from the country, attacked the fortress of Lahar, without battering cannon, and carried it by the gallantry of his men. Fifty miles to the south of it lay the fort of Gwalior, on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarp'd almost entirely round, and

deemed throughout India impregnable. Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran hero of the Carnatic, now general-in-chief in Bengal, had declared that any attempt to capture it, more especially without siege guns, would be an act of madness. But Popham had set this "glorious object," as he termed it, before him, and determined to accomplish it. For two months he lay about the fortress, maturing his plans with such secrecy as to baffle all suspicion. On the night of the 3rd of August, the troops selected for the assault proceeded under the guidance of Captain Bruce to their destination. Two companies of sepoy led by four European officers, and followed by twenty English soldiers, applied the scaling ladders to the base of the scarp rock, sixteen feet high, then to a steep ascent of forty feet, and, lastly, to a wall of the height of thirty feet. Captain Bruce with twenty sepoy climbed up the battlements before their approach was suspected. The bewildered garrison made but a feeble resistance, and, by break of day, the British ensign was floating over the renowned fortress of Gwalior, while the Mahratta troops fled to carry the news to Sindia. The report of this brilliant achievement resounded through India, and wiped out the disgrace of the "infamous convention of Wurgaum," as Hastings termed it, and which he considered "it worth crores to obliterate." Popham was promoted to a majority, and then superseded by Colonel Carnac, who brought an additional force with him, and not only invaded Malwa, but threatened Sindia's capital. That chief was obliged to quit Poona in haste to attend to the defence of his own dominions, and the object of Hastings in this expedition was fully accomplished. Carnac, however, proved unequal to the enterprise entrusted to him, and allowed his force to be surrounded by the enemy, who obliged him to retreat, and harassed him at every step. Having at length procured a small supply of provisions for his starving troops, by forced contributions, he called a council of war to determine his future course. Captain Bruce, who was fortunately with the force, urged a

vigorous attack on the enemy's camp during the night, as affording the only chance of deliverance. His advice was adopted, and the surprise and overthrow of Sindia on the 24th of March, 1781, was complete. He lost elephants, horses, baggage, and a large number of troops, but, above all, his reputation, and that at a time when the credit of Holkar at the capital was elevated by his successful attack on General Goddard's force. Colonel Carnac soon after resigned the command of the brigade to Colonel Muir.

Confederacy against the English, 1779. Towards the close of 1779, intelligence reached Hastings from various quarters of a general confederacy which had been formed by the Nizam and Hyder, and all the Mahratta chiefs, with the exception of the Guickwar, for the expulsion of the English from India. A simultaneous attack was to be made on the three Presidencies; on Bombay, by Sindia, Holkar, and the army of the Peshwa; on Madras by Hyder; and on Bengal by the Modajee Bhonslay, raja of Nagpore. At no former period had the English power been menaced with greater peril, and it required all the fortitude, resources, and genius of Hastings to meet the crisis. Hyder Ali was the first in the field, and burst on the Carnatic in July, 1780, as will be hereafter narrated. The safety of Madras demanded the immediate and undivided attention of Hastings, and he was under the necessity of informing Bombay that he could afford it no farther assistance. Mr. Hornby, the President, feeling that he had no resource but in his own efforts, exhibited the greatest vigour and prudence. To enable him to draw supplies from the Concan, Colonel Hartley was sent to clear the province of the Mahrattas, which he effected with little difficulty, after he had inflicted a severe defeat on them in October, 1780. Goddard marched down from Surat, and laid siege to Bassein on the 13th of November. Nana Furnuvene advanced with a powerful army to recover the Concan, and relieve that fortress. Colonel Hartley had been engaged for upwards of a month in daily skirmishes with the Mahratta force; his ammunition was

nearly exhausted; he was encumbered with 600 sick, and had only 2,000 jaded troops fit for duty; but he felt the importance of maintaining his communications with Goddard, which Nana was endeavouring to cut off, and he took up a strong position at Doogaur, where he sustained the assault of 20,000 Mahratta horse for two days. On the third, the 12th of December, 1780, their gallant and skilful general, Ramchunder Gunnesh, was killed; the army became dispirited and fled precipitately with heavy loss. Bassein had surrendered on the previous day to Goddard with the loss of only thirteen of his men, and he immediately moved down to the support of Colonel Hartley, and, on surveying the field of action, expressed his admiration of the judicious position he had chosen, and the valour of his troops. This was all the reward that gallant soldier ever received for his achievements in this war; he was immediately after superseded, and the public service deprived of his talents at the time when they were most urgently needed.

Failure of
Goddard's ex-
pedition to
Poona, 1781.

Hastings, alarmed by Hyder's irruption into the Carnatic, considered it important to the safety of British interests in India to make peace with the Mahrattas, and he proposed a treaty on reasonable terms, through the raja of Nagpore, who, was still friendly to the English though he had joined the confederacy. But on hearing of the destruction of Baillie's force in the Carnatic, in September, 1780, he considered their affairs desperate, and hesitated to become mediator, except on conditions to which the Governor-General would not accede. Goddard, conceiving that the desire for peace on the part of the Poona durbar would be quickened by an advance towards Poona, ascended the ghauts with a large force. This expedition, which proved to be a total failure, was the only mistake of his career. After having injudiciously taken post at the Bhore ghaut, he was incessantly harrassed by the Mahratta army, and obliged at length to retreat, when he was vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 horse, and did not reach Bombay without the loss of

450, killed and wounded. The discomfiture of this renowned general was considered by the Mahrattas one of their most signal victories, and it was a fortunate circumstance that at this critical period the troops of Sindia should have been engaged in defending his own territories, many hundred miles distant. This inauspicious expedition, which terminated on the 23rd of April, 1781, was the last operation of the war, although more than a twelvemonth elapsed before the conclusion of peace.

Arrangement
with Bhonslay,
1780.

The raja of Berar, to support appearances with his confederates, sent an army of 30,000 horse in October, 1779, under his son Chimnaje towards Cuttack, for the ostensible purpose of invading Bengal, but he endeavoured to convince Hastings that his intentions were not hostile, by prolonging its march for seven months, and then employing it in the reduction of a fort in Orissa. To relieve Madras from the pressure of Hyder's army, Hastings resolved to aid it by a force from Bengal. But a body of Bengal sepoy, who had recently been ordered to embark at Vizagapatam for Madras, objecting to a sea voyage on account of their caste prejudices, had murdered their officers, and committed great outrages. To avoid the recurrence of such a scene, Hastings determined to send the Bengal detachment along the coast by land, though the distance was seven hundred miles, and the route lay through unknown and hostile provinces. This was another of those "frantic military exploits" of Hastings, which served to overawe the native princes, and to establish the ascendancy of British power. Colonel Pearce started with the army on the 9th of January, 1781, and it was on the line of march in Orissa that one-half his force perished of cholera, and this is apparently the first notice which we have of the existence of a disease which has proved the mysterious scourge of the nineteenth century. Colonel Pearce experienced the same friendly support from the raja of Nagpore, which that prince had previously given to Goddard. Hastings, with the

view of detaching the raja from the confederacy, and enlisting him against Hyder, had made him a promise of sixteen lacs of rupees, of which three had already been paid. Chinnajee was, at this time, in great distress for money, and Hastings eagerly embraced the opportunity of offering the remainder of the sum, on the condition of a treaty of alliance, which was soon after concluded, with the proviso that 2,000 of the raja's horse should accompany the detachment, and act against Hyder. "Thus," remarked Hastings, with exultation, "have we converted an ostensible enemy into a declared friend, and transferred the most formidable member of the confederacy, after Hyder, to our own party, saved Bengal from a state of dangerous alarm, if not from actual invasion, and all the horrors of a predatory war, and have completed the strength of Colonel Pearce's detachment."

Treaty with
Sindia, 13th
Oct., 1781.

The signal defeat of Sindia by Colonel Camac convinced him that he had everything to lose by a contest with the English in the heart of his dominions, which might end in driving him across the Nerbudda without land or friends, and extinguishing his influence in the Mahratta commonwealth. He accordingly made overtures to Colonel Muir, which Hastings was but too happy to entertain, and they terminated in a treaty which was concluded on the 13th of October. The territory west of the Jumna, from which he had been expelled by Major Popham, was restored to him, with the exception of the fort of Gwalior, which was reserved for the rana of Gohud, and he engaged to negotiate a treaty between the other belligerents and the British government, but, at all events, to stand neutral. The treaty gave great umbrage to Nana Furnuvene, partly because it acknowledged Sindia as an independent power, but chiefly because this assumption of the office of plenipotentiary served to increase his power and his importance.

Treaty of
Salbye, 17th
May, 1782.

Hastings's anxiety for peace with the Mahratta Regency was quickened by the arrival of a French armament on the coast which, under existing cir-

cumstances, might, he feared "result in the extirpation of our nation from the Carnatic." "It was not," he said, "peace with conditions of advantage he wanted, but speedy peace, for which he would sacrifice every foot of ground he had acquired from the Mahrattas." After a variety of disappointments, the treaty of Salbye was at length completed on the 17th of May, 1782, and signed by Mr. Anderson on the part of the Company, and by Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa and the Mahratta chiefs, he becoming at the same time the mutual guarantee of both parties for the performance of its conditions. All the territory acquired by the British arms since the treaty of Poorunder was restored. Futteh Sing Guickwar was replaced in his original position in Guzerat. Raghoba was to be allowed three lacs of rupees a year, with liberty to choose his own place of residence. Hyder was to be required to relinquish all his conquests in the Carnatic, and to release all his prisoners within six months, and, in case of refusal, was to be attacked by the forces of the Peshwa. But Nana Furnuvene, after having accepted the treaty, hesitated to ratify it, in the hope of making better terms with Hyder. After many months of anxiety, Hastings became impatient of further delay, and on the 4th of December instructed Mr. Anderson to demand the fulfilment of Sindia's promises, and the immediate ratification of the treaty, stating that he should otherwise be under the necessity of making a separate peace with Hyder, which would leave him at liberty to carry all his forces towards the Kistna, and not only secure the possessions he had conquered from the Mahrattas, but augment them. On the 5th of December, Hastings received a copy of the resolution of the House of Commons, that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to remove him from the head of affairs inasmuch as he had acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the British nation, and he began to tremble for the ratification of the treaty, when this resolution should be known in every durbar in India. On the 7th all anxiety was removed by the death of Hyder, of which Nana Furnuvene was no

sooner informed than he affixed the Peshwa's seal to the treaty, without any farther hesitation.

CHAPTER XIV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—AFFAIRS OF MADRAS, THE SECOND MYSORE WAR, 1771—1784.

Affairs of
Tanjore, 1771—
1773. THE kingdom of Tanjore had been in a great measure exempt from the ravages of war during hostilities with Hyder, but had contributed little to the defence of the country. Mahomed Ali, from the period of his accession to the throne of the Carnatic had never ceased to covet the possession of it. He now asserted that former Nabobs had obtained contributions from it of sixty, eighty, and even a hundred lacs of rupees, and he importuned the Madras Council to aid him in fleecing the raja. The Court of Directors, impoverished by the expences of the late war, looked to the resources of Tanjore with a wishful eye, and had instructed their servants at Madras to support the views of the Nabob, if the raja refused to submit to reasonable terms. The demands which the Nabob made, however, were beyond all reason; the raja refused to submit to them, and the Council for some time manifested a virtuous reluctance to enforce them, but were at length induced to send forward an army. The Tanjorines made a very spirited defence, but a breach was at length effected in the fortifications, and the town was on the point of surrendering, when, on the 27th of October, 1771, the Nabob's second son, who had accompanied the expedition, without consulting his English supporters, signed a treaty with the raja, extorting from him fifty lacs as the compensation for peace. With the aid of the British detachments he then proceeded to plunder the polygars, or zemindars of the two Marawars, and subjected the wretched

inhabitants to the most revolting cruelties, leaving nothing in the track of his soldiers but burnt and desolated villages.

Second attack on Tanjore, 1773. In June, 1773, the Nabob again demanded the aid of the Madras government to crush the raja; he had not, he said, fulfilled his engagements; ten lacs of rupees were still due from him; and he had, moreover, made application to Hyder and to the Mahrattas for support. The Council ridiculed the preposterous idea of going to war with him for arrears. They knew that he had exhausted his treasury to make good the extortionate fine imposed on him, of which he had been enabled to pay five-sixths by mortgaging his districts and his jewels to the Danes at Tranquebar, and the Dutch at Negapatam. As to the overtures he had made to Hyder and the Mahrattas, they remarked that the treaty of 1769 had placed him under the protection of Hyder, and, that, when he found himself abandoned to the tender mercies of the Nabob, who had resolved on his destruction, it was natural that he should seek to strengthen himself by alliances with the other powers of the Deccan. Nevertheless, the President and his Council argued that the existence of such a power as that of the raja in the heart of the country, who would join Hyder and the French in the event of a war, unless the Company supported him in his just rights, was a source of danger; and that it was therefore proper and expedient to embrace this opportunity of reducing him entirely, before the occurrence of such an event. It is difficult to believe that Englishmen and Christians, even in that period of profligacy, could have adopted such a train of reasoning to justify the ruin of an innocent prince. The opponents of the President and Council, however, gave a different account of the origin of this war of extermination, and affirmed that it arose from the resentment of the gentlemen at Madras, when they found that the raja had resorted for loans to the Dutch and the Danes, instead of giving them the benefit of these lucrative transactions. Whatever may have been the motive, an English army marched into Tanjore in September,

1773, deposed the raja and made over his country to the Nabob. The Court of Directors, astounded by the report of this infamous proceeding, lost no time in expelling the President, Mr. Wynch, from the service, and ordering the raja to be restored, placing him for the future under the safeguard of British honour.

Lord Pigot,
governor of
Madras, 11th
Dec., 1775.

The vacant chair at Madras was bestowed on Lord Pigot, who had gone out to Madras forty years before, and, after having risen to the post of President, returned to England with a fortune of forty lacs of rupees, and was honoured with an Irish peerage. The old man was now seized with the mania of going back to Madras as governor. He found, on his arrival, that the system of speculation and extortion had intermediately attained great maturity; and he set himself to the task of cleansing the Augean stable, which set the whole settlement in a blaze. To prevent the restoration of Tanjore to the raja, the Nabob spared no art or intrigue; he went so far as to offer a bribe of sixty lacs of rupees to the governor himself, if he would only postpone the transfer, but the orders of the Court of Directors were peremptory, and Lord Pigot proceeded in person to Tanjore, and seated the raja on the throne on the 11th of April, 1776, leaving an English garrison for the defence of the country. But the restoration was no sooner proclaimed than Mr. Paul Benfield came forward and asserted that he had an assignment on the revenues of Tanjore from the Nabob of sixteen lacs of rupees, and a claim on the standing crop of seven lacs for sums lent to the husbandmen. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the total demoralization of the public service at the Madras Presidency than the fact that this Benfield, occupying an inferior post, not worth more than 200 or 300 rupees a month, and keeping the grandest equipages at Madras, should not consider it by any means preposterous to assert that he had advanced twenty-three lacs of rupees on the revenues of the province. The Council called for vouchers, which he was unable to produce, but he assured them that the Nabob was

prepared to admit the obligation, of which there could be no doubt, as the claim had evidently been concocted between them to defraud the Company and the raja. After long deliberation the Council, on the 29th of May, 1776, rejected the claim.

Deposition and
death of Pigot
1776—77.

But the Council soon repented of this act of virtue. They and the other members of the civil service were creditors of the Nabob to the extent of a crore and a-half of rupees, and they discovered that by rejecting the claim of Benfield, they had impaired their hold on the revenues of Tanjore. The vote was reconsidered; Lord Pigot and his friends strenuously resisted the proceedings, but a majority of seven to five resolved that the assignments made to Paul Benfield were valid. The dispute was widened by other questions, and both parties became inflamed. Lord Pigot unconstitutionally suspended two of the members of Council and ordered the commandant, Sir Robert Fletcher, to be placed under arrest. Fletcher was the officer whom Clive had dismissed ten years before, during the mutiny of the officers in Bengal which he had fomented, but whom the Court of Directors had, out of opposition to Clive, restored to the service. The majority of the Council then assumed the government, and placed Lord Pigot in confinement. The order was executed by Colonel Stuart, who passed the day with him at his country seat, in the most friendly intercourse, and drove out with him in the carriage, when, on a given signal, it was surrounded by troopers, and the governor was hurried off to a place of imprisonment. The Court of Directors, after receiving the report of these violent proceedings, ordered that Lord Pigot should be restored to the office of President, and then resign it. Seven members of Council were dismissed from the service, and the military officers placed on their trial. But before these orders could reach Madras, Lord Pigot was beyond the reach of praise or blame. He sunk under his misfortunes in April, 1777, after a confinement, by no means rigorous, of eight months.

Rumbold, go-
vernor of
Madras, 8th
Feb. 1778.

The state of affairs at Madras was not at all improved by the appointment of Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had been trained up in the Bengal school of corruption, as his successor. The Northern Sircars formed the only territory from which the Madras Presidency derived any revenue, but the malversations of the collectors left but a small portion of it to the state. The Court of Directors had, therefore, been induced to order five of the members of Council to proceed to the province, and after diligent investigation, to place the settlement on a satisfactory basis. Sir Thomas Rumbold, immediately on his arrival at Madras, cancelled the commission, and ordered the zemindars to repair in person to the Presidency, a distance of 600 miles, through a country without a road. The zemindars who were able to afford the cost, were required, on reaching the Presidency, to transact business with the governor alone, to the exclusion of the members of Council. The principal zemindar, Viziran raj, who was, in fact, a local prince, pleaded the injury which his affairs must suffer during his absence, as an excuse for not leaving his estates. But his brother hastened to the Presidency, and having given a bribe of a lac of rupees to the governor's secretary, was appointed dewan, in spite of all his brother's remonstrances, and thus obtained the entire control and management of the zemindary. Sir Thomas Rumbold himself was found to have remitted four lacs and a-half of rupees to England after he had been six months at Madras, and the suspicions to which so large a remittance gave rise, were never satisfactorily removed.

The Guntoor
Sircar, 1778.

The treaty with the Nizam in 1768, had given the reversion of the Guntoor Sircar to the Company, after the death of his brother, Basalut Jung. That prince, with Adoni for the capital of his little principality, was ambitious of increasing his power and territory, and had gradually formed a French corps under M. Lally, which received recruits and supplies through the little seaport of Mootapilly. The Madras government repeatedly remonstrated against the

presence of this corps, to Basalut Jung, and also to his feudal superior, the Nizam, who promised that every article of the treaty should be fulfilled to a hair's breadth, but the troops were not disbanded. Basalut Jung was at length threatened by the encroachments of Hyder, and opened a communication with Sir Thomas Rumbold, and a treaty was concluded in April, 1779, by which he bound himself to dismiss the French corps, and to entrust the defence of his dominions to an English force, and assign the Guntoor Sircar for its support. Scarcely was the treaty dry, when the Sircar was transferred on a ten years' lease to Mahomed Ali, that is, to his English creditors, and we are thus furnished with a key to the whole transaction. An English force immediately set out to take possession of the district, and Mr. Holland was deputed to Hyderabad, to expound the transaction to the Nizam. The Nizam expressed the highest resentment at this intrusion into the affairs of his family, and more especially at the military support offered to his brother, who might thus become a formidable rival. But his indignation knew no bounds when Mr. Holland farther requested a remission of the peshcush or tribute payable for the Northern Sircars, which had already been withheld for two years. He called for the treaty and read it over, item by item, before Mr. Holland, and charged the English with violating its provisions, and seeking a quarrel with him. It was under these feelings of irritation that he set himself to organize the grand confederacy for the extermination of the English to which reference has been already made.

Dismissal of Hastings, from whom these transactions had
Rumbold, 1781. been carefully concealed, no sooner heard of them, than he superseded the authority of the Madras Council at the court of Hyderabad, and assured the Nizam that the intentions of the British government were honourable and pacific, that Guntoor should not be occupied, and that the arrears of peshcush should be discharged as speedily as possible. By these assurances, Hastings was enabled to appease

the Nizam, and to neutralize his hostility as a member of the grand confederacy. This friendly disposition was likewise improved by the discovery he had recently made, that Hyder Ali's ambition had led him to send a mission to Delhi, and to obtain a sunnud from the phantom of an emperor, conferring on him the whole of the Hyderabad territories. The French troops, which Basalut Juug was constrained to dismiss, were immediately taken into the service of the Nizam, and the anxiety which their presence in the Deccan inspired was greatly augmented. Sir Thomas Rumbold remonstrated, with great vehemence against this interference of the Governor-General in the political movements of the Madras Presidency; but the measure of his transgressions was now full, and in January, 1781, the Court of Directors after passing the severest censure on his conduct, expelled him from the situation which he had filled and disgraced for more than two years. But he anticipated their decision by deserting his post, and returning to England, as soon as the war with Hyder, which his follies had provoked, was on the eve of breaking out.*

Progress of
Hyder.
1773-1776.

Before entering on the narrative of the second Mysore war in 1780, a brief review of Hyder's progress, after he had been constrained to make peace with the Mahrattas in 1772, appears desirable. The confusion created in the Mahratta counsels by the murder of the young Peshwa, Narayun Rao, afforded Hyder an opportunity of enlarging his territories, which he was not slow to improve. In November of that year he subjugated the principality of Coorg, which offered the noblest resistance, and was, therefore, treated with more than ordinary barbarity. The sum of five rupees was offered for the head of each male, and Hyder took his seat in state to distribute the rewards. After 700 heads had thus been paid for, two of surpassing beauty were laid at his feet, and he was so startled by their comeliness as to order the execution to cease. The circumstance is remarkable, as this is said to have been the only instance in which he ever exhibited any emotion of pity. He

* See Appendix.

pursued this career of conquest with uninterrupted success, and in one short campaign, extending from September, 1773, to February, 1774, recovered all the districts of which he had been dispossessed by the Mahrattas, and strengthened his power in Malabar. In 1775, he reduced the fortress of Bellary, belonging to Basalut Jung, whom he constrained to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a lac of pagodas. He then proceeded to extinguish the power which Morari Rao, the renowned chieftain of Gooty, had been employed for thirty years in building up, and before the end of 1776, had extinguished the independence of Savanoor.

Nizam and
Peshwa attack
Hyder,
1776-1778.

Raghoba, during his vicissitudes, had been in constant communication with Hyder Ali, who had acknowledged his title, and furnished him, from time to time, with funds to the extent of sixteen lacs of rupees, receiving in return a confirmation of all the territories he had recently conquered. The cabinet at Poona, alarmed at his encroachments, formed an alliance with the Nizam, hoping, at the same time, to demolish all the hopes of Raghoba. A Mahratta army of 30,000, and a Hyderabad army of 40,000, accordingly took the field in 1776, but were unable to achieve any success. The invasion was renewed the next year, but the general of the Nizam was rendered inactive by the gold of Hyder, and the Mahratta commander-in-chief was obliged to retreat in consequence of the desertion of one of his generals, whom Hyder had corrupted with six lacs of rupees. The year 1778 was marked by the most active and successful exertions on the part of Hyder, and at the close of it he was enabled to contemplate the fertile banks of the Kistna as the northern boundary of his dominions. In May, 1779, he attacked the Nabob of Kurpa, who had sided with his opponents in the recent war, and annexed all his territories.

Hyder's ne-
gotiations with
Madras,
1773-1778.

The resentment which Hyder manifested at the refusal of the government of Madras to afford him any assistance, in 1772, when pressed to

extremity by the Mahrattas, did not prevent his making overtures to them, in 1773, but all his efforts to establish a friendly intercourse were defeated by the machinations of the Nabob, Mahomed Ali. Hyder then turned to the French at Pondicherry, where his envoys were received with great eagerness by the governor, M. Bellecombe. The inveterate hostility and incessant invasions of the Mahrattas, however, induced him again to court the alliance of the English, and he offered his assistance towards the establishment of Raghoba at Poona, asking, in return, only for a supply of stores and arms, and a small body of troops, for which he was willing to make a suitable payment. The proposal, though acceptable both at Calcutta and Madras, was not entertained with any degree of cordiality.

Capture of
Pondicherry,
1778.

In the month in which this negotiation was in progress, information was received of the commencement of hostilities between France and England, and a force was soon after sent against Pondicherry, the fortifications of which had been completely restored. The place was defended by the gallant Bellecombe for ten weeks with great constancy, but capitulated at length in the month of October, 1778, when the garrison was permitted to march out with all the honours of war. The governor of Madras, in announcing this success to Hyder, offered to renew the negotiations, and to place a resident at his court, but intimated, at the same time, his intention to send an expedition to capture Mahé. This was a small French settlement on the Malabar coast, through which Hyder had, for three years, been in the habit of receiving recruits and supplies of every description from Europe, and the continued occupation of which by his French allies was to him a matter of great importance. He replied that he considered all the foreign settlements, English, French and Dutch, equally under his protection; that he should support the French garrison with all his strength, and retaliate any attack by an invasion of the Carnatic. Hyder's troops accordingly as-

sisted in the defence of the fort, and his colours were hoisted side by side with those of the French; but the place surrendered in March, 1779. Hyder did not disguise his resentment from the governor of Madras, and the tone of his communications created so much alarm as to induce Sir Thomas Rumbold to send the celebrated missionary, Swartz, to allay his feelings, and to sound his disposition. Hyder received the missionary with great respect, but nothing was gained by the mission except the most unequivocal evidence of his hostility.

Hyder joins

the confederacy, against the Madras authorities, he received intelligence that Colonel Harper, who had been

sent to take possession of Guntoor, was marching through the province of Kurpa, which he had recently conquered, without even asking his permission. His indignation was roused to the highest pitch, and he declared that he would neither allow an English force to occupy Guntoor, or to proceed to Adoni, and his officers were ordered to resist the progress of Colonel Harper by an armed force. Basalut Jung was likewise obliged, by the menaces of Hyder and of the Nizam, to request that the march of the English troops might be countermanded, and the sircar restored; but with this request the Madras Government did not see fit to comply. Meanwhile, an envoy arrived at Seringapatam from Poona, to represent that Hyder, equally with the Mahrattas, had reason to complain of the breach of their engagements by the English Government, and to request him to join the confederacy which had been formed to expel them from India. The Mahratta ministers offered to adjust all their differences with him; to relinquish all claims for arrears of *chout*, to limit his future payments to eleven lacs of rupees a year, and to confirm the grants of territory up to the Kistna, made by Raghoba. Hyder accepted these proposals with avidity, and agreed to put forth his whole strength for the extermination of the British power. A few months after, Sir

Thomas Rumbold sent Mr. Grey to Seringapatam to offer an alliance with the Mysore state; but he was treated with studied indignity, and informed that the offer of friendship came too late. Osman, Hyder's minister, in the course of the discussions, took occasion to remark that he had been at Madras, and had seen how the English treated their allies. "Mahomed Ali," he said, "shewed me several letters he had received from the King of England, but he complained of the lacs of pagodas which each one had cost him."

For many months Hyder had been making preparations for war on the largest scale, superintending every arrangement in person, though then in his seventy-eighth year, and by the end of June, had equipped the most efficient force ever collected under the standard of a native prince. It consisted of 90,000 horse and foot, a large proportion of which had been trained and was commanded by European officers. It was supported by a powerful artillery, directed by European science and skill, and his commissariat was admirably organized by a brahmin of the name of Poornea. At Madras no preparation was made to meet the coming storm. In a spirit of infatuation which has no parallel in our Indian history, the members of government refused even to acknowledge the danger, and the idea of an invasion became the topic of ridicule. The President informed the Court of Directors with peculiar satisfaction that the country was in perfect tranquillity, and that there was "the greatest prospect that this part of India would remain quiet." Even so late as the 17th of July while Hyder was advancing through the passes, the commander-in-chief declared that all apprehensions were groundless.

Hyder bursts
on the Carnatic,
20th July, 1780.

These illusions were speedily dispelled. Hyder, having completed the equipment of his army, and ordered prayers for its success to be put up in the mosques, and offerings to be made in the Hindoo temples, burst on the Carnatic, through the Changama pass, on the

20th of July, 1780, and his progress was marked by the blaze of towns and villages. He appeared anxious, on this occasion, to exhaust all the resources of cruelty which a mind never sensible to pity could suggest. The wretched inhabitants were required to emigrate to Mysore with their flocks and herds, and those who lingered about their homesteads, were mutilated without discrimination. With the exception of four forts held by four English lieutenants every fort, as far as the Coleroon, was surrendered by the commandants of Mahomed Ali, whom Hyder Ali had corrupted. The incredulity of the Council was at length dispelled by the announcement that his troops had surrounded Conjeveram, only fifty miles from Madras. But it was not till black clouds of smoke were seen in every quarter from St. Thomas's Mount, distant only nine miles from Madras, that any order was issued for the movement of troops to repel the enemy. The main body of the British army encamped at the Mount was about 5,200 strong, and the force sent to occupy Guntur, now commanded by Colonel Baillie, amounted to about 2,800 men. It was of the last importance that a junction should be at once effected of these two bodies, but Hyder had laid siege to Arcot, which contained the few military stores which the Nabob possessed, and, after a succession of distracted councils at Madras, it was determined to make an effort to relieve it. Sir Hector Munro, the general-in-chief, therefore, proceeded to Conjeveram, and Colonel Baillie, who had arrived within twenty-five miles of Madras, was ordered to make a circuitous march of fifty miles to join him.

Colonel Baillie's
movements,
1780.

Colonel Baillie had reached the banks of the Cortella, then nearly dry, but liable to be swollen by mountain torrents, on the 25th of August, and imprudently encamped on the northern bank. On that night the stream became impassable, and he was unable to cross it before the 4th of September. Hyder immediately despatched his son, Tippoo, with the flower of his army and eighteen guns, to arrest the progress of this brigade. Tippoo

attacked Baillie on the 6th, at a place distant only fourteen miles from Sir Hector's encampment at Conjeveram. The contest was severe, and the loss on both sides so heavy, that Tippoo informed his father that he could make no impression on the English without reinforcements, while Baillie informed the General that it was no longer in his power to reach Conjeveram; and therefore hoped, that he would unite with him at the spot where the engagement had taken place. Sir Hector Munro had acquired a brilliant reputation in Bengal sixteen years before, by quelling the first sepoy mutiny, and defeating the Nabob Vizier at Buxar; but on this occasion he exhibited nothing but the most scandalous incapacity. Instead of forming a junction with the other detachment, he allowed Hyder to interpose between the two bodies with the greater part of his army, and then detached Colonel Fletcher with 1,100 men to the support of Baillie. The English force was thus broken up into three divisions, in the vicinity of a powerful and spirited enemy. But so great was the dread which Hyder entertained of British prowess, that he had determined, in case the whole force was united, to raise the siege of Arcot, and retrace his steps. Even Lally, his French general, considered it incredible that Munro would remain inactive, and counselled a retreat, lest the Mysore army should be attacked at the same time in front and rear. Colonel Fletcher, knowing that his guides were in Hyder's pay, prudently adopted a different route from that which they advised, and was enabled to join Baillie in safety.

Total destruction of Baillie's force, 10th Sept., 1780.

The two brigades advanced till the evening of the 9th September, and a short march would have completed their junction with the main body; but by an act of incredible fatuity, Baillie ordered his men to lie on their arms for the night. Meanwhile, Hyder having ascertained through his spies that Munro was making no preparation for moving, despatched the remainder of his army against Baillie, who had no sooner commenced his march in the morning, than he found himself enveloped by the

whole of the Mysore army. It was in vain that his men performed prodigies of valour, and repeatedly stormed the batteries. The enemy had chosen their positions with great skill, and poured in a destructive fire. The European soldiers, though they had sustained thirteen attacks, and were reduced to 300, still called out to be led against their assailants; but Baillie refused to sacrifice the lives of these brave men, and held out a flag of truce. They had no sooner laid down their arms, however, than Hyder's men rushed upon them, and would have butchered the whole body, if the French officers had not interposed to save them. Of 86 officers, 70 were killed or wounded, and the whole army, with all its stores, baggage and equipments was totally and irretrievably lost. Sir Hector Munro's force was only two miles distant at the time, and if he had come up during the engagement, the defeat would have been turned into a victory, and the fortunes of the war completely changed. On the following day he threw his heavy guns into the great tank, or pond, at Conjeveram, and retreated in haste and disorder to Madras, hotly pursued by the enemy, and losing baggage at every turn. And thus terminated in disaster and disgrace, this brief campaign of twenty-one days, in which the heroism of the men formed a melancholy contrast to the utter incompetence of their generals.

Hastings's energetic measures, 1780. A vessel was immediately dispatched to Calcutta with information of the disaster. To the embarrassment of a war with the Mahrattas, was now added a war with Hyder, which had commenced with the greatest reverse the English arms had hitherto sustained in India. But never did the genius of Hastings appear to more advantage than in this emergency. "All my hopes," he wrote, "of aggrandizing the British name and enlarging the interests of the Company, have given instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic, nor did I hesitate a moment to abandon my own views for such an object." Mr. Whitehill, the governor of Madras,

who had persisted in retaining Guntoor, after he had received orders from Calcutta to restore it, was suspended from his office, to the great satisfaction of the settlement, though, as Hastings remarked, "the creature made some show of resistance." All the troops which could be spared were immediately despatched, together with fifteen lacs of rupees, for the sole use of the army, and not as a civil supply; and such was the energy displayed on this occasion, that the whole embarkation, and all the measures projected for so great an occasion, were completed within three weeks. The veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, had succeeded Sir John Clavering, as commander-in-chief in Bengal, and was solicited to proceed to Madras, and restore the honour of the British name. He was now advanced in years, and feeble in health, but he would not decline this honourable summons to the scene of his early triumphs. But the boldest measure which Hastings adopted at this crisis, was to stop the Company's investment, and apply the funds to the expedition. Even this provision, however, was found to be insufficient. It was a subject of exultation, that during the eight years of his administration, he had not only discharged debts to the extent of a crore and a half of rupees, but replenished the treasury with double that sum; it was, therefore, with no ordinary chagrin that he was now obliged to have recourse to a loan.

Defence of
Wandewash,
1781.

Sir Eyre Coote reached Madras on the 5th of November, and found the equipment of the army so wretched, and the difficulty of obtaining draft and carriage cattle in a country swept by hostile cavalry so great, that it was the 17th of January before he was able to move his army. Hyder had resumed the siege of Arcot, and its small European garrison, after holding out for six weeks, was obliged to retire to the citadel which Clive had defended for fifty days. But the Nabob's brahmin commandant, under Hyder's influence, spread a spirit of disaffection among the native troops to such an extent that the European officers had no alternative but to capitulate. Hyder was at

the same time engaged in besieging five other forts, one of which, Wandewash, was defended by Lieutenant Flint and a brother officer, with such romantic valour and such military skill that the siege became one of the most honourable events of the war. This distinguished officer, however, received no other reward for his eminent services but the applause of Sir Eyre Coote, whose admiration of the resources which had been employed knew no bounds. The Court of Directors refused even to promote him to the command of a company. Soon after, Sir Eyre Coote revived the drooping spirits of the army by the capture of Carangolly, which Hyder had fortified with great care.

Battle of Porto
Novo, 1st July,
1781.

On the 8th of February, the general marched southwards to Cuddalore, where he was subjected to the most mortifying embarrassment for supplies, which he could receive only by sea. The hostile armies remained inactive for four months, Coote unable to move for want of provisions, and Hyder dreading an encounter with him. On the 18th of June, Coote attacked the fortified and well-provisioned temple of Chillumbrum, but met with a repulse. Hyder was elated by this his first success against the renowned English commander, and resolved to risk a general engagement. Though on the verge of eighty, he marched up to Cuddalore, a hundred miles in two days and a half, and took up a strong position in its neighbourhood, which he began to fortify. Coote, ignorant of the nature or strength of the enemy's works, resolved, as his last resource, to sally forth and attack them. His battering guns were sent on board the vessels lying off the town, together with every other impediment, and the troops marched to the assault with the remaining provisions, enough only for four days, on their backs. After advancing a little distance, Coote perceived a road which Hyder had been cutting through the sand hills the previous night, and immediately pushed his detachments through the gap in the teeth of a heavy cannonade. After a long and arduous engagement, of six hours'

duration, the valour of the British troops was rewarded by a complete victory, with the loss of only 300 men. The result of the action was most decisive. Hyder, who had lost 10,000 soldiers, abandoned his designs on Trichinopoly, and Tippoo raised the siege of Wandewash, which the gallant Flint still continued to defend.

Battle of
Pollilore, 27th
Aug., 1781.

The Bengal brigade sent down the coast under Colonel Pearce, had been recruited after the havoc of the cholera, and reached Pulicat, forty miles north of Madras, in July, 1781. Hyder detached Tippoo with a large force to intercept it, and Coote marched 150 miles from Porto Novo to form a junction with it, which he effected on the 2nd of August. A similar movement, even with less foresight and vigour on the part of Sir Hector Munro in the preceding year, would have saved Baillie's army from destruction. Hyder had unaccountably allowed Coote to march through the country without that obstruction which he could have offered at every step, but he determined to make up for his neglect by opposing his return with great vigour, and advanced with the whole of the Mysore army to the spot where a twelvemonth before he had exterminated Baillie's force. He considered this a most fortunate spot for another battle, and his astrologers predicted a certain victory, if it took place on the same lucky day of the same lunar month, the 11th Ramzan, or the 27th of August. The engagement, called after the neighbouring village, Pollilore, lasted throughout the day, but the result was doubtful, both parties firing a salute for victory. The action cost Hyder 2,000 men, while the loss on the side of the English was about 400. The next day, Coote's army was employed in the melancholy duty of interring the remains of Colonel Baillie's detachment in the same graves with their own dead. Vellore, one of the few fortresses left to the English, was at this time straitened for provisions, and the commandant represented the impossibility of holding out unless he was relieved. Coote advanced to raise the seige, and Hyder marched to

Battle of Solingur, 27th Sept., 1781. prevent the attempt. The armies met again for the third time during the year at Solingur, on the 27th of September, 1781. Hyder having come to the conclusion that Coote could not, or would not, attack him on that day, had allowed his cattle and the drivers and followers to disperse, and the rapid movement of the British columns took him by surprise. Coote obtained a complete victory, which, owing to his admirable dispositions, involved the loss of only 100 men, while that of the Mysore army exceeded 5,000. Within a few days, however, Vellore was again reduced to extremity for supplies, and though the monsoon had set in, Coote made three forced marches, and provisioned it for three months. Hyder did not venture again to attack him, and the British army soon after retired into cantonments at Madras, after a campaign in which all the plans of Hyder were baffled by the consummate strategy of Coote, and Coote's expectations were defeated by the wretched state of his equipments and the total absence of a commissariat.

Lord Macarteny, governor of Madras, 1781. The question of filling up the vacant chair at Madras now came up before the Court of Directors.

In the brief period of seven years, two governors had been dismissed by them, and one suspended by Hastings, for gross misconduct, and a fourth had been deposed by his own Council, and died in confinement. The service was thoroughly demoralised; and it was, therefore, determined to try the experiment of placing the government in the hands of a new man, uncontaminated with the general corruption, and a stranger to all local associations, who might be expected to bring dignity to the office, and restore vigour to the administration. The choice fell on Lord Macarteny, a nobleman of much political experience, and imbued with a high sense of honour. He reached Madras on the 22nd of June, and brought the first intelligence of the declaration of war with the Dutch. Their principal settlement on the coast, at Negapatam, 160 miles south of Madras, was at the time garrisoned by a body of 6,500 troops, and Hyder Ali lost no time in

opening negotiations with the chief, which resulted in a treaty on the basis of mutual co-operation against the English. Lord Macarteny was anxious to prevent this formidable accession to the resources of Hyder, and resolved to attack the town, while he was able to reckon upon the assistance of the fleet, before the approaching change of the monsoon. Without abstracting a single soldier from the army of Sir Eyre Coote, who discountenanced the expedition, he drew together a force from Tanjore and Madras, and placed it under the command of Sir Hector Munro. The fleet contributed a large body of marines and seamen, to whose steadiness and gallantry the early surrender of the place was chiefly owing. It fell on the 12th of November, and was found to contain, in addition to a large quantity of military stores, two annual investments of great value. In the following January, Trincomalee, the noblest harbour in the island of Ceylon, was also wrested from the Dutch.

Capture of
Negapatam,
1781, and
Trincomalee,
1782.

The pressure of events on the coast forced the question of the Carnatic revenues on the consideration of the government at Madras and Calcutta. The heavy expenses of the war fell exclusively on the Company's treasury; the province itself contributed nothing to its own defence, as the Nabob and his creditors absorbed the little revenue which was raised. While the troops of Coote were on half rations, the officers of the Nabob were selling the provisions collected for their support, and remitting the proceeds to his private purse. All his efforts were directed to impede, and often to counteract, the movements of the British troops. Not a single soldier in his pay was sent to Coote's camp, while his officers betrayed every fort to the enemy; and his own brother made over the fortress of Chundergiree to Hyder, with all the grain stored in it—for a consideration. The venality and political profligacy of the Nabob's court, unmatched in India, was the constant theme of Coote's indignant remonstrance. The nuisance became at length in-

Arrangement
with Mahomed
Ali, 2nd Dec.,
1781.

supportable, and the Nabob, after repeated evasions, was constrained to resign the revenues of the Carnatic for a period of five years, at the least, with a reservation of one-sixth for his personal expenditure and for his creditors.

Defeat of Colonel Brathwaite, who had assisted at the Brathwaite ; capture of Negapatam, was subsequently em- success at Telli- chery, 1782. ployed in establishing the Nabob's authority in Tanjore, which Tippoo had been sent to ravage. The Colonel was encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, when, owing to the treachery of his guides who were all in the pay of the enemy, he was surprised by Tippoo, with 20,000 horse and foot, and 20 guns. The valour and constancy of British troops have seldom been more conspicuous than on this trying occasion. During twenty-six hours of unremitted conflict they sustained without flinching the repeated charges of the Mysore horse, and the fire of their cannon, but sunk at length from wounds and exhaustion, and would have been annihilated by the troops of Tippoo, but for the generous exertions of the French officers, who appreciated their heroism. This disaster was counterbalanced by a victory on the opposite coast. Tellicherry, a fortified factory, and the only English possession in Malabar, had sustained a siege of eighteen months by a Mysore force. Early in February, the garrison, which had been reinforced, made a sortie, and captured 1,200 of the enemy, together with all their baggage, equipments, and 60 pieces of cannon. The reverse thus inflicted on Hyder emboldened the conquered Nairs to rise throughout the province, and created a violent reaction in Coorg.

Hyder's de- Hyder began to give way to despondency. He spondency, had been foiled in every engagement with Sir 1781. Eyre Coote in which he was not signally defeated.

He was deceived, as he supposed, by his French allies, who had engaged to come to his assistance, but had failed him for twenty months. The revolt, kindled on the western coast, might extend to his capital. The Governor-General had succeeded in detaching Sindia, and the Nizam and Bhonslay from

the confederacy, and the Poona durbar now threatened to unite with the English, and compel him to accede to a peace which would deprive him of all the advantages of the war, unless he consented to resign to them the territories he had acquired between the Toombudra and the Kistna, and abandon all claims on the poligars south of that river. He disburdened his feelings to his minister, Poornea. He lamented his folly in having provoked a war with the English. There were, he admitted, mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but still he might have made them his friends notwithstanding the intrigues of the wretched Nabob. "The defeat of many Brathwaites and many Baillies," he said, "will not crush them. I may ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea, and I must be exhausted by a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting." He resolved, therefore, to abandon all operations in the Carnatic, and to concentrate his efforts on the western coast. He had issued instructions for the entire destruction of the districts on the Coromandel coast, that he might leave no vestige of human habitation behind him, and had ordered the defences of Arcot to be undermined, when all these gloomy forebodings were at once dissipated by the appearance of the long expected French armament on the coast.

French expedi-
tion, 1781-82.

Early in 1781, the French government made preparations for the despatch of a powerful fleet and army to India, under the command of the veteran Bussy, but the capture of two successive convoys by English cruizers retarded the execution of the plan. The first division at length reached the Mauritius, and was at once sent forward to the Coromandel coast. The death of the admiral during the voyage gave the command of the fleet to Suffrein, an officer of extraordinary enterprise and resources. He made the coast off Pulicat with twelve sail of the line and eighteen transports, as Admiral Hughes was returning in January, 1782, from the capture of Trincomalee. Hughes, who had only six vessels with him, was fortunately reinforced by three

others which had arrived from England, and bore down on the French squadron, and succeeded in cutting off six of the transports. The action was indecisive, and Suffrein proceeded to Porto Novo, where he landed 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 Africans. Soon after, Hyder had an interview with the French commanders, when it was determined to attempt the reduction of Cuddalore, and await the arrival of Bussy for larger operations. The extensive fortifications of that place had been incautiously left in charge of only 400 sepoys and five artillerymen, and it surrendered without any show of resistance. A few weeks after, the important post of Permacoil was captured by Hyder. On the 12th of April, there was a second action between the fleets, but without any decisive result, and both the admirals were obliged to retire and refit their disabled vessels.

Action before
Arnee, 2nd
June, 1782.

Coote began now in his turn to despond; he considered the aspect of affairs, not only embarrassing, but even desperate. In the hope of bringing on a general action, he marched to Wandewash, which was besieged by the united armies of the French and of Hyder, but they refused the challenge, and retired to Pondicherry. With the view of drawing them from the position which they had strongly fortified, Coote determined to attempt the capture of Arnee, the chief depot of Hyder in the southern provinces. Tippoo was sent to protect it, and an engagement ensued on the 2nd of June, the only result of which was the capture of one gun and eleven tumbrils, while Hyder was enabled to accomplish his object of rescuing his treasure and stores from danger. Six weeks after, he drew a young officer, who had been entrusted with a large detachment, into an ambuscade, enveloped it with his cavalry, and inflicted on it the loss of two guns and 166 men.

Capture of Trin-
comalee, 31st
August, 1782.

Suffrein now appeared before Negapatam, which he was desirous of obtaining as a depot for the French army. Hughes followed him, and a third naval engagement was fought on the 6th of July, with no

other result than to defeat the views of the French on that town. Suffrein retired to Cuddalore where he repaired the damage his fleet had sustained with incredible speed and energy, and then sailed southwards. Lord Macartney had received intelligence that a second French force had arrived at Point de Galle, and that Bussy himself was immediately expected on the coast. He began to tremble for the safety both of Negapatam and Trincomalee, and urged Admiral Hughes to follow the French fleet with all expedition. But the energy of that officer by no means corresponded with his skill and courage, and he was, moreover, jealous of any interference with his command, and in this instance did not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of his country to his own caprice. Suffrein hastened to Galle, embarked the force of 2,400, which had recently arrived, and landed them at Trincomalee. The siege was pushed with extraordinary vigour, and the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the 31st of August, though on the most honourable terms. Four days later the dilatory Hughes looked into the harbour, and saw the French colours flying on the ramparts. The next day witnessed the fourth action between the two fleets, but though it lasted throughout the day, it terminated like all which had preceded it, without any result. The approach of darkness separated the combatants. This was the last and the severest naval engagement of the year, which was marked as much by the exertions of the fleets, as by the inactivity of the armies.

Hughes sails for
Bombay, 15th
October, 1782.

Admiral Hughes returned to Madras, and announced the necessity of proceeding forthwith to Bombay to refit his vessels, which had kept the sea during the monsoon of 1781, and had sustained serious damage in four successive general actions. The governor represented to him the desperate condition to which the interests of the Company would be reduced by his departure, and earnestly pressed him to remain. Hyder, he said, was master of the Carnatic; the possession of Trincomalee would

give the French the undisputed command of the sea, and enable them to intercept the supplies of grain, on which Madras depended for its existence. Bussy, moreover, was hourly expected with large reinforcements. But the admiral turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance, and, looking only to the safety of the fleet for which he was responsible, set sail for Bombay on the 15th of October. That same night the monsoon set in with a terrific gale; the shore was strewed for miles with wrecks; the largest vessels went down at their anchors, and a hundred coasting craft, laden with 30,000 bags of rice, were irretrievably lost. Four days after Admiral Bickerton anchored in the roads, and, after landing 4,000 troops which he had brought out from England, put to sea again to join his own commander. Madras was now subjected to all the horrors of famine. The ravages of Hyder had driven the wretched inhabitants of the surrounding district for shelter and subsistence into the town, and for some time the number of deaths amounted to 1,500 a week. Sir Eyre Coote's shattered constitution obliged him to return to Bengal, and the monsoon suspended all military operations.

Events on the
Malabar Coast,
1782.

After the relief of Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, and the defeat of the Mysore army in February, 1782, Colonel Humberstone, who had succeeded to the command of the force, marched southward and entirely routed Mukdoom Ali, Hyder's general and relative, whose loss exceeded 2,000 men. To create a diversion and relieve the pressure on the Company's army on the Coromandel coast, the colonel marched into the heart of the country to lay siege to Palghaut, one of the strongest of the fortresses which Hyder had erected in the south, but, on a close reconnoitre, found it less assailable than he had expected. Hyder lost no time in despatching Tippoo with a large force and a French contingent to drive back this invasion. But the Bombay government was no sooner informed of the colonel's hazardous advance into the interior, than they sent him peremptory orders to return to the coast. This

retrograde movement he considered a great misfortune, but it proved the salvation of his army. On the 19th of November Tippoo overtook the retiring force, which was constrained to fight every step of its march, and arrived at dusk on the banks of the Paniani; but, regarding them as a sure and easy prey, he neglected to watch their movements, and the colonel, having discovered a ford, passed his whole army over under cover of the night, and reached the town of Paniani the next day. On the 29th of November Tippoo made an assault in four columns on the British army, but was driven back with great loss. He then determined to blockade the force, and wait the arrival of his heavy equipments, when, on the 12th of December, his whole army was seen to strike its tents and march off to the eastward. A dromedary

Death of Hyder,
7th December,
1782. express had arrived the preceding evening with intelligence of the death of Hyder Ali. His

health had been declining during the year, and his end was hastened by the fatigues of the field. He died at the advanced age of eighty, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest, most enterprising, and most successful adventurers in the modern history of India.

Hyder's death
concealed, 1782. Poornea, a Mahratta brahmin, the ablest of Hyder's ministers, in conjunction with his distinguished colleague, Kishen Rao, a Canarese brahmin, assumed the management of affairs, and acted with consummate prudence. Tippoo, the son and successor of Hyder, was four hundred miles distant, and an Asiatic army, deprived of its head, always becomes a scene of intrigue and confusion. Hyder's death was therefore carefully concealed in the camp. The body was embalmed and sent under an escort to the capital, as it had been usual to despatch chests of valuable plunder. All answers to letters were issued, and all orders published in his name, and his closed palanquin, with the accustomed retinue, moved out at the usual hour from the canvas inclosure of his tent. Tippoo, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, immediately abandoned the western campaign,

and hastened to join the army on the Coramandel coast, which he reached on the 2nd of January. The troops were gratified by the payment of arrears, and a liberal donative; the ministers who had maintained the royal authority at this difficult crisis were confirmed in office; and Tippoo at once succeeded to the command of a splendid army of 100,000 men, and to a treasury filled with three crores of rupees, besides an accumulation of jewels and valuables, which Poornea declared to be of countless value.

Far different was the course of events at Madras. The same fatality which had marked the proceedings of the Presidency for the last fifteen years, seemed still to influence its councils. There was a vigorous governor, but an imbecile general. Sir Eyre Coote's departure for Bengal had placed the army under the charge of General Stuart, and Lord Macarteny entreated him to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by the death of Hyder, to attack the Mysore army before the arrival of Tippoo. The general had never ceased to obstruct every movement since he succeeded to the command of the army, and he now affected to disbelieve the report of Hyder's death, and when it could no longer be a matter of dispute, refused to move until the "proper time," of which he considered himself the sole judge. The golden opportunity of striking a decisive blow was thus lost, and the war prolonged for fifteen months. General Stuart had the entire conduct of the war in his hands, with an increased army and liberal supplies; but sixty days were suffered to elapse after the death of Hyder, before he could be persuaded to move, and even then, he did nothing but demolish the fortifications of three forts which Sir Eyre Coote had been anxious to preserve. The anxiety which his incapacity created, was, however, happily relieved by the abrupt departure of Tippoo. The alarming intelligence which he received of the progress of a British force on the western coast, induced him to proceed in person to meet the danger, with the

Tippoo returns to Malabar, 1st March, 1783.

flower of his army, after having destroyed the works at Arcot, and, indeed, every remaining post except Arnee. Bussy was hourly expected with large reinforcements, and if the entire Mysore army had been strengthened by a European force, directed by the genius of that commander, Madras, entrusted to the wretched Stuart, would have been in imminent peril. From this danger the Presidency was rescued by the injudicious movement of Tippoo. Leaving him to pursue his course to the western coast, we continue the narrative of events around Madras.

Bussy's arrival.
Coote's death,
1783.

The plans of Bussy had been impeded by a succession of untoward events; but although, on landing at Cuddalore on the 10th of April, 1783, he found himself at the head of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 French sepoy, he had also the mortification to find that Hyder was dead, and that Tippoo had gone to the opposite coast, leaving a force of only 3,500 men to co-operate with him. Admiral Hughes had also returned with his fleet to the coast, and General Stuart, having no longer any excuse for delay, marched towards Cuddalore, with a fine park of artillery, and 14,500 men, of whom 3,000 were Europeans. Nothing was wanting to the efficiency of this splendid force, except a commander; and the troops were, therefore, looking with the greatest eagerness for their venerable and beloved general, Sir Eyre Coote, again to lead them on to victory; but the veteran died two days after his arrival at Madras, on the 26th of April. The expedition moved towards Cuddalore under the command of General Stuart, but only at the rate of three miles a day. He sat down before that fortified town on the 7th of June, and on the 13th, attacked a formidable position of the French, who were obliged to retire to the citadel, with the loss of thirteen guns. The honour of the day was due to the extraordinary gallantry of the subordinate officers and men; but it was dearly purchased by the loss of 62 officers and 920 Europeans, killed or mortally wounded. On the same day, Suffrein appeared in the offing.

with sixteen vessels, and Admiral Hughes, who was anchored off Porto Novo, came up to meet him with eighteen ships. Notwithstanding this apparent superiority over the French, he was essentially weaker, as no fewer than 2,700 of his sailors were disabled by scurvy. Suffrein had borrowed 1,200 soldiers from Bussy, and the two fleets met on the 20th of June, but the severe action which ensued, like the four which had preceded it, was without any decisive result. Night again parted the combatants, and Hughes finding his vessels crippled, his crews dying of scurvy, and his supply of water running short, bore up for Madras to refit; while Suffrein, not only restored the 1,200 men lent him by Bussy, but reinforced the French army with 2,400 marines and sailors from his fleet. With this addition to his force, Bussy made a sortie in the dark on the 25th of June, but was repulsed with the loss of 450 men. It was on this occasion that the young and gallant French serjeant, Bernadotte, who subsequently became one of Napoleon's marshals, and king of Sweden, fell into the hands of the English. General Stuart had been bustling about Cuddalore for three weeks, and yet the siege could scarcely be said to have commenced. His force was daily wasting away from sickness, fatigue and wounds; while Bussy, strengthened by the reinforcement from the fleet, and having free communication with the country around, was waiting for the maturity of his errors to strike some decisive blow. Considering the great talents of Bussy, and the incompetency of Stuart, there is every reason to apprehend that it would have resulted in the discomfiture and retreat of the English army, the loss of its battering train and baggage, perhaps also, in the siege of Madras. From this danger, the Company was happily relieved by the arrival of intelligence that peace had been concluded in Europe between the belligerents, and all military operations immediately ceased. General Stuart returned to Madras, and was placed under arrest by Lord Macartney, and sent to England. He was the officer who had been employed eight years before in the clan-

destine arrest of Lord Pigot, and among the epigrams to which his own arrest gave rise, that of the Nabob's second son was by no means the least racy: "General Stuart catch one lord, one lord catch General Stuart."

Expedition
from Bombay,
1783

The abrupt departure of Tippoo to the western coast was occasioned by the success of an expedition sent from Bombay against his possessions in that quarter. General Matthews had been despatched to the succour of Colonel Humberstone at Paniani, but, on hearing of the withdrawal of Tippoo's army, proceeded along the coast, and took possession of the towns of Mirjee and Onore. During this expedition, five of the Mysore ships of war, carrying from fifty to sixty-four guns, fell into the hands of the British admiral. The Bombay President, having received intelligence of the death of Hyder, directed General Matthews to march at once against Bednore. The general disapproved of the movement, which he considered injudicious and dangerous, but instead of entering into explanations with his superiors, proceeded doggedly to execute it, simply disclaiming all responsibility. The ascent of the ghauts, which had been fortified at every point, presented the most formidable obstacles to an invading force, but the gallantry of the 42nd Highlanders, led by Colonel Macleod, carried all the lower defences, and the army arrived in front of Bednore, when, to the utter astonishment of the general, the place was unconditionally surrendered to him. It afterwards transpired that Hyat Sahib, as he was called by the English, the Mysore commander, who had been a favourite of Hyder, and was consequently regarded with feelings of hatred by Tippoo, had obtained the sight of a letter directed by him to one of the officers in Bednore, ordering him to deprive Hyat of the command, and, if necessary, to put him to death; and Hyat immediately made arrangements for delivering up the fortress and the district to the English.

Siege of Man-
galore, 1783.

It was the tidings of this transaction which induced Tippoo to quit the Carnatic, and bend his at-

tention to the expulsion of the English force from the western provinces, justly fearing lest they should be transferred to the Mahrattas, whom Hastings was urging to attack him. General Matthews, instead of concentrating his force, which did not exceed 1,600, at the most defensible point, frittered it away in small detachments, and the troops were allowed to disperse over the country in search of plunder. Bednore was, however, defended with great valour, and it was not surrendered till it had become a heap of ruins, and further resistance was hopeless. The capitulation was violated as usual, and the men and officers were marched off in irons, and consigned to dungeons. Tippoo fired a salute for this his first victory over the English troops, and then descended to the coast and invested Mangalore, the siege of which is one of the most memorable events of the war. The strength of the garrison, at the commencement of it was only 1,850, while the investing force under Tippoo amounted to 100,000 with 100 guns. The command of the fort had devolved on Colonel Campbell, of the 42nd Highlanders, and a brighter name is not to be found in the annals of British India. It would exceed the limits which can be assigned to this memorable conflict in this brief epitome, to enter into any detail of the siege, or to describe how General Macleod, who was twice sent to relieve it, was, on each occasion, cajoled by Tippoo and left his task incomplete, and how an intermediate convention was disgracefully violated and the privations of the brave garrison augmented. It may be sufficient to state that the colonel and his troops defended the place for nine months with unsurpassed resolution against the whole army of Tippoo, and did not capitulate until their number was reduced to 850, and those mere skeletons.

Progress of
Colonel Fullar-
ton, 1783.

Whilst Tippoo was thus wasting his strength and his reputation in a siege which cost him half his army, the absence of a Mysore army from the southern provinces, and the peace with France, enabled the Madras government to send a powerful force across the Pe-

ninsula into the heart of Mysore. This able plan was devised and executed by Colonel Fullarton, who had embraced the military profession late in life, but exhibited talents of a very high order, and would have brought the war with Tippoo to an honourable termination, if he had not been thwarted by the folly of the Madras authorities. His force consisted of 13,600 men, but the native portion of it was twelve months in arrears. On the 15th of November, he captured the renowned fortress of Palghaut, and on the 26th occupied Coimbatore; on the 28th, he had made every preparation for an immediate advance on Seringapatam, while the Mysore army was detained before Mangalore. The capital was within his grasp, but before night he received orders not only to suspend operations, but to relinquish all the districts he had occupied. To explain this singular requisition, it is to be remarked that while Hastings was engaged in urging the Mahrattas, in accordance with the treaty of Salbye, to compel Tippoo to make peace on pain of hostilities, Lord Macarteny, in defiance of the prohibition of the Supreme Government, to which, on such questions, he was entirely subordinate, opened negotiations with Tippoo, and by a singular infatuation, voluntarily agreed to a suspension of arms till a reply was received. So ignorant was the Governor of Madras of native habits, as not to know that any direct offer of peace to a native prince, rendered peace on honourable terms impossible. Tippoo took no notice of the proposals for three months, and then sent one of the most astute of his officers to cozen the President and Council at Madras. After a month passed in jesuitical diplomacy, the envoy proposed that two gentlemen should be deputed to Tippoo to expedite the negotiations. The silly Council swallowed the bait, and even affirmed that this was a proposal which exactly met their wishes. The object of Tippoo was gained, and he was thus enabled to represent at every durbar in India that the English government had sent commissioners all the way from Madras to Mangalore to sue for peace. It

was at this period and under the influence of this agent, that the commissioners instructed Colonel Fullarton to suspend hostilities, and evacuate his conquests; but he had just heard of the perfidious violation of the convention of Mangalore, and though he ceased to prosecute the war, determined to retain the districts he had conquered. Discussions soon after arose between the envoy of Tippoo and the commissioners, regarding the release of the prisoners and the surrender of Mangalore, which were referred to Lord Macartney. On the 8th of December the Council met and reviewed their position; their finances were ruined, their credit was broken, and the confidence of the Supreme Government was gone. But, instead of ordering Colonel Fullarton with his powerful army to push on to Tippoo's capital, while he was occupied at Mangalore, and end the war by one bold stroke, they directed him to relinquish all his conquests, and retire within the limits which they prescribed, although Tippoo's officers had violated their engagements, and retained all the districts they had overrun in the Carnatic, which they were equally bound to evacuate. The missionary Swartz met Colonel Fullarton at the foot of the ghauts as he was marching back, and exclaimed with astonishment, "Is the peace so certain that you quit all before the negotiation is ended. The possession of these two countries would have kept Tippoo in awe, and inclined him to reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage the beast?" The Colonel replied, I cannot help it. Hastings, with his profound knowledge of the native character, reprobated the negotiation, and considered that it should have been entrusted to Colonel Fullerton, and conducted at the head of his army, at the capital. But Hastings was now comparatively powerless. The Court of Directors, a prey to intrigue, had recently renewed their condemnation of his conduct, his own Council deserted him, Lord Macartney set him at defiance, and the negotiations with Tippoo were left to the mismanagement of Madras. The commissioners were marched leisurely through the country,

subjected to every indignity and detained at every stage, till Mangalore had surrendered, when they were allowed to approach the Mysore camp. And there, after having been again insulted by the erection of three gibbets in front of their tents, they at length signed the treaty, on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests. Of the prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Hyder and Tippoo, the most distinguished had been taken off by poison, or hacked to pieces in the woods; but 190 officers and 900 European soldiers still survived the barbarous treatment to which they had been subjected for several years, and were now liberated. Of the treaty, it may be sufficient to say that it was not more disgraceful than those which the Governors and Council of Madras had been in the habit of making for the last fifteen years. It was injurious not only to the character of the British government, but also to the interests of peace, inasmuch as it entailed the necessity of another war to correct the arrogance with which it inspired Tippoo, and to which he gave expression in the following terms: "On the occasion of the signature of the treaty, 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."

CHAPTER XV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SUPREME COURT— PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND, 1774—1784.

To resume the thread of events in Bengal. The Supreme Court, established by the wisdom of Parliament in Calcutta, in 1774, was intended to

Supreme Court
and the zemindars, 1775-1780.

protect the natives from the oppression of Europeans, and to give the English community the blessing of their own laws. The judges were invested with the attributes of the twelve judges in Westminster, and empowered to administer English law in all its branches. Parliament had thus, without any correct knowledge of the circumstances or wants of the new conquest, established two independent powers, but had neglected to define the sphere of their authority, and a collision between the government of the Company and the judicial officers of the Crown, became inevitable. One of the earliest acts of the Court was to hang Nundu koomar for an offence which had not been capital since the days of Munoo. The next blow fell on the zemindars. The country was slowly recovering from the confusion incident to the introduction of a novel and foreign administration, and the zemindars were but partially reconciled to the new economy. The Supreme Court, as soon as it was established, began to issue writs against them, at the suit of any one who could fee an attorney, on the strength of which they were immediately seized in their own cutcheries, or rent-courts, and dragged down to Calcutta from a distance, sometimes, of several hundred miles, and consigned to jail if they were unwilling, or unable, to furnish bail. No indemnification was given to them for the expense or disgrace they had incurred, even when their arrest was cancelled for illegality. Of English law, then the most complicated system of jurisprudence in the world, they were profoundly ignorant, and they felt that no innocence and no ingenuity was able to protect them from the new dangers which menaced them. A dark cloud hung over the country, as portentous as a Mahratta invasion.

The Court's
interference
with the
Government,
1775-79.

These proceedings necessarily affected the collection of the revenue, and endangered the resources of government. The disposition to withhold every payment, however just, is inherent in the native character, and the slightest pretext is sufficient to develope it. The arrest and humiliation of the

zemindars destroyed their credit and authority, and gave their unscrupulous ryots an advantage they were not slow to improve. It had, moreover, been the immemorial custom in India to subject defaulters to coercion, without which they rarely paid their rents; but the attorneys of the Supreme Court, who had spread themselves over the country, advised the ryots and renters when arrested, to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, when they were brought down to Calcutta and discharged, leaving the landlord without rent or remedy. The criminal judicature of the country, which embraced the police of thirty millions of people, had been left in the hands of the Nabob of Moorshedabad and his judicial and executive officers. But the authority of their courts was at once annihilated by the judges of the Supreme Court, who declared that the person called Mobarik-ood-dowlah, that is, the Nabob of Moorshedabad, was a phantom, a mere man of straw, without any legal right to the exercise of any power whatsoever. In one instance, indeed, the Court proceeded so far as to issue a process of contempt against his Highness. The next blow was aimed at the government itself, though it had been established under the authority of Parliament. The judges refused to acknowledge the East India Company except as a trading body, with no other power or position than an ordinary commercial association. They interpreted the Act to signify that the government of the country by the Governor-General in Council was subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and that it would be penal for the Company, or any of its servants, to disobey any order or process emanating from it. There was no department of the state with which they did not see fit to interfere; the whole fabric of the administration was shaken to its base, and the country was threatened with universal anarchy, simply to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Crown court, and to exalt the authority of its judges.

The Cossijurah
case, 1779.

To enumerate the various instances of injustice and oppression to which the enforcement of these

claims gave rise would exceed the limits of this epitome, and one must suffice as a sample. A baboo named Cossinath was instigated to bring an action in the Supreme Court in August, 1779, against his master, the raja of Cossijurah, lying to the south of Calcutta. A writ was issued on the strength of his affidavit, and the raja was required to find bail to the extent of three lacs and a half of rupees. He concealed himself to avoid the process, upon which the Court immediately despatched two sheriff's officers, with a body of eighty-six men, of whom thirteen were European sailors, and the rest natives habited as sepoys, and all armed with muskets or swords. On their arrival at Cossijurah, they forced their way into the palace of the raja, maltreated his servants, violated the sanctity of the zenana, and desecrated his family temple, packing up the idol with other lumber in a basket, and affixing the seal of the Court to it. Hastings considered that the time had at length arrived when he could no longer delay to vindicate the authority of the government, and afford protection to the natives, whatever might be the hazard attending it. He instructed the military officer at Midnapore to intercept the whole party on their return, and march them to Calcutta, where they were immediately liberated. To prevent similar outrages which were then meditated, he likewise issued a proclamation, directing all landholders of every degree to consider themselves exempt from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, except in the two cases of their having bound themselves by agreement to submit to it, or being British subjects. The Supreme Court then proceeded to issue a summons against the Governor-General himself and the members of the Supreme Council, but they peremptorily refused to obey it.

Sir E. Impey
and the Sudder
Court, 1780.

Petitions were now addressed to Parliament by both Europeans and natives, praying for a redress of these intolerable grievances. But as the remedy might be long in coming, the sagacity of Hastings discovered a more immediate antidote. The Provincial Coun-

cils established in 1773, held both revenue and civil courts; and an appeal from their decisions lay to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, or chief court of appeal in Calcutta, in which the Governor-General and the Council were appointed to preside, which, however, their political and administrative duties seldom allowed them to do. In April, 1780, Hastings remodelled the whole system, separated the fiscal from the civil jurisdiction, leaving the former with the Provincial courts, and entrusting the latter to the civil courts which he established in each district, with an appeal to the Sudder Dewanny. He then offered the post of chief judge of this court to Sir Elijah Impey, upon a salary of 7,000 rupees a month, which was accepted without any hesitation. This appointment, together with that of another of the Crown judges as Commissioner of the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah, which had been recently captured, at once quieted the Supreme Court, and released the Government from its embarrassments.

Remarks on this
arrangement,
1780.

The position in which this arrangement placed the Chief Justice, proved highly advantageous to the interests of the country. The judges of the new civil courts who were young and inexperienced, were placed under his supervision and guidance, and he was thus enabled to give form and consistency to the system of civil judicature. Though bred in all the technicalities of English law, he drew up a code of regulations for the administration of justice in the interior, comprised in ninety-five sections, brief and clear, and exactly adapted to the simplicity of native habits; and it has formed the basis of all subsequent legislation at the Bengal Presidency. But this arrangement was assailed with great animosity, both in the Court of Directors and in the House of Commons. Sir Elijah was recalled for having accepted the office, and Hastings was eventually impeached, in addition to the other crimes charged against him, for having conferred it. But, after the lapse of eighty years, the wisdom of this proceeding has been triumphantly vindicated by the Parliamentary enactment of 1860, which

placed the Chief justice of the Supreme Court at the head of the Company's Court of Appeal, and by amalgamating the two Courts, committed to him the duty of supervising the judicial system of the Presidency. On the receipt of the petitions from Calcutta before alluded to, Parliament passed an Act in which the functions of the Supreme Court were more distinctly defined, and it continued from that period to the hour of its extinction, to enjoy the confidence and admiration of the entire community, European and native, for the equity and impartiality of its decisions.

Cheyt Sing's
delinquency,
1780.

The pecuniary difficulties of the government of Bengal were at this time most critical. There was war with Hyder, who was triumphant in the Carnatic; war with the French, with the Dutch, and with the Mahrattas. The entire expense of all these wars fell upon the treasury in Bengal; a debt of a crore of rupees had been incurred, and the credit of Government was at the lowest ebb. Hastings was under the necessity of looking to other sources than the ordinary revenues of the country for supplies, and he was induced to make an additional demand on Cheyt Sing, the raja of Benares. The grandfather of the raja had begun life with the rent of half a village, but amidst the distraction of the times, had succeeded in acquiring a territory, which yielded 50 lacs of rupees a year. The district was transferred by the Nabob Vizier to the British government in 1775, and the rajah received a sunnud from the Governor-General, which stipulated that his annual tribute should be limited to twenty-two lacs and a-half a year. Hastings's demand was therefore stigmatised by his opponents as a breach of faith. But the tenure of Benares was more that of a feudatory than of a mere zemindar, which appears evident from the fact, that Hastings, when irritated by his opposition, threatened to reduce him to the condition of a simple zemindar, like the raja of Burdwan. By the law and constitution of India, he was liable, in cases of emergency, to be called on for extraordinary aids by his superior lord. Such payments had formerly been

made to his liege, the Nabob of Oude, and he was equally bound to meet the requisition made upon him on the present emergency by Hastings, of 2,000 horse and five lacs of rupees. The rajah pleaded poverty, and endeavoured to evade the payment of the full amount, but Hastings had received intimation from various quarters that his hoards exceeded two crores of rupees, and he persuaded himself that the rajah's reluctance to comply with his demands, was a crime. He determined, therefore, "to make him pay largely for his pardon, to exact a severe vengeance for his delinquency, and to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses."

Hastings was about to proceed to Benares to meet the vakeel of the raja of Berar, and negotiate a peace with the Regency at Poona. Cheyt Sing was fully apprised of his resentment, and hastened to avert it by waiting on him as he entered the province, and humbly beseeching him to accept twenty lacs of rupees. The offer was rejected with scorn, and the sum of fifty lacs peremptorily demanded. On his arrival at Benares on the 15th of August, 1781, Hastings sent the raja a statement of his complaints, and placed him under arrest, by sending four companies of sepoy to take the place of his own guards. The city of Benares, the citadel of Hindooism, and the great focus of political intrigue, had always been notorious for its turbulence. On the present occasion, the populace, roused by the indignity inflicted on the raja, rose upon the sepoy, who had brought no ammunition with them, and slaughtered both them and their officers. During this *émeute*, the raja himself escaped across the river to his fortified palace at Ramnugur. The situation of Hastings was perilous in the extreme; the native force on which he depended for protection was annihilated, and he, and the thirty gentlemen with him, had only their own weapons to trust to. Happily the infuriated retainers of the raja crowded tumultuously after him, and quitted the city, instead of attacking Hastings in his

Cheynt Sing's
excessive fine,
1781.

defenceless state. The whole province was speedily in a blaze of revolt, and the zemindars of Behar, who had ever been disaffected towards the English, were ripe for insurrection. It was at this critical period, while beleaguered in Benares, that Hastings exhibited his rare strength of nerve, by continuing and completing his negotiations with Sindia, as if he had been tranquilly residing in Calcutta. Equally remarkable was the confidence that Sindia manifested in the destinies of the English, by affixing his seal to the treaty, while he knew that the life of the Governor-General was in jeopardy. His situation at Benares, notwithstanding the rapid arrival of troops from different quarters, was not, however, considered defensible, and he made his escape during the night, by a window, and rowed down to Chunar.

Capture of Bidgegur, 9th Nov., 1781. The raja collected a force of 20,000 men, but did not cease to importune Hastings for a reconciliation, which was wisely rejected, lest it should be attributed to fear. The raja's troops were successively defeated, and he took refuge in Bidgegur, but not deeming himself safe there, fled to Bundlecund with as much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry. The begums, who were left behind, surrendered the fortress on the 9th of November. In a private letter to the commander of the troops, in reference to the treasure which was supposed to be deposited in Bidgegur, Hastings had incautiously remarked, "With regard to the booty, that is rather your consideration than mine. I should be sorry that any of your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled." On the strength of this communication, the officers proceeded at once to divide the booty, amounting to forty lacs of rupees, among themselves and the troops. Hastings was especially mortified at the loss of the treasure with which he had hoped to replenish the empty treasury of the Company. The officers were invited to return it, and to leave their claims to the equitable decision of the Supreme Council, but they manifested their discretion by refusing to

trust their interests to the arbitrement of a pauper government. In extenuation of the odious proceedings of Hastings towards Cheyt Sing, it was asserted that he was disaffected to the British Government; but, in this case, Hastings would not have ventured to enter the capital with so slender an escort. Cheyt Sing was culpable in having hesitated to afford immediate aid to his liege sovereign in a great public exigency, but the imposition of a fine of fifty lacs of rupees for withholding payment of one-tenth of the sum, had an aspect of vindictiveness which it is impossible to palliate; and although Hastings was so blinded by his own judgment as to claim merit for the transaction, it has always been considered a dark spot in his administration, and it will hereafter appear that it was on this point that the question of his impeachment eventually turned. Cheyt Sing enjoyed an asylum at Gwalior for twenty-nine years. His nephew was raised to the throne, and the tribute augmented from twenty-two and a half to forty lacs a year.

The begums of
Oude, 1782.

The disappointment which Hastings had experienced regarding these treasures increased his embarrassment. The treasury in Calcutta was drained for the support of more than sixty thousand troops required for the war at Bombay and Madras, and money was indispensable. It was in these circumstances that the Nabob vizier waited on him at Chunar, and represented the impossibility of making good from his exhausted country the arrears of a crore and a half of rupees due to the Company, and of continuing to maintain the English troops stationed in his dominions. But these troops were indispensably necessary to their defence, and the withdrawal of them would have been immediately followed by a Mahratta invasion. He entreated Hastings to relieve him from the charge of at least one brigade, and to allow him to take possession of the wealth and the jaygeers of the begums, to enable him to discharge his obligations to the Company. Hastings subsequently affirmed that if the Vizier had not made this proposal, he himself would never

have suggested it. At the same time, it was represented to him that the begums had abetted the rebellion, as he called it, of Cheyt Sing, and supplied him with troops and money. The charge rested chiefly on the assertion of one Colonel Hannay, who had obtained service with the Nabob vizier, and fleeced him to the extent of thirty lacs of rupees in three years. It was supported by affidavits taken before Sir Elijah Impey, the chief judge of the Supreme Court, who proceeded to Lucknow for the purpose;—a most extraordinary pilgrimage, as was justly said, for a most extraordinary purpose—yet it was utterly without foundation. But under the pressure of circumstances, Hastings brought himself round to the belief that “the begums had made war on the Company;” he yielded to the solicitation of the Vizier, and his consent to the spoliation of the princesses was duly embodied in a treaty. The Nabob returned to Lucknow, and after some little hesitation, to save appearances and to throw the odium of the transaction on the Governor-General, surrounded the palace of the begums with guards, seized and fettered the two eunuchs who were their confidential ministers, sequestered their estates, and extorted, at several times, sums to the amount of seventy-six lacs of rupees, which were paid over to the Company. To these treasures and jaygeers the begums had originally no legitimate title, as we have explained in a preceding chapter; they were state property, liable for the obligations of the state; but six years had elapsed since the Nabob—however reluctantly it matters not—had assigned them to the begums, under the official guarantee of the representative of the Governor-General. The coercive measure now adopted admits therefore of no moral extenuation. Yet so little was Hastings alive to the objectionable character of this transaction, that he ridiculed the censure which “men of virtue” might cast upon it. But the men of virtue and of political integrity in his own land have regarded it as a stain on his administration, however consonant it may have been with the Mahomedan law of

succession, or the practice of Oriental courts. As to the barbarities practised on the begums and their servants by the Nabob, Hastings cannot be held personally answerable for them; the odium which they have fixed on his administration, was the revenge of civilization for an alliance with barbarism, for a most objectionable object.

Fyzoolla Khan, Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla chieftain, was, in 1780. 1774, left in possession of Rampoora and several other jaygeers, of the annual value of fifteen lacs of rupees. He devoted his attention with great zeal to the encouragement of agriculture and the improvement of the country, and with such success as to double his rent-roll in seven years, without overtaxing his subjects. He was bound by treaty not to increase his military force beyond 5,000 men, of whom 3,000 were to be at the disposal of the Nabob vizier, when he happened to be engaged in war. In November, 1780, Hastings, distracted by the intelligence of Colonel Baillie's defeat, instructed the Vizier to demand the aid of 5,000 troops for the defence of Behar, to liberate the English regiments for service at Madras. Fyzoolla Khan, with all humility, made an offer of 2,000 horse and 1,000 foot. Hastings, who always expected prompt obedience to his requisitions, was exasperated at this hesitation, and under the alarm created by Cheyt Sing's proceedings, assented, without adequate consideration, to the request made by the Vizier to dispossess Fyzoolla Khan of the whole of his zemindary and annex it to his own dominions: but he soon after discovered and acknowledged the error he had committed in this interpretation of the treaty, revoked the permission he had given to the Vizier, and released Fyzoolla Khan from the obligation of furnishing any quota of troops in future, on the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees.

Censure of the Directors; Hastings resigns, 1783—5. These proceedings were severely condemned by the Court of Directors who pronounced the demand on Cheyt Sing, a breach of faith, and ordered him to be restored to his estates. Under the in-

fluence of this vote of censure Hastings's colleagues in Council not only withdrew their support from him, but became united in their opposition to him, and he complained, with great reason that while he was still held responsible for the safety of India, his degradation had been proclaimed at every court in India. "If," he said, "I am to be threatened with dismissal, my acts reprobated, the whole responsibility of the government thrown on me, with only an equal voice in Council, I cannot discharge my trust with credit or effect." In a letter to the Court of Directors of the 20th of March, 1783, after appealing to them to attest the patience and temper with which he had submitted to all the indignities heaped upon him during his long service, he announced his determination to quit their service, and requested that a successor might be immediately nominated. During the year 1784 he proceeded to Lucknow, and in compliance with the requisition of the Court of Directors, restored the jaygeers to the begums, through the agency of the Nabob vizier. He adjusted all accounts between Oude and the Company, made every arrangement for the payment of the English troops employed in its defence, and then withdrew the Residency, which had become odious to the Vizier by its interference with his government, not less than by its depredations. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings addressed valedictory letters to all the princes and chiefs of India, and having laid the keys of the treasury on the table of the Council Board, and delivered the keys of the fort to his successor, Mr. Macpherson, embarked for England in February, 1785, after a most eventful administration of thirteen years.

Hastings's reception in England, 1785.

Hastings reached England on the 13th of June, and experienced the most gracious reception from the King and Queen; and even the Court of Directors greeted him with a courteous address. By one of the most influential members of the House of Lords, he was described as the Company's great minister—the powerful Chatham of

the east. The Ministry, with one exception, evinced the most friendly disposition towards him, and the preeminent services he had rendered to his country in the East fully justified his expectations of a peerage. But that exception was fatal to all his hopes. Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, had imbibed a vehement prejudice against him. He admitted that he was a great and wonderful man, and that the charges against him were ridiculous and absurd; but, he had committed four transgressions—he had attempted to extend the British dominions in India, which the minister highly disapproved of; he had forfeited the confidence of the native princes; he had disobeyed the orders of the Court of Directors; and he had fixed enormous salaries to offices in India. There was, moreover, an adverse resolution on the records of the House of Commons, and until it was done away with by a vote of thanks for his great services, Mr. Pitt affirmed that he could not advise his Majesty to confer any honour on him; yet the minister's favourite colleague, Mr. Dundas, with whom that damnatory vote originated, had subsequently declared, that Hastings's conduct was worthy of every praise he could bestow, and of every support his Majesty's ministers could afford him; and he went so far as expressly to pronounce him the saviour of India. As to the vote of thanks, Mr. Pitt had only to propose it to the House, and it would have been carried by acclamation.

Commencement
of his impeach-
ment, 20th
June, 1785.

Seven days after Hastings landed in England, Mr. Burke, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Whigs, gave notice in the House of Commons that he would on a future day, make a motion regarding the conduct of a gentleman recently returned from India. But a meeting of the party was held soon after, and it was resolved, with great unanimity, to be unadvisable to embark in a crusade against him. There was therefore every reason to conclude that the menace of a prosecution would have blown over, but for the imprudence and arrogance of Major John Scott, the confidential agent and

evil genius of Hastings. Like other retired Indians of ample fortune he had purchased a borough and entered Parliament. On the first day of the ensuing session of 1786, he rose and defied Burke to make good his threat. After this challenge, Burke had no option but to pursue his intention, and he entered upon the impeachment with all the ardour of his enthusiastic nature. His political associates, who had been lukewarm on the subject, felt themselves bound in honour to rally round and support him; and this celebrated trial is thus traced up to the mistaken zeal of Hastings's own friend, Major Scott, who emphatically "bullied" Burke into the prosecution. His first motion was for the production of papers, but the House resolved, that he should state his case before he applied for documents to support it.

Charges against Hastings, 4th April, 1786. On the 4th of April, Burke brought forward eleven charges, to which eleven others were subsequently added. For many years he had made the politics and the people of India and their ancient history his particular study, and no man in the House has ever been more familiar with all questions relating to that country. He was a worshipper of ancient institutions and dynasties, and having followed the career of Hastings step by step, gradually contracted a feeling of personal animosity towards him, for his attempts to subvert them in the East. But all the materials of the charges were supplied by Mr. Francis, Hastings's rancorous opponent in India, who had obtained a seat in Parliament, and determined to hunt him down with all the rancour which might have been expected from the writer of Junius's letters. After the charges had been introduced, Hastings obtained permission to be heard in reply, and on the 1st of May appeared at the bar, bending beneath the weight of a document more prolix than even a Bengal dispatch. He read on till he was exhausted, when the clerks of the House came to his aid, and mumbled through its interminable pages, the reading of which required a second day. The only impression produced on the House was one of weariness.

ness and impatience; yet so ignorant was Hastings of English sensibilities as to persuade himself that the idea of the reply was conceived in a happy hour, and by a blessed inspiration, and that "it instantly turned all minds to his own way."

The three principal charges, 1786.

Of the twenty-two charges, only three were of any serious importance, and they referred to the first Rohilla war, to Cheyt Sing, and to the begums of Oude. The rest—such as that of having in six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Furruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin, and of having impoverished and depopulated Oude, and rendered the country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert,—were the mere litter of Mr. Francis's malignity. The first charge accused him of having "hired British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people inhabiting the Rohillas." But the first Rohilla war had received the approbation of the Court of Directors; it had taken place fourteen years before, and whatever might have been its criminality, Parliament had condoned it by subsequently reappointing Hastings Governor-General. Mr. Dundas explained that when he proposed a vote of censure to the House on this transaction, he considered it sufficient for the recall of Hastings; but he had never supposed that it involved the necessity of a prosecution. Both he and Mr. Pitt voted against the charge, and it was consequently negatived by 119 to 67. The charge of wanton cruelty and extortion against the raja of Benares, was brought forward by Fox, in a speech of surpassing ability, but he rested his argument solely on the principle that Cheyt Sing was an independent prince, no way liable to be called on for succour by the Bengal Government. Mr. Pitt, who was expected to support Hastings in this case also, resisted this opinion, and asserted that Cheyt Sing was a vassal of the Bengal empire, and owed allegiance to it, and was subject to extraordinary demands on extraordinary emergencies. But, he added, the whole of Hastings's conduct showed that he intended to punish the raja with too much severity, inflicting

a fine of fifty lacs for a default of only five lacs. He voted, therefore, for the motion, which was carried by 119 to 79. The adoption of this charge by the Ministry, was the turning point of the impeachment, which, after this decision, became inevitable. The third important charge, which referred to the confiscation of the treasures and estates of the begums of Oude, was entrusted to Mr. Sheridan, and the speech of six hours' duration with which he introduced it, has been justly considered the greatest effort of oratory in ancient and modern times. Mr. Pitt, himself, described it as possessing everything that genius or art could furnish, to agitate and control the human mind. The House was enraptured by his eloquence, and gave an unusual sign of applause by clapping of hands, in which even the strangers were allowed to join without rebuke. The debate was adjourned to the next day, on the extraordinary plea that, under spell of the orator, the members had lost their self-possession. When the House resumed, Mr. Pitt came forward and asserted, that Hastings's conduct regarding the treasures of the begums bore the strongest marks of criminality, though he did not impute to him the cruelties said to have been practised. After this declaration, the charge was supported by a majority of three to one. It was therefore resolved that Warren Hastings should be impeached before the Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours during the period of his Indian government; and as the Lords refused the use of their own chamber, Westminster Hall was ordered to be fitted up for the occasion.

Trial of
Hastings. 1788
—1795.

The trial which commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, presented the most august spectacle which had been witnessed in England for more than a century—the impeachment by the Commons of England, before the highest tribunal in the land, of the man who had consolidated the power of Great Britain in the East. The scene was one of unexampled dignity and grandeur. The Queen and the Princesses, the Prince of Wales, and his royal brothers, with their trains, led the procession.

The peers in their ermine, were marshalled two and two according to their rank from their own chamber to the hall. But the most interesting spectacle was the galaxy of genius grouped together in the seats appropriated to the managers of the trial—Fox, and Burke, and Sheridan, and Grey, and Windham, men of imperishable renown in the annals of their country. In the presence of this illustrious assembly, Warren Hastings, who had given law to the princes and people of India for thirteen years, appeared in the position of a culprit, and was required to go down upon his knees. He was immediately commanded to rise, and accommodated with a seat; but of all the indignities which had been heaped on him in England or in India, this ignominious ceremonial was that which most acutely wounded his feelings. The Lord Chancellor, who presided in the Court, and who had been his own school-fellow at Westminster, concluded his address with much solemnity, "Conduct your defence in a manner that may befit your station and the magnitude of the charges against you, and estimate rightly the high character of those you have to answer—the Commons of Great Britain." To which Hastings replied with great dignity, "I am come to this high tribunal, equally impressed with a confidence in my own integrity, and in the justice of the Court before which I stand." The pleadings were opened by Burke in a speech of such transcendent power, that Hastings himself was carried away by the torrent of eloquence, and remarked that for half an hour he really considered himself the greatest miscreant in England. The management of the impeachment, for any detail of which, however, it is not possible to find space in this brief sketch, was left by Mr. Pitt in the hands of his opponents, the Whigs, and it was conducted in a spirit of rancour, which in this age of moderation, is regarded with amazement. The whole proceeding is inseparably connected with the traditions and the credit of that party, and, hence, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, its political chief still considers that the "whole of Hastings's policy was

conceived in an Indian spirit of trick, perfidy, cruelty and falsehood." To acquit Hastings of criminality would necessarily imply the severest reflection on the conduct of those who applied to him the epithets of "thief," "tyrant," "robber," "cheat," "swindler," "sharper," "captain-general of iniquity," and "spider of hell," and then expressed their regret that the English language did not afford terms more adequate to the enormity of his offences. The trial dragged on for seven years, and terminated on the 23rd of April, 1795, in his complete and honourable acquittal. It cost him ten lacs of rupees, and reduced him to poverty, but it has conferred immortality on his name.

Character and administration of Hastings, No man acting on so great a theatre, and in circumstances of such extreme difficulty has ever had his public conduct, and his private correspondence subjected to an ordeal like that to which Hastings was exposed, and there are few who could have come out of it with such credit. In the opinion of the ablest, though most censorious of the historians of British India, "He was beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company has ever employed, nor is there any one of them who would not have succumbed under the difficulties he had to encounter." The impartial verdict of posterity has long since acquitted him of the crimes charged on him. That he was not free from blame, the preceding narrative has abundantly shown, but his offences are cast into the shade when we contemplate the grandeur of his whole career, and we may adopt the opinion of one of the most eminent statesmen of the day, "Though he was not blameless, if there was a bald place on his head it ought to be covered with laurels." His presidency was a great epoch in the history of our Indian empire. On his arrival in Bengal, as governor, he found the Company in possession of a large and fertile territory, but without any rule of government except that which had descended to it from its commercial institutions, and no rule of policy but that which the accident of the

day supplied. It was he who organised the administration and consolidated the political power of the British empire in the East. While he was anxious to avoid territorial acquisitions, he set his heart on extending our political influence to every court, and making the Company the leading power in India, and the arbitrator of its destinies. This task he accomplished while opposed and thwarted by his colleagues, counteracted and reviled by his superiors, and enjoying but accidental and temporary authority. While the king of England and his ministers were losing an empire in the west, he was building upon an empire in the east. To the natives of India his impeachment was an incomprehensible enigma. They had followed him to his embarkation with their regrets, and when he had been deprived of all power, and had become the butt of persecution, the princes of India, whose confidence he was said to have forfeited, hastened to offer him the spontaneous homage of their admiration. Nor to this day is he regarded in India in any other light than as one of the most moderate and most honourable, as well as the ablest of British rulers.

Select and
secret Com-
mittees, 1781—
82.

The exclusive privileges granted to the East India Company were to expire upon three years' notice, after the 25th of March, 1780, and negotiations were therefore opened between the India-house and the Treasury, towards the close of that year, which turned chiefly on two points, the right of the Crown to all territories acquired by its subjects, and the share due to the public of the advantages which the Company enjoyed. On the 9th of April, 1781, Lord North brought forward eight propositions in the House of Commons relative to the government of India, so unpalatable that the Court of Directors refused to apply for the renewal of the Charter on such terms. But the Company was strong in the House and in the country, while the Ministry was tottering. A compromise was, therefore, effected between the parties. The question of right to the territories acquired in India was left in abeyance, and the existing privileges were extended with scarcely any modifica-

tion to a period of three years, after notice had been given on the 1st of March, 1791. The Company was likewise required to pay to the Treasury the sum of forty lacs of rupees in lieu of all arrears due to the nation, and three-fourths of their surplus profits, after the payment of a dividend of eight per cent., were to go to the state. In February of the year 1781, the petitions, formerly mentioned, from the inhabitants of Calcutta against the encroachments of the Supreme Court were presented to the House, and it was agreed to refer them to a Select Committee, of which Mr. Burke was the life and soul, and which is remembered by the twelve able reports drawn up by his pen and submitted to Parliament. It was these reports which for the first time diffused through the community in England a distinct view of the origin and progress of our rule in India, and of the importance of the national interests which had grown up. On the receipt of the intelligence of Hyder Ali's irruption into the Carnatic, the Minister moved for the appointment of a Secret Committee to inquire into the cause of the war, and the state of the British possessions on that coast. Six reports were presented by this Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Dundas.

Motion for the
recall of
Hastings, 1782.

On the 9th of April, 1782, Mr. Dundas moved that the reports be referred to a Committee of the whole House, and in a speech of three hours' duration, denounced the conduct of the Presidencies in India, whom he charged with having plunged the nation into wars for the sake of conquest, violated the engagement of treaties, and plundered and oppressed the natives. He censured the Court of Directors for reprobating the conduct of their servants abroad only when it was not attended with profit. The House at once adopted the charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, the late governor of Madras, and a bill of pains and penalties was introduced, but in consequence of the unsettled state of parties, it dropped through, leaving the black stain of his iniquities still attached to his character.

On the 30th of May, 1782, Mr. Dundas moved for the recall of Mr. Hastings from Bengal, and Mr. Hornby from Bombay, for having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the Company. The House voted Hastings's recall; the Court of Directors followed the example, but the Court of Proprietors, which at this time comprised men of high standing and great eminence in the country, resolved that the Court of Directors was not bound to pay any attention to the suggestions of only one branch of the legislature, and passed a vote of thanks to Hastings. This act of independence, which was resented by both parties in the House, sealed the doom of that Court. Mr. Dundas declared it to be dangerous in principle and insulting to the authority of Parliament, and when he came into power two years subsequently, assisted in giving a death blow to its power.

Fox's India
Bill, 1783.

The pecuniary embarrassments in which the Company was involved by the bills drawn for the expenses of the war in the Carnatic, damaged their position in no small degree. On the 5th of March they presented a petition to the House stating that of the sum exacted of them for the benefit of the nation, they had paid thirty lacs, but were unable to find the remainder, though it was only ten lacs, and, moreover, that they could not carry on the government of India for another twelvemonth, without the loan of a crore of rupees. Two Acts were passed for their relief; but this application, combined with the reports of the two Committees, and the damaging debates in the House, produced a deep impression on the public mind, and there was a general demand for some measure commensurate with the importance and exigency of the case. Mr. Fox, then at the head of the Coalition Ministry, was urged by the national voice to legislate for India, and he consequently brought forward his celebrated India Bill. Both Clive and Hastings had recommended to the Prime Ministers of the day,

to Lord Chatham and Lord North, that the government of India should be conducted in the name and under the authority of the king. But Mr. Fox's Bill went much further. He proposed that all the powers of government should be transferred, for a period of four years, from the Company to a Board consisting of seven Commissioners, to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament, and afterwards by the Crown. The trade of the Company was to be managed by nine assistant-directors, to be eventually chosen by the proprietors of India Stock. Another Bill was likewise introduced for the reform of abuses in India, but its provisions were without vigour or soundness. A hobby of Mr. Francis was also adopted, and the zemindars were declared to be the hereditary proprietors of the lands of which they collected the revenue. As regarded making war or alliances with the native powers, the supreme authority in India was to be placed under more severe restrictions, and rendered more subordinate than before to the Board of Commissioners, fourteen thousand miles off, in England.

The motives of Mr. Fox, in the introduction of this bill, were pure and benevolent. He really believed that it was his mission "to rescue the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed, from the greatest tyranny that ever was exercised." But the bill was considered dangerous to the liberties of the nation. The patronage of India was estimated to be worth two crores of rupees a year, and, as the principle of competitive appointments had not then been discovered, it was believed that the transfer of it to the Crown, or to the minister would destroy the balance of the constitution. It was, therefore, opposed by many from the most patriotic motives. The Court of Directors, threatened with extinction, filled the country with their complaints, and asserted that after such a violation of chartered rights, no institution in England was secure. The cry was echoed in Parliament by thirty or forty of those whom the spoils of the east, or the

Defeat of Fox's
India Bill,
1784.

jobs of the India-house, had lifted into the senate, and who presented a firm phalanx of opposition to a bill which cut off their children and connections from the prospect of similar fortunes. Every engine was set in motion to defeat this measure, yet it passed the lower House by a triumphant majority of 208 to 102. But the king had been alarmed by the assurance, that it would take the diadem from his head, and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox. He, therefore, adopted the unconstitutional course of authorizing Earl Temple to inform the peers, that he should consider any one who voted for it as no friend of his. The House of Lords therefore threw out the bill, and at midnight the king sent a messenger to the ministers, whom he cordially hated, to announce their dismissal.

Mr. Pitt's India
Bill 1784.

Mr. William Pitt, then twenty-four years of age, was placed at the head of the new ministry, and, after struggling for several months with an adverse House of Commons, at length appealed to the country, and obtained a majority of 160. The East India Company, then the most powerful corporation in England, had assisted him with their influence at the elections, and their interests were not forgotten when he was in power. Their chief revenue was derived from the monopoly of the tea trade. They were in arrears for duty to the extent of a crore of rupees, which they asked him to remit. The duty of 50 per cent. then levied on the importation of the article, gave encouragement to smuggling, and thereby diminished the resources of the Company. Mr. Pitt reduced it to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and endeavoured to make up the loss of sixty lacs of rupees which it entailed, by an increase of the very objectionable tax on windows and light. On the 13th of August, he introduced his India Bill, in a speech in which he denounced, in no equivocal terms, the misconduct of the governors in India. He had before him the three plans for the improvement of the government, which had been drawn up during the previous three years by Lord North, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Fox, from each of which he

borrowed some of the materials of his own bill. He proposed the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, consisting of six members of the Privy Council, with power to check, superintend and control, all the acts, operations and concerns, connected with the civil and military government, and the revenues of India. The Court of Directors were to submit to the Commissioners, not only the letters received from India, as before, but all those which were transmitted by them. All despatches and orders dictated by the Board were to be implicitly obeyed. At the same time a committee of secrecy was constituted, consisting of three Directors, through whom all important communications from the Board were to be sent; an interior cabinet was thus established at the India House, which excluded twenty-one of the Directors from all share of political power. The Court of Proprietors, which had recently set the House of Commons at defiance, was restricted from interfering with any of the decisions of the Board, and was thus reduced to utter insignificance. Two other provisions were inserted, the one to compel every officer returning from India to deliver a schedule of the property he had acquired; the other to establish a separate and august tribunal in England, for the trial of great delinquents. But these anomalous enactments were speedily abrogated. It was also declared in this bill that the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour and the policy of the British nation, and it was therefore enacted, "that it should not be lawful for the Governor-General, without the express authority and concord of the Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India, or any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such princes or states, except when hostilities should have been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the states and princes whose dominions it shall be engaged by subsisting treaties to defend." How far this attempt to stop the growth

of the British empire by Act of Parliament was successful, will be seen in the course of this history.

Comparison of the Bills, 1784. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the reprobation of Mr. Fox's bill, and the commendation bestowed on that of Mr. Pitt. In both the monopoly of the trade to India and China was left to the Company, and the Directors were to be chosen by the Proprietors. The object of both was the same, to deprive the Court of Directors of all power in the government of India, and transfer it to the Ministry of the day, by whom, in both cases, the Commissioners were to be appointed, for the Crown meant its responsible Ministers. But, then, Mr. Pitt left to the Company the semblance of power, while he imperceptibly took away the reality. He left the Court of Directors all the trappings of greatness, their grand house, their magnificent banquets, and their vast patronage; they were still the grandest corporation in the grandest city of the world; but, there was the check-string behind the machinery, which controlled all its movements. From the passing of this bill in 1784, to the period when, in 1858, Mr. Fox's plan was consummated, and the government of India distinctly transferred to the Crown, the administration of India was conducted under the absolute control of the President of the Board, though in the name of the Company. The government of India was a despotism at home, and a despotism abroad. The Indian Minister was, it is true, responsible to Parliament, but the responsibility became a farce, when the members rushed out of the house at the name of India. Mr. Dundas was appointed the first President of the Board, and continued for sixteen years to manage the affairs of India with ability which has never been surpassed. The office has since been considered one of inferior importance and dignity, and, with occasional exceptions, has been left to second, and even third-rate men. Indeed, there are few circumstances more striking in the history of our Indian empire, than the contrast presented by the brilliant genius of its successive Governors-General, and the dull mediocrity of those who have presided over the government at home.

Nabob of Arcot's debts, 1784.

The first question on which the absolute power of the Indian minister was displayed, referred to the Nabob of Arcot's debts, which had been for many years the great source of demoralization at the Madras Presidency. That prince had long been in the habit of borrowing money at an exorbitant premium and a ruinous interest, and giving assignments, called *tunkaws*, on the revenue of different districts. When he removed his court to Madras, the town immediately became a scene of the most scandalous intrigue and fraud, into which men of all classes, in and out of the service, plunged with reckless avidity. The traffic in loans to the Nabob was openly prosecuted without disguise or shame, and became the shortest and surest road to fortune. Civilians with 500 rupees a month rose to sudden opulence, and even the members of Council, who ought to have been the foremost to check these nefarious practises, were themselves most deeply implicated in them. Government became a mockery, when its highest dignitaries were employed in endeavouring to obtain the control of districts for their private advantage. Hastings, when he took over the revenues of the Carnatic for the prosecution of the war with Hyder, determined to deal summarily with this incubus on its resources. He proposed to deduct one-fourth from the principal, to consolidate principal and interest to a fixed date, after which all interest was to cease, and to pay off the amalgamated sum by instalments. So thoroughly aware were many of the bondholders that these transactions would not bear the light, that they came readily into the compromise, but the majority, consisting chiefly of the public servants, did not consider it their interest to cut down the great pagoda tree, and destroy all hope of future produce, and the plan fell to the ground.

The settlement of these interminable claims was considered a matter of the first importance by all the public men who had taken an active part in Indian affairs. The bills of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Fox made provision for investigating their origin and

Mr. Dundas's conduct regarding the loans, 1735.

justice, and establishing a fund for their liquidation. Mr. Pitt's India Bill contained the same enactment, and the Court of Directors entered upon the duty with great zeal; but before the close of 1784, Mr. Dundas took the affair out of their hands, and determined to pay off the demands without any investigation whatever. To determine the order of payment he divided them into three classes, and directed that the sum of twelve lacs of pagodas should be annually appropriated to this object, giving the precedence, however, to the private debts, over the debt due to the Company. The Court of Directors remonstrated against this preposterous arrangement, and justly pleaded their prior right to the repayment of the expenses they had incurred, almost to their own bankruptcy, in defending the Carnatic from Hyder's invasion, and for which the Nabob had already made an assignment of seven lacs of pagodas a year. They reprobated the proposal to divert any portion of this sum to satisfy the demands of his fraudulent creditors. But the powers of government had passed out of their hands. The President of the Board of Control refused to reconsider his decision, and the subject was brought before the House in February, 1785. It was on this occasion that Mr. Burke delivered his celebrated speech on the Nabob's debts, and consigned the Benfields, and the Atkinsons, and the whole crew of Madras extortioners, to everlasting infamy. He ascribed the singular course pursued by Mr. Dundas to the exercise of Parliamentary influence. It appeared that Paul Benfield had been enabled to make no fewer than eight members at the recent election, from funds supplied by the Nabob of Arcot, and their votes were placed at the disposal of the Ministry. "This," exclaimed Mr. Burke, "was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was held out by the gorgeous eastern harlot, which so many of the people—so many of the nobles had drained to the very dregs." But so powerful was the Ministry in the House, that they did not condescend even to notice this brilliant speech. Mr. Dundas's

scheme of liquidation was adopted, the result of which was, to secure to Benfield the undisturbed enjoyment of a sum little short of sixty lacs of rupees, of which he had plundered the Carnatic.

Sequel of the
Arcot debts,
1785.

Of the three classes into which Mr. Dundas had divided the claims, the largest was the consolidated loan, as it was called, of 1777, of which the Court of Directors heard, for the first time, in the preceding year, and the amount of which was fixed, with interest, at two crores and twenty lacs of rupees. But it cost the country five crores before the last pagoda was paid off, twenty years later, whereas Hastings's compromise, in 1781, would have discharged the whole debt for a crore and a half. To pursue this stupendous system of fraud to its closing scene, we must anticipate the events of fifty years. To prevent the recurrence of such claims, Mr. Fox's bill made it unlawful for any servant of the Company, civil or military, to be engaged in any money transaction whatever with any protected or other native prince. Mr. Pitt did not think fit to incorporate this wise prohibition in his bill, and the consequence was, that while the liquidation of the old debt was in progress, the Nabob and his friends were engaged in fabricating fresh loans, and on the payment of the last claim in 1805, new demands to the incredible amount of thirty crores of rupees were presented. But Parliament had learnt wisdom by experience, and instead of again admitting them without inquiry, determined to subject them to the severest scrutiny. A Board of Commissioners, consisting of Bengal civilians, was appointed at Madras to investigate their validity, and another Board in London to receive appeals. The labours of these bodies were prolonged over half a century, when the genuine claims were reduced to about two crores and a half, while a sum little short of a crore had been expended in the investigation. The conduct of the Madras Presidency in the matter of these Carnatic debts, and of the Bengal Presidency in the case of Meer Cassim, and the transit duties, are the

two dark spots in our Indian administrations, and they appear all the more scandalous when contrasted with the general integrity and justice of our proceedings.

In the next question which Mr. Dundas took in hand—the revenues of the Carnatic—his decision was equally unfortunate. The irruption of Hyder Ali into the province had constrained Hastings to demand an assignment of all the revenues of the Carnatic to provide for its defence, with the reservation of one-sixth for the expenses of the Nabob. The Nabob was obliged to submit, but, under the influence of his creditors, who refused to advance money without fresh *tunkaws*, he spared no exertion or artifice to defeat the arrangement, and at length sent an agent to Hastings to appeal against the measures of Lord Macartney. Hastings imprudently listened to his tale of wrong, and issued an order for the restitution of the assignment. The districts had been placed under the able management of a board of honest men, and had yielded a larger revenue than they had ever produced before; to surrender them to the Nabob would have reduced the Presidency to destitution at a time when the army was seven months in arrears. An angry discussion arose between Madras and Calcutta, but Lord Macartney at length succeeded in retaining the revenues, and his conduct received the approbation of the Court of Directors. But Mr. Dundas had not been many months at the head of the Board of Control before he ordered them to be peremptorily given back, on the ground that the war had ceased, and that “it was necessary to give to all the powers of India a strong proof of the national faith.” The Nabob had received a much larger amount of ready money from the punctual payment of his share of the revenues, than he had ever received before from the districts, and he could therefore have no interest in resuming the management of them. But it was of the highest importance to his creditors, of whom Benfield was the representative, and, at the same time, the Nabob’s chief adviser in all such matters, to regain their hold

on the lands. Lord Macarteny was resolved, if possible, not to witness the misery which the surrender of the assignment would inevitably inflict on the interests of the Madras Presidency, and he proceeded to Bengal in the hope of persuading the officiating Governor-General to suspend the execution of the order, pending a reference to England. But he found him unwilling to take on himself the responsibility of interfering with the orders of the Ministry; and the lands passed into the hands of the Nabob—and of his creditors.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS IN 1778, 1779, AND 1780.

SINCE this volume was sent to press, the author has been favoured with a large and valuable collection of papers, compiled from original correspondence, and from printed records long since forgotten, relative to the administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, at Madras, and intended to relieve his memory from the obloquy which has rested on it for nearly half a century. A careful perusal of this compilation forces the conclusion that the charges brought against him by Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill were based on erroneous information, and partial investigation. The statements regarding his proceedings, which are now received as historical facts, and the authenticity of which the author of this volume never suspected, are not, as it would appear, to be relied on, and this chapter of Indian history requires to be written afresh. The interests of historical truth demand this candid admission, and render it necessary to place before the reader the clear explanations which these documents afford, of various points on which his conduct has been impeached.

The large sums remitted to England by Sir Thomas Rumbold, soon after his arrival at Madras, have been considered a decisive proof of the corrupt character of his proceedings. But these papers explain that he was for twelve years a civilian on the Bengal establishment, and chief of the factory of Patna, and moreover, engaged, like all the civilians of the time, in mercantile transactions; that the remittances consisted of the property he had left in Bengal in the public securities, as proved by the clearest evidence, and which, combined with his salary as Governor, fully accounted for the fortune he had accumulated, of which he was obliged on his return to deliver a schedule on oath, under the penalty of the confiscation of his entire property, if he erred to the extent of £500.

The Court of Directors had directed five of the members of Council at Madras to proceed to the northern sircars, to complete a settlement with the zemindars, and Sir Thomas Rumbold has been censured for cancelling the commission, and directing the zemindars to repair to Madras, where they were required to transact business with him alone. But it is now shown that for this procedure he sub-

mitted his reasons to the Court of Directors, the chief of which was that these landholders were endeavouring to baffle the Commissioners, and that the Court declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the course he had adopted. When the matter came under Parliamentary investigation, it was attested by four witnesses that at the Madras Presidency transactions of this nature had always been conducted by the President himself, and subsequently communicated to the Board.

Regarding the bribe of a lac of rupees to his secretary, Mr. Redhead, by Seetaram raj, it is shown that Mr. Redhead never enjoyed the confidence of Sir Thomas, and was dismissed within a few months of his arrival at Madras, and died soon after. A paper was discovered among his effects, which purported to be a translation from the original, in the Gentoo language, containing a promise on the part of Seetaram raj to pay him a lac of rupees on the performance of certain services. It was not attested by Seetaram, or by Mr. Redhead. His executors, however, sued the native for the amount in the Mayor's Court, and obtained a decree, which was reversed on appeal by the President in Council. An attempt was made to implicate Sir Thomas in the odium of this transaction, but the counsel for the bill found that it could not be sustained, and abandoned the charge.

It is stated in the histories of India, that when Sir Thomas summoned the zemindars of the northern sircars to Madras, Viziram raj, the zemindar of Vizagapatam, declined to obey the injunction, pleading the injury which his estates would suffer from his absence, but that his brother Seetaram raj hastened thither, and succeeded in obtaining from Sir Thomas Kumbold the entire command of the zemindary, in spite of his brother's remonstrances. The version of this affair given in these papers, and substantiated by documentary evidence, presents it in a totally different aspect. Seetaram was the eldest son, and the lawful heir of the principality, but, under the pressure of palace intrigues, was induced to relinquish his right to his brother, and to consent to act as his dewan, or steward, in which capacity he managed the estates with such fidelity and benefit as in a few years to double the rent-roll. A competitor at length succeeded in poisoning the mind of Viziram raj against his brother, and supplanted him in his office. Seetaram was at Madras, seeking the intervention of the public authorities before the arrival of Sir Thomas, who determined, if possible, to reconcile the brothers. The new dewan, who was a defaulter to the extent of £90,000, was directed to proceed to the zemindary, and bring up his accounts. Sir Thomas embraced the opportunity of his absence, which relieved Viziram from the spell of his influence, to make up the family quarrel. Seetaram was re appointed dewan, and continued to live in harmony with his brother, and secured the punctual payment of the public revenue, and promoted the improvement of the family property.

The most important series of events elucidated by these documents is that which refers to the transfer of the Guntoor sircar, which has been assumed, without question, as the cause of the confederacy formed to

exterminate the Company, and of the war with Hyder Ali, which spread desolation through the Carnatic. The statement, which has hitherto been deemed authentic, runs thus:—By the treaty made with the Nizam in 1768, a tribute of seven lacs of rupees a-year was to be paid to him for the four sircars, and he was bound to consider the enemies of the Company his enemies. The Guntoor sircar, however, was to remain in the possession of his brother, Basalut Jung, during his life, and then to revert to the Company; but if he gave protection or assistance to their enemies they were at liberty to take possession of the province and retain it. Basalut Jung employed Monsieur Lally to organize an army, commanded by French officers, which was gradually increased to 500 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys, and was constantly supplied with recruits and stores through the port of Motapilly. In 1779, Basalut Jung, alarmed by the encroachment of Hyder, voluntarily proposed to Sir Thomas Rumbold to lease his territory for its full value to the Company, to dismiss the French force, and to receive a British contingent in its stead. A British force was accordingly sent to take possession of the province, and Mr. Holland was deputed to Hyderabad to explain this transaction to the Nizam, and to demand the remission of the tribute, which had been withheld for some time. The Nizam was exasperated at a proceeding which he considered a breach of the treaty, and immediately formed a confederacy with the Mahrattas and Hyder for the extermination of English power in the Deccan. These measures were concealed from Mr. Hastings, who, on becoming cognizant of them, superseded the authority of the Madras Government at the court of the Nizam, ordered the province to be restored, and engaged to make good the tribute; and by this prompt and conciliatory procedure detached him from the great confederacy.

The documents now collected give a totally different aspect to these transactions. The collection of a French force in Guntoor had been an object of alarm equally at Calcutta and at Madras for years before the confederacy was formed. In July, 1775, the Governor-General stated that no time should be lost in removing it, and authorized the Government of Madras to march a body of troops to the frontier, to demand the immediate dismissal of the French force, and, if it was not complied with, to take possession of the country and retain it. The Government of Madras, instead of adopting this extreme measure, sent a remonstrance to the Nizam as Soobadar of the Deccan, and urged the removal of the French corps. He promised to respect the treaty "to a hair's breadth," but constantly evaded compliance with the demand, which was often repeated. The capture of Pondicherry, in 1778, gave a new turn to affairs in the Deccan, and, combined with the recent encroachments of Hyder, who threatened to absorb the Guntoor sircar likewise, induced Basalut Jung to send a vakeel to Madras and offer to make over the province to the Company on the payment of the same sum which he had hitherto derived from it, to dismiss the French, and receive an English force. A treaty, embodying these arrangements, was accordingly drawn up by Sir Thomas Rumbold, with the full concurrence of Sir Eyre Coote, then a member

of the Madras Council, and submitted to Mr. Hastings, who made divers alterations, and then returned it to be carried into effect, with his full concurrence. A detachment of British troops was then sent to occupy the province, who were obliged to cross a corner of a district which Hyder had recently added to his dominions. The Court of Directors likewise commended the meritorious conduct of Sir Thomas in concluding the treaty.

The Nizam and Hyder resented this proceeding, but their indignation only served to demonstrate the wisdom and policy of it. The Nizam reproached his brother for having rented the sircar to the English, when he should have made it over to Hyder Ali. Hyder had resolved to oust Basalut Jung and take possession of the province, which would give him a position on the flank of the Carnatic, and a port on the Coromandel coast. He was irritated by the promptness with which this design was frustrated, and vowed that he would not allow the sircar to pass into the hands of "his old and bitter enemies." By a singular error, accidental or otherwise, the word "enemy" was substituted for "enemies," and the declaration was thus made to apply to Mahomed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, and not to the Company, whom Hyder always regarded with a feeling of rancorous hatred.

With regard to the tribute of seven lacs of rupees a-year, the papers state that it had fallen into arrears before the arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold. The Nizam was pressing for payment, and the Madras Government had earnestly entreated the Governor-General to assist them with funds to discharge it. The Madras Presidency was reduced to such a state of poverty, that when the troops had been paid for one month they knew not where to look for the next supply. Mr. Holland was sent to Hyderabad, not to make a positive demand of remission, to be eventually supported by violence, but to solicit a reduction of the sum, on the plea of poverty, and if the Nizam appeared to be propitious, to propose the entire relinquishment of it, coupled with certain propositions which it was thought would appear an equivalent for the sacrifice. If they were rejected, he was instructed to assure the Nizam that the current tribute, as well as the arrears, would be paid "as soon as they were in cash." Mr. Holland found, on his arrival, that the Nizam had taken the French force dismissed by Basalut Jung into his own service, which, considering that the English were then at war with the French, was a gross breach of the treaty, and the Governor of Madras strenuously remonstrated with the Nizam for openly protecting and encouraging the enemies of the Company. Mr. Holland therefore informed him that the payment of the tribute would be made on his giving full satisfaction regarding the French troops.

The hostile confederacy formed by the Nizam is attributed, by the historians, to the irritation produced in the mind of the Nizam by the Guntoor transactions and the tribute negotiations. But the documents show that it was formed before they had occurred, and that this fact was admitted by the Governor-General himself. The

animosity of the Nizam, which led to the confederacy, was created by the support given by the British Government to Raghoba, whom he considered his most inveterate enemy. He had earnestly remonstrated with the Bengal Government on this subject, and announced his determination to attack the Company's dominions if the alliance was not relinquished. Another cause of annoyance was the interception of a letter addressed by the Governor-General to Mr. Elliott, the envoy sent to Nagpore, authorizing him to conclude an alliance with the raja, and to assist him in recovering certain territories from the Nizam. It is shown in the papers that it was these two transactions alone which induced the Nizam to form a combination against the Company. It has likewise been believed that the Nizam was detached from the confederacy by the assurance of the Bengal Government that the tribute should be paid, and the Guntoor sircar restored; but a far more probable cause of this change of policy is to be found so the papers say, in the fact that while the Nizam was inciting Hyder to attack the English, he discovered that Hyder had sent a vakeel to Delhi to obtain from the puppet of an Emperor an imperial grant of the whole of the Nizam's dominions!

These documents deal also with the assertion that the Madras Government, after having given every provocation to Hyder, were taken by surprise when he burst on the Carnatic. But it is stated that every effort was made to conciliate him. The expedition to Mahé was undertaken by orders from home, but when it was found to be obnoxious to Hyder, Sir Thomas proposed that it should be suspended, but was overruled by Sir Eyre Coote. Hyder declared that he would be revenged for Mahé in the Carnatic. The Madras Council were fully aware of his hostility, and repeatedly pointed out the danger to which the Carnatic would be exposed from his assaults, and their inability to defend it. They recommended a union of all the Presidencies to reduce his power. In announcing Hyder's preparations to Calcutta in November, 1779, Sir Thomas Rumbold stated that if he should enter the Carnatic it was beyond their power to prevent the ravages of his horse; but so late as January, 1780, Mr. Hastings wrote: "I am convinced from Hyder's conduct and disposition that he will never molest us while we preserve a good understanding with him."

In reference to the desertion of his post on the eve of the war, and the resentment of the Court of Directors, the papers show that the measures of Sir Thomas Rumbold had been uniformly commended by them, and that the first censure of his conduct, which was also accompanied by a sentence of deposition, was written three months after they had received his resignation and appointed his successor, and that his retirement from India was rendered imperative by the advice of the first physicians in Madras. After his return, Mr. Dundas introduced a bill of pains and penalties charging him with high crimes and misdemeanours, and more particularly stigmatising the transaction regarding the Guntoor sircar as having been done in a clandestine, treacherous, irregular, and

unjustifiable manner. The law officers of the Crown condemned these proceedings as unjust. Some of the more important allegations in the bill were abandoned, and others broke down when brought to the test of evidence, and the bill itself was withdrawn twenty months after it had been presented, by a motion that it be read that day six months.

It is to be hoped that this valuable collection of documents will at no distant period be given to the public, for the information of those who take an interest in the history of British India, and the guidance of those who may hereafter treat of this subject.





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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

VOLUME II.



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THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,

FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF
LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION.

BY
JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN.

///

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XVI.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE THIRD MYSORE WAR. 1786—1793.

Date.		Page
1785	Sir John Macpherson's administration of twenty months	1
1786	War between Tippoo and the Mahrattas, in conjunction with the Nizam	2
	Lord Macarteny offered the Governor-Generalship; endeavours to make terms, and is rejected	3
	Changes in the system of appointing Governors-General	4
	Lord Cornwallis appointed Governor-General	5
	He applies to the correction of abuses	5
	Numerous instances of abuse	6
1788	The salaries of the Civilians augmented	7
1786	Lord Cornwallis's arrangement with Oude	8
1788	He demands the Guntoor Sirkar of the Nizam	9
	The Nizam resigns it, and demands the full execution of the treaty of 1768	10
1789	Lord Cornwallis's perplexity; his celebrated letter	10
	Tippoo takes offence at this letter	11
	He prepares for the attack of Travancore—Profligate conduct of the Madras President	12
1789	Tippoo attacks the lines of Travancore	12
1790	Lord Cornwallis forms a tripartite treaty with the Nizam and the Mahrattas	13
1790	Campaign of 1790 conducted unsuccessfully by General Medows	14
	Bengal Division marches down the coast	15
	Colonel Hartley's brilliant exploit	15

Date.		Page
1791	Lord Cornwallis takes the field in person	16
	Tippoo's embassy to Louis XVI.	16
	Lord Cornwallis captures Bangalore	17
	The Nizam's contingent reaches the English camp; description of it	17
	Battle of Arikera won by Lord Cornwallis	18
	He is obliged to close the campaign, and retire for want of provisions	19
1790	Progress of the Mahratta contingent	19
1791	It reaches the English camp, as the retreat commences; its grand bazaar	20
	Mahrattas extort 14 lacs from Lord Cornwallis	21
	Movements of the Mahrattas, of the Nizam, and of the English after the retreat	21
1792	Lord Cornwallis takes the field with a magnificent convoy	22
	Siege of Seringapatam	23
	Tippoo sues for peace; conditions of the treaty	24
	Remarks on the successive proposals of public men to relinquish territory in India	25
	The normal principle of encroachment in native princes	26
	The position in which the English found themselves placed in India	27
	Explanation of the augmentation of the British dominions	28
1793	Reduction of Tippoo's power	28

CHAPTER XVII.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION.—REVENUE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS.
—POWER OF SINDIA, 1786—1793.

1793	Lord Cornwallis's revenue reforms	29
	Line of the Zemindars	29
1793	Evils of the revenue systems, 1772—1790	30
1786	Remedy ordered by the Court of Directors	31
1793	Question of the proprietary right in the lands; it is granted to the Zemindars	32
	Restrictions vainly imposed on the Zemindars regarding the enhancement of rents	32
	Mr. Pitt determines to make the settlement perpetual	34
	Result of the perpetual settlement	35
	Lord Cornwallis's institutions for the administration of civil and criminal justice	36
	The Cornwallis Code	37
	Unwise exclusion of natives from power	38
	War between France and England; capture of Pondicherry	39
	Lord Cornwallis embarks for England	39
1784	Progress of Sindia's encroachments in Hindostan	40
1787	He attacks the Rajpoots and is defeated	41
1788	Appearance of the infamous Gholam Kadir on the scene	41

Date.		Page
1788	He puts out the emperor's eyes ; he is himself put to death by Sindia	42
1785—1790	Sindia organises a force under French officers	43
1790	He gains the battles of Patun and Mairta	44
1792	Sindia marches to Poona and invests the Peshwa with the title obtained from the emperor	45
	His mock humility	46
	Severe action between the troops of Sindia and Holkar ...	46
1794	Death of Sindia	46
1786	Enlargement of the powers of the Governor-General ...	47
1788	Mr. Pitt's Declaratory Act for transferring power from the Company to the Crown	48
1793	The renewal of the Charter	49
	Arguments for continuing the monopoly	50
	Refuted by the experience of three-quarters of a century	51

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793—1795.

1793	Sir John Shore Governor-General	51
	Guarantee treaty proposed by Lord Cornwallis, accepted by the Nizam	52
	And rejected by the Mahrattas	53
	Sir John Shore's neutrality	54
1794	Tippoo resolves to attack the Nizam	54
	The Nizam claims the aid of the English, under the treaty of 1790	54
	Sir John Shore refuses all aid	54
1795	Nizam's European force under Raymond	55
	The Mahrattas attack the Nizam at Kurdla, and totally defeat him	56
	He is obliged to sign a disgraceful treaty	57
	He increases his French forces, and plants them on the English frontier	58
	Remonstrance of Sir John Shore	58
	Revolt of his son and its consequences	58
	Madhoo Rao Peshwa, galled by the restraints of Nana Furnu- vese, puts an end to himself	59
1796	Great complication of affairs at Poona in consequence	60
	Bajee Rao at length becomes Peshwa	61
1797	Nana Furnuvese seized and confined	61
	Plunder of Poona by Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, at the instance of Bajee Rao	62
1794	The question of the amalgamation of the King's and Com- pany's troops	63
1795	Mutiny of the Bengal officers	64
1796	The weak and injudicious concessions of the Government	65
1797	Sir John Shore superseded ; Lord Cornwallis appointed Gover- nor-General	66

Date.		Page
1797	He resigns the office six months after, in disgust	67
	Vizier Ali appointed Nabob vizier of Oude	67
	Sir John Shore discovers his spurious birth, and removes him	68
	Oude considered by the natives a dependency of the Company	68
1798	Saadut Ali made Nabob vizier	69
	Sir John Shore created Lord Teignmouth, and retires to England.....	70

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.—FOURTH AND LAST MYSORE WAR,
1798—1799.

1798	Lord Wellesley, Governor General; his antecedents	71
	Extinction of the balance of power	72
	State of India	73
	The Mauritius Proclamation	74
	The Coast army ordered to assemble	75
	Opposition of the Madras authorities	76
	Danger from the French force at Hyderabad	77
	Zemaun Shah prepares to invade India ...	77
	Lord Wellesley's vigorous policy	78
	Proposed alliance with the Nizam reluctantly accepted	78
	Sindia's proceedings at Poona ...	79
	Proposed alliance with the Peshwa declined	80
	Negotiations with Nagpore and Sindia ...	81
	Extinction of the French force at Hyderabad	82
	Mysore war sanctioned in England	83
	First communication to Tippoo ..	84
	Lord Wellesley embarks for Madras	84
1799	Continued correspondence with Tippoo	85
	His professions of friendship, and his insincerity	86
	Strength of the British force	87
	Judicious selection of officers	87
	Tippoo marches to the western coast, and is defeated ...	88
	Progress of General Harris	89
	Battle of Malavelly	89
	The British army crosses the Cavery	90
	Commencement of the siege of Seringapatam	90
	Ineffectual overtures of Tippoo	91
	Capture of Seringapatam	92
	Death and interment of Tippoo	93
	Character of Tippoo	94
	Remarks on these transactions	95
	Creation of a new Mysore kingdom; the moving causes; character of this arrangement ...	96
	Allotment of the conquered territory	97
	Provision for Tippoo's family	97
	Seringapatam booty	98

Date.		Page
1799	Peshwa and Sindia plan an attack on the Nizam and the Company during the siege	99
	Peshwa rejects the Mysore territory offered to him; it is divided between the Nizam and the Company	100
	Dhoondia Waug	101
	Cession of territory by the Nizam; enlargement of the Madras Presidency	102

CHAPTER XX.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION (continued), 1799—1802.

	The principality of Tanjore mediatized	103
	Condition of the Carnatic; the Nabob and his creditors	104
	Exertions of Lord Hobart to remedy the evils; he is recalled	105
	Lord Wellesley's proposals to the Nabob	105
	Discovery of the Nabob's intrigues	106
	Lord Wellesley's resolution to mediatize the Carnatic	107
	Annexation of the Carnatic to the Madras Presidency	108
1800	Deputation of a native envoy to Persia, and his success	108
	Captain Malcolm's magnificent embassy to Persia	109
	Result of this embassy	110
	Depredations of French privateers	111
	Expedition to the French islands frustrated by Admiral Rainier	111
	Expedition to the Red Sea	112
1802	Peace of Amiens	113
	French armament to Pondicherry; Lord Wellesley refuses to restore the settlement	113
1799	Vizier Ali assassinates Mr. Cherry	114
1800	Augmentation of British troops in Oude	115
	Nabob proposes to abdicate	116
	Nabob's remonstrance, and Lord Wellesley's indignation	117
	Nabob's submission; second demand of augmentation	118
1801	Annexation of half the territory of Oude	119
	Remarks on this transaction	120
	Appointment and dismissal of Mr. Henry Wellesley	121
1800	Reorganization of the Sudder Court in Calcutta	122
	Establishment of Fort William College	123
	Abolished by the Court of Directors	125
	Re-established on a reduced scale	125
	Encouragement of private trade, 1793—1801	126
1802	Successful hostility of the India House to this measure	127
	Resignation of Lord Wellesley	128
	Interference of the India House in appointments	129
	Lord Wellesley solicited to remain another year	131

CHAPTER XXI.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.—MAHRATTA AFFAIRS, 1800—1803.

Date.	Page
1800 Death of Nana Furnuvese	131
The Holkar family; virtues and successful administration of Aylah Bye	133
1795-7 Death of Aylah Bye and Tokajee Holkar	133
1795 Rise and progress of Jeswunt Rao Holkar	134
1801 He defeats Sindia's army	135
Bajee Rao barbarously murders Wittojee Holkar	136
Sindia's troops defeat Holkar	136
1802 Holkar recruits his army ...	137
Battle of Poona between Holkar, Sindia, and the Peshwa	138
Holkar places Umrit Rao in power at Poona	139
Treaty of Bassein	140
Result of the treaty; discussions on it	141
1803 Discontent of Sindia and the raja of Berar at the Treaty	142
Coalition of Mahratta chiefs against the Company	142
Lord Wellesley's military preparations ...	143
General Wellesley saves Poona from destruction	144
Peshwa restored to his throne ...	144
Development of the designs of the coalition	145
Sindia's declaration, which brings on the war	145
Full powers conferred on General Wellesley	146
Colonel Collins quits Sindia's camp	147
Grand preparations for war	148
Capture of Ahmednugur	148
Battle of Assye	149
Capture of Boorhanpore and Asseergur... ..	150
Occupation of Cuttack	150
Armistice with Sindia	151
Battle of Argaom ...	151
Treaty of Deogaom with the raja of Nagpore	152
Sindia's possessions in Hindostan	153
Great power of General Perron	153
Capture of Allygur	154
Battle of Delhi	155
Release of the Emperor	156
Lord Wellesley's design to remove the imperial family from Delhi frustrated	157
Capture of Agra	158
Battle of Laswaree	158
Treaty of Sirjee Anjengaom with Sindia	160
Distribution of the conquered territory	160
Treaties of alliance with the princes beyond the Jumna	161
The Guickwar	162
1804 Abolition of infanticide by Colonel Walker	164
Reflections on Lord Wellesley's successes	165

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION (continued), 1804-5.

Date.		Page
1804	Holkar's movements ; his arrogance	165
	War with Holkar declared	167
	Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat	168
	Remarks on this calamity	170
	Holkar besieges Delhi, which is gallantly defended by Colonel Ochterlony	171
	Holkar pursued by General Lake	171
	Battle of Deeg	172
1805	Siege of Bhurtpore ; its failure	173
	Treaty with the raja of Bhurtpore	173
	Menacing attitude of Sindia	174
	Discussions regarding Gohud and Gwalior	175
	Hostility of Sindia ; detention of Mr. Jenkins.....	176
	Proceedings in Sindia's camp ; progress of the settlement	177
	Lord Wellesley's anxiety for peace	178
	Close of his administration	178
	Remarks on his administration	179
	Disputes between the India House and Lord Wellesley, 1803-5	180
	Cause and consequence of the alarm at the India House	181
	Lord Cornwallis sent out to save India	182
1806	Prosecution of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Paull	183
	Condemnation of Lord Wellesley by the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors	184
	Reversal of it thirty years after	185

CHAPTER XXIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR GEORGE BARLOW,
1805-7.

1805	Lord Cornwallis lands in Calcutta	185
	His view of the state of affairs	186
	His policy	187
	Lord Lake's remonstrance	188
	Death of Lord Cornwallis	189
	Sir George Barlow, Governor-General	190
	His policy	190
	Negotiations with Sindia	191
	Equipment of the army against Holkar	192
	Peace with Sindia	193
	Pursuit of Holkar by Lord Lake	193
1806	Treaty with Holkar	195
	Sir George Barlow adds declaratory articles to the two treaties	196
	Disgraceful abandonment of Jeypore	196

Date.	Page
1806 Aggressions of Holkar	197
Remarks on the termination of the Mahratta war	198
Violence and insanity of Holkar	199
1811 Death of Holkar	200
1806 Contest for the hand of the Oodypore princess	200
1807 Battle between the forces of Jeypore and Joudhpore	201
Villany of Ameer Khan	201
1809 Rajpoot princes appeal for support to the British Government	202
1810 The princess of Oodypore poisoned	203
1806-7 Sir George Barlow's interference at Hyderabad	204
1806 He refuses to tamper with the treaty of Bassein	205
State of the finances	206
Ministers supersede Sir George Barlow	206
They appoint Lord Lauderdale; successful resistance of the India House	207
Lord Minto appointed Governor-General	208
The Vellore mutiny	208
Its origin	209
Recal of Lord William Bentinck	210
Temple of Jugunnath	212
Propagation of Christianity in India	212
The Serampore missionaries	213
Opposition of the Government to their labours	214

CHAPTER XXIV.

LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION.

1807 Lord Minto's antecedents	215
He pardons the Vellore mutineers	216
Anarchy in Bundelkund	216
Lord Minto's vigorous policy	217
Career of Runjeet Sing, 1780—1808	219
1807 The Sikh states of Sirhind	220
Lord Minto takes them under protection, and checks Runjeet Sing's ambition	221
Government embark in foreign alliances to check the designs of Napoleon	221
1808 Embassy to Runjeet Sing; Mr. Metcalfe	222
Mr. Metcalfe orders him to retire from Sirhind	223
1809 Mr. Metcalfe's resolute conduct	224
Treaty with Runjeet Sing	225
1808 Embassy to Cabul; Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone	226
1807 French embassy to Persia	227
Sir Harford Jones sent on an embassy by the Crown to Persia	228
1803 Colonel Malcolm sent by Lord Minto to Persia	229
Failure of his mission	229
Military expedition to Persia	230
1810 Sir Harford Jones concludes a treaty with Persia	231

Date.		Page
1809	Second mission of Colonel Malcolm to Persia	231
	Collision between the two envoys prevented	232
	Ameer Khan's attack on Nagpore	233
	Interference of Lord Minto	235
	Defeat of Ameer Khan	235
1811	Change of policy at the India House	235
1807	Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras	236
1808	Case of Mr. Sherson	237
	Sir George's interference with the Carnatic Commission	238
1809	Mutiny of the European officers of the Madras army	238
	Causes of the mutiny; abolition of the tent contract	239
	Resentment of the officers fixed on Colonel John Munro	240
	Violence of the Madras Commander-in-chief	241
	Violence of Sir George Barlow	241
	Outburst of the mutiny	242
	Firmness of Sir George	243
1810	Extinction of the mutiny	244
1811	Recall of Sir George Barlow	245
1809	Suppression of piracy in the Eastern seas ...	245

CHAPTER XXV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO (continued), 1809-13.

1809	Occupation and abandonment of Macao	247
	Depredations from the Mauritius, 1800—1809....	247
1810	Naval disasters ...	248
	Capture of the Mauritius....	249
1811	Expedition to Java ...	249
	Strength of the French force in Java	250
	Attack and capture of Fort Cornelis	251
	Revolt and submission of the native chiefs	252
1812	Supersession of Lord Minto ...	253
	The Pindarees; their origin, 1690—1800	254
1808	The Pindaree leaders ..	255
	Dost Mahomed—Wassil Mahomed ...	255
1811	Kureem Khan	256
	Cheetoo	257
	Their system of plunder	257
1812	They attack the British territories ...	259
	Lord Minto's representations to the India House	259
1813	Review of the Permanent Settlement	260
	Condition of the ryots	262
	Distrain and subletting ...	264
	The Ceded and Conquered provinces ...	265
	Settlement of the Madras Presidency ...	266
	Civil jurisprudence ...	268
	Criminal jurisprudence and police ...	270
	Dacoity ...	271
	Remarks on the Cornwallis system ...	272

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARTER OF 1813.—LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION.—NEPAL WAR.
1814—1816.

Date.	Page
1813 Negotiations for the Charter, 1809-12	273
Question of opening the out-ports to import trade	274
Growth of manufactures and commerce between 1793 and 1813	275
Lord Castlereagh introduces the India Bill,	276
Opposition of the India House; evidence brought forward	277
Speeches of Lord Wellesley and Lord Grenville	278
The missionary question	279
Speeches of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Marsh	281
Remarks on the Charter	281
Lord Hastings Governor-General	283
State of India	284
Description of Nepal	285
Rise and progress of the Goorkha power	286
Goorkha encroachments on British territory	287
1814 The Goorkhas determine on war	288
Loan from Lucknow	289
Plan of the Goorkha campaign	291
General Gillespie's division	291
General Gillespie slain	292
Division of General J. S. Wood	293
General Marley's division	293
General Marley's flight. Incompetency of his successor, General George Wood	294
1815 Effect of these reverses in India	294
Operations of General Ochterlony, 1814-15	296
Fall of Almora; success of General Ochterlony	298
1816 Second Goorkha campaign and peace	299
Remarks on the Goorkha campaign	300
Insurrection at Bareilly	301
Capture of Hatras	303

CHAPTER XXVII.

TRANSACTIONS WITH NATIVE PRINCES, 1814-17.—PINDAREE AND
MAHRATTA WAR, 1817.

1814 Patans and Pindarees ...	303
Irruption of the Pindarees	304
Representations to the Court of Directors, 1813-15	304
Proposed alliance with Nagpore and Bhopal	306
Sindia and the raja of Nagpore attack Bhopal ...	307
Interference of Lord Hastings ...	307

Date.		Page
1814	Poona ; proceedings of the Peshwa, 1803-14	308
	Trimbukjee at Poona	309
1815	Murder of Gungadhur Shastree	310
	Lord Hastings's second representation to the Court of Directors	312
1815-16	Pindaree irruption ; sack of the Guntoor sircar	312
	Description of their ravages by Mr. Canning	313
1816	Subsidiary alliance with Nagpore	314
	Attempted alliance with Jeypore	315
	Mr. Canning rejects the proposals of Lord Hastings ...	316
	He gives his assent to them	318
1816-17	Pindaree irruption on the Company's territories	318
	Determination of the Supreme Council to suppress the Pin- darees	320
	Sindia agrees to co-operate in putting them down	320
1817	Hostility of Bajee Rao	321
	Treaty forced on him, June 5th	322
	Lord Hastings's defence of this measure	323
	Proceedings at Holkar's court, 1811-17	324
	Distracted state of India ...	325
	Lord Hastings proceeds to the North West ; he forms a general system of alliances on his own responsibility	326
	Extent of his military operations	327
	Treaty with Sindia	328
	The cholera	329
	Arrangement with Ameer Khan	330
	Treaties of alliance with the native princes, 1817-18 ...	331

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PINDAREE AND MAHRATTA WAR—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES, 1817—
1822.

1817	Outbreak of the Peshwa	333
	Battle of Kirkee	335
	Flight of the Peshwa—downfall of his power....	337
	Events at Nagpore	337
	Battle of Seetabuldee	338
1818	Deposition of Appa Sahib	340
	Escape of Appa Sahib on his way to Benares	341
1817	Progress of events in Holkar's camp	341
	Battle of Mahidpore	342
	Operations against the Pindarees—extinction of this predatory power	343
1818	Result of the campaign	345
	Remarks on these transactions	346
	Battle of Korygaum	347
	Restoration of the Satara family	349
	Battle of Ashtee	350
	Surrender of the Peshwa ...	351
	Large pensions paid to his family	353

Date.	Page
1818 Capture of forts; Talneir; Mallygaum	354
Capture of Asseergur	355
Mr. Canning's qualified commendation of Lord Hastings's measures; the hostility of the Court of Directors	356
Encouragement of education, 1816—1818	357
Publication of the first native newspaper at Serampore	359
Lord Hastings's liberality towards the press—disapproved by the Court of Directors	359
Settlement of land revenue at Madras ...	359
1821 Fraudulent sales of land in the North West	360
1818 Disturbances in Cuttack	362
1822 Improvement of the finances and increase of territory during Lord Hastings's administration	364
1819 Settlement of Singapore	365
The Company's mercantile fleet	366
The Civil service	367
Death of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis	368
Hyderabad affairs; the contingent	369
Administration of Chundoo Lall, 1808—20	370
1820 Mr. Metcalfe's reforms disapproved by Lord Hastings	371
Messrs. Palmer and Co.	371
Sir W. Rumbold joins the firm	372
Various loans from the house to the Nizam	373
Great power of Palmer and Co.	373
1822 The debt due by the Nizam paid by the Government of Cal- cutta, and the house becomes bankrupt	374
Thanks of the Directors and Proprietors to Lord Hastings	374
Remarks on his administration	375
1825 Debate at the India House	377
Vote of censure on Lord Hastings	378
1827 His death, 24th August	378

CHAPTER XXIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF MR. ADAM AND LORD AMHERST.

1822 Lord Amherst appointed Governor-General	378
1823 Mr. Adam Governor-General <i>ad interim</i>	379
Proposal to pay off the debts of the civilians	380
Persecution of the press; Mr. Buckingham	380
Mr. Adam dies at sea	382
Lord Amherst assumes the Governor-Generalship	382
Rise and progress of the Burmese power, 1753—1815	382
British embassies to Ava	383
Further conquests of the Burmese, 1815—23	384
Origin of the Burmese war	385
1824 Arrangements of the campaign	386
The strength of the expedition	387
Disaster at Ramoo	388
Capture of Rangoon	389

Date.	Page
1824 Sickness and mortality of the troops	390
Actions of the 7th and 15th December ...	391
Conquest of Assam	392
Campaign in Cachar	392
1825 Conquest of Aracan	393
Second campaign of Sir Archibald Campbell	393
Death of Bundoola ; capture of Prome	395
Negotiations for peace	395
Conditions proposed by the British commissioners	396
1826 Final engagement and peace	397
Treaty of Yandaboo	398
Remarks on the Burmese war	399
1824 Mutiny at Barrackpore	399
General spirit of disaffection in the country	402
1825 Transactions at Bhurtpore	402
Difference between Sir David Ochterlony and the Supreme Government	404
His death and character	405
Proceedings of Doorjun Saul, the usurper	405
Sir Charles Metcalfe decides the policy of Government	407
1826 Siege and capture of Bhurtpore	407
Disgraceful plunder of the raja	409
Effect of this capture in India	410
Honours conferred on Lord Amherst	410
1823 Financial results of his administration	411
His liberality to the press	411
1827 Death and character of Sir Thomas Munro	412
The galaxy of talent in India in the first quarter of the century	413
1828 Lord Amherst returns to England	413
Mr. Bayley Governor-General <i>ad interim</i>	413

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE THIRD MYSORE WAR—1786—1793.

Sir John
Macpherson's
administration,
1785.

HASTINGS left the government in the hands of Mr., afterwards Sir John, Macpherson, who presided over it for twenty months. He came out to Madras at the age of twenty-two, as purser in one of the Company's ships, but soon after his arrival quitted the sea for more lucrative employment at the court of the Nabob of the Carnatic, where he obtained great consideration. Under his influence the Nabob was induced to make a direct appeal to the Minister in England, as the most effectual means of regaining his political independence, and throwing off the restraints of the Madras government. Mr. Macpherson was charged with this mission, and accredited by a letter to the Duke of Grafton, which gained little for his patron, but a Madras writership for his young agent. Soon after his arrival at the Presidency he obtained one of the most lucrative appointments in the service, that of military paymaster, but was expelled from it by Lord Pigot, in 1776, on the ground that he was still a partizan of the Nabob. With his usual sagacity, he persuaded the Nabob to make his will, and appoint the king of England his executor and the

guardian of his children—an office which was most injudiciously accepted. Mr. Macpherson, who returned to England as the representative of the Nabob, with a full purse, was not long in obtaining a seat in Parliament, and made himself so useful to the Minister by his eloquent pen and his servile vote, as to obtain the appointment of second member of Council at Calcutta. The war with the Mahrattas and Hyder had produced the same effect on the finances of India as the war which England had been waging with the North American colonies produced on her finances. Troops to the number of 70,000 had been maintained for several years in provinces the most remote from each other, and a debt had been accumulated to the extent of six crores of rupees. The army and civil establishments were fifty lacs of rupees in arrears, and the whole machinery of government was in a state of disorder. Mr. Macpherson applied himself with great energy to financial reform, and effected reductions exceeding a crore of rupees. He received thanks from the Court of Directors, and a baronetcy from the Crown; but it is not to be concealed that his two successors, Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, considered his pretensions to economy, except with regard to the reduction of salaries, a mere delusion, and his whole administration a failure.

Wars between
Tippoo, the
Mahrattas, and
the Nizam,
1786.

The treaty of Mangalore left Tippoo with unimpaired resources, and augmented his arrogance. The ink was scarcely dry, when he wrote to his French allies at Pondicherry that he was only waiting for an opportunity of crushing the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and exterminating the English. His first act after the pacification was to seize 30,000 native Christians on the Malabar coast, and cause them to be circumcised. The Hindoos south of the Kistna were treated with the same violence, and 2,000 brahmins destroyed themselves to avoid the indignity. Of the population of Coorg, 70,000 of all ages and both sexes were ruthlessly driven off to Seringapatam. Tippoo then proceeded to demand the cession

of Beejapore from the Nizam, on some frivolous pretext, and attacked the Mahratta garrison of Nurgoond, of which he obtained possession by an act of perfidy. Nana Furnuverse, finding Tippoo a more dangerous neighbour than his father had been, proceeded to form an alliance with the Nizam early in 1786, for the conquest and partition of his whole territory. The allied army opened the campaign on the 1st of May, by the siege of Badamee, which surrendered before the end of the month. After various assaults and repulses, which generally terminated to the advantage of Tippoo, he brought this campaign of nine months to an unexpected termination by a voluntary offer of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the belligerents in April, 1787, by which Tippoo engaged to pay forty-five lacs of rupees of tribute, and to surrender many of the places he had captured. This sudden change of policy was subsequently explained by the great efficiency given to the military establishments of the Company by the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and which led Tippoo to suppose that the English were about to take part in the war against him.

Lord Macarteny
offered the
Governor-
Generalship,
1786.

Lord Macartney, who had taken Calcutta on his way to England, was detained there by severe illness, and was agreeably surprised on his recovery to receive the unsolicited offer of the Governor-Generalship, as a token of the estimation in which his services were held by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. Instead, however, of accepting the appointment, and taking the oaths and his seat in Council, he postponed the acceptance of it till he had an opportunity of conferring with the Ministry on the additional powers which he deemed necessary to impart dignity and efficiency to the office. He embarked therefore for England, and on his arrival submitted his views, which were in every respect judicious, to the Court of Directors and to the Prime Minister, by whom they were entertained with great complacency. But all his prospects were at once blighted when he proceeded farther to solicit such token of

the royal favour as should demonstrate that he entered upon this responsible office with the entire confidence of the Ministers of the Crown, as well as of the Court of Directors. The request was not only in itself reasonable, but essential to the efficiency and vigour of the government. It was the absence of this support which had subjected the administration of Hastings to the greatest embarrassment. But Mr. Dundas, who had sustained the nomination of Lord Macarteny against a violent opposition in the Cabinet, took umbrage that "he did not rather repose his future fortunes in our hands than make it the subject of a *sine qua non* preliminary." Within three days of the receipt of this request, Lord Cornwallis was gazetted Governor-General of India.

Change in the
system of
government.

The government of the Company's affairs in India had hitherto been entrusted to one of their own servants, on the ground that local experience was the most important qualification for the office. But this principle of selection, though well suited to the requirements of a factory, was ill adapted to the government of an empire. The advantage arising from this knowledge of the country and the people, however great, was found to be over-balanced by the trammels of local associations, and the difficulty of exercising due control over those who had previously been in the position of equals. The transcendent ability of Hastings himself had been too often neutralized by these connections, and he had been obliged to meet the cabals and intrigues which beset him in the Council chamber by compromises, which weakened the authority of government, and strengthened abuses. These considerations induced the Ministry to place the government in the hands of a nobleman of elevated rank and high character, and unfettered by any local ties. The choice fell on Lord Cornwallis, who had filled several posts of importance, both military and diplomatic, and who stood so high in the estimation of the country that even the surrender of a British army to Washington at Yorktown, which decided the question of American independence,

had not shaken his credit. It was within eight months of that disaster, that his name was mentioned by Mr. Dundas, in reference to the future government of India, and was received with great satisfaction by both parties in the House of Commons, who united in paying homage to his talents. He was appointed Governor-General in February, 1786, and reached Calcutta in the month of September. Thus, by the singular caprice of circumstances, the man who had lost America was sent out to govern India, and the man who had saved India was subjected to a prosecution for high crimes and misdemeanours. Lord Cornwallis's government commenced under the happiest auspices. He enjoyed the entire confidence of Mr. Pitt, and, more especially, of Mr. Dundas, the Indian Minister, who remarked in one of his letters, that they "never before had a government in India and in England acting in perfect harmony, on principles of perfect purity and independence." The spirit of insubordination and faction which had deranged Hastings's administration was at once subdued by the dignity and firmness of Lord Cornwallis's character, and the current of public business began to run smoothly, as soon as he assumed the charge of it.

Correction of
abuses,
1786-88.

The first three years of his administration were devoted to the correction of abuses, to which it is necessary to advert more particularly, to indicate the progress of integrity in the public service. The Court of Directors still continued to act on the old and vicious principle of "small salaries and large perquisites." The salaries came from their own treasury, which they guarded with the parsimony of a miser, the perquisites came from the people, and excited little observation, though they served to vitiate the whole system of government. Every man who returned to England rich was considered a rogue, and every man who came home poor was set down as a fool. Hastings made some effort to correct these abuses, but he had not sufficient official strength to stem the tide, and he was often obliged to allay opposition by the bribe of places and emoluments. The

Court of Directors nominated their friends and relatives to the most lucrative appointments in India, and the connection thus established between the patrons in Leadenhall-street, and the nominees in India, was too often fatal to the authority of the Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis was determined to put an end to this practice, but his efforts were not successful until he threatened, if it was persisted in, to resign the government, "that he might preserve his own character, and avoid witnessing the ruin of the national interests."

*Instances of
abuse, 1786.*

Lord Cornwallis found the system of official depredation in full bloom. The sub-treasurer was, as he remarked, playing with the deposits; that is, lending out lacs upon lacs of the public money, at twelve per cent. interest. The Commander-in-Chief had given two of his favourites the profitable privilege of raising two regiments, which Lord Cornwallis ordered to be disbanded soon after his arrival. The two commandants immediately demanded compensation, but after the most diligent inquiry, it could not be discovered that either of the regiments had ever existed, except on the paymaster's books. The collectors of the revenue were still engaged in trade, in the name of some friend or relative, and as they were also judges and magistrates, and possessed of irresistible influence in their districts, they were enabled to amass enormous fortunes; and one of them did not hesitate to admit, that his emoluments exceeded his salary more than twenty fold. The raja of Benares is described by Lord Cornwallis as a fool, and his servants as knaves, and the Resident, supreme in power, monopolized the commerce of the province, and realized four lacs a year, though his regular allowance did not exceed 1,000 rupees a month. It was the old process, so well understood in the east, of turning power into money, which now gave fortunes to a new race of conquerors, as it had enriched the Afghan, the Tartar, the Mogul, and the Abyssinian conquerors, who preceded them. There was, however, this material difference

in the two cases; the Asiatic invader settled in the country, and his acquisitions were expended in it, while the European transported his gains to his own country, and was seen no more. The fortunes thus imported into England will not, it is true, bear any comparison with those which have been subsequently realized in manufactures and railroads. With one exception, there were not a dozen of the Company's servants, from first to last, who took home so large a sum as forty lacs of rupees, but, for the time, their wealth was considered prodigious; and serious apprehensions were entertained by many in England, that eastern gold would undermine its constitution. But it is the peculiar merit of the British administration in India, that it has succeeded in surmounting these abuses, under which previous dynasties had perished, and that, instead of becoming more corrupt with the progress of time, it has worked itself pure, and now presents a model of official integrity, which has, perhaps, no parallel in the world.

The salaries of
the public
servants
augmented,
1788.

To the task of reform Lord Cornwallis applied himself with the greatest assiduity. He hunted out frauds in every department, and abolished jobbing agencies, and contracts and sinecures. His greatest difficulty arose from the importunity of men of power and influence in England who had been in the habit of quartering their friends and kindred, and even their victims at the gambling-table, on the revenues of India. But the Governor-General was inexorable, and he had the courage to decline the recommendations of the Prince of Wales himself, afterwards George the Fourth, who, as he remarked, "was always pressing some infamous and unjustifiable job on him." These reforms, however, were not consummated till he had convinced the Court of Directors of the truth, which Clive and Hastings had in vain pressed on them, that "it was not good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make their fortunes in a few months, without giving them

adequate salaries." The Court parted with the traditionary policy of two centuries with great reluctance; but Lord Cornwallis at length succeeded in "annexing liberal salaries to these offices, and in giving gentlemen a prospect of acquiring, by economy, a moderate fortune from the savings of their allowances."

Arrangement
with Oude.
1786.

On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, the Vizier hastened to send his minister to Calcutta, to renew the request to be relieved from the expense of the British troops stationed in his dominions. But the rapid encroachments of Sindia in Hindostan, and the growing power of the Sikhs, convinced the Governor-General that the brigade could not be withdrawn from Futtygur without great risk. He consented, however, to reduce the demand on the treasury of Lucknow for their support, from seventy-four to fifty lacs of rupees a year, provided it was paid with punctuality. The higher sum had never been realised, and the Company lost nothing by the arrangement, while the defence of Oude from foreign invasion, was provided for at a charge of less than a fourth of its entire revenue. The Vizier was, at the same time, relieved from the pressure of the European harpies who had long been preying on him, and of the monopolies they had inflicted on his country, under the influence of British supremacy. He was likewise exonerated from the payment of ten lacs of rupees a year, which had been allotted by Hastings for the office of the private agent of the Governor-General at the durbar, Major Palmer, of which his own share amounted to two lacs. Lord Cornwallis also conferred an inestimable boon on Oude by peremptorily refusing to recognize the claims of any of the private creditors of the Vizier, and thus rescued that kingdom from the fate of the Carnatic. But he could not fail to perceive the glaring abuses of the government, in which the Vizier took no further interest than to give the sanction of his authority to the acts of his servants, when they could prevail on him—which was rarely the case—to look into the affairs of the kingdom.

The Vizier's only care was to obtain money for boundless dissipation; and so the zemindars were allowed to squeeze the ryots, the ministers squeezed the zemindars, and the Vizier extorted every rupee he could obtain from his ministers, and squandered it in cock-fighting and debaucheries, in maintaining a thousand horses in his private stables, which he never used, and a whole brigade of elephants.

Demand of the
Guntoor Sirkar,
1788 Lord Cornwallis, on leaving England, was especially enjoined to amalgamate the King's and the Company's troops, and to secure the possession of the Guntoor Sirkar. The project of amalgamation was warmly espoused by the king and supported by his Ministers; no efforts, however, were made during the administration of Lord Cornwallis to carry it into effect, but on his return to England, after seven years of experience, he earnestly recommended the adoption of it to Mr. Dundas and the Court of Directors. The reversion of the Guntoor Sirkar, it will be remembered, was assigned by the Nizam to the Company by the treaty of 1768, after the death of his brother, Basalut Jung. He died in 1782, but the Nizam constantly evaded the surrender. Lord Cornwallis found him in 1786 involved in a war with Tippoo, and considered it inopportune to press the cession at the time. But in 1788, the prospect of continued peace with France, which removed all fear of European interference, and the aspect of politics in the Deccan, seemed to present a suitable occasion for making the demand. To obviate every difficulty, troops were drawn to the frontier, and Captain Kennaway, the Governor-General's aide-de-camp, was despatched to Hyderabad, "to demand the full execution of the treaty of 1768," with the intimation, that a British force was prepared to enter Guntoor in a fortnight. To the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, the Nizam ordered the immediate surrender of the district without any hesitation, as well as the adjustment of all accounts; but at the same time he expressed his confidence that the Company's government would be prepared, with equal alacrity, to fulfil the obligations to which they

were bound by it; namely, to send two battalions of sepoy and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Nizam should require them, and to reduce and transfer to him the province of the Carnatic Balaghaut, "then usurped by Hyder Naik." With his usual duplicity, the Nizam sent an envoy at the same time to Tippoo, to propose an alliance for the extirpation of the English. Tippoo readily assented to the proposal, on condition of receiving a daughter of the Nizam in marriage; but the Tartar blood of the son of Chin Kilich Khan boiled at the idea of a matrimonial alliance with the son of a naik, or head constable, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

Perplexity of Lord Cornwallis, 1789. Lord Cornwallis was not a little perplexed by this manoeuvre on the part of the Nizam. Since the treaty of 1768, the British Government had in two successive treaties acknowledged Hyder and Tippoo as the lawful sovereigns of the Carnatic Balaghaut. The Act of 1784 had, moreover, strictly prohibited the formation of alliances with native princes without sanction from home. But Lord Cornwallis deemed it important to British interests to secure the co-operation both of the Nizam and the Peshwa against the hostile designs of Tippoo, which were daily becoming more palpable. To meet the difficulties of the case, he addressed a letter to the Nizam, which was avowed to have the full force of a treaty, though it professed to be simply a clearer definition of the old compact. In this letter he stated that if the province in question should at any time come into the possession of the Company, with the assistance of his Highness, the stipulation of the treaty would be faithfully observed. The brigade of British troops, he said, should be furnished whenever the Nizam applied for its services, but with the understanding that it was not to be employed against any power in alliance with the English. A list of these powers was added to the document, but the name of Tippoo was omitted. This memorable letter, dated the 7th of July, 1789, has been considered by some writers of con-

siderable note, as the cause of the war which broke out with Tippoo six months after. That an engagement which contemplated the partition of his dominions, and placed an English force at the disposal of the Nizam, with liberty to employ it against him, while he himself was excluded from the register of British allies, must have given him great annoyance, will not be denied. But, before the treaty of Mangalore was a day old, he had assured the French governor of Pondicherry that he would renew the war with the English on the first occasion. He had fitted out an expedition to attack the king of Travancore, an ally of the English, long before he heard of the letter. It was certain that whenever he was ready for the struggle, he would neither want a pretext, nor wait for one. As to the Act of Parliament intended to isolate us from all the other powers of India, even the author of it, Mr. Dundas, had begun to consider it a mistake, and had recently written to Lord Cornwallis that "an alliance with the Mahrattas of the closest kind was all that was requisite to keep the whole world in awe respecting India."

Proceedings of
the Madras go-
vernment, 1789.

The little principality of Travancore, at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast, had been placed under British protection by the treaty of Mangalore. Tippoo, who had long coveted the possession of it, had been for some time assembling a large force in the vicinity, and the raja, anxious to strengthen the defences of his kingdom, had recently purchased the towns of Cranganore and Ayacottah of the Dutch. Tippoo immediately demanded the surrender of them on the plea that they belonged to his vassal, the chief of Cochin. The raja refused to resign them, and applied to the British authorities for support. Lord Cornwallis directed the President at Madras to inform both Tippoo and the raja that if the Dutch had held independent and unreserved possession of them, he was instructed to assist the raja in maintaining and defending them. Unfortunate as Madras had been in its Presidents for a long

series of years, Mr. Holland, who now occupied the chair, appears to have been the very worst of the lot. He not only withheld this communication from Tippoo, but sent a disheartening letter to the raja, and, at the same time, demanded a lac of pagodas for himself, as the condition of aiding him with a British detachment. To promote this profligate negotiation, he kept the army in such a state of inefficiency as to encourage Tippoo's aggression. Holland was deeply implicated in all the criminality of the Nabob's loans, and, although he had been ordered to suspend all payments to the creditors as soon as there was any probability of a war with Tippoo, he chose to continue these disbursements, allowed the pay of the troops to fall into arrears, and neglected to make any preparation for the impending war.

Tippoo attacks Travancore, 28th December, 1789. Emboldened by this negligence, Tippoo suddenly attacked the "lines of Travancore," consisting of the defensive wall which the raja had erected; but after a severe action was repulsed with disgrace, and with the loss of 2,000 men. He immediately ordered down a battering train from Seringapatam, and reinforcements from every quarter. Even the detachments employed in dragooning "the infidels of Malabar," who refused circumcision, were recalled from their mission, and the next three months and a half were wasted in preparation for the attack of this miserable wall. Holland, after he had received information of this attack, which was equivalent to a declaration of war, actually proposed to appoint commissioners for the pacific adjustment of all differences with Tippoo, and persisted in declining to provide cattle for the army which was to take field. Soon after, he fled from his post and embarked for England.

Treaties formed by Lord Cornwallis, 1790. During the three years of Lord Cornwallis's administration he had been eminently successful in his financial reforms. The income of Bengal now exceeded its expenditure by two crores of rupees, and he was enabled not only to supply the wants of the other Presi-

dencies, but to send home an investment from territorial revenue, of a crore and thirty lacs, which was calculated to realise two crores in the London market. But however much he regretted that the fruit of three years of economy should be swept away at a stroke, he determined to lose no time in bringing all the resources of the country to the prosecution of the war which Tippoo had wantonly provoked. It was not a time for pottering over Acts of Parliament, and he proceeded at once to form alliances, offensive and defensive, with the two other powers of the Deccan. Although Nana Furnuverse had hitherto treated the friendly advances of Lord Cornwallis with coldness, so great was the animosity of the Mahrattas against Tippoo, that they now agreed to co-operate heartily with the British Government in reducing his power. The hatred and dread of Tippoo also quickened the zeal of the Nizam, and a tripartite treaty was concluded between the parties, which provided that the Nizam and the Mahrattas should attack Tippoo's dominions both during and after the rains, and prosecute the war with all vigour; that they should join the British army if required, with 10,000 horse, for which they were to be fully reimbursed; that a British contingent should accompany their troops, and that the territories and forts conquered by their united arms should be equally divided among them. Of the three powers in the Deccan, the Nizam was the most feeble, and he knew but too well that as soon as the strength of Tippoo was broken, and the balance of power destroyed, he would be exposed to the encroachments of the Mahrattas, who kept open a long account against him of arrears due for *chout* and tribute. He, therefore, delayed the ratification of the treaty while he endeavoured to obtain from Lord Cornwallis, not only the guarantee of his own dominions during the war, but the promise of full protection from the claims of the Poona durbar after its termination. Lord Cornwallis could not, however, consent to this proposal without giving umbrage to his Mahratta allies, and the Nizam was obliged to rest satisfied with the general assurance

of friendly support, as far as might be compatible with the engagements of the Company.

Campaign of 1790. Lord Cornwallis was desirous of taking the field in person, but, finding that General Medows, an officer of acknowledged ability, in whom he placed great confidence, had been appointed Governor and General-in-Chief at Madras, he determined to leave the campaign to his management. The General reached Madras late in February, and prepared to commence operations with a body of 15,000 troops, "the finest and best English army," in the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, "which had ever been assembled in India." The plan of the campaign was similar to that framed by Colonel Fullarton, in 1783, of proceeding southward to Coimbatore, and after reducing the forts and occupying that rich district, of ascending the ghauts to Seringapatam. Another division, when reinforced from Bengal, was to march on the capital through the Baramahal. So great, however, was the deficiency of supplies, owing to the criminal neglect of Holland, that General Medows was unable to move from Trichinopoly before the 26th of May, and was nearly three weeks in reaching Caroor, the frontier station, only fifty miles distant. The army arrived at Coimbatore on the 23rd of July; Dindigul was captured on the 21st of August, and Palghaut, deemed by the natives impregnable, surrendered on the 21st of September, with sixty guns of various calibre. But here the success of the campaign terminated. General Medows injudiciously separated his force into three divisions, and placed them at too great a distance from each other for mutual support. Tippoo took advantage of this error, and, by a masterly movement, descended the Gujelhutti pass, attacked the foremost division under Colonel Floyd, and obliged him to fall back with the loss of some of his guns. "We lost time," said Lord Cornwallis, "in 1790, and Tippoo gained reputation." Several forts stored with provisions likewise fell into his hands; but the subsequent junction of the three

divisions baffled his plans, and he moved northward to oppose the army advancing from Bengal.

The Bengal
division—
Hartley's ex-
ploit, 1790.

On the breaking out of the war, Lord Cornwallis adopted the bold plan of Hastings, and despatched a large expedition from the Bengal Presidency along the coast down to Madras.

It reached Conjeveram on the 1st of August without accident, under the command of Colonel Maxwell, and there it was reinforced by several regiments from Madras, which raised its strength to 9,500 men. The object of General Medows was to form a junction with this force, and that of Tippoo was to prevent it. But, notwithstanding the rapid march and able dispositions of the Mysore army, a union was effected of the two bodies of English troops on the 17th of November. Tippoo then marched south to attack Trichinopoly, and the chain of English posts and depôts in that quarter, and General Medows closely followed his track. In these desultory movements the troops were subjected to unprofitable fatigue, and began to lose confidence in their commander, who was evidently unequal to the direction of operations on a large scale. The character of the campaign was, however, redeemed by the brilliant exploit of Colonel Hartley, who will be remembered as having earned the highest distinction twelve years before, in the war with the Mahrattas. In the present year, he was stationed on the Malabar coast, with a body of 1,500 men and a few guns, to watch the movements of Hussein Ali, the Mysore general, who guarded the province with a force of 7,000 or 8,000 men, and a large body of fanatic Moplas. On the 8th of December he ventured to attack Colonel Hartley's little band under the walls of Calicut, but was signally defeated, with the loss of more than 1,000 men, and obliged soon after to surrender, together with 2,500 of his force. The loss, on the side of the English, did not exceed fifty-two. General Medows, who was totally devoid of any feeling of professional jealousy, in

announcing this success to Lord Cornwallis, exclaimed, "Oh, to eclipse the brilliant action of Colonel Hartley."

Lord Cornwallis, mortified by the futility of the campaign, resolved to resume his original design of taking the command of the war in person, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of December, 1790. General Medows returned to the Presidency with his army, without expressing a murmur on the trying occasion of being superseded in the command. Tippoo quitted the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, and proceeded northward into the heart of the Carnatic, marking his progress by the desolation of the province. He then advanced to Pondicherry, where he wasted several weeks in negotiations with the French governor, through whom he sent a mission to Louis the Sixteenth, then in the vortex of the French revolution. Though the French and English were at the time at peace, he requested that a body of 6,000 troops should be sent to his assistance, for whose conveyance and support he offered to make suitable provision, and with whose aid he engaged to capture the English settlements and transfer them to the French. The unhappy king revolted from the proposal, and remarked: "This resembles the affair of America, of which I never think without regret, my youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now; the lesson is too severe to be forgotten." Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis was making the greatest efforts to resume operations in the field. It was the first time the British armies in India had been led by a Governor-General in person, who enjoyed the undivided exercise of all the civil and military powers of the state, and commanded the resources of all the Presidencies. His presence was considered by the allies the strongest pledge of sincerity, and gave them every confidence of success.

Capture of Bangalore, 21st March, 1791.

The British army was concentrated at Vellore on the 11th of February, and Lord Cornwallis made a demonstration of advancing to Seringapatam through the Amboor pass, while his force, with its

convoys, passed undiscovered and unopposed through the more easy pass of Mooglee, and on the 17th of February, stood on the table land of Mysore, only ninety miles from Bangalore, without having fired a shot. Tippoo, who had manifested unaccountable indecision while Lord Cornwallis was organizing his plans, hastened, by forced marches to rescue his seraglio and treasures which had been deposited in that fortress, and was only just in time to save them from capture. Bangalore capitulated on the 21st of March, but the pleasure of success was damped by the loss, during the siege, of Colonel Moorhouse, who, though he had risen from the ranks, exhibited all the characteristics of a gallant and most accomplished soldier.

Arrival of the
Nizam's con-
tingent, 1791.

The Nizam's contingent of 10,000 horse assembled in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, in May, 1790, in accordance with the conditions of the treaty of alliance; but they never moved beyond their own frontier, till they heard, in September, that Tippoo had gone southward to Coimbatore. When there was no longer any risk of encountering his army, the Nizam's troops entered the Mysore territory, spreading desolation and ruin in their course. But, instead of marching on to join the English army, they sat down before Copaul, a tremendous rock a few miles north of the Toombudra, and twenty miles west of the ancient ruins of Vijaynugur, which detained them nearly six months. As soon, however, as intelligence of the capture of Bangalore reached their camp, they hastened forward, and joined Lord Cornwallis's army on the 13th of April, 1791. They are described as mounted on horses in excellent condition, and clothed in armour of every conceivable variety, including the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form. But there was neither order, nor discipline, nor valour among them; and the gay cavaliers were so utterly unsuited for field work that they were unable to protect their own foragers, and soon ceased to move beyond the English pickets.

Battle of Arikera,
and retreat of
Cornwallis, 1791.

Lord Cornwallis was now in full march on the capital; and Tippoo, yielding to the representations of his officers, and the remonstrances of his women, resolved not to allow it to be invested without a struggle. His father had always advised him to avoid a regular engagement with the English, but he determined on this occasion to disregard this salutary injunction. He drew up his whole army at a short distance from Seringapatam, with the Cavery on his right and a ridge of hills on his left; and there, on the 13th of May, was fought the battle of Arikera. Although Tippoo executed his movements with great promptitude and military judgment, he was entirely discomfited. On the summit of the hill, where the last shot was fired, the island of Seringapatam and the eastern face of the fortress became visible to the victors; but here terminated the triumph of the campaign. For many weeks the British army had been suffering the extremity of want. The scanty stores which accompanied it had been exhausted, and Tippoo's light horse cut off all supplies of provision or forage, and created a desert around it. After the engagement of the 13th, Lord Cornwallis felt, as Sir Eyre Coote had felt ten years before, that he would gladly exchange the trophies of victory for a few days' rice. The Nizam's horse, which was unable to make any effort for its own subsistence, increased the calamity by consuming forage and grain. General Abercromby, with the Bombay army sent to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, had proceeded down the Malabar coast, and, passing through the friendly country of Coorg, had arrived at Periapatam, forty miles distant from Seringapatam; and Lord Cornwallis, after the engagement, advanced to Caniambady, with the view of forming a junction with him. But, on the 20th of May, his commissariat officers reported that it was utterly impossible to move his heavy guns a step farther with bullocks reduced to the condition of skeletons. The whole camp was falling a prey to want and disease; and Lord Cornwallis was constrained to accept the conclusion that the object of the campaign was no longer

practicable, and that the salvation of the army depended on an immediate retreat. On the 21st of May instructions were sent to General Abercromby to retrace his steps to the coast, which he reached in safety, after having destroyed a portion of his siege guns, and buried the remainder at the head of the pass. The next day Lord Cornwallis issued a general order, explaining to the soldiers, European and native, the true motives of this measure, in order to avoid misapprehensions, and then destroyed his own battering train and heavy equipments. On the 26th the army began its melancholy march back to Madras.

The dispirited force had scarcely accomplished half a short march, when a body of about 2,000 horse made its appearance on the left flank. It was supposed at first to be a portion of the enemy's troops advancing to make an attempt on the stores and baggage on the line of retreat, and prompt dispositions were made to frustrate it, but a single horseman soon after galloped up and announced that it was the advanced guard of their Mahratta allies. By the coalition treaty the Mahratta cabinet had engaged to furnish a body 10,000 horse for the prosecution of the war with Tippoo, and the Governor-General had engaged to strengthen their main army with a British detachment. Captain Little accordingly embarked at Bombay, with two battalions of sepoy and one company of European and two of native artillery, with which he reached the rendezvous at Coompta on the 18th of June, but found that not more than 2,000 Mahratta horse had been assembled. This was explained by the fact that, although the treaty, offensive and defensive, had been actually signed by Nana Furnuvene on the 1st of June, the envoys of Tippoo were still entertained at Poona, in the hope, which the ministers did not attempt to conceal, that he might be induced even at the eleventh hour to purchase their neutrality by a concession of territory. This hope was at length dispelled; the vakeels were dismissed on the 5th of August, and Pureshram Bhao, the Mahratta com-

Progress of the
Mahratta con-
tingent, 1790.

mandant, crossed the Kistna six days after and joined the army. But it soon became evident that his intention was not so much to promote the general object of the confederacy in the humiliation of Tippoo, as to take advantage of the co-operation of the British artillery to recover the fortresses and territories which Tippoo had wrested from the Mahrattas. On the 18th of September, he sat down before Dharwar, a mud fort, but well fortified, and garrisoned by 10,000 Mysore troops, under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest generals. The fort held out till the 30th of March, when the garrison capitulated, on hearing of the fall of Bangalore. On the 1st of January, 1791, a second Mahratta army, consisting of 25,000 horse and 5,000 foot, marched from Poona, under Hurry Punt, the commander-in-chief of the armies of the state, and advanced into Mysore by a more easterly route, capturing a number of forts in its progress.

Junction of the Mahratta and English armies, 1791. These two bodies were united on the 24th of May, 1791, and marched towards Milgota, where two days later they came up with the English army on the first day of its retreat. Great was the astonishment of Lord Cornwallis to find the Mahratta forces, which he supposed to be a hundred and fifty miles distant, in his immediate vicinity. But, his intelligence department, to which only 2,000 rupees a month had been allotted, was wretched beyond example, while the admirable organization of Tippoo's troop of spies intercepted all communication, and kept the allies mutually ignorant of each others movements. Had the approach of the Mahratta armies been announced a week earlier, the campaign would have presented a very different prospect. The provisions which they brought with them, though sold at an exorbitant rate, proved a seasonable relief to Lord Cornwallis's famished soldiers. The bazaar of the Mahratta camp presented the greatest variety of articles; English broadcloths and Birmingham penknives, the richest Cashmere shawls, and the most rare and costly jewellery, together with oxen, and sheep, and poultry, and all that the best

bazaars of the most flourishing towns could furnish, the result of long and unscrupulous plunder; while the carpets of the money-changers in the public street of the encampment, spread with the coins of every kingdom and province in the east, indicated the systematic rapine of these incomparable freebooters. But, though the Mahratta sirdars had been enriching themselves with plunder from the day on which they took the field, they set up a plea of poverty, and demanded a loan of fourteen lacs of rupees. Lord Cornwallis had no time to examine the morality of this request; he had only to consider the consequence of refusing it—the transfer of their alliance to Tippoo, who was ready to purchase it at any price. He, therefore, sent an express to Madras, and took out of the hold of the ships then about to sail for China, the specie intended for the annual investment.

Operations of
the Mahratta,
the Nizam's and
the English
forces, 1791.

Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief, accompanied the English army on its retirement, but lost no opportunity of indulging in plunder. The main body of the Mahratta army, under Pureshram Bhao, moved to the north west, subjecting the Mysore districts to indiscriminate spoliation. The siege of Simoga, in which he engaged, was rendered memorable by the skill and heroism of Capt. Little's detachment which accompanied his force, who, after thirty-six hours of hard fighting, without food or rest, placed the fortress in his hands. The Bhao had left Lord Cornwallis in July, under a solemn promise to return to the army whenever required; but nothing was farther from his intentions; his object was to avail himself of the aid of the English force to recover the territory which the Mahrattas had lost; and he was importuning Captain Little to attack Bednore, when another and more peremptory requisition obliged him to return to the south; but he did not join the English camp till a fortnight after the termination of the war. The army of the Nizam, on the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, proceeded to the north-east, and laid siege to Goorumconda, where it was detained many

months. The fort was at length captured by the English auxiliary force, and Hafiz-jee, who had been the bearer of Tippoo's offer of an alliance with the Nizam's family four years before, which was rejected with indignation, was made prisoner and cut to pieces by the Nizam's commander, to revenge that deep felt indignity. Soon after, the Hyderabad army was summoned to join Lord Cornwallis, then advancing a second time against Seringapatam. After his retirement from the capital in May, 1791, he employed the remainder of the year in the conquest of the Baramahal, and the reduction of the fortresses with which the country was studded, and the fortifications of which had been improved by Tippoo with so much skill and assiduity as to excite Lord Cornwallis's warm admiration. Nothing, indeed, filled the princes of the country with such awe of the British power as the ease and rapidity with which fortresses, absolutely impregnable to the assaults of any native force, were mastered, and which they attributed to the power of magic. While the Mahrattas had been six months and a half besieging Dharwar, and the Nizam's army had been detained five months before Copaul, such fortresses as Kistnagherry, Nundidroog, Severndroog, and others, which seemed to defy all human approach on their inaccessible peaks, were captured in a few days.

The grand con-
voy, January,
1792.

The arrangements of Lord Cornwallis for the campaign of 1792 were completed early in January, and he took the field with a convoy which surpassed in magnitude anything which had ever accompanied a British force in India, and struck the Deccan with amazement. First and foremost, marched a hundred elephants laden with treasure, followed by a hundred carts supplied with liquor, and 60,000 bullocks laden with provisions belonging to the *brinjarees*, the professional and hereditary carriers of India, more than one-fourth of which number had been serving in Tippoo's army the preceding year. Then in three parallel columns came the battering train and heavy carriages, the infantry and the field-pieces, the baggage and

the camp followers. The appearance of these vast supplies, partly received from England, and partly drawn from the other Presidencies, within six months after Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to retreat for want of provisions, might well justify the exclamation of Tippoo, "It is not what I see of the resources of the English that I dread, but what I do not see."

On the 25th of January, the Nizam's army, consisting of about 8,000 men, under the command of his son, but more gaudy than serviceable, together with a small body of Hurry Punt's Mahrattas, joined the camp of Lord Cornwallis, when he moved forward with a force, consisting exclusive of allies, of 22,000 men, 44 field-pieces, and 42 siege guns. On the 5th of February the whole force reached an elevated ground which commanded a view of Seringapatam, standing on an island formed by two branches of the Cavery. The defences, which had been greatly improved by Tippoo, consisted of three lines protected by 300 pieces of cannon, the earthwork being covered by a bound hedge of thorny plants, absolutely impenetrable to man or beast. Tippoo's force was encamped on the northern face of the stream, and his position was so admirably fortified that it appeared an act of rashness to attack it. Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred the works on the 6th, and determined to storm them that same night. The generals of the allies were astounded when they heard that the English commander had gone out in person, like an ordinary captain, in a dark night, without guns, to assail these formidable lines. But the attack was planned with the greatest skill, and rewarded with complete success. The contest raged throughout the night, and by the morning Lord Cornwallis had obtained possession of the whole of the enemy's redoubts, and established himself in the island, with the loss of 530 killed and wounded, of whom 36 were officers. The casualties in Tippoo's army were estimated at 4,000, but as the conscripts whom he had pressed into his service took advantage of

this reverse to desert it, his total loss did not fall short of 20,000.

Treaty of
peace, 1792.

Tippoo now began to tremble for his capital and his kingdom, and hastened to release Lt. Chambers, whom he had detained, contrary to the capitulation of Coimbatore,—which that officer had defended to the last extremity,—and sent him with overtures to Lord Cornwallis. On the 16th of February, General Abercromby joined the camp with a reinforcement of 6,000 men from the Malabar coast. The operations of the siege were prosecuted with unabated vigour during the negotiations, and on the 23rd the works were so far completed that fifty pieces of cannon were brought to bear on the fortifications. Tippoo assembled his principal officers, and adjured them on the Koran to advise him in all sincerity and good faith, and to inform him whether, in their opinion, he ought to accede to the demands of the confederates. They replied that no reliance could any longer be placed on his soldiers, and that submission was inevitable. Tippoo felt that he had to choose between the loss of his throne, and submission to the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis; which were, that he should cede half his territories, pay three crores of rupees towards the expenses of the war, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The confederates left Sir John Kennaway, the British plenipotentiary, to settle the conditions of the treaty, but when it was completed, Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief added a supplemental demand of sixty lacs of rupees for himself and the Nizam's general, as a reasonable fee for their labours in the negotiation. This sum was subsequently reduced to one-half that amount. From documents found on the capture of Seringapatam, in 1799, it was discovered that both the Mahrattas and the Nizam were all this time engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo, the object of which was unconsciously but effectually defeated by the signature of the preliminaries by Lord Cornwallis on the 23rd, and the arrival of the hostages on the 25th of

February. The youths were conveyed with much ceremony to the Governor-General's tent, and received with distinguished courtesy. A crore of rupees had also been sent in, when Tippoo, finding that the little principality of Coorg which he had destined to destruction for the assistance afforded to the English was to be included in the territory he was required to cede, not only remonstrated against the demand of what he termed one of the gates of Seringapatam, but manifested a disposition to renew hostilities. Lord Cornwallis, however, made preparations for pressing the siege with such promptitude, that Tippoo was speedily brought to reason. The tripartite treaty had provided that the territories conquered by the joint exertions of the allies should be equally divided among them. The Mahrattas, as the preceding narrative will show, had given no assistance in the war, and the Nizam's force had done nothing but consume provisions and forage, but Lord Cornwallis was determined to adhere to the original compact with the most scrupulous fidelity, and made over a third of the indemnity, as well as of the territory, to each of the confederates, annexing another third, of the value of forty lacs of rupees a year, to the dominions of the Company. It comprised the district of Dindigul in the south, and of the Baramahal in the east, including several important passes into Mysore, and a large strip of fertile territory with great commercial resources on the western coast, which was annexed to Bombay, and formed the first real domain of that Presidency.

Proposals to
relinquish terri-
tory,
1780-1793.

This was the first acquisition of territory since it had been resolved to control the growth of the British empire in India by Acts of Parliament. Mr. Pitt, on the introduction of his India Bill, in 1784, stated that his first and principal object would be to prevent the Governor of Bengal from being ambitious, and bent on conquest; and his chief objection to Hastings was, that he had endeavoured to extend the British dominions in India. The dread of territorial expansion was, in fact, the prevailing bugbear of the

day. But neither Hastings, nor any other statesman in England or in India, had ever entertained any such design. On the contrary, Hastings was at one time prepared to relinquish all the Northern Sircars. Clive had given back the entire kingdom of Oude, when it had been forfeited by the result of the war which the Nabob vizier had wantonly waged against the Company, and he denounced any attempt to extend the British territories beyond the Curumnussa. Lord Cornwallis, soon after he assumed office, expressed his wish to withdraw from the Malabar coast, and to reduce Bombay to a mere factory, subordinate to Calcutta or Madras; and Lord Shelburne, when Prime Minister of England in 1782, proposed to give up everything except Bombay and Bengal; and, had Lord Cornwallis accepted the office of Governor-General when it was first proposed to him, he would probably have taken out orders to abandon the Madras Presidency. If the extent of the British dominions in India had depended, therefore, on the wishes, or the policy of its rulers, so far from being ambitiously expanded, it would apparently have been reduced within very narrow limits.

Encroachments
of native
princes, 1793.

Those who took the lead in the government of India at this period, had evidently but a partial knowledge of its early history and polity, of the character of its princes, or of the position in which England was placed. From time immemorial, aggression had been the life-blood of all Indian monarchies. Twenty-five centuries before Mr. Pitt's time, the father of Hindoo legislation had placed conquest among the foremost of regal virtues. "What the king," says Munoo, "has not gained, let him strive to gain by military strength;" and this is, perhaps, the only injunction of the Hindoo shastras, which Hindoo princes have never forgotten. The same aggressive principle was adopted by the Mahomedan conquerors, not only in reference to infidel princes, but to those of the "true faith." Every new dynasty, as it arose with the elastic vigour of youth, continued to attack and appropriate the territories of its neighbours, till

it became itself effete, and was in its turn absorbed by new adventurers. For more than ten centuries there had been no settled kingdom, guarded by a respect for prescriptive rights, anxious to maintain peace with its neighbours, and content with its ancient boundaries. In every direction, the continent had presented an unbroken series of intrigue, violence and aggression.

The position of
the English,
1756—1793.

At the period which this narrative has reached, the political cauldron in India was seething with more than ordinary violence. The four chief powers, the Peshwa, the Nizam, Tippoo, and Sindia, had been established within the brief period of sixty years by usurpation, and were kept alive by the impulse of aggression. Every year had witnessed some invasion of the right of some prince in Hindostan or the Deccan. It was at this juncture that the English appeared on the scene, and took up arms to defend their factories. By the superiority of their valour and discipline, they became a first-rate military power, and, consequently, an object of jealousy to all the belligerent princes of India. It was the restlessness and encroachment of those princes, and not the ambition of English governors which gave rise to nearly all the wars in which they were engaged. Admitting that they had any right to be in India at all, the increase of their power and possessions was the inevitable effect of that law of progression to which all new dynasties were subject. From the very first they were placed in a state of antagonism to all those who dreaded their power, and coveted their possessions. The slightest appearance of weakness, and, too often, even the exhibition of moderation—a virtue unknown in India—became the signal of aggressive assaults. When the aggressor was conquered, it appeared to be the dictate of prudence to prevent the renewal of hostilities by reducing his resources, and appropriating a part of his territories. And thus was the British empire in India gradually extended by a mysterious but inexorable necessity, which overpowered, not only the

reluctance of English governors, and the denunciations of patriots, but even the omnipotence of Parliament.

Censure of Lord Cornwallis in the House, 1793.

The conduct of Lord Cornwallis was not allowed to pass without censure in the House of Commons, more especially from Mr. Francis, who had been the instrument of annexing the province of Benares to the Company's territories. The war which Lord Cornwallis considered "an absolute and cruel necessity," forced on him by the ungovernable ambition and violence of Tippoo, was stigmatised as unjust and ambitious, and the treaties of alliance he had formed with the Nizam and the Poona durbar were affirmed to be infamous. Lord Porchester went so far as to assert that the war was founded on avarice, but the charge was triumphantly refuted by the fact that Lord Cornwallis had not only been subject to a loss of nearly three lacs of rupees by it, but had relinquished his share of the prize-money, which came to four lacs and a half more—a generous act which was nobly emulated by General Medows. The House ratified all the measures of the Governor-General, including the large acquisition of territory which he had made, and the king conferred on him the dignity of Marquis. The precedent has been scrupulously maintained since that time, and every Governor-General who has enlarged the British empire in India, has received the thanks of Parliament, and has been decorated with honours by the Crown.

Reduction of Tippoo's power, 1793.

The progress of the war demonstrated beyond question, that of the three native powers in the Deccan, Tippoo was by far the strongest. Both the Nizam and the Mahrattas were found to entertain the most lively dread of his power and his ambition, and they were brought to feel that they could not have defended themselves effectually from his encroachments, without the aid of an English army. The power of Tippoo was effectually reduced by the alienation of one-half his territorial resources, which, before the peace, were reckoned at about two crores and a

half of rupees. The Nizam and the Poona durbar had exhibited such inefficiency during the campaigns, as to reduce themselves to a very subordinate political position, and the prestige of British power had been in a corresponding degree augmented. The deference paid to the Governor-General both by friends and enemies placed the British name and consequence in a light never known before in India. After this period, for half a century, there were no more treaties of Mangalore, or conventions of Wurgaum, but the British authorities dictated their own terms in every negotiation.

CHAPTER XVII.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—REVENUE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS—POWER OF SINDIA.

Lord Cornwallis's revenue reforms, 1793. THE brilliant success of the Mysore war reflected the highest credit on Lord Cornwallis, but the permanent renown of his administration rests upon his revenue and judicial institutions, which form one of the most important epochs in the history of British India.

Rise of the zemindars. The resources of government in India had been derived from time immemorial, almost exclusively from the land, a certain proportion of the produce of which was considered the inalienable right of the sovereign. The settlement of the land revenue was, therefore, a question of the greatest magnitude, and embraced, not only the financial strength of the state, but the prosperity of its subjects. Two centuries before the period of which we treat, Toder Mull, the great financier of Akbar, had made a settlement of the lower provinces, directly with the cultivators, after an accurate survey and valuation of the lands. To collect the rents from the ryots, and transmit them to the treasury, agents were

placed in various revenue circles, and remunerated for their labour by a per centage on the collections. The office of collector speedily became hereditary, from the constant tendency of every office in India to become so, and, also from the obvious convenience of continuing the agency in the family which was in possession of the local records, and acquainted with the position of the ryots, and the nature of the lands. The collector thus became responsible for the government rent, and was entrusted with all the powers necessary for realising it. He was permitted to entertain a military force, which it was his constant aim to augment, to increase his own consequence. His functions were gradually enlarged, and came eventually to embrace the control of the police and the adjudication of rights. The collector was thus transformed into a zemindar, and assumed the title and dignity of raja, and became, in effect, the master of the district.

Evils of the
revenue system,
1772—1790.

The English government had from the first treated the zemindars as simple collectors, and ousted them without hesitation when others offered more for the lands than they were prepared to pay. But this uncertainty of tenure, and this repeated change of agency was found to be equally detrimental to the improvement of the lands, the welfare of the ryots, and the interests of the state. Under such a system there could be no application of capital to the operations of agriculture; the estates became deteriorated, while the remissions which Government was obliged to make from time to time, overbalanced any profits arising from competition. The Court of Directors complained that the revenue was steadily diminishing, and that the country itself was becoming impoverished and exhausted. Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival, declared that agriculture and internal commerce were in a state of rapid decay, that no class of society appeared to be flourishing, except the money-lenders, and that both cultivators and landlords were sinking into poverty and wretchedness. The

evils under which the people groaned, he affirmed to be enormous.

Remedy proposed by the Court of Directors, 1786.

The Court of Directors felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure to arrest the progress of ruin, and, under this impression, framed their memorable letter of the 12th of April, 1786, which became the basis of the important revenue settlement, begun and completed by Lord Cornwallis. They condemned the employment of farmers of the revenue and temporary renters, who had no interest in the land, and defrauded the state, while they oppressed the ryots. They directed that the engagements should be made with the old zemindars, not, however, as a matter of right, but of fiscal policy. On the presumption, moreover, that sufficient information must have been acquired regarding the estates, they desired that the settlement should be made for a period of ten years, and eventually declared permanent, if it appeared to be satisfactory. But Lord Cornwallis found that the Court had been essentially mistaken in this conclusion. Twenty years had been employed in efforts to procure information regarding the land, and five schemes had been devised for the purpose, but the Government was still as ignorant as ever on the subject. The Collectors had no knowledge of the value of the lands, of the nature of tenures, or of the rights of landlord and tenant. They had no intercourse with the people, and were ignorant of their language. They saw only through the eyes of their *omlas*, or native officers, whose sole object was to mystify them, in order the more effectually to plunder the country. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, suspended the execution of the orders of the Court, and circulated interrogatories with the view of obtaining the necessary information, and, in the mean time, made the settlements annual.

Proprietary right in the lands, 1793.

The proprietary right in the land had been considered, from time immemorial, to be vested in the sovereign; and although Mr. Francis and some others had thought fit to adopt a different opinion, the great

majority of the public servants adhered to the ancient doctrine. But, after the investigations were completed, the Government, acting upon a generous and enlightened policy, determined to confer on the zemindars the unexpected boon of a permanent interest in the soil. Before this concession, the zemindars, from the highest to the lowest, had been mere tenants at will, liable at any time to be deprived by the state landlord of the estates they occupied. But the regulations of 1793, in which the new fiscal policy was embodied, converted the soil into a property, and bestowed it upon them. A large and opulent class of landholders was thus created, in the hope that they would seek the welfare of the ryot, stimulate cultivation, and augment the general wealth of the country. It was found, however, to be much more easy to determine the relation between the government and the landlord, than between the landlord and his tenant. The rights of the cultivators were more ancient and absolute than those of the zemindar; but the zemindar had always practised every species of oppression on them, extorting every cowrie which could be squeezed from them by violence, and leaving them little beyond a rag and a hovel. Mr. Shore, who superintended the settlement, maintained that some interference on the part of government was indispensably necessary to effect an adjustment of the demands of the zemindar on the ryot. Lord Cornwallis affirmed that whoever cultivated the land, the zemindar *could* receive no more than the established rate, which in most cases was equal to what the cultivator could pay. The difficulty was compromised rather than adjusted by declaring that the zemindar should not be at liberty to enhance the rents of the "independent talookdars" and two other classes of renters who paid the fixed sums due to the state through him, simply for the convenience of government. The zemindar was also restricted from enhancing the rent of the class of tenants called *khoodkast*, who cultivated the lands of the village in which they resided, except when their rents were

Restrictions
on the land-
holders, 1793.

below the current rates, or when their tenures had been improperly obtained. The remaining lands of the estate he was at liberty to let in any manner and at any rate he pleased. For the protection of the resident cultivators it was enacted that the zemindar should keep a register of their tenures, and grant them pottahs, or leases, specifying the rent they were to pay, and that for any infringement of these rules the ryot was to seek a remedy in an action against him in the civil courts. But the registers were not kept, and pottahs were rarely given; and, as to the remedy, a poor man has little chance against his wealthy oppressor in courts where the native officers are universally venal, and their influence is paramount. By the unremitted contrivances of the zemindar, and changes of residence on the part of the ryot,—which extinguished all his rights,—the class of resident cultivators has been gradually diminished; and the ryots have been placed at the mercy of the zemindar. The absence of any clear and defined rules for the protection of the cultivator in his ancient right not to pay more than a limited and moderate rent, and to be kept in possession of his fields as long as he did so, is an unquestionable blot on a system which in other respects was highly beneficial.

Settlement
made perma-
nent, 1793.

After the settlement had been completed, the great and all important question came on whether it should be decennial or permanent. Mr. Shore, the highest authority in all revenue questions in India at the time, strenuously opposed every proposal to make it irrevocable. He argued that government did not yet possess sufficient knowledge of the capabilities of the land, and of the collections, to make an equitable distribution of the assessment. But Lord Cornwallis replied, with great force, that if we had not acquired this knowledge after twenty years of research, and after the collectors had been employed especially for three years in seeking for it, we could never expect to obtain it, and the settlement must be indefinitely postponed. He considered that the boon which it was proposed to confer

on the zemindars would give them an irresistible inducement to promote cultivation, and to render their ryots comfortable. Mr. Shore, with a more correct appreciation of the character of the zemindars, affirmed that they had never been alive to their true interests; that they were utterly ignorant of the rudiments of agricultural science; that the whole zemindary system was a mere conflict of extortion on their part and resistance on the part of the ryot, the zemindar exacting whatever he had any chance of wringing from him, and the ryot refusing every cowrie he could withhold; and he argued that the zemindar would not assume new principles of action because his tenure was made permanent. But Lord Cornwallis was resolute in his opinion that a fixed and unalterable assessment was the only panacea for the evils which afflicted the country, and he strongly urged it upon Mr. Dundas. Some of the leading members of the Court of Directors, partly influenced by the weighty opinion of Mr. Shore, and partly by their own convictions, adopted a contrary opinion; but, as a body, they could not be persuaded to give their attention to the measure. Mr. Dundas resolved, therefore, that it should originate with the Board of Control. Mr. Pitt, who had for many years studied every Indian question with great assiduity, shut himself up with Mr. Dundas at his country seat at Wimbledon, determined to master the subject in all its bearings and results. Mr. Charles Grant, who had passed many years of his life in India, and combined the largest experience with the most enlightened views,—though he had not been considered worthy a place among the Directors,—was invited to assist Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in these deliberations, and he gave his suffrage for the perpetuity of the settlement. Mr. Pitt at length declared his conviction of the wisdom of this measure, and a despatch was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Dundas and sent to the Court of Directors. The subject was too large for their consideration in general, and the few who understood it, finding that the Ministers of the Crown had made up their minds on the point,

thought it best to acquiesce, and the dispatch was sent out to India.

Result of the settlement. The permanent settlement of Bengal and Behar was promulgated in Calcutta on the 22nd of March, 1793. It was the broadest and most important administrative act which the British government had adopted since its establishment in India. At a period when the revenue derived from the land formed the bone and muscle of the public resources, and while one-third of the country was a jungle, the assessment was fixed for ever. No margin was allowed for the inevitable increase of expenditure in the defence of the country, and in the development of civilised institutions; and there was moreover the unquestionable conviction that where the rent happened to be excessive, it must be reduced; where it was inadequate, it could not be increased. With the experience of seventy years before us, we are enabled to discover many defects and inequalities in the settlement, and it would be a miracle if this were not the case; but we must not forget the impending ruin of the country which it was intended to avert. It was a bold, brave, and wise measure. Under the genial influence of this territorial charter, which for the first time created indefeasable rights and interests in the soil, population has increased, cultivation has been extended, and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comfort of the people; and the revenue of the provinces of Bengal and Behar have increased to fourteen crores of rupees a-year, of which only four crores are derived from the lands. Before dismissing the subject it may be worthy of remark, that with all his benevolent and generous sympathies for the natives, Lord Cornwallis was not able to advance beyond the traditional creed of England, that all her colonial and foreign possessions were to be administered primarily and emphatically for her benefit. No effort was to be spared to secure the protection, the improvement, and the happiness of the people; but it was with an eye exclusively to the credit and the interests of the governing power. He closes his great minute

on the permanent settlement with this characteristic remark :
 “The real value of Bengal and Behar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China, and to supply the pressing wants of the other presidencies.”

Reform of the civil courts, 1793. The administration of Lord Cornwallis was also rendered memorable by the great changes introduced into the judicial institutions of the Presidency. The collector of the revenue had hitherto acted also as judge and magistrate. Lord Cornwallis separated the financial from the judicial functions, and confined the collector to his fiscal duties, placing him under a Board of Revenue at the Presidency. A civil court was established in each district and in the principal cities, with a judge, a register to determine cases of inferior value, and one or more covenanted assistants. Every person in the country was placed under the jurisdiction of these courts, with the exception of British subjects, who were, by Act of Parliament, amenable to the Supreme Court. To receive appeals from the zillah and city courts, four Courts of Appeal were constituted at Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna, and from their decisions an appeal lay to the Sudder Court at the Presidency, nominally composed of the Governor-General and the members of Council. All fees of every description were abolished, and the expenses of a suit restricted to the remuneration of pleaders and the expense of witnesses.

Criminal courts, 1793. For the administration of criminal law, it was ordained that the judges of the four Courts of Appeal should proceed on circuit, from zillah to zillah, within their respective circles, and hold jail deliveries twice in the year. The Mahomedan law, divested of some of its most revolting precepts, was the criminal code of the courts, and the Mahomedan law officer, on the completion of the trial at which he had been present, was required to declare the sentence prescribed by that code; which was carried into execu-

tion if the judge concurred in it, and if he did not, it was referred to the Sudder Court, which was also constituted a Court of Appeal in criminal cases. The zillah judges were likewise invested with the powers of a magistrate, and authorized to pass and execute sentences in trivial offences, and, in other cases, to apprehend the delinquent and commit him for trial before the judges of circuit. Each zillah was divided into districts of about twenty miles square, to each of which an officer called a *daroga* was appointed, with authority to arrest offenders on a written charge, and when the offence was bailable, to take security for appearance before the magistrate. Of all the provisions of the new system this proved to be the most baneful. The *daroga*, who was often fifty miles from the seat of control, enjoyed almost unlimited power of extortion, and became the scourge of the country.

The code of
1793.

For more than ten years, the clear and simple rules for the administration of justice, drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey, in 1781, had been the guide of the Courts. Lord Cornwallis considered it important that his new institutions should have all the certainty of fixed rules. "It was essential," he said, "to the future prosperity of the British in Bengal that all regulations affecting the rights, persons, and property of their subjects, should be formed into a code, and printed, with translations, in the country languages." Mr. George Barlow, a civil servant of mark at the time, and subsequently Governor-General, *ad interim*, and Governor of Madras, had the chief hand in manipulating the code of 1793, more especially in the police and judicial department. He was ignorant of the principles or practice of law, except as he might have picked up some notion of them in the country courts. He expanded the ordinances of Sir Elijah into an elaborate volume of regulations, altering the original rules, without improving them. This code, however valuable as a monument of British benevolence, was altogether unsuited to a people who had been accustomed to have justice distributed by simple and rational enquiry. The

course of procedure was loaded with formalities, and the multiplication of puzzling and pedantic rules only served to bewilder the mind, and to defeat the object in view. There was, in fact, too much law for there to be much justice. Every suit became a game of chess, and afforded the amplest scope for oriental ingenuity and chicanery. "Justice was thus made sour" by delay, and equity was smothered by legal processes. To add to the impediments thrown in the course of justice, it was administered in a language equally foreign to the judge and the suitors.

Notwithstanding the wisdom exhibited in Lord Cornwallis's institutions, they were deformed by one great and radical error. He considered it necessary that the whole administration of the country should be placed exclusively in the hands of covenanted servants of the Company, to the entire exclusion of all native agency. In the criminal department, the only native officer entrusted with any power was the Daroga, upon an allowance of twenty-five rupees a month. In the administration of civil justice, cases of only the most trivial amount were made over to a native judge, under the title of Moonsiff; but while the salary of the European judge was raised to 2,500 rupees a month, the Moonsiff was deprived of all pay, and left to find a subsistence by a small commission on the value of suits; in other words, by the encouragement of litigation. Under all former conquerors, civil and military offices, with few exceptions, were open to the natives of the country, who might aspire, with confidence, to the post of minister, and to the command of armies. But under the impolitic system established in 1793, the prospects of legitimate and honourable ambition were altogether closed against the natives of the country. If the peculiar nature of British rule rendered it necessary to retain all political and military power in the hands of Europeans, this was no reason for denying the natives every opportunity of rising to distinction in the judicial departments, for which they were eminently qualified by

Exclusion of
natives from
power, 1793.

their industrious habits, and their natural sagacity, not less than by the knowledge they possessed of the language and character of their fellow-countrymen. The fatal effects of this exclusion were speedily visible in the disrepute and inefficiency of the whole administration. With only three or four European functionaries in a district, which often contained a million of inhabitants, the machine of government must have stood still without the services of natives. But this power and influence from which it was impossible to exclude them, being exercised without responsibility, was used for the purposes of oppression, and the courts of every description became the hot-bed of corruption and venality.

The remaining events of 1793 are few and unimportant. Information having been received that France had declared war against England, Lord Cornwallis issued orders for the assemblage of a large force at Madras, intending to take the command of it in person, and march against Pondicherry. He embarked at Calcútta on the 25th of August, but was twenty-five days in reaching Madras. On his arrival there, he found that Colonel Brathwaite had proceeded to invest Pondicherry, and that, in consequence of the insubordination of the French troops, the governor had been obliged to capitulate a few days before. Lord Cornwallis embarked for England in October, after a memorable reign of seven years, during which period he had given strength and stability to the power established by the daring of Clive, and consolidated by the genius of Hastings. The dignity and firmness which he exhibited in his intercourse with the princes of India conciliated and overawed them, while the supreme authority which he exercised over all the Presidencies, convinced them that a new element of vigour had been introduced into the British government in India, which rendered it more formidable than ever.

Progress of
Sindia's en-
croachments,
1784.

The treaty of Salbye, which Sindia had concluded with Hastings, on the part of the Mahratta powers in 1782, raised him to a commanding

position in the politics of India. He was no longer a mere feudatory of the Peshwa, but an independent chief, the ally of the British Government, who had honoured his capital with the presence of their representative. He determined to lose no time in improving these advantages, and of pushing his schemes of ambition in Hindostan. The state of affairs at Delhi was eminently favourable to these views. The imbecile emperor was a puppet in the hands of Afrasiab Khan, who invoked the aid of Sindia, in his master's name, to demolish the power of his rival, Mahomed Beg. Sindia accepted the invitation with alacrity, and advanced with a large force to Agra, where he had a meeting with the emperor in October, 1784. Afrasiab was soon after assassinated, and the authority of the imperial court, and the influence connected with it, were at once transferred to Sindia. He refused the title of Ameer-ool-omrah, but accepted that of Vakeel-ool-mutluk, or Regent of the empire, for the Peshwa, and the post of deputy for himself, and was thus nominally invested with the executive authority of the Mogul throne. The emperor likewise conferred on him the command of the imperial forces, and assigned to him the provinces of Agra and Delhi, out of which he agreed to pay 65,000 rupees monthly, for the expenditure of the emperor's household. His ambitious views were thus gratified sooner than he had expected, and in the elation of success, and encouraged likewise by the departure of Hastings, he demanded the arrears of *chout* for Bengal and Behar, but Mr. Macpherson not only rejected the claim with indignation, but constrained him to offer a humble apology for having made it.

Sindia attacks
the Rajpoots,
and is defeated,
1787

The resources of the provinces of Agra and Delhi, which had been exhausted by constant hostilities, were found inadequate to the maintenance of the large force which Sindia entertained, and he sequestered the jaygeers of the Mahomedan nobles of the court. A powerful party was thus raised against him, which received secret encouragement from the emperor himself. Sindia then pro-

ceeded to despoil the Rajpoots, and at the gates of Jeypore made a demand of sixty lacs of rupees, as tribute due to the imperial treasury. The greater portion of this sum was paid, but when his general appeared to claim the remainder, the Rajpoot tribes made common cause, and attacked and routed him. Sindia advanced with all his troops to encounter them, but Mahomed Beg, who joined his standard after the murder of Afrasiab, fearing that the confiscation of his estates would not be long delayed, if Sindia were victorious, chose the eve of the battle for going over to the Rajpoots. He was killed in the engagement which followed, but his gallant nephew, Ismael Beg, one of the best native soldiers of the age, rallied the troops, and Sindia was obliged to retire. He was preparing to renew the conflict, on the third day, when the whole of the emperor's troops went over in a body to Ismael Beg, with eighty pieces of cannon. Sindia had not been reduced to such straits since he fled from the field of Paniput, but in no emergency did he evince greater fortitude and conduct. Fortunately for him, the Rajpoots, satisfied with their success, retired to their respective homes, instead of following up the victory. They left Ismael Beg to conduct the war alone, and he laid siege to Agra, the fortifications of which had been greatly strengthened by Sindia. In this extremity, he addressed Nana Furnuvene, and importuned him to aid him in maintaining the Mahratta ascendancy in Hindostan. But Nana was jealous of the growing power of Sindia, who he knew was aiming at the supreme control of the Mahratta commonwealth, and although he did not fail to send forward troops under Holkar and Ali Bahadoor, they were intended rather to watch and check his movements than to assist them.

Gholam Kadir,
1788.

In this position of affairs, the infamous Gholam Kadir, a turbulent soldier of fortune, the son of the Rohilla chief, Zabita Khan, who had died in June, 1785, appeared on the scene. Ismael Beg was still engaged in the siege of Agra: Gholam Kadir, with his body of free

lances joined him there, and Sindia advanced to attack them both. On the 24th of April, they raised the siege and advanced sixteen miles to meet him; Sindia was completely overpowered, and obliged to retreat to Bhurtpore, the capital of the friendly Jauts. Gholam Kadir was soon after called off to defend his own jaygeer from the encroachments of the Sikhs, by whom it was invaded at the instigation of Sindia, who took advantage of the circumstance to attack Ismael Beg, under the walls of Agra. The battle was fought on the 18th day of June, 1788, and terminated in the complete dispersion of Ismael's troops. He immediately joined the camp of Gholam Kadir, and they advanced together towards Delhi, but the emperor refused to admit either of them into it. Gholam Kadir, however, succeeded in corrupting one of the emperor's confidential officers, seized the gates of the city, and occupied the palace and the citadel. He then let loose his licentious soldiers on the city, which was for two months subjected to a degree of violence, rapine and barbarity, unexampled even in the gloomy annals of that imperial metropolis, which had been so repeatedly devoted to spoliation. The wives and daughters, and female relatives of the emperor were exposed and dishonoured, while some were, more mercifully, put to death. To crown his infamy, the ruffian put out the eyes of the wretched monarch in their sockets with his dagger. Ismael Beg turned with horror from the sight of these atrocities, and on receiving the promise of a jaygeer, entered the service of Sindia, who advanced to Delhi, reseated the emperor on the throne, and did everything that humanity could suggest, to alleviate the sorrows of the old man, then in his sixty-fifth year. A force was sent after Gholam Kadir who took shelter in Meerut, where he defended himself with vigour, but seeing his case desperate, mounted a swift horse and fled across the country, but was captured and brought into the presence of Sindia, who subjected him to the most barbarous mutilations, under which he expired.

Gholam Kadir
blinds the em-
peror, 1788.

Sindia's Euro-
pean force,
1785—1791.

The success which had attended the exertions of Sindia was owing, in a great measure, to the force which he had organised under European officers. He could not fail to perceive that the native Mahratta soldier, though admirably adapted for marauding expeditions, was ill suited for regular warfare, or for the maintenance of such a power as he was endeavouring to establish; and he resolved to create a Sepoy army on the model of the English battalions. The Count de Boigne, a native of Savoy, had come to India in quest of service, and circumstances brought him to the camp of Sindia, by whom he was immediately entertained. He was an officer of distinguished talents and great military experience, having served both in Europe and in India, and a large force was gradually formed under his direction, consisting chiefly of Rajpoots and Mahomedans, commanded and disciplined by European officers, many of whom were English adventurers. The force was eventually raised to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregular and 2,000 regular cavalry, and 600 Persian horse. With the aid of these regiments Sindia was enabled to fight pitched battles, and to capture towns and forts, as no Mahratta chief had ever done before. A foundry was likewise established, and 200 cannon cast. The equipment of this formidable force completely established Sindia's authority in Hindostan, and made him the most powerful member of the Mahratta confederation.

Battle of Patun,
June 17, 1790.

The turbulent Ismael Beg did not long remain faithful to Sindia, and he was joined by the Rajpoot rajas of Jeypore and Joudhpore. Sindia attacked the allies at Patun, on the 20th of June, 1790. Ismael fought with his usual bravery, and thrice charged through Sindia's regular infantry, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns. Holkar's force stood aloof during the engagement, and the issue of the battle was for a time doubtful, but the personal gallantry of De Boigne and his European officers, and the firmness of his disciplined troops, secured the day to his

master, though not, as it was affirmed, without the loss of 11,000 men. Ismael Beg fled with a small retinue to Jey-pore, all his guns were captured, and ten of his battalions grounded their arms and surrendered. The Rajpoots, however, still continued to maintain the war, and in the succeeding year a second battle was fought, at Mairta, in which De Boigne achieved another victory. The Rajpoot tribes were now apparently at Sindia's mercy, but the equivocal conduct of Holkar induced him to grant them peace on the payment of a moderate tribute. The raja of Joudhpore, however, who had assassinated Sindia's brother, Jayapa, thirty-two years before, was now required to surrender Ajmere to atone for the deed.

Sindia marches to Poona, 1792. Sindia had offered to join the alliance against Tippoo, in 1790, on the condition that two battalions of English troops should accompany him to Poona, that his own conquests in Hindostan should be guaranteed, and that he should be assisted to effect the complete subjugation of the Rajpoot states. Lord Cornwallis necessarily rejected these terms, upon which he entered into correspondence with Tippoo—all the while, however, professing the warmest attachment for the Company—and assumed a threatening attitude towards the Peshwa; and, if the arms of the allies had met with any serious reverse in the war with Tippoo, would doubtless have made common cause with that prince against them. That he might be in a position to take advantage of circumstances, and establish his authority at the Mahratta capital, he resolved to proceed thither, much against the wishes of Nana Furnuverse, who was justly apprehensive of his designs. After the battle of Patun, he had obtained from the emperor, for the third time, patents constituting the Peshwa Vakeel-ool-mootluk, or regent of the empire, and Sindia and his descendants, hereditary deputies. It may serve to give some idea of the prestige which still lingered about the Mogul throne, that, at a time when the emperor was dependant on Sindia for the daily expenses of his house-

hold, such a sunnud as this was considered an important acquisition in the Deccan. As a pretext for appearing at Poona, he gave out that he was proceeding to invest the Peshwa with the robes of his new office. He arrived at the capital on the 11th of June, 1792, and in order to exhibit his influence over the imperial house, as well as to gratify the feelings of the Hindoos, he published an edict he had extorted from the emperor, forbidding the slaughter of bullocks and cows throughout the Mogul dominions. Nana Furnuvene used every effort to prevent the Peshwa's accepting the title conferred on him, but Sindia had brought a large variety of rarities with him from Hindostan which delighted the fancy of the young prince, and, by making constant arrangements for his amusement, obtained a complete ascendancy over him. A day was accordingly fixed for the investiture.

The grand investiture, July, 1792. Sindia spared no pains to render the ceremony imposing. A grand suite of tents was pitched in the vicinity of the town, and the Peshwa proceeded to them with the greatest pomp. At the farthest end of the great tent of state a throne was erected to represent that of the Great Mogul, on which the imperial sunnud and the insignia were placed. The Peshwa approached it and placed on it the usual offering of a hundred and one gold mohurs, and took his seat on the right, when Sindia's secretary read out the patent, as well as the edict abolishing the slaughter of kine. The Peshwa was then invested with the gorgeous robes and splendid jewels of the office, and returned to Poona amidst the acclamations of thousands, and salvos of artillery. The grandeur of the scene exceeded everything which had ever been seen in the Mahratta capital before. It was on this occasion that Sindia exhibited one of the most extraordinary specimens of mock humility recorded in Indian history. It must be borne in mind that three months before this time, Tippoo had been stripped of half his dominions, and that Sindia was now the most powerful native prince in India, and master of an army composed of sixteen battalions

of regular infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon, and a hundred thousand horse. But he dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poona, and in the great hall of audience placed himself below all the hereditary nobles of the state. The Peshwa entered the room, and desired him to take his seat among the highest dignitaries, when he replied that he was unworthy of that honour, and untying a bundle which he carried under his arm, produced a pair of slippers, which he put before the Peshwa, saying, "This is my occupation; it was that of my father," and it was with great apparent reluctance that he allowed himself to be conducted to the honourable seat prepared for him.

Battle with
Holkar, 1792. Sindia and Nana Furnuverse, after this transaction, maintained an outward appearance of respect and civility, though plotting each other's destruction; but their respective forces in Hindostan could not be restrained from open hostility. They had been engaged together in levying tribute from the Rajpoots, and had captured two forts, but quarrelled about the division of the spoil. De Boigne, with 20,000 horse and 9,000 regular infantry, fell on Holkar's army of 30,000 horse, and four battalions disciplined by Europeans. The conflict was desperate, and the four battalions were completely annihilated, only one European officer escaping the carnage. Holkar retreated with the wreck of his army, and on his route sacked and burnt Sindia's capital, Oojein. This battle rendered Sindia absolute in Hindostan, and served to aggravate the intrigues at Poona, and to deepen the alarm of Nana Furnuverse. But he was unexpectedly re-

Death of
Sindia, 12th
Feb., 1794. relieved from all anxiety by the death of Sindia, on the 12th of February, 1794. Had he lived a few months longer, a contest for the office of chief minister of the Peshwa, and the supreme command of the Mahratta power would have been inevitable. For thirty-five years he may be said to have passed his life in the camp, devoting himself to the improvement of his army, and the increase of his resources. His character has been aptly

summed up in a few words, by the great historian of the Mah-rattas, "he was a man of great political sagacity, and considerable genius, of deep artifice, restless ambition and implacable revenge." He received from his father a small principality; he bequeathed to his successor, a lad of thirteen, a kingdom comprising all the territory from the Sutlege to Allahabad, two-thirds of Malwa, and the fairest provinces in the Deccan, as well as the finest native army in India.

Enlargement
of the powers
of the Govern-
or-General,
1786.

The proceedings in England in connection with the government of India, subsequent to Mr. Pitt's Bill in 1784, will now claim attention. The

Regulating Act of 1773, which created the office of Governor-General, made him responsible for the safety of India, but gave him only a single vote in Council, and rendered him liable, on every occasion, to be overruled by his colleagues. The distractions of Hastings's administration are to be attributed, in a great measure, to this anomalous clause, which frequently brought the Government to a dead lock. Lord Cornwallis therefore refused to accept the office, subject to this encumbrance, and a Bill was introduced and passed in 1786 to enable the Governor-General and the Governors of the minor Presidencies to act in opposition to the opinion of the Council, when they deemed it necessary for the welfare of the country, the counsellors being at liberty to record the reasons of their dissent. Of the wisdom of this measure no better proof can be offered than the fact that it has worked beneficially for nearly eighty years.

The Declara-
tory Act, 1788.

The gravest movement of this period, however, was the consummation of Mr. Pitt's plan of transferring the powers of government from the Company to the Crown. In the year 1787, a conflict of parties arose in the republic of Holland; the French and the English Governments espoused opposite sides, and there was every prospect of a rupture between them. The interference of France in the politics of India, had been for half a century the great object of dread to the Court of Directors, and under the apprehen-

sion that they might have again to encounter it, they now solicited the Ministry to augment the European force in India, and four regiments were immediately raised for their service. Happily, the peace with France was not interrupted, but, as soon as the storm had blown over, the Court of Directors, anxious to save the cost of the regiments, declared that they were no longer necessary. Lord Cornwallis had earnestly recommended the augmentation of the European force in India, to give greater security to our position, and the Board of Control therefore determined that the regiments should be sent out. The Court of Directors, however, refused to allow them to embark in their ships, and as the contest, which thus arose between the India House and the Ministry, involved the great question of the substantial powers of government, Mr. Pitt referred the question to the decision of Parliament.

Discussions in
Parliament,
1788.

On the 25th of February, 1788, Mr. Pitt introduced a Bill to declare the meaning of the Act of 1784, and affirmed that "there was no step which could have been taken by the Court of Directors before the passing of that Bill, touching the military and political concerns of India, and the collection, management, and application of the revenues, which the Board of Control had not a right to take by the provisions of that Bill." He stated, moreover, that in proposing his Bill of 1784 it was his intention thus to transfer the whole powers of government to the Crown. The organs of the Court of Directors in the House stated that they never would have supported that measure, if they had supposed such to have been its intent; and they discovered, when too late, that in voting for Mr. Pitt's Bill they had committed an act of suicide. An objection was raised to the despatch of the regiments on the constitutional doctrine that no troops could belong to the King for which Parliament had not voted the money. Mr. Pitt thereupon stated his conviction that the army in India ought to be on one establishment, and to belong to the King, and that it was not

without an eye to such an arrangement that he had brought forward the present motion. But, notwithstanding the boundless influence which he enjoyed in the House, the members were alarmed at the immense power which he attempted to grasp. Many of his staunch supporters deserted him, and the Opposition were very sanguine in their hopes of being able to overthrow the Ministry on this occasion. There were four tempestuous debates on the question, one of which was prolonged to eight o'clock in the morning. Mr. Pitt had encountered no such opposition in the present Parliament, and to prevent being beaten in the successive stages of the Bill, was under the necessity of making great concessions, and adding several conciliatory clauses to it. The Declaratory Act of 1788 rivetted on the East India Company the fetters which had been forged by the Act of 1784.

The Charter
of 1793.

The period for which the exclusive privileges had been granted to the East India Company expired in 1793, and on the 23rd of April, the Court of Directors presented a petition to Parliament for the renewal of them. But new commercial and manufacturing interests had been springing up in England with great vigour since the last concession, and petitions poured into the House from Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Bristol, and other seats of industry and enterprize, protesting against the continuance of a monopoly in so large a trade, and the exclusion of the country in general from any share in it. The Court of Directors appointed a Committee to draw up a reply to the petitioners, and to demonstrate that it was essential to the national interests that the East India Company should continue to be the sole agent for managing the commerce and government of India. The Ministry found the existing state of things, more especially since the Declaratory Act, exceedingly convenient to themselves, and resolved to oppose all innovation. Fortunately for the Company, Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding the Mysore war, had placed the finances of India in a more flourishing condition than they had ever been in before;

and, it may be said, than they have ever been in since. Mr. Dundas was thus enabled to ask the House, with an air of triumph, whether they were prepared to stop the tide of this prosperity, for a mere theory.

Arguments for
renewing the
Charter, 1793.

The arguments which he adduced for continuing the power and privileges of the East India Company were, that to throw the trade open to all England would retard the payment of the Company's debts; that it would check the growing commerce of India, and that it would inevitably lead to colonization and ensure the loss of the country to England. He objected to the dissolution of the Company, because the patronage of India, added to the other sources of influence in the Crown, would destroy the balance of the Constitution. These arguments, solemnly propounded by the Ministers, at a period when free trade was considered the direct road to ruin, were received with blind confidence by the House, and the privileges of the Company were renewed, with little modification, for a period of twenty years. To meet the clamours of the merchants and manufacturers of England, the Company was directed to allot 3,000 tons a year for private trade, but as the privilege was hampered with the heavy charges and delays of their commercial system, it was little prized, and seldom used. An effort was made by Mr. Wilberforce, one of the ablest and most enlightened members of the House, to obtain permission for missionaries and schoolmasters to proceed to India, and give voluntary instruction to the people, but he was vehemently opposed by the old Indians in the Court of Directors, who had imbibed the fantastic notion that the diffusion of knowledge would be fatal to British rule in India, and that the presence of missionaries would be followed by rebellion; and the House was persuaded by Mr. Dundas to reject the proposal.

Remarks on the
Charter, 1793.

The Charter, as it is called, of 1793, may be regarded as a faithful reflection of the narrow views of the age, which, considered that the introduction of

free trade and Europeans, of missionaries and schoolmasters, into India, would sap the foundation of British authority. The experience of nearly three-quarters of a century has dispelled this hallucination. Since the extinction of the Company's monopoly, the trade, instead of being diminished, has increased twenty fold. The free admission of Europeans into India has not endangered the dominion of England; on the contrary, during the great mutiny of 1857, India was nearly lost for want of Europeans. The patronage of India has been trebled in value, and the Company has been abolished, yet, owing to the happy discovery of the principle of competitive appointments, the power of the Crown has not been increased, and the independence of Parliament has not diminished. Christian missionaries have been admitted into India and placed on the same footing as the Hindoo priest and the Mahomedan mollah, and allowed to offer instruction to the natives; and, the education of the people is now considered as much a duty of the state as the maintenance of the police;—yet the feeling of allegiance to the Crown of England has not been impaired.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793—1798.

Sir John Shore
Governor-Gen-
eral, 1793. SIR John Shore, a distinguished member of the Company's civil service, and the author of the revenue settlement of 1793, succeeded to the government, on the departure of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a letter to Mr. Dundas on the choice of his successor, had given it as his opinion, that "nobody but a person who had never been in the service, and who was essentially unconnected with its members, who was of a rank far surpassing his associates in the government, and who had the full support of the Ministry at home, was competent for the office of Gover-

nor-General." Subsequently to the date of this letter, Sir John, then Mr. Shore, had visited England, and on his return, Lord Cornwallis wrote again to Mr. Dundas, that "seeing how greatly Mr. Shore's mind had been enlarged and improved by the visit, he desired to make an exception in his favour." Mr. Pitt, who had taken great interest in the question of the revenue settlement, had been much struck with the industry, candour and talent exhibited by Sir John Shore, and, believing him to be well suited to carry out the views of Lord Cornwallis, mentioned his name to the King as his successor. The King replied, that "No one could have been so properly thought of as Mr. Shore, unless a very proper man of distinction could be found to be Governor General at Bengal." Sir John Shore, therefore, received the appointment, and entered on the duties of his office on the 28th of October, 1793.

Guarantee
treaty accepted
by the Nizam,
1792-93.

The first question of importance which came up to test his powers, was connected with the politics of the Deccan. The treaty of alliance concluded with the Nizam and the Mahrattas by Lord Cornwallis in 1790, stipulated, that "if after the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo, he should attack or molest either of the contracting parties, the others shall join to punish him, the mode or conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled by the contracting parties." To avoid future complications, Lord Cornwallis was anxious, after the termination of the war, that the grounds on which the allied powers could demand mutual support, should be distinctly defined. He accordingly sent the draft of a "treaty of guarantee," to Poona and Hyderabad, in which he proposed that if any difference should arise between any of the confederates and Tippoo, the nature and circumstances should be communicated to the others, and that they should not be bound to take up arms till they were convinced that he had justice on his side, and that every effort for conciliation had been exhausted. The proposal was highly acceptable to the Nizam. The Mahrattas had a long account against him, and their envoys were pressing the

settlement of it at Hyderabad, at the time when his army was employed conjointly with theirs against Tippoo. The Nizam brought forward a counter-claim of larger amount, under thirty-four heads, for contributions unjustly exacted, and revenue unjustly withheld. But he proposed to postpone the adjustment of these accounts till the war had terminated, hoping thereby to obtain the friendly interposition of the English government. He therefore welcomed the treaty of guarantee with much avidity, under the impression that it would serve to strengthen his influence with Lord Cornwallis, and counteract the hostility of the Poona durbar, who were already preparing to invade his territories.

Rejected by the
Mahrattas, 1793.

The Mahrattas, on the other hand, declined any engagements which might in any measure interfere with their designs on the Nizam. Mahdajee Sindia was then at Poona, exercising a powerful influence in the councils of the state, and he did not conceal his opinion that the Company had become too powerful, and that Tippoo ought to be supported as a counterpoise to them. He denounced the proposed treaty as an arrogant assumption of authority. Nana Furnavese, however, was anxious to cultivate a good understanding with the English government, as a check on the ambitious projects of Sindia, and prolonged the negotiations for several months. He then drew up the outline of another treaty, including in it the demand of arrears of *chout* from Tippoo, which he was well aware Lord Cornwallis would never sanction. After a twelvemonth vainly spent in these wearisome discussions, the Governor-General was obliged to abandon all hope of obtaining the concurrence of the Mahrattas in any arrangement, and to remain content with a vague and verbal assurance, that they would abide by their engagements.

Sir John
Shore's neu-
trality, 1794-95.

At the beginning of 1794, the death of Mahdajee Sindia, the chief opponent of the Guarantee treaty, and the succession of his grand-nephew Dowlut Rao, a youth of thirteen, to his power and resources, appeared to present a favourable opportunity for the energetic

interposition of British influence to preserve the peace of India. But Sir John Shore determined to remain quiescent. The Mahrattas, who expected some decisive movement on this occasion, were not slow to perceive that the sceptre of the British power had fallen into feeble hands; and as soon as they discovered that Lord Cornwallis's successor was resolved to limit his interference to "good offices," they hastened their preparations for war with the Nizam. Tippoo likewise announced his intention of joining them to crush the Nizam, who immediately claimed from the Government of Calcutta the fulfilment of the 10th article of the treaty of 1790, which bound the contracting parties to unite in repelling his aggressions. There can be little doubt that if Lord Cornwallis had been in India at this time, his manly representations, backed by the assembly of an army on the frontier, would have been sufficient to maintain peace between the parties. But Sir John Shore lacked his spirit and resolution; he had a morbid dread of giving offence to the Mahrattas, which might end in a war, and drain the treasury, then full to the brim; and he was above all anxious to exhibit a most exemplary obedience to the Act of Parliament which discountenanced native alliances. The question which he put to himself was "whether we were bound by treaty to defend the Nizam, if Tippoo should attack him while engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas, either as their ally or independently of them." Strange to say, his opinion was in the negative. The Nizam pleaded that in becoming a party to the treaty of 1790, he had trusted to the good faith of the English Government, not to the treachery of the Mahrattas. But Sir John Shore persuaded himself that the defection of one of the parties from a tripartite alliance, offensive and defensive, and his union with the power against whom the treaty was made, cancelled the obligation of the remaining party. It is, however due to his memory to state that his judgment was evidently influenced, to a considerable extent, by the incompetence of his Commander-in-chief to take charge of a war with Tippoo and the Mahrattas. He resolved,

therefore, to remain neuter, and leave the Nizam to his fate. And thus the high reputation which the British Government had acquired throughout India by the prompt succour of the raja of Travancore when attacked by the armies of Tippoo, was sacrificed by his successor, from motives of expedience and economy, and too obsequious a submission to an Act of Parliament through which Lord Cornwallis had boldly driven his coach, and had, nevertheless, received the thanks of both Houses.

Expedition
against the
Nizam, 1795.

To assemble a Mahratta army when there was a prospect of plunder had never presented any difficulty. On the present occasion the young Peshwa resolved to accompany the expedition, and summoned all the feudatories into the field; and it proved to be the last time they were mustered under the national standard. Dowlut Rao Sindia brought up a force of 25,000, of whom 10,000 consisted of De Boigne's regular infantry. The Raja of Berar contributed 15,000 horse and foot. Holkar's contingent was only 10,000, but of these 2,000 were disciplined by European officers, and he had, moreover, a following of 10,000 Pindarrees. Govind Rao Guickwar likewise sent a detachment of troops, and all the southern Jaygeerdars furnished their quota. The whole army mustered 130,000 horse and foot, and 150 pieces of cannon. The Nizam, abandoned by his English allies, threw himself into the hands of their European rivals, with whom they were then at war. A French officer of the name of Raymond, who had come out to India with Lally, twenty-five years before, and fully shared his animosity towards the English, had entered the service of the Nizam, and organised two battalions, which did good service in the Mysore war. When the struggle with the Mahrattas appeared inevitable, he was directed to increase his force to the fullest possible extent. The procrastination of the Mahrattas, arising from the dissensions created by the death of Mahdajee Sindia, enabled Raymond to raise this body of troops to 18,000, all of whom were trained and commanded by European officers.

The war with the Mahrattas, while at a distance, was popular with the Hyderabad army. The disorderly soldiers indulged in the wildest gasconade, threatening to plunder and burn Poona; the dancing girls moved through the camp chaunting the triumphs the army was about to achieve, and even the chief minister, forgetting his own dignity, boasted that the Peshwa should be banished to Benares, with a cloth about his loins and a water-pot in his hand, to mutter incantations on the banks of the sacred stream.

Defeat of the
Nizam at Kurdla,
11th March,
1795.

The Nizam was the first in the field, and advanced from Beder, where he had established his camp, towards the Mahratta frontier. The Peshwa quitted Poona in January, and the two armies approached each other on the 10th of March. On that evening the Nizam sat in durbar, and received congratulations for the victory of the morrow. The forces joined issue on the 11th, a little in advance of the village of Kurdla, which has given its name to the battle. The Nizam's Patan cavalry drove the centre division of the Mahratta army, commanded by Pureshram Bhao, from the field, and a large portion of his army was seized with a panic and fled. By this time the regular battalions on both sides approached within musket shot of each other, and the Nizam's cavalry were advancing steadily to the support of their infantry, when Rughoojee Bhonslay assailed them with a shower of rockets, and Perron, who commanded Sindia's disciplined troops, poured in a destructive fire from thirty-five pieces of cannon he had judiciously planted on an eminence. The cavalry was put to the route, but Raymond's infantry stood their ground, and had even obtained some advantage over Perron's battalions, when he was obliged, in consequence of repeated and pressing orders, to follow the Nizam, who had retraced his steps, to Kurdla. The Nizam was accompanied on this expedition by his zenana, and the favourite Sultana, terrified by the roar of the artillery, insisted on his retiring beyond the reach of it, and threatened, if he refused, to disgrace him by exposing herself to public gaze. The dotard

yielded to her importunities, and the whole army retreated in wild confusion. The greater portion of the troops fled from the field, after having plundered the baggage of their own army, but the Pindarrees pursued them, and stripped them of everything they possessed. The next morning the Mahrattas advanced over the field, and found it strewed with guns, stores, baggage, and all the equipments of the army. Only a tenth of the Nizam's force remained about Kurdla, in which he had taken refuge, and where, after sustaining the cannonade of the Mahrattas for two days, he solicited a cessation of arms. The Mahrattas demanded territorial cessions of the value of thirty-five lacs of rupees a-year, together with an indemnity of three crores of rupees, one-third to be paid down immediately, as well as the surrender of Musheer-ool-moolk, his chief minister, and the ablest man at his court, on the pretext that amends must be made for some insulting language he was reported to have used in reference to Nana Furnuvene. With these hard conditions the Nizam was constrained to comply, and he affixed his signature to the humiliating treaty on the 13th of March, 1795.

The Nizam increases his French force, 1795.

During these transactions the British ministers at the court of the Nizam and the Peshwa removed from their camps, and remained in the neighbourhood, mere spectators of the event. Neither were the two English battalions in the pay of the Nizam allowed to take any part in the war, notwithstanding his earnest entreaty. He returned to his capital highly incensed at this neutrality, and immediately dismissed the battalions, while Raymond was directed to increase his force with all diligence. He and his officers lost no opportunity of manifesting their hatred of the English; they carried the colours of the French republic, then at war with England, and wore the cap of liberty on their buttons. Raymond made the greatest and most successful exertions to improve the discipline and efficiency of his corps, and the power and resources of the Hyderabad state, which Lord Cornwallis had endeavoured to

secure for the interests of the British nation, were thus transferred to its enemies. The Nizam, following the example of Sindia, determined to assign districts for the support of this foreign force, and Raymond made his selection of Kurpa, because it lay on the confines of the Company's territories, and was comparatively adjacent to the coast, from which he would be enabled to receive recruits, and possibly co-operate with a regiment then expected from France. But even the pacific Shore could not brook the presumption of the Nizam in planting a hostile force in the immediate neighbourhood of the British territories. He peremptorily insisted on their removal, and threatened to enforce the demand by a military demonstration. Just at this juncture an unexpected event—the rebellion of the Nizam's son, Ali Jah—served in some measure to restore a good understanding between him and the government of Calcutta. On the night of the 28th of June that prince abruptly quitted Hyderabad, and proceeded to Beder, where he raised the standard of revolt. The Nizam was thrown into a fever of alarm, and recalled the English battalions in all haste, and offered immediately to remove the French force from the frontier. The battalions were directed to march against the prince with the utmost expedition; but before they could reach Beder, Raymond's corps had extinguished the revolt.

The battle of Kurdla completely prostrated the Nizam, and left him at the mercy of the Mahrattas, who would doubtless have returned to complete his humiliation after the division of the spoil, had not the sudden death of the Peshwa given a new direction to the current of events, and restored to him much of his previous consequence. By the success of the recent campaign Nana Furnuvene had gained the summit of his wishes. He had restored the Mahratta supremacy in the Deccan, and gratified the Mahratta chiefs with plunder. Dowlut Rao Sindia manifested the greatest deference to him; the raja of Berar and the great brahmin feudatories were entirely

Death of the
Peshwa relieves
the Nizam, 1795,

subservient to him. He was without a rival in the Mahratta commonwealth; but his love of power, and his anxiety to monopolise it, produced an event which brought him to the grave in misery and disgrace. During the minority of the Peshwa, Madhoo Rao, the second, Nana had for twenty years enjoyed, with occasional interruptions, the chief control of Mahratta affairs at the capital. But though the Peshwa was now of age he was still kept by the minister in a state of the most stringent and galling tutelage, and in a fit of impatience threw himself from a terrace of the palace on the 22nd of October, 1795. He died two days after, bequeathing his throne to his cousin Bajee Rao, the son of the luckless Raghoba, and the last of the Peshwas. Bajee Rao was a prince of many accomplishments, mental and bodily, graceful in person, mild in his demeanour, and of the most insinuating address, but distinguished above every prince of the age by his profound dissimulation, and his utter unscrupulousness. As he grew up Nana Furnuverse had watched his movements with great jealousy, and had for some time detained him a close prisoner. The unexpected death of the Peshwa confounded all the plans of Nana, and gave rise to a series of complications unmatched even in Mahratta history, of which, however, we can find room for only a brief outline.

Chimnajee,
Peshwa, 1796. Immediately after the catastrophe Nana assembled the Mahratta chiefs, carefully suppressed the dying bequest of the late Peshwa in favour of Bajee Rao, and proposed that his widow should be required to adopt Chimnajee, the younger brother of Bajee Rao, in whose name he himself intended to continue to administer the government. Bajee Rao, on receiving intimation of this plot, which, if successful, would have deprived him of all his rights, opened a secret correspondence with young Sindia and his minister, Balloba Tantia, and offered them jaygeers of the value of four lacs of rupees a year if they would support his claim to the succession. Nana Furnuverse discovered this negotiation, and resolved to circumvent Sindia by releasing Bajee Rao of

his own accord, and placing him on the vacant throne. That prince was accordingly conducted to Poona, and reconciled to Nana, whom he engaged to maintain as his minister. Meanwhile Balloba, Sindia's chief adviser, who resented this proceeding, resolved to counteract the designs of Nana, and directed the army, then encamped on the banks of the Godavery, to march up to Poona. Nana, who was as remarkable for political talent as for personal cowardice, immediately fled to Poorunder. Balloba, now master of the situation, proposed to Pureshram Bhao, the commander-in-chief, that Bajee Rao should be set aside, and placed in confinement, that the widow of the late Peshwa should adopt Chimnajee, and that Pureshram himself should be the chief minister. He sought advice of Nana in his retreat, and that wily statesman not only gave his approval of the adoption, but proceeded in person to Satara to procure the investiture from the descendant of Sevajee. Bajee Rao, ignorant of these machinations, repaired to Sindia's camp, where he was detained as a prisoner, while Chimnajee, greatly against his own will, was installed as Peshwa on the 26th of May, 1796.

Pureshram Bhao, now at the head of the government, immediately released the minister of the Nizam, who had been held as a hostage for fourteen months since the battle of Kurdla.

The great object of all the parties in power at Poona at this time was to obtain possession of the person of Nana, who was obliged to fly for security to the fortress of Mhar. His fortunes now seemed to be at the lowest ebb, but they were restored by his extraordinary tact. "The vigour of his judgment," as the historian of the Mahrattas observes, "the fertility of his resources, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments he called into action, surprised all India." He renewed his communications with Bajee Rao. He entered into an engagement with the Nizam, which is generally known as the treaty of Mhar, and was dated the 8th of October, 1796, in which it was provided

Bajee Rao raised
to the throne,
4th December,
1796.

that a body of 15,000 Hyderabad troops and a train of artillery should be sent to assist in establishing Bajee Rao as Peshwa, and Nana as minister, and that, in return for this assistance, the territory the Nizam had been constrained to cede to the Mahrattas should be restored, and the balance of the indemnity remitted. Balloba, the inveterate foe of Nana, having received some intimation of these schemes, determined to frustrate them by sending Bajee Rao as a prisoner into Hindostan. He was sent under the charge of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, and on the route succeeded in corrupting him, by promising his master, Sindia, a donative of two crores if he obtained his liberty and his crown; he was liberated accordingly. The schemes of Nana were now matured. He had secured the co-operation of Roghoojee Bhonslay, and Holkar. He had gained over Sindia by the promise of Pureshram's jaygeers, worth ten lacs of rupees a year, and on the 27th of October, 1796, that chief commenced the revolution by seizing his own minister Balloba. Pureshram took to flight; Nana marched in triumph to Poona, and on the 4th of December placed Bajee Rao on the throne of his ancestors, and cancelled the adoption of Chimnaje.

Nana seized and confined, December, 1797.

Bajee Rao, whose nature was to trust no one and to receive all, was no sooner in possession of power than he began to plot the destruction of the two men who had been the chief instruments of his elevation. The agency of Sindia was employed against Nana, who was induced by the representations of the infamous Sirjee Rao to pay his master a visit of ceremony, when he was seized and confined in the fort of Ahmednugur. His escort, consisting of a thousand persons, was stripped, maimed, killed, or dispersed. Troops were sent to pillage his adherents, and the capital presented a scene of confusion and bloodshed. Having thus disposed, as he thought, of Nana, Bajee Rao began to devise means of ridding himself of Sindia, who had recently espoused the beautiful daughter of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay. The wedding was celebrated with extra-

ordinary display and expense. The monthly cost of his army at Poona, moreover, did not fall short of twenty lacs of rupces. He began to be straitened for money, and was constrained to press Bajee Rao for the two crores which had been agreed on as the price of his release and elevation. Bajee Rao pleaded the emptiness of his treasury, but advised him to constitute Ghatkay his chief minister, and instruct him to levy this sum from the wealthy inhabitants of Poona. The advice was taken; the ruffian was let loose on the capital, and, as long as it exists, his name will be remembered with horror and execration. He proceeded in the first instance to the Peshwa's palace, where he seized the ex-ministers of the party of Nana, and scourged them until they gave up their property. The rich bankers and merchants, and all who were suspected of the possession of wealth, were tortured till it was surrendered. For many days the city of Poona was given up to plunder and violence. Amrit Rao, the illegitimate son of Raghoba, who had been placed in the office of minister on the imprisonment of Nana, not knowing that the infamous Ghatkay had been set on these atrocious proceedings by the advice of his own brother, Bajee Rao, attributed them to the malevolence of Sindia, and proposed to assassinate him. Bajee Rao readily entered into a project so entirely in accordance with his own wishes, and one Abba Kally was selected to despatch him, at a public interview, in the Peshwa's palace. Sindia was summoned to the audience chamber, and Bajee Rao upbraided him with the arrogance and cruelty which he and his servants exhibited, and declared that he would no longer endure the contempt shown to his authority, ordering him at the same time peremptorily to depart from the capital. Sindia replied, with the greatest modesty, that he was anxious to obey, but could not remove his camp for want of funds, and solicited payment of the large sum which had been expended in seating Bajee Rao on the throne. At this moment Amrit Rao inquired whether he should give the signal to the executioner, but Bajee Rao's courage failed him, and

Sindia was allowed to depart in peace. This was the first occasion on which the Peshwa manifested that irresolution of purpose which marked his character through life, and rendered him an object of general contempt. It was in the midst of this scene of intrigue and confusion that Lord Wellesley assumed the office of Governor-General, and speedily convinced the native princes of India that the energy of Hastings and Cornwallis was restored to the British Government.

Amalgamation
of the army,
1794.

One of the two points on which Lord Cornwallis had received specific instructions before he embarked for India, had reference to the amalgamation of the King's and the Company's army. Mr. Dundas considered that India could be retained only by a large European force; and as the number of European soldiers in India, in 1788, was only 12,000, to about 58,000 native sepoys, he deemed it necessary, in order to create a feeling of perfect security, to augment it to about 17,000, so as to establish the proportion of one to three. He considered it important that the whole of this force should be under the Crown, and "act in concert with the general strength of the empire." Lord Cornwallis, during his residence in India, collected a mass of information on the subject, which he embodied in an elaborate minute on his return to England. He proposed that the whole army, European and native, should be transferred to the Crown; but he considered it indispensable that the European officers of the native army should remain an essentially distinct body; that they should go out to India early in life, and devote themselves entirely to the Indian service, in which a perfect knowledge of the language, and attention to the customs and religious prejudices of the sepoys, was absolutely necessary. This plan of amalgamation, which appears to have been drawn up in November, 1794, was rejected by the Court of Directors, who were not disposed to transfer their entire military establishment to the Crown; and it did not receive the full concurrence of the Board of Control.

Mutiny of the
Bengal officers,
1795-96.

Before this plan was ready for consideration, the officers of the Bengal army were in a state of open mutiny. Lord Cornwallis had been employed during his administration in abolishing sinecure offices, and lessening the sources of illegitimate gain, both in the civil and military branches of the service. The civilians had been compensated for these reductions by increased salaries, but it was impossible to adopt the same rule with regard to a body of officers counted by thousands. The command of a regiment was still worth 80,000 rupees a year, but the general disproportion in the remuneration of the two services, was a source of constant envy and discontent to the military branch. This feeling was inflamed by the superior advantages of rank enjoyed by the King's officers. Sir John Shore, on assuming the government, found that he had to deal, not with the discontent, but with the actual insubordination of the Bengal army, and, in a country in which he felt that "the civil authority was at the mercy of the military." This spirit of mutiny continued to increase throughout the year 1794; but the officers refrained from any overt act of rebellion, while they waited to ascertain how far the new regulations which Mr. Dundas was drawing up in lieu of Lord Cornwallis's amalgamation scheme, proved agreeable to their wishes. The regulations, however, were delayed so long, that the patience of the officers was exhausted, and on Christmas-day, 1795, Sir John Shore convened the Council, and laid before them the alarming intelligence he had just received. Delegates had been elected from each regiment to form an executive board, and the whole army was bound by the most solemn obligations to protect their persons, and make good their losses by a general subscription. This board was authorized to treat with government on these terms:—that the Company's regiments should not be reduced; that the King's troops should be limited by law to a small number; that promotion should invariably go by seniority; and that all allowances which had at any time been granted to the army, including double batta,

should be restored. If these conditions were not accepted, they were prepared to seize the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, and take possession of the government.

Conciliatory
measures of
Government,
1795.

The Council was thunderstruck at this state of affairs. It was a crisis of the same magnitude as that which Clive had quelled thirty years before by his undaunted bearing; but there was no Clive at Calcutta. The Governor-General instantly dispatched orders for troops to the Cape and Madras, and directed the Admiral to bring up his whole squadron to Calcutta without delay; he likewise accepted an offer from De Boigne, of the services of a corps of Sindia's cavalry, commanded by European officers. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Robert Abercromby, proceeded to Cawnpore. Though he was not the man for the emergency, his official character and his courteous manner effected some good; but it was the firmness of the artillery in Calcutta, and the manly resistance of several officers at Cawnpore, that stemmed the tide of mutiny for the time. The long-expected regulations arrived at length, in May, 1796, and disgusted all parties. Sir John Shore described them as a mass of confusion, calculated neither to gratify the officers, nor to improve the discipline of the army. The spirit of revolt blazed forth afresh. Remonstrances poured in upon the bewildered government from every quarter, and on the 30th of June, Sir John Shore wrote to his superiors at home stating, that the pressure on him had been so great, as to oblige him to give way, partly, and to modify the regulations. In a minute which he promulgated in India, he expressed a hope that the general code which he had drawn up would be acceptable to the officers. The regulations were so modified, that there was little of them left. The concessions went even beyond the expectations of the army. Arrears of batta to the extent of seven laes of rupees, were granted unasked; the arrears of brevet rank were gratuitously bestowed, and such an addition made to the allowances of the officers of all grades, as to entail a permanent

addition of seven lacs of annual expenditure. The weakness of government had, in fact, surrendered everything up to a factious army. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis, immediately after this transaction, Sir John Shore admitted that he was little qualified by habit or experience, to contend with a discontented army, and the responsibility of these wretched measures, must, therefore, rest chiefly with the Commander-in-chief.

Alarm of the
Ministry in
England, 1796.

The intelligence of these concessions, which reached England in December, 1796, filled the Ministry with alarm, and they determined immediately to supersede Sir John Shore. Lord Cornwallis was importuned to proceed forthwith to India, and he was assured by Mr. Dundas, that if he could bring himself to forego his comforts at home for only a twelvemonth, and spend three months at Calcutta, and three months at Madras, he would do the greatest service to his country that ever any man had it in his power to do. So urgent did the necessity of the case appear, that Mr. Dundas offered his own services, in case of Lord Cornwallis's refusal, and stated his readiness to go out to Bengal as Governor-General; but Mr. Pitt refused to part with his colleague, and Lord Cornwallis determined "to sacrifice all personal consideration of comfort and happiness, to the service of the public." He was sworn in as Governor-General on the 1st of February, 1797, and the appointment was immediately announced to all the Presidencies in India. On the first intelligence of this spirit of insubordination, Mr. Dundas declared himself averse to all concessions, and resolved to put it down with a high hand. But he met with serious obstructions in various quarters, and was obliged, at length, to succumb to circumstances. There was a regularly organised committee of Bengal officers then sitting in London, as the representatives of the mutineers in India, and the Court of Directors and Mr. Dundas, strange to say, entered into negotiations with them, and passed, what Lord Cornwallis designated, a "milk-and-water order," with which they desired him to

embark for India and assume the government, which he refused to do. They proceeded further to make concession after concession to the London committee, and even promoted one of the ringleaders to a confidential post at the India House. Lord Cornwallis therefore resigned the office of Governor-General in disgust, on the 2nd of August.

Affairs of Oude;
death of the
Vizier, 1797.

The most memorable event of Sir John Shore's administration was the change which he made in the Oude succession. Hyder Beg Khan, the chief minister, was a native statesman of vast energy and singular ability, and sustained the sinking fortunes of the state with great vigour. His death in 1795, and the appointment of a successor totally devoid of principle, put an end to all hope of reform in the government. By nature, the Vizier was a man of good disposition, but spoiled by the enjoyment of absolute power, and by the fools, knaves, and sycophants, who composed his court. During the seventeen years of his reign he had lived only for one object—the gratification of his personal appetites. Some English adventurer who visited his court introduced to his notice the diversion of a race by old women in sacks. The Vizier was enchanted with this new pleasure, and exclaimed, that though he had expended a crore of rupees in procuring amusement, he had never found anything so much to his taste. The government was completely effete, and, but for the protection of the English battalions, the country would long since have been absorbed by Sindia. Sir John Shore, before he resigned the government, paid a visit to the Nabob at Lucknow, and prevailed on him to appoint Tufuzzil Hussein, his minister. He had been his master's representative in Calcutta, and had obtained the entire confidence of Sir John Shore by the simplicity of his character, his unblemished integrity, and his great abilities. In his various interviews with the Vizier, Sir John endeavoured to inculcate on him the necessity of endeavouring to promote the prosperity of the country and the happiness of his people; but he found that such questions had never come within the

scope of his imagination. Whatever favourable impression the Governor-General might produce in the morning, was completely effaced in the evening, when the Vizier was again closeted with his buffoons and parasites, or stupified with opium. After a residence of six weeks at Lucknow, Sir John returned to Calcutta, and the Nabob, worn out with excesses, died in the course of the year.

Vizier Ali,
Nabob, 1797. The succession of his reputed son, Vizier Ali, was ratified by Sir John Shore on the ground that the old Nabob had acknowledged his title, that the Nabob's mother had given it her sanction, and that it was generally acquiesced in by the people. But he subsequently received information of his spurious birth and violent character, and, from that feeling of conscientiousness which had always guided his conduct, proceeded to Lucknow to investigate the case. Before he reached it, he was met by the minister, Tufuzzil Hussein, who assured him that Vizier Ali was not even the illegitimate son of the late Vizier, but the offspring of a man of the lowest caste; that his elevation had created astonishment and disgust, and that the succession belonged of right to Sadut Ali, the brother of the late prince. The province of Oude was considered by the people of Hindostan to stand in a position altogether different from that of any other principality in India. In 1764 it had been conquered by the British arms, and forfeited by the laws of eastern warfare. It was afterwards voluntarily restored to the family of the Vizier by Lord Clive, and was ever after considered a dependency of the British Government, and the appointment of its Nabobs was held to rest on the will of the Governor-General. Sir John felt the full responsibility of his situation, and was most anxious to do justice. He consulted all those who were likely to give impartial testimony, and he found the statement of the minister regarding the ignoble birth of Vizier Ali fully confirmed. He learned, likewise, that since his elevation he had exhibited great violence and unsteadiness of character, and the most hostile designs towards the English

Government. Sir John, therefore, came to the conclusion that it would be injurious to the country, and disgraceful to the British name to support him, and that, as all the children of the late Nabob were illegitimate, the throne ought to descend to his brother.

Arrangement
with Saadut
Ali, 1798.

That prince was at the time residing at Benares, and Sir John Shore deputed Mr. Cherry, the Resident, to announce the intentions of the British Government to him. He was likewise presented with the draft of a treaty, which, with some subsequent modifications, embraced the following provisions: that the defence of the Oude dominions should remain exclusively with the British Government; that the number of British troops stationed in Oude should consist of 10,000; and that the annual payment for them should be seventy-six lacs of rupees, which was to vary according to the increase or diminution of the force; that the fortress of Allahabad, the key of the province which the English were to defend, should be made over to them, that the Nabob should not maintain more than 35,000 troops, and should enter into no negotiation with any foreign power, without the consent of the British Government. The treaty made such arrangements as a superior would dictate to a subordinate, and fully bore out the impression that Oude was subject to the Company. During this negotiation, Sir John was encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow, and exposed to no little peril from Vizier Ali, who was surrounded by bands of desperate men, who openly talked of his assassination. The city was then supposed to contain 800,000 inhabitants; the streets were narrow lanes and intricate passages, capable of being strongly defended, and every house was filled with armed men. Ibrahim Beg, a bold and reckless adventurer, commanded the troops of Vizier Ali, and had 300 pieces of ordnance, of which 30 were so posted that they could not be seized without great danger. Sir John Shore was strongly advised by the minister and the nobles to anticipate the designs of Vizier Ali, and seize

him in the city, but he felt that the firing of a single shot might lead to the massacre of thousands. In the midst of these dangers, his escape from which was pronounced by his successor in the government to be miraculous, he maintained the utmost calmness and composure, and his conduct throughout this transaction exhibited a pattern of courage and resolution.

Sadut Ali in-
stalled, 1798.

Sadut Ali at length reached Cawnpore, and was escorted from thence to Lucknow, a distance of 50 miles, by a large British force, and all the embarrassments of Sir John Shore at once terminated. Vizier Ali was deserted by his servants and followers as Sadut Ali approached the city, in which he was proclaimed Nabob Vizier on the 21st of January, 1798. Vizier Ali was removed to Benares, where he resided some time on his pension of a lac and a half of rupees a year, cherishing the most inveterate feelings towards the English Government. The revolution was hailed by Europeans and natives as an act of justice, and the general feeling in Oude was that "the right had come to the rightful." The Court of Directors recorded that "in circumstances of great delicacy and embarrassment, Sir John Shore had conducted himself with great temper, ability, and firmness." Dr. Lawrence, a friend of Mr. Burke's and one of the managers of the impeachment of Hastings, threatened Sir John with an indictment for his proceedings in Oude, but it was never carried into execution; and the impartial voice of posterity has paid homage to the honesty, the wisdom, and the vigour manifested by him on this occasion. Immediately after Saadut Ali had been placed on the throne, Sir John Shore, who had been created Lord Teignmouth, returned to Calcutta, and embarked for England on the 25th of March, 1798.

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION—FOURTH AND LAST
MYSORE WAR, 1798, 1799.

Lord Wellesley, Governor-General, 1798, 1799. SIR JOHN SHORE was succeeded in the government of India by Lord Mornington, subsequently created Marquess of Wellesley, then in his thirty-eighth year. He was born in Ireland in 1760, and placed at an early age at Eton, where he became one of its most distinguished scholars. On coming of age he took his seat in the Irish House of Peers; and engaged in the most important debates of the time. Soon after, he was elected a member of the British House of Commons, and was brought into communion with the great men of genius who then adorned the senate, and who have shed an imperishable lustre on that period of English history. At the age of twenty-six he was nominated one of the Lords of the Treasury. In January, 1794, he delivered a brilliant speech against French jacobinism, which stamped him as one of the rising men of the day, and was supposed to have mainly conduced to his Indian appointment. He had likewise enjoyed the advantage of a seat at the Board of Control for four years, which gave him a comprehensive knowledge of the politics of India. He was, moreover, the intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, and possessed the confidence of Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, an association of inestimable value to a Governor-General. He embarked for India in November, 1797, and landed at the Cape in February, 1798, where he found Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras during the second Mysore War, as well as Lord Hobart, who had recently been recalled from that post, and was thus put in possession of their views regarding British interests in the Deccan. At the Cape he also met with Major Kirkpatrick, formerly minister at Sindia's court, and latterly the Resident at Hyderabad, and obtained from him the

most important information respecting the strength of the various native powers, and the objects of their policy. While Lord Wellesley—we anticipate his superior title—was detained at the Cape, a vessel from Calcutta touched there, with the despatches of the Government to the Court of Directors, which he did not hesitate to open, that he might obtain the latest intelligence of the actual position of affairs in the empire he was going out to govern. With the information derived from these various sources, he composed his first despatch to Mr. Dundas, embodying his own views of the course of policy which it was advisable to pursue. This letter afforded the clearest evidence of his extraordinary genius for government.

After the humiliation of Tippoo, in 1792, the Indian authorities in London had been encouraged by Lord Cornwallis to believe that the security of the Company's interests depended on that balance of power which he had established among the princes of the Deccan, and which he considered both stable and permanent. But the first survey which Lord Wellesley was enabled to take of the country powers convinced him that a greater fallacy had never been harboured in Leadenhall-street. There never had, in fact, been, and, considering the policy of the native courts, there never could be, anything like a real balance of power in India. With the princes of India, rapine and conquest had been from time immemorial the only avowed principle of action. War was considered the chief source of glory; it was sanctioned by the ordinances of religion, both Hindoo and Mahomedan; it was prosecuted without any pretext or semblance of justice, and restrained only by the power of resistance. The Court of Directors, trusting to this imaginary safeguard, had prohibited all alliances with the native princes, and all interference in their affairs. Sir John Shore was determined to carry out their system with conscientious fidelity; but, before he had been eighteen months in office, he saw the whole fabric of the balance of power crumble to pieces before his eyes. At the

Extinction of
the balance of
power, 1798.

battle of Kurdla, the Peshwa and the other Mahratta princes completely demolished the power of the Nizam, while Sir John Shore looked on, and refused him the aid even of the British battalion which was in his pay. Soon after, the Peshwa was, in his turn, reduced to extremity by the encroachments of Sindia, and implored the protection of the Governor-General. It was refused from a servile deference to the orders of the Court of Directors, and the power of the Peshwa was reduced to the same state of prostration as that of the Nizam. The balance of power in the Deccan was thus irretrievably destroyed. The British Government became the object of derision to the princes of India, who were fain to conclude that it contained the same elements of decay as all Asiatic sovereignties, and that the energy which had raised it to the summit of power was now exhausted. "Its moon," they said, "was already in the wane;" and a brief prolongation of Sir John Shore's feeble administration would have brought the British empire in India to the brink of destruction.

State of India,
1798. To estimate the difficulties of Lord Wellesley's position on assuming the government, it is only necessary to glance at the state of the chief native powers. In the south, Tippoo was brooding over his misfortunes and thirsting for an opportunity of gratifying his hostility to the English,—the ruling passion of his life. The five years of peace he had enjoyed were assiduously devoted to the improvement of his resources. Though deprived by Lord Cornwallis of half his dominions, he was still able to maintain a formidable army in a state of the highest efficiency. He had entertained a body of French officers, and, as the anxiety of France to regain her former power in India had revived with the ambition of the Revolution, he expected material assistance from a French alliance. The Nizam, finding the assistance of the British regiment he subsidised denied him by Sir John Shore in the hour of his utmost need, had increased the strength of his French battalions, under Raymond, to 14,000 men and 36 field pieces, and assigned districts yielding eighteen lacs of

rupees for their support. They constituted the only military force of any importance in his dominions, and were gradually assuming the authority and tone natural to such a position. They carried the colours of the French republic, then at war with England, and wore the cap of liberty on their buttons. Sindia, who was supreme at Poona, had likewise obtained possession of the person of the emperor at Delhi, and was strengthened by all the influence still connected with the Mogul throne. His territory in the Deccan extended to the banks of the Toombudra, and skirted the frontiers of the Nizam and the Peshwa, while in the north his possessions abutted on those of the Company and the Nabob of Oude. The French battalions raised by De Boigne, he had augmented to 40,000 men, with 464 guns, and assigned an entire province for their maintenance. The organization of this force included all the requirements of war, fortresses, arsenals, founderies, and depôts, and it was in no respects inferior to the British army in Hindostan. To add to Lord Wellesley's embarrassments, the European officers of the Company were in a state of complete insubordination, the spirit of the community was depressed by the visible weakness of the Government, and public credit was at so low an ebb that it was not possible to obtain money under twelve per cent. Lord Cornwallis had bequeathed a surplus revenue of a hundred and eighty-five lacs of rupees a-year to his successor, but under Sir John Shore's administration it had dwindled down, year after year, without any war expenditure, and for the first time in the history of British India peace had created a deficit.

Lord Wellesley landed in Calcutta on the 17th May, and within three weeks was startled by the appearance in one of the Calcutta journals of a proclamation issued by General Malartic, the Governor of the Mauritius. It stated that two envoys had arrived in the island from Tippoo Sultan with despatches for the Government in Paris, proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, and requesting a body of troops without delay to assist him in ex-

The Mauritius
proclamation,
1798.

PELLING the English from India, and it invited volunteers to enrol themselves under the Sultan's colours. The document was at first deemed spurious, as it was difficult to suppose that Tippoo would thus publicly proclaim his hostile intentions, and prepare the British Government to defeat them; but the receipt of a second copy of it from the Cape dispelled every doubt. Soon after, it was announced that a French frigate at the Mauritius had taken on board about a hundred men, including civil and military officers, and landed them at Mangalore, on the Malabar coast, after capturing two East-Indiamen on the route. On reaching the capital, the French officers organised a Jacobin club under the auspices of the Sultan, whom they dignified with the title of Citizen Tippoo. The tree of liberty was planted with due ceremonials, and surmounted with the cap of equality; the emblems of royalty were burned, and the French republic, one and indivisible, was consecrated on the public parade.

The Coast army
ordered to
assemble, 1798.

Lord Wellesley determined to anticipate the designs of Tippoo, and directed General Harris, the officiating Governor of Madras, to assemble the Coast army to march directly on Seringapatam. At the same time, he called on the Nizam and the Peshwa, the signatories of the treaty of Seringapatam, to furnish their quota of troops in accordance with the 12th article. The Presidency of Madras was thunderstruck at this daring project. General Harris trembled to commit the Government in so hazardous a conflict, and cautioned the Governor-General against the error of putting any trust in these dilatory and timid native allies, the only advantage of enlisting whose services was to prevent their being transferred to the enemy. Even the governing spirit of Madras, Mr. Webbe, a young civilian of thirty-one, of whom the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley, affirmed that he was one of the ablest men he ever knew, and, withal, the most honest, was appalled at such an enterprize. He had a lively dread of the Mysore power, which had, within memory, annihilated Baillie's detach-

ment, devastated the Carnatic, and burned the suburbs of Madras. In a very elaborate state paper, he enumerated all the dangers and disasters which had attended our former wars with Hyder and Tippoo. In 1791, Lord Cornwallis, he said, took the field with an army completely equipped, but had failed to reach Seringapatam. At present, the entire disposable force of the Presidency did not exceed 8,000 men, and they were without draft cattle, supplies, or commissariat. This army, far from being in a condition to march upon the enemy's capital, was unequal even to the defence of the Company's territories, if Tippoo should think fit to invade them, which he would not fail to do when he heard of our preparations. The treasury, moreover, was bankrupt; the public debt had increased in eight years from seventeen to fifty lacs of pagodas, and the twelve per cent. paper was at a discount of five per cent. On the other hand, Tippoo numbered 60,000 troops, a large portion of whom consisted of the celebrated Mysore horse. His infantry was, in part, disciplined by French officers. He possessed 144 field-pieces, a rocket brigade, a long train of elephants, and a superb muster of carriage and draft cattle. Any movement of troops which might give umbrage to Tippoo could only end in fearful disasters, and in the impeachment of Lord Wellesley. These representations, however, instead of deterring him from his purpose, only served to demonstrate more clearly the imperative necessity of extricating the affairs of the Company from this perilous position. If, he argued, we were not strong enough to repel the assaults of Tippoo, he was virtually master of the Deccan, and there could be no real security as long as it depended simply on the moderation of an inveterate foe. Though constrained, therefore, from the weakness of the Madras Presidency, to fold up the idea of striking an immediate blow at Tippoo's power, he issued peremptory orders for the equipment of the army, and threatened with his severest displeasure, and in his most imperious style, those who "presumed to thwart him, and arrogated to themselves the power of governing the

empire committed to his charge." Meanwhile, he called on Tippoo to disavow his embassy to the Mauritius.

The state of affairs at Hyderabad demanded the Lord Wellesley's vigorous policy, immediate attention of the Governor-General. 1798.

Raymond, who organized the French force of the Nizam, had died in the spring of the year. His successor, Piron, who was considered an abler soldier, was animated by a stronger feeling of jacobinical hatred to England. Lord Wellesley felt that in the approaching conflict with Tippoo, he could not take this body of troops into the field as a part of the Nizam's contingent, without the hazard of their joining the Sultan, with whose French officers they were in constant communication. To leave them behind without a large force to watch their movements, appeared equally dangerous. The French force at Hyderabad was, moreover, the nucleus of the power which France was endeavouring to establish in the Deccan. The junction of this body with the French troops in Mysore, and those in the service of Sindia, might at any time extinguish the power of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and enable the French to bring the resources of the Deccan and of Hindostan to bear on the dominions of the Company. The extinction of the French army at Hyderabad was, therefore, an object of the first importance. At this critical juncture, Lord Wellesley received a letter from Zemaun Shah, announcing his intention to cross the Indus and invade Hindostan, and demanding the assistance of the English Government to drive the Mahrattas back into the Deccan. Zemaun Shah was the grandson of the renowned Ahmed Shah Abdalee, whose victory at Paniput, forty years before, was still remembered with a feeling of terror throughout India. The intrinsic weakness of his power had not then been discovered, and another Abdalee invasion could not be contemplated without alarm. Lord Wellesley was thus menaced with dangers in every direction, but he never feared the bugbear of responsibility, and he determined to carry out the plans he had formed for the protection of the empire, without waiting

for the sanction of the Court of Directors or the Board of Control. He found that the Company had not augmented their security, by curtailing their influence, but had drifted into a position where it was less perilous to advance than to stand still or to recede. He resolved at once to terminate that policy of isolation which had been erroneously considered the safeguard of British power, and to abandon the system of non-interference which was held sacred in Leadenhall-street. Within three months after he had taken his seat at the Council board, active negotiations were commenced through the country; every durbar from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Jumna was electrified by the revival of that energy which was supposed to be extinct, and the princes of India soon felt that the spirit of Clive and of Hastings again animated the Government of Calcutta.

Proposed alliance with the Nizam, 1798.

Lord Wellesley's first negotiation was with the court of Hyderabad. The minister, Musheer-ool-moolk, more commonly designated Meer Allum, fell into the hands of the Mahrattas at the battle of Kurdla, and was kept in confinement, in order to deprive his master of the benefit of his great abilities. He had recently obtained his liberty, and resumed the management of the Nizam's affairs. Alarmed at the ascendancy which the French officers had acquired during his captivity, and disgusted at their arrogance, he had resumed the lands allotted for their maintenance, and had repeatedly proposed to the Company's Resident that an English subsidiary force should be substituted for the French battalions. The proposal was refused by Sir John Shore, but Lord Wellesley now eagerly embraced it, and offered to augment the corps of British troops in the Nizam's pay to 6,000, with a proper complement of artillery, on condition that a provision of twenty-four lacs of rupees a-year should be made for their support, and that the French force should be promptly disbanded. He likewise offered his mediation on all matters in dispute with the Peshwa, and engaged to protect the state from his unjust claims. The Nizam, then in his

sixty-fifth year, more feeble in body and in mind than his illustrious father at the age of a hundred, manifested considerable repugnance to so close an alliance with a power which, since he ascended the throne, had risen to be the most formidable in India. The minister himself was not insensible of the danger which might be incurred by this connection; but he argued that the Hyderabad state was utterly defenceless, and that it was more advisable to be dependent on a power distinguished by good faith than to remain exposed to the ambitious views of Tippoo on the one hand, and the insatiable rapacity of the Mahrattas on the other. The influence of the minister was paramount, and the reluctant consent of the Nizam was at length obtained to the treaty.

Proposal to the Peshwa, 1798. The proposal of a similar alliance was likewise made to the Peshwa, Bajee Rao. In the preceding year, he had solicited the aid of a British force to protect him from the designs of Sindia, who had fixed his headquarters near Poona, but Sir John Shore, in deference to the policy then in the ascendant at the India House, had refused to comply with his wishes, and the opportunity of establishing an influence at the Mahratta court was lost. Bajee Rao then entered into negotiations with the Nizam, and concluded an alliance with him, ceding territory valued at eight lacs of rupees a-year, as the price of his assistance against Sindia. Sindia avenged himself by despatching envoys to Tippoo, to invite him to attack the Nizam, and by releasing the great minister, Nana Furnuverse, whom the Peshwa feared as much as he detested. On the Nana's arrival at Poona, a strong feeling of mistrust of the Peshwa led him to decline all connection with public affairs. The Peshwa, therefore, repaired to his residence in the dead of night, with only a single domestic, and employed all those insinuating arts of which he was so perfect a master, laid his head at the feet of the Nana, swore to consider him in future as his father and his counsellor, and, in a flood of tears, conjured him not to abandon the brahmin sovereignty, but to

assume the office of minister. The appeal was successful; but the Nana had no sooner entered on his duties, than the Peshwa began to plot his destruction, and urged Sindia to place him again in confinement. The minister discovered the intrigue, and repairing to the palace, upbraided Bajee Rao with his unparalleled treachery, and begged him to cease plotting against the liberty and life of an old man, but to allow him to retire into obscurity. The Peshwa protested his innocence, threw the blame on his officers, and persuaded the Nana to resume his post. It was at this period that the Resident brought forward the proposition which he was instructed by Lord Wellesley to make, of a subsidiary alliance to liberate the Peshwa from the thralldom of Sindia. It provided that a large British force should be received into the service of the Peshwa, and due arrangements made for their support; that the French should be for ever excluded from his dominions; and that all differences with the Nizam and Sindia should be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. It has been supposed that the eagerness manifested on this occasion by the Governor-General tended to defeat his object. But Bajee Rao had no desire for the final settlement of such claims, which had been the source of Mahratta greatness, and which it was the national policy never to close. The alliance proposed by Lord Wellesley was designated by him a restoration of the Peshwa to his due authority and power, but he and the other princes to whom the offer was made were too astute not to perceive that it involved the complete extinction of their political independence and of their military power. The Peshwa would, it is true, have been relieved from the domination of Sindia, but it would only have been a change of collars, the substitution of one which he could never shake off, for another which, however galling, might yet be temporary. It is not surprising that princes with whom independence had a charm, the value of which was often enhanced by its risks, should have been loth to part with it. The Peshwa, therefore, acting upon the advice of

Nana Furnuvene, evaded the proposal of an alliance, but assured the Resident that he would faithfully observe the engagements of the triple alliance. A large Mahratta force was ostensibly ordered to assemble and join the expedition which the Governor-General was fitting out against Tippoo, but it was never intended to act, and the Mahrattas took no part in the campaign.

While these negotiations were in progress at Poona, Colonel Collins, the Resident at the court of Sindia, was instructed to lay before him the letter of Zemaun Shah, requesting the co-operation of the British Government in driving the Mahrattas from Hindostan, liberating the emperor from bondage, and restoring him to the throne. The Resident was instructed to assure Sindia that the Governor-General was determined to resist this attempt to disturb the established states of India in their actual possessions, and to invite him to unite in a defensive league against the Abdalee. Sindia was also urged to quit Poona and return to Hindostan, where he would find an English army ready to join him. He declined the alliance, but promised to proceed to his own provinces in the north, a promise he did not intend to fulfil. The raja of Nagpore had maintained a friendly disposition towards the Company, and Mr. Colebrooke, the most eminent Oriental scholar of the day, was sent to his court to improve it, but the raja refused to entangle himself with an alliance.

To give effect to the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, four Madras regiments, with proportionate artillery, were ordered to march to Hyderabad, but the Madras treasury was so empty, that the Governor was obliged to raise funds for their equipment on his own personal responsibility. They reached Hyderabad on the 10th October, but the difficulties of the transaction were not past. Every artifice and intrigue was employed for nine days to evade the performance of the treaty and the dismissal of the French corps. The vacillation of the Nizam and his minister arose,

Negotiations
with Sindia and
Nagpore, 1798.

Extinction of
the French
force at Hydera-
bad, 1798.

not only from the dread of a collision between the two forces, English and French, but also from a feeling of reluctance at the last moment to descend to a state of helpless and irretrievable dependence on a superior power. The Nizam, under the influence of personal terror, took refuge in the neighbouring fortress of Golconda. The British Resident, Captain Kirkpatrick, was obliged to assume a high tone, and to assure the minister that it was now too late to recede, and that the Nizam would be held responsible for the consequences of this breach of faith. Colonel Roberts, who commanded the British force, was anxious to bring the question to an issue before the arrival of the Nizam's household cavalry, who were known to be friendly to the French interests, and had been ordered up from the country. The minister was at length convinced that there was more danger in evading than in performing the engagement his master had entered into, and a proclamation was issued dismissing the French officers from the service, and releasing the sepoy's from the obligation of obedience to them. Both officers and men were thrown into a state of confusion and dismay by this unexpected announcement. The British force was moved into a position which completely commanded the French encampment, and from which, if necessary, the French storehouses and magazines could be set on fire by red hot shot. The French commandant, Mons. Piron, on receiving his dismissal from the Nizam, sent a messenger to inform Captain Kirkpatrick that he and his officers were ready to place themselves under British protection, and expected to be treated according to the usages of civilised nations. But the men, to whom considerable arrears were due, rose in a body on their officers and placed them in confinement, and it was not without great difficulty they succeeded in escaping during the night to the English camp. Captain Malcolm, a young officer of great spirit and ambition, then rising to notice, was sent to quell the excitement of the native troops, and to offer them the payment of their arrears. By his great tact in the management of natives, he prevailed on them to accept these terms,

and before the evening this large body of 14,000 disciplined troops, possessed of a powerful train of artillery and well-stored arsenals, was disarmed without the loss of a single life. This great achievement, the foremost of the new administration, filled the native princes, who were calculating on the downfall of the Company's power, with amazement, while it gave fresh confidence to their native subjects. The ability with which it was planned, and the promptitude with which it was executed, removed all cause of anxiety from the minds of the European functionaries of government at all the Presidencies, and created a spirit of confidence and devotion, which contributed essentially to the success of the Governor-General's plans.

Mysore War
sanctioned in
England, 1798.

While Lord Wellesley was engaged in preparations for war, he was so happy as to receive a despatch from the Court of Directors, written on the receipt of the Mauritius proclamation. The dread of the Mysore power, which they had thrice encountered in thirty years, still haunted their imaginations, and they began to tremble anew for the security of their possessions in the Deccan. They stated that if Tippoo had actually entered into a league with France, it would be neither politic nor prudent to wait till he commenced hostilities, but they also enjoined the utmost discretion in resorting to arms. Mr. Dundas considered that this breach of faith fully warranted a declaration of war, and Lord Wellesley was thus enabled to commence the campaign with the full concurrence of the authorities in England. On the 18th October he received intelligence that Bonaparte had landed in Egypt with the object of establishing a French empire in the East, and two days after issued orders to Madras to press forward the organisation of the army in every department, and to send the battering train and heavy stores to the frontier without delay. He likewise announced his intention to strengthen the Coast army with 3,000 volunteer sepoy, and, above all, with His Majesty's 33rd Regiment, commanded by Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, in himself a

host. On the 8th of November, intelligence of the complete success of the movement for the suppression of the French force at Hyderabad, reached Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley despatched his first communication to Tippoo Sultan. The British Government, he said, could not be ignorant of the intercourse he had formed with the French, the inveterate enemies of the Company, and then actually at war with England; and he was cautioned against a connection which "must subvert the foundations of friendship between him and the Company, and introduce into the heart of his kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion." The Governor-General had, consequently, been obliged to adopt measures of precaution and defence, though he was anxious to live in peace and amity with all his neighbours. He was, however, desirous of propounding a plan which would remove all distrust and suspicion, and establish a good understanding between the Company and the Sultan, on the most stable foundations; and he proposed to depute Major Doveton for this purpose to his durbar. Lord Wellesley likewise resolved to proceed to Madras in person to obviate the delay inseparable from a distant correspondence, and to bring the authority of the Supreme Government to bear upon the military preparations. Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-chief, was to be left in Bengal to watch the movements of Zemaun Shah, who had already crossed the Indus and reached Lahore. The Calcutta militia, an old institution which had fallen into disuse, was embodied to the number of 1,500. Lord Wellesley then embarked for Madras, which he reached on the last day of the year, and assumed the control of all the political and military arrangements, leaving the local administration undisturbed in the hands of the Governor.

Correspondence
of Lord Wellesley
and Tippoo,
1799.

Lord Wellesley found Tippoo's reply to his letter at Madras. With regard to the embassy, the Sultan observed that the agents of a mercantile tribe, who had purchased a two-masted vessel,

happened to go with a cargo to the Mauritius, and forty persons, French, and of a dark colour, ten or twelve of whom were artificers and the rest servants, had embarked in her for Mysore in search of employment. Some of these had entered his service, and the others had left the country. The French, "who were full of vice and deceit, had perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports, with the view to ruffle the minds of both Sircars." The proposed conference with Major Doveton he evaded, under the pretence that "the treaties and engagements entered into among the four Sircars"—the English, the Nizam, the Peshwa, and himself—"were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age. No means more effectual than these could be adopted to give stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony." To this letter Lord Wellesley replied on the 9th of January, giving a full detail of all the transactions by which Tippoo had violated the treaties subsisting between him and the Company, and manifested the hostility of his designs. He stated that the new engagements which the Sultan had entered into with the common enemy, necessarily demanded new arrangements on the part of the allies. He solemnly admonished him to assent to the conciliatory mission of Major Doveton, and warned him of the dangerous consequences of delay in arduous affairs, entreating him not to postpone his reply for more than one day after the letter should reach his presence. Before the arrival of this communication, Tippoo had again written to the Governor-General to lull him into security, assuring him that "the sincerity of his friendship and regard, together with proofs of his solicitude for tranquillity and peace (his friendly heart being bent on their increase) had been made apparent." At the time when this letter was written, he was despatching Dubuc, one of his French officers, through the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, to the Executive Directory at Paris, to solicit the aid of 10,000 or 15,000 troops, who were to be maintained at his expense,

and employed in expelling the English from India. He was likewise inviting Zemaun Shah to cross the Indus, and join him in prosecuting "a holy war against the infidels, polytheists, and heretics." "Please God," he said, "the English shall become food for the unrelenting sword of the pious warriors." Lord Wellesley's letter of the 9th January appears to have given him the first clear monition of the danger which he had incurred by his negotiations with the French, and his first impulse was to receive the mission of Major Doveton, and throw himself on the consideration of the Governor-General. The letter addressed to him by Bonaparte, from Egypt, stating "that he had arrived on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering him from the iron yoke of England," had not as yet reached him; but his French officers assured him that the army of Bonaparte must already have embarked for India, and might be daily expected. After many days of alternate hope and fear, he forwarded his reply with this significant expression: "Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am, accordingly, proceeding on a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton, slightly attended (or unattended)."

Strength and
progress of the
British Army,
1799.

But Tippoo had miscalculated the character of the man he had now to deal with, and the length to which he might venture to procrastinate. Lord Wellesley had determined to bring the war to a close in a single campaign, by one vigorous and decisive blow at the capital. Seringapatam was the great object of Tippoo's pride, the centre of his power, his principal granary, and his only arsenal, on the preservation of which he considered the fate of his kingdom to depend. Unlike any other fort in India, it was impregnable from June to November, owing to the rise of the Cavery around the island on which it was erected. Unless, therefore, it could be reduced before the rains set in, the campaign must prove abortive, and the intolerable expense of a second season of military operations must

be incurred. As the year advanced, every moment became increasingly important, and Lord Wellesley, after waiting in vain for the early reply he had solicited from Tippoo, on the 3rd February ordered the army to break ground. In reply to the cold and ungracious letter of the Sultan, when it arrived, he expressed regret that his earnest representations of the dangers of delay had not been heeded. The mission of Major Doveton, he said, was no longer expedient; but General Harris, who was advancing at the head of an army into Mysore, would be prepared to receive any embassy Tippoo might think fit to send. The army which was now about to take the field was considered the best appointed, and the most perfect in point of equipment and discipline which had ever been collected in India under the British standard. Only six months before, the Madras functionaries had declared that it would be impossible to assemble a force of more than 8,000 men, which would be scarcely equal to the defence of the Carnatic, if it were invaded by the Sultan. But the commanding energy of Lord Wellesley, seconded by the indefatigable exertions of his brother, Colonel Wellesley, and of the son of the great Clive, now Governor of Madras, had called into existence an army of 20,802 men, of whom 6,000 were Europeans, with a battering train of 40 guns and 64 field-pieces and howitzers. To this number was added 10,000 of the Nizam's cavalry and the Hyderabad subsidiary force, which included 3,600 of Raymond's disciplined sepoy, and made up another body of 10,000 foot, under the direction of European officers, and commanded by Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm. It thus became an efficient auxiliary, instead of the dead weight it had proved during the campaign of Lord Cornwallis. The army was fortunate in its superior officers, all of whom, with one exception, enjoyed the advantage of the experience acquired in the previous Mysore war; while General Harris, the General-in-chief, was personally acquainted with all the localities on the route. Lord Wellesley possessed in an eminent degree two of the greatest qualifications for command, great discernment in the

selection of his instruments, and the wisdom of reposing unreserved confidence in them; and never were these talents more distinctly exhibited than on the present occasion, by the accordance of unfettered authority to General Harris, and the able officers associated with him. The Bombay division of 6,420 troops was assembled under General Stuart at Cannanore, on the Malabar coast, to advance simultaneously on the capital.

Tippoo marches
to the western
coast, 1799.

Tippoo, who had made several marches to the eastward to meet Major Doveton, at length assembled his chief officers, and expressed his vexation that while the English were closing on him from the east and the west he was losing invaluable time, and pointed out the necessity of "marching, and striking some decisive blow." He determined, therefore, to leave Poornea and Syud Sahib with a sufficient force to watch the movements of General Harris, and to march in person with the flower of his army across the peninsula and engage the army of General Stuart, whose advanced post was then at Seedasere. It was diligently propagated throughout the country that Tippoo was proceeding against General Harris, and nothing was so little expected by the Bombay army as his appearance in its neighbourhood. On the morning of the 5th March, however, the raja of Coorg, a gallant prince, the grateful ally of the Company, and the mortal enemy of the family of Hyder, who had always oppressed him, ascended the hill of Seedasere, and to his amazement beheld the plain below covered with Tippoo's encampment. Preparations were immediately made to meet the attack of the enemy by General Hartley, the second in command, a name of ancient and high renown on that coast. On the morning of the 6th the advanced brigade was vigorously assailed by the Sultan's entire force, and three battalions under the gallant Colonel Montresor sustained the assault for six hours with such cool and determined bravery, that the utmost efforts of Tippoo's best officers and troops could make no impression on their ranks. General Stuart, who was ten

miles in the rear, hastened to their assistance, and found them exhausted with fatigue and reduced to their last cartridge. His timely arrival decided the fortune of the day. Within half an hour Tippoo's army retreated through the wood with the loss of 2,000 men. He continued for six days to linger in the vicinity in a state of great perplexity, and on the 11th March turned his back on the Bombay force, and marched to oppose the advance of General Harris.

Progress of
General Harris,
1799.

General Harris reached Bangalore on the 15th March, with the heavy charge of conveying the vast and cumbrous equipage for the siege in safety to its destination. Of the three routes which led from Bangalore to Seringapatam he had chosen the most southern. It presented many points where a bold and skilful enemy might have seriously obstructed his progress, more especially on the banks of the Madoor, which afforded an excellent position for opposing the passage of an army. But, throughout the campaign, the Sultan appeared to be bewildered, if not infatuated; and, in direct opposition to the advice of his own most experienced officers, and of his French commandant, he fixed upon Malavelly as the field for encountering the English force. The battle, in which Colonel Wellesley particularly distinguished himself, terminated in the complete discomfiture of Tippoo, with the loss of 1,000 men. After the defeat he moved his encampment in a northern direction, not doubting that General Harris would adopt the route to Seringapatam which had been taken in the previous war by Lord Cornwallis. It had therefore been laid waste under his own inspection, and not a particle of dry forage or a pile of grass was left unconsumed. But the chief of the guide corps, Major Allen, whose exertions contributed pre-eminently to the success of the campaign, and Captain Macaulay, were sent southward to examine the road which led to the Cavery, twelve miles distant; and they returned at midnight with the report that it presented a fine and open tract of country, and that the ford at Sosilla afforded

every facility for the passage of an army. The next morning the whole force marched down with all promptitude, and before nightfall one wing was across the river, while Tippoo was twenty miles distant, in an opposite direction, waiting to oppose General Harris's progress towards the capital. The happy choice of this route gave the famished cattle an abundance of rich pasturage; it facilitated the junction of the Bombay army, and it rendered abortive the dispositions which Tippoo had made for defending the northern face of Seringapatam. Nothing could exceed his dismay and rage when he found all his plans frustrated by this admirable strategy. He summoned his principal officers, and said, "We have now arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was their unanimous reply. Every one present was deeply affected at the distress of his sovereign, who was bathed in tears, and the meeting broke up with the firm resolution to make one last and desperate effort for the defence of the capital and the kingdom, with no alternative but victory or death.

No farther opposition was made to the progress of the British army, the advanced post of which was established within 1,600 yards of the fort on the 6th April. This direct march on the capital with a heavy siege train, through a hundred and fifty miles of the enemy's territory, without establishing a single intermediate post, was in accordance with that daring spirit which had won our dominion in India, and which, when conducted by such men as Harris, and Baird, and Wellesley, and Malcolm, could scarcely be considered rash; but it was not effected without the greatest risks. If Tippoo's resources had been directed with any degree of ability, this attempt to reach the capital, with an unwieldy convoy, might have ended in disaster. Though extraordinary efforts had been made to perfect the equipment of the force, and the number of cattle provided for its use exceeded 60,000, not including a countless multitude of brinjarees and provision dealers, the army had no sooner begun

The Army before
Seringapatam,
April 6th, 1799.

to move than it experienced the same kind of embarrassments which had defeated Lord Cornwallis's first expedition in 1791. On the third day of the march, every store which could possibly be dispensed with was destroyed to increase the available carriage. As the army advanced, the loss of powder and shot and other military stores, from the failure of the cattle, created very serious alarm. This was attributed to the climate and water of Mysore, which were said to be unfavourable to the cattle of the Carnatic. It was owing to these impediments that the army was only able to advance at the rate of five miles a-day, when every hour was of increasing importance. Two days after the Bombay division had effected a junction with General Harris, it was found, on weighing the rice bags, that the stock was mysteriously diminished—such mysteries are by no means uncommon in the commissariat department—and there remained only eighteen days' consumption, even for the combatants. It was evident that unless the supplies which Colonel Read was then employed in collecting in the southern districts could reach the camp before the 6th of May, it would be reduced to a state of starvation. General Floyd was therefore despatched with a large force to convoy them.

Progress of the
siege, 17th April
to 4th May,
1799.

For any details of the siege, which may be considered as having commenced on the 17th of April, we cannot find room. It was pushed on with such vigour that the Sultan was induced, within three days, to make proposals for a conference. General Harris, in his reply, dwelt on the repeated efforts made by Lord Wellesley to avert the war by negotiations, and informed him that the only conditions on which he was now authorised to treat, were, the cession of half his dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees in two instalments, and the delivery of four of his sons, and four of his chief officers, as hostages. The Sultan, who still appeared to have no just conception of his danger, raved at what he termed the arrogance and tyranny of the proposition, and did not deign to return any reply to it. "Better," he exclaimed, "to die like a soldier, than to

live a miserable dependant on the infidels, and to be placed in the roll of their pensioned rajas and nabobs." Yet, throughout the siege, he exhibited none of that mental or physical energy which was to have been expected of him, and, instead of making due preparations for the impending assault, busied himself in consultation with his astrologers. On the 3rd of May it was reported that there were provisions only for two days left in the English camp: but it was likewise reported that the breach was practicable, and it was determined at once to bring the contest to an issue. The troops destined for the storm, 4,376 in number, took up their appointed stations in the trenches the next morning. General Baird, a gallant and distinguished officer, who had been for four years confined in irons in a dungeon in Seringapatam, was very appropriately selected to lead the assault. Tippoo, who directed all the operations of the defence himself, had discarded the advice of his most experienced officers, and surrounded himself with boys and parasites, who flattered his vanity. They assured him that the attack would not be made before the evening, and he had just sat down to his mid-day meal, when intelligence was brought him that it had already begun. After a few moments of silent and awful expectation in the trenches, General Baird ascended the parapet at one o'clock, and exhibited his noble military figure to the view of both forces, and then, drawing his sword, desired his men "to follow him, and show themselves worthy of the name of British soldiers." A small and resolute band of Tippoo's troops met the forlorn hope on the slope of the breach, and the greater portion on either side fell in the desperate struggle, but within seven minutes after the soldiers emerged from the trenches, the British ensign was floating over the breach. The works, however, were defended with great valour, and the carnage was terrific at the rampart where the Sultan had taken his station, and was animating his troops. The two columns of assailants, which after storming the breach, had wheeled to the right and left, were gradually gaining ground; the Mysore sepoys borne down by

them, at length lost confidence, and every avenue was choked up with fugitives.

Death and interment of Tippoo, 4-5th May, 1798.

The column commanded by General Baird at length made its way to the front of the palace, and Major Allen climbed over an unfinished wall with a flag of truce, and was conducted to an apartment where two of Tippoo's sons were surrounded by officers and attendants in a state of the deepest consternation. The Major gave them and their adherents the assurance of complete safety, and endeavoured to convince them that the only chance of saving the life of their father was his immediate surrender; but they declared most solemnly that he was not in the palace. He then requested that the outer gate should be opened to prevent its being forced by the victorious soldiers, to which they at length consented, but not without great hesitation. In front of it Major Allen found General Baird with a large body of European troops, who had just learned that on the preceding night Tippoo caused twelve of their comrades who had fallen into his hands to be murdered in cold blood, and they were frantic to avenge them. The General, however, succeeded in preventing their entrance into the palace, where no life would have been sacred, and he requested that the young princes should be brought out to him. They were received with great humanity and kindness, and conveyed with suitable honours to the presence of the General-in-chief. General Baird now proceeded to search the palace for the Sultan, when the commandant offered to point out the place where he was said to be lying, though, as he had heard, only wounded. He accompanied the General to the gateway which had been the great scene of conflict and carnage, and which presented a ghastly spectacle. It was already night, and the bodies lay heaped in masses on each other; they were separately drawn out and examined by the light of torches. One man alone, the personal attendant of the Sultan, was found alive, and he pointed out the spot where the body of his master lay. It was immediately recog-

nised by the native commandant, and conveyed to the palace. It appeared, on enquiry, that Tippoo had received three wounds in succession, and was then placed by his faithful attendants in his palankeen, but the spot soon became so blocked up with dead and dying combatants that it was found impossible to remove it. Tippoo then appears to have crept out, when a European soldier, entering the gateway, endeavoured to snatch his brilliant sword-belt. Though fainting from loss of blood, the Sultan grasped a sword which lay near him, and aimed a blow at the soldier, who immediately lodged a ball in his temples, and deprived him of life. His remains were conveyed through the city, and the inhabitants crowded the streets and prostrated themselves before the bier of their late sovereign. He was interred in the superb mausoleum of the family, by the side of his father, with all the imposing rites of Mahomedan sepulture, and the honours of an European military funeral.

Character of Tippoo, 1799. Thus, in the space of a few hours, fell the capital of Mysore, though garrisoned by 20,000 troops, defended by 287 pieces of ordnance, and provided with well-stored arsenals and every munition of war. It was the opinion of Lord Wellesley and of the best military authorities around him, that with a thousand French troops well commanded, Seringapatam, through the strength of its fortifications and the difficulties of approach, would have been impregnable. With the capital fell the dynasty of Hyder, after a career of thirty-eight years. Tippoo, who was forty-six at the time of his death, possessed none of his father's abilities, either for war or for peace; he exhibited neither the same moderation in prosperity, nor the same equanimity in adversity. In the opinion of the Mysoreans, the one was born to create an empire, and the other to lose it. Tippoo died bravely in the defence of his throne, but it was the death of a soldier, not of a general or a sovereign. He was distinguished by bigotry and intolerance, and was the only Mahomedan sovereign since Aurungzebe who determined to propagate his creed by perse-

cution. Both father and son exhibited for thirty years the same rancorous hatred of the English, and it was a dread of their projects throughout this period which mainly influenced the policy of the Company's Government. The animosity of Hyder was occasioned by the follies of the Madras council; that of Tippoo sprung from his natural malevolence. The expulsion of the English from India was the ruling passion of his life, and to accomplish this object he intrigued in every durbar in India, and sent his emissaries to Cabul and Paris.

Remarks on the transactions of 1799.

For half a century the Deccan had been the source of constant anxiety to the Court of Directors, and the theatre of perpetual warfare. The safety of the British possessions had always been precarious, even in the intervals of peace. Lord Wellesley terminated this state of insecurity. Within a twelvemonth after landing in Calcutta he extinguished the French party and influence at Hyderabad, and made all the Nizam's resources subservient to British interests; he annihilated the kingdom of Mysore, and he established the Company's authority from Cape Comorin to the Kistna on so solid a basis that it has never since been interrupted. The capture of Seringapatam, an event second in importance only to the battle of Plassy, resounded through the whole continent, and the sudden and complete extinction of one of the substantive powers of India, struck terror into the hearts of its princes, and exalted the prestige of the British Government. But these advantages were not obtained without the violation of those solemn injunctions which the wisdom or the fears of Parliament, the Ministry, and the East India Company, had issued to restrain the growth of the British empire in India. "I suppose," said Lord Wellesley, in writing to Mr. Pitt on the subject of these transactions, "You will either hang me or magnificently honour me for my deeds. In either case I shall be gratified; for an English gallows is better than an Indian throne." He was magnificently honoured, by the King with a step in the peerage, by the Parliament with its thanks.

Creation of a
new Mysore
dynasty, 1799.

Lord Wellesley entertained no views of territorial aggrandisement when he entered upon the war with Tippoo, but the issue of it had placed the whole of his dominions at the absolute disposal of the Company, and the right of conquest was exercised with great wisdom and moderation. Lord Wellesley, who acted in this matter exclusively on his own judgment, without consulting his ally the Nizam, felt that the appropriation of the whole territory to the Company would have raised a flame of discontent at Hyderabad and Poona, which it might have cost another war to quench. To have divided it equally between the Nizam and the Company would have inflamed the jealousy of the Mahrattas, and enlarged the territories of a prince who was incompetent for the management of those he already possessed. To have given the Peshwa a proportionate share of the conquered districts when he had not participated either in the expense or the risk of the war, would have been an act of inconsistency, and it would, moreover, have imprudently strengthened a power of very doubtful fidelity. Lord Wellesley, therefore, determined to make over a portion of the territory to the ancient dynasty of Mysore, whom Tippoo had reduced to a state of abject poverty and humiliation. The family had passed out of all recollection in the country, which rendered the act the more generous. A child of five years of age—the present rajah—was drawn from obscurity and placed upon the throne, to which districts yielding fourteen lacs of pagodas a-year were attached. It was intended that the new state should be essentially native in its character and administration, and the brahmin Poornea, who, although a Hindoo, had been for a quarter of a century the most efficient of the ministers of Hyder and Tippoo, and was the model of an Indian statesman, was appointed to the chief control of affairs, while Colonel Close acted as the representative of the British Government. The military force, for the maintenance of which the sum of seven lacs of pagodas were appropriated, was to be disciplined and commanded by British officers. The Company

was, moreover, at liberty to take over the entire management of the state, or of any portion of it, if the mal-administration of the raja should endanger the subsidy. Though Lord Wellesley deemed it expedient to associate the Nizam with the Company in the preliminary convention for the disposal of the conquered territory, the treaty with the Mysore raja was concluded in the name of the British Government alone, from whom he received the kingdom as a free gift, bestowed on him personally, without any mention of heirs. The whole arrangement was merely a screen to cloak the appropriation of the resources of the kingdom to the objects of the British Government; and Lord Wellesley did not hesitate to affirm that the territories thus placed under the nominal sovereignty of the raja of Mysore constituted substantially an integral portion of our own dominions. But he did not fail to do justice to the interests of the country in the selection of the members of the commission appointed to complete the organization and settlement of it. It included Colonel Barry Close, the prince of the Indian diplomatists of the time; Captain Malcolm, afterwards Governor of Bombay; Captain Munro, subsequently Governor of Madras; Henry Wellesley, eventually Lord Cowley, ambassador in Paris; and the Duke of Wellington;—the largest number of men of genius ever assembled at the same board in India, either before or since.

Allotment of
the remaining
territory, 1799.

The remaining districts of Mysore were thus partitioned. Territory of the annual value of 777,000 star-pagodas was allotted to the Company, but charged with the payment of 240,000 pagodas to the families of Hyder and Tippoo, with the proviso that the British Government should be at liberty to make such deductions from time to time from the sums allotted for their maintenance as might appear proper on the decease of any member of the various branches of the family, and to limit, and if advisable, to suspend entirely the payment of the whole or any part of the stipend, in the event of any hostile attempt on the part of the family, or any member of it, against the peace of

the territories of the Company, or its allies. The provision thus made for the royal family of Mysore gave them a more liberal allowance than they had ever enjoyed before. Districts yielding 600,000 star-pagodas a-year were transferred to the Nizam, charged, however, with the payment of 70,000 pagodas annually to Kumur-ood-deen, one of the most eminent of Tippoo's generals, who had thrown himself unconditionally on the generosity of the British Government. A tract of country, yielding 263,000 star-pagodas a-year, was reserved for the acceptance of the Peshwa, on conditions which will be presently noticed. The additions thus made to the Company's dominions consisted of districts which gave them the absolute command of the Malabar coast, and the exclusive possession of the southern division of the Peninsula from coast to coast. It included also the capital, on which both Tippoo and Lord Wellesley set a high value, but which has been subsequently abandoned as a military station, from its unhealthiness. The population has dwindled down from 150,000, when it was the seat of Tippoo's government, to about 12,000.

Prize money,
1799.

The property captured at Seringapatam was at first estimated at ten crores of rupees. The assignment of so prodigious a sum as prize money could not have failed to demoralize the army, but it was fortunately found not to exceed a tenth of this amount. In 1758, when intelligence of the battle of Plassy reached England, the Crown made a grant to the Company of all booty captured by their own soldiers, with a reservation of the royal prerogative when the King's troops happened to be associated with them. Lord Wellesley, thinking the army might become impatient if the distribution of the Seringapatam prize money had to await the receipt of instructions from England, which in such cases are scandalously delayed, took upon himself the responsibility of "anticipating" the royal assent and the sanction of Leadenhall-street, and directed the immediate division of it. This procedure received the sanction both of the Crown and the Company. The Court of Directors, moreover, anxious to

manifest their sense of the merits of Lord Wellesley, offered him a donation of ten lacs of rupees from the proceeds of the captured grain, which appertained to the state, but his high sense of honour induced him to decline the gift, on which they settled an annuity of £5,000 a-year on him for twenty years. But the Commander-in-chief, General Harris, far from exhibiting the same magnanimity allotted to his own use double the usual share of his rank, or thirteen lacs of rupees. The general officers followed his example. The injustice of depriving the rest of the army of their legitimate dues by this unfair appropriation was so palpable, that the law officers of the Crown to whom the case was referred—the Attorney-General, subsequently Prime Minister of England, and the Solicitor-General, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons—advised the parties to refund the excess, of their own accord, but they refused to relinquish a cawrie. A suit was therefore commenced against them in Chancery, which, however, was not successful; but the stigma of this rapacity tarnished the laurels of Seringapatam.

Peshwa refuses the offered territory, 1799. On the eve of the war with Tippoo, Lord Wellesley demanded of the Peshwa the aid of the contingent which he was bound by the treaty of 1792 to furnish, and he ostensibly ordered Pureshram Bhao, one of the great feudatory chiefs of the Mahratta empire, to join the British army with his force. At the same time, however, Bajee Rao, with his usual duplicity, received two vakeels at his court from Tippoo, and accepted a douceur of thirteen lacs of rupees, unknown to his minister, Nana Furnuvene. The Mahratta contingent consequently took no part in the campaign. On the contrary, the Peshwa and Sindia concerted a plan for attacking the dominions of the Nizam, while his army and that of his British ally were occupied with the siege of Seringapatam; and on the 26th April, 1799, Lord Wellesley, who was fully apprized of their machinations, considered a rupture with them imminent. But before their plans could be matured they were astounded by

the intelligence that Tippoo was slain and his power extinguished. Bajee Rao affected great delight at this intelligence, and Sindia offered his congratulations to the Governor-General, but took care to dispatch his emissaries into Mysore to encourage the partizans of the late government to resist the British authorities. Notwithstanding the hypocrisy of Peshwa, however, Colonel Palmer, the Resident at his court, was instructed to inform him, that although he had forfeited all claim to a share of the conquered territory, the Governor-General was prepared to assign him districts valued at 263,000 pagodas a-year, on his consenting to admit the mediation of the British government on every question in dispute between him and the Nizam, and to exclude the French from his dominions. He replied, that he should be happy to accept the territory, as a commutation of the *chout*, to which the Mahrattas were entitled from the whole kingdom of Mysore, but the two conditions he positively rejected. After a protracted discussion which led to no result, the reserved territory was divided between the Company and the Nizam, and Lord Wellesley, disgusted with what he considered the "systematic jealousy, suspicion and insincerity" of the Peshwa, took leave of Mahratta politics, till a more favourable opportunity should turn up in the course of events for his intervention.

Dhoondia Waug,
1800.

It only remains to be noticed that the settlement of Mysore was accomplished without any of those embarrassments which usually attend the introduction of a new government. The only opposition was offered by one Dhoondia Waug, who had been confined in irons in Seringapatam for various depredations in Mysore, and was inconsiderately released on the capture of the town. He was a daring adventurer, and having collected together some of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry, and a body of men of desperate fortunes, proceeded northward, plundering the towns and villages in his progress. Success brought crowds to his standard, and he was enabled to obtain possession of the

rich district of Bednore with its important fortresses. Two British armies were sent against him, who succeeded in recovering the district, and driving him to the frontier of the Peshwa's dominions, where the pursuit necessarily ended. The distractions which prevailed among the Mahratta chiefs enabled him to collect another and a larger body, and the revolt began to assume formidable dimensions. It was manifest that there could be no tranquillity in the Deccan while this bold chieftain was roaming through it, at the head of an increasing force of marauders. Colonel Wellesley was, therefore, directed to take the field against him, and with his usual energy and promptitude, pursued him without the relaxation of a day for four months, from district to district, and at length brought him to bay on the 10th September, 1800. With four regiments of cavalry, European and Native, he completely defeated and dispersed 5,000 of Dhoondia's horse. The freebooter fell in the action, and the insurrection, which, without this vigorous effort, might have ended in the establishment of a hostile power, was completely suppressed.

Cession of Territory by the Nizam. By the treaty concluded with the Nizam, on the 1st September, 1798, the new subsidiary force, which took the place of the disbanded French battalions, was placed on the same footing with the regiments previously in his service, and restricted from acting against the Mahrattas. The minister was no stranger to their insatiable rapacity, and the recent refusal of the Peshwa to admit the arbitration of the British Government for the settlement of his demands on the Nizam, plainly indicated the treatment which he had to expect from the Mahratta powers. He therefore proposed to the Resident that the subsidiary force should be augmented, more especially in the cavalry arm, and that territory should be substituted for the subsidy in money which was then paid for its maintenance. The proposal was most welcome to Lord Wellesley. He felt that the cash payments might be precarious, and that the conveyance of so large a sum month by month from the treasury to the

residency would be a source of constant irritation, which might ripen into political embarrassments. The negotiation occupied little time, and it was speedily arranged that in lieu of the payment of forty lacs of rupees a-year, districts yielding sixty-three lacs of annual revenue should be ceded in perpetual sovereignty to the Company, and that the remaining territories of the Nizam should be unreservedly guaranteed by the British Government against the encroachment of every enemy. The territory thus transferred by him consisted of the districts he had obtained from Mysore by his alliance with the British in the wars of 1792 and 1799. The exchange was beneficial to both parties. The dominions of the Company were extended on the north to the Toombudra and the Kistna, and being surrounded on three sides by the sea, included every harbour in the peninsula. The Nizam was relieved from all further anxiety regarding the interminable demands of the Mahrattas, without the alienation of any portion of his patrimonial possessions; and although, by relinquishing the military defence of his kingdom, and the right of foreign negotiations, he ceased to be one of the substantial powers of India, the transaction proved the salvation of his throne. Every other native power throughout the Deccan, from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, has been blotted out of existence, while the descendant of the Tartar Chin Kilich Khan still continues to occupy the musnud of Hyderabad, though with diminished splendour.

CHAPTER XX.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED, 1799—
1802.

Tanjore, 1800. THE remaining transactions in the Deccan are few. Tuljajee, the raja of Tanjore, adopted Serfojee, and died in 1786; but the validity of the adoption was

controverted, on the ground that the raja himself was in a state of mental incapacity at the time, that Serfojee was an only son, and that he was beyond the age of ten. Ameer Sing, the half-brother of the deceased prince, was accordingly placed on the throne, with the full concurrence of the Court of Directors. Serfojee, who had been educated by the missionary Swartz, and was a youth of many accomplishments, did not cease to press his claims on the British Government, and they were indirectly strengthened by the gross misconduct of Ameer Sing, who was a mere Asiatic voluptuary and tyrant. Sir John Shore was at length induced to submit the case anew to the most renowned pundits in Hindoostan, as well as in the Deccan, and they concurred in pronouncing the adoption of Serfojee unexceptional, according to the precepts of Hindoo law. The Court of Directors, persuaded that they had given their sanction to an act of injustice by his exclusion, instructed Lord Wellesley to place him on the throne, on condition that he should accept any arrangement the Government might think fit to dictate regarding the more punctual payment of the debts due to the Company, and the better management of the country. Commissioners were appointed to examine the condition and the resources of Tanjore, and on their report, Lord Wellesley assumed the entire administration of the country, and settled on the raja an annual allowance of one lac of pagodas, together with a fifth of its net revenue. Thus expired this little independent principality, a hundred and fifty years after it had been founded by Shahjee, the father of Sevajee.

The state of the Carnatic, 1799. In the treaty made by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792, with the Nabob of the Carnatic, it was provided that an annual subsidy should be paid for the support of the British troops to whom the defence of the country was committed, and that certain districts should be pledged to the Company, on which no assignments should be given. Mahomed Ali, the reigning prince, whom the Company had set up as "their own nabob of the Carnatic" in the days of Clive and

Coote, in opposition to the nominee of the French, occupied the throne for nearly half a century, and died in 1795. His son and successor, Omdut-ool-omrah, was surrounded, as his father had been, by a swarm of unscrupulous and rapacious Europeans, who fed his extravagance by loans at exorbitant interest, and received by way of security, assignments on the revenue of districts, which were rack-rented by their profligate agents. The Company's servants at the Madras Presidency were very inadequately paid, and the traffic in loans to the Nabob presented the shortest and surest road to fortune. The moral atmosphere of the Presidency had been polluted for forty years with the corruption of these nefarious transactions, and it was believed that some of the public servants still continued to participate in them. The European creditors of the Nabob had instilled into his mind the idea that a distinction both of interest and of powers existed between the Crown and the Company, and that the one might be advantageously played off against the other; the Company's Government was, therefore, treated by him with habitual contumely. Their representations were strengthened by the letters addressed to him, from time to time, as to an equal, by the King of England and, more particularly, by the Prince of Wales, which were treasured up in the palace as the most precious gems. This royal correspondence, which was not vouchsafed to any other native prince, tended to lower the character and weaken the authority of the local Government to such an extent that Lord Wellesley ventured to remonstrate with his royal highness on the injurious effect of his letters on the public interests. The advances with which the Nabob was liberally supplied by the European and native money-lenders who haunted his court, enabled him to pay the subsidy with punctuality. But this aid only served to postpone the crisis of his embarrassments, and was sure to aggravate it when it came. The wretched cultivators were ground down by the local agents of the creditors; the prosperity of the country was rapidly declining, and the resources of Government were threatened

with extinction. In 1795, Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, endeavoured, at the particular request of the Court of Directors, to obtain a modification of the treaty of 1792, and proposed that the mortgaged districts, on which the Nabob continued to grant assignments contrary to his engagement, should be transferred to the Company in lieu of the subsidy. To secure the concurrence of the Nabob, he offered to relinquish debts due to the Company to the extent of a crore of rupees, but his creditors constrained him to reject the proposal, because, though highly advantageous to his interests, it would have extinguished their own flagitious profits. Lord Hobart then proposed to resort to coercion, on the ground that the treaty of 1792 had been violated by the Nabob, and ceased to be binding on the Company, but Sir John Shore, peremptorily refused his concurrence; and the acrimonious correspondence which grew out of the proposition, induced the Court of Directors to recall Lord Hobart.

Lord Wellesley's proposals to the Nabob, 1799.

They had, however, set their heart on this measure, and they requested Lord Wellesley to call at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and make a second effort to procure the Nabob's consent to it. But under the interested counsel of the harpies around him, he not only spurned the proposals, but went so far as to raise the question whether the Company had any claim whatever upon the revenues of the Carnatic. The negotiation consequently fell to the ground; but the treaty of 1792, had, likewise, given the Governor-General authority, in the event of a war on the Coast, to assume the entire government and resources of the Carnatic, with the reservation of a fifth for the support of the Nabob's dignity. In the prospect of a war with Tippoo, the Court of Directors had, moreover, directed the Government of India to take possession of the Carnatic, and not to relinquish it without special instructions from them. But Lord Wellesley was unwilling to adopt so extreme a measure, and made the milder request of a contribution of three lacs of pagodas for the use of the army then about to

take the field. The Nabob made a solemn promise to furnish this supply, but violated it "with every circumstance of infamy." In reliance on his pledge, the scanty funds in the Madras treasury had been fully appropriated to the equipment of the army, and his failure might have proved most disastrous to the military operations of the campaign, if a supply of treasure had not opportunely arrived from Bengal. Lord Wellesley next proposed to the Nabob to renounce for ever the right of the Company to assume the management of the Carnatic, on the occurrence of war, if he would consent to transfer in perpetuity territory yielding an annual revenue equal to the subsidy he was bound to contribute for the military defence of the country, he receiving the benefit of whatever additional rents the districts might yield under improved management. Lord Wellesley likewise offered a liberal and generous arrangement respecting the debts due by the Nabob to the Company, which fell little short of two crores of rupees. But this proposal was likewise rejected, and the Governor-General was rebuked for having ventured to make it, at a time when the instalments were punctually paid, although with money raised at usurious interest.

By the treaty of 1792, the Nabob was bound "not to enter into any negotiation or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the Company." But, on the fall of Seringapatam, papers were discovered which showed that both the late and the present Nabob had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo, by means of a cypher—which was found—and had conveyed secret intelligence, and friendly admonition, and important advice to him. The fact of this intrigue was established by the clearest oral and documentary evidence; nor will it appear incredible except to a European mind. Intrigue is the aliment of native courts, and there was not a native prince in India who would have considered such a plot dishonourable under any circumstances, or felt any regret except on its failure. On examining the

Discovery of
the Nabob's
intrigues, 1799.

documents, Lord Wellesley came to the conclusion that the Nabobs, father and son, had not only violated the treaty by negotiating a separate connection with Tippoo, but had placed themselves in the position of enemies of the Company by endeavouring to establish a unity of interests with "their most implacable foe." The obligations of the treaty, he said, were thus extinguished, and the British Government was at liberty to exercise its rights in whatever manner might be most conducive to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic. The "combination of fortunate circumstances" which had revealed the correspondence, removed every difficulty from his mind, and satisfied him of the justice and equity of depriving the Nabob of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, reserving a suitable proportion of its revenues for his support. But the negotiations then on foot with the court of Hyderabad, regarding the commutation of territory for the subsidy, were not, as yet, complete, and it appeared advisable to postpone the assumption of the Carnatic. This delay afforded time for receiving the direct sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control for this bold measure. But when the period for action arrived, the Nabob Omdut-ool-omrah was on his death-bed, and it was deemed indelicate to disturb his last moments with a painful discussion. On his death, the Governor of Madras communicated to his reputed son, whom he had nominated as his heir, the proofs of his father's and grandfather's infidelity, by which all claim to the consideration of the Company had been forfeited. He was informed that the succession to the musnud was now a question of favour and not of right, and that it could be conceded only on condition that the entire civil and military power of the state should be resigned to the British Government. Acting under the advice of the guardians whom his father had appointed, he refused to accept these conditions. They were then offered to Azim-ool-omrah, the son of the deceased Nabob's brother, who acceded to them without hesitation; and, in the pompous language of the proclamation, "this prince, the immediate

great grandson of the Nabob Anwur-ood-deen khan, of blessed memory, had renewed the alliance between the Company and his illustrious ancestors, and established an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic; and the British Government had resolved to exercise its rights and its powers, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the prince in the Soobadaree of the territories of Arcot and the Carnatic Payenghaut." In plain English, the Nabob was mediatized, and the Carnatic became a British province. A fifth of its revenues was allotted for his support; but the arrangement was distinctly and intentionally limited to him and to his own family, instead of being extended, as in the case of former treaties, to his heirs and successors. The annexation of the Deccan to the dominions of the Company was thus consummated. Out of the territories acquired from Mysore, the Nizam, the Nabob of the Carnatic, and the rajah of Tanjore, Lord Wellesley created the Presidency of Madras. Of the population, which, according to a late census amounted to more than twenty-two millions, eighteen millions belong to Lord Wellesley's annexations, and though they were made in direct contravention of the resolutions of all the public authorities in England, they were honoured with their hearty concurrence.

Native embassy
to Persia, 1800.

While Zemaun Shah was advancing towards Delhi, Lord Wellesley despatched a native envoy, Mehndy Ali, to the court of Persia, to instigate the king to threaten his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, and induce him to recross the Indus for their defence. The unscrupulous vakeel, who considered lying the first qualification of an Oriental diplomatist, assured the king that the Governor-General was not in the smallest degree annoyed at the invasion of Zemaun Shah, but rather wished him to advance into the country, and thus afford an opportunity of showing how easily he could be expelled. But, he remarked, the Abdalee was a Soonee, and had grievously oppressed the Sheahs, the ruling sect in Persia, and constrained thousands of them to

take refuge in the Company's territories. To arrest the progress of so heterodox a prince would be an acceptable service both to God and man. The pious monarch swallowed the bait, and lost no time in giving encouragement to Mahomed Shah to invade the dominions of his brother, Zemaun Shah, who was thus obliged to retreat in haste across the Indus, in the course of the year 1799.

But Lord Wellesley considered it advisable to Malcolm's embassy to Persia, 1800. send a more imposing embassy to Persia, with the view of establishing a British influence in Central Asia, and preventing the periodical alarm of an invasion by Zemaun Shah, with his horde of Turks and Tartars, Oosbegs and Ghiljies. The officer selected for this mission was Captain Malcolm, then not more than thirty, who had attracted the notice of Lord Wellesley by the talent he had exhibited during the late critical transactions at Hyderabad, and the ardour of his professional ambition. He was peculiarly adapted for a mission to a court like that of Persia, by his thorough knowledge of the oriental languages, character, and weaknesses, his admirable tact, and his invariable good humour. No accredited agent had visited that court since the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the name of England was utterly unknown in Asia, and Lord Wellesley was anxious to impress the Persians with a due sense of the power and wealth of the British empire in the east. The envoy's suite comprised more than five hundred persons, European and native. The embassy was equipped in the most magnificent style, and supplied with watches glittering with jewels, caskets of gold beautifully enamelled, lustres of variegated glass, richly chased pistols, and massive mirrors in gorgeous frames, which twelve hundred men were daily impressed to convey from the coast to the capital, and a hundred and forty maunds of sugar and sugar-candy. Though impeded at every step by the frivolities of Persian etiquette, Captain Malcolm was treated with distinguished honour during his progress through the country. On his arrival at Teheran,

he was received in full durbar by the king, decked with the jewels of which his ancestor, Nadir Shah, had plundered Delhi in 1739, and arrayed in a robe studded with precious stones, the value of which was computed at a crore of rupees. The ulterior purpose of the mission was to establish a predominant influence at the Persian court, and this could be accomplished only by a lavish expenditure; the envoy, therefore, "bribed like a king, and not a pedlar," upon a scale which made the Court of Directors wince. But, when he came to open his commission, he found that his immediate object had been already accomplished, by the humble native vakeel who preceded him, and who had been instrumental in compelling Zemaun Shah to recross the Indus, by fomenting the rebellion of his brothers, and suggesting an attack on Balkh. A political treaty was nevertheless made, which provided that the king of Persia should labour to counteract any future attempt to invade Hindostan; that if Zemaun Shah invaded Persia, the Company should aid the king with stores, and that neither the French, nor any power in alliance with them, should be allowed to erect a fort in any part of the Persian dominions. It stipulated, moreover, that if any of the French nation should endeavour to establish themselves in the country, the king's officers should disgrace, expel and exterminate them. To extenuate this truculent order, Captain Malcolm explained that it was a mere eastern hyperbole, and, in reality, meant nothing. He likewise concluded a commercial treaty, granting various privileges, which were, however, of no value, as the trade of Persia, in its most palmy days, had never been worth maintaining. The result of the embassy fell miserably short of its cost. Indeed, the political treaty, so far as it revealed our fears of the invasion of India by a European power, through Persia, may be considered positively mischievous. The Government of India, however, experienced no further molestation from Zemaun Shah, who perished in battle two years after.

Proposed expe- On the fall of Seringapatam, Lord Wellesley

dition to the suggested to Mr. Dundas the propriety of sending Mauritius, 1799. a force from India to co-operate in any attempt which the Ministry might make to expel the French from Egypt. But the communication between England and India, was at that period so dilatory and precarious, that he was for seven months without any authentic information from home. He limited his exertions, therefore, to the assemblage of a large body of European troops at Trincomalee, the noblest harbour in Ceylon, to be ready to proceed in any direction which Mr. Dundas might indicate. In the reply which he subsequently received from Downing Street, no notice was taken of the proposed expedition to Egypt, and Lord Wellesley resolved to employ the armament collected at Trincomalee in the capture of the Mauritius and Bourbon. The possession of these islands, at an easy distance from the continent of India, greatly facilitated the hostile projects of the French, and exposed the political and commercial interests of England in the east to no small risk. The privateers fitted out in them preyed incessantly on British trade in every part of the eastern seas. The losses sustained by the merchants of Calcutta alone, since the beginning of the war, were moderately estimated at two crores of rupees. The rate of insurance had reached a point which almost suspended the trade of the port. The Indian squadron, under Admiral Rainier was unable to protect the Bay of Bengal, in which five merchant vessels had recently been taken. On the 7th of October, 1800, the Company's ship the "Kent," armed with eighteen guns, was captured by a French vessel of war, at the mouth of the Hooghly, after an action of an hour and three-quarters, in which fifty-five of her crew were killed or wounded. Lord Wellesley could not brook this insult at the very threshold of his capital, and determined at once to send the Trincomalee fleet and army to the islands, and extinguish this nest of corsairs. But, the design was unfortunately frustrated by Admiral Rainier. He thought fit to keep the letter soliciting the co-operation of the fleet, for six weeks

without acknowledgment, though the lateness of the monsoon required the utmost despatch, and at length positively refused to take part in the expedition, without the express commands of his Majesty, signified through the usual channel of the Admiralty. As the Ministry were not prepared to displace him for this misconduct they gave him official credit for having acted under a sense of public duty. To every one besides it was palpable, that he was actuated only by that feeling of contemptible jealousy which had so often led the officers of the royal navy to treat the instructions received from a Governor of the Company with contempt. The expedition was necessarily abandoned when the aid of the navy was denied. The islands remained in possession of the French for eight years longer, and the priggish conceit of the Admiral entailed on the commerce of India an additional loss of two crores of rupees. The recurrence of such acts of folly was subsequently prevented by an Act of Parliament which placed the king's navy, equally with his army, at the disposal of his representative in the east.

Expedition to
the Red Sea,
1800.

At length, Lord Wellesley received a despatch from Downing-street, stating that Sir Ralph Abercromby had been despatched with a force of 15,000 men, to co-operate with the Turkish army in expelling the French from Egypt, and that it was deemed advisable to support his operations with an Indian force. The armament collected at Trincomalee was, therefore, ordered to the Red Sea, together with a large addition of Bombay troops. The army, consisting altogether of 4,000 Europeans and 5,000 volunteer sepoy, was entrusted to General Baird, with the animating remark of Lord Wellesley, that a "more worthy sequel to the storm of Seringapatam could not be presented to his genius and valour." The expedition touched at Mocha, and proceeded up the Red Sea to Cosseir, where the troops performed one of the most extraordinary feats ever achieved by an army, that of traversing a hundred and twenty miles of the arid and pathless desert to Ghennah, on the Nile. General

Baird reached Cairo on the 10th August, and on the 27th encamped on the shores of the Mediterranean. The history of British India teems with romance, but there is no incident more romantic than the appearance of sepoy's from the banks of the Ganges, in the land of the Pharaohs, marching in the footsteps of Alexander and Cæsar, under an English commander, to encounter the veterans of the army of Italy. Before the Indian contingent, however, could be brought into action, the report of its approach, combined with the energy of Sir John Hutchinson, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, induced the French general to capitulate. But the power and the resources of the British empire were most conspicuously exhibited to the world by this concentration of troops from Europe and Asia on the banks of the Nile.

The Peace of Amiens, 1802. Within a month of the surrender of the French army in Egypt, the preliminaries of peace between England and France were signed at Amiens. All the foreign settlements which had been captured in India, Ceylon excepted, were restored, as well as the Cape of Good Hope, then considered, and with reason, the maritime gate of India. The Court of Directors, under the influence of a short-sighted economy, immediately ordered their military establishments in India to be reduced, but Lord Wellesley, not considering the British dominions sufficiently secure to justify such a measure, hesitated to comply with their order, and the course of events fully vindicated his sagacity. The treaty of Amiens was no sooner ratified than Bonaparte despatched a large armament to Pondicherry, with the determination of re-establishing the power and influence of France in India. It consisted of two ships of the line, two frigates, and two corvettes, with a military staff of several general officers, and a due proportion of subordinate officers, with 1,400 European troops, and ten lacs of treasure, under the direction of Mons. Leger, who was designated Captain-General of the French establishments to the east of the Cape. It was to be followed by a second

squadron of three ships of the line and two frigates. Lord Wellesley had brought with him to India the intense anti-gallican feeling of the day. It had been his constant aim for three years to exclude French influence from every native durbar. He had completely succeeded in closing the Deccan against it, and the feelings with which he now witnessed the arrival of a powerful French force on the Coromandel coast, directed by the supreme genius of Bonaparte, may be readily conceived. He felt that all our relations with the native princes would be at once deranged, and the seeds of another conflict for supremacy planted in the soil of India, ever fruitful in revolutions. There was already a formidable French force in Sindia's pay in Hindostan, equal in numbers and strength to the British army in that quarter, and he could not contemplate the co-operation of the two bodies in the north and south without a feeling of just alarm. He determined, therefore, by an act of unexampled audacity, to disregard the royal warrant, which preremptorily directed him to restore to the French Republic "all the countries, territories, and factories which had belonged to it in India." On the arrival of Admiral Linois with his squadron in the roadstead of Pondicherry, Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, was directed to inform him that the Governor-General had resolved to postpone the restitution of the French settlements till he could communicate with the Ministry in England. The fleet returned to the Mauritius, and before a reply could be received to the reference, hostilities had recommenced in Europe, and the British interests in India were thus saved from the dangers they must have been exposed to if the continuance of peace had enabled Bonaparte to give full scope to his ambitious schemes.

We turn now to the affairs of Oude. One of the latest acts of Sir John Shore's administration was the elevation of Sadut Ali to the musnud, in the room of the profligate Vizier Ali, who was sent to Benares, with an annual pension of a lac and a half of rupees. The turbulence of his disposition, however, rendered it imprudent

Vizier Ali assassinated Mr. Cherry, 14th January, 1799.

to permit him to reside so near the frontier of Oude, and it was resolved to remove him to Calcutta. He spared no effort to procure a reversal of the order, but without success. A day or two before the period fixed for his departure, he called on Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, under whose superintendence he had been placed, and complained in very intemperate language of the harshness of this procedure. Mr. Cherry endeavoured to calm his violence, and remarked that he was simply carrying out the orders of his superiors, for which he was not himself responsible. The youth started up in a rage from his seat, and struck Mr. Cherry with his sword. His attendants, who were waiting for the signal, rushed in and butchered him, as well as several other gentlemen residing in the house. From thence they hurried to the houses of other Europeans, several of whom fell victims to their fury; but on the arrival of a troop of horse, they took to flight, and eventually sought refuge in the woody district of Bootwul. Vizier Ali was soon after joined by several zemindars, and was enabled to take possession of the eastern districts of Oude with a considerable force. Sadut Ali had lost all popularity by his exactions, and in the hour of need discovered that both his subjects and his troops were disposed to desert him, and join the standard of his rival. He was constrained, therefore, to apply for a British detachment to protect his own person. Another detachment was sent against Vizier Ali; his followers rapidly dispersed, and he fled for protection to the Rajpoot raja of Jeypore, who delivered him up on the demand of Lord Wellesley. But even in that age of anarchy and treachery, the surrender of one to whom an asylum had once been granted, was considered an act of unpardonable baseness, and the raja became an object of contempt in every kingdom and province of India.

Augmentation
of British
troops in Oude,
1800.

On the approach of Zemaun Shah to the Indus, which has already been noticed, Lord Wellesley requested Sir James Craig, the commandant in Oude, to communicate his views on the defence of that king-

dom, which was certain to be the first object of spoliation, more especially as the discontented Rohillas in its northern districts would not fail to join their fellow-countrymen in the camp of the invader. Sir James replied that the rabble of troops maintained by the Vizier was not merely useless, but dangerous, and that if he were required to march against Zemaun Shah, he should be as unwilling to leave them behind, as to leave a fortress in the possession of an enemy. Sadut Ali was bound by the treaty which seated him on the throne to provide seventy-six lacs of rupees a-year for the subsistence of British troops, 13,000 in number, employed in the defence of his country. The home authorities had more than once informed the Governor-General that they considered this force too small for the protection of the kingdom, and that it could be rendered secure only by the substitution of a well organised force commanded by their own officers, for the disorderly regiments of the Vizier. Lord Wellesley, who fully concurred in these views, had frequently brought the subject before the Nabob. On his return to Calcutta, in November, 1799, he renewed his representations in greater detail. The British Government, he said, was bound to defend the Nabob Vizier's territories against all enemies; the present British force was insufficient for this purpose, and required a large augmentation. The treaty had provided for this contingency, out of the revenues of the country. The cost of additional troops would amount to fifty lacs of rupees a-year, and the proper course for the Nabob to adopt was to discharge his own disorderly troops, and thus effect a saving equivalent to the new demand.

The Nabob proposes to abdicate, 1800.

The proposed reform would have transferred the entire military power of Oude to the Company, which was precisely the object which Lord Wellesley had in his eye, but which the Nabob was most anxious to prevent. To evade the question, he proposed to retire from the Government. The refractory and perverse disposition of the people, he said, combined with the want of zeal and fidelity

in his servants, had filled him with disgust. Neither was he pleased with his subjects, nor they with him. From the first he had been indisposed to the cares of government, and he was not reconciled to them by experience. He expected that one of his sons would be placed on the throne, as a matter of course, to perpetuate his name, and that suitable allowances would be granted to the other members of the family. As for himself, the treasure which he had accumulated—estimated at a crore of rupees—would procure him all the gratification he could desire in a private station. Lord Wellesley eagerly caught at the proposal of the Nabob Vizier, and hastened to inform the Court of Directors that he intended to turn it to account, and establish the Company's exclusive authority in Oude. He informed the Nabob that he was fully prepared to sanction the proposed abdication, provided he took up his residence in the British dominions, and vested the government of Oude absolutely and permanently in the Company, but he could not permit the public treasure, which belonged to the state and was liable for its obligations, to be removed.

He withdraws
his abdication,
1800.

But the Nabob Vizier had never seriously contemplated the resignation of his kingdom to his son, and still less to the Company. His ruling passion was avarice, and nowhere could it be more amply gratified than on an Asiatic throne. On the receipt of Lord Wellesley's proposal, he assured the Resident that he would not bring on himself the odium and disgrace of having sold his country for money, and had therefore abandoned all thought of retirement. Lord Wellesley expressed great indignation at the insincerity and duplicity, as he termed it, of the Vizier, and charged him with having made a proposal which was from the first illusory, and designed only to defeat the reform of his military establishment by artificial delays. The Governor-General resolved to proceed at once to action. Several regiments were ordered to move to different stations in the Oude territories, and the Nabob was called on to make provision for their maintenance, according to the terms of the treaty. He

immediately addressed a memorial to the Governor-General, acknowledging that he was the creature and dependent of the Company, but remonstrating against a measure to which he had never given his consent. The seventh article of the treaty, he said, provided that no augmentation of the British force should be made without necessity, yet a large increase was now needlessly forced upon him. By the seventeenth article he was to enjoy full authority over his household affairs, his subjects, and his troops; whereas he was now required to relinquish the control of the military force in his dominions, which would not fail to annihilate his authority, and expose him to the contempt of his people. This remonstrance excited the highest displeasure of Lord Wellesley, who ordered it to be returned to the Nabob, as being deficient in that respect which was due to the first British authority in India, and he was informed that "if he should think proper again to impeach the honour and justice of the British Government in such terms, the Governor-General would consider how such unfounded calumnies and gross misrepresentations, both of facts and arguments, ought to be noticed."

Submission of
the Nabob—
Second demand,
1800.

The Nabob Vizier yielded to necessity, and began to disband a part of his own troops, in order to obtain funds for the payment of the British regiments. But, in November, 1800, he was required to make provision for a second body of troops, "to complete the augmentation." He pleaded the extreme difficulty with which the collections were realized, and refused to become responsible for any further payments till he was assured that his resources were sufficient to meet them, lest he should be chargeable with a breach of faith. At the same time, he ordered a schedule of his revenues to be drawn up by his treasurer, and submitted through the Resident to Lord Wellesley, who, on receiving the statement, replied that "if the alarming crisis be now approaching in which his Excellency can no longer fulfil his public engagements to the Company . . . it became the duty of the British Government to interpose effectually for the protection

of his interests, as well as those of the Company, which were menaced with common and speedy destruction by the rapid decline of the general resources of his Excellency's dominions." The Resident was then instructed to propose either that he should resign the entire management of the civil and military government to the Company, a suitable provision being made for his own maintenance and that of his family, or that he should cede to the Company in perpetual sovereignty a section of his territories sufficient to cover the expense of the entire British force. The Nabob manifested the strongest repugnance to both proposals, and a tedious correspondence ensued, which was marked, on the part of Lord Wellesley, by that imperious tone which had characterized the transaction throughout. The Nabob, unable to obtain any relaxation of the demand, entreated Lord Wellesley to allow him to go on pilgrimage, the pretext by which Hindoos and Mahomedans endeavour to escape from an embarrassing position. The whole of his territories and treasure, he said, was at the disposal of the Company, and he had neither inclination nor strength to resist them, but he could not yield his consent to a proposal so injurious to his royal character. Lord Wellesley was desirous, if possible, to avoid the appearance of a compulsory cession of territory, and despatched his brother and private secretary, Mr. Henry Wellesley, to Lucknow, in the hope that the presence of a member of his own family would overcome the repugnance of the Nabob. Every form of ingenuity was exhausted to obtain the voluntary surrender of the districts, but the Nabob still persisted in asserting that it would inflict an indelible stain on his reputation throughout India to deprive one of its royal houses of such a dominion. The Resident at length brought the discussion to an issue by ordering the intendants of the districts which had been selected to hold themselves in readiness to transfer their collections and their allegiance to the Company.

Annexation of
the Oude terri-
tories, 1801.

The Vizier deemed it vain any longer to contend with negotiators who could bring such arguments to bear on him, and on the 10th November, after

two years of weary discussion, simply, as he said, "to gratify the wishes of Lord Wellesley, and in submission to the earnest solicitations of his brother," signed the treaty which transferred to the Company for ever districts yielding a hundred and thirty-five lacs of rupees a-year, leaving him a territory, guaranteed against all invaders, valued at a little over a crore of rupees.

Remarks on this
transaction,
1801.

The security which this transfer of military power in Oude gave to the possessions both of the Nabob and the Company will admit of no question. A British force, fully adequate to the defence of the frontier was substituted for the miserable legions of the Nabob, always an object of more dread to their masters than to their enemies. An important addition was made to the resources of the Company, and a large population was rescued from the oppression of native officers, whose only remuneration consisted of the sums they could extort from the people. But of all the transactions of Lord Wellesley's administration, this acquisition of territory from the Nabob by the process of coercion has been considered most open to censure, as an arbitrary, if not unjust proceeding. For any justification of it we must look to the peculiar position of the country and the political obligations which it created. The throne of the Nabob was upheld only by British bayonets, and if at any period during the previous fifteen years they had been withdrawn, the dynasty of Oude would have ceased to exist. The safety of Oude was menaced not only by Zemaun Shah, and the hordes of Central Asia ready to follow his stirrup, but also by Sindia, who had planted a formidable force of 30 or 40,000 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers on its frontier, and only waited for an opportunity to spring on its inviting districts. It was necessary, therefore, to maintain a powerful force, permanently, against the probabilities of a Mahratta invasion. For the Company to continue responsible for the defence of the whole kingdom of Oude, with only a third of its revenues, the realization of which was subject to all the corruption and abuses of the system of

misrule, dignified with the name of government at Lucknow, was not only unreasonable, but financially impracticable. The fidelity of the troops depended on punctual pay, and this punctuality required the solid basis of territorial revenues, honestly administered by British officers. This is the sinew of the argument by which this high-handed—or as the natives would call it, *zburdust*—proceeding has been vindicated, and it will be readily conceded that it is by no means deficient in strength. Nor should it be forgotten that the kingdom of Oude fell to the Company by right of conquest in 1763, and was restored to the reigning family as a matter of grace; and that according to the prescriptive maxims of eastern policy, it was considered ever after subject to the control, if not even at the disposal, of the British Government, who had accordingly made and unmade Nabobs at its own pleasure. It was doubtless on this principle that Lord Wellesley told the Nabob on one occasion during these negotiations, that he had a right to take over, not a part only, but the whole of his country.

Appointment
and dismissal
of Mr. Henry
Wellesley,
1801.

The settlement of the districts ceded by the Nabob Vizier was entrusted to a commission consisting of the Company's civil servants, of which Mr. Henry Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, who combined great administrative talent with much firmness and discretion, was made President. In announcing this arrangement to the Court of Directors, Lord Wellesley stated that the labours of the commission would probably be completed within a twelvemonth, perhaps in a shorter period, and that his brother would receive no allowance beyond the salary of his post as private secretary. The Directors expressed their cordial approbation of the terms of the treaty, which was calculated to promote their interests, and which created thirty new appointments for their civil service, but they denounced even the temporary appointment of Mr. Wellesley as "a virtual supersession of the just rights" of that favourite service, and they hastened to give vent to their jealous feeling in a despatch, which peremptorily ordered his dismissal. The

President of the Board of Control, Lord Wellesley's personal friend, Lord Castlereagh, drew his pen across the despatch and returned it to the India House, with the remark that the appointment was not in the fixed and ordinary line of the Company's service; that it was only decent to await an explanation from the Governor-General, and that Mr. Wellesley would probably have relinquished the office before the despatch could reach India. The labours of the commission were in fact completed, and Mr. Wellesley had resigned the office, even before the despatch was drafted.

The Sudder
Court, 1800.

On Lord Wellesley's return from the Coast, he devoted his attention to various measures of internal administration with his accustomed ardour. Of these, one of the most important was the reconstruction of the Sudder Court at Calcutta. This was not only the highest local court of appeal, but was charged with the duty of superintending the administration of justice, and the operations of the police throughout the whole of the Presidency. Under the native governments, the prince had always united the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the state in his own person. The Company acted on the principle of introducing as few changes as possible in the existing system of administration, and it was accordingly provided that the Governor-General in Council should, in like manner, exercise the highest judicial functions, in addition to those of the executive government and of legislation. The Sudder Court was accordingly held in the Council Chamber, with closed doors, and without the presence either of the suitors or of their pleaders. The proceedings of the lower courts were translated into English and read to the members of Council, and the decisions they passed in each case, were recorded and promulgated by the register. To this system of procedure, Lord Wellesley saw many grave objections. The translation of the papers occasioned a vexatious delay, and the union of the judicial and the legislative functions in the same body was repugnant to sound principle; a conscientious discharge of

the duties of the Sudder Court would absorb all the time of the Governor-General, while the administration of justice with closed doors deprived it of one of its most important safeguards, and impaired the confidence of the country. On the other hand, to throw open the Council Chamber while suits were under examination, would not be without its disadvantages. The presence of the Governor-General on the bench would necessarily interfere with the freedom of advocacy; few native pleaders would be found to contest his opinions, and his will, rather than the law, would too often be the rule of decision. It was resolved, therefore, to divest the Governor-General and Council of their judicial functions, and to select the ablest judicial officers in the service to preside in the Court. Lord Wellesley was anxious that the chief judge should be invested with the same emblem of dignity which the chief justice of the Crown Court enjoyed, but he was unable to procure the distinction of knighthood for him. The Sudder Court, however, was rendered illustrious by the appointment of Mr. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the most profound Oriental scholar of the day, and one of the most distinguished of the public servants, to preside over its proceedings.

The College of
Fort William,
1800.

It became evident, moreover, to Lord Wellesley's mind, that there could be no substantive improvement in the administration of the country, without providing a succession of men, sufficiently qualified to conduct it. The civil service had produced not a few men of first-rate ability, but it was in its origin only a mercantile staff, and it had not been deemed necessary to accommodate the training of the civilians, as a body, to the more important duties which now devolved upon them. India was still considered rather in the light of a commercial factory, than an imperial domain. For men who were to act as magistrates, collectors, judges, political agents, and ambassadors, it was still deemed sufficient if they were well versed in the mysteries of the counting-house, understood book-

keeping by double entry, and wrote a hand which the Directors could read. The system which Burke had reprobated fifteen years before was still unchanged, and lads of fifteen were sent out to the Indian service before their education was finished, with no opportunity or inducement after their arrival, to complete it. Of the languages of the people, whose affairs they were to administer, they were not required to know even the rudiments. To supply these palpable deficiencies in the system of government, Lord Wellesley was determined to found a College in Calcutta, and assemble in it the young writers, as the embryo civilians were designated, from the three Presidencies, and set them to continue and complete their European education, and to study the laws, literature, and languages of the people they were to govern. The institution was projected on that scale of magnificence which marked all Lord Wellesley's plans, and in the medal which was struck on the occasion, the date of its establishment was thrown back a twelvemonth, to associate it with the memorable event of the capture of Seringapatam. A provost and vice-provost were appointed, with salaries of Indian magnitude, and the sum of 5,000 rupees a-month was allotted for the public table of the collegians. Learned men were invited to join it from all parts of India, and in the minds of the natives the halcyon days of the great Mahomedan and Hindoo princes, who had sought to render their courts illustrious by the assemblage of the literati, appeared now to be revived in the metropolis of British India. Four disputations were to be held annually in the grand edifice which Lord Wellesley had erected, "in an august assembly," composed of the natives of rank and learning, pundits and moonshees, rajas and foreign ambassadors. Such an institution was at the time essentially necessary to give the stamp of efficiency to the institutions of the British Government; but it was very costly, and, it was erected without the sanction, or even the cognizance, of the Court of Directors. Accordingly, on the 29th January, 1802, they passed a

peremptory order for its immediate abolition. Lord Wellesley was mortified to an extreme degree by this subversion of one of his most cherished schemes, which exposed him to the contempt of India, and he gave vent to his feelings in a passionate appeal to his friends in the Ministry. He likewise placed on the records of the Council an elaborate minute, in which he combated the arguments of the India House, and maintained the necessity of such an institution with irresistible force. The objection which the Court of Directors had raised, on the ground of expense, had been obviated, he said, by the imposition of a new tax, which would produce a sum equal to the charge of the College establishment. This was no other than the renewal of the transit duty on the conveyance of produce from district to district, which Hindoo and Mahomedan Governments had been in the habit of imposing. At the present day it appears incredible, that one of the most liberal and enlightened statesmen of that period, should have taken credit to himself for the establishment of one of the most barbarous and mischievous taxes ever devised, and sought to make provision for his noble college by the interruption of inland commerce. He proceeded to pass an order for the abolition of the College, "as an act of necessary submission to the controlling authority of the Court," but immediately after, issued a second order directing that the abolition should be gradually effected, in the next eighteen months. At the same time, he entreated Lord Castlereagh to use his utmost endeavours to save from destruction the institution which he regarded with feelings of greater exultation, than even the kingdom he had built up in the Deccan, and to the consolidation of which he vowed to devote his political life. Under the pressure of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors were induced to qualify their orders, and permit the continuance of the College, but on a reduced scale, limiting its agency to the students of the Bengal Presidency, and to the cultivation of the native languages. To complete the European education of the students, and impart to them the

rudiments of the eastern tongues, they set up an expensive College of their own at Haileybury.

Private Trade, 1793—1801. At the renewal of the charter in 1793, Parliament endeavoured to silence the clamours of the merchants and manufacturers of England for a participation in the Indian trade, by obliging the Court of Directors to allot them 3,000 tons of freight annually. Though this concession was saddled with extravagant charges and vexatious restrictions, the private trade soon increased, under its operation, to 5,000 tons a-year. The commerce of India was, in fact, bursting the bonds of the monopoly, which, however valuable during the period of its infancy, was totally unsuited to an age of development and maturity. The subject was forced on the attention of Lord Wellesley as soon as he landed in Calcutta, and on the 5th October, 1798, he issued his first notification for the encouragement of free trade between India and the port of London, to which, at that time, all imports were restricted. Ship-building had recently attained great perfection on the banks of the Hooghly, and a vessel of 1,400 tons, a vast size for a merchantman of that period, was then on the stocks. Lord Wellesley, on the part of Government, chartered a number of country-built vessels, and relet them to the private merchants, with liberty to make arrangements with the proprietors to suit their own convenience, and secure those advantages which could not be enjoyed in the privileged tonnage of the Company. This indulgence was discontinued in 1799, but it was found necessary to renew it in the succeeding year. The evils of the monopoly were daily becoming more palpable. The trade of Calcutta was increasing beyond all example, and forcing a passage in foreign vessels which were freighted by English capital, the funds of the merchants, and the savings of the services. In the previous year, the imports and exports of American, Portuguese, and Danish vessels had exceeded a crore and a half of rupees, and in September, 1800, there were 8,500 tons of shipping, under foreign colours, lying in the Hooghly. By these ships the produce of India was conveyed

to Europe with great expedition and economy, and the East India Company was thus beaten out of the markets on the continent. Lord Wellesley considered it important to secure this valuable commerce to British interests. There were 10,000 tons of India-built shipping then anchored in Calcutta, and he determined, as in 1798, to engage a large portion of this tonnage to convey the produce of the country, belonging to private merchants, to the port of London.

In his despatch to the Court of Directors on the subject, he stated that "it would be equally unjust and impolitic to extend any facility to the trade of the British merchants in India by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights or privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy which now govern the British establishments in India; but the increasing commercial resources of Great Britain claimed for her subjects the largest attainable share of the valuable and extensive commerce of such articles of Indian produce and manufacture as were necessarily excluded from the Company's investments." He recorded his decided opinion that a well-organised system of intercourse between the ports of India and London was indispensable to the interests both of the Company and of the nation. These liberal views met with the entire concurrence of Mr. Dundas, who said "it was notorious that at no period had the capital or commercial powers of the East India Company been able to embrace the whole, or near the whole, of the wealth of India, exported thence by trade to England, and he was anxious to authorise the Government of India to licence the appropriation of India-built shipping for the purpose of bringing home that India trade which the means and capital of the East India Company was unable to embrace." Far different, however, was the feeling at the India House. The great dread of interlopers, which had haunted it for two centuries, was still in full vigour. Though the cream of the India trade was still to be assured to the Company, the Directors could not

Feelings of the
Court on the
Private Trade,
1802.

brook that others should be permitted to taste even the lees. The proceedings of Lord Wellesley were arraigned with the greatest virulence. That "our Governor-General," as he was usually addressed in the public despatches, should give the slightest countenance to free trade, was not to be endured. He lost caste at once and irretrievably in Leadenhall-street. Every effort was made to thwart his administration and weaken his authority, and, during the last three years of his Indian career, the treatment he experienced from the India House was scarcely less rancorous than that which had embittered the life of his illustrious predecessor, Warren Hastings. The Court of Directors passed a vote, in the teeth of the Prime Minister, Mr. Addington, condemning the liberal commercial policy of Lord Wellesley, and the Court of Proprietors cordially adopted it. A farther period of ten years was required to break up the monopoly of two centuries, and open the gates of India to British enterprize and capital.

Resignation of Lord Wellesley. As soon as the arrangements in Oude were completed, Lord Wellesley sent in his resignation to the Court of Directors, assigning no other reason for this step but the completion of the plans he had devised for the security of the empire, and the general prosperity of the country. To Mr. Addington, however, he unburdened his mind, and explained the real motives of his retirement—the hostile disposition of the Court, and the withdrawal of their confidence. They had peremptorily ordered him to reduce the military establishments in the Peninsula, leaving him no option between an act of direct disobedience and the execution of measures which he considered fatal to the vital interests of the Government. The total disregard of the strong opinion he had expressed on the subject appeared clearly to intimate that they considered him no longer competent to govern the empire which he endeavoured to consolidate. They had issued the most positive injunctions to reduce many of the stipends which he had considered advisable at the close of the war. They had selected for especial censure the additional allowances granted by the Madras Government,

with his concurrence, to his brother, General Wellesley, to defray the charges of his important and expensive command in Mysore. He considered this reduction as “the most direct, marked, and disgusting indignity which could be devised.” The Act of 1793 had invested the Governor-General in Council with the power of enforcing his orders on the minor Presidencies, though they might happen to supersede the injunctions of the Court of Directors. But the Court had now thought fit to issue orders to those Presidencies to carry certain measures into effect, notwithstanding any directions they might have received to the contrary from Calcutta. The authority of the Supreme Government over the subordinate Presidencies was thus neutralized.

Court's interference in appointments, 1802.

The Court had not only taken upon themselves to displace officers who enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor-General, but to nominate others in opposition to his judgment. For example, he had

placed Colonel Kirkpatrick, one of the ablest and most experienced officers in the service, in the important post of political secretary. The Court cancelled the appointment, to the great detriment of the public interests, and the injury of the Governor-General's character and influence. They had likewise forced on him the nomination of Mr. Speke, an ex-member of Council, as officiating president of the Board of Trade, though he had no higher recommendation than the favour of the Prince of Wales. At Madras, the Court had removed from the office of chief secretary Mr. Webbe, the most eminent statesman of that Presidency, and the unflinching enemy of that system of intrigue and corruption which had for more than thirty years disgraced the public service. This removal was the more offensive as it was to be traced to the base insinuation of some informer that Mr. Webbe exercised a strong influence on the mind of Lord Clive, which, if true, was equally honourable to both. Mr. Cockburn, the ablest financial officer at the Madras Presidency, was likewise displaced to make room for some nominee of Leadenhall-street. Lord Wellesley was well

known to have approved of both these appointments, and indeed of all the proceedings of Lord Clive, and he considered the conduct of the Court of Directors in these instances as a reflection also on himself. This nomination to offices in India of those who could secure the smiles of the Directors had been checked by Lord Cornwallis, who threatened to throw up his office if it were persisted in, "that he might preserve his own character, and avoid witnessing the ruin of the national interests." By the subsequent Act of 1793, the power of appointing to official situations in India was vested in the local Governments, subject only to the general control of the home authorities. The interference with this patronage by the India House was therefore not only highly injurious to the public interests, but altogether unconstitutional. Lord Wellesley justly remarked that if the Government of India was thus to be thwarted in every subordinate department, deprived of all local influence, and counteracted in every local detail by a remote authority, interfering in the nomination of every public servant, it would be impossible to conduct the government under such disgraceful chains. It was a singular anomaly that the Court of Directors should thus have grasped at appointments in India at the time when they themselves were denouncing the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley, even for a twelvemonth, as an invasion of their own rights. Lord Castle-reagh, the President of the Board of Control, was anxious that Lord Wellesley should remain another year in the government, and he placed this letter to Mr. Addington, confidentially, in the hands of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court. They did not disguise from him that great dissatisfaction and jealousy was felt by the Company with regard to certain measures of Lord Wellesley's government, which had been increased by the employment of Mr. Henry Wellesley. Lord Wellesley had, in fact, touched the two privileges on which the India House was most sensitive, its commercial monopoly in the matter of the private trade, and its patronage in the appointment given to his brother, and the indignation of the

Directors rose to fever heat. But the Chairs assured Lord Castlereagh that they were not unmindful of his eminent services, and were alive to the importance of retaining them for another year. A despatch was sent out, officially commending his zeal and ability, and requesting him to postpone his departure to January, 1804. Little did they dream of the momentous results of this request, and of the great revolution to which it would lead, in the irretrievable prostration of the Mahratta powers, to whose history we now return.

Lord Wellesley
asked to remain
12 months, 1803.

CHAPTER XXI.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION—MAHRATTA AFFAIRS, 1800—1803.

Death of Nana
Furnuverse,
1800.

The destruction of Tippoo's power, and the complete ascendancy established at Hyderabad, left the Company with no antagonist but the Mahrattas, and the two rival powers now stood front to front. It was the firm conviction of Lord Wellesley that the peace and tranquillity of India could be secured only by the extension of British supremacy over all its princes, by means of defensive and subsidiary alliances, which recognized the British Government as the arbiter in every dispute. But nothing could be more unpalatable to the Mahrattas chiefs than this policy. The peace and tranquillity of India implied the termination of that system of plunder and aggression which was the foundation and element of their power. They believed, and not without reason, that these subsidiary alliances would extinguish their independence, and deprive them of the respect of their subjects. The offer of such an alliance, which was made in the first instance to the Peshwa, in July, 1799, was therefore declined,

under the prudent advice of Nana Furnuvene. In March, 1800, that great statesman closed his long and chequered career. For more than a quarter of a century he had been the mainspring of every movement in the Mahratta empire. By the vigour of his character and the wisdom of his councils, he had controlled the disorders of the times, and he wanted only the addition of personal courage to render him supreme. He was distinguished by the rare, and among the Mahrattas of that age, the incredible qualities of humanity, veracity, and honesty of purpose. While he admired the English for their sincerity and their energy, he had a patriotic jealousy of the increase of their power, which it was his constant eudeavour to restrain. "With him," wrote Colonel Palmer, the Resident, "has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta government." He had been the only check on the growing ascendancy of Sindia at Poona, who was left by his death without a rival and without control, and now ventured so far to indulge his spirit of domination, as on one occasion, when he feared that Bajee Rao meditated an escape, to surround his palace and place him temporarily under restraint. It was not, therefore, without secret delight that the Peshwa contemplated the rising power of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, by whose assistance he hoped to free himself from the tyranny of Sindia. In proportion as this hope increased, his inclination towards the alternative of a British alliance, which Lord Wellesley continued to press on him with great importunity, was slackened.

The Holkar
family.

To elucidate the rise of this celebrated chief, who played an important part in the transactions of the next five years, it is necessary to bring up the history of the Holkar family. Mulhar Rao Holkar, who raised himself from the condition of a shepherd to the dignity of a prince, died at the age of seventy-six, after a brilliant career of forty years. His only son died soon after the battle of Paniput, leaving his widow Aylah-bye, with a son and a daughter. The son died in 1766, and his widow, a woman of extraordinary powers, steadfastly resisted all the entreaties of the chiefs to adopt a

son and retire into obscurity, and resolved to undertake the government of the state herself, in the capacity of regent. With singular discernment she selected Tokajee Holkar, a chief of the same tribe as Mulhar Rao, though not of his kindred, to take the command of the army. It was scarcely to be expected that in a country like India, and in a period of unexampled turmoil, an arrangement which placed the military power in the hands of a great soldier, while the civil government was administered by a female, would be of long continuance. But the gratitude and moderation of Tokajee, and the commanding genius of the Bye combined to perpetuate it for thirty years. He never failed in the homage due to her position, and was never known to encroach on her authority. She sat daily in open durbar, and gave public audiences without a veil, and dispensed justice in person to all suitors. She laid herself out to promote the prosperity of the country by the encouragement of trade and agriculture. She acquired the respect of foreign princes by the weight of her character, and in an age of extreme violence succeeded in maintaining the security of her own dominions. She raised Indore from a mere village to the rank of a noble capital. Like all wealthy Hindoo females, she fell under the dominion of the priesthood, and expended large sums on religious edifices and establishments in every part of India, from Ramisseram to Hurdwar. Relays of porters were daily employed at her expense in conveying the water of the Ganges to the sacred shrines in the Deccan, however remote, and she was rewarded by the brahmins with the title of an *avatar*, or incarnation of the deity. Whatever opinion may be formed of these acts of superstitious devotion, she was in other respects the purest and most exemplary of rulers, and added one more name to the roll of those illustrious females who have adorned the native history of India with their genius and virtues.

Death of Aylah-
bye and
Tokajee,
1795-97.

Aylah-bye died in 1795, and Tokajee in 1797, and the reign of anarchy began, not to close but in the entire submission of the state to British

authority, twenty years later. Tokajee left two sons by his wife, Kashee Rao and Mulhar Rao, and two by a concubine, Jeswunt Rao and Wittoojee. Kashee Rao was weak in mind and deformed in body, and his brother Mulhar Rao assumed the command of the army, and the government of the state. Kashee Rao repaired to Sindia at Poona, and he espoused his cause, and made a treacherous attack on the army of Mulhar Rao, who fell in the engagement. The house of Holkar, which had long been the rival of Sindia, was thus enfeebled and brought into complete subordination to his power, and another step was gained in his ambitious endeavours to obtain the universal control of the Mahratta commonwealth. Jeswunt Rao, who had taken part with Mulhar Rao, fled from the field of battle to Nagpore, but the raja, anxious to conciliate Sindia, placed him in confinement. He contrived, however, to make his escape, and sought refuge at the court of Anund Rao, the chief of the ancient principality of Dhar, to whom he was enabled to afford material assistance in coercing some of his refractory subjects. The enmity of Sindia still pursued him, and the raja was constrained to discard him, but, to compensate for this breach of Rajpoot hospitality, bestowed on him a parting gift of 10,000 rupees. He quitted Dhar with seven mounted followers, and about a hundred and twenty ragged, half-armed infantry, with the resolution to trust his future fortunes to his sword. Fully aware of the strong prejudice which existed against him on account of his illegitimacy, he announced himself as the champion and minister of his nephew, Khundeh Rao, the youthful son of Mulhar Rao, and called upon all the adherents of the house of Holkar to rally round him, and resist the encroachments of Sindia. The freebooters, who swarmed in Central India, Bheels and Pindarees, Afghans and Mahrattas, hastened to join his standard, and thus commenced the career of this predatory chieftain. Soon after, he was joined by Ameer Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, then about thirty-two years of age, who had just taken service

Rise of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, 1795.

with the Chief of Bhopal, but quitted it in 1798 with a body of free lances to traverse the country, and levy contributions on his own account. For eighteen months the combined forces of the two chiefs spread desolation through the districts on the Nerbudda, but were obliged to separate when they were completely exhausted. Ameer Khan proceeded eastward to the opulent city of Sagor, belonging to the Peshwa, where he subjected the inhabitants to every species of outrage, and acquired incredible booty. Jeswunt Rao entered the province of Malwa, which had enjoyed repose and prosperity for thirty years, and dispersed his predatory bands in every direction, and the country was half ruined before Sindia could take measures to protect it. That chief was now obliged to quit Poona, where he had continued to reside for eight years, ever since his accession to the throne of his uncle, domineering over the unfortunate Peshwa, from whom he extorted the sum of forty-seven lacs of rupees on taking his departure. The notorious Sirjee Rao Ghatkay was left as his representative to maintain his authority with five battalions of foot, and 10,000 horse.

Holkar defeats
Sindia's army,
1801.

Nothing can give the mind a clearer idea of the anarchy and misery which prevailed in Hindostan at this period than the ease with which Jeswunt Rao was able, by the allurements of plunder, to organise an army of 70,000 men within two years. With this force he laid waste the districts of Malwa, and then advanced against the capital, Oojein. To this city the widows of the deceased Mahdajee Sindia had fled with a large military force and their treasures, to avoid the violence of Dowlut Rao. Under the pretence of espousing their cause, Holkar contrived to lull them into security, and in the dead of night opened his guns on their encampment, and constrained them to fly for their lives, while he took possession of all their property, and of their valuable park of artillery. Two bodies of Sindia's troops were immediately pushed forward from the south to avenge this insult, and expel Jeswunt Rao. One of these armies

though commanded by European officers, was constrained to lay down its arms, and the other, under Colonel Hessian, was attacked with such vigour as to lose a fourth of its number. Of eleven European officers attached to it, seven fell in action, and three were made prisoners. The city of Oojein was thus placed at the mercy of Holkar, but so absolute was the control which he had acquired over his troops that he was enabled to restrain them from plundering it, even in the excitement of victory; but he exacted the heavy ransom of fifteen lacs of rupees, which he transferred to his own military chest. Meanwhile the Peshwa, liberated for the first time from the despotism of Sindia by his departure from the capital, gave full scope to his natural disposition, and, instead of strengthening his throne by conciliating his feudatories, subjected them to the most wanton insult and plunder. His oppressive government became the object of universal hatred. Bands of brigands sprung up in every direction, and laid the villages under contribution. Wittoojee, the brother of Jeswunt Rao, was driven by necessity to join one of these bodies, and was taken prisoner. Bajee Rao sentenced him to be trampled to death by an infuriated elephant, and seated himself in the verandah of his palace to enjoy the revolting spectacle, and the yells of the unfortunate youth. A universal feeling of execration rose throughout the country at this atrocious murder of a son of Tokajee, who had for thirty years zealously maintained the interests of the Mahratta power. Jeswunt Rao, who, with all his ferocity, was really attached to his brother, vowed vengeance on his murderer, and it was not long before he had an opportunity of wreaking it.

Sindia, alarmed by the defeat of his armies, and the increasing power of Holkar, summoned Sirjee Rao Ghatkay to join him with the troops

Sindia defeats Holkar, 14 October, 1801.

under his command. That miscreant, after the departure of his master from Poona, proceeded to the Peshwa's southern provinces, which he ravaged without mercy, and, when thus called away, was encamped on his return within a mile of

the capital which he was on the point of giving up to plunder. Sindia's army thus reinforced, and comprising fourteen of De Boigne's battalions, met Holkar on the 14th October, 1801, and totally routed him, capturing ninety-eight guns. This defeat was generally ascribed to the absence of Holkar's European officers whom he had injudiciously left behind. Sirjee Rao entered Indore in triumph, and gave it up to spoliation, to avenge the plunder of Sindia's capital. His ruthless troops were let loose on the city which Aylah Bye had spent a life in embellishing, and the noblest edifices were sacked and reduced to ashes. Those who were supposed to possess property were tortured to disclose it, and the wells were choked up with the bodies of females who destroyed themselves to escape dishonour. If Sindia had followed up his victory with vigour, the career of Jeswunt Rao would probably have been brought to a close; but, after expelling him from Malwa, he thought fit to enter into negotiations with him, under the impression that he was crushed beyond redemption. Holkar, however, either from mistrust of Sindia, or under encouragement from the Peshwa, or perhaps from an overweening confidence in his own fortune, advanced the most extravagant demands, and the negotiation fell to the ground. He was not long recovering from the blow. His wild and daring spirit was precisely suited to the character of the times and of the country. His standard again became the rallying point of the unquiet spirits who were hanging loose on society in Central India, and not a few even of Sindia's soldiers deserted to it. With this force he proceeded northward, plundering every village and town in his route, and, to the horror of his own lawless but superstitious soldiery, not sparing the renowned shrine of Nath-dowrah. He then crossed the Nerbudda, and laid waste the province of Candesh, while one of his commanders was sent to ravage the southern Mahratta provinces. General Wellesley soon after marched up through this territory, and remarked that Holkar's troops had cut all the forage, consumed the grain, and burnt the houses for fuel;

that the wretched villagers had taken to flight, with their cattle; and that, except in one village, not a human being was left between Meritch and Poona. Meanwhile, Jeswunt Rao, who had been encamped at Chandore, moved down upon Poona, with the object, as he asserted, of claiming the protection of the Peshwa from the hostility of Sindia.

Battle of Poona, 1802. The object of Holkar's march could not, however, be mistaken. The consternation at Poona may be readily conceived, and the Peshwa began to tremble for his own safety. Lord Wellesley had never abandoned the belief, that until we could obtain a footing and an influence at Poona, the peace of the peninsula would be periodically disturbed by Sindia and Holkar, and he had renewed his offer of an alliance with the Peshwa, whenever there appeared any chance of success. On the other hand, the vakeels of the raja of Berar and Sindia, constantly and earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, and engaged to protect him from the designs of Holkar. The British negotiation fluctuated with the hopes and fears of Bajee Rao. Sindia sent his general, Sudaseeb Rao, with ten battalions of infantry, and a large body of cavalry to defend the capital from the threatened attack of Holkar; the Peshwa was thus encouraged to treat the advances of the Governor-General with indifference, and in the beginning of October, Colonel Close, the Resident, declared the negotiation at an end. As Holkar approached the neighbourhood of Poona, Bajee Rao made him the most humiliating offers, which he haughtily rejected, demanding the restoration of all the dominions belonging to his house, and the release of his nephew, and bitterly reproaching him with the murder of his brother, which he was now come to avenge. The troops of Sindia and the Peshwa were united under the walls of Poona on the 25th October. The combined force numbered about 84,000 horse and foot; and of Sindia's battalions ten were under the command of Colonel Dawes. Holkar also had fourteen battalions disciplined by European officers, together with 5,000 irregular infantry and 25,000

cavalry, and thus was exhibited the anomalous spectacle of British officers arrayed against each other under the hostile standards of native princes. The battle was long and obstinately contested. Success at first inclined to Sindia and his ally; the slaughter of Holkar's troops was prodigious, and they had begun to give way, when he advanced from the rear, and vaulting into his saddle, called out to them "now or never to follow Jeswunt Rao." He dealt about him like a mad lion, and his foaming valour restored the fortune of the day. The victory was complete, and placed in his hands the whole of the baggage, stores, and ammunition of his opponents. The Peshwa had come out to take part in the engagement, but he was terrified by the first firing, and hastened to place himself beyond the reach of it, on the hill Parbutee, where he was surrounded by a considerable body of his troops, who would have been more usefully employed against Holkar. As he perceived the scale of the battle turn against him, he sent a messenger in haste to Colonel Close, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, to accede to all the conditions of the alliance which he had previously objected to. When he found the day lost he retired to Sun-gunnere with about 7,000 men, and thence hastened to the sea coast, and despatched letters to the Governor of Bombay, requesting the accommodation of a vessel, in which he embarked, and reached Bassein on the 6th December.

Holkar places
Umrit Rao in
power, 1802.

Jeswunt Rao, who entered the capital after the battle, was anxious, above all things, to obtain possession of the person of the Peshwa, and to construct an administration in which he himself should possess the same power and ascendancy which Sindia had enjoyed for eight years; but the Peshwa was too deeply incensed at his conduct to listen to any overtures. Finding at length that he had no intention to return to his capital, Holkar sent for his brother, Umrit Rao, and placed him at the head of affairs, and seated his son on the musnud, bargaining for himself an immediate payment of two crores of rupees, and districts yielding

another crore, together with the command of the army and the substantial power of the state. For two months after his victory, he exhibited a spirit of singular moderation, but in the end threw off the mask and gave up the city of Poona to indiscriminate plunder. Colonel Close was earnestly entreated by Holkar to continue as the British Resident at Poona, but he refused to countenance this usurpation by his presence, and retired to Bombay in the beginning of December. He was immediately placed in communication with Bajee Rao, who was now eager for the alliance which was to restore him to his throne. Accordingly, on the last day of December, 1802, the memorable treaty of "defensive alliance and reciprocal protection," was completed at Bassein. A British force of 6,000 infantry, with a suitable complement of artillery, was to be stationed within the Peshwa's dominions, and districts in the Deccan yielding twenty-six lacs of rupees a-year were to be assigned for their support. The Peshwa agreed to entertain no European in his service belonging to any nation at war with the English, to engage in no hostilities or negotiations without their concurrence, and to refer all his claims on the Nizam and the Guickwar to the arbitration of the Governor-General. The treaty likewise guaranteed to the southern jageerdars, the great feudatories of the Peshwa, the full enjoyment of all their rights.

Remarks on
the Treaty,
1802.

The treaty of Bassein forms one of the most important epochs in the history of British India. It completely paralysed the head of the Mahratta commonwealth, and it inflicted a blow on the Mahratta power, from which it never recovered. Although the Peshwa's authority was often set at nought by the chiefs, they still continued to regard it as the centre of national unity, and a most important element in the existing struggle for the empire of India between the Mahrattas and the English. There has been no little diversity of opinion on the propriety of this treaty, but we have happily the views of two of the greatest statesmen of the age to assist us in judging of its merits. It was impugned

by Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, in a very able state paper, entitled "Observations on Mahratta affairs," and its policy was triumphantly vindicated in an elaborate memorandum by the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley. From his own personal experience of six years, which was superior to that of any one else in India, the General drew a very vivid sketch of the position and the policy of the various country powers, whose interests were affected by the treaty. He demonstrated that it was the inevitable corollary of the engagements which had been entered into with the Nizam. On that prince the Mahratta powers had interminable claims—the Asiatic claims of the strong on the weak—and they would have neglected no opportunity of enforcing them, which must have compromised the tranquillity of the Deccan. The subsidiary alliance which Lord Wellesley had entered into with the Nizam, identified his interests with those of the Company, and gave him the protection of the British arms against the claims and the aggression of the Mahrattas. The necessity which had thus arisen of supporting the Nizam against all his enemies must have involved the Company, sooner or later, in a war with the whole of the Mahratta nation; and this could be avoided only by forming an alliance with its recognised chief, on the basis of constituting the British Government the arbiter of these demands. Lord Wellesley considered the position of affairs at the end of 1802, as affording the best occasion for effecting this important object. The Peshwa was a fugitive, and both Sindia and Holkar, though with private and opposite intentions, had repeatedly urged him to interpose in the settlement of affairs at Poona. He had the wisdom to avail himself of this golden opportunity, which might never return, and to form a treaty with the Peshwa which placed the settlement of all claims on the Nizam in the hands of the British Government, and at the same time secured to it an absolute ascendancy in the counsels of Poona. The great Duke placed it on record that, "the treaty of Bassein and the measures adopted in consequence of

it, afforded the best prospect of preserving the peace of India, and that to have adopted any other measures would have rendered war with Holkar nearly certain, and war with the whole of the Mahratta nation more than probable," and his approbation has been ratified by the judgment of posterity. The war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore in the following year arose ostensibly from the conclusion of the treaty, but a war with them was all but inevitable, and the only difference made by the treaty was to hasten its occurrence, and to deprive them of all the resources of the Peshwa.

Discontent of Sindia and the Bhonslay, 1803. The establishment of the Company's paramount authority at the capital of the Mahratta empire by the treaty of Bassein gave great umbrage to the Mahratta powers. It thwarted the ambition of some, and the interests of all. Sindia had solicited the interposition of the Governor-General for the restoration of the Peshwa, only in the hope of regaining his power at Poona, and he was mortified to find that all his ambitious prospects in the Deccan were at once overturned. "The treaty," he said, "takes the turban from my head." Lord Wellesley had offered him the "benefit" of an arrangement similar to that which had been made with the Peshwa, but he could not fail to perceive that this new system of subsidiary alliances must sap the foundation of Mahratta power, as effectually as the invention of the system of the *chout* had enabled the Mahrattas to destroy the Mogul empire. He lost no time in deputing his prime minister to confer with the raja of Berar on the formation of a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs to oppose the common enemy. The raja, a collateral branch of Sevajee's family, had always cherished pretensions to the office of Peshwa, but the treaty of Bassein, by reinstating Bajee Rao under British protection, effectually destroyed all these expectations. He not only entered cordially into the views of Sindia, but became the life and soul of the hostile coalition. The Peshwa himself repented of the treaty as soon as he had affixed his seal to it, and commenced a series of intrigues to render it ineffectual. He

despatched a confidential agent to Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, ostensibly to reconcile them to the alliance he had formed with the British Government, but in reality to invite them to Poona to assist him in frustrating it. Holkar, finding all his plans thwarted by the policy of Lord Wellesley, and by the advance of a British force to support it, quitted Poona and retired to the north. The raja of Nagpore made the most strenuous efforts to induce him to join the league, and at length succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between him and Sindia, on the condition that all the dominions of the family should be restored to him, and that his nephew, Khundeh Rao, should be liberated. But although he signed the engagement, and received possession of the family domains, he evaded every solicitation to bring up his forces and join the allies, alleging that he was unable to raise sufficient funds for the payment of their arrears. But, no sooner did he find Sindia actually involved in hostilities with the English, than he let loose his famishing host on the possessions of that prince in Malwa, while his confederate, Ameer Khan, proceeded to pillage his territories in another direction.

Lord Wellesley had early intelligence of this confederation, but he was anxious to maintain peace, and caused a communication to be made to Sindia and the Berar raja, that he was desirous of continuing his friendly relations with them unimpaired, but would resist to the full extent of his power any attempt on their part to interfere with the treaty of Bassein. To be prepared for every contingency, he ordered the whole of the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Colonel Stephenson, together with 6,000 of the Nizam's own infantry, and 9,000 horse to advance to the north-western frontier of his kingdom; and they reached Purinda, 116 miles from Bombay, on the 25th March. General Wellesley was likewise directed to march up from Mysore in the same direction, a distance of 600 miles, with about 8,000 infantry, 1,700 cavalry, and 2,000 of the celebrated Mysore horse, under an able native commandant. It was

Lord Wellesley's
military move-
ments, 1803.

important to the stability of the arrangements made with the Peshwa that the great southern jageerdars, who, in consequence of a long series of aggressions, mistrusted his intentions, and detested his person, should be induced to rally round his throne. For many years there had been constant struggles for power and plunder among the chiefs themselves; but the energy displayed by General Wellesley in the pursuit of Dhoondia Waug had spread his fame through the Deccan, and the strength of his character had inspired such general confidence that he was enabled to compose their mutual feuds, and to bring up with him six of the chief feudatories, with 10,000 of their troops. Holkar, on quitting Poona, had left it in the hands of Umrit Rao, with 1,500 troops; but that prince, on hearing of the advance of General Wellesley in the direction of the capital, resolved to give it up to the flames, and then to withdraw from it. This nefarious design could not be kept secret, and General Wellesley, on being apprized of it, made a rapid march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, and reached Poona in time to save it from destruction. Soon after, the Peshwa left Bassein, accompanied by Colonel Close, and on the 13th May, a day selected by his astrologers as peculiarly fortunate, entered his capital, surrounded by British bayonets, and resumed his seat on the musnud under a British salute.

Restoration of
the Peshwa,
1803.

Meanwhile, the hostile designs of the confederates became daily more apparent. Sindia was at Oojein when he heard of the battle of Poona and the defeat of his army by Holkar, and began to move to the south in November. He halted for some time at Boorhanpore on the Taptee, and despatched a letter to the Governor-General, asserting the Mahratta claim to the *chout* of the Nizam's dominions, and announcing his determination to proceed and enforce it. He then continued his march southward to form a junction with the raja of Nagpore, who entered his tents in the vicinity of that city on the 17th April, and advanced to meet Sindia with a large force. Both princes

Development
of the designs
of the coalition,
1803.

announced their intention to proceed to Poona, "to adjust the government of the Peshwa." The Resident informed Sindia that the Governor-General would not fail to consider any such movement on his part an act of hostility, involving the most serious consequences. Sindia asserted that as he was the guarantee of the treaty of Salbye, the Peshwa was not at liberty to sign a new treaty without his concurrence, or to act without consulting the great Mahratta princes. He stated, moreover, that they were proceeding to Poona on the express and repeated invitations of the Peshwa himself; whereas the Peshwa had invariably assured Colonel Close that he had forbidden their approach. Lord Wellesley likewise obtained possession of a letter addressed by the raja of Berar to the Nizam, which stated that after an interview with Sindia, and a satisfactory arrangement with Holkar, he should advance with the allies to Poona "to settle affairs." A letter was also intercepted from Sindia to the Peshwa's officers in Bundelkund, ordering them "to prepare for war." With these unequivocal tokens of hostility before him, the Governor-General directed Colonel Collins to demand from Sindia a categorical explanation of his intentions. The interview took place on the 28th May, when Sindia frankly admitted to the Resident that the treaty of Bassein contained nothing repugnant to his just rights. He disavowed any intention of invading the territories of the Company, or of their allies; but, in reference to the negotiations then on foot, he could give no decisive answer till he had seen the raja of Nagpore, then about forty miles distant; "when you shall be informed whether there is to be war or peace." These ominous words proved to be the knell of Mahratta power. That Sindia, encamped with a large army on the frontier of the British ally, the Nizam, should rest the question of war or peace simply upon a conference with an armed confederate, was considered by Lord Wellesley a public insult to the British Government, and so palpable a menace of hostility, that a conflict was no longer to be avoided. The complication of

Sindia's fatal
declaration,
1803.

affairs at this juncture was increased by the arrival of the French squadron, already alluded to, at Pondicherry, which Sindia did not fail to turn to account in his communications with the other Mahratta powers, as well as by the daily expectation of the death of the old Nizam, when the question of the succession to the throne of Hyderabad would open a wide door for the intrigues of the two Mahratta chiefs encamped on its frontier. But Sindia and the raja of Nagpore endeavoured to spin out the discussions with the Resident for two months longer, while they continued to press Holkar to cross the Taptee, and join their forces. During this period of suspense, the Peshwa was engaged in constant communications with Sindia, urging him to make no concession, but to advance at once to Poona. He was lavish in his promises to the Resident, but he took care to perform nothing. The contingent he was bound to furnish was withheld, supplies were prevented from reaching the English camp, and no opportunity was lost of embarrassing the operations of the British Government.

Full powers of
General
Wellesley—the
result, 1803.

Early in May, General Wellesley had represented to the Governor-General that no reply to any reference could be received from Calcutta under six weeks, and that all the advantages of delay rested with the Mahrattas; he therefore suggested the propriety of deputed to some authority on the western coast the power of summarily deciding upon every question as it arose. Feeling the full force of this advice, at this critical juncture, the Governor-General took on himself the responsibility—for which he was afterwards captiously censured—of vesting the full powers of government, civil, military, and political, in reference to Mahratta affairs, in General Wellesley, and after a clear and ample exposition of his own views, authorised him to commence hostilities, or to conclude treaties without any further application to Calcutta. This communication reached him on the 18th July, and he lost no time in announcing to Sindia and to the raja of Berar the plenary powers with which he had been invested, and called on them to demonstrate

by their conduct the sincerity of the pacific declarations which they continued to make. Their armies, he said, now occupied positions not necessary for the security of their own territories, but menacing both to the Company, the Nizam, and the Peshwa. He proposed that they should withdraw their forces respectively to Hindostan and to Nagpore, while he sent back the British armies to their usual stations. Then ensued another week of frivolous and fruitless discussion, in the course of which Sindia, with that mixture of simplicity and perfidy which is so often found together in the oriental character, said that he and his confederate could determine upon no movement, because the arrangements for Holkar's joining their camp were not as yet completed. Wearied with these studied delays, General Wellesley gave them twenty-four hours for their ultimatum, which they presented in this shape; that he should dismiss his troops to their respective cantonments, and that they should fall back forty miles to Boorhanpore. To this the General replied, "You propose that I should withdraw to Seringapatam, Madras and Bombay, the troops collected to defend these territories against your designs, and that you and your confederate should be suffered to remain with your forces, to take advantage of their absence. I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties. You have chosen war, and are answerable for all consequences." On the 3rd August

Colonel Collins
quits Sindia's
camp, 1803.

Colonel Collins quitted Sindia's camp, and this circumstance became the immediate precursor of hostilities. This commenced the Mahratta war of

1803.

Preparations for
war, 1803.

Lord Wellesley, when he found that a war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore was more than probable, determined to strike a decisive blow simultaneously at the possessions of both princes, in every quarter of India, though the field of operations was 700 miles apart in one direction, and 600 in another. In the grand combinations of the campaign he was his own war minister, and never had the resources of India been drawn forth on a scale of such mag-

nitude, or applied with such efficiency. In the Deccan about 3,600 troops were left for the defence of Hyderabad and Poona, while a covering army of about 8,000 men protected the districts between the Kistna and the Toombudra. The advanced force under the command of General Wellesley of about 9,000, and of about 8,000 under Colonel Stephenson, was intended to operate against the main armies of the two allies. In the north of India, 10,500 troops were assembled under the Commander-in-chief, General Lake, to attack Sindia's disciplined battalions, and wrest from him his possessions in Hindostan. A force of 3,500 men was allotted for the occupation of Bundelkund. On the western coast of India an army of 7,300 men was organised to dispossess Sindia of his districts in Guzerat, and 5,200 men were prepared to take possession of the province of Cuttack, in the bay of Bengal. The whole force, amounting to about 55,000, was animated by that traditionary spirit of enterprize and enthusiasm which had created the British empire in the east, and which, on the present occasion, was heightened by a feeling of unbounded confidence in the master mind of the Governor-General. The armies of Sindia and the raja of Berar were computed at 100,000, of whom 50,000 were cavalry and 30,000 infantry, trained and commanded by European officers, together with a superb train of artillery of many hundred pieces.

Capture of
Ahmednugur,
Aug. 12, 1803.

As soon as Colonel Collins had left Sindia's camp, General Wellesley opened the campaign by an attack on Ahmednugur, Sindia's great arsenal and depôt south of the Nerbudda. This important fortress, though it had been considered impregnable since the memorable defence of it by Chand Sultana in 1595, was surrendered after a brief resistance on the 12th August. The general then proceeded to take possession of all Sindia's territories south of the Godavery, and crossed that river on the 29th August, in the hope of bringing the contest to the issue of a general engagement. But the confederates spent three weeks in marching and counter-marching without skill, and without any apparent object except

that of avoiding the pursuit of the British armies. On the 21st September General Wellesley found himself in the neighbourhood of Sindia's encampment, and, at a conference with Colonel Stephenson, arranged that they should move on separate routes to the attack of the enemy on the 24th. But the General was misled by his scouts as to the actual position of the confederate army, and after marching twenty-six miles on the 23rd, unexpectedly discovered that it was encamped at no greater distance than six miles, whereas he had been led to believe that it was twice as remote from him. He was, likewise, assured that the allied chiefs were on the point of retiring from their present position, and under the apprehension that their infantry might escape him, he resolved to bring on an action before the close of the day, without waiting for the junction of Colonel Stephenson. On ascending an eminence, he beheld the Mahratta armies stretched out before him, consisting of 50,000 men, of whom 10,000 were trained sepoy, and supported by a hundred pieces of cannon.

Battle of Assye,
Sept. 23, 1803. The handful of British troops which now moved down to attack this formidable host did not exceed 4,500. The Mahrattas had taken up a strong position, as they were always famous for doing, with their left resting on the village of Assye, and their infantry entrenched behind formidable batteries. General Wellesley had given the most positive injunctions to the officer commanding the pickets to avoid the cannon planted in the village, but he led his troops directly up to the muzzle of the guns, which poured an incessant shower on the assailants. The 74th, which supported them, was thus exposed to a hotter fire than any troops had ever before encountered in India. To save that gallant regiment from utter destruction, it was necessary to bring up additional corps; but so tremendous was the cannonade, that General Wellesley was at one time doubtful whether he could prevail on any regiment to advance and face it. The indomitable courage and energy of British troops, however, bore down all resistance, and Sindia's splendid infantry, who stood to their guns to the last

moment, were at length overpowered and dispersed. The victory was the most complete which had ever crowned British valour in India, but it was dearly purchased by the loss of one-third of the army. The slaughter would not have been half so severe but for the blunder of the officer commanding the pickets, for which the strategy of the General was not responsible. The raja of Nagpore fled at the first shot, and Sindia was not slow to follow his example. He lost all his guns, ammunition, and camp equipage. His army was completely and irretrievably disorganized, and he retreated with a small body of horse along the banks of the Taptee. He then made a rapid movement southward, vigorously followed by General Wellesley, while Colonel Stephenson successively besieged and captured the flourishing town of Boorhanpore and the strong fortress of Asseergur. These were the last remaining possessions of Sindia in the Deccan, and General Wellesley was now at liberty to direct his undivided attention to the raja of Nagpore, who was the most determined enemy of the Company, and the prime mover in this war.

Capture of
Boorhanpore,
16th, and As-
seergur, 21st
Oct., 1803.

During the month of September, the army under Colonel Harcourt advanced into the maritime province of Cuttack, abutting on southern Bengal, of which the Nagpore family had held possession for more than half a century. It lay between the Bengal and the Madras Presidencies, and the Court of Directors had always cast a longing eye upon it, and pressed the acquisition of it, if necessary, by purchase, on successive Governors-General for twenty years. It was now to be added to their dominions by the fortune of war. The whole country was occupied without even the semblance of opposition. As the British army approached the temple of Jugunnath, which is considered to sanctify the whole province, and render it "the land of merit," the brahmins hastened to the camp to inform the Colonel that on the preceding night they had inquired of the god whether he would rather live under the protection of the English than of the Mahrattas,

Capture of
Cuttack, 1803.

and he had replied that he greatly preferred the English. This very sagacious and prudent determination was considered of such importance as to be communicated by express to Calcutta.

Armistice with
Sindia, 1803. Sindia, stripped of the last of his possessions in Candesh, by the capture of Asseergur, made overtures of peace to General Wellesley, which, after a wearisome negotiation, resulted in a provisional armistice on the 23rd November. It stipulated that he should keep his army to a position forty miles east of Elichpore, and that his camp should not approach within the same distance of either of the British armies, then operating against the raja of Nagpore. Colonel Stephenson was marching to the siege of Gawilgur, a strong and important fortress in the Nagpore territories, in which the royal treasures were said to be deposited. The raja and his troops who had been for some time moving about in the southern districts, closely followed by General Wellesley, now moved up to the defence of the fort. The General, who had been separated from Colonel Stephenson for two months, opportunely joined him in time to support and cover the siege. On the 28th November, the British force, after a long and fatiguing march, came up with the Nagpore army, on the plain of Argaom. Sindia, who was waiting for the result of circumstances, had not ratified the armistice, or observed its conditions,

Battle of
Argaom, 28th
Nov., 1803.

but was encamped within four miles of his confederate, and, in the engagement which ensued, did not hesitate to send his cavalry to aid him in charging the British regiments. Though it was late in the day, General Wellesley resolved to engage the enemy, but his troops had no sooner come within range of their guns than three entire battalions, who had behaved with distinguished gallantry on the field of Assye, under a far hotter fire, broke their ranks and fled. Fortunately, the General happened to be at no great distance, and succeeded in rallying them, and re-establishing the battle, or it would have been inevitably lost. The raja abandoned all his cannon and ammunition ;

and few of his troops would have escaped if there had been an hour of daylight left. On the 15th December the fortress of Gawilgur surrendered to Colonel Stephenson, and General Wellesley prepared to march on the city of Nagpore. The raja, reduced to despair by these rapid reverses, and trembling for his capital and his throne, hastened to sue for peace. The

Treaty of Deogaom, Dec. 18th, 1803. negotiation was entrusted to Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, a young civilian of great talent and promise, who subsequently rose to great eminence in the public service, and had the honour of twice declining the post of Governor-General, for which not even an English statesman could have been better qualified. The treaty, known as that of Deogaom, was completed in two days. The province of Cuttack was ceded to the Company, and a letter-post was established without a break between Calcutta and Madras. The districts of Berar west of the Wurda, had belonged in part to the Nizam, but the raja of Nagpore, who owned the other portion, had collected the revenues of the whole, and appropriated the lion's share to himself. This territory, which includes the "cotton field of the Deccan," was now entirely transferred to the Nizam. Half-a-century later he assigned it to the Company for the pay of his contingent, and they immediately endowed it with the inestimable blessing of a railway. The raja likewise engaged to refer all his differences with the Nizam and the Peshwa to the arbitration of the British Government, and to exclude all Frenchmen and all Europeans of any nation at war with England from his kingdom. The large cessions of territory which the raja was thus constrained to make comprised the most valuable of his possessions, and reduced him to a secondary rank among the princes of India; and the power of another member of the Mahratta pentarchy was effectually crippled.

Sindia's possessions in Hindostan, 1803.

General Wellesley had deprived Sindia of all his possessions in the Deccan. Colonel Murray at the same time, captured Broach, his only seaport, and occupied all his districts on the western coast in

Guzerat; but it was in Hindostan that he experienced the most overwhelming disasters. The valuable possessions of his crown in that quarter, which formed, in fact, an opulent kingdom, had been gradually enlarged and consolidated by the incessant labours of the late Mahdajee Sindia, and chiefly through the army raised and disciplined by De Boigne, on whose retirement to his native town in France, in 1796, the command devolved on General Perron. Dowlut Rao Sindia, from the period of his accession in 1792, had been continually encamped in the neighbourhood of Poona, coercing and fleecing the unfortunate Peshwa, and had never so much as visited his northern dominions. The governor of Delhi, emboldened by his master's absence, had the temerity to set his authority at defiance. General Perron was directed to invest the city, and it was surrendered under the threat of a bombardment. The aged and blind emperor, who had been treated by the native warden of the palace with great severity, and often left without the common necessaries of life, was now transferred, after ten years of suffering, to the charge of Perron, and as every effort was made to alleviate his wretched condition, he had good reason to congratulate himself on the change of masters. The continued absence of Sindia had thrown the whole administration of his dominions in Hindostan, both civil and fiscal, as well as the command of the army, into the hands of General Perron,

General
Perron's power,
1803.

who exercised this extensive power with great ability and moderation. He had succeeded in establishing the complete authority of Sindia throughout Rajpootana, and was gradually extending it over the Sikh states between the Jumna and the Sutlege. His advanced posts approached the Indus in one direction, and Allahabad in another, and throughout this wide expanse of country his power was paramount. The territory under his management yielded a revenue of two crores of rupees. The troops under his command consisted of 28,000 foot, not inferior in discipline or valour to the Company's Sepoy army, and 5,000 horse, with 140 pieces of artillery.

The jeopardy in which the Company's interests were placed by the establishment of this powerful force—essentially French in its tendencies—along the whole line of their western frontier, was self-evident, and Lord Wellesley naturally considered the extinction of this danger an object of the highest importance. Happily for the accomplishment of his wishes, Sindia's native officers entertained great jealousy of General Perron's power, and Sirjee Rao represented to his master the indignation felt by his great sirdars at the confidence which he thought fit to repose in this foreigner. So strong was the adverse current that in April, 1802, the General repaired to Sindia's camp, and endeavoured to avert danger and to strengthen his position by a *nuzur* of fifteen lacs of rupees. But the incessant murmurs of his ministers at length induced Sindia to divest Perron of the management of all the districts under his charge, with the exception of those allotted for the maintenance of his troops. He was therefore contemplating a retirement from Sindia's service at the time when General Lake was preparing to take the field against him. The Governor-General, anxious to take advantage of this feeling of disaffection, directed the Commander-in-chief to offer him a reasonable consideration, if he would transfer his military power and resources, together with the person of the emperor, to the British Government. But, though he had received the greatest provocations from Sindia, he honourably rejected every inducement to betray his trust.

Capture of Allygur, 29th August, 1803.

General Lake was invested with the same civil, military, and political powers in Hindostan, which had been conferred on General Wellesley in the Deccan, and he took the field as soon as it was known that Colonel Collins had quitted Sindia's camp. He advanced towards General Perron's encampment on the 29th August, but the enemy, though 15,000 strong, retreated without firing a shot. The French General retired with his body guard towards Agra, leaving Colonel Pedron in charge of the important fortress of Allygur, the great military arsenal

and depôt of the army in Hindostan, with orders to defend it as long as one stone remained upon another. Every appliance which science could suggest had been adopted in strengthening the fort; it was protected by ten bastions and a ditch, a hundred feet wide, and thirty deep, containing ten feet of water. Throughout Hindostan it was deemed impregnable, and it was considered questionable whether any amount of military strategy would have been sufficient to secure its surrender. But it was captured at once by the irresistible gallantry of the 76th Highlanders, commanded by Major Macleod, who blew open the gate, and forced their way in through the most intricate and loop-holed passages, raked by a destructive fire of grape, wall-pieces, and matchlocks. The number of guns captured amounted to 281. Our loss in killed and wounded was 217, of whom 17 were officers. This was one of those master strokes which served to confound the native mind, and which essentially promoted the submission of the native powers. General Wellesley, on hearing of it, remarked, that he had often attempted to blow open a gate, but had never succeeded, and that he considered the capture of Allygur one of the most extraordinary feats he had ever heard of. Yet, it was allowed to pass without any recognition for forty-eight years, and it was only in the reign of Queen Victoria that a medal was struck to commemorate the achievement, and presented to the few heroes who still survived. A week after, General Perron, having heard that his enemies in Sindia's court had at length succeeded in procuring an order for his dismissal, informed General Lake that he had resigned the Maharaja's service, and requested permission to retire with his family, his suite, and his property, through the British territories, to Lucknow. He was received in the British camp with the distinction due to his talents and position.

Battle of Delhi,
11th September,
1803.

After the capture of Allygur, General Lake advanced toward Delhi, and Bourquin, who had succeeded to the command of Perron's army,

crossed the Jumna to oppose his progress. The British force, 4,500 strong, after a fatiguing march of eighteen miles, reached its encamping ground, within sight of the minarets of Delhi, and found the enemy posted in such force that the General, after a reconnoissance, deemed it advisable to begin the attack without delay. Bourquin's army, consisting of sixteen battalions of regular infantry and 6,000 cavalry, in all about 19,000 men, with a large train of artillery, was drawn up with its rear resting on the Jumna. The position appeared impregnable and General Lake ordered his cavalry, which was advancing in front, to feign a retreat; the enemy, deceived by the movement, immediately abandoned all the advantages of their position, and rushed forward with their guns, shouting and yelling after the peculiar fashion of native troops. The British infantry, led by the ever ready 76th Highlanders and by the Commander-in-chief in person, advanced steadily, amidst a storm of grape and chain shot, and after delivering one round charged with cold steel. The shock was irresistible, the ranks of the enemy reeled and then broke up in disorder, flying down to the river in which great numbers perished. The British loss was comparatively small, only 409, but one-third of the casualties fell on the noble Highlanders. Three days after, Bourquin and three of his officers surrendered to General Lake.

The release of
the emperor,
15th September,
1803.

The city of Delhi was immediately evacuated by the troops of Sindia, and the British standard was hoisted on its battlements, forty-seven years after the sack of Calcutta by Seraja Dowlah had extinguished the British power and name in Hindostan. The emperor, in a previous communication with General Lake, had expressed a strong desire to obtain the protection of the British Government; Lord Wellesley was no less desirous of granting it, and thus securing to the Company the advantage which was connected with the possession of his person. The Mogul throne had not lost all its prestige. The emperor, though a prisoner and sightless, was still considered the

fountain of honour throughout India, equally by the Hindoos and Mahomedans, and a patent of nobility under his seal was as highly prized in the remotest provinces of the Deccan, as it had been in the days of Aurungzebe. Tippoo was the only Mahomedan prince who had ventured to discontinue the homage due to the royal house, and the day after his fall, the Nizam's general solicited General Harris's permission to proceed in state to the great mosque, and resume the reading of the *khootba* in the emperor's name. It was, therefore, considered important to the interests of the Company to be identified with the house of Timur. It was arranged that the heir apparent should arrive with his suite at the General's tent at midday, but natives, and more especially native princes, consider that punctuality lessens their dignity. The General was kept waiting more than three hours, and it was nearly sunset before the cavalcade reached the city, where, to borrow the magniloquent diction of the Governor-General, "in the magnificent palace built by Shah Jehan, the Commander-in-chief was ushered into the royal presence, and found the unfortunate and venerable emperor, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, and degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight, seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition." The inhabitants of the city manifested great enthusiasm at the change of masters, and the courtly news writers affirmed, that the emperor not only shed tears, but had actually regained his sight, in the excess of his joy. Lord Wellesley formed the judicious resolution of removing him and the royal family from the dangerous associations of Delhi, and proposed Monghir for their future residence, but the emperor clung with such tenacity to the spot which had been for six centuries the capital of Mahomedan greatness, that Lord Wellesley was reluctantly compelled to abandon this design. But the wisdom of it was abundantly vindicated half a century later, when the residence of the royal family at

Delhi, entailed a bloody tragedy, which terminated in sweeping every vestige of the Mogul dynasty from the soil of India.

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony in command at Delhi, Capture of Agra, Oct. 17, 1803. General Lake marched down to Agra, which was still held by Sindia's troops. In the exercise of the political powers with which he was invested, he concluded a treaty with the raja of Bhurtpore, who sent a body of 5,000 horse to co-operate with his army. He was the first to seek an alliance with the British Government in the flood tide of its success, and the first to repudiate it when the tide appeared to be ebbing. Agra capitulated, after a protracted siege, on the 17th October, and the treasure found in it, twenty-eight lacs of rupees, was promptly and wisely distributed among the officers and men, in "anticipation of the approval of the home authorities."

Battle of Laswaree, 1st Nov., 1803. On the outbreak of the war Sindia sent fifteen of his disciplined battalions across the Nerbudda to protect his possessions in Hindostan. They were considered the flower of his army, and usually designated "the Deccan Invincibles." But before their arrival the battle of Delhi had extinguished Sindia's army in the north, with the exception of two battalions which joined the southern force, and raised its strength to 9,000 foot, 4,000 cavalry, and 72 pieces of artillery. No attempt was made to relieve Agra, but it hung on the skirts of the British army. General Lake did not fail to perceive that while so formidable a force continued unbroken it would be impossible to obtain the general confidence of the province, and he determined to attack it without delay. He had received an unfounded report that the Mahratta army was endeavouring to avoid him, and, with his usual impetuosity, started at midnight in search of it with his cavalry alone, leaving orders for the infantry to follow. He came up with the encampment of the enemy at daybreak on the 1st November, at the village of Laswaree, and found them, as usual, entrenched in a formidable position, with their guns drawn up in the

front. The General led his cavalry up in person to the attack ; a fearful discharge of grape and double-headed shot mowed down column after column, and rendered the fiery valour of the troops useless. To prevent their utter extinction, the General was obliged to withdraw them from the conflict, to await the arrival of the infantry, who had marched sixty-five miles in the preceding forty-eight hours, and twenty-five miles since midnight. After a brief rest and a hasty meal, they were launched on the enemy's guns and battalions. The engagement was the severest in which the Company's troops had ever been engaged, not excepting that of Assye. Sindia's sepoy's fought as natives had never fought before. They defended their position to the last extremity, contesting every point inch by inch, and refusing to give way while a single gun remained in their possession. But they were at length overpowered, and lost their ammunition and camp equipage, together with 71 pieces of cannon. It was even reported that one-half their number was left on the field, killed or wounded. On the British side the casualties amounted to 824, one-fourth of which belonged to the 76th Highlanders, who bore the brunt of the action. The General himself conducted every operation throughout the day, with more credit to his personal gallantry than to his military talent. Though a dashing soldier, and adored by his men, he was only a second-rate general ; but the flagrant defects of his arrangements were covered, as has frequently been the case in India, by the undaunted valour of his men, at the sacrifice of their own lives. The battle of Laswaree served to exhibit the high state of efficiency to which the French generals in the Mahratta service had brought their native troops. It does not appear that there was a single European officer with them during the engagement, yet so complete had been their training, that when left to themselves they exhibited a degree of skill and intrepidity which staggered General Lake himself, and constrained him to remark that if they had been led by their French officers the result of the day would have been exceedingly doubtful.

Treaty of Sirjee
Anjengaom,
Dec. 4, 1803.

This defeat completed the humiliation of Sindia. In the course of twelve weeks the French battalions, the bulwark of his power, had been annihilated, and all his territories in the Deccan, in Guzerat, and in Hindostan, the rich patrimony bequeathed to him by his uncle, had been wrested from him. Seeing no alternative between the entire annihilation of his power and submission to the severe terms dictated by Lord Wellesley, he yielded to necessity, and within a fortnight after the raja of Nagpore had made his peace with the British Government, signed the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaom. It was negotiated on the one part by General Wellesley, on the other by Wittul Punt, Sindia's chief minister, who, though advanced in years, was still considered the first native diplomatist of the age, and was designated by General Wellesley the Talleyrand of the east. By this treaty Sindia ceded all his territories in Hindostan, lying in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, as well as those north of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypore and Joudhpore; the fortress and territory of Ahmednugur in the Deccan, and Broach with its dependencies in Guzerat. He relinquished all claims on the Peshwa, the Nizam, the Guickwar, and the British Government, and agreed to recognize the independence of the rajas and feudatories in Hindostan with whom treaties had been concluded by General Lake, and a list of whom was to be delivered to him when the treaty was ratified by the Governor-General. Two districts to the north of the prescribed limits were, however, restored to him, and pensions granted to some of his officers and the members of his own family.

Distribution of
the conquered
territory, 1803.

The engagement made with the Nizam at the commencement of hostilities stated that he should share equally with the Company the conquests made by their joint efforts, if he honourably fulfilled the conditions of the alliance. That aged prince, the son of the renowned Nizam-ool-moolk, who had been decorated with honours by Aurungzebe more than a century before, was at the time

on his deathbed, and expired four days after the war began. His son, Secunder Jah, was placed on the musnud by the decision of Lord Wellesley. But though the Hyderabad forces were sent to co-operate with Colonel Stephenson, the stipulations of the treaty were scandalously violated by the Nizam's civil and military officers, whose sympathies were entirely with the confederates. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of military operations. The provision of grain for the army was purposely neglected, and permission was refused to purchase it in the Nizam's dominions. The officers and men wounded at Assye were denied an asylum in the fort of Dowlutabad, and one of the Hyderabad commanders had the audacity to fire on the British troops from the guns of his fort. The Nizam had thus forfeited all claim to share in the spoils of war, but Lord Wellesley generously bestowed on him the rich province of Berar, lying to the west of the Wurda. The fortress and the district of the Ahmednugur, acquired from Sindia, were transferred to the Peshwa, notwithstanding the perfidy of his conduct. The province of Cuttack, the conquests in Guzerat, and the valuable districts in Hindostan were incorporated with the Company's dominions. These last, together with the province ceded by the Nabob Vizier, were formed into the separate government of the north-west provinces, and now constitute the Agra Presidency. The territory which Lord Wellesley had annexed two years before to the Madras Presidency, and that which he now added to Bengal, was estimated at the annual value of six crores of rupees,—an amusing comment on the Parliamentary denunciation of territorial aggrandisement.

Having thus reduced the power of the Mahrattas, Lord Wellesley was anxious to prevent the revival of their influence in Hindostan by establishing a barrier between their possessions and those of the Company. With this view, General Lake concluded treaties of alliance and mutual defence with the Jaut prince of Bhurtpore, and with the Rajpoot princes of Jeypore, Joudhpore, Machery and Boondee, who were thereby absolved from all allegiance to

Treaties of
alliance in the
north, 1803.

the Mahratta powers. Sindia had entrusted the fortress of Gwalior and some of his districts in that quarter to Ambajee Inglia, who, after the battle of Laswaree, in which he took an active part, offered to desert his master, and transfer the fort and half the territory to the British Government, on condition of being acknowledged the independent ruler of the remainder. A treaty was accordingly drawn up and signed, to which, however, he did not long adhere. His commandant refused to surrender Gwalior, which was besieged and captured by an English force. Ambajee returned soon after to Sindia's court, and was restored to favour. The rana of Gohud, whose dominions Sindia had appropriated to himself twenty years before, was reputed to possess great influence among the Jauts, and Lord Wellesley resolved to grant him the territory of which he had been dispossessed, together with the fort of Gwalior, on his engaging to subsidize three English battalions. The complications which arose out of this anomalous transaction we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. By the treaty of Bassein, the Peshwa had assigned for the maintenance of the subsidiary force districts in the Deccan yielding twenty-six lacs of rupees, but this arrangement was found inconvenient to both parties, and, upon the advice of General Wellesley, he was permitted to exchange them for territories in Bundelkund of the value of thirty-six lacs a-year; but as his authority in that province was merely nominal, the transaction was more advantageous to him than to the British Government, upon whom it entailed a long and harassing conflict. Lord Wellesley was, moreover, bent on establishing a subsidiary treaty with Sindia, and Major Malcolm was engaged for many months in a tedious negotiation, which, though eventually successful, produced no result, inasmuch as the quota of troops, 6,000 in number, was not to be stationed within his dominions, and their support was to be derived from the territories which he had already ceded unconditionally to the Company.

The Guickwar,
1800—1803.

It only remains to notice the progress of events in Guzerat, the greater portion of which was in-

cluded in the dominions of the Guickwar. It has already been told how the Mogul authority in this province ceased in 1755, when the capital Ahmedabad was captured by Damajee Guickwar. He died in 1768, and was succeeded after a long series of intrigues, by his son, Futteh Sing. On his death, in 1792, his brother mounted the throne, and died in 1800, leaving eleven children, and the country was immediately distracted by their struggles for the supreme power. Anund Rao, the eldest, though imbecile, was acknowledged as the legitimate successor to the musnud, and, having taken an able minister into his counsels, applied to the Bombay government for aid against his brothers and rivals, and offered to enter into a subsidiary alliance. This occurred at the time when Lord Wellesley was intent on extending these political arrangements throughout India, as the most effectual mode of establishing British supremacy, and the offer was cordially accepted. The subsidized force consisted of five battalions, and districts yielding between eleven and twelve lacs of rupees a-year were assigned for their support. The appearance of a British army in the field extinguished all opposition, the authority of Anund Rao was fully acknowledged, and Major Walker was appointed Resident at the court, which was now transferred to the new capital, Baroda. But the treasury was insolvent, and the finances were in a state of apparently hopeless confusion. The revenues amounted to fifty lacs of rupees a-year, and the expenditure to eighty-two. The deficiency had been made up, year after year, according to the fatal practice of native princes, by loans at extravagant interest, and mortgages and assignments, which devoured the resources of the state, and threatened the dissolution of all government. Major Walker was one of those great men to whom the Company has been indebted for the extension and the popularity of their rule. He had acquired the confidence of the natives of Guzerat even to a greater degree than that of his own Government, and with the universal consent of nobles and people, assumed the entire control of the administration. It was necessary in the first

instance to relieve the country from the native army, which ceased to be necessary after the establishment of the subsidiary force, but it could not be disbanded without the payment of arrears, which amounted to forty-one lacs of rupees. Major Walker prevailed on the Governor-General to advance the sum of twenty lacs, and by the extraordinary influence he had acquired among the native bankers, obtained a loan of the remainder from them, though not without a British guarantee. The troops were at length paid up in full, and the country was freed from the insolence of these Arab mercenaries. The maritime district of Kattiwar took advantage of the dissensions of the time to refuse the payment of the tribute due to the parent state, but Major Walker marched into the country and constrained the insurgents to enter into an engagement for the payment of nine lacs of tribute a-year. His expedition into that province was rendered ever memorable by the moral results

which it produced. The custom of infanticide Abolition of infanticide, 1804. was universally prevalent among its Rajpoot inhabitants, who preferred the death of their daughters to the disgrace of an inferior alliance. By the influence of his official position, but more particularly by the weight of his personal character, Major Walker was enabled to obtain from all the principal chiefs a pledge, both on their own part and that of their fraternities, to abstain from the practice, to expel from the community all who were found guilty of it, and to submit to any penalty he might think fit to impose. The success of these efforts in the cause of humanity has shed a brighter lustre on his memory than all his political achievements, great as they were. It was through his exertions that peace and tranquillity were restored to the country, and the government of the Guickwar consolidated. The connection of the state with the British Government was closely cemented, and the resources of another Mahratta prince were detached from the Mahratta cause, and placed under the control of the Company.

Reflections. The transcendent genius and energy of Lord Wellesley had thus, in the course of five years,

completely remodelled the whole policy of India, and placed the Company on the pinnacle of power. They had now become the masters of a great part of the continent, the protector of all the principal powers, and the acknowledged mediator in the disputes of all. Their sovereignty was greater, and their authority fixed on a firmer and more solid basis than that of Akbar or Aurungzebe. The administration of Lord Wellesley had reached its culminating point. The disasters which clouded the remaining period of his Indian career arose from the blunders of the Commander-in-chief, and not from any imperfection in his Government, though it was necessarily saddled with the obloquy they entailed.

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED, 1804-5.

Holkar's move-
ments, 1804.

WHILE Sindia and the raja of Nagpore were involved in hostilities with the Company, Holkar was employed in predatory expeditions in Hindostan, and on the conclusion of peace marched down to Muhesur, on the Nerbudda, a great emporium of commerce, and plundered it of wealth estimated at a crore of rupees. With this treasure he was enabled not only to satisfy his own troops for the time, but to take into his pay those whom Sindia and the raja had discharged on the peace. His army was thus augmented to 60,000 horse and 15,000 foot, a force far exceeding his requirements or his resources, and which could be subsisted only by pillage. The Governor-General had sedulously avoided any collision with him during the five months of the war with the confederates; and General Wellesley had repeatedly assured him that as long as he refrained from attacking the dominions of the Company and its allies, the government would abstain from all interference with him. This assurance was also com-

municated to him by Lord Wellesley on the 10th February. But repose was incompatible with his plans of ambition and plunder. His fortune was in his saddle, and eighty thousand of the lawless soldiery of Central India followed his stirrup. By the humiliation of Sindia and Nagpore, he was the only Mahratta chief left with an unbroken army; but, heedless of the warning conveyed by their fate, he was impelled by his own reckless disposition to hazard a conflict with the British Government. He desired Ameer Khan to join him without delay, "as he had made up his mind to meet General Lake in the field." He sought an alliance with the brother of Zemaun Shah, who had seized Cabul, and on a new seal which he had engraved, styled himself, "the slave of Mahomed Shah, king of kings." Letters were intercepted from him to the British allies, exciting them to revolt. In the month of March he demanded of General Wellesley, then in the Deccan, the cession of certain districts which he said had once belonged to his family, adding that "if they were not restored, countries many hundred miles in extent should be plundered and burnt, and the English general should not have time to breathe, and calamities should fall on lacs of human beings, by a continued war, in which his armies would overwhelm them like waves of the sea." He likewise despatched two envoys to General Lake, with claims of a similar character. During their communications with the General some allusion happened to be made to the friendly disposition now manifested by Sindia, when they affirmed that Sindia had within a few days requested the co-operation of their master in a war with the English, as a large French force had arrived on the Coromandel coast, and was about to come to his assistance. The envoys demanded with studied arrogance the restoration of the *chout*, as the inalienable right of the Mahrattas, and the restoration of twelve of the finest districts in the Dooab, which they affirmed were part of Holkar's family possessions. These insolent demands were followed up by an inroad into the territories of our ally, the raja of Jeypore. General Lake, in his embarrassment, wrote to

Lord Wellesley, "If Holkar should break into Hindostan, he will be joined by the Rohillas. I never was so plagued as I am with this devil. We are obliged to remain in the field at an enormous cost. If we retire, he will come down upon Jeypore, and exact a crore from the raja, and thus pay his own army and render it more formidable than ever. If I advance and leave an opening, he will give me the slip, and get into our territories with his horse, and burn and destroy."

Lord Wellesley felt that there could be neither peace nor prosperity while this vast predatory horde continued to roam through Central India, and that an army of observation was more expensive than an army of action. On the 16th April, therefore, he directed Generals Wellesley and Lake to take the field against Holkar, whom he regarded as a mere chief of freebooters. General Wellesley, who commanded in the south, ordered Colonel Murray to advance with a force of about 5,800 men from Guzerat into Malwa, and take possession of Holkar's capital. General Lake moved with his army into the Jeypore territory, which Holkar was employed in plundering, on which he immediately withdrew his troops. Colonel Don was then sent with a large detachment against Rampoor, his stronghold in the north, and it fell on the 16th May. Holkar thus lost his footing in the country north of the Chumbul, and retreated in haste and confusion across that river. General Wellesley's clear military perceptions led him to urge General Lake to continue the pursuit with rapidity, even though there might be little hope of bringing Holkar to action. If, he remarked, he is pushed with vigour, the war will not last a fortnight; if not, God knows when it will be over. But, by an act of unaccountable imprudence, General Lake, instead of continuing the pursuit, broke up his encampment, and withdrew his army into cantonments in Hindostan, sending Colonel Monson with a single brigade to follow the steps of Holkar. This was the fatal blunder of the campaign, and it entailed a tremendous catastrophe. Lord Wellesley, it is true, approved the retirement of General Lake's

army, but it must not be forgotten that he also advised him, either to withdraw the force under Colonel Monson, or to strengthen it with a regiment of Europeans and two or three of cavalry. General Lake did neither. He had detached Colonel Monson, who was as remarkable for professional incompetence as for personal gallantry, into the heart of Holkar's territories, on the eve of the rains, with a small force, unaccompanied by a single European soldier, or any cavalry except 2,000 or 3,000 irregular horse recently raised, and utterly inefficient, to encounter a force ten times its number, and commanded by the most daring soldier of the day. As if in emulation of this error, Colonel Monson made no arrangements on his march for supplies, and no provision for crossing the various streams in his rear, which cease to be fordable after the rains commence. He still farther augmented the perils of his expedition by advancing through the Mokundra pass, and even fifty miles beyond it, for the idle object of capturing an unimportant fort, and thus put 200 miles between his force and its nearest support.

Colonel
Monson's
disastrous
retreat, July,
1804.

On the 7th July, Colonel Monson received the alarming intelligence that Holkar had called up all his battalions from the south, and was advancing against him with his entire force. It was likewise reported that the provisions in the camp were only equal to two day's consumption, and his troubles reached their climax by the intelligence that Colonel Murray, who was advancing from Guzerat to his aid, had retired with all his troops. The bewildered commander took council of Bappoo Sindia, the commandant of Sindia's contingent which accompanied the British force, but he was in league with Holkar, and advised Colonel Monson to fall back with his infantry and leave his irregular horse to follow. Acting upon this treacherous advice, he commenced his disastrous retreat. Holkar, who had the fullest intelligence of every movement in the British camp, immediately attacked the irregular horse and put it to flight. Bappoo Sindia fled on the first appearance of his troops, and

after announcing the rout of the cavalry to Colonel Monson, went over with all his troops to the enemy, not without his master's concurrence. On the 10th July, Colonel Monson reached the Mokundra pass, where he was attacked vigorously by the whole of Holkar's army, but obtained a signal victory. The success of this conflict establishes the fact, confirmed by every succeeding encounter, that the disasters of the army arose from no want of mettle in the troops, but from the incapacity of their leader, and that under an abler commander this little sepoy army would have baffled all the efforts of Holkar. The next morning, Colonel Monson continued his retreat, but on reaching Kotah, the regent, Zalim Sing, who had assisted him on his advance—for which Holkar subsequently exacted a fine of ten lacs of rupees—refused admission to his troops on his retreat. His difficulties increased at every step; all the rivulets were swollen, and it rained so incessantly that the guns sunk in the mud beyond recovery, and were spiked and abandoned. The army was seventeen days reaching Rampoor, though the distance from Kotah was only sixty miles. There Colonel Monson was reinforced by two battalions of sepoys and a corps of irregular cavalry, and supplied with provisions, sent to his aid by General Lake, on hearing of the commencement of his retreat. At Rampoor he remained twenty-four days, during the whole of which period Holkar, with all his superiority of force, never ventured to attack him. On the twenty-fifth day he most unaccountably determined to fall back on Kooshalgar, where he expected to be joined by Sudasheo Bhao, one of Sindia's generals, with six battalions and twenty-one guns; but the Mahratta, seeing the helplessness of the commander, and the miserable plight of his army, not only went over to Holkar, but turned his guns upon the British troops. The game was now up; and on the 26th August, the Colonel spiked his last gun; the enemy allowed him no rest; all order and all discipline was lost; the retreat became a disorderly rout, and the last sepoy straggled into Agra on the last day of August, fifty days after the

retreat had commenced. Colonel Monson attributed his disaster to the failure of Colonel Murray to join him from Guzerat. Colonel Murray attributed it to Colonel Monson himself. Both of them, as General Wellesley observed, were apparently afraid of Holkar, and fled from him in different directions. Colonel Monson advanced without reason and he retreated without cause. Twenty-three years before Colonel Camac had, with equal indiscretion, marched from the Jumna to Serenge in pursuit of Mahdajee Sindia, and found himself in the same predicament as Colonel Monson, in the heart of the enemy's country, destitute of supplies, harassed by an active foe, and abandoned by native allies in the hour of need. Yet, by the unfailing expedient of a bold and aggressive movement, suggested and carried out by Captain Bruce, he turned the tables on Sindia, captured his guns, ammunition, and camp, reduced him to extremity, and obliged him to sue for peace. But for the imbecility of the commander, the same triumph would doubtless have crowned the valour of the band of heroes under Colonel Monson, and Lord Wellesley would not have had to lament the annihilation of five battalions of infantry and six companies of artillery. This was the most signal disgrace inflicted on the British arms since the destruction of Colonel Baillie's force by Hyder, in 1780, and its effect on the prestige and influence of the Company was felt throughout India. The defeat was celebrated in ribald songs in every bazaar, and one couplet, describing the utter confusion of the rout has survived the lapse of more than half a century, "Placing the *houāa* of the elephant on the horse, and the saddle of the horse on the elephant, did Colonel Monson fly away in haste." The raja of Bhurtpore, who had never been very steady in his fidelity, lost no time after this event in opening negotiations with Holkar.

Flushed with success, Holkar advanced to
 Helkar besieges
 Delhi, 1804. Muttra with an army, estimated at 90,000 men.
 The British detachment stationed there retired upon Agra, and
 General Lake, with his accustomed energy, established his

head-quarters at that station, and lost no time in summoning the various corps from their cantonments to repel this new and unexpected eruption. Meanwhile, Holkar planned the daring project of seizing the city of Delhi, and obtaining possession of the person of the emperor. Leaving the greater portion of his cavalry to engage the attention of General Lake, he started in great secrecy, with his infantry and guns, and suddenly appeared before the gates of the city on the 7th October. It was ten miles in circumference, defended only by dilapidated walls and ruined ramparts, and filled with a mixed population, not as yet accustomed to British rule. The garrison was so small as not to admit of reliefs, and provisions and sweetmeats were therefore served to them on the battlements, but the British Resident, Colonel Ochterlony, animated by the spirit of Clive, and nobly seconded by the commandant, Colonel Burn, defended the city for nine days, against the utmost efforts of the enemy, 20,000 strong, with 100 pieces of cannon. At length Holkar, despairing of success, drew off his army, and sending back his infantry and guns into the territory of his new ally, the raja of Bhurtpore, set out with his cavalry to lay waste the British territories in the Dooab, in the ancient style of Mahratta marauding. General Lake also divided his force; the main body was left under General Fraser to watch Holkar's battalions of infantry, while he placed himself at the head of six regiments of cavalry, European and Native, and his mounted artillery, and started in pursuit of him. In this expedition Holkar contrived invariably to keep twenty or thirty miles a-head, ravaging and burning the defenceless villages as he swept along. After a very harassing march of three hundred and fifty miles in fourteen days, the General was so fortunate as to come up with his encampment at Futtygur, on the 17th November, having marched no less than fifty-six miles in the preceding twenty-four hours. Holkar had been led to believe from the report of his spies, that the British cavalry was a day's march behind him, and had retired to rest. The horses were at picket, and the men

Pursued by
Gen. Lake,
1804.

lay asleep by their side, wrapped in their blankets, when several rounds of grape gave them the first intimation of the arrival of their pursuers. Holkar mounted his horse and galloped off with the few troopers around him, leaving the rest of his troops to shift for themselves, and they were either cut up or dispersed in all directions. He hastened back to rejoin his infantry, but found on re-crossing the Jumna, that they had been subject during his absence to an irreparable defeat. Four days before the action at Futtygur, General Fraser had encountered Holkar's army, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and a hundred and sixty guns, in the vicinity of Deeg. The English force did not exceed 6,000, but contained in its ranks the 76th Highlanders, the foremost in the path of honour and danger, and they again bore the brunt of the battle. The enemy was completely routed, and left eighty-seven pieces of cannon on the field. But the victory was dearly purchased by the loss of 643 killed and wounded, and more especially of the noble general, who died three days after of his wounds. On his removal from the field during the action, the command devolved on Colonel Monson, who maintained the conflict with the utmost gallantry, and had the satisfaction of recovering fourteen of the guns he had lost in his retreat. During the engagement a destructive fire was opened on the British troops from the fort of Deeg, which belonged to the raja of Bhurt-pore. A battering train was immediately ordered up from Agra, and the fortress was captured on the 23rd December.

Siege of Bhurt-pore, 1805.

The fortunes of Holkar were now at the lowest ebb. He had lost all his forts in the Deccan. General Jones, who, under the advice of General Wellesley, had been appointed in the room of the incompetent Colonel Murray to the Guzerat command, had taken all his fortresses in Malwa, and marched up through the heart of the Mahratta dominions, unmolested, and joined General Lake's camp. The vast army with which Holkar had proudly crossed the Jumna four months before, had dwindled away under repeated reverses,

and the entire destruction of his power appeared inevitable, when every advantage which had been gained in the campaign was thrown away by the fatal resolution of General Lake to invest Bhurtpore. It was a town and fortress eight miles in circumference, surrounded by the invulnerable bulwark of a lofty mud wall of great thickness, and protected by numerous bastions, and a deep ditch, filled with water. It was garrisoned by about 8,000 of the raja's troops, and the remnant of Holkar's infantry. General Lake refused to listen to any argument, and without a sufficient siege train, without an engineer officer of any experience, without even a reconnaissance, resolved, with breathless impetuosity; at once to besiege the town. This memorable siege commenced on the 4th January, 1805, and the army did not break up before the 21st April. Four unsuccessful attacks were made which entailed the unprecedented loss of 3,200 men in killed and wounded, of whom 103 were officers. The raja was joined at his own request during the siege by Ameer Khan, but the exorbitant demands of that chief speedily dissolved the union, on which he proceeded with his predatory horse into his native province of Rohilcund, in the hope of raising it against the English. General Smith was detached in pursuit of him, and after performing the extraordinary march of seven hundred miles in forty-three days, overtook him at the foot of the Himalayu, and chased him back across the Jumna. Though the siege of Bhurtpore had not been successful, the raja severely felt the loss of all his territorial revenues, and the exactions of Holkar, and became anxious to bring the war to a close. He therefore sent a vakeel to General Lake, ostensibly to congratulate him on his advance to the peerage, of which intelligence had just been received, but, in reality, to open negotiations; and a treaty was speedily concluded on condition that he should pay twenty lacs of rupees towards the expenses of the war, in four instalments. But the submission of the raja, under such circumstances, could not repair the loss of reputation which the British Government

Treaty with
Bhurtpore,
April, 1805.

sustained by the notorious failure of the siege. Nothing had filled the princes of India with greater dismay than the easy and rapid reduction of their strongest fortresses in positions which appeared to be absolutely impregnable. But in the present case, a British army, under the Commander-in-chief in person, had been foiled for several months in every attempt to capture a mud fort, situated in a plain, and the Native chiefs began to flatter themselves that our skill and our prowess were on the wane. The remembrance of our disgrace was perpetuated even in remote districts by rude delineations on the walls of British soldiers hurled from the battlements of Bhurt-pore, nor was the impression created by this failure completely removed till the capture of the fort by Lord Combermere, twenty-one years afterwards.

Attitude of Sin-
dia; Gohud, and
Gwalior, 1805. This accommodation with Bhurt-pore was hastened by the menacing attitude of Sindia, to whose proceedings we now return. By the treaty of Sirjee Angengaom, he had engaged in general terms to relinquish all claim on the rajas and feudatories in the north, with whom the Governor-General had concluded defensive alliances. When the list of these chiefs was for the first time presented to him, in April, 1804, with the ratified treaty, he was mortified to find the name of the rana of Gohud, together with the fort of Gwalior, included in it, and he urged the most vehement objection to these alienations. Gwalior, on which he set a high value, was, he said, the personal gift of the emperor to him; and his servant, Ambajce Inglija, to whom it had been entrusted, had no right whatever to dispose of it, when he treacherously joined the English. As to the rana of Gohud, he scouted the idea of acknowledging the existence of such a being, whose power he had extinguished, and whose territories he had annexed to his own twenty years before. It was an unfortunate circumstance that General Lake in the north and General Wellesley in the south should have been making arrangements and alliances affecting the interest of Sindia, in total ignorance of the proceedings of each other.

When General Wellesley negotiated the treaty with Sindia, he was not aware that Lord Wellesley had determined to re-establish the principality of Gohud, and to make the rana independent. Sindia deprecated the revival of these ancient and extinct claims, and justly observed that "it could not fail to weaken the fundamental rights of actual possession, as the greater portion of the Company's territories as well as his own had no other foundation." General Wellesley affirmed that Sindia had agreed to the treaty in the fullest confidence that Gwalior was to remain with him, and that, for his part, "he would sacrifice it and every other frontier town ten times over to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and that the advantages and honour we had gained in the last war and peace must not be frittered away in arguments drawn from the overstrained principles of the law of nations, which was not understood in India." Major Malcolm, the envoy at the court of Sindia, entertained the same views, and anxiously laboured for the restoration of these possessions to Sindia. Lord Wellesley resented this opposition to his wishes, and when the Major pleaded, in extenuation of his conduct, that his sole object was to promote the public interests, remarked, "Major Malcolm's business is to obey my orders and enforce my instructions; I will look after the public interests." The Governor-General was all the more pertinacious on this occasion from being entirely in the wrong, and his conduct cannot be more accurately described than by the expressive Indian word, *zid*. Sindia was obliged to yield to his imperious demand, and submit to the alienation of Gohud and Gwalior, but it continued to rankle in his bosom.

Hostility of
Sindia, 1804-5. The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson produced a profound sensation throughout Hindostan; it created an impression that fortune was at length deserting the standard of the Company, and it strengthened the hope that the Mahrattas might yet regain their former ascendancy. Wittul Punt, Sindia's great minister, died in October, 1804, and was succeeded by Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the invete-

rate enemy of the British power. Under his sinister advice, Sindia addressed a defiant letter to the Governor-General, impugning the good faith of the British Government in numerous instances. The letter, instead of being sent direct, was transmitted to his vakeel at Benares, who journeyed with it by slow stages to Calcutta, watching the progress of events, and it would never have been delivered at all but for our discomfiture before Bhurtpore. It reached the Governor-General four months after it was penned. Meanwhile, a secret alliance was formed against the Company, which included Sindia and Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the raja of Bhurtpore; and Sindia, emboldened by our reverses, ventured to attack the territories of our allies, and to invade Sagur. At the beginning of 1805, the encampment of Mr. Richard Jenkins, the British representative at his court, was assailed and plundered at the instigation of Sirjee Rao, in the hope of irretrievably compromising his master with the British Government. Sindia likewise put his army in motion, and announced his intention to march to Bhurtpore, and negotiate a peace between the raja and the Company, an insult which the Governor-General could not but feel acutely. But both he and General Wellesley were equally anxious to avoid a rupture with Sindia at this critical juncture. The army before Bhurtpore was disheartened by repeated failures; the British frontier, for several hundred miles, from Calpee to Midnapore was defenceless, and a combined attack of the allies might have been followed by disastrous results. Sindia continued to advance with 40,000 men, including Pindarees, and encamped eighteen miles beyond Subulgur, where he was joined by Ambajee Ingliia. The Resident remonstrated against his crossing the Chumbul, as it would in all probability lead to a war, and urged him to return to his own capital. Sindia made the most amicable professions, but assured him that the embarrassment of his finances was so great as to prevent his retracing his steps; but if some arrangement could be made for relieving his pressing necessities, he would act in accordance with the Governor-General's desire. General

Wellesley, who was satisfied of the truth of this assertion, and who believed that Sindia was really impoverished, advised his brother to grant him some pecuniary aid, and he immediately made a retrograde movement of a few miles.

Progress of the
settlement with
Sindia, 1805.

Five days after this retirement, Sirjee Rao, apparently without Sindia's concurrence, marched up to Bhurtpore with a part of his master's cavalry, and all his Pindarees; but before his arrival the treaty with Lord Lake had been completed, though without the knowledge of the Mahrattas, and the raja refused to meet him. After the preliminaries of peace had been signed, a division of British troops attacked Holkar, who had been hovering about the fort during the siege, and completely defeated him, leaving under his standard only 3,000 or 4,000 exhausted cavalry. Sirjee Rao returned with Holkar to Sindia's encampment at Subulgur, where all the confederates, except the raja of Bhurtpore, were now assembled. Holkar and Ameer Khan soon intimated to Sindia that it would be impossible to keep their forces together without funds, and that all their projects against the Company must therefore be abandoned. He replied that his treasury was empty, and that although he had jewels enough, no money could be raised on them, but his general, Ambajee, was possessed of boundless wealth, yet would not part with a rupee. Ambajee had been Sindia's lieutenant in Rajpootana and Hindostan for many years, and had amassed two crores of rupees, which he had deposited for safety in Kotah. With the full concurrence of Sindia, he was seized and confined, and Ameer Khan subjected him to the most exquisite tortures, till he consented to part with fifty-five lacs from his hoards, of which Sindia appropriated one-half to his own use. As Sindia and his confederates continued to encamp at Subulgur, General Lake moved down upon them as soon as the Bhurtpore treaty was signed, and the whole body retreated in haste and consternation towards Kotah. At the beginning of June the atrocities of Sirjee Rao constrained Sindia to displace him, and Ambajee was raised to the post of minister. With a lively recollection

of the injuries he had received from Holkar, he endeavoured to sow dissension between him and Sindia, and at length succeeded in breaking up the alliance, which paved the way for an amicable adjustment of all differences with the British Government. Soon after, Lord Lake addressed a letter to Sindia, stating that if the Resident, who was still detained by him, though treated with great respect, was not dismissed within ten days, the relations subsisting between the two states would be no longer considered binding. The day before the expiration of this period, one of Sindia's principal ministers waited on the Resident, and entreated him to waive the demand for his dismissal, "because it would give an appearance of enmity to the relations of the two states." Sindia had nothing to gain but everything to risk by a war, and he was sincerely desirous of establishing a good understanding with the Company. He had not forgotten how, in August, 1803, the departure of Colonel Collins from his camp had been the signal of hostilities, and he feared lest the retirement of Mr. Jenkins should produce the same disastrous result. On his part, Lord Wellesley was equally desirous of peace. He had made up his mind to restore Gohud and Gwalior, as a matter of policy, and was ready to discuss any other concessions which might enable him to place the army on a peace establishment and reduce the burdens of the state. Another month or two would have brought about an amicable adjustment of all differences, and placed the tranquillity of India upon a solid basis. But on the 30th July, Lord Cornwallis landed in Calcutta, and assumed charge of the Government and Lord Wellesley's whole scheme of policy was at once subverted.

End of Lord
Wellesley's ad-
ministration,
1805.

Remarks on
Lord Welles-
ley's adminis-
tration, 1805.

The administration of Lord Wellesley is the most memorable in the annals of British India. He found the empire beset with the most imminent perils in every quarter, and he bequeathed it to his successor in a state of complete security. He found a feeling of contempt for our power gradually increasing at every court,

and threatening its existence, and he set himself with unexampled energy to restore our prestige. In rapid succession he annihilated the French force at Hyderabad, and converted all the resources of the Nizam to the use of the Company. He extinguished the Mysore power and became master of the Deccan. He extirpated the French battalions of Sindia, and turned his possessions in Hindostan into a British province. He paralysed the power of the great Mahratta princes so effectually that, notwithstanding the timid and retrograde policy of the next twelve years, they were never able to recover it. He remodelled the map of India and introduced greater and more important changes in all its political relations than had been effected by any single prince, Hindoo or Mahomedan. He doubled the territories and the resources of the Company. He had a peculiar genius for creating and consolidating an empire. He was the Akbar of the Company's dynasty. His individual character was impressed on every branch of the administration, and his inspiration animated every member of the service in every department, and in every province. To those around him, who were under his immediate influence, he was the object of "hero worship," and the designation usually applied to him was "the glorious little man." But his attention was chiefly directed to those great measures of state which were required to secure and strengthen the Government. The time had not arrived when the moral and intellectual improvement of the people was considered within the province of the ruler. Lord Wellesley made no effort to promote the education of the natives, and the erroneous policy initiated by Lord Cornwallis of excluding them from all share in any branch of the Government, and working it exclusively by European agency, was approved and perpetuated. But he constrained the civilians to acquire the language of the people they were appointed to govern, which the Court of Directors had neglected for thirty-five years; and to his administration belongs the distinguished honour of having, under the influence of Mr. Udny and Dr. Carey, passed

the humane regulation prohibiting the sacrifice of children at Sagur.

Lord Wellesley's great predecessor, Warren Hastings, was the first ruler who contemplated the necessity imposed by our position of extending British influence over every court, and making the Company the leading power in India. For the attempt to carry out this great conception, he was subjected to an impeachment and reduced to poverty. Twelve years after he had left India, Lord Wellesley felt the pressure of the same necessity, and resolved to pursue the same object, not by the simple exertion of influence, but by the exercise of authority. He was anxious to extinguish those internecine contests among the princes of India which for more than a century had turned its fairest provinces into a desert, encouraged a predatory and military spirit among the inhabitants, and formed an inexhaustible source for the supply of military adventurers, prepared to join the standard of any turbulent chieftain, for the purposes of ambition, plunder, and rebellion. He felt, as General Wellesley described it, that "no permanent system of policy could be adopted to preserve the weak against the strong, and to keep the princes for any length of time in their relative situations, and the whole body in peace, without the establishment of one power, which by the superiority of its strength, and its military system and resources, should obtain a preponderating influence for the protection of all." The Company was to be this preponderant power, but the Company was still a commercial body, and had an instinctive dread of all military operations which interrupted its investments and disturbed its balance-sheet. In the conflict between the merchant and the sovereign in Leadenhall-street, the influence and interest of the merchant prevailed, although Lord Wellesley maintained that "as long as the Company represented the sovereign executive authority in this vast empire, its duties of sovereignty must be paramount to mercantile interests." This irreconcilable difference of views created a strong feeling of

Lord Wellesley
and the Court
of Directors,
1803—5.

antipathy towards him at the India House, which, though mitigated for a time by the influence of Lord Castlereagh, broke out at length with irrepressible violence. His policy was denounced, his measures were thwarted, and his government was humiliated and weakened. For a time he manifested, as he said, "an invariable respect even for the errors of every branch of their authority," but this respect was at length extinguished by the virulence of their opposition, and in a moment of exasperation, he designated them the "cheesemongers of Leadenhall-street," an expression never forgiven. The India House accused him of "illegal appointments," of "evasions of the law," of "contempt of Parliament," and above all, of "a disdain of constituted authority," meaning the Court of Directors. He charged them with "vindictive profligacy," and "ignominious tyranny," and in writing to a ministerial friend said that "no additional outrage, injury, or insult which could issue from the most loathsome den in the India House would accelerate his departure from India, while the public interests seemed to require the aid of his services."

Cause and
effect of alarm
at the India
House, 1805.

The impartiality of history requires that great allowance should be made for the feelings of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors.

Parliament had thought fit to interdict all increase of territory, and even to forbid all alliances with the native princes, and the Directors fondly believed that under the shadow of this wise and prudent injunction, as they deemed it, they would be enabled to continue at peace with the native powers, and to pursue their mercantile enterprises, which they prized above all things, without interruption. But the present Governor-General, in utter defiance of the authority of Parliament, had been engaged in wars from Cape Comorin to the Sutlege, had broken the power of prince after prince, completed a gigantic revolution, and seated the Company on the throne of the Great Mogul, and invested it with the responsibility of governing one half and controlling the other

half of India. It was impossible that a body constituted like the East India Company should not take alarm at the audacity of his aspirations, and the vastness of his schemes, and forbode the certain loss of the country, through the resentment excited against British ambition in every province. Even Lord Wellesley's friend, Lord Castlereagh, questioned whether an empire founded on so broad a basis could be fed with its due proportion of British troops from England. He feared that the frame of the government had become too complicated and unwieldy for any other hands than those of Lord Wellesley, and, like the Directors, regarded with a feeling of consternation the vast extent of our dominions in India, and the ruinous consequences which seemed to be the inevitable result of it. The announcement of the war with Holkar filled up the measure of Lord Wellesley's delinquencies, and of the terror of the public authorities in England. Even before the news of Colonel Monson's retreat arrived, Mr. Charles Grant, the Corypheus of the Court of Directors, declared that he had "not only wantonly but criminally involved the Government in all the difficulties of another war with an able and powerful chieftain." Lord Castlereagh thought there could be no safety but in bringing back things to the state the Legislature had prescribed in 1793, in other words, in putting the clock back a dozen years. Sir George Barlow had been nominated provisional Governor-General at the special recommendation of Lord Wellesley, but at such a crisis it was deemed unsafe to entrust the destinies of the empire to one of his disciples. Lord Cornwallis was known to disapprove of Lord Wellesley's system of policy, and he was entreated to proceed to India and deliver the Company from its fatal effects, as he had been sent out twenty years before to rescue the British interests in India from the mischievous consequences of Hastings's plans. But before entering on his proceedings it is necessary to wind up the history of Lord Wellesley's career by a brief notice of the treatment he experienced on his return to England.

Prosecution of
Mr. Paull,
1806.

The mode in which the great services of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings had been requited in England forbade the hope that the brilliant administration of Lord Wellesley would escape the homage of censure. A Mr. Paull, who, on the testimony of General Wellesley, was originally a tailor, had gone out as an adventurer to India, and taken an investment of goods to Lucknow, where he was so fortunate as to obtain the countenance of the Nabob Vizier, and amassed a large fortune. On his return to India, after a short visit to England, the Nabob refused to admit him into the city, and it was only through the intercession of Lord Wellesley that the interdict was removed. Mr. Paull expressed unbounded gratitude to his benefactor, and professed the highest respect for his character. This feeling was not, however, of long duration. On his final return to England, in 1805, he bought a seat in Parliament, and on the 22nd May, 1806, brought forward "articles of charge of high crimes and misdemeanours committed by the Marquis of Wellesley in his transactions with respect to the Nabob of Oude." In the course of his speech he assured the House that, "from the accursed day when Lord Wellesley set foot in India till the day of his departure, he had exhibited a constant scene of rapacity, oppression, cruelty, and fraud, which goaded the whole country into a state of revolt." Mr. Paull then moved for papers relative to the transactions in Oude, in Furruckabad, and in Surat. The members of the Court of Directors who had seats in the House, while they disapproved of many of Lord Wellesley's measures, refused their support to so preposterous a charge; and Mr. Fox, then prime minister, declared that, since the trial of Mr. Hastings, he had shrunk from all Indian impeachments. The House, however, did not see fit to resist the production of evidence; but, after it had been taken on the first charge, a dissolution terminated all proceedings. At the ensuing election Mr. Paull stood for Westminster, and failed, and then put a period to his existence. Twenty months after, Lord Folkstone took up the thread of the prosecution, and

moved twelve resolutions, which charged Lord Wellesley with having, "under the impulse of unjustifiable ambition and love of power, formed schemes of aggrandisement and acquisition of territory, contravened two Acts of Parliament, violated every principle of good faith, equity and justice, and the sacred obligations of a solemn treaty, and affixed a lasting stigma and reproach on the British name." The resolutions were negatived by 182 to 31, after which Sir John Anstruther, who had been chief justice of Calcutta, moved a resolution to the effect that Lord Wellesley, in the late arrangements in Oude, had been actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and it was carried by a triumphant majority. Two months later, Sir Thomas Turton brought the Carnatic question before the House, and accused Lord Wellesley of atrocious delinquencies, and went so far as to hint that he was accessory to the death of the late Nabob. The resolution was indignantly rejected by the House, and a vote approving of Lord Wellesley's proceedings was carried, with only nineteen dissentient voices.

Conduct of the
Directors and
Proprietors,
1807.

Far different was the conduct of the Directors and Proprietors, among whom the feeling of animosity towards Lord Wellesley was still unabated.

Towards the close of his administration, the Court of Directors compiled a despatch, in which all the charges which could be raked up were elaborately set forth. It was the concentrated essence of the spirit of malignity which had been fermenting in Leadenhall-street for several years. The Board of Control judiciously substituted for it a brief letter asking for explanations in a tone of great moderation, and to it the Court of Directors were obliged to affix their signature. The Proprietors, however, ordered the original despatch to be printed, and a motion was brought forward in their Court impugning Lord Wellesley's policy, and applauding the Directors for having "restrained a lavish expenditure of public money, and opposed all schemes of conquest and extension of empire." After a long and acrimonious debate, 928 voted the condemnation of Lord Wellesley, and only 195 his acquittal. But, after the

lapse of thirty years, when passion and prejudice had given way to the voice of reason, the Court of Directors availed themselves of the publication of his dispatches, in five volumes, to assure him that in their judgment he had been animated throughout his administration "by an ardent zeal to promote the well-being of India, and to uphold the interest and honour of the British empire," and that they looked back to the eventful and brilliant period of his government with feelings common to their countrymen. They voted him a grant of £20,000, and ordered his statue to be placed in the India House, as a recognition of the great services he had rendered to the Company.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR GEORGE BARLOW, 1805—7.

Lord Cornwallis, 30th July, 1805.

LORD Cornwallis landed in Calcutta on the 30th July, 1805, and within twenty-four hours Lord

Wellesley had the mortification to learn that the system of policy which he had pursued for five years with indefatigable zeal, was to be immediately and entirely subverted. The incessant labours in which Lord Cornwallis had been engaged for thirty years in America, in India, and in Ireland, had exhausted his constitution, and those who had seen him embark in the vigour of health twelve years before, could not help remarking, with sorrow, that he now returned with the hand of death upon him. It would have been well if, at his advanced age, he had remained in England; but when he was importuned by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control to proceed to India and save the empire, he considered it an imperative duty to obey the call, at the sacrifice of his ease and comfort, and, probably, of his life. He came out to India, therefore, pledged to the public authorities in England to over-

turn the existing policy of Government, as far as related to the princes of India, and he affirmed that he could not consider himself at liberty to pursue any other course. It was his primary object, he said, to remove the impression universally entertained of a systematic design to establish British control over every power in India. He was anxious to restore the native Governments which had been subverted by the progress of our arms, and the ascendancy of our influence, to a condition of "vigour, efficiency, and independent interest." He was desirous of abandoning the position in upper India which had been secured by Lord Wellesley's successes, and to be quit of all our alliances and territories west of the Jumna. He lamented the almost universal phrenzy for victory and conquest which had, he said, seized even some of the heads which he thought the soundest, as repugnant to the interests as it was to the laws of their country,—yet Lord Wellesley and the public functionaries were equally ardent for an honourable peace. On the 1st August Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Court of Directors that finding we were still at war with Holkar, and could hardly be said to be at peace with Sindia, he had determined to proceed to the upper provinces, and avail himself of the interval of the rains, when military operations were suspended, "to endeavour, if it could be effected without a sacrifice of our honour, to terminate by negotiation a contest in which the most brilliant success could afford no solid benefit, and which, if it continued, would entail pecuniary difficulties we should hardly be able to surmount." He described the state of the finances as most deplorable, a fact which admitted of no denial. Two years of war had exhausted the treasury, and increased the public debt. Lord Lake's army was five months in arrears. The large body of "irregulars" who had been induced to forsake the native princes, and to take service with the Company, and who had thus contributed in no small degree to our successes, were no longer required, and the six lacs of rupees a-month they cost was felt to be a dead weight. Lord Wellesley had

His view of the
state of affairs,
1805.

already made some progress in disbanding them, but Lord Cornwallis declared that he would rather fight them than pay them. They could not, however, be discharged without their arrears, and he adopted a second time the expedient, the most unpalatable to the Company, of robbing their investments to supply the wants of the state. A sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees was, accordingly, taken out of the hold of the China ships at Madras, and sent on to Calcutta, "to give him the chance of getting rid of this force."

Lord Corn-
wallis's policy,
1805.

During his progress to the north-west provinces Lord Cornwallis defined the line of policy he intended to pursue in a despatch to Lord Lake, dated on the 19th of September. He proposed to restore to Holkar all the dominions of the family as soon as he should manifest a disposition to accede to reasonable terms of accommodation. He was prepared to conciliate Sindia by resigning Gohud and Gwalior, after a suitable provision had been made for the rana, as well as Dholpore and two other districts, accounting to him likewise for the revenues which had been collected during their occupancy by the Company's officers. If the demand for the release of the Resident was likely to prove any obstacle to a reconciliation, he was prepared, as a mere point of honour, to waive it. He was disposed to abrogate the treaty with Jeypore, and leave Sindia at liberty to exact whatever contributions he chose from the raja. He considered the possession of the city of Delhi and the person of the emperor a very unfortunate circumstance, as we could only secure him from the danger of being carried off by the maintenance of a large and expensive army. He proposed, therefore, to remove him, if practicable, to some town nearer Calcutta, and to restore the old capital of India to Sindia, with liberty again to establish the power of the Mahrattas in Hindostan. Lord Wellesley had fixed the Chumbul as their future boundary; and to guard against their encroachments had entered into defensive alliances with the princes to the north of that river. Lord Cornwallis resolved to

dissolve these alliances, and to compensate the princes for the loss of our protection by distributing among them the lands we had obtained to the west of the Jumna, which he considered a useless acquisition. He likewise addressed a letter to Sindia, with a sketch of the proposed arrangements, including a demand for the liberation of the Resident, and enclosed it to Lord Lake to be forwarded to his camp.

Lord Lake justly dreaded the effect of manifesting so eager a desire for peace, and took upon himself the responsibility of withholding the letter to Sindia, more especially as the Resident had in the meantime been unconditionally released. In his reply to the communication of the Governor-General he advanced the most cogent arguments against this new course of policy. It would, he argued, be highly detrimental to the interests of the Company to allow the influence and the armies of the Mahrattas to be again introduced into Hindostan. If the princes to whom we had promised our protection were abandoned, they would fall a prey to Sindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan, and large bodies of irregular troops thirsting for plunder would be planted on the frontier of our most fertile and opulent districts. Neither could we withdraw our protection from these princes, except on their own requisition, without a breach of public faith, and no offer of territory would induce them to relinquish this blessing, least of all, at a time when we were about to let loose the elements of anarchy and destruction in Central India. He observed that the Jumna, which the Governor-General proposed to make the boundary of the British dominions, was not a barrier of any importance, as, above its junction with the Chumbul, it was fordable in a variety of places except during a few weeks in the year, and would afford little protection from the incursions of an enemy.

Death of Lord
Cornwallis,
Oct. 5, 1805.

Before this letter could reach its destination Lord Cornwallis was in his grave. As he proceeded up the river his strength rapidly declined,

and in the last month of his existence he lay in a state of weakness approaching insensibility during the day, but rallied towards the evening, when he listened to the despatches and dictated replies. It was in this state of mental and physical debility that the memorable despatch of the 19th September, ordering a sudden revolution of policy in the Government of a great empire, was composed and signed. It may reasonably be doubted whether Lord Cornwallis was in a condition to comprehend the scope and consequences of the measures to which he gave the stamp of his authority. A week after, he was unconscious of what was passing around him. He was landed at Ghazee-pore, where he expired on the 5th October. His merits as a Governor-General have, doubtless, been over-rated, but it would be difficult to name a public character who more richly earned the esteem and confidence of society by his sterling integrity, his straightforward and manly character, and the spirit of justice and moderation which regulated all his actions. If he had been in the full vigour of his faculties, and had enjoyed an opportunity of intercourse with Lord Lake, he would have been able to form an estimate of the change which had taken place since he left the Government, and would have perceived the impossibility of steering the vessel of the state in 1805 by the almanack of 1793; and there is every reason to believe that he would have modified the measures he was now imprudently urging forward, under the impulse of the alarm which brought him to India. As the public authorities in England had sent out an old man of sixty-seven to govern India without making any provision for the contingency of his death, Sir George Barlow, of whom Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas—now Lord Melville—and Lord Castlereagh, had said a few months before that he was altogether “out of the question,” succeeded to the office of Governor-General, and proceeded to the upper provinces.

Sir George
Barlow, Govern-
or-General,
1805.

Sir George Barlow was a civil servant on the Bengal establishment, who had risen through the gradations of office by a meritorious service of

twenty-eight years, to a seat in Council. For many years he had been at the head of some of the most important departments of state and had acquired a fund of knowledge and experience superior to that of any other officer. He had been extolled for his official aptitude and industry by three successive Governors-General, and although the Ministry in England had wisely resolved never again to place any local official at the head of the Government, Lord Wellesley, with all his discernment, had actually obtained the reversion of the Governor-Generalship for him. But Sir George was simply a respectable, plodding, first-rate civilian, whose natural abilities eminently qualified him for a subordinate situation, but who possessed none of that patrician elevation of mind which was needed for the management of an empire. While he continued under the influence of Lord Wellesley's genius he cordially adopted and assisted in carrying out his comprehensive views, and became so closely identified with his policy that he lost the prospect of succeeding him when that policy was condemned. This significant fact was communicated to him by his earliest patron, Lord Cornwallis, and it may possibly have exercised some influence on his opinions, and led him, on the arrival of that nobleman, to become the unflinching advocate of the new and opposite policy which was now in the ascendant at the India House.

Sir George's
policy, 1805.

On the death of Lord Cornwallis it devolved on Sir George Barlow to reply to the letter of Lord Lake, and to notify the course which the Government, now in his hands, intended to adopt. He announced his resolution to follow the footsteps of his deceased predecessor, and to dissolve the alliances with the native princes, which he had assisted Lord Wellesley in establishing. His policy, as he described it, was "directed to the divesting ourselves of all right to the exercise of interference in the affairs of the native princes where we possessed it almost to an unlimited extent by treaty, and to the withdrawing from all concern whatever in the affairs of every state beyond the Jumna."

This course, he remarked, was "in conformity with the principles laid down by Parliament, with the orders of their honourable masters, and with his own convictions of expediency." As to the security of our territories, which Lord Wellesley intended to rest on the establishment of general tranquillity, under British supremacy, Sir George considered that it would be as effectually promoted by the prevalence of general anarchy beyond our frontier; and the revival of the mutual conflicts of the native princes, which had desolated the country for thirty years, but were now happily brought under control, was thus regarded as an object of complacency. It is difficult to believe that the British Government in India, even under the most timid administration, did ever deliberately contemplate the idea of allowing the native chiefs to tear one another to pieces that they might find no leisure to invade our territories; but the voice of honour and humanity is never heard in the delirium of a panic. This despicable policy was aptly described by Mr. Metcalfe, subsequently Governor-General himself, as "disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace without tranquillity."

Negotiations
with Sindia,
1805.

In the month of July, Lord Lake, with the full concurrence of Lord Wellesley, had addressed a letter to Sindia demanding the release of the Resident by a fixed day, on pain of hostilities. The requisition came at a very favourable season. The atrocities of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the inveterate enemy of the English, had constrained Sindia to discard him from the post of minister, and it was bestowed on Ambajee Inglija. He was favourable to a British alliance, and incensed against Holkar and Ameer Khan, who had recently tortured and plundered him, and he endeavoured, and not without success, to sow dissensions between them and Sindia. Sindia himself saw no farther benefit to be derived from any connection with these extortionate and predatory chiefs. He had a painful recollection of the field of Assye, and was anxious to avoid a second war with the Company; and to Lord Lake's requisition he replied

that the *rookout*, or friendly departure of the Resident was only delayed, according to usage, till the arrival of his successor. A fair opening was thus presented for negotiations; but the question of taking the initiative, on which, more especially in India, their success mainly depends, was the point of difficulty. Happily, it was discovered that the moon-shee Kavil-nyne, an old and favourite servant of Sindia, who had assisted in concluding the treaty of Sirjee Angongaom, but had been obliged to fly from the oppressions of Sirjee Rao, was at this time residing at Delhi. Colonel Malcolm invited him to the English camp, and it was concerted between them that one of his relatives who happened to be in the service of Sindia, should intimate to him the ease with which a negotiation could be opened with the General through Kavil-nyne. Sindia eagerly embraced the proposal, and was the first to make advances. Lord Lake thus occupied the vantage ground of receiving an overture, and replied that no proposal could be entertained while the Resident continued under restraint. He was accordingly permitted at once to take his departure, with suitable honours.

The negotiations were commenced without delay, but it was felt that any adverse turn of circumstances might interrupt their progress, and possibly throw Sindia back into opposition. Colonel Malcolm judged rightly that nothing would tend so much to facilitate such transactions as a display of military enterprize. Lord Lake had a noble army under his command, but his military chest was empty, and the financiers in Calcutta were very lukewarm about supplying it with funds. Colonel Malcolm was mortified to find "that they could not send Holkar to the devil for want of seven or eight lacs of rupees," and he set himself to raise the sum with all his natural ardour. He plied the native bankers, but we had lost ground in the money-market, and he could only raise a lac of rupees from them. He besieged the collectors' treasuries for bills on Calcutta. He prevailed on Government to sell the fortress of Deeg to the raja of Bhurt-

Equipment of
the army, Oct.
1805.

pore, from whom it was temporarily withheld, for the immediate payment of three lacs of rupees. By the beginning of October, the requisite sum was raised, and Lord Lake was enabled to take the field "in grand style," and to start in pursuit of Holkar. Colonel Malcolm felt that no place could be more advantageous for the discussion of a treaty than the encampment of a pursuing and successful general. The moonshee was, therefore, hurried along with the army, and resumed the thread of the negotiation, day by day, when the tents were pitched. The terms were at length adjusted, and sent to Sindia for his ratification. All the provisions of the treaty of Sirjee Angengom, which were not modified by the new arrangement, were to remain in force. Gohud and Gwalior were restored to him as a matter of friendship, on his engaging to assign three lacs of rupees from the revenues to the rana. Pensions, which had been granted to different officers of his court, were relinquished, and annuities were settled on himself, his wife, and his daughter. The Chumbul was to form the boundary of the two states, but the British Government engaged to enter into no treaties with the rajahs of Oodypore, Joudhpore, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindia, in Malwa, Mewar, or Marwar, and Sindia agreed never to admit Sirjee Rao into his counsels.

Pursuit of
Holkar, 1805.

Holkar and Ameer Khan quitted the encampment of Sindia, when they perceived a change in his policy favourable to the English alliance, and proceeded to Ajmere. Holkar, notwithstanding his reverses, still exhibited a vigorous and daring spirit. Northern India swarmed with military adventurers, the fragments of the armies which had been broken up by our victories, and the "irregulars" whom the British Government was discharging. Holkar was thus enabled to collect together a body of about 12,000 horse and 3,000 foot, with thirty not very serviceable guns, and he would speedily have become as formidable as at any former period if time had been allowed him to complete his levies. He solicited the raja of Jeypore to join his standard, but meeting with a stern refusal, pushed on to the north of

Delhi, giving out that he had been invited into that region by the Sikh chiefs of Sirhind. But the heavy contributions which his necessities obliged him to levy on his route, and the remonstrances of the Resident at Delhi deterred them from joining him. Lord Lake now started in pursuit of him, at the head of his cavalry, and a small body of light infantry; and a British army was for the first time conducted to the banks of the Sutlege by the same general who had been the first to cross the Jumna. But its progress was suddenly arrested by the repugnance which the sepoy, from some superstitious feeling, manifested to cross it. Colonel Malcolm, on hearing of their hesitation, galloped into their ranks, and with that singular tact which gave him the mastery of the native mind, exclaimed "the city and the shrine of Umritsir, with the water of immortality, is before you, and will you shrink from such a pilgrimage?" The words produced a magic effect, and the sepoy hastened across the stream and entered the Punjab, where Runjeet Sing, a young Sikh chieftain, of twenty-five, was laying the foundation of a great kingdom. Holkar fled as Lord Lake advanced, and had reached Umritsir, but Runjeet Sing was evidently averse to the further progress of a British army in his newly-conquered territories, and Lord Lake encamped on the banks of the Beas, the ancient Hyphasis, in the neighbourhood of the spot where Alexander the Great had erected altars to commemorate the extent of his conquests. In that classical region the ratification of the treaty by Sindia was received on the 25th December, and a double salute was fired in honour of the day and of the peace. Runjeet Sing is said to have visited the English camp in disguise, to examine the military organisation of the foreigners who in the course of fifty years had become masters of India. After a brief negotiation, he concluded an agreement with Lord Lake, engaging to hold no farther communication with Holkar, and to constrain him to evacuate the Punjab. Holkar, now a helpless fugitive, sent an envoy humbly to sue for peace, and Lord Lake presented him with the draft of a treaty drawn up under the

instructions of Sir George Barlow. All the family domains south of the Chumbul were to be restored to him; that river was to be his fixed boundary, and the British Government agreed not to interfere with any of the rajas or dependents of the Holkar family south of it. He was required to relinquish all right to Rampoor, and all claims on the state of Boondee; to entertain no Europeans in his service without the permission of Government, and to banish Sirjee Rao for ever from his presence. He was likewise to return to Hindostan by a prescribed route, and to abstain from injuring the territories either of the Company or of their allies.

Treaty with
Holkar, Jan.
1806.

To Holkar, whose fortunes were now desperate, and who had no alternative but to submit to any terms Lord Lake might choose to dictate, these proposals appeared a god-send. But the incredible lenity of the conditions, which confounded the minds of the native princes, only served to create a feeling of presumption in his breast, and to inflate him with the notion that the British Government could have been influenced only by a dread of his military prowess. His vakeels returned with a demand for eighteen districts in Hindostan, and additional jaygeers for his family in the Deccan, and liberty to levy contributions on Jeypore. But Colonel Malcolm replied that the British Government had already pledged its faith to the protection of the raja, and would not abandon him. "You have good reason for supporting him," retorted the envoys, "for he violated the sacred laws of hospitality in surrendering Vizier Ali, on your demand." Colonel Malcolm rejected all the demands and rebuked the impertinent taunt, which, however, served to show in what light that transaction was still viewed at the native courts. New difficulties and delays were studiously interposed, till Lord Lake's patience was exhausted, and he threatened to break up his camp and commence the pursuit of Holkar, when his vakeels at once produced the ratified treaty, and confessed that they were only endeavouring to gain credit with their master for their diplomatic tact.

Declaratory articles, 1806. Sir George Barlow, however, was not satisfied with the terms of either treaty. He considered that to fix the Chumbul as the boundary of the Mahratta dominions might be construed as a pledge to protect the native principalities lying to the north of it, and he was resolved, in obedience to the authorities in England, to dissolve all connection with them. While ratifying the treaties, therefore, he added declaratory articles, the effect of which was to withdraw our protection entirely from those states west of the Jumna, with whom alliances had been formed two years before. Rampoor, which Colonel Malcolm had positively refused to relinquish, was restored to Holkar, and he fired a royal salute on the occasion, declaring at the same time that the English were, nevertheless, "great rascals, and never to be trusted." The raja of Boondee was likewise left to his fate. Lord Lake made the most strenuous efforts to save that unfortunate prince. He had the strongest claims on the consideration, if not also on the gratitude of the Government. He had never failed in his attachment to the Company; regardless of the denunciations of Holkar, he had afforded shelter and aid to Colonel Monson during his retreat. His country, moreover, contained one of the most important passes into our northern provinces. Sir George turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance, and the raja was abandoned to the revenge and rapacity of Holkar.

Jeypore, 1806. The course pursued with regard to Jeypore was yet more disgraceful. The raja was among the foremost to enter the system of defensive alliances concluded by Lord Wellesley. But his fidelity was shaken by the apparent decay of our power, when Holkar was chasing Colonel Monson before him, and Lord Wellesley informed Lord Cornwallis that his defection on that occasion had cancelled his claims to our alliance. In the following year, Holkar entered his territories and demanded his aid against the Company, but Lord Lake informed him that he had now an opportunity of making atonement for his former disloyalty, and that the

boon of our protection would be restored to him if he resisted the advances of the Mahratta chief. Upon the strength of this promise, the raja not only obliged Holkar to quit his dominions, but afforded cordial and important aid to our detachments while passing through his districts in pursuit of him. Lord Cornwallis, who was the soul of honour, assured Lord Lake that any pledge which he had given to the raja should be considered sacred. But Sir George Barlow refused to recognise the obligation, and, at the time when Holkar was returning from the Punjab and entering the Jeypore territory, bent on plunder and revenge, caused it to be notified to the raja, that the British protection was withdrawn from him, in consequence of the breach of his engagements during Monson's retreat. We thus incurred the odium of having availed ourselves of the raja's services when they were of the highest value to us, and of abandoning him to destruction when we no longer needed them. It was in vain to attempt to reason with Sir George, and Lord Lake was subjected to the reproaches—the keener for their truth—of the raja's vakeels, who upbraided the British Government with having made its good faith subservient to its interests, and asserted that this was the first time it had abandoned an ally to suit its convenience. Indignant at the contempt with which his expostulations were treated, and the degradation of the national honour, and convinced, moreover, that he could not be a fit instrument for the execution of measures which he entirely disapproved of, Lord Lake, in the beginning of 1806, resigned the political powers which had been entrusted to him, and resolved to confine his attention to his military duties.

Aggressions
of Holkar,
1806.

The treaty with Holkar had stipulated that he should return to Hindostan by the route prescribed for him, and abstain from all aggression on the territories of the Company or its allies. But Lord Lake was in haste to return, and save Government the field expenses of his army, and, instead of directing Holkar to precede or accompany him, permitted him to remain behind. No

sooner did he find that the British army was fairly across the Sutlege, than he let loose his predatory bands on the Punjab and plundered the country without mercy. He proved himself, as Runjeet Sing said indignantly to the British envoy who visited his court four years later, a *pucka huraamzada*—a determined rascal. Holkar was fully aware that he had no longer Lord Wellesley to deal with, and there was no article of the treaty which he did not violate with the greatest effrontery. Passing through the province of Hurriana, which had been granted to Abdul Sumud as a reward for the eminent services he rendered to the Company, Holkar laid waste the lands and levied heavy contributions on the people. Abdul implored the interposition of the British Government, which Sir George Barlow refused, but promised to make him a pecuniary compensation for his losses. Holkar then halted for a month at Jeypore, and finding that the Governor-General had withdrawn his protection from the raja, extorted eighteen lacs of rupees from him. He then proceeded to wreak his vengeance on the raja of Boondee for the assistance which he had given Colonel Monson during his retreat.

Remarks on these transactions, 1806.

This disastrous termination of the Mahratta war planted the seeds of another and more momentous contest. The difference between the policy of Lord Wellesley and of his two immediate successors, was not the restoration of peace or the prosecution of war and conquest. When the career of Lord Wellesley was terminated by the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, nothing remained to secure the pacification of India but to complete the accommodation with Sindia, which was in rapid progress, and to extinguish the power of Holkar and Ameer Khan, who were then reduced to extremity. If Lord Wellesley had continued five months longer in power, India would have been blessed with peace and tranquillity. The policy of the Court of Directors brought peace to the Company, but distraction to India, and the wisdom of Lord Wellesley's measures was lamentably vindicated by the twelve years of anarchy which followed

the rejection of it. By abandoning all the defensive alliances which had been made, and enjoining a neutral and isolated policy, the Directors endeavoured to check the advance of the British Government to supreme authority in India. But this attempt to control the inevitable progress of events proved not only abortive, but disastrous. It afforded an opportunity for the growth and maturity of a new predatory power, that of the Pindarees, who, after having exhausted the provinces of Central India, poured down on the British territories, and rendered it necessary, in self-defence, to assemble an army of more than 100,000 men to extirpate them. That which it fell to the lot of Lord Hastings to accomplish for the settlement of India in 1817, might have been effected with greater ease, and at a less cost, by Lord Wellesley's plans in 1805.

Career of Holkar, 1806-11.

To continue the brief career of Holkar to its close. After his return to his own dominions he addressed letters to the other Mahratta princes exhorting them to form a national league against the common enemy, but Lord Wellesley had so effectually paralyzed their power as to leave them little inclination to respond to the call. Holkar determined to reorganise his army, to reduce its numbers, and improve its discipline. But the cavalry he had enlisted in the south, whom he proposed in the first instance to discharge, broke into open mutiny, and he was obliged to deliver his nephew, Khundeh Rao, into their hands as a hostage for their arrears. They immediately hoisted the standard of revolt, threw off their allegiance to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and proclaimed the lad their sovereign. To appease them, he delivered up the sums he had extorted from Jeypore, on the receipt of which they marched back to their homes. Within a week, the unfortunate child, in whose name the government had hitherto been carried on, was removed by poison, under the instigation of Holkar's *gooroo*, or spiritual guide, the infamous Chimna Bhao, who soon after became the instrument of murdering Kashee Rao, the brother of his prince, and the only re-

maining member of the royal house. The remorse of this double murder preyed on the spirits of Holkar, and he began to exhibit a degree of excitement in his conduct bordering on insanity. He had determined to increase and improve his artillery, and he laboured in person at the furnaces casting cannon with a wild impetuosity. He gave himself up to unbounded indulgence. The shops at Bombay were ransacked for cherry brandy, and intemperance began to undermine his reason. His phrenzy rose eventually to such a pitch as to endanger the lives of his attendants, and his own officers seized him and confined him with ropes in a separate tent, under a guard, where he uttered the loudest objurgations, and tore his flesh with his nails. The most skilful doctors and the most renowned magicians were called in, but their prescriptions and incantations were equally without avail. After a

Death of Jes-
wunt Rao Hol-
kar, 1811.

year of raging insanity he sunk into a state of fatuity, and expired on the 20th October, 1811.

During the period of his incapacity the government of the state was carried on by his favourite concubine, Toolsee bye, and his minister, Buluram Sett, whom we now leave in charge of the administration.

Rajpootana—
contest for a
princess, 1806.

The withdrawal of British protection from the territory west of the Jumna, left the fertile provinces of Rajpootana at the mercy of the Mahrattas and the Patans. The princes, instead of uniting their strength against the enemies of their peace, wasted it for several years against each other in a conflict, which, though tinged with a ray of romance, entailed incalculable misery on their people. The contest was for the hand of Krishnu Koomaree, the beautiful daughter of the rana of Oodypore. An alliance with that ancient and illustrious house—"the sun of Hindoo glory"—was considered the highest honour to which a Rajpoot prince could aspire, and the princess was considered the "flower" of Rajpootana. She had been betrothed to Bheem Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, but his death broke off the match, upon which Juggut Sing, the raja of Jeypore, solicited her hand,

and being accepted as her bridegroom sent a splendid escort to conduct her to his capital. But Maun Sing, who had succeeded Bheem Sing as the raja of Joudhpore, was advised to demand the princess, on the ground that the alliance was contracted with the throne rather than with its occupant, and attacked and routed the convoy. The raja of Jeypore was incensed at the insult thus offered him, and collected an army of more than 100,000 men to avenge it. It was a motley assembly of Patans, Rajpoots, and Mahrattas. Ameer Khan, whose fortunes were reduced to so low an ebb when the treaty was made with Holkar in the Punjab that he was on the point of flying to Afganistan, had returned to Hindostan, and collected a large force, with which he joined the raja of Jeypore. Two of Sindia's commanders were likewise sent to espouse his cause; and Sevae Sing, a powerful Joudhpore noble, who had proclaimed a posthumous child of Bheem Sing the rightful heir of the throne, in opposition to Maun Sing whom he held in detestation, likewise joined his enemies. There were few of the Rajpoot chiefs who were not ranged under either flag. In the great battle which ensued, in February, 1807, Maun Sing was deserted by his nobles and sustained a total defeat. He fled from the field to the citadel of his capital, which he defended with great gallantry for many months, while his country was devastated by the enemy. To relieve himself from this scourge, he made overtures to Ameer Khan, who had no interest in reducing any of the Rajpoot states to destruction, and thus depriving himself of the prospect of plundering them in succession. The Patan, therefore, on the promise of fifty lacs of rupees a-year and a jaygeer of four lacs for his kitchen expenses, deserted the cause of the Jeypore raja, and that prince, in addition to the loss of a hundred and twenty lacs of rupees, which the war and his allies had cost him, now found his territories ravaged without mercy by his own ally. The fortunes of Maun Sing were thus retrieved; but he could not consider himself secure while Sevae Sing lived, and Ameer Khan agreed to effect his de-

struction for an additional sum of ten lacs. He paid him a visit at Nagore, his chief town, pretending to have deserted the cause of Maun Sing, and took an oath on the Koran as a pledge of his sincerity. Sevae Sing, suspecting no treachery, accepted an invitation to an entertainment; but while he was amused with dancing girls, the ropes of the tent were cut, he and his followers were entangled in its folds, and indiscriminately slaughtered by musketry and grape shot.

The raja of Oodypore had taken no part in the war of which his daughter was the innocent cause, but he was, nevertheless, subjected to plunder by Sindia and Ameer Khan, who were constrained to resort to rapine to subsist the armies which they persisted in maintaining on a scale beyond their resources. Wherever the Mahratta or the Patan encamped, a single day was sufficient to give the most flourishing spot the aspect of a desert, and their march was traced by the blaze of villages and the havoc of cultivation. In his extremity the rana applied to the British Government for protection, offering to make over one-half his territories for the defence of the other. Zalim Sing, the renowned regent of Kotah, together with the rival princes of Jeypore and Joudhpore, earnestly joined in this solicitation. There had always, they said, been in India some supreme power to which the weak looked for protection against the ambition and the rapacity of the strong. The Company had now succeeded to this paramount sovereignty, and were bound to fulfil the duties attached to it. The Mahrattas and the Patans, who were now spreading desolation from the Sutlege to the Nerbudda, were utterly unable to offer any opposition to the British arms, and the Governor-General had only to speak the word and peace and tranquillity would be restored. These facts could not be controverted, but such interference was known to be foreign to the existing policy of the India House. The Court of Directors, however, when reviewing the conduct of Sir George Barlow towards Jeypore, appeared to experience some slight touch

Rajpoot Princes
and the British
Government,
1809.

of compunction for the desertion of the raja, but they satisfied their consciences with an idle lecture on "the necessity of taking care, in all the transactions of Government with the native princes, to preserve its character for fidelity to its allies from falling into disrepute, and to evince a strict regard to the principles of justice and generosity." The sincerity of these professions would have been less liable to mistrust if they had been accompanied by a change of policy; but the Court distinctly repudiated the idea of taking the raja under their protection at the risk of a war. From the British Government there was, therefore, no prospect of relief for the wretched states of Rajpootana, and the raja of Oodypore was obliged to come to a compromise with Ameer Khan, and to assign him one-fourth of his dominions to preserve the remainder from rapine. He was likewise subjected to the indignity, which no prince in India could feel so acutely as he did, of exchanging turbans, as a token of friendship and equality, with the Patan freebooter. That unscrupulous chief took advantage of the ascendancy he had thus acquired at Oodypore to perpetrate one of the foulest murders ever known, even in that land of violence. He suggested to the rana that the only means of quenching the feuds which distracted Rajpootana on account of his daughter, was to put her to death, and he threatened to carry her off by force to Maun Sing if his advice was not followed. Under the influence of an infamous favourite, Ajit Sing, one of his nobles, the father consented to become the executioner of his child. His own sister, Chand bye, presented the poisoned bowl with her own hands to the young and lovely princess, then in her sixteenth year, and urged her in the name of her father to save the honour of the house of Oodypore by the sacrifice of her life. She meekly bowed her head, and exclaimed, "This is the marriage to which I was foredoomed," and drank off three successive doses, sending up a prayer to heaven with her last breath for the life and prosperity of her father. The news of this tragedy was

Death of the
princess of
Oodypore,
1810.

no sooner spread through the capital than loud lamentations burst from every quarter, mingled with execrations on the wretched father and his atrocious adviser. One of the great nobles, on hearing that the deed was in contemplation, galloped to the capital in haste to prevent it, but finding that he was too late, unbuckled his sword and shield, and placing them at the feet of the rana, said, "My ancestors have served yours for thirty generations, but never more shall these arms be used in your service."

Affairs of Hy- This narrative has carried us beyond the period
derabad, 1806-7. of Sir George Barlow's administration, to which we now return. The greatest blot in his policy was the abandonment of Malwa and Rajpootana to anarchy and desolation. On the other hand, he deserves great credit for the resolution with which he maintained the peace of the Deccan, in opposition to the principle of non-intervention. Meer Allum, the able minister of the Nizam, had become obnoxious to his weak master by his steady support of the British alliance, and was threatened with assassination, and obliged to take refuge in the British residency. The Nizam then proceeded to open negotiations with Holkar and Sindia, and to assemble troops on his frontier, and manifested every disposition to dissolve his connection with the Company. Sir George felt that "there was no alternative but either to abandon the alliance altogether, or to make an effort to replace it on a just and proper foundation by a direct and decided interposition . . . but, the dissolution of the alliance would subvert the very foundations of British power and ascendancy in the political scale in India, and become the signal and the instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations." He felt that we could not abandon our influence or our power at Hyderabad without finding the ground occupied by our enemies, the result of which would be universal "agitation, and distrust, and turbulence and expense." He did not therefore hesitate to discard the doctrine of neutrality. The Nizam was ordered to restore Meer Allum to the office of

minister, to banish from his counsels all who were hostile to the British alliance, and to submit to the more direct interference of the Resident in the management of his affairs.

Affairs at
Poona, 1806.

The Court of Directors continued to view the treaty of Bassein on the same narrow grounds on which they were at first led to object to it, as the source of multiplied embarrassments. They considered that their government might be relieved from these difficulties if they could withdraw from all interference in Mahratta politics, and leave the Peshwa to resume his position as the head of the Mahratta commonwealth. Sir George Barlow resisted with equal steadiness every proposal to modify the treaty, and had the courage to state that, while he desired to manifest every attention to their wishes, he felt that there was a higher obligation imposed on him, that of maintaining the supremacy of the British rule, which would be compromised by any alteration of the policy established at Poona. It had been affirmed that such a course would be most agreeable to the Mahratta powers, to which he replied with truth that to withdraw from the position we occupied there would be gratifying to the Mahrattas in exact proportion as it afforded them the hope of subverting our authority and supplied the means of prosecuting designs hostile to British interests. The Peshwa advanced claims on the independent chiefs of Bundlekund, from many of whom he claimed *chout*; as the head of the Mahratta empire, he insisted on his share of the contributions which Holkar and Sindia were levying in Rajpootana, and he requested permission to appoint a representative in Hindostan; in other words, to revive the influence and power of which he had been deprived by the treaty of Bassein. But Sir George Barlow refused to admit any of these pretensions, and determined to maintain, in undiminished vigour, the ascendancy which Lord Wellesley had established in the counsels of Poona.

State of the
finances, 1806.

The state of the finances called for Sir George Barlow's early attention. From the first establishment of the British Government in India, all its financial diffi-

culties had arisen out of the wars in which it was involved. There was no elasticity in a revenue derived almost exclusively from the land, and it became necessary to have recourse to loans whenever the expenditure was found to exceed the income. On the return of peace and the removal of the military pressure, the finances had always, with one exception, resumed their spring. The extensive military operations of Lord Wellesley's administration had necessarily augmented the public debt, but this pecuniary strain, though manifestly of a temporary character, brought on one of the intermittent fevers of alarm at the India House, and large and comprehensive views of policy were needlessly sacrificed to obtain immediate relief. It appears to have been entirely overlooked that our wars in India had always been marked by this peculiarity, that they terminated in an accession of territory and revenue, which served to balance whatever incumbrance they had entailed. Thus, the increase to the debt during Lord Wellesley's administration was eight crores and a half of rupees, while the permanent increase of annual revenue was not less than seven crores. The Indian debt has seldom exceeded the income of two years; and this rule of proportion appears indeed to be the normal condition of Indian finance. In the year preceding the arrival of Lord Wellesley the revenue was eight crores, the debt seventeen. At the close of his administration the former had increased to fifteen crores and a half, and the latter to thirty-one. After the lapse of sixty years, the relative proportion remains without alteration. In the present year the revenues of the empire are forty-five crores, and the debt is ninety-two crores. By the cessation of the war and the reduction of the military charges, Sir George was enabled to reduce the annual expenditure, and within two years the deficit was converted into a surplus, which remained steady, with occasional variations, for twenty years, till the first Burmese war again depressed the scale.

Supersession of Sir George Barlow, 1806. The great zeal manifested by Sir George Barlow in carrying out the views of the India House, re-

commended him to the Directors as the fittest successor of Lord Cornwallis, the news of whose death reached England at the end of January, 1806. The death of Mr. Pitt, and the dissolution of his ministry had just introduced the Whigs to power, after an exclusion of more than twenty years. Within twenty-four hours of their accession to office they were called on to make provision for the exercise of the full powers of the Governor-General, and Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Control, agreed, as a temporary measure, to the nomination of Sir George Barlow. His commission was accordingly made out and signed in February, 1806, but only ten days after, the Ministry informed the Court of Directors that they had selected Lord Lauderdale for that office. They passed a high encomium on Sir George Barlow, but his policy was not in accordance with the views of some of the leading members of the new Cabinet. Lord Grenville, more especially, considered the administration of Lord Wellesley the most splendid and glorious that India had ever seen, and he vigorously opposed the appointment, as his successor, of one whose chief merit, in the opinion of the Court of Directors, consisted in a determination to reverse his measures. The Directors strenuously resisted the appointment of Lord Lauderdale, not only as an abrupt and contemptuous rejection of their favourite, but also on personal grounds. He had been a warm admirer of the French revolution, and during the height of its mania had dropped his ancient and noble title, and assumed a costume symbolical of Jacobinism. These follies had passed, but the Court did not forget that he had also been a zealous advocate of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and, more recently, of Lord Wellesley's doctrine of free trade with India, which was considered a pestilent heresy in Leadenhall-street. The Act of 1784 had vested in the Crown the right of vacating any appointment in India under the sign manual, and without the consent of the Court of Directors. The Ministry now, for the first time, brought it into exercise, and retaliated on them by a warrant cancelling the commission of Sir George Barlow. The discussion between

the Board of Control and the India House was carried on for many weeks, with great warmth, inasmuch as it not only involved the immediate question of Lord Lauderdale's appointment, but the more important point connected with the interpretation of the Act of 1784, of the general right of nomination to the office of Governor-General. In such a contest the ministers of the Crown, being the stronger party, could not fail to triumph, and the difference was accommodated by the appointment of Lord Minto.

The Vellore
Mutiny, 1806.

In the month of July, the Government was astounded by a portentous event, unprecedented in its annals—the massacre of European officers and soldiers by the sepoys at Vellore. This fortress, situated eighty-eight miles west of Madras, and only forty miles from the frontier of Mysore, had been selected, contrary to the wiser judgment of the Court of Directors, for the residence of Tippoo's family, and was speedily filled with eighteen hundred of their adherents and three thousand Mysoreans. The princes were treated with the usual liberality of the British Government, and were subjected to little personal restraint. The European troops in the garrison consisted of about 370, and the sepoys amounted to 1,500. One of the native regiments was composed of Mysore Mahomedans, many of whom had been in the service of Tippoo. At three in the morning of the 10th July, the sepoys rose in rebellion, and having secured the main guard and the powder magazine, suddenly assaulted the European barracks. They had not the courage to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but poured in upon them volley after volley through the venetians, till eighty-two had been killed and ninety-one wounded. Parties of sepoys then proceeded to the residences of the officers, of whom thirteen fell victims to their treachery. During the massacre, an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace of the Mysore princes, many of whose followers were conspicuous in the assault. Provisions were also sent out to the sepoys, and the royal ensign of Mysore was hoisted on

the flag-staff amidst the shouts of a large crowd. The remaining Europeans, though destitute of ammunition, maintained their position under cover of a gateway and a bastion, till they were rescued by Colonel Gellispie. He was in garrison at Arcot, eight miles distant, and, on hearing of the outbreak, started without a moment's delay with a portion of the 19th Dragoons, and arrived in time to save the survivors. The gate was blown open with his galloper guns, and his men rushed in and obtained possession of the fort. Between three and four hundred of the mutineers were put to death, many were taken prisoners, and the remainder escaped by dropping from the walls.

Cause of the Mutiny, 1806. The searching investigation which was immediately made, clearly revealed the cause of the mutiny. The new Commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, soon after his arrival, had obtained permission from the Governor in Council, Lord William Bentinck, to codify the voluminous regulations of the military department, on the condition that no rules should be added to those in force without the express sanction of Government. The code on its completion was submitted to the Governor, and received his sanction, as a matter of form, but several innovations had been introduced by the Adjutant-General, of which no intimation was given to him. The sepoy, for instance, were forbidden to appear on parade with earrings, or any distinctive marks of caste, and they were required to shave the chin, and to trim the moustache after a particular model. These unnecessary orders were sufficiently vexatious, but it was the new form prescribed for the turban, which gave the sepoy the greatest offence, because it was said to bear a resemblance to a European hat. Orientals consider the head dress an object of particular importance, and cling to the national fashion with great tenacity. The Turk, who does not object to a European coat, trousers, and boots, will not relinquish the cap of his nation. The Parsee readily adopts a European costume, but retains his own distinguishing head-dress. Even the Hindoo, who apes European fashions, shrinks from

the use of the hat, which among Asiatics is an object of instinctive abhorrence. In the present case, this feeling was aggravated by a report industriously circulated in the native army by the Mahomedans who led the movement, that it was the precursor of an attempt to force Christianity on the sepoy. Of all the Presidencies that of Madras had been the most officious in patronising the religions of the country. Forgetting the duty due to their own creed, and to the consistency of their own characters, the Madras functionaries had been in the habit of firing royal salutes on the birthdays of the gods, of constraining their own Christian servants to make offerings at different shrines in the name of the Company, and of employing the police to impress the poor ryots to drag the cars of the idols. At the same time, the ministrations of Christianity were so completely neglected, as to lead the natives to believe that their European conquerors were without a religion. But all these humiliating concessions to native prejudices did not secure the Government from the suspicion of a design to destroy the religion of the people, and to force a foreign faith upon them. A spirit of deep disaffection was diffused through the army, which was diligently fomented by the intrigues of the Tippoo family, who upbraided the sepoy with the badge of the infidel creed, which they were already obliged to wear. It was this family, to whom we had generously, but unwisely, given the large pecuniary resources now turned against us, which applied the torch to the mine which the Government had unconsciously laid. The exasperated sepoy were thus led on to rebellion and massacre. The same feeling of dissatisfaction was also manifested by the troops at Hyderabad, but it was extinguished by the judicious proceedings of the Resident and Colonel Montresor. The members of Tippoo's family were removed without loss of time to Calcutta, and their pensions were not curtailed, notwithstanding their complicity in these treasons and murders.

Recal of Lord
William Bentinck,
1806.

The Court of Directors were overwhelmed by the news of this mutiny, and in that spirit of

vindictiveness which the excess of terror inspires recalled Lord William Bentinck and the Commander-in-chief within a week after the intelligence reached them, before they had received a single line of explanation from either of them. On his return to England, Lord William presented a memorial to the Honourable Court in vindication of his character and proceedings. "I have," he said, "been removed from my situation, and condemned as an accomplice in measures with which I had no farther concern than to obviate their evil consequences. My dismissal was effected in a manner harsh and mortifying; and the form which custom has prescribed to soften the severity of a misfortune, at all times sufficiently severe, have in this single instance been violated as if for the express purpose of deepening my disgrace I have been severely injured in my character and my feelings. For these injuries I ask reparation, if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world." The Court endeavoured to soothe his feelings while they attempted to vindicate the propriety of his recall. They bore testimony to "the uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, respect for the system of the Company, and, in many instances, success, with which he had acted in the Government—but, as the misfortunes which happened under his administration placed his fate under the government of public events and opinions which the Court could not control, so it was not in their power to alter the effect of them." The Court little dreamt that in this vain attempt to apologize for their conduct towards him, they were unwittingly shadowing forth their own doom, and the occasion of it. Half a century later, another, and a far more appalling, mutiny broke out in India, for which the East India Company was no more to blame than Lord William Bentinck was for the Vellore mutiny, but—to use the language of the Court,—“as the misfortune happened under their administration, and placed their fate under the government of public events and opinions which the Ministry could not control,”

they were deposed from the Government of the great empire they had built up, and of their magnificent house in Leaden-hall-street not one stone was left upon another.

Temple of
Jugunnath,
1806.

The province of Cuttack acquired in 1803, was attached to the Presidency of Bengal, and the question of dealing with the temple of Jugunnath was forced upon the Supreme Council. Lord Wellesley refused to connect it with his government, but Sir George Barlow determined to assume the management of the establishment to the minutest item, not excluding the three hundred dancing girls, and an army of pilgrim hunters. The pilgrim tax was revived to cover these charges, and the balance was carried to the credit of the Company, as Sir George deemed such a tax a legitimate source of revenue. It is due to the Court of Directors to state that they were opposed to this anomalous and degrading job, but they were overruled by the Board of Control. It was for many years the subject of a bitter contention between the Government of India and those who were anxious to maintain the consistency of our religious character. Under the pressure of public opinion, the tax was at length repealed; and some time after, Lord Dalhousie had the courage to restore the management of the temple, and of the lands which had once belonged to it, to its legitimate guardians, the priesthood of Pooree.

Propagation of
Christianity in
India, 1806.

Far different, however, was the course pursued by Sir George Barlow regarding the diffusion of Christian truth in India, to which we now turn. The first Portuguese settlers had no sooner acquired a political footing in India than they began, in the spirit of the sixteenth century, to persecute the Pagans. They sent to India some of the most able and zealous of their ecclesiastics, of whom St. Francis Xavier was the most illustrious, under whose instructions, though not without some degree of compulsion, a large Roman Catholic community was formed on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. At the beginning of the eighteenth century several German Protestant missionaries proceeded to

the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, a hundred and sixty miles south of Madras, under the patronage of the King of Denmark. They were followed by a succession of earnest men, and, among others, by the celebrated Swartz, who was held in honour both by Christians and Hindoos. By their zealous exertions a numerous body of converts was collected on the Coromandel coast. In 1793 Mr. William Carey proceeded to Bengal to establish a Christian mission, and laboured with much devotedness, but little success, for seven years in the district of Malda. In 1799 two other missionaries, Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, went out to his assistance. As they were, however, without a licence from the India House, they were ordered to quit the country the day after their arrival, but obtained an asylum at the Danish settlement of Serampore, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and were received under the protection of the Danish crown. Mr. Carey then removed to Serampore, and he and his colleagues established a fraternity which, under the title of the Serampore Missionaries, has attained a historical importance. They opened the first schools for the gratuitous education of native children. They set up printing presses, and prepared founts of types in various Indian languages. They compiled grammars of the Bengalee, Sanscrit, and other languages, into which they likewise translated the Sacred Scriptures. They cultivated the Bengalee language with great assiduity, and published the first works which had ever appeared in it, and thus laid the foundation of a vernacular literature. Their names will long continue to be held in grateful remembrance as the pioneers of civilization in Hindostan, to which they devoted their resources and their lives, at a time when the moral and intellectual improvement of the people was an object of profound indifference to the British Government. They, and the converted natives who had joined their establishment, itinerated through the districts of Bengal, and met with no small measure of success in preaching the doctrines of Christianity.

The Serampore
Missionaries,
1800.

Opposition of
Government,
1806.

Their missionary labours were, however, viewed by the Company in England and the Company's servants in India with great mistrust and jealousy. All previous conquerors, the Hindoos, the Boodhists, and the Mahomedans, had identified their religion with their policy, and supported it with the whole weight of their political and military power, and subjected those who professed a different creed to severe persecution. The English were the first conquerors who left their native subjects the unrestricted exercise of their own religion; partly, from that principle of religious toleration which had always distinguished the East India Company, but, chiefly, from the apprehension that an opposite course might rouse a fanatic opposition to their rule, and expose it to danger. It was under the impulse of this morbid feeling of dread that the Court of Directors set their faces sternly against all missionary efforts. They were thus placed in the false position of hostility to their own creed, which, among a people of strong religious sensibilities like the Hindoos, was calculated to create a feeling of contempt, or, what was worse, a dangerous suspicion that so unnatural a procedure must be intended to conceal some sinister design. The mutiny at Vellore was traced to an interference with the religious prejudices of the sepoy, and under the panic which it created, Sir George Barlow considered it necessary for the security of the Company's interests in Bengal, to put a stop to the labours of the Serampore Missionaries, lest the natives should regard them as an interference with their religion. He was not in a mood to reflect that it is only when the agency of the state is employed to enforce a change of religion that there is either disaffection or danger; that the natives of the country had been accustomed for centuries to religious discussions and conversions, and that during the seven years in which the Serampore Missionaries had been labouring in Bengal, the Hindoos who had become Musulmans greatly outnumbered those who had embraced Christianity, and, without creating any alarm. The missionaries themselves were convinced that

the truths of the Gospel would only be embraced in sincerity when they were placed before the country separate from all political influences. They, therefore, repudiated all aid from the state, and deprecated the intrusion of the public authorities into their province. But their labours were at once and peremptorily interdicted. They prudently bent to the storm, the Vellore panic died out, and the restrictions laid on them were quietly removed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION, 1807-1810.

Lord Minto's administration, 1807. LORD Minto, who was appointed Governor-General in 1806, was a well-trained politician, and had been engaged for many years in the management of public affairs. He was one of the managers appointed by the House of Commons to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings; and the prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey was especially committed to his charge. The interest he had taken in India pointed him out to his Whig colleagues when they came into power, as the fittest member of their body for the post of President of the Board of Control, and the twelve months he passed at the head of that office gave him an enlarged comprehension of Indian questions. He was an accomplished scholar, distinguished above his predecessors by his urbanity, a statesman of clear perceptions and sound judgment, mild and moderate in his views, yet without any deficiency of firmness. He was accepted by the Court of Directors as their Governor-General on the understanding that he should eschew the policy of Lord Wellesley, which was still the great object of terror in Leadenhall-street, and tread in the footsteps of Lord Cornwallis. After his arrival in Calcutta he facetiously observed that when taking leave of

the Chairman and his deputy at the India House and asking their final instructions, there seemed to be only two points on which they felt any anxiety—the importance of adhering most scrupulously to the policy of non-interference, and of controlling the consumption of penknives, which appeared by the latest indent to be growing extravagant. On reaching Madras he found himself called upon, as his first act of government, to determine the fate of the Vellore mutineers. Seventeen of the ringleaders had been executed by sentence of court-martial, but six hundred yet awaited their doom. Great difficulty had been felt in obtaining evidence of individual guilt. The excitement and animosity created by the mutiny had, moreover, subsided; the confidence of the army had been restored, and the officers ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows. Lord William Bentinck advised the adoption of a mild course; the Commander-in-chief advocated a severe example. The Supreme Government, to whom the matter was referred, ordered the whole party to be transported beyond sea, which, to Hindoos, would have been a penalty worse than death. Lord Minto adopted the more generous and lenient counsel of Lord William Bentinck, and ordered that they should be dismissed the service, and declared incapable of ever re-entering it.

**Bundlekund—
Anarchy of
the province,
1807--1812.**

On his arrival in Calcutta, the early attention of Lord Minto was drawn to the state of anarchy into which the feeble policy of his predecessor had plunged the province of Bundlekund. By the treaty of Bassein the Peshwa had ceded to the Company for the support of the subsidiary force districts in the southern Mahratta country and near Surat, yielding twenty-six lacs of rupees a-year. A twelvemonth after they were exchanged for districts in Bundlekund, and the transfer was considered mutually beneficial. The lands in the Deccan were isolated from the Company's dominions, and the defence and management of them would have proved both troublesome and expensive, while they abutted on the Peshwa's territories. The

districts in Bundlekund were more handy for the British Government, while the Peshwa's authority in them was nominal, and they yielded him no revenue. The exchange, which received the high sanction of General Wellesley, was effected in a supplementary treaty of December, 1803. The province, however, was a prey to anarchy. It was overrun with innumerable military adventurers, who gained a subsistence by plunder, and who were necessarily opposed to any form of settled government. A hundred and fifty castles were held by as many chieftains, and they were incessantly at feud with each other. The inhabitants, a bold and independent race, were disgusted with the stringency of our judicial and fiscal system, and deserted their villages, and too often joined the banditti. Two forts, Calinger and Ajygur, universally considered impregnable, were held by chiefs who owed all their power to rapine and violence, and headed the opposition to the British authorities. Lord Lake assured the Government in Calcutta that the peace of the province could never be maintained without obtaining possession of these fortresses, which might be effected by a vigorous effort in a single campaign; but Sir George Barlow replied that "a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a more contracted circle." The sacrifice was made, but the tranquillity and security were more distant than ever. The chiefs who had seized the forts were left in possession of them, and sunnuds, or deeds, were granted to them and to some of the most notorious leaders of the freebooters, recognizing their right to the lands they had usurped, upon a vague promise of allegiance. Due respect was likewise paid to the principle of non-interference, by allowing them to decide their disputes by the sword, and this fair province, endowed with the richest gifts of nature, was turned into a desert.

Lord Minto's
vigorous policy,
1807.

Within five weeks after Lord Minto had assumed the Government, he adopted the resolution.

that "it was essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundlekund, but to the dignity and reputation of the British Government to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder." The whole policy of the state was at once changed, and it was announced throughout the province that Government was determined to enforce obedience to its authority. The numerous rajas, who had hitherto treated with contempt the maudlin advice of the commissioner, hastened to make their submission when they found the Governor-General in earnest, and agreed at once to refer their disputes to the decision of British officers. But it was found impossible to extirpate the banditti which infested the country, while they could obtain shelter in the great fortresses; a military force was, therefore, sent to reduce them, and Ajygur was surrendered after a breach had been made in the walls. But one military adventurer, Gopal Sing, by his astonishing skill, activity, and resolution, aided by the natural advantages of a country filled with fastnesses, contrived to evade the British troops in a series of desultory and harassing movements, for a period of four years. He offered his submission at length, on condition of receiving a full pardon and a provision for his family, and the Government, weary of a conflict which appeared to be interminable, granted him a jaygeer of eighteen villages. The last fortress to submit was the renowned Calinger, which had baffled the efforts of Mahmood of Ghizni, eight centuries before. It was likewise in the siege of this fort that Shere Shah was killed, in 1545, and the Peshwa's representative, Ali Bahadoor, had recently besieged it in vain for two years. It was surrendered after an arduous siege, in which the British force was, on one occasion, repulsed with the loss of 150 in killed and wounded. The peace and happiness of Bundlekund were restored, to be soon, alas, destroyed again by one of the Company's *pucka*, or unscrupulous collectors, who rack-rented the province, and blighted its prosperity as effectively as the freebooters had done before him.

Career of
Runjeet Sing,
1780—1808.

The difficulty of maintaining the practice of non-intervention was still more clearly demonstrated before Lord Minto had been a twelve-month in office, in reference to the proceedings of Runjeet Sing, whose career now claims attention. On the retirement of the Abdalee from India after the battle of Paniput, the affairs of the Punjab fell into confusion, and the half military half religious community of the Sikhs, who had been oppressed by all the successive rulers of the country, had an opportunity of gradually enlarging and consolidating their power. This country, lying in the track of every invader, from Alexander the Great to Ahmed Shah Abdalee, and which had been subject to greater vicissitudes and a more frequent change of masters than any other Indian province, was now in the hands of the Sikhs. Their commonwealth was divided into fraternities, termed *misils*, the chief of each of which was the leader in war, and the arbiter in time of peace. Of these clans, twelve were deemed the foremost in rank. Churut Sing, the head of one of the least considerable, had commenced a course of encroachments on his neighbours, which was carried on by his son, Maha Sing. He died in 1792, leaving an only son, Runjeet Sing, who at the early age of seventeen entered upon that career of ambition and aggrandisement, which, by a rare combination of cunning and audacity, resulted in the establishment of a power as great as that of Sevajee or Hyder. He acquired great credit for his prowess when, in 1799, Zemaun Shah entered the Punjab, which was still considered as an appendage of the crown of Cabul. Runjeet Sing had the discretion to aid him in moving his guns across the Jhelum, and was rewarded by the important grant of the town of Lahore, which was the capital of the country even before the Mahomedans crossed the Indus, and had always been associated with the supreme authority in the province. From 1803 to 1806, Runjeet Sing was diligently employed in extending his authority over the different fraternities and chiefs in the Punjab. In 1806, the

course of his conquests brought him down to the banks of the Sutlege, and he cast a wishful eye on the plains beyond it.

The Sikh States of Sirhind, 1807. Between the Sutlege and the Jumna lay the province of Sirhind, occupied by about twenty independent Sikh principalities, of greater or less extent, the most considerable of which was Putteeala, with a revenue of about twenty laes of rupees a-year, and a population of a million and a quarter. The chiefs had been obliged to bend to the authority of Sindia, which General Perron had extended to the vicinity of the Sutlege, but two of them, Kythul and Jheend, had rendered important services to Lord Lake in the campaigns of 1803 and 1805, and were recompensed with large grants of land. As the British power had now superseded that of the Mahrattas in this region, these petty princes offered their submission and fealty to it, and, although there were no mutual engagements in writing, considered themselves under the suzerainty of the Company, and entitled to their protection. The ambition of Runjeet Sing, which had as yet received no check, led him to contemplate the annexation of these states, and the extension of his dominions to the banks of the Jumna. He proceeded with his usual caution. A sharp dispute had arisen between the chiefs of Putteeala and Naba, and the raja of Naba invoked the interposition of Runjeet Sing, who crossed the Sutlege with a large body of horse, and dictated terms of reconciliation. No notice was taken of this encroachment by the Resident at Delhi, and Runjeet Sing flattered himself that he had no opposition to apprehend from the Company's officers. In 1807, the raja of Putteeala and his wife were again at variance regarding a settlement for her son; Runjeet Sing was called in, and crossed the Sutlege a second time. He decreed an allowance of 50,000 rupees a-year to the boy, and received as a token of gratitude a valuable diamond necklace, and, what he valued still more, a celebrated brass gun. On his way home, he levied contributions on some of the petty chiefs, seized their forts and lands, and carried off all their cannon to augment his own artillery, which

was at this time the great object of his desire. These successive inroads filled the Sikh chiefs of Sirhind with alarm, and a formal deputation proceeded to Delhi, in March, 1808, to implore the protection of the British Government, whose vassals, they said, they had always considered themselves since the extinction of Sindia's power; but the encouragement they received was not so decisive as they expected. Runjeet Sing, anxious to discover the views of the British Government in reference to this appeal, addressed a letter to the Governor-General, stating his wish to remain on friendly terms with the Company, but adding, "the country on this side the Jumna, excepting the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority; let it remain so." This bold demand of the province of Sirhind by Runjeet Sing, as a matter of right, brought directly before Lord Minto, the important question whether, in obedience to the non-interference policy of the Court of Directors, an energetic and aspiring chief, who had, in the course of ten years, erected a large kingdom upon the ruin of a dozen princes, should be allowed to plant his army, composed of the finest soldiery in India, within a few miles of our own frontier. The solution of this point could not brook delay; there was no time for consulting the Court, and Lord Minto boldly determined to take on himself the responsibility of extending British protection to the Sikh chiefs, and shutting up Runjeet Sing in the Punjab.

Foreign Alliances, 1808.

It had been the policy of the Court of Directors for many years to discourage all alliances with the princes of India, but, at this juncture, they were driven by the irresistible current of circumstances to seek alliances beyond its frontier, for the protection of their interests. The treaty of Tilsit, concluded between the emperor of Russia and Napoleon, was supposed to include certain secret articles which had reference to extensive schemes of conquest in the east. More especially was it believed to provide facilities for the gratification of Napoleon's views on the British power in India. To anticipate these designs, it was resolved to block up his path

to India by endeavouring to contract defensive alliances with the princes whose territories lay on the route, and to dispatch missions to Persia, Afghanistan, and Lahore.

Embassy to
Runjeet Sing,
1808. Mr. Charles Metcalfe, a young civilian, who had been trained up in the school of Lord Wellesley, and, indeed, under his own eye, was selected for the Punjab embassy. The task assigned him was one of no ordinary difficulty: on the one hand, he was to frustrate Runjeet Sing's favourite project of extending his dominion across the Sutlege, on the other, to conciliate his co-operation in opposing the approach of a French army from the west. Runjeet Sing received the mission with coldness and suspicion. His personal bearing towards the envoy was discourteous, all intercourse between the camps was interdicted, supplies were refused, and the bankers were incited to refuse to cash his bills, while his messengers were waylaid and his letters opened. But he was resolved to allow no hostile conduct on the part of Runjeet Sing to damp his ardour, or turn him aside from his object. When at length he had obtained an opportunity of explaining the object of his mission, the Sikh cabinet intimated that the alliance appeared to be one in which the British rather than the Punjab Government was interested, and that as it was intended to benefit the Company, it ought also to include some advantage for the Punjab. They did not object to the proposed treaty, but it must recognise the sovereignty of Runjeet Sing over all the Sikh states on both sides the Sutlege. Mr. Metcalfe replied that he had no instructions to make this concession; but, while the negotiation was in progress, Runjeet Sing broke up his encampment at Kusoor, and crossed the Sutlege a third time, and for three months swept through the districts of Sirhind, plundering the chiefs, and compelling them, with the exception only of Putteala and Thanesur, to acknowledge his authority. The British mission was dragged in his train, but Mr. Metcalfe felt that his presence seemed to give countenance to these aggressions, as Runjeet Sing intended it should, and after proceeding several

stages, refused to advance farther, and eventually encamped at Umritsir, to await the return of the Lahore ruler.

Lord Minto, finding Runjeet Sing still bent on Bunjeet ordered to retire, 1803. the subjugation of Sirhind, determined to lose no further time in arresting his progress, if necessary, by force of arms. By this time, moreover, Napoleon was entangled in the affairs of Spain, and the idea of an invasion of India, if it had ever ripened into a design, was abandoned. All anxiety for these foreign alliances was removed, and Lord Minto, having no longer anything to ask of Runjeet Sing, was enabled to assume a higher and more authoritative tone. The Commander-in-chief, then in the north-west, was directed to hold an army in readiness to march down to the Sutlege, and a letter was addressed to Runjeet Sing, telling him in firm and dignified language that by the issue of the war with the Mahrattas, the Company had succeeded to the power and the rights they had exercised in the north of Hindostan. The Sikh states of Sirhind were now, therefore, under the protection of the British Government, and would be maintained in all their integrity; the Maharaja must consequently restore all the districts of which he had taken possession during his late incursion, and confine his military operations in future to the right bank of the Sutlege. Runjeet Sing, on the termination of his expedition to Sirhind, hastened back to Umritsir to exchange the toils of the camp for the enjoyments of the harem. Like Hyder Ali, he was the slave of sensual indulgence when his mind was not absorbed in the excitement of war. On the evening of his arrival, Mr. Metcalfe waited on him to present the letter of the Governor-General, but he exclaimed that "the evening was to be devoted to mirth and pleasure," and called for the dancing girls, and then for the strong potations to which he was accustomed, and before midnight was totally incapacitated for business. The communication from Calcutta remained for several days without acknowledgment, and, as it afterwards appeared, even without perusal. On the 12th December, Mr. Metcalfe transmitted

him a note, repeating the statements contained in the Governor-General's letter, pressing the demands of Government on his attention, and pointing out the danger of refusing to accede to them, stating, however, that the British Government was anxious to maintain the most amicable relations with him. This letter, which seems to have given him the first monition of the hazard he was incurring of a serious collision with British power, staggered his mind, and brought him to reflection. Other perils had also beset him. At Umritsir, his favourite Mahomedan mistress had caused a Hindoo to be circumcised. That holy city, the Benares of the Punjab, was thrown into a state of religious frenzy; all the shops were closed, and the priests threatened to excommunicate any who should venture to open them. Runjeet Sing, terrified by this storm of fanaticism, escaped to Lahore, but was pursued by the devotees and brahmins, who sat *dhurna* at his palace gate. This practice consisted in sitting night and day, fasting and praying, at the gate of the victim, till the demand was granted. If persisted in, it might involve the death of a brahmin, and it was therefore generally successful. So effective is this mode of intimidation, that it has been found necessary to prohibit it, under severe penalties by a special Regulation.

Mr. Metcalfe's
firmness, 1809.

Runjeet Sing contrived to pacify the priesthood and laity of Umritsir, but continued from day to day to evade any explanation with Mr. Metcalfe, who peremptorily demanded an audience on the 22nd December, and announced to him that a British force was on the point of advancing to the Sutlege, which would sweep his garrisons from Sirhind. He bore the communication for some moments with apparent composure, but unable, at length, to control his feelings any longer, rushed out of the room, mounted his horse, and galloped about the courtyard for some time with frantic vehemence, followed by his body guard, while his ministers continued the conference with Mr. Metcalfe. It would be tedious to detail the various interviews which took place between them and Mr. Metcalfe for two months, or the constant

attempts which were made to overbear or to overreach him, or the endless postponements and delays of this oriental court. Mr. Metcalfe was proof against all cajolery, and continued with invincible firmness to insist on the restoration of all the conquests which Runjeet Sing had made on his late incursion. It was a bitter pill for him to swallow, but he was constrained in the end to submit. In all the range of British Indian history there are few incidents to be found more remarkable than the arrest of this young and haughty prince, in the full career of ambition and victory, by the mandate of a youth of twenty-four. Runjeet's lingering reluctance to relinquish his conquests was effectually removed by the arrival of Colonel Ochterlony with a British army on the banks of the Sutlege, and the issue of a proclamation declaring the states lying between that river and the Jumna under British protection.

Treaty with
Runjeet, 1809.

On the 25th April, 1809, a treaty was concluded at Umritsir to "establish perpetual amity between the British Government and the State of Lahore." It provided that the British Government should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the raja north of the Sutlege; and that the raja should not commit any encroachments, or suffer any to be committed on the possessions or rights of the chiefs under British protection south of it. The treaty, which consists of only fifteen lines, is one of the shortest on our records, and is, perhaps, the only one which was never infringed. Runjeet Sing subsequently became the most formidable native power in India, and organised an army under European officers, which, after his decease, shook the British empire to its foundation, but for thirty years, up to the period of his death, he maintained the "perpetual amity" with scrupulous fidelity. Colonel Ochterlony, on withdrawing the army from the province left a garrison in Loodiana, and that fort became our frontier station in the north-west; and thus the British standard, which Lord Wellesley had planted on the Jumna, was six years after erected by Lord Minto on the banks of the Sutlege.

Embassy to
Cabul, 1808.

The embassy sent to Cabul to form a defensive alliance against a French invasion, was fitted out on a scale of magnificence intended to impress the Afghans with an idea of the power and majesty of the Company, and it was entrusted to Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, one of the Wellesley school of Indian statesmen. The ruler of Afghanistan, Shah Soojah, the brother of Zemaun Shah, held his court at Peshawur, which the envoy reached on the 5th March, 1809. His reception was marked with the greatest courtesy, but the ministers did not fail to observe that the object of the mission was to promote the interests of the Company rather than those of Afghanistan. They had nothing to dread from the arrival of the French, and desired to know what benefit the Governor-General intended to bestow on them for preventing the passage of a French army through their passes; they were anxious, moreover, to ascertain what arguments or allurements the French had to offer, before they committed themselves. It appears unaccountable that the members of the Supreme Council in Calcutta, thoroughly acquainted as they were with the oriental character, should have fitted out a costly and pompous embassy to a native court to solicit an alliance, without proposing any reciprocal benefit. But, while the negotiations were pending, the expedition which Shah Soojah had imprudently sent to Cashmere to regain possession of that province, was entirely defeated. His brother Mahmood took advantage of this disaster to seize Cabul and Candahar, and to threaten Peshawur. Shah Soojah, whose army was annihilated, and whose treasury was empty, earnestly solicited pecuniary aid from the British Government, and Mr. Elphinstone strongly recommended a grant of ten lacs of rupees. As all Afghan soldiers are mercenaries, this sum would have brought a sufficient number of adherents to his standard to restore and consolidate his power. But the dread of a French invasion had died out, and it was no longer deemed important to conciliate the ruler who held the "gate of India," as Cabul was then deemed. The request was refused, and the embassy recalled. It is no

improbable conclusion that if this aid of ten lacs of rupees had been granted to Shah Soojah in this emergency, and he had thereby been enabled to maintain himself in Afghanistan, the Company would have been spared the fifteen hundred lacs of rupees which were wasted, thirty years after, in the abortive attempt to restore him permanently to his throne, and enable him to keep the "gate" shut against the Russians, who were supposed to be knocking at it. Shah Soojah, however, gave his consent to a treaty stipulating that any attempt of the French to advance through Afghanistan should be opposed, at the cost of the Company's treasury; but when it arrived with the ratification of the Governor-General on the 9th June, 1810, there was neither king nor ambassador to receive it. Shah Soojah was totally defeated by his rival, and fled across the Indus, and Mr. Elphinstone was returning to Hindostan; and of this expensive embassy there remained no other result but the noble history of it compiled by the envoy, which gave Europe the first authentic description of the region rendered memorable by the achievements of Alexander the Great.

Affairs of
Persia, 1808.

The third embassy to counteract the supposed projects of Napoleon was sent to the court of Persia. At the commencement of 1806, the king of Persia wantonly involved himself in a war with Russia, which proved highly disastrous, and ended in depriving him of several of his valuable provinces. In his exigency he applied to the government of Calcutta, and, on the strength of the treaty concluded by Colonel Malcolm in 1800, demanded aid against the encroachments of Russia. But England was in alliance with the emperor, and the assistance was necessarily refused, on which the king made application to Napoleon, who eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent General Gardanne as his envoy to Teheran, which he reached in December, 1807, with a large military suite. He was also accompanied by a body of engineer and artillery officers, some of whom were dispersed over the country, to investigate its re-

French em-
bassy, 1807.

sources and to make professional surveys, while others were employed in drilling the Persian levies, and introducing the system of European tactics and discipline. A treaty was speedily concluded, which provided that the Emperor should regain from Russia, and restore to Persia, Georgia and other frontier provinces which had been alienated; that any French army marching through Persia towards India should be supplied with provisions and joined by a Persian force; that the island of Karrack should be ceded to France; and that, if the emperor desired it, all Englishmen should be excluded from the king's dominions. The English Ministry, who considered the French embassy the advanced guard of a French army, determined to counteract these hostile designs, and to plant an ambassador at Teheran as the representative of the Crown, the Company, however, bearing all the expense of the mission. Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Minto, before he left England, earnestly recommended Colonel Malcolm for this duty, for which he was preeminently qualified by his skill in oriental diplomacy, his knowledge of the Asiatic character, and, more especially, by the popularity he had formerly acquired at the Persian court. But the Court of Directors could not forget the lavish expenditure of his mission in 1800, amounting to seventeen lacs of rupees, and there were little minds among them who could not forgive his being a disciple of Lord Wellesley. Mr. Harford Jones, who had resided forty years at Bushire, first as a merchant, and then as the British consul, was selected for the post, created a baronet, and directed to proceed to Persia by way of Petersburg, where he was to concert measures of co-operation with the emperor of Russia. Meanwhile, came the defeat of the Russians at Friedland, the peace of Tilsit, and the alliance of the two emperors. Sir Harford was therefore directed to proceed direct to Bombay, where he arrived in April, 1808.

Sir Harford
Jones's mission
to Persia, 1807.

Col. Malcolm's
mission and its
failure, 1808.

This appointment was made by the Ministry of
of which Lord Minto was a member, and while he

himself presided at the Board of Control. He was not ignorant that after the despatch of a French minister by the emperor Napoleon, the Cabinet considered it necessary, that the British minister should appear at the Persian court as the representative of the Crown, and not of the Company. But, on his arrival in Calcutta, Lord Minto considered that "the separation which there was reason to apprehend between Great Britain and Russia" released him from the restrictions thus imposed on him by the policy which the Cabinet had adopted regarding the Persian mission. He resolved therefore to despatch Colonel Malcolm to the court of Persia to represent the Indian Government, and directed Sir Harford Jones to remain at Bombay till the result of the new mission could be known. On landing in Persia, Colonel Malcolm determined to approach the throne "with the language, not of supplication, but of temperate remonstrance and offended friendship." Forgetting that the influence of the French at Teheran was supreme, and that they were feeding the king with hopes of deliverance from the grasp of Russia, presuming, also, on the ascendancy he had acquired in his former mission, Colonel Malcolm assumed a dictatorial tone in his communications with the court. He despatched one of his assistants to the capital, but on his arrival at Shiraz he was forbidden to advance farther, and Colonel Malcolm was directed to place himself in communication with the viceroy of the province, the king's son. Considering the authority then exercised by the French embassy at the Persian court, the king might have been expected to order the English minister peremptorily to quit his dominions, rather than permit him to enter into negotiations with his son. But Colonel Malcolm, instead of making any allowance for the king's position, or waiting for a turn in the tide of events, took umbrage at this message, precipitately abandoned the mission, and embarked with his suite for Calcutta. The intelligence of this disappointment reached Lord Minto on the 12th August, and he immediately wrote to Sir Harford Jones, removing the interdict on his movements, and

leaving him at liberty to prosecute the mission which the Crown had entrusted to him.

Military expedi-
tion to Persia,
August, 1808.

Ten days after the despatch of this letter, Colonel Malcolm landed in Calcutta, breathing vengeance against the Persian court for the fancied indignity inflicted on him. He readily persuaded Lord Minto and the Council that the only effectual mode of defeating the influence, or, as he called it, the intrigue, of the French at Teheran, was to make a military demonstration. Arrangements were immediately made for the despatch of a large force under the direction of Colonel Malcolm, to the Persian coast to occupy Karrack, an island in the Persian Gulf, thirty-three miles from the port of Bushire, which, in the glowing anticipations of Colonel Malcolm, was to become the emporium of commerce—though it contained no port—the seat of political negotiations, and the pivot from which we were to overawe Persia, Arabia, and Turkey. At the same time, a second letter was sent to Sir Harford Jones, dated seventeen days after the first, forbidding him to quit Bombay, but he had embarked for Persia two days before it arrived. Lord Minto then despatched a third letter to him in Persia, announcing the military expedition, and commanding him to return forthwith to India. This communication did not, however, reach him before he had commenced negotiations with the Persian ministers at Shiraz, and their minds were filled with such indignation and alarm, on learning its contents, that Sir Harford deemed it necessary to appease them by assuming, as the representative of the Crown, an authority independent of the Governor-General, and giving them the solemn pledge that no aggression whatever should be committed on the Persian territories, as long as the king manifested a disposition to cultivate friendly relations with England. He then prosecuted his journey to the capital which he reached in February, 1809. As soon as the report of these transactions reached Calcutta, Lord Minto addressed a letter to the king of Persia, disavowing the authority and

the proceedings of Sir Harford; and he likewise directed the envoy pre-emptorily to leave the country, threatening to dishonour his bills if he disobeyed the order. But in the meantime the object of the mission had been successfully accomplished. The union of interests which had been established between Russia and France deprived the Persian monarch of all hope of any aid from Napoleon for the recovery of the provinces he had lost. The proposals of the British minister were readily accepted; the French embassy was dismissed, the Persian envoy at Paris was recalled, and a Persian ambassador was sent to London in company with Mr. Morier. A preliminary treaty was concluded, the salient points of which were that any treaty made with other European powers should be considered as void, that no force commanded by Europeans should be permitted to march through Persia towards India, and that if any European army invaded the Persian territory, the British Government should afford the aid of a military force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy, which, after long discussions, was eventually fixed at twelve lacs of rupees a-year. Lord Minto felt that Sir Harford had authentic credentials for his mission, and that the national faith was pledged by his engagements; the treaty was accordingly ratified by the Government of India. The unwise project of a military expedition adopted under the influence of Colonel Malcolm's irritated feelings, and which, if it had been carried out, would have entailed an intolerable expenditure, and wounded the pride of the king and his people, was discreetly abandoned. The Persian mission was thus brought to a conclusion, and Colonel Malcolm returned to Madras.

Second mission
of Colonel
Malcolm, 1809.

Lord Minto, however, felt that the rank and estimation of the Government of India had been compromised, within the sphere of its influence, by the mission of Sir Harford Jones from the Crown, and that it was necessary to restore it to the eminence it had previously enjoyed. He considered it among the first of

his duties "to transmit to his successor the powers, prerogatives, and dignities of the Indian empire, in its relations with surrounding nations, as entire and unsullied as they were confided to his hands." Under this impression he entreated Colonel Malcolm "to go and lift the Company's Government once more to its own height, and to the station that belonged to it." Another embassy was fitted out in the most costly style to eclipse that of the Crown, with no other object than to establish the prestige of the East India Company in Asia, which the Crown was deemed to have impaired by taking the conduct of Persian diplomacy into its own hands. It was a most extraordinary mission for a most extraordinary purpose. Colonel Malcolm, whose genial humour and princely presents had made a very agreeable impression on the court eight years before, was welcomed with enthusiasm as he passed through the country to the royal presence. But in that presence was the ambassador of the Crown, whom the Government of India had thought fit to treat with the greatest contumely, disavowing his authority, dishonouring his bills, and sparing no pains to "blacken his face in the eyes of the Persian court." If he manifested any personal feeling at the unworthy treatment he had received, there are few who will not be prepared to condone it; and no one with a touch of loyal sentiment will censure him for the effort he made, at this difficult crisis, to uphold the dignity of the sovereign he was deputed to represent, against the pretensions of one who was only the delegate of an inferior authority, and who had no business at all at Teheran. There was every prospect of an unseemly and dangerous collision. The Persian courtiers were by no means distressed to find two rival ambassadors of the same nation contending for their favours, and they were preparing to play off the one against the other, in the hope of a golden shower of presents. But the good sense of Sir Harford and Colonel Malcolm gradually smoothed down all asperities, and it was not long before they agreed to unite their efforts to baffle the intrigues and the cupidity of the court. Colonel

Malcolm was received with open arms by the king, who considered him the first of Englishmen. "What induced you," said he at the first interview, "to hasten away from Shiraz, without seeing my son?" "How could I," replied the Colonel, with his ever ready tact, "after having been warmed with the sunshine of your majesty's favour, be satisfied with the mere reflection of that refulgence in the person of your son?" "Mahsalla!" exclaimed the monarch, "Malcolm sahib is himself again." But this agreeable communion was speedily interrupted by despatches from England, announcing the determination of the Ministry to supersede both Sir Harford Jones and Colonel Malcolm by an ambassador from England. Sir Gore Ouseley had acquired the confidence of Lord Wellesley by the great talents he exhibited when in a private station at the court of Lucknow, and upon his recommendation was appointed to Teheran as the representative of the king of England. The relations with the Persian court have from that period been retained by the ministers of the Crown in their own hands—a measure, which if judged by its general results, has not been successful, except, perhaps, when they have selected officers from the Indian service for the post. To manifest his esteem for Colonel Malcolm, the king instituted a new order of knighthood, that of the Lion and the Sun, and bestowed the first decoration on him. His mission, which cost twenty-two lacs of rupees, was beneficial only in developing the talents of the able assistants who accompanied him, Pottinger, Ellis, Briggs, Lindsay, and Macdonald, all of whom rose to distinction. The expenses of Sir Harford Jones were also imposed on the Company's treasury, and the two embassies did not cost them less than thirty-eight lacs.

Ameer Khan's
attack on Nag-
pore, 1809.

To return to events in India. It has been already noted that Lord Minto had felt it necessary to repudiate the policy of non-interference in the case of the Sikh chiefs of Sirhind, and to take them under the protection of the British Government against the encroachments of Runjeet Sing. Within four months of the signature

of the treaty with that prince, another occasion arose to test the propriety of maintaining this principle. In 1809, the adventurer Ameer Khan had reached the zenith of his power. In the course of ten years he had gradually created a principality, which yielded a revenue of about fifteen lacs of rupees a-year. He was the recognised chief of the Patans, who had for several centuries played an important part in the revolutions of Hindostan, and his adherents were anxiously looking forward to the fulfilment of the prediction of a holy mendicant that he was destined to found a new Patan dynasty at Delhi. But he had not the genius of Sevajee, or Hyder, or Runjeet Sing, or indeed any aspirations beyond those of a predatory chief. His army was too great for his resources, and, having drained the chiefs of Rajpootana, he was obliged to seek for plunder in more remote provinces. He determined to select the raja of Nagpore for his victim, and a pretext was not long to seek. Holkar, for whom he professed to act during his insanity, had been despoiled, as he stated, of some valuable jewels twelve years before, when, on seeking refuge with the raja, he was thrown into confinement at the instigation of Sindia. These jewels were now claimed, but the raja treated the demand with the contempt it deserved. Ameer Khan was, however, resolved to enforce it, and poured down across the Nerbudda with an army of 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindarees, and on his march to Nagpore sacked the town of Jubulpore. The raja was only an ally of the Company, and not entitled to claim its protection, but Lord Minto did not hesitate to affirm that "there could be but one solution of the question, whether an interfering and ambitious Mussulman chief, at the head of a numerous army, irresistible by any power except that of the Company, should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the raja's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of the Nizam—likewise a Mahomedan—with whom projects might be formed . . . inimical to our interests." The raja had not so much as solicited our aid, though he was happy to welcome it when he found that he was not expected to pay

for it, but two armies were ordered into the field for the defence of his territories, from which Amcer Khan was required to withdraw. In the name of Holkar he protested against the injustice of this interference, and appealed to the treaty concluded by Sir George Barlow, which bound the British Government not to interfere in his affairs. The argument might be unanswerable, but it no longer carried any weight.

But while the British troops were on their march, Sadik Ali, the commander of the Nagpore army, repulsed Ameer Khan and obliged him to retreat to Bhopal. There he recruited his force, and re-assembled the Pindarees, whom he had been obliged to dismiss during the rains, and advanced into the Nagpore territories, but was a second time defeated by the troops of the raja, a considerable body of whom is said to have consisted of Sikhs. He returned a third time to the conflict, and blockaded the Nagpore army in Chouragur, while his Pindarees spread desolation through the surrounding districts. But the British divisions were now closing upon him, and, under the pretence of an earnest request for his services by Toolsee-bye, the regent of the Holkar state, he withdrew with his army to Indore. Colonel Close took possession of his capital and his territories, and the extinction of his power appeared inevitable, when the British troops were unexpectedly recalled. He was allowed to recover his strength, and Central India was left for seven years longer at his mercy, because Lord Minto was apprehensive that the further prosecution of hostilities, after Nagpore had been effectually protected from his aggressions, might lead to complications displeasing to the Court of Directors. But the tide was beginning to turn at the India House against this neutral policy. In reviewing

these transactions, the Court of Directors expressed their approbation of the conduct of Lord Minto, but veiled it under the sophism that "as it was a measure of defensive policy, it could not be deemed a violation of the law, or a disobedience of the orders prohibiting interference in the disputes of foreign states;" as if interference for

Defeat of
Ameer Khan,
1809.

New policy at
the India
House, 1811.

the protection of Jeypore and Boondee did not equally come within the category of a "defensive policy." The Court went further, and questioned the propriety of the moderation which Lord Minto had exhibited towards Ameer Khan. "We are not satisfied," they said, "with the expediency of abstaining from disabling any power against whom we may have been compelled to take up arms from renewing his aggressions;" at the same time, they strongly advised the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty with the raja of Nagpore, though it would have involved the necessity of protecting him against all opponents, and extended the circle of those defensive alliances which had been reprobated six years before. But when this despatch reached Calcutta Lord Minto was in Java, and when he returned he found himself superseded in the Government.

Sir George
Barlow at Ma-
dras, 1807-10.

Sir George Barlow, who had been appointed to succeed Lord William Bentinck in the Government of Madras, proceeded to that Presidency on the arrival of Lord Minto. During the twenty months in which he filled the office of Governor-General he had disgusted society by his cold and repulsive manners, and the absence of all genial and generous feeling in the intercourse of life. He was never able to obtain that deference and respect, or to exercise that personal influence which is so important to the efficient administration of public affairs. The duties of retrenchment, at all times invidious, which devolved on him, were performed in the most ungracious manner. He manifested on all occasions a lofty sense of his official dignity, and exacted a stern and implicit obedience to his will. But that which was regarded in the case of Lord Wellesley as the natural absolutism of a great mind, was in Sir George Barlow resented as the vulgar despotism of power. The feeling of personal aversion which pervaded the community was heightened by a contempt of his abilities. At Madras, he became unpopular by isolating himself in a small circle of officials and confidants, and his administration has been described, and not unjustly, as a "season of unprecedented private misery, and unexampled peril and alarm."

Case of
Mr. Sherson,
1808.

The first occasion of offence arose from his unjust proceedings against Mr. Sherson, a civil servant deservedly held in high estimation. He was superintendent of the stores of rice laid in by the Government of Madras against the periodical famines on that coast. A charge of fraud had been brought against him, which was under investigation when Sir George Barlow entered on the Government. His accounts were submitted to the scrutiny of the civil auditor and pronounced correct, but as they did not happen to tally with the native accounts kept in the office, the new Governor removed both the auditor and Mr. Sherson from their situations. A prosecution was likewise commenced against Mr. Sherson in the Supreme Court, which ended in his honourable acquittal. The Court of Directors condemned these proceedings without reserve, restored Mr. Sherson to the service, and compensated him for his loss by a donation of 70,000 rupees.

The Carnatic
Commission,
1808.

Sir George Barlow incurred still greater obloquy by his proceedings in reference to the Carnatic Commission, appointed by Act of Parliament to investigate the debts of the nabob, for which the Company became responsible when they took over the Carnatic. The claims on the nabob amounted to the gigantic sum of thirty crores of rupees, of which the validity of less than a tenth was eventually substantiated. But the bonds were considered negotiable securities, and many of them, though originally fraudulent, had been honestly purchased, and the whole community of Madras, not excepting the officers of Government, was deeply interested in the enquiry. To secure impartiality, the Commissioners were selected from the Bengal Civil Service, and they had just opened their court when Sir George Barlow took his seat at the Council board. They appointed one Reddy Rao, who had been an accountant in the finance office of the late nabob, as their confidential adviser. A bond which he held came up for examination; its validity was impeached by a native, named Papia, but the Commissioners pronounced it genuine, and resolved to prosecute Papia's witnesses for

perjury. He anticipated this movement by charging Reddy Rao before a magistrate with forgery, and he was committed for trial. The Commissioners appealed to the Governor for support, and he ordered the Advocate-General to defend the case. The legitimacy of such a proceeding cannot be controverted; but the mere appearance of a public officer, in his official capacity, in connection with the investigation of claims which Government was interested in disallowing, created a feeling of indignation and dismay among the creditors, European and native, inasmuch as it could scarcely fail to deter timid natives from coming forward to give evidence. This feeling was intensely aggravated when the Governor, in a spirit which was considered vindictive, dismissed the magistrate who had committed Reddy Rao, expelled from the country Mr. Parry, a merchant, who had manifested opposition to the Commissioners, and banished Mr. Roebuck, a civilian of long standing, for his share in the proceedings, to a remote post of inferior rank and emolument, where he died soon after. Three actions were brought in the Supreme Court in reference to this transaction; and Reddy Rao was convicted by the jury of forgery, but recommended to the favourable notice of the Crown by the judge of the Supreme Court, on the ground of his innocence. He received a pardon, as a matter of course, but before it could reach India he had terminated his existence by swallowing poison; and it was discovered after his death that the bond was spurious, and that he was deeply implicated in all the villainies of the Carnatic bonds.

The Madras
Mutiny, 1809.

These undignified proceedings affected the reputation and the strength of the Madras Government, but the mutiny of the European officers of the army which was to be attributed in a great measure to the same violent and arbitrary spirit, threatened its very existence. Thrice in the course of less than half a century had the Company's Government been shaken to its foundation by the sedition of its European officers. The mutiny of 1765 was overcome by the undaunted firmness of Lord Clive. That of 1796 and

'97 was fostered by the feebleness of Sir John Shore, and extinguished by the simple mandate of Lord Wellesley, who, seeing a number of malcontent commanders congregated at his first levée, peremptorily ordered them to rejoin their regiments within twenty-four hours. The glance of his very remarkable eye had, it was said, quenched the mutiny. In the present instance a feeling of dissatisfaction had been for some time fermenting in the Madras army, and not without cause. There was an invidious distinction between the pay of the European officers in Bengal and Madras, and all posts of command and dignity were monopolised by the officers of the royal army. This spirit of discontent was unhappily promoted rather than repressed by the demeanour of the Commander-in-chief. A seat in council, with an additional allowance, had always been attached to the office, but on the dismissal of Sir John Cradock after the Vellore mutiny, the Court of Directors had refused it to his successor, on some technical ground, and filled up the vacancy with a civilian. The General considered this a personal grievance and affront, and he did not care to conceal the exasperation of his feelings from the officers of the army, who were the more disposed to sympathise with him as they were thereby deprived of a representative of their interests at the Council board. Since the close of the Mahratta war the

Abolition of
the tent con-
tract, 1809.

Court of Directors had been fierce for retrenchment, and had threatened "to take the pruning-knife into their own hands," if they found any hesitation on the part of the Madras Government to use it. Among the plans suggested for reducing the military charges was the abolition of the tent contract, which furnished the officers in command of regiments with a fixed monthly allowance to provide the men with camp equipage, whether they were in the field or in cantonments. The system was essentially vicious, but not more so than all the other devices in the King's and Company's army for eking out the allowances of commanding officers by anomalous perquisites. The Quartermaster-general, Colonel John Munro, had been requested to draw up a report

on the subject, and both Sir John Cradock and Lord William Bentinck had come to the determination to abolish the contract, when they were suddenly recalled. It fell to the unhappy lot of Sir George Barlow, already sufficiently unpopular, to carry this resolution into effect.

Charges against
Col. Munro,
1809.

This retrenchment increased the resentment of the officers, and they determined to wreak their vengeance on the Quartermaster-general, who had stated in his report that the result of granting the same allowance in peace and in war for the tentage of the native regiments, while the expenses incidental to it varied with circumstances, had been found, by experience, to place the interest and the duty of commanding officers in opposition to each other. This was a harmless truism, but when the body is in a state of inflammation, the least puncture will fester. The officers called on the Commander-in-chief, to bring Colonel Munro to a court-martial, for aspersions on their character as officers and gentlemen. The Judge Advocate-general, to whom the question was officially referred, considered that the officers had neither right nor reason on their side; but General Macdowall, then on the eve of retiring from the service, yielded to their wishes, and at once placed him under arrest. He appealed to the Governor in Council, under whose authority he had acted, and the Commander-in-chief was ordered to release him. With this mandate he was constrained to comply, but he gave vent to his feelings in a general order of extraordinary violence, in which he protested against the interference of the Government, and stated that nothing but his approaching departure for Europe prevented his bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, and contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the civil government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army. Colonel Munro's conduct was likewise stigmatised as destructive of military subordination, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and a dangerous example to the service.

Sir George Barlow had up to this point acted with great forbearance and dignity, but he now lost his balance, and, instead of treating the order with contempt as an ebullition of passion from an intemperate officer, who was already on board the vessel which was to convey him to Europe, or directing it to be erased from the order-book of each regiment, issued a counter order, couched in language equally tempestuous and objectionable, charging him with violent and inflammatory proceedings and acts of outrage. The resignation of the service in India is always sent in by the last boat which leaves the ship, and the officer thus enjoys the benefit of his pay and allowances to the latest moment. Sir George took advantage of the circumstance that the Commander-in-chief's resignation had not been received, to inflict on him the indignity of deposition from his office. He proceeded still further to commit his Government by suspending Major Boles, the deputy adjutant-general, who had signed the order. The Major pleaded, that by the rules of the service he was bound to obey the orders of his superior officer, and that he had acted in a ministerial capacity. He had as unquestionable a right to the same protection in this case as Sir George had considered Colonel Munro entitled to, when he was arraigned for obeying the orders of the Governor in council, in reference to the report on the tent contract. The consequence of this rash act was precisely what might have been expected in the excited state of the army. Major Boles was regarded as a martyr, and addresses poured in upon him from every division and every station, commending his conduct, reprobating the proceedings against him, and proposing to raise subscriptions to compensate the loss of his salary.

Sir George suspends the officers, 1809.

Three months passed on after the departure of General Macdowall,—who was not destined to reach home as the vessel foundered at sea,—and the ferment created by these proceedings had begun to subside, when Sir George blew the dying embers into a flame. In the height of the excitement a memorial had been drawn up to

the Governor-General, reciting the grievances of the Madras army, but all idea of transmitting it was dropped, as the agitation moderated. The reports which Sir George received from the officers commanding stations, relative to the feeling of their subordinates, was, as he acknowledged, very satisfactory; but, on the 1st of May, in a spirit of infatuation, he issued an order suspending four officers of rank and distinguished reputation, and removing eight others from their commands, on the ground of their having promoted the memorial, which had been clandestinely communicated to the Government. The whole army was immediately in a blaze of mutiny. The officers at Hyderabad were found to have taken no part in the memorial, and Sir George had the imprudence to compliment them officially for their fidelity, but they indignantly repudiated the distinction, and announced to the rest of the army their entire disapproval of the order of the 1st of May, and their resolution to make common cause in contributing to the support of the suspended officers. A hundred and fifty-eight officers of the Jaulna and Hyderabad divisions, signed a flagitious address to Government, demanding the repeal of the obnoxious order, and the restoration of the officers, in order "to prevent the horrors of civil war, and the ultimate loss of a large portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it would inflict on the mother country." The Company's European regiment at Mausulipatam broke out into open mutiny, placed the commanding officer under arrest, and concerted a plan for joining the Jaulna and Hyderabad divisions and marching to Madras to seize on the Government.

Firmness of
Sir George
Barlow, 1810.

Sir George Barlow had thus, by his want of temper and discretion, goaded the Madras army into revolt, and brought on a portentous crisis. Colonel Malcolm, Colonel Montresor, and other officers of high standing and great experience, advised him to bend to the storm, and recal the obnoxious order of the 1st May. But while secretary to Government in Calcutta, he had seen the disastrous

effects of Sir John Shore's timidity in similar circumstances, and in the true spirit of Clive, he exhibited undaunted resolution in dealing with the mutiny, such as almost to make amends for the folly which had caused it. He resolved to vindicate the authority of Government at all hazards. He could command the resources of Bengal, Bombay, and Ceylon. The new Commander-in-chief, as well as the officers of high position and rank, were ready to support him. The King's regiments adhered firmly to their duty, and he determined, if necessary, to march the loyal portion of the army against the disaffected. To test the feelings of the officers, he demanded the signature of all, without distinction, to a pledge to obey the orders, and support the authority of the Governor in council at Fort St. George, on pain of removal from their regiments to stations on the coast, though without the forfeiture of either rank or pay; but the majority of the officers, even among the faithful, declined to affix their signatures to the pledge, and it is said to have been signed by less than a tenth of the whole body. The commanders of native regiments were likewise directed to assemble the sepoy and assure them that the discontent of the European officers was a personal affair, and that the Government had no intention to diminish the advantages which they enjoyed, but were rather anxious to improve them. This appeal to the native soldiery against their European officers was a hazardous policy, calculated to sap the foundations of military discipline. But the sepoy and their native officers resolved to remain faithful to their salt, and there was no collision except at the single station of Seringapatam, where the native regiments commanded by disaffected officers refused to submit, and were fired upon by the King's troops, and a hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

The mutiny
quelled, 1810.

The energetic proceedings of Sir George Barlow staggered the officers, and induced them to pause on the verge of a rebellion against the constituted authorities of their King and country, which must for ever have blasted their reputation and their prospects. Lord Minto had,

moreover, announced his intention of repairing forthwith to Madras, and the general confidence which was felt in his justice and moderation contributed to bring the officers round to a sense of duty. The Hyderabad brigade, which had been the foremost in the mutiny, was also the foremost in repentance. On the 11th August, the officers addressed a penitent letter to Lord Minto—not to Sir George Barlow—signed the pledge, and advised their brother officers to follow their example. The defection of the Hyderabad force from the common cause broke the strength of the combination. The Jaulna brigade, which had made two marches towards Hyderabad, returned to its cantonments and submitted to Government. On the 16th, the European regiment at Mausulipatam sent in its adhesion to the test; the seditious garrison of Seringapatam surrendered that fortress, and a profound calm succeeded the storm which had so lately threatened to uproot the Government. On reaching Madras, Lord Minto issued a general order reprobating the conduct of the mutineers, and announcing his determination to inflict punishment where it was due. But he also expressed his anxiety for the character and welfare of the Coast army, in kind and conciliatory language, which produced the happiest impression on the minds of men who had been accustomed only to the harsh and haughty communications of Sir George Barlow. All the Hyderabad officers were pardoned in consideration of the valuable example they had set to the army. A general amnesty was granted to all but twenty-one officers, of whom four were cashiered and one acquitted; the others accepted the alternative of dismissal; but all who had been cashiered or dismissed were subsequently restored to the service. The mutiny was the subject of long and acrimonious debates at the India House, which terminated, after many protests, in the recal of Sir George Barlow, and he, whose nomination to the office of Governor-General had been twice cancelled, and who had enjoyed that honour provisionally for a period of twenty months, was deposed from the inferior post which had been conferred on him, and consigned to oblivion. It

Recal of Sir
George Barlow,
1811.

was in connection with the administration of Sir George Barlow and of Lord Minto, respectively, as Governors-General, that Mr. Edmonstone, who had served under both as public secretary, and who was one of the most eminent and sagacious of the Company's servants in India, and subsequently the Nestor of Leadenhall-street, affirmed that "he was averse to selecting Governors from among those who had belonged to the service . . . and that a person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by talent and character, carried with him a greater degree of influence, and inspired more respect than an individual who had been known in a subordinate capacity."

Suppression of
piracy, 1809.

The suppression of piracy is the especial vocation of the British nation in the east, and the attention of Lord Minto was at this time imperatively called to the performance of this duty. On the Malabar coast, at no great distance from Bombay, the chiefs of Kolapore and Sawuntwaree were required to surrender their piratical ports, and to enter into an engagement to renounce and to punish piracy, to which they had been addicted from time immemorial. A more important enterprize was the suppression of this crime on the coast of Arabia, known from the most ancient times as the pirate coast, where it was practised chiefly by the Joasmis. The Arabs were the bravest soldiers and the boldest seamen in the east. The Joasmis had recently embraced the tenets of the Mahomedan reformer Wahab, and thus added the ferocity of fanaticism to the courage of the national character. The only alternative which they offered to their captives was the profession of the faith of the prophet, or instant death. Their single-masted vessels, called dows or bugalas, ranging from 150 to 350 tons, and manned with 150 or 200 men, according to the size, carried only a few guns, but they sailed in company, and it was rarely that any native craft was able to escape their pursuit. They had long been the terror of native merchant sloops, but had wisely avoided molesting English vessels. At length they became emboldened by the inactivity

of the English cruisers, which were not authorized to interfere with them, and in 1808 attacked and captured the "Sylph," with Sir Harford Jones's native secretary on board. The next year the "Minerva," a large English merchantman, fell in with the pirate squadron, and after a running fight of two days was carried by boarding. The pirates brought all the Europeans, one by one, to the gangway, and cut their throats, with the pious ejaculation, *Alla Akbar! Great is God!* Lord Minto was resolved to exterminate the whole litter of pirates, and a large armament was sent against their chief stronghold, Ras-al-kaima, on the coast of Arabia. It was defended with Arab obstinacy and carried by British valour. The whole town, with all the valuable merchandize which had been accumulated in many piratical expeditions, and an entire fleet of bugalas was delivered to the flames. Several other towns of inferior note on the coast were attacked and captured, and in one of them four hundred Arabs perished before it was surrendered. The blow was effectual, and for the time piracy was suspended in these waters, but the inveterate habits, the boldness, and the fanaticism of these Arab corsairs, led at length to the revival of it with greater audacity, and to a more signal chastisement.

CHAPTER XXV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO, CONTINUED, 1809—1813.

Occupation of Macao, 1809. In the year 1809, an expedition upon a small scale was sent to the coast of China. The occupation of Portugal by Napoleon, and the flight of the Prince Regent to Brazil, induced the British Ministry to determine on taking possession of the Portuguese settlements in the east. Goa was occupied by a British detachment, and an armament was sent to Macao, in the vicinity of Canton, on the coast of

China, which the Portuguese had held for more than two hundred years. The governor had no means of resistance, and the settlement was at once occupied by the expeditionary force. But the imperial viceroy at Canton announced that the unlicensed entry of foreign soldiers into the Chinese territory was a violation of the laws of the empire, and ordered them to be immediately withdrawn. The admiral alleged that Macao had been long since absolutely ceded to the Portuguese by the Chinese Government, and that he had come as their ally, simply to defend the settlement against the French. The viceroy replied that Macao was in every respect an integral portion of the empire, and that it was disrespectful as well as absurd to imagine that the aid of the English was required to defend any portion of the dominions of the celestial dynasty from foreign aggression. Finding that the troops still continued at Macao after his remonstrance, he put a stop to the trade of the Company, and prohibited all supplies of provisions, while he made a reference on the subject to Peking. Expel the barbarians, was the short and simple reply of the emperor. Chinese troops were accordingly collected, and preparations made for an assault, when the naval and military commanders wisely judged that their instructions would not justify them in violating the orders of the emperor in his own dominions, at the risk of involving their country in a war with the Chinese. The troops were therefore withdrawn, and the Chinese Government exhibited no less moderation after the evacuation than firmness before it, and allowed the trade to be resumed without requiring any indemnity.

The injury inflicted on British commerce in the eastern seas by privateers fitted out at the French islands has been noticed in a previous chapter. Lord Wellesley, who was checked in his design to conquer them, was obliged to content himself with pressing the great importance of this object on the public authorities in England. But, by an act of unaccountable folly, the Ministry not only neglected to send an expedition against the Mauritius and

Bourbon, although they considered it important to subjugate every French island in the West Indies, but positively interdicted any attempt on the part of the Indian Government to reduce them, though an adequate force might at any time have been fitted out in India without any expense to the English treasury. The French cruizers and privateers accordingly continued to prey on British trade, and to sweep the sea from Madagascar to Java. The naval squadron on the Indian station, consisting of six ships of the line, sixteen frigates, and six sloops, was unable to protect the national interests, and six vessels from Calcutta, valued at thirty lacs of rupees, had been captured by the French in the course of as many weeks. The losses which the merchants of Calcutta had sustained since the recommencement of the war were moderately estimated at two crores of rupees, a sum far in excess of any expenditure which the reduction of the islands could possibly have entailed. A memorial was at length transmitted by the merchants to the Ministry, complaining of the insecurity of commerce and the supineness of the royal navy. It produced a salutary effect, and the Governor-General and the naval Commander-in-chief received authority to adopt the most decisive measures for the protection of trade. It was determined at first to seek the accomplishment of this object by a blockade of the Mauritius, but it proved utterly inefficient. Six of the Company's magnificent Indiamen, valued at more than half a crore of rupees, were captured by French frigates, who sailed out of the port with perfect impunity, and returned in triumph with their prizes in the teeth of the blockading squadron.

Naval disasters,
1810.

Upon the failure of this plan, the Government resolved, in the first instance, to take possession of the lesser island of Bourbon, and it was captured with little loss in 1810. But this gallant achievement was counterbalanced by a series of naval disasters, which could be attributed only to ignorance and mismanagement. Three French frigates, returning from a successful cruize, found their way, in spite of the blockade, into the Grand port, on the south-eastern side of the

Mauritius. Four English frigates were sent to cut them out, but the French vessels, reinforced by seamen and sailors from the town, and supported by powerful batteries on shore, baffled every effort. Two of the English frigates, after a gallant but unavailing defence, were set on fire, and the third struck her flag when not a man was left unwounded. A fourth was surrounded by a superior force, and obliged to surrender when all her provisions were exhausted. Soon after, a fifth frigate was captured by the French fleet, which thus maintained the national honour in these seas as nobly as Suffrein had done twenty-eight years before. Meanwhile, Lord Minto was assembling at the three Presidencies an armament of overwhelming strength for the conquest of the island. The naval expedition consisted of one seventy-four and thirteen frigates, besides sloops and gunboats. The land force contained no fewer than nine European regiments, numbering 6,300 bayonets, and 2,000 seamen and marines, together with four volunteer regiments of sepoy and Madras pioneers: in all, about 11,300 men. To meet this force, the French general could only muster 2,000 Europeans and a body of undisciplined African slaves. The English army disembarked at Grand Baye on the 29th November, and the next day marched towards Port Louis, the capital of the island. The French could expect to offer only a partial resistance to this overwhelming force, and the general, unwilling to sacrifice the lives of brave men in a hopeless contest, surrendered the island on fair and honourable terms.

Capture of the
Mauritius,
Nov., 1810.

Expedition to
Java, 1811.

The subjugation of Holland by Napoleon placed the Dutch settlements in the east under his control, and it was deemed important to the interests of British commerce to occupy them. An expedition was accordingly sent to the spice islands, in 1809, and the chief of the group, Amboyna, rendered memorable in the annals of the Company by the massacre of their agents in 1612, was occupied after a feeble resistance. Banda and Ternate were surrendered soon after, and of the great colonial empire which the Dutch had

been two centuries in erecting, nothing remained to them but the island of Java. Lord Minto had received the sanction of the Court of Directors to proceed against it, and had summoned to his counsels Mr., afterwards Sir Stamford, Raffles, a member of the Government of Penang, who had acquired a knowledge of the languages, the condition and the interests of the various tribes in the Eastern archipelago superior to that of any other European. No time was lost, after the reduction of the Mauritius, in fitting out an expedition for the conquest of the island, and Lord Minto determined to accompany it, though in the capacity of a volunteer. It consisted of ninety sail, on which were embarked about 6,000 European troops, and the same number of sepoys. It was the largest European armament which had ever traversed the eastern seas. Its departure was delayed by various causes, and it did not reach the rendezvous at Malacca before the 1st June, 1811. The monsoon had already set in, and both the usual routes to Java were deemed inexpedient, if not impracticable. Captain Greigh, the commander of a brig, strongly recommended the passage along the south-west coast of Borneo, which he had recently surveyed, in which the fleet would be sheltered from the fury of the monsoon, and assisted by the breezes from the land. This opinion was strongly supported by Mr. Raffles, and as strenuously opposed by the naval commanders. The question was referred to Lord Minto, who decided on adopting Captain Greigh's suggestion, instead of yielding to advice which would have obliged him to defer the attempt to the next year, and entailed boundless confusion, and a prodigious expenditure. He led the way in the "Modeste" frigate, commanded by his son; the whole fleet cleared the intricate channels without a single accident, and anchored in the bay of Batavia, on the 4th August.

Strength of the
enemy, 1811.

Since the occupation of the island by the French, Napoleon had been indefatigable in his efforts to complete its defences. He sent out large reinforcements, and munitions of war, and, above all, an officer in whom he had

confidence, General Daendels, who levied heavy contributions, and paid little attention to the convenience of the colonists, in his anxiety to construct new and formidable works in the vicinity of the capital. The entire body of troops under his command was reckoned at 17,000, of whom 13,000 were concentrated for the defence of Fort Cornelis, eight miles inland from Batavia. The capital of the island was occupied without resistance, and the military post at Weltevreden, with its stores and ammunition, and three hundred pieces of cannon, was surrendered, after a sharp action, and the English force advanced against Cornelis. For some unexplained cause, General Daendels had been recalled, and his post given to General Jaensens, the officer who had surrendered the Cape of Good Hope to the English squadron four years before. The emperor, at his final audience, reminded him of this disaster, and said "Sir, remember that a French general does not allow himself to be captured a second time." Jaensens, after assuming the command, made the most strenuous efforts to render the position of Cornelis, which was strong by nature, impregnable by art, well knowing that as soon as the rains set in, the malaria of the Batavian marshes would constrain the English to raise the siege and retire. Cornelis was an entrenched camp between two rivers, one of which was not fordable, and the other was defended by formidable redoubts and batteries. The entire circumference of the camp was five miles, and it was protected by 300 pieces of cannon.

The attack and capture of Cornelis, 1811.

The British Commander-in-chief, Sir Samuel Ahmuty, decided at first to assail it by regular approaches, but the attempt was soon found to demand such laborious exertions as the men were unequal to under a tropical sun. It was resolved, therefore, to carry it by a *coup de main*, and this brought into play the daring spirit of Colonel Gellespie, of Vellore renown, to whom the enterprise was committed. His column marched soon after midnight on the 26th August, and came upon the redoubt as the day began to dawn. His rear division had not come up, but he felt that

the smallest delay would prove fatal to his plans, and he was confident that the missing troops would be made aware of his position and hasten to join him, by the report of the firing. The redoubt was immediately attacked, and carried at the point of the bayonet. Colonel Gellespie then took possession of the frail bridge, which the enemy had unaccountably left standing, and the demolition of which would have been a serious, if not fatal, impediment, and, with the aid of the rear division, which had by this time joined him, carried a second redoubt. The overwhelming impetuosity of his troops captured all the others in succession, till he found himself in the foreground of the enemy's reserve, and of a large body of cavalry, posted with powerful artillery in front of the barracks and lesser fort. They were vigorously attacked, chiefly by the 59th, and driven from their position, when the Colonel, placing himself at the head of the dragoons and horse artillery, pursued the fugitives for ten miles, and completed the defeat and disorganisation of the whole French army. Thus was Java won in a single morning, and by the efforts of a single officer. The loss of the French was severe, and 6,000 of their troops, chiefly Europeans, were made prisoners, but the victory cost the British 900 in killed and wounded, of whom 85 were officers. Général Jaensens retired to Samarang, with about 8,000 native soldiers, but after several skirmishes with the detachments sent in pursuit of him, he found that no dependence was to be placed on his Javanese and Malay sepoy, and, notwithstanding the warning of his master, was constrained to give himself up a second time, and surrender Java and all its dependencies.

Revolt of
Native Chiefs,
1811.

Some of the native chiefs of the island manifested a disposition to take advantage of the confusion of the times to throw off the European yoke; and the Sultan of Djojekarta declared war against the English and called upon the Javanese to rise and recover their independence. Colonel Gellespie conducted a force against his capital, which was protected by a high rampart and batteries,

mounted with a hundred pieces of cannon, and manned by 17,000 troops, independently of an armed population calculated at 100,000. It was carried by storm, and another wreath was added to the laurels of that gallant officer. The Court of Directors had granted their sanction to the expedition with no other object than to extinguish the power of the French, and to obtain security for their own ships and commerce in the eastern seas. Hence, they gave instructions that if it proved successful, the fortifications should be levelled with the ground, the arms and ammunition distributed among the natives, and the island evacuated. It is difficult to conceive that so barbarous a policy, which must inevitably have consigned every European on the island to destruction, could ever have been seriously entertained by an association of civilised men in the nineteenth century. But Lord Minto was not disposed to put weapons into the hands of the natives, and abandon the Dutch colonists, without arms or fortresses, to their vindictive passions,—to undo the work of two centuries, and resign that noble island to the reign of barbarism. He determined to retain it, and committed the command of the army to Colonel Gellespie, and the government to Mr. Raffles, under whose wise and liberal administration it continued to flourish for several years.

Supersession
of Lord Minto,
1812.

Having thus established the power of Britain in the eastern archipelago, and given security to her commerce by expelling the French from every harbour in the east, Lord Minto returned to Calcutta early in 1812, and soon after learned that he had been superseded in the Government. The usual term of office was considered to extend to seven years, and Lord Minto had intimated to the Directors his wish to be relieved from the Government early in 1814. But the Prince Regent was impatient to bestow this lucrative appointment on the favourite of the day, the Earl of Moira, who had recently been employed, though without success, in attempting to form a new ministry. Under the dictation of the Board of Control, the chairman of the Court

of Directors was reluctantly obliged to move a resolution for the immediate recal of Lord Minto. Circumstances detained Lord Moira in England longer than he expected; he did not reach Calcutta before October, 1813, and Lord Minto, who had been intermediately honoured with a step in the peerage, did not embark till within a few months of the period which he had himself fixed for his departure, but the determination to inflict on him the indignity of removal, in the midst of an administration in which there had been no failure and no cause of dissatisfaction, was dishonourable equally to the Ministry and to their royal master.

The Pindarees
—their origin,
1690—1800. On the return of Lord Minto from Java, it became necessary, for the first time, to order troops into the field to repel the Pindarees, who had burst into the province of Bundelkund, and threatened the great commercial mart of Mirzapore. The earliest trace of the Pindarees, as a body of mounted freebooters, is found in the struggles of the Mahrattas with Aurungzebe towards the close of the seventeenth century; but they come more distinctly into notice under the Peshwa, the first Bajee Rao. A large detachment of them accompanied the Mahratta expedition against Ahmed Shah Abdalee, and shared in the disaster of Paniput. After the Peshwa had delegated the charge of maintaining the Mahratta power in Hindostan to his lieutenants, Sindia and Holkar, the Pindarees were ranged under their standards and designated, respectively, the Sindia Shahee and the Holkar Shahee Pindarees; but they were not allowed to pitch their tents within the encampment of the Mahratta princes, nor were their leaders at first permitted to sit in their presence. A body of these freebooters accompanied Tokajee Holkar into Hindostan in 1769, and he bestowed on the leader the *zuree putun*, or golden flag of distinction, which served to keep his band generally faithful to the house of Holkar. Two other hordes followed the fortunes of Mahdajee and Dowlut Rao Sindia in their expeditions to the Deccan and Hindostan. But the connection of the Pindaree

leaders with the Mahratta princes was always loose and uncertain, and regulated more by the principle of convenience than of fealty. The princes found it useful to attach to their camp a large body of freebooters, who received no pay, and were content with an unlimited licence to plunder, and were always ready to complete the work of destruction in the districts which the Mahrattas invaded. The Pindaree leaders, on their part, found it advantageous to enjoy a connection, however indirect, with established governments, to whom they might look for protection in case of emergency. But this relationship did not restrain the Pindarees from plundering the districts of their patrons when it suited their interests, nor did it prevent the Mahratta princes from seizing the leaders after any of their successful expeditions, and obliging them to surrender the best part of their plunder.

Two of the leaders, Heerun and Burrun, in the suite of Sindia, offered their services, soon after the death of Mahdajee, to the raja of Bhopal to plunder the territories of the raja of Nagpore, with whom he was at war. Their offer was prudently declined, on which they proceeded to Nagpore in quest of professional employment, and were readily engaged by the raja to lay waste the lands of Bhopal, which they accomplished so effectively that it was a quarter of a century before the country recovered from the effect of their ravages. On their return to Nagpore, the raja did not scruple to attack their encampment and completely despoil them of the rich booty they had collected in this expedition. Burrun was thrown into confinement, which he did not survive. Heerun took refuge with Sindia, and died soon after, when his two sons, Dost Mahomed and Wassil Mahomed, collected his scattered followers and reorganized the band. The leadership of Burrun's Pindarees devolved on Cheetoo, by birth a Jaut, who was purchased when a child, during a famine, by a Pindaree, and trained up to the profession. His superior abilities and his daring spirit of enterprize gave him the foremost rank in the troop, and recommended him to the notice of

Pindaree
leaders, 1808.

Dowlut Rao Sindia, who took a large body of his followers with him in the expedition to Hindostan in 1805, which has been already alluded to. He was rewarded with a jagcer, and the title of nabob, which he engraved on his seal, in the pompous style of an oriental prince. He fixed his head-quarters at Nimar, amidst the rugged hills and wild fastnesses which lie between the Nerbudda and the Vindya range. From this point, his Pindarees were dispatched in every direction on plundering expeditions, from which even the territories of Sindia were not always exempted. His armies were consequently sent in succession to reduce the Pindaree bands, but were as constantly baffled as the Mogul armies had been by the Mahrattas, at the beginning of their career. Sindia, at length deemed it convenient to patch up a peace with Cheetoo, and to cede five districts to him to preserve the rest of his dominions from plunder.

Kureem Khan, another Pindaree leader of note, was a Rohilla, or Patan, who entered the service of Sindia at an early age, and at the battle of Kurda acquired a rich harvest of plunder in the Nizam's camp, which enabled him to increase the strength of his predatory band. In the course of time, he obtained an assignment of lands from Sindia, together with a title, and married into the noble family of Bhopal. He was bold, active, and ambitious, and by the gradual encroachments which the distraction of the times enabled him to make on the dominions both of Sindia and Holkar, he had, by 1806, acquired possession of a little principality, yielding sixteen lacs of rupees a-year. He enlisted infantry, cast cannon, formed a body of household troops, and increased his Pindarees to 10,000 and for the first time a Pindaree chief appeared likely to become a territorial prince. But Sindia had no idea of permitting this development, and resolved to crush his rising power. He accordingly proceeded to his capital on the pretence of a friendly visit, and Kureem Khan advanced to meet him with a state little inferior to his own, and presented him with a throne composed of a lac

and a quarter of rupees. Sindia treated him with the utmost condescension and engaged to grant all his requests. The Pindaree was completely thrown off his guard, and was persuaded to pay his parting visit to Sindia for the confirmation of these promises with a very slender retinue. He was received with distinction, but after the first compliments had passed, Sindia withdrew from the tent, under some excuse, when a body of armed men rushed in and secured Kureem Khan, who was hurried off to Gwalior, where he was detained in confinement for four years. Meanwhile, Sindia's territories were devastated without mercy by his Pindaree adherents, under the command of his nephew. An offer of six lacs of rupees was at length made for the release of Kureem Khan, which was, after much discussion, accepted, and the freebooter obtained his liberty. But it was not long before Sindia had cause to repent of an act dictated only by avarice. The Pindarees flocked to Kureem Khan's standard in such numbers that he speedily acquired more extensive territories and power than he had enjoyed before his captivity. Cheetoo was induced to join him with the whole of his force, and an alliance was likewise formed with Ameer Khan, then in the spring-tide of his career. Their united force did not fall short of 60,000 horse, and from the palace to the cottage, every one in Central India was filled with consternation at this portentous association of men whose only vocation was plunder. Happily, the union was short lived. Cheetoo, who had always cherished the hostility of a rival towards Kureem Khan, was prevailed on to desert him, and Sindia, whose territories he was laying waste with fire and sword, sent one of his ablest generals against him. His camp was assaulted and broken up, and he sought an asylum with Ameer Khan, who made him over to his nephew, Guffoor Khan, and Toolsee-bye, at Indore, by whom he was detained three years.

These were the acknowledged leaders of the Pindaree association, to whose encampment the minor chiefs flocked with their adherents when the season

arrived for their annual forays. The ranks of the Pindarees were constantly replenished by horsemen discharged from the service of regular Governments, or in want of employment and subsistence; by miscreants expelled from the community for their crimes, or men pursued by the inportunity of their creditors, or who were weary of a peaceable life and of regular occupation. The Pindaree system thus afforded to every criminal not only a safe asylum, but active employment of the most exciting character, to the utter destruction of all the wholesome restraints of society. The predatory standard was generally raised at the Dussera festival, towards the end of October, when the rains ceased and the rivers became fordable. A leader of experience and acknowledged courage was selected, under whom a body of four or five thousand was ranged for the expedition. They were all mounted, two-fifths of them on good horses, armed with a spear from twelve to eighteen feet in length, and the remainder with a variety of weapons of inferior quality. Each horseman was provided with a few cakes for himself and a bag of grain for his horse, and these supplies were replenished as they proceeded, plundering from village to village. They were not encumbered with tents or baggage, and moved often at a speed of forty or fifty miles a-day, and even of sixty in case of emergency, and were thus enabled to baffle all pursuit. Neither were they fettered by any prejudices of caste, or any compunctions of tenderness, or any scruples of conscience. Their vocation was to plunder, and not to fight, and they fled whenever they encountered any resistance. They were the most dastardly brigands on record, and the history of their career is not relieved by a single humane, or even romantic action. The atrocities they committed on man and woman almost exceed belief. Unable to remain long in any one spot, the greatest despatch was required to complete the plunder of the village, and the most horrible tortures were inflicted to hasten the discovery of property. On their arrival in any locality terror and dismay at once seized upon the helpless inhabitants; villages were to be seen in a blaze, wounded

and houseless peasants flying in every direction, fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual fire from their walls. Their progress through the country was a stream of desolation, for what they could not carry off they invariably destroyed. Their numbers, moreover, were swelled by the very miseries they inflicted, inasmuch as those who were thus reduced to destitution by their extortion were in too many cases obliged to join their ranks for a mere subsistence.

Attack of British territory, 1812. Their depredations were for several years confined to the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda and the frontiers of the Peshwa, the Nizam and the raja of Nagpore. As these districts became exhausted they were obliged to enlarge the sphere of their expeditions, and, in one instance, swept through four hundred miles of country south of the Nerbudda, to the extremity of the Peshwa's and Nizam's territories, and returned laden with booty, which served to attract additional numbers to their body. In 1811, the Dussera was celebrated by an assemblage of 25,000 Pindaree horse, besides some battalions of foot; and a detachment of 5,000 plundered up to the gates of Nagpore, and burnt down one of the suburbs of the city. The next year, a large body under Dost Mahomed penetrated through the native principality of Rewah, and plundered the Company's district of Mirzapore. They then proceeded towards Gya, within seventy miles of Patna, and having realized an extraordinary amount of spoil in this new and untrodden field, disappeared up the sources of the Soane before a British soldier could overtake them. This was their first aggression on British territory, and, coupled with the periodical devastation of the countries north and south of the Nerbudda, constrained Lord Minto to bring the subject before the Court of Directors, and entreat them to consider whether it was expedient "to observe a strict

Lord Minto's representations, 1812. neutrality amidst these scenes of disorder and outrage, or to listen to the calls of suffering humanity, and interfere for the protection of the weak and defenceless states who implored our assistance

against the ravages of the Pindarees and the Patans." Before he quitted the Government he again addressed the Court, pointing out that the augmented numbers, the improved organization, and the increased boldness of the Pindarees, arising from the success of their inroads, rendered the adoption of an extensive system of measures for their suppression a matter of pressing importance. If Lord Wellesley's purpose of establishing the paramount influence of the British Government throughout India had not been thwarted in England, the growth of this predatory confederacy would have been effectually checked, but the fatal policy adopted by the Court of Directors fostered it into a formidable power, the suppression of which, after eight years of impunity, as Lord Minto observed, would require much "laborious arrangement and combination, both political and military." It was the misfortune of his administration to be cast between the vigorous administrations of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, one of whom organized, and the other consummated, the system of maintaining the tranquillity of India through British supremacy. It fell unhappily to his lot to act upon the neutral policy of the home authorities, of which he entirely disapproved, though he had to bear the odium of it. The boldness with which he repressed the ambition of Runjeet Sing, and the irruption of Ameer Khan into Nagpore, when he had an opportunity of acting on his own impulse, shows that, notwithstanding his constitutional caution, he would have dealt vigorously with the Pindarees if he had not been restrained by the India House. But his Government was, nevertheless, of essential service to the interests of India by demonstrating to the authorities in England the impracticability of their system of non-interference, and by preparing them to abandon it under his successor.

Review of the
Permanent Set-
tlement, 1813.

At the close of Lord Minto's administration twenty years had elapsed since the introduction of Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement and judicial institutions, which formed an important era in the history

of India, and it becomes necessary to review the effect they produced on the welfare of the country. After twenty-five years of unsatisfactory experiments in revenue settlements, the Government in England, and Lord Cornwallis in India, by a generous and noble inspiration, resolved at once to constitute the zemindars who had to this time been the simple collectors of the revenue, or rather the "hereditary administrators of the revenue, with a beneficial interest in the land," the actual proprietors of every estate in Bengal and Behar, and to make a permanent and irrevocable settlement with them, when only two-thirds of the land were under culture. But the great boon thus conferred was saddled with one condition, which proved fatal to the great majority of them. Under the Mahomedan government the zemindar, when he fell into arrears, was summoned either to Dacca, or Moorshedabad, and subjected to great indignities, and sometimes even to torture, till he made provision for paying them up; but he was rarely deprived of his zemindaree. This system of coercion was repugnant to the British character, and the penalty of eviction was adopted in its stead. The zemindar was required to discharge every instalment of revenue on the day on which it fell due, and, on the first failure, his estate was put up to sale by auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder; but punctuality is not, in any circumstances, an oriental virtue, least of all in pecuniary matters. The zemindars had been brought up in prodigality and improvidence; they fell rapidly into arrears, and were inexorably sold up. In the course of seven years, dating from 1793, most of the great zemindars who had survived the commotions of more than a century, were ejected from the estates of which they had been recently declared the sole proprietors. It was a great social revolution, affecting more than a third of the tenures of land in a country the size of England. In some respects this eviction was injurious to the people, for the old zemindars had lived in the bosom of their tenantry for generations, and being almost exclusively Hindoos, had laid themselves out to promote their social

and religious festivities. They maintained large households, and expended with a lavish hand, in their circle, the sums which had been drawn, probably by extortion, from the ryots. The estates thus brought to the hammer were bought by the new aristocracy of wealth, which had grown up in the political, the commercial, and the judicial service of the Company, and with the growth of trade and the security of property. They were often absentees, and in every case strangers to the ryots, and all the beneficial ties which had associated the agricultural population with the old zemindars were thus dissolved. But the breaking up of these unwieldy zemindarees, equal in some cases to entire districts, was by no means unfavourable to the extension of cultivation, and the general improvement of the country.

Condition of the
ryots, 1793—
1813.

The settlement of 1793, however, made no adequate provision for protecting the rights and interests of the ryot. After a century of discussion, it is now admitted that the ryot was the ancient and hereditary proprietor of the soil, possessing all the privileges of ownership, but bound to pay a certain proportion of the produce of every field, generally three-fifths, to the Government. This principle is enshrined in the ancient Hindoo maxim, "whose is the sweat, his is the land." In some parts of India the right of the ryot to his land is designated by a word which signifies indestructible. Tenant right, indeed, appears to have been from time immemorial the basis of all revenue systems. The Mogul settlement of Akbar, in 1582, was made with the ryots. After a minute survey and a careful valuation of the lands, field by field, his great financial minister, Toder Mull, fixed the proportion of the produce calculated in money, which was to be paid by each cultivator to the state; and this scale remained without alteration till the days of Lord Cornwallis, who acknowledged it to be the *asul*, or fundamental rent. The Mogul government appointed revenue officers, subsequently called zemindars, to collect the public dues from each village, granting them a commission of about

ten per cent., or its equivalent in land. The office was necessarily invested with large powers, and gradually became hereditary, and the zemindar came to occupy the position of the fiscal representative of government within his circle. Whenever the nabob was anxious to augment his revenues, he levied an additional impost on the gross payments of the zemindars, and they distributed the assessment on the ryots, generally in proportion to their rents, which thus became the standard of supplementary taxation. These cesses were usually legalised by the nabob's Government, but the zemindar often abused his power and levied arbitrary and unauthorized benevolences on the helpless ryot for his own exclusive benefit, the *jumma*, or rent all the while remaining the same. The settlement of Lord Cornwallis provided that all these cesses should be consolidated with the rent, and embodied in a *pottah*, or written lease; and it peremptorily prohibited the exaction of any additional imposts. For the protection of the ryot it was ordained that the ancient and hereditary *khloodcast* ryot, who had been in possession of his fields twelve years before the settlement, should be liable to no enhancement of his rent, and that from ryots with the right of occupancy of a later date, the demand should not exceed the *pergunna* or customary rate, as recorded in the register of the village accountant. The zemindar did not therefore, at the period of the settlement, receive an absolute estate, with all the English adjuncts of ownership, nor was he at liberty to let the lands by competition. The ancient and still recognised rights of the ryots imposed an effectual limitation on his movements, and he was amenable to the civil courts if he infringed those rights. A large field was still left for improving his income; first, by planting new men on his waste lands, which he was at liberty to let for whatever sum he could obtain; and, secondly, by inducing the old ryots to cultivate the more valuable articles of produce, inasmuch as he was entitled, according to the custom of the country, to demand higher rents from the fields on which they were raised. The rule of proportion is the ancient and

prescriptive standard of assessment in the land of Munoo. It is the Indian solution of one of the most intricate and important of social questions. It is equally applicable to every stage of improvement, and it gives the zemindar, since he has been endowed with the rights of the Government, an equitable share of the increased value of his estate, while it prevents his grasping the whole of it, and crushing the ryot. These restrictions on the zemindar at the time when he received the boon of proprietorship were in accordance with the usages of the country, and were intended, as the Court of Directors said, "to protect the ryot from being improperly disturbed in his possessions, or subjected to unwarrantable exactions." The Government likewise reserved the power of enacting regulations at any future time for the welfare and protection of the ryots. But this protection, instead of being steadily and honourably maintained, has been gradually weakened. By the 5th Regulation of 1812, the zemindars were allowed, except in the case of hereditary *khodcast* ryots, to form engagements on any conditions which suited them, and they immediately interpreted it to signify that they had authority to dispossess even ryots with a right of occupancy if they refused to submit to their demands. From that time the course of legislation has invariably been adverse to the interests and rights of the ryots, till, in 1859, an Act was passed to "prevent illegal exactions and extortions in connection with demands for rent," and to restore the ryot to the condition in which the Government pledged itself to sustain him by the sacred compact of 1793.

Distrain and
sub-letting,
1813.

The condition of the ryot was further deteriorated by the power of summary and unlimited distrain with which the landlord was armed by Regulation 7 of 1799. It afforded him the most ample means of oppression, and was regarded throughout the country with feelings of intense horror. The wretchedness of the ryot was consummated by the system of sub-letting which came in with the permanent settlement. The zemindar, having now obtained a distinct property in his estate, parcelled it out at enhanced rates, on leases

of two or three years to farmers, who in their turn sub-let it to others at a still higher rate. The sub-letting often descended to the fourth grade. The accumulated demand was extorted from the cultivator by every ingenuity of oppression, and by threatening him with the awful penalties of the law of distraint. The rapid succession of these hungry adventurers was fatal to the interests of the ryot, who lamented his unhappy fate, in his own homely language, in having "three bellies to fill" in addition to those of his own family. He paid the extortionate demand while there was anything left in his hut, or as long as his *muhajun*, or money-lender, would supply him with money or grain, and then deserted his village, and too often joined the dacoits. The country thus became impoverished and depopulated; and five years of sub-letting was found sufficient to reduce the number of houses in a village from a hundred to forty, and the cultivation in the same proportion. As the peasant moved off the land, the wild hogs took possession of it, and the increase of the one was an unerring index of the decay of the other. Under the operation of this system of sub-letting, and the exactions to which it gave rise, the district of Nuddea, within forty miles of Calcutta, was pronounced in 1810 to be the finest hog-hunting field in Bengal.

Ceded and con-
quered pro-
vinces, 1809.

On the acquisition of the ceded and conquered provinces, which now constitute the Agra Presidency, Lord Wellesley, who considered a permanent settlement indispensable to agricultural improvement, engaged, in 1803, to bestow it on them after the expiration of the decennial leases. The promise was confirmed in 1805. But Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto were so anxious to confer this blessing, as they deemed it, on the provinces, that commissioners were appointed to carry the new system into effect before the termination of the old arrangements. But they found the revenue department a mass of confusion; they could obtain no reliable information regarding the tenures of land, or the rights of property, or the resources of the districts, or the means and prospects of improving them. There were exten-

sive waste lands without a proprietor, and a fourth of the arable land was untilled. Mr. Tucker, a member of the commission, and the highest financial authority in India, stated, in spite of his attachment to the principles of a permanent settlement, that he did not consider these provinces prepared for it, and that it would entail a heavy and irretrievable sacrifice of revenue, without any corresponding benefit to those connected with the land. Lord Minto and his colleagues, however, controverted Mr. Tucker's opinions and conclusions, and continued to maintain the necessity of an immediate and permanent settlement. But the Court of Directors, whose sanction was necessary to confirm the arrangement, suddenly changed their opinions in 1813, and prohibited the formation of any such settlement at any future time. This repudiation had all the appearance of a breach of faith with the zemindars of the north-west; but under the periodical settlements which were made, the revenues were increased fifty per cent., by a crore and a quarter of rupees a-year, leaving the ryot a rag and a hovel.

The Madras Presidency consisted of the five northern sircars acquired by Lord Clive in 1765, the conquests made by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, and the acquisitions of Lord Wellesley seven years later. The Supreme Government, enamoured of the zemindaree system, determined to extend it to the Madras territories. No zemindars, however, were to be found, but, under orders from Calcutta, some who appeared to answer the description were at length discovered, or created, in the older provinces, and a settlement was commenced with them. Soon after an attempt to make village settlements was advocated by the Board of Revenue, and sanctioned by the Court of Directors. But, after repeated vacillations, it was resolved to abandon both plans, and to adopt the ryotwary system, which was created and matured by a little band of soldiers, of whom Sir Thomas Munro, with whose name it is identified, was the most eminent. He assumed that the Government was the absolute proprietor of the land, to the entire exclusion of all individual rights.

Settlement of
the Madras
Presidency,
1803—1813.

The settlement was to be made from year to year with each ryot, and the assessment was to be equal to one-third of the produce. After the lands had been surveyed and classified and assessed, the potal, or head man of the village, when the ploughing season began, distributed the fields among the villagers, who were not permitted to select their own lands, but constrained to take the good and the inferior in due proportion. When the season was so far advanced that a judgment could be formed of the crop, the rent of the year was fixed, nominally, by the European officer, but, in practice, by a native, called a *tehsildar*, who was generally imported from another village to prevent loss to the revenue from local influences. If the crop of particular fields failed, the deficiency was assessed on the whole village to the extent of ten per cent., which was often as much as the ryot himself received for the labour of the year. But the cultivator, though debarred from choosing his fields, was responsible for the rent of those arbitrarily allotted to him, and the collector had power to confine, punish, and flog him if he obstinately refused to cultivate them. If these oppressions drove him from his village, the collector followed him wherever he might go, and caused him to make good the assessment. The system was aptly described by the Board of Revenue as one which "bound the ryot by force to the plough, compelled him to till land acknowledged to be over-assessed, dragged him back if he absconded, deferred the demand upon him till the crop came to maturity and then took from him all that could be obtained, and left him nothing but his bullocks and his seed grain," and even these he was often obliged to dispose of. Successful efforts have been made during the last sixty years to mitigate the more flagrant evils of this system, but it is inherently and incurably vicious. It operates as a check on industry; it perpetuates a state of poverty throughout the country; it prevents the growth of capital and the accumulation of landed property, and it deprives the Government of the powerful support of a landed aristocracy.

Civil Jurisprudence
1793—
1813

A brief review of the working of the Cornwallis institutions of civil and criminal jurisprudence and police during this period of twenty years will be found interesting. Under the native Governments, all the functions connected with revenue, justice, and police were concentrated in the same individual,—nabob, zemindar, or village agent. Even where the Government did little to give justice to the people, it left them at liberty to procure it for themselves. For some time before the introduction of British rule, the judicial machinery appears to have become deranged; but those who administered the rough forms of justice then in use had still the advantage of belonging to the country, of being assimilated to the people in language and religion, conversant with their usages, and not altogether indifferent to their good opinion. Their proceedings were simple and their decisions summary and final, and generally conformable to equity and good sense. The British Government, as a foreign power legislating for a conquered people, might have been expected to adopt a simple and intelligible system of jurisprudence, which could be easily worked. But Lord Cornwallis lived in an age when English law was considered the perfection of reason, and he took it for his model. His code was an intricate and perplexing network of law, and the machinery he constructed for administering it was clogged with technical rules and complicated forms. The business of the court was conducted in a language foreign to the judge, the suitors, and the witnesses. The judges who presided in it, and who regulated all its proceedings, were imperfectly acquainted with the language, feelings, opinions, prejudices, and moral habits of the people, and some of them were pronounced by their own brethren to be unfit for any branch of the service. The novelty of a court established for the exclusive cognisance of civil suits, attracted crowds of suitors. Every man who had a claim, or could manufacture one, hastened to the new court, and unbounded scope was given to the national passion for litigation. The demand for justice, or law, soon began to exceed the

means of supply. In the year 1797, the number of suits instituted amounted to 330,000, and such was the pressure of business that some of the judges were known to conduct two or three cases at the same time. To secure perfect justice, appeal was allowed on appeal, but as the privilege was resorted to only to gain time, or to evade immediate payment, or to harass an opponent, it only served to impede the course of justice, and to defeat its own object. The judicial system speedily became so cumbrous and unwieldy, that serious apprehensions were entertained of its breaking down altogether. To reduce the files, legal fees were multiplied, in the hope of discouraging litigation. During Lord Minto's administration, various expedients were adopted in the courts in which the European judges presided, to expedite the progress of justice, but with only partial success. Some additional courts were established, but the cost of the judicial establishments which had risen in fifteen years, from thirty to eighty lacs of rupees a-year, began to excite alarm. The only real improvement of the time, consisted in increasing the number and the pay of the moonsiffs, who decided half the cases in the country. Their allowances were actually raised to fifty rupees a-month, but the most violent prejudices against the employment of native agency in the department of civil justice still continued to reign among the civilian judges, who considered that the want of integrity rendered it impossible for them to decide justly. Yet the existing system combined both the evils of European inefficiency and native venality. The helpless and bewildered European who sat on the bench, and whom it was the object of all parties to mystify, in most cases placed confidence in his able and astute *shristadar*, or head ministerial officer, who thus acquired such influence in the court, as to be able to boast, and with perfect truth, that it was "he who decreed, and he who dismissed." Hence the object of the suitor was,—using the homely phrase of the day,—“to make the crooked mouth of the *shristadar* straight.” His evening levée was crowded; justice was sold to the highest bidder, and that office became

one of greater power and emolument than that of the judge himself.

The provisions for criminal jurisprudence and the police resulted in the same disappointment. The zemindars were formerly entrusted with the responsibility of the police, but as they had in some cases abused the power—in India all power is in all places abused—they were divested of it in 1793; and the duty was committed to an officer styled a *daroga*. The districts were unwieldy;—that of Midnapore was fifty miles in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in length;—and some of them contained a million of inhabitants. It was impossible for the magistrate, weighed down as he was with duties at the station, to visit his jurisdiction and check abuses. The *daroga* became a prince in his own circle. He was usually selected from the servants and dependants of the magistrate; he was inadequately paid by the state, but indemnified himself by extortion, and reaped a harvest from every crime. He inflicted unheard-of tortures on the people, beating and binding and starving them at his pleasure, and often scorching them with torches. It was this officer who apprehended accused or suspected persons, and sent them in to the magistrate with a train of witnesses. The magistrate, who was also loaded with the charge of civil justice, was often unable for months to take up the case, and to decide whether the party should be released or committed for trial to the court of circuit when it arrived. During this period the accused or suspected person was kept in confinement, at his own expense, amidst the contamination of the gaol, and in one district there were at one time no fewer than fifteen hundred individuals awaiting the leisure of the magistrate to investigate the charges against them.

The period under review was marked by a great increase in the crime of dacoity, or gang robbery. It had been the curse of Bengal throughout British rule, and probably, long before; but it received a fresh stimulus from the oppression of the sub-letting system and the vices of the

Criminal juris-
prudence and
police, 1793-
1813.

Dacoity, 1813.

police arrangements. The great body of the dacoits followed their occupation of agriculturists and mechanics by day, and the vocation of dacoity by night, under the guidance of professional leaders. They were generally assembled in gangs of forty or fifty by one of the acknowledged chiefs, who organised the expedition against some wealthy shopkeeper or money-lender, or some one who had given information against them. On reaching the rendezvous, a priest performed a religious service to propitiate Doorga, the goddess of thieves, to whom a portion of their spoil was devoted. They then lighted their torches and proceeded to the village, often letting off a gun to warn the villagers to remain within doors. The house marked for plunder was surrounded, and the inmates tortured to reveal their property. The gang then departed with their plunder, and resumed their usual occupations the next morning. The great object of the villagers was to conceal the robbery, in order to avoid a visit from the daroga, whom they dreaded more than the dacoits. When he was able to obtain information of such an occurrence, he came down on the village, seized the most respectable householders, and exacted all they would pay to escape being sent up, either as suspected accomplices or as witnesses, to the magistrate's court, forty or fifty miles distant, to be indefinitely detained, or fleeced by his native officers. The dread of being obliged to give evidence also operated powerfully in keeping the crime concealed. Under the established judicial system, the chances of the dacoit's escape greatly exceeded those of his conviction, and, if liberated, he never failed to wreak his vengeance on the witnesses, sometimes to the extent to putting them and their families to death. Hence, when a requisition for evidence reached a village, it was no uncommon thing to find it at once emptied of all its inhabitants. To remedy this "monstrous and disorganised state of society," as it was aptly described in a minute of Lord Minto, the zemindar was invested with the office of commissioner of police, but as he was expected to bear all the expenses connected with it, and was to act in subordination to the detested daroga, the

scheme fell to the ground. Special magistrates were then appointed to repress dacoity, one of whom was the farfamed linguist and poet, John Leyden; but they acted with a vigour beyond the laws, and apprehended men by thousands, of whom not one in forty was convicted. Their agency was speedily dispensed with, but the rigour of their proceedings served for a time to diminish the crime.

Remarks on the
Cornwallis
system, 1813.

It is a painful task to record the defects of the Cornwallis system, which was once pronounced "the noblest monument of a just and liberal policy that was ever erected in a conquered country." It was, undoubtedly, distinguished by a complete absence of selfishness and an earnest feeling of benevolence, and the sterling purity of motive which dictated it was a legitimate object of national pride. But it aimed at too much, and established judicial institutions unsuited to the native character and habits. The permanent settlement was a generous and self-denying act, and it developed the resources of Bengal and Behar, beyond all expectation; but it inflicted poverty and wretchedness on the great body of the cultivators. A singular fatality, indeed, seems to have attended all our revenue settlements in every province throughout an entire century, as we shall repeatedly have occasion to remark hereafter, and though devised with the best intentions, they have never been successful in promoting the welfare of the agricultural community. The failure of Lord Cornwallis's institutions was for the first time disclosed in the celebrated Fifth Report of the House of Commons, drawn up by Mr. Cumming, one of the ablest officers of the Board of Control. It took the public, who reposed entire confidence in the perfection of the system, completely by surprise; but it produced a salutary effect. It dissolved the dream of optimism in which the public authorities had indulged, and directed their attention to those reforms which have now been zealously and successfully prosecuted for half a century.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARTER OF 1813—LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—NEPAL
WAR, 1814—1816.

THE period was now approaching when the question of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, which had been extended for twenty years in 1793, was to be submitted to Parliament, and the President of the Board of Control placed himself in communication with the India House several years before the expiration of the Act. The Chairman assumed a lofty tone, and had the presumption to assert the right of the Company to all the territories acquired in India by their armies, but was ready to pay due attention to any modifications of the existing system which were not incompatible with the principle of leaving the commerce and the government of India in their hands. He proposed, moreover, that the Proprietors of India stock should receive enhanced dividends in proportion to the improvement of the revenues of India; that the British public should contribute towards the liquidation of their debt, and that their privileges should be renewed for a further period of twenty years. The President of the Board replied that the Ministry were not prepared to encourage any arrangement which should preclude the merchants of England from embarking in the trade of India, from their own ports, and in their own ships. The negotiation then came to a pause, and before it was renewed the finances of the Company had become totally deranged. Drafts had been drawn from Calcutta to the extent of five crores of rupees towards the discharge of the debt in India. A crore of rupees had been lost by vessels which had perished at sea, or had been captured by French privateers. The Directors were, therefore, obliged to resort to Parliament for relief, and in June, 1810,

Negotiations for
the Charter,
1809-1812.

a loan of a crore and a half of rupees was granted to them. In the following year they obtained permission to raise two crores on their own bonds, and in 1812 a further loan of two crores and a half of rupees was sanctioned by the House of Commons. These embarrassments did not, however, abate the resolution of the Directors to insist on what they represented as their right—a renewal of the charter on its existing basis; and they refused to recommend to their constituents to accept it on any conditions which would despoil them of their “most valuable privileges.” Lord Melville, the President of the Board of Control, proposed, by way of compromise, to restrict the import trade of private merchants to London, and to subject it to the system of the Company’s sales and management, on condition that the Directors should throw open the export trade to the nation. The Court refused to accede to this arrangement, and time was thus afforded to the out-ports to survey their interests and to urge their claim to a participation in the entire trade with increased energy.

Opening of the
out-ports to
import trade,
1813.

The questions at issue between the Ministry and the India House were at length reduced to the single point of opening the out-ports to the admission of cargoes from India, but upon this both the Directors and the Proprietors determined to make a peremptory stand. On the 5th May, 1812, a series of resolutions was passed at the India House, which asserted that the removal of this trade from the port of London to the out-ports would break up large and important establishments, and throw thousands out of bread; that it would increase smuggling beyond the possibility of control, and entail the ruin of the China trade; that it would reduce the Company’s dividends, depreciate their stock, and paralyze their power to govern India; that the tranquillity and happiness of the people of India would thus be compromised; that the interests of Great Britain in Asia would be impaired, and even the British constitution itself imperilled. The Ministry were not, however, appalled by this phantom of calamities which the genius of monopoly

had conjured up, and informed the Court that if they still thought the extension of commercial privileges to the nation incompatible with the government of India in their hands, some other agency might be provided for administering it upon principles consistent with the interests of the public, and the integrity of the British constitution ; but the Court of Directors refused to give way, and they were vigorously supported by the great body of the Proprietors, who regarded the admission of the out-ports to a share in the import trade a vital question, on which there could be no concession. They expressed their confidence that the wisdom of Parliament would never consent to gratify a few interested speculators by abolishing a commercial system which had existed for two centuries, and was fortified by a dozen Acts. In conformity with this resolution, a petition was presented to Parliament on the 22nd February, 1813, praying for a renewal of the privileges granted to the Company in 1793, and deprecating any interference with the China trade, or any extension of the import trade to the out-ports. Another petition was at the same time, unseasonably, submitted to the House soliciting the payment of a bill of two crores and thirty lacs of rupees, which the Company asserted was still due to them from the nation.

Growth of
manufactures
and commerce,
1793-1813.

The claim advanced by the Company to a renewal of their exclusive privileges for another generation encountered a very strenuous opposition throughout the country. During the twenty years which had elapsed since 1793, the commercial and manufacturing industry of England had been developed beyond all former example, and new interests of extraordinary magnitude and power had grown up. The cotton manufacturers of Manchester, in the infancy of their enterprize, had solicited the Government to foster their exertions by imposing a protecting duty on the importation of piece goods from India. In the intermediate period, however, their textile fabrics had been brought to such a state both of perfection and cheapness as

in a great measure to supersede the Indian manufacture, the imports of which had fallen from three crores and a half of rupees a-year to half a crore. They had, moreover, invaded the Indian market, where the import of Manchester cottons had increased from about seven thousand rupees a-year to ten lacs. The mill-owners now came forward and claimed the right of an unrestricted traffic with India, both export and import, from their respective ports, and in their own vessels. They maintained that however important the monopoly might have been in the early stages of our connection with India, it had now ceased to be either necessary or profitable, and only served to cramp the spirit of national enterprize. Indeed, the Company had themselves furnished the strongest argument for its cessation by the confession that their trade to India had for many years been carried on at a loss. The Ministers, on their part, had long since made up their minds to emancipate this trade from the fetters of the monopoly. The Emperor Napoleon, by his Berlin and Milan decrees, had closed all the ports of the continent against English commerce, and the public interests required that other channels of trade should, if possible, be opened out. The nation was passing through the most gigantic struggle in which it had ever been involved; the national resources were strained to an unprecedented degree, and it was necessary to spare no effort to sustain the energies of the country.

India Bill, 1813. On the 22nd of March the ministerial plan for conducting the trade and administration of India was introduced by Lord Castlereagh into the House of Commons. He proposed to continue the government of the country in the hands of the Company for a further period of twenty years with liberty to pursue their trade, but, at the same time, to admit the whole nation both to the import and export trade, without any other restriction than that no private vessel should be of larger dimensions than four hundred tons. The exclusive trade to China, which alone yielded any profit, was to be confirmed to them. The restriction on the resort of

Europeans to India was to be virtually removed, though they were still required to take out a licence from the Court of Directors, or, if refused by them, from the Board of Control, but the local authorities were at liberty at any time to cancel it at their own discretion.

These propositions were vigorously opposed by the Court of Directors, who petitioned the House for leave to be heard by counsel, and to bring forward witnesses to substantiate their claims. The first witness introduced was the venerable Warren Hastings, then in his eightieth year. Twenty-six years before he had been arraigned by the House of Commons at the bar of the Lords for high crimes and misdemeanours. He had outlived the prejudices and the passions of that age, and the whole House rose as he entered, and paid a spontaneous homage to his exalted character and his pre-eminent services. But his views of Indian policy belonged, for the most part, to that remote and normal period when he was employed in giving form and consistency to our rising power. He was opposed to all innovations, however necessary they had become by the progress of time and circumstances. When reminded that as Governor-General he had denounced the "contracted views of monopolists," and insisted upon it "as a fixed and incontrovertible principle that commerce could only flourish when free and equal," he had the moral courage to say that he had altered his opinions, and did not come there to defend his own inconsistencies. The evidence of Lord Teignmouth, of Mr. Charles Grant, of Colonel Malcolm, of Colonel Munro, and, indeed of all the witnesses, more than fifty in number, marshalled by the India House on this occasion, ran in the same groove. They affirmed that the climate of India and the habits and prejudices of the natives presented an insuperable barrier to the increased consumption of British manufactures. The trade of India had already reached its utmost limit, and it could be conducted with advantage only through the agency of the Company. The free admission of Europeans would lead to

Opposition of
the India
House, 1813.

colonization; the weak and timid natives would become the victims of European oppression, and India would eventually be lost to England. These opinions were advocated, generally, in the spirit of a sincere conviction, and not of mere partizanship; and although, with our larger experience, we cannot fail to regret that so many great and eminent men should have clung to an erroneous creed, we are constrained to respect the benevolence of their motives when we find that they deprecated the proposed changes chiefly because they dreaded their injurious consequences on the well-being of the natives. But all the authorities and all the evidence the Court of Directors could muster proved unavailing. The House yielded to the voice of the nation, which had been unequivocally expressed in the petitions with which it was overwhelmed, and opened the gates of Indian commerce to the capital and enterprise of England.

Speeches of
Lord Wellesley
and Lord Gren-
ville, 1813.

The charter discussions in the House of Lords were rendered memorable by the speeches of Lord Wellesley and Lord Grenville. Lord Wellesley, when Governor-General, had incurred the wrath of the India House by advocating and encouraging the enlargement of the private trade, and asserting that it was not likely to lead to a large influx of Europeans, and that if it did, they could be kept under due control by the local authorities. On the present occasion, however, he abandoned his former opinions, and advocated with equal vigour the claims of the Company to the exclusive trade, not only of China, but also of India. He resisted the proposal to allow Europeans to settle in India, because they would outrage the prejudices of the natives, and endanger the security of the Government. He likewise passed a high encomium on the East India Company, affirming that no Government had ever fulfilled its duties with more exemplary fidelity and success. The sentiments expressed by Lord Grenville were the boldest and the most enlightened which had ever been heard within the walls of Parliament on the subject of Indian policy. He considered that twenty years was too long a period for farm-

ing out the commerce of half the globe and the government of sixty millions of people. The sovereignty of India belonged to the Crown and not to its subjects. The blended character of merchant and sovereign was an anomaly. No ruler had ever traded to advantage; no trading company had ever administered government for the happiness of its subjects. The Company had lost four crores of rupees by their trade to India in nineteen years, notwithstanding their monopoly; and they had traded with profit only to China, where they had neither sovereignty nor monopoly. The Government of India ought to be vested in the Crown. If, as he admitted, the transfer of the patronage to the Ministry would weigh down the balance of the constitution, appointments to the civil service should be given by competition, and cadetships distributed among the families of those who had fallen in the service of their country. That the trade of India was susceptible of no extension was a mere idle assumption; commerce increased by commerce, and trade beget trade in all countries, and India would furnish no exception to this universal law. These sound opinions, which were far in advance of the spirit and the courage of the age, carried no weight at the time, and the Bill passed as it came up from the Commons, without any modification. But the seeds of truth once planted in the fertile soil of England never fail to germinate and bring forth fruit in due season. It was a great stride for one age to break up the monopoly. It devolved on a succeeding age to make fresh advances in the career of progress. We find, accordingly, that at the next renewal of the Charter in 1833 the Company were entirely divested of their mercantile character, and confined to the duties of government, while the Charter of 1853 threw open the civil service to competition, and the government itself was transferred from the Company to the Crown five years later.

The missionary question, 1813. Reference has been made in a previous chapter to the restrictions which were imposed on the Serampore Missionaries by Sir George Barlow, in 1806, during the panic

created by the Vellore mutiny. Lord Minto, immediately on his arrival, when new to the country, was led by their adversaries to interfere with their proceedings; but their satisfactory explanations, and the discreet course they pursued, induced him to desist from all opposition, and they were enabled for five years to prosecute their labours without molestation. But in the year 1812 Lord Minto's Government, without any apparent motive, thought fit to adopt the most truculent measures against the missionary enterprize, and to order eight missionaries, the majority of whom had recently arrived in the country, to quit it. The alleged ground of this arbitrary proceeding was, that they were without a licence from the Court of Directors; but as hundreds of Europeans, equally unlicensed, had been allowed freely to enter and settle in the country, it was felt to be a mere pretext for the indulgence of that feeling of hostility to the cause, which was equally strong at that period in the Council chamber in Calcutta and at the India House. The feelings of the Court of Directors on this subject had all the strength of traditional prejudices. They had violently opposed and ultimately defeated the proposal made during the charter discussions of 1793, to permit missionaries and schoolmasters to resort to India, and their aversion to the introduction of secular or religious knowledge had experienced no abatement. It became necessary for the friends of missions to take advantage of the present opportunity, and appeal to Parliament for its interposition. The question was entrusted to Mr. Wilberforce, who, in a speech distinguished for its eloquence, pointed out the injustice and impolicy of the impediments imposed on the resort of missionaries to India, and entreated the House to remove them. He repudiated the remotest intention of forcing Christianity on the country, and only sought permission to place the truths of the Bible before the native mind for its voluntary acceptance. But the India House and its witnesses, with a few honourable exceptions, were as rigidly opposed to this concession as to that of free trade, and reprobated the admission of missionary and mercantile agents with equal vehe-

mence. Of this powerful phalanx, Mr. Marsh, who had amassed a fortune at the Madras bar, and obtained a seat in Parliament, became the champion, and delivered a speech of extraordinary power and virulence against the missionary clause. Mr. Wilberforce had supported his argument by a reference to the proceedings and the success of the missionaries at Serampore; but Mr. Marsh assailed their characters with inordinate bitterness, denounced them as fanatics and incendiaries, and applied to them such gross epithets as the House had not been accustomed to tolerate. He asserted, moreover, that the safety of the British empire in India depended on the exclusion of all missionaries. But the voice of the country, which the House implicitly obeys, was raised with more than ordinary unanimity against the monstrous doctrine that the only religion to be proscribed in India should be that of its Christian rulers. The clause was passed by a large majority, and the same liberty was given to the introduction of Christianity which had been enjoyed by the Mahomedans and by the various Hindoo sectaries for the propagation of their respective tenets. At the same time a Bishop was appointed to Calcutta and an Archdeacon to Madras and Bombay, to superintend the chaplains; and a clause was added to the Bill at the last moment, and on the motion of a private member, to appropriate the sum of one lac of rupees a-year, out of a revenue of seventeen hundred lacs, to the object of public instruction.

Remarks on the charter, 1813. The Charter Act of 1813 inflicted the first blow on the monopoly of the East India Company. For more than a hundred and fifty years that monopoly had been not only beneficial, but essential to the interests of British commerce in India. It gave a character of energy and perseverance to the national enterprize which enabled it to encounter opposition with success, and to survive reverses. Without it neither the commerce nor the dominion of England would have been established in India. The venality and oppression of the officers of the native powers, which a powerful

corporation was able to withstand, would have been fatal to the private adventurer. But the monopoly became a positive evil after the Company had become sovereigns. As rulers of the country they owed it to the interests of their subjects to grant the fullest scope for the expansion of their commerce, instead of fettering it by the bonds of a state monopoly. The extinction of the exclusive privileges of the Company was, therefore, not less beneficial to India than to England. The reasons advanced against it showed little judgment and still less foresight; and it may serve to rebuke the dogmatism with which official men are prone to enforce their opinions, to note that all the gloomy predictions of the Court of Directors, and even of the most renowned of their servants, who were regarded as the great authorities of the time on Indian questions, have turned out to be utterly fallacious, without a single exception. The trade, which they assured the House of Commons admitted of no expansion, has risen from thirteen millions to one hundred millions in 1865, and still presents the prospect of an indefinite increase. In 1813 India was reckoned among the smallest of the customers of England, but fifty years later she had attained the highest rank. The export of British cotton manufactures to India at the renewal of the charter in 1813 was only ten lacs, but in spite of the inveterate habits and prejudices of the natives, it has increased fifty fold. The Europeans who have been admitted into India have contributed in the highest degree to its improvement and prosperity by their capital and enterprize, and so far from being a source of danger to Government, it is certain that if there had been a body of only five thousand European settlers in the North West provinces during the last mutiny in 1857, it would have been nipped in the bud. If the hand-looms of India have been in many cases silenced by the power-looms of Lancashire, the loss has been more than compensated by the hundred crores of silver and gold which free trade has poured into her bosom during the last fifteen years.

Lord Hastings, The Earl of Moira, subsequently created Marquis

Governor-General, 1813. of Hastings—by which title we shall begin to designate him—was appointed Governor-General in succession to Lord Minto, and took the oaths and his seat in Council on the 4th October, 1813. He was of the mature age of fifty-nine, a nobleman of Norman lineage, with a tall and commanding figure, and distinguished above all his predecessors by his chivalrous bearing. He had entered the army at seventeen, served for seven years in the war of American independence, and was rewarded for his services with an English peerage. His life was subsequently passed in connection with great public and political affairs, and he brought with him to his high office a large fund of experience, a clear and sound judgment, and great decision of character, together with the equivocal merit of being the personal friend of the Prince Regent. It is worthy of note that the responsibilities of the Government of India produced the same change of views in him as in his illustrious predecessor. Lord Wellesley was so thoroughly convinced of the criminality of Warren Hastings that he had offered to assist in conducting the prosecution, and he came to Calcutta, as he admitted, with the strongest prejudices against him. But as he grew familiar, on the spot, with the policy and character of his administration, he expressed his unqualified admiration of it; and in 1802, when the Nabob of Oude, hearing that Mr. Hastings had been impoverished by his trial, offered to settle an annuity of twenty thousand rupees on him, the information was conveyed by Lord Wellesley in one of the most flattering letters the impeached Governor-General had ever received. In like manner Lord Hastings, in his place in Parliament, had denounced the spirit of Lord Wellesley's administration, and his ambitious policy of establishing British supremacy throughout India. He had now an opportunity of testing the value of that opinion, and he speedily saw cause to recant it. He had no sooner completed his survey of the position and prospects of the empire than he recorded his impression "that our object in India ought to be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if

not declaredly so, to hold the other states as vassals, though not in name, and to oblige them, in return for our guarantee and protection, to perform the two great feudatory duties of supporting our rule with all their forces, and submitting their mutual differences to our arbitration." Before he quitted India he had waged war on a more gigantic scale than even Lord Wellesley; he had made the Company supreme throughout India, and declared that the Indus was, to all intents and purposes, the boundary of our empire.

State of India,
1813.

In the autumn of 1813, Lord Minto quitted India with the firm belief that, with the exception of the Pindaree cloud, it was in a state of the most perfect security. "On my taking the reins of Government," wrote Lord Hastings, "seven different quarrels, likely to demand the decision of arms, were transferred to me." In fact, the non-intervention policy, which, during the preceding eight years the home authorities had considered the perfection of political wisdom, and the native princes the result of sheer pusillanimity, had produced the same result of fermentation and even anarchy, as the faint-hearted policy of Sir John Shore's days. The total withdrawal of our influence from Central India had brought on a contempt of our power, and sown the seeds of a more general war than we had as yet been exposed to. The government of Holkar was virtually dissolved when he became insane, and there ceased to be any authority to control the excesses of the soldiery, while Ameer Khan, with his free lances, was at once the prop and the burden of the throne. The troops of Sindia had been incessantly employed in operations tending to promote the aggrandisement of his power by usurpations. The Peshwa, who had recovered his throne in 1802 by the aid of the Company, had been husbanding his resources for the first opportunity of shaking off the yoke of this connection. Rajpootana was a prey to the rapacity of Ameer Khan, and the insatiable battalions of Sindia and Holkar. The Pindaree freebooters were spreading desolation through a region five hundred miles in length, and four hun-

dred in breadth, and a new power on the northern frontier of the Bengal Presidency had matured its strength, invaded the border districts, and bid defiance to the British Government. The Company's army, which had been subjected to large reductions, in a spirit of unwise economy, was found to be inadequate to the defence of our extensive frontier. The treasury was empty. The island of Java was an expensive acquisition. The Mauritius and Ceylon had been permitted to draw on Calcutta, and had not allowed the privilege to remain idle. The supercargoes at Canton were pouring their bills for the Company's China investment on the Indian treasury, and the Court of Directors were importunate for cash remittances. Lord Hastings, at length, succeeded in overcoming the reluctance of his colleagues in Council to the transmission of thirty lacs in gold, which, at the premium of the day, gave relief to the India House to the extent of forty-five lacs, but it left the cash balances in India so low as to be barely sufficient for the current expenditure.

Description of
Nepal, 1813.

The first and immediate difficulty of Lord Hastings arose out of the encroachments of the Nepalese, or Goorkhas. The war into which he was forced with them was bequeathed to him by his predecessor, who left him no option but to draw the sword, or compromise the character of the Government by abandoning the interests of its subjects. The valley of Nepal is embosomed in the Himalaya mountains, and bounded on the north by some of its loftiest and most majestic elevations, and on the south by the first and lowest range. That range is skirted by a magnificent forest, from eight to ten miles in depth, which presents an unvaried aspect of gigantic trees; no breath of wind reaches the interior, which is littered with rank and decayed vegetation; no animals inhabit it, and no sound of a bird is heard in its recesses. An open plain, called the *terae*, stretches to the south of the forest, five hundred miles in length, and about twenty in breadth. The soil is watered by the various streams which descend from the mountains, and, when cultivated, pro-

duces the most luxuriant crops, but during the greater portion of the year it is as pestilential as the Pontine marshes. It is dotted at considerable intervals with little hamlets, but the population, which is chiefly migratory, is composed of herdsmen, who annually bring their flocks and herds, in some cases from the distance of many hundred miles, to graze on its rich pasturage.

Rise and progress
of Goorkha
power, 1813.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, various colonists of Rajpoots entered the country and subdued the aborigines, the Newars, a Mongolian race, professing the creed of Boodh. The principalities which the Rajpoots established in these hills generally included a strip of the adjacent forest and of the low lands. In the course of time, the weaker chiefs were absorbed by the stronger, and the country came to be partitioned among three families. In the middle of the last century, Prithce-Narayun, the chief of the mountain tribe of Goorkha, gradually raised himself to power, and having subdued the other rajas, founded a new dynasty, about ten years after the battle of Plassy. He was succeeded by his son in 1771, and his grandson, an odious tyrant, was put to death in open durbar by his half brother, in 1805. His infant son was proclaimed raja by Bheem-sen, who assumed the office of chief minister, and formed a council of regency of the principal military officers. The strength of the Goorkha dynasty consisted in its military organization, and the impulse of conquest which the founder communicated to it, was maintained with increasing vigour after his death. An expedition was sent across the northern mountains to Llassa, and the living type of Boodh was subjected to the humiliation of paying tribute to his Hindoo conqueror. But the Emperor of China, the secular head of Boodhism, resolved to avenge the insult, and invaded Nepal with a large army. The Goorkhas were signally defeated, and obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of China by submitting to the deputation of a mission to Pekin, with tribute, once every three years. Foiled in their projects in the north,

they pushed their conquests four hundred miles, on the east, to Sikkim, and on the west to the Kalee river. Their most renowned general Umur Sing, who acted to a great extent independent of the regency, carried his arms beyond that river, which brought him in contact with the rising power of Runjeet Sing, and the two ambitious chiefs confronted each other in the mountainous region of the higher Sutlege. Umur Sing entered the Punjab, and invested Kote Kangra, a fortress in a position so strong by nature, that in the opinion of the ablest French engineers, it might be rendered impregnable by science and art. After an unsuccessful siege of four years, he was obliged, in 1813, to retire, with no little damage to his military reputation. He made several attempts to engage the British Government in a crusade against Runjeet Sing, but was, soon after, obliged to look to the defence of his own country against an invasion from Hindostan.

Goorkha encroachments on British territory, 1809-1813. The Goorkhas, not content with the possessions they had acquired in the hills, pushed their encroachments into the low lands, and during the twenty-five years preceding the war we are about to describe, had usurped more than two hundred British villages. The subjects of the Company were thus exposed to perpetual aggression along the whole line of frontier, and there ceased to be any security for life or property. At length, the Goorkhas had the presumption to lay claim to the two districts of Bootwul and Seoraj which they had seized in Goruckpore, though they had been ceded to Lord Wellesley by the Nabob Vizier in 1801. Lord Minto was anxious to avoid a war with the Nepalese, and suggested that delegates should be sent from the capital, Catmandoo, to meet the British representative, and investigate the merits of the question. The inquiry occupied more than a twelvemonth; the Goorkha envoys were unable to establish their claim, and Lord Minto forwarded a demand to the Nepal regency in June, 1813, for the immediate restitution of the districts, and intimated that in case of refusal they would be occupied by force. The Government

in Calcutta was thus bound to support the demand, even at the hazard of hostilities. The Goorkha cabinet distinctly refused to resign the districts, and again asserted their right to them. Their reply did not, however, reach Calcutta till after Lord Hastings had assumed the government, when, on a careful examination of all the documents, he deemed it indispensable categorically to demand their surrender within twenty-five days. The period expired without any communication from the regent, and the magistrate of Goruckpore was directed to expel the Goorkha officers, and establish police stations in the two districts.

The Goorkhas
determine on
war, 1814.

Lord Hastings's letter created a profound sensation at Catmandoo, and convinced the regent that the local dispute regarding these border lands was rapidly merging into a question of peace or war with the British power. A national council, composed of twenty-two chiefs, was held at the capital, in which the subject of their future policy was discussed with great animation. Umur Sing said his life had been passed amid the hardships of war, and he was not ignorant of its risks. He deprecated a collision with the British power, and maintained that the lands in dispute were not worth the hazard. "We have hitherto," he said, "been hunting deer, but, if we engage in this war, we must be prepared to fight tigers." Several other chiefs offered similar advice; but the regent and his party, filled with an overweening conceit of their national prowess, treated it with scorn. "Hitherto," they said, "no power has been able to cope with us. The small fort of Bhurtpore was the work of man, yet the English were worsted before it, and desisted from the attempt; our hills and fastnesses are the work of the Deity, and are impregnable. Even the mighty Secunder, Alexander the Great, who overthrew many empires, failed to establish his authority in these mountains." They talked of the futility of debating about a few square miles, since there could be no real peace between the two states until the Company resigned the provinces north of the Ganges, and

made that river their boundary. The council resolved on war, and, as if to render it inevitable, sent down a large force to Bootwul; the police officer was murdered in cold blood on the 29th May, and eighteen of his men were put to death. The Goorkhas had thrown down the gauntlet, and no course was left to the Government but to take it up promptly, without waiting a twelvemonth by a reference to the Court in Leadenhall-street. The whole Goorkha army did not exceed 12,000 men, and it was scattered over an extensive frontier; their largest gun was only a four-pounder, and it appeared an act of infatuation in the Nepal regency to defy the British power, but the uninterrupted successes of a quarter of a century had turned the hardy little mountaineers into an army of skilful and courageous veterans, confident in their own strength, and animated with a strong feeling of national pride. Their troops were equipped and disciplined like the Company's sepoy, and their officers adopted the English military titles. They moved about without the encumbrance of tents. They had no sooner taken up a position than they set to work to fortify it; every soldier worked at the entrenchment, and a strong stockade of double palisades, filled up with earth or stones, was completed in almost as little time as the English soldier required to erect his tent. But the chief strength of the Nepalese consisted in the impracticable nature of their country, and our entire ignorance of its localities.

Lord Hastings found himself dragged into a
Loan from Lucknow, 1814. difficult war with an empty exchequer. On previous occasions the usual resource was to open a loan, but this was now out of the question, the Government notes being at a discount of nine or ten per cent., and the merchants in Calcutta paying twelve per cent. for money. In this dilemma he cast his eyes on the hoards of the Nabob Vizier, who had amassed a private fund of eight crores of rupees. The treaty of 1801 contained a loose engagement on the part of the Vizier to attend to the advice of the Resident regarding the amelioration of his system of government, which was vicious

in the extreme. Various remonstrances had been made to him during Lord Minto's administration, but he had no mind for reforms which would embarrass his arrangements, and curtail his savings. These representations were rendered still more unpalatable by the bearing of the Resident, who assumed a dictatorial tone, which lowered the Nabob in the eyes of his Court and his subjects, and broke in upon him at all hours when he had anything to prescribe. He interfered in the private, and even personal, arrangements of the Nabob, and went so far as to raise objections to the beating of the *nobut*, the great drum, the exclusive and most cherished privilege of royalty, because it disturbed his morning slumbers. Lord Hastings, who had resolved to treat the native princes with every consideration, ordered these irritating demands for reform to be discontinued, and the Vizier, who had been informed of the embarrassment of the treasury in Calcutta, offered the Company a gift of a crore of rupees, "to mark his gratitude," as Lord Hastings said, "for my having treated him as a gentleman." Lord Hastings left Calcutta early in 1814, on a tour through the provinces, and a visit to Lucknow. The Nabob died during the journey, but his son renewed the offer, not without a latent hope that it might conduce to the appointment of another Resident, which was the supreme wish of his heart. Lord Hastings was unable to receive the money as a gratuity, but agreed to accept it as a loan. He was now furnished with the sinews of war, but he was destined to a severe disappointment. Of the old eight per cent. loan which the Government in Calcutta had been endeavouring to convert into six per cents., a sum of fifty-four lacs was still unredeemed, and the members of Council, without giving a hint of their design to Lord Hastings, took upon themselves to advertise the payment of this sum, which absorbed more than half the Lucknow loan. This was regarded in Calcutta as a clever stroke of economy, but it was an act of supreme political folly. It completely deranged the plans of the Governor-General, and

would have produced the most disastrous effect on the campaign if he had not submitted to the humiliation of soliciting a second crore, which was granted with no little reluctance.

With regard to the plan of the campaign, Lord Hastings considered it highly impolitic to confine our operations to the defence of an immense length of frontier, which it would be found impossible to guard effectually against the inroads of a hostile, vigorous, and rapacious neighbour. He felt confident that our military character could be sustained only by a bold and successful assault on the strongest of the enemy's positions in the hills. With a view to distract the attention of the regency, he planned four simultaneous attacks on four points—the western on the Sutlege, the eastern on the capital, and two others on intermediate positions. Of the Goorkha army, one-third, under Umur Sing, guarded the fortresses on the Sutlege; two thousand were distributed between the Jumna and the Kalee rivers, and the remainder protected the capital and its neighbourhood. Four British armies were accordingly assembled in the field, comprising in all about thirty thousand men with sixty guns.

The division under General Gillespie, who had acquired a brilliant reputation in quelling the mutiny at Vellore and in Java, was the first in the field. He advanced at the head of 3,500 men into the Dhoon valley to lay siege to the fortress of Nahun. On the route he came upon the fortified position of Kalunga, defended by six hundred Goorkhas, under the command of Captain Bulbuddur Sing. On receiving the summons to surrender late in the day, the Goorkha chief coolly replied that it was not customary to carry on a correspondence at such an hour, but he would pay his respects to the General the next morning. Lord Hastings had repeatedly enjoined General Gillespie to avoid storming works which required to be reduced by artillery, but this order was totally disregarded, and in the impetuosity of his reckless courage, he determined to carry the fort by assault. His

Plan of the
Goorkha cam-
paign, 1814.

General Gil-
lespie's division,
1814.

men were staggered by the murderous fire which the Goorkhas skilfully directed against them as they advanced up to the wicket, when the General, irritated by the repulse, placed himself at the head of three companies of Europeans and rushed up to the gate, but was shot through the heart as he waved his hat to his men to follow him. A retreat was immediately sounded, but not before twenty officers and two hundred and forty men lay killed and wounded. A month was lost in waiting for heavy ordnance from Delhi. On the 27th November a breach was reported practicable, and a second attempt was made to storm the fort, but after two hours' exposure to a galling fire the troops were withdrawn, with a loss of six hundred and eighty in killed and wounded. The sacrifice of men in these two futile assaults exceeded the whole number of the garrison, and it was at length resolved to bring the mortars into play. The place was little more than an open space surrounded by a stone wall. Three days of incessant shelling rendered it untenable, and reduced the garrison from six hundred to seventy, when the brave Goorkha commander sallied forth at the head of the survivors and escaped. If the positive orders of Lord Hastings had been obeyed in the first instance, the Government would have been spared a lamentable loss of life and the disgrace of two failures, which, at the opening of the campaign, disheartened their own troops as much as it emboldened the enemy. The reputation of this division was not retrieved by General Martindell, who succeeded to the command, and laid siege to Jytuk at the end of December. It was situated on a lofty and almost inaccessible mountain, and strengthened by extensive and substantial stockades and breastworks. The whole district was under the command of Colonel Runjoor Sing, the son of Umur Sing. Two powerful detachments were sent to occupy two important positions, but owing to the blunders of the General, they were both overpowered and cut up. With a force of 1,000 Europeans and 5,000 natives he allowed himself to be held at bay

General Gillespie killed,
Oct. 31, 1814.

by 2,300 natives. Then, despairing of success he turned the siege into a blockade, in which the rest of the campaign was entirely wasted.

The division under General J. S. Wood was appointed to re-take Bootwul, and penetrate Nepal through Palpa, but its efforts were paralyzed by similar imbecility. After much unnecessary delay the General took the field in the middle of December, and, without making any reconnoissance, allowed himself to be brought unexpectedly on the stockade of Jeetpore by the treachery of a brahmin guide, on the 14th January, 1814. It might have been expected, however, that a British army of 4,500 men, fully equipped, would have been a match for 1,200 Goorkhas, but the General, after fighting his way to a position which commanded the entrenchment, and placed it within his grasp, sounded a retreat just as the enemy had begun to abandon it. The opposition he had encountered, although insignificant, made so deep an impression on his feeble mind that he retired within the British frontier, and confined his exertions to an attempt to defend it; but the Goorkhas, emboldened by his pusillanimity, penetrated it in every quarter, and scarcely a day passed in which some village was not pillaged and burnt. Reinforcements were sent to him without delay, but he had neither the spirit nor the skill to employ them, and his division was rendered worse than useless throughout the season. The chief reliance of Lord Hastings for the successful issue of the campaign was placed

General Mar-
ley's division,
1815.

on the army entrusted to General Marley, 8,000 strong, which was destined to march directly on the capital, only a hundred miles from our frontier, but he proved to be more incompetent than even Wood and Martindell. After reaching Puchroutee on the 20th December, he lost a month in devising the best mode of advancing to Catmandoo. Two detachments were sent to two points, east and west, twenty miles distant from head-quarters, without any support. No military precautions were adopted in these

isolated positions, and the Goorkhas simultaneously surprised both corps on the 1st January. The officers were deserted by the sepoys, but fell fighting with their usual valour, and all the guns, stores, and magazines fell into the hands of the enemy. The skill and audacity manifested by the Goorkhas in these encounters confounded the wretched General, and he made a retrograde movement to guard the frontier against an enemy, magnified by his fears to 12,000 men, but who never exceeded even a tenth of that number. As he declared that his army was inadequate to the object assigned to it, Lord Hastings strained every nerve to reinforce him, and, including two European regiments, raised its strength to 13,000—a force sufficient to have disposed completely of the whole army of Nepal. But General Marley could not be persuaded to enter the forest, and on the 10th February mounted his horse before day light, and rode back to the cantonment of Dinapore, without delegating the command to any other officer, or giving any intimation of his intentions. General George Wood was then sent to assume the command. An encounter was accidentally brought on with the Goorkhas, in which four hundred of their number perished, and their comrades, dismayed by this reverse, abandoned all their positions in the neighbourhood, and left the road to the capital open; but General Wood had as little spirit as his predecessor, and this division was likewise lost to the object of the war.

Effect of these
reverses in
India, 1815.

This was the first campaign since the Company took up arms in India in which their own troops outnumbered those of the enemy, and in the proportion of three to one. The plan of operations appears to have been skilfully and judiciously adapted to the novel character of this mountain warfare. It was the unexampled incompetence of four out of five of the generals which rendered it abortive, and enabled the enemy to hold our armies in check outside the forest from the frontier of Oude to the frontier of Bengal. "We have met," wrote Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, "with an enemy who decidedly

shows greater bravery and steadiness than our own troops. In some instances Europeans and natives have been repulsed with sticks and stones, and driven for miles like a flock of sheep." "The successes of the Goorkhas," wrote Lord Hastings, "have intimidated our officers and troops, and with a deeply anxious heart I am keeping up an air of indifference and confidence; but were we to be foiled in this struggle, it would be the first step to the subversion of our power." The reverses which our arms had sustained were published throughout India, and served to revive the dormant hopes of the native princes. For several months the country was filled with rumours of a general confederacy against us. Mahrattas, Pindarees, and Patans appeared for a time to suspend their mutual animosities, under the impression that the time had come for a united effort to extinguish our supremacy. The Peshwa took the lead in these machinations, and sent envoys to all the Mahratta courts, not overlooking the Pindaree chiefs. A secret treaty of mutual support was concluded, the first article of which bound the princes to obey and serve him in this crusade. The army of Sindia was organized on our frontier to take advantage of our difficulties. Ameer Khan, with a body of 25,000 horse and foot, thoroughly organized and equipped, and one hundred and twenty-five guns, took up a position within twelve marches of our own districts, and insulted our distress by offering to march to Agra, and assist us in combating the Goorkhas. Runjeet Sing marched an army of 20,000 men to the fords of the Sutlege, and 20,000 Pindarees stood prepared for any opportunity of mischief. To meet the emergency Lord Hastings ordered the whole of the disposable force of the Madras Presidency up to the frontier of the Deccan, and despatched a Bombay force to Guzerat. The Court of Directors were importunate for retrenchment and reductions, but he considered the public safety paramount to obedience, and raised three additional regiments of infantry, enlisted bodies of irregular horse, remodelled the whole of the Bengal army, and by these and

other arrangements increased its strength to 80,000 soldiers. But, as the natives observed, the Company's *ikbal*—good fortune—was still in the ascendant. The clouds began to break. Runjeet Sing was recalled to his capital by a threatened irruption of Afghans; Sindia's two principal commanders, after long discord, attacked each other; Ameer Khan found more immediate employment for his bands in the plunder of Joudhpore, and the Pindaree leaders quarrelled among themselves. The cloud was completely dispersed by the brilliant success of General Ochterlony, to which we now turn.

The division of General Ochterlony was destined to dislodge the Goorkhas from the territories they had acquired on the higher Sutlege, the defence of which was entrusted to the gallant Umur Sing, and the ablest of the Goorkha commanders was thus pitted against the ablest of the English generals. The scene of operations was a wild and rugged region, presenting successive lines of mountains, rising like steps one above another, to the loftiest peaks of the Himalaya. It was broken up by deep glens, and covered with thick forests, and still further protected by six forts on points almost inaccessible, and by numerous stockades. It would not have been easy to imagine a more difficult field for military operations. The General had formed a correct estimate of the bold character of his opponent, and the advantages which he enjoyed in his positions, and in a spirit of high enterprize, tempered with sound judgment, he proceeded towards his object by cautious, yet sure, steps. He did not disdain to copy the tactics of the Goorkhas, and erect stockades to protect isolated detachments, which saved many of them from being overpowered, though other generals were disposed to condemn the device as a confession of weakness. Having crossed the plain from Loodiana, he entered the hills and encamped on the 1st November before the fort of Nalagur, where he received intelligence of the disaster at Kalunga and the death of General Gillespie. But he had wisely brought on the whole of his battering train, which he caused

Operations of
General Ochter-
lony, 1814-15.

to play on the fort for thirty hours, when the commander surrendered it, and the campaign opened auspiciously by the capture of an important fortress, with the loss of only one European soldier. It would be wearisome to enter into any detail of the operations of the next five months, during which the gallantry of the British troops was matched by the heroic valour of the Goorkhas, and the strategy of British engineers was repeatedly foiled by the tact and resolution of Umur Sing. The service was the most arduous in which the Company's army had ever been engaged in India. At the elevation of more than five thousand feet above the level of the sea, at the most inclement season of the year, amidst falls of snow, sometimes of two days' continuance, the pioneers were employed in blasting rocks and opening roads for the eighteen-pounders, and men and elephants were employed day after day in dragging them up those Alpine heights. The energy of the General, and the sublime character of the warfare, kindled the enthusiasm of the army. By a series of bold and skilful manœuvres every height was at length surmounted, and every fortress save one captured, and on the 15th April Umur Sing found himself confined to the fort of Malown, situated on a mountain ridge, with a steep declivity of two thousand feet on two sides. The next day Umur Sing assaulted the British works with his whole force, under the direct command of his ablest general, who, on leaving the Goorkha camp directed both his wives to prepare for suttee, as he had determined to conquer or fall. He fell covered with wounds, and General Ochterlony ordered his body to be wrapped in shawls and delivered to his master. His wives sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile the next day. The Goorkha army was obliged to retire, with the loss of five hundred men. But the feeling of exultation occasioned by this victory was damped by the loss which the army soon after sustained in the death of Lieutenant Lawtie, of the engineers, a young officer of the highest professional zeal, penetration, and promise, to whom, as field engineer, the General had been

more indebted for the success of his operations than to any other officer. The whole army went into mourning for him.

Information reached the General's camp soon after of the occupation of Almora. This province formed the centre of the Nepal conquests westward, and Lord Hastings considered that the reduction of it would greatly facilitate the operations against Umur Sing, by cutting off his communications with the capital. As no regular troops could be spared for this service, Colonel Gardner, an officer of great merit, who had been in the Mahratta service, was directed to raise some irregular corps in Bundelkund. These raw levies, under their enterprising commander, entered the province, and speedily cleared it of the Goorkhas. The capital fell on the 27th April to Colonel Nicolls, an officer of the regular service, who was sent with a large force to complete the work which Colonel Gardner had begun. The Goorkha force at Malown was thus isolated, and deprived of all hope of reinforcement, which led the Goorkha officers to intreat Umur Sing to make terms with General Ochterlony, but the stern old chief spurned their advice, and the great body of his troops passed over to the English. He himself retired into the fort with about two hundred men, who still clung to his fortunes, but when the English batteries were about to open, he felt unwilling to sacrifice in a forlorn conflict the lives of the brave men who had generously adhered to him to the last, and accepted the terms offered to him, thus ceding the whole of the conquests which the Nepalese had made west of the Kalee. General Ochterlony allowed him to march out with his arms and accoutrements, his colours, two guns, and all his personal property, "in consideration of the skill, bravery, and fidelity with which he had defended the country committed to his charge." The same honourable terms were likewise granted by General Ochterlony to his son, who had defended Jytuk for four months against General Martindell. The Goorkha soldiers did not hesitate to take service under the Company's colours. They were formed into three regi-

Fall of Almora
—surrender of
Malown, 1815.

ments, and no sepoy have ever manifested greater loyalty or valour.

The discomfiture of their ablest general and the loss of their most valuable conquests took away from the Council of regency at Catmandoo all confidence in their mountain fastnesses, and induced them to sue for peace. The conditions proposed by Lord Hastings were, that they should resign all claims on the hill rajas west of the Kalee, cede the belt of low lands denominated the *terae*, restore the territory of Sikkim north of Bengal, and receive a British Resident. To the relinquishment of the *terae* the Goorkhas manifested greater repugnance than even to the residence of a British representative at the court. The revenue derived from these lands, though small, was important to a poor state; some of the most valuable jageers in them were held by the members of the regency, and Lord Hastings therefore reduced his demand to a portion of this territory. The negotiations were at length brought to a close, and the Goorkha commissioners came down to Segowlee and signed the treaty on the 2nd December, under an engagement that the ratification of it by the regency should be delivered within fifteen days. The treaty was duly signed by the Governor-General in Calcutta, and a royal salute was fired in honour of the peace; but it was premature. Umur Sing and his sons had arrived at Catmandoo, and urged the chiefs still to confide their fortunes to their swords, to dispute every inch of mountain territory, and, if driven from it, to retire to the borders of China. Acting under this advice, the council determined to reject the treaty, and sent an envoy to announce their resolution to continue the war. At the same time they made every effort to collect their military resources, and to fortify the passes. Lord Hastings, on his part, spared no pains to strike a decisive blow at the capital before the rains commenced. An effective force of 20,000 men was rapidly assembled, and entrusted to the command of Sir David Ochterlony, who had immediately been created a baronet. On emerging from the forest,

Second Goorkha
campaign, and
peace, 1816.

and approaching the first pass, on the 10th February, 1816, he found that the works of the Goorkhas were altogether unassailable. But Captain Pickersgill, of the quartermaster-general's department, had discovered a route to the left which, though incomparably difficult, would enable the general to turn the flank of the enemy. The enterprize was the boldest effort in the whole course of this mountain warfare, but it proved completely successful, and at once decided the issue of the campaign. During the night of the 14th February General Ochterlony marched in dead silence through a narrow ravine, where twenty men might have arrested a whole army. By seven in the morning the Choorea heights, to the west of the enemy's position, were gained without any resistance. There the force bivouacked for two days without food or shelter, while the other detachments were brought up. The General then advanced to Mukwanpore, within fifty miles of Catmandoo, where the Goorkhas made a stand, but were completely defeated. This blow took away from the regency all conceit of fighting; the treaty was sent down in hot haste with the red seal attached to it, and peace was finally concluded on the 2nd March, 1816.

Remarks on the war, 1816. The Nepal war, though waged in a difficult region, and prolonged for eighteen months, was managed with such singular economy as to add only fifty-four lacs of rupees to the public debt. The Goorkhas were not only the most valiant, but the most humane foes we had ever encountered in India, and they also proved to be the most faithful to their engagements. Unlike other Indian treaties, that which was made in 1816 has never been violated, and the Goorkhas, instead of taking advantage of our exigencies in the mutiny of 1857, sent a large force to assist in quelling it. The barren region which was the scene of this deadly conflict of 1815 has proved an invaluable acquisition to the empire. It has furnished sites for sanatoria at Simla and Mussooree, at Landour and Nynee-thal, where the rulers of British India are enabled to recruit their strength during the heat of sum-

mer, as the Mogul emperors were wont periodically to exchange the feverish temperature of Agra and Delhi for the delicious climate of Cashmere. The distance between Calcutta and Simla is abridged by a rail, and a thousand miles are now traversed with greater speed than a hundred in the days of Akbar and Jehangeer; while the electric telegraph, which conveys messages to the extremities of the empire in a few minutes, gives a character of ubiquity to the Government while sojourning in the hills.

Insurrection at Bareilly, 1816. The Nepal war closed on the 5th March, 1816, and the Pindaree war commenced on the 16th October in the following year. The intermediate period was not, however, a season of tranquillity. Two military operations were forced on Government in the north-west provinces, which, though of comparatively minor importance, enabled Lord Hastings to assure the Court of Directors, who were importunate for the reduction of the army, that "our own possessions were not precisely as secure as an estate in Yorkshire." To relieve the pressure on the finances, it was resolved to impose a house-tax for the support of the municipal police on certain of the great towns, and, among others, on Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkund. The rate was to be assessed by each ward, and the expenditure controlled by the townsmen. It was by no means oppressive in amount, the highest sum being only four rupees a-year, and the lowest class being altogether exempted from it. But a house-tax was an innovation not sanctioned by custom or tradition, and a spirit of opposition was roused against it among those who willingly submitted to the anomalous but ancient system of town duties. The Rohillas, the most turbulent of the Afghan colonists in India, determined to resist it. The magistrate, on entering Bareilly to arrange the details of the assessment with the principal inhabitants, was assailed by a mob excited by the *moofly*, or chief priest, and obliged to order his guard to clear the way, when three of their number, together with six or seven of the inhabitants, were killed and wounded. They

were regarded as martyrs by the populace, and the exasperation became intense. Messengers were despatched to the neighbouring town of Rampoor, which was the general resort of large bodies of Afghan adventurers, who streamed down annually from their own barren mountains to seek military service among the various princes of India. From Rampoor and other towns reinforcements were drawn to Bareilly during the night, and in the morning five or six thousand fanatics were found to be assembled under the green flag of the prophet. Happily the military force of Government had also been augmented at the same time, and in the severe conflict which ensued no fewer than four hundred of the insurgents were killed and a greater number wounded, but the whole body was dispersed. Had the result been different the whole province of Rohilcund would have immediately risen in rebellion, and Ameer Khan, a Rohilla by birth, who was encamped at the time within a few marches of Agra with 12,000 Rohillas under his standard, would not have allowed the opportunity Hatras, 1817. to slip. This event evinced the impolicy of allowing the great landholders in the adjacent Doab, or country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, to continue to garrison their castles with a large body of military retainers, as they had done when the province belonged to Sindia. One of these zemindars, Dyaram, a Jaut, and a relative of the raja of Bhurtpore, had been permitted to retain his estates and his fortress of Hatras, on the borders of Rohilcund. He had already presumed to levy contributions on the country, and to give shelter to thieves and robbers; and he now proceeded to exclude every servant of the Government from his town, and to interrupt the process of the courts. His fort, which was considered one of the strongest in the country, was surrounded by a ditch a hundred and twenty-five feet broad and eighty-five feet deep. It had been placed in a state of complete repair, and strengthened by the adoption of all the improvements made by the Government engineers in the adjacent fort of Allyghur. He and a neighbouring zemindar, equally

refractory, were able at any time to assemble a force of 10,000 men. Lord Hastings deemed it important that this baronial castle should no longer bid us defiance, and ordered up an overwhelming force, together with such an array of mortars—his favourite weapon—as nothing could possibly withstand. On the 1st March, 1817, forty-five mortars and three breaching batteries began to play on the fort, but the garrison gallantly stood this storm of shot and shell for fifteen hours. At length, however, the great magazine blew up with a concussion which was felt at Agra, thirty miles distant, and which destroyed half the garrison and nearly all the buildings. Dyaram made his escape with a few horsemen. The complete reduction of one of the strongest fortresses in Hindostan in a few hours, not only secured the ready submission of the contumacious zemindars in the Dooab, but created a salutary impression throughout India, and doubtless contributed to the success of the ensuing campaign. Matras is now a peaceful railway station.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TRANSACTIONS WITH NATIVE PRINCES, 1814—1817. PINDAREE AND MAHRATTA WAR, 1817.

THE policy of Lord Wellesley had been steadfastly repudiated by the Court of Directors, but the wisdom of it was amply vindicated by the desolation which followed its abandonment. It was under the operation of their principle of non-intervention that the power of the Patans and the Pindarees grew up to maturity, and became the scourge of Central India. Amcer Khan, the Patan freebooter, had gradually established a substantive power, but the predatory element was always predominant in it. His army was more efficient than that of any native

Patans and Pindarees, 1814—1817.

prince of the time, and received a fixed rate of pay, which, however, was seldom disbursed with regularity. It was estimated at not less than 10,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with a powerful artillery. It was his game to levy contributions from princes and states, and he moved about with all the appliances for the siege of the towns which resisted his demands. The object of the Pindarees was universal and indiscriminate plunder, and they swept through the country with such rapidity as to make it impossible to calculate their movements, or to overtake their detachments. While a force, for example, was assembled in haste to protect Mirzapore and the towns on the Ganges from their approach, they had already effected their object, and turned off to Guzerat, and were ravaging the western coast. While preparations were made to expel them from Guzerat, they had crossed the peninsula and were laying waste the opposite coast. The selfish argument employed by Sir George Barlow in defence of his neutral policy, that the disorders it might engender would prove a safeguard for the Company's dominions, had proved utterly fallacious. It was found that when the cauldron, seething with the elements of anarchy, was ready to boil over, it was those who had the greatest stake in India who were exposed to the greatest risk.

Representations
to the Court of
Directors, 1813
—1815.

One of the latest acts of Lord Minto's administration, as already stated, was to impress on the Court of Directors the necessity of adopting an extensive and vigorous system of measures for the suppression of the Pindaree hordes. Lord Hastings, on his arrival in India, found 50,000 Pindarees and Patans in the heart of India, subsisting entirely by plunder, and extending their ravages over an area as large as England, and one of his earliest acts was to point out to the Court, in language stronger than that of his predecessor, the increasing danger of this predatory power. He even went so far as to advance the opinion that the affairs of the Company could not prosper until their Government became the head of a league embracing

every power in India, and was placed in a position to direct its entire strength against the disturbers of the public peace. But such a course of policy was systematically opposed by the two members of his Council. The senior, Mr. Edmonstone, was one of the most eminent of the Company's servants, and combined talent of a very high order with an affluence of official experience, but he lacked the higher endowments of the statesman. He had filled the office of political secretary during the administration of Lord Wellesley with great distinction, and was generally understood to have given a cordial support to his comprehensive views. During the government of Lord Minto he was the oracle of the Council chamber; but, having now taken his seat at the Board, and become responsible for the measures of Government, his habitual caution induced him to incline to the policy of Sir George Barlow, when he perceived the intention of Lord Hastings to subvert it, and he reprobated the extension of our political alliances and relations. His colleague, Mr. Dowdeswell, had all the narrow-minded prejudices of Sir George Barlow, without a tithe of his abilities. The Court of Directors still clung to their cherished policy of non-intervention, and in reply to the despatch of Lord Hastings of the 29th September, prohibited him "from engaging in plans of general confederacy, and of offensive operations against the Pindarees, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in anticipation of expected danger." They enjoined him to undertake nothing which might embroil them with Sindia; they forbade any change in the existing system of political relations, and directed him to maintain, with as little deviation as possible, the course of policy prescribed at the close of the Mahratta war. They directed him, moreover, to reduce the strength of the army, and make every measure conducive to the promotion of economy. This communication was more than six months on the way, and did not reach India before April, 1816.

Proposed alliance with

To prevent the irruption of the Pindarees into the Deccan, Lord Hastings endeavoured to form a

Nagpore and
Bhopal, 1814.

subsidiary alliance with the raja of Nagpore, and thereby to establish a British force on the Nerbudda. To such an alliance the Court of Directors had given their sanction several years before, but the raja set his face sedulously against it, well knowing how irretrievably it would compromise his independence. Lord Hastings then contemplated a similar connection with Bhopal, and also with Saugor, in the hope of being able to hold the Pindarees in check by establishing a chain of posts from Bundelcund to the Nerbudda; but he considered it advisable to await the reply of the Court of Directors to his proposal of a general league. Bhopal was a small principality in Malwa, in the valley of the Nerbudda, lying between the British territories and the head-quarters of the Pindarees. It was founded by an Afghan favourite of Aurungzebe, who assumed independence soon after the death of his master. In 1778 the reigning prince was the only chief in Central India who afforded any support to General Goddard in his adventurous march across the peninsula. His kindness on that occasion exposed him to the vengeance of the Maharrattas, but it has never been forgotten by the British Government. The testimonials granted by the General of the important services rendered to him are carefully preserved as heir-looms in the royal archives of Bhopal. The state had been governed for many years by the celebrated Vizier Mahomed, a man of rare talent and resolution. In 1813 Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, impelled by the simple lust of acquisition, entered into an alliance for the partition of the territory, and a body of 60,000 troops laid siege to the capital. The noble defence of it for nine months by the Vizier has always been the subject of special admiration among the Mahomedan princes of India. But the garrison was at length reduced by casualties and desertions to about two hundred men; the stock of provisions was exhausted, and the destruction of the little state appeared inevitable, when it was arrested by the desertion of the Nagpore general. He pretended that he had been warned in a dream to relinquish the enterprize; but he was

himself a Mahomedan, and both he and the Afghans in the Nagpore army had a strong feeling of sympathy for their fellow-countrymen in Bhopal, and were unwilling to reduce them to extremities. Sindia was happy of an excuse to retire from an inglorious siege; but the confederates renewed it in 1814, and Vizier Mahomed applied with increased importunity for the interference of the British Government. Lord Hastings felt that it was important to preserve a principality situated like that of Bhopal from subjugation, and scarcely less so to prevent the growth of Sindia's influence at the court of Nagpore, and he directed the Resident at Delhi to grant the Nabob the alliance he solicited without waiting for instructions from Leadenhall-street. The two Mahratta princes were therefore informed that Bhopal was now under British protection, and that their forces must be withdrawn forthwith. The raja of Nagpore, after some hesitation, recalled his army, but Sindia assumed a lofty bearing—it was at the time of our disasters in Nepal—and declared that Bhopal was one of his dependencies, with which the British Government was debarred from interfering by the treaty of 1805. Bhopal, it was well known, though sometimes invaded, had continued to maintain its independence amidst the anarchy of the times; but the Mahratta powers considered every province which they had once laid under contribution as a perpetual dependency. Sindia's claim was successfully met by a reference to documents; but the vigorous preparations which Lord Hastings was making to enforce his demand, combined with the successes of General Ochterlony, proved a stronger argument, and induced him to lower his tone. His two commanders, moreover, who had long been at variance, attacked each other under the walls of Bhopal, and his army was soon after recalled. But the projected alliance fell to the ground. Vizier Mahomed never had any serious intention of encumbering himself with it, and with genuine Afghan duplicity was treating with Sindia at the same time that he was negotiating with the British Resident, in the hope of playing off one party

against the other. Lord Hastings, disgusted with this perfidious conduct, ordered that his envoy should be dismissed without an audience when he next made his appearance at Delhi. The miscarriage of this project, however vexatious at the time, saved the honour of the Company's Government, as a despatch was soon after received from the India House positively forbidding the Governor-General to contract the alliance, or indeed to adopt any measure which might give umbrage to Sindia.

Affairs of Poona, 1803—1814. To turn to the progress of events at Poona. Bajee Rao, the last of the Peshwas, though not deficient in a certain kind of ability, had none of the talents for government which had more or less distinguished his ancestors. For the success of his schemes he always depended on the spirit of intrigue, which was his ruling passion through life, and no dependence could ever be placed on his most solemn assurances. He was the slave of avarice and of superstition. In the course of ten years he had succeeded, by incessant extortion and extreme parsimony, in amassing treasure to the extent of five crores of rupees, but he was lavish to extravagance in the support of brahmins and temples, and his time was spent in constant pilgrimages. In these tours he was always accompanied by a golden image of Vishnoo in a state palankeen, surrounded by a numerous and expensive staff of priests, and escorted by a guard of his choicest troops. The violent death of the Peshwa, Narayun Rao, a brahmin, was universally attributed to his father Raghoba; and to absolve his family from the guilt of this impious deed, he fed a hundred thousand brahmins, and planted a hundred thousand mango-trees around Poona. After having absorbed the estates of many minor chiefs, he turned his attention in 1812 to the great feudatories of the Mahratta empire, denominated the southern jageerdars,—most of them of greater antiquity than his own house,—whom he had long regarded with a rapacious eye. When united they were able to bring 20,000 men into the field, and might at any time have created a revolution at

Poona, but for the presence of the subsidiary force. The eminent services which they rendered to General Wellesley in 1803 had given them a strong claim on the British Government, on which they presumed so far as to relax in their allegiance to the Peshwa, and refuse him their stipulated contingents when required to repel the Pindarees. The Resident was therefore obliged to interfere, but the settlement which he dictated was unsatisfactory to both parties, inasmuch as it bound the jageerdars to do homage to their liege lord, and guaranteed their possessions against his cupidity.

Trimbukjee, 1813-1815. About the year 1813, one, Trimbukjee, who eventually became the cause of the Peshwa's ruin, began to rise to notice at his court. He was originally a spy, but by his intelligence and energy, and not less by pandering to his master's vices, gained a complete ascendancy over his mind. Trimbukjee, on his part, manifested such servile devotion to the Peshwa, as to assure Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, that he was ready even to kill a cow at his bidding. He entertained an inveterate animosity towards the British, and was incessantly urging Bajee Rao to shake off their alliance, and re-assert the ancient power, and revive the policy, of the Mahratta empire. It was under his influence that the general confederacy against the Company's Government was organised in 1815. His next device was to establish the ascendancy of his master at the Guzerat court. The Peshwa had claims on that state, extending back for half a century, which, with the accumulation of interest, amounted to three crores of rupees. The lease of the district of Ahmedabad, which the Peshwa had given to the Guickwar for ten years, was about to expire, and he was anxious to renew it. The Guickwar, therefore, deputed his chief minister, Gungadhur Shastree, to Poona, to settle these perplexing questions, but such was the universal dread of Trimbukjee's violence, that the Shastree would not venture on the journey without a safe conduct from the Resident. His reception at Poona was ungracious, and he was baffled by perpetual

evasions and obstructions. The renewal of the lease of Ahmedabad was peremptorily refused, and it was bestowed on Trimbukjee, who was also introduced to Mr. Elphinstone as the Peshwa's chief minister. The Shastree, seeing no prospect of the success of his mission, determined, with the concurrence of Mr. Elphinstone, to return to Baroda. The Peshwa and his favourite, on hearing of this intention, immediately changed their tactics, and spared no pains to win him over to their interests. Trimbukjee flattered him with the assurance that Bajee Rao had conceived so high an opinion of his talents, that he was about to confer on him an office of great dignity at Poona, and as a proof of his sincerity, to offer his own sister-in-law in marriage to the Shastree's son. The Shastree was induced by this cozenage to agree to a compromise of all his master's claims for lands yielding seven lacs of rupees a-year. This bargain might have been advantageous, considering that the Peshwa, in addition to the arrear of three crores, claimed an annual tribute of twenty-five lacs of rupees, but it was made without the consent of Mr. Elphinstone or the Guickwar, both of whom at once repudiated it.

Murder of the
Shastree, 1815.

An auspicious day had been selected by the astrologers, and the most splendid preparations had been made for the nuptials, but the Shastree, on hearing that his royal master rejected the settlement, requested that they might be at once suspended. He had already given great offence to the Peshwa by refusing to allow his wife to visit the palace, where she must have been witness to scenes of revolting debauchery, but the interruption of the wedding, which humiliated the Peshwa in the eyes of his subjects, was considered an unpardonable insult, which nothing but the blood of the Shastree could expiate. The Peshwa proceeded on pilgrimage to Punderpore, and the Shastree, though warned of his danger, was so infatuated as to accompany him. To throw him off his guard, the most cordial communications were maintained with him, and he was induced, by the repeated importunity of Trimbukjee, to pay his devo-

tions after dusk at the shrine. On his return, he was overtaken at a distance of three hundred yards from the temple, by the assassins of the Minister and cut to pieces. The murder of a brahmin of the highest caste, and, moreover, a Shastree, renowned for his sacred learning, in a holy city, at the period of a pilgrimage, and in the immediate precincts of the temple, filled the Mahratta community with horror and dismay. But the victim was also the minister of a British ally, and had proceeded to the court of Poona, under the guarantee of the British Resident, who determined to lose no time in vindicating the honour of his Government. Mr. Elphinstone returned in haste from the caves of Ellora, which he was at the time employed in exploring, to Poona, and instituted a rigid enquiry into all the circumstances connected with the assassination. The guilt of Trimbukjee was established beyond all question, and Mr. Elphinstone called on the Peshwa to place him under arrest, and eventually to give him up. The demand was strenuously resisted by Bajee Rao, who began to levy troops, and to sound the other Mahratta powers to ascertain how far he could depend on their aid, if he broke with the British Government. Sindia's reply was disguised under the form of a banker's letter: "This banking house is the Naek's (the Peshwa's), while your house is in want of cash (troops); you must submit to the importunity of creditors (the Company). The Naek ought to go about some time on pilgrimage, but let him write a bill in his own hand, and whatever money is required shall be sent." The Peshwa was half inclined to make common cause with his favourite and minister, whom he could not surrender without incurring obloquy, and to raise the standard of the Mahratta empire. But Mr. Elphinstone had taken the precaution of calling up troops to the capital; the Peshwa's natural cowardice overcame every other feeling, and Trimbukjee was made over to him on the 25th September, 1815, on condition that his life should be spared. He was conveyed to the fort of Tannah, where he freely admitted the murder of the Shastree to the British officers,

but assured them that he had not acted without his master's orders.

Lord Hastings's second representation to the Court, 1815.

Lord Hastings returned to Calcutta from the North West towards the close of 1815, and on the 1st December placed on record an elaborate minute, drawn up from the notes of Mr. Metcalfe, in which he pointed out in stronger language than he had before employed, the increasing dangers arising from the growth of the Pindaree power, and the urgent necessity of active measures to suppress it. To effect this object he proposed a general system of alliances, under the guarantee of the British Government, a complete revision of our relations with the native powers, and a new settlement of the Mahratta dominions. The chief objection of the Court of Directors to any vigorous effort to root out the Pindarees, was the dread of irritating the Mahrattas generally, and Sindia in particular. But Lord Hastings did not hesitate to assure them that "if there was no choice left, he should prefer an immediate war with the Mahrattas, for which we should be fully prepared, to an expensive system of defence, against a consuming predatory warfare, carried on clandestinely by the Mahratta powers, wasting our resources, till they might see a practicable opportunity of coming to an open rupture." Mr. Edmonstone and Mr. Dowdeswell questioned the existence of any such hostile feeling among the Mahratta princes, and opposed the formation of any new alliances; the plan was therefore submitted to the home authorities, without their concurrence. While this minute was on its way to England, the necessity of some immediate effort to curb the Pindarees was rendered the more imperative by their increasing audacity. The *dussera* festival, when the plan of the campaign was usually organised, was celebrated in 1815 at Nimaur, the head-quarters of the great Pindaree leader Cheetoo, by a larger assemblage than had ever been collected before. The Company's territories had hitherto been unmolested, owing to the constant, vigorous, and active preparations of Government, but at the suggestion of the Mahratta princes,

Pindaree irruption, 1815-16.

the depredations of the Pindarees were now to be especially directed against them, and the dominions of the Nizam. On the 14th October, a body of 8,000 predatory horse crossed the Nerbudda, and swept through the Nizam's territories as far south as the Kistna, and returned to Nimaur so richly laden with booty, that it was found necessary to invite merchants from all quarters to purchase it. This extraordinary success brought additional crowds to their standard, and a second and larger expedition, consisting of 23,000 Pindarees, crossed the Nerbudda in February. One large division poured down on the Northern Sircars, sacked the civil station of Guntoor on the Coromandel coast, and for ten days plundered the villages around with perfect impunity. Troops and arms were despatched from Calcutta to Masulipatam by sea, in all haste, but the Pindarees had disappeared before their arrival; indeed, they moved with such rapidity, that it would have been as impossible to overtake them as a flight of locusts. Officers were subsequently appointed by Government to ascertain the injury they had inflicted on the country, and it was found that in the Company's territories alone three hundred and thirty-nine villages had been plundered, and many of them burnt, one hundred and eighty-two persons put to death, five hundred wounded, and three thousand six hundred subjected to torture, while the loss of property exceeded twenty-five lacs of rupees. The inhabitants had not seen the smoke of an enemy's camp for fifty years. Ever since Clive had annexed the Northern Sircars to the Company's territories in 1765, the people had felt that they were living under the protection of a power whose name was a sufficient guarantee of safety; but all confidence was now extinguished, and they began to desert their villages. The atrocities committed by these marauders, and the refinement of cruelty they practised on their victims, were thus vividly described by Mr. Canning:—"Rapine, murder in all its shapes, torture, rape, and conflagration, were not rare and accidental occurrences in their progress, but the uniform object of every enterprize. There were instances

where the whole female population of a village precipitated themselves into the wells as the only refuge from these brutal and barbarous spoilers; where, at their approach, fathers of families surrounded their own dwellings with fuel, and perished with their children in the flames kindled by their own hands." No previous invasion of the Pindarees had been so systematically directed against the Company's dominions, or perpetrated with so much audacity.

The success of this expedition manifested the great importance of obtaining the co-operation of the raja of Nagpore, through whose territories the Pindarees passed on crossing the Nerbudda.

The raja had steadily resisted every proposal of a subsidiary alliance, but his death on the 22nd March, 1816, opened a favourable opportunity of obtaining it. He was succeeded by his son Persajee, nearly forty years of age, blind, palsied, and sunk into a state of complete idiocy. His nephew, known in the history of India as Appa Sahib, was recognised as regent, but was opposed by a powerful faction, both in the court and in the zenana. He found it impossible, therefore, to maintain his position without foreign assistance, but, instead of invoking the aid of Sindia or Holkar, or one of the Pindaree leaders, any of whom would have been happy to hasten to his relief, and thus to obtain a substantial footing at Nagpore, he applied to Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, and offered to conclude the subsidiary alliance his uncle had rejected, on condition of receiving the support of the British authorities. Lord Hastings eagerly embraced a proposal which would place the resources of Nagpore at his disposal, and enable him to plant a British force on the Nerbudda. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the 27th May, which provided that a force of 6,000 infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, together with a due proportion of artillery, should be subsidised by the Nagpore state, at an expense of seven lacs and a-half of rupees a-year. It was likewise stipulated that the raja should engage in no foreign negotiation without the concurrence of the British Government, to whom

Subsidiary
alliance with
Nagpore, 27th
May, 1816.

likewise all differences with foreign princes were to be submitted. The Nagpore ministers earnestly pleaded for the insertion of a clause prohibiting the slaughter of kine in the Nagpore territories, but it was distinctly rejected, as a similar request had been refused to Sindia's envoys twelve years before. "Thus have I been enabled," wrote Lord Hastings, "to effect what has been fruitlessly laboured at for twelve years. Sindia's designs on Nagpore, as well as the Peshwa's, are defeated, and the interception of the Pindarees is rendered certain." Soon after, orders arrived from England, revoking the permission which had been formerly given to conclude this alliance; but it arrived too late to do any mischief.

In a former chapter it has been stated that in 1805 Sir George Barlow repudiated the engagement of Lord Lake to afford protection to Jeypore, and abandoned it to spoliation. The Court of Directors approved of this decision, but they appear subsequently to have felt some degree of compunction at this sacrifice of British honour and of the welfare of Jeypore, and in December, 1813, gave their sanction to the renewal of the alliance with that state. The Nepal war, which occurred soon after, rendered it advisable to postpone the execution of these instructions. Meanwhile, Ameer Khan and his freebooters, having drained Joudhpore, entered Jeypore, and laid siege to the capital, with the intention of completing the reduction of the state. The raja despatched a vakeel to Mr. Metcalfe, at Delhi, to implore his interposition, and Lord Hastings, availing himself of the warrant of the Court of Directors, determined to conclude the alliance, and receive Jeypore under British protection. Mr. Edmonstone and Mr. Dowdeswell strenuously opposed this measure, but Mr. Seton, the third member of Council, concurred with Lord Hastings, and enabled him to carry out his plans by his own casting vote. Mr. Metcalfe was then instructed to entertain the raja's application. Two armies, each 9,000 strong, were ordered to assemble in the neighbourhood of Muttra to support this resolution, and to

Attempted
alliance with
Jeypore, 1816.

expel the Patans from Jeypore. To be prepared for any opposition which might be offered by Sindia or Holkar, who, having repeatedly plundered Jeypore, had the usual Mahratta claims upon it, the four subsidiary armies of the Nizam, the Peshwa, the Guickwar, and the Bhonslay, were ordered to take up strategic positions in the south. The force thus assembled fell little short of 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, and was sufficient to crush whatever antagonism might arise, but the raja of Jeypore dreaded the alliance with the Company almost, if not altogether, as much as he dreaded the exactions of Ameer Khan, and in the true spirit of Oriental policy carried on negotiations simultaneously with both parties, menacing the Patan with the weight of a British force, which, he said, he had only to sign the treaty to bring down upon him. The threat was effectual, and Amcer Khan, anxious to avoid a collision with British troops, raised the siege. As soon as his retirement had relieved the raja from his terrors, he endeavoured to evade the alliance by advancing new and preposterous terms. The negotiation was, therefore, broken off, and all the military movements countermanded.

Mr. George Canning, one of the most brilliant Despatches from the India House, 1816. of English statesmen, accepted the office of President of the Board of Control in June, 1816, and was immediately required to investigate and decide on the largest and the most momentous question which had ever been submitted to the Board. This was the adoption or rejection of the plans proposed by Lord Hastings in the previous month of December for a general system of alliances with the native powers, under the guarantee of the Company, in order to extinguish the Pindaree confederacy, to restore tranquillity to Central India, and give security to the British possessions. It was a bolder scheme of policy even than that of Lord Wellesley which had been for ten years under the ban of the Court of Directors; it was nothing less than the establishment of the universal supremacy of the Company throughout

the continent of India. Mr. Canning was new to the Government, and it is, therefore, no matter of surprise that he should have been unwilling to assume the responsibility of introducing so fundamental a change in the policy of the empire, and have resolved rather to adhere to the existing system, which was pronounced the safest, not only by the sage counsellors in Calcutta, but by those who might be considered his constitutional advisers in Leadenhall-street. He accordingly drew up a very elaborate and interesting minute, which reviewed the political condition of India, and laid down rules for the guidance of the local authorities. It exhibited the clearest tokens of his great talent and of his inexperience. The Secret Committee, who signed it officially, said they were unwilling to incur the risk of a general war for the uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindarees. They would not sanction any extended political and military combinations for this object. It was probable that we might calculate on the aid of Sindia to protect the Company's dominions from their aggressions. Any attempt at this time to establish a new system of policy tending to an undue diffusion of our power must necessarily interfere with those economical considerations which it was more than ever incumbent to recommend. They even suggested the expediency of improving any opportunity which might be presented of treating with any of the Pindaree chiefs, or with the men for delivering up their leaders. Such advice kindled the indignation of Lord Hastings. "When the Honourable Committee," he replied, "suggest the expediency of engaging one portion of the Pindaree association to destroy another, I am roused by the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home the brutal and atrocious qualities of these wretches . . . and I am confident that nothing would have been more repugnant to the feelings of the Honourable Committee than the notion that the Government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of a confidential intercourse in a common cause with any of these

gangs." But immediately after the transmission of this despatch of the 5th September, Mr. Canning received intelligence of the irruption of the Pindarees on the Coromandel coast, and the desolation they had spread for ten days through the Company's districts, and his views underwent an immediate and auspicious change. Within three weeks another communication was sent out under his directions, which said: "The previous instructions discouraging plans of general confederacy and of offensive operations were not intended to restrain the exercise of your judgment and discretion upon any occasion when actual war on our territories might be commenced by any body of marauders. We think it due to your lordship not to lose an instant in conveying to you an explicit assurance of our approbation of any measures which you may have authorized or undertaken, not only for repelling invasion, but for pursuing and chastising the invaders. 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." The enormities of the Pindarees had overcome even the dread of irritating Sindia, the great bugbear of the India House: "Any connection of Sindia and Holkar with the Pindarees against us or our allies, known, though not avowed, would place them in a state of direct hostility to us."

Pindaree campaign, 1816-17.

The Pindaree expedition of 1815-16 was sufficient to convince Mr. Canning of the necessity of adopting energetic measures to eradicate this plague, but it required another season of desolation to convince Mr. Edmonstone and Mr. Dowdeswell of the same truth. Lord Hastings was confident that the establishment of the Nagpore subsidiary force at the fords of the Nerbudda would be sufficient to intercept the Pindarees. As the period of their annual swarming approached, Colonel Walker moved up to the ferries with a body of 6,000 horse and foot; but this force was soon found to be utterly unequal to the protection of a line a

hundred and fifty miles in extent. The Pindarees pushed across in detachments between his posts, one of which was ninety miles from its nearest support. A party of 5,000 men suddenly crossed the river on his extreme right, within sight of his infantry, while his cavalry was posted on the opposite flank, and rushed forward with such speed as to baffle all pursuit. They fell on the Company's district of Kimedey, and burnt a portion of the town of Ganjam, and, but for the presence of a large force which happened to be assembled in order to quell a local insurrection, would have laid Juggunnath and the district of Orissa under contribution. Another body laid waste the territories of Nagpore and Hyderabad. Such was the audacity which success had created in the minds of these freebooters that one of the leaders, with a band of only five hundred horse, swept through the Peshwa's dominions, and after having plundered two hundred miles of the Malabar coast, returned leisurely up the valley of the Taptec. Though attacked with some success during their progress homewards, the men brought back so rich a booty in their saddles as to give fresh vigour to the predatory spirit. The expedition of the season of 1816-17 was the boldest the Pindarees had ever undertaken, and it gave rise to the gravest considerations. With the Nagpore subsidiary force guarding the passages of the Nerbudda, 23,000 Pindarees had succeeded in crossing it with ease. Independently of the Nizam's reformed contingent and of the Poona brigade, no fewer than 32,000 men belonging to the Company's and King's force had been stationed to guard the country between the Kistna and the Toombuddra, but the Pindarees had nevertheless dashed through the Peninsula and across it, and plundered both coasts. It was true that they suffered severely on two occasions, when Major McDowell and Major Lushington succeeded in overtaking them, but the eminent success of these officers was a happy contingency, and not owing to the efficiency of the defensive measures which had been adopted, which, while they proved totally abortive, occa-

sioned an amount of expenditure exceeding the largest calculations of the cost of a more energetic policy. These reflections brought the Council round to the views of Lord Hastings; and on the 16th December, while the permissive despatch of the Court of Directors was coming round the Cape, it was unanimously resolved that "the resolution adopted of refraining from any system of offensive operations against the Pindarees till the sanction of the Court could be received should be abandoned, and that vigorous measures for the suppression of the Pindarees had become an indispensable object of public duty."

The season was too far advanced for any such operations, but preparations were silently commenced on a large scale to take the field in the cold season of 1817. Intimation was immediately conveyed to Sindia of the resolution which had been adopted to extirpate the Pindarees, and he was required to co-operate in carrying it out; but they had agents in his camp, and warm partizans among his ministers, who laboured to persuade him that with their powerful aid he might hope to bid defiance to the Company, and that his own security would be weakened if he allowed these bands, who were almost an integral part of his army, and ready at any time to flock to his standard, to be extinguished. The Pindaree vakeels boasted that they would out-do the exploits of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and that fifty thousand of their body were ready to carry fire and sword to Calcutta; but Sindia was not to be misled by this gasconade. Assye was yet fresh in his memory. More recently he had seen the Company triumphant in Nepal; they had secured the resources of Nagpore; they had evidently abandoned their neutral policy, and the spirit of Lord Wellesley again animated their counsels. He was, therefore, induced to promise his co-operation, though not without great reluctance, and only on condition that the lands recovered from the Pindarees should be transferred to him. This perfunctory aid was not likely to be of much practical use, but it was important to deprive the

Determination
of the Council,
16th December,
1816.

Sindia's
determination,
1817.

cause of the Pindarees, if but ostensibly, of one of their most staunch supporters.

During these negotiations at Gwalior events of deep importance were in progress at Poona. Hostility of Bajee Rao, 1816-17. Trimbukjee had been confined in the fort of Tannah, in the island of Salsette, which, for greater security, was garrisoned only by European troops; but a plan was laid for his deliverance, and it was communicated to him in Mahratta songs, chaunted by a fellow-countryman who had taken service as a groom with one of the officers, while he walked his master's horse too and fro under Trimbukjee's window. He effected his escape in September, 1816. For several months after this event Bajee Rao manifested a spirit of unusual cordiality towards the Resident, Mr. Elphinstone, but Lord Hastings had incontrovertible proof that he was all the while engaged in active and hostile negotiations with Sindia, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the Pindarees. He received the intimation of the resolution to eradicate the Pindarees with every demonstration of delight, but Mr. Elphinstone heard at the same time of the assembly of seditious troops within fifty miles of the capital. At his earnest request a detachment was sent to disperse them, but the commandant, after having held several conferences with them, reported that no insurgents were to be found. Early in March, 1817, it was discovered that these movements were directed by Trimbukjee himself, who was actively employed in raising new levies, while the Peshwa was importuning Mr. Elphinstone to condone his offence and allow him to return to Poona, which was necessarily refused. Meanwhile, another and a more serious revolt broke out in Candesh, and a fortress was occupied by the insurgents. The attitude of the Peshwa became gradually more hostile. He hastened the enlisting of troops, collected guns and bullocks, provisioned his forts, and sent away his wardrobe, jewels, and treasures to his strongest fortress. To counteract these movements Mr. Elphinstone ordered a large British force to Poona, and sent several detachments against

the insurrectionary bands, who were in every case signally routed. On the 1st April he presented a note to the Peshwa reproaching him with the hostile movements he was abetting, and declared that the good understanding between the two Governments was now at an end. Several weeks of fruitless discussion ensued, during which Bajee Rao repeatedly made preparations to quit the capital, which would have been the signal of a general insurrection, but was restrained by his fears. On the 6th May, Mr. Elphinstone brought the controversy to an issue by peremptorily demanding the surrender of Trimbukjee within a month, and the delivery of three of the Peshwa's fortresses to be held as security. To this request he refused to accede with unusual coolness of determination, and declined to make any effort to apprehend his favourite. Troops were ordered up to Poona, and twenty-four hours allowed the Peshwa for his decision. The brave Gokla and the commandant of artillery urged a bold appeal to arms, but he had not the spirit to adopt their advice. The fortresses were made over, and a proclamation issued offering two lacs and a half of rupees for the apprehension of Trimbukjee.

Treaty of June
5th, 1817.

Lord Hastings, however, deemed it necessary, on the eve of his great operations against the Pindarees, to exact greater securities from this faithless prince, and Mr. Elphinstone was instructed to submit to him the draft of a new treaty, binding him to renounce Trimbukjee for ever, to relinquish formally and substantially the character of supreme head of the Mahratta empire, to dismiss the agents of the foreign princes from his court, and to abstain from all further communication with them, referring all matters in dispute to the Company's Government. He was likewise required to resign all his rights feudal, pecuniary, and territorial, in Saugor and Bundelkund, and in lieu of the contingent of 5,000 horse and 3,000 foot, which he was under obligation by the treaty of Bassein to maintain as an auxiliary force, to cede territory yielding twenty-four lacs of rupees a-year. His ministers endeavoured to mitigate the severity of these de-

mands, which their master's offences, whatever they might be, did not, in their opinion, merit, and which were peculiarly grating to his feelings; and they stated that we seemed to exact a greater degree of fidelity to engagements than any native prince was able from his habits to observe. But Mr. Elphinstone was inflexible, and the treaty was signed without any modification on the 13th June. The heavy penalty thus inflicted on the Peshwa for his delinquencies was doubtless the most rigorous, perhaps also the most questionable measure of Lord Hastings's administration, and could be justified only on the ground of inexorable necessity. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to Lord Hastings' own vindication of his proceedings. "I exacted," he said, "cessions from him as the penalty of his base and profligate attempt to excite a general conspiracy against us. These terms were in themselves severe. When, however, they are measured by the magnitude of the injury aimed at us, they will not appear harsh, nor will the necessity of them be doubted, when it is considered that our experience has shown the impossibility of relying on his most solemn professions. We had no choice, consistently with our security, but to cripple him, if we left him on the throne." When the intelligence of these proceedings, as well as of the large additions which had thus been made to the Company's possessions, reached England, Mr. Canning bowed gracefully to the irresistible spirit of progress which, in spite of every effort to repress it, was inherent in the constitution of the Company's Government. His despatch to Calcutta stated: "We feel all the objections which lie against measures tending to reduce or humiliate those native states which, from the extent of their dominions, and from their military talents, were formerly ranked as substantive states. The course of these proceedings, however, sufficiently proves the almost irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and the most scrupulous obedience of them in India; but, while expressing our approbation of these

measures, political and military, we consider it particularly important to declare that we consider any such case as forming an unwelcome though justifiable exception to the general rule of our policy. The occurrence of such exceptions has been unfortunately much too frequent." Yet, so vain are human wishes, that even before this dispatch had left the India House, the whole of the Peshwa's kingdom had been incorporated with the dominions of the Company, with the exception of the small section given to the raja of Satara.

Holkar's Court,
1811-17: To revert to the progress of events at the Court of Holkar. On the death of Jeswunt Rao in 1811, Toolsee bye, the favourite of his harem, adopted a son of his by another concubine, and determined to conduct the government herself in the character of regent. The virtues of Aylah bye, during her successful administration of thirty years, had created a predilection for a female reign, which was of no little service to the plans of Toolsee bye. She was in the bloom of youth and beauty, and with the most fascinating address combined great intelligence and invincible resolution; but her spirit was vindictive, and her morals were dissolute, and she speedily exhausted every feeling of respect. Ameer Khan, who held large jageers from the state, and exercised a preponderating influence in its councils, quitted Indore soon after the death of Jeswunt Rao to pursue his schemes of avarice and ambition in Rajpootana, leaving a relative, Guffoor Khan, with a large body of troops, to maintain the Patan ascendancy; but there was no regularity or solidity in the government. The income of the state, under the most economical management, was insufficient to maintain its overgrown army. When the troops became mutinous for pay, districts were assigned for their support to the commanders, who used their power only to fleece the people. Open villages were sacked, and walled towns cannonaded. The inhabitants took to flight, the lands remained without tillage, and the country presented a scene of desolation and woe. The lawless soldiery did not spare the possessions of

Sindia, and at length threatened the Bye herself with their violence. She sought refuge for a time with Zalim Sing, the regent of Kotah, the only court in Central India which in that period of confusion afforded an asylum for the unfortunate, but she was nevertheless constrained to part with her jewels to appease their rapacity. Soon after, she became enamoured of Gunput Rao, the hereditary dewan of the state. The minister, Buluram sett, ventured to remonstrate with her on the scandal which her amours created, and she caused him to be cut down in her presence. To avenge this foul murder, Guffoor Khan laid siege to the town to which she had retired. She placed herself at the head of her Mahratta horse, and with undaunted courage led the assault till the elephant on which she was seated with the young prince was struck by a cannon ball and became unmanageable, when she mounted a horse, and placing the lad in her lap, fled from the field. Tantia Joge, a brahmin and a merchant, who had risen to distinction by his administrative talents, then accepted the post of minister, and was considered the head of the Mahratta party, while Guffoor Khan, with nine battalions of infantry, headed the Patans. Between these factions the government fell into a state of complete anarchy, and it was at this period, in the autumn of 1817, that the agents of Bajee Rao arrived in the camp to promote the confederacy he was forming against the British Government.

Distracted State of India, 1817. The disorganisation of Central India had now reached its climax. The commanders in Sindia's and Holkar's army were beyond the control of the Government, and employed their troops wherever there was any prospect of plunder. The smaller states were subject to constant spoliation. The Rajpoot principalities were prostrated by internal discord, and the periodical pillage to which they were subject. The soldiers in Central India who depended in a great measure on violence for their means of subsistence, and whom there was no native power with the disposition or the strength to control, fell little short of 100,000. The history of

the previous eight centuries presents no period of such intense and general suffering, and there was every appearance of the approaching dissolution of the bonds of society. On the 8th

July, Lord Hastings left Calcutta, and proceeded to the upper provinces to reduce this chaos to order. Lord Hastings proceeds up the country, 1817. The plan of operations which he laid down

was comprehensive, bold, and decisive. He was convinced that if the Pindarees were simply dispersed, they would speedily assemble again, and that the only mode of dealing effectually with them was to assault them in their haunts, and hunt them through the country, till their organisation was irretrievably annihilated. He felt, moreover, that to prevent the renewal of such confederacies, it was necessary to resettle Central India, which now exhibited only a general scramble for power and plunder, to define the boundaries of each prince, and prevent mutual encroachments by the ascendancy of one paramount authority. Mr. Canning had sanctioned the adoption of vigorous measures, not only to resist the inroads of the Pindarees, but also to chastise them, but in the same despatch he alluded, without qualification, to the instructions of the previous year, which interdicted plans of general federation; and the standing orders to form no new treaties without the warrant of the India House, had never been revoked. Lord Hastings was however, convinced, that without a general combination of all the princes north of the Nerbudda, under the supremacy of the Company, there was no hope of permanent tranquillity; but this policy found little favour with the members of Council. On his progress to the north-west, therefore, he communicated to them his reasons for deviating from the views of the home authorities, and took on himself the sole responsibility of the general system of alliances he had determined to form. To the Court of Directors he wrote that unexpected events had presented a juncture which required to be dealt with according to its own peculiar features, and that he had construed their instructions as not applicable to circumstances so little analogous to what had been contemplated by them.

Extent of military operations, 1817.

The military operations on which Lord Hastings was now about to enter were on a grander scale than any in which the Company had as yet been engaged. They embraced the whole extent of country from the Kistna in the south, to the Ganges in the north; and from Cawnpore in the east, to Guzerat on the western coast, six hundred miles in one direction, and seven hundred in another. The army was, moreover, the largest which had ever taken the field in India under British colours. The battle of Plassy, which laid the foundation of British power, was won with 2,100 men. The army with which Lord Cornwallis struck down the power of Tippoo in 1793 did not exceed 31,000. The troops assembled by Lord Wellesley during the Mahratta war, independent of the irregular horse of the allies, amounted to 55,000. On the present occasion Lord Hastings called out the armies of the three Presidencies, and, including irregulars and the contingents of native princes, was enabled to assemble a force of 116,000 infantry and cavalry, with three hundred guns. The magnitude of this force was out of proportion to the simple object of extinguishing bands of marauders, who never stood an attack. But Lord Hastings knew that the Mahratta powers had an interest in common with the Pindarees, and were opposed to the extinction of an association which might be turned to account in any struggle with the British Government. He had every reason to believe that a general confederacy had been formed of the native powers against the interests of the Company. Sindia was known to have received twenty-five lacs of rupees from the Peshwa, as the price of his assistance, and to have given a direct assurance of support to the Pindarees and to Ameer Khan, in case they were attacked. Lord Hastings had determined that in this crusade against the Pindarees, no native prince should be allowed to remain neuter, and his preparations were intended to provide against every adverse contingency which might arise. Happily, the powers of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief were combined in his hands, and all arrangements, both military and political,

were directed by the same mind, and regulated by the same undivided authority. A complete harmony of operations was thus secured, which eminently contributed to the success of the war. The veteran soldier of sixty-three took the field in person, and gave promptitude and energy to every movement. The plan which he drew out of the campaign, with its manifold combinations from points widely separated from each other, exhibited military talent of no ordinary standard. Four armies advanced from the Deccan under the direction of the Madras Commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Hislop, and four from the north-west provinces, to converge on the haunts of the Pindarees, and prevent the possibility of their escape. The only event which was likely to disturb these well-devised plans was the support which they might obtain from the Mahratta powers, but Lord Hastings considered that after the treaties he had concluded with the Nagpore raja and the Peshwa, he was safe from any interference on their part, and the regent of Holkar's cabinet was negotiating for British protection.

Treaty with
Sindia, 1817.

In the north, however, it was necessary to place an effectual curb on the hostile tendencies of Sindia and Ameer Khan. Sindia's army was at this period in a state of more than ordinary insubordination, and one division had placed its commander under arrest. But rumours had been spread through the camp that Bajee Rao was about to erect the national standard and attack the Company, and Sindia's troops became eager to join him in this warfare, while Sindia himself as it afterwards appeared, had pledged his faith to that prince. There could be little doubt that the whole of Sindia's military resources would be engaged against Government in the coming struggle, and it was necessary to meet this emergency with promptitude. A note was accordingly delivered to him by the Resident, on the 10th October, stating that the Governor-General considered the treaty of 1805 abrogated by his having excited the Pindarees against the British Government, and repeatedly granted them an asylum after they had been openly engaged in plundering the territories of the Company.

Government was therefore no longer fettered by that clause of the treaty which placed restrictions on the formation of any connection with the chiefs of Malwa and Rajpootana, with whom Lord Hastings had now determined to contract alliances for the security of the Company's territories. It stated that the British Government was not seeking any private advantage, and that the sole object of the armaments then assembled was to extinguish all predatory associations and restore tranquillity. Sindia was therefore requested to give his co-operation, and to place his troops at the disposal of the Governor-General, to be stationed according to his judgment, with a British officer attached to each division. As a proof of his sincerity he was moreover required to admit a British garrison, temporarily, into the fortress of Hindia on the Nerbudda, and into Asseergur, reputed the strongest fort in India, and the key of the Deccan. During these negotiations Sindia was detected in a correspondence with the raja of Nepal, whom he prompted to a simultaneous attack on the Company's dominions. The letters were found on his messenger, inserted between the leaves of a Sanscrit manuscript of the Vedas, and, to his great confusion, were returned to him in open durbar. To hasten his determination and fix his wavering mind, Lord Hastings took the field on the 16th October, crossed the Jumna on a bridge of boats, and marched directly upon Gwalior, while General Donkin, with the left division, moved down at the same time towards the same point. Sindia was confounded by the rapidity of these movements, which not only cut him off at once from all communication with the Peshwa and the Pindarees, but also with the bulk of his own army then encamped in his southern provinces, and left him isolated at Gwalior, with not more than 8,000 troops. On the 5th November, the two British divisions were within two marches of his capital, when he signed the treaty, and thus saved his kingdom from the fate which overtook the other Mahratta powers.

The Cholera,
1817.

While Lord Hastings lay in the vicinity of Gwalior, his camp was desolated by a visitation of

the cholera. This disease had made its appearance at intervals during the previous forty years in different parts of India, but never with such alarming violence as on the present occasion, and the year 1817 is marked as the period when this mysterious scourge of the nineteenth century became permanently established as an epidemic in India. It broke out in the first instance in the district of Jessore, within fifty miles of Calcutta, and depopulated entire villages. It baffled the skill both of the European faculty and the native doctors, none of whom were able to discover the cause or the cure of the malady. The superstitious natives resorted to the expedient of making one more addition to the three hundred and thirty millions of their deities, and established rites to propitiate the malevolent goddess of the cholera. It gradually crept up the banks of the river, and about the 13th November entered Lord Hastings' camp, and for a time paralysed the army in mind as well as body. It was calculated that the strength of the force, including its camp followers, was diminished by deaths and desertions to the extent of nearly twenty thousand. Lord Hastings was apprehensive lest an exaggerated report of the prostration of the army might induce Sindia to violate the arrangements he had so recently made, and he called his staff together, and directed them, in case he should fall a victim to the disease, to bury him in his tent under the table, and to conceal his death till Sindia had fulfilled his engagements. Under the advice of the medical officers, the position of the camp was shifted to the banks of the Betwa, and the virulence of the disease subsided.

Ameer Khan,
1817.

Ameer Khan, at this conjuncture, was scarcely a less important chief than Sindia. The little band of freebooters with whom he begun his course, had grown up into an army of fifty-two battalions of well-trained infantry, and a powerful cavalry, and a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. It was as essential to the peace of India to break up the Patan, as the Pindaree force. Lord Hastings did not therefore hesitate to offer to guarantee to him the territories

he held in jageer from Holkar, if he engaged to disband his army and surrender his guns, for a valuation. A month was allowed him for the acceptance of the proposed treaty, and though he wavered at first, the defeat of Bajec Rao and of the raja of Nagpore, and the extinction of their power, to which we shall presently allude, convinced him that the star of the Company was still in the ascendant, and he at once accepted the alternative of the treaty, and became an independent feudatory prince, with an income of fifteen laes of rupees a-year, a dignity to which a career of eleven years of violence and crime gave him little claim.

The intimation given to Sindia of the nullification of that clause of Sir George Barlow's treaty, which barred all interference with the states of Malwa and Rajpootana, was followed up with vigour. The chiefs were informed that the neutral policy had ceased to exist, and that the British Government was prepared to admit them to alliances which would protect them from the oppressions to which they had been subjected. The intelligence diffused joy through the provinces, and the princes became eager to embrace the offer. There was at least this advantage connected with the reversal of Lord Wellesley's policy by the Court, that the incalculable misery thereby inflicted on the country prepared the princes to appreciate the restoration of it more highly than they might otherwise have done. The chief management of this series of alliances was entrusted to Mr. Metcalfe, and the residency at Delhi was speedily crowded with the agents of nineteen princes of Central India. The first to enter into the arrangement was the venerable Zalim Sing, who had for half a century managed the affairs of the Afghan principality of Kotah with extraordinary ability. So great was the reputation of his virtues that in that age of violence he became the general umpire in the disputes of the surrounding princes, and their treasures were deposited in his fort as in the safest of sanctuaries. He promoted the operations against the Pindarees with great zeal,

Treaties of
alliance with
the native
princes, 1817-18.

and was subsequently rewarded with the grant of four districts taken from Holkar's possessions. The raja was an imbecile cypher, unknown beyond the precincts of the palace, and Lord Hastings offered to conclude the treaty with Zalim Sing himself, but his own feeling of moderation, and a respect for public opinion, which would have condemned this assumption of royalty, induced him to decline the honour, and content himself with the office of hereditary minister. Then came the nabob of Bhopal, the virtuous and accomplished Nusser Mahomed, who cheerfully accepted the alliance which his father had rejected. The assistance he afforded in the Pindaree campaign, and the kindness of his ancestors to General Goddard, were acknowledged by the grant of five valuable districts taken from the Peshwa. Under the auspices of the British Government his revenues, which had been reduced by usurpation to little more than a lac of rupees a-year, were improved to the extent of ten lacs. The raja of Boondee had braved the threats of Holkar in 1805, and afforded succour to General Monson. He had been ungenerously abandoned by Sir George Barlow to the vengeance of that chief, and to the spoliation of Sindia, but was now taken under British protection, and his devotion requited by an accession of territory, and an entire exemption from the heavy tribute imposed on his state by Holkar. No events connected with this great settlement of Central India produced a more favourable impression on the native mind than this grateful recognition of ancient services in the hour of triumph. The raja of Joudhpore had been brought to the brink of ruin by the Mahrattas and the Patans, and he eagerly accepted the offer of an alliance which relieved him from all further dread of their exactions. No Rajpoot state had suffered so severely from rapine as Oodypore. To the rana who had lost the greater portion of his territories, and whose revenues had been reduced to two lacs of rupees a-year, the arrangement now proposed by Lord Hastings, which cleared his country at once of the swarm of plunderers which had fastened on it, was a godsend. It was

the proud boast of the house of Oodypore, with its claim of unfathomable antiquity, that it had never given a daughter in marriage to the throne of Delhi, in the height of its grandeur, and had never acknowledged the sovereignty of Mogul or Mahratta, though repeatedly overwhelmed by both; but the sovereign now cheerfully submitted to the supremacy of the foreigner, who, as he said, "had come in ships from a country before unknown." The last of the principal Rajpoot states to accept the alliance was Jeypore, and it was not till the raja saw every power prostrate before the British arms, and the settlement of Central India on the eve of being completed without including him, that he consented to come into the system. Treaties were also concluded in succession with the secondary and minor principalities, upon the same basis of "subordinate co-operation and acknowledged supremacy," and of the reference of all international disputes to the arbitration of the Company. All these treaties, with the exception of two, were negotiated and signed within the short period of four months.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PINDAREE AND MAHRATTA WAR—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES, 1817—1822.

THE head-quarters of the three Pindaree chiefs were centrally situated in the south of Malwa, and it was towards this position that the left division of the Bengal force and two divisions of the Deccan army began to advance about the middle of October. This movement was immediately followed by the explosion of the plot which the Peshwa had been organising amongst the Mahratta powers for the overthrow of the Company's power. He himself broke out on the 5th November; the raja of Nagpore on the 26th of that month, and Holkar on the 16th December. The

Outbreak of the Peshwa, 1817.

Peshwa had left his capital immediately after signing the Treaty of the 13th June, and proceeded first on a pilgrimage to Punderpore, and then to the palace he had recently erected at Maholy, seventy miles from Poona. There he was visited, at his own request, by Sir John Malcolm who had been appointed to the command of a division of the Madras army, and was making the tour of the native courts as political agent in the Deccan. The Peshwa, who affected to consider him an ancient friend, complained with great animosity of the humiliation the treaty had inflicted on him; but he manifested, notwithstanding, a feeling of so much cordiality towards the British Government, and so great an anxiety to assist in putting down the Pindarees that the kind and credulous general was thrown off his guard, and encouraged him to increase the strength and efficiency of his army. Mr. Elphinstone, with a better knowledge of the duplicity of the Peshwa, predicted a different destination for this force, but was unwilling to check the generous sympathies of Sir John. General Smith's division was, therefore, allowed to quit Poona, and proceed to join the expedition against the Pindarees, and the cautionary fortresses were restored. Bajee Rao now redoubled his efforts to augment his army, and advanced a crore of rupees from his private hoard to Gokla, to whom he committed the entire management of his political and military affairs. No pains were spared to conciliate the southern jageerdars, whom hitherto the Peshwa had always regarded with the strongest aversion, and they were ordered to attend his stirrup at the earliest moment with their full contingent of troops. His forts were repaired, stored and garrisoned, and orders were issued to equip the Mahratta fleet. Special envoys were sent to the Mahratta princes to enlist them in the confederacy. A plan was laid for the assassination of Mr. Elphinstone, whom he feared and hated, but the noble-minded Gokla refused to lend himself to so base a scheme, and it was dropped. Great exertions were made, under the immediate direction of the Peshwa, to

whose feelings such an effort was particularly congenial, to seduce the sepoys from their loyalty, but though a large number of them had been enlisted within his own provinces, and their families were completely within his power, they exhibited a noble example of fidelity to the Company, and brought the sums which had been left with them by the Bajee Rao's emissaries to their own officers. The Peshwa returned to Poona at the beginning of October. At the last interview with Mr. Elphinstone, he deplored the loss which he had sustained of territory, revenue, and dignity, but repeated the assurance that the troops he had assembled were intended to co-operate against the Pindarees. Towards the close of the month, however, his cavalry gave unequivocal tokens of the hostile disposition of their master by caracoling round the British encampment and insulting the officers and men. Mr. Elphinstone, seeing a conflict inevitable, called up a European regiment from Bombay, and thus imparted to his little native force that confidence which the presence of European soldiers always inspires. The camp was at the same time removed from Poona to a more defensible position at Kirkee, about two miles distant, but the whole British force did not exceed 3,000 while the Mahratta army mustered 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot.

Battle of Kirkee,
5th Nov., 1817. The preparations of the Peshwa were now mature, and, in the full assurance that Sindia and Amcer Khan were already in the field, and that their example would soon be followed by the raja of Berar and Holkar, he precipitately plunged into hostilities on the 5th November—the very day on which Sindia signed the treaty which detached him from the confederacy. Towards noon he sent one of his ministers to Mr. Elphinstone to propound the terms on which he would consent to continue on terms of friendship with the British Government. They were sufficiently arrogant, and were rejected, as a matter of course. While his messenger was on his way back, the plain was covered with masses of cavalry, and an endless

stream of soldiers issued from every avenue of the city. Mr. Elphinstone lost no time in joining the camp, but he had no sooner quitted the Residency than the Mahrattas rushed in and burnt it to the ground, together with all his valuable papers. Considering the great disparity of force, he believed it would be most judicious boldly to take the offensive, and he advised Colonel Burr, the commander, to assail the Mahrattas instead of awaiting their attack. The superstitious minds of the Peshwa's soldiers had been depressed by the accidental fracture of the staff of the national standard as they were leaving the city; but their confidence was destroyed by the fearless advance of the British troops, who they had been assured would take to flight on the first appearance of the Mahratta army. The Peshwa proceeded to the neighbouring hill Parbuttee, to observe the conflict which he had not the courage to engage in, while Gokla, in the true spirit of a soldier, rode about from rank to rank animating the troops. He opened the engagement from a battery of nine guns and enveloped the British force with his cavalry. The infantry was left in the rear with the exception of one battalion, raised and commanded by a Portuguese officer, de Pinto, which boldly advanced against a regiment of sepoys. It was repulsed, but pursued with such ardour, that a gap was created between it and the rest of the British line. Gokla seized the opportunity, and launched a select body of 6,000 cavalry against the regiment while in a state of confusion. The veteran Colonel Burr, though labouring under a violent and incurable disease, took his post by the colours of the corps, which he himself had formed and led for many years, and aided by the nature of the ground succeeded in breaking the force of the charge. The Mahrattas were disconcerted, and began to retire, and on being charged by the British troops completely deserted the field, which was won with ease, with the loss of only eighty-six killed and wounded. General Smith, on hearing of these transactions, hastened back to Poona, which he reached on

the 13th of the month. The Peshwa had received a large accession of strength from the southern jageerdars who brought up their troops with alacrity, but he declined another engagement and, leaving his camp standing, fled southward on the 17th, when the city of Poona surrendered to General Smith; and thus ingloriously fell the power of the Peshwa, one hundred years after it had been established through the concessions obtained from the Emperor of Delhi in 1717 by his great grandfather, Ballajee Vishwunath.

Events at Nag- Appa Sahib, the regent of Nagpore, continued pore 1816—1817. to maintain the most friendly relations with the Resident for several months after the conclusion of the subsidiary treaty in June, 1816. But on the 1st February, 1817, the imbecile raja Persajee was found dead in his bed, and subsequent inquiries established the fact that he had been strangled by order of Appa Sahib, who immediately mounted the throne and assumed the title of Mahdajee Bhonslay. From that time there was a marked change in his conduct. Having attained the supreme power in the state, he became anxious to be relieved from that state of dependence in which the alliance had placed him, and he entered cordially into the views of the Peshwa to whom he gave the strongest assurances of support. Early in September, an agent of the Pindaree Chectoo was presented at his durbar, and received a dress of honour. An active correspondence was also carried on with Poona, and troops were enlisted in large numbers. The Resident demanded an explanation of these strange proceedings, but the raja continued to profess an inviolable attachment to the Company, and on hearing of the attack made on Mr. Elphinstone by Bajee Rao on the 5th November, inveighed against such perfidy in very strong terms; while, at the same time, he was collecting his resources for a treacherous assault on Mr. Jenkins. All his preparations appeared to him to be complete, and on the evening of the 24th November, he sent to inform the Resident that an agent had arrived from the Peshwa to invest him with a dress of honour,

and with the ancient title of *senaputtee*, or commander-in-chief of the Mahratta empire, and that he intended to proceed to his camp the next day to assume these honours. Mr. Jenkins was impudently invited to be present on the occasion, but he remonstrated on the danger of these proceedings, and cautioned the raja against identifying himself with a prince who was then in arms against the Company. Appa Sahib, however, persisted in going to the camp, and assumed these decorations with every demonstration of military pomp.

Battle of
Seetabuldee,
1817.

This ceremony was the signal for an attack on the Residency. It lay to the west of the city from which it was separated by a small ridge running north and south, with two hills at the extremity called the Seetabuldee hills, a name which has become as celebrated in the annals of British India, as ever Thermopylæ was in the annals of Greece. The raja's force amounted to about 18,000 men, of whom 4,000 were Arabs, the bravest soldiers in the Deccan, and at this time the sinews of the Mahratta armies; he had likewise thirty-six guns. The force at the Residency consisted of two battalions of Madras infantry, considerably weakened by disease; two companies of the Resident's escort, three troops of Bengal cavalry and a detachment of Madras artillery, with four six-pounders. Towards the evening the Nagpore guns were brought to bear upon the British position, and a vigorous assault was made on the lower hill, which, though slackened during the night, was impetuously renewed in the morning, but repelled with great gallantry. At length a tumbril exploded, and in the confusion of the moment, the Arabs charged directly up the hill and captured it, and immediately turned the gun they found there, together with two of their own, on the larger hill. Emboldened by this success, the enemy began to close in upon the Residency in every direction, and to prepare for a general assault. The Arabs likewise rushed into the huts of the sepoys who became dispirited by the shrieks of their women and children; the ammunition and supplies were

running short; one-fourth the little force, including fourteen officers, was either killed or wounded; the latter were tended throughout the engagement by the ladies. It was a most appalling crisis, and there was every reason to conclude that the impending assault would result in the entire annihilation of the force, when the fortunes of the day were at once changed by the gallantry of Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the Bengal cavalry. He had repeatedly entreated permission to charge the enemy, but had been refused. Seeing the destruction of the whole force inevitable, he made a last attempt, and with increased importunity, to be allowed to advance. "Tell him," replied Colonel Scott, "to charge at his peril." "At my peril be it," replied Fitzgerald, and rushed upon the main body of the enemy's horse with irresistible fury, cut up the infantry, and captured two guns. This noble exploit was witnessed from the hill with ecstasy, and a spirit of the highest enthusiasm was kindled in the breasts of the troops. At this juncture one of the enemy's tumbrils exploded, the Arabs were seen to be disorganised, and officers and men plunged down the hill and chased the enemy before them like a flock of sheep. By noon, the conflict which had lasted eighteen hours terminated in the complete triumph of the British arms. It was, perhaps, the severest trial to which native troops had ever been exposed, and the result reflected the highest honour on their courage and constancy. But there can be little doubt that the great perils of the day might have been avoided if Colonel Scott had followed the example of Colonel Burr, and boldly charged the enemy at the outset. Lord Hastings bestowed the highest encomium on all who were engaged in this brilliant action, but it was not till the commencement of Queen Victoria's reign, twenty years later, that any mark of distinction was bestowed on the heroes of Seetabuldee. The order of the Bath was conferred on the survivors, Mr. Jenkins and Captain Lloyd. The 24th Madras Infantry occupied the place of the 1st Regiment which was struck off the roll for its share in the Vellore mutiny. The

sepoys now prayed that in lieu of any other recognition of their services they might be permitted to resume the former number and facings of the regiment, a request which was most cordially acceded to.

Deposition
of Appa Sahib,
1818.

Reinforcements poured into Nagpore from all quarters, and on the 15th December, Mr. Jenkins was in a position to dictate terms to the raja. He was required to dismiss his troops, to deliver up his guns, to repair to the Residency and to admit that by this unprovoked attack his kingdom was placed at the disposal of the British Government. He was, however, given to understand that on his acceptance of these terms, his throne would be restored to him with no other reservation of territory than was sufficient for the support of the subsidiary force. These conditions were accepted, but on the morning of the 16th December he sent to inform the Resident that his Arab troops would not allow him to quit the camp. General Doveton, therefore, moved up against it, when the raja, yielding to his fears, mounted his horse and accompanied by two of his ministers and a few attendants rode into the Residency. A portion of his guns, thirty-six in number, was likewise surrendered, but the remainder were not obtained till after a severe engagement which cost the British force a hundred and forty in killed and wounded. After the Nagpore army was dispersed, a body of about 5,000 Arabs and Hindostanees threw themselves into the fortified palace of the raja, and defended it with great resolution for a week. It became necessary to order up a battering train, but the Arabs, believing that they had done enough to save their honour, evacuated the place on the easy terms offered them. Lord Hastings had resolved to punish the wanton attack on the Residency by the deposition of Appa Sahib, but was unwilling to weaken the authority of the Resident by refusing his assent to the more lenient arrangement he had made, and the raja resumed his dignities on the 8th January, 1818. His incurable spirit of intrigue, however, hurried him to his destruction. He incited the forest

and mountain chiefs to resist the British troops: he impeded the surrender of his forts, and went so far as to invite the Peshwa, while pursued by the British divisions, to move into his territories, and prepared to join his standard. The timely discovery of this clandestine correspondence defeated his schemes. Lord Hastings ordered him to be sent to honourable confinement at Allahabad, and Persajee, the next heir, to be raised to the throne. Appa Sahib set forward on his journey on the 2nd May, 1818, but on the way succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the guard, and made his escape from the camp. After wandering about the country for several years he proceeded to Joudhpore, but the raja refused to follow the example of Jeypore in the case of Vizier Ali, and to sully his character by violating the laws of Rajpoot hospitality, and surrendering him to the demand of Government. Appa Sahib subsequently obtained shelter at Lahore, and died a pensioner on the bounty of Runjeet Sing.

Lord Hastings had made the offer of a treaty to Toolsee by, and she sent a secret communication to the Resident of Delhi proposing to place the young prince and the Holkar state under British protection. The administration was vested in her as regent, but all real power was in the hands of the military chiefs, Ramdeen, a Hindostanee brahmin, Roshun beg, who commanded the cavalry, and more particularly, Guffoor Khan, the head of the Patan faction. As soon as it became known that the Peshwa had risen in arms, the various detached corps of Holkar's army were recalled to head-quarters, and the resolution was unanimously adopted to march forward and support him. A large sum was distributed by his agent among the troops, and a larger donation was promised when they reached the Nerbudda. The army, consisting of 20,000 men, and comprising a body of cavalry esteemed the finest in India, marched from the cantonments at Rampoora towards the Decan in a spirit of great enthusiasm. On approaching Mehidpore, the commanders found that the British force under Sir Thomas

Progress of
events in
Holkar's camp,
1817.

Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, had advanced to Augur, fifteen miles distant, in pursuit of the Pindaree Cheetoo, who had joined their encampment. Sir John opened a correspondence with the commanders, and offered them the very liberal terms proposed by Lord Hastings; but they felt that any connection with the Company would extinguish their power and importance, and the troops dreaded the loss of all future prospects of plunder. The chiefs merged all their differences in the presence of a common danger, and in their anxiety to maintain the independence and the honour of the Holkar state, took an oath of mutual fidelity. The regency was suspected of a leaning towards the British alliance; Tantia Joge was, therefore, placed under restraint; Gunput Rao was seized amidst the execrations of the troops, and on the evening of the 20th December, Toolsee bye was conducted to the banks of the Sipree, and her beautiful head struck off, and her mangled remains cast into the stream.

Battle of
Mehidpore, 1817. Sir Thomas Hislop moved up to Mahidpore on the 21st December, to bring on the issue of a battle. Holkar's army was admirably posted on the opposite bank of the Sipree, its left flank defended by an angle of that stream, its right resting on a deep morass, and its front lined with a formidable battery of seventy guns. The main feature of the engagement was the bold, if not rash, device of crossing a difficult river by a single ferry in the face of an enemy strongly entrenched, and then rushing forward to seize his guns, which had rapidly silenced the light field pieces of the British army. The sepoy were mowed down by the enemy's artillery, but continued to advance with extraordinary steadiness. Holkar's artillerymen stood to their guns till they were bayoneted beside them. The batteries were at length stormed; the infantry fled; and the cavalry, which, with all its vaunting before the action, had kept aloof and given no assistance to the foot, galloped off the field when the fortune of the day seemed to be adverse. The victory was decisive, but it was not won without the sacrifice of 778

in killed and wounded. The movements of the day were directed by Sir John Malcolm, who had never commanded in a general action, and was less notable as a general than as a diplomatist. The same result might have been secured with less slaughter by better strategy, if he had eschewed the favourite but insane practice of hurling the men on the enemy's batteries and endeavouring to carry them by cold steel. The young Holkar, with the hereditary gallantry of his race, was actively engaged throughout the battle, and shed tears as he saw his troops retreating from the field. His sister Beema bye, a young widow of twenty, manifested equal spirit during this campaign, and rode at the head of 2,500 horse, on a fine charger, with a sword by her side and a lance in her hand, but was closely pursued, and seeing no chance of escape, surrendered to the British officer, and was conducted to her brother's court. Holkar's entire camp, with sixty-three guns, and a large magazine of military stores, fell to the victors, and the power of the state was irretrievably broken. Tantia Joge was immediately released and sent to the British camp with the most humble submissions. A treaty was soon after concluded at Mundesur, by which cessions of territory were made to the Company, to Zalim Sing, to Ameer Khan, and to Guffoor Khan, both of whom acquired independence at the expense of this kingdom, which was thus reduced to two-thirds of its former dimensions, and entirely lost its independence, after twenty-five years of anarchy.

Operations
against the
Pindarees,
1817-18.

It remains to narrate the operations against the Pindarees, who were encamped during the rains of 1817 in three divisions, to the number of about 23,000 horse, under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wassil Mahomed. They were not ignorant of the measures which were in progress to extirpate them, and they implored the aid of the Mahratta powers, but, under the dread inspired by Lord Hastings' preparations, none of them had the courage to stand up in their defence, or even to grant them a fortress of refuge for their families. As the British divisions

closed upon their haunts in Malwa, from the north and the south, they were dispersed in every direction. Letters from Sindia inviting Kureem Khan and Wassil Mahomed to Gwalior, fell into the hands of Lord Hastings, and he immediately marched his division to a position within thirty miles of Sindia's camp, which effectually precluded all access to it by the Pindarees. They were obliged, therefore, to fly westward, but were intercepted by General Donkin, who captured Kureem Khan's elephants, kettle-drums, and standards, as well as his wife and family. The two chiefs burnt their tents, and, abandoning their baggage, fled with about 4,000 of their best horse to the south. The rest of their followers were cut up, partly by the British troops and partly by the villagers, whom they had exasperated by their former depredations. They were not without hope of sharing the protection which Jeswunt Rao Bhao had offered to the Pindarees, and particularly to Cheetoo at Jawud. He was one of Sindia's commandants in charge of a third of his army, but had virtually thrown off his allegiance, and despoiled the rana of Oodypore of many districts and forts, of which he gave no account to his master. He had the temerity to fire on the troops of General Brown as he passed under the ramparts of Jawud, and refused to surrender the Pindarees whom he harboured. Lord Hastings, without any reference to his connection with Sindia, ordered him to be treated as a public enemy, and the general attacked his camp and carried his fort by assault. The two Pindaree chiefs, deprived of all hope from Jawud, hastened down to the Nerbudda, but were so hotly pursued by the detachments which tracked them, that they were unable any longer to keep their men together. Their minds were now reduced to such a state of depression as to welcome the terms which Colonel Adams offered them through the mediation of the nabob of Bhopal. Kureem Khan was settled on a small estate beyond the Ganges, in the district of Goruckpore. Namdar Khan, his lieutenant, came in with no other stipulation than that he should not be sent to Europe or to Calcutta.

Wassil Mahomed was placed under supervision at Ghazeepore, but being detected in an attempt to escape, put a period to his existence by poison. Cheetoo, the most renowned of the Pindaree leaders, was pursued by Sir John Malcolm with his heavy guns, and easily managed to keep fifty miles a-head of him. His bivouac was, however, beaten up by Colonel Heath, on the night of the 25th January, after which he wandered through Malwa for more than a twelvemonth with about two hundred followers, but he was hunted out of all his old familiar haunts, and, being driven at length by hunger to separate from his son and his last companion, plunged into a jungle infested with tigers. After a diligent search, his horse was discovered grazing, saddled and bridled, and not far off the mangled remains of this renowned freebooter, who had recently ridden forth at the head of 20,000 men.

Result of the campaign, 1818. The political and military operations thus brought to a happy issue, were undertaken without the Supreme Council, and in excess of the instructions received from England, on the sole responsibility of Lord Hastings. The success of the campaign was remarkable, not less for its rapidity than for its completeness. In the middle of October, 1817, the Mahrattas, the Pindarees, and the Patans, presented an array of more than 150,000 horse and foot, with 500 pieces of cannon, prepared to offer a very strenuous resistance to the designs of the Governor-General. By an admirable combination of movements, and extraordinary promptitude of action, this formidable armament was scattered to the winds in the brief space of four months. The power of Sindia was paralysed; the power of Holkar irretrievably broken; the Patan armies of Ameer Khan and Guffoor Khan had ceased to exist; the raja of Nagpore was a captive in the English camp; the Peshwa was a fugitive, and the Pindarees, who had inspired terror in the minds of Mr. Canning and the Directors, had disappeared. The campaign finally extinguished the Mahratta empire, on which Lord Wellesley had struck the first blow. It broke up every military organisation within the

Sutlege, with the exception of that of Sindia. It subdued not only the native armies, but the native mind, and taught the princes and people of India to regard the supreme command in India as indisputably transferred to a foreign power. It placed the Company on the Mogul throne with a more absolute authority than Akbar or Aurungzebe had ever enjoyed. The great revolution which was thus consummated, just sixty years after it began at the battle of Plassy, was effected, not only without the concurrence but in opposition to the constant injunctions of the East India Company, and the Board of Control. Every fresh addition of influence or territory was reprobated by them as the offspring of a spirit of encroachment and ambition, and fresh injunctions of moderation were poured on the local Government. But, from the first appearance of the Company as a military and political power in India, it became the constant aim of its princes to expel the intruder, and one confederacy after another was formed to accomplish this object. The general progress of our Indian empire was thus epitomized by Lord Hastings:—"We have been wantonly assailed—we have conquered the unprovoked enemy—we have retained the possessions wrested from him, not only as a legitimate compensation for the peril and expense forced on us, but also on considerations of self-defence." The last and most extensive confederacy was swept away by Lord Hastings himself. India was prostrate before the power of Britain, and the drama of society under native sovereignty was closed.

Remarks on
these events,
1818.

To the chiefs who lost their independence, and with it all that feeling of dignity, which was sometimes the parent of royal virtues, the change was doubtless a great calamity, but to the community at large it was an unequivocal blessing. For twelve years the whole of Central India had been left to the uncontrolled dominion of native princes, and the universal wretchedness and wild anarchy which ensued showed how utterly unfit they were, under the existing circumstances of the country, to maintain

peace, order, or security. The extension of British authority was, therefore, a matter of necessity, and although a foreign rule was more galling to the national pride than even the excesses of a native prince, it brought the most substantial advantages to the country. A solid tranquillity was substituted for general violence, under the guarantee of a power both able and willing to restrain the passions of princes and states. A feeling of universal security was diffused through the country, and the people were led to seek wealth and distinction, not through wars and convulsion, but by cultivating the arts of peace. The settlement of India by Lord Hastings in 1818 was, moreover, erected on so sound and stable a basis that, after the lapse of half a century, it is found to have required fewer renovations than so great a political edifice might be expected to need. Having thus extinguished all opposition, and consolidated the rule of the Company, Lord Hastings proclaimed the universal sovereignty of Great Britain throughout the continent of India. The fortunes of the surrounding countries have always been affected more or less by the revolutions of India, and the establishment of a British empire in this central position could not fail to tell upon the Mahomedan principalities on the west, and the various Boodhist kingdoms on the east. It was, in fact, the establishment of European supremacy in Asia, and, considering how effete these Asiatic monarchies have been growing, while the power, the resources, and the confidence of the European family have been constantly on the increase, this supremacy becomes progressively firmer and more permanent, and none of the revolts which may be expected from time to time, will be of any avail to subvert it. Strange to say, this stupendous revolution in the destinies of Asia has been accomplished by the audacity of the servants of a peaceful and unambitious company of merchants in London.

Battle of Kory-
gaum, 1818.

To bring the narrative of this war to a close, it only remains to notice the pursuit and surrender of the Peshwa, and the capture of the Mahratta forts. Bajee Rao began his retreat southward on the 28th November, 1817,

and on his route caused the raja of Satara and his family to be brought from the old capital into his camp. Finding that he was closely pursued by General Smith, he turned northward and marched up the Beema to Joonere, sixty miles north of Poona, and then doubled down to the south, giving out that he intended to attack Poona. Colonel Burr, the commandant, therefore, deemed it advisable to call down to his support the detachment left at Seroor, under Captain Stanton, consisting of one battalion of infantry, three hundred irregular horse, and two six-pounders, manned by twenty-four European artillerymen. He commenced his march at eight in the evening, and at ten the next morning reached the high ground on the Beema, near the village of Korygaum, about sixteen miles from Poona, which was found to have no other defence than a dilapidated mud wall. To his surprise he perceived the whole of the Peshwa's army, 25,000 strong, encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The Mahratta troops were immediately sent across against this handful of soldiers, jaded with a fatiguing march through the night, and destitute of either provisions or water. The contest which ensued was one of the most arduous and brilliant in the history of British India. The Peshwa sat on a rising ground watching the attack, which was directed by Gokla and Trimbukjee. Every inch of ground in the village was disputed with desperate valour, and the streets were repeatedly taken and retaken. The sepoys were sinking from exhaustion, and frantic with thirst, but Captain Stanton refused to surrender on any terms. At length the officer commanding the artillery fell, and in the momentary confusion which ensued, the Peshwa's Arabs rushed forward and captured one of the guns, but Lieutenant Pattinson, the adjutant of the battalion, though lying on the ground mortally wounded, raised himself up, and led on the grenadiers, till a second ball prostrated him. Animated by his example, the sepoys repulsed the Arabs, and regained the gun. Throughout the day officers and men exhibited a spirit of inflexible resolution, and kept the whole Mahratta force at

bay. If the contest had been renewed the next morning, it must have proved fatal to this little band of heroes, but happily the Peshwa heard of the approach of his enemy, General Smith, who had never relaxed the pursuit of him, and he retreated in haste southward, which enabled Captain Stanton to fall back on Seroor. The distinguishing character of this action, which rivalled that of Seetabuldee, was the extraordinary fortitude displayed by the sepoys when they were without any European support, save the twenty-four artillerymen, of whom twenty were killed and wounded. Of eight officers engaged, three were wounded, and two killed, and the total loss amounted to a hundred and eighty-seven; but Captain Stanton was only a Company's officer; his services were performed in India, and they received no recognition whatever from his country. The Peshwa, on leaving Korygaum, fled towards the Carnatic, but his progress was arrested by General, afterwards Sir Thomas, Munro, who had been appointed to the superintendence of the southern districts. His force was small and inadequate to its duties, but every deficiency was supplied by his talent and energy, which made him the complete master of whatever position he occupied. He organised a body of local horse to whom he entrusted the protection of the districts, while he himself advanced northward with his regular troops, arrested the progress of the Peshwa, and captured the strong fortresses of Badamee, Belgaum, and Solapore. The professional resources, vigour, and strategy which he exhibited in this short campaign served to augment in no ordinary degree the renown he had already acquired by his civil administration.

Restoration of
the Satara
family, 1818.

On the 10th February, General Smith took possession of Satara, the capital of Sevajee, and hoisted the ancient standard upon its ramparts. Experience had proved that no engagement, however solemn, would prevent a Peshwa from claiming the allegiance of the other Mahratta powers, or restrain them from acknowledging it. The treaty of Bassein in 1803 bound the Peshwa "neither

to commence nor to pursue any negotiations with any other power whatever, without giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation with the East India Company's Government;" but this did not impair his influence over the other chiefs, or prevent his combining them in a confederacy against the Company. By the treaty of the 5th June, 1817, he renounced all claim as the executive head of the Mahratta empire, to their fealty, and all their vakeels were dismissed from his court; but within a few weeks he organised another conspiracy, and brought the forces of Holkar and the raja of Nagpore into the field against the Company. Lord Hastings determined, therefore, that there should no longer be a Peshwa, and, in accordance with the example set by Lord Wellesley in the case of Mysore, he made over a portion of the Mahratta dominions to the family of Sevajee. A manifesto was issued, on hoisting the old Mahratta standard, in which Mr. Elphinstone, after dwelling on the misconduct of the Peshwa, announced that he and his family were for ever excluded from the public affairs of the Deccan. A small portion of his territories, yielding fifteen lacs of rupees a-year, was erected into a principality for the raja of Satara, and the rest incorporated with the Company's dominions. General Smith then resumed the wearisome pursuit of the Peshwa, and on the morning of the 19th February had the satisfaction of hearing his kettle-drums beating for the march at the village of Ashtee, on the opposite side of a hill which separated them, and immediately prepared for the attack. Bajee Rao sharply upbraided Gokla for this surprise, and quitting his palankeen, mounted a horse and fled, leaving his general to cover his retreat. Gokla, stung with the unjust reproach of his dastardly master, determined not to survive the day, and placing himself at the head of three hundred horse, rushed on the sabres of the British cavalry. He received three pistol shots and three sabre cuts, and covering himself gracefully with his shawl, expired on the field of honour. He was the last, and one of the noblest, of the great Mahratta

Battle of
Ashtee, 1818.

commanders. He had fought bravely by the side of General Wellesley in 1803, and had received many tokens of distinction from the British Government, but he sighed for the independence of his country, and on being appointed minister by the Peshwa, manifested an inveterate hostility to the subsidiary alliance. He was usually called "the sword of the empire," and his death hastened the destruction of his master, in whose camp there ceased to be any order or confidence. The raja of Satara was rescued at the battle of Ashtee, and conducted to the palace of his ancestors, and installed on the throne of Sevajee, amidst the acclamations of the Mahrattas.

The discomfiture of the Peshwa's army at Ashtee satisfied many of the Mahratta chiefs of the hopelessness of his cause, and his army was daily dwindling away by desertions. But the raja of Nagpore, notwithstanding his engagements with the Resident, determined to make common cause with him, and Bajee Rao advanced to Chanda, expecting to be joined by him there, but the clandestine correspondence was discovered in time, and the design was frustrated. It would be tedious to detail the movements of the Peshwa after this, to the north, to the south, and to the east; they were regulated by the sole object of evading his pursuers, from whom, however, he seldom obtained more than a brief and accidental respite. Hunted out of the Deccan, he made a final move to the north, crossed the Taptee on the 5th May, and advanced to the Nerbudda, in the hope of reaching Hindostan, and benefiting from the power, or the mediation, of Sindia. But all the fords were guarded; the British armies were closing on him, and, seeing no chance of escape, he sent an agent on the 16th May to Sir John Malcolm at Mhow, with a letter, in which he appealed to the generosity of the British Government, and lavished his flatteries on "his oldest and best friend." Sir John was so greatly moved by this appeal that he deputed two of his assistants to the Mahratta camp to open a negotiation with the Peshwa. Lord Hastings condemned this imprudent step,

Surrender of
Bajee Rao,
1818.

because it fostered the impression that he was in a condition to treat, whereas, according to his own confession, his fortunes were desperate, and his first encounter with any British division must have annihilated his force. Sir John even went so far as to admit the Peshwa to a personal conference, in which the wily Mahratta brought all his eloquence and blandishments into full play. The British General's sympathy with fallen greatness overcame his political prudence, and he made concessions far beyond the necessity of the case. He promised him a personal allowance of eight lacs of rupees a-year, as well as a provision for the jageerdars in his camp, and gave a most improvident guarantee of the vast endowments of temples and brahmins, on which this superstitious prince had for fourteen years squandered the resources of the state, and which a native successor would at once have resumed. Lord Hastings, who had destined the Peshwa an allowance of two lacs of rupees a-year, was mortified at the prodigality of these terms, and in his letter to the Court of Directors justly observed "that in the hopeless circumstances in which the Peshwa was placed any terms granted to him were purely gratuitous, and only referrible to that humanity which it was felt your honourable Court would be desirous should be granted to an exhausted foe." The policy of Sir John's arrangements with the Peshwa has been the subject of much discussion, and some censure, but it is due to his memory to state that it received the approbation of Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Jenkins. They considered that the Peshwa might have indefinitely prolonged the contest if he had thrown himself, with the body of eight thousand men who still adhered to his fortunes, into Asseergur, the commandant of which had received the most positive injunctions from Sindia to succour him, and that his surrender, which at once terminated the war, was cheaply purchased even by this large annuity. He was conducted to Bithoor, a place of religious sanctity, sixteen miles from Cawnpore, and lived long enough to receive an amount of two crores and fifty lacs of rupees,

the major part of which he bequeathed to his adopted son, Nana Sahib, who, finding the British Government unwilling to continue the pension, became the great demon of the mutiny of 1857. The Peshwa's brother, Umrit Rao, had received a pension of seven lacs of rupees a-year from Lord Wellesley, under circumstances altogether exceptional, and removed to Benares where he enjoyed the allowance for twenty-one years. It is worthy of remark that the sum total received by the two brothers amounted to more than four crores of rupees, and it may fairly be questioned whether any instance of similar fidelity to engagements is to be found in the native history of India.

Capture of
forts, 1818.

The country which had been the scene of warfare was studded with forts, which continued to hold out after the submission of the princes. Many of them were of great strength, in positions almost impregnable, and would have baffled all the engineering skill of native generals, but they were reduced in a few months. The circumstances connected with the capture of two of them deserve individual record. The forts were garrisoned in many cases by Arab mercenaries. While the native armies in Hindostan had been supplied for several centuries by a constant stream of Afghans, the armies of the native princes in the Deccan were constantly recruited from Arabia and Abyssinia, through the various ports on the Malabar coast. In both cases the recruits equally exchanged a condition of poverty for prospects of wealth and distinction. The Arabs were held in high estimation by the princes for their resolution, courage, and fidelity, and received double the pay of Hindostanee sepoys. They served also as a counterpoise to the native soldiery, and assisted to check that spirit of mutiny which is indigenous in all Indian armies. The fort of Talncir was garrisoned by Arabs. The commandant was a member of a very distinguished Mahratta family, and not only gave up the fort, but surrendered himself to the General. The Arabs continued to hold the citadel, and a parley was held with them by the English officers, but as they were

mutually ignorant of each other's language, a misunderstanding arose which led to fatal consequences. The wicket was opened, and two officers of high rank entered, but the Arabs, who did not understand the movement, assailed them, and they lost their lives. The British troops without, exasperated at what they considered an act of treachery, rushed in and put the garrison, three hundred in number, to the sword, and the next morning Sir Thomas Hislop hung the unoffending commandant. The execution doubtless struck terror into the minds of the natives, and facilitated the surrender of other forts, but it was an act of unrighteous severity, and roused a feeling of just indignation in England. It was unworthy the British character, and has always been considered to tarnish the laurels of the General. The capture of Maligaum, on the other hand, exhibited an example of scrupulous good faith which served to elevate the British name. It was the chief fortress of the unfortunate province of Candesh, once filled with thriving towns and a flourishing population, but reduced to unexampled wretchedness by Holkar's rapacious soldiery, and the exactions of Bajee Rao's officers and his Arabs. The only terms offered in every case to these mercenary troops were the payment of their arrears and a free passage back to their native land; but they had little disposition to relinquish the enjoyments of India for the barren wastes of Arabia. They concentrated their strength at Maligaum, which they defended with the obstinacy of despair. After three weeks had been lost before it, a sufficiently powerful battery train was brought up; the chief magazine exploded; and the Arabs, seeing their position hopeless, made an offer to capitulate, but with the example of Talneir before them, required a written assurance of safety. The Mahratta moon-shee, who drew up the document, exceeded his orders, and stipulated to do whatever might be beneficial to their interests, to pay all their arrears, and to conduct them to any destination they might select. The General, on discovering the mistake, was anxious to limit the execution of the promise to his

own instructions, but Mr. Elphinstone determined to give the most generous interpretation to the engagement, and treated them with exemplary kindness. At length, the only fort remaining to be occupied was Asseergur. Sindia had furnished Lord Hastings with an order on the commandant to surrender it, but sent him private instructions to retain it and to afford every assistance to the Mahratta cause. He therefore harboured the raja of Nagpore, took charge of Bajee Rao's most valuable property, and offered him an asylum. He distinctly refused to surrender the fort, and it became necessary to invest it. The eyes of India were fixed on the siege as the expiring struggle of the Mahratta empire. A battery of thirty-four mortars and howitzers, and twenty-eight heavy guns, played on it incessantly for a fortnight with little hope of success; but the powder in the fort was at length reduced to three maunds, or two hundred weight, and the commandant felt himself obliged to capitulate. When he was told that his master would be not a little displeased by the neglect of his orders, he produced a letter from Sindia, ordering him to hold the fort, and give every assistance to Bajee Rao, with the significant remark,—“Should you not do so I shall be perjured.” The only retribution inflicted on Sindia for this act of treachery was the retention of the fort. This was the last shot fired in the war, though it had virtually terminated within four months of its commencement.

Proceedings of
the Home
Authorities,
1818-20.

Mr. Canning moved the usual vote of thanks to Lord Hastings and the army in the House of Commons, in April, 1819, in a speech which doubled the value of this national recognition of their services; but he did not attempt to conceal his objections to the policy of Lord Hastings. He stated that the House and the country were in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of our armies in India with great jealousy; that, almost uniformly successful as our military operations had been in that part of the world, they had almost as uniformly been considered questionable in point of justice; that the

termination of a war in India, however glorious, was seldom contemplated with unmixed satisfaction, and that the increase of our territories was ascribed, by sober reflection and impartial philosophy, to a spirit of systematic encroachment and ambition. These considerations, he said, were not necessarily applicable to the Pindaree and Mahratta war; but the House was to understand that the vote was intended merely as a tribute to the military conduct of the campaign, and not in anywise as a sanction of the policy of the war. The Court of Directors, while "duly appreciating the foresight, promptitude, and vigour with which Lord Hastings had dispersed the gathering elements of a hostile conspiracy," recorded their deep regret that any circumstance should have led to an extension of territory. Their official communications still more decidedly indicated their hostility to the Governor-General and his policy. The despatch written on receiving information of the brilliant success of the campaign was loaded with petulant and frivolous animadversions, and "not mitigated by the slightest indication of satisfaction at the fortunate issue of the military exertions." They censured him for having disobeyed their orders regarding the reduction of the army, though they had incontestible evidence that, under existing circumstances, a compliance with these orders would have been fatal to the interests of the empire. In anticipation of the great struggle with the Mahratta power, Lord Hastings had remodelled the Quartermaster-general's department, in order to increase its efficiency. The Court reprobated this measure because it had not previously received their sanction. At the same time, they pressed on him the appointment of one of their own nominees to the post of Quartermaster-general, whereas Parliament had placed the nomination to offices exclusively in the hands of the local authorities, leaving with the Court of Directors the gift of appointments to the service. A Government like that of India, which is obliged to do almost everything itself, cannot hope for success except by employing the ablest men in the

service. Hence, the most responsible offices in India are given, as a rule, to merit, and only exceptionally by favour. The interference of the India House in these appointments always proceeded on the opposite principle; and, in the present instance, Lord Hastings affirmed that it would "have been difficult to find in the whole army a field officer more signally unfit for the post."

The tranquillization and settlement of India would have been a sufficient distinction for any administration, but Lord Hastings established still higher claims to public gratitude. He was the first Governor-General to encourage the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives. The India House had hitherto assumed that any attempt to enlighten the people would create political aspirations, which must endanger the power of the Company, and might lead to its subversion. This illiberal sentiment was not confined to Leadenhall-street; it was the feeling of the age. In 1811 Sir John Anstruther, who had for many years enjoyed the dignity of chief justice in Calcutta, and obtained a seat in Parliament on his return, when the question of native education was incidentally introduced in it, inquired, with a feeling of surprise, "whether it was really intended to illuminate the people of India, and whether it was exactly desirable to do so." The same views were prevalent in India, and no effort had been made, or even contemplated, to impart to the natives that knowledge to which Europe owed its distinction. Lord Hastings utterly repudiated this policy, and embraced the earliest opportunity after the Nepal war of proclaiming that "this Government never will be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority. . . . It would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude." The instruction of the people, which had hitherto

Encouragement
of education,
1816-18.

been avoided as an element of danger, was thus, for the first time, recognised as a sacred duty, and a powerful impulse was given to the cause of education. Lady Hastings established a school in Barrackpore Park, and compiled treatises for the use of the scholars. Numerous vernacular schools were opened in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by Mr. May, the missionary, and by Dr. Carey and his colleagues, which received liberal encouragement from the Government and the public. Early in 1816 some of the most wealthy and influential native gentlemen in Calcutta formed an association for the establishment of a college to impart a liberal education to their children and relatives, by the cultivation of the English language and European science, and Lord Hastings accepted the office of patron. Emboldened by the liberal policy which was now in the ascendant, the Serampore Missionaries, on the 31st May, 1818, issued the first newspaper ever printed in a native language in India. It was styled the "Sumachar Durpun," or mirror of news, and Dwarkenath Tagore, a name respected equally in England and in India, was the first to patronise it. This attempt to rouse the native mind from the torpidity of centuries by the stimulus of a public journal created great alarm among the leading men in the Government, but Lord Hastings determined to encourage the undertaking by allowing the numbers to be circulated through the country at one-fourth the ordinary rate of postage. He manifested the same spirit of liberality towards the English press, and notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the members of his Council, removed the censorship which Lord Wellesley had imposed upon it seventeen years before, amidst the anxieties of war. In deference, however, to the despotic feeling which pervaded the governing class of Calcutta, he laid severe restrictions on the editors regarding the subjects or personages they were allowed to touch, any infraction of which was to be visited by an indictment in the Supreme Court, or by the penalty of deportation. But the Supreme Court, on the occasion of the first application, re-

fused to grant a criminal information, and Lord Hastings was unwilling to inflict the odium of banishing an editor on his administration. The restrictions, therefore, fell into abeyance, and the press became practically free. In replying to an address from Madras, Lord Hastings embraced the opportunity of vindicating his policy by stating that he was "in the habit of regarding the freedom of publication as the natural right of his fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned." . . . "Further," he said, "it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public opinion." The announcement of this heterodox doctrine gave great offence at the India House, and a despatch was immediately drafted reprobating the abolition of the censorship, and directing it to be re-imposed. But Mr. Canning treated the proposal with silent contempt, and it has been said that the draft was never returned to the Directors.

Settlement of
land revenue
at Madras,
1818.

The final adjustment of the land revenue at Madras belongs to this period. The great advocate of the ryotwary system, General Munro, visited England in 1818, when he was invested with the ribbon of the Bath, and it was doubtless under the influence of his counsel that the Court of Directors issued orders to establish it generally throughout the Presidency. An annual settlement was accordingly completed, in 1820, for each field and with each renter. The more grievous evils of the system, as described in a previous chapter, were corrected, and, instead of justice being subordinate to revenue, revenue was made secondary to justice. The outrageous practice of forcing lands on the ryot against his interest, and holding him responsible for the rent, whether he cultivated them or not, and of subjecting him to corporal punishment, and sometimes to torture, when he was unable to make it good, was abrogated. Sir Thomas was anxious also to abolish altogether the absurd rule of consigning the defaulting ryot to gaol, where he lingered for years, without any benefit to the revenue, and

often died; but he could only prevail on the Revenue Board to mitigate it. It was the special order of the Court of Directors that the rent should be fixed on so moderate a scale as to afford encouragement to agricultural industry, but the peculiar circumstances of the Madras Presidency were unfavourable to such lenity. In Bengal the Company came at once into possession of rich and fertile provinces, yielding a revenue beyond the wants of the state, and could afford to indulge the luxury of moderation in assessing the zemindars. The Madras Presidency grew up gradually amidst struggles and embarrassments, and was never able to meet its expenses without drawing on Bengal. Hence it was obliged to scrutinise the sources of revenue with great rigour, and to put a heavy pressure on those who contributed it. The land was found to have been over-assessed under the native princes, but the exigencies of the British Government precluded much relaxation. The litigation introduced by the Supreme Court, which picked the suitors to the bone, speedily dispersed the old accumulations of wealth, and the whole Presidency presented an aspect of pauperism and wretchedness. The ryotwary system perpetuated this state of things; however plausible and even benevolent in theory, it has practically failed to promote either the welfare of the ryot or the prosperity of the state, and while under the zemindary and permanent settlement of Bengal, the area of cultivation has been rapidly extended, that of Madras has been always stationary. The number of renters paying revenue direct to Government in 1823 was under a million; it stands now considerably above two millions; there can, therefore, be no application of capital to the improvement of the soil, and the Presidency remains in a state of stagnant inferiority.

Fraudulent
sales of land in
the North-West,
1821.

This question of the tenure of land has been in almost every province and at all periods the stumbling-stone of British rule in India. The same fatality as elsewhere, attended the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces obtained from Sindia and

the Nabob of Oude at the beginning of the century. A folio volume of a thousand pages of civil, criminal, and fiscal regulations was immediately inflicted on them, with the most benevolent intentions but the most disastrous result. The astute natives of Bengal did not fail to follow the collector into those provinces. They monopolised every post of power and influence, and by their superior acquaintance with the mysteries of the new system of civil and fiscal law, were enabled to turn the inexperience of the Hindostanees to their own benefit. The zemindars who were now, for the first time, obliged to pay their rents with rigid punctuality, fell into arrears, and were ousted from their lands. The Bengalee officials devised manifold expedients, and often resorted to fraud, to embarrass and confound the simple landholder and bring his estate to the hammer, when it was bought, at first, in some fictitious name, and eventually transferred to the real purchaser. Many of the zemindars, moreover, had been arbitrarily entered as mere farmers in the first rent-roll, which was prepared in haste, and when it came to be subsequently revised found themselves deprived of their estates through the chicanery of the Bengalee officers, who contrived to secure the proprietorship of the lands to their creatures and eventually to themselves. This system of plunder was systematically carried on for many years, and inflicted greater misery on the landed proprietors than the occasional whirlwind of Mahratta desolation. The ease with which the natives of Bengal had acquired possession of property, in one case, of ninety villages, and in another, of even a whole pergunna, attracted others to the quarry, and the raja of Benares, and a wealthy banker of that city obtained property yielding eight lacs of rupees a-year. The estates of the country were gradually passing out of the hands of the ancient aristocracy who had survived many political revolutions, but were completely prostrated by this process of legal jugglery which was reducing them to the condition of paupers. "Yours," said a high spirited Rajpoot, "is a strange

rule; you flog a man for stealing a brass ewer, while you reward him for stealing a whole pergunna." Mr. Campbell Robertson had endeavoured to protect the rights of the oppressed zemindars, but he was defeated by the stolid judges of the Court of Appeal, and he boldly determined to bring the subject to the notice of the Supreme Government. Lord Hastings and the Council listened to his representations, and a regulation was passed the preamble of which frankly acknowledged the injustice, and a special commission was appointed to enquire into the transfers of property which had been made during the previous eight years. Some few of the more egregious acts of iniquity were redressed, but in the majority of cases there was no relief.

Disturbances
in Cuttack,
1818.

In the province of Cuttack, which was ceded by the raja of Nagpore in 1803, the same cause led to an open insurrection. The natives of Orissa are proverbial for mental dulness, and the province has always been considered the Bœotia of India. During the native dynasties, the chief offices of the state were generally occupied by natives from Telingana in the south, or Bengal in the north. On the acquisition of the province by the Company a swarm of Bengalee baboos flocked into it, obtained possession of nearly every post of influence or profit, and took an unfair advantage of the simplicity of the people, and their ignorance of our institutions. The assessment of the lands, made at random, was thirty per cent. above that of the Mahrattas. It was rigidly enforced, and, combined with the improvidence of the zemindars, brought half the estates in the province to the hammer in a dozen years, when they were bought up by the Bengalee officials, often at a nominal value. The raja of Khoorda, the descendant of an ancient dynasty, who enjoyed the hereditary privilege of sweeping the temple of Jugunnath, had paid the Mahrattas, when they were able to squeeze anything out of him, about 15,000 rupees a-year. He was assessed by the collector at eight times the sum, and dispossessed of his patrimonial

estates for default. To add to the wretchedness of the inhabitants, the Company's salt monopoly was introduced and the cost of that necessary of life was raised six-fold to the peasant, in a province where the sea furnished it spontaneously. Under this accumulation of misery the people sold all they possessed, and then their wives and children, and eventually took to the jungle. The country being thus ripe for revolt, one Jugbundoo, the hereditary commander of the old Hindoo rajas, who had been dispossessed of his property, raised the standard of rebellion to which 3,000 of the disaffected immediately flocked. He plundered and burnt the civil station of Khoorda and repulsed two detachments of sepoy which were sent against him. This success served to increase his force, and he proceeded to take possession of the town of Jugunnath; the fort, buildings, and bungalows were set on fire, and the collector retreated with the treasure to Cuttack. No injury was inflicted on any but the tyrannical and odious native functionaries. But the triumph of the insurgents was short; reinforcements poured into the province and dispersed them. The people were assured that their grievances would be redressed if they were peaceably represented, and they at once submitted to the authority of Government. A special commissioner was appointed to the charge of the province; some who had been taken in arms were executed; the most notorious of the oppressive officials were punished, and the assessment was reduced forty per cent. The province has since enjoyed the services of a succession of able Bengal civilians, Wilkinson, Sterling, Pakenham, and others, and its tranquillity has never been disturbed. Another proof has thus been afforded of the fact that with a mild assessment, congenial institutions, and an equitable administration, there is perhaps no country more easy to govern than India, even under foreigners.

Financial and territorial increase, 1822.

In reviewing the pecuniary results of Lord Hastings' administration, it is pleasing to observe that, notwithstanding the expensive war which

lasted eighteen months in the mountains of Nepal, and the assembly of eight armies in the field during the Mahratta and Pindaree campaign, the finances of the Company were at no former period in so flourishing a condition as at the close of his administration. The Government bonds which at his arrival were at twelve per cent. discount, were at a premium of fourteen per cent. at his departure. The debt had indeed increased by four crores and a half during his administration; on the other hand, the cash balances in the various treasuries exceeded the sum in hand when he landed by five crores of rupees, but on grounds which every real Indian statesman will admit, he forebore to reduce those balances for the mere ostentation of paying off debt. The increase of annual receipts was equivalent to six crores of rupees, without the imposition of a single new tax; and the increase of expenditure about four crores, leaving a clear surplus revenue of two crores of rupees a-year; the year 1822 may, therefore, be considered as the brightest period of the finances of the Indian empire, when they exhibited such prosperity as they had never reached before, and have never reached since. If the military operations of this period resulted in an increase of territory, it will not be deemed matter of surprise or regret. Lord Hastings commenced the Pindaree war with the confident hope that the pacification of India would be accomplished without any defalcation from any native state, and without adding a rood to the Company's territories. But "the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds," which Mr. Canning deplored, was fatal to this resolution. The unprovoked aggression and the complete overthrow of the Mahratta powers placed their territories at the absolute disposal of the Company. The larger portion of the dominions of Holkar and of the raja of Nagpore was restored to them, but Lord Hastings considered that the entire annexation of Bajee Rao's kingdom, the principality of Satara excepted, was forced on him by "the imperious necessity of guarding against the speedy renewal

of a treachery so rooted in its nature as to admit of no other prevention." These provinces were, therefore, annexed to Bombay which had previously drained the Bengal treasury to the extent of a crore of rupees a-year, but was now enabled in some measure to support its own establishments.

Miscellaneous
 notices, 1814-22
 —Singapore.

By the peace of Paris in 1815 the settlements of the French, the Danes, and the Dutch were restored to them, with the exception of Ceylon; but during the war, trade had been diverted into new channels, and these settlements never recovered their former importance. The island of Java, to the mortification of those who understood its great value, was inconsiderately restored to the Dutch, and it is at present the only Asiatic dependency which contributes an annual revenue to its European master. The influence of the Dutch was thus restored throughout the eastern archipelago, and their ancient spirit of monopoly and hostility to foreign intruders was developed to such an extent as to threaten the entire exclusion of British commerce from those seas. Lord Hastings was fully alive to the importance of this commerce, and, under the advice of Sir Stamford Raffles, who had governed Java while it was in our possession with great ability and success, authorized him to establish a new settlement in the centre of the Malay states. By an unperceived and prompt movement, he obtained the cession of the island of Singapore from the raja of Johore, and hoisted the British colours on the 5th September, 1819. It was, from its commanding position, the key of the gulf of Siam, if not also of the China seas. Such an acquisition did not fail to excite the indignation of the Dutch authorities in Java, who immediately laid claim to it as one of their own possessions. The most strenuous remonstrances were addressed to the English Ministry, and so little were British interests in the east understood in Downing Street, that it was, for a time, seriously contemplated to submit to the demands of the Dutch, to abandon the island, and to recall Sir Stamford for his temerity. After a long period of vacillation, however, the sanction of the

public authorities in England was fortunately obtained to the retention of this possession, which has grown from a fishing village to an entrepôt of trade amounting to five crores a-year. Singapore is a noble monument of Sir Stamford Raffles' statesmanship, and will perpetuate the grateful remembrance of it in the sphere in which his talents were so beneficially exhibited.

The Company's Lord Hastings' administration may be considered as the palmy period of the Company's commercial navy, then the largest in the world. Though, under the influence of a sharp competition, the trade to India brought no gain to Leadenhall-street, the captains suffered no abatement of their profits. The command of one of the Company's vessels was always reckoned worth a lac of rupees a voyage, chiefly from the high charge for passage-money. The customs of the period when the Company were simple traders still continued in vogue. A special court was held when the captains took their official leave of the Directors. On reaching the Presidencies in India they were received with great distinction at Government House, and took rank with the first class of the civil service. An officer of high standing was always sent in a Government vessel down to the new anchorage, a hundred miles below Calcutta, to dispatch the fleet. The uniform of the commanders and of the various grades of officers vied in splendour with that of the royal navy, and both were exhibited, side by side, in the shop windows of the London tailors, and the captains endeavoured, likewise, to maintain on their own quarter-decks the same etiquette which was observed in the king's ships. The China trade, of which the Company still enjoyed the monopoly, was managed by officers denominated supercargoes, who lived like princes at Canton, and amassed ambitious fortunes in a few years. The patronage of the China service was deemed the most valuable in the gift of the Directors, and was generally reserved for their immediate relatives. Their vessels were manned and armed on the most liberal scale, after the model of the royal navy, and such was the excellence of their

equipment that on one occasion the fleet under the command of Captain Dance succeeded in beating off the French squadron of Admiral Linois, who attacked them with one ship of eighty guns, two heavy frigates, a corvette, and a brig. The Directors received no higher salary than two hundred and fifty rupees a-month, but their individual patronage was calculated, on an average, to be equivalent to two lacs and a half of rupees a-year. The sale of appointments was strictly forbidden by Act of Parliament, and with some exceptions the rule was honourably observed by them ; but as they formed the most important and powerful commercial body in the first commercial city in the world, they experienced little difficulty in obtaining seats in Parliament, and one-fourth their number was generally found in the House of Commons.

Civil Service. At no previous period had the character of the civil service for talent and efficiency stood so high as during the administration of Lord Hastings, which might in most cases be traced to the training it had enjoyed in the school of Lord Wellesley. Many of the civilians, moreover, were connected with some of the best families in England, and served to give a high tone of character to the service, while their refinement of feeling and dignity of demeanour, combined with that elevation of mind which the management of great affairs has a tendency to create, fitted them to maintain the honour of their country in negotiations with the princes and nobles of the country. Their intercourse with the people was uniformly marked by such kindness and consideration as few, if any, conquerors have ever exhibited towards the conquered. The highest ambition of the civil and military officers of Government, and of those who had amassed wealth at the bar or in commerce, was to obtain a seat in Parliament. In the year 1819, the number of members connected with India amounted to forty-two, independent of the four commissioners of the Board of Control. They entered the house chiefly through the medium of the nomination boroughs, of which the majority were swept away by the Reform Bill of 1832.

But Parliament had already become weary of Indian questions, which, thirty years before, attracted crowded houses. The Secretary of the Board of Control stated in Parliament that "the India budget was always considered a dull and disagreeable subject by the House; the practice of making budget speeches had therefore been discontinued. The time and attention of the House was quite enough occupied without throwing away a day in the discussion of a topic which would be sure to drive gentlemen away from it." During the five years of Mr. Canning's tenure of the office of Minister for India, the only occasion on which he touched on the subject of India in the House—except when moving thanks to Lord Hastings—was in reference to a bill for licensing Scotch marriages there. British interests in India did not, however, suffer from the indifference of Parliament, where every subject becomes the sport of party contention. It was during this period of neglect that the great revolution of Lord Hastings' administration was consummated, and twenty-eight actions were fought in the field, and a hundred and twenty forts captured, many scarcely accessible, and some deemed impregnable, and nineteen treaties made with native princes, and the sovereignty of Great Britain proclaimed throughout the continent.

Death of Warren Hastings and Francis, 1819. In the year 1819, Warren Hastings died at the age of eighty-eight, thirty-four years after his return from India. Within four months also, his great opponent, Sir Philip Francis, paid the debt of nature. It was immediately proposed to place Hastings' statue at the India House, among those statesmen and heroes who had contributed to the creation and stability of the British empire in India, and it was carried with only four dissenting votes.

Hyderabad affairs—Chundoo Lall, the contingent, 1809-1818.

One of the last acts of Lord Hastings' administration had reference to the affairs of Hyderabad, and it is necessary therefore to bring up the arrears of its history. Meer Alum, who had managed the

Nizam's government with consummate ability for thirty years, died in 1808. The Nizam, who was devoted only to his pleasures, and eschewed all serious business, was anxious to appoint a Mahomedan noble, Moneer-ool-moolk, to the vacant office, but the Resident described him as both a coward and a fool, and the Government in Calcutta refused to sanction the nomination. After an irritating discussion of six months, a compromise was at length effected by giving him the ostensible post of minister, with the splendid emoluments attached to it, and entrusting Chundoo Lall, a Hindoo, with the power and the responsibilities of the office. He had been an efficient assistant to the late minister, and was better fitted for its duties than any other man at Hyderabad, by his talent, experience, and activity; but he was utterly unscrupulous in his dealings with the court or with the people. The Nizam, chagrined by the defeat of his wishes, abandoned all interest in public affairs, and retired to the privacy of the harem. The Court of Directors had interdicted all interference in the internal affairs of the state, and directed the Resident to confine his attention to the reform of the Hyderabad contingent. This was a body—distinct from the subsidiary force—of 6,000 foot and 9,000 horse, which the Nizam was bound by the treaty made with him in 1800 to keep up in time of war. By the strenuous efforts of the Resident, these cowardly levies of the Nizam, who had always avoided an enemy, were converted into a strong and valuable force of 10,000 men, horse, foot, and artillery. It was disciplined and commanded by European officers, drawn chiefly from the Company's army, with which it was soon enabled to vie in military spirit and efficiency. It was supported by the Nizam's treasury, at a cost of thirty lacs of rupees a-year. It was at the entire disposal of Chundoo Lall, and ministered to his power and dignity, and likewise afforded him material assistance in the collection of the revenue and the coercion of refractory zemindars; he was, therefore, unwilling to check its profuse expenditure. It was not only over-officered, but the officers

were overpaid. The appointments were eagerly coveted, and became a source of valuable patronage to the Resident, the Contingent being generally designated his plaything. As one extravagant allowance was heaped on another, the officers exclaimed "Poor Nizzy"—the nickname of the Nizam—"pays for all." The contingent was doubtless an effective force, but for a time of peace, and in a country which the British Government was engaged to defend, it was little better than a magnificent job.

Administration
of Chundoo
Lall, 1808-20.

The administration of Chundoo Lall was, with some intervals of relief, the scourge of the country for thirty-five years. It was supported by British influence, but not controlled by British honesty. Nothing flourished but corruption. Every public office was put up to sale, and the purchaser reimbursed himself by extortion. Justice, or rather judicial decrees, could be obtained only for money. The land revenue was farmed out to those who made the largest advances to the minister in anticipation of their collections. The tenure was therefore insecure, and it was a common remark that the farmers proceeded to their districts looking over their shoulders all the way, to see whether some other contractor, who had made a higher bid, was not following to supplant them. The farmers, moreover, had the power of life and death, and the under farmers, through their local agents, wrung the last farthing from the wretched peasantry. A peaceful and industrious population was converted into bands of rebels and banditti. Life and property were everywhere insecure. Hundreds of villages were deserted, cultivation ceased, and provisions rose to famine prices. The sums thus obtained by insatiable rapacity were expended by Chundoo Lall in making his position secure. He erected a noble palace for the Resident, and stocked it with the most costly chandeliers and furniture from Bond Street. He bribed with a lavish hand all who had any interest at the court; he subsidized the zenana, and conciliated the Nizam by indulging his passion for hoarding. The Resident

at length obtained the permission of the Governor-General to make some effort, by his advice and influence, to arrest the progress of desolation. His exertions had begun to produce some beneficial result, when he was succeeded in November, 1820, by Mr. Metcalfe, who, after a tour through the country, deemed it necessary to adopt more stringent measures of reform. Some of his political assistants and of the European officers of the contingent were placed in charge of districts to superintend a new settlement, to check oppression, and to control the police. The system which he introduced, and which remained in force for several years, was equally unpalatable to Chundoo Lall, whose exactions it restrained, and to the native authorities, whose dignity it lowered. It was also censured by Lord Hastings, as greatly in excess of his instructions, and as being tantamount to taking the government of the Nizam's dominions out of his hands; but it was highly beneficial to the community. Security was at once re-established. Three hundred villages were repeopled in a short time, and cultivation was resumed and extended. No revenue had previously been obtained but at the point of the sword; under this new policy, not a trooper marched nor was a musket shouldered to enforce the public demand. No country is more blessed with the gifts of nature than the territory of Hyderabad. Under Chundoo Lall it was fast relapsing into jungle; under Mr. Metcalfe's management it was becoming a garden.

Messrs. Palmer
and Co., 1816-20.

Mr. Metcalfe had not, however, been long at Hyderabad without perceiving that every prospect of prosperity was impeded by the dealings of Palmer and Co. with the state. Mr. William Palmer had established a banking-house at Hyderabad in 1814, with the full concurrence of the Resident, and soon after became connected with Chundoo Lall, and began to make advances to the Nizam's Government. An Act of Parliament had prohibited all such transactions with native princes without the express sanction of the Governor-General, and for this an application was made

in June, 1816. It was acceded to with the full consent of the Supreme Council, and in accordance with the legal opinion of the Advocate-General, who drew up the deed. In April, 1818, when the Peshwa was in arms, and it became necessary to pay up the arrears of the contingent to prevent the troops from going over to the enemy, Palmer and Company came forward and agreed to furnish the minister with two lacs and a half of rupees a month, at twenty-five per cent. interest, on the security of assignments on the land revenues, to the extent of thirty lacs a-year. This proceeding received the unanimous approval of the Governor-General in Council. But, about this period, the firm was joined by Sir William Rumbold, a connection of the Governor of Madras, whom the Court of Directors had removed from that appointment in 1782. He came out to India in 1813, and, as testified by Mr. Metcalfe, visited the various native courts where British influence was predominant, in the hope of making a rapid fortune as in the olden time, and at length fixed on Hyderabad, and was admitted into partnership with Palmer and Co. He had married a ward of Lord Hastings, who regarded her with parental kindness, and, in an evil hour, wrote to Sir William, "The partners speculate that your being one of the firm will interest me in the welfare of the house. It is a fair and honest conclusion. The amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well with the Supreme Government." To this letter Sir William gave the widest publicity, and it came to be currently reported and believed that he was the son-in-law of the Governor-General, and that the rents collected by Palmer and Co. were, in fact, payments to the British Government.

Proceedings and
fall of Palmer
and Co.,
1820-22.

The house had now obtained a firm footing at Hyderabad, and there was a constant stream of loans from the bank to the Nizam's treasury.

Funds were received in abundance from depositors at twelve per cent., and lent to the Nizam at twenty-four per cent., on the security of fresh assignments. Notwithstanding frequent repayments, the debt was continually on the increase by the process of compound interest. In 1820 Chundoo Lall was put up to solicit the sanction of Government to a new loan of sixty lacs for the professed design of paying up the public establishments, with a view to their reduction, of clearing off debts due to native bankers, and of making advances to the ryots. Lord Hastings considered that these were legitimate objects, of sufficient importance to justify the casting vote which he gave in favour of the proposal, but with the distinct understanding that it was not to be regarded as giving even an implied guarantee of the loan on the part of Government. But Mr. Metcalfe discovered, on his arrival, that only a portion of the sixty lacs had been actually paid into the Nizam's treasury, that eight lacs formed a bonus to the members of the firm, and that the remainder consisted of other sums lent, or said to have been lent, to the Nizam, without the knowledge of the Government of Calcutta, and consolidated in the new loan to which its sanction was thus surreptitiously obtained. But Mr. Metcalfe likewise felt that the house was gradually becoming a great political power in the state, chiefly through the influence which one of its members was said to possess with Lord Hastings. The authority of the Resident was thus superseded, and Chundoo Lall, believing that he held his place by the protection of the members of the firm, deemed it more for his interest to communicate with the Governor-General through them, than through his representative. The Government of the Nizam was prostrate before Palmer and Co., as that of the nabob of Arcot had been before his creditors, and the revenues of the country were gradually passing into the hands of the firm. Sir Charles Metcalfe—he had recently succeeded to the baronetcy—at length ventured to communicate his observations and views on the subject to Lord Hastings without

reserve, but he found that his mind had been prepossessed, and his feelings worked upon by the correspondence of the Rumbold family. Lord Hastings went so far as to exhibit a feeling of resentment at the opposition which Mr. Metcalfe had manifested to the proceedings of the firm. But the transaction of the sixty lac loan, to which the sanction of Government had been obtained by false representations, was too gross to admit of any palliation. It was also discovered that other advances had been made without sanction, and that, as Chundoo Lall observed, "the exorbitant rates of interest charged by the house, and the overwhelming amount of their interest on interest, had raised their claim to more than a crore of rupees." Lord Hastings and his Council passed a severe condemnation on these transactions, and resolved to make arrangements for relieving the Nizam from the grasp of his inexorable creditors. Fifty years before, Lord Clive had obtained the Northern Sircars as a gift from the Emperor of Delhi, but had agreed to pay the Nizam, in consideration of their having formed a part of his province, a *peshcush*, or annual acknowledgment, of seven lacs of rupees. This payment was arranged when the Company was an insignificant power; to the astonishment of the native princes, it was religiously continued after the Company had become supreme in India. It was now capitalised, and a crore of rupees was remitted from Calcutta, soon after Lord Hastings quitted India. The debt due to Palmer and Co., deducting the clandestine bonus, was paid off, and within a twelve-month they were insolvent.

Thanks of the
Directors and
Proprietors to
Lord Hastings,
1822.

The antipathy of the Court of Directors to Lord Hastings had been repeatedly manifested in captious criticisms, and in the reluctant praise and eager censure they bestowed on him. This feeling became more intense after Sir William Rumbold had joined the banking-house at Hyderabad, when they issued orders in the most peremptory and offensive terms to revoke the licence which had been granted to it by the Government of India,

though it had been unnoticed in Leadenhall-street for three years. Their despatch implied a mistrust of Lord Hastings's motives, and shewed a disposition to identify him with whatever appeared objectionable in the transactions of Palmer and Co. Indignant at these insinuations, and at the tone of their communication, he sent home his resignation, on the ground that he had lost their confidence. The Court assured him that he was entirely mistaken, and, in May, 1822, voted the thanks they had hitherto steadily withheld from him, as Governor-General, "for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nine years, he had administered the Government of British India with such high credit to himself and advantage to the interests of the East India Company." The Proprietors concurred in this resolution, and requested the Directors to "convey to his Lordship the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause." He embarked for Europe on the 1st January, 1823.

Remarks on
his administra-
tion, 1822.

In political genius, Lord Hastings can scarcely be said to rank with Warren Hastings or Lord Wellesley, though in completing the work they had begun and consolidating the British empire in India, he exhibited talent of the highest order. His administration was rendered memorable by the benefits he conferred on the old capital of the Moguls and the new capital of the Company. Ali Merdun, as stated in a preceding chapter, had executed the grand design of conveying a large portion of the water of the Jumna, where it issues pure from the mountains, by means of a canal, to the city of Delhi. It had, however, been devoid of water for sixty years, and its banks were everywhere prostrated. Lord Hastings caused it to be completely restored, and bestowed on the inhabitants the inestimable boon of fresh and wholesome water—without the imposition of a water-rate. The improvement of Calcutta had been totally suspended since the departure of Lord Wellesley. Under the direction of Lord Hastings, the ventilation of the town was promoted by piercing it in the

centre with a street sixty feet wide. Squares were laid out with tanks, or reservoirs of water, in the centre, surrounded by planted walks; and the foreshore of the river which was lined with wretched huts and rendered impassable by mire and filth, was adorned with a noble strand road worthy of the city of palaces, as Calcutta was justly designated. No Governor-General has ever laboured with greater assiduity in the performance of his duties. Between the age of sixty and seventy he was at his desk at four in the morning—and always in full military uniform—examining the boxes of papers from different departments which had been piled up in his room over night. He made an effort to acquire some knowledge of the language of the country, but he was obliged to relinquish it when he found that his moonshee was making a fortune by the opportunity afforded him of private intercourse with the Governor-General, when he attended him in his study. In the fevered climate of India,—which, since the facilities for visiting England have been multiplied, is considered insupportable,—he laboured for nine years at the rate of seven and eight hours a-day, without a hill sanatorium to resort to, or the convenience of a sea-going steamer. The only speck on his administration was the interest he manifested in the Rumbolds. As the head of the state it became him at once to withdraw his confidence from them when he discovered the mischievous use to which they were turning it, but the kindliness of his nature betrayed him into political weakness, and led him to take too lenient a view of the conduct of those who were bringing odium on his government, for which he suffered severely during the remaining years of his life.

Debate at the
India House,
1825.

Within two years after his return from India, his friend, Mr. Douglas Kinnaid, brought forward a proposal in the Court of Proprietors for a pecuniary grant befitting the greatness of his services and the gratitude of the Company. If there had been any sincerity in the tribute of “admiration, gratitude, and applause”

which had been recently paid him by that body, it would have been cordially welcomed, but it only served to disclose the strong current of rancour which underlay the crust of official compliment. The motion was met by an amendment, calling, in the first instance, for all the papers connected with the Hyderabad transactions, and, eventually, with the whole of Lord Hastings's administration. A twelvemonth was employed in compiling and printing this mass of documents, of which a folio volume of a thousand pages was devoted to the Hyderabad loans. It was to this single point and not to the general merits of Lord Hastings's administration that the attention of the Court of Proprietors was especially directed. If the question under discussion had referred to some grand measure of imperial policy, involving the welfare of millions, it would probably have been disposed of in a few hours; but it turned upon Lord Hastings's alleged delinquency in the matter of Palmer and Co.; it had all the zest of personality, and the debate was prolonged for six days. Towards the close of it Mr. Kinnaird submitted a resolution that "nothing contained in the papers tended to affect in the slightest degree the personal character or integrity of the late Governor-General." But the Chairman, Mr. Astell, opposed the motion by an amendment, stating that, "while admitting that there was no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the late Governor-General, the Court records its approbation of all the despatches sent out by the Court of Directors." These despatches, four in number, charged Lord Hastings among other misdemeanors with "having lent the Company's credit to the transactions at Hyderabad, not for the benefit of the Nizam, but for the sole benefit of Palmer and Co.. with having studiously suppressed important information, with proceedings which were without parallel in the records of the East India Company, and with assuming to elude all check and control." The approbation of these despatches was the severest condemnation which could be inflicted on Lord Hastings; but Mr. Astell's motion was adopted by a

majority of two hundred and twelve. Thus did the East India Company, with all the documents connected with his brilliant administration before them, dismiss him from their Court with the verdict that he was simply not guilty of having acted from corrupt motives. It was an ungrateful return to the man who had raised them to the pinnacle of political power and invested their rule with a moral grandeur. The happy remark made in the case of Warren Hastings, that if there was a bald place on his head, it ought to be covered with laurel, was peculiarly applicable to him. But the East India Company, princely beyond all other rulers in their munificence, have not been able to rise above the influence of vulgar and invidious prejudices in dealing with the merits of their most illustrious men—Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Hastings. Lord Hastings did not long survive the indignity thus cast on him. He died at Malta on the 24th August, 1827, and, in the succeeding year, the India House endeavoured to make some atonement for their vote of censure by placing the sum of two lacs of rupees in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his son.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF MR. ADAM AND LORD AMHERST.

ON the receipt of Lord Hastings's resignation, the Court of Directors, with the ready concurrence of the Ministry, nominated Mr. Canning, the late President of the Board of Control, Governor-General. A better appointment it would have been difficult to conceive, but India was not destined to enjoy the benefit of his transcendant talents. When on the point of embarking, the sudden death of the Marquis of Londonderry—with whose

Lord Amherst
appointed Govern-
nor-General,
1822.

name as Lord Castlereagh during Lord Wellesley's administration the reader is already familiar—led to his joining the Cabinet at home. Two candidates then appeared for this splendid office, Lord William Bentinck and Lord Amherst. Lord William had the strongest claims on the Court of Directors ; they had hastily removed him from the Government of Madras, in the height of the panic created by the Vellore mutiny, but on a calm review of the case, had acknowledged " the uprightness, zeal, and success of his services." He was eminently qualified for the Governor-Generalship by his great administrative ability, his intimate knowledge of the native character and habits, and of the system of the Indian Governments, and not less by his intense fondness for the work. Lord Amherst's claim rested on his embassy to China, and the exemplary patience and fortitude with which he had maintained the dignity of the British crown against the arrogance of the Peking court. He had also suffered shipwreck on his return. The preference was given to him, and he landed in Calcutta on the 1st August, 1823.

Mr. Adam,
Governor-
General, *ad*
interim, 1823.

During the interregnum, the government devolved on Mr. Adam, the senior member of Council, an officer of ability and resolution, and great political experience, but totally disqualified for the highest post in the empire by the strength of his local partialities and prejudices. Lord Hastings had left ten crores of rupees in the treasuries, in addition to a surplus revenue of two crores a-year, and the Government was bewildered with this unexampled exuberance of wealth. Lord Hastings thought that one-half the excess might be very appropriately allotted to the Proprietors of India stock, and the other half to the nation. But the Act of 1813 had ordained that, with the exception of the lac of rupees to be applied to public instruction, all surplus revenue should be assigned to the reduction of the debt. A portion of it was therefore employed in converting the Company's six per cent. paper into five per cents., which produced a saving of thirty lacs of rupees a-year. With

a portion of the accumulation in the treasuries, it was at one time proposed to pay off the debts of the civilians. The proposal was by no means so preposterous as it may at first sight appear. They formed the official aristocracy of the British dynasty, and supported the honour of their position by a liberal expenditure, which was often, however, beyond their means. There was no lack of wealthy natives ready to furnish the means of extravagance to youths to whom the administration of large districts would be eventually committed. They were seldom importunate for a settlement; the bond was readily renewed from time to time, with the addition of interest, but when the victim had risen to power, his native creditor demanded either the discharge of his debt, now swelled to a prodigious amount, or some influential appointment in his court, where he would of course exemplify the oriental rule of turning power into money. The office was often indignantly refused, but the knowledge of the civilian's indebtedness to the native, which could not be concealed, deprived him of the reputation of independence, which in popular estimation was essential to the impartial distribution of justice. To liberate the judge or collector from the thralldom of the native money-lender, and to make him the creditor of the state, was therefore as much a benefit to the district as to the individual himself. But the debts of the civilians were found to be so formidable, that the project was never carried out, and within a twelvemonth the Burmese war came and cleared out the treasury, and converted the surplus into a deficit.

Persecution of
the Press, 1823. Mr. Adams's brief administration of seven months was marked by great energy, and not a few good measures; but it is now remembered only by his illiberal proceedings against the press, and his vindictive persecution of Mr. Buckingham, who had come out to Calcutta in 1818, and established the "Calcutta Journal." It was the ablest newspaper which had ever appeared in India, and gave a higher tone and a deeper interest to journalism. A knot of young men in the public service, of brilliant talents, headed by

Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, ranged themselves around the paper, and contributed by their poignant articles to its extraordinary success and popularity. The editor, availing himself of the liberty granted to the press by Lord Hastings, commented on public measures with great boldness, and some times with a degree of severity which was considered dangerous. But the great offence of the Journal consisted in the freedom of its remarks on some of the leading members of Government. They had been nursed in the lap of despotism, and their feelings of official complacency were rudely disturbed by the sarcasms inflicted on them. Madras, as a rule, has been unfortunate in its governors; no fewer than six have been recalled—one of them unjustly—and, with the exception of three or four, the rest have been very second-rate men. One of these, Mr. Hugh Elliott, then filled the chair, to the regret of the public, and the Journal affirmed that he had obtained an extension of his term of office, which was announced to the community in a circular with a black border. This innocent pleasantry was registered among the offences of the paper. The Calcutta secretaries had about this time taken to wear a green coat, and the Journal styled them the “gangrene of the state.” Mr. Adam had systematically opposed the liberality shown towards the press by Lord Hastings, and only waited for his departure to impose fetters on it, and to make an example of the obnoxious Journal. A regulation was accordingly passed in April, 1823, which completely extinguished the “freedom of unlicensed printing,” but the Calcutta Journal continued to write with the same spirit as before. The senior Presbyterian minister, a zealous partizan of Government, had set up a rival Tory paper, and indulged in invectives against Mr. Buckingham, which, when indicted in the Supreme Court, were pronounced to be libellous. Not only was no check imposed on him by the Government, but he was nominated to the well-paid office of clerk to the Stationery Office. The appointment, when announced at home, was condemned by his own church, and revoked by the Court of

Directors. The Calcutta Journal ridiculed the incongruity of this union of offices, which obliged the reverend gentleman to employ himself in counting bundles of tape and sticks of sealing wax, when he ought to be composing his sermons. For this venial offence, Mr. Adam came down at once on Mr. Buckingham, revoked his licence, banished him from India, and ruined his prospects. He appealed for compensation to the India House, but an overwhelming majority of Proprietors passed a resolution approving of the proceedings of the Governor-General. A petition to disallow the press regulation was presented to the Privy Council, and rejected without any hesitation. Mr. Adam died at sea on his way to England, after an honourable service of thirty years, leaving behind him, as the Directors justly remarked, "the reputation of exemplary integrity, distinguished ability, and indefatigable zeal."

Rise and progress of the Burmese power, 1753—1815.

Lord Amherst had no sooner assumed the government, than he found himself involved in hostile discussions with the Burmese, which terminated within five months in a declaration of war. The kingdom of Burmah lies to the east of Bengal, from which it is separated by hills and forests, inhabited by various tribes of barbarians. Alompra, a man of obscure birth, but cast in the same mould as Hyder Ali and Runjeet Sing, began his career with a hundred followers, and after liberating his country from the yoke of Pegu, succeeded, about the year 1753, four years before the battle of Plassy, in establishing a new dynasty at Ava. Conquest was, as usual, the vital principle of this new government, and the Burmese soon became a great aggressive power. They successively repelled four invasions of the Chinese, and in 1766 compelled the king of Siam to cede the Tenasserim provinces to them. The province of Aracan, which had long been an independent, and at one period a powerful kingdom—as repeated invasions of Bengal testify—was annexed to the Burmese dominions in 1787. This province stretched along the eastern shore of the

Bay of Bengal, and was separated by the river Naaf from the Company's territories, in which several Aracan chiefs took refuge six years after, and were pursued across the frontier. Sir John Shore, then Governor-General, surrendered the fugitives on condition that the Burmese should retire to their own side of the river. This concession, which he considered the dictate of justice as well as of prudence, was attributed by the Burmese to pusillanimity, and the deputation of Colonel Symes, soon after, on a mission to Ava, confirmed this impression. He was received with scanty honour, and much gasconade, and the Burmese monarch, on learning from him that the English were at war with Bonaparte, inquired why the Governor-General had not applied to him for 40,000 troops, who would have swept the French from the face of the earth. In 1798, the oppressions of the Burmese forced a body of more than 30,000 Aracanese to seek a refuge in the British district of Chittagong. In their flight through the wilds and forests, without food or shelter, they experienced the extremity of distress, and the paths were strewed with the bodies of the aged and the helpless, and of mothers with infants at the breast. To refuse them an asylum would have been an act of barbarity, and they were settled in the waste lands of the district. The Burmese governor of Aracan demanded the surrender of the whole body, under the threat of an invasion. A large force of sepoy was dispatched to protect the frontier, while Colonel Symes was sent on a second mission to Ava, where he was treated with more than the usual arrogance of the Burmese court. A third embassy was unwisely sent in 1809, and Lieutenant Canning, the envoy, was subjected to increased indignity. The Aracan refugees were animated with inextinguishable hatred of their Burmese oppressors, and made repeated inroads into Aracan. Every effort was made by the British Government to restrain them, but nothing could convince the Burmese that they were not acting under the instigation of the public authorities in Calcutta. The repeated refusal of the Governor-General to

deliver up these helpless creatures to the Burmese executioner exasperated the Government of Ava, and in July, 1818, Lord Hastings received a rescript from the king demanding the surrender of eastern Bengal, including Moorshedabad. "The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, of Moorshedabad and Cossimbazar," he said, "do not belong to India. They are ours; if you continue to retain them, we will come and destroy your country." Lord Hastings treated the letter as a forgery, and returned it to the king.

Further
conquests of
the Burmese,
1815—23.

For several years before the war we are about to describe, the Burmese had been engaged in extending their conquests to the north-west of Ava. The kingdom of Assam, abutting on the Company's district of Rungpore, stretches eastward through the valley of the Berhampooter to the mountains which separate it from China. It had maintained its independence against the repeated assaults of the Mogul emperors, and had defeated the most celebrated of Aurungzebe's generals. But disputes had now arisen in the royal family which gave the Burmese an opportunity of interfering, and they established a paramount influence in it in 1815. In 1822 Muha Bundoola, the great national hero, completed the reduction of it, and annexed it to the Burmese crown. Munipore, a valley lying to the east of Bengal and encircled with mountains, had once planted its standard on the walls of Ava, but the dissensions of the palace introduced Burmese influence, and it was absorbed in the kingdom of Ava. The Burmese also entered the little principality of Cachar, on the north-east corner of Bengal, but were checked by the Supreme Government, who considered it impolitic to allow them to plant their camps and stockades so near the border. The dynasty of Alompra had thus, in the course of seventy years, succeeded in establishing its authority over territories eight hundred miles in length, stretching from the confines of Bengal to those of China. The uniform success of every enterprize had filled the Burmese with an overweening conceit of their strength, and the

evident indisposition of the Company's Government to go to war, combined with repeated embassies to Ava, and a profound ignorance of the resources of British power, inspired them with an irrepressible desire to try conclusions with the English in the field. "From the king to the beggar," as stated by Mr. Laird, an Englishman residing in the country, "the whole community was hot for war." Muha Bundoola, on his return from Assam, offered to drive the English from Bengal with no other troops than the strangers dependent on Ava. "The English"—such was the language of the royal council—"have conquered the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames, and no courage. They have never fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the spear and the sword."

Origin of the
Burmese war,
1823.

The Burmese lost no time in giving effect to this determination. At the southern boundary of the Chittagong district, at the estuary of the Naaf, lies the little island of Shahpooree, which had always been considered a part of the Company's territories. To defend it against the hostile disposition manifested by the Burmese, a small guard was posted on it in 1823. The Governor of Aracan claimed the island as Burmese territory, and insisted on the removal of the troops. The Governor-General proposed to appoint a joint commission to investigate the question of right, and the Burmese authorities answered the overture by sending over a thousand men, who hoisted the Burmese flag, put a part of the feeble detachment to death, and drove off the remainder. Lord Amherst immediately sent a force which dislodged the Burmese, and addressed a letter to the king, attributing the aggression to the presumption of the Governor of Aracan, and stating that his Government, however anxious to remain at peace, must resort to retaliation if such insults were repeated. The Court of Ava was thus confirmed in the conviction that the English dreaded an encounter with its troops, and Muha Bundoola was sent with a large army to Aracan with orders to expel the English from Bengal,

and to send the Governor-General to Ava, bound in the golden fetters which he took with him. To the official letter no direct reply was vouchsafed from Ava, but the Governor of Pegu was directed to signify the "pleasure of the king of the white elephant, the lord of the seas and of the land, that no further communication should be sent to the golden feet, but that the Governor-General should state his case in a petition to Muha Bundoola, who was proceeding to Aracan with an army to settle every question." Lord Amherst, finding that every effort to maintain peace only rendered war more imminent, and that the Burmese were preparing to invade Bengal simultaneously on the north-east and the south-east, issued a declaration of war on the 24th February, 1824; and thus began the first Burmese war. At a subsequent period, when the Court of Directors became impatient under the boundless cost and dilatory prosecution of the war, they condemned the origin of it, as a dispute about a contemptible and uninhabited island, a mere sand-bank; and Lord Amherst deemed it necessary to draw up an elaborate defence of his proceedings; but the labour was altogether redundant. The war was universally acknowledged in India by the most experienced statesmen to be "not only just and necessary, but absolutely and positively unavoidable." "The clearest case," said Sir Charles Metcalfe, "of self-defence and violated territory." If it had been conducted with the energy and promptitude of the Mahratta war in the days of Lord Wellesley, or the more recent Mahratta and Pindaree war, both of which were brought to a successful issue, before the news of the first shot reached Leadenhall-street, there would have been little discussion as to its origin.

Arrangements
of the cam-
paign, 1824.

The Burmese were the most despicable enemy the British arms had ever encountered in the east. Their army was a miserable half-armed rabble, without discipline or courage. They had few muskets, and their swords and pikes were of a very inferior description. Their chief defence lay in the admirable skill and rapidity

with which they constructed stockades, and which our commanders, with rare exceptions, committed the folly of endeavouring to carry by storm, instead of expelling the enemy by shells and rockets. A hoe and a spade was a more essential part of the equipment of a Burmese soldier than a musket or a sword. Each man as he advanced dug a hole in the ground deep enough to afford him shelter, from which he fired in security until he was unearthed by the impetuosity of the British troops. This information was acquired during the course of the war, but at the commencement of it the Government in Calcutta was profoundly ignorant of the national mode of warfare, of the military force and resources, the population and the geography of the country, or of the approaches to it from our own provinces. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Paget, then in the north-west, asserted that any attempt to enter Burmah either through Cachar or Aracan, would end in disaster, inasmuch as the troops, instead of finding armies, fortresses, and cities, would meet with nothing but jungle, pestilence, and famine. The plan of the campaign was drawn up by Captain John Canning, who had traversed the country and visited the capital; and it was unhappily on his knowledge that the Government placed its sole dependence. He represented that the occupation of Rangoon, the great port of the Irawaddy, would paralyse the Burmese Government, and that the means of constructing a flotilla for navigating the river, as well as provisions and draught cattle, might be procured in and around that town in abundance. Though the river, like the Ganges, was an impetuous torrent during the rains, the south-west monsoon which prevailed at that season of the year, would, he affirmed, enable the expedition to stem the current and sail up to the capital. It was resolved, therefore, to land the expedition at Rangoon as the rains commenced. The plan was visionary and preposterous, as the military authorities in Calcutta, with their knowledge of the rivers of India, ought to have foreseen; and the adoption of it was the first and most fatal error of the campaign.

The expedition was collected in the spacious harbour of Port Cornwallis, in the largest of the Andaman islands, lying in the Bay of Bengal, about three hundred miles south of Rangoon. It consisted of about 11,000 European and native troops, the latter drawn exclusively from the Madras Presidency, and it was placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served with distinction under the Duke in Spain. The fleet of transports was convoyed by three vessels of war, and by the "Diana," a little steamer recently built in Calcutta, and the first which ever floated in the waters of the east. The appearance of this vessel confounded the minds of the Burmese, among whom there was an ancient prediction current, that the kingdom would be invincible till a vessel moved up the Irawaddy without sails or oars.

While the expedition was in course of equipment, Bundoola entered Aracan for the invasion of Bengal with an army variously estimated at ten and twenty thousand men. The defence of the frontier had been left to a small and inadequate force stationed at Chittagong; and a weak detachment of about three hundred native infantry, with several hundred of the local levies and two guns, had been imprudently pushed forward under Captain Noton to hold a post on our extreme boundary, a hundred miles from the nearest support. The approach of Bundoola was well known in Calcutta, and the public authorities were repeatedly urged to reinforce the small body of troops which was to sustain the first shock of the Burmese, but the request was treated with indifference. The consequence was deplorable. The Burmese force advanced on the 17th May to Captain Noton's pickets, and the untrained men of the local corps fled. The little band of sepoys was completely surrounded, but they maintained the struggle gallantly for three days with little food or rest, and were then constrained to retreat, when they fell into irretrievable confusion. Captain Noton and five officers were killed, and three wounded. The detachment was annihilated, and the eastern districts of

Disaster at
Ramoo, May 17,
1824.

Bengal were seized with a panic, which extended even to Calcutta. But a large force was sent in haste to the frontier, which effectually checked the advance of the enemy, and Bundoola was soon after recalled to oppose the British force at Rangoon.

Arrival of the expedition at Rangoon, 1824. The expedition arrived off that town on the 11th May, to the inexpressible surprise of the Burmese, who had never dreamt that the English, whom they were about to expel from Bengal, would venture to attack them in their own territory. No preparations had been made to repel them, and the only defence of the town consisted in a quadrangular teak stockade, about twelve feet high, with a battery of indifferent guns, which were silenced by the first broadside from the "Liffey." Happily, the discharge was so opportune as also to rescue from destruction the Europeans resident in Rangoon, eleven in number, who had been seized and condemned to death on the approach of the fleet. Their arms had been bound behind as they were made to squat on the ground, and the executioner stood before them sharpening his weapon, when the shot from the frigate battered the building, which the Burmese officers abandoned in great trepidation, and thus afforded the prisoners the means of escape. The troops landed without any opposition, but they found the town deserted. It appeared that the governor, seeing all resistance hopeless, had ordered the whole population, men, women, and children, to quit it, and retire to the jungles with all their provisions and flocks and herds. The mandate was implicitly obeyed, partly from a dread of the strangers, but more especially from the terror which the ferocity of their own government inspired in all breasts. By this unexpected stroke of policy the whole plan of the campaign was defeated. Every hope of obtaining the means of advancing to the capital by water or by land was extinguished, and Sir Archibald was obliged to confine his efforts to the shelter of his troops during the six months of inaction to which they were doomed. One entire regiment was quar-

tered in the Dagon Pagoda, the pride of Rangoon, a magnificent edifice, which is justly admired for the lightness of its contour, the happy combination of its parts, and the vastness of its dimensions, and which serves to give us a very high opinion of the splendid Bouddist architecture with which India was once filled. The object of the Burmese commander was to isolate the British encampment and intercept all supplies, in which he completely succeeded, as well as to destroy the fleet with the fire rafts which the Burmese constructed with singular skill, but which was prevented by the vigilance of the British officers.

Sickness and mortality of the troops, 1824.

Within a week after the occupation of Rangoon, the rains set in with great violence; the country around became a swamp and the miasma, combined with the sultry heat, brought fever and dysentery and death into the camp. The condition of this noble army was rendered the more deplorable by the want of wholesome food. There was no lack of cattle in the neighbourhood which would have amply supplied all its necessities, but the Government in Calcutta, by a stretch of folly unknown in India, had forbidden the commander to touch them lest he should wound the prejudices of the natives, and the European soldiers were allowed to perish that the cows might live. The troops were thus left to depend on the supplies brought from Calcutta, which was proverbial for the dishonesty of its cured provisions; the meat was found to be putrescent, and the maggoty biscuits crumbled under the touch. Owing to the culpable neglect of the public authorities in Calcutta, and more especially of the commissariat, the army at Rangoon was left for five months in this state of destitution after its exigences had been completely revealed. It was only through the prompt and indefatigable exertions of Sir Thomas Munro, the governor of Madras, in forwarding supplies that the army was not altogether annihilated. The unhealthiness of the season, and the unwholesomeness of the food soon filled the hospitals, and of the whole force

scarcely three thousand men remained fit for duty. In the month of August an expedition was sent to the Tenasserim provinces, which stretched four hundred miles along the coast. The chief towns were occupied, and in the capital, Martaban, was found an immense arsenal filled with the munitions of war. These districts, remote from the stern influence of the Governor of Rangoon, furnished the troops to some extent with the supplies of vegetables and meat which were so greatly needed. In the beginning of October a large force was sent against Kaik-loo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, where the Burmese had erected a strong stockade. The troops who attempted to storm it were repulsed with considerable loss; but, on the appearance of a larger force, the Burmese were found to have evacuated it.

Actions of the
7th and 15th
Dec., 1824. The King of Ava at length resolved to collect all his strength for one vigorous effort to expel the invaders from the country. The renowned Bundoola was sent down to Rangoon with an army of sixty thousand men, and arrived in front of the British encampment on the 1st December. The rapidity and precision with which corps after corps took up its station, and immediately threw up entrenchments, reflected great credit on Burmese skill and discipline. Within a few hours the British camp was completely surrounded with stockades, and the busy line of soldiers suddenly disappeared behind them, the men sinking in couples into the burrows they had dug, which were stocked with a sufficient supply of rice, water, and fuel. The works, which were watched with intense interest from the British encampment, appeared to rise by the wand of a magician. The first attack on them was made on the 6th December, when two columns supported by gunboats broke through the right of the Burmese entrenchments and dispersed the defenders. Instead, however, of quitting the field, Bundoola pushed his troops the next day up to the great pagoda, but the twenty guns which had been mounted on it, opened a brisk cannonade, and four British columns

simultaneously attacked his force and routed it. But his spirit of perseverance was not exhausted. He sent incendiaries into the town who burnt down one-half of it, and he erected another series of stockades more formidable than any the British army had yet encountered, but on the 15th December, all his hopes were blasted by a total defeat, and he withdrew the whole of his force to Donabew, forty miles up the river.

Conquest of
Assam, 1825,

Leaving Sir Archibald at Rangoon without an enemy, we turn to the operations of the war in other quarters. At the beginning of 1825, the province of Assam was wrested from the Burmese by Colonel Richards, who met with no resistance in occupying the capital, Rungpore, though it was mounted with two hundred pieces of ordnance. The Commander-in-chief, as already stated,

Campaign in
Cachar, 1824.

had dissuaded Government from any attempt to invade Burmah through Cachar or Aracan, but when it became evident that the Rangoon expedition had failed to achieve anything, he changed his opinion and encouraged Lord Amherst to organise one army to advance through Cachar and Manipore southward upon Ava, and another to penetrate Aracan, cross the Yomadown hills, and debouch in the valley of the Irawaddy and then turn up north to the capital. Both expeditions proved abortive. The Cachar force consisting of 7,000 men was entrusted to the command of Colonel Shouldham. The Burmese had evacuated the province, but a more formidable enemy was found in the unexampled difficulties of the route. The army was enabled to advance along a road which the pioneers had opened with immense labour and perseverance to a point within ninety miles of Manipore, but the country beyond it was found to consist of an unbroken succession of abrupt hills and dales, the hills clothed to the summit with impenetrable forests, and the dells rendered impassable by deep quagmires. The rains commenced in February, and continued without abatement throughout March. The troops were harassed beyond

endurance. Hundreds of bullocks and camels, and a large proportion of the elephants, sunk under fatigue, or were imbedded in the mire. To transport the stores, the artillery, the heavy baggage, and all the *impedimenta* of a civilised army through such a region and under such circumstances was impossible, and the Colonel prudently relinquished the attempt and returned to Bengal. The expedition to Aracan was still more unfortunate. It consisted of about 10,000 men, and proceeded on its march from Chittagong on the 1st January. The commander was General Morrison, a King's officer of good repute, but he imprudently rejected the advice of the experienced Company's officers on his staff, who were acquainted with the face and character of the country. There was a constant succession of blunders, and the army was three months marching down the coast, a distance of only two hundred and fifty miles, and did not reach the capital of the province, which was occupied with little resistance, till it was too late in the season to make any farther progress. The monsoon commenced early in May, the country was flooded and became a pestilential marsh. One-fourth of the troops perished by disease, and two-thirds of the remainder were in hospital. Few ever recovered their former health and vigour, and the Aracan fever was long remembered with feelings of horror. The army, as an organised body, had ceased to exist, and on one occasion, when a wing of a European regiment was mustered on parade, only one soldier, it was said, appeared to answer to his name. But it was not till the end of the year that the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, consented to withdraw the remains of the army from this lazaretto.

Second Campaign, 1825. Sir Archibald Campbell, after having been encamped nine months at Rangoon, and lost two months of the season for operations, at length moved up towards the capital, on the 13th February. The army was divided into three columns, one of which, by an unaccountable fancy, was sent down under Colonel Sale, to occupy the town

and district of Bassein, on the southern coast, where there was no reason to apprehend any kind of danger. The small Burmese force fled at his approach, and he returned to Rangoon without any loss, save that of invaluable time. Another column moved up by land, under the personal command of Sir Archibald, without seeing the face of an enemy. The third proceeded by water up the Irawaddy, under Brigadier Cotton, and came abreast of Donabew on the 28th February. All the resources of Burmese engineering science had been employed by Bundoola in strengthening the fortifications of this post. The stockade extended a mile along a sloping bank of the river, and was composed of solid teak beams, fifteen feet in length, firmly driven into the earth. Behind this wooden wall the old brick ramparts afforded a firm footing for the defenders. Upwards of a hundred and fifty guns and swivels were mounted on the works, which were, moreover, protected by a wide and deep ditch, rendered formidable by spikes, nails, and holes. The garrison consisted of twelve thousand men, and was commanded by Bundoola himself, who maintained so stern a discipline that on one occasion when some of his artillery-men shrunk from their post on seeing their commander shot down, he descended to the spot, and ordered the heads of two of the recreants to be struck off and fixed to a pole, by way of example. The Brigadier succeeded in carrying the smaller works, but met with a signal defeat in his attempt to storm the larger entrenchment; and having indiscreetly left one of his regiments behind him on the route, pronounced his force unequal to the capture of the place. Sir Archibald had scarcely three months left for the campaign when he left Rangoon, and the capital was five hundred miles distant. But it was indispensable to retrieve the honour of the British arms, and to keep open his communications with the sea. Preferring, as he remarked, the sacrifice of time to the loss of men, he marched back to the succour of Brigadier Cotton with his whole force, and thus incurred the loss of an entire month. The attack began on the 1st

April, when a shower of shells and rockets was poured down on the Burmese encampment. The next morning, the heavy guns and mortars began to play on it, but no answer was returned, and soon after the whole of the Burmese army was observed to be in full retreat. Bundoola had, in fact, been killed by the bursting of a shell the preceding night, and with him expired all the courage and spirit of his troops. No farther obstacle was offered to the advance of the General, and Prome was occupied without firing a shot. But the rains were approaching, and the second campaign was brought to a close within ten weeks, during which the army had advanced a hundred and fifty miles.

Negotiations for
Peace, 1825.

The war was found to be more expensive than any in which the Company had ever been engaged. The mere field expenses, together with the cost of the additional troops who had been enlisted without necessity at the Bengal Presidency to fill up the gap temporarily created by the Burmese expedition, were estimated at a lac of rupees a-day. It was proposed to halt at Prome, and act on the defensive, but Lord Amherst wisely rejected this advice, under the conviction that the most effectual mode of bringing the war to a termination was to push on rapidly towards the capital. At the same time he urged the General to welcome any disposition on the part of the Burmese for peace, and that no opportunity of negotiation might be lost, associated in a commission with him, the naval Commander-in-chief, and Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, a civilian of experience and judgment, who had been the political agent at Chittagong. Mr. Ross Mangles, a young civilian of great promise, was appointed to act as secretary. Before the arrival of the Commissioners, the General had intimated to the Burmese Court that he was authorized to negotiate a peace. The overture was readily accepted; an armistice was concluded for a month, and envoys were sent down from Ava to the British encampment. They were informed that the King would be required to abstain from all interference in Cachar and Assam,

to recognise the independence of Manipore, to cede the provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim, and pay two crores of rupees towards the expenses of the war. They stated that it was beyond their power to accede to these severe terms, and the armistice was prolonged to enable them to make a reference to Ava. The reply of the King was brief and simple: "The English must empty their hands of what they hold, and then send a petition for the release of the European captives; but if they hint at the cession of territory or the payment of money there must be an end of all friendship." In that spirit of indomitable perseverance which the Burmese had manifested throughout the war, and which in some measure atoned for the want of courage, another army of forty thousand men was collected and sent to Prome, with orders to expel the English. With this body there was an engagement at Wattigam in which the British troops were repulsed from the stockades with the loss of two hundred men, of whom ten were officers. Emboldened by this success, the Burmese commander advanced against the British lines, but was signally defeated and very closely pursued. On the 26th December a boat with a flag of truce made its appearance with fresh envoys from Ava to renew the negotiations. It was anchored in the middle of the stream, and the plenipotentiaries entered it from opposite directions, with a retinue of fifty men on each side. The Burmese ministers waived every objection to the territorial cessions, but withstood the pecuniary payment, on the score of poverty, with so much earnestness that the English Commissioners were induced to reduce it by one-half. A treaty was accordingly signed on the 3rd January, and the royal ratification was promised on the 18th of the month. A little incident which occurred during the conference serves to illustrate the character of Burmese officials. One of their attendants, in lighting a cigar on the roof of the boat, happened to drop a spark on some loose gunpowder, which caused a slight explosion, and startled the principal envoy. When the offender was named to him, he exclaimed, "cut off his

hand," and a moment after added, "off with his head," and the sentence would have been executed at once, but for the earnest entreaty of Sir Archibald. But the ratification never arrived; the time was employed, as the Burmese had intended it should be, in strengthening the fortifications of Mellown, which lay opposite the British encampment on the Irawaddy. The British force attacked it with great vigour on the 19th January, captured all the guns, stores, and ammunition, and after delivering the encampment to the flames, pursued its march towards the capital.

Final engage-
ment and peace,
1826.

The king began now to tremble for his throne, and released Dr. Price, one of the American missionaries whom he had placed in confinement, and sent him down with another of the European captives to renew the negotiations. They were informed that no severer terms would be exacted in consequence of the victory at Mellown, but that one-fourth of the indemnity must be paid down within twenty days. The two European gentlemen returned to Ava, with the promise of appearing in the English camp on the 12th February, if the proposal was accepted by the king. But before that day he was induced to make one final effort to avert this humiliation. One of his military chiefs, in a burst of patriotism, engaged to expel the invaders if he were entrusted with an army. All the troops the Burmese were now able to muster did not exceed the number of 16,000, and with these the general marched down towards the English encampment, resolved to abandon the national mode of warfare, and, instead of digging holes and erecting stockades, to assail the British army boldly in the open field. Sir Archibald had only 1,300 men left out of his whole army to meet this force, but 900 of them were European veterans. The result of the engagement, which took place at Paghan-mew, may be easily imagined. The Burmese force was totally routed, and fled back to the capital in wild disorder, and the Burmese general expiated his patriotism by being trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Sir Archibald advanced

to Yandaboo, within forty miles of the capital. The last Burmese army had been extinguished, the strength of the monarchy was completely exhausted, and the king hastened to send Dr. Price, in company with Mr. Judson, the head of the American mission, who had suffered a cruel captivity in Ava for two years, and with two of his own ministers, to accept whatever terms the English general might dictate. They brought with them the first instalment of the money, and all the European prisoners save one, who was detained for a time, because the king had been informed that the Company had married one of his relatives! The treaty of Yandaboo was signed on the 24th February. The king ceded Assam, Aracan, and Tenasserim to the Company, agreed to pay a crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war, and to submit to the admission of a British minister at Ava, although there is nothing to which Eastern princes feel so bitter an aversion as the residence of a European representative—a barbarian eye, as they term it—at their courts.

Remarks on
the war, 1826.

This was the first occasion on which the British arms were carried beyond the confines of India, and great fears were entertained lest the Company should thus be drawn into collision with the various Indo-Chinese nations; but the apprehension has proved groundless. The Burmese war was also more expensive and less recuperative than any which had preceded it. The great Mahratta and Pindaree war cost the Government only a crore of rupees, which was more than covered by a year's revenue of the provinces acquired by it. The Burmese war cost thirteen crores, and the return consisted in three impoverished and thinly inhabited provinces. A fatality seemed, moreover, to mark every arrangement in this war, and in the presence of a contemptible enemy, it was remarkable only for want of judgment and perpetual delay. Its character was not redeemed by a single stroke of generalship. A great outcry was consequently raised against Lord Amherst in England; he was denounced in the Court of Proprietors as in every way unfit, by education, habits, and character, for the Government

of India, and repeated attempts were made to procure his recall. But Sir Thomas Munro, whose opinion was entitled to more confidence than that of any other statesman of the day, considered that there was great injustice in the idle clamour raised against the Governor-General. The Court of Directors, he said, were unreasonable in expecting to find every day for the Supreme Government such men as Cornwallis, and Wellesley, and Hastings, who appeared only once or twice in an age. Lord Amherst was as good a Governor-General as they were likely to send out. His situation was an arduous one; he was necessarily influenced by Captain Canning and the military authorities around him; he was new to India, and the Burmese were entirely unknown to us. But we lose sight of the mismanagement of the war when we view the prosperous condition which the provinces it gave us presents after the lapse of forty years. The energy and enterprize of the interlopers whom the Court of Directors endeavoured to exclude from India in 1813, have contributed in no small degree to augment the resources and the strength of the empire. They have covered Assam with tea gardens. The desolate and pestilential swamp of Aracan has become the granary of the Bay of Bengal, and hundreds of vessels are annually employed in conveying its produce from the port of Akyab to India, China, and Europe. Moulmein, the capital of the Tenasserim provinces, which contained only half a dozen fishermen's huts when it was first occupied, has become a flourishing port, with a population of fifty thousand, and a trade of half a million a-year.

Mutiny at Barrackpore, 1824. The progress of the Burmese war gave rise to another sepoy mutiny. The Aracan expedition was composed of two regiments of Europeans and of several native corps from Madras and Bengal. The Madras troops embarked with extraordinary alacrity; those from Bengal, owing to their religious aversion to the sea, were directed to march down the coast. The disaster at Ramoo had diffused throughout the army a great dread of the Burmese soldiers who were represented as magicians, and

created a passionate repugnance to the service. The Bengal sepoys had been accustomed to provide for the transport of their own baggage out of their pay, but the public demand for cattle had not only doubled the price, but exhausted the local supplies. Towards the end of October, the 47th Native Infantry at Barrackpore, one of the regiments warned for service, presented a respectful memorial setting forth the extreme difficulty of procuring the means of conveyance. The representation was just and reasonable, and might have been investigated without any peril, but the military chiefs, accustomed to the stringent discipline and implicit obedience of European regiments, resented the slightest appearance of backwardness in the native army, and the sepoys were informed that they would receive no assistance from Government, and must procure their own cattle at their own expense, without delay. Discontent was thus ripened into insubordination; excited meetings were held in the cantonments; the sepoys rose in their demands, and solemnly pledged themselves not to march without a supply of cattle, and also an increase of pay. To augment the embarrassment of the crisis, the whole army had been recently remodelled, and officers transferred from one regiment to another. Those of the 47th had been only three months with the corps, and had not acquired any influence over the men. On the 1st November, the 47th was paraded in marching order, but scarcely a third of the regiment fell in; the rest assembled tumultuously in the adjacent lines. The commandant of the station and other officers of rank attempted to reason with them, but were repulsed with vehement gestures and vociferations. The Commander-in-chief then resolved to crush the mutiny by force of arms. Two regiments of Europeans, a detachment of horse artillery, and the Governor-General's body-guard, were marched over night to Barrackpore and drawn up, unperceived, in the vicinity of the parade ground. In the morning, the Commander-in-chief came on the ground with his staff. The regiment was paraded, and officers, whom the men were accustomed to

respect, were sent to remonstrate with them, but without success. The sepoys were ordered to march forthwith, or to ground arms. They stood still in a state of stupid desperation, resolved not to yield, but making no effort at resistance. A volley was discharged by the artillery, when they cast away their arms with a loud shriek, and fled in dismay. The European troops then fired on them, and the body-guard sabred the fugitives. The slaughter on the ground and on the line of pursuit was very severe, and some were drowned in attempting to swim across the river. The ringleaders were subsequently tried by court-martial, and executed; and others were sentenced to hard labour in irons. A Court of Inquiry was held, which came to the decision that the "mutiny was an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so." There was no intention of resistance on the part of the sepoys, as scarcely one of the muskets left on the ground was found to be loaded, though each man had forty rounds of ammunition. When the corps had reached a state of actual mutiny, armed coercion was the only course which could be adopted, but the military authorities incurred a heavy responsibility by treating their legitimate representations with scorn. The Bengal sepoys are, after all, but a mercenary militia, bound to serve their foreign rulers within the limits of their own country. A little consideration for men required to march into an unknown region, peopled by the terrors of their imagination with goblins who had destroyed their fellow-soldiers, would have averted the catastrophe; but the sharpness of the remedy served to secure the subordination of the native army for sixteen years. In the following year Lord Amherst availed himself of the conquest of Aracan, to grant a free pardon to all the prisoners, but so little did they appreciate this act of kindness, that they asked, as they left the jail, what compensation they were to receive for the brass *lotas*, or water-pots, they had lost on the morning of the mutiny.

General spirit of

The condition of India at the beginning of the

disaffection,
1824.

Burmese war was such as to create much disquietude, though no alarm. Nothing is so soon forgotten in India as our successes, and nothing so long and so heartily remembered as our reverses. The recollection of the splendid triumphs of the Mahratta and Pindaree war had begun to fade, and some of the princes whom we had rescued from oppression were impatient under the restraints imposed on them, and the punctual demand of the tributes they had agreed to pay. There were few districts in Hindostan in which disaffection was not, more or less, manifested; the Mahratta states were not free from disorders, and one of the old Pindaree chiefs emerged from obscurity and collected a small band of followers. This fermentation in various and widely separated provinces was important chiefly from its common origin in the contempt which was growing up for British power. The withdrawal of troops for the Burmese war, and the reports, which were diligently circulated of our non-success, as well as of the talismanic prowess of the Burmese, produced no small agitation among the natives. They had been accustomed to see a campaign begun and ended in a few months; but in the second year of the Burmese war, the army had scarcely advanced a third of the way to the capital. The hopes of our downfall, always fondly cherished by the princes of India, were again revived. But in no instance was the defiance of our power so bold and significant as at Bhurtpore. Runjeet Sing, the Jaut chief, who had baffled Lord Lake in 1805, bequeathed the kingdom to his son in 1823, on whose death, without issue, it devolved on his brother. He was infirm in health, and applied to Sir David Ochterlony, the British representative in Malwa and Rajpootana, to recognize his son, a child of six years, as his successor. The question was referred to Calcutta, and, in obedience to the express orders of the Governor-General in Council, the investiture was performed by one of the political officers of the Residency. A twelvemonth after he ascended the throne, on the death of his father, under the guardianship

of his maternal uncle. But before a month had elapsed, Doorjun Saul, the nephew of the deceased raja, an ambitious and impetuous youth, having succeeded in corrupting the troops, put the guardian to death, and placed his cousin in confinement. Sir David, acting on his own responsibility, and with his usual energy, zeal, and promptitude, lost no time in issuing a proclamation to the Jauts to rally round their lawful sovereign, and in ordering a force of 16,000 men with a hundred guns into the field to support his rights, and vindicate the authority of the British Government. But the Governor-General disapproved of this proceeding. He denied that we were bound to uphold the young raja by force of arms. He considered it imprudent to embark the small disposable force in the north-west in a new war during the hot weather, while we were engaged in a conflict in Burmah, the extent, or duration, or demands of which could not be foreseen. Considering all the circumstances of the time, the Government was prudent in hesitating to incur the risk of a second siege of Bhurtpore. "A failure there," wrote Sir Charles Metcalfe, "would have given a shock to our power in every part of India, shaken the confidence of our army, and confirmed the fatal belief that we could be successfully resisted."

Communication
to and from
Sir David
Ochterlony,
1825.

The opinion of Government might, however, have been communicated to Sir David Ochterlony in a manner worthy of his long and eminent services, but for some time past there had been a strong desire in Calcutta to remove him from his post, and he had been repeatedly thwarted in his proceedings. He had latterly exhibited some of the infirmities of age, though it could not be denied that in the present instance he had manifested all the vigour of youth. Accustomed, moreover, as he had long been, to the exercise of great authority, and feeling a just confidence in his own experience, he was, perhaps, disposed to stretch the exercise of his power beyond the limits of his subordinate position. The unauthorized assemblage of a field force presented the occasion which had long been desired,

of getting rid of him. He was informed that he had acted on imperfect and unsatisfactory information, and that his measures were precipitate and unjustifiable; he was ordered to countermand the march of the troops and to recall his proclamation. The letter was intended to provoke him to a resignation, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was summoned from Hyderabad to supersede him before he could receive it. He replied to this communication with much, and perhaps with undue, warmth. He said the usurpation would never have been attempted but under the strong impression then prevalent that the Government was no longer in a position to punish insolence and to support right, and he affirmed that his military preparations fully justified the expectation that the fort would fall in a fortnight. As to the hot winds which had been adduced as an argument against the expedition, the old soldier remarked that the hour of necessity and the call of honour fixed the time for military operations. It was on this principle that, in his youth, the army had kept the field three years against Hyder, knowing no repose but during the rains, when the country was equally impassable for both parties. On this principle also, Lord Lake began the campaign of 1803, in the height of the rains, and remained under canvas during the hot winds of 1804, in the hottest province in Hindostan. He considered every moment of delay a submission to disgrace. But, in obedience to the orders he had received, he suspended the progress of the army, and issued another proclamation to the effect that the Government proposed, in the first instance, to investigate the merits of the question of the succession. He then tendered his resignation, stating that "as he had erred so egregiously in what he considered the proper and dignified course to pursue, he could no longer conceal from himself his unfitness for the situation he held." The ungenerous treatment to which he had been subjected, broke his heart, and he retired to Meerut, where he died within two months, as he said, with a bitter feeling, "disgraced," after an illustrious career of half a century, during

which there were few military operations in which he had not taken an active part. In the camp which he formed for the reduction of Bhurtpore in 1826, he discoursed with great zest of his early campaigns in the Carnatic in the days of Hastings and Coote. He was one of the brightest ornaments of the Company's service, equally eminent in the cabinet and in the field, a man born for high command and fitted to strengthen the power and to sustain the dignity of Great Britain in India. As the British representative in Malwa and Rajpootana, he commanded universal deference, as well by the equity of his decisions as by the magnificence of his retinue, which from time immemorial has always been an element of power in eastern countries. He was not, however, without his weak side. The blind confidence which he reposed in the natives around him was employed, as usual, for the purpose of extortion, the odium of which fell on his reputation. His moonshee had the presumption to place his name on the pension list of the King of Delhi for a thousand rupees a-month, where it remained till it was accidentally discovered by his master; but he was happily the last of the moonshees of European officers who created a princely fortune out of his position. Sir David's memory was more especially cherished by the Indian army from the fact that he was the first Company's officer who received the highest honours of the Bath, which, down to the period of the Nepal war, had been invidiously confined to the officers of the Crown.

Proceedings of
Doorjun Saul
and the
Council, 1825.

While Sir David was assembling the army, Doorjun Saul manifested a spirit of entire submission to the British Government, and professed to be satisfied with the regency, but when he found that the troops were remanded, he assumed a higher tone, claimed the throne itself, and prevailed on the chiefs of his tribe to rally round him. His cause became popular, as soon as it was understood that he intended to hold Bhurtpore against the will of the Governor-General. Rajpoots, Jauts, Mahrats-

tas, Afghans, and not a few of the Company's own subjects, flocked to his standard, and a body of 25,000 men was speedily collected for the defence of the place. From the neighbouring Mahratta and Rajpoot chiefs he received every token of encouragement, and it was firmly believed that they were fully prepared to take part in the quarrel. The Supreme Council met to deliberate on this perilous state of affairs soon after the death of Sir David. The two civilian members of Council, and the Commander-in-chief maintained, that as the young raja had been invested with the insignia of royalty under the authority of the Governor-General, they were bound to support him against a usurper, at any hazard, more especially as the increasing disorders in the north-west threatened a general convulsion. Lord Amherst alone strenuously resisted all active measures from an overwhelming dread of a second failure at Bhurtpore. Happily Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived in Calcutta in August on his way to Delhi, and, after a careful examination of all the documents on the question, drew up a clear, bold, and masterly minute, which at once decided the policy of the Government. "We have, by degrees," he said, "become the paramount state in India. In 1817, it became the established principle of our policy to maintain tranquillity among the states of India. . . . and we cannot be indifferent spectators of anarchy therein without ultimately giving up India again to the pillage and confusion from which we then rescued her. . . . We are bound, not by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the legal succession of Bulwunt Sing. . . . Our supremacy has been violated, or slighted, under the impression that we were prevented by entanglements elsewhere from sufficiently resenting the indignity. . . . A display and vigorous exercise of our power, if rendered necessary, would be likely to bring back men's minds in that quarter to a proper tone, and the capture of Bhurtpore, if effected in a

glorious manner, would do us more honour throughout India, by the removal of the hitherto unfaded impressions caused by our former failure, than any other event that can be conceived." Lord Amherst surrendered his opinion to Sir Charles Metcalfe, and had the candour and grace to place the fact on record. The Council was now unanimous, and on the 18th September, at a time when the Court of Directors maintained that "the settlement of 1818 had in no degree extended our right of interference in the internal concerns of other states, except as it had been provided by treaty," passed the following manly resolution: "Impressed with a full conviction that the existing disturbances at Bhurtpore, if not speedily quieted, will produce general commotion and interruption of the public tranquillity in Upper India, and feeling convinced that it is our solemn duty, no less than our right, as the paramount power and conservators of the general peace, to interfere for the prevention of these evils, the Governor-General in Council resolves that authority be conveyed to Sir Charles Metcalfe to accomplish the above object, and to maintain the succession of the rightful heir to the raj of Bhurtpore, if practicable, by expostulation and remonstrance; and should these fail, by a resort to measures of force."

Capture of
Bhurtpore,
1826.

Sir Charles's expostulations and remonstrances, as might have been expected, were lost upon Doorjun Saul, who determined to hold the fortress to the last extremity, and it became necessary to resort to arms. To the astonishment of the princes of Upper India, who believed that the war in which the Company were engaged in Burmah had absorbed all their military resources, a British army of 20,000 men, together with a hundred mortars and heavy ordnance, suddenly sprung up in the midst of them. Bhurtpore was considered an insuperable check to British power, and the last bulwark of national independence, and the eyes of all India were fixed upon the siege, not without a general wish for its failure. The head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief, now Lord Combermere, were estab-

lished before it on the 10th December, and Sir Charles Metcalfe soon after joined the camp. At a short distance from the town there was a lake, separated from it by an embankment, which the defenders had cut in the former siege, and thus filled the ditch with water. On the present occasion they had commenced the same operation, but by the timely arrival of a British detachment, and the energetic exertions of Captain Irvine, the flow of water was checked, and the breach repaired. A delay of a few moments would have altered the result of the siege. The defences of this celebrated fort consisted of lofty and thick walls of clay, five miles in circumference, hardened in the sun, supported and bound by beams and logs, rising from the edge of a ditch, fifty-five feet in depth, and a hundred and fifty feet broad. It was strengthened by the outworks of nine gateways, and flanked by thirty-five lofty mud bastions, one of which, called the "bastion of victory," was built to commemorate the defeat of Lord Lake, and, as they vauntingly said, with the skulls and bones of those who had fallen in the first siege. For the level country in which it was situated, the fortification was the strongest, and, so to speak, the most impregnable which could be devised. Thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance played on the ramparts for many days without making any impression on the walls, or creating a practicable breach. The heaviest shot only caused the defences to crumble into rugged masses falling down on each side of the conical wall, but leaving the ascent scarcely less steep and inaccessible than before. At the commencement of operations Colonel Galloway, who had been present at the former siege, and had written a valuable treatise on Indian fortifications, and Lieutenant—afterwards General—Forbes, had, unknown to each other, urged on Lord Combermere the necessity of endeavouring to create a breach by mining, but the proposal was treated with contempt. It was only when every effort to breach the wall by batteries had hopelessly failed, that the chief engineer consented to adopt this advice and to have recourse to mines, several of

which were completed and fired, but without any adequate result. A great mine was at length completed, and charged with ten thousand pounds of powder. The explosion, which took place on the 18th January, seemed to shake the foundations of the earth; enormous masses of hardened earth, and blocks of timber, mingled with heads, legs, and arms, were sent flying into the air, and the sky was darkened with volumes of smoke and dust. The column destined for the assault, under General Reynell, rushed up the breach and bayoneted the defenders, who fought to the last with the greatest resolution. Six thousand—according to other accounts double that number—were said to have fallen in the siege, while the loss in the Company's army did not exceed a thousand. Doorjun Saul was captured as he endeavoured to make his escape, and sent first to Allahabad and then to Benares, where he passed twenty-five years of his life, in that asylum of disinherited princes, upon a pittance of five hundred rupees a-month. The boy raja was conducted to the throne by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Combermere, but the laurels of Bhurtpore were dishonoured by rapacity. The siege was undertaken to expel a usurper and to restore the throne to the rightful prince, yet all the state treasures and jewels found in the citadel, to the extent of forty-eight lacs of rupees, were unscrupulously pronounced by the military authorities to be lawful prize, and at once distributed among the officers and men. Six lacs fell to the share of the Commander-in-chief. This procedure was defended by the sophism that "as Doorjun Saul had been in quiet possession of the throne, and acknowledged by all parties as the Maharaja, no individual either openly or secretly supporting the claims of Bulwunt Sing, naturally gave the former the full right to all the property in the fort, and deprived the latter of any claim which he might be supposed to have to it." This spoliation was denounced by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in terms of indignation: "Our plundering here," he wrote, "has been very disgraceful, and has tarnished our well-earned honours.

Until I can get rid of the prize agents, I cannot establish the sovereignty of the young raja, whom we came professedly to protect, but have been plundering to the last *lotah*—water-pot—since he fell into our hands.”

Effect of the
capture, 1826.

The capture of Bhurtpore is a salient point in the history of British progress in India. Though absolute masters of the whole continent, our prestige still seemed to be suspended upon the issue of the siege, which was watched with extraordinary interest throughout the country, and more particularly in the metropolis. Government had been constrained to open a loan in the month of August, but the moneyed classes hung back from it till the result of the siege was known. The privilege of private posts had not then been abolished, and the Calcutta bankers received daily intelligence of the progress of operations before Bhurtpore more speedily than the Governor-General obtained it through the public mail, and the first intimation which the Government received of the capture of the town was from the sudden influx of subscriptions to the loan, to the extent of thirty lacs of rupees, as soon as the treasury opened for the day. Bhurtpore was dismantled, and the proud walls which had baffled the hero of Laswaree and Delhi were levelled with the ground. The capture of the town and fort by the skill of British engineers diffused a salutary feeling of awe throughout India, and, combined with the simultaneous submission of the Burmese, dissolved the hopes of the disaffected, and strengthened the power of Government.

Honours con-
ferred on Lord
Amherst, 1826.

The gross mismanagement of the Burmese war had created great discontent in England, but the successful termination of it brought the Governor-General a step in the peerage as Earl Amherst of Aracan—though the most disastrous of his expeditions—and a vote of thanks from the Court of Directors for “his active, strenuous, and persevering efforts in conducting to a successful issue the late war with the King of Ava.” On the return of peace he made a progress through the north-west, and held stately

durbars, and the native princes who had recently been meditating the downfall of British power, hastened to offer their homage to it. In the summer of 1827 he proceeded to Simlah, the delightful climate and majestic scenery of which was then for the first time selected as a summer retreat by the head of the Government. His example has been followed by his successors, and this sanatorium has now become the annual resort of European officers and residents in the north-west from the heat of the plains to such an extent as to support a banking establishment. The financial result of Lord

Financial results,
1828.

Amherst's administration was calamitous. The wealth left in the treasury by Lord Hastings was dissipated; the surplus of revenue was converted into a deficit, and an addition of ten crores was made to the public debt. Of this sum about one-fourth was obtained from the hoards of the King of Oude, the perennial reservoir of the Calcutta treasury. Large sums were likewise subscribed by native chiefs and bankers after the capture of Bhurtpore, and Bajee Rao himself was induced to invest in "Company's paper" some portion of the accumulations of his annuity. Lord Amherst, immediately after his arrival, and while new to the country and to the community, was led by the

Lord Amherst
and the Press,
1824-28.

Tory members of the Government to continue those truculent proceedings against the press which they had originated. But it was not long before he adopted a more generous policy, and on his departure was complimented by the journals in Calcutta "on the liberality and even magnanimity with which he had tolerated the free expression of public opinion on his own individual measures, when he had the power to silence them with a stroke of his pen." It was during his absence at Simlah, and without his concurrence, that the Vice-President in Council revoked the licence of one of the Calcutta papers, and ruined the proprietor, for a racy but innocent squib on the higher members of the service, similar to those which form the weekly attraction of the London "Punch." This was happily the last interference on

the part of the public authorities with the local press. Within thirteen months of this vindictive act Lord William Bentinck practically restored its freedom, and on his departure, Sir Charles Metcalfe placed that freedom on a legal basis.

Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, was anxious to resign his post in 1824, but was solicited to assist in fitting out the Burmese expedition, and in supplying its wants. His advanced age and the state of his health required repose, but he resolved to obey the call of duty. So energetic were his exertions as to draw from Lord Amherst and his Council the graceful acknowledgment, that, but for his aid, "it would have been impossible to undertake the vigorous measures which were adopted." The year after the conclusion of the war, while preparing to return to his native land, he was smitten down by an attack of cholera. He ranks among the greatest of the Company's servants. He was a man of strong mind and original thought, and united a solid and practical judgment with broad views of policy. Mr. Canning was proud of having selected him for the government of Madras, and stated in Parliament that "Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, fertile as it was in heroes, a more skilful soldier." He was one of the very rare instances of a good Governor of Madras, and presented a very marked contrast to his predecessor, Mr. Hugh Elliott, and to Mr. Lushington, who succeeded him. Mr. Canning took equal credit to himself for the appointment of Mr. Elphinstone to the government of Bombay. He was second to none of the great men who have contributed to render the Company's rule successful and illustrious. It was he who organised the institutions of the Bombay Presidency after it had been enlarged to its present size by the territories acquired from the Peshwa, and one of his last acts was the completion of the Bombay code, which bears his name, and has served in no small degree to enhance his reputation. Mr. Jenkins had been charged with the management of the Nagpore territories after the deposition of

Appa Sahib, during the minority of his successor, and resigned it into his hands in 1826, when he came of age. His administration was the most honest and beneficial the Bhoonslay kingdom had ever been blessed with, and was rendered the more memorable by the condition to which it relapsed when again subjected to native rule. The same lamentable result followed the removal of Sir Charles Metcalfe to Delhi, and the consequent abandonment of the administrative system he had introduced into the domains of the Nizam. By a singular coincidence, each of these statesmen, though civilians, had enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring laurels in the field, Sir Charles Metcalfe at Deeg, Mr. Elphinstone at Kirkee, and Mr. Jenkins at Seetabuldee; but it was the revenue settlement and civil administration of the large kingdoms confided to them at Hyderabad, Bombay, and Nagpore, which formed the chief distinction of their career. They may be considered, in conjunction with Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Sir David Ochterlony, as forming that galaxy of talent which gave solidity and splendour to the Company's government during the first quarter of the present century.

Lord Amherst's departure, 1828. Lord Amherst was constrained to leave Calcutta earlier than he had expected through the illness of his son, and embarked for England in February, 1828. Mr. Bayley, the senior member of Council, a disciple of Lord Wellesley's school, succeeded temporarily to the office of Governor-General, and was for four months employed in discussing and maturing some of those great measures of reform which rendered the next administration memorable in the history of British India.

GLOSSARY.

- Banian*.—A Hindoo merchant; manager of a European's concerns
Batta.—An allowance to troops in the field.
Begum.—The lady of a noble or prince.
Binjarees.—The hereditary and professional carriers of India.
Cazee.—A Mahomedan judge and notary.
Chout.—The fourth of revenues exacted by the Mahrattas.
Cowrie.—The lowest coin in India; a shell.
Crone.—Ten millions of rupees; one million sterling.
Daroga.—Superintendent of Police.
Dewan.—The principal minister of finance; a head manager
Dewanny.—The management of the revenue.
Dewanny Court.—Court of civil justice.
Dooab.—The country lying between any two rivers.
Durbar.—A levee; a cabinet council.
Firman.—An imperial grant, order, or charter.
Fouzdar.—A commander of military police; a criminal judge.
Ghaut.—Stairs leading to a river; a mountain pass.
Gold mohur.—A gold coin worth 32s.
Harem.—The seraglio.
Jaygeer.—An estate, not hereditary, held on military service.
Jaygeerdar.—The holder of a jaygeer.
Jezzia.—The poll-tax imposed on infidels by Mahomedans.
Kayusts.—The writer caste, ranking next to the Brahmmins.
Kshetriyu.—The second, or military caste.
Lac.—One hundred thousand.
Mau.—An Indian weight, about 82 lbs.
Moonsiff.—A civil judge of the lowest grade.
Muharanee.—Queen, princess.
Omra.—A noble.
Pagoda.—A Madras coin, value 8s.
Pariar.—An outcast.
Peshcush.—Tribute.
Pottah.—A lease.
Rupee.—Two shillings.
Ryot.—An agricultural tenant.
Seer.—A variable weight—generally 2lbs.
Sepoy.—A native soldier.
Shastrus.—The sacred writings of the Hindoos.
Sirdar.—A chief.
Sir-desh-mookhee.—The tenth of the produce exacted by the Mahrattas
Soobah.—A province.
Soobadar.—The governor of a Soobah.
Soodra.—A man of the fourth or lowest caste.
Sudder cheif. *Sudder Dewanny*.—The supreme civil court
Sunnud.—A patent for office.
Vakeel.—An envoy or representative;—an attorney.
Vizier.—Prime minister.
Zemindar.—A landholder.
Zemindary.—A landed estate.
Zennas.—The female apartments.
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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

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THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF
LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION.

BY

JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN.

VOL. III.

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NOTICE.

THE small proportion of the present work which has been allotted to the Hindoo and Mahomedan period of Indian history has been the subject of remark by those who have honoured the previous volumes with their notice. The author would therefore embrace the present opportunity of explaining that it was intimated to him by the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta that they had adopted Mr. Elphinstone's standard work in reference to that early period, and desired the present work to commence where he had left off, with the history of the British Empire in India. He was happy to be relieved from the necessity of going over ground which had been so fully occupied by that eminent writer, and cheerfully reduced the volume he had already compiled to the dimensions of a simple introduction.

1st November, 1867.

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATION, 1828—1835.

Date.	Page
1828 Lord William Bentinck Governor-General	1
Reduction of civil allowances	2
The half batta order ...	2
1830 Arrangement regarding Malwa opium	5
1828 Resumption of rent free tenures ...	6
1832 The Cole insurrection	8
1831 Insurrection of Teetoo Meer	10
1832 Annexation of Cachar ...	11
1834 Reduction and annexation of Coorg ...	11
1828-34 Non-interference policy of Lord William Bentinck	14
Remarks on our position in India	14
1799-1809 Affairs of Mysore	17
1811 The raja assumes the Government	19
1832 Lord William Bentinck assumes the entire management of Mysore	20
Bhopal ; the able administration of the ranee ...	21
1834 Joudhpore, misconduct of the raja and his submission	22
1835 Jeypore ; disorders of the government	23
Murder of Mr. Blake	25
1831-34 Oude ; Lord William threatens to assume the government	26
1834 Hakim Mehdi ; his extraordinary talents ...	26
Orders of the Court of Directors to take over the management of the country ...	28
1833 Events at Gwalior on the death of Sindia	28
1830 First symptoms of Russophobia	30

Date.	Page
1809-22 Progress of Runjeet Sing : reform of his army	31
His successive conquests	32
1822 Arrival of French officers at Lahore	33
Character of the Sikh soldiery	34
1823 Battle of Noushera	34
1831 Syud Ahmed's insurrection and progress ; his death	36
Dray horses sent to Runjeet Sing	36
Lieutenant Burnes's mission to Sinde and Lahore	37
His reception by Runjeet Sing	38
Runjeet Sing's power	39
The Khalsa or Sikh commonwealth	40
Meeting at Roopur between Lord William Bentinck and Run- jeet Sing	41
Treaty with Sinde	43

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS—MATERIAL
PROGRESS, 1828—1835.

1828-34 Remodelling of the judicial system	45
1833 Revenue settlement, north-west provinces	46
Labours of Mr. Robert Bird	47
1831 Employment of natives in the Government	49
1830 The question of Suttees	51
Lord William Bentinck's enquiries and his resolution	53
1830 Abolition of the rite	55
1832 Hindoo law of inheritance modified	56
1831 Admission of native Christians to office	57
1830 Suppression of Thuggee—labours of Major Sleeman	58
1830-34 Steam communication on the rivers, and between England and India	60
1842 Peninsular and Oriental Company	61
1813-33 Education ; orientalism	63
1835 Triumph of English	65
Remarks on this policy	66
1833 The General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta	67
1835 The Medical College in Calcutta	68
1827 Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay	69
1832 Collision between the Supreme Court and the Government at Bombay ...	70
Conflict of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control ; Palmer and Co.	73
Case of the Lucknow bankers	75
1834 The Nozeed affair ..	77
1835 Financial results of Lord William Bentinck's administration	78
1833 Fall of the great houses in Calcutta	79
1835 Remarks on Lord William Bentinck's administration....	80

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CHARTER OF 1833—SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S ADMINISTRATION—
BENEVOLENT EXERTIONS OF THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT, 1833—1836.

Date.		Page
1833	The new charter ; extinction of the China monopoly	83
1833	Government of India continued to the Company	84
	Modifications in the Government	85
	Europeans allowed to settle in India	86
	Character of the Company's Government	87
1835	Sir Charles Metcaife Governor-General, <i>ad interim</i>	88
	Lord Heytesbury	89
	Liberation of the press	91
	Result of this measure	92
	Sir Charles Metcalfe Governor of Agra	93
1836	Displeasure of the Court at the liberation of the press	94
	Sir Charles Metcalfe resigns the service	96
	Remarks on his administration	97
	Benevolent efforts of the Company's Government	98
1784	Augustus Cleveland	99
1829	Civilization of the Bheels by Lieutenant Outram	100
1832	Civilization of Mairwarra by Captains Hall and Dixon	102
1833	Female infanticide	103
1834	Successive efforts to eradicate it	105
1835	Human sacrifices among the Khonds	108
1836-40	Efforts to eradicate it by Colonel Campbell and Major Macpherson	109

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION,
1836—1842.

1836	Lord Auckland Governor-General	112
1833	Shah Soojah's expedition ; its failure	113
1835	Runjeet Sing's views on Sinde	114
	Dost Mahomed at Peshawur	115
1837	Battle of Jumrood	117
	Rapid extension of Russian power	118
	Influence of Russia in Persia	119
1834	Persian expedition to Khorasan ...	120
1836	Failure of Mr. McNeill's negotiations	121
1837	Persian expedition to Herat	122
	Lord Auckland's advisers... ..	123
	Captain Burnes's mission to Cabul	124
	His negotiations with Dost Mahomed	125
	Arrival of the Russian envoy	127

Date.		Page
1838	Lord Auckland's haughty communication to the Dost	128
	Failure of Captain Burnes's mission	129
	Resolution of Lord Auckland to dethrone the Dost	130
	Mr. Macnaghten's mission to Runjeet Sing	131
	The tripartite treaty	132
	The grand expedition into Afghanistan	132
	Character of this expedition	134
	Lord Auckland's manifesto, October 1st	134
	First five months of the siege of Herat—Lieutenant Pottinger	136
	Battle of the 24th June—the siege raised	137
	Persistence in the expedition to Cabul	140

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION,
1838—1842.

1838	Strength of the British armies	141
1839	Treatment of the Ameers of Sind	142
	Progress of the army	144
	Treaty with Mehrab Khan of Khelat	145
	Arrival at Candahar	145
	Capture of Ghuzni	146
	Arrival at Cabul	148
	Flight and pursuit of Dost Mahomed	148
	Progress of Colonel Wade and Prince Timur to Cabul	149
	Retention of the force in Afghanistan	150
	Capture of Khelat	151
	Honours bestowed on the conquerors	152
	Death and character of Runjeet Sing	152
	Hostility of the Lahore durbar	154
1840	Russian complaints against Khiva	155
	British diplomacy in Central Asia	155
	Object of the Russian expedition to Khiva	156
	Failure of the expedition	157
	The Bala Hissar and the cantonments	157
	Intrigues at Herat and the British Government	159
	Condition of the Government in Afghanistan	160
	Movements of Dost Mahomed	161
	Surrender of Dost Mahomed	162

CHAPTER XXXV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION—
MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES, 1841—1842.

1841	Major Todd obliged to quit Herat	165
	General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Candahar	166

Date.	Page
1841	168
Insurrection of the Eastern Ghilzyes	168
Court of Directors anxious to quit Afghanistan—Lord Auckland resolves to remain	169
Retrenchment of stipends; revolt of the Ghilzyes	170
Sir Robert Sale attacked in the passes	172
Security of the Envoy	172
Insurrection in Cabul; murder of Sir A. Burnes	173
General Elphinstone's infirmities	175
Indecision and procrastination of the authorities	176
Loss of the Commissariat fort and all the supplies	178
Sir Robert Sale declines to return to Cabul	178
General Nott sends a force to Cabul, which returns	179
The question of assassination	180
Brigadier Shelton united in the command; his impracticable temper	181
Action at Behmaroo	182
Last action, 23rd November	182
Despondency in the cantonment	183
Negotiations with the enemy	184
Arrival of Akbar Khan	184
Treaty of 11th December	185
Violation of the treaty by the enemy	186
Assassination of Sir William Macnaghten	188
Character of Sir William	189
Energetic advice of Major Pottinger rejected	190
1842	192
Commencement of the retreat	192
Disasters of the retreat	193
Surrender of the ladies and officers	194
Total destruction of the force	195
Character and effects of the catastrophe	195
Despondency and weakness of Lord Auckland	196
Active exertions of Mr. Robertson and Mr. George Clerk	197
Colonel Wild's brigade; its disasters	198
General Pollock's brigade	199
Close of Lord Auckland's administration	200
Connection with idol temples dissolved	201

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—CLOSE OF THE AFGHAN WAR,
1842.

1842	202
Lord Ellenborough Governor-General	202
Disaffected state of the troops at Peshawur	203
General Pollock forces the Khyber	204
Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad	205
Councils of war	206
The succession of earthquakes	207
Akbar Khan beleaguers Jellalabad	208

Date.	Page
1842 Defeat of Akbar Khan	209
1841-42 Transactions at Candahar	210
Surrender of Ghuzni	211
Conduct of Brigadier England at Hykulzye	212
Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, 15th March	213
He determines to withdraw the armies at once from Afghanistan, 19th April	214
Effect of the order on General Nott and General Pollock	215
Lord Ellenborough's change of plan, 4th July....	216
Death of Shah Soojah	218
Condition of the English captives and hostages	219
Advance of General Pollock	221
Battle of Tezeen ; re-occupation of Cabul	223
Advance from Candahar....	223
The Somnath Gates	224
Rescue of the prisoners	225
Capture of Istaliff	227
Destruction of the great bazaar at Cabul	227
Return of the army of retribution	228
Proclamation of Lord Ellenborough	229
The Gates Proclamation	230
Ovation to the returning heroes	231
Remarks on the transactions in Afghanistan	233
Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly at Bokhara	234
They are executed in the market-place	236

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—SINDE AND GWALIOR WARS,
1842—1844.

1842 Conduct of the Ameers of Sind during the Afghan war	237
Sir Charles Napier assumes the command ; his proceedings	238
The new treaties	239
Strange proceedings of Sir Charles	241
Capture of Emamgur	244
1843 Conferences with the Ameers	244
Conference with Major Outram at Hyderabad ...	245
The Ameers sign the treaties	246
Attack on the Residency....	247
Battle and victory at Meanee, 17th February	247
Annexation of Sind	249
Second battle, 22nd March	249
Remarks on the conquest of Sind	250
1844 The mutinies	252
1843 Progress of Affairs at Gwalior	254
Condition of the Gwalior army	255
Dismissal of the Regent	256
Confusion at Gwalior	257

Date.		Page
1843	Lord Ellenborough's Minute, Nov. 1	259
	Advance of the British force	262
	Battle of Maharajpore	263
	Battle of Punniar	265
	The new settlement at Gwalior	265
1844	Recal of Lord Ellenborough	266
	Improvements during his administration	268

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1844—1848.

1844	Sir Henry Hardinge Governor-General	270
	His education Minute	272
	Restoration of flogging in the native army	273
1839-40	Revolutions in the Punjab	273
1842	Shere Sing's negotiations with the British Government	274
	Movement in Tibet	276
1843	Murder of Shere Sing	276
1844	Murder of Heera Sing and Pundit Julla	277
	Ascendency of the army	278
1845	Plunder of Golab Sing and Moolraj	279
	Preparations to meet a Sikh invasion	280
	Character of the Khalsa army	281
	The Sikh army crosses the Sutlege	282
	General Littler besieged in Ferozepore	283
1845	Confiscation of the Cis-Sutlege state	284
	Battle of Moodkee	285
	Battle of Ferozeshuhur	286
	Second engagement, December 22	289
	Remarks on these battles	290
	Pause for reinforcements	292
1846	Battle of Aliwall	293
	Battle of Sobraon	294
	The army enters the Punjab	297
	Settlement of the Punjab	298
	Sale of Cashmere to the Raja Golab Sing	299
	Treaty of 9th March, 1846	300
	Procession of the captured guns	301
	New arrangements in the Punjab, December, 1846	302
	Reduction of the Company's army	304
	Restoration of the Mogul canals ...	305
	Ganges Canal projected by Colonel Cautley	306
	Supported by Lord Hardinge	307
1848	Close of Lord Hardinge's administration	307

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—SECOND SIKH WAR, 1848—1849.

Date.		Page
1848	Lord Dalhousie Governor-General; his antecedents	309
	Proceedings of Moolraj at Mooltan	310
	Murder of British officers	311
	Indecision at Lahore	313
	Splendid exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes	314
	Battle of Kineyree	315
	Battle of Sudoosain	316
	Despatch of General Whish's force to Mooltan	316
	Intrigues and banishment of the ranees of Lahore	317
	Revolt of Chutter Sing	318
	Operations of General Whish's force	319
	Defection of Shere Sing	320
	The siege of Mooltan raised	320
	General revolt in the Punjab	320
	Shere Sing threatens Lahore	322
	Alliance of Dost Mahomed with the Sikhs	323
	Position of Major Lawrence at Peshawur	324
	Defection of his troops	324
	Advance of Lord Gough's army	325
	Action at Ramnugur	326
	Death of Havelock and Cureton	327
	Battle of Sadoolapore	327
	Noble efforts of the political officers	330
	Movements of the Sikh and British armies	331
1849	Battle of Chillianwalla	333
	Results of the battle	337
	Recal of Lord Gough	339

CHAPTER XL.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SECOND SIKH WAR—THE SECOND
BURMESE WAR—THE SANTAL OUTBREAK, 1849—1855.

1848	The second siege of Mooltan	339
1849	Capture of the fort	341
	Shere Sing outmanœuvres Lord Gough....	342
	Battle of Guzerat	343
	Remarks on the battle	346
	Pursuit and submission of the Sikh chiefs	347
	Incorporation of the Punjab with the Company's dominions	348
	Abdication of Duleep Sing; the Koh-i-noor	349
	Honours bestowed on the victors	350
	Close of the period of war of ten years	350

Date.	Page
1849-54 System of government in the Punjab	352
The border ; disarmament ; the police	353
Finance and revenue	354
Slavery ; dacoity ; thuggee	355
Suppression of infanticide	356
Roads and canals in the Punjab	358
1854 Beneficial result of these measures	359
1852 The second Burmese war	361
Commodore Lambert deputed to Rangoon	362
Insult offered to Captain Fishbourne	363
Proceedings of the Commodore	364
Resolution of Lord Dalhousie	366
His exertions in fitting out the expedition	367
Organization of the expeditionary force	368
Capture of Rangoon	369
Co-operation of the Peguers	370
Close of the war	371
Annexation of Pegu	372
Happy result of the conquest	374
1855 The Santal émeute	376
1849-50 Mutinies in the Punjab	377
Dispute between the Governor-General and Sir Charles Napier	379
Decision of the Duke of Wellington	380

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—TRANSACTION WITH NATIVE
PRINCES, 1848—1854.

1848 The Sattara question	380
1818 Origin of the principality ; death of the raja	381
1848 Question of adoption ; Sir George Clerk, Mr. Willoughby	383
Lord Dalhousie's researches	384
His conclusions	386
General principles laid down by Lord Dalhousie	387
1849 Decision of the home authorities	388
1853 Berar, death of the raja	388
1819-53 British and native administrations	390
1837-53 Anxiety of the people for British rule	391
Lord Dalhousie resolves to annex it	391
1853 Minutes of Colonel Low and Mr. Halliday	392
Sale of jewels	394
Jhansi	395
Remarks on the annexations	397
Extent of Lord Dalhousie's responsibility	399
Opposition to annexations	400
Arguments adduced against them	401
1801-53 Nabob of the Carnatic	402
Arrangements of Lord Wellesley	403
1853 Death of the Nabob ; Lord Harris refuses to maintain the succession	404

Date.		Page
1853	Lord Dalhousie concurs with him	405
	The Nizam and Berar; the contingent ...	406
	Proceedings of Lord Dalhousie ...	408
	His Minute	408
	New treaty and its results	410
	Nana Sahib	412
	Mysore; admirable administration of General Cubbon	415
	Lord Dalhousie refuses to restore the Government to the raja	416
	Reference to the original treaty	416
1867	Subsequent history of transactions regarding the raj	417

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—OUDE—ADMINISTRATIVE AND
MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS—CONCLUSION, 1848—56.

	Chronic misrule in Oude	419
	Remonstrances of successive Governors-General	420
1851	Report of Colonel Sleeman	421
1855	Report of General Outram	423
	Lord Dalhousie's Minute	424
	Minutes of the Members of Council	425
	Decision of the home authorities	427
	Remarks	428
1848-56	Administrative reforms	429
	Military Board; public works department	430
	Education	431
	Revenue, finance, commerce	432
	Steam communication	433
	Low and uniform postage	434
1848-56	Lord Dalhousie's journeys	435
	Roads and Canals ...	436
	Mr. Thomason's administration and character ...	437
	Great system of Indian railways ...	439
	The electric telegraph in India	444
	Character of Lord Dalhousie's administration	446
	Censured for not having foreseen the mutiny	448
	His anxiety regarding European troops....	449
	Censured for having caused the mutiny by his annexations	450
	Examination of the subject	450
	Assumed causes of the mutiny	451
	The greased cartridges the real cause	453
1853	Charter of 1853 ...	454
	Reduction in the number of the Court of Directors	455
	Establishment of a Lieutenant-Governorship in Bengal	455
	Civil service thrown open to competition	456
1858	Close of the rule of the East India Company ...	457

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATION, 1828—1835.

Lord William Bentinck's Administration, 1828.

THE claims of Lord William Bentinck were at length recognized by the Court of Directors, and the stigma which had been unjustly cast on his character by his abrupt and harsh removal from Madras in 1806, was effaced by the gift of the Governor-Generalship. He was sworn in at the India House in July, 1827, while his relative, Mr. Canning, who had promoted his nomination, was Prime Minister; but the lamented decease of that statesman a few days after brought into power those members of his party who had been opposed to his elevation, and Lord William suspended his departure till he was satisfied that they were not disposed to object to his appointment. He sailed in February, and reached Calcutta on the 4th July, 1828. His administration of seven years, which forms one of the brightest periods in the history of British India, commenced under the most unfavourable circumstances. The Burmese war had not only saddled the treasury with a loan to the extent of ten crores of rupees, but created an annual deficit of a crore; and the new Government was constrained at once to enter upon the unpopular duty of retrenchment.

Reduction of
Allowances,
1828.

Immediately on his arrival two committees were appointed to investigate the increase of expenditure in the civil and military establishments, and to suggest the means of bringing it back to the standard of 1822. The sweeping reductions which the Court of Directors had already made in the strength of the army left little for the military committee to do except to curtail individual allowances, though they were in no case excessive, and in many cases inadequate. In the civil departments the allowances of the civilians presented a more legitimate field for revision. During the previous thirty-five years the only two items which had never experienced any diminution, but on the contrary exhibited a constant tendency to increase, were the public debt and the pay of the civil service. To select one example by way of illustration: the remuneration of an opium agent, for duties which required no mind and little labour, had been gradually augmented to 75,000 rupees a-year. Lord William Bentinck cut it down to a level with the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England. Some offices were abolished, a few were doubled up, and the income of others was reduced, but the retrenchments did not affect the aggregate allowances of the service to a greater extent than six per cent. It was still the best paid service in the world, enjoying an annual income of ninety lacs of rupees, which, divided among four hundred and sixteen officers, gave each civilian, from the member of Council to the writer, an average allowance of more than 20,000 rupees a-year. But the reductions effected by Lord William Bentinck, combined with his stern resolution to constrain every man to do his duty, punctually and efficiently, created a feeling of irritation in the ranks of the service beyond all former example, and subjected him to insults which severely taxed his habitual equanimity.

The Half Batta
Order, 1828.

Of the measures of reduction which Lord William Bentinck was constrained to carry out, none was found to create so much animosity as the half batta order. Soon after the beginning of the century an arrangement had

been proposed which assured the officers of the army full batta in cantonments in the lower provinces. It bore the character of a compromise, and was considered by them in the light of a sacred compact. It did not, however, meet with the approval of the India House, and directions were issued successively to Lord Hastings and to Lord Amherst, to reduce the batta allowance by one half. Both the Governors-General deemed it their duty to suspend the execution of the order pending a reference to the Court of Directors, but they simply repeated their injunctions in more peremptory language. Their last despatch on the subject reached Calcutta soon after the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, who was then for the first time put in possession of their wishes, and issued an order in November, 1828, to curtail the batta allowance at all stations within four hundred miles of Calcutta. This measure kindled a flame throughout the army, which at one time threatened to consume the bonds of obedience. A word from the officers at that moment, and the whole Bengal army would, it was firmly believed, have risen to a man. One officer went so far as to declare on his honour that if an enemy were to appear in the field, he did not believe there was a single officer who would give, or a regiment which would obey the order to march. The statement was doubtless exaggerated, but it will serve to show the irritation which then pervaded the army, and which subjected Lord William Bentinck to such gross personal insults from the officers as no Governor-General had ever before experienced. An attempt was made to form representative committees in the army, on the principle which had been adopted by the mutineers in 1796, but it was peremptorily forbidden by the Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, though he did not hesitate to declare that he considered the order itself unjust, and inconsistent with the implied conditions of the service. The Court of Directors were exasperated by this expression of his opinion to such an extent as to intimate that he would have been immediately superseded, if he had not already resigned their service. Lord William Bentinck felt that it was

beyond his power to suspend the execution of the order, though he considered it unnecessary, impolitic, and unjust, but he transmitted all the memorials of the army to the Court of Directors, stating that "if it had been a new case, he would have assumed the utmost latitude of discretion; but, after the Court had for the third time reiterated their orders, no alternative was left to him but to obey them." Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was emphatically the friend of the army, had recently been raised to Council, and fully concurred with Lord William Bentinck that the order was one which could not have been disobeyed, under existing circumstances, without assuming that the executive Government in Calcutta was the supreme power in the empire. The Court of Directors denounced the tone and spirit of the memorials as subversive of every principle of military obedience. They asserted their right, in common with all Governments, to regulate the allowances of the public servants, and they signified their determination to enforce the order they had issued. This resolution met with the full concurrence of the Duke of Wellington. Considering the pass to which matters had arrived, it was necessary for the maintenance of discipline, to enforce the order, although it was an egregious blunder. At the period when it was first issued, the Indian treasury was full to repletion, and the saving created by these cheese parings would not have increased the surplus revenue by more than one per cent. The reduction was, under every aspect, impolitic; it affected the most expensive stations, and created an invidious distinction between the officers of different arms in the same service. Dumdum, the head-quarters of the artillery, was within the fatal circle of four hundred miles, and the officers who had won their commissions after a severe scientific competition, and who formed the élite of the army, were condemned to reduced allowances; but those of the cavalry, filled with the relatives and connections of the Directors, which was never cantoned in the lower provinces, were exempted. The irritation, moreover, was annually revived, as each regiment was required in succession to take its turn, as a

matter of equity, at the penal stations. It appears strange that so astute a body as the Court of Directors should have risked the attachment and confidence of a noble army for a saving of less than two lacs of rupees a-year, but they were not exempt from the infirmity of occasional spasms of *zid*. It appears still more astonishing that during the thirty succeeding years in which they retained the government of India, they had not the magnanimity, if only as a graceful acknowledgment of the services of the army in twenty hard-earned victories, to rescind an order which created perpetual irritation. It was only after the government had passed into the hands of the Crown that this act of injustice and impolicy was redressed.

Opium, 1830. In the attempt to adjust the finances of India, the decrease of allowances afforded a larger scope for exertion than the increase of revenue; but it was not overlooked. Opium has always presented a very elastic source of wealth to the Government of India. The scheme of raising a revenue from the manufacture of it originated with Warren Hastings, and was matured by Sir John Shore, through whose diligent efforts the purity of the drug was improved to such a degree that a chest with the Company's trade mark and seal passed like a bank note, without question, in China and throughout the Eastern Archipelago. In the Gangetic provinces it was grown in Behar and Benares, under the restrictions of a close monopoly. It was also indigenous in Malwa, and, on the restoration of tranquillity to that rich and distracted province by the victories of Lord Hastings, the native capitalists eagerly embarked in the cultivation of an article which yielded colossal returns. The importation of Malwa opium into Bombay was strictly prohibited, but the interdict was evaded by conveying it across the desert to Kurrachee, in Sindh, and thence to the Portuguese ports of Diu and Daman on the western coasts, and, eventually, in vessels under Portuguese colours to China and the east. The profits of the Company's monopoly were seriously affected by this competition, and various plans

were devised to check it, but they were chiefly remarkable for the absence of either wisdom or equity. The purchase of the whole crop in Malwa, which was adopted in one season, entailed a loss to the extent of more than half-a-crore of rupees. The restrictions, moreover, which it was sought to impose on the native states in Central India, regarding the culture of the poppy, were found to interfere unjustly with their independent action, and often to occasion serious conflicts. Lord William Bentinck put an end to the difficulty by establishing a system of licences for the direct conveyance of the opium from the provinces in Central India in which it was raised, to the port of Bombay, and a progressive revenue has thus been established, without annoyance either to prince or people.

Rent-free Tenures, 1828. The final and successful effort which was made to recover the land revenue which had been alienated from the state by fraudulent deeds, belongs to Lord William Bentinck's administration, though the regulation itself was passed immediately before his arrival. The native governments had been in the habit of making grants of land to individuals and to establishments, lay or ecclesiastical, free from the payment of rent; in other words, to bestow on them the public share of the produce of the lands. Some of these grants to charities and religious endowments were consecrated by time, but, generally, rent free tenures in the Deccan were resumed on every succession to the throne, and frequently more than once during the same reign. The same practice was common in Hindostan. Thus, the Nabob of Oude when constrained by Lord Wellesley in 1801 to commute his annual subsidy for a territorial cession, sought to compensate himself by resuming the grants which had thus been made by his predecessors. In the confusion occasioned by the dissolution of the Mogul empire this royal prerogative was usurped by the governors of provinces, and sometimes by their subordinate officers. On assuming the management of the revenue the Council in Calcutta announced that all grants made previous to the acquisition of the Dewanee in 1765, should

be deemed valid; but as there existed no register of these titles, the zemindars, farmers, and revenue officers set to work unscrupulously to fabricate and to antedate them. A tenth of the public revenue appears thus to have been alienated from the support of the state during the infancy and inexperience of the Company's administration. A vigorous native Government would have summarily resumed all such grants, but the Regulations of 1793 simply reserved the right of imposing the public assessment on them after their illegality had been established in a court of law. The laborious duty of conducting these investigations was imposed on the Collector, and neglected. A more stringent Regulation was passed in 1819, which empowered him to call for written documents, to examine witnesses, and to decide the validity of the title, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, leaving the proprietor to make his appeal to the civil courts. But the Collector found himself thwarted at every step in the performance of this invidious task, by the mercenary officers of his own court, who were bribed by the holders of the lands, and he became lukewarm in the performance of it. Few cases were taken up, and the decisions of the courts on appeal were so dilatory and withal so contradictory, as to be equally unsatisfactory to the appellant and to Government. It became necessary, therefore, either to relinquish altogether the pursuit of this lost revenue, or to adopt a more vigorous course to recover it. Accordingly, three weeks before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, a Regulation, long remembered as III of 1828, was passed, by which special Commissioners, selected from the ablest and most experienced officers in the judicial service, were appointed to hear and determine appeals from the decisions of the Collectors, who were stimulated to greater activity under the influence of the new system. These energetic proceedings produced great dissatisfaction among those who were affected by the resumptions. They pleaded that the difficulty of adducing evidence to establish the validity of their titles had increased with the lapse of time; that many

documents had disappeared through the humidity of the climate and the ravages of the white ants, and that in the course of several generations, lands, though originally obtained by fraud, had been purchased, *bonâ fide*, and at an enhanced value, by their present proprietors. There can be no doubt that the resumption of these lands, or rather of the rent of them,—as the parties were in no cases dispossessed, inflicted great unpopularity on the Government at the time, though by no means to the extent which has been assumed, but to affirm, as some have done, that it was one of the leading causes of the great mutiny of the sepoy's thirty years after, is one of the most gratuitous of assertions. The natives of the country, though they had been accustomed to submit meekly to the wholesale and indiscriminate resumption of such lands by the arbitrary will of their native princes, resented the resumptions when made by a foreign Government which had never been popular, and they arraigned its justice and moderation; but the irritation did not outlive the generation affected by them, and had passed out of memory long before the crisis of the mutiny arose. The addition made to the rent-roll of the state by this procedure, amounted to about thirty lacs of rupees a year, while the machinery of investigation cost eighty lacs.

The Cole
Insurrection,
1832.

The political and military events of Lord William Bentinck's administration were of minor importance compared with those of a previous or a succeeding period, when thrones and dynasties were overthrown, and the map of India was reconstructed. There was the usual amount of chronic turbulence among the border tribes on the various points of our extensive territory, but it did not affect the stability of the empire. The Cole insurrection, however, involved operations of some magnitude. The Coles, the Dangars, the Santals, and other cognate tribes; the aborigines of the country are believed to have receded before the conquering Hindoos into the hills and fastnesses south-west of Bengal; and in that wild region they have continued for ages to maintain their primitive language, habits, and superstitions, as well

as their physical appearance and, in some cases, their wild independence. Their condition had been little affected by the political or religious revolutions in Hindostan. Of these forest tribes, some were under the loose authority of the Rajpoot zemindars who had gradually succeeded in obtaining a footing in their country. Some of them lived by the chase, but others obtained a subsistence by the rude cultivation of the open and fertile tracts embosomed in their hills. The zemindars endeavoured to improve their revenues by settling a more industrious class of farmers from Bengal and Behar on the lands, but the interlopers became an object of intense hatred to the aborigines. The cumbrous Regulations of the Bengal Presidency had unhappily been introduced into the province, to the great annoyance both of the zemindars and the ryots. The general feeling of discontent occasioned by these proceedings was exasperated by the insolence and rapacity of the Bengalee underlings who had flocked in with the establishment of our institutions, and monopolized every office. In 1832, the whole country was in a state of insurrection. The vengeance of the Coles was directed against the zemindars who oppressed them, and more especially against the foreign settlers. Their fields were laid waste, their villages given up to the flames, and more than a thousand were put to death before it was possible to assemble troops. A considerable force of horse, foot, and artillery was sent into the province. The insurgents assembled in thousands, but were armed only with bows, arrows, and axes, and the military operations were confined to scouring the country, burning down the hamlets, and endeavouring to apprehend the leaders. There was no real opposition, but great slaughter; and as none of the Company's officers were acquainted with the language of the Coles, not a few of them were cut down as they were thronging to the camp to implore mercy. All the tribes at length threw themselves on the consideration of the Government, and the troops were withdrawn. A chief of the Choars, a kindred race in the neighbouring province of Manbhoom, rose in revolt immediately after, but

an overwhelming force, consisting of no fewer than four regiments of infantry, besides irregular horse, and some guns, was poured into the country and speedily extinguished the rebellion. It was not, however, without its countervailing advantages. Lord William Bentinck was induced, in compassion to the people, to relieve them from the incubus of a code altogether unsuited to the simplicity of their habits, and he formed the districts into a non-regulation province, and placed it under the control of a Commissioner.

Another insurrection attracted notice about the same time from the singular circumstances of its occurrence within fifteen miles of Government House in Calcutta. Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan reformer and fanatic, of whom further particulars will be given hereafter, had collected numerous disciples in Bengal, and more particularly in the district of Baraset. The superior sanctity they assumed, the intolerance they manifested towards the Mahomedans who refused to join their sect, and their hostility to the Hindoos rendered them an object of general aversion, and some of their Hindoo zemindars had inflicted fines upon them. They made their appeal to the Magistrate, but the dilatory proceedings of his court exhausted their patience, and, under the direction of one Teetoo Meer, a Mahomedan mendicant, they took the law into their own hands. They proclaimed a religious war against the Hindoos, by the usual process of defiling a temple with the blood of a cow, and forcing its flesh down the throats of the brahmins, and constraining them to pronounce the formula of the Prophet's creed. They then proceeded to plunder and burn down villages and factories, and to put to death all who ventured to oppose them. The émeute gained strength from two ineffectual efforts on the part of the Magistrate to quell it, and in the peaceful province of Bengal, which had not seen the smoke of an enemy's camp for more than seventy years, two regiments of infantry with a body of horse and some guns were summoned to the field. They came up with the insurgents near Hooghly; a few rounds of grape

Insurrection of
Teetoo Meer,
1831.

drove them into a stockade they had erected, where, contrary to all expectation, they defended themselves with great resolution for an hour, and put to death sixteen of their assailants. Many of the fanatics were slain, and the remainder made prisoners, and the insurrection subsided as rapidly as it had arisen.

Annexation of Cachar, 1832. Lord William Bentinck's administration was marked by the addition of two principalities to the Company's dominions, but of such insignificant extent as to escape observation and censure. The raja of the little province of Cachar in the hills on the north-east frontier of Bengal, had been rescued from the grasp of the Burmese in 1825, and restored to power. He was murdered in 1832, and, as he left no legitimate successor, Lord William Bentinck yielded to the general wish of the people, and gave them the benefit of the Company's government. This unnoticed nook of the great empire has since acquired a commercial importance by the application of British capital and enterprise to its improvement. The forests have been cleared, and the hills covered with tea plantations, on which large sums have been expended.

Reduction and annexation of Coorg, 1834. The conquest and annexation of Coorg was the deliberate act of the most pacific of Governors-General. This province lies on the Malabar coast, between Mysore and the sea, and comprises an area of about fifteen hundred square miles, no portion of which is less than three thousand feet above the level of the sea. The population is scanty, and the country itself had never been deemed of any importance; but circumstances have invested it with a peculiar interest. At the close of the last century, the raja was the most chivalrous character of his age in India, and defended his domains with such perseverance and gallantry against the overwhelming force of the Mysore rulers, as to obtain the hearty commendations of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley. From the latter he received the gift of a splendid sword, which was long preserved with pride among the family heir-looms.

His descendant, the princess Gourumna, came to England in company with her father, and embraced the Christian religion, the Queen standing her sponsor at the baptismal font. At the commencement of the war with Tippoo in 1791, it was deemed important by the British authorities to obtain a military position in Coorg, and a treaty was concluded with the raja, Vira Raja, which secured his assistance and the resources of his country, and granted him the guarantee of his independence on the part of the British Government. The arrangement was concluded by Mr. Taylor, the Company's agent at Tellicherry; and such were the lax notions of religion which prevailed at the Madras Presidency in those days, that he took God, the sun, the moon, and the earth to witness the execution of the deed. The raja died in 1809 and was succeeded by his brother, who bequeathed the throne to his son Vira raja in 1820. Few princes, even in India, have ever exhibited a more atrocious example of cruelty and ferocity. His first act was to put to death all those who had thwarted his views before he came to the throne. To prevent the possibility of being superseded, he directed all his royal kinsmen, twelve in number, to be taken into the jungle and decapitated. He never scrupled to take the life of any one who was obnoxious to him, and he became the object of universal dread to his courtiers and his subjects. He manifested a peculiar hatred of the British Government, and prohibited all intercourse between his people and Englishmen, which had the effect of concealing his conduct from observation. In 1832, his sister and her husband fled for their lives, and revealed the tale of his barbarities to the British Resident at Mysore, who proceeded in person to the capital, and endeavoured, but without success, to bring the raja to reason. A native envoy was then sent to remonstrate with him, but he was seized and placed in confinement. The raja, at the same time, addressed letters to the Governor of Madras, and even to the Governor-General, couched in terms of extraordinary insolence, and organized his little force for a conflict with British power. Lord William Bentinck, finding him deaf to all admonition,

resolved to treat him as a public enemy, and issued a proclamation, recounting his cruelties and oppressions, and announcing that he had ceased to reign. A force of about 6,000 men was directed to enter the country simultaneously from the east, west, north, and south, under the general command of Colonel Lindsay. Advancing from the eastward, he succeeded in penetrating the intricate and perilous defiles leading to the capital, where the mere interjection of felled trees from the neighbouring forest might have completely blocked up his path. He entered the capital and planted the British standard on its ramparts on the 6th April, 1834. But the Coorg troops resisted the divisions which were advancing into their country from other directions with the same energy and courage which had been exhibited in the defence of their independence against the veterans of Hyder and Tippoo. Two of the British columns were repeatedly repulsed by these gallant highlanders, and many officers and more than two hundred of the men fell beneath their weapons. If the generalship of the Coorg commander had corresponded with the valour of his men, the campaign might with ease have been protracted till the rains set in, in which case the British army would have been obliged to withdraw from a scene where disease would have annihilated their strength. But the raja was as cowardly as he was cruel, and surrendered to General Fraser, the political agent, who issued a proclamation, under the orders of the Governor-General, annexing the territory of Coorg to the Company's dominions "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people." The General was an officer on the Madras establishment, and he took on himself to humour the religious notions of the Hindoos by prohibiting the slaughter of kine throughout Coorg, though he was not ignorant that the British Government—except in the fatal instance of Rangoon—had invariably refused to sanction so preposterous a concession to native prejudices. The country of Coorg was overlooked for more than twenty years, when it was discovered to be one of those mountain tracts suitable for the residence of Europeans and

the cultivation of coffee, and it has now become one of the most valuable and prosperous sections of the great national estate in India.

Non-interference Policy, 1828—34. The policy of Lord William Bentinck in reference to the native states was regulated at first by the principle of non-interference, which was still in the ascendant in Leadenhall-street, and on which some brief remarks may not be redundant. For centuries, the idea of a paramount power in India had been so familiar to the native mind, that its existence came to be considered a matter of necessity. In his minute on the Bhurtpore crisis, Sir Charles Metcalfe had stated that the obligation to maintain the legal succession of the heir in that principality devolved on us as the supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right in India. But the Court of Directors lost no time in repudiating this doctrine, and laid positive and repeated injunctions on the Government of India to abstain from all interference with the native princes, beyond what was indispensable to secure the punctual payment of their respective tributes. The British Government in India was thus placed in the unseemly position of a powerful and importunate creditor, instead of that of a beneficent guardian; and its interference with the princes had all the appearance of being regulated by its own pecuniary interests, and not by any regard for the welfare of the country. During the early period of Lord William Bentinck's government, his proceedings were shaped by the policy of the India House, of which he did not disapprove, and they form the least satisfactory portion of his administration. That policy was not, however, without an apparent justification, as a glance at the progress of events will show.

Remarks on our position in India, 1834. To retain our standing in India, it was necessary to secure a position which should enable us to control the inherent elements of anarchy. There was no alternative between the decay and the aggrandizement of our power. If we had refused to advance we must have submitted to recede. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the

memorable remarks of Lord William Bentinck: "To the policy of Lord Wellesley succeeded other policy and other measures; the renunciation of conquests, the abandonment of influence and power, the maintenance of a system strictly neutral, defensive, not interfering, pacific, according to the full spirit of that enactment declaring that 'to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation. The impossibility of adhering to this beautiful theory was soon manifested, and subsequent events have all shown that, however moderate our views, however determined we may be not to extend our limits, it has been utterly out of our power to stand still. Such have been the restless, plundering habits which belong to this great Indian society, such its very natural jealousy and apprehension of our power, that, after a series of unprovoked aggressions, Lord Hastings at last, in 1817, brought to a completion that system of policy which the great genius and foresight of Lord Wellesley had originally planned, and would have probably accomplished twenty-five years before, had he remained in India." But it was found that the system of subsidiary and tributary alliances, while it secured our supremacy, had an inevitable tendency to render the native Governments weak and oppressive. The native prince became indolent by trusting to strangers for security, and cruel and avaricious from the assurance that he had nothing to dread from the hatred of his subjects as long as his protection was guaranteed by our irresistible power. From time immemorial the remedy for an oppressive government in India, when it had reached a point beyond the power of endurance, was a popular rebellion, the result of which was the subversion of the dynasty and the establishment of a new family on the throne. Any such remedy, however, was rendered absolutely impracticable by the presence of a British force, which supported the throne against every opponent, domestic as well as foreign. The dignity, the energy, and the capacity of the native princes withered under this parasitical connection with a paramount

power. The Court of Directors deemed it wise, if not also benevolent, to preserve these attributes of power, and to render the princes efficient instruments of Government. They considered that this object could be attained by a rigid system of non-interference in their affairs. But this theory was found as impracticable as the "beautiful theory" of Mr. Dundas, in 1783, which denounced all extension of the British dominions. During half-a-century, there was scarcely an instance of a prince, living under the safeguard of British protection, who rose above the debasing influences of the zenana, and showed any talent for governing. It was only when a native state happened to be blessed with the services of statesmen like Salar Jung, or Dinkur Rao, that the interference of the paramount power became redundant, except to defeat the intrigues for his dismissal. Circumstances were constantly arising to baffle this principle of non-interference. We found it often necessary to interpose our authority in a contest for the throne, or to prevent a course of action tending to produce a conflict of which we should have to bear the brunt. We were bound to correct a system of misrule which might lead to a failure of resources, and entail heavy responsibilities on us. Nor could we always forget that our protection of the prince from the indignation of his subjects, implied the obligation of protecting the subjects from the oppressions of the ruler. The rule of non-intervention was therefore, from the inexorable necessity of circumstances, almost as often in abeyance as in operation, and it was this vacillating policy during Lord William Bentinck's administration, which lowered the character, and diminished the usefulness of the British Government. In some cases he refused to interfere where he might have prevented disorder and misery; in others, he has been deemed to have interfered too far. At Gwalior, he declined to use his influence, and the state was brought to the verge of revolution and civil war. In Coorg, he extinguished the dynasty; in the case of Mysore, he assumed the government of the country.

Affairs of
Mysore, 1799—
1809.

The kingdom of Mysore, it will be remembered, was created out of the spoils of Tippoo by Lord Wellesley in 1799, and conferred on one of the descendants of the old royal family. This measure was strenuously opposed at the time by Sir Thomas Munro, one of the most profound statesmen the Company's service has ever produced. He advised the partition of the whole of the conquered country between the Nizam and the Company. He urged that the inhabitants had long been accustomed to the government of strangers; that they had no national spirit or antipathies to stir them up to resistance, and that they beheld a change of rulers with perfect indifference. He argued that no political advantage could be gained by dragging the descendant of the raja of Mysore from obscurity. "If," he said, "we had found a prince in captivity who had once enjoyed power, a proper regard for humanity, and the supposed prejudices of the nation in favour of one who had once been their sovereign, would no doubt have pleaded strongly for his restoration; but no such motive now calls upon us to invest the present raja, a boy of six years old, with royalty; for neither he nor his father, nor his grandfather, ever exercised or knew what it was; and long before the usurpation of Hyder, the rajahs had been held as state prisoners by their delways or ministers. No attachment remains towards the family among the natives, for it has long been despised and forgotten." This communication did not reach Lord Wellesley till after he had made his arrangements for the elevation of the boy; but he did not hesitate to declare that "the territories thus placed under the nominal sovereignty of the raja of Mysore constituted substantially an integral portion of our own dominions." The treaty of cession was, therefore, made by the British Government alone, to the exclusion of the Nizam. It was, moreover, concluded with the raja personally, without that allusion to heirs and successors, which had been inserted in the treaties formed by Lord Wellesley with the Peshwa, the raja of Nagpore, the Nizam, and Sindia. This

significant omission in the case of Mysore was supplied, it has been said, by the clause which makes the treaty binding "as long as the sun and moon shall endure." This expression is employed in cases where treaties were made expressly to include heirs and successors. That portion of the conquered territory which was assigned to the Nizam and the Company was to "be held in full right and sovereignty for ever," whereas the raja of Mysore was simply "to possess the territory described." It was clearly intended by Lord Wellesley to be a personal and not an hereditary fief. The power of resuming the grant of the kingdom was reserved in the 4th article of the treaty: "Whenever the Governor-General in Council shall have reason to apprehend a failure in the funds destined for the maintenance of the military force—seven lacs of pagodas a-year—he shall have full power and right either to introduce regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and the collection of the revenues of the country, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the Company such part or parts of the territory as shall appear to him necessary to render such funds efficient and available either in peace or war." The object of this assumption was defined in the next article to be, not only "to secure the efficiency of the said military funds, but also to provide for the effective protection of the country, and the welfare of the people." In his memorandum explanatory of these two articles, Lord Wellesley said, "recollecting the inconvenience and embarrassment which have arisen to all parties concerned under the double Government and conflicting authorities in Oude, Tanjore, and the Carnatic, I resolved to restore to the Company the most extensive and indisputable powers of interposition in the internal affairs of Mysore, as well as an unlimited right of assuming the direct management of the country." The government of Mysore was placed under the management of the renowned brahmin, Poornea, the minister of Hyder and Tippoo, and he was supported by the able and active superintendence of Sir Barry Close, Mr. Webbe, and

Colonel Wilks. Under these favourable auspices the country flourished and a surplus of two crores of rupees was accumulated in the treasury.

Raja assumes
the government,
1811. In 1811, the raja having attained his sixteenth year, proclaimed his own majority, and, under the

influence of his minions and flatterers, dismissed the faithful Poornea and assumed the charge of the government himself. The Resident reported that he was utterly unfit for the management of the country by the instability and the infirmities of his character, his utter disregard of truth, and his entire subservience to the influence of favourites. The government steadily deteriorated during the twenty years in which he held the reins. The accumulations of Poornea were dissipated, and all the establishments of the state fell into arrears. The administration became venal and corrupt; the highest offices were put up to sale; valuable crown lands were alienated, and new and grievous taxes were imposed. There was no security for property, and nothing worthy the name of a court of justice. This system of misrule was continued in spite of the admonitions of the Madras Government. Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor, paid a visit to Mysore in 1825, and, in a personal interview with the raja, gave him a deliberate warning that if the reform of the administration was not commenced forthwith, the direct interference of the British Government would be unavoidable. This remonstrance produced a partial improvement, but the raja soon relapsed into his old habits of prodigality and extortion. The Resident at his court subsequently renewed these expostulations, but finding them altogether unavailing, ceased to press them. Unable any longer to support the oppressions of the raja's administration, the people broke into open revolt, and in 1830 one half the kingdom was in a state of insurrection. Adventurers from the southern Mahratta country, and not a few of the Mysore constabulary, joined the standard of the insurgents and the peace and security of the Company's territories and of the Deccan were placed in jeopardy. It became necessary to send

a large British force into the field to quell the rebellion. A proclamation was issued inviting the cultivators to come into the British camp and peacefully state their grievances, with the promise that they should be redressed. The natives reposed entire confidence in the British officers, but none in those of the raja, and the insurrection at length died out.

Management of Mysore assumed by Government, 1832. Lord William Bentinck then informed the raja that though tranquillity was for the present restored, the British Government could not permit its name or its power to be identified with these acts of misrule, and was imperiously called on to supply an immediate and complete remedy. It became indispensable, therefore, with reference to the stipulations of the treaty, to interfere for the preservation of the state of Mysore, and to save the various interests at stake from further ruin. To accomplish this object he deemed it necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country to the hands of British officers, paying over to the raja the sum stipulated in the treaty, a lac of star pagodas, and a fifth of the net revenue. Under the able and honest management of those functionaries the revenues have been improved to such an extent as to give the raja, from both sources, an income of about fourteen lacs of rupees a-year. This decisive measure of Lord William Bentinck received the entire approbation of the Court of Directors. The raja entreated that the administration might still be carried on in his name, but the Court directed that it should be conducted in the name and by the sole authority of the Company. Soon after, Lord William Bentinck appointed a commission, composed of officers of high standing in the service, to investigate the causes of the outbreak which had been quelled by the British army, and he gathered from their report that the representations of oppression had been overstated. From this, among other considerations, he was led to express a doubt whether the entire assumption of the country was in strict accordance with the terms of the treaty, and he proposed to

the Court to take over in perpetuity a portion of the country sufficient for the payment of the subsidy, and to restore the remainder to the raja, subject however, to the condition that if he neglected the Government, and suffered any gross and general oppression to be practised, the Company should be at liberty to resume this portion also. But the Court of Directors refused to sanction the proposal, and decided that the assumption of the whole country was justified by the provisions of the treaty, and essential to the security of the people. The Ministry soon after confirmed and completed the arrangements by directing that the produce of Mysore should thenceforward be treated both in England and in India, as that of a British possession, and be relieved from the payment of differential duties.

Bhopal, 1833-35. In the principality of Bhopal the policy of non-intervention led to anarchy and bloodshed, which a word from the paramount authority would at any moment have prevented. About eighteen months after the alliance with this state was concluded in 1818, the amiable and accomplished nabob was accidentally killed by a pistol shot, and his widow, Secunder Begum, a woman of high spirit and great ability, assumed the responsibilities of the government, with a Christian for her prime minister, and a Mahomedan and a Hindoo as his assistants. She affianced her daughter to her nephew and adopted him as the heir to the throne; but she was unwilling to part with any portion of her power, and not only delayed the celebration of the nuptials, but refused him any share in the government after he had attained his majority. He appealed to Lord William Bentinck, who declined to interfere further than by insisting on the completion of the marriage. In the hope of strengthening her position she laid aside the restraints imposed on females by Asiatic custom, and held durbars without a screen, and appeared on horseback without a veil, to the great scandal of her people. The young nabob, finding himself still denied all authority, made his

escape from the capital and began to collect partisans. The two parties appealed to arms, and an action was fought in which the young nabob was defeated and the leaders on both sides were killed. Lord William Bentinck had by this time quitted India, and his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, considering that the principle of non-interference had been carried to an extreme, offered the mediation of the Government; tranquillity was immediately restored. The Begum retired to a jageer, and the youth ascended the throne. His reign however was brief, and the succession devolved on his daughter, then six years of age, who was invested with the supreme authority at the usual age, and has continued to govern the principality to the present time with extraordinary talent and success. She took great delight in manly sports, and speared and shot with all the ardour of the keenest sportsman. She was in the habit of working ten and often twelve hours a-day; she visited every district and attended minutely to the drill and discipline of her soldiers. She reformed her civil establishments, paid off the state debts, resettled her revenue, set up a new police, and organized a judicial system. Her energy is still the admiration of the country, and her administrative ability has seldom been surpassed in India. During the Mahratta and Pindaree war, her grandfather sold his jewels to maintain the contingent of troops with which he joined the British army. During the sepoy mutiny, the present Begum exhibited the ancient fidelity of her house to the British Crown, and she is the only Indian princess decorated with the Grand Cross of the "Illustrious Star of India."

Joudhpore, 1834. The same vacillating policy was exhibited in regard to the various principalities of Rajpootana, although the turbulent habits of the feudal nobles, and the vicious constitution of the government, rendered the interposition of the paramount power indispensable to their tranquillity. This will be illustrated by a reference to the transactions in Joudhpore and Jeypore. Maun Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, had been deposed by his "thakoors," or feudatory chiefs, before the Pindaree war, on account of his insanity, real or feigned; but

he recovered his power, if not his reason, in 1821, and immediately began to wreak his vengeance on them. A reconciliation was effected by the Resident in 1824, but it was of brief duration. The raja determined to retain the lands he had agreed to restore to them, and commenced a new course of spoliation. The chiefs again appealed to the British Government, but the non-interference policy was now predominant, and they were driven to seek redress by their own efforts. They raised an army of 7,000 men, and advanced to the capital with the determination to depose Maun Sing. He appealed in great alarm to Lord William Bentinck, who felt the necessity of interposition, and was disposed, for various reasons, to consider the case exceptional. The Resident was empowered to restore peace, which was effected with a stroke of the pen. But the insane violence of the raja's character broke forth afresh, and he had the temerity to insult the Governor-General by refusing, on a frivolous pretext, to attend the great durbar of all the Rajpoot chieftains, which was held at Ajmere in 1831. He allowed his tribute to fall into arrears; he gave encouragement to the robber tribes of the desert, and refused to apprehend the thugs, or to surrender the malefactors, who sought refuge in his country. A large army was, therefore, ordered to march into Marwar to bring the raja to reason, but the mere demonstration of force was found to be sufficient, and he hastened to send a deputation with his humble submission. The Rathores—the designation of this tribe—were accustomed to boast of the “hundred thousand swords” with which they had supported the throne of Akbar, and of the resistance they had offered for three years to Aurungzebe. But they quailed before the majesty of British power, and the raja's envoys meekly enquired what occasion there could be for an army when a single constable would have been sufficient to convey the commands of the Governor-General. Every demand was at once conceded.

Jeypore, 1835.

During the minority of the raja of Jeypore, his mother acted as regent, and resigned herself to the counsels of

Jotaram, a banker of the Jain sect. The haughty nobles expelled the money changer from the post of minister, and installed one of their own number, Bhyree Saul, a connection of the royal family. The regent mother embraced every opportunity of thwarting his measures and throwing the government into confusion, in the hope of embroiling him with the British authorities, and at length obtained the permission of Sir David Ochterlony to recall Jotaram. The nobles resented the indignity of having their renowned state subjected to the control of bankers and women, and a civil war appeared inevitable, when Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir David, proceeded in person to Jeypore, and convened a meeting of the chiefs. The majority of them were found to favour the views of the regent ranee, and her authority was accordingly guaranteed with liberty to choose her own minister. A grand durbar was held, and the young raja, seated on the lap of Sir Charles, received the homage of the Jeypore nobility. Jotaram became the head of the administration, but it speedily fell into confusion. The revenues were misappropriated, the troops remained unpaid and became insubordinate, and the tribute to the Company was allowed to run into arrears. The Jain pursued the nobles who had opposed him with great vindictiveness, and a general spirit of disaffection pervaded the country. An appeal was made to Lord William Bentinck, to terminate the disorders of the state by the supreme authority of the British Government, but he refused to interfere. Emboldened by this reply, Jotaram attempted to confiscate the estates of Bhyree Saul. The regent ranee died soon after, having held the reins of power for ten years. Her death was followed, in 1835, by that of the raja, but not without such strong suspicions of poison that the minds of men became inflamed against Jotaram, and he was obliged to tender his resignation. The British Government accepted the guardianship of the infant heir, and the political agent who was sent to the capital was just in time to prevent a conflict between the party of the exasperated nobles and of Jotaram. The banker was directed to remove to a

distance from the capital, and as he attributed his disgrace to the Resident, he, or his partisans, hired men to assassinate him. He was assailed and wounded as he was leaving the durbar, and barely escaped with his life, but his assistant, Mr. Blake, was barbarously murdered in the streets. This attempt to apply the principle of non-interference to Jeypore kept the country in commotion for a long period, and eventually resulted in the appointment of a British agent to reside at the court, and in the establishment of a stringent control over the affairs of the state.

Oude, 1831-34. The most strenuous efforts had been made by successive Governors-General, Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Lord William Bentinck, to prevail on the king of Oude to reform the administration of his country, but with little appearance of success. The king who was seated on the throne during Lord William Bentinck's government, had been brought up in the zenana, and possessed no aptitude for business; his ideas were altogether effeminate and puerile, and his life was devoted to indulgence. He entertained the deepest aversion to his father's able minister, and would have taken his life but for the protection of the Resident, Mr.—afterwards Sir Herbert—Maddock. In an able and exhaustive report upon the state of the country, Mr. Maddock represented it as in a state of decay. There was no security either for life or property, and the administration presented a constant scene of violence and oppression; scarcely a day passed in which he did not hear from his own residence in Lucknow the booming of artillery employed in the siege of forts, or in the coercion of zemindars, who never paid their rents without compulsion. The character of the native Government of Oude had, however, become the subject of party feelings, and there were not wanting men who maintained that it was cultivated like a garden, and presented a flourishing appearance. But Lord William Bentinck in his despatch to the India House, assured the Court that the representations of Mr. Maddock were corroborated by the testimony of all the officers civil or military

who had traversed the province, and that during his own journey from Lucknow to Rohilcund the whole country exhibited a melancholy picture of desolation and misery. Some of his predecessors had questioned the right of the British Government to interfere with the administration of the country, but he considered it the bounden duty of the Company to interpose for the protection of the wretched inhabitants, and constrain the king to put a stop to the arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings of his officers. He accordingly proceeded to Lucknow in 1831 and transmitted a written communication to the king, in which he insisted on the adoption of reforms, and distinctly announced that if he continued to withhold them, the entire management of the country would be taken over by the British Government, as in the cases of Tanjore and the Carnatic, and an annuity assigned for the support of the royal family.

Hakim

Mehdi, 1834.

Before this remonstrance was delivered, the king had reappointed Hakim Mehdi to the post of minister. This extraordinary man was the son of a Persian gentleman of Sheraz, who emigrated to India in search of political employment, and entered the service of Oude, in which he rapidly rose to distinction. He was one of the ministers who in 1801 vigorously but ineffectually opposed the cession of territory demanded by Lord Wellesley. He identified the prosperity of his adopted country with his own happiness, and devoted his splendid talents to the improvement of the administration, though thwarted at every step by his sovereign. During successive reigns he had amassed a princely fortune, which he expended with unbounded generosity in the town of Rampoora in the British territories, to which he had retired. It was gracefully remarked of him that the poorest man never entered his house without a welcome, or departed without relief. His liberality was not confined to his own neighbourhood. In the remote region of Cashmere, he contributed bountifully to rebuild a town, on hearing that it had been overthrown by an earthquake. There was no ostentation in his charity and no bigotry

in his creed. Lord William Bentinck pronounced him one of the ablest men in India, and as a revenue administrator unsurpassed by any officer, European or native. Having resumed charge of the government of Oude, he introduced important reforms with a vigorous hand; he reduced the amount of the assessments, organized a police, and established courts of justice. He retrenched the profligate expenditure of the zenana, curtailed the allowances of the parasites who thronged the court, and had the courage to reduce the lavish stipends of the king's uncles. But he was too radical a reformer for the meridian of Oude. The ear of the king was filled with complaints and calumnies, and he began to withdraw his confidence from his able and virtuous minister. Hakim Mehdi implored the support of the British Government, pleading the terms of the treaty of 1801, which bound the Nabob Vizier "to advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the Company's officers," and he maintained that they were under a solemn obligation to afford it. But Lord William Bentinck, acting upon the principle of non-intervention, refused to make use of his authority, and the king soon after dismissed the minister, on the frivolous pretence that he had used disrespectful language towards his mother, and had insulted the portrait of his father. In a despatch which the Court of Directors sent to Calcutta in the early period of Lord William Bentinck's administration on the subject of Oude, they remarked that "had it not been for their connection with the country, although misrule might have attained as great a height, it would not have been of equal duration. It was the British Government which, by a systematic suppression of all attempts at resistance, had prolonged this disorganization, which became permanent when the shortsightedness and rapacity of a semi-barbarous government was armed with the military strength of a civilized one." In reply to Lord William Bentinck's minute representing the deplorable condition to which the country had been reduced, and the heavy responsibility which was thus entailed on the Company, they authorized him at

once to assume the government of Oude, if circumstances should appear to him to render it necessary. But, under the menace which Lord William Bentinck had formally administered to the king, and under the influence of some of Hakim Mehdi's reforms, the country began to present an improved appearance. The Governor-General, moreover, when he received the order of the Court to take over the administration of the country, was on the eve of quitting India, and he contented himself with communicating the substance of their instructions to the king, and with intimating to him that the execution of this order would be suspended in the hope that a spontaneous adoption of improvements would render it altogether unnecessary.

Sindia, 1833.

No event of any moment occurred at the court of Sindia after the conclusion of the Mahratta war in 1818, in which he alone escaped the fate of the other princes, and retained his possessions and his power. He expired in peace and honour at Gwalior on the 21st March, 1827, at the age of forty-seven, having reigned thirty-four years. During this long and eventful period, he had witnessed a stupendous revolution of political power in India. At his accession, the Mahratta empire had reached the zenith of its glory, and he was the most powerful member of that great commonwealth, as well as the most influential and important chief in India,—second in military strength and resources only to the Company. At the time of his death, the Mahratta empire was extinct; the Peshwa, a captive, though treated with all the honours of royalty, and his kingdom, a British province. The Guickwar, the Nizam, Holkar, and the raja of Nagpore were divested of all political power, and controlled by subsidiary armies, and he himself was entirely subordinate to British authority. On his death-bed, he sent for Major Stewart, the Resident, and in reference to the future government of his kingdom, said "I wish you to do whatever you think proper." He left no son, and had invariably refused to adopt one. His widow, Baeza-bye, without whose advice he is said never to

have formed any determination, was the daughter of the famed Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the most accomplished villain of his age. She was a woman of imperious disposition, masculine character, and inordinate ambition. She inherited all the violence of her father's temper, but was not like him either cruel or vindictive. She was constrained by the voice of the chiefs to adopt a son, and her choice fell on Junkojee, a near relative of her deceased husband, but, in the hope of prolonging her own authority, she neglected his education, and studiously withheld from him all those advantages which might prepare him for his important station. To every remonstrance on this violation of her duty she replied, "no one ever wished to qualify another for the exercise of that power which he himself wished to retain." Fretting under the restraints which she continued to impose upon him after he had attained his majority, he appealed to Lord William Bentinck, who relaxed the principle of non-interference to the extent of insisting on his being furnished with a separate seal, with which every public communication addressed to the British Government was to be authenticated. But he was still kept under the most galling control within the precincts of the palace, from which he at length succeeded in making his escape. He took refuge with the Resident, through whose mediation a reconciliation was effected, though not without great difficulty. Soon after this event, Lord William Bentinck visited Gwalior, when both parties pressed their claims on his attention, but he declined to afford any authoritative expression of his wishes, and advised the raja to be content with his present position, and await the course of events. The belligerents were, in fact, left by the Governor-General to their own exertions; the bye to retain her power as long as she was able, and the raja to wrest it from her whenever he could. The breach was thus widened, and the raja, having at length gained over some of the disciplined battalions, beleaguered the palace on the 10th July, 1833. The bye, alarmed for her personal safety, fled to her brother, Hindoo Rao, and

summoned the Resident to her assistance, but he declined to attend her. She then called up one of the brigades and was proceeding towards the Residency, when she was met by a body of the young raja's troops, and a deadly conflict would have ensued if the Resident had not hastened to the spot and interposed to prevent it. The interference of the supreme Government now became imperative, and the Resident received instructions to exercise his power and influence to compose these differences, and to prevent a civil war. He endeavoured to ascertain the state of public feeling, and finding the chiefs and other influential men of the durbar anxious to support the cause of the raja, threw the weight of his authority into that scale, and Junkojee received a letter from the Governor-General congratulating him on his accession to the throne. The bye was permitted to retire with the wealth she had accumulated to Agra, only sixty-five miles from Gwalior, but as she continued to disturb the peace of the country by her incessant intrigues, she was required to remove to Furruckabad, where she encamped with an army of followers. At the instance of the Governor-General, the Government of Gwalior agreed to allot her a large annuity, on condition of her retiring to her jageer in the Deccan, and the rapid desertion of her retainers constrained her, however reluctantly, to accede to these terms.

First symptoms
of Russophobia,
1830.

While the Government of India thus adopted the principle of non-interference in reference to the states of India which were dependent on it for support and guidance, attempts were made to establish a connection with the independent states beyond the Company's territories. The cycle of alarm had come round again. In 1808, Napoleon had obtained a paramount influence at the court of Persia, and was supposed to entertain designs on India, which the Government in London sought to counteract by forming alliances with Persia, Cabul, and Lahore. Russia had now secured the same ascendancy in Persia which the French had formerly enjoyed, and was believed to cast a hostile glance at the Company's dominions in India. The Government therefore

deemed it advisable to open up the navigation of the Indus, and obtain a commanding influence on that river, by forming defensive alliances with the independent princes on its banks, the Ameers of Sindh, the Khan of Bhawalpore, and Runjeet Sing.

Progress of
Runjeet Sing,
1809—1822.

To elucidate the intercourse now established with Runjeet Sing, it is necessary to resume the narrative of his progress since the mission of Mr. Metcalfe in 1809. His government was founded on the principle of conquest, which became the vital element of its growth. Ambition is inherent in all Asiatic powers, but with Runjeet Sing the increase of territory was the one object of his life, and the improvement of his army, and the acquisition of the sinews of war, absorbed his attention to the neglect of every other branch of government. To restrain his army from turning upon himself and creating internal disturbances, it was kept in constant employ. Scarcely a year passed without some military expedition, and his troops were assembled for action at the close of the rains with the regularity of the season.

Reform of his
Army.

The wealth and energies of the Punjab were concentrated on military objects. This system was exactly suited to the martial character of the Sikh population, whom it furnished with congenial occupation, and likewise gratified with the submission of province after province to the supremacy of the Khalsa, as well as with the means of acquiring wealth. Glory and plunder thus became the chief sources of their fidelity to the crown. Runjeet Sing had been struck with the discipline and efficiency of the small escort of sepoys which accompanied Mr. Metcalfe in 1809, when they successfully repelled an assault of the Sikh fanatics, of whom he himself stood in awe, and he immediately commenced the formation of regular battalions on the model of the Company's army, by means of deserters whom he allured from its ranks. His soldiers at first manifested great reluctance to abandon their old national mode of fighting on horseback with matchlocks,

for which they had long been renowned through India; but Runjeet Sing succeeded in overcoming it by the encouragement of higher pay, by incessant attention to their drill and equipment, and by going through the military exercises in person. Through these unremitting exertions the Sikhs were at length converted into regular infantry soldiers, and admirable artillerymen, and contracted the Indian feeling of adoration of their guns.

Conquests of Runjeet Sing, 1810—22. Runjeet Sing, having completed the subjugation of all the Sikh chieftains who were once his equals, and brought the whole of the Punjab under one dominion, led his army in 1810 against Mooltan, which was still bound by allegiance to the throne of Cabul, but he was obliged to content himself with the exaction of two lacs of rupees. Three years later he entered into a convention with Futteh Khan, the vizier of Cabul, for a joint expedition to Cashmere, but the vizier outstripped his army, and having obtained possession of the principality, refused to share it with his ally. While the Afghan troops were thus employed in Cashmere, Runjeet Sing surreptitiously obtained possession of the district and fort of Attock on the Indus, esteemed the eastern key of Afghanistan. A battle ensued, in which Futteh Khan was completely overpowered, and the authority of Runjeet Sing was permanently extended up to that river. Soon after, Shah Soojah, the exiled monarch of Cabul, who had been for some time a captive in Cashmere, was persuaded to seek refuge with Runjeet Sing. He brought with him the far-famed diamond, the Koh-i-noor, or mountain of light, which, according to the Hindoo legends, originally belonged to the Pandoos, the mythological heroes of the Muhabharat. In the last century it was the chief ornament of the celebrated peacock throne of Delhi, which was carried away with other trophies by Nadir Shah, in 1739. On the murder of that prince and the plunder of his tents, Ahmed Shah Abdalee obtained possession of it, and it descended with his throne to his grandson, Shah Soojah. He was now within the power of Runjeet Sing, who was equally avaricious of jewels and of horses, and who subjected the Shah and his

family for several days to the torture of hunger, till he surrendered the gem. Runjeet Sing was anxious to avail himself of the name of the Shah for his own designs, and not only detained him in close custody but treated him with the greatest indignity. He succeeded at length in eluding the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in disguise to Loodiana, where the British Government generously allowed him a pension of 50,000 rupees a-year. In 1818, Runjeet Sing led his army a second time against Mooltan, and, after a futile siege of four months, obtained possession of the citadel by a happy accident, through the temerity of one of his fanatic soldiers. It was in this year that Futteh Khan, the vizier of Mahomed Shah, the ruler of Cabul, whose energy and talent alone had kept the Afghan monarchy from dissolution, was first blinded and then barbarously murdered by the execrable Kamran, the heir apparent of the throne. Mahomed Azim, the governor of Cashmere, and one of the twenty brothers of Futteh Khan, hastened to Cabul with a large army to avenge his death. The king was obliged to fly to Herat, the only province which now remained to him of all the vast possessions of the Abdalee dynasty, and the Barukzyes, Futteh Khan's tribe, became supreme in Afghanistan. Runjeet Sing took advantage of the confusion of the times to obtain possession of Peshawur, the capital of the Afghan province lying between the Khyber pass and the Indus, but it was speedily recovered by the Afghans. The loss, however, was more than compensated by the conquest of Cashmere in the following year, with which he was so elated, as to celebrate it by illuminating Lahore and Umritsir for three successive nights. During the next two years his army was employed in wresting from the throne of Cabul the Derajat, or strip of territory, about 300 miles in length, lying between the right bank of the Indus and the Soliman range, and stretching down southwards to the borders of Sinde.

Arrival of the
French Officers,
1822.

In March, 1822, two of the French officers of Napoleon's army, Colonel Allard and Colonel Ventura, who had left Europe on the restoration of

the Bourbons, and had subsequently obtained employment under the king of Persia, made their way through Candahar and Cabul to Lahore, and after some hesitation, were received into the service of Runjeet Sing. The Sikh soldiery were distinguished by their indomitable courage, their alert obedience, and their endurance of fatigue. They were animated by a strong feeling of national enthusiasm, strengthened by a high religious fervour, every regiment having its own *grunthee*, or expounder of the sacred book, a copy of which was usually deposited near the regimental colours. Runjeet Sing had already succeeded in bringing his army up to a high standard of efficiency by his personal exertions, and by constant employment in expeditions in which they were accustomed to victory. From these French officers, and from Generals Court and Avitabile who followed them, that army now received the further improvement of European discipline and tactics, though not without exciting murmurs of discontent among the old Sikh officers, who resisted all innovations under the plea that they had conquered Cashmere, Peshawur and Mooltan without any of these new fangled manœuvres. Under the instruction of these officers the Sikh army became more effective and powerful than even the battalions which De Boigne had created for Sindia, and Raymond for the Nizam. Thus, the important design, which was sedulously pursued by Lord Wellesley, of breaking up the armies of native princes disciplined by European officers, and of providing in treaties against the renewal of the system, was completely frustrated. In a kingdom which could scarcely be said to have an existence during his administration, an army trained and commanded by European skill, more formidable than any of those which had created anxiety in his mind, arose on our northern frontier, within two hundred miles of Delhi.

Battle of Noushera,
4th March, 1823. In March, 1823, Runjeet Sing advanced against Peshawur with an army of 24,000 men, and was met at Noushera by a body of Eusufzye highlanders not exceeding 5,000, who had raised the cry of a religious war against the

infidel Sikhs. The Sikh fanatics—the Akalees, or immortals—were thus brought into conflict with the Mahomedan fanatics, and the Sikhs were completely defeated with the loss of their leader. Fresh troops were brought up, and two charges of cavalry were made, but repulsed by the Mahomedans, who were not dislodged from their position before night-fall, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Runjeet Sing. This battle became memorable from the fact that a body of mountaineers and villagers, without any support from regular troops, but frantic with religious fanaticism, succeeded in baffling the exertions of more than four times their own number of the well-trained and disciplined Sikh troops. Runjeet Sing was ultimately left master of the field, and sacked Peshawur and plundered the country up to the mouth of the Khyber. His troops, however, had a superstitious aversion to any expedition beyond the Indus, and he did not consider it prudent, at the time, to occupy a province which would entail harassing duties on his soldiers, without contributing anything to his treasury. It was accordingly left in the hands of Yar Mahomed, the brother of Dost Mahomed, on the simple condition of his paying tribute to Lahore. In 1827, the tranquillity of the province was disturbed by Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan fanatic, who was a petty officer of horse ten years before, in the service of Ameer Khan, the Patan freebooter, and on receiving his discharge when the army was broken up, turned reformer and pretended to have special revelations from heaven. By denouncing the irregularities which had crept into the Mahomedan ritual, and professing to restore the creed to its original simplicity and purity, he kindled into a flame that feeling of fanaticism which is always inherent in a Mussulman population. During a visit to Calcutta in 1822, he made many disciples, and then proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre of Mahomedan unity, and the perennial fountain of Mahomedan enthusiasm. He returned from the tomb of the prophet with feelings still more excited, and proceeding to Afghanistan proclaimed a religious war against the Sikhs. In 1827, he raised the green standard

of Islam in the Eusufzye mountains, and came down on Peshawur, but was defeated with ease by the disciplined battalions of Runjeet Sing. Two years after he repeated the invasion, when Yar Mahomed, who held the province under Runjeet Sing, was overcome and slain, but the opportune arrival of General Ventura dispersed the fanatics and saved Peshawur. In 1830, Syud Ahmed attacked Sultan Mahomed, to whom Peshawur had been granted as a fief by Runjeet Sing, and drove him out of the province, which was occupied by his followers. Elated with his success he proclaimed himself Caliph, and struck coin in the name of "Ahmed the Just, the Defender of the Faith," and not only demanded a tithe of all their property from the Eusufzyes, but began to interfere in their matrimonial arrangements. The rude inhabitants of the mountains resisted this assumption of authority, and expelled him from the country, when he retreated to Cashmere, where he was overtaken by the troops of Runjeet Sing and killed in May, 1831,—six months before his followers rose in insurrection, at a distance of fifteen hundred miles, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Lord Amherst
and Runjeet
Sing—Cart
horses, 1827—
1831.

In 1827, Lord Amherst took up his residence at Simla which has now become a great and popular sanitarium. It lies within a hundred and fifty miles of Lahore, and Runjeet Sing embraced this opportunity of sending a complimentary mission, together with a magnificent tent of shawls for the King of England, which was duly presented to His Majesty by the Governor-General on his return to England. Runjeet Sing had a strong passion for horses, and thought little of despatching a military expedition to secure any of extraordinary beauty of which he might happen to receive information. Lord Ellenborough, who was then President of the Board of Control, resolved to present him in return with a team of stalwart English dray horses, and to make the conveyance of them the ostensible motive of exploring the Indus. That river was then not more known than in the days of Alexander the Great, and all our

knowledge of it was derived from the authors of antiquity. Instead, therefore, of despatching the horses by the more obvious route of the Ganges, it was determined to send them up the Indus, and to make an attempt at the same time to establish friendly relations with the chiefs on its banks. On the arrival of the horses at Bombay, Sir John Malcolm selected Lieutenant—afterwards Sir Alexander—Burnes to take charge of the mission, a duty for which he was peculiarly fitted by his knowledge of the native languages and character, his intelligence, and his ambition. Sir John also furnished up one of his old state carriages, to be presented, along with the Sinde, 1830. horses to the ruler of the Punjab. At the mouth of the Indus Lieutenant Burnes entered the territory of Sindé which had become tributary to Cabul, on the decay of the Mogul empire, but was subjugated in 1786 by the Talpooras, a tribe from Belochistan, beyond the Indus. The conquering chiefs, who were designated the Ameers of Sindé, partitioned the country among themselves, and an independent prince presided over each of its three divisions. Like all new dynasties in India they had been incessantly engaged in encroaching on the territories of their neighbours, the Afghans and the Rajpoots, and had at length succeeded in extending their sovereignty over a hundred thousand square miles. From their first establishment in the government of the country they had manifested an inveterate jealousy of the English, and rigidly prohibited all intercourse with them, as the most effectual means of securing their own independence. They had broken up the Company's factory which they found established at the ancient emporium of Tatta, and treated with invariable insolence every envoy sent to them from Bombay. The arrival of Lieutenant Burnes with the avowed design of traversing the length of the country was considered an event of evil omen, and one Belochee chief, as the mission advanced up the river, exclaimed "The mischief is done; the English have seen our country." The Ameer of Hyderabad, the capital of lower Sindé, exhibited great

hostility to Lieutenant Burnes, who was subjected to gross indignity, and twice constrained to retire from the country. The energetic remonstrance of Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in the neighbouring British province of Cutch, at length procured him a suitable reception at that court, and the means of transporting his convoy up the Indus.

Lieut. Burnes
at Lahore,
1831.

On quitting Sinde he entered the territories of the khan of Bhawalpore, who welcomed him with much cordiality, and exhibited with a feeling of pride the testimonials which Mr. Elphinstone had given his grandfather, on his way to Cabul in 1809. The principality of Bhawalpore was limited in extent and far from fertile. Runjeet Sing had despoiled the prince of all his territory north of the Sutlege and would long since have absorbed the remainder, but for the restrictions of the Metcalfe treaty of 1809. On entering the Punjab, Lieutenant Burnes was met by the officers deputed to wait on him and escorted through the country with great pomp, and received at the court with ostentatious courtesy. Runjeet Sing gave him a warm embrace as he entered the durbar, and on the production of the letter with which he said he had been entrusted by the minister of the King, his master, touched the seal with his forehead, while the whole court rose to honour it. In this communication Lord Ellenborough stated that the King of England, knowing that his highness was in possession of the most beautiful horses of the most celebrated breeds in Asia, had thought that it might be agreeable to him also to possess horses of the most remarkable breed of Europe, and that his Majesty witnessed with sincere satisfaction the good understanding which had for so many years subsisted, and which God ever preserve, between the British Government and his highness. While the letter was read a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from each of sixty pieces of cannon drawn up for the occasion. During his residence at Lahore, Lieutenant Burnes was treated not only with distinguished honour in public, but with great personal kindness both by the genial

chief himself, and by all his officers, European and native. He then proceeded to Simla, where Lord William Bentinck was residing, and submitted the information he had collected respecting the commerce, the politics, and the military strength and organization of the provinces he had traversed. The Governor-General was highly gratified with the talent, zeal, and enterprize which he had exhibited in his arduous task, and directed him to return to Bombay through Afghanistan, Balkh, and Bokhara, and to explore the routes and resources of these unknown regions.

Power of Runjeet Sing, 1831. The greatness of Runjeet Sing had been steadily on the increase for twenty years, and the power he had now attained exceeded that of any of the native princes who had successively succumbed to the strength of our arms. The small body of cavalry, armed only with matchlocks, which was bequeathed to him by his father, had been gradually improved and expanded into a grand army, which, including the contingents of his jageerdars, consisted of no less than 82,000 men, animated by the successes of a dozen campaigns, and in part, disciplined and commanded by European officers. His artillery consisted of 376 guns, and an equal number of swivels. His annual revenue was estimated at two crores and a half of rupees, and he had accumulated ten crores in the vaults of the fortress of Govindgur, which he had erected in the neighbourhood of Umritsir, to curb the Akalees, the armed and fanatic guardians of that national shrine. Though unable to read or write, the habit of listening to papers in Persian, Punjabee, and Hindee, had given him great facility in comprehending whatever was brought before him by the able secretaries whom he had selected with great judgment, and who were obliged to be in attendance, by night as well as by day. He was the most extraordinary man of the age between Constantinople and Peking, and with the command of such an army and such resources as he had created, and with the animation of a lofty spirit of ambition, would doubtless have founded another empire in Hindostan, but for the treaty dictated by

Mr. Metcalfe in 1809, which confined him to the right bank of the Sutlege. It was this restriction which constrained him to direct his views of aggrandizement to other quarters. He had accordingly conquered Cashmere and the territories to the north of it up to the confines of Tartary; he had rendered Peshawur tributary, and extended his power up to the Khyber pass. Across the Indus he had taken possession of the Derajat, which brought him to the borders of Sinde, on which he cast a longing eye. But though he had reached the summit of power, and was absolute throughout the Punjab, he never arrogated the invidious distinction of an independent sovereign, but both in speech and writing represented himself as the head of the Sikh Khalsa, or commonwealth, which was regarded with a feeling of superstitious devotion by the chiefs, the people, and the soldiery of the Punjab. His noble army was the army of the Khalsa; and the shout of triumph was "Victory to the Khalsa," not to Runjeet Sing. All the grand achievements of his reign were performed for the sake of Gooroo Govind, the founder of the community, in the name of God, and for the glorification of the Khalsa. There was no apprehension of any revolt against his authority during his lifetime, but it was doubtful whether the same allegiance would be paid by the Sikh barons and their followers to his son, who was utterly deficient in talent and energy, a mere purple-born prince. In these circumstances, he considered it important to secure for his throne and his dynasty all the strength and prestige which a close alliance with the British Government, and his own recognition by the Governor-General as the chief of the Khalsa, were calculated to impart. On the other hand, Lord William Bentinck deemed it politic to manifest to the princes of India, who regarded the progress of Runjeet Sing's power with exultation and hope, that a feeling of cordiality existed between the two Governments; and it was arranged that a meeting should be held at Roopur, on the banks of the Sutlege.

The Khalsa,
1831.

This assembly was the most brilliant in which Assembly at Roopur. 1831. the representative of the Company had participated since the first establishment of their power in India. Lord William was distinguished by the simplicity of his habits, and his sincere aversion to the pageantry of power; but he considered it important on this occasion to give *éclat* to the meeting in the eyes of all India by a grand military display, which should likewise enable Runjeet Sing's generals to appreciate the efficiency of the various arms of our force, and gratify his own curiosity regarding their organization and equipment. He accordingly ordered up two squadrons of European lancers with their mounted band, two battalions of native infantry, two squadrons of irregular horse, and eight horse artillery guns. He descended from Simla to the encampment at Roopur on the 22nd October, and Runjeet Sing, accompanied by his brilliant court, arrived at the opposite bank of the Sutlege three days later with 10,000 of his best horse and 6,000 selected infantry. But as the time for the meeting approached, his habitual mistrust led him to entertain suspicions of treachery, and he sent for General Allard late overnight, and informed him that he could not venture to proceed across the Sutlege on the morrow. The general endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, and offered to stake his own head that there would be nothing disagreeable. The Maharaja was not satisfied with this assurance, and directed the astrologers to consult the Grunth, or sacred volume. They reported that the result of the meeting would be auspicious; but they advised him to take two apples, and present one to the Governor-General and the other to his secretary: if they were received without any hesitation it might be considered a favourable omen. Runjeet crossed the Sutlege on a bridge of boats, and in the middle of the street formed by British troops was met by Lord William Bentinck, to whom he presented the apple, which was cheerfully accepted, and all his fears were at once dissipated. He occupied the centre of the cavalcade; his nobles mounted on elephants, and decked in gorgeous

apparel, preceded and followed him, while a body of 4,000 horsemen, uniformly dressed in yellow, whom the Maharaja had cautiously brought over with him, formed the wings of the procession. He directed every movement himself with the eye and confidence of a soldier, and even in this holiday ceremonial exhibited the activity of his mind, and his wonderful talent for command. Presents of every variety, and of the most costly description, had been collected by the order of Lord William Bentinck from various parts of India, sufficient in value to efface the remembrance of Lord Ellenborough's cart horses, and Sir John Malcolm's old state carriage. Runjeet examined every article minutely with the curiosity of a child, and saw it carefully packed up under his own eye, by his master of the jewel office. The following day the Governor-General returned the visit. The spectacle was one of extraordinary splendour. Seventy elephants, richly caparisoned, advanced with the principal Sikh chieftains to meet him. The royal tents exhibited a scene of magnificence which had not been witnessed in India since the days of Aurungzebe, and which was little to have been expected among the rough soldiers of the Punjab. After passing through two triumphal arches Lord William Bentinck was conducted to a splendid pavilion, where the courtiers, resplendent with silk and jewels, were individually introduced to him. The court was shaded by a lofty arcade of yellow silk, and the floor was covered with the richest shawls and carpets which Cashmere could produce. The spacious tent behind, in which the Governor-General was received, composed of crimson velvet, yellow French satin, a sheet of inlaid pearls, and jewels of immense value, realized the highest visions of oriental grandeur. The frank manners, the free enquiries, and the lively conversation of Runjeet Sing gave an air of ease and cheerfulness to ceremonials which were usually stately and stiff. He called up and paraded before the Governor-General his favourite horses, announcing their names and their virtues with great animation. One of the dray horses was likewise brought

forward, but his huge and shaggy legs and coarse appearance formed a strong contrast with the glittering gold and crimson velvet with which his back was ornamented. A week was passed in reviews, entertainments, and displays, recalling to mind the days of Mogul magnificence, and the parties separated with an increased appreciation of each other's power. Before the encampment was broken up Runjeet Sing prevailed on Lord William Bentinck to affix his signature to a pledge of perpetual friendship, which, "like the sun, was to shine glorious in history."

Runjeet Sing had long been eager to add Sindé to his dominions, and more especially to obtain possession of Shikarpore, a commercial mart on the right bank of the Indus, of such magnitude and importance that the bills of its bankers pass current from Astracan to Calcutta. But he began to suspect that the British Government entertained designs regarding that province in opposition to his wishes, and that the transmission of the horses up the Indus, when they might have been sent with greater ease up the Ganges, was not without some political object. In a private interview with the secretaries before the Governor-General's departure, he endeavoured to sound them on the subject, and hinted at a joint expedition against the Ameers, and a partition of their dominions. Sindé, he remarked, was a rich country; the wealth accumulated in it for a century was immense; and the treasury at the capital, as Lieutenant Burnes told him, contained twenty crores of rupees; on the other hand, there was no standing army, or indeed any troops at all beside the Beloche militia. But no intimation could be extracted from their official lips of the intentions of the Governor-General, although on the very day of his arrival at Roopur he had instructed Colonel Pottinger to proceed on a mission to Sindé, for the double object of concluding a commercial treaty with the Ameers, and of watching the movements of a Persian envoy who was at the capital negotiating a matrimonial alliance with the Talpoora family, as the extension of Persian influence to the banks of the

Indus was already beginning to be identified with the progress of Russian power in the east. Colonel Pottinger reached Hyderabad in February, 1832, and found that the Ameers recoiled from the idea of a connection of any description with the Company's Government. The opening of the Indus to British trade and enterprise appeared to them fraught with indefinite danger to their independence, and they apprehended that it would not be long before the factory, as in other cases, was transformed into a cantonment. They yielded at length to the pressure of the envoy, and a treaty of commerce was concluded, the most memorable article of which was that "the contracting parties bound themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." Within eleven years Sinde was a British province. A request was at the same time made to Runjeet Sing to co-operate in opening the Sutlege to trade, which he was assured would afford him the gratification of seeing a steamboat. To this proposal he consented with great reluctance, remarking that these commercial projects of the British Government on the Indus had snatched Shikarpore from his grasp, and defeated all his views on the kingdom of Sinde.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS— MATERIAL PROGRESS.

Administrative Reforms, 1828—34. THE government of Lord William Bentinck stands forth in high relief in the history of British India as the era of progression. It derives its lustre from his enlightened views of domestic policy, his vigorous administrative reforms, his intrepid philanthropy, and his spirited efforts to promote the material interests of the empire. Lord Cornwallis had given form and consistence to our institutions in 1793, but there had been little attention to their improvement

since the days of Lord Wellesley, and they were daily becoming more and more effete. Great changes had taken place in the European service, and in the native community, and the whole system of judicial administration required to be recast and adapted to the progress of circumstances. For this task Lord William Bentinck was particularly adapted by the clearness of his perceptions, his freedom from traditional prejudices, and his inflexible resolution; and he was happily aided by the counsels and co-operation of three of the ablest men whose services the Company had ever enjoyed, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Mr. Holt Mackenzie. He found the course of civil justice blocked up by the lumbering waggon of the provincial courts, which he justly characterized as "resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities." The judicial character of the judges was, with some exceptions, the object of general contempt, and their decisions in appeal, only served to bewilder the judges of the courts subordinate to them, and to disgust the community. In regard to criminal justice their agency was simply a national grievance. They proceeded on circuit to hold the sessions twice in the year, and prisoners were kept in confinement for months before they were brought to trial. The prosecutors and witnesses were detained all this time at their own expense, and subjected to such intolerable inconvenience, while awaiting the arrival of the judges, that the concealment of crime became an object of universal solicitude throughout the country. Lord William Bentinck earned the gratitude of the public by sweeping away a class of tribunals, which combined the three great evils of delay, expense, and uncertainty. The duties of the session were, at first, entrusted to the officers he appointed Commissioners of Revenue, but finding the functions of tax-gatherer incompatible with those of a criminal judge, he transferred the duty to the judge of the district, with instructions to hold a monthly jail delivery. He entirely remodelled the system of civil judicature. A separate sudder or chief court was likewise established in

the north-west provinces, and the natives of Delhi were no longer constrained to travel a thousand miles to Calcutta to prosecute an appeal. A similar boon was likewise conferred on those provinces by the erection of a separate Board of Revenue at Allahabad, and the control of the fiscal interests of twenty-five millions of people was established in the most central position. The value of these and all the other judicial reforms of Lord William Bentinck was indefinitely enhanced by restoring to the people the inestimable boon of the use of their own vernacular language in all the courts, civil, criminal, and fiscal, to which they were amenable. The Mahomedans had imposed their own court language, the Persian, on the conquered people of India in every transaction with the state. The Company's functionaries, who had from the first manifested a strong predilection for everything that was Mussulman, retained this language in the courts, although the anomaly and the incongruity was thereby increased, inasmuch as justice was now dispensed in a language foreign not only to the parties and the witnesses, but also to the judge himself. Lord William Bentinck substituted the vernacular for the Persian in all tribunals, though not without a strenuous opposition from the conservatism of the civilians.

The merit of the settlement in the north-west provinces belongs to Lord William Bentinck's administration. On the acquisition of those provinces, consisting of the districts in Oude ceded by the Nabob Vizier, and the districts in the Doab conquered from Sindia, Lord Wellesley pledged himself to grant them a permanent settlement of the land revenue, but it was repudiated by the Court of Directors, who ordered it to be limited to five years. This was a death blow to all agricultural improvement. Any attempt by the landlord to improve his estates only exposed him to the risk of an increased assessment, and as the period of revision approached he felt it to be his interest to fill up wells, and to neglect cultivation. An effort was at length made by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, the secretary to the Government

Revenue settle-
ment, N. W.
Provinces, 1833.

in the territorial department, a man of broad and liberal views and great earnestness, to grapple with this large question, and he produced the celebrated Regulation VII, of 1822, a monument of skill and industry, of which any statesman might justly be proud. It was based on mature knowledge and sound and equitable principles, but it was unfortunately too complicated in its details to work well, and it imposed unlimited duties on a limited agency. The collectors disrelished the laborious task imposed on them, and performed it in a perfunctory manner. Some of them affirmed that a period of twenty years, and others that a whole century would be necessary to complete the settlement in the mode required. The Board of Revenue when asked what progress had been made in it, replied that they knew nothing about the matter. At the end of ten years it was found that the work chalked out by the Regulation was scarcely begun. Lord William Bentinck was resolved to remove the opprobrium of this neglect from our administration, and after a residence of two years in Calcutta, made a tour of the north-west provinces, and during his progress invited the revenue officers of the various districts to his tents to discuss the question of the settlement. After obtaining all the information within his reach, he examined the subject in all its bearings during his residence at Simla, and on his return to Calcutta held a meeting at Allahabad of the Revenue Board and the most eminent officers in the department, when the question was fully discussed and finally settled, and the Regulation which resulted from these consultations was passed in Council, after his arrival in Calcutta, in March, 1833.

The new settlement possessed the great merit of simplicity. It dispensed with many of the elaborate enquiries of the former Regulation, which, however useful, were not deemed essential to a fair adjustment of the claims of the state. The area of each village was to be surveyed by European officers and recorded in a map, while each individual field was measured by native officers and entered in the village register. Without a minute

Plan of settle-
ment—Robert
Bird, 1833.

classification of soils, the proportion of cultivated, culturable, and waste lands, together with every circumstance which could affect the cultivation, was duly recorded. The Collector was required to decide all questions of disputed boundaries on the spot, with the aid of native assessors, and the most prolific source of litigation and misery in India was thus dammed up. All judicial questions which might arise in the course of his proceedings were determined with the aid of the punchayet, the ancient and time-honoured jury of five, in which the natives reposed such unbounded confidence as to believe that "where the *punj* is, there is God." The assessment was fixed by the Collector, after an impartial investigation, and a free and friendly communication with the people, and the settlement was then made for a period of thirty years, either with the ryots individually, or with the landholder, or with the village community, as the case might be. The Collector was assisted by a body of uncovenanted deputies with liberal allowances, and their office was thrown open to the natives of the country, without reference to caste or creed. The general control of these operations was committed to Mr. Robert Bird, the ablest financial officer in the service since the days of Sir John Shore. He possessed a large grasp of mind, and combined an intimate knowledge of the system of land tenures in the north-west, with indomitable energy, and that sternness of purpose which is indispensable in any great and difficult undertaking. He was allowed to select his own subordinates, and the zeal and ability they displayed did no little credit to his discernment, while the honour of having served under him was considered a distinction for life. Under such auspices, and with such instruments, the settlement was brought to a termination within ten years. It embraced an area of 72,000 square miles, and a population of 23,000,000. It was the greatest fiscal achievement of the Company's Government. The first settlement had ruined those for whose benefit it was devised, the last saved millions of much enduring men from misery and ruin. The labours of the renowned Toder Mull, under the

illustrious Akbar, in the department of revenue settlements which historians have never ceased to applaud, were rivalled, if not eclipsed by those of Robert Bird; but there was no public recognition of the services of one who had conferred such inestimable blessings on a country as large and populous as Great Britain. He was only a Company's servant, and the scene of his duties lay in India, and he was allowed to pass into obscurity on his return to his native land, and sink into the grave without the slightest mark of distinction.

But the measure which above all others has endeared the memory of Lord William Bentinck to the natives of India, is that which he inaugurated of introducing them to honourable employment in the public service. Allusion has been made in a former chapter to the cardinal error of Lord Cornwallis's policy, that of excluding them from every office except the lowest and the worst paid. This exclusion was fortified by the peculiar constitution of the Company, which remunerated the Court of Directors for their labours in the government of India by patronage, and not by money, and thus created a strong tendency to secure the monopoly of offices to their nominees. It would be difficult to discover in history another instance of this ostracism of a whole people. The grandsons of the Gauls who resisted Cæsar became Roman senators. The grandsons of the Rajpoots who opposed Baber in his attempt to establish the Mogul power, and at the battle of Biana all but nipped his enterprise in the bud, were employed by his grandson Akbar in the government of provinces and the command of armies, and they fought valiantly for him on the shores of the bay of Bengal and on the banks of the Oxus. They rewarded his confidence by unshaken loyalty to his throne, even when it was endangered by the conspiracies of his own Mahomedan satraps. But wherever our sovereignty was established in India, the path of honourable ambition and every prospect of fame, wealth, and power was at once closed on the natives of the country. This proscription was rendered the more galling by comparison with the practice of the native

courts around, where the highest prizes of power were open to universal competition. The contrast was, moreover, aggravated by the fact that the native princes themselves, the Nizam and Tippoo, Sindia and Holkar, and Runjeet Sing, adopted a more liberal policy, and freely entrusted offices of the highest responsibility, both military and political, to European foreigners. No benefit which we might confer on the country could be deemed an adequate compensation for the loss of all share in the government, one of the highest and most honourable aspirations of humanity. It was vain to expect any attachment to our rule when even the best affected of our native subjects could see no remedy for this degradation but in the subversion of our government. The enlargement of the native mind by education only served to augment the evil, by sharpening expectations which could not be gratified. The argument for this policy was based on a notion of the administrative superiority of Englishmen, and a persuasion of the utter unfitness of the natives for any of the functions of government, mingled with a dread that their venality would be injurious to the administration. It seemed to be forgotten that it was idle to hope for any improvement in the character of the natives while they were excluded from all places of trust and influence, and left without any object of pursuit but the gratification of their own passions. Some feeble attempts had been made in preceding administrations to modify the system, but they were not based on any broad and generous principle, and were intended simply to relieve the labours of the Company's favourite officers of the civil service. Lord William Bentinck brought with him to India a deep conviction of the viciousness of this policy, and a determination "to throw open the doors of distinction to the natives, and grant them a full participation in all the honours and emoluments of the state." As far back as 1824, the Court of Directors had expressed their conviction that to secure promptitude in the administration of justice, native functionaries must be employed to dispose of all suits, of whatever description and amount.

The leading members of Government were fully prepared to abandon the Cornwallis doctrine, and to give the natives an interest in the stability of our government by giving them a share in the management of it. But it required an intrepid reformer like Lord William Bentinck at the head of the government, to carry out these large views. This liberal policy was inaugurated by the Regulations of 1831, which completely reconstructed the legal establishments of the Bengal Presidency, and entrusted the primary jurisdiction of all suits, of whatever character or amount, not excluding those instituted against Government, to native agency. The new system provided for three grades of native judges, the highest that of Principal Sudder Ameen, on 500 rupees a-month, subsequently raised to 750, which is still egregiously inadequate to the position and responsibilities of the office. The principle of employing natives in important offices was gradually extended to other departments, and it has resulted in imparting a degree of vigour and popularity to the British administration which it never enjoyed before. So greatly indeed has this privilege been appreciated by the natives, that there is some risk of their losing the manly feeling of independence in their great eagerness for public employ. The policy introduced by Lord William Bentinck has been zealously and nobly followed up by his successors. New paths of distinction have been opened to native ambition, and a native judge now sits on the bench of the highest court in Calcutta, and natives of rank and influence occupy seats in the Legislative Council.

Suttees, 1830.

The most benignant and memorable act of Lord William Bentinck's administration was the abolition of Suttees. Some have questioned whether this atrocious rite could be traced to a religious origin, but it was always consecrated by the solemnities of religion, and it has been practised for twenty centuries, in a greater or less degree, wherever Hindooism has been professed. Even in Bali, one of the remote islands of the Eastern Archipelago, where the Hindoo faith still lingers, no fewer than seventy widows were burnt alive

towards the close of the last century, with the body of one of the rajas. It was discouraged and sometimes prohibited by the Mahomedans, and Akbar himself on one occasion, issued from his palace on horseback and rescued a victim from the pile. The first effort to interfere with it under the Company's Government was made by Mr. George Udny, the friend and associate of Sir John Shore, and by Dr. Carey. Lord Wellesley to whom they presented an address, was then on the eve of quitting the Government, but he recorded a minute in favour of abolishing the rite, stating "that it was one of the fundamental maxims of the British Government to consult the opinions, customs, and prejudices of the natives, but only when they were consistent with the principles of humanity, morality, and reason." The Sudder Court, however, put back the cause of abolition in 1810, by issuing a Circular Order setting forth the circumstances in which the act was to be considered illegal, on which Mr. Courtenay Smith, one of the greatest men who ever adorned the bench of that court, asserted that "these orders had only served to spread and confirm this execrable usage." On this and every subsequent attempt to lessen the evil by regulating it, the Court of Directors justly remarked that such measures tended rather to increase than to diminish the practice, and that, by prohibiting it in certain cases, the Government appeared to sanction it in all others, and was thus made an ostensible party to the sacrifice. The Bombay Government committed a still more fatal error in employing one of its European officers to construct the pile in order to give the unhappy victim an opportunity of escape, if she was unable to sustain the torture of the flames. Subsequent to 1820 the question was discussed with increasing earnestness in England and in India, but some of the most distinguished of the public officers, Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Mountstewart Elphinstone, and Colonel Sutherland, shrunk from the bold proposal of a direct prohibition, and some went so far as to assert that it would violate the rule of toleration to which our Government owed its stability. In 1823, the Court of Directors sent a

despatch to India, in which all the arguments which had been adduced against the abolition were earnestly and sincerely combated, and the question was referred to the consideration of the local Government, with an implied expression of the gratification it would afford them to learn that the rite could be safely abolished. Lord Amherst consulted the most eminent of the Government servants, but the diversity of the opinions they expressed only served to increase his embarrassment. Mr. Courtenay Smith and Mr. Alexander Ross boldly urged the immediate and peremptory prohibition of the rite. Mr. Harington, who had been for a quarter of a century a great authority on all local questions, and who was withal a man of strong religious feelings, considered that the rite could be extinguished only by a gradual improvement among the people through the dissemination of moral instruction. Lord Amherst was obliged to inform the Court that he could not, in such circumstances, recommend the absolute interdiction of it under legal penalties, but he trusted to the diffusion of knowledge then in progress for the eventual suppression of "this detestable superstition." In July, 1827, the Court placed the question in the hands of the Governor-General, requesting him, after serious deliberation, to determine in what degree the ordinary course of civilization could be accelerated by a judicious and seasonable interposition of authority.

Lord William
Bentinck's
enquiries, 1829.

Such was the position of this question when Lord William Bentinck landed in Calcutta, feeling, as he said, the dreadful responsibility hanging over his head, in this world and the next, if, as the Governor-General of India, he was to consent to the continuation of this practice one moment longer, not than our security, but than the real happiness and permanent welfare of the native population rendered indispensable. He resolved to take up the question without any delay, and "come to as early a determination as a mature consideration would allow," and "having made that determination, to stand by it, yea or no, and set his conscience at rest." Immediately after his arrival, he

circulated a confidential communication among fifty or sixty of the chief military and civil officers of Government, requiring their opinion as to the effect which the abolition of "this impious and inhuman sacrifice not of one but of thousands of victims," was likely to produce in the native community generally, and on the minds of the sepoys in particular. The majority of the officers in the army asserted that the immediate and peremptory abolition of the practice would create no alarm among the native troops. Of the civil functionaries, three fourths advocated its positive prohibition. The most strenuous advocate for non-interference was the eminent orientalist, Dr. Horace Wilson, whose literary pursuits had imparted a strong oriental bias to his sympathies, and who was the great patron, and the idol, of pundits and brahmins. He affirmed that the practice could not be abolished without doing violence to the conscientious belief of every order of Hindoos; that it would be a direct interference with their religion, and an infringement of the pledge we had given them to support it; that it would diffuse a detestation of British authority, create extensive dissatisfaction and distrust, and alienate the affections of the people. The warmest advocate of abolition was Mr.—afterwards Sir William—Macnaghten, second, as an orientalist, only to Dr. Wilson. He admitted that, according to the notions of the Hindoos, the sacrifice of suttee was a religious act of the highest merit, and that it was unjust as well as unwise to interfere with religious creeds, however absurd. "Let the Hindoo," he said, "believe in his three hundred and thirty millions of gods until it may please the Almighty to reclaim him from his idolatry; but let him not immolate thousands of helpless females on the altar of fanaticism, in defiance of the eternal laws of nature and the immutable principles of justice." He ridiculed the phantom of danger: "Under the Mahomedans, the Hindoos tamely endured all sorts of insults to their religion and violation of their prejudices. Their temples were polluted and destroyed, and many were constrained to become Mussulmans, yet there

was no general organized disaffection. The rite was not respected by the hardy and warlike Hindoos of the north-west, but by the sleek and timid inhabitants of Bengal, the fat and greasy citizens of Calcutta, whose very existence depended on the prosperity of the British Government."

Abolition of
Suttee, 1830. Fortified by the opinion of the most experienced and the most liberal minded men in the service, and confident of the support of the Court of Directors, Lord William Bentinck and his two counsellors, Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the 14th of December, 1829, passed that celebrated Regulation which "declared the practice of Suttee illegal and punishable by the criminal courts as culpable homicide." Thus by one bold and resolute effort, a practice which had polluted India from the remotest antiquity, was extinguished under the flag of England, and for the first time since the introduction of Hindooism, "the Ganges flowed unblooded to the sea." Twenty-five attempts at suttee were made after the passing of the Regulation, but they were prevented by the simple interposition of the police. Not the slightest feeling of alarm, still less of resentment, was exhibited in the army, or in the country. In the course of a few years, the practice became a matter of history like the sacrifice of children at Saugor, and the enlightened Hindoo of the present day looks back on this barbarous custom with the same feelings with which Englishmen look back on the human sacrifices of the Druids. Lord William Bentinck was enabled within a twelvemonth to assure the Directors that there never was a greater bugbear than the fear of revolt. The only circle in which the abolition created any sensation was that of the rich and orthodox baboos of Calcutta, who resented the decision of Government, and more especially the promptitude with which it had been carried into execution, as it deprived them of the gratification of obstructing it. They drew up a petition to the Government in which the fine Roman hand of their European counsellor was distinctly visible, demanding the restoration of the rite as part and parcel

of Hindooism, with which Parliament had pledged itself not to interfere. The native organ of the party in his weekly journal affirmed that the signatories to the petition for restoring the "sacred rite of Suttee" included "the learned, the wealthy, the virtuous, the noble, the polite, and the mild." But Lord William Bentinck turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance, and refused to suspend the Regulation for a moment. A memorial was then drawn up to the Privy Council in England, appealing against the proceedings of the Government of India, because they contravened the Act of Parliament which ordained that "nothing done in consequence of the rule of the caste should be held to be a crime though not justifiable by the laws of England." The appeal was taken into consideration in June 1832, and the venerable Lord Wellesley, the first Governor-General who had recorded his condemnation of the rite, had the high gratification of assisting in dismissing the petition, and in giving to this sublime act of humanity the sanction of the highest tribunal in the British empire.

Hindoo Law of
Inheritance,
1832.

To Lord William Bentinck is also due the merit of having established the rights of conscience in India.

To prevent defections from Hindooism, the Hindoo legislators had enacted that ancestral property should descend only to those who performed the funeral obsequies of a deceased parent or relative, according to the rule of the shasters, and the man who renounced the Hindoo creed, was thus consigned to poverty. The Mahomedans, who were enjoined to propagate their religion by the sword, treated this injunction with profound contempt. No Hindoo was ever permitted to occupy a seat on the bench during their supremacy, and the Mahomedan judges, who rejected Hindoo law, were not likely to deprive a proselyte to their own creed of his patrimony. Mr. Hastings, in a spirit of liberality, guaranteed to the Hindoos and Mussulmans the enjoyment of their own laws of inheritance in his first code of 1772. This equitable rule was subsequently re-enacted both in England and in India, by those who were as ignorant as Mr. Hastings was of the intolerant

character of the Hindoo law of property to which they were giving a British sanction. Lord William Bentinck resolved to relieve the Government from the odium of countenancing this illiberal law and, to avoid a fanatical opposition, took advantage of the occasion of remodelling and re-enacting several existing regulations, quietly to introduce a clause which provided that "the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of inheritance should apply only to those who were *bond fide* professors of those religions at the time of its application." The law was passed without observation, and the tendency of it to restore liberty of conscience was not discovered by the bigoted Hindoos till it came into operation, when it was found to be too late to demand its repeal. In the same spirit of liberality he abrogated another rule, equally unjust, but of our own

creation. The Mahomedans had encouraged proselytism by the bestowal of honours and estates and titles, and some of the most eminent of their provincial governors—among others the great Moorshed-koolykhan, the founder of Moorshedabad—were converts from Hindooism. The Company and their servants in India, from that dread of offending native prejudices, which, though in some cases judicious and prudent, too often led to the toleration of evil, had run into the opposite extreme, and expressly debarred native converts to Christianity from holding any post, however humble, under their government. Lord William Bentinck was determined to extinguish this disreputable anomaly, and in the same Regulation which threw open the public service to the natives of the country, ordained that there should be no exclusion from office on account of caste, creed, or nation. The publication of this enactment demonstrated the egregious error into which the Government had fallen by supposing that the unnatural stigma they had cast on their own creed, would tend to conciliate and gratify the Hindoos. Those who had been most clamorous for the restoration of suttee were the first to come forward and applaud this act of liberality and justice.

Admission of
native Christians
to office, 1831.

Suppression of Thuggee, 1830. It was during the administration of Lord William Bentinck that the first energetic measures were adopted to extirpate the Thugs, a fraternity of hereditary assassins, who subsisted on the plunder of the victims they strangled. Few districts were without resident Thugs, but they generally adopted the occupation of agriculturists to conceal their nefarious profession, and no district was free from their depredations. They were in the habit of quitting their homes in a body, leaving their wives and their children in the village. They generally attached themselves, as if by accident, to the travellers they met, from whom they obtained such information as they required, by a free and cheerful intercourse. On reaching some spot suited to their purpose, a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, was suddenly thrown around the neck of the victim, the ends of which were crossed and drawn tight till he ceased to breathe. His body was then rifled and thrown into a pit hastily dug with a pickaxe which had been consecrated by religious ceremonies. The Thugs were bound to secrecy by solemn oaths, and recognized each other by peculiar signs and a slang vocabulary. They considered themselves as acting under the immediate auspices of the deity, and had a special veneration for Doorga, the tutelary goddess of vagabonds, thieves, and murderers. They observed her festivals with superstitious punctuality, and presented offerings at her most celebrated shrines in various parts of the country. They had a firm confidence in signs and omens, and endeavoured through them to ascertain her pleasure regarding their expeditions, and considered themselves as acting under a divine commission when they were favourable. The gangs were recruited with juvenile apprentices, who were gradually and cautiously initiated into the mysteries of the profession by one of the elders, who was ever after regarded in the light of a spiritual guide. The number of their victims in the year was counted by thousands. The subordinate native chiefs and officers in Central India, as well as the zemindars and policemen in our own provinces, to whom they were well

known, connived at their practices on the condition of sharing their plunder. The establishment of British functionaries in the native states first brought this atrocious system to light, and some feeble and ineffectual efforts were made to eradicate it. Lord William Bentinck was resolved to spare no exertion to deliver India from this scourge. With this view, he created a special department for the suppression of Thuggee, and placed it under the direction of Major—afterwards Sir William—Sleeman, whose name is inseparably associated in the annals of British India with this mission of humanity. He threw his whole soul into the work, and organized a comprehensive system of operations, which embraced every province; by means of approvers who turned king's evidence, he obtained a complete clue to the proceedings and movements of the whole fraternity, as well as the means of identifying its members, and was thus enabled, with the efficient staff of officers whom he had the discernment to select, to take the field simultaneously against the various gangs in every direction. It was not among the least important results of the establishment of one paramount authority throughout the continent of India, that the officers in this department were enabled to hunt the Thugs without impediment from province to province, whether under British or native rule, and to leave them no prospect of shelter in any district. In the course of six years, two thousand of these miscreants were arrested and tried, and three fourths of them sentenced to imprisonment, transportation, or death. The confederacy was effectually broken up, and travelling in India ceased to be dangerous. These efforts were crowned by the establishment of a school of industry at Jubbulpore, for the Thugs who had turned approvers, and for the children of convicted offenders. The men were ignorant of any trade save robbery and murder, but in the factory they were instructed in every branch of manufacture, and became skilled artisans, capable of earning an honest livelihood by their labour. The children, instead of being trained to crime, were taught the rudiments of learning

and trade, and fitted to become useful members of society. The scene of cheerful and industrious activity which the institution exhibited, viewed in contrast with the former occupation of its inmates, was calculated to afford the most grateful reflections to the mind of the philanthropist.

Steam communi-
cation, 1830-34. The attention of Lord William Bentinck immediately after his arrival was devoted to the establishment of steam communication on the Ganges, and between India and England. Under his directions two vessels were built in Calcutta and fitted up with engines imported from England, and they performed in the brief period of three weeks the distance of eight hundred miles between Calcutta and Allahabad, which had ordinarily occupied three months. The success of this experiment induced him to press the completion of a steam fleet on the Court of Directors, and they responded to his wishes with a laudable alacrity. The system of steam navigation on the rivers in Hindostan was thus fully established under the auspices of Government, and eventually transferred to private enterprise. A still more important object with the Governor-General was the abridgment of the voyage between England and India, which he endeavoured to promote with untiring ardour. A considerable fund had been raised for this object in Calcutta as early as 1823, and a premium was offered for any steamer which should perform the voyage between the two countries within seventy days. The "Enterprise," commanded by Captain Johnson, was the first to compete for the premium, but she was a hundred and thirteen days in reaching Calcutta from Falmouth. The route by the Cape was consequently considered unsuited to the object. An attempt was then made by the King's Government, under the direction of Colonel Chesney, to open a communication by way of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, but the obstacles were found to be insuperable. It remained therefore to make an experiment by the Red Sea, and Lord William Bentinck directed the "Hugh Lindsay," a small steamer of four hundred tons, built for Government at

Bombay, to be despatched from that port on the 20th March, 1830, to Suez which she reached in a month. Three other voyages were subsequently performed by that vessel, and it was clearly demonstrated that, with suitable arrangements in the Mediterranean, the voyage from Bombay to England might be accomplished with ease in fifty-five days. But the Court of Directors raised an objection to these experiments on the score of the great expense they entailed. Lord William Bentinck replied that the revenues of India could not, in his estimation, be appropriated to any object more conducive to the good of both countries than that of bringing them into close communication with each other. The Chairman of the Court, however, questioned whether the end in view would be worth the probable expenditure, and the India House at length positively prohibited any further employment of the "Hugh Lindsay" for the conveyance of mails. The subject was soon after brought before the House of Commons, and the committee appointed to investigate it reported that a regular and expeditious communication by steam between England and India was an object of national importance, and that measures ought to be immediately adopted to establish it by way of the Red Sea, at the joint expense of the Company and the Crown. The indifference of the India House was overruled by the higher authority of Parliament, and the "Hugh Lindsay" was again put in requisition and despatched with the mails to Suez, but the Court of Directors were lukewarm on the subject, and the enterprise, conducted without spirit, fell again into abeyance. A subscription was likewise raised at the three Presidencies to the extent of three lacs of rupees for the promotion of this object, but the plans which were devised proved abortive.

The Peninsular
and Oriental
Company, 1842.

It was reserved for the Peninsular and Oriental Company to carry to a successful issue the comprehensive views to which Lord William Bentinck had devoted his attention, both in India and after his return to England. This Company, which was originally established for service to the ports in the Peninsula, was encouraged by a

Royal charter to extend its labours to India. Commencing with a small capital and a limited object, it has gradually grown up, by a rare combination of enterprise, prudence, and perseverance, into a great national undertaking. During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since its first vessel was despatched to Calcutta in 1843, the sphere of its operations has been expanded till it embraces the whole of the eastern hemisphere. Its fleet, second only to the navies of England, France, and America, now comprises more than sixty steamers, aggregating 100,000 tons, with 20,000 horse-power. By these powerful vessels passengers, letters, books, and merchandise are conveyed, week after week, over 11,000 miles of sea to the extreme points of Sydney in Australia, and Yokohama in Japan; and the voyages are performed with a degree of speed and punctuality which would have appeared fabulous half a century ago. Mails starting from different and distant extremities have traversed half the globe and reached their destination in England, simultaneously, within an hour and a half of their appointed time. The importance of this enterprise of a private company to the interests of the mother country, and her eastern dependencies, it would be difficult to overrate. It has given a character of solidity and compactness to the British empire in the Eastern world, which enables us to contemplate its expansion without any feeling of apprehension. It has linked the most distant countries of the east with the European world, and for the first time after the lapse of more than twenty centuries, given full effect to the views of Alexander the Great when he founded Alexandria, and destined it to be the highway between Europe and Asia. It has covered the Red Sea with steamers, and converted it into an English lake. It has given a political importance to the land of the Pharaohs, which constrains England to consider the maintenance of its independence, even at the hazard of war, an indispensable article of national policy. The empire of India belongs to the nearest European power, and it is the enterprise of this Company which has conferred the advantage of this position on

England. Our base of operations in Asia is the sea, but while transports were four or five months going round the Cape, our interests were always exposed to adverse contingencies. It is the spirited exertions of this Company which have brought the ports of India within four weeks' reach of the resources of England, and completed our ascendancy in the east.

The cause of education received a fresh impulse as well as a beneficial direction during Lord William Bentinck's administration. The earliest movement of Government towards the intellectual improvement of India dates from the year 1813, when on the motion of Mr. Robert Percy Smith, who had been Advocate-General in Calcutta, and, as usual, obtained a seat in Parliament on his return, a rider was added to the India Bill, directing that a lac of rupees should be appropriated "to the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories out of any surplus which might remain of the rents, revenues, and profits of our territorial acquisitions." This vote was interpreted both in Leadenhall Street and in Calcutta to apply chiefly to the revival and encouragement of Hindoo and Mahomedan literature; and, considering the brahminised feelings of the period of Mr. Smith's residence in Calcutta, there can be little doubt that the grant was intended primarily, though not exclusively, for that object. During Lord Minto's administration, the only public money expended in education was devoted to the establishment of Hindoo colleges, with the view, as the Government stated, of giving the people the benefit of the beautiful morality embodied in the shasters. Mr. Dowdeswell, the superintendent of police in the lower provinces, had stated in his report, that he could not expect to obtain credit for his narrative of a thousandth part of the atrocities of the *dacoits*, but the only remedy he could propose was that the institutions of Mahomedanism and Hindooism should be revived, and gradually moulded into a system of

Education;
Orientalism,
1813—33.

instruction for these banditti. The fund voted by Parliament was allowed to accumulate for ten years, when Mr. Adam distinguished his brief tenure of office in 1823 by appointing a Committee of public instruction to suggest measures for the better education of the people in useful knowledge, and the arts and sciences of Europe, and for the improvement of public morals. This enlightened movement was soon after strengthened by the receipt of an unexpected despatch from Leadenhall Street. Seven years before this period, Lord Hastings had suggested to Mr. Charles Grant the propriety of appropriating the Parliamentary grant to the support of schools rather than of Hindoo colleges. Mr. Grant replied that there had always been in the Direction men of influence opposed to the intellectual improvement of the natives; they were gradually dying out, but it would still be premature to urge the course which the Governor-General proposed. But Mr. James Mill, the historian, the advocate of all liberal principles, now occupied an important position in the India office, where he had acquired that influence which is naturally exercised by a great mind. A proposal had been received from the Government of India to improve the Hindoo college at Benares, and the Mahomedan college in Calcutta, and to add to them a Hindoo college in the metropolis. It fell to Mr. Mill to draft the reply to this despatch, and he stated that "in professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, the Government bound itself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned. The great end of Government should be, not to teach Hindoo or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning." But Orientalism was still supreme in Calcutta. High attainments in Sanscrit and Arabic formed the surest road to promotion and honour in the public service, and the leading members of Government were naturally partial to the cultivation of those studies which had raised them to distinction. The education department, more-

over, was under the absolute control of Dr. Horace Wilson, the great champion of native literature and institutions. The Parliamentary grant was accordingly—with some trifling exceptions to save appearances—devoted for ten years longer to the promotion of studies, of which the mode, the medium, and the scope were altogether oriental in their character, and designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to perpetuate old ideas.

Meanwhile, a predilection for English was rapidly spreading among the natives in and around the metropolis, and a demand for instruction in that language, and the acquisition of European science, was pressed with increased earnestness on the attention of the Board of Education. The Board itself was divided into two hostile parties; the Orientalists, headed by Dr. Wilson, who deprecated any interference with the patronage of Hindoo literature, and the Anglicists, as they were termed, the advocates of a European education through the medium of English, who were animated by the energy and the counsels of Mr.—now Sir Charles—Trevelyan, to whom the country is under lasting obligations for his untiring zeal at this critical period in the cause of sound and liberal education. The division in the Board brought its operations to a dead lock, and an appeal was made to Government. Mr. Macaulay, the greatest English classic of the age, was now a member of the Supreme Council, as well as President of the Board of Education, and he denounced with irresistible force the continued promotion of Orientalism, as tending, not to support the progress of truth but to delay the death of expiring error. “We are at present,” he said, “a Board for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank, and for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, and absurd theology.” The question was brought to an issue on the 7th March, 1835, by the resolution of the Governor-General in Council, that “the great object of the British Government

ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone." No college or school of oriental learning was, however, to be abolished, while the natives were inclined to avail themselves of it; the stipends to the teachers and students were to be continued, but not renewed; and the publication of oriental works and of translations of medical and mathematical works into Arabic, which neither the teachers nor pupils could comprehend, was at once discontinued.

Remarks on this measure, 1834. This resolution encountered a stern opposition, and the Asiatic Societies in Calcutta and in London, as well as on the Continent, came forward to deprecate it as a severe discouragement of the cultivation of oriental literature. The design of these associations was to prosecute researches into the history, antiquities, and literature of the east, and to unfold the ancient records of Asia to the European world. It was the unquestionable duty of a liberal Government to patronize such labours, and to make suitable provision from the public funds for the preservation of the ancient monuments of Indian civilization, whether in stone or manuscript; but it was a dereliction of duty to divert to the promotion of this object the scanty funds allotted to the education and improvement of the people. Nor was the patronage of the state necessary to the maintenance of Hindoo learning. It had continued to flourish for centuries without any succour from the Mahomedan princes, and there were ample funds in the country for its support, apart from those of the Treasury. To prevent the settlement of the interlopers whom the Directors could not entirely exclude from the country, they had adopted and rigidly enforced the principle, altogether novel in the history of conquest, of prohibiting their own countrymen from acquiring an interest of any description in the soil. With the exception of the estates held by Mahomedans, which were comparatively few, the whole rental of the Gangetic valley was in the hands of Hindoos, and available for the

encouragement of their institutions. The celebrity of all religious, social, and family festivals, in popular estimation, depended on the entertainment of brahmins, and the gifts bestowed on them were proportioned to their literary reputation. Hence it was impossible to discover how the withdrawal of Government aid from the two or three colleges it had established could affect in any perceptible degree the cultivation of the sacred language of the Vedas. The encouragement of English was, on the other hand, one of the highest blessings which could be conferred on the country. It unlocked to the natives all the stores of European knowledge and science, and brought them into association with the highest civilization in the world. It shook the fabric of error and the empire of superstition which had survived the lapse of twenty-five centuries. It introduced a flood of light into the minds of the natives upon every object of human enquiry, and communicated to them the secret of our own greatness. The judicious resolution of Lord William Bentinck has been followed by a degree of success which exceeds the most sanguine expectations, and the language and literature of England have now become as familiar to the upper ten thousand, as ever the language of Rome was within the sphere of her conquests. The only drawback connected with it has been the neglect of vernacular education, through which alone the great body of the people can receive the elements of mental improvement. But public measures in every department in India depend so greatly on the idiosyncracies of those who happen, for the time, to be in power, that there is no reason to despair of seeing this error remedied at some future time, and the million rescued from the barbarism of ignorance.

The cause of sound and enlightened education was materially promoted during this period by the efforts of the General Assembly, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Duff. He proceeded to India in 1830, with the view of establishing an institution which should combine secular instruction of the highest order, through

General Assembly's institution, 1833.

the medium of English, with an unreserved communication of the doctrines and morals of Christianity, which were altogether excluded from the Government colleges. The tuition imparted in the institution he founded embraced every branch of a liberal education, and was in no respect inferior to that which the colleges supported by the state professed to bestow. He and his colleagues made no secret of the fact that their system of education was inseparably associated with Christian instruction, but their rooms were soon crowded with twelve hundred scholars, and the teachers were regarded with feelings of distinguished confidence. The eminent success of this institution is to be traced to the sturdy energy, and the classical endowments of its conductors, who are entitled to public gratitude for their exertions to elevate the native character, and to give the country the benefit of a complete education, in every department of human pursuit.

No attempt worthy of the Government had been made before the time of Lord William Bentinck to supersede native quackery by the cultivation of medical science. In the Sanscrit and Arabic colleges the systems of Galen and Hippocrates were taught in combination with a smattering of European ideas; and a public institution existed, though of a very inferior description, for training native doctors, as they were called, but they never rose above the dignity of apothecaries. As the crowning act of his administration, the Governor-General founded a medical college in Calcutta in the month of March, 1835, to afford, through the medium of English treatises and English lectures, a professional education to the natives in every branch of the science, as cultivated in Europe. The most eminent medical officers in the service were placed in the professors' chairs; a library and a museum were established, and every appliance necessary to place it on the same footing of efficiency as European colleges was furnished with a bountiful hand. Sage men of long experience and reputed wisdom confidently predicted the failure of the experiment. Contact with a dead body had for twenty centuries

been considered a mortal pollution by the Hindoos, and it was traditionally affirmed that native prejudices were invincible. But these anticipations, when brought to the test of actual practice, proved, as usual, to be the phantoms of a morbid imagination. Natives of high caste were found to resort freely to the dissecting room, and to handle the scalpel with as much indifference as European students. In the first year they assisted in dissecting sixty subjects, and the feeling of ardour with which they entered on these studies, and the aptitude for acquiring knowledge which they exhibited created a universal feeling of surprise. The downfall of one prejudice paved the way for the removal of others. In 1844, Dwarkenath Tagore, one of the most liberal and enlightened native gentlemen of the time, offered to take two of the students with him to England, and complete their professional education at his own expense. His views were cordially seconded by Dr. Mouat, the secretary of the college, to whose ability and energy the infant institution was indebted in no small measure for its efficiency, and he persuaded two of the most advanced pupils to accept the offer and cross the "black water," though at the risk of forfeiting the privileges of their caste. They entered the medical schools in London, and successfully competed with the best scientific students in England.

Sir John Malcolm
Governor of
Bombay, 1827. The eminent services of Sir John Malcolm during a career of forty years in India, were tardily rewarded in the year 1827 with the Government of Bombay. His political opinions carry little weight in comparison with those of Munro, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and others, but no officer of the Company ever possessed in a higher degree the happy art of conciliating the attachment of the people. He did not, like too many of his countrymen, keep himself aloof from the natives, but associated with them with all that freedom and ease, and that genial humour for which the French in India have always been more distinguished than the English. In the provinces of Central India he was

remembered with the same feelings of affectionate veneration which Bussy had excited in the Deccan, of whom it was remarked, that fifty years after he had left Hyderabad, the highest honour which the common people could pay to a European was to address him as Mons. Bussy. In the peaceful condition of Western India at the period of Sir John's appointment there was little scope for the exercise of his political or diplomatic talents, and his administration might have passed almost without observation, but for the collision which took place between the Supreme Court and his Government.

Collision of the
Supreme Court
and Gov., 1832.

For a quarter of a century Bombay had been content with the court of a Recorder for the administration of English law, and the bench had been adorned with the genius of Sir James Mackintosh. In 1823, the growing importance of the town and port rendered it advisable to establish a Supreme Court of Judicature, with three judges, as at Calcutta and Madras. The recollection of the unseemly and perilous struggle between the Court in Calcutta and the Government, in the days of Hastings and Impey, might have suggested the necessity of preventing a similar conflict by a clear definition of the powers and jurisdiction of the new court. But the same error was repeated, and with the same mischievous results. The new judges gave the utmost latitude of construction to the indefinite powers conferred on them by their charter, and manifested the same disposition to treat the Government of the Company with contempt, and to encroach on its authority, which had been exhibited in Calcutta fifty years before. In their "thirst for jurisdiction," as the great historian of India remarked of the Supreme Court of Bengal, "they availed themselves of the hooks and handles which the ensnaring system of law administered by them afforded in abundance, to draw within their pale the whole transactions of the country." It was in reference to these remarks of Mr. Mill, that the Bombay Chief Justice went out of his way to assert that "if the whole of what

Mr. Mill had said about judges and law had been inserted in the 'Bombay Courier,' he knew where the editor of that paper would be now, or in a day or two." The conflict between the two powers was brought to an issue in 1829. A Mahratta youth of fourteen, Moro Roghoonath, was left at the decease of his parents under the guardianship of his uncle, Pandoorang, a man of the highest family connections, and a kinsman of the late Peshwa. A near relative of the girl to whom Moro had been affianced, was anxious to obtain the wardship of the wealthy minor, and was advised by the lawyers to prefer his suit to the Supreme Court. He accordingly proceeded to Bombay, and under their directions made affidavit that the youth was compulsorily detained by Pandoorang at the risk of his life, and a writ of habeas corpus was immediately granted to bring him up to the Presidency. Under the instructions of Government, the Magistrate resisted the execution of the writ, alleging that neither the uncle nor the nephew had ever resided, or been possessed of property, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and were not therefore amenable to its process. The judges maintained on the contrary, that their Court had been invested with all the powers of the Court of King's Bench, and was bound to watch over the liberty of the King's subjects to the farthest limits of the Presidency. Sir John Malcolm addressed a temperate and conciliatory letter to them, pointing out the injurious consequences of a contest between the Royal Court and the Company's Government, and proposing the suspension of all proceedings pending a reference to England. This communication was treated as an unconstitutional and a criminal proceeding, and denounced as an insult to the majesty of British law. During these discussions two of the judges died, but Sir John Grant, who was left alone on the bench, continued to multiply the issue of writs. A criminal, who had been sentenced to imprisonment for two years by the Sessions Judge of one of the districts in the interior, was released by order of the Supreme Court. The Guickwar

refused the payment of a loan due to the Company, under the impression that the Supreme Court had power to release him from the obligation. The authority of Government was shaken to its foundation, and it became necessary to vindicate it in the eyes of the natives. Sir John Malcolm deemed it his duty to resist the encroachments of the Court with the same vigour which Warren Hastings had exhibited under similar circumstances in Calcutta. He placed a guard at the door of Pandoorang's residence to prevent the entrance of the constable, and he issued a circular to all the Company's Judges and Magistrates directing them to make no return to any of the writs of the Court. Sir John Grant, finding the Government immoveable, closed the doors of the Court, and they remained shut for two months. The question was referred to the Privy Council in England, and his proceedings were pronounced to be utterly repugnant to law. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, in his private letter to Sir John Malcolm, also expressed his strong disapprobation of the measures of the Court, and informed him that he had appointed two other judges, one of whom was the Advocate-General at Bombay, and that no further mischief was to be apprehended, as "Sir John Grant would be like a wild elephant led away between two tame ones." Elated with this communication, Sir John Malcolm read it aloud at his own breakfast table, amidst the acclamation of thirty or forty guests. A copy of it found its way—it was said mysteriously—into the Calcutta newspapers, and created a profound sensation throughout the country. The Governor was chagrined at the position in which he was placed by this disclosure of a private communication, but instead of ascribing his mortification to his own indiscretion, attributed it to the liberty which Lord William Bentinck had given to the press, which was to him an object of abhorrence. Sir John Grant immediately retired from the Bombay bench.

Conflict of
the Court of

The current of Indian affairs in England at this period, presented some singular exhibitions, both

Directors and at the Board of Control and in Parliament. It has
the Board, been already noticed that the debt due by the
1832. Nizam to the banking house of Palmer & Co. was liquidated
in 1823, and that they became insolvent within a twelve-
month, when their affairs were placed in the hands of trustees.
During the discussions on this subject at the India House, the
Court of Directors had solicited the opinion of three of the most
eminent counsel in England whether British subjects in India
were not debarred by Act of Parliament from enforcing claims
for interest beyond twelve per cent., and they affirmed that
such claims could not be sustained. Soon after, Lord Hastings
brought the question forward in the House of Lords and it was
referred to the decision of the twelve judges, who decided that
the limitation of the rate of interest by Parliament did not
apply to loans made to the subjects of independent princes by
British subjects residing in their dominions. The opinion of
counsel was sent out, forthwith, to India from the India House
with alacrity, and the Resident at Hyderabad was directed to
give it all due publicity. This notification ought, in all fairness,
to have been withdrawn as soon as the judges had pronounced
that opinion illegal, but it was allowed to continue in force,
and the trustees of Palmer & Co. complained, not without
reason, that under these circumstances they found it impossible
to realize the debts due to the estate. The chief debtor was
Moneer-ool-moolk a near relative of the Nizam, and the osten-
sible prime minister. He had made over some of his jageers
to Palmer & Co., and the rents had been duly collected and
regularly applied to the liquidation of his debts, which had
been fully effected, together with interest, at the rate of twelve
per cent. The remainder of their demand consisted simply of
a balance of interest beyond that rate. Decrees had been
obtained for this claim in the local courts, but it was diffi-
cult to execute them against one who occupied so high a
position in the state without strong external pressure. Ap-
plication was accordingly made on the subject to the Court
of Directors, who drafted a reply in July, 1830, in which the

Resident was forbidden to interfere in the matter. But the President of the Board of Control took a different view of the case, and returned the draft with this material modification, that the Resident was directed not only to inform the Nizam that the Government would hear with much satisfaction that the house had recovered their just claims from their private debtors, but also to adopt measures to promote this object. The Court remonstrated against these alterations, which reversed the policy they had resolutely maintained for ten years, of refusing the influence of their Government in reference to the private debts of the firm. They justly argued that the exorbitant interest which constituted the present claim arose from the risk with which the transaction was originally attended, and from the uncertainty of payment, both of which ceased to exist with the interposition of Government. The remonstrance was not without effect, and the despatch was withheld.

Writ of Mandamus, 1832.

The question slumbered till the beginning of 1832, when the Whigs being in office, the Court of Directors were desired by the Board to prepare a despatch in the room of that to which they had formerly raised objections. But when it arrived in Cannon Row, the President of the Board drew his fatal pen across thirty-three out of its thirty-seven paragraphs, and substituted ten of his own. In this amended despatch the Court were required to declare their conviction that the joint interposition of our Government and that of the Nizam would be requisite to bring the matter in dispute to a final settlement. The Nizam was to be allowed the alternative of an arbitration, with an umpire nominated by Government, or a commission appointed by the Governor-General. The Court declined to sanction the authoritative interference of their Government in the adjustment of a debt which they considered unjust, and they refused to adopt the amendments. The President disclaimed any idea of bringing the authority of Government to bear on the case, and made some trivial alterations in the despatch; but the Court justly remarked that in the relative position of the

parties at Hyderabad, no interference of the head of the Government of India could be divested of the character of authority; and they proceeded to cancel both the amended and the original despatch. The correspondence on this subject was extended over eight months, but nothing could shake the resolution of the Directors. They persisted in refusing to sign and transmit the despatch, and at length informed the President that "they had nothing to do but to leave the law to take its course." He immediately applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of mandamus to compel the Directors to adopt the despatch as dictated by the Board, and they were constrained to yield to this irresistible argument; but at the same time they recorded their solemn protest against the orders which they had been compelled to sign as their own act and deed. The debt of the minister was settled by Mr. Macleod, the umpire appointed by Government, but upon the preposterous principle of allowing interest against the debtor to the utmost farthing, and refusing interest on the payments which had been successively made by him; and the transaction ended with the same disregard of justice with which it had been commenced and carried on.

The Lucknow Bankers, 1832. During these transactions, a still more objectionable case was brought under discussion in England. Between the years 1792 and 1797 the Nabob of Oude had borrowed large sums of money from Europeans and natives for his voluptuous pleasures. The chances of repayment were very remote, and altogether uncertain; and the charge for interest was proportionately high. He was at length awakened to a sense of his increasing embarrassments by the representations of the Resident, and began in earnest to compound with his creditors. The Europeans were offered better terms than the natives; but all parties were prevailed on to accept the composition, with the exception of the eminent banking firm of Monohur Doss, from whom he had borrowed about eleven lacs of rupees for the support of his wild beasts, and for the "cattle department." Soon after

the king died, and his successor repudiated the debt. The bankers eventually engaged the services of a Mr. Prendergast who had amassed a fortune as a trader at Lucknow, and, like Mr. Paull, obtained a seat in Parliament on his return to England. He brought the claims of his clients before the House for the first time in 1811, but though he met with no success, he continued for twenty years to make the most strenuous efforts in a spirit of indomitable perseverance to promote their suit, both in Parliament and in the courts of law. But the Court of Directors invariably refused to enforce an unacknowledged and unproved claim against one who had not contracted the debt, and whom they recognized and treated as a sovereign prince. In this equitable decision they were fully supported by Lord Hastings, who, though he had on one occasion directed the Resident to mention the claim to the Nabob, yet, finding him determined to resist it, at once decided that it was not a case in which the British Government would be warranted in affording any official support. Mr. Canning went still further, and directed the Court to inform the Governor-General that they were so clearly aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, that they positively forbade the subject to be brought again before the Nabob by any of the officers of Government. But in 1830 the President of the Board of Control was persuaded to lend a favourable ear to the demands of Mr. Prendergast's clients, now swelled, by the accumulation of interest, to a crore of rupees. He affirmed, that while he duly honoured the principle of non-interference, he considered the present an exceptional case, and that it was his determination to make our representations to the king of Oude, "direct and formal." It was the day after the Court had refused to adopt the obnoxious despatch to Hyderabad, regarding the claims of Palmer and Co., that they were desired by the Board to prepare a despatch to the Governor-General directing him to use his utmost efforts to procure the payment of the alleged debt from the king of Oude. The Court felt that any expression

of the wishes of Government could only signify compulsion, either by intimidation or by force, and, instead of drawing up a despatch, prepared a vigorous remonstrance, in which they pointed out the impolicy and the injustice of a course which would open the door to endless claims, not only at Lucknow, but at every durbar in India, and beggar half its princes. A despatch was then drawn up in the office of the Board of Control, and transmitted for the acceptance of the Directors, but they passed a resolution, without a single dissenting voice, that this interference with the king of Oude was unjust, inconsistent, and mischievous, and they refused to act, though only ministerially, on the orders of the Board, until compelled to do so by process of law. Mr. Tucker, the deputy chairman, and five of his colleagues, went so far as to declare that even under the pressure of a mandamus they would not consent to affix their signature to an order which was nothing less than "an act of spoliation towards an ancient and prostrate ally." They felt that in India, where the intricate machinery of the home Government was not understood, the act would be regarded as emanating from them, and that the odium of it would be attached to their administration. The steady resistance of the India House produced the happy effect of inducing the President to pause on the threshold of a conflict, which must have been damaging alike to the Ministry and to the Government in India, and the question was allowed to die out.

The Nozeed affair. The anomalous proceedings of the two Houses at this period in what was termed the "Nozeed affair," exhibited a very disreputable abuse of Parliamentary influence. In 1776, Mr. Hodges, a member of the council at Masulipatam, lent money to the zemindar of Nozeed without the knowledge of the government of Madras, and in direct contravention of the orders of the Court of Directors. In June, 1777, in a communication to Madras, the Court renewed in more peremptory language their former injunction that none of their servants should advance loans on mortgage of lands. Two years after, Mr. Hodges presumed to take a mortgage

of a portion of the zemindar's estate for his debt, and the transaction received the support of the Governor and Council of Madras. The whole zemindaree was soon after taken over by Government for arrears of revenue, and an application was made in 1784 to Lord Macartney, then Governor of the Presidency, on the subject of these loans. He considered that the whole transaction was in every respect unwarranted in principle and pernicious in its tendency; but out of delicacy to the preceding Government, which had sanctioned this infraction of the Company's rules, recorded his opinion that the creditors were entitled to some consideration on resigning the district they had so long and so irregularly held on pledge. The Court of Directors, however, resisted every solicitation to entertain the claim. A permanent settlement of the estate was made in 1803, when it was restored to the zemindaree family, leaving them to make any settlement they could effect with the creditors. Nothing further was heard of the claim for nearly thirty years, till the grandson of Mr. Hodges, having some influential friends in Parliament, induced them to bring in a bill to compel the Company to make good the whole demand, which was stated to amount to two lacs of rupees. It will be remembered that when the claims of the nabob of Arcot were introduced to the House, fifty years before, a commission was appointed to investigate their validity, and that ninety per cent. of the amount turned out to be fictitious; but in the present instance, the House passed the bill enjoining the Court of Directors to pay the full amount of this private and illegal claim, without enquiry, from the revenues of India. In the House of Lords it encountered the most strenuous opposition from Lord Ellenborough, and from the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, who deprecated the interference of the Legislature to enforce a claim, "contaminated in its origin, and illegal in its prosecution;" but it passed with a majority of two to one.

Financial Results
of Lord William
Bentinck's ad-

With the exception of the Coorg campaign, which was concluded in ten days, the administration of

ministration, Lord William Bentinck was a reign of peace, and
 1828-1835. it produced the usual result on the finances of
 India. The reductions which he effected in the various de-
 partments of expenditure, combined with an improvement of
 the sources of revenue, extinguished the deficit of a crore of
 rupees which he found on his arrival, and enabled him to
 leave a surplus of a crore and a half on his departure in 1835.
 The magnificent expectations with which the trade of India had
 been thrown open to the nation in 1813, were but partially
 realized in the following twenty years, and the returns during
 Lord William Bentinck's administration exhibited a decrease
 both of exports and imports. This was to be
 attributed, in a large measure, to the great crisis
 of 1833, which brought down the whole commer-
 cial fabric of Calcutta. During the administration of Warren
 Hastings some free mariners, as the licensed interlopers
 were designated, opened houses of business in Calcutta on a
 humble scale, and gathered up the fragments of the trade to
 England, which dropped from the great monopoly of Leadenhall
 street. They embarked, moreover, in the country trade, as it
 was called, from one Indian port to another, and from Calcutta
 to the eastward, as well as in the internal traffic of the country.
 The famine on the Coast occasioned by Hyder Ali's irruption
 into the Carnatic in 1780, created a large demand for freight
 and the new houses commenced shipbuilding, first at Sylhet
 and Chittagong, and eventually in Calcutta. They established
 indigo factories in the interior of the country and drove the
 drug which had hitherto been furnished from other countries
 out of the European markets. Their transactions expanded
 and their prosperity increased with the growth of British
 power. They acquired the confidence of the native and
 the European community, and became the bankers of the
 civil, military, and medical services, whose savings were trans-
 ferred, month by month, to their coffers, and whose balances
 were annually augmented, through the process of compound
 interest. A desk at one of those firms was considered more

Fall of the great
 Houses in
 Calcutta, 1833.

valuable than a seat in Council, and the retiring partners drew out colossal fortunes, with which, on their return to England, they bought boroughs, and seated themselves in Parliament. The opening of the trade in 1813, brought out to Calcutta a bevy of new adventurers, who were regarded at first with a feeling of contemptuous indifference by the stately old houses. But they were animated with the vigour of youthful enterprise, and gradually undermined the established firms, drawing away the most profitable branches of their business, and leaving them saddled with their old factories and ships which were not worth a fourth of their original cost. The confidence of the public, which had continued unshaken for half a century, received a rude shock in 1830 by the unexpected collapse of the great firm of John Palmer & Co., usually styled the prince of merchants. The other houses, five in number, continued to struggle with increasing embarrassments, and were enabled to remain afloat as long as the credulity of their constituents provided them with deposits sufficient to meet the withdrawal of funds. But the candle at length burnt down into the socket, and they went one by one into the Insolvent Court, which engulfed sixteen crores of rupees. A large portion of this sum consisted of the savings of the services, and the extent of the calamity may be estimated from the remark of Lord William Bentinck, who had heard, he said, to his utter surprise, that a civilian, when pressed to make a purchase after the failures, had actually replied that he could not afford it.

Remarks on Lord W. Bentinck's Administration, 1835. Lord William Bentinck was residing at the sanitarium of Ootacamund, in the Neelgeree hills, when the new charter reached India, but his health had been so seriously impaired by a constitutional malady, that his physicians considered it unsafe for him to descend into the plains till the cold weather had set in. Sir Frederick Adam, the governor of Madras, and Mr. Macaulay and Colonel Morrison, who had been appointed members of the Supreme Council, were accordingly summoned to join him in the hills, where the first Council under the new Act was

held, and the new Government constituted. These proceedings were unavoidably deficient in legal form, but the defect was covered the next year by an Act of indemnity. Lord William Bentinck returned to Calcutta in November, and embarked for his native land in March, 1835, after having held the reins of Government for nearly eight years. His administration marks the most memorable period of improvement between the days of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Dalhousie, and forms a salient point in the history of Indian reform. He repudiated the stationary policy of the Government, and introduced a more liberal and progressive spirit into every department of the state. With the intuition of a great mind, he discovered the weak points of our system of administration, which was becoming effete under the withering influence of routine, and the remedies he applied went to the root of the disease. He infused new blood into our institutions, and started them upon a new career of vigour and efficiency. The marked difference which they presented in the thirty years succeeding his Government, as compared with the thirty years which preceded it, was due entirely to the impulse of his genius, which became the main spring of a long succession of improvements. He was not less bold in the conception of his plans than resolute in the execution of them, to which he was sometimes obliged to sacrifice the amenities of life. He earned the gratitude of the natives by opening an honourable career to them in the government of their own country, and he was rewarded with the gratitude of Christendom for the moral courage he evinced in putting down Suttees. He has been charged with a love of innovation; but, even if the imputation be correct, such an error is far less injurious to the interests of society than the dull stagnation into which the Government was sinking, and which was an unerring symptom of decay. The great defect of his administration was the fluctuation of his political policy; but, the renewal of the non-intercourse system was ordered from England, and though at first supported by his own views, it was gradually modified, as the exigency of circum-

stances appeared to demand the adoption of another course for the protection of the people, as in the cases of Coorg and Mysore. The natives vied with the European community in commemorating the blessings of his administration, and united in raising a subscription for the erection of his statue in Calcutta. The pedestal was enriched with groups representing the great and good features of his government, and bore an inscription from the classic pen of Mr. Macaulay:—“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, in language, and in religion, cherish, with equal veneration and gratitude, the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CHARTER OF 1833—SIR CHARLES METCALFE'S ADMINISTRATION—BENEVOLENT EXERTIONS OF THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT, 1833-1836.

The New Charter; Extinction of the China Trade, 1833.

THE period of twenty years for which the commercial and political privileges of the Company had been renewed in 1813, being about to expire, Lord

Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, moved for a Select Committee in 1830, to collect information regarding the finances, trade, and revenue, and the judicial administration of the Indian empire. The report was presented in August, 1832; and, including the oral and documentary evidence, filled nine closely printed quarto volumes. The Tory Ministry having been displaced by their rivals, it fell to the lot of Mr. Charles Grant, the new President of the Board, to introduce to the notice of the House the question of the new Charter, as it was inappropriately designated. With more than the talent of his father, who was for twenty years the presiding genius of Leadenhall Street, though with less than his industry, he inherited all his zeal for the moral and intellectual improvement of India.

The two principal questions which demanded the attention of the House were the continuance of the China monopoly, and of the Government of India, in the hands of the Company. The merchants and manufacturers of England demanded with an irresistible voice that the trade to China should be thrown open to the enterprise of the nation, and the first line of "hints" for the new Charter drawn up by the Board of Control contained the ominous words "the China monopoly to cease." The Company strenuously resisted the extinction of their only surviving commercial privilege, and endeavoured to show that without this monopoly they would be unable to carry on the government of India, inasmuch as it was the profits of their trade which had supplied the deficiency of their territorial revenues. On the other hand, it was as resolutely affirmed that the trade had resulted in a loss, and had been sustained by territorial funds. It was, however, beyond the power of any Ministry, Whig or Tory, to prolong the monopoly in the face of universal opposition, and the Court of Directors were obliged to submit to the extinction of it. The Company was thus finally divested of its commercial character, and the last remaining monopoly of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was extinguished, after a duration of nearly two centuries and a half. The

Company was required to dispose of its magnificent fleet, to the great chagrin of the old civilians, one of whom was heard to enquire "of what use it was for their honourable masters to send them out to India to make fortunes, if they did not send ships to take them home when the fortunes were made?" The assets of the Company after a faithful scrutiny were estimated at twelve crores of rupees; they realized within a tenth of that sum, and were applied to the objects of the Government in India, with the exception of two crores appropriated to the formation of a guarantee fund. The capital stock of the Company amounted to six crores, and the new Charter Act ordained that interest at the rate of ten and a half per cent. on this sum should be provided from the revenues of India for a period of forty years. The intrinsic value of the stock in the market was consequently doubled. The guarantee fund was to be invested in Government securities, to accumulate at compound interest, till it amounted at the end of that period to twelve crores, with which the proprietors were to be paid off.

Continuation
of the Govern-
ment of India
with the Com-
pany, 1833.

The India Bill proposed that the government should be entrusted for twenty years longer to the Company, and it was passed without any difficulty. The nation, having secured its own pecuniary interests in regard to the China trade, treated this imperial question, though it involved the interests of a hundred millions of the subjects of the Crown, with profound indifference. The House of Commons exhibited unequivocal signs of impatience and disgust whenever it was brought forward. During the discussions the benches were never as full as during a turnpike debate, and Mr. Macaulay truly observed that a broken head in Coldbath Fields excited greater interest in the House than three pitched battles in India. The Court of Directors made a strong effort to obtain the privilege of an appeal to some higher authority in cases of a difference of opinion with the Board of Control, but the attempt was successfully opposed, and the writ of mandamus was still suspended over their heads.

On the other hand, the Ministers endeavoured to obtain a veto on the power vested in the Court by former Acts of recalling the Governor-General, the Governors, and the Commander-in-chief, but the India House resisted the proposal with such pertinacity that it was at length abandoned. Several important changes were likewise made in the constitution and policy of the Government in India. A fourth Presidency was constituted to embrace the north west provinces. A commission was also appointed to consist of men of experience in the administration of justice in India, and one or two English barristers, to report on the practicability of establishing a uniform system of law and judicature throughout the Indian empire. The power of legislation was now for the first time conferred on the Government of India, and the enactments which, under the advice of Sir William Jones in 1790, had been modestly designated Regulations, were now, under the advice of Mr. Macaulay, dignified with the name of Acts. At the same time the privilege of enacting laws was withdrawn from the subordinate Presidencies, and the Governor-General in Council was invested with power to legislate for the whole empire, including all persons, British, foreign, or native, all places, and all things, as well as all courts, whether created by the local Government or established by Royal charter, but with certain necessary reservations touching the prerogatives of the Crown and the authority of Parliament. A fourth member was added to the Council, who was to be an English jurist of reputation, and the office was rendered illustrious by the genius and labours of Mr. Macaulay. Two of the provisions of the Bill afforded an index of the growth of liberal principles in England,—the admission of natives to all offices, and the permission granted to Europeans to hold lands. Forty years before this period, Lord Cornwallis had pronounced the natives unfit to take any share in the government of their own country, and resolved to work the machinery by European agency alone. The Charter of 1833 enacted that no native of India, nor any natural born

subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour. To this liberal measure the Court of Directors gave their unqualified consent, but the clause which sanctioned the purchase of land by Europeans and which contained the germ of colonization was introduced and passed in direct opposition to their wishes. The power to exclude interlopers from the sphere of their operations was among the earliest privileges conferred on them by Queen Elizabeth, and it was confirmed to them by various statutes for two centuries. It was designed at first only to protect their commercial enterprises, but was made applicable to their territorial possessions when they had become sovereigns. It was the most cherished privilege of Leadenhall Street, and the Directors clung to it with unabated tenacity, even after they had consented to relinquish their trade. The Charter of 1813 had permitted the free resort of Europeans to India, but excluded them from forming any settlement in it, by the purchase or lease of lands. Meanwhile, the cultivation of indigo by European capitalists, under cover of fictitious leases which were winked at by the local authorities, had increased to such an extent as to enrich the maritime trade with an additional article of export of the value of a crore and a half of rupees a-year. Lord William Bentinck was anxious to relieve this enterprise from the restraints imposed upon it by the prejudices of the India House, and to legalize these leases for the culture of indigo, as well as for other staple products, but this slight relaxation of the old system of restriction was peremptorily negated by the Court of Directors. The arguments of Lord William Bentinck, however, and of his liberal colleague, Sir Charles Metcalfe, carried more weight with the Ministry, and a clause was introduced into the bill which granted permission to Europeans to settle in the country and acquire unrestricted rights and interests in the land.

Character of
the Company's
government,
1833.

The separation now effected of the functions of state from all commercial speculations served to give a more elevated tone to the views and policy

of the Court of Directors, and to impart a more efficient character to their administration. The feelings with which they entered on the imperial duties to which their attention was now to be exclusively devoted were eloquently expressed in a despatch to the Government of India, which was drawn up by Mr. Mill: "In contemplating the extent of legislative power thus conferred on our supreme Government, and in the second instance, on ourselves, in reflecting how many millions of men may, by the manner in which it shall be exercised, be rendered happy or miserable, in adverting to the countless variety of interests to be studied, and of difficulties to be overcome in the execution of this mighty trust, we feel the weight of responsibility under which we have been conjointly laid. . . . We feel confident that to this undertaking your best thoughts and care will be immediately and perseveringly applied, and we invite the full, the constant, and the early communication of your sentiments in relation to it. On our part we can venture to affirm that no endeavour shall be wanting in promoting your views and perfecting your plans. . . . And we trust that by the blessing of God on our united labours the just and beneficent intentions of this country in delegating to our hands the legislative as well as executive administration of the weightiest, the most important and the most interesting of its transmarine possessions will be happily accomplished." These enlightened sentiments were faithfully reflected in the correspondence and the proceedings of the Court of Directors during the twenty-five years they continued to administer the government of India. Relieved from the management of a large mercantile establishment and the influences inseparable from it, their minds rose to a level with the great political trust confided to them by their country, and it may be affirmed without the risk of contradiction that, notwithstanding an occasional outburst of traditional and narrow-minded prejudices, the principles and the measures they inculcated on their servants in India were marked by a degree of moderation, wisdom, and beneficence

of which it would not be easy to find another example in the history of conquered dependencies.

The Act of 1833 erected a fourth Presidency in the north-west provinces, and the distinguished services of Sir Charles Metcalfe were rewarded by his appointment to the governorship of Agra, and likewise to the still more dignified position of provisional Governor-General. He proceeded to the upper provinces in December, 1834, but he had no sooner held his first levée than he was required, in consequence of the premature departure of Lord William Bentinck, to return to Calcutta and assume the charge of the Government of India, which he continued to hold for a twelvemonth. When a youth of sixteen in the college of Fort William he had avowed to one of the professors that he would be satisfied with nothing short of the Governor-Generalship, and he had now reached the summit of his ambition, after a career of thirty-four years. With the exception of Warren Hastings, no member of the Indian civil service had ever been more eminently qualified for this imperial trust, by his natural genius for administration, his sound judgment and large views, as well as by his long and universal experience. He began his political career in Lord Wellesley's office, and received the first rudiments of statesmanship under his tuition. He was entrusted with the management of important diplomacy before he was twenty-five, and he had subsequently taken a prominent part in the political movements of every court, from Hyderabad to Lahore. There were few important movements of his time which had not enjoyed the benefit of his co-operation, or advice. His experience had not been limited to a single province, but embraced the entire range of the empire, and he was thus enabled to take the same interest in the development of every division of it. The new character which the growth of British ascendancy had gradually imparted to the policy of the various native courts had been moulded, for the most part, under his eye, and there was no other officer in

India who possessed the same extensive knowledge of the antecedent as well as the existing feelings and aspirations, the fears, and cabals of the native courts, or who enjoyed in the same degree the respect and confidence of the native princes.

On receiving the resignation of Lord William Bentinck, the Court of Directors requested Lord Heytesbury and Lord Auckland, 1835. Mr. Mountstewart Elphinstone to allow himself to be put in nomination for the Governor-Generalship, but he declined the honour on the ground of his feeble health. They then proceeded to pass a resolution, by a majority of fifteen to two, to the effect "that adverting to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe, it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the place of Governor-General." But the Whigs who were then in power, were little disposed to confirm this choice. Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, had recorded his opinion in December 1820 that "the case could hardly be conceived in which it would be expedient that the highest office of the government of India should be filled otherwise than from England, and that one main link at least between the system of the Indian and the British Government ought for the advantage of both to be invariably maintained." Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board at this period, informed the Court that His Majesty's Ministers saw much to enjoin the continuance of this general practice, and nothing to recommend a departure from it. The Court of Directors remonstrated with great warmth against the adoption of a principle which involved the wholesale exclusion of their servants from the highest prize in their service, and there was every prospect that the unseemly contest between the Court and the Ministry in 1806 would be renewed, when the Whigs were obliged to give place to a Tory cabinet. Lord Ellenborough who succeeded Mr. Grant lost no time in offering the post to Mr. Mountstewart Elphinstone, and laid claim to the merit of having exhibited a more

liberal spirit than the preceding administration. The flourish would have been more legitimate if the offer had been made to Sir Charles Metcalfe who would have welcomed it, and not to Mr. Elphinstone who it was well known would decline it. The vacant office was conferred on Lord Heytesbury, a diplomatist of European reputation. He was sworn in at the India House, received the prescribed allowance for his outfit, and the usual farewell entertainment at the London Tavern, but on the eve of his embarkation, Sir Robert Peel's Ministry was subverted, and the Whigs again came into power, with Sir John Hobhouse as President of the Board. The Tory Government which succeeded to power in 1807 had refrained from interfering with the appointment of Lord Minto by their Whig predecessors, though he had not left the shores of England when they came into office. In like manner, the Duke of Wellington had not thought fit to disturb the appointment which Lord William Bentinck had received from his political opponent, Mr. Canning, when it was in his power to cancel it. But one of the first acts of the Whigs when they returned to Downing Street was to revoke the appointment of Lord Heytesbury, and the exercise of his power was limited to the bestowal of the writership, which was courteously placed at the disposal of each newly appointed Governor-General, on his nephew, Mr.—now Sir Cecil—Beadon. The Court protested with great vehemence against a proceeding which made the vital interests of the British empire in India subordinate to the interests of political partizanship in England; but Sir John Hobhouse replied that what he had to consider was merely whether the Ministry would become responsible for Lord Heytesbury's administration of the government in India, and, not wishing to assume this responsibility on themselves, they had taken the simple and obvious mode of cancelling his appointment. The explanation was more plausible than satisfactory, inasmuch as it has always been considered a principle of vital importance to protect the government of India from the disturbing influences of party politics in

England. Lord Auckland, who had been the Whig first Lord of the Admiralty, was nominated Governor-General.

Liberation of
the press, 1835. The great measure which has rendered the administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe memorable in the history of British India was the liberation of the press the position of which at this period was altogether anomalous. At Madras, there was no legal restriction on it. At Bombay it was free at the Presidency, and fettered in the provinces. In Bengal the illiberal and stringent law passed by Mr. Adam was still on the statute book; but after two or three journals had been suppressed, and two refractory editors had been expelled the country, it was found impossible to enforce it without inflicting great embarrassment and odium on the Government. During the last five years of Lord Amherst's administration, and the whole period of Lord William Bentinck's government, the law remained a dead letter, and the press was practically as free as in England. The Charter Act of 1833 had conferred the power of legislating for all India on the Supreme Council, and a law on the subject of the press which should embrace every portion of the empire, and establish uniformity of practice at all the Presidencies, became a manifest necessity. The power of deportation had been withdrawn from the Government. Europeans were, moreover, privileged to settle as colonists in India, and they naturally expected to enjoy the same liberty of giving expression to their opinions which their fellow countrymen possessed in other dependencies of the Crown. Lord William Bentinck had acknowledged that it would be impossible to leave the question of the press as it stood. A few weeks before his departure, the inhabitants of Calcutta had petitioned for a repeal of Mr. Adam's Regulation, and he assured them that the unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to the press had not escaped his notice, and that he trusted a system would be established at no distant period, which, while it gave security to every person engaged in the fair discussion of public measures, would effectually secure the Government against sedition, and individuals against

calumny. Sir Charles Metcalfe had always been an ardent advocate of the liberty of the press, and had declared five years before his elevation "that if he were sovereign lord and master he would give it full swing." He remarked that it was clear the liberty of the press would come, that Government could not prevent it without a despotism and an oppression contrary to its own disposition, and totally opposed to British institutions, and that it would be better to give it with a good grace than to wait till it was extorted. It was with these sentiments he entered on the duties of Governor-General, and he lost no time in bringing in a Bill for carrying these liberal views into effect. The Supreme Council had recently been strengthened by the accession of Mr. Macaulay, who gave his cordial support to the measure, and recorded his opinion in a masterly minute worthy of the author of the Essay on Milton. An Act was accordingly passed in September, 1835, which repealed all the Regulations by which the press had been muzzled, and established its freedom upon the solid foundation of law.

The Act was received with feelings of enthusiasm by the European community in India, and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, including the native gentry most eminent in rank and accomplishments, met and voted an address of thanks to Sir Charles Metcalfe for the boon he had conferred on the country, and raised subscriptions to commemorate it by the erection of a noble hall, which bears his name. In his reply to the address he said that "the Act evinced to the world that the government of the Company desired no concealment, that it was happy to have the most minute particulars of its Indian administration scrutinized, and displayed to the gaze of the universe, that it sought information and instruction wherever they could be found, and did not wish to rule India as a conquered, ignorant, and enslaved, but as a cherished, enlightened, and free country." The experience of thirty years has proved that the apprehensions of those who objected to it on the ground of

Result of the
liberty of the
press, 1835.

public safety were without any foundation. At the India House, however, the highest authority in the Court, Mr. Edmonstone, maintained that "the unrestricted discussion of public subjects and public measures, and the latitude of observation on the Directors and persons high in office, must necessarily diminish that deference and respect in which it is of so much importance that the Government should be held." But no one will question the fact that Lord Dalhousie obtained as much "deference and respect" when the press was free, as Lord Wellesley received when its voice was stifled. The press has, in fact, been found to be rather the handmaid than the antagonist of Government, and the efficiency of the public administration has been indefinitely promoted by the freedom and independence of its remarks. It has placed the salutary check of exposure on the subordinate functionaries of the state, and given the Government the eyes of Argus to watch the working, and to detect the deficiencies of its vast and complicated machinery. By permitting a more unrestricted publication of opinions in a conquered country than is enjoyed in many of the European states, the ruling power has afforded an unequivocal proof of the benevolent spirit of its intentions and measures. No occasion has since arisen to call for the interference of the public authorities except during the great crisis of the mutiny of the sepoys in 1857, when the liberty of the press was suspended, just as the Habeas Corpus Act would have been suspended in England on a similar emergency.

While Sir Charles Metcalfe was officiating in Calcutta as Governor-General, an important change was made in England in the character and position of the Government of Agra which had been conferred on him. The Court of Directors had always been opposed to the establishment of a fourth Presidency upon the model of those already existing at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. They considered that the exigencies of the public service might be fully provided for by the more modest and less costly machinery of a Lieutenant-Governorship. The Board of Control, who had

Reduction of
the Government
of Agra, 1835.

taken a different view of the subject, were at length brought to concur with the India House, and an Act was accordingly passed in Parliament, in 1835, empowering the Court to cut down the scheme to a subordinate lieutenantancy. Sir Charles Metcalfe felt a natural repugnance to descend to the inferior position of a lieutenant of the Governor-General, after having himself occupied that supreme post, and he formed the determination to retire from the service; but the chairman of the Court intimated to him that it was their unanimous wish and hope, that, acting on those high and patriotic principles which it was well known had always governed his conduct, he would be disposed to retain the office on the reduced scale, and thus enable them to secure his highly valuable services at Agra, and, should the contingency happen, at the head of the Supreme Government. In the hope of inducing him to accede to their wishes, he was named a third time provisional Governor-General, and decorated with the Grand Cross of the Bath. Lord Auckland, who had assumed charge of the Government, joined his own solicitations to those of the Court, and Sir Charles Metcalfe yielded to the kindness of this importunity, and took his departure for Agra, after a continued residence of eight years in Calcutta, during which he toiled seven and eight hours daily, without any interval of relaxation.

But he was not destined to remain there long. Displeasure of the Court, 1836. Soon after his arrival, he learned that the press law had exasperated the India House and produced a complete revulsion of feeling regarding him and his merits. For two centuries the Company had been nurtured amidst the sensibilities which the despotism of a monopoly always begets. During the past ten years in which the press had been practically without restraint in India, its remarks on the Court of Directors had not been sufficiently deferential, and its tone was not likely to improve after it had become legally free. The East India Company now governed an empire as large as that of the Cæsars, but it was not easy for them entirely to

shake off the old associations of the counting-house. They looked upon the freedom of the press with the same aversion which they had formerly felt regarding the freedom of trade, and the free admission of Europeans into India; and it was not long before an opportunity occurred of giving the author of this measure an indubitable token of their displeasure. The Government of Madras had unexpectedly become vacant, and Sir Charles Metcalfe reasonably expected that it would have been conferred on him, more especially as he had consented to sacrifice his own feelings, and accept an inferior appointment at Agra, out of deference to the wishes of the Court. But although they had been ready a twelvemonth before to do battle with the Ministers of the Crown to secure him the Governor-Generalship, they would not now condescend to mention his name in connection with the Government of that Presidency. Lord William Bentinck generously came forward, and urged his claims with great zeal on the India House, but found, to his mortification, that while there was a ready and universal acknowledgment of his great services and his pre-eminent qualifications, there was also a general avowal that his late proceedings regarding the press had cancelled all claim to their consideration. Lord William then appealed to the justice of Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister: "Let the worst possible construction," he said, "be put on this act and the motives of it, it surely ought not to have cast into the shade the thirty-six years of uninterrupted service in the highest appointments in which no man ever bore a higher character for high mindedness, usefulness, and ability. . . . Pray excuse this long appeal. We served together for seven years. His behaviour to me was of the noblest kind. He never cavilled on a trifle, and never yielded to me on a point of importance." But this appeal was equally unavailing. Sir Charles Metcalfe had always manifested the utmost loyalty and devotion to "his Honourable Masters" in Leadenhall Street, and he looked for their approbation and confidence in return. He therefore lost no time in writing to Mr. Melvill.

the Secretary of the India House, stating that reports had been for some time in circulation that he had fallen under the displeasure of the Court, and had lost the Government of Madras in consequence of the law he had passed as Governor-General in Council legalizing the liberty of the press. If this misfortune had befallen him, he had no wish to retain by forbearance an office conferred on him when he was honoured with their confidence ; if that confidence was gone, it was his earnest entreaty that they would withdraw from him the provisional appointment of Governor-General, or otherwise intimate their pleasure that he might retire from their service, as he could not reconcile it to himself to hold his office on mere sufferance, or to serve in any capacity under the stigma of displeasure and distrust. The Court kept the letter four months without acknowledgment, and then sent him a curt and contemptuous reply. Mr. Melvill was "commanded to express the Court's regret that he should have made a communication which appeared to them to have been altogether unnecessary, as the continuance in him, provisionally, of the highest office which it was in the power of the Court to confer, might have satisfied him that their confidence had not been withdrawn." The day after the receipt of this letter, he tendered his resignation to Lord Auckland, and his connection with the Government of India was brought to an abrupt termination by treatment similar to that which had been inflicted on his great predecessors who had been instrumental in building up the empire, but had incurred the displeasure of the Court of Directors. The services which the Company thought fit to discard were fully appreciated by the Crown, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was entrusted, successively, with the government of two of the most important of the Crown colonies, and raised to the peerage.

Remarks of Sir
C. Metcalfe's
administration,
1836.

Since the departure of Warren Hastings, no Indian ruler has been overwhelmed with such a profusion of honorable testimonials from all classes, European and native, as Sir Charles Metcalfe. He was the

pride and ornament of the service; his hospitality was princely, and his generosity almost without bounds, while his genial temper created a perpetual sunshine around him. But it is to be regretted that with all his high qualifications, he took little, if any, interest in the establishment of steam communication, or the opening of the Indus to commerce, or, indeed, in any of the plans for the promotion of material improvements in India which distinguished Lord William Bentinck's administration. This was the natural result of his long residence in India. An ardent zeal for such improvements is scarcely to be expected from those whose habits have become reconciled to the stationary associations to which they have been accustomed. With an occasional and rare exception, the government of any local functionary who has been raised to supreme power, however beneficial in the various departments of administrative reform, has been marked by the dulness of material progress. It is to a European mind like that of Lord William Bentinck or Lord Dalhousie, fresh from scenes of activity in Europe, and imbued with the animation they inspire, that we must look for a spirit of enterprise in this important department of government. On the other hand, a Governor-General coming direct from England, is generally apt to be more sensitive to the political dangers of the empire, than an Indian Governor-General who has been accustomed to contemplate them as the normal condition of our rule, and to hold himself ever ready to encounter them. Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto were more vividly impressed with a sense of these perils than Sir John Shore or Sir George Barlow. But in the case of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord William Bentinck, this feeling was reversed. Lord William Bentinck always expressed the strongest confidence in the security of the empire, while Sir Charles Metcalfe asserted that our government, which was one of conquerors and foreigners, was always precarious, and that as it arose, so to say, in a day, it would disappear in a night. "My notions," he said, "of Indian policy begin and end in a powerful and efficient army; our real strength

consists in the few European regiments, scattered singly over a vast space of subjugated territory. My general creed is confined to two grand specifics—army and colonization.”

Benevolent
efforts of the
British Go-
vernment.

The suppression of barbarous rites, and the introduction of the blessings of civilization and knowledge, are among the most important functions of European power in Asia; and as this narrative draws to the close of a period of peace which lasted twelve years, and approaches a period of war, of nearly equal duration, a fitting opportunity is presented of adverting to the efforts made by the Government of the East India Company to fulfil these noble obligations. The early proceedings of British agents in India, however, were not, it must be admitted, marked by that spirit of humanity which has since pervaded them. The first rough code of Regulations promulgated by Mr. Hastings in 1772, embodied the recommendation of the Committee of Circuit, and ordained that every convicted dacoit should be executed in his own village, and that his entire family should be sold as slaves. For twenty-five years, moreover, after the establishment of the Company's authority in Bengal, the barbarous practice which had previously prevailed of punishing criminals by mutilation was perpetuated in the courts over which European and Christian gentlemen presided, and it was distinctly authorized by the Regulations of 1787. It was not till 1791 that Lord Cornwallis suppressed this revolting custom, and enacted that the offender should be subjected to fourteen years' imprisonment, where he had formerly been deprived of two limbs, and to seven years with hard labour where the loss of a single limb had been usually inflicted. But the growth of benevolent principles in the administration of India steadily kept pace with their development in the government of England, and rendered the supremacy of the Company a blessing to tribes which had been for ages immersed in barbarism. The prohibition of human sacrifices at Saugor, the abolition of Suttees, and the extinction of Thuggee have been

already noticed, and we now proceed to narrate the labours of the public servants of the Company in other spheres of philanthropy.

In the van of those who have shed a lustre on Augustus Cleveland, 1784. the British administration by their earnest efforts to civilize barbarous and predatory tribes stands Augustus Cleveland of the Bengal Civil Service. The hills and forests of the Rajmahal district were inhabited by a race of men of wild habits and savage disposition, who had been accustomed from time immemorial to make raids on the lowlands lying between their hills and the Ganges. Soon after the establishment of the Company's government their feelings appear to have been exasperated by the treacherous slaughter of some of their chiefs by the neighbouring zemindars, and they avenged themselves by depopulating the villages and rendering all travelling by land or by water impossible. To check their inroads a corps of light infantry was stationed at the foot of the hills under Captain Brooke, who pursued them into their fastnesses, and created a salutary dread of British power. He was succeeded by Captain Brown who endeavoured to reclaim the savages by kindness and laid the foundation of that system of conciliation which was subsequently completed by Mr. Cleveland, when placed in charge of the district. His benevolent labours were gracefully commemorated by the elegant pen of Warren Hastings in the inscription on the monument erected by Government, "in honour of his character and for an example to others" — "To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esquire, who without bloodshed or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjugation of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational mode of dominion." Mr. Cleveland died in 1784 at the early age of

twenty-nine, and the zemindars erected a monument to his memory, which is still held in the highest veneration by the inhabitants both of the hills and the plains.

The Bheels, 1790. Candesh, in Western India, watered by the Taptee, was a great and flourishing province under the Moguls, covered with rich cultivation, and studded with prosperous towns. But the tide of Mahratta desolation passed over it, and the extortions of the Peshwa's officers, more especially of his Arab mercenaries, combined with the ravages of the Pindarees completed its ruin, and left it almost without inhabitants. On the downfall of the Peshwa it was brought under British rule, and one of its districts, inhabited chiefly by Bheels, was formed into a separate collectorate. They are usually considered one of the aboriginal tribes, driven to seek refuge in the hills by the progress of Hindoo invasion. It was at a fountain in this wild region that Kishnu, the deified hero of the great Sanscrit epic, was slain. The Bheels were a race of unmitigated savages, without any sense of natural religion, violating all law, defying all authority, and habitually indulging in drink, licentiousness, and murder. They eschewed all honest labour, and lived by the chase or by plunder. From their mountain fastnesses they poured down on the plains, sacked the villages, drove off the cattle, and carried away the chief men whom they held to ransom. By the former rulers of the country they had been hunted like wild beasts, and as every man's hand was against them, their hand was against every man. The measures which were at first adopted by the British functionaries to reclaim them were marked by an excess of severity which defeated its own object, and demonstrated that the gibbet was not the fittest instrument of civilization. The task was at length confided to the late Sir James Outram, then a lieutenant of Nativé Infantry, a man of benevolent sympathies, sound judgment, and unflinching perseverance. The lawlessness of the barbarians when he took charge of the agency had risen to a pitch which was found to be unsupportable and he

considered it necessary to teach them the power of Government as a preliminary step towards enabling them to appreciate its kindness. He pursued them into their rugged hills with the greatest vigour, and defeated a large body which had assembled for a foray. The captives he made were treated with kindness, and sent back with conciliatory messages and offers of employment to the chiefs. It was the first act of kindness the wild men had ever experienced from the rulers of the country, and they responded to it with cheerfulness. A friendly intercourse was gradually established with the chiefs; Lieutenant Outram listened to their tales, joined in their pastimes, feasted them when well, and prescribed for them when ill. Having succeeded in gaining their confidence, he proceeded to organize a Bheel corps, which was filled up by degrees and served to diffuse a principle of order and obedience throughout the tribe, and enabled him in the course of a twelvemonth to report that not a single case of robbery had occurred within a circle of thirty miles. To carry forward the work of civilization, special European officers were appointed as Bheel agents, with instructions to mix with the people and settle their disputes, to encourage industrial pursuits and to reward the deserving with a grant of land rent free for a season, as well as to supply them with a plough and bullocks and a small advance of money. By these efforts, the object of converting them into agriculturists was accomplished, and little colonies of husbandmen sprung up in every direction in these primeval forests. A Bheel police was established to maintain the peace of the country, and a province which had hitherto been desolated by gangs of marauders, was in 1829 pronounced by the Collector to be in a state of profound repose. The Court of Directors expressed their cordial commendation of this happy conversion of a predatory tribe into useful and obedient subjects of the state, and a prosperous agricultural community: "This signal instance," they wrote, "of what we have so often impressed on you—the superior efficacy of conciliatory means in

reducing uncivilized and predatory tribes to order and obedience—is one of the most gratifying events in the recent history of British India.”

Mairwarra, 1832. In the year 1818 Sindia ceded to the Company the province of Ajmere in Rajpootana which included the hill tract of Mairwarra, about ninety miles in length, and from six to twenty in breadth. It was inhabited by the Mairs, an aboriginal race, living in their native hills almost in a state of nature, the boys tending their flocks of goats, and the men, mounted on their diminutive ponies, passing their time in plunder. They murdered their female offspring, and committed every kind of atrocity without remorse. Captain Hall, who was placed in charge of the country, found it swarming with banditti who set the public authority at complete defiance. He put down all opposition by the strong hand of power, and then determined to make the Mairs the instruments of their own civilization. A Mair battalion was formed, by which suitable employment was provided for the highland chiefs, who proved to be good and loyal soldiers, and contributed essentially to the suppression of crime and the maintenance of the public peace throughout the hills. Courts were established for the adjudication of rights, and the punchayet, or Indian jury, superseded the barbarous ordeal which had hitherto been practised of grasping red-hot shot, or dipping the hand in boiling oil. The Mairs were also in the course of time prevailed on to relinquish the two barbarous customs of female infanticide and the sale of women. The failure of his health obliged Captain Hall to quit his post after he had been employed for fourteen years without intermission in endeavouring to introduce the arts of civilization into this wild region, but happily his mantle fell on Captain Dixon, an officer animated with the same benevolence of heart, who entered upon the duties of his office with a feeling of enthusiasm. He felt that to render his labours successful he must be continually out in camp, in fervid heat or drenching rain, and that he must become a slave to his task

until it was fully accomplished. To this honourable bondage he consecrated his official life. He lived among the people, and made himself acquainted with the condition of every village, and often of every household in it. He was without any European assistance, but under his training and discipline his native establishment became thoroughly efficient. To accustom the wild highlanders to habits of agricultural industry, it was above all things necessary to secure a supply of water for their fields. But the fall of rain in that hilly region was very capricious, and when it came could with difficulty be retained for continuous use. He accordingly prevailed on Government to make advances for works of irrigation, and dug reservoirs and wells, and formed embankments to husband and distribute the water. He covered the slopes of the hills with terraces, and by these appliances gave the waste jungle an aspect of luxuriant cultivation. The financial result of this improvement was encouraging in no ordinary degree. The sum advanced by the state for these waterworks—and in India they always return cent. per cent.—was a little above two lacs, while the augmentation of the revenue through the increase of the assessment, exceeded four lacs. The moral result of these labours was seen in the transformation of a wild and predatory tribe into an orderly, docile, and industrious population, with unbounded confidence in their European benefactors. To encourage the resort of traders, Captain Dixon erected a town in the district, and surrounded it with a wall, to give a feeling of security to the immigrants. It appeared to rise in the wilderness with the wand of a magician, and in a short time was filled with two thousand families engaged in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits. In all the annals of the India House there is no record more grateful than that of the energetic and successful labours of these two officers in the civilization of Mairwarra.

Female

Infanticide, 1833.

In the year 1789, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, discovered for the first time that the custom of destroying their female offspring was

prevalent among the Rajpoots. After his appointment to the government of Bombay, in 1800, he found that the same barbarous custom existed also to a great extent in the west of India among the Rajpoot tribes, and especially in the Jharajah families of Cutch and Kattiwar. The lowest estimate of victims in these two provinces reached 3,000 a-year; and in the household of the raja not a single female infant had been spared. It was subsequently ascertained to prevail also among the Rajpoots of Joudhpore and Jeypore, and, indeed, throughout the whole extent of Malwa and Rajpootana. The number of victims was computed without exaggeration at 20,000 annually. Throughout a territory 700 miles in extent, stretching from Cutch to Benares, two thirds of the female offspring of the tribes were systematically put to death. These murders were committed generally under the directions of the father, either by starvation or by the administration of drugs; in some cases the mother became the murderer of her own offspring by rubbing her nipples with opium, which speedily extinguished infant life. There was no evidence to show that the custom had a religious origin; it was traced exclusively to the pride of caste. To maintain the honour of his family connections was the one paramount object of the haughty Rajpoot, but owing to the manifold and complicated gradations of rank within the tribe, and the limited number of families with whom a matrimonial alliance could be contracted without dishonour, it was difficult to obtain suitable matches, and for a girl to remain unmarried after she had reached the age of maturity, was regarded as an indelible disgrace. It was likewise considered indispensable that weddings should be celebrated on a scale of magnificence fixed by prescriptive and inexorable usage, and any attempt to abridge it was supposed to indicate the declension of the family. The expense of weddings arose chiefly from the exorbitant demands of the *bhats* and *churrans*, the bards and genealogists of the Rajpoot races, who exercised a more tyrannical influence in the tribe, than the priesthood. They employed themselves in

composing ballads which celebrated the antiquity and renown of the family, and its fame throughout the tribe was dependent on their eulogy. They kept the pedigrees and recorded the alliances of the family, which regulated its social position. Their presence was considered indispensable at every marriage festivity, and on some occasions they had been known to flock to a wedding to the number of two or three thousand. To conciliate their good-will, it was necessary to regale them with profusion, and to load them with gifts. If they were satisfied, their ballads traced the family up to the race of the sun or the moon; if otherwise, they revenged themselves by holding it up to the contempt of the country in ribald songs. To avert the disgrace to which the Rajpoot was exposed from these causes, he was prepared to submit to any sacrifice, and to incur any amount of debt, though it might inflict a permanent incumbrance on his property. But every difficulty arising from the risk of *mésalliances*, and from the extortion of the bards and genealogists was at once removed by extinguishing the life of his female offspring.

Efforts to
eradicate the
practice, 1834.

The officers of the Company resolved to make a vigorous effort to eradicate this infamous custom. Mr. Duncan took the lead in this benevolent crusade, and exacted a solemn pledge from the Rajpoots, who were British subjects, to relinquish it for ever, and it was soon after prohibited under severe legal penalties. Colonel Walker, the Resident in Cutch, spared no labour to eradicate it by personal importunity and by a judicious exercise of authority, and at length prevailed on the Jharijah chiefs to bind themselves by a written engagement to renounce it, and to expel from the caste any who should be found to practise it. On the strength of these documents it was believed that this inhuman practice had become extinct, and Colonel Walker and the Court of Directors received the hearty congratulations of the benevolent in England and in Europe on the result of their labours. But in the course of time this conclusion was

found to be premature; the success which had attended these labours was partial and transient, and in all the provinces in which the practice was supposed to be extinguished, it was discovered to be almost as prevalent as ever. Renewed efforts were made to suppress it, but it was painfully felt that so long as the feelings and the interests of the people indisposed them to aid in the detection of delinquents, our exertions must be impotent; and the public officers appear at length to have resigned themselves to despondency. But in 1834 Mr. Wilkinson, one of the ablest and most philanthropic servants of the Company, and Mr.—the late Sir John—Willoughby, determined to adopt the most vigorous measures to root out the crime. Mr. Wilkinson assembled the chiefs of Central India, who were our allies and not our subjects, and through his personal influence prevailed on them to affix their seals to deeds abandoning the practice, and then issued a notification denouncing it. Lord William Bentinck addressed letters of congratulation, written, as well as signed, by himself, to the Rana of Oodipore and the other chiefs who had thus pledged themselves to the abolition of the practice, and the Court of Directors ordered special messages of commendation to be conveyed to them. But the chiefs signed the agreement only to deprecate the displeasure and to court the favour of the paramount authority, not from any motives of humanity, and Mr. Wilkinson had the mortification to learn that one of the number had put his own female children to death within two months of signing the deed. A general census of the province of Kattywar was likewise obtained, which revealed the melancholy fact that although the practice had unquestionably diminished, only one girl was to be found to three boys even in the most favourable places, and that in others five-sixths of the female infants had perished by the hands of their own unnatural parents. This discovery only led him to redouble his exertions. He insisted on a periodical census of the inhabitants. He issued fresh proclamations announcing the unshaken determination of Government to exterminate the

custom. He offered rewards to informers, and bestowed gifts on those who preserved their offspring. One chief was fined 12,000 rupees, and another sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for having practised infanticide; but this procedure was openly resented as arbitrary and unjust by the other chiefs who still clung to the practice. In these benevolent labours Captain—now Sir Philip—Melvil took a prominent and active part, but he was likewise doomed to disappointment. The nobles of Cutch were successful in resisting the order for a census of the population, which they considered derogatory to the honour of their families. The benevolent efforts of Willoughby, Wilkinson, Melvil, and others were followed by only partial success, because they were not backed, as might have been hoped, by the natural feelings of the people. Humanity has been a plant of slow growth even in England, but in India it can scarcely be said to exist, either among the high caste Rajpoot or the savage Khond. Tribes which professed to be so tender of life as to call on their chiefs to prohibit the slaughter of sheep, were resolutely opposed to the preservation of their own female offspring. This humane work has proved to be the most difficult task we have ever undertaken in India. It was easier to subdue the country than to conquer the blood-thirsty prejudices of its inhabitants. The efforts which have thus been made by a succession of philanthropists for more than half a century to preserve life, and to make the triumphs of humanity co-extensive with the triumph of British arms, have secured to them the gratitude of their own country, though India be not able to appreciate their value. These benevolent labours, notwithstanding every disappointment, must be pursued without relaxation, and they will eventually be crowned with complete success; but this happy consummation is necessarily dependent on the continuance of British power in India, the extinction of which would be followed by the revival of those atrocities which the Company has been employed in putting down.

Human sacrifices The tract of country in the province of Orissa

among the
Khonds.

lying south of the Mahanuddee in the belt of hills facing the bay of Bengal, is inhabited by the Khonds, an original race which from time immemorial has maintained its primitive language, habits, and superstitions. Some of the tribes have successfully resisted every effort to reduce them to subjection, while others have paid a nominal allegiance to the neighbouring rajas. The revolt of the raja of Goomsur in 1835 determined Government to incorporate his territory with the Company's dominions, and their officers were then for the first time made acquainted with the existence of this singular people, though they dwelt within a few miles of one of the oldest British stations. Their fields were found to be in a high state of cultivation, and their villages swarmed with bullocks, goats, swine, and poultry. The normal pursuit of agriculture was diversified by the chase and by incessant conflicts among the tribes. To such an extent did they pride themselves on the virtue of hospitality that any man who could once make his way to the hearth of his deadly foe, considered himself in perfect safety. The government was patriarchal, hereditary in the family, and elective in the individual. Each tribe possessed a distinct portion of territory which was parcelled out among the different families, and the descent or sale of which was regulated by prescriptive custom. The women were held in high esteem, and no measure was completed without their advice. The men were brave and resolute, but revengeful and the slaves of drink. Of the different tribes in the hills, some abhorred human sacrifices, but practised female infanticide; others were the votaries of the "earth goddess," and firmly believed that the fertility of their fields depended on her favour, which could be secured only by the sacrifice of human life. The victims were called *meriahs* and, though generally obtained by purchase, were often acquired by violence, through the agency of two of the hill tribes, who gained their livelihood by procuring them from the low countries. When it was intended to perform a general sacrifice the villagers within the circuit

assembled in the first instance for the performance of religious rites. The three days preceding the sacrifice were spent in frantic dances and drunken revelry. On the last day the associated tribes proceeded with loud huzzas and barbaric music to consummate the act. The *meriah* was in most cases bound to a stake, and the priest inflicted a slight wound with his axe, when the excited crowd rushed forward and cut off slices of flesh from the writhing victim. The villagers then hastened home with the share of flesh they had been so fortunate as to obtain, carefully wrapt up in leaves. The village priest divided it into as many particles as there were heads of families, and the flesh was then buried in the favourite field with the firm conviction that it would ensure a good crop.

Efforts to
eradicate the
practice,
1829—34.

On the discovery of this infamous custom the Government of Madras resolved to adopt immediate measures to suppress it, and committed the duty to Captain Campbell, who proceeded to summon the chiefs and their followers to his encampment. After dwelling on the atrocity of the practice, he exacted an oath from them to abandon it, the immediate effect of which was the surrender of two hundred victims who had been procured for sacrifice. For four years he continued thus to labour in the cause of humanity till he was obliged to quit the country from the failure of his health; but the good he effected was found to be transient. His course of action was described by the Governor of Madras to consist in entering the hills with an armed force, calling together the influential men of each tribe, denouncing the practice, and demanding delivery of the victims which had been collected. The elders and priests who had taken an oath to abstain from the practice, relapsed into it as soon as they were relieved from this pressure, and for every victim they gave up, another was procured from the plains. It was felt that the partial success of Captain Campbell was delusive, and that no permanent benefit was to be expected from compulsory measures. This was

evidenced by the fact that on a subsequent festival no fewer than two hundred and forty victims were collected for sacrifice in one small portion of Khond land. The Marquis of Tweeddale, the Governor of Madras, deemed it indispensable to permanent success to obtain an influence over the hill chiefs, and while they were impressed with a just but favourable opinion of our power, to prevail on them by moral suasion to renounce the rite. Major Macpherson, who had previously been employed in surveying the country, and had accumulated much knowledge of the people, and of their character and circumstances, was intrusted with this duty, and likewise invested with the office of Judge, Magistrate and Collector. His first object was to establish the supremacy of Government throughout the country. He then visited tribe after tribe, entered into free and friendly communications with the people, and by the employment of reason more than of authority, induced a determination to abandon the practice. In return for this concession he offered them the inestimable boon of an authoritative settlement of their mutual disputes, which had never before been decided without bloodshed. With one hand he distributed justice and established tranquillity, with the other he rescued the victims and exacted pledges of discontinuing the rite. The result of these efforts was the extinction of the practice throughout the whole province of Goomsur. These labours were followed up by the establishment of schools, for which he caused suitable books to be compiled in the Orissa character. It was the firm belief of the Khonds that their priests alone could cure their diseases, and the priests had but one prescription—a human sacrifice—for all complaints and wounds. Send us, said the barbarians to the Major, a doctor, and we will make him a god; the request was complied with, and a new and powerful influence was established over them. In the course of time they found that their fields yielded an abundant harvest without human blood, and they concluded that the “earth goddess” had lost her power, and they ceased to pay her homage. Dr. Cadenhead, the

energetic assistant of Major Macpherson, was likewise sent into the adjacent district of Boad to put down the rite. The Khonds delivered up more than a hundred victims at his requisition, but not before they had put to death a hundred and twenty as the last act of sacrifice. The uncle of the raja, instigated by one Sam Bisoye, who, while eating the salt of Government, was secretly counteracting all its benevolent efforts, raised an opposition to the British authorities, which was joined by the raja of Ungool, and ripened into an insurrection. The camp of the agent was attacked, and it became necessary to call out a military force. Violent prejudices were excited against Major Macpherson, and the Vice-President in Council allowed himself to be persuaded that the rebellion was directed against him, and not against the authority of Government. The Khond agency became, in fact, a party question, and truth and justice disappeared. While Major Macpherson was engaged with great success in quelling the revolt, he and his assistants were summarily dismissed from their appointments. Mr.—now Sir John—Grant was sent to investigate the charges which had been brought against him, and, on receiving his report, Lord Dalhousie assured Major Macpherson that nothing could in his opinion compensate for the treatment he had received, but that he still enjoyed the undiminished confidence of every member of Government. The Court of Directors pronounced the most favourable judgment on his proceedings and ascribed the extinction of this crime to the judicious and conciliatory measures he had adopted, and to the admirable power of his individual character. After his removal, Colonel Campbell was reappointed to the charge of the district, and completed the work which had been so happily begun. The entire number of victims rescued from death exceeded fifteen hundred; and this atrocious rite, which had probably been practised by the Khonds for as many centuries as the immolation of widows had been practised by the Hindoos, was finally extinguished under the auspices of British humanity.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN
EXPEDITION, 1836—1842.

Lord Auckland
Governor-
General, 1836.

LORD AUCKLAND was sworn in as Governor-General on the 20th March, 1836. He entered upon his duties with the most pacific and benevolent intentions. At the farewell entertainment of the Court of Directors at the London tavern he assured them that "he looked with exultation to the new prospects before him as affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, and of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to millions in India." For such labours he was eminently qualified by his clear and enlightened views of domestic policy, as well as by his amiable disposition and his active habits. But before he had been six months in Calcutta he perceived a storm gathering in the north-west, and expressed his apprehensions that we might at no very distant period be involved in political, and possibly in military, operations on our western frontier. The complications which arose brought on a great political crisis with which he was not qualified to deal, either by his previous experience, or his mental calibre. He had little reliance on his own judgment, and acted for the most part, under the influence of those who surrounded him, and so the vessel of the state rapidly drifted among the breakers. His administration is almost exclusively comprised in the fatal expedition to Afghanistan, the inception of which may be dated in July, 1837, while the catastrophe occurred in January, 1842, a few weeks before his return to England. To form a correct idea of this momentous transaction which has exercised a powerful influence on the interests and progress of the British empire in the east, it is necessary to trace the convergence of events in Afghanistan and the Punjab, in

Persia and in Russia to the point at which it was determined to despatch that ill-starred expedition.

Shah Soojah's attempt, 1833. Shah Soojah, the exiled monarch of Cabul and the British pensioner at Loodiana, was encouraged by the treachery of Dost Mahomed's brothers to make a second effort in 1833 to recover the throne of Afghanistan. He endeavoured to raise funds by pawning his jewels, but the bankers demanded extravagant security for a very considerable advance. He then applied for aid to Lord William Bentinck, who replied, "My friend, the British Government religiously abstains from intermeddling with the affairs of its neighbours when it can be avoided; to afford you assistance for the purpose you have contemplated would not consist with that neutrality which on such occasions regulates our conduct." The only aid he was enabled to obtain was the payment of his pension four months in advance, to the extent of 16,000 rupees. He invoked the assistance of Runjeet Sing, who proposed various conditions which appeared preposterous and impracticable; and among others the restitution of the sandal-wood gates of the ancient temple of Somnath, which were attached to the tomb of Mahmood at Ghuzni. The Shah replied that the removal of them would cover him with eternal disgrace in the eyes of the faithful, and he referred, likewise, to a current prophecy that whenever the Sikhs obtained possession of them, their government would immediately be overthrown. The surrender of them was not pressed. The ruler of the Punjab was at length induced to countenance the undertaking on condition that the Shah would guarantee to him all the possessions he had acquired in the provinces beyond the Indus. He started on the expedition in February 1833, crossed the Indus without opposition, and reached Shikarpore, where, in the following January, he defeated the Ameers of Sinde, and constrained them to make an immediate payment of five lacs of rupees, and to enter into an engagement to pay an annual tribute for that town. He then pursued his route without interruption to Candahar, and

maintained his position before that fortress for a few months, till Dost Mahomed marched down from Cabul, and crushed his army and his hopes. In July, 1834, he fled from Afghanistan to Belochistan, and, in the extremity of his distress, received a generous hospitality from the ruler, Mehrab Khan. He then retraced his steps to his old asylum and his pensionary position at Loodiana in March, 1835. While the Afghans were occupied in repelling the invasion of Shah Soojah at Candahar, Runjeet Sing availed himself of the opportunity to send a large army across the Indus, and definitively incorporated the province of Peshawur with the Sikh dominions, placing it in charge of General Avitabile.

Runjeet's views on Sind, 1835. It has been stated in a former chapter that the design on Sind which Runjeet Sing had long cherished was thwarted by the resolution of Lord William Bentinck to open the navigation of the Indus to commerce, which required the establishment of a preponderating British influence on its banks. At this juncture, a wild and predatory tribe on the right bank of the river made repeated inroads into the Huzara districts which Runjeet Sing had conquered, and his son, Khurruck Sing, and his gallant grandson, Nao Nihal, were sent with a large force to chastise them. But as these attacks were traced to the instigation of the Ameers of Sind, two of their forts were occupied by the Sikh army, which had been largely reinforced with a view to the conquest of Shikarpore, and the entire subjugation of the province. The Ameers organized their forces for the conflict, and it required all the tact and energy of Colonel Pottinger at Hyderabad, and a strong pressure on the part of Captain Wade at Lahore, to prevent a collision between the two powers which must have resulted in the discomfiture of the Ameers, and the extension of Runjeet Sing's authority throughout the country down to the sea. Captain Wade was obliged to enforce his representations by a prominent allusion to the risk which Runjeet Sing would incur if he pursued these designs in opposition to the wishes of the British

Government. On the other hand, his own gallant officers importuned him to resist, at all hazards, the restrictions which were thus imperiously placed on the extension of his territories by the British authorities, but he shook his venerable head and asked them where were now the two hundred thousand Mahratta spears which had once bid defiance to the Company. The feeling of awe which he entertained of the strength and resources of the British Government had recently been heightened by a circumstance which enabled him more fully to appreciate them. Lord William had determined to adopt the policy of substituting English for Persian as the language of diplomatic correspondence with the various native courts in India. Runjeet sent the son of one of his chiefs to Loodiana to master the English language, and on his return to the court caused the map of India one day to be spread out before him, and required the lad to point out the position and boundaries of the Lahore dominions. But what, he asked, are all these red circles which I see spread over the map from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. They mark the British possessions, replied the youth. In a fit of vexation Runjeet kicked the map away, exclaiming, "it will all become red." On the present occasion, he bowed to the majesty of British power, and relinquished his designs on Sinde; and had the magnanimity to invite the Governor-General and the highest British functionaries to Lahore to the nuptials of his grandson whom he had destined as the conqueror and the ruler of that province.

Dost Mahomed
at Peshawur,
1835.

The loss of Peshawur rankled in the bosom of Dost Mahomed, and he determined to make an extraordinary effort to recover it. For this purpose he assumed the character of a *ghazee*, or champion of the faith, and proclaimed a religious war against the infidel Sikhs. The Mahomedan world in Central Asia was immediately in commotion, and from the regions of the Hindoo Koosh, from the wilds of Toorkistan, from the orchards of Kohistan, and from the remote recesses of the mountains

thousands poured down on the plain of Peshawur to join the standard of the Prophet, some on horseback, others on foot, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, with bows and arrows, with matchlocks and with spears. The spirit of Runjeet Sing appeared to quail before this host of infuriated fanatics, and, while he advanced to the defence of the province with a large army, he determined also to try the effect of intrigue, and despatched one Harlan, an American adventurer, ostensibly on a mission to Dost Mahomed, but in reality to sow dissensions in his camp. "I divided the brothers," said the unscrupulous envoy, "against the Dost, excited their jealousy of his growing power, and induced one of them, Sultan Mahomed, to withdraw himself suddenly from the encampment with 10,000 of his soldiers. . . This unexpected desertion threw the Afghan camp into a state of inextricable confusion and dismay, and resulted in the total defection of the Dost Mahomed's army, which melted away in the stillness of night. At daybreak not a vestige of the Afghan camp was to be seen where six hours before 50,000 men and 10,000 horse were rife with the tumult of wild emotion." Dost Mahomed returned with deep chagrin to Cabul. On hearing of the arrival of Lord Auckland in the spring of 1836, he addressed a letter of congratulation to him, and in allusion to the unhappy state of his relations with Runjeet Sing, begged him "to communicate whatever might suggest itself to his mind for the settlement of the affairs of the country." Lord Auckland returned a friendly reply, and announced his intention shortly to depute a gentleman to the Ameer's court to discuss questions of commerce, but in reference to the Sikh quarrel remarked, "My friend, you are aware that it is not the practice of the British Government to interfere with the affairs of other independent states." The truthfulness of this declaration was singularly exemplified two years later by the expedition which Lord Auckland sent to Cabul, in conjunction with Runjeet Sing, to dethrone Dost Mahomed. Despairing of any aid from the British Government, the Dost applied at the beginning of 1837 to the

Shah of Persia as the "King of Islam," or head of Mahomedanism. In the language of oriental compliment he stated that "his country belonged to the kingdom of Persia, yet disturbance and misery were caused throughout it by the detestable tribe of Sikhs; the misery or welfare of these countries cannot be separated from the interests of the Persian Government. If I am unable to resist that diabolical tribe I have no choice but to connect myself with the English, who will thus obtain complete control over the whole of Afghanistan." Impatient to wipe out the disgrace inflicted on him by the cowardice of his troops at Peshawur, the Dost soon after sent his son, Akbar Khan, with a large army through the Khyber to Jumrood, where a battle was fought on the 30th of April, 1837, in which the Sikhs were completely defeated, and their ablest general, Huree Sing, was killed. Runjeet Sing was at the time engaged at Lahore in celebrating the nuptials of his grandson, and in instituting an order of knighthood, which he styled the order of the Auspicious Star of the Punjab, and of which the first decoration was conferred on Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-chief, who had accepted the invitation to be present at these magnificent festivities. They were rudely interrupted by the disaster at Jumrood; but Runjeet Sing made every effort to retrieve his loss. Reinforcements were pushed forward with a degree of promptitude and speed which had never been witnessed before. Colonel Steinbach, one of his European officers, marched with a large body of troops three hundred miles in twelve days, and it is affirmed that field guns were actually dragged from Ramnugur on the Chenab to Peshawur, a distance of two hundred miles, in twelve days. The Afghans gained little by their victory; they were unable to master either Jumrood or Peshawur, and after ravaging the country around returned to Cabul on the approach of the Sikh force. It was at this critical juncture that Lord Auckland's envoy, Captain Burnes, made his appearance at the capital to discourse about trade and manufactures, but the fermentation in Central Asia soon gave a character of political importance to his mission.

Progress of
Russia.

The Russians, like the Romans, have systematically devoted themselves to the extension of their dominion and power, and for more than a century have prosecuted schemes of aggrandizement in Europe and in Asia, without any relaxation, and without a single failure. "In the course of sixty-four years, dating from 1772," as Mr. McNeill remarked, in the memorable pamphlet he published at this time, "she has advanced her frontier in the west eight hundred and fifty miles towards Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Paris; she has approached four hundred and fifty miles nearer to Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a few miles of the capital of Sweden; and the territories she has acquired during this period are greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time." Peter the Great, the founder of Russian greatness, was the first to contemplate the establishment of a great empire in the east. During his reign the old Russian boundary eastward was defined by the celebrated line, called the Orenburg and Siberia line, stretching from Orenburg on the Ural river up to the borders of China, a distance of 2,200 miles. South of this range down to the Jaxartes, or Syr, the steppes of the nomad race of Kirghis Cossacks extended 2,000 miles in length and 1,000 in breadth, through a region impassable except to well-appointed caravans, and at particular seasons of the year. It required a hundred years to bring these hordes in some measure into subordination to the imperial authority, and it was not till the year 1830 that the Russians in their progress southward took up their position on the Syr. On that river they have gradually established a chain of forts, extending from the estuary of the river in the lake Ural, to Fort Vernoe eastward along seven hundred miles. The truth of the assertion made by Sir Robert Peel in 1844, "that when civilization and barbarism come in contact the latter must inevitably give way," has been fully verified in the progress of Russian power in Asia. The same irresistible impulse which

has carried the English standard, in the course of a century, from the Bay of Bengal, over subverted thrones, through fifteen hundred miles of territory, up to Peshawur, has brought the Russians down from Orenburg to the Jaxartes and the Oxus, both of which must at no distant period become Russian rivers, navigated by Russian steamers, and subservient to Russian interests. Already are the resources of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan, the three kingdoms of Toorkistan, within the grasp of Russia, and her influence must inevitably be extended to the Hindoo Koosh, which is evidently destined to be the snow-clad boundary of the two great European empires in Asia.

Influence of
Russia in
Persia, 1836. Before the development of Russian power in the north along the line of the Jaxartes had been completed, an attempt was made by the ambition of her diplomatic agents to take advantage of the ascendancy she had acquired at the court of Persia and push her influence in another direction, up to the banks of the Indus. At the beginning of the century the Russians wrested the province of Georgia from the crown of Persia, and although the political relations of the two powers were for many years as pacific as could be expected where the one was domineering, and the other impatient of control, there was a latent feeling of irritation among the Persians which only required a spark to kindle the flames of war. It was reported that the Russians had done violence to the religious feelings of the Georgian Mahomedans. The Persian mollahs, or priests, raised the cry of a religious war, and the Russians in the garrisons and outposts were indiscriminately massacred. Under the threat of forfeiting his seat in paradise, the king was constrained by the fanaticism of the priesthood to send his son Abbas Mirza with 40,000 men into the field to combat the Russians. The fourth article of the treaty of Teheran, concluded in 1814, pledged the British Government in case of a war between Persia and any European power to aid the Shah with a force, or to grant him an annual subsidy during its continuance. It was mainly

in reliance on this engagement that the Persians embarked with eagerness in this war with a superior power. But a strong pressure of male, and more especially of female, diplomacy in London was brought to bear on the British Ministry, and hints were conveyed that any attempt to carry out this article of the treaty would lead to a rupture with Russia. All assistance was therefore refused under the convenient pretext that Persia was the aggressor, though she had been goaded into the war by the constant encroachments of her imperious neighbour. The Persian army, though a portion of it had been disciplined by English officers, was completely routed, and the Shah was obliged to submit to the humiliation of ceding two of his finest provinces to Russia, and indemnifying her for the expenses of the war. The Persian court was driven to extremity by this pecuniary mulct when the English Ministry came to its relief with a large ready money payment on condition that the inconvenient article in the treaty of 1814 should be abrogated.

The Persians sought to indemnify themselves for these losses by the conquest of the province of Khorasan, lying to the east of their dominions, which they were enabled to accomplish in 1832 by the aid of English and Russian officers. The next year Mahomed Shah, the grandson of the reigning prince, proceeded on an expedition to Herat; but he had made little progress in the siege before he was obliged, to his great chagrin, to return to Teheran, in consequence of the death of his father. Futteh Ali, the old king who had welcomed Captain Malcolm in 1802, and had always been favourable to an alliance with England, died in the following year. Mahomed Shah, who now ascended the throne, evinced a strong disposition to fraternize with Russia, more especially as the result of the late war had inspired him with a lively dread of her power. Since the first mission of Captain Malcolm, the British Government had expended a sum of no less than ninety-three lacs of rupees in embassies and subsidies to Persia. British officers had been sent to discipline her armies, and her arsenals had been filled

Persian expedition to Khorasan and Herat, 1834.

with the munitions of war by British treasure, with the object of establishing a preponderant sway at the court which might serve as a bulwark of the British empire in India. The Ministry had now the mortification of seeing this expenditure and labour neutralized, and British influence completely overpowered by that of Russia. The expedition to Herat, which was the favourite project of the young and impetuous monarch, became the test of the strength of these rival influences at Teheran.

Negotiations
regarding
Herat, 1835.

Kamran, the ruler of Herat, had openly violated the treaties subsisting between him and Persia, and had, likewise, made repeated inroads into the territories of the Shah, and kidnapped his subjects to the number, as the Persians affirmed, of 12,000, and sold them into slavery. In the opinion of the British Minister, Mr.—now Sir John—McNeill, these atrocities fully justified the Persians in resorting to hostilities; but he did not fail to represent to the Ministry that, in the present state of the relations between Russia and Persia, the advance of the latter into Afghanistan, of which Herat was considered the gate, was tantamount to the progress of the former towards the Indus, and ought to be counteracted by the British Government to the fullest extent which the obligations of public faith would permit. He affirmed that the influence and intrigues of Russia would thus be extended, through the conquests of Persia, up to the threshold of India, the public mind in the north-west provinces unsettled, and the tranquillity of the British empire disturbed. Mr. McNeill used every argument to dissuade the Shah from the prosecution of the enterprise, which he affirmed would compromise him with the British Government, and advised him to seek a redress of grievances by an amicable arrangement with Herat. At the same time, he recommended Kamran to avoid the risks of a second invasion by making suitable concessions to the Persian monarch. A conference was accordingly held, but the Persian representative made the most arrogant demands, claiming the whole of

Afghanistan up to Ghuzni as Persian territory, and Herat as a Persian province. The attempt to reconcile differences proved abortive, but Mr. McNeill did not the less endeavour to dissuade the Shah from the expedition, while, on the other hand, the Russian minister, Count Simonich, encouraged him to persevere, and offered him every assistance. The question was then referred to the Ministry in London, and a remonstrance was addressed to the Russian authorities at St. Petersburg, who replied that the Count had exceeded his instructions, and that the Emperor entirely disapproved of the expedition. The Count was not recalled, and his proceedings at Teheran were so completely in unison with the national feeling in Russia, if not likewise with that of the public functionaries, that the Moscow Gazette threatened to dictate the next treaty with England in Calcutta.

The Shah set out for Herat in the month of July, with 50,000 troops and fifty pieces of cannon, dwelling with delight on the facility with which his disciplined infantry and artillery would overturn the Sikhs, and pursue the course of Nadir Shah to Delhi. The expedition was regarded as the triumph of Russian over British influence, and created an extraordinary impression in Central Asia. Throughout India the sensation was greater than had been felt since the invasion of Zemaun Shah at the beginning of the century. The native princes again began to speculate on the downfall of the Company's supremacy. Threats of invasion were muttered in Nepal and in Burmah. The native journals fanned the excitement to such a degree as to bring in question the wisdom of having bestowed freedom on the press, but happily no attempt was made to bridle it. Inflammatory papers which were traced to Persian agency were diligently scattered through the country. The Mahomedans looked for the advent of a countless host of the faithful, backed, it was believed, by two hundred thousand Russians, to wrest the country from the hands of the Company. The country was agitated with the report of great movements in Central Asia,

The Herat expedition, 1837.

the cradle of revolutions for eight centuries, and men in the remote districts of the Deccan began to bury their money and jewels in the earth. The fall of Herat under these circumstances would, in the opinion of Mr. McNeill, have inflicted a blow on the prestige of the Indian Government which would be felt throughout the east.

At this juncture Lord Auckland left Calcutta and proceeded towards the sanitarium of Simla, with Mr. Macnaghten, as the public secretary in attendance on him, and Mr. John Colvin as his private secretary. The north-west provinces were at the time visited with a more severe famine than had been known since they came under British authority, and which was calculated to have swept away half a million of the inhabitants. The Governor-General's camp consisted, as usual, of more than 20,000 men, and its progress tended to aggravate the general distress. On reaching Cawnpore, Mr. Macnaghten advised Lord Auckland to return to Calcutta, and if the advice had been followed, the Government would probably have been spared the disasters of the Afghan war, but it was determined to push on to Simla. Mr. William Hay Macnaghten had been for several years a cavalry officer in the Madras army before he entered the Bengal civil service. In the college of Fort William he had carried away the highest prizes, and he was one of the most profound oriental scholars in India. After having risen to great distinction in the judicial branch of the service, he entered the political department during the administration of Lord W. Bentinck, who formed a high estimate of the soundness of his judgment and the sobriety of his opinions. Mr. Colvin, the private secretary, was a man of considerable abilities, and lofty bearing, with a spirit of greater resolution than his master, over whom he exerted a paramount influence. On these two officers, but more especially on Mr. Colvin, devolved the duty of giving advice to the Governor-General at this momentous crisis, when he was separated from the constitutional advice of his Council. The under-secretary, Mr. Henry Torrens, whose

influence in the Simla cabinet, was altogether secondary, was an accomplished scholar, a man of great parts and versatile genius, but too volatile to be a safe political guide. The home Government, seeing in every direction the indication of a restless and aggressive spirit, directed on the part of Russia and her political agents, against the security of the British empire in India, had instructed the Governor-General to adopt vigorous measures for its protection. Mr. McNeill, who had already sounded the note of alarm in his pamphlet on the progress of Russia in the east, which produced a profound sensation in England, advised Lord Auckland to meet the crisis by raising up the barrier of a friendly power in Afghanistan, and recommended that Dost Mahomed should be subsidized and strengthened.

Captain Burnes
at Cabul, 1837.

It was at this period of fermentation that Captain Burnes made his appearance at the court of Cabul, to work out the policy of opening the Indus to commerce, but he found himself at once in the very vortex of political complications, and his character of mercantile agent was speedily merged into that of diplomatist. Native courts are accustomed to measure the esteem and respect in which they are held, and the importance of a political mission, by the character of the presents which accompany it, and the Afghans had a vivid remembrance of the magnificent gifts brought by Mr. Mountstewart Elphinstone thirty years before. Captain Burnes was escorted to the durbar by Akbar Khan, at the head of a fine body of Afghan cavalry, on the 20th September, and honoured with a splendid reception, but when he came to exhibit the presents with which he was charged, a pistol and a telescope for the Dost, and some pins and needles for the ladies of the zenana, he and his embassy sunk at once into contempt in the eyes of the court. The first glance at the state of affairs convinced him that Afghanistan was ready to throw herself into the arms of Persia, and he considered it fortunate that he should have arrived at the nick of time to counteract the hostile projects of the Persian court. The

brothers of Dost Mahomed at Candahar, partly from hatred of Kamran, the ruler of Herat, with whom they had a blood feud for the murder of their father, and partly from a dread of his aggressions, had made proposals for an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Shah of Persia. These overtures were heartily encouraged by the Russian minister, who did not fail to perceive that the extension of Persian influence in Afghanistan would essentially promote the views and interests of Russia. The Persian envoy who was sent to complete the negotiations arrived at Candahar as Captain Burnes entered Cabul, where he learnt that the Shah had readily responded to the advances made by Dost Mahomed after he had met with a repulse from Lord Auckland, and that an ambassador with robes and presents had arrived at Candahar.

Negotiations with Dost Mahomed, 1837. In his intercourse with Captain Burnes, the Dost dwelt exclusively on the subject which had led him to open communications with the courts of Persia and Russia, the loss of Peshawur and the encroachments of the Sikhs. He was ready, he said, to break off all connection with Persia, and to dismiss the envoy with his presents from Candahar, if he were permitted to entertain any hope of assistance for the recovery of the province from the British Government. But Lord Auckland entertained a morbid dread of giving offence to Runjeet Sing, whom he termed our ancient and faithful ally, and was loth to entertain any proposal regarding Peshawur. Yet that province had always been a source of anxiety to him, and not only a burden on his treasury, but an object of insuperable aversion to his troops. Before Captain Burnes's mission to Cabul, he had offered to restore it to the Afghans, on condition of their paying tribute; but Dost Mahomed disdained the idea of a Mahomedan becoming tributary to an infidel. This feeling was, however, eventually overcome by his passionate desire to recover the province, and he at length assured Captain Burnes that if Runjeet Sing would restore it, he was ready to hold it as a fief of the Punjab, and to transmit the customary presents. There can be little doubt that if Lord Auckland had

boldly faced the question, and entrusted the solution of this difficulty to Captain Burnes at Cabul, and to Captain Wade at Loodiana, it would have been brought to an early and satisfactory issue. The overtures of Persia and Russia would in that case have been definitely rejected, and Dost Mahomed, secured as an ally, would have become an effectual barrier against any encroachments from the west. But, from first to last, there appears to have been a fatal infatuation in our Afghan policy, and the whole transaction stands forth in the annals of British India, as that in which it is difficult to discover a single step that was not marked by folly. Soon after his arrival at Cabul, Captain Burnes endeavoured to dissuade the Candahar chiefs from the Persian alliance, and threatened them with the severe displeasure of the British Government if they persisted in it. This communication produced a salutary result, and induced them to dismiss the Persian envoy without the usual ceremonies. But on farther reflection, they began to entertain an apprehension that the Shah would take vengeance on them for the rejection of the alliance, and endeavour to annex Candahar to his dominions, which, indeed, he had from the first fully intended to do. Captain Burnes therefore despatched an officer to Candahar in December, to assure them that if the province should be invaded by the king of Persia, he would proceed thither himself, and support them by every means in his power, even to the extent of paying their troops. Lord Auckland severely reprimanded Captain Burnes for having thus exceeded his instructions, and directed him to inform the chiefs of Candahar that he had held out expectations which his Government was not prepared to sanction. Yet the measure which Lord Auckland now reprobated was pronounced by the Ministry in England to be the wisest which could have been adopted. The Candahar rulers, finding that the engagements of the British envoy at Cabul were not to be depended on, immediately entered into a treaty with Persia, which was guaranteed by Count Simonich, who engaged to defend Candahar against an attack from whatever quarter it might come.

The Russian
Envoy, 1837.

After the receipt of Lord Auckland's unfavourable reply in 1836, Dost Mahomed despatched an envoy to St. Petersburg to solicit the interposition of the Emperor. He alluded to the dissensions between his own tribe and the Suddozyes, and stated that the English were rather disposed to give their support to Shah Soojah. He expressed a hope that his imperial majesty would permit him to be received, like the Persians, under the protection of Russia, and would condescend to arrange matters in Afghanistan, and protect him from Sikh encroachment. Captain Vitkewich, an officer on the staff of the Governor-General of Orenburg, was sent to Cabul with presents of considerable value, and a reply from the Czar, the authenticity of which has been questioned, but never disproved. His credentials, like those of Captain Burnes, were ostensibly of a commercial character, but in both cases were doubtless intended to cover political negotiations. He arrived at Cabul on the 19th December, and the Dost immediately visited Captain Burnes, and assured him that he desired no connection except with the British Government, and was prepared to turn the Russian officer summarily out of Cabul; but Captain Burnes succeeded in dissuading him from this imprudent measure. In communicating to Lord Auckland the fact that a Russian envoy had arrived at Cabul with the most tempting offers to Dost Mahomed, Captain Burnes urged the necessity of immediate and decisive action, in this neck to neck race between Russia and England in Afghanistan. But Lord Auckland persisted in refusing the Dost any hope of his good offices with Runjeet Sing, and intimated that he must waive all claim to Peshawur, and remain content with any arrangement the Sikh ruler might think fit to make with Sultan Mahomed regarding it. The Dost replied that he bore no enmity to his brother, notwithstanding his incessant treachery and his rancorous hostility, but he could never consider himself secure at Cabul, if Sultan Mahomed held Peshawur. In subsequent interviews with Captain Burnes, he went so far as to say that his fears would be allayed if Peshawur were made

over conjointly to him and to his brother. Captain Burnes importuned Lord Auckland to give a favourable ear to these representations, stating, that while he himself had been in constant and friendly communication with the Dost, the Russian envoy had been kept aloof, and the Emperor's presents had been contemptuously left at Candahar, and that he himself entertained the fullest confidence in the sincerity of his declaration of attachment to the British alliance, so long as there remained any hope of securing it.

This hope was effectually quenched by the letter which Lord Auckland was advised to address personally to the Dost in the month of February, in which the refusal of his request was wantonly embittered by the supercilious tone in which it was conveyed. He was told that Runjeet Sing, whom the Afghans regarded as the incarnation of evil, had from the generosity of his nature acceded to the wish of the Governor-General for the cessation of strife, if the Dost would engage to conduct himself with propriety; that it was British interference which had hitherto protected the Afghans from the continuance of the war which must have ended in their ruin; that the hopes he cherished, which could never be realized, must be abandoned; that he must seek a reconciliation with the Maharaja, who was the firm and ancient ally of the English, and that the establishment of peace would give him a degree of security in the territory actually under his government to which he had long been a stranger. The British Government would labour to secure this object, but only on condition that he abstained from forming any connection with other powers without their sanction. Every sentence in this scornful communication was calculated to kindle a flame of indignation in the Afghan nobles and chiefs, and Captain Burnes's mission became hopeless from the day it was delivered. In the last resort, Dost Mahomed addressed a friendly letter to the Governor-General imploring him in language bordering on humility "to remedy the grievances of

Lord Auckland's
haughty com-
munication, 1838.

the Afghans and to give them a little encouragement and power." Lord Auckland and his Simla cabinet of secretaries were deaf to every representation. They demanded the largest concessions from Dost Mahomed and required him to reject the alluring offers which other powers were pressing on him, while they themselves offered him nothing in return but political sympathies, and their good offices to protect him from the further encroachments of Runjeet Sing in Afghanistan, when it was well known that the mere mention of the Khyber pass, as General Avitabile affirmed, gave his soldiers the cholic, and that Runjeet Sing had no more idea of marching to Cabul than to Peking. Lord Auckland required him to break with Persia, with Russia, and with Turkistan, but would not engage to protect him from the hostility which he must inevitably have incurred thereby. After the Government had thus treated him with studied indignity, and addressed him as though he had been some petty dependent Indian raja, and extinguished every hope of a British alliance, it was no matter of surprise that he should have welcomed the Russian envoy, who was accordingly conducted through the streets with great parade, and received with distinction at the court. Captain Burnes continued to linger at Cabul for another month, and did not take his departure till the 26th of April. The Russian envoy promised everything which the Dost was most anxious to obtain, and immediately opened an official correspondence with Runjeet Sing, but met with no encouragement to visit Lahore. He then proceeded to Candahar and completed the treaty with the chiefs, which was soon after ratified by the Russian minister at the Persian court, though it contained stipulations hostile to the British Government, with whom Russia was at peace.

Resolution of Lord Auckland, 1838. The object of the public authorities both in England and in India at this difficult conjuncture was the same as that which had led to the despatch of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone's embassy in 1809, "to interpose a friendly power in Central Asia between us and any invading

power from the west." Mr. McNeill and Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, though they differed on several points, concurred in recommending that this object should be pursued by strengthening the actual rulers of Cabul and Candahar, and binding them to British interests. Captain Burnes on his return from Cabul enquired why we could not act with Dost Mahomed. "He is" he said "a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart a high opinion of the British nation, and if half you would do for others were done for him, he would abandon Persia and Russia to-morrow;" but Lord Auckland and his advisers appear from the first to have regarded the Dost with feelings of mistrust as well as aversion. They were evidently chagrined that, instead of submitting with grateful humility to whatever terms they might think fit to dictate, he should be sitting at the gate of India, apparently debating whether he would accept their offers, or those of their opponents. They may also have considered it a point of national honour to secure a footing in Afghanistan by their own swords rather than by subsidizing the Dost, and they determined, therefore, to depose him. On the 12th May, 1838, Lord Auckland drew up an elaborate Minute in which he reviewed the whole question, and enumerated three courses as being open to us. The first was to confine our defensive operations to the line of the Indus and abandon Afghanistan to its fate, but this, he remarked, would be absolute defeat, and leave a free opening for Persian and Russian intrigue on our frontier. The second was to secure Afghanistan by granting succour to the Dost and to his brothers at Candahar, but this would be giving power, as he thought, to those who would probably employ the means placed at their disposal against our allies the Sikhs. The third alternative and that which Lord Auckland resolved to adopt was, to permit, or to encourage, the advance of Runjeet Sing's armies on Cabul, under control and restriction; and, as subsidiary to this movement, to organize an expedition, headed by Shah Soojah, to enable him to establish his authority in eastern Afghanistan,

and to aid him by contributions in money, and by the presence of an accredited agent, together with a sufficient body of officers to discipline and command his troops.

Mr. Macnaghten was despatched to Lahore to obtain the concurrence of Runjeet Sing in this project. His instructions, dated three days after the Minute, were drawn by Mr. Torrens in a very bombastic style; and embraced a far more extended and a more perilous scheme than that which was contemplated in the Governor-General's Minute—that while the Sikhs advanced cautiously on Cabul, a division of the British army should accompany Shah Soojah across the Indus, and occupy the town of Shikarpore, for a time. Mr. Macnaghten entered the Punjab on the 30th May, and was received with great cordiality by Runjeet Sing, then in the last year of his existence, who tottered through the whole length of the audience chamber to embrace him, and then hastened to inspect the trays of presents with a feeling of childish delight. When they met to discuss the object of the mission, Mr. Macnaghten asserted, with diplomatic assurance, that the failure of Captain Burnes's mission to Cabul arose from the unwillingness of the Ameer to break off negotiations with other powers. He then launched out into a transcendental panegyric of the resources of the British empire, and affirmed that 200,000 soldiers could at any time be brought into the field to resist an invasion from the east, west, north, and south. There was nothing, he said, of a palpable character to be apprehended from the movements of Persia and Russia, or the hostility of the Sirdars at Cabul, or Candahar, but as they must tend to unsettle the minds of men, it was desirable to concert measures to suppress all disturbing influences. He then alluded to the treaty which Runjeet Sing had entered into with Shah Soojah in 1833, and enquired whether it would be agreeable to his wishes that it should be revived, and that the British Government should become a party to it, assisting Shah Soojah with money and officers. "That," replied Run-

jeet, "would be adding sugar to milk." But he demanded that Shah Soojah should confirm his right to the territories he held beyond the Indus, and that, if he were required to renounce all claim to Sinde, he should receive one-half the sum which the Shah might succeed in extorting from the Ameers. He also hinted a wish to be put in possession of Jellalabad, but as he well knew that his own troops were not to be trusted in the passes, the request was evidently advanced to cover a demand for more money, and it was eventually arranged that the Shah should pay him an annual subsidy of two lacs of rupees. The treaty to which Runjeet Sing affixed his seal, was in fact a simple revival of the compact concluded five years before between him and Shah Soojah and to which the British Government now became a party, with the addition of four articles, none of which, however, created any obligation to send a British force across the Indus. Mr. Macnaghten then proceeded to Loodiana to obtain the concurrence of Shah Soojah in these arrangements, and, as he had everything to receive, every difficulty was speedily removed. It was clearly understood by both parties in the conference at Loodiana that the assistance to be given by the British Government was to be limited to the appointment of a representative at Cabul, and officers to discipline and command the Shah's army, and an advance of money to pay it; and he repeatedly expressed his fervent hope that the immediate operations for regaining his kingdom should be conducted by his own troops.

The Grand Expedition, 1833. Mr. Macnaghten returned with the tripartite treaty to Simla on the 17th of July, and found that during his absence there had been a further development of the expeditionary project. It was argued—and nothing could be more palpable—that unless the British Government engaged as principals in the expedition it must end in a disgraceful failure. It was therefore resolved to send a large British army across the Indus into the unexplored regions of Central Asia, and to plant it in the centre of Afghanistan. To reach that isolated position all convoys

of provisions and munitions of war were required to traverse the states of doubtful allies, and to thread long and dangerous mountain defiles, beset with wild and plundering tribes. This perilous expedition was undertaken by Lord Auckland without the concurrence of the Supreme Council, then sitting in Calcutta. The Whig Ministry did not, however, shrink from sharing the responsibility of it with their colleague in India. Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, when interrogated on the subject by a Committee of the House of Commons, said, "Alone I did it," which simply signified that he had authorized it without any reference to the Court of Directors. He affirmed that Lord Auckland was not to bear the blame of this measure; it was the policy of the home Government, and he might mention that his despatch stating his opinion of the course which ought to be taken to meet the exigency which had arisen, and that written by Lord Auckland informing him of the arrangements made for the expedition, crossed each other on the road. Sir John Hobhouse's communication has never been permitted to see the light and appears still to be considered a state secret, and it is therefore difficult to estimate its bearing on the movements of the expedition. But beyond the ministerial circle in Downing Street, and the secretaries at Simla, this preposterous enterprise was universally condemned as soon as it was announced. Mr. Elphinstone stated that, "if 27,000 men were sent up the Bolan pass to Candahar, and we could feed them, there was no doubt that we might take Cabul, and set up Shah Soojah; but it was hopeless to maintain him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans." Lord William Bentinck considered the project an act of incredible folly. Lord Wellesley regarded this wild expedition, eight hundred miles from our frontier and our resources, into one of the most difficult countries in the world, a land of rocks and deserts, of sands and ice and snow, as an act of infatuation. The Duke affirmed with prophetic sagacity that the consequence of once crossing the Indus to settle a

government in Afghanistan would be a perennial march into that country.

Character of
the Afghan
expedition, 1838.

With the exception of the brief campaign of a week in Coorg, the Company had enjoyed the unexampled blessing of repose for twelve years; but India now resounded with the din of preparation for a war in Central Asia, hundreds of miles beyond the Indus, which was not even yet our geographical boundary. The expedition was not more remarkable for the region into which it was to be launched, than for the people against whom it was to be directed. For five centuries the barren mountains of Afghanistan had poured down a continued stream of needy adventurers on the rich plains of India, who had established powerful principalities and kingdoms in every part of the continent from Rohilcund at the foot of the Himalaya to the banks of the Kistna in the Deccan. They had founded two imperial dynasties at Delhi, and their aristocracy had taken root in India, which was dotted with Afghan colonies in every direction. The tables were now to be turned upon them, and the new masters of India were about to roll back the tide of invasion, and assail them in their own mountain fastnesses. The general feeling of the European community in India, both lay and official, inclined rather to the able and gallant Dost Mahomed, than to the imbecile Shah Soojab, who had twice been ignominiously expelled from the country he was about to enter for the third time with the aid of British troops. There was also a strong English feeling against the deposition of the Dost, who was considered the victim of an unjust policy; but there was, on the other hand, the charm of romance associated with an expedition to the scenes of Mahomedan glory, renowned by the exploits of Mahmood and Jenghis Khan, of Timur and Nadir Shah.

Lord Auckland's
manifesto,
Oct. 1st, 1838.

On the 1st October Lord Auckland issued a declaration from Simla, setting forth the grounds of the expedition. It is one of the most remarkable state papers in the records of British India, whether con-

sidered with reference to its glaring misstatements, the sophistry of its arguments, or the audacity of its assertions. It affirmed that the army of Dost Mahomed had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on our ancient ally, Runjeet Sing, whereas it was Runjeet Sing who had made repeated and unprovoked attacks on the Dost. It stated that he had urged the most unreasonable pretensions with regard to his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, whereas the only proposition he had made was one which Runjeet Sing himself would have been readily inclined to accept. It accused the Afghan ruler of having avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the peace and security of the frontiers of India, and of having openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid he could command, and ultimately given his undisguised support to the designs of the King of Persia on Afghanistan; but it withheld the important fact that he had accepted the Persian alliance only after the most strenuous efforts had been made for five months without success to obtain a British alliance, and that he was driven into the arms of Persia, against his own will, solely by the perversity of the Indian Government. It affirmed that the orders for the assemblage of a British force were issued in concurrence with the Supreme Council, whereas the Council, when required to place the manifesto on the public records, remonstrated against the consummation of a policy of such grave importance without their ever having had an opportunity of stating their opinions regarding it. The general object of the expedition was described to be to secure on our western frontier an ally who was interested in resisting aggression, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power; the immediate object was "to succour the besieged garrison of Herat, who had behaved with a gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause." To that memorable siege we now turn.

Siege of Herat
for five months.

The territory of Herat is the only route by which a large and fully equipped army can

advance towards India from the north-west, and the city is therefore considered the gate of Afghanistan. So exuberant is the fertility of the plain in which it is situated that it is usually styled the granary of Central Asia. All the materials for the organization of an army and the formation of depôts are to be found in the neighbourhood in great abundance. Its mines furnish lead, iron, and sulphur, the surface of the country is covered with saltpetre, and the woods afford abundance of charcoal. The population is hardy and docile. The king, Shah Kamran, was one of the worst specimens of an oriental voluptuary and despot. His minister, Yar Mahomed, though not devoid of courage and abilities, was justly described by Lieutenant Pottinger as "the greatest scoundrel in Central Asia." The government was an execrable tyranny, and derived its chief support from the sale of the wretched beings who had been kidnapped and reduced to slavery. The King of Persia sat down before the city on the 23rd November, 1837. The fortifications were crumbling to pieces, and it might have been carried by a vigorous and scientific assault on the first day. The practice of the Persian artillery which had been trained by British officers was superb, but the ignorance of the Persian officers in charge of it completely neutralized its value. A few days before the commencement of the siege, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, a young officer of the Bombay Artillery, who had been sent by his uncle, Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Cutch, to make researches in Central Asia, entered the city in the garb of a *syud*—a descendant of the Prophet—and took up his residence at the caravansary in common with its other inmates. In the true spirit of English adventure, he resolved to remain and take a share in the approaching struggle, though not also without the hope of promoting the interests of his country in the defence of the city. His services were offered to the king and his minister and readily accepted, and the natural ascendancy of genius speedily gave him the chief direction of operations. The garrison was animated by a spirit of great resolution and

perseverance, and under his guidance succeeded in baffling for five months the repeated assaults of the Persians, though aided by a regiment of Russians, who were styled deserters to save appearances. Mr. McNeill, the British minister at the Persian court, joined the royal encampment on the 6th April, to the great annoyance of the Shah, who considered that his presence would not fail to give encouragement to the Heratees. He was received, however, with due ceremony, and lost no time in making an effort to reconcile the belligerents. He found both parties inclined to accept his mediation. The Shah was disheartened by the protraction and the expense of the siege, and authorized him to offer whatever terms he might consider reasonable, and Kamran was equally prepared to accede to any conditions he might recommend. He proceeded to the city and opened negotiations with every prospect of a favourable issue; but the Russian minister at Teheran followed him in all haste, and, having met with an accident, drove in his carriage from Teheran to Herat and reached the camp during Mr. McNeill's absence. His arrival completely changed the aspect of affairs. He urged the continuance of the siege, advanced funds for the Persian army, and engaged, if Herat were captured, to remit the whole of the instalments still due by Persia to Russia. Mr. McNeill met with a cold reception on his return from the city, and the Shah not only rejected the amicable arrangement he had made, but announced his resolution to renew the assault. The redress Mr. McNeill continued to demand for a wanton outrage committed on one of his messengers some months before, who had been stripped naked and scourged, was persistently refused, and he himself was treated with great contumely. The influence of England was completely prostrated, and he found it necessary to break off all diplomatic relations with the Shah and retire to the Turkish frontier.

Battle of the 24th
June—the siege
raised, 1838.

The siege was prosecuted with new vigour. The 24th June was fixed for a general assault, and it afforded a fresh opportunity for the display of Lieutenant

Pottinger's courage and genius. Count Simonich personally undertook the direction of the attack, and Russian engineers superintended the operations. The city was attacked at five points, but the assailants were repulsed from four of them. At the fifth, however, they succeeded in making a practicable breach, but were thrice repelled by the gallantry of the Heratees. Their courage began at length to droop, and they recoiled from the onslaught of the enemy. Yar Mahomed, with all his bravery, was paralyzed by the energy of the Persians and seated himself in despair at a distance from the scene of action. The fate of Herat trembled in the balance, and the city was on the point of being lost, when it was saved by the indomitable spirit of Lieutenant Pottinger. He went up to Yar Mahomed, conjured him, threatened him, reviled him, and at length, seizing him by the arm, dragged him to the breach, where he fell like a madman on his own troops as they drew back from the weapons of the Persians. The effect was magical; they rushed forward with infuriated zeal; the Persians were seized with a panic, when on the point of gaining their object, and fled in dismay to their camp, with the loss of more than 1,700 men, among whom was the Russian General Berowski. Herat was saved and the siege was turned into a blockade, during which the inhabitants suffered the extremity of wretchedness from the scarcity of provisions, and the unabated extortions of Yar Mahomed. The Persian army was likewise suffering from want of food. The Shah had lost many thousand men in the various conflicts, and a still larger number from desertion; his communications with Persia, from which he drew his supplies, were interrupted by the increasing boldness of the marauding tribes on the route, and he only wanted a decent pretext for raising the siege. Meanwhile, two steamers were sent by the Government of India with 500 sepoy to occupy the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf, a description of which has been given in a former chapter. The force was too insignificant for any influential effort, but its strength was magnified by rumour, and in the camp before

Herat it was confidently announced that a large British fleet had destroyed the ports on the coast, and that a British army was marching on Shiraz. Mr. McNeill availed himself of the consternation created by this expedition, and deputed Colonel Stoddart to the Persian camp with a peremptory message to the Shah. He was instructed to state that the occupation of Herat, or of any part of Afghanistan, would be considered an act of hostility to England, that a British armament had already arrived in the Persian gulf, and that if the Shah desired to avert the measures which the British Government would adopt to vindicate its honour, he must immediately retire from the city. The king received Colonel Stoddart with cordiality, and at the first interview said, "The fact is, if I do not leave Herat, there will be war." "There is war," replied the Colonel, "everything depends on your Majesty's answer. God preserve your Majesty." Two days after, he was again in the royal presence, when the king informed him that he had made up his mind to consent to all the demands made by the British Government, and that he gave up the siege simply from his desire to maintain its friendship. He broke up his encampment on the 9th September and returned to Persia, having lost no small portion of his army and a large amount of treasure, besides incurring the disgrace of failure in an enterprise which had been the talk of Central Asia for ten months. The memorable defence of Herat against 40,000 Persian troops, aided by the skill of Russian engineers, stands side by side with the defence of Arcot by Clive, and reflects equal credit on the Anglo-Saxon youth by whose sole energy and genius it was rendered successful, though he had never seen service, and had no knowledge of the art of war except that which he had derived from study.

Persistence in the expedition to Cabul, 1838. The grand projects of Persia which had for two years agitated the minds of men from the Caspian sea to the banks of the Ganges were quenched in the trenches of Herat. The dangers which were supposed to menace the British empire in India from the ambition of Persia and the

intrigues of Russian agents, were at once dispelled. The hostility of the rulers of Cabul and Candahar had ceased to have any political importance, and it was naturally expected that under this new aspect of circumstances the expedition would be relinquished. But, a large army had been assembled, and all the preparations for a grand enterprise completed, and it required more decision of character than the Governor-General possessed to resist the importunities, and to disappoint the expectations, of the ardent spirits around him. Accordingly, on the 8th November he announced in Orders that while the relinquishment of the siege of Herat was a just cause of congratulation, he should "still continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which had been announced with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression on our north-west frontier." This resolution to persevere in the expedition has justly been considered more obnoxious to censure than even the original design. The Governor-General endeavoured to justify it by affirming that it was required of us "alike in observation of the treaties entered into with Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah, as by paramount considerations of defensive policy." But there was no allusion whatever in the tripartite treaty to the despatch of a British army across the Indus, and the Shah was particularly anxious to avoid the appearance of being carried to Cabul on the shoulders of infidels, which he considered would be detrimental in the highest degree to his popularity and his interests. He wanted British gold, not British bayonets, and it is an open question whether "the paramount considerations of defensive policy" would not have been more effectually promoted had he advanced through the country with his own army, and with a liberal supply of money, to buy up the mercenary chiefs.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION, 1838-1842.

Meeting with
Runjeet Sing—
The march, 1838.

THE army of the Indus, as it was designated, assembled at Ferozepore on the banks of the Sutlege towards the end of November. Before it proceeded on its route there was a grand meeting between Lord Auckland and the lion of the Punjab, then tottering on the brink of the grave; but he still exhibited in his countenance his habitual calmness of design, and his single eye was still lighted up with the fire of enterprise. The assembly, which was second in magnificence only to that of Roopur, was diversified by showy pageants, gay doings, and feats of mimic war. As the army was no longer bound for Herat its strength was reduced by one half, and the Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, who had consented to take the command in person when it was destined to march into Central Asia and baffle the designs of Russia, declined to head a diminished force simply to seat Shah Soojah on the throne of a better man. The Bengal column started from Ferozepore on the 10th of December, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, with about 9,500 men of all arms, 30,000 camels, and 38,000 camp followers. The force raised for the immediate service of the Shah, which was designated his army, though commanded by Company's officers, and paid from the Company's treasury, consisted of about 6,000 men. The Bombay troops under the command of Sir John Keane amounted to 5,600, making a total of 21,000 soldiers. The political charge of the enterprise was entrusted to Mr. Macnaghten, with whom it originated, and he was officially styled the Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Soojah, the Shah being the puppet, and Mr. Macnaghten the

king. The most direct route to Cabul from the banks of the Sutlege lay through the Punjab, a distance of about five hundred miles, but "our ancient and faithful ally" refused to grant a passage through his dominions to a body of 50,000 men, and it became necessary to take a circuitous route of a thousand miles down the Indus to Bukkur, and thence northward up to Candahar and Cabul.

Treatment of
Sinde, 1839.

There was likewise another reason for adopting this devious course in the determination which was formed to exact a heavy contribution from the Ameers of Sinde. The conduct of the British Government on this occasion has been the subject of much controversy. On the one hand, it is asserted that the counsellors of Lord Auckland, haunted by the Russophobia which had given birth to the expedition—though the Russians had retired with the Persians from Herat, and were nowhere in Central Asia—seemed to consider that in their efforts to provide for the safety of the British empire in India, they were at liberty to suspend every consideration of justice, and that they imposed an iniquitous treaty on the Ameers. On the other hand, Captain Eastwick, who assisted in negotiating the treaty, considered it an indispensable measure of self-defence, forced on us by the machinations of the Ameers. They had plundered our stores of grain and taken every step, short of open hostilities, to obstruct the operations of the British Government. They had treated the British representative with gross indignity, and even menaced him with assassination; and, with a full knowledge of the hostile attitude the King of Persia had assumed towards us, threatened to form an alliance with him, and received an envoy from his court in their capital. In the treaty concluded with them in 1832 it was stipulated that no military stores should be transported through the province by land or by water, but the Bengal column marched through northern Sinde, and Sir John Keare, who had landed with the Bombay force at Kurrachee, was moving up from the south. Colonel Pottinger was instructed by the Governor-General to

inform them that "the article of the treaty which prohibits the using of the Indus for the conveyance of military stores must necessarily be suspended during the course of these operations; and that at this important crisis not only those who have shown a disposition to favour our adversaries, but those who display an unwillingness to help us, in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged, must be displaced, and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely." The province of Sinde was formerly a dependency of the Dooranee empire, and had paid tribute whenever the rulers of Cabul were strong enough to enforce it. No tribute had been transmitted for forty years, and the Ameers were virtually independent. They were now required to pay up the arrears of revenue which was assumed at twenty-five lacs of rupees to a ruler who had been an exile from the throne of Cabul for thirty years. But when Colonel Pottinger presented this demand, he was confounded by the production of two releases from all further claims of every description which the Shah had written in two Korans, and signed and sealed, when he had prevailed on them to pay him three lacs of rupees in 1833. The Ameers said they were confident the Governor-General did not intend to make them pay over again for what they had already bought, but he was of opinion that it was not incumbent on him to enter into any formal investigation of this plea, and Mr. Macnaghten remarked that rather than allow the grand enterprise of restoring Shah Soojah to be postponed by any opposition from the Ameers, it would be better to let loose 20,000 of Runjeet Sing's troops upon their capital. It was likewise determined to impose a subsidiary force on them for which they were to provide three lacs of rupees a-year. The Ameers naturally demurred to these exactions, but Colonel Pottinger was desired to inform them that "neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them, nor the will to call it into action, were wanting, if it appeared requisite, however remotely, for the safety or the integrity of

the Anglo-Indian empire or frontier." To coerce them into submission, Sir John Keane marched with the Bombay army up to the neighbourhood of the capital, and it was resolved to strengthen the arguments of the negotiators by sending down the Bengal column to join him. The order to march was received with enthusiasm, for the expedition held out the prospect of military distinction and still more of a rich haul of prize money in a city which was reputed to contain eight crores of rupees. Awed by the presence of a British force, the Ameers yielded to necessity, signed the subsidiary treaty and paid up the first instalment of the demand. The Bengal troops retraced their steps with a feeling of bitter disappointment to Bukkur; and the sepoy, notwithstanding their superstitious objection to crossing the Indus, passed over without any hesitation, and for the first time erected the flag of England on the opposite bank.

Advance of the
Army, 1839.

The disasters of the force began as soon as it was across the Indus. The mortality among the draft cattle, on which the subsistence of the army depended, became portentous, and it was deemed advisable for Sir Willoughby Cotton to push on at once with the Bengal column through the sandy desert of Cutch Gundava, a hundred and forty miles in extent. Lord Auckland's secretaries had assured the officers of the army that the march to Cabul would be a military promenade, and the assertion was now to be exemplified. As this arid waste furnished little water and no pasturage, the camels died by hundreds, and the Beloochee freebooters, who were in fact the only produce of the soil, hovered round the camp and never lost an opportunity of pillaging it. After a march of sixteen days the army reached Dadur at the mouth of the Bolan pass, the southern entrance into Afghanistan, with provisions on the beasts of burden that had survived sufficient only for a single month. The troops were six days defiling through this terrific gorge. There was no opposition from the mountaineers, but the flint stones lamed the camels, and the want of pasture and fatigue disabled the artillery

horses; the mountain paths were strewed with abandoned tents, equipage and stores, and the little stream which flowed at the bottom of the ravine, was tainted with the carcasses of animals. Emerging from this pass the troops entered the beautiful valley of Shawl, but though it was covered with vineyards and orchards, it could only furnish food for the army for a few days. No small portion of the stock of provisions had been lost with the cattle in the Bolan pass, and starvation stared the army in the face. Captain Burnes was sent back to Khelat to endeavour to conclude a treaty with Mehrab Khan, the independent ruler of Belchistan, with the object of providing for the immediate wants of the force, and securing the passage of future supplies through the pass. For this service the chief was offered a subsidy of a lac and a half of rupees a-year; but it was beyond his power to afford the relief which the pressing necessities of the army required. His territory was by no means fertile; the harvest of the preceding year had been deficient; the British troops and the swarm of camp followers had given the growing crops to their cattle, and wantonly wasted the water on which the fields depended for irrigation, and the Beloches themselves were living on herbs and grass. Mehrab Khan informed Captain Burnes that he had received the most tempting overtures from the Persians and Russians, but had determined faithfully to see the British army through the pass. His conduct was deserving of all praise; and it was owing entirely to his active agency, that the troops were enabled to traverse that fearful defile, when a word from him might have brought the expedition to a dead lock, and an unhappy termination.

Arrival at Candahar, 1839. On the 6th April, Shah Soojah's force, with the

Envoy and the Bombay army reached Quettah, the largest town in the district of Shawl, where Sir Willoughby Cotton was already encamped, and Sir John Keane assumed the command of the whole expedition. The troops were half mutinous for want of food; the loaf of the European soldier was diminished in weight, the native troops were reduced to a

pound of flour a-day, and the camp followers to half that quantity. More than twenty thousand camels had perished, and it was necessary to push forward with all speed to Candahar. In the intervening space lay the Kojuck pass, scarcely less terrific than the Bolan, though not of the same extent. The batteries and the field pieces had to be dragged up and lowered down its appalling precipices by the European soldiers, pressed by hunger, parched with thirst, and consumed by incessant fatigue. Such was the military promenade to Cabul. As the Shah approached Candahar, the Barukzye princes, betrayed by their chiefs and followers, whom British gold had been employed to corrupt, fled to the west, and he entered the city without opposition on the 25th April. Some of the inhabitants shouted welcome, others strewed flowers in his path, and the curiosity of the people gave such an appearance of enthusiasm to his progress, that the sanguine Envoy assured Lord Auckland that he had been received with feelings bordering on adoration. But curiosity soon subsided, and when, a fortnight after, a gorgeous ceremonial was got up in the plain for his installation, which was celebrated by a salute of a hundred and one guns, not a hundred of the citizens were present, and the acclamations were confined to his own retainers.

Ghuzni, 1839. The army, still on reduced rations, was obliged to remain inactive in Candahar for ten weeks till the crops had ripened, and it was unable to resume its march before the 27th June. Two hundred and thirty miles distant from Candahar, and ninety from Cabul, lay the great fortress of Ghuzni, from which Mahmood had issued more than eight hundred years before to plant the standard of the crescent on the plains of India. It was deemed absolutely impregnable, and regarded as the pride of Afghanistan. Hyder Khan had been sent by his father, Dost Mahomed, to garrison it with 3,000 men, and he had taken advantage of the detention of the army at Candahar to strengthen the fortifications and to provision the fort for six months. It was found to be strong both by nature and by

art. The parapet which rose sixty or seventy feet above the plain, and the wet ditch, presented insurmountable obstacles to an attack by mining or escalade. Sir John Keane had listened to the voice of those who asserted that it was a place of no strength, and consequently left behind him the battering train which had been dragged with infinite labour through the Bolan and Kojuck passes. To attempt to breach the walls with the puny six and nine pounders which accompanied his force was idle, and there was every prospect of the total collapse of the expedition. A nephew of Dost Mahomed, however, was induced by the offer of a large bribe to desert his countrymen and turn traitor, and from him the engineers obtained an accurate description of the condition and character of the defences. All the gates had been built up with the exception of one, and Captain Thomson, the chief engineer, assured Sir John Keane that the only mode of attack which presented any chance of success was that of blowing it up, and then rushing into the fortress. Nine hundred pounds of powder were accordingly packed in bags under his direction and conveyed in silence and darkness to the gate. Fortunately, the night was gloomy and tempestuous, and the attention of the garrison was drawn off by a demonstration from the light batteries in other directions. The powder exploded; the massive barricade was shivered to pieces, and heavy masses of masonry and beams came toppling down in great confusion. Col. Dennie of the 13th Light Infantry rushed in with the storming party over the débris; the enemy, on hearing the explosion, hastened to the breach, and for some time there was a mortal struggle, but three hearty cheers, while it was yet dark, announced to the General, who was watching the result from a neighbouring height with deep anxiety, that the fortress was in our hands. At dawn of day, the British ensign was planted on the proud citadel of Ghuzni by Ensign Frere. This exploit cost the army a hundred and eighty in killed and wounded, of whom eighteen were officers; and it was the only military operation between Ferozepore and Cabul. A day or two after, a body

of *ghazees*, or Mahomedan fanatics, endeavoured to enter Shah Soojah's encampment in the hope of assassinating him, but were repulsed and pursued by Captain Outram, who captured their holy standard together with about fifty prisoners. When conducted into the presence of the Shah, they gloried in their attempt and reviled him to his face for having brought the infidels into the country, while one more ferocious than the rest stabbed one of his attendants. He immediately ordered the whole number to be executed, and they were deliberately hacked to pieces in cold blood outside his tents.

Arrival at
Cabul, 1839.

The fate of Ghuzni opened up the road to Cabul, and filled Dost Mahomed with consternation. While the army under Sir John Keane was advancing towards the capital, another army under Prince Timur, the son of the Shah, and Colonel Wade was approaching it from the eastward by way of Jellalabad. Distracted by this double peril, the Dost called his officers together, and with the Koran in his hands implored them to make one bold stand like brave men and true believers. "You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years; grant me but one request in return. Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan while he executes one last charge against these Feringee dogs: in that onset he will fall; then make your own terms with Shah Soojah." But there was neither fidelity nor spirit left in them, and Dost Mahomed, finding the struggle hopeless, parked his guns at Urgundeh, in the vicinity of Cabul, and turned with a handful of followers to the regions of the Hindoo Koosh. As soon as the intelligence of his flight reached the army, it was resolved to follow him without a moment's delay. Captain Outram and nine other officers, animated with a lofty spirit of adventure, started in pursuit of him, with a small body of cavalry and several hundred Afghan horse commanded by Hajee Khan Kaukur. For six days they gave neither Dost Mahomed nor themselves any rest, night or day, and would in all probability have eventually overtaken him, but for the treachery of the Afghan Hajee. He had deserted the Dost for

the Candahar rulers, and then deserted them for Shah Soojah on the receipt of a large bribe, and now determined to abandon the cause of the Shah on the first opportunity. He consented to accompany the expedition only that he might defeat its object. He pretended illness, and always contrived to remain a march or two behind; he threw impediments in the way of every movement, and so effectually delayed the pursuit, that on reaching Bameean the Dost was found to have gained a start of thirty miles and passed beyond the confines of Afghanistan. The old traitor was sent to Hindostan, and passed many years in durance at Chunar. This enterprise was in keeping with Captain Outram's character, but it was more remarkable for its chivalry than its prudence. The treachery of the Hajee, which prevented the encounter of the parties, was, after all, a fortunate circumstance, since he and his Afghan horse would not have failed to join the Dost in attacking the feeble and jaded party of officers, in which case not one of whom would have escaped to tell the tale. On the 7th August, 1839, Shah Soojah, still resplendent with jewels, though without the Koh-i-noor, was conducted with martial pomp through the city of Cabul to the Bala Hissar, but there was no popular enthusiasm, and the procession resembled a funeral. The citizens came to their thresholds to gaze, not so much on the exiled and restored king, as on the cavalcade of infidels parading their streets, upon whom they did not fail to pour the most hearty maledictions.

Colonel Wade
and Timur,
1838.

Three weeks later, the Shah was joined by his son Timur, who advanced on the direct line from Peshawur to Cabul in company with a Sikh contingent. He was totally destitute of character or spirit, and the entire responsibility of the expedition devolved on Colonel Wade, the able and experienced political agent at Loodiana. The prince's army, composed of a very miscellaneous assortment of about 4,000 recruits, but paid by the Company, reached Peshawur on the 20th March. A month after, the Raja Golab Sing, and Runjeet Sing's grandson, Nao Nihal

Sing, joined the camp with about 6,000 Sikh soldiers. A march through the Khyber pass to unknown dangers was equally unpalatable to both men and commanders, and it was not difficult to discover pretexts for delay. Insubordination is the normal condition of all Indian armies, even under their own princes, and the Sikh army at Peshawur was no exception to the general rule. Soon after its arrival one regiment turned out the colonel and the officers, shotted the guns and calmly awaited the progress of events. This mutiny was no sooner hushed up, than another broke out in the Goorkha corps, which struck its tents, and marched out of the camp with drums beating and colours flying to Peshawur. There the men took up a position a little distance from the fort, and were permitted to remain in a state of open revolt while a report of their conduct was sent on to Lahore. After four months had been wasted at Peshawur through these and other impediments, the expedition entered the Khyber on the 20th July. The Afredies were prepared to resist its progress with vigour, but Colonel Wade defeated their project by crowning the heights and turning their flank, a manœuvre by which these defiles were probably for the first time opened by the use of steel and not of gold. Dost Mahomed had sent the ablest of his sons, Akbar Khan, to oppose the progress of this force, but he was recalled to the defence of the capital as Sir John Keane advanced from the south, and Colonel Wade, after having mastered the Khyber, reached Cabul without difficulty.

Retention of
the force in
Afghanistan,
1839.

The object of the expedition had now been attained by the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in Afghanistan, and the period had arrived, in accordance with Lord Auckland's manifesto, for the withdrawal of the British troops. It was evident, however, that there was no national feeling of attachment to the throne of the Shah, and that without the continued support of British bayonets it must eventually totter and fall. This truth had dawned on Mr. Macnaghten on his reaching Candahar, when

he wrote to the Governor-General that we must be prepared to look on Afghanistan for some years as an out-post yielding nothing, but requiring much expenditure to keep it in repair. Lord Auckland was equally convinced of the fact, and on the 20th August recorded his opinion that to leave the Shah without the support of a British army would be followed by his expulsion, and ensure a palpable failure of our plans, which would reflect disgrace on Government and become a source of danger. Our difficulties, as the Duke of Wellington had predicted, began as soon as our military success was complete. They commenced with the occupation of Cabul on the 2nd August, 1839, and they culminated on the 2nd November, 1841, in the insurrection which annihilated the army. To support the authority of the Shah it was determined to leave a body of about 10,000 troops to garrison Cabul, Jellalabad, Ghuzni, Candahar, and other places. General Willshire who commanded the Bombay force was directed on his way back to inflict a signal retribution on Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Belochistan, for having withheld supplies from the army on its march, and neglected to restrain the Beloochee freebooters, in violation of the treaty which Captain Burnes had forced on him. In both cases he set up a valid plea of inability, and it is impossible to exonerate the proceedings which were pursued against him from the charge of vindictiveness and injustice. Khelat was found to

be a very strong fortification, and the Beloochees

Capture of
Khelat, Oct. 15, fought valiantly for their chief and their country.
1839.

After the gates had been demolished by cannon, they continued to dispute every inch of ground, and Mehrab Khan fell with eight of his principal officers gallantly fighting in its defence. A relation was placed on the vacant throne and three of the most productive districts were annexed to the dominions of Shah Soojah, a most ungrateful return for the hospitable reception which Mehrab Khan had given to that monarch when he was obliged to fly from Afghanistan in 1833.

Honours, 1840. The expedition was as fertile in honours as it was barren in military achievements. It was a measure of ministerial policy, condemned by the general voice of society, in England and in India, and it was considered politic to make the most of the success which at first attended it. Lord Auckland was created an earl, and Sir John Keane, who had done nothing but leave his battering train behind him when he ought to have brought it on to Ghuzni, a baron with a pension of £2,000 a-year for two lives. Mr. Macnaghten, Colonel Pottinger, and General Willshire were made baronets, and Colonel Wade a knight; but Captain Thomson, whose exertions at Ghuzni saved the campaign from an ignominious failure received only a brevet-majority and the lowest order of the Bath, and at once retired from the service. The Shah was, moreover, advised to solicit permission of "his sister the Queen of England," to institute an order of knighthood, and the officers who had borne him on their shoulders to the throne were decorated with the evanescent "order of the Dooranee empire."

Death of Runjeet Sing, 1839. Runjeet Sing died as the expedition was leaving Candahar, on the 27th June, 1839, at the age of fifty-seven, the victim of the excesses in which he had long been accustomed to indulge. The last attack before that which terminated his life deprived him of the use of speech, but his active mind was as eager as ever in public affairs. He pointed with his finger to the quarter from which he desired information, heard the reports read, and dictated his orders by signs to his faithful secretary. He possessed the same grand creative genius as Sevajee and Hyder Ali, though like them he was unable either to read or write. It was his extraordinary talent alone which reared the edifice of Sikh greatness, and if he had not been hemmed in by the irresistible power of the Company, he would undoubtedly have established a new and magnificent empire in Hindostan. He succeeded to the leadership of his tribe at the early age of seventeen, when the Punjab was distracted by the conflicts of its various indepen-

dent chieftains. He left it a compact and powerful kingdom, strengthened by the annexation of some of the richest provinces of the Dooranee empire. The military array of the country at the beginning of his career consisted only of a body of matchlock horsemen, who, though as renowned in India as the Mahratta or Mysore horse, were not adapted for any regular and extensive system of warfare. By indefatigable exertions, by the adoption of every improvement he could hear of, and by incessant and successful expeditions, he succeeded in creating an army 80,000 strong, with 300 pieces of cannon, superior in discipline, valour, and equipment to any force which had ever been seen in India under native colours. His annual revenue was gradually augmented till it reached two crores of rupees. He exhibited to an extraordinary degree the oriental passion for hoarding, and considered it a sacred duty to allow no day to pass without adding a sum, greater or less, to his accumulations. It is related that when he sometimes sat silent and moody at his evening durbar, and the courtiers enquired the cause of his depression, he replied, "it is near sunset and not a rupee has been sent to the *mootee mundeer*, or the treasury, to-day." Twenty voices exclaimed with joined hands, "Maharaj, my money is yours," and he immediately required them to verify the assertion by affixing their signature to a note of hand, which they were punctually obliged to honour the next day. The sum which he was enabled to amass exceeded twelve crores of rupees, of which he is said to have directed that forty lacs should be distributed in charity after his death. He bequeathed the celebrated Koh-i-noor which now adorns the diadem of England to the shrine of Juggunnath, and he left the crown to his imbecile son, Kurruck Sing, but the real power of the state was shared between his grandson, Nao Nihal Sing, an impetuous youth of eighteen, and Dhyan Sing, one of the crafty and ambitious Jummoo brothers, who contrived to appropriate the office of minister to himself. Runjeet Sing was the only man in his court friendly to the British alliance. During the expe-

dition to Afghanistan, he placed the resources of the Punjab unreservedly at the disposal of the Governor-General, and it was not till after his death that the hostility of the Lahore cabinet was openly developed. It was then that the Sikh officers on the frontier entered into a hostile correspondence with the disaffected in Afghanistan, and intrigued against the British Government with the tribes who held the command of the passes. The ministers at Lahore remonstrated in a lofty tone against the constant movement of British armaments and convoys through the Punjab, asserting that there was nothing in the treaties between the two states to sanction the conversion of their country into a highway for British troops; and it required the extraordinary tact of our representative, Mr. George Clerk, to prevent a direct collision. This opposition indefinitely augmented the perils of our position in Afghanistan, and exasperated Sir William Macnaghten to such a degree that throughout the ensuing year, he never ceased to press on Lord Auckland the necessity of "curbing the Sings," as the Sikhs were termed, "and macadamizing the Punjab, and annexing Peshawur to the dominions of Shah Soojah."

Russian complaints against Khiva, 1840.

Soon after the occupation of Cabul, the Russo-phobia which incessantly oppressed the minds of Sir William Macnaghten, Sir Alexander Burnes, and many others, was raised to fever heat by the report that a great Russian expedition was marching on Khiva, which they considered the immediate precursor of a movement towards the Indus, though the intervening country of more than a thousand miles consists of deserts without water, and mountains covered with perpetual snow. Khiva, the celebrated Kharism of early Mahomedan history, lies to the south of the sea of Aral, on the banks of the Oxus, towards its estuary. With the exception of the land on the banks of that river and the oasis of Merv, the country presents the aspect of a continuous waste, unrelieved by mountains, rivers, lakes, or forests. The population does not greatly exceed a million, and consists chiefly of Oosbegs. For half a century, the Khan, or ruler,

had been in the habit of committing depredations on Russian caravans, attacking Russian out stations on the sea of Aral, and kidnapping Russian subjects whom he sold into slavery. After repeated remonstrances from Orenberg, a Russian envoy was sent to demand the release of the slaves, but the barbarian chief placed him in confinement. The Emperor then tried the experiment of retaliation, and in 1836 laid an embargo on all the property and the subjects of the Khan within his dominions; but scarcely a hundred of the captives were liberated in the course of two years. The Emperor at length resolved to despatch a military expedition against Khiva, to fulfil the imperative obligation of protecting the lives and liberty of his own subjects.

British diplo-
macy in Central
Asia, 1839-40.

This expedition had a twofold motive. In his Simla manifesto, Lord Auckland stated that the object of the expedition across the Indus was "to give the name and just influence of the British Government its proper footing among the nations of Central Asia." The ambitious spirit of Sir William Macnaghten was prepared to carry out this novel and adventurous policy to an extent which alarmed even his own Government. Soon after the occupation of Cabul, he sent a regiment of infantry and a troop of horse artillery to Bameean in the Hindoo Koosh, under the direction of Dr. Lord, the political agent, who pushed forward the force still farther into the Oosbeg district of Syghan, and installed a chief of his own selection in the government of it. This aggressive movement, for which there was no occasion and no excuse, appeared to indicate a settled design to establish British influence and power in Turkistan, and spread alarm among its different rulers. Major Todd, who had been sent as the British representative to Herat, was diligently employed in improving its fortifications, and had, moreover, sent a communication to the Khan of Khiva, offering him British friendship and alliance. The Khan, threatened with a Russian invasion, had also sent an envoy to Herat to make proposals for a treaty. Major Todd then deputed Captain Abbot, one of his

assistants, to Khiva to persuade the Khan to propitiate the Government of Russia by liberating the captives; but he exceeded his instructions and proposed a British alliance offensive and defensive. The proposal was immediately disavowed by the Government of India, and he was recalled, but the repudiation was not generally known, and the influence of this rash procedure remained without correction. Colonel Stoddart had also been sent on a mission to Bokhara by Mr. McNeill. These simultaneous movements, military and diplomatic, at Syghan, and at Khiva, at the source and the mouth of the Oxus, at Herat, and at Bokhara, raised a suspicion at St. Petersburg that the object of England was not simply to prevent the advance of Russian influence to India, but to introduce British influence into Central Asia, and the Emperor took his measures accordingly. The Russian expedition to Khiva had been timed to leave Orenberg in April, 1840, but the Emperor was induced to hasten its departure by the rapid establishment of British power in Afghanistan, and the activity of British diplomacy beyond its limits, and it was ordered to proceed at the beginning of winter in November, 1839. The manifesto which announced it, not only enumerated the grievances which the Russians had suffered from the Khivans, but adopting the language of Lord Auckland's proclamation, stated that the expedition "was intended to strengthen in that part of Asia the lawful influence to which Russia has a right, and which alone can ensure the maintenance of peace." In the Russian account of it, the object was affirmed without disguise to be "to establish the strong influence of Russia in the Khanats"—as the principalities of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan are styled—"and to prevent the influence of the East India Company from taking root in Central Asia." The two European powers, destined eventually to divide political influence in Asia between them, were in fact, at this period, jealous of each other's progress, and resorted to the fatal expedient of fitting out armaments to counteract it. "If we go on at this rate," said Baron Brunow, the Russian Minister in

London to Lord Palmerston, "the Cossack and the sepoy will soon cross bayonets on the Oxus." The Russian expedition proved a total failure. The army consisting of 3,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and twenty-two field guns, with 10,000 camels, started from Orenberg in November on a march of a thousand miles to Khiva; but the attempt to traverse the desert between the Caspian sea and the sea of Aral in the depth of winter, when the ground was covered with snow to the depth of many feet, and not a blade of grass was to be found for several hundred miles, was an act of infatuation. After advancing to the centre of this scene of desolation, the expedition completely broke down, and the General prudently retraced his steps to Orenberg, with the loss of the greater portion of his materiel and his men. Major Todd, after the recal of Captain Abbot, deputed Captain Richmond Shakespeare on the same errand to Khiva. He reached it at the critical period when the Khan was overwhelmed with a dread of Russian vengeance, which served to strengthen our representations, and induced him to liberate four hundred Russian captives, whom Captain Shakespeare had the pleasure of conveying to Orenberg. The Russian Government felt the same irritation at the intrusion of British agency and influence into any of the provinces of Turkistan, as the British Government had felt at the interference of Russia at Cabul and Candahar. The liberation of the captives was attributed by the Russians to the terror of their power, and every idea of obligation to the British officer for his officious services was distinctly repudiated.

To return to Cabul. The first and most important question which arose upon the determination to hold Afghanistan with a British force, was the housing of the troops, more especially during the approaching winter. The Bala Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, stood on a hill, and completely commanded the city. It afforded accommodation for 5,000 men, and if well provisioned and fortified could be held by a thousand men against any force or skill which Afghanistan could bring against it. Captain

The Bala Hissar
and the canton-
ments, 1839.

Havelock had remarked soon after the occupation of Cabul, "Here then all depends in a military point of view on a firm hold of the Bala Hissar. It is the key of Cabul. The troops that hold it ought not to allow themselves to be dislodged but by a siege, and they must awe its population by their mortars and their howitzers." Lieut.—now Sir Henry—Durand, the engineer of the force, strongly urged the occupation of the upper portion of it by the troops. They were accordingly cantoned there, and preparations were made to provide cover for the military stores and ammunition, and to improve the fortifications, which would soon have become impregnable; but Shah Soojah maintained that it was his palace, and that the privacy of his zenana would be disturbed if any portion of it were occupied as a barrack. Some of the native chiefs likewise raised objections to the establishment of a British garrison within its walls, and for the very reason which rendered such a measure indispensable to the safety of the army. The works were therefore discontinued, and the troops lodged in temporary houses at the base of the citadel. The Shah and the envoy took up their residence for the winter in the milder climate of Jellalabad. On their return to the capital in the spring, the Shah demanded the whole of the Bala Hissar for his seraglio, consisting of a hundred and sixty females, and Sir W. Macnaghten yielded to his importunity, contrary to his own better judgment, but not without the concurrence of the Commander of the forces, Sir Willoughby Cotton. The British troops were therefore turned out into cantonments erected in the plain in the most exposed position which could have been selected. This fatal weakness on the part of the Envoy eventually entailed the loss of his own life, and the annihilation of the army. The whole of the Afghan policy from first to last was a succession of unexampled blunders, but the crowning act of folly was the evacuation of the Bala Hissar to make room for the women of the king.

Herat, 1840.

On the arrival of the army at Candahar the Envoy despatched Major Todd as political agent to Herat to

conclude a treaty with Shah Kamran, to conciliate his vizier, Yar Mahomed, and to improve the fortifications of the city. To maintain British influence at that court, money was sent in profusion from Cabul; but Yar Mahomed took great offence at the earnest efforts of Major Todd to put down the execrable traffic in slaves in which he was largely engaged, and he likewise professed to be alarmed at the political movements of British agents in Central Asia. While receiving constant supplies of money from the British Government he opened a correspondence with the nearest Persian governor, and offered to place the whole country at the disposal of the king. Incensed at these acts of perfidy, Sir William Macnaghten urged the annexation of Herat to the territories of Shah Soojah, but Lord Auckland, believing that Yar Mahomed might have been induced to apply to Persia, in consequence of the diplomatic movements of our officers in the neighbouring countries, determined to overlook his past delinquencies, and make another experiment on his gratitude. The supply of guns and muskets, of ammunition and money, was consequently renewed, and with such prodigality as to terrify the financial authorities in Calcutta. This lavish expenditure resulted only in more audacious intrigues with Persia. Kamran addressed a letter to the king, in which he styled himself the faithful servant of the Persian crown, and proposed a united effort to expel the infidels, whom he said he tolerated only for their money. Under this fresh provocation, Lord Auckland's mind began to waver regarding the expedition to Herat, which Sir William continued to press with unabated earnestness; but he was now in Calcutta at his own Council board, and the Commander-in-chief demonstrated to him that the present strength of the Indian army was altogether inadequate for any new undertaking. The expedition was therefore definitively negatived, notwithstanding the unabated importunity of the Envoy, who pronounced the conduct of the Governor-General to be "drivelling beneath contempt," and "sighed for a Wellesley or a Hastings."

State of the
Government
of Afghanistan,
1840.

The conviction daily became more confirmed that Shah Soojah not only had no hold on the affections of his subjects, but that he was an object of intense aversion to them. The Afghans whom he had appointed to the administration of districts were venal and oppressive, but the main cause of his unpopularity was the infidel aid on which he rested for support. It could not be concealed from the Afghans that while he was the nominal sovereign, the country was in truth ruled by the Envoy, and that all real power was in the hands of the foreign unbelievers, whose presence in the country was felt to be a visitation like the plague. Nor had the Shah the means of satisfying the expectations of his needy aristocracy, even if they had been moderate. The most productive provinces which once belonged to the crown of Cabul had been annexed to the Punjab by Runjeet Sing, and the remaining districts yielded only fifteen lacs of rupees a-year, which were scarcely sufficient to pay the priesthood, and to meet the expenses of the Shah's soldiers and his own household. Among the British officers entrusted with the management of districts, were the honorable names of Pottinger, Rawlinson, Todd, Leech, and Mackeson, but there were others who brought odium on the Government by their haughty bearing and their wanton and arbitrary proceedings. The first mission to Cabul had not inspired the Afghans with a very exalted idea of English morals, and, after the occupation of the country, the undisguised licentiousness of some of the officers, and more especially of several of those who, for obvious reasons, took up their residence in the city, the invasion of the harems of the chiefs, and the dishonour inflicted on their families, brought down curses on the "infidel dogs." Everything concurred to render our presence hateful and our position precarious. During the twenty-seven months of our occupation, the Government was a government of sentry boxes, and it was sustained only by the gleam of British bayonets. The country was garrisoned, not governed, and we were reposing

on a smothered volcano. Yet so confident did Sir William Macnaghten feel of the security of our situation that he sent for Lady Macnaghten to Cabul. His example was followed by other officers, and the guardianship of ladies in an enemy's country, hundreds of miles from our own frontier, was added to the other embarrassments of our position.

Movements of
Dost Mahomed,
1840.

The first disturbance broke out in the Khyber pass where, within a few weeks of the occupation of Cabul, the mountaineers massacred a large detachment of troops and carried off their baggage in triumph. Through the length and breadth of the land, from the neighbourhood of Jellalabad to Khelat, violence was the rule, and repose the exception. One of the most serious revolts occurred in Belochistan, in the middle of 1840, when the whole province was wrested from us, the chief whom General Willshire had chosen was deposed, and the son of Mehrab Khan seated on the throne. General Nott was obliged to march down from Candahar to restore our authority in this important principality, which though wild and thinly populated extends from the banks of the Indus to the confines of Persia. The capital was recaptured and our power re-established. But the great source of anxiety throughout the year 1840, was connected with the movements of Dost Mahomed. After his flight from Cabul in August, 1839, he was hospitably entertained by the chief of Kholoom beyond Bameean. He was then induced to accept the invitation of Nusser-oolla, the Ameer of Bokhara the "commander of the faithful," as he was styled, but who was for more than thirty years the most brutal tyrant in all Transoxiana. Dost Mahomed and his sons were treated at first with some show of kindness, but it was not long before they were subjected to a rigorous and painful captivity, which was subsequently relaxed on the intercession of the King of Persia, and on the appearance of British troops at Syghan. Meanwhile, Jubbur Khan, after wandering from place to place with the females of the Dost's family, was persuaded to entrust them to the protection of the British Government. The confidence thus

reposed in our good faith by a people proverbial for perfidy, was no ordinary tribute of honour to our national character. The ladies and children were conveyed to Hindostan and treated with every consideration. The Dost at length succeeded in making his escape from Bokhara, and returned to Khooloom, where he was received with open arms by the chief, who placed the resources of the province at his disposal. The Oosbeks crowded to his standard, and in a short time he found himself at the head of a force of 6,000 or 8,000 men, with which he resolved to cross the Hindoo Koosh, raise the war cry of the Prophet, and, gathering strength from the unpopularity of the Shah and his infidel supporters, march in triumph to Cabul. An entire company of Captain Hopkins's Afghan regiment deserted to him with their arms and accoutrements, under the guidance of their native commandant, Saleh Mahomed. The British outposts which had been rashly planted in these mountain stations without any support were withdrawn in haste. Cabul was thrown into a state of commotion, and the inhabitants commenced closing their shops and removing their families. The representative of the Lahore Government began openly to intrigue against the Shah. The region north of Cabul was ripe for insurrection. "The Afghans," wrote Sir William, "are powder, and the Dost is a lighted match;" but the alarm subsided as speedily as it arose. Brigadier Dennie, who had been sent to reinforce Bameean, came up with the Dost on the 18th September, and with a mere handful of troops obtained a decisive victory over the whole host of Oosbeks.

Surrender of
Dost Mahomed,
1840.

The Dost, after this defeat, moved into the Kohistan, or highlands north of the capital. The chiefs had recently returned from the presence of the Shah, to whom they had taken an oath of fidelity on the Koran, but they received their former master with cordiality, and prepared heartily to espouse his cause. Sir Robert Sale was sent into the hills to attack them and had signal success at Tootundurra, but was soon after defeated in an injudicious

attempt to capture a fort. Dost Mahomed, after flitting about the country for two or three weeks, came down into the Nijrow district, a few miles from the capital, which again presented a scene of fermentation. The British officials were filled with consternation; guns were mounted on the citadel to overawe the town, and the Envoy talked of "the disgrace of being locked up in Cabul for some time." Sir Robert Sale, who had been incessantly tracking the Dost, came upon him on the 2nd November in the valley of Purwandurra. The heights around were bristling with an armed population, but he had only about two hundred ill-mounted, though strong and sturdy Afghans with him. He had no intention to attack his pursuers, but the 2nd Native Cavalry galloped down upon him and he resolved boldly to meet the charge. Raising himself in his stirrup, and uncovering his head, he called upon his soldiers, in the name of God and the Prophet, to aid him in driving the accursed infidels from the land of the faithful. The cavalry troopers fled from the field like a flock of sheep, while their European officers fought on with the courage of heroes, till three of them were killed and two wounded. Sir Alexander Burnes, who had accompanied the force, sent a hasty note to Sir William Macnaghten to announce the disaster and to assure him there was now no course left but to fall back on Cabul, and concentrate all the troops there. The communication did not, however, reach him before the following afternoon, when he was taking a ride; but before he had recovered from the surprise it occasioned, a horseman rode up and accosted him with the words, "the Ameer is at hand." "What Ameer?" asked the Envoy. "Dost Mahomed Khan," was the reply, and immediately after, the Ameer presented himself, and having dismounted, placed his sword in the hands of Sir William and claimed his protection. "He had felt," he said, "even in the moment of victory, that it would be impossible for him to continue the contest. He had met his foes in an open field, and discomfited them, and the time had arrived when he could claim their consideration with

dignity." Sir William returned his sword and begged him to remount, and they rode together to the cantonments, where, with that ease which is characteristic of the natives of the East, he entered into free conversation, recounted his wanderings and sufferings during the last fifteen months, and made numerous enquiries regarding his family and relatives. His frank and princely bearing in the hour of adversity created a strong feeling of sympathy and admiration among the officers who crowded to listen to him, which was in no small degree heightened by the contempt they felt for the wretched puppet in the Bala Hissar. Sir William Macnaghten, when bewildered with the anxieties to which the approach of the Dost to Cabul gave rise, had said in his letters to Calcutta that no mercy should be shewn to the man who was the author of these distractions, and he had hinted at the proposal of setting a price on his head; but the magnanimous confidence of the Dost called forth all the noble feelings of his nature. In announcing his voluntary surrender to Lord Auckland, he said, "I hope he will be treated with liberality. His case is not parallel with that of the Shah. The Shah had no claim on us; we had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom, whereas, we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he is the victim." He was escorted to Calcutta, and the liberal sum of two lacs of rupees a-year was assigned for his support. He became the honoured guest of the Governor-General at the festivities of Government House, where he amused himself with testing the skill of Miss Eden at chess.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION, 1841-42.

Herat, 1841.

THE lenity shewn by Lord Auckland to Yar Mahomed in condoning his perfidy, and continuing the supply of arms and money, elicited at first some appearance of gratitude, but he speedily resumed his treacherous communications with the court of Persia, and Major Todd had the courage to refuse any payment beyond the monthly subsidy of 25,000 rupees. Yar Mahomed immediately renewed his intrigues with increased vigour, and despatched an agent to the Persian governor of Meshid, inviting him to unite in an attack on Candahar while the road to Cabul was blocked up with snow, and also instigated the disaffected chiefs of Western Afghanistan to revolt. This glaring act of perfidy exhausted the patience of Major Todd, who took advantage of the assemblage of a large British force in Upper Sindh, to suspend even the monthly allowance, till the pleasure of his Government was known. But this only served to kindle the wrath of the minister, and to increase his demands. On the 8th February, he required the payment of two lacs of rupees to discharge his own debts, as well as a further advance of money to improve the fortifications, and an increase of the regular stipend. Major Todd made the injudicious request that he would admit a contingent of British troops into Herat, and depute his own son to meet and escort them, if the measure were approved by his own Government. Yar Mahomed refused the request and peremptorily insisted on the immediate payment of all his demands, or the instant departure of the mission, and Major Todd at once determined to withdraw from

Herat. Lord Auckland was mortified with this precipitate movement which aggravated the difficulties of our position in Afghanistan, and cast an air of ridicule on the whole policy of the Government. The Major was dismissed from his political employment, and remanded to his regiment. This has been considered a harsh if not an unjust measure, but it is impossible to peruse the clear and able vindication of this proceeding which Lord Auckland placed on record, without admitting the great force of his justification. The abrupt termination of the mission was in one respect inopportune, inasmuch as all our differences with Persia had been accommodated and the court of Persia was closed against the intrigues of Kamran before it occurred, though the fact was not known at the time to Major Todd; in other respects it cannot be considered unfortunate, as it withdrew our officers from the dangers to which they would inevitably have been exposed nine months later on our expulsion from Cabul.

General Nott and
Major Rawlinson
at Candahar,
1840.

The political charge of the province of Candahar had been entrusted to Major—now Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had served his apprenticeship to diplomacy in Persia, where he had acquired a complete knowledge of the language and character of the people, and a clear perception of the position and policy of the different courts in Central Asia. He was second to none of the political officers whose talents were developed, and whose reputation was nurtured, in the instructive school of Afghan politics, and it was mainly owing to his foresight and management that our authority was maintained in that seething cauldron of rebellion. The military command was in the hands of General Nott, who, with all his infirmities of temper, possessed a fund of sound sense, a spirit of great decision, and no inconsiderable store of professional knowledge. He was prompt and energetic in dealing with the revolts which were continually cropping up around him, but the freedom of his remarks was displeasing to Sir W. Macnaghten and to Lord Auckland, and he was consequently refused the promotion to which his

rank and abilities entitled him. On the retirement of Sir Willoughby Cotton from Cabul, that important command should, in all fairness, have been entrusted to him; but he was again passed over; and it is melancholy to reflect how different would have been the course of events, and the fate of the army, if he had been at the side of Sir William Macnaghten, on the memorable morning of the 2nd November. The Dooranees who occupied the province of Zemindawer, lying between Candahar and Herat, were of Shah Soojah's own tribe; they had been subjected to great oppression during the ascendancy of the Barukzyes and hailed the return of their prince as a deliverer with delight. If there was one province in Afghanistan more than another in which the Shah had reason to expect cordial loyalty and unflinching support, it was in that occupied by the Dooranees; but when their expectations of sharing the sweets of power under a ruler of their own clan were disappointed, and they found that all real power was monopolized by strangers and infidels, no tribe eventually manifested a more rancorous hostility to the Shah. In November, 1840, Aktar Khan, their chief, openly announced his intention to march on Candahar, and General Nott sent a force to beat up his quarters, which awed him into temporary submission. He succeeded in reassembling his army, and in July took up a position on the Helmund, with 6,000 men, in six divisions, with a priest at the head of each, and a banner inscribed "We have been trusting in God; may he guide and guard us." He was vigorously attacked by Colonel Woodburn and defeated, but assembled his followers again in the following month, when a more signal discomfiture broke up the confederacy. These successive reverses dismayed the Dooranee chiefs who came in and made their submission to the representative of the Shah, with the exception of Akram Khan, whose indomitable spirit resisted every overture and defied every threat. His feelings were well expressed in the common Afghan remark, "We are content with blood, but shall never be content with a master." In other countries, his

conduct might have been deemed patriotic, but in Afghanistan it was pronounced treasonable, and it was resolved that no mercy should be shewn him. One of his own countrymen was induced by a bribe to disclose his retreat; he was seized and brought into Candahar, and, under positive orders from Cabul, barbarously blown from a gun.

Eastern Ghilzyes,
1841.

The province lying to the north-east of Candahar was inhabited by the Ghilzyes, a fine muscular race, expert in the use of the musket, sword, and knife, and characterized by an intense ferocity of disposition, the result of centuries of rapine and petty warfare. They were able to bring 40,000 men into the field, and were as jealous of their own independence in their wild mountains, as they were eager to destroy that of others. They had in time past carried their victorious arms to the capital of Persia, and recorded their prowess on many a battle field in India. They had played an important part in the politics of Afghanistan, where, within three generations, they had exercised supreme authority. They had been the most resolute opponents of every invader, and had never bowed the neck to the rulers of Cabul or Candahar, but continued with perfect impunity their hereditary profession of levying black mail on all who traversed their mountains. Though Sir William Macnaghten had prevailed on them for an annual subsidy of 30,000 rupees to abstain from infesting the highways, their deep-rooted hostility to the intrusive foreigners was becoming daily more palpable, and it was resolved to strengthen the fortifications of Khelat-i-ghilzye which lay in the heart of their country. They were determined to oppose a measure which would restrain their freedom, and they boldly advanced to obstruct the progress of Colonel Weymer, who was sent against them with a body of 5,000 men. The combat, which took place on the 22nd May, 1841, lasted five hours; and it was not till ten in the evening that they quitted the field, carrying their wounded with them. The strength of the tribe was impaired by this and a subsequent defeat, and Sir William Macnagh-

ten began to congratulate himself on the cheering aspect of affairs in Afghanistan, and to flatter himself that all difficulty in managing the country was now removed. But Major Robinson, with a clearer appreciation of the precariousness of our position, did not fail to press on him the unpalatable truth that the country was universally pervaded by an implacable spirit of hostility, and that there would assuredly be a general outburst, on the first favourable opportunity.

That opportunity was not far distant. The expense of garrisoning Afghanistan began to tell to an alarming extent on the finances of India.

Resolution to hold Afghanistan, 1841.

The army of occupation fell little short of 25,000 men, and the annual charge was moderately computed at a crore and a half of rupees. All the treasure accumulated by Lord William Bentinck's economical reforms had been exhausted, and the treasury was empty. The Court of Directors were alarmed, and at the close of 1840 communicated their apprehensions to Lord Auckland. The restored monarchy, they said, would evidently require a British force to maintain tranquillity within, and prevent aggression from without; to attempt to accomplish this object by a small force would be unwise and dangerous, and they should prefer the entire abandonment of the country, with a frank avowal of the complete failure of our project; but they left it to the Government of India to determine the course to be adopted—either a speedy withdrawal from the country, or a large increase of the army. When the surrender of Dost Mahomed was announced at the India House, the Directors stated that it had made no change in their views, and they trusted that advantage would be taken of this auspicious circumstance to bring the question to an issue in accordance with their wishes. Nothing could be more judicious than this recommendation. Since our entry into Afghanistan there had been no opportunity so favourable for retiring from it. All apprehension of an invasion from the west had disappeared. The Persian court was on the most friendly terms with us. The expedition of the Russians to

Khiva had failed, and they were no longer heard of in Central Asia. Dost Mahomed and his family were in our hands. Khelat had been recovered, and Belochistan reoccupied. "The noses of the Dooranee chiefs," as Sir William Macnaghten affirmed, "had been brought to the grindstone. Afghanistan was as quiet as an Indian district, and its tranquillity was miraculous." Lord Auckland could not, however, bring himself to approve of a retrograde movement in Afghanistan, before the authority of the Shah had been completely established, though it was impossible not to perceive that our presence was the chief cause of his unpopularity and insecurity. The two civil members of the Council concurred with him in voting for the maintenance of our position in Afghanistan. The two military members who would undoubtedly have voted with the Court of Directors for the withdrawal of our army, had no opportunity, either by accident or by design, of recording their opinions. Sir William Macnaghten, on hearing that the question of withdrawing the British force had been the subject of serious discussion, declared that to deprive the Shah of British support would be an act of "unparalleled political atrocity, and that he would pack up his all, and return to his asylum at Loodiana as soon as the resolution was communicated to him." We had, in fact, placed ourselves in a position from which it was impossible to recede without the complete collapse of our policy, which would have exposed us to the ridicule of Central Asia, and of the princes of India. Neither could we hold it without an enormous and apparently interminable expenditure, which would cripple the resources of Government, and deprive it of the power of doing justice to the interests of India.

Retrenchment
and revolt,
1841-42.

The Governor-General, having resolved to remain in Afghanistan, opened a new loan, and inculcated a system of rigid economy on the Envoy, which was to be begun with curtailing the stipends of the chiefs. By that fatality which seemed to cling to every measure connected with this ill-starred expedition, the retrenchments which should have been delayed to the last were the first

adopted. These stipends were considered by Sir William Macnaghten as a compensation to the chiefs for relinquishing the immemorial practice of levying contributions on the high-ways in their respective districts. He had many misgivings about the wisdom of this economy, which would affect every tribe in the country, but the orders from Calcutta were peremptory, and the eastern Ghilzye chiefs were the first to be summoned to Cabul and informed that the exigencies of the state rendered it necessary to reduce their allowance. They received the announcement at the beginning of October, without any apparent discontent, made their salaam to the Envoy, and returning to their mountain fastnesses, plundered a caravan, and closed the road to India by blocking up the passes. They had always regarded these exactions from travellers in the light of an ancient inheritance, and an indefeasible right. They were magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Afghanistan, and cared not who ruled, so long as their privileges were respected. The stipends now about to be reduced had been guaranteed to them when we entered the country, and they had performed their part of the contract with exemplary fidelity. They had not allowed a finger to be raised against our posts, or couriers, or weak detachments, and convoys of every description had passed through their terrific defiles, the strongest mountain barriers in the world, without interruption. The Shah, on hearing of this hostile movement, sent Humza Khan, the governor of the Ghilzyes, whose allowance had also been retrenched, to bring them to reason, but as he was himself at the root of the conspiracy, his presence only served to fan the flame. The 35th Native Infantry, commanded by Colonel Monteith, which was under orders to return to the provinces, was directed by the Envoy to "proceed to the passes and chastise these rascals and open the road to India," but he was treacherously attacked during the night by the mountaineers, who were abetted by the horsemen and officers the Shah had deputed to accompany and assist him, and he lost much baggage. Sir Robert Sale,

who had been appointed to command the brigade of troops returning to India, was sent forward to the support of the 35th. He encountered no little opposition in the Khoord Cabul, and on reaching Tezeen ordered a large detachment to proceed against the fort of the leader of the Ghilzyes, the capture of which would have inflicted a severe, and perhaps a decisive blow on the insurrection. The wily chief sent his envoys to cozen the political agent with the force, who allowed himself to be drawn into a treaty which conceded nearly all the claims of the insurgents. Their stipends were restored, and a sum of 10,000 rupees was actually paid down to them, though they were then in open hostility. Not only was the opportunity of nipping the revolt in the bud thus sacrificed, but it was indefinitely strengthened by this fatuous compliance, which proclaimed the weakness of Government, and enabled the chiefs to announce that Sir Robert Sale had been obliged to purchase their forbearance. They gave hostages, it is true, to accompany the force, well knowing that we should not injure them, under any circumstances, but they took care at the same time to send emissaries to raise the tribes on the route, who attacked the brigade at every point as it advanced towards Gundamuk. Sir Robert Sale reached that station in the beginning of November, and found all communication with Cabul cut off, and the intermediate country in a blaze of rebellion.

Security of the Envoy, 1841. Sir William Macnaghten had been rewarded for his services by the Governorship of Bombay, and had made preparations for leaving Cabul in the beginning of November. Throughout the previous month, while the surface of society in Afghanistan presented the image of unruffled calm, a general confederacy, which embraced almost every influential chief of every tribe, was organized for the expulsion of the infidels from the country. Intimation of it poured in upon the British authorities from all quarters. Major Pottinger, who, since his departure from Herat, had taken charge of the political duties in the highlands north of

Cabul; Captain Colin Mackenzie, whose public occupation in the city placed him in a position to feel the native pulse; Lieutenant Conolly, in attendance at the Shah's court; Mohun Lall, a Cashmere youth who had received the benefit of an English education, and acted as Sir Alexander Burnes's moonshee, together, with many others, warned the Envoy of the storm which was gathering. But he had persuaded himself that the country was in a state of unexampled repose, and that the rising of the Ghilzyes was a mere local émeute which might be easily suppressed, and not the token of a national revolt. He was confirmed in this feeling of security by Sir Alexander, who was to succeed to his political employment, and who was supposed to enjoy the best opportunities of knowing the feelings of the chiefs and the people. On the evening of the 1st November he called on Sir William Macnaghten and congratulated him on leaving the country in a state of profound tranquillity. At the same hour, some of the conspirators were

assembled in a house in the city to arrange the plan of the insurrection. Among the foremost was Abdoolla Khan, a proud and vindictive noble, who had been deprived of the headship of his tribe, and now revenged himself by fomenting the outbreak of the Ghilzyes. Aware of his sinister designs, Sir Alexander Burnes had sent him an offensive message, calling him a dog, and threatening to recommend the Shah to deprive him of his ears. At this meeting he advised that the first attack on the morrow should be made on the house of the man who had insulted him. Sir Alexander was unfortunately more obnoxious to the Afghan chiefs, not excepting even the Shah himself, than any of the other British officers, some of whom, by their genial disposition and their high moral character, had acquired general esteem. He received repeated premonitions of his danger, but he had an overweening confidence in his personal influence over the Afghans, and treated every suggestion with contempt. The insurgents surrounded his house at dawn with loud yells, when for the first time he became aware of the peril of his situation,

Insurrection at
Cabul. Murder
of Sir A. Burnes,
1841.

and despatched a note to Sir William for succour. He likewise sent two messengers to Abdoolla Khan offering to redress all his grievances if he would restrain the fury of the people; but one of them was murdered, and the other covered with wounds. He harangued the mob from his balcony, and offered large sums for his own life and that of his brother, but the Afghans were thirsting for his blood, and for the more tempting plunder of the neighbouring treasury. Captain William Broadfoot fell in defence of the house, but not before he had slain six of his assailants. A Mahomedan Cashmerian then entered the house, and approaching Sir Alexander solemnly swore on the Koran to conduct him to a place of safety if he would direct his guard to cease firing on the insurgents, but no sooner had he and his brother entered the garden, than the miscreant called out "This is Secunder—Sir Alexander—Burnes Sahib," and they were immediately hacked to pieces by the infuriated crowd. The insurgents then attacked the adjoining house of Captain Johnson, the paymaster of the Shah's force, and plundered it of 170,000 rupees, which he had imprudently removed from the Bala Hissar to suit his own convenience. The houses of the officers were then set on fire, and all the records consumed. The mob did not originally exceed a hundred, but the number was rapidly augmented by the success of this exploit and the booty which had been acquired, and the whole city was soon in a flame of hostile excitement. The confederate chiefs who had stirred up the émeute, had so little expectation of its success that they kept aloof from the assailants, and had their horses ready for flight on the first appearance of British troops; and it was not till the afternoon, when it appeared that no efforts were to be made to avenge the outrage and to vindicate our authority, that they ventured abroad. The slightest exhibition of energy at the commencement would have extinguished the insurrection. This assertion rests not only on the authority of the officers who survived the catastrophe, but also on that of all the native chiefs to whose custody they were subsequently committed. It appears absolutely

incredible that a British army of 5,000 men should have been allowed to remain inactive within a mile and a quarter of the spot where British officers of the highest rank had been murdered, and a British treasury sacked by a handful of insurgents.

General Elphinstone's infirmities, 1841.

The General-in-chief in Afghanistan was General Elphinstone, a gallant old Queen's officer, but utterly disqualified for this important and dangerous post by his physical infirmities. These were fully known to Lord Auckland when he importuned him to accept the post, contrary to the advice of Sir Jasper Nicholls, the Commander-in-chief, who earnestly recommended that it should be given to General Nott; but General Nott had incurred the displeasure of Lord Auckland by the freedom of his remarks. It is impossible, therefore, to exonerate the Governor-General from a large share of the responsibility of the overwhelming calamity which ensued, and which is to be attributed to the incompetency of the officer entrusted with the supreme command in a country ripe for revolt. General Elphinstone was equally unfitted for this arduous duty by his mental weakness, and the total want of all decision of character. It was at seven in the morning of the 2nd November, that Sir William received information that the city was in a ferment, and that Sir Alexander Burnes's house was besieged, and he proceeded immediately to consult the General. The Envoy made light of the émeute which he said would speedily subside, and the General was too happy to be spared the exertion of thought, not to acquiesce in this opinion. It was decided, however, that Brigadier Shelton's brigade, which was encamped on the neighbouring heights of Sea Sung, should be ordered to proceed to the Bala Hissar to act as might appear expedient, that assistance should be sent, if possible, to Sir Alexander Burnes, and that the remainder of the troops should be concentrated in the cantonments. At a period when moments were of inestimable value, hours were wasted in communications with the Shah regarding the admission of the Brigadier's force into the Bala

Fatal procrastination, 1841.

Hissar, which was at first refused, and it was mid-day before these orders and counter-orders terminated with permission to march. On the arrival of the Brigadier, the Shah asked who had sent him, and why he had come? The Shah himself, however, was the only man who acted with promptitude on that memorable morning. On hearing of the outbreak he ordered his own regiment of Hindostanees under the command of Colonel Campbell to proceed at once to the spot and quell it. If that officer had promptly marched along the skirt of the hill without any incumbrance, he might have arrived in time to save Sir Alexander Burnes and the treasure, but he proceeded with his guns through the narrow and intricate streets of the city, where his way was soon blocked up by the opposition of the inhabitants. The insurgents, flushed with success, drove his regiment back, and Brigadier Shelton did nothing more than cover its retreat to the Bala Hissar. No effort was made by the Envoy or the Commander-in-chief, to extricate Sir Alexander, which might have been effected with perfect ease. There was a short and direct route of only a mile and a quarter from the cantonment to the scene of disturbance by the open Kohistan road, and a body of a thousand men might have been sent forward at once with their guns. Their approach at an early hour would, at once, have restored order, more especially as that quarter of the city was inhabited by the tribe of Kuzzilbashes, who were friendly to us, and would immediately have joined the force. Such a movement was the more imperative, as the provisions for the Shah's army, to the extent of 8,000 maunds, were stored in a wretched fort not 500 yards from Sir Alexander's residence. The mob, after plundering and burning his house, and sacking Captain Johnson's treasury, immediately attacked this fort. Captain—now Sir George—Lawrence, entreated permission to proceed to its relief, but it was peremptorily refused him. Captain Colin Mackenzie gallantly defended the post for two days without food or rest, and at length, seeing no hope of succour, was obliged to abandon it and cut his way to the cantonments.

Inactivity of the
Authorities,
1841.

On the evening of this first day of disaster, the General, instead of forming a vigorous plan of operations for the morrow, contented himself with writing to the Envoy: "We must see what the morning brings, and then think what can be done." The morning revealed the fact that nothing was wanting to quench the rebellion but promptitude and resolution. The 37th Native Infantry had been summoned back on the previous day from the Khoord Cabul where it had been left by Sir Robert Sale, and Major Griffiths, the commandant, though vigorously opposed at every step by the insurgents, succeeded in conducting the corps in safety to the cantonment, with all its baggage and its sick and two guns. Nothing, however, was done on the second day except a feeble effort to penetrate the city with an inadequate force, but it was not despatched till three hours after noon, and it was driven back by the thousands of armed men, whom the success of the rising had brought into the city. Within thirty hours of the outbreak, with a body of troops, sufficient, under a man of spirit, to maintain our position against all attacks, the Envoy deemed it necessary to send letters to General Nott at Candahar, and to Sir Robert Sale to importune them to hasten with their regiments to the relief of the garrison. It was then that the fatal error of relinquishing the Bala Hissar and cantoning the troops in the plain was revealed in all its intensity. These cantonments had been planted in a piece of low ground, nearly a mile in extent, with ramparts so contemptible, that a pony was backed by an officer to scramble down the ditch and over the wall. They were so situated as to be commanded by the neighbouring hills, and by intermediate forts which had not been occupied or demolished, and the troops could neither enter nor leave them without being exposed to a raking fire from these various points of attack. Human folly seemed to have exhausted itself in the construction of these works in the immediate neighbourhood of a populous, fanatic, and disaffected city. To crown the blunders of the political and military authorities, the com-

missariat stores on which the existence of the force depended, and which ought to have been lodged in the Bala Hisar, or at least within the cantonments, had been deposited in a small fort four hundred yards beyond them, the access to which was commanded by an unoccupied fort and by the King's garden. The commissariat fort, which was guarded by only eighty men, was vigorously assailed by the insurgents, and the General proposed to send out a detachment to enable Lieutenant Warren, who was in command, to evacuate it. There was a universal remonstrance against this act of insanity, and two companies were therefore sent to strengthen the garrison,—while 4,000 men were lying idle in the cantonments—but they were repulsed with the loss of two officers killed, and three wounded. Thrice did the General yield so far to the importunity of his staff as to promise to despatch sufficient reinforcements, and thrice did he alter his mind. The enemy began at length to undermine the walls of the fort, and Lieutenant Warren, despairing of all succour, was obliged to abandon it; and men and officers looked over the walls of the cantonment with burning indignation, while a rabble of Afghans was diligently employed, like a swarm of ants, in carrying off the provisions on which their only hope of sustaining life was placed. The loss of these stores completely paralyzed the garrison.

The urgent request sent by Sir William Macnaghten to General Sale and General Nott to come to the relief of the cantonment without any delay, produced no result. General Sale had reached Gundamuk when he received this communication, which was accompanied by one from General Elphinstone who desired him to return, if he could place his sick and wounded in safety with the Afghan irregulars at that station. A council of war was held, and it was determined to push on to Jellalabad, instead of falling back on Cabul. General Sale has been censured by high authority for this movement, but the reasons which recommended it appear to be conclusive. The winter had already set in with intense rigour. The brigade had lost

General Sale declines returning to Cabul, 1841.

a great portion of its camp equipage; the camel drivers had nearly all deserted with their animals, and to transport the ammunition and provisions it would be necessary to abandon the remainder of the tents. The cartridges in store were not sufficient for more than three actions, and the force would probably be obliged to fight the enemy at each of the eight marches to Cabul. The sick and the wounded had increased to three hundred, and to leave them at Gundamuk, either with or without the irregulars, would be to consign them to inevitable destruction. On the other hand the occupation of a position like Jellalabad was recommended by the consideration that it would keep open the communication with India, and provide a defensible fortress and a safe retreat for the Cabul force to fall back on, if circumstances should render it necessary.

The aspect of affairs at Candahar towards the close of 1841 was considered so tranquil that it was resolved to send back to India three of the regiments then in the province. But they had not accomplished more than two marches when unquestionable tokens of the coming storm were afforded by the total destruction of a detachment in the north, and by the altered and offensive bearing of the people. On the 14th November, General Nott received, in a quill, the letter sent by the Envoy the day after the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes requiring three regiments to be despatched to his relief with all speed. He was exceedingly averse, however, to part with the brigade, which he considered would be more useful at Candahar. The troops could not, he argued, reach Cabul under five weeks, by which time, "everything would be settled one way or another." They would be required to fight every inch of the way beyond Ghuzni, and to wade through the snow; and they would eventually arrive in so crippled a state as to be wholly unfit for service. In obedience, however, to the orders of the Envoy the three regiments were despatched under Colonel Maclaren, but the General did not conceal from him his own conviction that they were marching to certain destruction.

General Nott sends a force to Cabul, which returns, 1841.

That they might have reached Cabul in safety, was however, by no means improbable, but they commenced their march with great reluctance, and returned to Candahar with great alacrity on the first appearance of a few flakes of snow, and the loss of some commissariat donkeys.

Extraordinary exertions were made by the Commissariat officers to obtain supplies from the neighbouring villages, and within four days of the outbreak the General was enabled to inform the Envoy that they had temporarily, and he hoped permanently, got over the difficulty of provisions. "Our case," he said "is not yet desperate; I do not mean to impress that, but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast." The Envoy, seeing the honour and safety of the force in such keeping, felt himself constrained to open negotiations with the insurgent chiefs. Through the moonshee Mohun Lall who continued to reside in the city, he made them an offer of two, three, or even five lacs of rupees, but, as might have been expected, this fresh token of weakness only served to increase their arrogance. At the same time Lieutenant John Conolly, the political agent with the Shah in the Bala Hissar, authorized the moonshee to offer 10,000 or even 15,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebels. There is nothing to support the attempt which has been made to connect the Envoy with this atrocious proposal except the circumstance that Lieutenant Conolly was in constant communication with him; on the other hand, there is irrefragable evidence of the detestation in which he held the practice, in his letter to the moonshee in which he regretted "to find that it was ever considered his object to encourage assassination." "The rebels," he said, "are very wicked men, but we must not take unlawful means to destroy them." On a subsequent occasion, when the subject was brought up in the presence of Captain Skinner, he assured him that his mind revolted from the very suggestion of such a procedure.

Brig. Shelton The utter incompetence of the General was

comes into can- hurrying the garrison to destruction, but there
 tonment, 1841. appeared some faint hope of deliverance, if
 Brigadier Shelton could be associated with him in the com-
 mand, and he was accordingly recalled to the cantonment from
 the Bala Hissar where he had continued since the morning of
 the 2nd of November. He was a younger and more vigorous
 officer, distinguished for his dauntless courage and iron nerve,
 and his arrival on the 9th November was hailed by the
 desponding garrison with delight. But it was soon found
 that the obliquities of his disposition completely neutralized
 the value of his services. If he had chosen to control his petu-
 lant humours, and had cordially sustained and strengthened the
 General, he might have earned the gratitude of his country
 by securing the salvation of the force, but the discord which
 arose from his intractable disposition only served to increase
 the difficulties of the crisis. The Brigadier complained of the
 officious interference of the General, or rather of the officers
 who advised him, as he does not appear ever to have had an
 opinion of his own. The General pronounced him insub-
 ordinate and contumacious; and between them the national
 honour was trampled in the dust, and 15,000 lives sacrificed.
 In the desperate condition to which affairs had been reduced
 there was still one course which would have extricated the
 army from all its perils,—an immediate retreat to the Bala
 Hissar. From that impregnable position the troops could
 have sallied forth on the city, and procured supplies from the
 surrounding country. The Shah did not cease to urge this
 movement, which was equally recommended by the Envoy
 and the General. But the Brigadier pertinaciously resisted it
 on grounds which were palpably frivolous, inasmuch as he
 himself had recently brought a regiment and a gun from the
 citadel into the cantonment without meeting with any impedi-
 ment. His incredible obstinacy prevented the adoption of this
 course and sealed the doom of the army.

Action at Beh-
 maroo, 1841.

On the 13th the enemy planted two guns on the
 Behmaroo hills and began to cannonade the can-

tonments. The General and the Brigadier resisted all the entreaties of the Envoy to make an attempt to dislodge them, but as he continued to insist on the despatch of a strong force, and took the entire responsibility of the movement upon himself, the Brigadier started before daybreak and was engaged throughout the day in conflict with the enemy. The success was not decisive, but it was the last which the garrison was destined to achieve. There is little interest in dwelling on the long and melancholy catalogue of errors and disasters, faithfully and eloquently described by Lieutenant—now Sir Vincent—Eyre who bore a large share in the dangers of the siege, which followed closely upon each other, disgusting the officers, disheartening the men, and finally sinking the army in irretrievable ruin. On the 16th, Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton, the sole survivors of the gallant body of men in the Kohistan, in the defence of which a noble Goorkha corps fell to a man, reached the cantonment exhausted with fatigue and wounds. The 23rd November brought the climax of military disasters. The enemy had again made their appearance on the Behmaroo hills, and the Envoy urged the necessity of a vigorous effort to dislodge them from a position which enabled them to inflict the greatest injury on the cantonments. The Brigadier protested against the movement; the troops, he said, were dispirited and exhausted by living on half rations of parched wheat, but his objections were over-ruled and a detachment was sent out which, being weak, failed to accomplish the object. A council of war was then held when, upon the earnest entreaty of the Envoy, it was determined that a stronger force should set out before daybreak, on the morning of the 23rd. The hill was carried without difficulty, but as day began to dawn, thousands of armed men streamed out of the city, and a general action was brought on. By an act of incredible fatuity, Brigadier Shelton had taken out a single gun with him, which was admirably worked and told with great effect on the

Action of the
23rd November,
1841.

enemy, till the vent became overheated and it was rendered unserviceable. The Afghans with their long range matchlocks poured a destructive fire upon our musketeers, and laughed at their balls which fell short of the mark. The troops, pining with cold and hunger, and utterly broken in spirit, refused to follow their officers, and were soon in confused and disastrous flight. The Brigadier with iron courage stood in the thickest of the fire and called on his men to support the honour of their flag. The flying regiments paused and reformed, and the Mahomedan fanatics shrunk from the assault. At this juncture, Abdoollah Khan, one of the insurgent chiefs whom Mohun Lall had marked out for assassination and who commanded the Afghan cavalry, fell and they fled in a panic to the city, followed by the infantry. Sir William was standing on the ramparts with the General, eagerly watching these movements, and urged him to send out a body of fresh troops to improve the advantage and complete the victory, but he replied that it was a wild scheme. The Brigadier might have withdrawn his force in safety to the cantonments during the confusion, but he chose to halt; the enemy recovered from the panic, and rushed back on him with redoubled fury, when the whole body of English soldiers disgracefully abandoned the field and took to flight. The fugitives and the pursuers were so mingled in this race, that the Afghans might easily have captured the cantonments if they had known how to improve the advantage they had gained; but in the moment of victory, the chiefs drew off their men, and, after mutilating the bodies of the slain, returned to the city with shouts of exultation. This defeat at Behmaroo, as Brigadier Shelton truly observed, "concluded all exterior operations." A general gloom hung over the encampment; the army was thoroughly demoralized; the disasters and the dishonour of these three weeks, which were justly attributed to the imbecility and the mismanagement of the commanders, destroyed all confidence in them, and wore out the principle of military discipline.

Negotiations,
1841.

The day after this disaster, the Shah again entreated the Envoy to occupy the Bala Hissar, as the only course left to secure the honour and safety of the army, and Sir William pressed it on the military chiefs with increasing importunity, but they pertinaciously resisted all his entreaties, and General Elphinstone officially informed him that it was no longer feasible to maintain our position in the country, and advised him to have recourse to negotiation. With such imbecility at the head of the force, Sir William was obliged to submit to this humiliation and to solicit a conference with the insurgent chiefs, whom he met in the guardroom of one of the gateways. The debate, which was long and acrimonious, was brought to a close by Sultan Mahomed, who asserted in haughty and offensive language that, as the Afghans had beaten the English, they had a right to dictate the terms of capitulation, and he demanded that the whole army should surrender at discretion with its arms, ammunition, and treasure. The Envoy at once terminated the interview by declaring that he preferred death to dishonour. A week after, Akbar

Arrival of Akbar
Khan, 1841.

Khan, one of the sons of Dost Mahomed, a young soldier of great energy, but of a fiery and impetuous temper, arrived at Cabul, and was at once accepted as the leader of the national confederacy. He soon discovered that to extinguish the British force it was only necessary to defeat the efforts of the commissariat officers to obtain provisions. He accordingly arrested the progress of supplies by threatening with death all who were detected in furnishing them. Under the pressure of hunger, the troops daily became less capable of exertion, and the Envoy, seeing the destruction of the force inevitable, renewed his entreaty to withdraw it to the Bala Hissar, while the sick and wounded were sent under cover of the night, but the General raised a host of objections, and refused his concurrence. Sir William then suggested that they should endeavour to obtain provisions by their own good swords from the surrounding villages, but the General assured him that the only alternative left was to negotiate for a safe

retreat from the country on the most favourable terms possible.

Starvation now stared the ill-fated garrison in the face; on the 11th December there was food left only for the day's consumption of the fighting men, while the camp followers, who had been living on the carcases of camels, were completely famished. Supplies were not to be obtained for money because the villagers could not venture to sell them, nor by force because the commanders and the men had not the heart to fight, and the Envoy was constrained with infinite reluctance to make another offer of negotiation. A conference was accordingly held with the chiefs, and, after an angry discussion of two hours, the terms of a treaty were arranged. The salient points in it were, that the British troops at Candahar and Cabul, at Ghuzni and Jellalabad should evacuate the country, receiving every possible assistance in carriage and provisions, and that Dost Mahomed and his family should be set at liberty. Shah Soojah was to be allowed the option of remaining in Afghanistan with a pension of a lac of rupees a-year, or of accompanying the British troops to India. The army was to quit the cantonments within three days, and in the mean time to receive ample supplies of provisions, for which due payment was to be made, and four officers were to be delivered up as hostages for the performance of the stipulations. This is the most disgraceful transaction in the records of British India, but to form an impartial opinion of it, we must turn to the Envoy's own explanation. "The whole country," he wrote, "as far as we could learn, had risen in rebellion; our communications on all sides were cut off; we had been fighting forty days against superior numbers under most disadvantageous circumstances with a deplorable loss of life, and in a day or two must have perished of hunger. I had been repeatedly apprized by the military authorities that nothing could be done with our troops. The terms I secured were the best obtainable, and the destruction of 15,000 human beings would little have benefited our country, while the Govern-

ment would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate at whatever cost." The position of the Envoy has been vividly described by the historian of the Afghan war, "enviored and hemmed in by difficulties and dangers, overwhelmed with responsibility which there was none to share—the lives of 15,000 men resting on his decision—the honour of his country at stake—with a perfidious enemy before him, a decrepit General at his side, and a paralyzed army at his back, he was driven to negotiate by the imbecility of his companions." The entire responsibility of this humiliating convention rests upon the two military commanders, than whom it would scarcely have been possible to select officers more completely disqualified for their post, the one by bodily infirmity and constitutional imbecility; the other by his perverse temper and his obstinacy. The brilliant success of Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad shews how easily the position of the British army at Cabul might have been rectified, with the superior means and appliances at command, if the direction of affairs had devolved on Captain Lawrence, or Captain Colin Mackenzie, or Captain Eyre, or Major Pottinger, or any other of the noble spirits in the camp.

Violation of the Treaty by the enemy, 1841.

But it never was the intention of the Afghan leaders to fulfil the terms of the treaty, or to permit any portion of the army to leave the country. The Bala Hissar was evacuated by our troops on the 13th, but they were assailed by the insurgents on their route, and no small portion of the priceless provisions in their charge was lost. Supplies were furnished so scantily as not to satisfy hunger, and the Afghans were permitted to intercept them without any interference on the part of the chiefs; sometimes they were altogether withheld. The forts around the cantonment were surrendered, and the Afghans were seen squatting on the walls jeering at our misfortunes. The chiefs were allowed to go into the magazines and carry away whatever stores they liked, while the British officers and men watched the spolia-tion with swelling indignation. To complete the disasters of the force, snow began to fall on the 18th December, and was

lying many inches deep on the ground by the evening. If the troops had been enabled to move towards Jellalabad immediately on the signature of the treaty, they might have reached it as a military body, though attacked at every step of the way; but a new horror was now added to the difficulties of their position. The conduct of Sir William Macnaghten at this crisis, during the twelve days which elapsed between the signature of the treaty and his assassination, has been characterized by some, as not only dishonourable, but perfidious. It is certainly to be regretted that in the remote hope of saving the army from destruction, he should have allowed himself to be drawn into the filthy meshes of Afghan intrigue; but it must not be overlooked, that if the treaty bound him to repair to Peshawur with all practical expedition, it also bound the Afghan chiefs to furnish him with all possible assistance in carriage and provisions. The treaty was equally binding on both parties; he had faithfully fulfilled his part, as far as practicable, by ordering the evacuation of Jellalabad, Ghuzni, and Candahar, by surrendering the forts, and giving hostages, while Akbar Khan and the Barukzyes not only continued to withhold both carriage and provisions, but rose in their demands and insisted on the delivery of all our military stores and ammunition, and the surrender of the married families as additional hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. In these circumstances, Sir William instructed the moonshee Mohun Lall to open negotiations with other tribes and to inform them that if any portion of the Afghans wished him to remain and would make this declaration to the Shah and send in provisions, he should feel himself at liberty to break with the faithless Barukzyes. In this communication he made the characteristic remark that "though it would be very agreeable to stop at Cabul a few months, he must not consider what was agreeable but what was consistent with good faith." If he had hesitated to depart after receiving sufficient supplies of cattle and provisions, he would have been justly chargeable with a breach of his engagement; but it is the mere wantonness of detrac-

tion to charge him with violating it when the other party intentionally kept him without the means of fulfilling it. There can, at the same time, however, be no doubt that while he lingered at Cabul and endeavoured to play off one party against another, he indulged a latent hope of some happy turn in the current of events which might enable him to rescue the garrison from perdition, and the British character from the ignominy of the treaty; but what other British functionary, with the same responsibilities, would have hesitated to adopt the same course?

Assassination
of Sir William.
23rd Dec., 1841.

It was at this critical juncture, while Sir William Macnaghten was tossed upon a sea of difficulties, and bewildered by the appalling crisis which was approaching, that he was drawn into the net which Akbar Khan spread for his destruction. On the evening of the 22nd December, the wily Afghan sent two agents with Major Skinner, who was his prisoner, to the Envoy, with a proposal, to be considered at a conference the next day, that Akbar Khan and the Ghilzyes should unite with the British troops outside the cantonment and make a sudden attack on Mahomed Shah's fort and seize the person of Ameenoola, the most hostile and ferocious of the insurgent chiefs, whose head was to be presented to the Envoy for a sum of money, but the offer was indignantly rejected by him. It was further proposed that the British force should remain till the spring, and then retire of its own accord: that the Shah should retain the title of king, and that Akbar Khan should be vizier, receiving from the British Government an annuity of four lacs of rupees a-year, and an immediate payment of thirty lacs. In an evil hour for his reputation and his safety, the Envoy accepted this treacherous proposal in a Persian paper drawn up with his own hand. When this wild overture was communicated to General Elphinstone and Captain Mackenzie the next morning, they both pronounced it to be a plot, and endeavoured to dissuade Sir William from going out to meet Akbar Khan. He replied in a hurried manner, "Let me alone for that, dan-

gerous though it be ; if it succeeds it is worth all risks ; the rebels have not fulfilled one article of the treaty, and I have no confidence in them, and if by it we can only save our honour, all will be well. At any rate, I would rather suffer a hundred deaths than live the last six weeks over again." At noon he directed the General to have two regiments and some guns ready for the attack of the fort, and then proceeded with Captains Trevor, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, with the slender protection of only sixteen of his body guard to the fatal meeting. At the distance of six hundred yards from the cantonment Akbar Khan had caused some horse cloths to be spread on the slope of a hill, where the snow lay less deep. The suspicions of the officers as they dismounted were roused by the appearance of Ameenoola's brother at the conference, and the large number of armed followers who were present. Akbar Khan addressed a haughty salutation to Sir William, and immediately after, on a given signal, the officers were suddenly seized from behind, and placed separately on the saddle of an Afghan horseman, who galloped off to the city. Captain Trevor fell off the horse, and was hacked to pieces. Akbar Khan himself endeavoured to seize Sir William, who struggled vigorously, exclaiming in Persian, "For God's sake." Exasperated by this resistance, the fierce youth drew forth the pistol which Sir William had presented to him the day before, and shot him dead, when the *ghazees* rushed up, and mutilated his body with their knives. If his own repeated declaration be worthy of any credit, Akbar Khan had no intention of taking away the life of the Envoy, but was simply anxious to obtain possession of his person as a hostage for the Dost. Thus perished Sir William Macnaghten, the victim of an unsound and unjust policy, but as noble and brave a gentleman as ever fell in the service of his country. If he was in a false position in Afghanistan, it was because he had so completely identified himself with the policy which carried us across the Indus, as to be unable to perceive the magnitude of its errors and the certainty of its

Character of Sir
W. Macnaghten,
1841.

failure. If he misled others regarding that policy, it was only after his own mind had been deceived. He attempted the task of establishing the permanent authority of foreigners and infidels in a wild and inaccessible country, inhabited by sturdy, lawless, and fanatical Mahomedans, and he failed. Whether there was any other officer in the service who would have proved more successful may well be doubted; but it certainly could not have been accomplished without entailing ruin on the finances of India. Throughout seven weeks of unparalleled difficulties, Sir William exhibited a spirit of courage and constancy of which there are few examples in the history of the Company. He was the only civilian at Cabul, and he was one of the truest-hearted soldiers in the garrison. If he was at length drawn into a fatal negotiation with Akbar, not altogether in accordance with the high standard of English morals, let it not in all candour be forgotten that no public officer since the establishment of British power in the east, has ever been called to pass through so fiery an ordeal; that the unexampled strain of the three preceding days had evidently disturbed the balance of his mind, and that he risked his own honour and life to save the lives of fifteen thousand of his fellow creatures.

Energetic advice of Major Pottinger, 1841. No effort was made from the cantonment to avenge the murder of the Envoy, or to recover his mangled remains, which were paraded in triumph through the city of Cabul. Major Pottinger had been unnoticed since his arrival in a wounded state from Charekar, but all eyes were now turned on him to fill the political post of the late Envoy, and he summoned a council, at which were present General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and two senior officers, to discuss the terms on which the Afghan chiefs now offered to grant the army a safe conduct to Peshawur. They differed from those to which the late Envoy had given his consent only in the demand of larger gratuities to themselves. Major Pottinger recoiled from these humiliating conditions; he asserted that the former treaty had been cancelled by the foul murder of Sir

William, and he urged the officers to reject the terms with scorn and defiance. His energy might yet have saved the garrison, but the council of war refused to fight, and resolved to accept the proposed treaty, at whatever sacrifice of honour or money. Orders were therefore signed by Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone to the commanders at Jellalabad, Ghuzni and Candahar to surrender the forts to the Afghans who might be deputed to demand them, and retire from the country. The confederate chiefs, as might have been expected, immediately rose in their demands, and required that all the coin and the spare muskets and guns, save six, should be surrendered, and that General Sale, his wife and his daughter, and all the other officers of rank who were married and had families, should be left in the country as hostages for Dost Mahomed. On the 26th, letters arrived from Jellalabad and Peshawur stating that reinforcements were on the way from Hindostan, and imploring the garrison to hold out. There were, moreover, intestine feuds among the Afghan chiefs; Shah Soojah appeared to be regaining some portion of his influence, and Major Pottinger seized the occasion of this gleam of sunshine to dissuade the General and the Brigadier from treating with enemies who would be sure to betray them, and he implored them to make one bold and prompt effort either to occupy the Bala Hissar, or to cut their way to Jellalabad. The General was almost persuaded to adopt this advice, but Brigadier Shelton, the evil genius of the cantonment, vehemently contended that both courses were equally impracticable, and that it was more advisable to pay any sum of money than to risk the safety of the force in such attempts. The Major, mortified and humiliated, was constrained to proceed with the treaty; but he informed the chiefs that no pecuniary transactions could be completed without the presence of Captain Lawrence, the secretary of the late Envoy. He was accordingly released, and returned to the cantonment, where he drew bills to the extent of fourteen lacs of rupees on the Government of India, but made them payable after the safe arrival of the force at

Peshawur, which the Afghan chiefs professed to guarantee, but had determined to prevent. By this stroke of policy, he inflicted on them a just penalty for their treachery, and relieved his own Government from the necessity of honouring the bills. Guns, waggons, small arms, and ammunition were then given up amidst the indignant exclamations of the garrison, and four officers were surrendered as hostages. On the 4th January, the ratified treaty with the seals of eighteen of the Afghan chiefs was sent in. It was dictated in a spirit of arrogance, and received with a spirit of humility which no British officers had exhibited since the day of Plassy, and it was violated without any scruple. With the treaty came also intimations from the city of the preparations which were in progress to assail the force as soon as it quitted the cantonments, and of the oath which Akbar Khan had taken to annihilate every soldier but one, who was to be permitted to reach Jellalabad to tell the tale.

Retreat of the
Army, 1842.

On the 6th January the army, still 4,500 strong, with 11,000 camp followers, after having for sixty-five days endured such indignities as no British soldiers had ever before suffered in India, began its ominous march from the cantonments, leaving all its trophies in the hands of an insolent foe. The snow lay ankle deep on the ground, and the salvation of the force depended on the rapidity of its movements. If it had crossed the Cabul river before noon, and pushed on with promptitude to the Khoord Cabul pass, it might have escaped destruction; but owing to the indecision and mismanagement of the General, the rear guard did not leave the gate before the shades of night came on. The Afghan fanatics then rushed in, and set the cantonments on fire, and lighted up this first night of horrors with the blaze. In the morning the spirit of discipline began to wane, and the force was no longer a retreating army, but a panic stricken and disorganized rabble. The infuriated Ghilzyes pressed on the rear, seizing the baggage and cutting down all who opposed them. Safety was to be found only in speed, but, through the unac-

countable folly of the military authorities, the troops were halted on the second night at Bootkhak. The crowd of men, women, and children, horses and camels, lying in the snow in wild confusion, without food, or fuel, or shelter, presented a scene of unexampled misery. Akbar Khan now made his appearance and demanded fresh hostages for the safe conduct of the force to Tezeen, and Captain Lawrence, Captain Colin Mackenzie, and Major Pottinger were delivered up to him. Between Bootkhak and Tezeen lay the terrific gorge of the Khoord Cabul, five miles in length, so narrow that the rays of the sun seldom penetrated its recesses. At the bottom of it ran an impetuous torrent, which the road crossed and recrossed twenty-eight times, and it was through this fearful defile that the disordered mass of human beings pressed on with one maddening desire of escaping destruction. But the Ghilzyes poured an incessant fire from their unerring rifles upon the crowd from every height, and three thousand perished under their weapons, and through the intensity of the cold. It was in this scene of indiscriminate carnage, that English ladies, some with infants in their arms, had to run the gauntlet of Afghan bullets amidst a heavy fall of snow.

Continued disasters, 1841.

In the morning Akbar again made his appearance, and offered a supply of provisions and advised the General to halt. The whole force exclaimed against this insane delay, but he was deaf to all entreaties, and the perishing troops were constrained to sit down idle for an entire day in the snow, when another march would have cleared the defile. Akbar offered likewise to take charge of the ladies and children and convey them to Peshawur. They had scarcely tasted food since leaving Cabul; they were insufficiently clad and without any shelter from the frost and snow. Major Pottinger, now Akbar's prisoner, felt that it would be impossible for them to survive such hardships, and was anxious that they should be relieved from the horrors of their situation. In accordance with his advice, Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and nine other ladies, with fifteen children, and eight officers were

sent to Akbar's camp, and thus rescued from destruction. On the morning of the 10th, the remains of the army resumed the march, but before evening the greater number of the sepoy had disappeared. Panic stricken and paralyzed with cold, they were slaughtered like sheep by the remorseless Ghilzyes and a narrow defile between two hills was choked up with the dying and the dead. Four hundred and fifty Europeans, with a considerable body of officers, yet remained, but the enemy took post on every point, blocked up every ravine, and dealt death among their ranks, while Akbar himself hovered over their flank, and, when implored to put an end to the slaughter, declared that it was beyond his power to restrain the fury of these hill men. He proposed, however, that the remnant of the troops should lay down their arms, and surrender, but even General Elphinstone revolted from this indignity. The march was therefore resumed, and Brigadier Shelton with his accustomed gallantry repelled every attack. On approaching Jugdulluk, a conference was held with Akbar Khan, who still continued to hang upon the rear, and he promised to send in water and provisions to the famished men, on condition that General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson should be transferred to him as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. They were accordingly given up, but this concession brought no respite from the ferocity of the Ghilzyes, in whom the thirst for blood had overcome even the love of money. They resisted the most tempting offers, and openly revelled in the prospect of cutting the throats of all the Feringees who were left. Akbar Khan, having obtained possession of the ladies and the principal officers, abandoned the rest of the army to their vengeance, and retired to Cabul. At the Jugdulluk pass twelve of the bravest of the officers met their doom, and here the Cabul force may be said to have ceased to exist. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers contrived to reach Gundamuk, but they gradually dropped down under the weapons of their foes, with the exception of one officer, Dr. Brydon, who was descried from the ramparts of

Jellalabad on the 13th January, slowly wending his way to the fort, wounded and exhausted, on his jaded pony, the sole survivor, with the exception of a hundred and twenty in captivity, of a body of 15,000 men.

Total destruction
of the force,
1842.

The entire annihilation of this large army was the heaviest blow which had ever fallen upon the British power in India. But it did not produce any such demonstrations of hostility at the native courts, or any such fermentation in the community as might have been expected, by comparison with the effect created by the destruction of Monson's army in 1804, or by our failures in Nepaul in 1814, or our non-success in Burmah in 1824. The sensation created in the native states and among our native subjects, at each of the successive shocks which have affected our prestige in India, appears to have gradually become more and more moderate. This may be attributed not merely to the extinction of the military power of the native rulers, but to that feeling of acquiescence which time scarcely fails to produce in an established Government which is felt to be equitable and mild beyond all former example, and affords ample protection to industry, and full scope for the general pursuit of happiness, and to which there is no other objection than that it is a Government of foreigners. This conclusion was still more clearly exemplified during the great Sepoy mutiny of 1857, which, if it had occurred forty years before, would unquestionably have been followed by the temporary loss of the empire, but which produced no conspiracies at the native courts of Hyderabad, Indore, Baroda, or Gwalior, and scarcely any ebullitions of hostile feeling, except in the districts in which our authority was entirely extinguished. In the case of this Afghan disaster, moreover, the chiefs and people of India awaited a demonstration of the efforts we should make to vindicate our military character. Such adversity was not new in the history of the country. Two centuries and a-half before this period, a Mogul army of equal, if not greater

magnitude, had been engulfed in these same defiles, and only two men survived to tell the tale, but the Emperor immediately despatched a more powerful force under his ablest generals to the scene of humiliation, and his reputation was at once restored, and his authority re-established. Nor did the native princes forget that in the British period of history, the sack of Calcutta in 1756 was avenged by the conquest of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and that Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat in 1804 was immediately followed by the pursuit of Holkar, the victory of Deeg, and the extinction of his battalions. The promptitude with which we had repaired our misfortunes on those occasions had served to brighten our reputation, and there could be no doubt that similar efforts would produce similar results in 1842.

Despondency and
weakness of
Lord Auckland,
1842.

Unhappily, at this period there was no Wellesley at the head of the state, and Lord Auckland was not equal to the crisis. He was completely bewildered and prostrated by the magnitude of the calamity, and, instead of determining boldly to retrieve our honour by putting forth the strength of the empire, he allowed its fortunes to drift down the stream with the current of circumstances. He knew that his proceedings in Afghanistan were unanimously reprobated by the India House, and by the Tory Ministry which had recently returned to Downing Street. He was on the eve of relinquishing the government, and the prospect of handing it over to his successor, who had emphatically denounced his Afghan policy, just at the period when it had miserably collapsed, augmented his confusion. On hearing of the siege and peril of the cantonment, he wrote to the Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicholls, that it was not clear to him how the march of a brigade, for which the officers on the frontier were importunate, could produce any influence on the events which were passing at Cabul, and that "if all should be lost there, he would not encounter new hazards for the purpose of re-conquest." This imbecile policy was fully upheld by the Commander-in-chief, who had always expressed

a strong disapprobation of the war. The news of the extinction of the force was received in Calcutta on the 30th January; it roused Lord Auckland from the state of morbid despondency into which he had sunk, and he issued a declaration, stating that "The Governor-General in Council regarded the partial reverse which had overtaken a body of British troops in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour, as a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British Indian Army." But after this spasmodic flush of energy, he relapsed into an unhealthy feeling of dejection, and wrote to the Commander-in-chief, that, as the main inducement for maintaining the post of Jellalabad, as a point of support for any troops escaping from Cabul, had now passed away, his only object was to withdraw General Sale to Peshawur. Instead of considering how to restore our military superiority, the sole basis on which our position in India rests, he was prepared to leave it without vindication, and considered only by what means he might most speedily wash his hands of Afghanistan.

But there were two officers in the north-west as fully alive to the exigencies of the crisis, as the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief were dead to them; Mr. Robertson, formerly the Commissioner in Burmah, and now the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and Mr.—subsequently Sir George—Clerk, who exerted themselves with extraordinary energy to push on reinforcements and supplies. On Mr. Clerk devolved the duty of forwarding through the Punjab the regiments which had been appointed to relieve those returning from Afghanistan, and his able assistant, Captain—afterwards Sir Henry—Lawrence, now urged them on with redoubled vigour. Their exertions, however, were neutralized by the unhappy choice of a commander, which did not rest with them, and the brigade, instead of being placed under the orders of the most energetic officer which the service could furnish, was sent for-

Mr. Robertson
and Mr. George
Clerk, 1842.

Colonel Wild's
Brigade, 1842. ward under Colonel Wild, into whom the Com-
mander-in-chief said he would endeavour to infuse
some degree of energy. By a fatality to which we had become
accustomed in everything connected with Afghanistan, the
brigade was despatched without cavalry or cannon, in the vague
hope that the Sikhs might be induced to accommodate it with
some ordnance. The Colonel crept through the Punjab at a
snail-like pace, and was thirty-five days in reaching Peshawur,
whereas five years before, when Runjeet Sing had met with
reverses in Afghanistan, one of his European officers marched
over the same ground, short of fifty miles, in twelve days.
Colonel Wild had doubtless many difficulties to encounter, but
the most serious impediment to his progress was the lack of
that vigour with which other soldiers would have conquered
them. His sepoy, on their arrival at Peshawur, were eager
to advance, but he lingered at that station till they had become
thoroughly demoralized by the example of their Sikh auxiliaries.
Shere Sing, the successor of Runjeet Sing, had sent posi-
tive injunctions to General Avitabile who commanded at
Peshawur, and to his native generals to co-operate with the
British brigade, and to "earn a name by their zealous services
which should be known in London;" but the Sikh soldiers, as
already stated, had an instinctive dread of the Afghan passes,
and although Major Mackeson had advanced a lac and a-half
of rupees for their services, they intercepted one of the guns
which had been sent over to Colonel Wild, and threatened to
put General Avitabile to death and return to Lahore. They
were induced, however, to advance to Jumrood at the entrance
of the pass, but they had no sooner looked in, than they turned
round to a man, and marched back to Peshawur, when General
Avitabile shut the gates upon them, and retired to the citadel.
Colonel Wild then ventured into the pass alone, but the
rickety guns the Sikhs had lent him, broke down on the first
discharge, and his sepoy lost heart, and allowed themselves
to be ignominiously chased back, leaving their cannon in the
possession of the Afreedis.

General Pollock's
Brigade, 1842.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clerk was urging the Commander-in-chief, then in the north-west provinces, and the Governor-General to despatch a second brigade to the relief of the army, which was still supposed to be holding its ground at Cabul. Lord Auckland was reluctant to allow it to proceed, but the indomitable zeal of Mr. Clerk bore down every obstacle, and a force of 3,000 men, including a European regiment crossed the Sutlege on the 4th January. The selection of the officer to command it was the solitary instance of wisdom exhibited by the military authorities in this emergency. It fell on General Pollock, an old artillery officer, who had campaigned with Lord Lake, assisted in the first siege of Bhurtpore, commanded the horse artillery in pursuit of Holkar, taken an active share in the Nepaul war, and commanded the Bengal artillery in Burmah in 1824. Forty years of service had enlarged his experience, and matured his judgment without impairing his energy. His sagacity, caution, and collectedness, combined with great decision of character, qualified him in a pre-eminent degree for the arduous task which had now to be performed. On the 22nd January, after the entire destruction of the Cabul force had been announced, Mr. Clerk met Sir Jasper Nicholls at Thanesar to discuss the measures which it was advisable to adopt at this crisis. The Commander-in-chief considered that this catastrophe furnished no reason for pushing forward further reinforcements, and that as the retention of Jellalabad was no longer necessary for the safety of the Cabul force, the withdrawal of Sir Robert Sale's brigade was the only object which ought now to engage the attention of Government. Mr. Clerk, in a spirit more worthy of a Briton, maintained that the national reputation and the safety of British interests in the east required that the garrison of Jellalabad should be strengthened with fresh troops, to enable it to march to Cabul simultaneously with the Candahar force from the westward, and inflict a signal retribution upon the Afghans on the theatre of their recent successes, and then withdraw from Afghanistan with dignity and

undiminished renown. He could not brook the idea of leaving them to revel in the annihilation of a British army, and the humiliation of British honour. The energy of this appeal was successful, and a third brigade was directed to be held in readiness to advance into Afghanistan. But, in the latest communication addressed by Lord Auckland to the Secret Committee, he stated that his directions in regard to the immediate withdrawal of the brigade from Jellalabad into our own provinces, were clear and positive, and in his last letter to General Pollock informed him that the paramount object of his proceedings at Peshawur should be to "secure the safe return of our people and troops, now detained beyond the Indus."

Close of Lord
Auckland's Ad-
ministration,
1842.

The arrival of Lord Ellenborough at Calcutta on the 28th February, brought Lord Auckland's melancholy administration to a close. It comprised a single series of events—the conquest, the occupation, and the loss of Afghanistan. He likewise wrote a benevolent minute on education; he sanctioned the substitution of solemn declarations for judicial oaths, a measure of doubtful expediency; and he endeavoured to promote the interests of science, for which he had a natural turn, but for administrative or material progress he had no leisure, and they remained for six years in a state of comparative abeyance. His administration commenced with a surplus revenue of a crore and a-half of rupees, and it closed with a deficit of two millions, and a large addition to the debt. It was, however, rendered memorable in the history of India, by the termination of the connection Government had maintained for many years with the establishments of idolatry, which was a scandal to the pious Christian, and offensive to the religious Hindoo. The views of the Court of Directors on the subject of religious observances after their functions had been limited to the imperial duty of governing India in 1833, were communicated to the local authorities in an able despatch drawn up by Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of

Idol Temples,
1842.

Control. The natives of India were assured that the Government would never fail to protect them in the exercise of their privileges, and to manifest a liberal regard to their feelings, in all cases in which their religious rites and offices were not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity and decency. But the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests, and in the arrangement of their ceremonies and festivals, was to cease. The pilgrim tax was everywhere to be abolished. Fines and offerings were no longer to be considered sources of public revenue, and no servant of the Company was to be engaged in the collection, management, or custody of them. In all matters relative to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices and their ceremonial observances, the natives were to be left entirely to themselves. These orders were tardily obeyed in Bengal, and it was not till seven years after they had been issued, that the management of the temple of Juggunnath was restored to the raja of Khoorda, its hereditary custodian, and that the pilgrim tax at the various shrines was relinquished, though not without an unbecoming reluctance at the loss of the three lacs of rupees a-year it yielded to the treasury. At Madras, which, from the obtuse feelings of its public functionaries in long and unbroken succession had come to be designated the "benighted Presidency," a morbid homage had been paid for half a century to native superstitions, and it required an oburgatory missive from the Court of Directors, of which Mr. Butterworth Bayley was then Chairman, to suppress the attendance of troops and military bands at idolatrous festivals, the firing of salutes on the birthdays of the gods, and the decoration of images, and the presentation of offerings, on the part of the East India Company.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—CLOSE OF THE
AFGHAN WAR, 1842.

Lord Ellen-
borough Gover-
nor-General,
1842.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH who now assumed the reins of Government was a statesman of high repute, and an eloquent speaker; and his style was as clear and vigorous, as that of his predecessor was, for a Governor-General, exceptionally confused and feeble. He had for some years taken a special interest in the affairs of India, and a prominent part in Indian debates, more especially during the discussions of the last Charter. Like Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto he had served his apprenticeship to the government of India at the Board of Control, where he had acquired an ample knowledge of the condition of the country, and the principles and policy of the Company's administration. He was reported to be a good man of business and a moderate Tory, and his appointment was welcomed with delight in a country where the animosities of political party are scarcely heard of, and the public care about nothing but progress. He was known to possess great energy and decision of character, and the community augured a happy change from the weak and vacillating policy of his predecessor. His address at the entertainment given him by the Court of Directors at the London tavern created great expectations of the beneficence of his administration. He abjured all thoughts of warlike or aggressive policy, and announced his determination to cultivate the arts of peace, to emulate the magnificent benevolence of Mahomedan conquerors, and to elevate and improve the condition of the people.

General Pollock's
advance, 1842. General Pollock arrived at Peshawur on the
5th February, and found the four regiments

of infantry which had preceded him in a state of total insubordination. This was the first mutiny which had occurred in the native army since 1824, and it arose from the seductions and the example of the Sikh troops, and the dread of service in Afghanistan. Many of the sepoy's had deserted their colours, and nightly meetings had been held in the camp at which the mutineers encouraged each other in the determination not to enter the Khyber. Efforts were likewise made to debauch the newly arrived regiments, and brahmins were sent round to bind them to the same resolution by an oath on the water of the Ganges; but the General ordered every emissary found in the lines to be seized and expelled, and acted with such promptitude and energy as to put a speedy end to these machinations. Nor did the officers manifest much less reluctance to encounter the difficulties of the march, and it was openly declared at the mess table that it would be better to sacrifice the whole of Sir Robert Sale's brigade than to risk the safety of a fresh army. One officer went so far as to affirm that he should consider it his duty strenuously to dissuade the sepoy's from moving into the pass. The difficulties of General Pollock's course were indefinitely aggravated by these demonstrations. Sir Robert Sale was importuning him to advance without delay to his relief, but the General felt that, with a force so entirely demoralized, one half in hospital and the other half in a state of mutiny, he could not move without the risk of a second failure, which would have been fatal to the hopes of the Jellalabad garrison. Being obliged to wait for further reinforcements, he devoted the months of February and March to the task of improving the discipline, recovering the health, and reviving the confidence of his troops, which was strengthened in no ordinary degree by the arrival of a regiment of dragoons and some troops of European horse artillery. Raja Golab Sing had been sent with some of his own Jummoo battalions to assume the command of the Sikh army, and to curb the insolence of the Sikh troops, and Shere Sing, the successor of Runjeet

Sing had given him positive and unequivocal orders to afford every possible assistance to General Pollock. But Golab Sing had been withdrawn most reluctantly from the pursuit of his own ambitious schemes in the regions lying beyond Cashmere, and his feelings were so lukewarm and his efforts so perfunctory as to lay him open to the suspicion of treachery. An effort was therefore made by the British Agent to counteract it by the offer of Jellalabad as an independent principality. At length the masterly arrangements and resolute bearing of General Pollock completely overcame the dread with which the Sikhs regarded the Khyber, and secured the active co-operation of the raja. Major Mackeson, the political agent, had offered the Khyberrees the sum of 50,000 rupees for a passage through their defiles, but they immediately rose in their demands, which were flatly rejected. They then proceeded to block up the entrance of the pass with huge stones and branches of trees cemented together with clay, and covered the mountains on either side with assailants whose matchlocks carried death to the distance of eight hundred yards. But the admirable plan which General Pollock devised for mastering the pass by sending two columns to crown the heights on the right and the left, and clear them of the Afghans, baffled all their efforts to guard this formidable barrier.

Entrance of the Khyber, 1842. At three in the morning of the 5th April, the troops moved out of the camp, without beat of drum or sound of bugle, and clambered up the rugged and precipitous crags with great enthusiasm, and the dawn of day revealed their presence to the thunderstruck Afreedis on the summit of their own mountains. A sharp conflict ensued, but the British troops had the advantage of confidence as well as valour, and the Afghans were soon perceived to fly precipitately in every direction over their hills. Both the columns then descended into the valley, and the defenders of the pass, finding themselves attacked both in rear and in front, deserted their position in haste and confusion, and the pass was opened to the long string of baggage, which, including the munitions of war

and provisions for Sir Robert Sale's brigade, extended two miles in length. By the evening, the army and the convoy reached the fort of Ali Musjid, five miles within the pass. No further opposition was offered to the advance of General Pollock, who reached Jellalabad on the 15th April and found that the illustrious garrison had already achieved its own relief.

Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, 1842. Jellalabad was the capital of Western Afghanistan, selected for the mildness of its climate as the winter residence of the rulers of Cabul, and not inferior in importance to Candahar and Ghuzni. Sir Robert Sale entered it on the 13th November with provisions for only two days. He found that the fortifications were in a state of complete dilapidation, and that rubbish had been allowed to accumulate to such an extent around the ramparts that there were paths over them in many places into the country. Immediately beyond the walls, were ruined forts, walls, mosques, and gardens, which afforded cover for assailants at the distance of only twenty or thirty yards, and the inhabitants both in the town and the country were as hostile as the Ghilzyes. The day after the occupation of the town, the armed population of the neighbourhood, to the number of 5,000, advanced towards the walls with yells and imprecations on the infidels, when Sir Robert determined to give them a sharp and decisive lesson. Colonel Monteith issued from the gate at the head of about 1,100 men, of all arms; the artillery cannonaded the enemy; the infantry broke their ranks; the cavalry completed their discomfiture, and, in a short time not an Afghan was to be seen, with the exception of those who lay dead on the field. Captain Broadfoot, who had accompanied the brigade with his sappers and miners, was an officer of indomitable energy, and extraordinary resources, with a remarkable genius for war and policy. He was immediately appointed garrison engineer, and commenced the task of clearing and strengthening the fortifications without delay. The whole of the 13th Foot was turned into a working party; a spirit of zeal and emula-

tion was kindled throughout the garrison, and an indefensible mass of ruins was in a short time converted into a fortress proof against every thing but siege artillery. On the 9th January a horseman rode up to the walls with the order which Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone had written at the dictation of the chiefs for the evacuation of Jellalabad. The officers were unanimous in replying that as Akbar Khan had sent a proclamation to the chiefs in the valley to raise their followers and destroy the force, while the Cabul convention provided for their safe escort through the country, they considered it their duty to await further communication from the political and military chief in Afghanistan.

Councils of War,
1842. At the close of January a letter was received from Shah Soojah as the ostensible head of the Government in Cabul, demanding the evacuation of Jellalabad, in accordance with the terms of the treaty. It was written in red official ink, but he stated in a private communication that it had been signed under compulsion. A council of war was held, when Sir Robert Sale and Captain Macgregor, the political agent, who had doubtless been informed of the anxiety of Lord Auckland to escape from the country at the earliest moment, advised that the requisition to abandon Jellalabad should be complied with under certain specified conditions. This proposal was vigorously opposed by Captain Broadfoot, who characterized it as detestable; but his opinion was weakened by his impetuosity. The debate was so stormy that the council wisely determined to adjourn to the following day, when Captain Broadfoot produced a paper in support of his views, drawn up by his friend, Captain Havelock, in his usual calm, clear and decisive language. During the discussion which ensued, the political agent endeavoured to support his opinion by the remark, that the Government of India had abandoned the garrison, that no attempt would be made to relieve them after the failure of Colonel Wild, and that it was impossible for them to hold their position much longer. To this Captain Broadfoot replied, that if their own Government

had thus deserted them, the covenant between the two parties was cancelled, but they had a duty to perform to their country, that of upholding its honour at the present crisis, from which nothing could absolve them. The majority of the council, however, determined to adopt the advice of the political agent, but resisted the indignity of giving hostages, which had formed part of the proposal. A reply to this effect was accordingly sent to Cabul, with the understanding that if the communication from the Shah and the chiefs was a simple acceptance of the terms, the garrison would be bound to evacuate the town and the country, but if it were clogged with any conditions, or appeared evasive, they should be at liberty to adopt whatever course circumstances might dictate. The answer from Cabul required the officers to testify their sincerity by affixing their seals to the document. Another council was held, and Sir Robert Sale and the political agent called upon the officers to comply with this request. Captain Broadfoot urged that the suspicion of their sincerity liberated them from any obligation to confirm the treaty, and he proposed that the whole question of capitulation should be reopened. Some of the officers, under the influence of Broadfoot and Havelock, had repented of their former pusillanimity. A recent foray had been successful in supplying them with nearly nine hundred head of cattle; the officers were in fine feather, and the majority voted against any renewal of the negotiations. The next day letters were received from General Pollock conveying the pleasing intelligence that reinforcements were advancing from India, and all idea of abandoning their post was at once and finally dismissed.

The great
earthquake,
1842.

On the 18th February, a succession of earthquakes destroyed in a few minutes the labour of three months. The parapets were thrown down, the bastions seriously injured, and one of the gates reduced to a mass of ruins. The effects of this visitation were too severely felt in the country around to allow the enemy to take advantage of the defenceless state to which Jellalabad was

reduced, and the damage was repaired with such promptitude that the Afghans declared it was impossible the earthquake could have been felt there. Akbar Khan now made his appearance on the scene. If he had been able to advance at once from Cabul with the guns he had obtained in the cantonments, while his troops were flushed with success, the peril of the garrison would have been extreme; but he was happily detained at the capital by differences with the chiefs, and on his arrival found that the defences had been restored, the fosse completed, and a store of provisions laid in. He found also that he had no longer to deal with men like General Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton, or with a force sunk in despondency, but with commanders and men full of animation and confidence, and he prudently abstained from too near an approach to the ramparts. On the 11th March, however, he was emboldened to draw out his army, and advance to the attack of the town, but the whole garrison sallied forth and assaulted him with such impetuosity as to drive him ignominiously from the field. He resolved, therefore, to turn the siege into a blockade, with the hope of starving the force into submission. This strategy, which had been successful at Cabul, rendered the situation of the garrison extremely critical; the cattle were perishing for want of fodder, the men were on reduced rations of salt meat; the officers were on short commons, and the ammunition had begun to run low. On the 1st April, the troops sallied forth and swept into the town five hundred sheep and goats they had seen from the bastions for several days grazing in the plain, and thus supplied themselves with food for ten days. Akbar Khan had been gradually drawing his camp nearer to the town, in order to cut off foraging parties, and at length pitched it with 6,000 troops, within two miles of the ramparts. Captain Havelock had repeatedly and strenuously urged on General Sale the necessity of a bold attack on his encampment, as affording the only hope of relieving the garrison from its perils, but he had resolutely resisted the proposal.

Defeat of Akbar
Khan, 7th April,
1842.

On the evening of the 6th, the General yielded to the importunity of the officers who entertained the same opinion as Captain Havelock of the necessity of an energetic assault on the enemy's encampment. The plan of the engagement was laid down by the captain, and provided that the force should move out in three columns, and, without noticing the little forts which studded the intermediate space, make a sudden and vigorous attack on Akbar Khan, and drive his army into the river, which was then a rapid and unfordable torrent. The troops issued from the gate at dawn on the 7th April, but at the distance of three quarters of a mile from it, a flanking fire was opened from one of the forts on the centre column, commanded by Sir Robert Sale in person, and he ordered Colonel Dennie to storm it. The Colonel rushed forward with his usual gallantry, but was mortally wounded in endeavouring to penetrate the fort. This false movement not only entailed the sacrifice of a valuable officer, but had well nigh marred the enterprise. The advance column of 360 men led by Captain Havelock, moved on towards the enemy's encampment, and was thus exposed, without support, to the impetuous assault of Akbar's splendid cavalry, 1,500 in number; but they repelled two charges, and drove the assailants back to their camp. Repeated and earnest messages were sent for the advance of the two other columns which had been detained around the fort, and their timely arrival completed the victory. The enemy were dislodged from every point, and pursued to the river with the loss of their guns, equipage and ammunition, and their camp was given up to the flames. Akbar Khan disappeared, and the neighbouring chiefs hastened to make their submission; the villagers poured in provisions, and General Pollock, on his arrival, a week after, found the garrison in exuberant spirits and robust health. One such day at Cabul would have saved the army.

State of affairs
at Candahar,
1841—1842.

Immediately after the outbreak at Cabul, the chiefs despatched Atta Mahomed to raise Western

Afghanistan, and General Nott deemed it prudent to withdraw his detachments from the outlying districts, and concentrate his force in Candahar. Major Rawlinson endeavoured to get up a movement among the Dooranees in favour of Shah Soojah, the head of their own tribe, and bound the chiefs by solemn oaths to remain faithful in their allegiance, but their fidelity was shaken by the report industriously spread that he himself was hostile to the continuance of British authority in Afghanistan. The Shah's cavalry, the Janbaz, who had in every instance proved insubordinate, went into open revolt, murdered their officers, and joined the camp of Atta Mahomed. Soon after, the Shah's own son, Sufder Jung, decamped from Candahar, and placed himself at the head of the insurgents, who, after having been engaged for some weeks in making preparations, at length moved down to attack the city and encamped within five miles of it. On the 12th January, General Nott marched out with five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, and in an engagement which did not last more than twenty minutes, inflicted a signal defeat on them. The flame of rebellion however continued to spread through the country, and all the Dooranee chiefs threw off the mask, and openly joined the insurgents. Mirza Ahmed, the ablest man in Western Afghanistan, who had hitherto enjoyed the entire confidence of Major Rawlinson, and had been entrusted by him with large sums, went over to the enemy and assumed the direction of their movements; but the hostile camp was a prey to intestine dissensions. The Dooranee chiefs had always been at feud with each other, and it required all the extraordinary tact of the Mirza to keep these discordant elements from explosion. The British troops, on the contrary, were cheerful in the confidence of their strength, and sustained their health and spirits by games and amusements, while at the same time the General employed himself in improving the fortifications, and laying in provisions for five months. The insurgent chiefs and Sufder Jung at length sent to demand the evacuation of Candahar in conformity with the order which

Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone had signed two months before, under compulsion. General Nott and Major Rawlinson rejected the demand with scorn, and refused to enter into any negotiations for the evacuation of the country till they had received instructions from their own Government, written after the murder of the Envoy was known. It was deemed advisable to make a vigorous effort to break up the Afghan camp which continued to hover round the city. To prevent any insurrectionary movement within, a thousand Afghan families were expelled, after which General Nott marched out on the 10th March to encounter the enemy. Under the subtle advice of Mirza Ahmed, the Afghan leaders contrived to draw him to a distance from the city while they doubled back in the hope of capturing it during his absence. That chief and Sufder Jung arrived at sunset at the Herat gate, where their emissaries had been employed for some hours in heaping up brushwood saturated with oil. It blazed up as soon as the torch was applied to it, and the *ghazees*, enflamed with fanaticism and drugs, rushed forward with hideous yells, and seemed to court death with the courage of martyrs. The wild confusion of the scene was increased by the pitch darkness of the night, and the post was defended for five hours with great skill and energy by Major Lane and Major Rawlinson. Two guns were brought to bear on the enemy, and a number of grain bags were piled up behind the gate, which fell outwards about nine in the evening, when the *ghazees* rushed forward and with frantic fury, climbed up the mound of bags, but so vigorous was the defence that all their efforts were rendered vain. Towards midnight their violence seemed to be exhausted and they retired with their wounded, venting curses on Mirza Ahmed and were with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on him, for having inveigled them into an enterprise which had cost the lives of six hundred true believers.

Fall of Ghuzni,
1842.

Soon after, intelligence was received that Colonel Palmer, after holding Ghuzni for four

months with a regiment of native infantry, had surrendered it to the Afghans. There was a general impression that this capitulation was even more disgraceful than that of Cabul, and that under an officer of greater ability and decision, the post might have been maintained with ease till it was relieved, and this opinion was fully confirmed when General Nott subsequently had an opportunity of examining the defences. Great gloom was also diffused through the garrison of the Repulse of General England, 1842. Candahar by the repulse and retreat of General England. He had reached Quettah with a convoy of provisions, ammunition and money, and some additional troops for General Nott, and was strongly advised to await the reinforcements which were then on their way from below to join him. But he persisted in advancing into the Pisheen valley, and on the 28th March reached the village of Hykulzye, where he had been warned to expect some opposition. A body of 500 of his sepoy approached a slight elevation with a breastwork consisting of a mound of earth thrown up from a ditch four feet deep, when the enemy suddenly sprung up from behind it, and poured a destructive fire on them, which brought down a hundred killed and wounded. Their comrades recoiled from this unexpected discharge, but rallied immediately after, and were eager to be led on to the attack. Colonel Stacy thrice volunteered to carry the sunga, or breastwork, with a hundred, or even with eighty men, but the Brigadier would listen to no entreaty, and hastened back to Quettah, where he actually began to throw up entrenchments, as if he expected to be attacked. It was subsequently ascertained that the entire number of the enemy at Hykulzye, who had occasioned this disgraceful retreat did not greatly exceed a thousand. From Quettah, he wrote to General Nott: "Whenever it so happens that you retire bodily in this direction, and that I am informed of it, I feel assured that I shall be able to make an advantageous diversion in your favour." General Nott's temper was never remarkable for its suavity at the best of times; but it entirely broke down under the provocation of this unmanly exhibition, and he

ordered the Brigadier to advance without the least delay to Candahar, where the supplies under his charge were imperatively needed. On reaching the scene of his former repulse, the troops rushed forward impetuously to retrieve their honour, and carried the breastworks with perfect ease. The Brigadier soon after reached the defile which leads to the Kojuck pass, and calling for a chair, coolly seated himself in it, and resisted the entreaties of his officers who were impatient to secure the honour of mastering it; nor would he allow his brigade to move till he heard that it was in possession of Colonel Wymer, whom General Nott had sent from Candahar to meet him.

Lord Ellenborough, on his arrival at Calcutta, found himself involved in a labyrinth of difficulties, but he entered on the arduous task bequeathed by his predecessor with becoming dignity and confidence. On the 15th March, a notification signed by himself and all the members of Council announced the course which it was intended to pursue. "The British Government was no longer compelled to peril its armies, and with its armies, the Indian empire, in support of the tripartite treaty. Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations and regard to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops, to the security of those now in the field from all unnecessary risk, and finally to the establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, and to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities, and violate their faith, and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied, that the king we have set up, has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed." These noble sentiments were received with acclamation throughout India; but after a very brief residence in Calcutta, he left the Council board and proceeded to the north-

Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, 15th March, 1842.

west, to be near the Commander-in-chief. During the discussions of the India Bill he had contended for placing some restrictions on the powers of Indian Governors by subjecting them to the wholesome restraint of Council, and he had dwelt with much emphasis on "the peril of leaving too much to the erratic caprice of a single man." He was now about to illustrate the truth of these remarks. As he proceeded on his journey, he received intelligence of the success of General Pollock in forcing his way through the Khyber, and of the total defeat of Akbar Khan on the 7th April, which he announced to the public in a brilliant proclamation conferring upon the garrison of Jellalabad, the title of "illustrious." But he was likewise informed of the repulse which Brigadier England had experienced at Hykulzye and of his retirement to Quettah. This trumpery check unhappily made a more powerful impression on his mind than the important successes of Sale and Pollock; and on the 19th April, he announced to the Commander-in-chief his determination to withdraw the troops of General Nott and General Pollock, at the earliest practicable period to positions where they might have certain and easy communication with India. General Nott was therefore ordered to evacuate Candahar and to retire to the Indus, after blowing up the gateways and demolishing the fortifications. The Commander-in-chief was instructed to direct the withdrawal of General Pollock's army to Peshawur, but it was left to him "to consider whether the troops, redeemed from the state of peril in which they had been placed in Afghanistan, and it may still be hoped not without the infliction of some severe blow on the Afghan army, it would be justifiable again to put them forward for no other object than that of avenging our losses, and re-establishing our military character in all its original brilliancy." The Commander-in-chief, who had always been opposed to the Afghan expedition, lost no time in ordering General Pollock to withdraw every British soldier to Peshawur, unless he should have brought the negotiation for the release of the prisoners to

Determination to
withdraw, 19th
April, 1842.

such a point that its happy accomplishment might be risked by withdrawal, or, had equipped a light force to rescue them, or, was in expectation of an attack from Cabul. In other words, if no negotiation was pending for the recovery of the brave officers and tender women and children held in captivity, or, if no effort had been made towards the accomplishment of this object, they were to be abandoned to their fate. Lord Ellenborough would evidently have been more safe by the side of his Council than by the side of the Commander-in-chief.

To this communication General Pollock replied on the 13th of May, that the withdrawal of the force at the present time, construed as it must necessarily be into a defeat, would produce a most disastrous effect, and compromise our character as a powerful nation in that part of the world. The release of the prisoners, he remarked, was also an object which could not be repudiated. The want of cattle however, would effectually prevent his immediate retirement from Jellalabad, and he ventured to hint that he might possibly be detained there for several months through the same difficulty. By this dexterous suggestion, he was enabled to evade the injunction to retire at once from his position, and he trusted to another change in the versatile mind of Lord Ellenborough for more auspicious orders. In reply to this communication he was authorized to remain at Jellalabad till October. The order to evacuate Candahar and Afghanistan fell like a thunderbolt on General

Nott and Major Rawlinson. It was with no small difficulty that the admirable tact of the Major had succeeded in maintaining anything like order and government in the province amidst the reeking elements of revolt and anarchy. He felt that any suspicion of our intention to retire would raise the whole country in arms, and render it impossible any longer to procure cattle without compulsion, and that the perils of the force would be indefinitely multiplied. The political and military chiefs determined to keep the secret of these instructions to themselves; but the

Effect of the
order on General
Pollock, 1843.

And on General
Nott and Major
Rawlinson, 1842.

orders they had received to withdraw the garrison from Khelat-i-Ghilzye and to demolish the fortifications, could scarcely fail to open the eyes of the Afghans to the design of our Government. The ferocious Ghilzyes had determined to dislodge the British force from that fortress, and 4,000 of them had recently assailed it with unusual fury; thrice had they clambered up the ramparts, and thrice had they been hurled back by the gallantry of Captain Halkett Craigie and his men, nor did they withdraw till 500 of their number lay killed and wounded on the field. This triumph, which gave additional strength to our authority, rendered the proposal to abandon the fortress the more grievous. But General Nott replied promptly to the requisition of the Governor-General on the 19th May, though not without a heavy heart, that the evacuation of the province should be effected in the best manner circumstances would admit of. Arrangements were immediately commenced for withdrawing the army, but happily they were allowed to occupy two months, and before they were completed, he received a communication from Lord Ellenborough, dated the 4th July, which left him free to march to Cabul.

Lord Ellen-
borough's change
of plan, 1842.

Lord Ellenborough had enjoined secrecy on the generals relative to the order of evacuation; but it was not possible to conceal it from the public, and it became known throughout the country before it reached Jellalabad or Candahar. Never before had such a burst of indignation been excited in India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was universally felt that this dastardly retirement would inflict a deeper and more galling stigma on the national character than the humiliation at Cabul, which might be considered one of the chances of war. With all the contempt which Lord Ellenborough professed for public opinion, it was scarcely possible that he could be indifferent to this unanimity of reprobation. It is also known that the Court of Directors and his own colleagues in the Ministry had intimated their expectation that an attempt should be made to

vindicate the national honour and liberate the prisoners before we retired from the country. For fifteen weeks he continued to reiterate his determination to withdraw, but there were indications in his official correspondence that his mind was vacillating between the opposite attractions of national honour and personal consistency. At length he discovered an expedient for reconciling them. On the 4th July, Mr. Maddock, the secretary to Government, was instructed to convey to General Nott the official assurance that the resolution of the Governor-General to withdraw the troops at Candahar to India remained without alteration. On the same day Lord Ellenborough wrote himself to the General suggesting that it might possibly be feasible for him to withdraw from Afghanistan by advancing to Ghuzni and Cabul, over the scenes of our late disasters. "I know," he said, "all the effect it would have on the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our own countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition which no one more than myself would rejoice to see effected; but I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin, and I would inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be obtained by success, the risk is great." This mode of withdrawal, as every one, not excepting even the Governor-General, could perceive was nothing more or less than an advance on the capital with the view of planting the British standard again on the battlements of the Bala Hissar, and retrieving our national honour. It was unquestionably the duty of Lord Ellenborough, as the head of the state, to have taken the responsibility of this risk on himself, and to have furnished General Nott with distinct instructions, instead of leaving him to encounter the risk and the odium of failure. A copy of this communication was sent to General Pollock, with the suggestion that he might possibly feel disposed to advance to Cabul in order to co-operate with General Nott. Both generals were too happy to obtain permission to move up to the capital and restore our military character, and

liberate the captives, to shrink from the responsibility with which it was clogged.

Shah Soojah, 1842. Before following the march of the armies of retribution, it is necessary to allude to the fortunes of Shah Soojah, and of the hostages and captives. After the retreat of the British army on the 6th January, the Shah continued to occupy the Bala Hissar. The insurgent chiefs acknowledged him as king and paid him an empty homage, but they themselves engrossed all the substantive power of the state, and continued to coin money and to read prayers in the name of Zemaun Khan, who had been elected the supreme ruler after the 2nd November. The Shah sent repeated communications to Jellalabad, declaring his unalterable attachment to the British Government, and asking for nothing but money, though he had contrived to save twenty lacs of rupees out of the sums lavished on him since he left Loodiana. He endeavoured at the same time to convince the chiefs of his unalterable fidelity to the national cause, and he was consequently mistrusted by both parties. To test his sincerity, the chiefs desired him to place himself at the head of the army they had assembled to march on Jellalabad and expel General Sale. It was rumoured that he would be murdered or blinded by the Barukzyes if he left the Bala Hissar, but Zemaun Khan endeavoured to remove his suspicions by an oath on the Koran. With this assurance he descended from the citadel on the 5th April, decked out in all the insignia of royalty, of which he was inordinately proud, but was shot dead on the road by a body of matchlock men whom the son of Zemaun Khan had placed in ambush, without his father's knowledge. His body was rifled of the costly jewels which he always carried about his person, and thrown into a ditch; and thus terminated his chequered career of five and thirty years. Great doubts have been entertained of his fidelity to his English allies, but the balance of evidence fixes on him the charge of having given encouragement to those feelings of opposition which resulted in the revolt at the beginning of November, inasmuch

as on the departure of Sir William Macnaghten, who had always been his friend, he was to be consigned to the control of Sir Alexander Burnes, who was personally obnoxious to him, as he was to every other Afghan chief. The assassin was condemned to be stoned to death by the doctors of Mahomedan law, but his influence was too powerful to permit the execution of the sentence. The Shah's son Futteh Jung, a man of weak intellect and dissolute manners, was proclaimed king by one party, and he succeeded in rescuing the body of his father, which, after lying in state for some days, was interred with royal honours. Other parties were opposed to him; a civil war raged in the city, which was bombarded from the guns of the Bala Hissar, and there was fighting from house to house. Akbar Khan returned to the capital after his defeat at Jellalabad, and laid close siege to the citadel, which surrendered on the 7th June. The victorious Barukzyes then fell out among themselves, a battle was fought between the factions, and Akbar Khan's troops remained masters of the field. Futteh Jung was replaced on the throne, stripped of all the wealth Shah Soojah had accumulated, and reduced to the condition of a puppet, while Akbar Khan became the head of the government.

The English hostages and captives, 1842.

Of the British officers who were taken over as hostages the greater number were entrusted to Zemaun Khan, the only Afghan chief who never wavered in his attachment to the English throughout these scenes of treachery, and whom they were accustomed to describe as the good Nabob. He treated them with uniform kindness, and not only refused every demand to surrender them to the ferocity of the other chiefs, but raised a body of 3,000 troops at his own expense for their protection; but on the death of Shah Soojah he was constrained by the clamour of the people to make them over to the high priest of Cabul, under whose guardianship they remained till the beginning of July, when Akbar Khan attained supreme power in the city. Having formed the resolution of obtaining possession of the

hostages, he at length prevailed upon the priest to sell them for 4,000 rupees, after which they were lodged in the Bala Hissar. The captives, consisting of nine ladies, twenty gentlemen, and fourteen children, who had been made over to him during the retreat, were conducted through the recent scenes of slaughter, amidst the mangled corpses, which emitted the sickening smell of death, to a fort at Tezeen. Soon afterwards they were conveyed over mountain paths, all but impassable, to Budeabad, forty miles distant from Jellalabad, where they were lodged for three months in the apartments built for the family of Mahomed Shah, the father-in-law of Akbar Khan. No disposition was manifested to embitter their captivity by harshness; they were daily supplied with a sufficient quantity of coarse food, and a sum of 1,000 rupees was distributed among them to purchase sugar and other luxuries. The monotony of their prison life was relieved by correspondence in cypher with their friends at Jellalabad, and by the receipt of books and newspapers. During the absence of Akbar Khan, however, Mahomed Shah did not scruple to plunder them of the few articles of property they still possessed. On the approach of General Pollock's division to Jellalabad, Akbar Khan deemed it advisable to remove them for greater security to a more distant asylum. After a difficult march over barren hills and stony valleys, they were again lodged in the fort of Tezeen, where General Elphinstone sunk under the accumulation of bodily suffering and mental distress; a noble and brave soldier, endeared to all around him by his urbanity, and beloved by the men for his gallantry, but without any qualification for the anxious post which Lord Auckland had thrust upon him. His remains were conveyed to Jellalabad by his faithful servant Moore, with the permission of Akbar, and interred by the garrison with military honours. On the 22nd May the captives were again removed, and conveyed to a fort three miles from Cabul, where they enjoyed more liberty and comfort than they had yet experienced. They had the free use of an orchard and its fruit; they were

allowed the luxury of a bath in the river, and permitted to interchange visits with their friends in the Bala Hissar. They received letters from Jellalabad, from India, and from England, and there was abundant exercise for the body, and healthy occupation for the mind during the three months of their captivity in this fortress.

For more than three months the camp at Jella-
Advance of
General Pollock,
1842. labad had been kept in a state of feverish suspense regarding the intentions of Government. There was a general dread lest the armies should be ordered to retire from the country leaving their cannon, standards, sick and wounded, and their brave countrymen and helpless females and children, in the hands of a barbarous and exulting foe, and the order to advance to Cabul was received with a shout of exultation. Meanwhile Akbar Khan deputed one of the British officers whom he held in captivity, to negotiate with General Pollock for the release of the prisoners, which he agreed to grant on condition that the British force should evacuate the country without marching on the capital; and he threatened if this were refused, to send them into Turkistan and distribute them among the Oosbeg chiefs. The request, as might have been expected, was peremptorily refused, and though the negotiation was subsequently renewed, it never came to any result. Lord Ellenborough had made energetic and unceasing efforts to furnish General Pollock with cattle, to enable him to retire to Peshawur, and his march to Cabul was facilitated in no small degree by these abundant supplies, but he could not venture to advance before he had the assurance that the communication of the 4th July had reached General Nott in time to prevent his marching southwards, in accordance with previous orders. It was not before the middle of August that General Pollock was informed that the General had turned his face towards Cabul; and on the 20th of that month an army of 8,000 men, animated with feelings of the highest enthusiasm marched out of Jellalabad to avenge the national honour. At Jugdulluk, where the

Ghilzyes had eight months before slaughtered our troops without mercy, they appeared again under the ablest of their leaders, and with the flower of their tribes; but they had no longer a dispirited and fugitive soldiery to deal with. The "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad took the lead in the assault, and drove them from heights which appeared inaccessible, uttering loud cheers as standard after standard fell into their hands. The victory was in every respect complete, and it proved that the triumph of the Afghans in January was the result not of their own superior valour, but of the utter incompetence of the British officers. The rout of the Ghilzyes, and the bold and confident movements of General Pollock, spread consternation through all ranks at Cabul. Akbar Khan put his threat in execution, and sent all the prisoners and hostages to Turkistan, and then advanced with the chiefs of Cabul and their forces, to make one last effort to protect it from an avenging foe. The British soldiers as they moved forward were roused to a state of frantic excitement by the sight of the mangled remains of their comrades, with which the route was strewed, and there could be little doubt of the result of any conflict with the enemy.

Battle of Tezeen,
1842.

The two forces met in the valley of Tezeen, which at the beginning of the year had been the scene of a great massacre. It is surrounded on all sides by lofty hills, and every available height bristled with matchlock men who had poured down from Cabul. The Afghan horse, intent on plunder, were the first to advance to the conflict, but they were routed with great slaughter by the European dragoons and the native cavalry. The artillery then engaged in the assault, and did great execution both in the valley and on the heights, while the infantry clambered up the hills, in the face of a murderous fire from the jezails of the Afghans. The sepoy emulated his European comrade; and with a steady pace and dauntless spirit they united in driving the enemy from crag to crag, and dispersed them like chaff before the wind. Akbar Khan fled from the field into the highlands

Re-occupation of Cabul, 1842. north of Cabul, leaving his followers to shift for themselves, and the British army, after a triumphant march through the scenes of their humiliation, encamped on the Cabul race-course on the 15th September, and the British ensign again floated over the Bala Hissar.

Advance from Candahar, 1842. Aktar Khan, the leader of the insurrection in Western Afghanistan, who fled to Herat after his defeat, had now returned and assumed the command of the disaffected chiefs, and determined to take advantage of the absence of Colonel Wymer at Khelat-i-Ghilzye. On the 29th May, the whole body of the enemy appeared in the neighbourhood of Candahar; the hills were crowned with masses of horsemen, and the rocky heights covered with their infantry, thick as locusts. Conspicuous in the centre of the front ranks appeared a female figure surrounded by the chieftains, and animating the fanatic ghazees to the conflict. It was the gallant widow of Akram Khan—the rebel, or the patriot—whom the Cabul authorities had ordered to be blown from a gun at the close of the previous year, and who had now abandoned the seclusion of the zenana to avenge his death, and placed herself in the front of the battle mounted on his charger, and unfolded his standard. Under cover of the guns, General Nott's infantry stormed the heights, and drove the Afghans successively from every position, and the cavalry was then let loose to complete the victory. The next eight weeks were passed in collecting cattle and provisions for the retrograde march to the Indus through the Bolan pass, which Lord Ellenborough had ordered on the 18th April, but the arrangements were scarcely completed when his auspicious despatch of the 4th July reached Candahar, and General Nott accepted with alacrity the responsibility of retiring to India by way of Cabul, as the Governor-General facetiously termed the march. A portion of the force was sent back with the heavy guns, through the Bolan pass under Brigadier England, and on the 7th August, General Nott evacuated Candahar, leaving the province in the hands of Suder Jung, the son of Shah Soojah, who had

intermediately abandoned the insurgents, and made his peace with the British authorities. Owing to the admirable discipline maintained by General Nott and Major Rawlinson, there had been no licentiousness on the part of the soldiers to irritate the inhabitants, who were seen to crowd around them and embrace them as they bade farewell to the town. The army reached Ghuzni without encountering any opposition worthy of record, and found the citadel in good repair, but the town in a state of dilapidation. The fortifications were blown up; the wood work was set on fire; and throughout the night the sky was illuminated by the flames of this ancient and renowned fortress, to which a new celebrity had been given by the latest conquerors of India. The request made by Runjeet Sing to Shah Soojah in 1833, to make over the gates of Somnath, which he indignantly rejected, had taken the fancy of Lord Ellenborough, and he determined to attach to his administration the honour of restoring them to India. In his letter of the 4th of July, he instructed General Nott, if he should elect to retire by way of Ghuzni and Cabul, "to bring away from the tomb of Mahmood, his club which hangs over it, and the gates of his tomb which are the gates of the temple of Somnath, which will be the just trophies of your successful march." Major Rawlinson, the highest authority on questions of oriental archæology, after a careful examination of the inscription, came to the conclusion that they were only a fac simile of the original gates; but the priesthood maintained a different opinion, and bemoaned the loss of them, and of the rich harvest they derived from the numerous pilgrims who resorted to the shrine. The Hindoo sepoys, on the other hand, exhibited no feeling of exultation, and were unable to comprehend the object of this singular proceeding. Great care was taken to avoid any desecration of the tomb during the removal of the trophies. They were carefully packed up, and accompanied the army to Cabul, which General Nott reached the day after the arrival of the Bengal division.

Rescue of the
Prisoners, 1842.

The first object of General Pollock on reaching Cabul was the recovery of the prisoners whom Akbar Khan had suddenly removed from Cabul on the 25th August, and sent forward day and night, without intermission or rest, several thousand feet above the level of the sea, over the barren wastes and steep ascents of the Hindoo Koosh, to Bameean, where they arrived on the 3rd September. Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the General's military secretary, was immediately despatched in command of 600 horsemen, to make every effort to overtake them. The day after, Sir Robert Sale was likewise sent forward with a brigade to assist in this noble enterprise. The commander of the Afghan escort with the prisoners was Saleh Mahomed, a soldier of fortune, who had been a native commandant in Captain Hopkins's local regiment which had deserted to the Dost in the previous year. On the line of march to Bameean, this gossiping Afghan established a friendly intercourse with Captain Johnson, one of the prisoners, who possessed a perfect knowledge of the native language and character, and who endeavoured to work on his cupidity for the release of the captives, but at first with little apparent success. On the 11th September, Saleh Mahomed called Captain Johnson, Captain Lawrence, and Major Pottinger aside, and produced a letter from Akbar Khan directing him to convey the prisoners into the higher regions of the Hindoo Koosh, and transfer them to the Oosbeg chief of Khooloom. Their dismay may be readily conceived at the prospect thus presented to them, of passing the remainder of their lives in dismal and hopeless captivity among these barbarians; but it was speedily relieved when he proceeded further to state, that he had likewise received a message from the moonshee, Mohun Lall, at Cabul, promising him on the part of General Pollock, a gratuity of 20,000 rupees and an annuity of 12,000 rupees, if he would restore the captives to liberty. "I know nothing," he said, "of General Pollock, but if you three gentlemen will swear by your Saviour to make good to me the offer I have received, I will deliver you over

to your own people." The proposal was accepted with rapture, and the officers and the ladies hastened to bind themselves by a deed to provide the requisite funds, according to their respective means. The hero of Herat was now in his element. By common consent he assumed the direction of their movements, deposed the governor of Bameean, and appointed a more friendly chief in his stead, hoisted another flag, and laid under contribution a tribe of Lohanee merchants who happened to be passing through the country. He issued proclamations calling upon all the neighbouring chiefs to come in and make their obeisance; and all the decent apparel left with the prisoners was bestowed in dresses of honour on those who obeyed the summons, to whom he likewise granted remissions of revenue. The services of the Afghan escort, consisting of about 250 men, were secured by a promise of four months' pay on reaching Cabul. After this daring assumption of authority, Major Pottinger deemed it necessary to prepare for a siege, and lost no time in repairing the fortifications, digging wells, and laying in a supply of provisions. On the 15th September, a horseman galloped in from Cabul with the electrifying news that Akbar Khan had been completely defeated by General Pollock at Tezeen, that the Afghan force was annihilated, and the British army in full march on the capital. Major Pottinger and his fellow prisoners determined to return without any delay to Cabul. They quitted the fort on the morning of the 16th, and slept that night on the bare rocks, unconscious of fatigue or suffering. At midnight they were aroused by a mounted messenger with a note from Sir Richmond announcing his approach, and the next afternoon he and his little squadron were in the midst of the band of prisoners, and the sufferings of eight months were at an end. On the 20th, the column sent under the command of Sir Robert Sale joined the cavalcade, and the General was locked in the embraces of his wife and daughter; two days after, the cantonments at Cabul rang with acclamations as the captives entered them. Never since the establishment of British rule in

India had so intense a feeling of suspense and anxiety pervaded the length and breadth of the land as the fate of the prisoners created, and the thrill of delight which vibrated through the community on the report of their safety may be more easily conceived than described.

Capture of Istaliff, 1842.

In the meanwhile, Ameenoola Khan, one of the most ferocious opponents of British authority in Afghanistan, was collecting the scattered remnants of the Afghan army in the Kohistan, or highlands of Cabul, to renew the struggle, and it was deemed important to break up this hostile gathering. Istaliff, the chief town, was situated on the margin of a valley, which for its genial climate, its lovely aspect, and its luxuriant orchards, was considered the garden of eastern Afghanistan. This fortified town was regarded as the virgin fortress of the province, and deemed so secure against any attack that the Afghans had lodged their treasure and their families in it, with perfect confidence. A force was despatched against it under General M'Caskill, but he left all the arrangements of the day to Captain Havelock, through whose admirable strategy, the town was carried by assault with trifling loss. Ameenoola was among the first to fly, and the whole population, men, women, and children, were soon after seen to stream over the hills, in their white garments, in eager flight. Chareekar, where the Goorkha regiment had been slaughtered, as well as several other towns which had taken a prominent part in the insurrection, were also destroyed.

Destruction of the Great Bazaar, 1842.

The object of the expedition had now been fully accomplished. Afghanistan had been reconquered, our prisoners recovered, and our military reputation re-established in the eyes of India, and throughout Central Asia. Among the ablest of our political officers, there were some who considered that a precipitate retirement might neutralize the effect of our success, and they recommended the continued occupation of the country, at least for twelvemonths. But although Afghanistan was more completely at our feet than it had been at any period

since we entered it, the increasing complication of Punjab politics, and the growing power and insubordination of the Khalsa soldiery rendered it impolitic to maintain a large army of occupation at an inordinate cost, in a false and perilous position beyond the Indus, and Lord Ellenborough wisely determined to withdraw the whole force before the winter. It was deemed advisable however, to leave some lasting mark of retribution on the capital, and the great bazaar, where the mutilated remains of Sir William Macnaghten had been exposed to the insults of the mob, was selected for destruction. It was the noblest building of its kind in Central Asia, and too substantial to yield to anything but gunpowder; two days were therefore employed in blowing it up. A report was simultaneously spread that Cabul was to be given up to plunder, and though the most strenuous efforts were made to guard the gates, the soldiers rushed in from both camps with an irresistible impetus. Houses and shops were pillaged, the city was set on fire in several places, and subjected for three days to the wild and licentious passions of men maddened by a remembrance of the foul and treacherous murder of their comrades, and by the tokens of our disgrace which met the eye in every direction. The quarter of the friendly tribe of the Kuzzilbashes was with difficulty saved from destruction, but the vengeance wreaked on the rest of the city has no parallel in our Indian history.

Return of the
army, 1842.

The English colours were hauled down from the ramparts of the Bala Hissar on the 12th October, and the two armies turned their backs on Cabul. The old blind king, Zemaun Shah, the brother of Shah Soojah, whose expedition across the Indus and whose negotiations with Tippoo and other native princes, had spread consternation throughout India in the days of Lord Wellesley, returned with the army to close a life of vicissitude under the shade of the Company's protection. The family of Shah Soojah, and the remnant of that royal family took advantage of the opportunity to return to their former retreat on the banks of the

Sutlege. The force halted at Jellalabad to enable General Pollock to demolish the fortifications, and then pushed on through the Khyber, which he traversed without molestation by adopting the plan he had pursued when he entered it six months before, of crowning and clearing the heights. General Maclaren and General Nott, who commanded the centre and rear divisions, did not deem it necessary to take the same precaution, and they consequently suffered the disgrace of leaving a considerable portion of their baggage in the hands of the hereditary freebooters of the pass. At Peshawur the officers were entertained with splendid hospitality by General Avitabile. The march of the army through the Punjab, owing partly to the friendly disposition of the ruler Shere Sing, and partly to the assemblage of a large force at Ferozepore, was not interrupted by any adverse feeling.

Proclamation of
Lord Ellenbo-
rough, 1842.

Lord Ellenborough received intelligence of the re-occupation of Cabul whilst residing at Simla, in the house in which Lord Auckland had, four years before, penned the manifesto which ushered in the Afghan war. It fell to the lot of Lord Ellenborough to issue a proclamation announcing its termination, and he could not resist the temptation of giving it dramatic effect, by affixing the same date, the 1st October, to it, though it was not issued till ten days after. The proclamation stated that the British arms would now be withdrawn from Afghanistan, but as he had not at the date of it received any intelligence of the prisoners, except that they had been sent into captivity in the wild regions of the Hindoo Koosh, the public loudly denounced this manifest indifference to their fate. No such document had ever before issued from the Governor-General's bureau. The policy of the state in times past had been subject to repeated changes, but these changes had been carried into effect without any ostentatious parade of superior wisdom, or any reflection on previous transactions, and the Government of India at successive periods had always presented to its princes and people the dignified and imposing appearance of unanimity. But on this

occasion, the policy of a preceding administration was for the first time officially held up to public contempt. "Disasters unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated have in one short campaign been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force in a false position will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement and comfort of the people. The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded to any force that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and, for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honour." Lord Ellenborough had been in such a state of excitement since he assumed the charge of the Government that these inflated expressions excited little surprise, and the community only regretted that with all his fine talent he had so little ballast. The proclamation of the Gates appeared next, but it was at once seen to be a servile imitation of Bonaparte's Egyptian proclamation. The Somnath gates were to be restored to India with a grand flourish of trumpets. "My brethren and friends," said the Governor-General in his address to the natives, "our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnath in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Mahmood looks on the ruins of Ghuzni. The insult of eight hundred years is avenged. To you princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful warfare. You will yourselves with all honour transmit the gates of sandal wood to the restored temple of Somnath." This gasconade was designated by the Duke of Wellington, "a song of triumph;" but the community in India, native as well as European, regarded it as the triumph of folly over common sense. The gates, even if genuine, had been desecrated by their association with a Mahomedan mosque. The princes and chiefs to whom the address was sent, were partly Hindoos and partly

Mahomedans. To the latter it was an unequivocal insult ; to the Hindoos, not one in twenty of whom had ever heard of the legend, the whole transaction appeared an absurdity. There was, moreover, no temple of Somnath to receive them, and it was preposterous to suppose that the Government of India intended to erect and endow one. In the General Order which Lord Ellenborough issued on the occasion, he directed that these trophies of our arms should be transmitted from Ferozepore to Somnath, on the western coast, a distance of 600 miles, with every demonstration of pomp, under the charge of an officer on a salary of 1,000 rupees a month, with an escort of three European officers and a hundred sepoys. They were to receive double batta during the service, and, to give additional importance to the procession, a detachment of his own body guard was to accompany it, under charge of one of his aides-de-camp. The gates were placed on a carriage covered with costly trappings, and brought in the Governor-General's train from Ferozepore to Agra. At the shrines of Muttra and Brindabun, which he visited on his route, they were unveiled for three days for the benefit of the brahmins and devotees. As the encampment proceeded on its way to Agra hundreds of Hindoos daily prostrated themselves before the car, and made poojah and offerings to it as to a deity. But the gates were not destined to reach Somnath ; they never travelled beyond Agra, where they were soon after consigned to a lumber room in the fort.

Meeting at Ferozepore to which the divisions of General Nott and General Pollock were now tending, Lord Ellenborough had assembled a large army, partly to overawe the Sikhs, and partly to give a grand ovation to the returning heroes "at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlege." Two hundred and fifty elephants had been collected for the occasion, and Lord Ellenborough superintended in person the painting of their trunks, and the completion of their gaudy caparisons. They were to be drawn up in two lines and to salute the victorious battalions on their bended knees, but as

the elephant crouches on his hind legs, half the effect of the display was lost. The officers were feasted in magnificent tents, decorated with flags bearing the names of their victories, and the sepoy were regaled, as the Governor-General's notification ran, "with their favourite metoys" or sweetmeats. Including the regiments from Afghanistan more than 40,000 British troops were assembled on this occasion at Ferozepore, and presented an imposing array of power after our disasters beyond the Indus. An interview between the Governor-General and Shere Sing, the ruler of the Punjab, was prevented by some accidental misunderstanding, but the heir apparent came down with a strong escort of Sikh troops to compliment him. He reviewed the British army and noticed with peculiar interest the veterans of General Nott's and General Sale's brigades. The camp was then broken up, to the great relief of Shere Sing, who was haunted with the dread of a conflict with the British force, and on its departure considered himself happy in having escaped a great peril. A court-martial was convened, according to professional usage, to investigate the conduct of the officers who had "abandoned their posts and gone over to the enemy," and they were honorably acquitted of all blame. Major Pottinger's proceedings were submitted to a court of enquiry, of which Mr. George Clerk was President, the result of which added fresh lustre to the character of the young soldier who had driven the Persian army from Herat, and resisted the capitulation at Cabul, even in the last extremity. The Afghan prisoners in our hands were likewise released. Lord Ellenborough intended at first that they should present themselves at the durbar at Ferozepore while he was celebrating the triumph of the British arms in Afghanistan, but the universal voice of society was raised against so ungracious and so un-English a treatment of men whom we had torn from their country, and on whom we had inflicted a grievous injury. The more generous feelings of Lord Ellenborough's nature overcame his love of display, and Dost

Mahomed was dismissed at a private interview. On taking leave of him the Governor-General enquired his opinion of the English after all he had seen of them in India. "I have been struck," he replied, "with the magnitude of your power, and your resources, with your ships, your arsenals, and your armies, but what I cannot understand, is, why the rulers of so vast and flourishing an empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

Remarks on the expedition, 1842. The surprise expressed by the Dost was equally shared by the English community both in India and in England, with the exception of the cabinet of secretaries at Simla and the Whig cabinet in Downing Street. After twenty-five years of calm reflection, the expedition still appears an unparalleled instance of human rashness and folly. The object of the war was to counteract the hostile designs of Persia, by securing a friendly power in Afghanistan. Mr. McNeill advised the Government of India to subsidize and strengthen Dost Mahomed, who was eager for our alliance; but Lord Auckland and Mr. Macnaghten rejected this counsel and resolved to place a puppet on the throne, whom it became necessary to support by British bayonets and British gold. They accordingly took possession of a country of mountains and snow, filled with a turbulent and fanatic population, and we planted our armies in positions separated from all support by the Kojuk and the Bolan passes on one side, and by the Khoord Cabul and the Khyber on the other. Our most easterly post in Afghanistan was distant from the nearest post in India by thirty-five marches, and the intervening space was occupied by the cities, forts, and armies of a powerful and doubtful ally, whose troops were organizing annual revolutions, and whose Government was fast verging into a state of servile subjection to them. The crisis of 1838 came round again in 1856. The King of Persia invaded Herat and mastered the city, and it was deemed important to the interests of the Indian empire to check his career. Time had assuaged the feelings of the Dost, and he had entered into a treaty with us

engaging "to be the friend of the friends and the enemy of the enemies of the Company." He was liberally supplied with arms and money to oppose the Persians ; a military demonstration was likewise made by a British army in the maritime provinces of Persia, and under the influence of these combined movements, the king was constrained to withdraw from Herat and sue for peace. If the same politic course had been adopted by Lord Auckland, we should have been saved the greatest disgrace our arms had ever encountered in Asia, and the loss of fifteen thousand lives, and fifteen crores of rupees.

Colonel Stoddart
and Captain
Conolly, 1839-42.

One of the most mournful episodes of the Afghan war was the tragic end of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. The Colonel had been sent as envoy to Bokhara at the close of 1839 to promote the liberation of the Russian slaves, and to enter into a friendly treaty with the Ameer. The prince was of a haughty and revengeful temper, and while he claimed the title of Commander of the Faithful, was regarded throughout Central Asia as the incarnation of perfidy and ferocity. He had addressed a letter to the Queen of England, and being irritated by the contempt with which it was treated at the Foreign Office, determined to wreak his vengeance on the only Englishman in his power, notwithstanding the fact of his being a diplomatic agent. A complimentary reply under the royal sign manual to the most powerful chief in Central Asia, with whom we were seeking to establish an alliance, would not have lowered the dignity of the Crown inasmuch as George the third, and the Prince of Wales had corresponded directly with the Nabob of the Carnatic. Colonel Stoddart was consigned to a loathsome prison and repeatedly scourged, and required to turn Mussulman, which he steadily refused. He was soon after cast into a dark pit, the place of torment for the vilest criminals, filled with decomposed animal matter and the bones of the dead, and subsequently exposed at one of the gates of the city to the jeers and the brutality of the faithful, but he

continued resolutely to adhere to his faith. The next day he was again severely beaten, and his grave was dug before his eyes. "The grating of the spades," as he subsequently recorded, "jarred on my shattered nerves beyond endurance," and it was in this state of mental and physical prostration that he pronounced the formula of the Mahomedan creed. He was, however, destined to two months of additional suffering, but he endured it with a degree of constancy which excited the admiration even of his persecutors. The continued success of the British arms in Afghanistan induced the Ameer to treat him with some degree of consideration, but the expedition sent across the Hindoo Koosh by Sir William Macnaghten, combined with the deputation of political missions to Khiva and Kokan, raised a suspicion in his mind that the English Government had a design on the independence of Turkistan. He, therefore, adopted the precaution of despatching a mission to St. Petersburg to solicit the aid of Russia. It appears that a fair opportunity was at this time presented to Colonel Stoddart of escaping from the country, through the influence of Russia, but from a high though mistaken sense of honour, he refused to take advantage of it, lest he should appear to owe his liberation to the good offices of a foreign Government. Lord Palmerston solicited the friendly efforts of the Russian Government on his behalf, and Colonel Bouteneff, who was sent by the Emperor on a return embassy to Bokhara in May, 1841, was instructed to persist with greater importunity in demanding his release. Letters from Lord Clanricarde, the British Minister at St. Petersburg were transmitted to him by that occasion, and the Russian Chancellor, in his communication to the Governor-General of Orenberg, expressed a hope that the Colonel would be induced "to waive his feelings of misplaced vanity," and embrace the present opportunity of obtaining his release. Colonel Bouteneff reached Bokhara in August, 1841, and Colonel Stoddart was permitted to take up his residence with the Russian mission. In October, Captain Conolly, who had been sent on a mission

by Sir William Macnaghten to Kokan, arrived at Bokhara, but he was suspected of having encouraged the ruler of that state in his hostility to the Ameer, and was immediately arrested and his property confiscated. The Ameer had addressed a second letter to the Queen of England, but was referred for a reply to the Government of India. His communications with Russia had always been made directly to the Emperor, who did not disdain to reply to his letters; and he regarded the different treatment he had received from the Foreign Office in England in the light not only of an insult, but of a subterfuge, as the Government of India was universally believed to be hostile to Bokhara. Then came the insurrection at Cabul, and the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes. Colonel Stoddart was immediately removed from the protection of the Russian mission, and subjected, together with Captain Conolly, to a rigid imprisonment. The entire destruction of the British army produced a complete revolution in the feelings of the Ameer regarding the value of any European connection. He no longer considered the Russian alliance an object of any importance, and the mission was treated with great contumely. The envoy was abruptly summoned to his presence as he was setting out on a fresh expedition to Kokan, and dismissed from his court with contemptuous indifference. Colonel Bouteneff, who had for some time been apprehensive of being sent to keep company with the English prisoners, was happy to escape from the hands of this capricious tyrant. On his departure, he demanded the release of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, in conformity with the promise of the Ameer, but was informed that another letter had been addressed to the Queen of England, and that they would be forwarded direct to England on the receipt of her reply. On the 17th June, however, they were both led out to the market-place of Bokhara and decapitated.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—SINDE AND GWALIOR
WAR, 1842—1844.

ON the 1st October, 1842, Lord Ellenborough
Sinde, 1842. announced in his Simla proclamation that the
“Government of India, content with the limits which nature
appears to have assigned to its empire, would devote all its
efforts to the establishment and maintenance of peace,” and
he ordered a medal to be struck to inaugurate the reign of
peace with the motto, “Pax Asiæ restituta.” Before six
months had elapsed, he issued another proclamation, annexing
the whole kingdom of Sindé to the Company’s dominions.
That country was divided into three principalities, Upper
Sinde, ruled by the Ameers of Khyrpore, of whom Meer Roos-
tum was the chief; Meerpoore, governed by Shere Mahomed,
and Lower Sindé held by the Ameers of Hyderabad. They
were independent of each other, almost to the same extent as
the princes of Rajpootana, and Lord Auckland had entered
into separate treaties with them in 1839; but in 1842 it was
resolved by the officers commanding in Sindé, to treat them
as one body, and to hold all the Ameers responsible for the
assumed default of any one of them. The humiliating treaties
dictated in 1839 had imposed on them a subsidiary force and a
tribute, but it had left them their estates and their regal dig-
nity, and they appear to have acquiesced meekly in the subor-
dinate condition to which they were reduced. During the three
subsequent years in which Afghanistan was occupied by our
troops, and Sindé had become the basis of our operations beyond
the Indus, their conduct was marked by good faith, if not by
cordiality. Under the personal influence of Major Outram, the
political Resident, they permitted a free passage to our troops
and stores through their country, and assisted the steamers

with fuel. Any opposition on their part would have occasioned the most serious inconvenience, but the garrisons of Candahar and of the other posts in southern Afghanistan which were entirely dependent on the supplies received from and through Sinde, were never allowed to suffer want. This friendly aid was gratefully acknowledged by Lord Auckland when on the eve of quitting India. After the Cabul force had been annihilated, and our military reputation had suffered a partial eclipse, the Ameers still continued to furnish supplies and carriage, which they might have withheld without any infraction of the treaties. The force at Candahar could neither have retired to the Indus, or advanced to Cabul without the assistance of Sinde, and it was solely by means of the three thousand camels sent up from that province that General Nott was enabled to march on the capital. But two or three of the Ameers were emboldened by our reverses to manifest a feeling of hostility, and Major Outram brought it to the knowledge of Lord Ellenborough in the form of distinct charges, which he represented to be of so serious a nature as to justify a demand for a revision of the treaties. Lord Ellenborough replied that he was resolved to inflict signal chastisement, even to the confiscation of his dominions, on any chief or Ameer who should have exhibited hostile designs against us during the late events, founded on a doubt of the existence of our power, but he added that there must be clear proof of the faithlessness of the Ameers, and it must not be "provoked by the conduct of the British agents, producing on the mind of any chief an apprehension that the Government entertained designs inconsistent with his interests or his honour."

Sir Charles Napier arrived in Sinde on the 9th September, invested with full diplomatic as well as military power. He was a soldier of distinguished reputation, and of extraordinary resolution and energy; but he was new to India, and profoundly ignorant of the language, habits, and character of its princes and people, and of political life in it. He landed in Sinde with a violent

Sir Charles
Napier's proceed-
ings, 1842.

prejudice against the Ameers, and in his first interview with them at Hyderabad discarded all those amenities which had always characterized the intercourse of the Company's functionaries with the princes of India. Lord Ellenborough had particularly enjoined on the British agents in Sinde to consider themselves the representatives of the friendship as much as of the power of the British Government, and to be mindful that all necessary acts of authority should be clothed with the veil of courtesy and regard. This generous admonition was entirely neglected by Sir Charles Napier. His menacing address created lively apprehensions in the minds of the Ameers, and all his subsequent proceedings only tended to confirm them. The investigation of the charges of disloyalty brought against the Ameers by Major Outram, was referred to him by the Governor-General, but with the distinct injunction that he should not proceed against any of them without the most complete proof of their guilt. All the charges except three were at once dismissed, and the question of their delinquency turned upon three points: whether a letter sent to a petty Boogtie chief, and another sent to the ruler of the Punjab were genuine, and whether the minister of Meer Roostum, of Upper Sinde, had favoured the escape of a malcontent. The evidence of the authenticity of the letters was considered by the best authorities in India extremely doubtful, and the seals appeared to have been forged:—in Sinde the fabrication of seals was a profession. Upon every principle of equity and fair dealing, the Ameers ought to have been heard in their own defence before they were condemned; but Sir Charles Napier called upon them for no explanation, and, relying only on his own sagacity, and on the opinion of one of his junior assistants, as ignorant of the country as himself, informed Lord Ellenborough that the letters were authentic, and the charges substantiated; and that the treaty of 1839 had been violated.

The new treaty,
1842.

Major Outram had submitted, together with the charges against the Ameers, the draft of the

new treaty to be proposed for their acceptance. Its object was to place the relationship of the two Governments on a more satisfactory footing, to substitute a cession of territory for the annual tribute, and to punish the hostile designs which had been manifested by certain of the Ameers. They were to be deprived of some of the districts they had formerly wrested from the Nabob of Bhawulpore, and he was to be rewarded by the restoration of them for the exemplary fidelity he had manifested during the Afghan crisis. The treaties reached Sir Charles Napier on the 12th November, when Major Outram found that they prescribed the sequestration of lands to the value of nearly four lacs in excess of those which he had proposed, and which it had been determined to take as a substitute for the tribute and as the penalty of disloyalty. They likewise deprived the Ameers of the regal prerogative of coining money. He attributed these additional demands to inadvertence, and requested Sir Charles Napier to bring the subject before Lord Ellenborough again, but ten weeks were allowed to elapse before the reference was made. The Governor-General admitted the error, and directed that it should be rectified, but his despatch did not reach the camp till after the battle of Meanee and the ruin of the Ameers. With regard to the new treaties, he had expressly instructed Sir Charles Napier to negotiate them with the Ameers, and not to carry them into effect until they had been concluded and ratified. Two days after they were received, Sir Charles Napier invited Meer Roostum to discuss them at a conference, but under the insidious advice of Ali Morad, he failed to attend it. A fortnight passed without any further communication regarding them with any of the Ameers, either of Upper or Lower Sinde, but on the 1st December the General informed Meer Roostum and his associates, that he had received the draft of a treaty signed by the Governor-General, which he now presented for their acceptance and guidance, and that in obedience to his instructions, he should proceed at once to occupy the territories indicated therein. The Ameers of

Khyrpore sent their vakeels to protest against the charge of disloyalty which had been brought against them, and to express, generally, their willingness to agree to the treaty dictated by the British Government, although they considered the terms unjust and oppressive. Within three days, and before they had signed the treaty, or had been allowed an opportunity of discussing its conditions, Sir Charles Napier sequestered the whole of the territory extending from Roree to the confines of Bhawulpore, which embraced the lands Lord Ellenborough had inadvertently included in the draft of the treaty. At the same time, he issued a proclamation forbidding the ryots to pay any rents to the Ameer after the 1st of January. These estates belonged to the feudatories of the Ameers, the Belochee chiefs, who were entirely dependent on them for their means of subsistence. Meer Roostum remonstrated against this wholesale confiscation of his territories before he had signed any treaty, and added with great simplicity that the English possessions extended over thousands of miles, while the whole of his territories would not be sufficient for the maintenance of a single sahib. An idle rumour had reached the General that the Ameers intended to make a night attack on his camp, and he immediately threatened Meer Roostum to march on his capital and destroy it and transplant the inhabitants. To this menace the Ameer meekly replied, "God knows we have no intention of opposing the English, nor a thought of war or fighting—we have not the power. Ever since my possessions were guaranteed to me and my posterity by the British Government under a formal treaty, I have considered myself a dependent of theirs, and thought myself secure."

Ali Morad and
the "Turban,"
1842.

These violent proceedings were evidently prompted by the nefarious intrigues and the consummate villainy of Ali Morad. The office of Rais, or lord paramount, was the highest dignity in Upper Sinde, and had long been enjoyed by Meer Roostum, then in his eighty-fifth year, who was venerated alike by the chiefs and the people, and held in high estimation by all the British officers

who had been connected with Sinde, for his invariable fidelity. The succession to this office, of which the Turban was the symbol, belonged by the usage of the country to his brother Ali Morad, who was, with the exception of Shere Mahomed of Meerpore, the ablest of the Ameers, but the personification of subtlety and perfidy. He was anxious to make sure of this honour, which Meer Roostum was desirous of bestowing on his own son, and our subsequent proceedings in Sinde may be traced in a great measure to the infamous means which he adopted to accomplish his object. On the 23rd November he obtained an interview with Sir Charles Napier, and, with that quick discernment of character for which the natives of India are distinguished, ascertained that his temper combined the elements of credulity and impulsiveness. He persuaded the General that all the chiefs were hostile to British interests, with the exception of himself and one of the Ameers of Hyderabad, and he succeeded in obtaining the promise of the Turban after the death of Meer Roostum. But he was anxious to obtain possession of it at once, and this object could be gained only by placing the old Ameer in a position of hostility to the British Government. With ingenious malignity he laboured on the one hand to draw his brother into some act of indiscretion which might compromise him, and on the other hand endeavoured to inflame the mind of the British General against him by constant misrepresentations. Through his influence three haughty and menacing messages were sent in succession to Meer Roostum by Sir Charles, and that venerable chief proposed to wait on him to offer a personal explanation. Sir Charles was induced to refuse the interview, because "it would be embarrassing," but advised him to proceed to his brother's residence, not without a hope that he might be prevailed on to resign the Turban without delay. "I send you this letter," he wrote, "by your own brother; listen to his advice; trust to his care. If you go to him, you may either remain, or I will send an escort to conduct you to my camp." This advice had all the force of a command, and Meer Roostum accordingly

repaired to Ali Morad's fortress at Deejee, and on the 20th December wrote to Sir Charles that of his own free will he had resigned the Turban, together with the control of his army, his forts, and his country to Ali Morad. Sir Charles informed the Governor-General, on the assurance of that intriguer, that this resignation had been written in the most formal manner in a Koran before all the religious men collected to witness it; but added that he was not without a suspicion that it had been obtained by fraud and violence, and that he was resolved on a personal interview with the old Ameer. This intention he communicated to Ali Morad, who was anxious to prevent the meeting, and rode over in haste to Deejee, roused his brother at midnight, and urged him to take flight in order to avoid Sir Charles Napier, who, he said, was coming the next day to make him prisoner; the terrified old chief accordingly escaped in haste to the camp of his relations twelve miles distant. Sir Charles immediately issued a proclamation to the Ameers and people of Sinde, in which he charged Meer Roostum with having insulted and defied the Governor-General by departing from his brother's roof, and announced his determination to maintain Ali Morad as the justly constituted chieftain of the Talpoora family. Meer Roostum lost no time in sending his minister to the General to put him in possession of the truth, and to assure him that Ali Morad had placed him in durance in his fort and had extorted the resignation of the Turban, and had subsequently prompted him to escape by flight the captivity with which he was menaced. To this message Sir Charles sent an arrogant reply, charging the Ameer with subterfuge and falsehood. "I do not," he said, "understand such double conduct, and will not allow you to take shelter under such misrepresentations. I no longer consider you the chief of the Talpooras, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you the Rais." The resignation said to have been written in the Koran was a forgery, and the assemblage of holy men to witness it an audacious fiction. Under this deed Ali Morad claimed lands of the value of six lacs of

rupees a-year, as belonging to the Turban, and the abstraction of this property, combined with the sequestrations of Sir Charles Napier, left an income of only six lacs, out of twenty, for the support of eighteen Ameers, and their thirty sons, and all their feudatory chiefs.

To this wholesale spoliation the Ameers of Emamgur, 1843. Upper Sinde could offer no resistance. Their military force consisted of about two thousand men, under the command of the son and nephew of Meer Roostum, and they had never dreamed of offering any opposition to the British General. But there was a fort in the desert, Emamgur, belonging to Meer Mahomed, who had not given any cause of offence to the British authorities. Owing to its inaccessible position, it does not appear ever to have been captured, and Sir Charles considering it to be the Gibraltar of Upper Sinde, was determined to show the chiefs, as he said, that "neither their deserts nor their negotiations could intercept the progress of the British army." On the 5th January he commenced his march into the desert with fifty horsemen, two 24-pounders, and three hundred and fifty Europeans, mounted on camels, and after traversing the arid waste for four days without seeing the face of an enemy, reached the fort on the 9th of that month. It was abandoned on his approach, and the fortifications were blown up with the powder they contained. The Duke of Wellington pronounced the expedition "one of the most curious military feats he had ever known to be performed." It was unquestionably a gallant exploit, but as there was no declaration of war, and as we had no differences with the chief to whom the fort belonged, it was an act of wanton aggression.

Conference with
the Ameers,
1843. Sir Charles Napier had ordered the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde to meet Major Outram at Khyrpore to discuss and sign the treaties, and invested him with full powers, but directed him to listen to no remonstrance regarding the Turban, or the lands which Ali Morad had seized. Major Outram pressed the omission of

the clause regarding the coinage, because the right to coin money was the most cherished prerogative of royalty in the east, and, likewise, because the image of the Queen was an emblem forbidden by the Mahomedan creed; but Sir Charles replied that the orders of Lord Ellenborough on this subject were imperative and irreversible. By the contrivance of Ali Morad, Meer Roostum and his brother Ameers were prevented from attending the meeting, and only two of the agents of the Ameers of Lower Sinde made their appearance; with the concurrence of Sir Charles, Major Outram therefore transferred the conference to Hyderabad, and fixed it for the 28th January. Two days after, the vakeels of the Ameers of Hyderabad arrived in the camp, bearing the seals of their masters, with full authority to affix them to the treaties. If they had been allowed to carry out their instructions there would have been a peaceful solution of all differences, but Sir Charles Napier peremptorily refused them permission to execute the deed, and directed them to return to Hyderabad, in company with the Ameers of Upper Sinde, who were informed that they would be treated as enemies if they refused to proceed thither. This order was issued under the crafty advice of Ali Morad, whose object was to create embarrassments, well knowing that the Ameers of Lower Sinde dreaded the appearance of the despoiled princes at their capital, lest it should inflame the minds of the Beloochee chiefs, who were flocking to it with their followers.

Conference at
Hyderabad,
1843.

The conference was held on the arrival of Major Outram at Hyderabad. The Ameers denied that they had infringed the treaties. They repudiated the hostile correspondence, and maintained that they had never affixed their seals to the letters said to have been addressed to the Boogtie chief and to the ruler of the Punjab. They demanded that these documents should be produced and examined in their presence, but were informed that they were with the Governor-General. Meer Roostum again asserted that he had been placed under restraint by Ali Morad, and

that his seal had been affixed to the deed of resignation by force. Several conferences were subsequently held, at which the Ameers assured the Major that the Beloochee troops now assembled at the capital were not under control, and that the continued advance of Sir Charles Napier, who was marching on Hyderabad, must inevitably lead to a collision. They assented to the conditions of the treaties, although they were deemed harsh; they were ready even to relinquish the large territory which Sir Charles had confiscated, but they required the assurance of Major Outram that the Turban and the territory seized by Ali Morad should be restored to Meer Roostum, if he could substantiate the allegation of violence. If this concession were made, they thought that they might succeed in restraining the passions of the troops. It was beyond the power of Major Outram to assent to this proposal. On the 12th February, he attended a durbar in the fort, when all the Ameers affixed their seals to the treaties. The city, however, was in a state of commotion; the sight of the fugitive and disinherited princes of Upper Sindh, and, more especially, of the venerable Meer Roostum, deposed from the chiefship and stripped of his territory by his perfidious brother, exasperated the inhabitants and the Beloochee chiefs beyond endurance. On issuing from the fort after the treaties had been executed, Major Outram and his officers were surrounded by a dense crowd of citizens and soldiers pouring execrations on the British name, and they would inevitably have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury, if they had not been protected by a guard under the command of the most influential chiefs, who refused to leave them till they were safe within the gates of the Residency. The next day a deputation waited on Major Outram to state that the Beloochee troops were wrought up to such a state of desperation that the Ameers were unable to restrain them, and could no longer be answerable for their conduct. "We have given you," they said, "all that you wanted for yourselves and for the Nabob of Bhawulpore without a murmur. Promise to restore the lands which Ali Morad has seized, or permit us

to recover them ourselves;" but Major Outram could only assure them that the Ameers must be held responsible for the conduct of their subjects. They entreated him to retire from the Residency to a place of greater safety, but he replied that he should neither move an inch, nor place an additional sentry at his door. On the morning of the 15th February, masses of infantry and cavalry came down upon the Residency and assailed it with great resolution, but they were effectually repulsed by a small body of native troops, and a company of the 22nd Foot, which happened to be present. After a gallant defence of three hours against overwhelming numbers, Major Outram retired with the loss of seventeen killed, wounded, and missing, to the armed steamer anchored in the river about five hundred yards distant. It is important to the interests of historical truth to correct the groundless assertion made on the authority of Sir Charles Napier in Lord Ellenborough's proclamation of the 5th March, that "the Ameers signed the new treaty on the 14th February, and treacherously attacked the residence of the British Commissioners with a large force on the following day." The treaty was signed on the 12th, and for two days the Ameers continued to importune Major Outram to retire from the Residency, because they were unable to curb the indignation of their feudatories, but, true to his chivalrous feeling, he resolved to remain and brave the danger.

The battle of
Meanee, 17th
February, 1843.

The attack on the Residency closed all negotiation, and rendered an appeal to arms inevitable. No course was left to Sir Charles Napier but to march to Hyderabad, and to join issue with the national force which had flocked thither in augmented numbers when it was perceived that he continued to advance after the treaties had been signed. On the morning of the 17th February he came upon the Beloochee army posted at Meanee, about six miles from Hyderabad, numbering more than 20,000 men, while his own force did not exceed 2,700. The Beloochees took up a strong position, with the dry bed of the Fullailee in

front, and a wood on each flank defended by fifteen guns. During three hours they maintained their ground with the greatest courage and resolution, and being excellent swordsmen, repeatedly rushed down the bank on the British ranks, after having discharged their matchlocks. The fortune of the day was at length decided by a charge of cavalry on the right of the enemy, while another body of horse fell simultaneously on their camp, spreading dismay in the rear of the masses opposed to the British infantry. The Belochees disputed every inch of ground, and gradually retired from the field, leaving their camp, their artillery, and all their military stores in the hands of the victors. Braver men never rushed on death, and never on any Indian battle-field had the gallantry of British troops, or the generalship of a British commander, been more conspicuously displayed. No quarter was asked or given, and the loss of the Belochees in killed and wounded was computed at 5,000, while that of the British force, owing to the admirable tactics of Sir Charles Napier, did not exceed 257, of whom nineteen were officers. The victory was as complete as it was brilliant, but a fresh body of 10,000 Belochees arrived the next day, and Shere Mahomed, the Ameer of Meerpore, the ablest and most martial of the princes, was in the neighbourhood with about the same number of men, who had taken no part in the engagement. Sir Charles was without the means of laying siege to the fort of Hyderabad, and would have been constrained to retire to the banks of the Indus and throw up entrenchments, while he awaited the arrival of a battering train. This appearance of weakness might have marred the prospects of the campaign. From these embarrassments he was happily relieved by the voluntary submission of the Ameers, and the surrender of the fortress. He entered Hyderabad on the 20th February, and obtained possession of the accumulated treasures and jewels of the Talpoora family, which were distributed as prize among the captors. Major Outram refused to accept his share of the plunder, acquired in what he considered an unjust war, and

distributed it, to the extent of 30,000 rupees, among the charitable institutions of India. Lord Ellenborough, soon after receiving intelligence of the victory at Meanee, issued a proclamation annexing the kingdom of Sinde, "fertile as Egypt," to the Company's territories, abolishing slavery, and opening the Indus to the navigation and commerce of all nations.

Second battle;
22nd March,
1843.

The gallant Shere Mahomed, of Meerpore, who, when Hyderabad was threatened by Sir John Keane and General Cotton in 1839, had come to the rescue with his coffin and his shroud, employed himself in collecting together the scattered bands of Belochees, to make another effort for the independence of his country. He appeared in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, near the village of Dubba, on the 22nd March, and Sir Charles Napier, who had, in the meantime, received reinforcements which raised his force to 6,000, found the Ameer encamped with about 20,000 men in a strong position behind the dry bed of the Fullailee. The British artillery played on the enemy's centre, till it began to waver, the cavalry charged the left, and the 22nd Foot rushed up the bank of the river, under a galling fire of matchlocks without returning a shot, till within forty paces of the entrenchments, which they stormed with a noble devotion. The field was gallantly contested on both sides; the Belochees fought with exemplary courage; the British officers and men emulated the example of their heroic commander, who moved about with the utmost composure where the shots were flying thickest. The victory was as complete as that of Meanee, and Shere Mahomed fled with only a small body of followers. A detachment was sent into the desert to take possession of the fortress of Omercote, famed as the birthplace of the Emperor Akbar. It was found deserted and Sir Charles Napier soon after announced to the Governor-General the complete subjugation of the country, which he made the subject of a pun, and, in reference to the charge of injustice with which the conquest was universally assailed, wrote *peccavi*, "I have sinned" (Sinde). During the year, there were some slight

ebullitions of discontent, but they were subdued without difficulty, and no conquered province in India has been found to acquiesce more rapidly and more completely in the establishment of British authority. Every effort to raise a local force in Afghanistan to sustain our authority had been defeated by the inveterate hostility and treachery of those who enlisted; but the Beloochees entered cheerfully into the service of their conquerors, exhibited a feeling of invariable loyalty, and did not hesitate to embark on foreign service to garrison their transmarine settlements.

Remarks on the conquest of Sind, 1843. The achievements of the British army in Sind, which were naturally contrasted with the cowardice and imbecility exhibited in Afghanistan, created a feeling of just exultation in India; but it was clouded by the conviction that the rupture with the Ameers was unjustifiable, and the war unrighteous. Lord Ellenborough, at a subsequent period, drew up an elaborate vindication of these proceedings, but it only served to place the weakness of the cause in a more prominent light. There is no doubt that he was keenly sensible of the injury inflicted on British prestige in India and in Asia by our disasters in Afghanistan, and was quick to resent any manifestations of hostile or even equivocal conduct in our allies, which could be traced to a suspicion of the decay of our power. Such indications of disaffection had been exhibited at the native Courts upon every former occasion of our reverses, even far more palpably than in the present instance in Sind: but no Governor-General had deemed it necessary to visit them with a heavy retribution. They had always disappeared when victory was again associated with our arms, and they would have died a natural death in Sind if the management of affairs had been in other hands than those of Sir Charles Napier. Lord Ellenborough, unwisely, placed indiscriminate confidence in his judgment, and regulated his own proceedings by the information he communicated. Many extenuating circumstances and many documents which could not have failed to modify his opinions were withheld from him,

and the fullest credit may be given to the assertion of Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, that the conquest of Sinde would never have taken place if Lord Ellenborough had been in full possession of the real facts, and had been cognisant of the misdeeds of Ali Morad. Sir Charles entered upon his duties with a strong prejudice against the Ameers, and he was the victim of a foregone conclusion. At the beginning of his Sinde career, he remarked, "We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers," and after examining the letters said to be treasonable, affirmed "they have given a pretext, they have broken treaties. The more powerful Government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker, and it would be better to come to the result at once, if it can be done with honesty." On a subsequent occasion he wrote, "We have no right to seize Sinde, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be." The rascality is more apparent than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a rich draught of prize money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of the General-in-chief. On the finances of India it inflicted a loss of two crores and a-half of rupees in the course of fifteen years. The war was the result of Sir Charles's rash and impetuous proceedings, but it must not be forgotten that he was surrounded by the creatures, and stimulated by the villainous intrigues, of Ali Morad. The conquest of Sinde admits of no vindication. It is a blot on our national escutcheon, but it stands alone among the transactions which have enlarged the boundaries of the British empire in India, and it is unjust to yield to an indolent dislike of investigation and pass a general censure on our career for an exceptional transgression. The treatment which the Ameers experienced forms one of the darkest pages in the history of British India. State policy might dictate their removal from a country where they had once been masters, but it was nevertheless an act of cruelty to inflict an indiscriminate banishment on these unhappy princes, many of whom were innocent even of a hostile thought, and

to consign them to a distant and dreary exile, separated from all those associations which form the charm of existence.

The mutinies,
1844. For the first time in the history of British India, the expansion of the empire led to a mutiny of the sepoy. Sindé became a British province, and they lost the extra allowances which had been granted to them while on active service in an enemy's country. The sepoy could not comprehend why he should be deprived of any portion of his pay because he had assisted in adding a new province to the dominions of his masters, and he became insubordinate. In February, 1844, the 34th Native Infantry, which had been warned for service in Sindé, refused to march without the additional allowances granted to troops proceeding beyond the Indus. The 7th Bengal cavalry, and several companies of Bengal artillery followed the example on the line of march, and were ordered back to their former stations. The 69th and the 4th, which were ordered in their stead to the frontier, refused to embark in the boats provided for them at Ferozepore. The 64th at Loodiana exhibited equal reluctance for the service, and was countermarched to Benares. On reaching Umbala, the native officers came forward and assured the General commanding the division that the regiment had thought better of it, and was ready to proceed to Sindé. The Commander-in-chief, elated with this return of loyalty, imprudently determined to recompense it by a promise of higher pay and pension, and greater indulgences of furlough; but when the regiment arrived at Moodkee, the men broke out in open mutiny, and endeavoured to seize the colours, but were induced by the flattery of the commandant to resume their march. Two days after, the despatch of the Adjutant-General which announced the concessions made by the Commander-in-chief, under the impression that the corps was animated with a feeling of loyalty, was received in camp; but though it was then in a state of complete rebellion, the weak Colonel not only translated the letter into Hindostanee and circulated it among the sepoys, but aggravated the imprudence already com-

mitted by promising the batta they had received under General Pollock in Afghanistan. On the arrival of the regiment at Shikarpore, the extra allowances, to which the sanction of the Government of India had never been obtained, were withheld, and the men again broke out into mutiny. The station was under the command of General Hunter, an officer held in the highest estimation throughout the native army, but he was unable to restore discipline and was openly insulted and hustled on the parade. The sepoy affirmed that they had been allured to Sinde by false pretences, that they had been promised "Pollock's batta" but had received eight rupees instead of twelve. As there was unfortunately too much reason for this complaint, he marched the regiment back to the Indus, and agreed to condone the offence of all but the ringleaders. The mutiny was hushed up, and the Colonel cashiered. Finding it impracticable to garrison Sinde with a Bengal force, the Government turned to the Madras army which had never manifested any hesitation to embark on foreign service. But the Madras army was not free from the taint of insubordination; and, during the previous six years, there had been repeated instances of mutiny on various occasions, and at more than one station. The 47th was under orders for Moulmein, a station across the bay on the Tenasserim coast, where the sepoy had always enjoyed extra allowances. It was determined to change their destination and embark them for Bombay on their way to Sinde, with the promise of the same additional pay they had enjoyed when crossing the sea. The assurance thus given by the Governor in ignorance of the regulations of the Bengal army, was of no validity, and the men, finding on their arrival at Bombay that their expectations were disappointed, broke out in open mutiny on parade. The leaders were placed in confinement, and a small advance of money was served out which kept down the spirit of resistance, but it was deemed hazardous again to attempt the experiment of despatching Madras regiments to Sinde.

The province was made over to the Bombay army, and satisfactory arrangements were made regarding the allowances of the troops. These repeated explosions clearly demonstrated that the feeling of subordination was gradually becoming relaxed in the minds of the sepoy, and afforded a premonition of that climax of mutiny which, thirteen years later, swept away the whole of the Bengal army.

Lord Ellenborough's announcement of the victory of Meanee, and the subjugation of Sind, was dated from the palace of Agra on the 5th March. On the same day an order was issued to concentrate a large force on the frontier of Sindia's territories, at a little distance from that city, to support the authority of the regent, recently appointed under the auspices of the Governor-General. Before the close of the year two battles were fought which placed the whole of the Gwalior kingdom at the disposal of the British Government. Resuming the thread of events at that durbar, after the death of Dowlut Rao Sindia, we remark that his widow, Baeza Bye, adopted Junkojee Sindia in 1827, and that he died on the 7th February, 1843, without issue, and without having named a successor. In 1838 he had taken for his second wife, Tara Bye, now in her thirteenth year. Immediately upon his death she adopted a boy of the age of eight, not without the full concurrence of the chiefs and of the Governor-General, and bestowed on him the royal title of Gyajee. The durbar, comprising the most influential men in the state, lay, military and ecclesiastical, was anxious that the government of the country should continue to be administered by the existing council of ministers. Lord Ellenborough, however, considering the geographical position of the kingdom, which consisted of many straggling districts, impinging in every direction for many hundred miles on the territories of the Company and its allies, and bearing in mind also the extreme youth of the raja and his adoptive mother, deemed it important that the management of the state should rest upon the responsibility of a single individual as regent. Two candidates appeared for this dignified office, the Mama

Progress of
affairs at
Gwalior, 1842.

Sahib, the uncle of the late raja, and Dada Khasjee, the hereditary chamberlain and keeper of the jewel office. The claims of the Dada were strongly supported by the young queen and the ladies of the court, but Lord Ellenborough directed the Resident to inform the durbar that he should prefer the appointment of the Mama Sahib, who was accordingly installed on the 23rd February. This interference in the appointment of the minister involved the necessity of giving him the support of the British Government, while it also rendered him an object of increasing aversion to an influential party in the state, by whom his rival was preferred. The ranee and her partizans, irritated at their disappointment, set every engine to work to thwart and harass the regent, and to throw his administration into confusion. It was in the prospect of being obliged to afford him material support, that Lord Ellenborough ordered the assembly of troops on the 5th March, but the receipt of more favourable intelligence from Gwalior induced him to countermand it three days after.

State of the
Gwalior Army,
1843.

The great source of disquietude at Gwalior was the state of the army, consisting of about 30,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, with 200 pieces of cannon, commanded for the most part by Christian officers of European descent. It was not in any sense a Mahratta force corresponding with that of the first Sindia and animated with a strong feeling of national enthusiasm, but a mercenary body recruited from the martial population of the provinces of Rajpootana, Oude, and the Company's territories. It was out of all proportion, not only to the requirements of the kingdom, which was protected from external invasion by its British alliance, but also to its revenues, of which it absorbed more than two-thirds. The Government of Gwalior had made repeated attempts to reduce its numbers with a view to the tranquillity of the country and the relief of the treasury, but the troops peremptorily refused to permit any of the corps to be paid up and disbanded, or any vacancy in their ranks to remain empty. They were, moreover, always in arrears, some-

times to the extent of ten months' pay, which necessarily served to increase the feeling of arrogance and insubordination. The army was in fact too large and too strong for the state. One of the battalions of a brigade of infantry under a native commandant, had recently committed great excesses in Malwa, and in consequence of a strong remonstrance from the Resident, he was ordered to repair alone to Gwalior to answer for his conduct; but he chose to march up contumaciously at the head of his battalion, and the whole brigade was immediately infected with a mutinous feeling. Lord Ellenborough pressed on the regent the importance of dealing vigorously with this spirit of rebellion, and offered him the assistance of a British force, but he prudently declined the proposal, from the conviction that the appearance of foreign soldiers in the country would raise a flame in the army, and inevitably lead to a collision.

Dismissal of the Regent, 1843. The opposition to the regent was organized in the zenana, chiefly through the intrigues of a very clever slave girl, who had acquired a complete ascendancy over the childish mind of the ranee. The slave was at length induced by a large donation to withdraw from the palace, and the Dada, who headed the adverse faction, was advised to proceed to Benares with the bones of the deceased raja, as he had conveyed the bones of Dowlut Rao Sindia sixteen years before to the same holy city; but he declined the insidious proposal, well knowing that he would not be permitted to return to Gwalior when he had once quitted it. To strengthen his influence at the court, the Regent betrothed the young raja to his own niece, but the palace confederacy assured the ranee that this alliance would completely undermine her influence, as indeed it was intended to do, and ten days after the ceremony had taken place, she sent abruptly to inform the Resident that, having various causes of complaint against the regent, she had thought fit to dismiss him from his office. The Resident energetically remonstrated with the self-willed girl on the folly of this course, but she turned a deaf ear to

all his representations. He then requested permission to call up a British detachment to support the cause of the regent, but Lord Ellenborough refused to sanction this movement, though he caused intimation to be given to the ranee, that it was indispensable to establish a Government at Gwalior capable of maintaining tranquillity along the extensive line of its frontier, and that it was impossible for him to permit "the growth of a lax system of rule generating habits of plunder." Lord Ellenborough had lost all confidence in the regent, who ought in his opinion to have been able, with the aid of the army and the countenance of the British authorities, to baffle the machinations of the palace. "You have proved yourself," he said, "unfit to manage men or women, and a minister at Gwalior must manage both." The regent was violently expelled the country, and the revengeful Dada would have deprived him of his liberty, as well as of his property, as he passed through the independent state of Seronge, but for the interposition of the Governor-General. The degradation of the minister who had been supported by the Government of India was an insult which Lord Ellenborough was not disposed to overlook, and the Resident was desired to withdraw from the capital with all his establishment, and to retire to Dholpore. The durbar had not forgotten that the retirement of Colonel Collins in 1803 was immediately followed by the battle of Assye and the dismemberment of the kingdom, and every effort was made to induce the Resident to return to the capital; but the Governor-General steadily refused to give his consent.

Confusion at
Gwalior, 1843.

On the expulsion of the regent, the ranee assumed the ostensible management of the state, and held durbars daily, but all real power was in the hands of the Dada, who had secured the females of the zenana by lavish gifts of money and land. He manifested his hostility to the Government of India by expelling from office those who were favorable to it, and installing those who were known to regard it with aversion. The most influential nobles held aloof

from him, and he never moved out of the palace, where he considered himself secure, without the protection of a strong guard. In this state of political confusion, the army, which was concentrated at the capital and courted by all parties, became more arrogant and overbearing than ever, and the soldiers of the artillery insulted their officers and expelled them from the camp. The ranee continued to importune the Resident to return, but he was instructed to inform her that until the Dada, the author of all these complications, and the only obstacle to the restoration of friendly relations between the two states, was removed from her counsels, he was not at liberty to resume his functions at the capital. This communication was delivered, in common with all others, to the Dada, but he improperly withheld it from the ranee. Considering, however, that he was the chief minister of the state, and the sole medium of communication with her, the transgression will appear very venial, but the Governor-General thought fit to regard it as an "offence of the most criminal character against the state of Gwalior," and peremptorily demanded that he should be committed to the custody of the Resident. The ranee replied that she was prepared to deprive him of his office and authority, and to place him under restraint within the Gwalior territories, but that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the crown to surrender him at the dictation of a foreign power. Three of the ablest and most influential of the nobles, anxious to preserve the alliance and friendship of the British Government, formed a junction with one of the brigades hostile to the Dada, and, after having besieged the palace for three days, obtained possession of his person. The capital presented the appearance of two hostile encampments. The rival parties were equally balanced in numbers and strength, but the command of the treasury gave the ranee a preponderating influence. They came at length to an open rupture, which resulted in the loss of fifty or sixty lives. Soon after, the Dada contrived to effect his escape, and again assumed the management of affairs, issued eight months' pay to the troops, and made pre-

parations to oppose any movement of British troops which the Governor-General might order.

On the 1st November, Lord Ellenborough recorded a Minute on the state of affairs at Gwalior, which furnishes a key to his subsequent proceedings. It was exceptionally free from paradox and eccentricity, and, if viewed either with reference to the soundness of its political views, or to the vigour of its style, may be considered one of the ablest state papers on the records of the Council. Whether forced on us, he said, by circumstances, or the settled object of our arms and policy, our position in India is that of the paramount and controlling power, and it is therefore impossible to take a partial and insulated view of our relations with any one state within that limit. To recede from that position would endanger our own existence, and bring upon all the states now dependent on us the most afflicting calamities. It would let loose all the elements of confusion, and lead the several states to seek redress for daily occurring grievances against each other, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and the countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace would again be exposed to devastation. He then passed in review the transactions of the year at Gwalior where the expulsion of the regent, nominated with our concurrence, and the elevation of his rival, was an affront of the gravest character, and where, moreover, an army of 30,000 men, with a very numerous artillery, under the direction of a person who had obtained his post and could only retain it in despite of the British Government, lay within a few marches of the capital of the north-west provinces. "Still, under ordinary circumstances, we might perhaps have waited upon time, and trusted to the disunion manifest among the chiefs, and the usual vicissitudes of an Indian court, to restore our influence at Gwalior. But the events which have recently occurred at Lahore will not permit the resort to a policy

suited only to a state of general tranquillity in India." In the Punjab both the sovereign and his son had been murdered in the month of September at the instigation of Dhyan Sing, who was himself slain on the same day by the assassin he had employed to destroy his master. Heera Sing, the son of Dhyan Sing, revenged the death of his father, proclaimed Duleep Sing sovereign, and endeavoured to gain over the army by the addition of two rupees and a-half to the monthly pay of each soldier. Amidst these convulsions and massacres the army had become the dominant power in the state, and Lord Ellenborough justly remarked that "with an army of 70,000 men within three marches of the Sutlege, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control, it would be unpardonable were we not to take every possible precaution against its hostility, and no precaution appears to be more necessary than that of rendering our rear and our communications secure, by the re-establishment of a friendly Government at Gwalior." It will admit of no controversy that while this large army, composed of the bravest soldiers in India, and its three hundred guns, complete masters of the Government, and eager to pour down on our territories, lay across the Sutlege, and another powerful army with two hundred guns, trained by European officers and equally beyond the control of the state, lay within sixty-five miles of Agra, the British empire was in a position of extreme peril. The Governor-General would have incurred a serious responsibility if he had been indifferent to the importance of reducing the Gwalior army before the collision with the Sikhs, which was evidently inevitable, came on. Lord Ellenborough had continued for two months to press the surrender of the Dada on the ranee, and the Resident had assured her that nothing short of it would satisfy the British Government. "If," he said, "the Governor-General, who is now on his way to Agra, should not find the Dada there on his arrival, God alone knows what orders may be issued."

Proceedings of
Lord Ellen-
borough, 1843.

Lord Ellenborough arrived at Agra on the 11th December, and finding that the Dada had not quitted Gwalior, wrote the next day to inform the ranee that it would have been gratifying to him if her conduct had enabled him to look forward to a long continuance of friendship between the states, but her Highness had unfortunately listened to other counsels and the British authorities could neither permit the existence within the territories of Sindia of an unfriendly Government, nor allow those territories to remain without a Government willing and able to maintain order, and to preserve the relations of amity with its neighbours. Compelled by the conduct her Highness had been advised to adopt, he was obliged to look to other means than those of friendly remonstrance to maintain the relations of the two states in their integrity. He had directed the British armies to advance, and would not arrest their movements till he had full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, accordingly, commenced his march towards Gwalior, and the Dada was immediately sent to Dholpore with a letter from the ranee to request that as the wishes of the Governor-General had been complied with, the progress of the army might be arrested. On the 18th December, Lord Ellenborough replied to her communication, repeating his former remarks on the necessity of a strong Government able to control its own subjects, and he required that the Gwalior army, which was to all intents the master of the Government it pretended to serve, should be reduced within reasonable limits, and that the strength of the British contingent should be increased. The completion of this measure in a satisfactory manner by the Maharanee and the durbar, would render the advance of the British armies no longer requisite, but they would be at hand to give aid to her Highness, if necessary, in effecting this purpose. Instead, however, of resting the justification of these proceedings on the undeniable argument of an imperative necessity, Lord Ellenborough

adopted the feeble plea of the duty he owed "the Maharaja, whose person and whose rights as the successor of Dowlut Rao Sindia were placed by treaty under the protection of the British Government." The treaty thus unexpectedly brought forward was that of Boorhanpore, forced on Sindia by Lord Wellesley in 1804, and negotiated by Colonel Malcolm. It provided that a subsidiary force of 6,000 men should be organized on Sindia's behoof, and that "it should be ready at all times, on the requisition of the Maharaja, to execute services of importance, such as the care of his person, his heirs, and successors, and the overawing and chastisement of rebels, or excitors of disturbance in his dominions." But as this subsidiary force was not to be paid from his treasury, or even stationed within his territories, it was never called into existence. The treaty itself became a dead letter from the day it was signed, and no reference was subsequently made to it, either by the Mahratta court, or by the Government of India. When a new treaty was formed with Sindia by Lord Hastings, in 1817, although previous and succeeding treaties were recapitulated and confirmed, that of Boorhanpore was unnoticed. It was this obsolete treaty which Lord Ellenborough now restored to life, after it had lain in the grave for forty years, and on the strength of it ordered two armies into the Gwalior territories, not only without the requisition of the raja, but in spite of the remonstrances of his Government.

Deputation from
Gwalior—March
of the army, 1843.

The ranee and raja, finding that the Governor-General was moving down with a large force to the Chumbul, the boundary of the two states, determined to advance to the frontier town of Dholpore to meet him; and a deputation of three of the most influential chiefs of the durbar, friendly to the Company's Government, was sent forward to arrange the interview. They suggested that the queen and the prince, who were then on the eve of leaving the capital, should wait on Lord Ellenborough in his present encampment, which was the spot where all former Governors-General had awaited the visit of the Gwalior rajas. Lord

Ellenborough replied that he could not wait their arrival, and that the army would advance as soon as the whole of the troops had joined it. The chiefs entreated him to reconsider this determination. It was, they said, a question of vital importance, affecting the honour of the house of Sindia, which would be eternally disgraced if, contrary to all precedent, the Governor-General should cross the frontier before the raja had paid his respects to him on British territory. It was in his hands to uphold or to destroy the dynasty of their master; the treaty which had been propounded would occasion no difficulty; it was for him to dictate the terms, it was for them to obey; but they implored him with joined hands to weigh the serious consequences which might result from his crossing the Chumbul with a large force before the interview with the raja. The only reply vouchsafed to this entreaty by the Governor-General was a repetition of the assertion that it was impossible to suspend the progress of the army. The chiefs then proposed that the queen and the prince should meet him at Hingona, about twenty-three miles distant from Gwalior, and sign the treaty, and Lord Ellenborough consented to fix the 26th for the meeting; but the Gwalior troops did not fail to perceive that the advance of the British army was a hostile movement, and would result in depriving them of the power and the position they had acquired, and in consigning them to beggary. All party animosities were hushed before the danger which equally menaced the independence of the state and the existence of the army, and chiefs and soldiers made common cause against the designs of the Governor-General. The Gwalior battalions prevented the ranee and the prince from keeping their appointment at Hingona, and marched out of the capital with exultation, assuring the Resident as they passed, that they were going to drive the English back across the Chumbul.

The battle of
Maharajpore,
29th Dec., 1843.

The Governor-General waited in vain two days at Hingona for the royal party, and on the 28th December directed the army to advance upon

Gwalior. Sindia's troops had taken up a strong position at Chounda, and the arrangements of Sir Hugh Gough were directed to this point, but, during the night seven battalions of infantry, with twenty guns of heavy calibre, advanced to the village of Maharajpore and entrenched themselves, with their formidable batteries in its front. The Commander-in-chief and the officers of his staff had fallen into the usual error of despising the enemy, and considered them a contemptible rabble, ready to take to flight on the first shot. General Churchill, the Quartermaster-General, who fell gallantly in the action, observed on the day preceding it that the only weapon he should require was a good horsewhip. The progress of the British army was regarded in the light of a military promenade. The Governor-General and the ladies of the chief officers accompanied it on elephants. There was no reconnoissance in the morning, and the enemy's change of position was unknown to Sir Hugh. The cavalcade advanced gaily to Maharajpore where it was intended to breakfast, when a sudden discharge from the masked batteries of the Mahrattas, gave the first intimation of the proximity of Sindia's army. One of the balls struck the ear of the elephant on which the wife of a General was mounted. The Commander-in-chief was required to alter his dispositions in haste, and the battle which ensued was justly characterized as one in which everybody and everything was out of place. The British force numbered about 12,000; that of the enemy amounted to 14,000, but there was no General-in-chief to direct their movements. Each brigade marched out of Gwalior and took up its own position, which it maintained with extraordinary courage and resolution. After the surrender of the Dada, our siege train had been sent back, the heavy guns which accompanied our force were unaccountably left in the rear, and the light field pieces were soon upset by the heavy ordnance of the enemy. Our troops were therefore at once launched on their batteries, which were served with a frantic desperation, as long as there was a gunner left. Even after the capture of the guns the infantry

continued to maintain its ground with great determination. Victory was at length secured, not by any professional skill, but simply by the irresistible gallantry of our soldiers, of whom a thousand fell killed and wounded. Lord Ellenborough won his spurs on the field, and was seen moving about with the greatest intrepidity amidst a shower of bullets, distributing money and oranges among the wounded. On the same day, another battle was fought with another portion of the Gwalior force at Punniar, by the troops under the command of General Grey, who had been directed to advance against the capital from the south, while Sir Hugh Gough advanced from the north. It ended in a complete victory.

Battle of Pun-
niar, December
29th, 1843.

These victories placed the kingdom of Sindia at the feet of the Governor-General, but he left it entire, and simply suppressed its independence.

New treaty
and settlement,
1844.

Two days after the engagement, the young ranee and raja proceeded to the British encampment together with the principal chiefs and the officers of the court. The boy was in a state of great perturbation throughout the interview. The litter of the ranee, closely veiled, was conveyed to a private tent, and Lord Ellenborough seated himself beside it, while the two Mahratta ministers squatted on the carpet and explained his address to her as it was interpreted by Colonel Sleeman, the Resident. Considering that she was not thirteen, she behaved with remarkable self-possession. After alluding to her extreme youth and inexperience, she said she had come out with her adopted son to implore forgiveness for what had occurred, which she attributed to the arrogance of her licentious soldiery. The Governor-General replied that measures must be taken to restore order, and to establish an efficient Government, and he held out a hope of her being permitted to take a share in it; but when the treaty came to be settled she found herself deposed from the office of regent, and consigned to oblivion on a pension of three lacs of rupees a-year. The majority of the raja was fixed at eighteen, and the

administration was in the meanwhile committed to a council of regency, consisting of six sirdars, who were required to act implicitly on the advice of the Resident whenever he might think fit to offer it. The turbulent army of the state was reduced to 9,000 men, with thirty-two guns, and so completely had the two battles broken its spirit that it was disbanded in ten days without any appearance of tumult. Many of the soldiers enlisted in the British contingent, which was increased to the number of 10,000, and became, in fact, a compact little army of all arms, with an admirable artillery. In the splendour of its uniform and the superiority of its discipline and efficiency, it eclipsed every other corps, and was called the model force of India. The sepoys were high caste brahmins and rajpoots from the Dooab and Oude, men of athletic forms and lofty carriage, and boundless assumption, and the European officers, selected for their merits, took a pride in maintaining the high standard of their regiments. During the mutiny of 1857, the men butchered their officers, crossed the Jumna, and proceeded to join their rebellious relatives of the Bengal army; and it was this body of troops which boldly encountered General Windham at Cawnpore in November, 1857, and inflicted a severe reverse on our arms; while Sindia and his illustrious minister, the raja Dinkur Rao, remained faithful in their allegiance to the British Government. The policy of breaking up this insubordinate force at Gwalior was abundantly vindicated two years after, when the 70,000 Sikh soldiers alluded to in the Minute of Lord Ellenborough, poured down upon the British territories and shook our power to its foundation. If at that crisis, when our military resources were taxed to their utmost strength to stem the tide of invasion on the Sutlege, the Gwalior army had been in existence, both anxious and ready to co-operate with the Sikhs, the empire of India could scarcely have been saved without a miracle.

Recall of Lord
Ellenborough,
15th June, 1844.

Lord Ellenborough returned to Calcutta in March, and, on the 15th June, India was astounded

by the intelligence that the Court of Directors had revoked his appointment. The causes of displeasure and anxiety he had given them were not few. His correspondence with the India House had been marked by the absence of that deference which was due to the high position assigned to them in the government of the empire, and his proceedings had often exhibited a contumelious disdain of their authority. He had twice been their superior at the Board of Control in England, and he scarcely realized the fact that in India he was their subordinate, and that it was his duty to obey and not to dictate. He had concentrated his sympathies on the army and treated the civil service, the favourites of Leadenhall Street, with undisguised contempt. The vagary of the Gate Proclamation had exposed the Government of India to the derision of England and Europe, and destroyed all confidence in the sobriety and soundness of Lord Ellenborough's judgment. Since his arrival in India he had dismissed that solicitude for the pursuits of peace in which he once took a pride, and contracted an extreme fondness for warlike exploits and military glory. His administration had presented only a succession of wars and battles. He appeared to the Directors to be without any fixity of purpose, or any definite principles of action, and they were in constant dread of the new embarrassments in which his eccentricities might involve them. They ceased to consider the empire safe in his hands, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends in the Ministry, determined to exercise the power they had refused to part with during the recent Charter discussions, and to recall him. His removal was regarded by the army he had caressed with feelings of deep regret, amounting almost to indignation. The community in general, while duly appreciating his many noble qualities, the total absence of nepotism, the patriotic distribution of his patronage, his indefatigable industry, his indomitable resolution, and his great energy and talent, still regarded his removal as an act of unquestionable wisdom. The feelings of the native princes were facetiously,

but accurately, described by Sir Henry Lawrence, when he remarked that after hearing of his recall, they ceased, on waking in the morning, to feel their necks to be sure that their heads were still on their shoulders. He embarked for England on the 1st August, and the Sikh war was postponed for a twelvemonth.

Improvements in Lord Ellenborough's attention was so completely absorbed in war and politics as to leave Lord Ellenborough's time, him little leisure or inclination for the moral, intellectual, or material improvement of the country. But there is a vital principle of progression in the British Government in India which the caprice or indifference of those in authority, either there or in England, can interrupt only for a season. It was during the Government of Lord Ellenborough that the police of the lower provinces was rendered efficient, and two important measures of social improvement, the extinction of slavery, and the abolition of state lotteries, were achieved, chiefly through the exertions of the Vice-President in Council, Mr. Wilberforce Bird. The department of police had long been the opprobrium of the administration. It was a just subject of complaint that while the collectorate, which guarded the pecuniary interests of the state, received every attention from Government, the magistracy and the police, which concerned the interests of the people, were disgracefully neglected and inadequately remunerated. One Magistrate was considered sufficient for a population of a million, and the largest scope was thus afforded for the venality and oppression of the native police officers, whose allowances for half a century had been barely sufficient to cover their travelling expenses. Mr. Bird, following up the liberal views of Lord William Bentinck, established the office of Deputy Magistrate, to which men of every class, caste, and creed were made eligible, and thus indefinitely increased the strength and efficiency of the department. He was likewise successful in his efforts to establish four grades of police *darogas*, the highest of which was endowed with 100 rupees a-month—a wretched pittance at

the best—but it was all that could be obtained at the time. State lotteries had been established in the Presidency towns after the example of England, but they were continued long after they had been abandoned at home. The proceeds were appropriated to the material improvement of the towns, though at the expense of their morals. In Calcutta, the profits of the lottery had been hypothecated for many years to the state in payment of the very large advances made to the municipal body for various improvements. Happily, the debt was liquidated, and the money reverted to the treasury during Mr. Bird's tenure of office. It was the province of the local government of Bengal to sanction the half-yearly scheme of the lotteries; and in 1843 Mr. Bird availed himself of his position to suspend the usual order, pending a reference to the Court of Directors, well knowing that when a noxious system of this character, long since condemned in England, had once been intermitted in India, it would be impossible to revive it. He also drafted an Act which, after describing lotteries as detrimental to the interests of society, abolished them throughout India, except where they might be authorized by the Government; but this condemnation rendered any state lottery impossible. Lord Ellenborough was busy with the Ferozepore pageantry when the draft reached him, and, though the enactment was not exactly in accordance with his own opinion, gave his immediate consent to it, and the country was at once relieved from this prolific source of evil. The question of slavery had been referred to the Law Commission appointed by the Charter Act of 1833, who drew up an elaborate report, to which were attached the Minutes of the individual members, all of whom were opposed to its immediate abolition. When the question was brought before the Supreme Council, Mr. Bird stood up for its entire and peremptory prohibition, but was not supported by his colleagues. In the able Minute which he drew up on the subject, he said, "It is proposed to postpone this grand measure to some future period, when it can be carried into effect with greater safety. This is exactly

the course which was pursued with regard to suttees ; certain detailed rules and regulations were passed with a view to restrict within the narrowest possible bounds the performance of that rite, but which were found on trial to be attended with the exact contrary effect ; and we were obliged to do at last what might have been done twenty years sooner with equal facility." Some time after, having been appointed Vice-President in Council, and seeing the tide of official opinion turning against the toleration of the evil, he ventured to introduce the draft of an Act for the total and immediate abolition of it throughout India, to which Lord Ellenborough, then in the north-west, gave his hearty concurrence, and soon after extended it to the province of Sind upon its annexation.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1844—1848.

Lord Hardinge
Governor-
General—His
Antecedents,
1844.

ON the recall of Lord Ellenborough, the Ministry proposed his kinsman and friend, Sir Henry Hardinge as his successor, and the Court of Directors heartily concurred in the nomination. Sir Henry had entered the army at an early age, and went through the campaigns in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, in which he received four wounds, had four horses shot under him, and earned nine medals. His brightest wreath was won at the battle of Albuera, the success of which was attributed chiefly to his gallantry and skill, and he was described by a great historical authority "as the young soldier of twenty-five with the eye of a general and the soul of a hero." He was present at the battle of Waterloo and was disabled by a severe wound. On the return of peace he entered Parliament, and,

having joined the Tory Ministry, filled, on two occasions, the post of Secretary at War, and was twice, for brief periods, Secretary for Ireland. In the management of these departments he exhibited a clear and sound judgment, great decision of character, and a kind and generous disposition, while he acquired a large store of official experience. These qualifications, but more especially his high reputation as a soldier, recommended him for the Government of India, at a time when the right bank of the Sutlege was bristling with hostile bayonets, and the army of the Punjab was beyond the control of the state. He entered on the duties of his office at the same age as Lord Hastings, in his sixtieth year. At the valedictory dinner at the London Tavern, the Chairman expounded to him the various duties of a Governor-General, among the most important of which he pointed out the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court; "and we are persuaded," he said, "that you will impress this feeling on our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but by your example." With this lecture over the body of his contumacious and immolated predecessor, he was dismissed to his post. He went out with the most pacific intentions, anxious to establish his fame in connection with the Indian empire, not by means of conquest or the exhibition of military skill, but as the friend of peace, by efforts to promote the social interests and welfare of the people. But, like his two predecessors, he was destined to an early disappointment, and the most memorable events of his administration are the four battles fought in fifty-four days, which were more vigorously contested and more sanguinary than any we had previously fought in India.

Sir H. Hardinge
in Calcutta,
1844.

Sir Henry Hardinge reached Calcutta on the 23rd July. Before leaving England he paid a visit to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone to seek his advice.

The veteran statesman warned him against meddling with civil details. On his arrival he took the earliest opportunity of calling up and stating to the Secretaries to Government that he was not accustomed to civil affairs, and least of all to

Indian questions, but as they were selected and paid for their experience in such matters, he expected in every case that they would suggest in writing what they considered best to be done, and if he placed his initials under the suggestions they were to be carried into effect. "I do not think," he said, "you will try to mislead me, but if you do, it will be the worse for you sooner or later." Occasionally, he took steps to assure himself that he was properly advised, and was jealous and inquisitive if he suspected anything wrong in the opinions offered to him. He never allowed the Secretaries to forget their responsibility, and they felt that he was not to be trifled with. Under this system, business is said to have been promptly and satisfactorily performed. Within three months after his arrival he passed the memorable resolution, which held out the encouragement of office and promotion in the public service to the successful students of the Government colleges, as well as of private institutions; and thus gave the state the benefit of the talent which it had assisted to develop. For some time, this liberal measure was but slenderly carried into effect; because in India, as in England, the cause of education has been the sport of party prejudices and individual caprices. It was not fully carried out till after the establishment of the University of Calcutta, to which the various educational institutions in the country were affiliated, and which was impartial in the distribution of honours, but the merit of it belongs to Sir Henry Hardinge's administration, and he was recompensed by an address of thanks signed by five hundred of the most influential native gentlemen in Calcutta. The important and difficult question of corporal punishment in the native army was forced upon his attention at an early period, by a large body of experienced officers, who considered the abolition of it by Lord William Bentinck a great error. To that measure there had always been the cardinal objection that the retention of flogging in the European army after it had been abolished in the sepoy regiments created an invidious distinction, which lowered the character of the English soldier in the

estimation, not only of his own native comrades, but also of natives of all ranks. It was also asserted, by a reference to the increase of acts of insubordination, that the abolition had failed as an experiment of discipline. Under the old system, the average number of cases of corporal punishment had not exceeded 700 in the year, while under the new rule, the number sentenced for rebellious conduct to work on the roads with thieves and felons—which inflicted indelible disgrace on their families—amounted in the aggregate to 10,000. It was a question beset with difficulties. More than one regiment was known to be in a state of disaffection, and it was affirmed that only a spark was required to kindle the flame of mutiny throughout the army. Sir Henry listened calmly to all that was advanced on both sides of the question, and after a most anxious and careful deliberation, drew up a masterly Minute which embodied the arguments on which he came to the conclusion of repealing Lord William Bentinck's order. Greatly as it is to be desired that the humiliating practice of corporal punishment, which cannot fail to lower the morale of an army, should be extinguished under the flag of England in all parts of the world, still, the re-establishment of it in the then existing condition of the Bengal army, from a paramount consideration of duty, was an act of moral courage which reflects the highest credit on Sir Henry Hardinge. It is grateful to record that the punishment was so rarely inflicted that the order became a dead letter.

Revolutions in
the Punjab,
1839-40.

During the years 1844 and 1845 the attention of Sir Henry Hardinge was anxiously fixed on the storm gathering in the Punjab; and we now turn to the progress of events in that country, where the death of Runjeet Sing was followed by six years of anarchy and bloodshed. He was succeeded in July, 1839, by his imbecile son, Khurruk Sing, but all real power was vested in Khurruk's son, the young and gallant Nao Nihal, who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, would probably have emulated the ambition of his grandfather, whose talent and energy he inherited. This

power, however, he was obliged to share with Dhyan Sing, the minister, one of the three brothers of the Jummoo, or Dogra family, which at this period played a most important part in Punjab politics. Golab Sing, the head of the house, was originally a running footman, who happened to attract the attention of Runjeet Sing, and rapidly rose in favour; he was promoted to high office, and enriched with the territory of Jummoo, lying between Lahore and Cashmere. The Jummoo rajas were Rajpoots and not Sikhs, and this circumstance, combined with the extraordinary power they had attained, rendered them objects of envy and aversion. It was the great object of Nao Nihal Sing to reduce the authority of this family which overshadowed the throne, but his career was too brief to accomplish it. Khurruk Sing died, prematurely, on the 5th November, 1840, of the excesses in which he had long indulged, and his son, after the performance of his funeral obsequies, was passing under a covered gateway on his return to the palace when a portion of the structure fell and injured him so seriously that he expired in the course of the evening.

Chand Kowur, the widow of Khurruk Sing, seized the sovereignty, as regent, on behalf of the offspring to which the widow of Nao Nihal Sing was expecting to give birth, and she was assisted in the management of the state by Shere Sing, the reputed son of Runjeet Sing, and by the minister, Dhyan Sing. Shere Sing, who himself aspired to the sovereign power, and was supported by British influence, as well as by the minister, succeeded in gaining over some divisions of the army, and marched down upon Lahore on the 14th January, 1841. The chiefs interfered and insisted on a compromise. Chand Kowur was induced to retire from the court to a large jageer which was assigned to her, and Shere Sing became the ruler of the Punjab. He was shrewd, bold and frank, but the slave of sensuality, and the vassal of the Jummoo rajas, whom he was unable either to shake off, or to control. The soldiers had been the chief instruments

Shere Sing and
the British Go-
vernment, 1842.

of his elevation, and he rewarded them with an increase of pay to the extent of a rupee a-month, which, as might have been expected, only served to sharpen their avarice and to increase their arrogance. They proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the officers who were obnoxious to them. General Court was obliged to fly for his life; General Avitabile was constrained to abandon Peshawur and seek shelter at Jellalabad, and the governor of Cashmere was put to death. The merchants of Umritsir began to tremble for their warehouses and money bags, and became clamorous for British protection. Shere Sing, unable to restrain his troops, made overtures to Lord Auckland in the spring of 1841, for the assistance of a British force. Sir William Macnaghten at Cabul was at the same time urging him to "crush the Sings, macadamize the Punjab, and annex the province of Peshawur to the dominions of Shah Soojah." A force of 10,000 men was accordingly held in readiness to enter the Punjab, and so little was the real strength of the Khalsa army appreciated that the Resident at Loodiana actually proposed to march with this force to Lahore and disperse it. For this aid Shere Sing was to pay a subsidy of four lacs of rupees and to cede the Cis-Sutlege province to the Company. On receiving the mention of this proposal, he is said to have replied to it by simply drawing his finger across his throat, to signify the fate to which it would consign him. There can be no doubt that if this insane project had been persisted in, the whole Khalsa army would have risen to a man, and hurled back the invasion. With the exception of some Mahomedan corps, that army consisted of a compact body of martial Sikhs, united by strong national and religious sympathies, proud of the victories they had gained and the conquests they had achieved, and fully conscious of their strength. When the iron sceptre of Runjeet Sing was removed, these Prætorian bands became the masters of the Punjab. The soldiers in each regiment were generally obedient to their own officers, but, as a body, their policy was regulated by the will, not of the sovereign or his minister, but of the army committees called *punches*,

the council or jury of five, who made every movement subservient to the interests of the army, and not of the state. The adherence of the troops was consequently given to those who were most liberal in subsidizing them.

Movement in
Tibet, 1841.

While the capital was a prey to anarchy, Golab Sing, the Jummoo raja was pushing his ambitious projects in the north beyond the Himalaya range. His Lieutenant, Zorawur Sing, marched up to the sources of the Sutlege and the Indus, and established a military position in Chinese Tibet. The Governor-General considered it impolitic to allow Sikh influence to be extended to the confines of China, with the Government of which we had been at war, and were now negotiating a peace, and Shere Sing was required to recall the lieutenant of his feudatory. A day was fixed for restoring the town of Garo to the Grand Lama, and a British officer was deputed to witness the surrender; but before the order could reach Zorawur Sing, he was surrounded by the enemy on the banks of the classic lake of Manosurowur, 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. The Sikh soldiers, unaccustomed to the severity of such a climate, were frozen with the cold; their leader was slain; some of the principal officers were retained as prisoners, and the men were then left to perish of cold and starvation at a distance from their homes, which it was impossible for them ever to regain. In the spring of 1842, the victorious Chinese advanced along the upper Indus and expelled the Sikhs from all the positions they had occupied. Golab Sing poured fresh troops across the Himalaya, but, at the request of the British Government, a convention was at length concluded between the Government of Lahore and that of Lassa which replaced matters on the former basis.

Murder of Shere
Sing, 1843.

Dhyan Sing the minister, finding his influence in the durbar on the decline, induced Shere Sing, in the year 1843, to recall Ajeet Sing, the head of one of the most powerful clans in the Punjab, who had been banished from the court. Ajeet Sing, who himself aspired to the office of minister,

became the boon companion of the prince, but Dhyan Sing, with profound craft, endeavoured to persuade him that he had been inveigled to Lahore, only to ensure his destruction, and he resolved to put his sovereign to death to preserve his own life. On the 15th September, he invited Shere Sing to inspect some new levies he had raised, and shot him dead on the parade; at the same hour his uncle despatched the raja's youthful son Pertab Sing. The assassins then proceeded to the citadel to proclaim a new king in company with Dhyan Sing, who was insidiously separated from his escort and assassinated by Ajeet Sing. The young son of the murdered minister, Heera Sing, who had been the great favourite of Runjeet Sing, immediately called upon the soldiers to avenge these foul murders, and stimulated them to action by the promise of large rewards. They responded to his call, captured the citadel, and put both Ajeet Sing and his uncle to death. Duleep Sing, then five years of age, the son of Runjeet Sing by the ranee Jhindun, was brought forth from the zenana, and proclaimed Maharaja, while Heera Sing appropriated to himself the perilous post of minister. To strengthen his position he attached the troops to his interest, by immediately adding two rupees and a-half to the monthly pay of each soldier. From this time forward the army may be considered the absolute masters of the state. It was to these convulsions at Lahore that Lord Ellenborough made allusion in his Minute of the 1st November, when he dwelt on the necessity of making our rear secure by reducing the strength of the equally insubordinate army of Gwalior.

Murder of Heera
Sing and the Pun-
dit Julla, 1844.

The position of Heera Sing was both difficult and unstable. Two other sons of Runjeet Sing started up and endeavoured to supplant Duleep Sing, but, though they were joined by a portion of the troops, their efforts proved abortive. In March, 1844, Soochet Sing, one of the Jummoo rajas, anxious to supplant his nephew, and secure the office of minister, appeared at Lahore with a large body of followers and made an appeal to the army; but Heera Sing had been lavish in his gifts and promises, and his rival

was defeated and slain. The Khalsa army, which had now assumed a position of entire independence, was the great object of anxiety to Heera Sing, and he endeavoured to curtail its power by dispersing the regiments, and by raising levies in the highlands, but his purpose was effectually thwarted by the *punches*, who would not permit a single regiment to leave the capital without their concurrence. The success which had hitherto attended his administration was due, not so much to his own abilities, as to the genius of his tutor, the Pundit Julla, the priest of the Jummo family, who regulated all his movements, and was considered a man of such transcendent talent, that, if he had been able to control the army, he might have succeeded in establishing a dynasty of Peshwas at Lahore. But before his authority was consolidated, he imprudently endeavoured to reduce the power of Golab Sing, who retaliated on him by exciting revolts in various directions. He likewise sequestered the estates of many of the chiefs and treated them with disdain; but, above all, he incurred the wrath of the vindictive ranee and her brother, by his supercilious deportment. They appealed to the army, and Heera Sing and the pundit were obliged to fly, but, although they endeavoured to retard the pursuers by dropping their costly jewels one by one in their path, they were overtaken and put to death, and their heads carried in triumph to Lahore. The death of Heera Sing involved the immolation of twenty-four women, his wives and slaves, on the funeral pile. The Sikhs, though reformed Hindoos, retained with more than ordinary tenacity a passion for suttees, and the veneration of the cow. Indeed, a woman who had devoted herself to death was considered in the light of a sacred character, and men of the first distinction in the state prostrated themselves before her as before an incarnate deity.

Approach of the
crisis in the Pun-
jab, 1845.

On the dissolution of the government of Heera Sing, the management of affairs fell into the hands of Juwahir Sing, the brother of the ranee, Jhindun, and of a handsome brahmin of the name of Lall Sing, her favourite paramour. It was not without reason that

Sir Henry Hardinge designated her the Messalina of the north. The soldiers received another augmentation of pay, and became so clamorous for fresh gratuities, and so insubordinate, that it was deemed necessary to find some employment for them, to prevent the overthrow of the Government. They were accordingly instigated to march against Golab Sing, who was odious to the Sikhs, and reputed to be very wealthy. The raja could not but feel that his highland regiments would be no match for the well-disciplined Khalsa troops, and he brought into practice all those arts of cozenage of which he was so complete a master. He flattered the army committees; he made a liberal distribution of money among the men, and succeeded at length in prevailing upon them to let him off with a mulct of thirty-five lacs of rupees, and the cession of a portion of his territory. When, however, the money came to be removed, a dispute arose between his own officers and those of the army which led to a collision; two chiefs were killed, and the passions of the soldiers were inflamed to such a degree that he was constrained to accompany them to Lahore to prevent the plunder of his capital. At Lahore, the troops and the ministers extorted no less than sixty-eight lacs of rupees from him, and left him but a very slender portion of the family domains. He returned to his own principality, after having assisted at the installation of Juwahir Sing as prime minister, and the betrothal of Duleep Sing to the daughter of Chutter Sing. To keep the troops in active employ, the durbar further determined to let them loose on Moolraj, who had been permitted to succeed to the office of dewan, or viceroy of Mooltan, on the assassination of his father in 1844, but had refused to increase his annual remittances, or to pay the fine of a crore of rupees which was demanded of him on his succession to the Government. Moolraj felt, as Golab Sing had done, that it would be impossible for him to cope with the Sikh army now marching against him, and in September, 1845, rescued himself from danger by a compromise of eighteen lacs of rupees. Soon after, Peshora Sing, another of the sons of Runjeet, raised the standard of revolt

at Attock, but was defeated and ruthlessly put to death by Juwahir Sing. That unfortunate prince had always enjoyed a degree of popularity with the people and the army from his relationship to Runjeet, and the contempt which had been generally felt for the low debauchee who occupied the post of minister, was turned into resentment by this atrocious murder. Lall Sing, who aspired to the office of vizier, made every effort to inflame this animosity. The *punches* met and determined that Juwahir Sing should die the death of a traitor, and he was led out into the plain of Meean Meer, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and deliberately executed. After the loss of her brother, the ranee sat daily in durbar, transacting business, and in the beginning of November, 1855, appointed Lall Sing minister, and Tej Sing general-in-chief; but the army which had within the year humbled the two great feudatories of Jummoo and Mooltan, exacted eighty-six lacs of rupees from them, defeated Peshora Sing, and pronounced death on the minister, was now the only real power in the state.

Preparations
on the frontier,
1845.

Nothing can more fully demonstrate the feeling between the Government of India and Runjeet Sing than the fact that for thirty years after the Metcalfe treaty, the outpost at Loodiana, within a few marches of Lahore, and a hundred and fifty miles from any support, was left with a garrison of only two or three regiments. The anarchy which supervened on the death of Runjeet constrained the Government of India to make better provision for the protection of the frontier. Lord Auckland established a new cantonment at Ferozepore, which, however, was inadequately garrisoned. Lord Ellenborough, who considered a Sikh war all but unavoidable, increased the force on the frontier to 17,600 men with sixty-six guns. Sir H. Hardinge, immediately on his arrival, investigated the state of affairs on the Sutlege with the eye of a soldier, and found that it was one of extreme peril, and that the force collected there was not sufficient for the purpose of defence, still less for extensive

operations, if war should be forced upon us. His attention was steadily given to the augmentation of the army on the frontier, and he accomplished it so gradually and quietly, that it attracted no notice even in our own provinces. By these arrangements the number of troops massed on the Sutlege and at the stations immediately below it, was increased to 40,500, with ninety-four guns. Sir Henry Hardinge likewise brought up from Sind to Ferozepore fifty-six large boats, which Lord Ellenborough had, with great forethought, ordered to be constructed there to serve as a pontoon. It has been surmised that it was this large assemblage of troops in front of the Punjab, which raised the suspicions of the Khalsa army and led to the invasion of our territories, in order to anticipate our designs. But, considering the distracted condition of the Punjab, a prey to political convulsions, the Government of India would have been without excuse if the most ample preparations had not been made to meet an impending crisis, which might arrive at any day. The Khalsa army was the most efficient and the most formidable which had ever been assembled under native banners. It possessed all the vigour of a young creed, and of a recent organization. It was flushed with its past successes, and panted for future triumphs. Unmindful of its defeat at Jumrood, it considered itself more than a match for the Afghans, and, consequently, superior to the British, whom the Afghans had once defeated and chased from their territory. In 1843, and again in 1844, a large Sikh force had marched down towards the Sutlege with a view to the invasion of the Company's territories. During the year 1845 the army had completely overpowered the state, and the durbar at Lahore felt that the only chance of maintaining its own existence was to commit it to a conflict with the British power. No effort was therefore spared by those in authority to inflame the minds of the soldiers against our Government, and they met at the tomb of Runjeet Sing to renew their vows of fidelity to the Khalsa, and to devote themselves to the promotion of its greatness. It was not the precautionary measures

of the British Government, or the proceedings of its agents on the frontier, which brought on the collision. It was the ranees and Lall Sing and Tej Sing who launched the Sikh battalions on our territories, from the selfish motive of providing for their own security, and endeavoured to avert the plunder of Lahore by sending them to sack Delhi and Benares. If any blame is to be attached to Sir Henry Hardinge, it is that, in the presence of such imminent danger, he exceeded in moderation the bounds of prudence, and that, from the laudable desire of avoiding the charge of having provoked hostilities by the extent of his military preparations, he delayed to move the troops which he had collected, to the banks of the Sutlege, to be on the spot for immediate action whenever the emergency should arrive. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the military virtues of the Sikh army had always been underrated by the political officers connected with the Punjab, and that even to the latest period it was designated by some in high position "a rabble demoralized by the absence of every principle of subordination, and by its unchecked violence." Neither the Government nor its officers had any adequate conception of the profound feeling of national ambition and arrogant confidence, and unexampled courage with which it was animated. They thought it possible that British districts might be insulted by the desultory inroads of marauding horsemen, or by loose bands of fanatic Akalis, but they never dreamt that 60,000 soldiers, with a large and admirably served artillery, would cross the Sutlege and burst as suddenly on our dominions as Hyder Ali had burst on the Carnatic sixty-five years before.

The Sikh army
cross the Sutlege,
1845.

On the evening of the 17th November a general order was issued by the durbar for the invasion of the British dominions, but the astrologers declared that there would not be an auspicious day before the 28th. The troops were impatient to advance, and the ranees endeavoured to hasten their departure; but her eagerness tended to rouse their suspicions, and they remained in a state

of hesitation for nearly three weeks. On the 23rd November the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief received intimation of the marching orders the Sikh army had received, and Major Broadfoot, the political agent on the frontier, urged the most prompt and energetic measures of defence, but Sir Henry Hardinge, still clinging to the hope of peace, directed him to send another remonstrance to the Lahore durbar, the only response vouchsafed to which, was an order to the troops to commence their march without any further delay. Animated by a feeling of national and religious enthusiasm, 60,000 Khalsa soldiers with 40,000 armed followers and a hundred and fifty guns of large calibre crossed the Sutlege in the brief space of four days, each soldier turning his hand with great alacrity to the transport of the guns, the driving of the bullocks, or to any other labour which offered itself; and by the 16th the whole force was encamped within a short distance of Ferozepore. That fort was held by Sir John Littler, one of the oldest and best officers in the service, with 10,000 troops and thirty-one guns. Both he and his officers considered this force sufficient to dispute the passage of the river; the reason why this was not attempted, is one of the many enigmas of the two Sikh campaigns which are bequeathed to the researches of the future historian. On the 11th December, preparations had been made for a grand ball in the Commander-in-chief's state tents at Umbala, when information was unexpectedly received that the Sikh army had marched down to the fords of the Sutlege, and was on the eve of crossing it. The ball was abandoned by common consent, and the night was spent in hasty preparations for the march. The next day the Commander-in-chief started with the troops assembled in haste, for the relief of Sir John Littler, who was enveloped by an army six times the strength of his own, accompanied with artillery greatly superior in number and power. Hours were now invaluable. The troops, heavily accoutred, performed a march which had never before been attempted in India, moving a hundred and fifty miles

in six days, through heavy sand, with little time to prepare their food, even when they were able to obtain any, and with scarcely an hour for repose.

On the 13th, the Governor-General published a Declaration of War, and confiscated all the districts belonging to the Sikh crown south of the

Confiscation of
the Cis-Sutlege
districts, 1845.

Sutlege. Major Broadfoot had with incredible labour provisioned the stations on the line of march, and collected large stores at Bussean, which was within easy distance of the ford at which the Sikhs had crossed, and open to their attacks. Sir Henry, who had preceded the Commander-in-chief, on reaching that depôt, perceived the necessity of protecting it from the assault of the Sikhs, and lost no time in ordering a force of 5,000 men from Loodiana to render it secure. The importance of this movement cannot be overrated, as the capture of Bussean by the enemy, with all its stock of provisions, would have delayed the operations of the army for more than ten days, and indefinitely augmented the difficulties of Sir John Littler's position. His duties were rendered the more arduous from the charge of the women and children at Ferozepore. It might have been expected that after the warning received at Cabul, where the operations of the force were fatally hampered by the presence of ladies, so egregious a blunder would not have been repeated, and that those who were residing at Ferozepore would have been placed beyond the reach of danger, as soon as it was known that the Sikh army had received orders to cross the river; but they were permitted to continue there as if no enemy were at hand, and it was not till the place was actually invested that they were sent even into the fort. On the arrival of the Sikh force before Ferozepore, Sir John Littler marched out and offered the enemy battle, but they declined it. The day after, a large portion of the Khalsa army pushed forward ten miles to Ferozeshuhur, and constructed entrenchments of the most formidable character, leaving Tej Sing behind to watch the movements of General Littler. It is still a mystery why the

Sikh army, 60,000 strong, did not make a vigorous effort to dispose of his force before he could receive any assistance. It has been said that they had no skill in sieges, and shrunk from an assault on his fortifications. It has, again, been affirmed that if the Sikh generals had been as sincerely bent on exterminating British power as their soldiers were, nothing could have saved General Littler. But Tej Sing and Lall Sing stood as much in awe of their own troops as of their enemies, and dreaded the chance of their triumph more perhaps than their defeat. To what extent the assertion which has been made that both these generals had touched English gold is to be believed, depends on documents not before the public.

Moodkee, 1845. Lall Sing's scouts had brought him information that the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief were advancing to the attack of the Sikh army with only a slender force, and he pushed forward to the village of Moodkee with about 20,000 men and twenty-two guns, where under cover of the jungle he awaited the arrival of the British commander. On the 18th December the army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles, over an arid plain, and at the sight of a pool of water on its arrival at the encamping ground, men, horses, and camels, rushed down impetuously, to appease a thirst which appeared to be unquenchable. The troops had not broken their fast since the preceding night, and were just preparing to cook a meal when a cloud of dust rose up before them. Major Broadfoot, who galloped off to reconnoitre, returned in haste to announce that it was raised by the Sikh army, and the thunder of its cannon soon corroborated his report. In this, as in numerous other instances, the intelligence department of the army was deplorably inefficient, and Sir Hugh Gough was as completely taken by surprise as he had been at Maharajpore. It was nearly four in the afternoon and little more than an hour of daylight remained. The enemy's horse endeavoured to outflank our force, but were gallantly repulsed. Then came the first conflict between the native sepoy and the Khalsa battalions of Runjeet Sing, trained and

disciplined by Allard and Ventura, and the superiority of the Sikhs became at once apparent. One native regiment turned suddenly round and sought the rear, and it was with no ordinary difficulty that the Commander-in-chief and his staff succeeded in bringing it back to the struggle. Even a European corps was for a few moments staggered by the rapidity and precision of the Sikh practice, and in the confusion of the hour one of our regiments fired into another. Lall Sing was the first to fly from the field with his cavalry, and he was at length followed by the infantry, who withdrew under cover of the night, leaving seventeen guns in the hands of the victors, the loss on whose part amounted to 872 in killed and wounded. For sixty years it had been usual to unite the office of Commander-in-chief with that of the Governor-General when he happened, as in the case of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Hastings, and Lord William Bentinck to be of the military profession. This precedent was for the first time neglected on the occasion of Sir Henry Hardinge's appointment, and he was understood to have brought out with him only a dormant commission of Commander-in-chief, to be acted upon if the occasion should arise. After the battle of Moodkee, he placed his services at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief, and magnanimously took the post of second in command, an act well calculated to restore the confidence of our army which had been rudely shaken by the skill and valour displayed by the Sikhs, and the manifest deficiency of our tactics.

Battle of
Ferozeshuhur,
Dec. 21, 1845.

The army halted for two days at Moodkee to take repose and bury the dead, and was reinforced with two European and two native regiments, brought up by forced marches through the untiring energy of the Governor-General. He resolved that the army should advance to the attack of the entrenched camp of the Sikhs without the encumbrance of baggage, and it was left, together with the sick and wounded and the camp equipage, in the fort of Moodkee, guarded by a regiment and a-half. The force started

on the morning of the 21st for Ferozeshuhur, without provisions or tents. General Littler, who was duly advised of this movement by Sir Henry, was directed to join the army at the period of its arrival. He accordingly moved out early in the morning, leaving his camp pitched, his bazaar flags flying, his cavalry pickets standing, and a sufficient force to guard the fort, the entrenchment, and his female charge. He eluded the observation of Tej Sing, and reached the main force with 5,500 men and twenty-two guns a little before noon. The Sikh entrenchment was in the form of a parrallelogram, around the village of Ferozeshuhur, about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlege and Moodkee; the longer towards Ferozepore and the plain on the east. The number of Sikh troops in the camp under the command of Lall Sing was estimated at 35,000, with 100 guns and 250 camel swivels. The batteries were mounted, not with ordinary field artillery, but with siege guns of heavy calibre, placed in position. The day was the shortest in the year, and with such a foe as the Sikhs had proved themselves to be, every moment was of inestimable value; but, after the junction of Sir John Littler, more than three hours and a-half were frittered away, and it was four in the afternoon before the first shot was fired. This delay, which entailed the most disastrous results, has never been accounted for, except by a reference to the general muddle which was visible in almost all the Sikh engagements. Sir Charles Napier, in his comments on the strategy of the day, maintained that the attack should have been made on the two sides which were not protected by the tremendous guns immoveably planted in their position, but Sir Hugh Gough resolved to follow his usual practice of charging at once right up to the muzzle of the guns, and carrying the batteries by cold steel. He himself held the command on the right; Sir Henry Hardinge in the centre, and Sir John Littler on the left. It fell to the lot of Sir John to attack the strongest section of the enemy's positions, the western face, where they had gathered the iron strength of their heaviest

guns. He had brought twenty-two guns out of Ferozepore, but he derived no aid, or next to none, from them, and his troops advanced with the utmost gallantry up to the batteries, where they were arrested by an overwhelming fire. The 62nd foot, mowed down by grape and round shot, was checked and retired—beaten, but not in the eye of candour, disgraced,—leaving seventy-six of its brave men and seven of its gallant officers within fifty paces of the entrenchments. The other divisions encountered an equally terrific and unexpected resistance. To borrow the language of the historian of the Sikhs: “Guns were dismounted and the ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the enemy’s position were finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed part.” General Littler’s repulsed division fell back to a village two miles to the west. Sir Harry Smith’s division penetrated to the heart of the camp and occupied the village of Ferozeshuhur, but the enemy brought so heavy a fire to bear on his battalions, that they were obliged at two in the morning to withdraw to a village two miles distant. The feat performed by the 3rd dragoons was both the most daring and the most useless of the engagement. Without any orders from the Commander-in-chief, they charged across the ditch while the battery in front mowed them down, till the yawning trench was choked up with their numbers, and those who followed crossed on a bridge of their own dead and dying comrades. This gallant band, after having silenced the battery in its front, faced the Khalsa army within the entrenchments, swept through the camp with loud huzzas over tents, ropes, pegs, guns, fires and magazines, and never paused till it emerged on the opposite side and

rejoined their companions. General Gilbert's division, which was the strongest, after having captured the guns in position, was met by a storm of musketry, and obliged to retire as darkness set in, and bivouac on the edge of the Sikh encampment. With this division were the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief. During the night, which has justly been styled the "night of horrors," the enemy's expense magazines were ever and anon exploding; their camp was on fire in several places, but they did not cease to keep up a continuous discharge upon our soldiers. The Governor-General passed the night in moving from regiment to regiment, endeavouring to sustain the spirits and revive the ardour of the men; but, within three hundred yards of his position the great Sikh gun was dealing destruction on the recumbent and exhausted ranks, and it became indispensable to silence it. Soon after midnight he called up the 80th foot and the 1st Europeans lying around him on the frozen ground, and placing himself at their head, charged the gun and spiked it. It was with great truth that Sir Henry Hardinge remarked that another such engagement would shake the empire to its foundation.

It was suggested that the army should retire to Ferozepore, but Sir Henry strenuously opposed the movement. He felt that our political safety required the utter overthrow of the Sikh army, and he determined to renew the engagement the next morning, although there was but one weak division left for the work which had baffled the whole army the previous day. But in the Sikh encampment, though unknown to the English commanders, there had been stormy counsels and bitter recrimination, mutiny and desertion, and Lall Sing's military chest had been plundered by his own troops. As day dawned, the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief collected the scattered soldiers of General Gilbert's division, and advanced to assault the entrenchments. The opposition was feeble; the batteries were attacked in reverse and captured, and our troops swept down the whole length and rear of the enemy's position with

Second engagement, December 22nd, 1845.

little opposition. The legions which had defended this Roman encampment with Roman courage, were in full flight to the Sutlege through the cowardice, or the treachery, of Lall Sing. The British line, as soon as it had cleared the works, halted on the northern face, and the two commanders were received with grateful acclamations as they rode along the ranks. The cheers had scarcely subsided when a cloud of dust announced the approach of a new enemy. This was Tej Sing, who, on finding that Sir John Littler had eluded his vigilance, marched down towards Ferozeshuhur, on the morning of the 22nd, with 20,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 70 guns. He found that the entrenched camp at Ferozeshuhur had been lost, that its powerful batteries, with all the munitions of war and the standards, were in the hands of the British, and that the Sikh army was in full retreat to the river. But he did not know that the British troops were drooping from hunger, having tasted no food for thirty-six hours, that their ammunition was completely exhausted, and that if vigorously attacked by his fresh battalions and his splendid artillery, no exhibition of the most brilliant courage could have saved them from destruction. After a brief cannonade, which at once dismounted our artillery, he withdrew with his whole force to the Sutlege; and the British empire in India was again saved by a miracle.

Remarks on
Ferozeshuhur,
1845.

The battle of Ferozeshuhur was the most severe and critical we had ever fought in India. Never before had we encountered so resolute or skilful an enemy, and if our ranks had been composed only of sepoy, the empire might have passed away. The casualties on our side amounted to 2,415, including a hundred and three officers, and, although an effort was made to extenuate this loss by a reference to engagements in Europe even more sanguinary, it was impossible to evade the conclusion, that with more skilful strategy, no small portion of it might have been avoided. It was the defect of our tactics, and the deficiency of our ammunition, quite as much as the military ardour and courage of the Sikhs, which for a time gave a character of equality to the

struggle. As second in command the Governor-General could not, without going to extremities, issue or enforce orders, he could only suggest his wishes. He had five aides-de-camp killed and five wounded, and the only officer on his staff who escaped was his youngest son, Arthur, who fought by his side throughout the action. In this melancholy engagement fell the noble Broadfoot, and the chivalrous Somerset, who had been severely wounded at Maharajpore, and, after fighting at Ferozeshuhur with the hereditary gallantry of his race, fell covered with wounds. There, too, perished the amiable Major D'Arcy Todd, the former minister at Herat, who went into action with a mournful presentiment that he should not survive it, and Colonel Taylor, who had fought in America and Burmah, had assisted in forcing the Khyber, and won fresh laurels at Istaliff. Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who had been making the tour of the Himalayas, joined the Governor-General's camp with his medical attendant, Dr. Hoffmeister, who was killed, and Counts Greuber and Oriolo; and the grandson of Frederick the Second, at the distance of half the globe from his native land, took an active share in a battle as fiercely contested as that of Rosbach. The extraordinary carnage of the day has led to the enquiry, why the action was not deferred till the morrow, but it has been recorded by officers of the soundest judgment, that, considering the plan of the campaign, it could not have been safely postponed on military grounds. It was of the first importance to bring on an engagement before the junction of the two Sikh forces. The condition of the British army, moreover, would not have been improved by a bivouac during a night of bitter cold, without food, water, or shelter. Besides, it is by no means certain that, even if the battle had been delayed till the morrow, the same strategy would not have been adopted of throwing the battalions on entrenchments bristling with cannon, and served by the best native artillerymen in India, and the increase of the enemy's force would, in that case, only have served to increase the slaughter.

The tide of invasion had thus been stemmed. Necessity of reinforcements, 1846. Of the 60,000 Khalsa soldiers who had poured down on our territories twelve days before, not one remained in arms on the left bank of the Sutlege; but in the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, our army had lost a fifth of its number, and exhausted its ammunition. Hence it became necessary to order up a full supply of military stores of every description, and a large armament of siege guns from the nearest depôt, which unfortunately happened to be more than two hundred miles distant, at Delhi. While this heavy convoy was slowly wending its way up to the banks of the Sutlege, the British army was condemned to a period of inactivity, between the fords of Ferozepore and Hurreekee. This delay in following up the success of the army, was naturally attributed by the Sikhs to fear. Towards the end of January Runjoor Sing crossed the river in force, and threatened the station of Loodiana, from which Sir Henry Hardinge had withdrawn the division for the protection of Bussean, and Sir Harry Smith was sent with four regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and eighteen guns, to cover that station. On the night of the 20th January, he received information that Runjoor Sing had suddenly broken up his camp on the river, and marched down to Buddowal, a village lying between Loodiana and the force advancing to relieve it. Sir Harry made no change in the order of his march, because he mistrusted the intelligence, and also, because he expected the garrison of Loodiana to advance and meet him on the route he had fixed upon. If he had listened to the earnest advice of his experienced officers, he would have avoided the disaster which befel him. Runjoor Sing, though described by the most shrewd observer of the Lahore chiefs as "an ass of that order of mind which experience could not improve," still contrived to envelope and completely to outflank the whole British force by the numerical superiority of his battalions and his artillery; and it was only through the admirable handling of the cavalry by Brigadier Cureton, that the division was saved from a fatal reverse.

The greater portion of the baggage, however, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and some prisoners, and artillery store carts, were conveyed in triumph to Loodiana.

Battle of Aliwall,
28th Jan., 1846.

This disaster gave fresh confidence to the enemy, and it was deemed necessary to clear the left bank of the Sutlege of their troops, and prevent an attack by Runjoor Sing on the long convoy coming up from Delhi. He was reinforced by 4,000 regular troops and twelve guns, and fell back to a position at Aliwall on the Sutlege. General Smith's force was likewise augmented to 11,000 men, and he was urged by the Governor-General to lose no time in attacking the enemy. The village was feebly defended by some battalions of hill men, who took to flight, with Runjoor Sing at their head, after firing a few rounds. But the British troops met with a stern resistance from the Khalsa soldiers posted on their right, men of true Sikh blood and metal, who stood their ground with unflinching courage, and it was not till their ranks had been thrice pierced by Cureton's cavalry that they became disorganized, and retreated to the river, in which no small number of them met a watery grave, leaving sixty-seven guns as trophies in the hands of the victors. The renown which Sir Harry Smith had lost at Buddowal was recovered and heightened by this decisive victory at Aliwall. This reverse disheartened the Sikh ministers and induced them to commence negotiations. The utter incapacity of Lall Sing had become obvious throughout the campaign, and Golab Sing was invited from Jummo, to take a share in the public councils, and to accept the office of minister. He immediately opened communications with the Governor-General, who informed him that he was prepared to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty at Lahore, but not till the Khalsa army had been disbanded. Golab Sing replied with great truth that it was beyond his power to control the movements of the troops, who still continued to domineer over the public authorities of the state. It has been asserted that these communications resulted in an understanding that, for a suitable consideration, the Sikh

army, when attacked by the English battalions, should be deserted by its own chiefs, and that the way to the capital should thus be left open. The truth of this assertion, which was an article of faith in the camp, has never been distinctly substantiated, but it was strongly corroborated by the conduct of the Sikh generals in the subsequent engagement, and it was strengthened in no small degree by the harsh measure of removing from his political employment the accomplished historian of the Sikhs, who was the first to announce it in print.

Sobraon,
10th Feb. 1846.

While the British army was awaiting the arrival of the train from Delhi, and watching the operations of the Sikhs at the ford of Hureekie, they were diligently employed in transporting their force across the Sutlege at that point. With the natural ingenuity of a military people, and, as it was affirmed, with the aid of a Spanish and a French officer, they erected one of the strongest works against which troops had ever been led in India. It consisted of a series of semicircular entrenchments, with the river for their base and the outer line of which, two miles and a-half in circumference from the eastern to the western point, was surrounded with a deep ditch. The ramparts were defended by sixty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance, and 35,000 Khalsa soldiers. A bridge of boats united this encampment with another across the river, where heavy guns had also been planted which completely swept the left bank. These formidable bulwarks were erected in the presence of an inactive British force, burning with impatience to be led against the enemy, who continued from day to day to bid them defiance, by appearing on the plain and exhibiting the evolutions of their splendid horse artillery. At length, after a delay of seven weeks, the long and imposing train of heavy ordnance drawn by stately elephants, together with the munitions of war, marched into the camp on the 8th February, and raised the drooping spirits of the men, European and native. The brigade which had been detached under General Smith to

Loodiana rejoined the camp, and made up the British force to 15,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Europeans. The following day was employed in making arrangements for the assault. It was at once perceived that if an entrance could be effected into either end of the entrenchment where it rested on the river, the whole of the guns along the outer line would be taken in reverse and rendered useless. It was affirmed that Lall Sing treacherously informed the Governor-General that the western corner was the weakest of the Sikh entrenchments, and it was in consequence of this disclosure that the main attack was directed to this point by the division under General Dick. The centre division, under General Gilbert, and the right division, under General Sir Harry Smith, were directed to make feint attacks to divert the attention of the enemy from the real assault. Brigadier Cureton with his cavalry was appointed to watch the Sikh horse under Lall Sing. The whole of the heavy ordnance was planted in masses on some of the more commanding points opposite the Sikh entrenchments. A dense fog at dawn of the 10th enabled the Commander-in-chief to make his dispositions unnoticed by the enemy. The fog rolled up like a curtain at seven in the morning, and the great guns opened on the encampment, which was under the command of Tej Sing. The Sikhs, nothing daunted, answered flash for flash from their powerful ordnance, and the rays of the sun scarcely pierced the sulphurous smoke which filled the atmosphere. At nine, before the cannonade had made any impression on the enemy's position, the British ammunition began to run short, and Sir Hugh Gough discovered that it was visionary to expect that his guns could, within any limited time, silence the fire of seventy pieces, behind well-constructed batteries of earth, planks, and fascines, or dislodge troops covered by redoubts, or epaulments, or within a treble line of trenches. After having waited for these guns for seven weeks, it was found that they were of little avail for the success of the day, and it became evident that the issue of the struggle must be

left to the arbitrament of musketry and the bayonet. Accordingly Colonel Lane's horse artillery galloped up and delivered their fire within 300 yards of the batteries, and Sir Robert Dick's division moved up to the attack in admirable order, charged home with the bayonet, leaped the ditch, and mounted the rampart. The Sikhs instantly perceived that this was to be the principal point of attack, and, slackening the defence of the entrenchments opposed to the other divisions, concentrated their attention on this contest. More guns in the interior of the Sikh encampment were turned on the assailants, who were also met by a hand to hand fight, and repeatedly staggered. Fresh regiments were sent up by the British commanders to their aid, but they recoiled in confusion from the deadly fire of the Sikhs, and it became necessary to order the two other divisions to make a simultaneous assault on the batteries before them. This was no sooner perceived by the enemy than they returned tumultuously to the posts they had quitted, and from every foot of the entrenchments poured on both divisions a withering fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. The gallant charge made by General Gilbert's division on the centre batteries was one of the most memorable feats in the campaign. His men, of whom 689 were killed and wounded in the course of half an hour, were more than once driven back, but their indomitable courage at length mastered the enemy's ramparts. Scarcely less sanguinary were the charges repeatedly made by General Smith's division. The Sikh entrenchment was at length pierced in three directions, and the soldiers, when they could no longer fire, drew their swords and were bayoneted by the side of the guns they had so nobly served. Tej Sing, instead of endeavouring to rally his troops, was among the first to fly, and, either by accident or by design, broke the bridge; but the veteran chief Sham Sing had resolved not to survive a defeat, and, clothing himself in the garments of martyrdom, called on all around him to fight manfully for the Gooroo, rallied his shattered ranks, and rushed on the British bayonets,

where he found the death he sought, over a heap of his slain countrymen. The Sikh troops, pressed on three sides into a confused mass, still continued to contest every inch of ground till they were forced to the bridge, which they found broken, and, preferring death to surrender, plunged into the stream. Unfortunately for them it had risen during the night, and flooded the ford, and they perished by hundreds in the attempt to cross. By the forethought of the Governor-General the horse artillery had been brought up during the action and planted along the river, and its cannonade completed the destruction of the enemy. The confusion, dismay, and carnage were such as had not been seen in India since the field of Paniput. The loss on the side of the Sikhs was estimated at 8,000, and the whole of their encampment, with all their artillery, their standards, and vast munitions of war fell to the victors. The loss on our side was 2,383, but the victory was complete. By eleven in the morning not an unwounded Sikh was left on the British bank of the Sutlege. The conquerors, as they beheld the trenches filled with the bodies of their iron-hearted defenders, and the fords of the Sutlege choked up with thousands of corpses, and the river itself exhibiting in every direction the wreck of a great army, did not fail to pay a tribute of admiration to the gallantry and the devotedness of the noble Khalsa army.

The Army enters
the Punjab,
Feb. 1846.

Major Abbott, a distinguished officer of engineers, had been employed night and day in constructing a bridge with the boats which Lord Ellenborough had built in Sinda, and Sir Henry Hardinge had brought up to Ferozepore, and it was completed the night before the battle. Sir Henry Hardinge, though suffering from a serious injury occasioned by a fall from his horse, had been actively engaged on the field. He quitted it immediately after the victory was complete, and rode twenty-six miles to Ferozepore, to hasten the passage of the troops, and that same night six regiments bivouacked in the Punjab. Three days after the action, the whole army, which, including camp

followers, counted 100,000 men and 68,000 animals and forty pieces of artillery, was enabled, through the admirable arrangements of Major Abbott, to cross the river without a single casualty. Two days before the engagement several vakeels arrived from Lahore, and solicited an audience of the Governor-General, but were informed that they would not be received till it had been fought. They made their appearance again on the 11th, bringing with them as a peace offering the European prisoners and a gig captured at Buddowal. They were dismissed with a friendly message to the durbar, which brought raja Golab Sing and two of the ministers to the encampment on the 15th, empowered on the part of the Maharaja Duleep Sing to agree to any terms the Governor-General might think fit to dictate. They were received as the representatives of an offending Government, without the usual forms and ceremonies, and their complimentary offerings were refused. On the 17th, Duleep Sing himself came into the camp, and having made his submission, was dismissed with honour. During these negotiations, the army continued to advance to the capital, and on the 20th was encamped on the plain of Meean Meer. The conquerors were now in possession of the metropolis of those who had wantonly invaded their territories, but Sir Henry Hardinge was determined to repress every outrage, and issued an order strictly forbidding any soldier to enter the city, even from motives of curiosity. The only humiliation to which the Sikhs were subjected was the occupation of the citadel of their pride by a garrison of British troops.

Settlement of
the Punjab,
1846.

The future destiny of the Punjab then came up for consideration. The issue of the war had placed it unequivocally at the disposal of the British Government, and Sir Henry Hardinge might have incorporated it with the Company's dominions upon every principle of justice and equity, and with the full concurrence of all the princes of India. But he had neither the means nor the desire of annexation. Sir Charles Napier was, indeed, at the time prepared to march up from Sindh with 16,000 men and fifty guns, but

Sir Hugh Gough's army was essentially weak. Our strength in India consists in the number and efficiency of the European troops we are able to bring into the field, and the four battles had reduced this European force to barely 3,000 men. The morale of the army was low; the season of heat and prostration was approaching, and it was not easy to see how the army with its endless followers could have been sheltered and fed during the period when the climate reduced it to a state of inaction. After the battle of Sobraon, the Sikh army still mustered 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of cannon. Upon a careful consideration of all circumstances, Sir Henry Hardinge resolved, and not unwisely, to avoid encumbering his administration with the government of the Punjab. He considered it necessary to punish the Sikh nation for past offences and to prevent the recurrence of aggression, but he was anxious to perform these duties without suppressing its political existence. Immediately after the Sikh army invaded our territory he had issued a proclamation confiscating the Cis-Sutlege possessions of the Lahore crown, and he now annexed the Jullunder dooab, or district lying between the Sutlege and the Beas, to the Company's dominions, by which he obtained security for our hill stations, and a position which gave us the control of the Sikh capital. The expenses of the campaign were computed at a crore and a-half of rupees, which the Lahore state was required to make good, but the profligacy of the ministers and the rapacity of the soldiery had exhausted the treasury, and of the twelve crores which Runjeet Sing left in it, there remained scarcely fifty lacs of rupees to meet the demand. Sir Henry determined, therefore, to take over the province of Cashmere and the highlands of Jummoo in lieu of the remaining crore. Since the death of Runjeet Sing, the powerful raja of Jummoo, Golab Sing, had always cherished the hope of being able, by some happy turn of circumstances, to convert his principality into an independent sovereignty. During the recent contest he had played the part of an interested neutral, watching the issue of the con-

test and prepared to side with the strongest. When called to assume the office of minister at Lahore he negotiated with the Governor-General as much for his own interests, as for those of the state. There could be little doubt that a clear understanding regarding his possessions existed between him and the British Government, and hence it created no surprise when he stepped forward and offered to pay down the crore of rupees on condition of being constituted the independent raja of Cashmere and Jummo. The sovereignty of those provinces was accordingly sold to him, but it must not be forgotten that he received only an indefeasible title to that which he actually possessed at the time. By this stroke of policy, Sir Henry Hardinge obtained funds to cover the expenses of the war, and planted on the northern division of the Punjab an independent Rajpoot chief between whom and the Sikhs there was a feeling of irreconcilable discord. Tej Sing on hearing of the disposal of Cashmere, offered twenty-five lacs of rupees for another province and princely crown, but was sharply rebuked for his presumption.

Treaty of the 9th
March, 1846.

The treaty of the 9th March, in which the settlement of the Punjab was embodied, also provided that the troops of the Lahore state should be paid up and disbanded, and that the regular Sikh army should be completely reorganized, and limited in future to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry and that all the guns, thirty-six in number, which had been pointed against the British force should be surrendered. The troops who had so nobly confronted us in four actions were drawn up and discharged, and their manly deportment gave additional lustre to their valour. They alluded to their discomfiture as the chance of war, and dwelt with unabated confidence on the future destiny of the Khalsa. Within forty-eight hours of the signature of the treaty, the durbar implored the Governor-General to lend a British force for the security of the Maharaja and his capital until the reconstruction of the Government was complete, and he consented, at length, to leave a sufficient force until the close of the year, but

with the positive assurance that it would not be permitted to remain longer. The first Sikh war thus terminated in the dissolution of the Khalsa army and the dismemberment of the Punjab; but India doubted our success. After the independence of every other kingdom had been successively extinguished, the natives still fixed their eyes with a feeling of hope on the new and powerful state which Runjeet Sing had built up in the Punjab, and cherished the belief that a native monarchy had at length been erected on the banks of the Sutlege, the cradle of Hindoo power, destined to re-establish Hindoo supremacy throughout India. The indecisive character of the actions at Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, combined with the subsequent inactivity of the army, served to strengthen this opinion, and the report of our decisive success at Aliwall and Sobraon was received with feelings of mistrust. Sir Henry Hardinge deemed it important to remove this impression from the native mind, and to demonstrate that the power of Runjeet Sing's kingdom was completely broken, and the last hope of a Hindoo sovereignty dissipated.

Procession of the
captured guns,
1846.

A grand procession was accordingly formed of two hundred and fifty of the cannon captured from the Sikhs, which marched from Lahore to Calcutta with every demonstration of military pomp. It was received at every station and cantonment on the route with great distinction by all the public functionaries. Its arrival in Calcutta was celebrated by a magnificent ceremonial in which the Deputy-Governor, Sir Herbert Maddock, and the whole staff of Government, and all the battalions within reach, took a part, and the report of it was transmitted to every durbar in Hindostan and the Deccan. The announcement of four battles fought in fifty-four days to repel an unprovoked assault on our territories, produced an extraordinary sensation in England. Even those who invariably professed a virtuous indignation on every recurrence of war or conquest in India, and attributed it to the ambition and rapacity of our countrymen, were constrained to admit that on this occasion, the question of peace or war

did not depend on the will of Government. The thanks of Parliament were moved to Sir Henry Hardinge, to Sir Hugh Gough, and to their brave companions, by Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, and by the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, in speeches which enhanced the value of the honour. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief were elevated to the peerage, and a baronetcy was conferred on the victor of Aliwall. To all the troops engaged in the campaign, Sir Henry Hardinge granted twelve months full batta, without waiting for permission from home.

New arrange-
ments in the
Punjab, Dec.,
1846.

Major Lawrence was selected by Lord Hardinge as the British representative at Lahore, and raja Lall Sing, the paramour of the ranees, the Orloff of the Punjab, was appointed prime minister. He was a man of low extraction, and handsome appearance, but without talent either for civil or military affairs, and his administration, which was very venal and oppressive, made him obnoxious to the people, and more especially to the chiefs. Towards the British Government he acted with singular treachery. Soon after the raja Golab Sing had taken possession of his new kingdom of Cashmere, a formidable opposition was organized against his authority by Imam-ood-deen. Major Lawrence felt the importance of extinguishing the first spark of resistance with the utmost promptitude, before it burst into a flame, and he proceeded in haste towards Cashmere with a large force, notwithstanding the risk of being blocked up by the snows of the approaching winter. "It was an extraordinary spectacle," as remarked at the time, "to witness half a dozen European foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous soldiery, through one of the most difficult countries in the world, to put the chief, formerly their commander, now in their minds a rebel, in possession of the brightest gem of their land." The energy and promptitude of this movement ensured its success. The refractory Imam-ood-deen made his submission, and then produced the written orders of Lall Sing for his contumacious proceedings. Lord Hardinge immediately directed a commis-

sion of European officers to investigate the conduct of the minister, in the presence of sixty-five Sikh chiefs. The charge of treachery was fully substantiated; he was deposed from his office, and in spite of the remonstrances and tears of the ranee, conveyed to the British territories, and consigned to oblivion on a pension of 2,000 rupees a-month. As the period which Lord Hardinge had fixed for the retirement of the British garrison from the Punjab approached, the durbar and the most influential chiefs assured him that without this support, it would be impossible to carry on the government, or prevent the restoration of Khalsa supremacy. Lord Hardinge yielded with great reluctance to their importunity. Fifty-two chiefs assembled at the durbar tent of the Resident and discussed the articles of agreement which they themselves had assisted in drawing up, in conjunction with Mr. Currie, and on the 16th December, 1846, affixed their signatures and seals to the new treaty. It provided that a council of regency, composed of eight of the leading chiefs should be appointed to act under the control and guidance of the British Resident, who was to exercise unlimited influence in all matters of internal administration and external policy. A British force was to be stationed in the various forts and stations throughout the country, for the maintenance of which the sum of twenty-two lacs of rupees a-year was to be appropriated from the revenues of the state. The arrangement was to continue for eight years, till the Maharaja Duleep Sing attained his majority. By this treaty a much larger share of authority was conferred on the Resident than had been assumed in any of the states to which the British Government had extended its protection, and Major Lawrence, an officer of the Company's artillery, became, in effect, the successor of Runjeet Sing.

Reduction of
the Army, 1846.

In the course of thirty-six months, the three independent armies of Sinde, Gwalior and Lahore, numbering 120,000 soldiers, had been extinguished, and all their artillery, which formed their chief strength, captured. The time appeared now to have arrived when the strength of

our own army could be regulated without any reference to the hostility of the native powers. For eight years we had been incessantly engaged in war, or in preparations for it, and the armies of the three Presidencies had been augmented since October, 1838, to the extent of 120,000 men. The pressure on the finances of the empire had been proportionately severe, and the expenditure at this time exceeded the income by a crore and a-half of rupees a-year. Lord Hardinge had been obliged to open a new loan in October, 1846, but, after the satisfactory settlement of the Punjab in December, he considered himself justified in reducing the military force and, with it, the public expenditure. Happily, his long military experience, both in the field and as Secretary at War in the cabinet, enabled him to carry out the principle of reduction with great boldness, and at the same time with the least possible detriment to the efficiency of the public service. The police battalions were, accordingly, disbanded, and the rank and file of the army reduced to the extent of 50,000 men, leaving the number of officers, European and native, undiminished. In the recent actions on the Sutlege it was found that we had not more than 4,500 sabres opposed to more than 20,000 of the enemy, and Lord Hardinge rectified this deficiency by augmenting the irregular branch of the cavalry. These reductions resulted in a saving of a crore and a hundred and fifty lacs of rupees a-year. The revenue of the Sikh provinces on both sides the Sutlege which he had annexed was calculated at some forty lacs of rupees a-year, and, combined with the subsidy of twenty-two lacs from the Lahore state, restored the equilibrium of the finances. Nor should it be forgotten that in all Lord Hardinge's efforts to bring the expenditure within the income, there was no curtailment of individual salaries. Notwithstanding these reductions, the security of the north-west frontier was fully provided for by the allotment of 54,000 men and 120 guns to Meerut and the stations above it. The precautionary measures adopted by Lord Hardinge for the safety of the Punjab, manifested equal foresight and vigour.

He did not expect that a country teeming with disbanded soldiers, the bravest and most haughty in India, who had been nurtured in victory and conquest, and pampered with seven years of military licence, would be as free from disturbance, as a district in Bengal. To provide for the prompt suppression of any insurrectionary movements which might arise, he organized three moveable brigades, complete in carriage and equipment, each of which consisted of one European corps, three regiments of native infantry and one of cavalry, with twelve guns, chiefly of European horse artillery. They were held in readiness at Lahore, Jullunder and Ferozepore, to take the field at the shortest notice.

Canals,
1819-1847.

The magnificent canals constructed by the Mogul emperors in the north-west provinces were among the most important of their undertakings, but they became practically extinct with the decay of the empire, and by the middle of the last century had ceased to be of any utility. The efforts made by the British Government to restore these invaluable works originated with Lord Hastings, and the zeal and earnestness with which they were carried on, formed one of the most distinctive features of his administration. Before he resigned his office he had the satisfaction of learning that, through the scientific exertions of Lieutenant Blane, to whom he had entrusted the undertaking, one of the most important of the canals had re-entered the city of Delhi, after an intermission of more than half a century. These labours were continued without relaxation under his successors, and a sum exceeding half a crore of rupees was devoted to the restoration and maintenance of the ancient canals. Such works have always been found remunerative in India, and the whole of this amount, with a trifling exception, was returned to the treasury in the augmented revenue derived from the irrigation of 300,000 acres, the annual produce of which was estimated at two crores and a-half of rupees. The superintendence of the canals at length devolved on Colonel Colvin, one of the most distinguished officers of one of the most renowned corps of the Company's service, the Bengal engineers.

Down to this period the labours of the British Government has been directed to the restoration of the decayed canals of the preceding dynasty; but it was now determined to undertake the construction of an original work, far exceeding in magnitude and utility any enterprize of the kind which had ever been contemplated in India. This was the Ganges canal, designed to fertilize the fields of the Doob lying between that stream and the Jumna. Lord Auckland was traversing this province in 1837, on his way to Simlah, when it was desolated by the great famine, which was estimated to have swept away a million of the inhabitants, and to have cost the state half a million sterling. The smiling aspect, during this calamity, of the districts which had enjoyed the benefit of irrigation from the restored Mogul canals gave great weight to the proposal of Captain Cautley, who had succeeded Colonel Colvin, to construct a canal, and at an interview with Lord Auckland in the following year he was authorized to undertake a thorough examination of the low tract of country lying near the Ganges. The duty was entrusted entirely to his agency. He commenced his labours in December, 1839, and completed the whole of the survey, with the designs of the project, the plans, the estimates, and calculations, with no other aid than that of a young infantry officer, who joined him at the close of the final survey in 1844. His first report was submitted in May 1840, and transmitted to the Court of Directors, who, in a spirit of liberality worthy the greatness of their trust, adopted the plan, extended it beyond the limits which the Indian authorities had ventured to propose, and on the recommendation of Lord Auckland presented Captain Cautley with the sum of 6000 rupees, "in consideration of the great importance of the work which he had projected, and the zeal and ability displayed by him in his plans and report." With this encouragement from home, Lord Auckland prosecuted the work with the utmost vigour, but Lord Ellenborough on his arrival suspended all operations, and one uncovenanted assistant was alone left on the works. The original design was at the same time materially modified, and it was proposed to make

the canal primarily a channel of navigation—though there was a river on each side of it—and only, in the second instance, a work of irrigation. A report was called for on the subject; this preposterous plan was rejected, and the canal was restored to its original object. The consideration of this question fell to the lot of Lord Hardinge, and in March, 1847, he visited the head of the canal, and examined its most important feature, the Solani aqueduct, after which he directed that the work should be pushed forward with the utmost activity, and that funds should be supplied without reserve.

Close of Lord
Hardinge's Ad-
ministration,
1848.

The attention of Lord Hardinge during his tenure of office was chiefly occupied in the reduction of the great Khalsa armament, in the construction of a new system of government in the Punjab, in the reorganization of our own army, and the restoration of the finances. These important duties were sufficient to absorb the time of an administration which was limited to forty-two months; but, like Lord Hastings, Lord Hardinge was accustomed to be at his desk an hour or two before dawn, and he was enabled to create leisure for other labours connected with the material and social improvement of the country. He gave a great impulse at an important crisis to the project of Indian railways, then in the struggles of infancy. In October, 1846, he prohibited Sunday labour on all the Government establishments, and gave our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects a proof of our respect for the principles of our creed. Lord William Bentinck had abolished suttees throughout the British dominions, but they were still perpetrated in the native states, and on the death of the raja of Munde, a petty independent chief in the neighbourhood of the Governor-General's residence at Simla, no fewer than twelve women were burnt alive on his funeral pile. Lord Hardinge employed the influence of our paramount authority, to induce the independent native princes to abolish, not only female immolation, but female infanticide, and slavery, within their territories, and, before his departure from India, he had the satisfaction of

receiving written assurances from twenty-four of the princes and princesses of India, including the raja Golab Sing, of Cashmere, that they had made the most strenuous and successful efforts to meet his wishes, and would not relax them; and a suttee in any native state is now considered as incredible as a duel in England. The distribution of his patronage was regulated by an exclusive regard to the public interests, and he was as free from the suspicion of nepotism as Lord Ellenborough himself. The selection he made for important offices did no little credit to his discernment. Among the most eminent of the public servants whom he was instrumental in bringing forward, may be mentioned Mr.—afterwards Sir Henry—Elliott, a highly distinguished oriental scholar, and an able secretary, who was cut off before he had reached the maturity of his fame; Colonel Grant, whom he selected for the Adjutant-Generalship, and who has won his way to the Governorship of Malta; and the present Governor-General, whose merits he was the first to discover. Lord Hardinge secured the confidence of society in India, as he had done in England, by his sterling sense, and by the rare combination of a kind and conciliatory disposition with decision of character and vigour of discipline. It was felt on both sides the Cape, that in his hands the empire was safe, and that a spirit of improvement pervaded all his purposes. He left Calcutta on the 15th March, 1848, with the conviction that it would not be necessary to fire another shot in India for seven years. The prospect of continued tranquillity appeared equally certain to all the public writers of the day; yet, so impossible is it to forecast the future in India, that before the end of a twelvemonth, the Punjab had revolted and been reconquered, and had become a British province.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—SECOND SIKH WAR,
1848-49.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848. ON the 19th January, Lord Dalhousie landed at

Chandpal ghaut, in Calcutta, and took the oaths and his seat in Council, fifty years after Lord Wellesley, whose magnificent reign he was destined to rival, landed at the same stairs. He was in his thirty-sixth year, the youngest man who had ever assumed the government of India. He may be considered as the last of the proconsuls whom the Directors of the East India Company had for eighty-four years been accustomed to address as "our Governor-General;" his successor, though for some time under their control, became the viceroy of the Crown. Lord Dalhousie had sat in the House of Commons for several years before he succeeded to the family title. He had been President of the Board of Trade in Sir Robert Peel's last cabinet, at a period when that department was inundated by a flood of railway projects, which taxed its energies beyond all former example; and, it was the extraordinary talent, industry, and aptitude for business which he exhibited under that pressure which recommended him to the highest post in the British empire—except the premiership. He assumed the management of India without any of that knowledge of the policy and the institutions of Government, the position of the native princes, or the character of the people, which Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Ellenborough had brought out with them, but his natural genius soon caught the spirit, and mastered the details of the Indian administration. The period of his rule, which extended to eight years, was filled with transactions of the most momentous character, which will long continue to affect the happiness

of the vast population of India. To present a clear and comprehensive retrospect of his administration, it may be useful to waive the chronological order of events, and to distribute them under the three divisions of, the military operations which were forced upon him, his procedure regarding the native princes, and his various plans for the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country.

Moolraj, 1844-
1848.

Within four months of his arrival, all those sanguine expectations which Lord Hardinge had bequeathed to him of a long reign of peace were rudely dissipated, and the note of war was again sounded across the Sutlege. Major—afterwards Sir Henry—Lawrence, a soldier and a statesman, to whom the task of sustaining British authority in the conquered, but unsubdued, kingdom of the Punjab had been committed, was constrained to visit England for his health, and he was succeeded, temporarily, by his brother, and then by Sir Frederick Currie, a member of the Supreme Council. Those who remembered the catastrophe of Cabul, saw, not without some misgivings, a civilian again placed in a position which required the experience and the influential counsels of a military man. He found no velvet cushion at Lahore. Scarcely had he entered upon his office than a small cloud no bigger than a man's hand appeared on the horizon over Mooltan, which, in the course of six months, overspread the Punjab and brought on a conflict as arduous as that of 1845. Sawun Mull, who had been appointed *dewan*, or governor of Mooltan, by Runjeet Sing, was assassinated in 1844, after twenty years of power, and the administration passed into the hands of his son, Moolraj, whose subordination to the central authority of Lahore, was little more than nominal. But Lall Sing, the minister, knowing that a large treasure had been accumulated by Sawun Mull, at Mooltan, demanded a crore of rupees as a *nuzzur*, or succession fine, from his son, who was enabled eventually to effect a compromise for eighteen lacs. He took advantage, however, of the confusion which reigned in the Punjab, to withhold payment; but, on the establishment of a strong

government under British auspices, an army was sent to coerce him, but he contrived to baffle it. He then applied for the interposition of Mr. Lawrence, and, under his safe conduct, proceeded to Lahore. After adjusting the fine, he offered to resign the government, on the double ground of family dissensions, and the new fiscal arrangements which were about to be introduced into the province, and which he affirmed would damage his income. On the arrival of Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore, Moolraj renewed his offer of resignation, without any other stipulation than that of saving his honour in the eyes of his people. It is difficult to believe that a native chieftain in the position of Moolraj, enjoying all but independent authority, seriously contemplated the surrender of his power, although he may have made the offer under a feeling of temporary irritation; and it would have been an act of wisdom and prudence not to put his professions to the proof. The durbar, however, chose to take him at his word, and in March directed Khan Sing to proceed to Mooltan, on a salary of 30,000 rupees a-year, and take over the government. Sir Frederick Currie selected Mr. Agnew, a civilian and a good oriental scholar, to accompany him, nominally, as the political agent, but in reality to assume the entire management of the country, and to introduce a new system of finance and revenue. For this proceeding he has been severely criticised, and it has been justly remarked that if he was not prepared at the time to support it by an overwhelming force against all the opposition it was certain to encounter, he should have postponed the mission until the usual season of operations in the cold weather. Mr. Agnew, in company with his assistant Lieutenant Anderson, and Khan Sing, with an escort of 350 Sikh troops and a few guns, reached Mooltan on the 18th April, and encamped at the Edgah, a fortified temple in the vicinity of the town.

Murder of the
British officers,
1843.

On the morning of the 19th, Moolraj waited on the British officers, to discuss the terms on which the fort and the government were to be given up. He asked for a regular deed of acquittance on the pro-

duction of the papers of the previous year, but Mr. Agnew insisted on all the accounts of the previous six years. Moolraj naturally hesitated to produce documents which might compromise him by disclosing the secrets of his administration; and, though he yielded at length to the demand, he left the encampment with a scowl on his brow which boded no good. He felt that he had been injured and dishonoured before his own people. On the morning of the 20th, Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson proceeded with him to inspect the various establishments which he was about to resign; but, as they entered the fort, he requested them to dismiss a portion of their guard, to which they injudiciously acceded, although he refused, on some frivolous pretence, to diminish his own retinue. As they were returning from the fort and crossing the drawbridge, Mr. Agnew received a spear thrust under his arm, was thrown off his horse, and wounded in three places with a sword as he lay struggling with his assailant. Lieutenant Anderson was likewise suddenly surrounded and felled to the ground by assassins. Moolraj, who was riding side by side with Mr. Agnew at the time, immediately set spurs to his horse and rode off at full speed to his country residence, while the wounded officers were conveyed by their attendants to the Edgah. On the morning of the 20th, a brisk fire was opened upon it from the guns of the citadel, which was maintained throughout the day, and answered by the guns which had accompanied the party from Lahore. Mr. Agnew then despatched a letter appealing to the compassion of Moolraj, but he stated in reply that, although anxious to come to his assistance, he was restrained by the violence of his soldiery. He did not, however, refuse to allow them to fasten a war bracelet on his arm, and there could be no doubt of his complicity in this atrocious attempt to assassinate the British officers. Mr. Agnew and his companion were in hopes of being able to maintain their position until relief should arrive from Bunnoo or Bhawulpore, but their Sikh escort, which consisted of Goorkha soldiers, proved treacherous, and went

over in a body to the enemy, leaving them at the mercy of a crew of howling savages, who entered the mosque and completed the work of death. A misshapen monster of the name of Goojur Sing, rushed upon Mr. Agnew, loaded him with the foulest abuse, and severed his head from his body at the third stroke, while the ruffians hacked Lieutenant Anderson to pieces. Their bodies were dragged out amid brutish yells; their heads were presented to Moolraj, and then tossed among the mob, filled with gunpowder, and blown to atoms. The morning after the assassination, Moolraj transferred his family and his treasure to the fort, and, having placed himself at the head of the insurrectionary movement, issued a proclamation summoning all the inhabitants of the province, of every creed, to rise and wage a religious war with the Feringees.

Movements
at Lahore,
1848.

The emergency for which the foresight of Lord Hardinge had made provision by his moveable brigades had now arisen; but there was no longer Sir Henry Lawrence at the head of affairs in the Punjab, or Lord Hardinge at the head of the Government. The Resident at Lahore was an amiable and intelligent civilian, the Governor-General was an able statesman, but young in years and new in authority. He was as yet but partially acquainted with those who held posts of importance in the Government, and was, moreover, without any of that military experience which enabled his predecessor to maintain, without presumption, a powerful control of our military movements. Had Sir Henry Lawrence been at Lahore, he would have moved the brigade upon Mooltan, with the same promptitude which he had exhibited in his march to Cashmere at the beginning of the winter, to crush Imam-ood-deen, and doubtless with the same success. Had Lord Hardinge been at the head of the Government, he would have taken upon himself to despatch the large force he had massed on the north-west frontier and collected at Bukkur, and invested Mooltan before Moolraj could make any adequate preparations for resistance. A march through Sinde and from Lahore in the month of May would doubtless have occasioned

many casualties, but our empire in India had been acquired and maintained, not by fair weather campaigns, but by taking the field on every emergency, and at any season. On the first news of the assault at Mooltan, Sir Frederick Currie ordered a large force of horse, foot, and artillery to prepare for a march; but on hearing, a day or two after, that the officers had been murdered and that their escort had deserted to the enemy, he countermanded the movement of the troops, and resolved to await the decision of the Commander-in-chief, on whom he pressed the necessity of prompt and energetic action. Lord Gough, however, considered the season of the year unfavourable for military operations, and determined to postpone them to the cold weather, when he should be prepared to take the field in person. Lord Dalhousie gave his concurrence to this decision. Sir Henry Lawrence aptly described this procrastination as "a resolution to have a grand *shikar*—hunt—in the cold season under his own lead."

Lieutenant
Edwarde,
1848.

The Resident and the Commander-in-chief had scarcely ceased to bandy arguments, when Lieutenant—now Sir Herbert—Edwarde, a young officer employed in the revenue settlement of Bunnoo across the Indus, who was at the time known only by the productions of his pen which had recommended him to the notice of his superiors, brought the question of a military movement to an immediate issue. With the energy and military enterprise of Clive, but with greater moral courage, inasmuch as he assumed a heavier responsibility, he determined to take the initiative in crushing the revolt. Without waiting for orders from Lahore, he crossed the Indus with 1,200 infantry, 350 horsemen, and two guns, and took up a position at the town of Leiah; but a letter which he intercepted informed him that his men had agreed to sell his head for 12,000 rupees, and their own services for a similar sum; no dependence could therefore be placed on them. Moolraj was moving down to attack him, and he found it necessary to recross the river. His associate in this enterprise, Colonel Cortland, an officer in the

service of the durbar, had under his command a regiment of trustworthy Mahomedans and six guns, and the two officers made the most strenuous exertions to raise troops free from the infection of treachery—"bold villains ready to risk their own throats and to cut those of any one else." Colonel Cortland had been ordered by the Resident to move southward to aid in the collection of revenue, and he quitted Lieutenant Edwardes with 2,000 men. Moolraj immediately despatched a force of 6,000 men to attack him, when Lieutenant Edwardes moved down to his assistance, by land and by water, executing a march of fifty miles in twenty-four hours. The combined force was successful in repelling the assault, in occupying the whole of the Trans-Indus district, and in obtaining possession of all the boats on the river. Meanwhile, the Nabob of Bhawulpore, forty miles south of Mooltan, who had faithfully maintained his alliance with the Company since the visit of Captain Burnes in 1832, was requested by the Resident, at the instance of Lieutenant Edwardes, to advance with his army to the attack of Moolraj. Lieutenant Edwardes formed a junction with his troops on the 18th June at Kineyree, but found them in a state of complete disorganization, their helpless commander sitting under a tree counting his beads and muttering his prayers. With great difficulty he established something like order in their ranks before they were attacked by Moolraj, who came down upon them with a body of 8,000 Sikhs and two guns. The action was fiercely contested for many hours, and the result was for a time doubtful, but at three in the afternoon the timely arrival of Colonel Cortland's regiments with his guns decided the fortune of the day, and the Mooltan army fled in confusion from the field. After the victory, Lieutenant Edwardes importuned the Resident to reinforce him, and preparations were made for the despatch of an adequate force, but the Commander-in-chief again interposed his authority, because the season was not yet favourable, and the siege train to be drawn by bullocks had not as yet moved from Cawnpore. On the 28th June, Lieutenant

Battle of
Kineyree, 18th
June, 1848.

Edwardes was strengthened by the accession of 4,000 men, brought by Imam-ood-deen, who had returned to his allegiance, which raised his force, including the Bhawulpore contingent, to 18,000. Moolraj, alarmed at the growing power of his opponents, advanced against them with his whole force, which had been in the meantime augmented by deserters to 11,000, supported by eleven guns, and met them at Sudoosain, in the neighbourhood of his capital. After a cannonade of several hours, a brilliant charge of one of Colonel Cortland's regiments, led by an officer of the name of Quin, decided the action. The Mooltan troops recoiled from the assault, and fled. Moolraj was thrown from his elephant by a cannon ball, and, mounting a horse, joined the fugitives, and sought shelter within the walls of the city. The spirited efforts of the young lieutenant had thus, in the space of a few weeks, recovered the province and shut up the rebel in his citadel. "Now," he wrote to the Resident, "is the time to strike; it is painful to see that I have got to the end of my tether." He represented in strong terms the impolicy of condemning his raw levies to a state of inactivity for three or four months, exposed to the intrigues and allurements of Moolraj's emissaries, while the fermentation in the Punjab was daily becoming more intense.

Battle of
Sudoosain,
1st July, 1848.

Sir Frederick Currie determined to lose no time in following up the successful exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes, and took upon himself the responsibility of ordering General Whish to prepare the moveable brigade for an immediate march to Mooltan. Lord Gough refrained from offering any opposition to the movement of this force, but wisely determined to double its strength and raise it to 7,000 men, of whom a third were Europeans, and to send thirty-four guns with it. Lord Dalhousie said that although his opinion of the proper period for action had undergone no change, he was anxious to maintain the authority of the Resident, and directed him, at all hazards, to carry out the policy he had resolved upon with vigour. Meanwhile,

Despatch of
General Whish,
1848.

Lieutenant Edwardes was joined by a Sikh force which the Lahore durbar had been permitted to despatch to Mooltan under Shere Sing, one of the most influential chiefs in the Punjab, ostensibly to co-operate against Moolraj, but in reality, as it subsequently appeared, to embrace every opportunity of supporting his rebellion. It was no secret at Lahore that both he and his troops were thoroughly disaffected, and the great object of the Resident, after they had proceeded on their march, was to prevent their being brought in contact with Moolraj and his bands. Shere Sing's army was accordingly directed to halt within fifty miles of Mooltan, but, after the victory of the 1st July, he was permitted to continue his progress to that town. This was the cardinal error of the first period of the campaign, and it entailed the most disastrous results. Shere Sing did not hesitate to avow that his soldiers were incessantly urging him to join the revolt, and that if Lieutenant Edwardes had not been victorious at Sudoosain they would have gone over to Moolraj to a man. During the time they were encamped before Mooltan not a day passed without some desertions to the enemy, and the peril of the British commander was seriously augmented by the presence of these worse than doubtful allies.

The intrigues of
the Maharanee, these proceedings exposed the mine upon which
1848.

we had been for some time sitting in the Punjab.

The Maharanee, a woman of insatiable ambition and indefatigable intrigue, and animated with a spirit of bitter hostility to British ascendancy, had been placed under restraint at a place called Shakoopoor, a few miles from Lahore, and her annual allowance of a lac and a-half of rupees had been reduced to 4,000. In May, 1848, a conspiracy to corrupt the troops at Lahore was discovered and traced to her machinations, and two of her agents were convicted and executed. The investigation conducted on this occasion disclosed the startling fact that she had been engaged for some time in a conspiracy against us, and that all the chiefs of the Lahore

durbar, with the exception of two, had agreed to co-operate with her for our expulsion. It was likewise asserted that Khan Sing, who accompanied Mr. Agnew to Mooltan, was himself deeply implicated in the plot, and had engaged to raise the province as soon as he had obtained possession of the citadel. She had extended her intrigues to Cabul, to Candahar, to Cashmere, to the Sikh protected states, and even to the princes of Rajpootana; and had endeavoured to organize a confederacy against British authority as ramified as that which Bajee Rao had projected thirty years before. The whole body of Sikh troops in the durbar army was ripe for revolt. There did not exist a chief or an officer who was not eager to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, and again to enshrine the national idol of Khalsa supremacy. There was not an inch of firm ground under our feet throughout the country of the five rivers. Sir Frederick considered that in these circumstances there could be no peace or security while the Maharanee continued in the Punjab, fomenting disaffection; and, by an unexpected and adroit movement, which anticipated all opposition, he caused her to be conveyed across the Sutlege and transferred to the care of the Resident at Benares, the warder of the dethroned princes and princesses of India.

Chutter Sing,
1848.

The spirit of revolt now began openly to develop itself. Chutter Sing, the father of Shere Sing, who had been intrusted with the government of the province of Hazara, lying on the left bank of the Indus, exhibited unequivocal signs of disaffection, and caused Colonel Canora, one of Runjeet Sing's old officers, to be put to death, because he refused to move his guns without the orders of the political agent. The Resident was slow to credit his treachery, and Jhunda Sing, who was supposed to possess more influence over him than any other man, was sent to endeavour to keep him to his allegiance. Jhunda, however, turned traitor himself, and joined the standard of Chutter Sing, who threw off the mask, and proceeded to attack Captain Nicholson, whom Major Lawrence had promptly sent down to hold Attok, the key

of the Indus. Throughout the month of August, Chutter Sing adjured his son Shere Sing to join the national revolt, but he continued to assure Lieutenant Edwardes of his unalterable fidelity, professed to show all the communications he had received from his father, and offered to take an oath of allegiance on the holy book.

General Whish's operations, 1848. General Whish's brigades, consisting of about 7,000 men, with a battering train, started for

Mooltan at the latter end of July, but, though the distance was only two hundred and twenty miles, and he enjoyed the unrivalled convenience of water carriage down the stream, the force was thirty-nine days in reaching its destination. This procrastination, combined with the open defection of Chutter Sing, enabled Moolraj to augment the strength of his army, and to improve the defences of the town and the fort, while it also inspired him with increased confidence. Strange to say, it was found that General Whish's troops were more healthy during their progress to Mooltan than they had been in cantonments, and it was manifest that the unsuitableness of the season, which was urged as the ground of objection to an early and prompt movement, was a mere bugbear. The battering train at length reached Mooltan on the 3rd September, and the garrison was summoned to an unconditional surrender, not, however, in the name of the Maharajah, the actual sovereign of the Punjab, but in that of Her Majesty the Queen of England; and the Sikhs were thus led to the conclusion that we had already determined to confiscate the country. Mooltan, from its position on the Chenab and on the highway of commerce between Central Asia and Hindostan, was one of the most important towns in the Punjab. The fort was one of the strongest in India, erected on elevated ground, with walls substantially built of brick, about forty feet high, strengthened by thirty towers, and protected by a ditch twenty feet wide. It was garrisoned by about 2,000 men, and the town, which was likewise strongly fortified, by some 10,000 more. Moolraj had fifty-two guns at his

command. The first assault was made on the suburban out-works, which were defended with great resolution, and were not carried without the loss of 272 killed and wounded, of whom seventeen were officers. A good position was thus obtained for bombarding the town; but within eight days after the batteries had opened, all operations were at once brought to a close. Shere Sing yielded at length to the importunity of his father and the eagerness of his troops, and on the 14th September broke up his camp, ordered the "drum of religion" to strike up, and passed over to the enemy with 5,000 troops, two mortars and ten guns. After this defection, General Whish found it impossible to continue the siege, and accordingly abandoned the trenches the next day, and retired to a position in the vicinity of the town, well adapted for the reception of provisions by water. There he threw up entrenchments, waiting the arrival of reinforcements, and was, in fact, besieged in his turn. Shere Sing immediately issued a proclamation "by direction of the holy Gooroo," under the seals of nine of the chiefs in his army, announcing a religious war against the "cruel Feringees," and calling upon all who eat the salt of the sovereign of the Khalsa, Duleep Sing, to join the standard of the raja Shere Sing and the dewan Moolraj, to cut off the posts, and to put every European to death.

General revolt in the Punjab, 1848. The whole of the Punjab was now in a state of revolt, with the exception of the two Sikh forces at Peshawur and Bunnoo across the Indus, and they only waited for a fit opportunity to join their fellow countrymen. The chiefs who had received especial distinction and advantage from the British authorities were among the leaders of the rebellion. The veterans of Runjeet Sing's army, scattered through the country, burned with impatience to meet the British battalions in the field, recover their lost honour, and restore the religious supremacy and the military glories of the Khalsa. The paltry outbreak of Moolraj, fostered by the folly of delay, had grown into a portentous war. Lord Dalhousie found that he had a great crisis to face, and the bravest soldiers in India, animated

by a patriotic enthusiasm, to encounter. The work which had taxed the utmost powers of his experienced and military predecessor was now to be done over again, and he showed himself fully equal to the emergency. In writing to the Secret Committee he stated that no other course was now open to us but to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops. Preparations were accordingly made to take the field in earnest. An army was called up from Bombay to reinforce General Whish, and the Governor, Sir George Clerk, who had foreboded no good from the premature deputation of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson to Mooltan, organized a force of 7,000 men to move into the Punjab. An addition of 17,000 men was made to the strength of the Bengal regiments, and the army destined for operations in the Punjab was ordered to assemble at Ferozepore. On the 10th October Lord Dalhousie proceeded towards the scene of operations; and, at a farewell entertainment given to him at Barrackpore, took occasion to say in the course of his speech, "Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance."

Movements of Shere Sing, 1848. Shere Sing was received with great coldness and mistrust by Moolraj, who wished him to desert the English, but not to encumber Mooltan with his presence. His troops were not permitted to enter the town till they had taken an oath of fidelity to the rebel cause on the holy book, and even then were required to encamp under the guns of the fort, the gates of which were closed against them. Moolraj was especially apprehensive that Shere Sing would make a large demand of money, and hit upon the expedient of promising pay to his troops, on condition that he should go forth and engage in one good fight with General Whish; but this he thought fit to decline. He had objects of ambition of his own. His father had directed him to advance to Guzerat, which he selected as the rendezvous of the Sikh troops, little dreaming that it was destined soon after to be the grave of

their independence. He accordingly quitted Mooltan twenty-five days after his revolt, and on the 9th October marched towards the Ravee with an army of 5,000 men, swelled at every stage by the old soldiers of the Khalsa army, who daily flocked to his standard. He advanced up to Jung on the left bank of the Chenab, laying waste the country as he proceeded, and announcing his intention to attack the city of Lahore. He pushed one of his divisions up to a position only twenty miles distant from the capital, and had the audacity to burn a bridge of boats on the Ravee, the flames of which were visible from the battlements of the citadel. The spirit of enterprise which these movements exhibited astounded the Resident, and he became importunate with the Commander-in-chief for immediate reinforcements. The capital, he said, was hemmed in and menaced by the rebels, who were raising the country within twelve miles of it, and if an attack were made on the cantonments, it would be supported by a simultaneous rising in the city, which contained 30,000 swordsmen, and a population universally disaffected; the Government would thus be placed in a very critical and disgraceful position. Happily, Shere Sing was ignorant of the defenceless situation in which the capital had been unaccountably left for many weeks after he and his father were known to be in open rebellion with 15,000 gallant and enthusiastic Sikhs under their banners. Two regiments of infantry, together with one of cavalry, and some artillery were despatched from Ferozepore for the defence of Lahore, but they marched leisurely at the rate of eight miles a-day. Shere Sing, however, instead of attacking the city, marched westward to meet the Bunnoo troops, consisting of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, six troops of horse artillery and four guns, who had at length mutinied and murdered their officers. The Resident was relieved from his anxieties by the arrival of the Ferozepore brigade under Colonel Cureton, to whom the Commander-in-chief issued a positive and unqualified injunction to undertake no active measure whatever till he himself came up with the main army.

Chutter Sing, having raised the standard of rebellion, and, as he said, "devoted his head to God and his arms to the Khalsa," opened negotiations with Cabul, and made Dost Mahomed the offer of the province of Peshawur, on condition of his joining the crusade against the English. The alliance, which was speedily completed, was one of the most singular compacts even in oriental history. The Dost had always considered the Sikhs the most inveterate enemies of his nation and his creed. Runjeet Sing had for twenty years been engaged in dismembering the Afghan monarchy, from which he had wrested the provinces of Cashmere, Mooltan, and Peshawur, as well as other territories on both sides the Indus. He had joined the British Government in the expedition to Cabul, which resulted in sending the Dost a houseless wanderer to Bokhara, and eventually a captive to Calcutta. The Dost had seen the mosques at Peshawur desecrated by the infidel Sikhs, and the Mahomedan population of the Punjab trampled under foot by religious intolerance. It was a strong indication of the hopes which our procrastination had excited, that he who had beheld with his own eyes the magnitude of our resources, and witnessed the extinction of Runjeet Sing's power, should bury in oblivion his animosity to the Sikhs, and join an incipient revolt directed against our supremacy. So elated was he with the prospect of revenge, that he not only promised to join the insurgents with his contingent, but addressed an impertinent letter to the British authorities, exulting in the acquisition of Peshawur, and offering his good offices to mediate between them and the Sikhs.

Major Lawrence
at Peshawur,
1845.

The province of Peshawur which Chutter Sing sold to the Afghans, was under the political charge of Sir George—then Major—Lawrence, one of the Lawrence brothers, and was garrisoned by a body of 8,000 Sikh troops, upon whose fidelity little reliance could be placed, now that the whole atmosphere was charged with treason. Chutter Sing never ceased to press them to join his standard, and it required all the tact of the Major, and the

great influence which he had acquired over them, to maintain his post in these desperate circumstances. He had repeatedly entreated that a brigade might be sent up to hold the province, but though a column was at one time warned for that service, it was speedily countermanded. The troops continued to resist the offers of Chutter Sing so steadily, that, in despair of success, he was about to march from the Indus to join his son, when his object was accomplished through the agency of Sultan Mahomed, the brother of Dost Mahomed, and the personification of Afghan perfidy. He was under peculiar obligations to Sir Henry Lawrence, who found him a prisoner at Lahore, and not only restored him to liberty, but reinstated him in his jageers at Peshawur. His gratitude was manifested by seducing the troops from their allegiance, and pressing them to assault the brother of his benefactor. Under his instigation they marched down to the Residency on the evening of the 24th October and attacked it with shot, shrapnell and grape. The Major and Lieutenant Bowie, with Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, quitted it under the escort of fifty Afghan horse, and the soldiers immediately rushed in and sacked it. On the morning of the attack, Sultan Mahomed had given the most solemn assurances of protection to the Major and his party, and offered to lead them in safety to his own town of Kohat. Soon after their arrival there, however, he sold them to Chutter Sing, who conducted them back as prisoners to Peshawur, where they were strictly guarded, but otherwise treated with great respect.

The grand
army, 1848.

The grand army was at length assembled in the month of October at Ferozepore. It was weak in infantry, but strong in artillery. An entire division was waiting at Mooltan for the junction of the Bombay column to renew the siege; Brigadier Wheler was engaged in operations in the Jullunder; a considerable garrison was required for Lahore, and there was a reserve force under Sir Dudley Hill. Lord Gough had under his command four British and eleven native infantry regiments. Upwards of sixty field

guns were attached to the divisions of cavalry and infantry, and eight howitzers and ten eighteen pounders had been equipped with good forethought to be drawn by elephants and bullocks, and manœuvred with the readiness of field artillery. The cavalry consisted of three noble regiments of British horse, backed by five regiments of light cavalry, and five complete corps of irregular horse under the command of the veteran Hearsey, the adjutant of Fitzgerald at the battle of Seetabuldee, thirty-one years before. Lord Gough took the command of the army early in November, and crossed the Ravee on the morning of the 16th, when the actual operations of the army may be said to have commenced—seven months after the murder of the two officers at Mooltan. Shere Sing, by moving to the northward, had compelled the British to operate on two lines. While they were combining their forces before Mooltan, they had at the same time to confront the insurrection in the superior delta of the five rivers, and for this double operation the force of infantry was manifestly feeble. Shere Sing, with about 15,000 Sikhs, had taken up a position at Ramnugur, on the Chenab, of which he occupied both banks. His main force was encamped on the right bank, protected by batteries mounting twenty-eight guns, and sufficiently covered from any fire that could be opened from the opposite bank. He had boats on the river and the command of a ford, and had ventured without much risk to push a detachment across. Lord Gough opened the campaign on the morning of the 22nd November by marching down to Ramnugur, while his heavy guns, his pontoon, and his engineer establishment were far in the rear. According to some of the best military authorities his movements should have been confined to a *reconnaissance en force*, and a feint attack, while his infantry and cavalry advanced to Wuzeerabad, thirty miles higher up on the great high road of the Punjab. There he might have established a bridge and awaited the arrival of his guns, and encountered Shere Sing to advantage, if, abandoning his entrenchments, he advanced against him. He resolved, however, to attack

at once the Sikh force on the left bank at Ramnugur, and drive it across the river. After a slight skirmish, the fire of the light artillery, consisting of twelve guns, drove back the Sikhs, when Shere Sing opened an irresistible fire of shot and shell on the British force from his batteries planted upon the high ground on the other side of the river. The order was given to limber up and retire, but one gun and two waggons could not be extricated from the sand. Instead of spiking the gun and blowing up the waggons, valuable time was lost in endeavouring to extricate them. A formidable body of the enemy rushed over, but Captain Ouvry gallantly charged among them to cover the retreat of the artillery, though not without loss, as the broken ground had by this time been occupied by the enemy's musketeers. The infantry was then marched down to the ridge which marked the height of the river during the rains, and from that elevation the strength of the Sikh position became fully visible. As the British cavalry and infantry retired, several thousand of the enemy's horse crossed the ford towards the deserted gun, and their marksmen crowded over, while the battery of twenty-eight guns played incessantly on our receding force. Here the operations of the day should have terminated, as any further movement against such fearful odds would have been an act of infatuation; but it was committed. Colonel William Havelock, in command of the 14th Dragoons, one of the most gallant officers in the Queen's service, who had earned laurels in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, rashly solicited permission to charge the Sikhs, and in an evil hour it would appear to have been granted by the Commander-in-chief. Supported by the 5th cavalry, he rushed forward and at once cleared the bank of the enemy, and then pursued them down into the sands. The guns from the opposite bank, as well as those which had been brought over in haste, to the number of eight, opened on the dragoons; their horses became exhausted and sunk deeper and deeper in the sand. Colonel Havelock was surrounded by the enemy and killed, but not

Action of
Ramnugur,
1848.

Death of Colonel Havelock and Colonel Cureton, 1848. before he had felled three or four of his assailants. In this attack the gallant and experienced Colonel Cureton, who had raised himself to distinction from the ranks in which he had enlisted as a runaway lad, was lost to the army. The death of two such men would have been sufficient to mar congratulations on a victory, but that their lives should have been sacrificed in this idle and bootless skirmish, served to deepen the regrets of the army. The dry sandy bed of a large stream swept by the fire of twenty-eight guns was not the field for a cavalry action. It may here be incidentally noticed, that two days after the fight at Ramnugur, a paper was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie from Shere Sing's camp, containing the Sikh justification of the revolt, which they rested on the elevation of the raja Golab Sing, a Rajpoot, the banishment of the Maharanee, the disregard of Sikh prejudices, the advancement of Mahomedans, and, above all, the slaughter of the cow.

Action of Sadoolapore, 1848. Lord Gough, having withdrawn his troops after the action on the 22nd beyond the reach of Shere Sing's batteries, awaited for a week the arrival of his heavy guns and his pontoon. Any attempt to assail the strong position of the Sikhs on the Chenab in front could only be the dictate of the wildest folly, and it was wisely determined to throw a strong division across the river higher up, and move down upon the left flank of their entrenchments, while the Commander-in-chief occupied their attention by a cannonade in front. Sir Joseph Thackwell, an officer who had acquired celebrity in the Peninsula, was nominated to the command of the turning force, which consisted of 8,000 horse, foot, and artillery, with thirty field pieces and two heavy guns. He marched an hour after midnight on the 1st December, and reached Wuzeerabad, twenty-four miles up the river, where, with the aid of boats collected by the activity of Captain Nicholson, a distinguished political officer, he crossed the Chenab by midday of the 2nd, and thus transferred the mastery of the river from the Sikhs to the British. After a

hasty meal his force marched down twelve miles towards the enemy's position. At midnight he received instructions from Lord Gough to make an attack on the flank of Shere Sing's encampment in the morning, while the main army crossed over at Ramnugur to cooperate with his movements; but he had not proceeded more than six miles when another communication from head-quarters informed him that the army could not cross for want of boats, but that General Godby had been despatched with a brigade to cross the stream six miles higher up and unite with him. He was instructed to aid the movements of that brigade, but to suspend any attack on the Sikhs till it had joined him; and he accordingly despatched a native regiment to secure the ford. At two in the afternoon his men, who had tasted little food for forty-eight hours, were partaking of a light refreshment, when the rushing sound of round shot made them start to their feet and take to their arms. Shere Sing, on hearing of Sir Joseph's movement, withdrew his army from its position at Ramnugur, and marched down to meet him, leaving Lord Gough to expend his powder and shot upon an empty encampment. Sir Joseph, who had proceeded to the ford in search of Brigadier Godby, hastened back on hearing of the attack of the Sikhs, and rectified his position by withdrawing his troops two hundred yards from fields of lofty sugar cane into clear ground. The Sikhs perceiving this movement, rushed forward with loud shouts of "the Feringees are flying." The action took place at the village of Sadoolapore, where for two hours the British force sustained the incessant fire of the enemy without returning a shot till they were fully within range, when the artillery opened with deadly effect. During the engagement Sir Joseph received orders from Lord Gough to act according to his own discretion as to attacking the Sikhs without waiting for General Godby; but there remained only one short hour of daylight. By half past four the hostile cannon began to slacken, and it was evident that the Sikhs had failed in their attack, but Sir Joseph did not deem it prudent to

advance upon them. His force consisted of only two brigades; a regiment was at the ford, and General Godby's brigade had not joined him. The enemy were supposed to number 30,000, with forty pieces of cannon; they were strongly posted in a line of three villages, and if driven from them, might have retired on their camp, which could only have been stormed in darkness. With the example of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur before him, Sir Joseph wisely determined not to precipitate his brave troops, broken down and wearied as they were, into a labyrinth of tents, waggons, and tumbrils, among exploding mines and expense magazines. At midnight the barking of dogs betrayed the movement of the Sikh army, and when the General put his army in motion to pursue them in the morning, he found that they were already beyond his reach. Under cover of the night, Shere Sing had removed all his guns and ammunition towards the Jhelum, "leaving not a goat behind." The advantage of the action doubtless rested with him, for he had marched away at his own will and leisure to a better position, but Lord Gough thought fit to claim the victory, and in a magniloquent despatch announced that "it had pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the British arms the most successful issue to the extensive combinations rendered necessary to effect the passage of the Chenab and the defeat and dispersion of the Sikh force." The community in India, spoiled by marvellously good fortune, impugned the military strategy which enabled the Sikh general to escape with all his cannon and with his army unscathed; men of sanguine temperament denounced his over caution, but this crude condemnation has been rectified by the cool judgment of professional criticism, and Sir Joseph's merits have been fully appreciated, not less for saving his troops on the night of the 3rd December from unprofitable loss, and the British arms from the hazard of serious disaster, than for his successful passage of the river.

Noble efforts of
the Political
Officers, 1848.

While the elements of rebellion were reeking
throughout the Punjab and the Commander-in-

chief was waiting for the arrival of the cold weather, British interests in the various districts of the Punjab were maintained by the political officers with a degree of skill and energy which reflected the highest credit on the Company's service. Mr. John Lawrence had been entrusted with the charge of the Jullunder dooab, the Sikh province beyond the Sutlege which Lord Hardinge had annexed to the British territories. A detachment of rebel Sikhs crossed the Ravee and laid siege to an important fortress. One raja broke out in the upper range of hills, and another followed his example in the lower range, and the whole province was on the point of being enveloped in the flames of revolt. Mr. Lawrence had now the first opportunity of exhibiting that spirit of enterprise, energy, and resolution which was developed on a larger scale in the Punjab nine years later during the Sepoy mutiny, and which eventually led him up to the highest seat in the empire. By the absence of the General, he and his assistants were left to act on their own discretion. He collected a force of hill men and of Sikhs, and boldly led them against their own countrymen, captured or dispersed the insurgents, and in the short period of thirteen days extinguished all opposition, and restored peace and order to the province. On the western frontier, along the line of the Indus, Captain Abbott, of Khiva celebrity, Captain Nicholson, Lieutenant Lumsden, and Lieutenant Taylor continued for many months to maintain their isolated and perilous positions with a chivalrous bearing in the midst of universal treachery. On the first suspicion of Chutter Sing's disloyalty, Major Lawrence had wisely despatched Captain Nicholson to secure Attok; and that important post was subsequently held by Captain Herbert with a small body of Mahomedan troops. The fort was in so dilapidated a state that it could not have withstood a scientific and vigorous attack for six hours, but with a spirit of heroism which carries the mind back to the defence of Arcot, he maintained his post against the utmost efforts of the Sikhs for six weeks. Dost Mahomed at length made his appearance

on the Indus, and summoned all true believers to join his standard and take the field against the infidels. To ascertain the feelings of the garrison, Captain Herbert held a durbar, when his native officers and men frankly avowed that their families were in the power of the Dost, and that it would be dangerous for them to resist his commands. He found it necessary therefore to abandon the fort, and quitted it at midnight on a raft, but was seized as he passed down the river, and sent to join Major Lawrence in captivity at Peshawur. The reward which Captain Herbert received for his gallantry was what all officers most coveted, the commendation of Lord Dalhousie, who announced to India that he had maintained his position "with a settled firmness and a high-minded constancy."

Movements of
the Sikh and
British Forces,
1848-49.

The Sikhs retired from Sadoolapore on the night of the 3rd December with their artillery, the chief ground of their confidence, still entire, the spirit of the troops still unbroken, and the audacity of the chieftains still buoyant. With that skill which distinguished the general officers among the Sikhs, Shere Sing took up a position of great strength on the Jhelum, with his rear resting on that river, his main body posted in ravines strengthened by field works, and his front covered by a broad and dense belt of jungle. Throughout the month of December and the first half of January, the British army remained inactive between the Jhelum and the Chenab. This policy, which has been the subject of much censure, was in some measure owing to the restrictions imposed on the movements of the force by Lord Dalhousie, who had requested Lord Gough, after the battle of Sadoolapore, "on no consideration to advance beyond the Chenab except for the purpose of attacking Shere Sing in the position he then held, without further communication with him." He had, in fact, injudiciously interfered with the military dispositions of the Commander-in-chief, on whom the responsibility of the campaign rested. To what extent Lord Hardinge had regulated and controlled the movements of the

army in the first Sikh war was well known, but he was a soldier, and a general of a far higher standard than the Commander-in-chief, whereas Lord Dalhousie was a young civilian with no military experience. It appears that he was not long perceiving the false position in which he had thus placed himself, and before the 22nd December informed Lord Gough that "if he could satisfy his own judgment regarding the state of his supplies, his supports and communications, and that the enemy might be attacked with such force as he may have safely disposable, and without heavy loss, he should be happy to see a blow struck that would destroy him, add honour to the British arms, and avert the prospect of a protracted and costly war." Whatever responsibility may be attached to the inactivity of the force for three weeks after this date, rests with the military authorities. But, however injudicious may have been this act of interference on the part of the Governor-General, subsequent events gave reason to regret that it was not prolonged. Indeed, the whole plan of the campaign has been condemned by the judgment of the highest military authorities. In their opinion, Lord Gough would have exercised a wise discretion if he had remained in observation, on the left bank of the Chenab, regarding himself as covering the siege of Mooltan on the one hand, and Lahore on the other, holding Shere Sing in check, cutting off his supplies, watching his movements northward and southward, and preventing the despatch of a single soldier to the aid of Moolraj; and then,—as was ultimately done,—throwing the united British force with irresistible power on the Sikh army. This plan would have involved the inactivity of three months, and incurred the denunciations of the press, but it would have saved us the disasters of Ramnugur and Chillianwalla.

Advance to
Chillianwalla,
1849.

The army was reviewed at Lassooree by Lord Gough on the 11th January, and advanced the next day to Dingee, a distance of twelve miles. The task before it was arduous. In conflicts with other races in India it had been the boast of the British troops that they

never cared to count their enemies, and were only anxious to prevent their escape. But the Sikhs were the boldest and most resolute foes who had ever tried the metal of the British soldier in the east, and on this occasion two weak infantry divisions were about to attack a Sikh force of 30,000 men, with a battery of sixty guns, in one of the strongest positions they had ever taken up, and on ground where our powerful cavalry had no room for manœuvring. On the 13th, the army advanced with the intention of turning the enemy's left at Russool, but a nearer approach shewed it covered with so dense a jungle that Lord Gough wisely resolved to take up a position for the day, and reconnoitre it more perfectly on the morrow. In 1845, before a sword had been drawn, the British commanders had been warned by those best acquainted with the tactics of the Sikhs, that they were not to be dreaded as assailants, but that an entrenched position was defended by them with a degree of obstinacy hardly to be overcome by human efforts. The correctness of this observation was grievously exemplified at Ferozeshuhur and Sobraon. Hence it was always desirable so to manœuvre as to oblige them to take the initiative, and on the present occasion this advantage had been fortuitously gained. On approaching Chillianwalla, it became evident that they had quitted their strong entrenchments on the heights of Russool, and marched down into the plain. A picket of Sikhs was driven in from a low bare hill, and the staff, on ascending it, obtained a distinct view of their line, covered indeed by a thick jungle, but ready to combat without the usual support of their bulwarks. Lord Gough had intended to defer the attack till a more careful reconnoissance had been effected, and had issued orders to mark out the ground for the encampment. This duty had already commenced, when a few shots from some field pieces the Sikhs had pushed forward, dropped near him. The spirit of defiance and antagonism at once overcame his better judgment, and, rejecting all advice and trampling on every remonstrance, he gave orders to prepare for immediate action. The Sikhs opened a continuous roar of fire from

a jungle so thick that nothing was offered as a mark for the British artillery but the flash and smoke of the hostile guns. This cannonade lasted an hour, or an hour and a half, according to different reports, and at three in the afternoon in the month of January, with only an hour or two of daylight left, undeterred by the example of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, where success was lost in the darkness, the divisions were ordered to advance.

Chillianwalla—
the two Infantry Divisions, 1849.

The division of General Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, was the first to push forward. Of its two brigades, that commanded by Brigadier Hoggan, under the General's personal superintendence, though fiercely opposed by heavy odds, won the ground in its front; but the brigade of Brigadier Pennycuik was destined to a fearful repulse. The 24th Foot, which formed a portion of it, advanced with an ardour that seemed to promise victory, but while yet at a distance from the enemy, broke into too rapid a pace, outstripped the native regiments, and rushed breathless and confused upon the enemy's guns. It received a deadly shower of grape, and while shattered by its fatal effects, was torn to pieces by a musketry fire from Sikh troops, masked by a screen of jungle. The native regiments, when they came up, were unable to restore the battle. The whole brigade was thrown into confusion, and the most desperate efforts of the officers were of no avail to establish order. Brigadier Pennycuik was slain in the fore front of the fight; Colonel Brookes, commanding the 24th, fell among the guns. The Sikhs rushed forward with fury, sword in hand, and soon converted the rude repulse into incurable rout. The colours of the regiment fell into their hands, but not until twenty-three officers and 459 non-commissioned officers and men had been killed or wounded. Lord Gough, on receiving a report of this sanguinary check, ordered up the reserve under Brigadier Penny, but it took a wrong direction and missed its way in the forest. General Campbell, who had been victorious in his own front, observing the disaster, spiked the guns he had captured, and advancing

rapidly to the rescue, snatched the victory from the enemy, and captured the guns which had poured this deadly fire on the brigade. Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right was not checkered by disaster, but its advantages were not gained without heroic efforts and serious loss. His left brigade, led with rare gallantry, by Brigadier Mountain, carried the enemy's position, and captured several pieces of ordnance. But the 56th Native Infantry lost its colours, and its gallant commander, Major Bamfield, received a mortal wound, and lay dying, side by side in the same hospital tent with his brave son, who had also been struck down. The other brigade consisting of the 2nd Europeans and two native regiments, and led by Brigadier Godby, was severely tested. The Europeans, attacked on numerous points, succeeded in putting the Sikhs to flight, but pursuit in a forest where they could not see twenty yards before them, was vain, and they halted to collect their wounded, when a sudden fire was opened on them by a body of Sikhs who had turned their flank unperceived, and they would have been inevitably overwhelmed but for the field battery of Major Dawes, of Jellalabad renown, who poured in a shower of grape on the enemy, as coolly as if he had been on parade. The struggle was terrific, and, to use the language of an eye-witness, it seemed as if the very air teemed with balls and bullets. The Sikhs fought like demons, but the Europeans succeeded in sweeping them from the ground and remained masters of the field.

Movements of
the Cavalry,
1848

The adventures of the cavalry were painful and humiliating. The attack on the Sikh position, which had never been reconnoitered, was in a parallel line. The several brigades of foot opposed to the enemy in front were outflanked by their more extended line. To protect the extreme flanks of the infantry, Lord Gough brought his cavalry into first line, and it was thus opposed to an unapproachable artillery fire and to entanglement in the recesses of the forest: but the actual mischief even exceeded what might have been anticipated from such defective

tactics. On the right flank, in prolongation of the infantry, were posted the 14th Dragoons, the 9th Lancers, and two native cavalry regiments. The troops of artillery attached to the brigade were planted in the rear and could not therefore open fire from a single gun. This strong cavalry brigade was entrusted to Brigadier Pope, who had been an active officer in his youth, but was now unable to mount his horse without assistance. He was, moreover, of a fanciful and irritable temper, and obstinately wedded to his old fashioned notions of cavalry manoeuvre. He advanced his four regiments formed in a single line and though the forest was dense, not a skirmisher was sent forward to explore the way, and no reserve or supporting column was provided against temporary reverse. As the line advanced, first at a walk and then at a trot, it was broken up by trees and clumps of brushwood into numerous series of small sections, doubled behind each other. In this state of things a small body of Sikh horse, intoxicated with drugs, rushed in a mass upon the centre, wounded the brigadier, and caused a sensation of terror among the native cavalry which it was found impossible to counteract. Just at this crisis, some one in the ranks of the 14th Dragoons, whose name has never been ascertained, uttered the words, "threes about." The regiment at once turned to the rear and moved off in confusion, and, as the Sikh horse pressed on its track, galloped headlong in disgraceful panic through the cannon and waggons posted in its rear, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of its commander, Colonel King, and of the chaplain of the force, the Rev. Mr. Whiting, to rally the fugitives. The Sikh horse entered the ranks of the artillery along with the flying dragoons, and captured four guns; the disgrace of the brigade was irreparable. The success of the cavalry division on the left, commanded by Sir Joseph Thackwell, was marked by great gallantry. After a cannonade, in which the eighteen guns under Colonel Brind took an active share, a party of Sikh horse wound round its left and menaced the rear. Sir Joseph directed three squadrons

of the 5th native cavalry and a squadron of Greys under Captain Unett to charge the assailants, while he kept the rest of his brigade in reserve. The Sikh horse opened a heavy match-lock fire, and the native cavalry turned and fled; but Captain Unett with his dragoons forced his way through the Sikh ranks, nor halted in his impetuous career till he had reached the rear of the enemy, when, though severely wounded, he cut his way back to the brigade, and rejoined his applauding comrades, with the loss of forty-eight killed and wounded. The shades of evening put an end to the conflict. It was desirable to keep the ground which had been so hardly won, but it was hazardous to hold a position of which nothing was known. It was impossible to post pickets and guards in the darkness of the night. The troops were half dead with the fatigue of previous marching and manœuvring, and an arduous combat. They were parched with thirst and called loudly for water, but none could be procured except from the distant wells of Chillianwalla. A night of heavy rain was impending, which would have inundated the field and completed the disorganization of the force. With great reluctance, but with a sense of imperious necessity, Lord Gough withdrew the force to Chillianwalla, where the troops snatched a broken and fitful repose. Meanwhile, parties of Sikh troops and of the armed peasantry of the surrounding villages, traversed the forest in which the combat had taken place, stripped, plundered, and mutilated the slain, and with atrocious barbarity murdered the wounded. On the following morning, when the cavalry moved over the field, they found that every gun captured in the fight had been carried off, with the exception of twelve, which had been brought into camp the night before.

Results of the
battle, 1849.

Such was the battle of Chillianwalla, the most sanguinary, and the nearest approximation to a defeat, of any of the great conflicts of the British power in India. The Sikhs were driven from their position, but their army was not overthrown, and retired without interruption to another position, three miles from the field. Twelve of their guns

remained in our possession, but four guns of the Horse Artillery were captured by them. The colours of three regiments were lost in the battle, and the price paid by us for our doubtful victory was the loss of 2,357 fighting men and 89 officers killed and wounded. The moral results of the action were dismal; the character of the Sikhs for prowess was greatly elevated, the reputation of British cavalry was deplorably tarnished. The highest authority in India was constrained to pronounce it a victory, which was announced by salutes from every battery throughout the three Presidencies. But in this note of triumph we were anticipated by Shere Sing, who fired a salute the same evening in honour of what he considered his triumph, and another three days after to celebrate the arrival of his father with large reinforcements.

Public opinion
on the battle,
1849.

While Chillianwalla was officially registered as a victory, it was regarded by the community in India of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, as a great calamity. The public did not cease to admire the private virtues, the quick perception, the indomitable energy, and the chivalrous valour of the Commander-in-chief, which rendered him the idol of the soldiery; but there was, nevertheless, a painful conviction that nature had not designed, or education and experience fitted him, for extensive and independent command. In England, the intelligence of this combat excited feelings of alarm and indignation. British cannon had been captured; British standards had been lost; British cavalry had fled before the enemy; a British regiment had been nearly annihilated; and the confidence of the native troops in our skill and good fortune had been rudely shaken. These disasters were traced to the defect of our military tactics. The India House was filled with alarms, which were shared by the Duke of Wellington. It was well known that while he had applauded the gallantry of the troops engaged at Maharajpore, he had freely criticised the manœuvres of the General. The Court of Directors and the Ministry were now of one mind as to the necessity of an immediate change in

the command. Sir Charles Napier was accordingly solicited by the Duke to proceed to India as Commander-in-chief, and he left England within three days. The supersession which had previously impended was now inflicted on Lord Gough, and he was made to taste the bitterness of recall; but before the arrival of his successor, the brilliant victory of Guzerat had turned the Punjab into a British province.

CHAPTER XL.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SECOND SIKH WAR—
THE SECOND BURMESE WAR—THE SANTAL OUTBREAK,
1849—1855.

THE conflict at Chillianwalla had so seriously crippled the British infantry as to constrain the Commander-in-chief to wait for the capture of Mooltan, and the accession of General Whish's force, and the army was withdrawn to an entrenched camp at a little distance from the position of the enemy at Russool. It was by no means a pleasing reflection that this course, if it had been adopted at an early stage of the war, would have saved the army the loss and the disgrace attending that engagement. To the second siege of Mooltan we now turn. On the defection of Shere Sing on the 15th September, General Whish retired to a fortified position at Sooruj-koond, which possessed the advantage of being safe from all the attempts of the Sikhs, and open to the reception of supplies by water. By the unfortunate turn affairs had taken, all the advantages gained by the spirited exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes were lost, and Moolraj regained possession of the province and its resources, and laid in so abundant a store of provisions as to be under no necessity during the siege of indenting on his original stock for a single bag of rice. He was also enabled to

strengthen the fortifications so effectually as to render the second siege of the town and the citadel, notwithstanding the unexampled appliances commanded by the besiegers, more arduous than any in which a British army had ever been engaged in the plains of India. General Whish was doomed to more than three months of inaction, owing to the dilatoriness of the Bombay authorities, which has never been explained. Their troops did not reach Roree on the Indus before the 18th December, but no time was lost in marching them up to Mooltan, and it was accomplished within a week. The accession of the Bombay column, consisting of 9,000 men, raised General Whish's force to 17,000, with sixty-four heavy guns. The siege was reopened on the 27th December, and pushed on from day to day with uninterrupted vigour. To obtain a position for breaching the walls of the town, it was necessary to clear the suburbs, which was not, however, effected without the loss of 300 men and seventeen officers. The British batteries were then advanced against the town, and the discharge from cannon, howitzers, and mortars never ceased, day or night, for five days. A bold sally of 2,000 of the finest Sikh soldiers was driven back by Lieutenant Edwardes's levies, after a long and arduous conflict, in which Sir Henry Lawrence, who had just returned from England, bore a prominent part. On the third day, after a fierce cannonade from the batteries, to which Moolraj returned shot for shot, the fury of the combatants was suddenly arrested by a terrific convulsion. A shell from a mortar struck a mosque in the city which had been turned into a magazine and stored with 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder. It blew up with a tremendous explosion which shook the earth for many miles round, and darkened the air with smoke and fragments. After a pause of a minute or two, however, the firing recommenced with redoubled earnestness, the Bombay and Bengal artillery vieing with each other, and the enemy vieing with both. The breach was at length pronounced practicable, and the city, which had been defended with extraordinary resolution,

was stormed on the 2nd January. It presented a melancholy picture of desolation; the buildings had crumbled under the storm of shot and shell which had never ceased for a hundred and twenty hours. Of the wretched inhabitants, numbering 80,000 at the beginning of the siege, no small portion had been swept away by our cannon, or cut down by the cavalry as they endeavoured to escape destruction, and the streets were covered with dead and dying Sikhs. Notwithstanding the strictest injunctions of the generals, the capture was tarnished by the excesses of the troops, and by disgraceful plunder. After the fall of the town, no time was lost in pushing on the siege of the citadel, which Moolraj continued to defend with about 3,000 men. The howitzers played on it for several days with such fearful effect, tearing up the earth and brickwork of its massive walls, that on the 5th January Moolraj endeavoured to open a negotiation with General Whish, but was informed that no terms would be granted short of unconditional surrender. He resolved, therefore, to defend his stronghold to the last extremity, and for another fortnight he and his brave soldiers sustained the most awful fire of ordnance, direct and vertical, ever discharged in India within the same narrow compass. At length, when not a roof was left standing in the fort except in one bomb-proof gateway, and the incessant volleys from our batteries became insupportable to the troops, they demanded that he should either put himself at their head and cut his way through the ranks of the besiegers, or give up the fortress. The garrison

Capture of the fort, 1849. surrendered at discretion on the 22nd January, and Moolraj rode out into the English camp, his soldiers and chiefs prostrating themselves before him in passionate devotion as he passed along. Mooltan was placed in charge of Lieutenant Edwardes, and the army moved up to join the Commander-in-chief.

Movements of the British and Sikh forces, 1849.

The English and Sikh forces lay encamped within a few miles of each other for twenty-five days, the one at Chillianwalla and the other at

Russool. On the 6th February it was reported in the British camp that the whole of the Sikh army had marched unperceived round the British entrenchments, and was moving down upon Lahore. Lord Gough immediately despatched General Gilbert to ascertain the truth of the rumour, and he found the formidable encampment at Russool, the attempt to storm which, it was evident to him, would have entailed no ordinary sacrifice of human life, deserted by the enemy. This manœuvre of the Sikh generals has been variously attributed to the increasing deficiency of their supplies, to the exhaustion of their military chest, and to the eagerness of their troops for the excitement of action. It may have been dictated by the hope of fulfilling their boast of "cooking their food at Lahore," and then crossing the Sutlege, and, in combination with the protected Sikh states, rushing down on the British territories. Lord Gough, finding that the Sikhs had completely circumvented him, marched back to Lassoorie, and sent peremptory orders for the prompt advance of General Whish's force. Shere Sing, having thus turned Lord Gough's right, established his head-quarters at Guzerat on the 14th February, and the next day despatched a portion of his troops across the Chenab at Wuzeerabad. It was the opinion of a high military authority, that if he had kept his forces well together, and advanced rapidly across the Chenab, and fallen upon the troops marching up from Mooltan, he might have gained such advantages, in succession, over one or two of General Whish's brigades, as altogether to change the fate of the campaign; but he lacked the skill and energy for so masterly a strategy. To counteract the movement of Shere Sing, a European and a native regiment, with a corps of irregular cavalry and Colonel Brind's battery were pushed forward towards Wuzeerabad, but it was found that in consequence of some indication of danger, he had recalled the troops sent across the Chenab. Colonel Brind obtained the command of all the fords, and the advantage Shere Sing had gained by turning the flank of the British army was lost through hesitation and delay. On the appear-

ance of the British column, he retired to Guzerat, which, in the palmy days of the Khalsa, was considered a place of good omen, and there awaited the attack of the Commander-in-chief. The last brigade of General Whish's division joined the headquarters on the 20th February, and Lord Gough moved up to the enemy's encampment with 20,000 men and a hundred pieces of cannon.

Arrangement of the Battle of Guzerat, 1849. Brigadier Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, who had conducted the siege of Mooltan with that professional talent and personal energy which ensured its success, joined the camp of Lord Gough a week before the battle of Guzerat, and assumed charge of the engineering department. With unwearied industry he applied himself to the task of obtaining the most accurate information of the position of the enemy, and the British army thus enjoyed the inestimable advantage,—the want of which produced the most lamentable effects at Maharajpore, at Moodkee, and at Chillianwalla,—of a thorough knowledge of the ground on which it was to deliver battle. The army of Shere Sing, estimated at 50,000 men with sixty pieces of cannon, was planted in front of the walled town of Guzerat, in the form of a crescent. The deep dry bed of the Dwara, which protected the right of the Sikh force, encircled the northern and western faces of the town, and then, taking a southern direction, bisected the British camp. The left of the Sikh force was supported on a streamlet, narrow and deep, flowing southward into the Chenab. Between the dry water course and the rivulet was a space of about three miles, with two villages, near Guzerat, denominated the greater and the less Habra, which were loopholed and filled with troops. On this ground were ranged the Sikh regiments, the remnant of Runjeet's disciplined battalions, now reorganized under the rebel leaders. Major Lawrence, who had been brought down a prisoner from Peshawur in the train of Chutter Sing, was treated with much consideration, and enjoyed great freedom of intercourse with the Sikh leaders. In the course of conversation they had

repeatedly expressed their surprise that the British commander should persist in neglecting to use his artillery, which the Sikhs considered formidable, and in thrusting his infantry, of which they made comparatively little account, up to the muzzle of their guns. He was permitted to visit his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, on parole at Lahore, and communicated the remark to him. It was immediately transmitted to Lord Dalhousie, then encamped on the banks of the Sutlege, who is supposed to have urged it on the attention of the Commander-in-chief. The same valuable advice was earnestly and emphatically pressed on him by the able engineer officers of the force, and, under their guidance, it was laid down as the order of battle, that the artillery, in which no British army in India had ever been so strong, should be brought into full play, until the consistency of the Sikh ranks had been broken, and that no attempt should be made to charge with cold steel before this result had been secured. It was the inexorable persistence in this novel strategy to which the great victory is to be attributed.

The battle of
Guzerat, 22nd
February, 1849.

The infantry divisions and brigades advanced in parallel lines, with the cavalry on the flank and the guns in front. Eighty-four cannon, of which eighteen were of heavy calibre, were formed in two divisions in the centre, and opposed to the cannonade of sixty Sikh guns. The army, fresh from rest, and invigorated by food, advanced to the combat in the most complete order, at half-past seven. The morning was clear and cloudless, and the sun shone brightly on the extended line of bayonets and sabres. The Sikhs, ever ready with their batteries, opened them at a long range. The British infantry was halted beyond their reach, and the artillery, protected by skirmishers, pushed boldly to the front, and commenced a cannonade, of which the oldest and most experienced soldiers in the army had never witnessed a parallel for magnificence and effect, and the results of which exceeded the most sanguine expectations of those who had advocated the movement. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the Sikhs fired, it was

manifest that neither human fortitude, nor the best materials could withstand the storm which for two hours and a half beat on their devoted artillery. Many of their guns were dismounted, and before a single musket had been discharged, the fire of their formidable line had slackened. The British infantry then deployed, and commenced a steady advance, supported by their field batteries. Right in the path of Sir Walter Gilbert's division lay the larger village, the key of the Sikh position, flanked by two batteries, and crowded with Sikh soldiers. The brigade, which under Brigadier Godby had played so conspicuous a part at Chillianwalla, now under General Penny, rushed among the houses with resistless energy. The enemy fought with desperation, seizing the soldiers' bayonets with the left hand, while they dealt sabre cuts with the right; but they were eventually overpowered. The smaller village was carried chiefly through the gallantry of Colonel Franks, and the ardent courage of his brave 10th. When the villages were won, which was not effected without serious loss to the assailants, the whole Sikh line gave way, and was pursued round the town by the four divisions of infantry. Later in the day a body of the splendid Sikh horse, together with 1,500 Afghan cavalry under Akram Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, advanced against the flank and rear of General Thackwell, in command of the cavalry, who put in array against them that regiment of Sind horse which had been disciplined under the eye of Sir Charles Napier, and had long and ably contributed to the defence of the province. It was now under the command of Captain Malcolm, and, with the aid of the 9th Lancers, bore back with a noble ardour, the Afghan and Sikh horse. While the Sikh army was thus pursued by the infantry battalions, the cavalry, which had been restrained at first, was let loose. Onward they rushed, dispersing, riding over, and trampling down in their resistless career, the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, capturing guns and waggons, and converting the discomfited enemy into a shapeless mass of fugitives. It was not till half-

past four, when they had advanced fifteen miles beyond Guzerat, that they drew rein, by which time the army of Shere Sing was a wreck, deprived of its camp, its standards, and fifty-three pieces of cannon.

Among the noblest achievements of our Indian generals, the battle of Guzerat stands out in bold relief, not only in reference to the magnitude of the forces engaged, and the confidence with which previous events had inspired the enemy, but, also, to the importance of its result, the utter extinction of the formidable power and spirit of Runjeet Sing's great armament, terrific in the death throes of its expiring wrath. Throughout this campaign the Sikhs fought better than in the campaign of the Sutlege. Their cavalry had greatly improved in daring and combination, and an inferior artillery was as rapidly and effectually served. In the former struggle, their leaders were intriguing with the British authorities, and all but traitors to the national cause; in the second war, they were all in earnest in setting their lives and fortunes on the cast of the die. The battle of Guzerat, of which the occult history has not yet appeared in print, was won by the judicious use of the arm in which the British army had a preponderating power, and has justly been described as the "battle of the guns." The stress of the action fell on the two brigades which assaulted the villages; the other portion of the force had no struggle to maintain, and one brigade neither fired a shot nor lost a man. The cavalry had only one exploit to record, the daring charge of the Sinde horse.

Pursuit of the enemy, 1849.

Sir Joseph Thackwell and his cavalry bivouacked for the night on the ground he occupied, proposing to renew the pursuit the next morning, but he was recalled to the camp, and the enemy was thus enabled to escape across the Jhelum with impunity. Lord Dalhousie had declared that the war must be prosecuted to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who were in arms against us. One column under Sir Colin Campbell was, therefore, sent to sweep the districts in the north, while Sir Walter Gilbert, the first rider in India,

whom Sir Henry Lawrence had particularly recommended to Lord Dalhousie to lead the chase, left the camp the day after the battle with infantry, cavalry, horse artillery, and light field guns, in all about 12,000 men. He pursued the relic of the Sikh army, now reduced to about 16,000, along the great high road of the Indus with such rapidity as to give them no breathing time, and to allow his own men little leisure for cooking. Major Lawrence, who had been permitted to proceed to Lahore on parole, before the battle of Guzerat, returned to the Sikh camp after the victory, where he was received with shouts of admiration of his good faith, and was requested by Shere Sing to negotiate the best terms he could obtain from the British commander. He passed repeatedly between the two camps, but the pursuit was continued without intermission. On the 6th March, the Sikh chiefs restored all their prisoners, and two days after entered into terms with General Gilbert. On the 12th, Shere Sing and Chutter Sing delivered up their swords to him at the celebrated monument of Manikylah, once considered a trophy of Alexander the Great. Thirty-five subordinate chiefs laid down their swords at his feet, and the Khalsa soldiers advanced one by one, and, after clasping their arms for the last time, cast them on the growing pile, with a heavy sigh. Forty-one pieces of artillery were also surrendered, which, with those captured at Mooltan and Guzerat, raised the number to one hundred and sixty, the greater portion of which had been buried after the battle of Sobraon, to be disinterred for a future struggle. It remained only to dispose of the Afghans, and the veteran Gilbert, with the speed and buoyancy of youth, followed on their track, crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats which he was just in time to save, and pursued them in their ignominious flight up to the portals of their barrier range; and, as the natives of India sarcastically remarked, "those who rode down the hills like lions, ran back into them like dogs."

Result of the war The battle of Guzerat decided the fate of the
—Incorporation. Punjab, and finally quenched the hopes of the

Khalsa. It was no ordinary distinction for that noble army to have met the conquerors of India at Moodkee, at Ferozeshahur, at Allival, at Sobraon, at Chillianwalla, and at Guzerat, with indomitable courage, and on more than one occasion to have shaken their throne. But, after six such conflicts, they resigned themselves with a feeling of proud humility to the supremacy of the power which had exhibited military qualifications superior to their own. The Punjab was now by the indefeasible right of conquest at the disposal of the British Government. Such a consummation had not been expected in England, and Lord Dalhousie was not in possession of the views of the Court of Directors regarding the disposal of it; but he wisely adopted the vigorous policy of annexing the dominions of Runjeet Sing, on both sides the Indus, to the Company's territories. In communicating this resolution to the India House, he alluded to the sanction which had been given to the annexation of two districts after the last unprovoked war, and he expressed his confidence that the absorption of the remainder of the country, after the unprovoked aggression which had entailed a second war, would be equally approved of. In a brief and forcible proclamation, issued on the 29th March, 1849, he stated that after the death of Runjeet Sing, the Sirdars and the Khalsa army had, without cause or provocation, suddenly invaded the British territory; that their troops had been again and again defeated; that the Maharaja Duleep Sing had tendered his submission to the Governor-General at the gates of Lahore, and solicited his clemency; that the Governor-General had generously spared the kingdom which he had a just right to confiscate, placed the Maharaja on the throne, and concluded a treaty of friendship between the two states. The British Government had scrupulously observed every stipulation contained in it, while the Sikhs had grossly violated the promises by which they were bound. The army of the Lahore state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars who had signed the treaty, had risen against us and waged a fierce and

bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The Government of India had no desire for conquest, but was bound in duty to provide fully for its own security and for the interests of those committed to its charge, and, as the only sure mode of protecting itself from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, was compelled to resolve on the entire subjugation of a people whom their own government had long been unable to control, whom no punishment could deter from violence, and no acts of friendship could conciliate to peace. He, therefore, proclaimed that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end, and that all the territories of the Maharaja Duleep Sing should henceforth be a portion of the British empire in India. To offer any vindication of a measure which even the most prejudiced of Lord Dalhousie's opponents have not ventured to impugn, would be altogether redundant. The Punjab was the last province within the boundaries of India, which fell to us by the arbitrament of war, and our title to it stands upon the same basis of right as our first acquisitions of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by the same issue, a century before.

On the 29th March, the young Maharaja took his seat for the last time on the throne of Runjeet Sing, and in the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident, and Mr. Elliott, the foreign secretary, and the nobles of his court, heard Lord Dalhousie's proclamation read in English, Persian, and Hindostanee, and then affixed the initials of his name in English characters to the document which transferred the kingdom of the five rivers to the Company, and secured to him an annuity of five lacs of rupees a-year. The British colours were then hoisted upon the ramparts, and a royal salute announced the fulfilment of Runjeet's prediction that the Punjab also would "become red." The Koh-i-noor, which he had destined to the great idol of Orissa, was set apart for the crown of England. The jageers of the leaders of the rebellion were confiscated, and they retired to their native villages on small stipends. Moolraj

End of the Punjab kingdom—
honours, 1849.

was brought to trial before a special court, composed of three European officers, as an accessory to the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and found guilty, but recommended to mercy in consideration of extenuating circumstances discovered in the course of the inquiry; he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but died within a short time. Lord Dalhousie was elevated to the dignity of a Marquis, the fourth marquisate bestowed on the Governors-General, who had repudiated the "beautiful theory" of Mr. Dundas, and added provinces to the Company's dominions. The reproach of Chilianwalla was forgotten in the triumph of Guzerat, and Lord Gough also obtained a step in the peerage. Generals Gilbert and Thackwell were rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Bath, and Generals Campbell, Wheeler, and Cheape with Knight-Commanderships; but Brigadier Tennant, who had commanded and worked the artillery which won the field of Guzerat, was passed over, and received only an inferior reward, which reflected discredit on those alone who had withheld the recommendation of his claims. Lieutenant Edwardes obtained a brevet-majority, and Lieutenants Lake, Taylor, and Herbert were duly rewarded for deeds of no ordinary merit, but the gallant Abbott, who had defended the fortress of Nara against fearful odds, down to the close of the campaign, was invidiously refused the honour due to his distinguished efforts and success.

Close of the
period of war,
1849.

The battle of Guzerat closed the period of war, which began with the expedition to Afghanistan in 1838, and continued with little intermission for more than ten years. During this decade the three independent armies of Sindh, Gwalior, and Lahore, numbering more than 120,000 brave soldiers, were broken up, and their formidable artillery, consisting of more than 600 pieces of cannon, the object of their adoration as the tutelary guardians of their strength, was transferred to our own arsenals. The importance of these events was not fully perceived till the arrival of the time, a few years later, when the whole of the Bengal

army rose in mutiny and wrested the north-west provinces from our authority. If, at that critical period, these military organizations had existed in full vigour, ready to take advantage of the shock our power had received, we should in all probability, have had the whole continent to reconquer. By the incorporation of the Punjab, the Company's dominions were expanded from Cape Comorin to the Khyber, distant from each other more than two thousand miles. Within this range there still remained more than a hundred and fifty native principalities, of greater or less extent, but they occupied only a subordinate position, and not a shot could be fired on the continent of India without the permission of the Governor-General. The establishment of our permanent authority throughout India, which was affirmed at the beginning of the century by Lord Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington—then General Wellesley—to be the only means by which the peace and tranquillity of the country could be secured, was now consummated. The erection of this magnificent empire, reckoning from the battle of Plassy to the battle of Guzerat, was the work of little less than a century. At every successive stage of its progress it was reprobated as an atrocious crime by one party in England, while another party saw in it only the inevitable result of the contact of civilization with comparative barbarism. To the hundred and twenty millions of people whose interests were affected by it, it was an inestimable blessing, and it was dolorous only to the princes whom it deprived of the power of oppressing their subjects. It was invariably honoured with the thanks of Parliament, and it was rewarded by the Crown with seven new peerages, and eight steps in the peerage.

Government of
the Punjab,
1849—54.

The fortune of war had thus thrown upon the Government of India the task of administering a new kingdom, comprising 50,000 square miles and containing a population of four millions, of which one million consisted of Sikhs. It was a fortunate circumstance for the Punjab that at this juncture the supreme power in India was

lodged in the hands of one who combined great resolution and untiring industry with an extraordinary governing faculty. For the full exercise of that faculty the country of the five rivers afforded an ample field. It was not encumbered with any of the decrepit institutions of the older provinces. There was nothing to demolish, and everything to create. A favourable opportunity was presented of constructing an administration exempt from previous errors, and embodying the experience of half a century. Contrary to his general principle, Lord Dalhousie tried the experiment—which soon failed—of committing the management to a Board consisting of three, who were entrusted with supreme authority in all matters, civil, fiscal, and criminal, even to the power of life and death, as well as with the superintendence of every moral and material improvement. At the head of the Board was Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the great men of the Company's service, and a fit successor of Ochterlony, Munro, and Metcalfe. His name was one of auspicious omen in the Punjab, where, in popular opinion, the rebellion arose on his departure, and was quelled on his return. His only failing, and in a conqueror it was more than half a virtue, was an excess of sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the native aristocracy, which it was not always easy to reconcile with the general interests of the community. With him were associated his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, now Governor-General of India, and Mr. Mansel, who speedily gave place to Mr.—now Sir Robert—Montgomery. A more efficient Board it would have been impossible to construct, even in India. The subordinate administration was entrusted to fifty-six covenanted officers, one half of the civil and the other of the military branch, who filled the offices of Commissioners, and Deputy and Assistant Commissioners. They were the flower of the service; men of mature talent, or youths of noble aspirations for an honourable career, and there was no little truth in the remark that the other provinces of India had been robbed of administrative skill to enrich the Punjab. The system of govern-

ment was admirably adapted, by its simplicity and vigour, to the wants of a country where, under the Sikh ruler, the only officers of state had been soldiers or tax-gatherers, and the only punishment, fine or mutilation, and where no civil court existed but at the capital. For the voluminous regulations which sat like an incubus on the older provinces, a clear and concise manual suited to the habits of a people who respected justice but dreaded law, was compiled by Mr. Montgomery and comprised in a few sheets of foolscap.

The border;
disarmament;
the Police.
1849—54.

The conquest of the Punjab removed the boundary of the empire from the Sutlege to the mountain ranges beyond the Indus which formed a radius of many hundred miles. They were inhabited by various tribes of highlanders whose vocation, from time immemorial, had been war and plunder, and who had kept the Mogul emperors in a fever of anxiety even after they were masters of all India. The inhabitants were able to bring down 100,000 bold, brave, and lawless men at arms upon the plains, and Lord Dalhousie considered it his primary duty to protect the frontier from their inroads. A series of fortifications was established along the whole line, provisioned and provided with the munitions of war for three months, and connected with each other by a line of roads. An especial force, consisting of five regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, and composed of all classes, was organized for the protection of the marches. For the security of the Government and the safety of the people, Lord Dalhousie resolved to disarm the Punjab; within six months of its annexation an edict was issued to every town and village between the Beas and the Indus to surrender all arms, and the manufacture, sale, or possession of them in future was prohibited. The weapons thus given up amounted to 120,000 and presented every variety of form and character, many of them being of very costly material and curious workmanship. Permission was however, granted to the inhabitants of Peshawur and to the districts bordering on the robber clans beyond the Indus, as

well as to the people of Hazara, living on the left bank of the river among marauding tribes who had never been subdued by Greek, Mahomedan, or Sikh, to carry arms for their own defence. The effect of this disarmament was speedily visible in the diminution of crimes of violence. The police force was partly civil and partly military. The latter, which furnished guards for treasuries and jails, and orderlies for the civil functionaries, and patrolled the roads, consisted of six regiments of foot, and twenty-seven troops of horse, in number about 7,000. A detective police was likewise introduced. The ancient institution of the village watch was revived and placed on an efficient footing. The watchmen were selected from the community; they were paid by the people, and acted under the salutary influence of the village elders, and the control of the native collectors, as well as of the European magistrates. By these admirable arrangements the Board were enabled within three years to report that no portion of India enjoyed greater peace and security than the Punjab.

The Revenue, 1849—54. The vital question of the land assessment, on which the happiness, and, to a great extent, the loyalty of the people in the East depends, was dealt with in a spirit of great liberality, and the blunders which had marred the system introduced into the older provinces, were carefully avoided. The settlement was not formed till after a minute and detailed investigation, corresponding with that which Mr. Robert Bird had carried out in the north-west provinces. The land tax which Runjeet Sing had fixed at about one-half the produce, was reduced, on an average, by one-fourth, and leases were granted, at first for short periods, but eventually for ten, and in some cases, for thirty years. The security of the tenure, and the moderation of the state demand, gave no small encouragement to cultivation; of the Khalsa soldiery, more than 30,000 exchanged the sword for the plough, and these circumstances, combined with favourable seasons, gave such exuberant harvests as to reduce the price of grain. The agriculturists, who were required to pay their rents in coin

and not in kind, began to exhibit feelings of discontent, and the Chief Commissioner lost no time in proceeding through every district with his financial assistants, minutely examining every cause of complaint on the spot, after which a further reduction of rent was made to the extent of ten per cent. Lord Dalhousie was anxious to avoid the boundless irritation which had arisen in the Gangetic provinces from dallying with the subject of rent-free tenures, and, under his directions, the Board took up the question with promptitude and earnestness. Every case was assiduously examined with a sincere desire to do justice to the interests, both of individuals and of the state, and a satisfactory adjustment was speedily concluded. The duties on the transit of goods and merchandize from district to district and from town to town had been contrived with great ingenuity by the financiers of Runjeet Sing, and the country was covered with a network of custom houses which stifled commercial enterprise. Within nine months of the incorporation of the province they were entirely swept away, and the trade of the Punjab and of Central Asia was allowed to flow free and unfettered in every direction. The loss of revenue which this liberal policy entailed was more than compensated by the scientific imposition of new taxes, four of which were found to yield as much as forty-eight of the clumsy taxes of the Khalsa government, and with less vexation and inconvenience to the people.

Slavery; dacoity;
thuggee,
1849—54. The Board of Administration likewise directed their attention with eminent success to the extinction of domestic slavery; the sale of children, which had been openly practised under the old Government, was prohibited, and the market ceased to be supplied by kidnappers. With equal vigour the Board assailed the system of dacoity which was in full vigour, notwithstanding the summary proceedings of Sikh despotism. But the fact was, that while Runjeet Sing seized upon entire provinces, his chiefs, with whose proceedings he rarely interfered while they paid their revenue and maintained their contingents,

were permitted to attack and plunder villages with perfect impunity. Armed bodies of Sikh outlaws, moreover, rendered the roads unsafe for travellers. With that energy for which there is always a larger scope in the non-regulation than in the regulation provinces, the Commissioners took the field against these criminals, inflicted prompt and condign punishment on all those who were captured, and hunted the rest out of the country, with such earnestness that before the Punjab had been five years in our possession, it was more free from the crime of dacoity than Bengal, after it had been eighty years under our management. It was likewise found that the practice of thuggee, from which the efforts of Colonel Sleeman had relieved Hindostan, had found its way into the Punjab, and was still practised. Runjeet Sing executed the man who introduced it, and Shere Sing hung or mutilated every one convicted of it. The increasing disorders of the state, however, and the weakness of the Government gave fresh courage to the thugs, and murders were often perpetrated without any effort to conceal them. The task of eradicating the crime was committed to Mr. Brereton, of the civil service, and he entered upon his duties with all that animation which commonly distinguished the proceedings of the Punjab officials. The cases of assassination which were fully substantiated amounted to 1,300. A roll of the thugs, whose names and residences had been furnished by approvers, was sent to each station; no less than 550 men arrested, the greater number of whom were executed; the gangs were broken up and the practice disappeared.

Infanticide,
1849—54.

Another crime with which it was the mission of the British Government in the Punjab to deal was infanticide, and the vigour of Lord Dalhousie and of the Board was rewarded with more decisive success than had attended the efforts of Government for thirty years in Hindostan. It was most prevalent among the proud and wealthy Bedees, the descendants of the first Sikh prophet, Nanuk. Occupying, as they did, the highest rank in society, they disdained to bestow

their daughters in an unequal alliance; to allow them to remain unmarried was an indelible disgrace; the female infant was therefore consigned to death at the dawn of her existence. Other castes, not excepting even the Mahomedans, had been led to adopt this inhuman custom, in consequence, chiefly, of the insupportable expense of weddings. As soon as the existence of the practice was ascertained, Lord Dalhousie determined to bring the whole weight of Government, by menaces and promises, to bear upon its suppression. He felt that coercion would only tend to defeat its own object, and that to ensure success, it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the nation. The first step towards the eradication of the crime was justly considered to be a reduction of the cost of weddings. It was swelled, as in Rajpootana, by the clamorous demands of the *bhats* and minstrels, who flocked to them like vultures attracted by the smell of carrion; and it was at once determined to deal with them as vagrants. A large durbar was then convened at Umritsir, at the most popular festival in the Sikh calendar. It was attended by all the aristocracy and hierarchy of the Punjab, by the hill chiefs, by the Mahomedan nobles, by wealthy merchants, and by learned pundits. It was the most august conclave, and for the noblest object, which had ever been held in that holy city, or indeed, in any part of India. The British officers in the Punjab repaired to it almost without exception, and met delegates from every tribe and class. Under a spacious awning erected for the occasion, the Chief Commissioner addressed this large assembly, and entered upon a calm and temperate discussion of the subject. He urged the enormity of the practice, which they readily admitted; he dwelt on the anxiety of the Governor-General to suppress it, and he pointed out the means by which, in the opinion of the British Government, that object could be most effectually secured. All the assembled chiefs, Hindoo, Mahomedan, Rajpoot, and Sikh, entered into a solemn covenant to abide by the propositions of Lord Dalhousie and the Chief Commissioner. Committees were appointed to establish

a scale for the expense of weddings; the sumptuary rules which they drew up were universally accepted and ratified, and one of the principal motives for the murder of infants was removed. Other meetings were held in the chief towns and villages, with the same happy result. The most important aid in this noble cause was rendered by Raja Golab Sing, the ruler of Cashmere, who directed all his nobles and chiefs to meet the Commissioner, and to adopt his proposals regarding the retrenchment of wedding expenses, and he set the example by remitting the tax which native rulers had always levied on them.

Roads and
Canals, 1849—
1854.

The Romans considered the subjugation of no country complete until it was pierced with high-ways. In like manner, Lord Dalhousie did not consider the conquest of the Punjab fully accomplished till it was intersected with military roads. Of these works, the most important was that which united Peshawur with Lahore, and which extended over 275 miles. It presented the most formidable difficulties to the engineer. It passed over more than 100 great bridges, and 450 of smaller dimensions; it penetrated six mountain chains, and was carried by means of embankments over the marshes of two great rivers; but every obstacle was overcome by Colonel—now Sir Robert—Napier, to whose skill and energy the Punjab was indebted for all those great material improvements which gave it the appearance of a Roman province. Other military roads were constructed to connect the most important towns and strategical positions with each other, and to facilitate the transport of troops and munitions of war. Roads were likewise laid down as highways of commerce, both domestic and foreign. These great works were happily placed under the direction and the responsibility of a single energetic officer, and in the course of five years the Board were able to report to the Governor-General that the length of road completed, and under construction, amounted to no less than 2,200 miles. The importance of irrigation in developing the agricultural resources of the country had not been overlooked by the former rulers of the Punjab.

There were few districts which did not exhibit tokens of their labours in the construction of canals and waterworks, some of which were still in existence, while others were extinct. The canals of Mooltan, which contributed to the fertility of the province, had been greatly improved by Sawun Mull. The Hulsi canal, constructed under the orders of Shah Jehan, was a work of imperial luxury, designed to convey the waters of the Ravee over more than a hundred miles to the fountains and conservatories of his palace at Lahore. Lord Dalhousie, who considered that "of all works of public improvement which could be applied to an Indian province, works of irrigation were the happiest in their effects on the physical condition of the people," directed all these canals to be repaired. No rate was levied for the water, as the state was considered to be repaid by the increase of cultivation. In some cases, the example of Runjeet Sing was followed, and advances were made for repairing or improving them to the zemindars, who regarded the debt as a debt of honour, and refunded it with strict punctuality. The greatest work of irrigation constructed under the auspices of Lord Dalhousie and the directions of Colonel Napier, was the canal of the Baree dooab, the populous district lying between the Ravee and the Chenab. It tapped the Ravee as it issued from the mountains, and after a course of 247 miles, delivered its waters again to that stream a little above Mooltan. Three branches conveyed a supply of water to Kussoor, Lahore, and Sobraon. This magnificent undertaking, which, with its branches, extended to the length of 465 miles, was equal, if not superior to the noblest canals in Europe, and formed the worthiest monument of British supremacy in the Punjab.

Result of these
Measures, 1854.

The Government established in the Punjab was emphatically Lord Dalhousie's own creation. Rarely has a greater amount of administrative and executive talent been brought to bear upon the improvement of an Indian province, but it was his genius which animated the whole system. He was in constant and direct communication with the

chief authorities, and, by the aid of his counsel and the influence of his position, enabled them to prosecute their labours without embarrassment or delay. Few Governors have ever seen so much of their dominions as Lord Dalhousie saw of the Punjab. From east to west, from north to south, he crossed its rivers, rode over its plains, and threaded its defiles. During this personal inspection, no evil remained without a remedy, no want was unsupplied. Nothing was too minute for his attention; he did not overlook even the conservation of the grass preserves for the cavalry, or the protection of the remaining forests, or the planting of trees on every road and watercourse, or the establishment of nurseries, or the introduction of ninety varieties of exotic plants. The Christian character of the administration of the Lawrences was ever one of its most distinguishing features. Innovations and improvements foreign to the traditions and the prejudices of the chieftains, the priesthood, and the people, were introduced with a bolder hand than the public authorities had ventured to use at the other Presidencies, and in the course of seven years the Punjab presented a more Anglicized cast of government than the north-west provinces. The administration embodied the maturity of our experience in the science of oriental government, and rendered the Punjab the model province of India. It was the greatest triumph achieved under the Company's rule, and did honour to European civilization. By these wise and beneficent measures, the nation which had recently been the great source of political anxiety, became one of the chief elements of our imperial strength. The brave soldiers who had shaken our power at Ferozeshuhur and Chillianwalla, enlisted under our banners, assisted in reconquering Delhi from the rebel sepoys and in restoring our sovereignty, marched up the Irawaddy to fight the Burmese, and, to crown the romance of their history, aided in planting the British colours on the battlements of Peking.

Second Burmese
War, 1852.

There was peace for three years after the conquest of the Punjab, and then came the unex-

pected and unwelcome Burmese war. The treaty of Yandaboo, concluded with the King of Burmah in 1826, stipulated for the residence of a British representative at his court, and the commercial treaty of Mr. Crawford at the close of that year, provided that the Governments of both countries should give "the utmost protection and security to merchants." Colonel Benson and Colonel Burney were sent in succession as Residents to Ava, but they were treated with great contempt. One of them was denied the means of obtaining provisions, and directed to take up his residence on an island in the Irawaddy, which was inundated on the rise of the river, and he was constrained to retire from the country. The British traders at Rangoon were subject to perpetual extortion. In 1851, the master of a vessel was seized, on his arrival at Rangoon, and placed in confinement on the false accusation of having murdered his pilot, who had run the ship ashore, and then jumped overboard. The charge was dismissed as frivolous, but he was nevertheless subjected to a fine. Another commander, thirty days after reaching the port, was charged by a deserter with having put to death one of the crew, who had died at sea. The case was investigated by the Burmese authorities, and the captain acquitted on the unanimous testimony of the ship's company, but he did not escape without a fine, and the detention of his vessel. On the 27th September, the European merchants at Rangoon transmitted a memorial to the Government of India, in which various cases of oppression were enumerated. They asserted that those who refused payment were subjected to torture, that robberies and false charges were of daily occurrence, and that unless protection could be obtained, they must quit the country and sacrifice their property. On the receipt of these representations, the Supreme Council came to the conclusion that British subjects had a right to expect that they should be protected by their own Government from such injustice, oppression, and extortion.

Deputation of The absence of any accredited British agent at

Commodore Lambert, 1851. the court or in the territories of Ava, rendered it difficult to deal with the case; but the difficulty was diminished by the arrival of Commodore Lambert, in H.M. ship "Fox," and it was resolved to send him to Rangoon with a communication from the Government of India. Lord Dalhousie has been censured for despatching a naval officer on a mission of peace, but it was considered, and with great reason, that in dealing with a Government like that of Burmah, unrivalled in Asia for conceit and arrogance, nothing was more likely to secure attention and to avoid an eventual conflict, than the appearance in Burmese waters of an envoy in command of a vessel of war,—“one of Cromwell's ambassadors which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal.” The instructions of the Commodore were limited to the investigation of the complaints of the merchants, and to the demand of adequate pecuniary compensation, if they were substantiated. If this reasonable request was refused, he was directed to transmit the letter which the President of the Council of India had addressed to the king and entrusted to him. In that communication the two cases of “gross and unjustifiable ill-treatment of British subjects by his Majesty's servants” were enumerated, “in the full conviction that he would at once condemn their conduct, order compensation to the parties aggrieved, and recognize the wisdom of removing the Governor of Rangoon. If these just expectations should be disappointed, the Government of India would feel itself called on to take such immediate steps as should protect the interests of its subjects and vindicate its own honour and power.” The Commodore anchored off Rangoon on the 26th November, and the Governor immediately threatened with death any who should venture to communicate with him. Some of the Europeans at length succeeded in escaping to the frigate, and submitted to the Commodore a long roll of injuries they had sustained. On perusing it, he concluded that it would be more proper to seek redress from the sovereign than from his subordinate, and transmitted the President's letter to Ava,

through the Deputy Governor, who had come on board. It was accompanied with one from himself to the ministers, in which he stated that he should await a reply for five weeks. It was delivered to him on the 1st January, 1852: "The great ministers of state, bearing continually on their heads the two golden feet, resembling the germs of the lotus, of his most glorious and excellent Majesty," complained of the purport and style of the letter, as "not being in accordance with friendship." They promised, however, that the offending Governor should be displaced, and, "in regard to the merchants who have been unjustifiably insulted and ill-treated, that proper and strict inquiry should be instituted, and in accordance with custom it should be decided." The communication appeared to be so friendly and pacific as to lead the Commodore to congratulate the Government of India on the prospect of an early and satisfactory settlement; but he was speedily undeceived. The real intentions of an oriental court are to be gathered, not from glozing despatches, but from the conduct of its officers, and on this occasion they were altogether unfriendly. The old Governor quitted Rangoon, not in disgrace, but in triumph, and with ostentatious parade. His successor did not condescend to notice the British representative, who was obliged to open a communication, and request him to appoint a day to receive a deputation. The Governor replied that any day would suit his convenience. On the morning of the 6th January, Captain Latter, the interpreter of Captain Fishbourne insulted, the mission, sent a messenger to him to announce 1852. that the officers would arrive at noon, with an official communication. At the appointed time, Captain Fishbourne and other officers, including Mr. Kincaid, proceeded on the ponies they had been able to procure to Government House, but found great difficulty in making their way through the crowd to the courtyard. No officer came forward to receive them, nor were they permitted to enter the house, but were detained in the sun by the menials, who affirmed that the Governor was asleep and must not be disturbed, whereas

he was all the while gazing at them from the window, and enjoying their mortification, while exposed to the jeers and insults of the mob. The patience of Captain Fishbourne was at length exhausted, and he returned to the frigate to report the treatment he had received.

Proceedings of
Commodore
Lambert, 1852.

Commodore Lambert had been instructed by the Government of India, in case the communication from Ava was not satisfactory, to blockade the ports. He considered that the deliberate insult inflicted on the officers who were sent on a diplomatic commission to the Governor expressly appointed by the Court to adjust all differences, was equivalent to an unfavourable reply from the king, and, in conformity with the tenor of his instructions, declared the Burmese ports in a state of blockade. He likewise took possession of a ship lying in the river, which the king had built for trade, and resolved to retain it till the claims of the merchants were satisfied. The Governor of Dalla, who had always been friendly to the British, visited the frigate the day after, on a conciliatory mission, when the Commodore informed him that in addition to the compensation to the merchants, which had been fixed at 10,000 rupees, it was necessary for the Governor of Rangoon to come on board the "Fox," and express his regret for the indignity offered to the gentlemen of the deputation, after which he would restore the king's ship and honour the Burmese flag with a royal salute. The Governor refused to comply with this requisition, but gave the Commodore to understand that any attempt to remove the royal vessel would be resisted. The Commodore then proceeded down the river to establish the blockade at the mouth of it, with the Government vessel in tow, when a heavy fire was opened from the stockades below Rangoon, on both sides the river, which the guns of the "Fox" demolished in a few moments. Instead of offering the apology which the Commodore required, the Governor of Rangoon addressed a letter to the Government of India in reference to these transactions, in which he stated that four subordinate officers, who had been

drinking, came riding into his courtyard with the American missionary Kincaid; that he himself was asleep at the time; and that the officers on their return made a false report to the Commodore, who "unlike a man of the world, carried off the great ship belonging to the all powerful lord of the universe and the master of all white elephants." In his reply to this communication, the President in Council repeated the demands which the Commodore had made, and engaged, after they were complied with, to depute an officer of rank to conclude a final settlement. The Governor rejoined that the officer of rank must be sent in the first instance, before he would attend to any further communications.

Lord Dalhousie's proceedings, 1852. During these transactions, Lord Dalhousie was in the north-west provinces, and, apprehending from the aspect of circumstances, that the Government was drifting into a war, hastened down in the most uncomfortable of vehicles, with only a single servant, and reached Calcutta on the 29th January, intent on preventing hostilities. Those who were in communication with him at the time will bear testimony to the fact, that, so far was the annexation of Pegu from being a foregone conclusion before he reached Calcutta, that no Governor-General ever manifested a greater or more sincere repugnance to a war than Lord Dalhousie did on this occasion. It has again been surmised that he took possession of that province to prevent its falling into the hands of the French or the Americans, and it may be instructive to dispel this misconception by tracing it to its source. The United States frigate, "Susquehana," happened at this time to be in the Hoogly, and it was reported that the Washington Government contemplated the establishment of a consulate at Rangoon for the protection of American subjects, not excluding missionaries, inasmuch as both the French and the American Governments, unlike the English, consider their missionary subjects as much entitled to protection as their commercial agents. One of the leading journals in Bengal, thinking the Government of India dilatory in attending to the memorial of

grievances, remarked that "if John Bull was so slow to redress them, we must invoke the aid of brother Jonathan, and send the 'Susquehana' to Rangoon." But it was not until the third application for redress had been rejected by the Burmese authorities, that Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that no alternative was now left to the Government of India but to seek reparation by force of arms. On the 12th February, he recorded his views in a Minute, in which, after a summary statement of previous transactions, he affirmed that to send an envoy of rank, as the Governor requested, to supersede the officers who had been employed in the negotiations, would be to admit the offensive accusations made against them, and that the British Government having thus relinquished the demands it had peremptorily advanced, and abandoned the officers it was bound to uphold, would unquestionably be regarded by the Burmese nation, as well as by every eastern people, as having submitted to humiliation and avowed defeat. "The Government of India cannot," he said, "consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if, for one day, it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority of its arms, and of its continued resolution to maintain it." At the same time, he addressed a letter to the king reciting the oppression of British subjects, the demand for compensation, the insult offered to the deputation, and the refusal of any apology, and stating that large preparations were now in progress to enforce the rights and vindicate the power of the British Government, but that the king might yet avert hostilities by acceding to the former demands, and paying down, by the 1st of April, ten lacs of rupees as a compensation for the expenses incurred in preparations.

Efforts of Lord
Dalhousie, 1852.

Finding a war all but inevitable, Lord Dalhousie threw his whole soul into the work, and never since the time, sixty years before, when Lord Wellesley brought five armies into the field with matchless speed, and in

four months crushed the power of Sindia, and of the raja of Nagpore, had such a display of superb energy been witnessed in India. The Commander-in-chief was in Sindh, Lord Dalhousie was obliged to become his own minister of war, and he astonished India by the singular genius he exhibited for military organization. The task before him was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was the 10th February before the preparations for the expedition commenced, and it was of the last importance that Rangoon should be occupied before the end of April, when the rains might be expected to set in, and military operations would become perilous. It was necessary that two expeditions should be despatched, one from Calcutta, and the other from Madras, for the latter of which, steamers were to be brought round from Bombay. Neither the telegraph nor the rail, which annihilate time and distance, were then completed, and the orders were transmitted to both Presidencies by the ordinary mail. At Bombay, the steam flotilla was ready for sea within three days, but the expedition was delayed at Madras. The Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who was far more a fortunate than a great man, took offence that his superlative merits in China had been overlooked and that he had not been consulted about the arrangements of the war, and refused to allow a single soldier to embark except under the direct responsibility of the Governor-General. The difficulty was overcome by the resolution of Lord Dalhousie, but the expedition was nevertheless retarded. The 38th Bengal Native Infantry refused to proceed by sea to Burmah with the expedition from Calcutta, when he determined to try the experiment of supplying its place by a regiment of Sikhs. They marched down without hesitation to the port and embarked with their accustomed hilarity. By this expedient, the perplexity which the Government had felt for eighty years through the repugnance of the sepoys to the "black water" was at once and finally removed. The forethought and vigour of Lord Dalhousie left nothing to chance, or to dilatory subordinates. From the day when the preparations for the campaign commenced,

he superintended every arrangement himself, and his aides-de-camp were incessantly employed in moving about from place to place to ensure punctuality and efficiency in every department. The Tenasserim provinces were drained of live stock and provisions; bakehouses were erected on the coast to ensure a constant supply of bread, which was to be conveyed with the meat by steamers to the camp. In the first war, the encampment at Rangoon had become a charnel house after the rains had set in; to prevent the recurrence of this mortality, the framework of houses was constructed at Moulmein, under the eye of the Commissioner, Colonel Bogle, and sent with the expedition, to afford the soldiers shelter when the monsoon set in. A convalescent hospital was established at Amherst, on the sea coast, thirty miles below Moulmein, and steamers appointed to convey invalids thither.

Organization of
the Force, 1852.

The land forces of the expedition amounted to 5,800 men, and comprised three European regiments. The command was entrusted to General Godwin, who held a command in the former war, but had lost little of his military ardour from age. Steam power had been so greatly multiplied in India since the expedition of 1826, in which only one small vessel of sixty horse power was available, that the Government was enabled to employ nineteen steam-vessels carrying 159 guns, and manned by 2,270 sailors and marines. The Bengal column reached the Rangoon river on the 2nd April, and a flag of truce was sent up by the "Proserpine" steamer to receive the reply of the king to the letter of the Governor-General. At the third stockade in the river a fire was opened on her, and the last hope of a peaceful solution of differences was extinguished. While awaiting the arrival of the Madras column, the Commodore employed his vessels in levelling the stockades on the river, and the General sent an expedition against the town of Martaban, lying opposite the British settlement of Moulmein, which was captured in an hour, with the loss of only seventeen men killed and wounded. On the arrival of the Madras force, the whole of this imposing

fleet proceeded up the river, and on the 11th April took up a position in front of Rangoon. A brisk fire was opened simultaneously from the great Pagoda, on one side, and from Dalla on the opposite bank of the river. A party of seamen and marines landed with the Royal Irish at Dalla, and carried all the fortifications. Another detachment proceeded up the river against Kemmendine, where the steamers set the stockade on fire, but the Burmese extinguished the flames eight times, and it was not surrendered without a resolute defence.

Capture of
Rangoon, 1852.

The troops landed on the morning of the 12th to proceed against the great Pagoda, which was the citadel, as well as the pride of Rangoon, and which had been fortified with such skill as to create the belief that the Burmese must have obtained the services of a European engineer. General Godwin's force had not proceeded above a mile when a heavy fire was opened on it from a battery concealed in the jungle, and it was found necessary to bring up the twenty-four pound howitzers. The stockade was carried by storm after a brisk cannonade, but not without serious loss from the weapons of the enemy, and still more from the insupportable heat of the weather, which struck down the bravest. The General now found that the Burmese had made no inconsiderable progress in the art of war since the former campaign; they had become bolder in their operations, more skilful in selecting their ground and covering their movements, and did not hesitate to quit their stockades, and assail our flanks; they had moreover become good shots. His own troops were completely exhausted by fatigue and heat, and he resolved to halt for the day. On the 13th, the troops did not alter their position, but the steamers kept up such a continuous cannonade on the town, that the governor was fain to abandon his palace and cross the river, after which he was no more heard of. At daybreak on the 14th, the whole force was under arms and marched towards the Pagoda. The Burmese, expecting that the General would attack the southern gate, had fortified it with a hundred guns, and collected 10,000 men for its defence,

and were confounded when they discovered that he was proceeding to attack their weakest point on the eastern vestibule. The heavy eight-inch howitzers were dragged with incredible labour through the long grass and brushwood into a position opposite the gateway, and opened a terrific fire upon it, to which the Burmese replied with such effect that Captain Latter observed to the General that we were losing ten men for every one which an assault might cost. A storming party, consisting of 800 men drawn from the 80th Foot, the Royal Irish, and the 40th Native Infantry, was immediately formed, and advanced to the attack under his guidance and under the command of Colonel Coote. As they moved towards the gate they were assailed from the three terraces which rose in succession one above another in the Pagoda, by an incessant discharge of missiles of every variety, links of chain, bags of broken metal, bottles of nails, and boxes of hammered bullets. It was defended with extraordinary gallantry by the élite of the Burmese army, styled the "immortals," but nothing could arrest the fiery valour of the British soldiers, who rushed up the broad stairs which led from one platform to another, and planted the British ensign on the gilded dome of the noble Pagoda.

The co-operation of the Peguers, 1852.

The town of Rangoon was entirely deserted by the inhabitants on the arrival of the expedition in 1824, and Sir Archibald Campbell was totally deprived of the resources of the country, and isolated from communication with the inhabitants. On the present occasion, however, no sooner was the Pagoda captured and the Burmese army dispersed, than the people returned to their houses and shops, and resumed their usual occupations. Provisions poured into the town; carpenters from Pegu hastened to offer their services to erect the wooden houses for the troops which the forethought of Lord Dalhousie had provided. The river was crowded with boats and shipping, and Rangoon became a busy mart of commerce. The municipal regulations laid down and rigidly enforced by the General, established order

and security to such an extent that the women of the country moved freely through the encampment without fear of insult. The natives of the province of Pegu, who had been severely oppressed by their Burmese conquerors, had flocked to the standard of Sir Archibald Campbell, whom they regarded as a deliverer; but they were cruelly abandoned to their fate at the close of the war, and their adherence to the fortunes of the strangers was visited by their former masters with tortures too revolting to be mentioned. With a lively recollection of those barbarities, and a full appreciation of the blessings which the provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim had enjoyed under British rule, they welcomed the arrival of General Godwin, and it was the one hope of their hearts that they should not again be delivered up to the vengeance of their oppressors, but obtain the inestimable blessing of British protection.

Close of the
war, 1813.

Compared with the great battles of the Sutlege and the Punjab, the incidents of the war in Burmah appear tame and uninteresting. On the 17th May, General Godwin and Commodore Lambert captured Bassein, the western port of Burmah, with a trifling loss, though it was garrisoned by 5,000 men. While the force lay at Rangoon the steamers scoured the Irawaddy, and the "Proserpine" proceeded up the river, levelled the various stockades, and seized a large fleet of boats laden with grain. Captain Tarleton soon after started with five steamers for Prome, which was abandoned by the Burmese troops, and, with the aid of the townsmen, he transferred some of the guns to his own vessels, and pitched the remainder into the river. Four days more of easy steaming would have taken him up to Ava, but though the magnificent fleet of steamers had the complete command of the river, General Godwin hesitated to advance to Prome with his limited force, leaving Rangoon open to attack from the Burmese army which was said to be hovering about it. This inactivity was attributed to senility rather than to military discretion, and reprobated by the press. Lord

Dalhousie proceeded to Rangoon in September to examine the state of affairs with his own eyes, and to afford counsel and confidence to the General. He fully concurred with him in the conclusion that it would be injudicious to remove the troops from quarters where they enjoyed comparatively good health, and to expose them to the severities of the climate, without absolute necessity, but he advised the earliest practicable movement on Prome. It was captured on the 9th October with the loss of only one man. Towards the end of November a detachment was sent to the relief of Major Hill, who had been left in charge of the town of Pegu on its first capture in June, with 400 men, and was besieged by 6,000 Burmese. With the succour of this garrison all military operations ceased. The object of the expedition was to exact reparation for injuries inflicted on British subjects, not to break up the kingdom. Lord Dalhousie was confident that if the army were pushed on to the capital, the king would abandon it on our approach and retire to the northern portion of his dominions, where he would be inaccessible among the wild tribes of mountaineers, and eight hundred miles of unprofitable territory would thus be thrown on our hands; he determined therefore to remain content with the occupation of Pegu.

Annexation of
Pegu, 1852.

The Government had now to consider the course which was to be taken to "confirm the vindication of our power, to obtain reimbursement of the expenses of the war, and to provide a security against its recurrence." Lord Dalhousie recorded a Minute on the subject, in which he stated: "In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war. That opinion remains unchanged. If any adequate alternative for the confiscation of territory could have been found by me, or had been suggested to me, my mind would most readily have adopted it. If conquest is contemplated by me now, it is not as a positive good, but as the least of those evils before me, from which we must necessarily select one. But, after constant and anxious

reflection through the months during which hostilities have been in progress, I can discover no escape from the necessity. I have been driven most reluctantly to the conclusion that no measure will adequately meet the object which in my judgment it is absolutely necessary to secure,—the establishment of our superiority now, and its maintenance hereafter,—except the seizure and occupation of a portion of the territories of the Burmah kingdom. In like manner as in 1826 it was felt to be necessary to deprive the Burmese of the provinces of Tenasserim, Aracan, and Assam, so now, for stronger reasons, and with better effect, the occupation of the province of Pegu appears to me to be unavoidably demanded by sound views of general policy.” He then proceeded to enumerate the political and commercial advantages which might be expected from the annexation. The Court of Directors concurred with him in thinking that extension of territory was not in itself desirable, and that the annexation even of a province possessing so many advantages as Pegu, was to be looked upon rather in the light of a choice of evils than a positive and unmixed good. “We entirely agree with the Governor-General in his estimate of the important bearing which the occupation of this fine province with reference to its position, its climate, and its adaptation in a commercial and maritime point of view to the interests of this country, may have upon the security and advancement of our Indian empire. We therefore convey to you our authority, under the sanction of the Queen’s Government, to consider the permanent occupation of Pegu, and its final annexation to the dominions of Her Majesty as the just and necessary result of those military operations which you have been driven to direct against the Burmese empire.” A Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 20th December, declaring that in compensation for the past, and better security for the future, the Governor-General in Council had resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now and shall be henceforth a portion of the British territories in the East. Lord Dalhousie likewise drafted a treaty of peace and

cession, which was to be conveyed to Ava by General Godwin and Captain Phayre; but before they took their departure, a revolution occurred at the capital, the king was dethroned, and his brother reigned in his stead. By him commissioners were despatched to treat with the British authorities, but they were unable to come to terms. The army was therefore broken up without the conclusion of any treaty, which Lord Dalhousie ceased to regret after he had been assured "that all Burmah would consider it an absurdity to observe a treaty, if it could be disregarded with profit."

Result of the
Conquest, 1852-
1865.

It has been truly observed that the inhabitants of Pegu annexed themselves to the Company's dominions before Lord Dalhousie determined to incorporate the province. For three quarters of a century they had suffered the extremity of oppression from their Burmese conquerors, and they hailed with rapture the prospect of passing under British rule. Their expectations have not been disappointed. Since the first establishment of the Company's authority in the East, no province has ever exhibited so rapid and extraordinary a development of prosperity. The staple produce of the country is rice, the exportation of which was little known under the Burmese Government, but has been steadily on the increase under our flag; the total exports of this article from British Burmah, including the Aracan and Tenasserim provinces, has reached the sum of two crores and a-half of rupees a-year, of which one half comes back in treasure. Its export and import trade has risen from a very insignificant sum, to the almost incredible amount of nine crores of rupees, or nine millions sterling a-year. Rangoon, the Calcutta of the Irawaddy, which contained only a few thousand inhabitants when Lord Dalhousie visited it in 1852 now numbers 66,000. The old town was the grave of the army in 1824; the new town, laid out by our engineer officers, is one of the most healthful in our Asiatic dominions. The great want of the valley of the Irawaddy was population, which had crumbled away under Burmese oppression. It has been

gradually increasing, and the province of Pegu now contains a population little short of a million and a-half, while the fertility of the soil would support ten times that number. The entire population of British Burmah, according to the last census, amounted to two millions and a quarter; and it is a notable fact, that the quantity of British manufactures annually absorbed by it exceeds a crore and a quarter of rupees; one Burmese customer would thus appear to be more valuable to the looms of England than four Bengalees. The system of civil and criminal judicature and of police introduced into the province is exactly adapted to the wants of the people, simple and inexpensive in its character, and prompt and vigorous in its operations. All those improvements, which, though totally unknown in native states, follow as a matter of course on the establishment of British rule—facilities of intercourse by land and water, postal and telegraphic communication, plans of education, sanitary rules and appliances—have been bestowed on the province in profusion, and one-fifth of the revenue is devoted to public works. The people are happy and contented, and have not the least desire for any change in the Government. Indeed, so firmly seated is the British authority in Pegu, that in 1857 it was considered perfectly safe to leave it without European troops, which were withdrawn to quell the mutinies in the older provinces. The revenue has steadily increased without any undue pressure on the people. When Mr. Cobden, soon after the conquest, published a pamphlet to denounce its iniquity, Lord Dalhousie remarked to a friend, “the British nation will one day find that Pegu pays, and the crime of having placed it under British protection will be condoned.” Whether the crime has been condoned or not, is a matter of indifference; but Pegu pays, not only the whole of its civil list, which has been fixed with a view to efficiency rather than economy, but the entire expense of its military establishment. The revenues amount to a crore of rupees, the expenditure to about five per cent less. The happiness which the people enjoy under our institutions

is paid for by themselves, and the province is no burden on the finances of India. It has been singularly fortunate in having, almost from the commencement of our rule, enjoyed the services of Colonel—now Sir Arthur—Phayre, one of the Company's great administrators. It is to his talent and energy that the province owes the system of administration which forms the basis of its prosperity. Equally free from the hauteur of our national character, and from the pride of place, his intercourse with all classes has been unrestrained and genial. The people have come to regard him with the affectionate reverence which is paid to a parent, and long will his name continue fresh and fragrant in their recollections.

The Santal émeute, 1855. During the last year of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the peace of Bengal was disturbed by an outbreak of the Santals, the tribes inhabiting the hill ranges of Rajmahl. They were the descendants of those among whom Mr. Cleveland had laboured to introduce the blessings of civilization, seventy years before. At a later period, Mr. Pontet, the magistrate, a man of kindred benevolence, endeavoured with indefatigable zeal to implant habits of agricultural industry among them. These half civilized mountaineers were harassed, like the Coles in 1833, by the processes and the bailiffs of the courts, and by the enforced demands of Bengalee money-lenders who had found their way among the villagers. They suddenly rose in rebellion in the month of July, and armed with pickaxes and poisoned arrows, poured down by thousands on the peaceful plains, spreading desolation in all directions. Every European dwelling within their reach was sacked, and seven Europeans were put to death. Their course was marked by the blaze of villages, and the inhabitants fled before them, as they had done a century earlier from the Mahrattas. Nothing was less to have been expected than such an insurrection in a district where for seventy years the presence of a soldier had been unnecessary. The Government was taken completely by surprise; the rains had set in with their usual violence, and

no troops were available except the corps of hill rangers, composed of men of the same tribe. They were driven back by the insurgents, who also derived fresh courage by the slaughter of an officer and twenty sepoys. It was on this occasion that the military utility of the rail was for the first time exhibited, by the conveyance of a body of troops in a few hours, who saved the important station of Raneegunge from pillage, and the surrounding country from devastation. The Governor-General was at Ootacamund, and the Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday, was urgent for the proclamation of martial law, but the scruples of the legislative member of Council delayed the passing of the Act till the beginning of November. As the cold season advanced troops were brought up from various directions; the rebels were hemmed in on every side, and hunted through the country with as little tenderness as they had shown to their victims; the cholera likewise made great havoc among them. The rebellion was at length extinguished, and the field force broken up, on the last day of the year. The insurrection was not however without some countervailing advantage. The same boon was conferred on the Santals which had been bestowed on the Coles; the district was converted into a non-regulation province and placed in charge of a Commissioner.

Mutinies in the
Punjab, 1849—
1850.

Under the military division of Lord Dalhousie's administration, it only remains to notice the acts of insubordination manifested in the Punjab, as in Sinde, from the withdrawal of extra allowances to the native troops, when it became a British province. In July, 1849, the men of the 13th and 22nd Native Infantry refused their curtailed pay at first, but subsequently consented to accept it. Courts-martial were held, and one native officer, and four men of the 13th, and an officer and six men of the 22nd were dismissed the service, while seventeen of the delinquents in both regiments were imprisoned for life. The next case of insubordination occurred in the 41st at Delhi, where, after the order of reduction had been read, the men returned to their lines and

piled arms, but refused to take off their accoutrements. The Commander-in-chief happened to be on the spot at the time, and sent to announce to the regiment that insubordination would be punished by dismissal, after which, it marched off to Mooltan, upon the reduced scale of pay. At Wuzeerabad, in the Punjab, the sepoy of the 32nd hesitated to receive their pay; the first four who declined it were seized, tried, sentenced to imprisonment, and marched off in irons in the presence of the brigade, and not a man refused to accept it afterwards. A native officer of this regiment was subsequently brought to a court-martial for having concealed this feeling of insubordination from his superiors, and five men were sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment for having fomented it. Sir Charles Napier ordered their sentence to be revised, when they were condemned to death, but he commuted the punishment to transportation for life. The 66th marched from Lucknow to Govindgur, but the commanding officer, from a feeling of timidity, culpably neglected to explain the retrenchment of pay to the regiment before it started, and contented himself with announcing it to some of the native officers. It was for the first time made known to the men on their arrival at the fort on the 1st February, 1850, when they exhibited symptoms of mutiny. One sepoy endeavoured to close the gate, but he was felled to the ground by a blow from the sword of Lieutenant Macdonald, and a small squadron of cavalry under Colonel Bradford marched in and restored discipline. The men piled arms, and quietly marched out at the command of their Colonel. Their correspondence was seized at the post office, but not a single expression of disaffection could be discovered in it. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab, denied that there was any attempt to seize the fort, or that a spirit of mutiny pervaded the corps, or the army, although, as he admitted, there was a general feeling of disappointment at being deprived of a high rate of pay, and partial and individual mutiny. Sir Charles Napier took upon himself to disband the regiment and replace it by a Ghoorka corps.

This was the assumption of an authority which belonged only to the Government, but, in the absence of the Governor-General, it was overlooked by the Vice-President in Council, and the order was confirmed. But the interference of the Commander-in-chief with the allowances of the native army, was too grave to be overlooked. On the 15th August, 1845, Lord Hardinge had established the rule that, whenever the price of provisions forming the aggregate of the sepoy's diet exceeded three rupees and a-half a-month, the difference should be made up to him in money. Sir Charles Napier declared the rule to be unjust and impolitic, and ordered a previous scale of compensation, which had been superseded, to be revived. The benefit it gave to the sepoy did not exceed an ana a-month, but it was an infringement of the constitutional prerogative of the Government. Sir Charles endeavoured to justify this act by the assertion that he was surrounded by a hostile population, that the whole army of the Punjab, numbering 40,000 men, was infected with a spirit of mutiny, that the empire was in great peril, and that he was constrained to act with promptitude and decision. Lord Dalhousie maintained that although mutiny did exist, it was partial, inconsiderable in degree, and comprised only a few. He denied the existence of a spirit of mutiny among 40,000 native sepoys in the Punjab, and quoted a letter written by Sir Charles only four days before he penned this sweeping condemnation, in which he affirmed that he had seen most armies in the world, but had never seen a more obedient and orderly army than that of India; and in reference to the mutiny, stated that he "would not allow a few malignant and discontented scoundrels to disgrace their colours and their regiments by an insolent attempt to dictate to the Government what pay that Government should give its soldiers." Lord Dalhousie officially informed him that "the Governor-General in Council would not again permit the Commander-in-chief, under any circumstances, to issue orders which should change the pay and allowances of the troops serving in India." Sir Charles immediately placed his resignation in the

hands of the Ministry. The question was referred by them to the Duke of Wellington, who had selected Sir Charles for the command in India, and he performed what he called "the painful task of reviewing the whole transaction" with a stern impartiality. He came to the conclusion that although there were murmurings and complaints at Wuzeerabad, there was no mutiny. There was no evidence that a general spirit of mutiny pervaded 40,000 troops in the Punjab. The 66th having mutinied at Govindgur, piled its arms under the orders of its officers, was marched out, disbanded, and sent into the Company's provinces in this very month of January, 1850, with the knowledge of the whole army, and there had not been a sign of any movement in favour of the mutinous regiment. There was no sufficient reason for suspending the rule of compensation of the 15th August, 1845. The Governor-General was right, and did no more than his duty in expressing his disapprobation of the act of the Commander-in-chief, and could not with propriety have acted otherwise. This decision of the great Duke settles the historical merits of the question.

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—TRANSACTIONS WITH NATIVE PRINCES, 1848—1854.

LORD DALHOUSIE had not been four months in India before the question of the succession to the raj of Sattara, a small principality under the Bombay Presidency, with a revenue of about fifteen lacs of rupees a-year, was brought before him. The eventual absorption of this unit in the great Indian empire was not, in itself, a matter of any political significance, but it has acquired a degree of importance from the use which has been made of it to denounce Lord Dalhousie's administration, for what has been designated "his policy of annexa-

tion," of which this was the first instance. It derives still higher importance from the fact that it was on this occasion that the Court of Directors and the Board of Control enunciated, for the guidance of the Government of India, their decision regarding the rights connected with adoption in the families of native princes.

Origin of
Sattara, 1818. On the deposition of the Bajee Rao in 1817, Lord Hastings resolved to make a suitable provision for the family of Sevajee, the founder of the Maharatta greatness, which had been deprived by the Peshwa of all power, and held in durance upon a small pittance. His chief object was "to conciliate the Maharatta tribes to the new order of things, and to establish among them a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former brahminical government." In the following year a treaty was concluded with the raja, which recited that, in consideration of the antiquity of his house, the British Government had determined to invest him with a sovereignty sufficient for the maintenance of his family in comfort and dignity. The territory of Sattara was therefore ceded to him, his heirs and successors, in perpetual sovereignty, to be held in subordinate co-operation with the British Government. The restrictions imposed on him were of the most stringent character. He was not only denied all political power, but forbidden to hold any intercourse with foreign potentates, even for the purpose of forming matrimonial alliances, otherwise than through the Resident. The historian of the Mahratta and Pindaree war, who was also the political secretary to Government during this transaction, records that the authority of the raja could never be looked on as independent, and that his court differed little from the pageant courts of Delhi, Moorshedabad, or Arcot. The raja himself considered that he was little better than "the manager and farmer of a district," and, soon after his accession, made efforts to throw off these restrictions, and gradually proceeded from one intrigue and one act of contumacy to another till, in 1839, the Government of India deemed it necessary to depose

him. His brother was raised to the throne and administered the country with great vigour and beneficence for ten years; he died on the 5th of April, 1848. He had repeatedly applied for permission to adopt a son, but the Resident was constrained to reply that it was beyond his province to grant it. Two days before his death he again expressed his fervent hope that the lad he might adopt would be recognized as his heir and successor to the throne. Two hours before he breathed his last, a boy whom he had not previously thought of, was brought to him at hap-hazard; the ceremonies of adoption were performed, and a royal salute was fired. The adoption was complete according to the rules of the Hindoo shasters, and secured to the soul of the deceased prince in the next world all those benefits which it would not otherwise have enjoyed. The adopted son succeeded to all the personal property of the raja, but it rested with the British Government to determine whether he should succeed also to the sovereignty of Sattara. Within a week of the decease of the raja, Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, recorded a Minute, recommending that he should be acknowledged as the raja. Sir George had long been distinguished in India as the foremost champion of the native chiefs, and was regarded as the most influential member of that school of Indian politics which holds their interests to be of paramount importance; his opinion in the present case, therefore, renders it redundant to notice the Minutes of any inferior pen, either in India or in England. He stated that the treaty was one of perpetual friendship and alliance between the English Government and his Highness, his heirs and successors. Such expressions ordinarily meant a sovereignty which should not lapse for want of heirs so long as there was any one who could succeed, according to the usages of the people to whom the treaty referred. The lad now adopted was such a successor. Sir George admitted that the sanction of the paramount state was by custom required to render an adoption to a principality valid, and that in the

Opinion of Sir
George Clerk,
1848.

time of our predecessors, this was made a source of profit to the treasury. "Can we here," he enquired, "without injustice, exercise that right of sanction, to the extent of prohibiting adoption? The raja engaged, it is true, to hold his territory, in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, but there are many instances of states held subordinate to another in all external relations, the duration of whose sovereignty it was never supposed could be justly terminated by the superior state in default of direct heirs. . . . If it be inconsistent with justice to refuse confirmation to the act of adoption, it was useless to enquire whether it was better for the interests of the people or the empire."

Opinion of Mr. Willoughby, 1848. Sir George Clerk was succeeded in a few weeks by Lord Falkland, who concurred with the other members of Council in taking a directly opposite view of the case. The most important Minute recorded on this occasion was that of Mr. Willoughby, in which all the stores of knowledge he had accumulated during a long period of service in high political appointments were brought to the discussion, and the question of adoption by native princes was examined with great skill and impartiality. Of such importance did Lord Dalhousie consider this dissertation as to pronounce it the text book on adoption. Mr. Willoughby's opinion in this case carries greater weight from the circumstance that, on a subsequent occasion, his views regarding the rights of one of the native princes were diametrically opposed to the decision of the Governor-General. The establishment of the raj of Sattara, he observed, was an act of spontaneous liberality on the part of the British Government, which, in 1818, had as much right to retain the Sattara territory as any of the other districts which belonged to the Peshwa. Whatever right the raja possessed must be looked for in the treaty of 1819, under which the state was created. That treaty conferred the sovereignty on the raja and on his heirs and successors; but, in his judgment, it did not confer the right to create an heir by adoption, on failure of natural heirs. Admitting, however,

the reverse, for the sake of argument, to render the adoption valid for succession to the state in such cases as Sattara, the confirmation of the paramount authority in India was essential, according to immemorial and almost universally admitted custom. The custom was, in fact, so ancient and so universal, as to have all the effect of law. Of this the late raja was fully conscious, and he invariably acknowledged that the adoption could have no political value unless the sanction of the British Government could be obtained. Mr. Willoughby then proceeded to state that he was no advocate for the extinction of the native states by violent or unjust means; but when they fairly lapsed to us, as they would have done to the Government which preceded us, he would not allow them to be perpetuated by adoption, except under special circumstances. The question now before the Council was whether, after the lapse of thirty years, we were likely to obtain the same advantages which were anticipated by Mr. Elphinstone, and whether they were of sufficient moment to render it expedient that the Sattara state should be reconstituted for the benefit of a boy hitherto brought up in poverty and obscurity. Those who regarded the native states as safety-valves for the discontented, and for particular classes, for whom it was difficult to find employment under our rule, would probably decide on recreating the state. Those, on the other hand, who coincided with him in opinion, that British rule should on every fair occasion be extended, under the opinion expressed by Mr. Macaulay, that "no Government exists of which the intentions are purer, or which on the whole has done more to extend civilization and promote the happiness of the human race than the Company," would take an opposite view of the case, and determine, in virtue of our prerogative as lords paramount, not to confirm the adoption.

The Minutes of Sir George Clerk, in favour of adoption, and of Lord Falkland and the two members of the Bombay Council in opposition to it, were submitted to Lord Dalhousie. The question was alto-

Lord Dalhousie's
researches,
1848.

gether new to him, and to assist his judgment, he called for all the information which could be obtained from the public records of the opinions of official functionaries, the instructions received from the Court of Directors, and the precedents which had been established, on the subject of adoption. He found that four years before, on nominating a successor to the vacant throne of Holkar, Lord Hardinge had distinctly informed him that the chiefship should descend to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, in due succession, from generation to generation, to the entire exclusion of heirs by adoption. He found that Sir James Carnac, the Governor of Bombay, who described himself as "a strong and earnest advocate for upholding the native states of India," when employed in placing the late raja on the Sattara throne, had recorded that he was childless and, at his advanced period of life, was not likely to have any children, and that as there was no other party who could claim the succession by hereditary right, the Sattara state would lapse to the British Government, unless, indeed, it should be judged expedient to allow this line of princes to be continued by the Hindoo custom of adoption. He found that Sir John Malcolm had stood alone in advocating the expediency of giving the sanction of Government to adoptions, and that, on the ground of making them a source of profit to the state. His successor in the chair at Bombay had, however, taken a different view of the question, and it was referred to the Court of Directors. They had previously reminded the Government of India that their sanction was requisite, not indeed to the validity of an adoption, or to the enjoyment of the private rights it conferred, but to enable the adopted son to succeed to the chiefship. In reply to the reference they stated: "We are unable to frame any more precise directions for your guidance in such cases than that whenever it is optional with you to give or withhold your consent to adoptions, that indulgence should be the exception, and not the rule; and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation." The principle thus laid down by the public autho-

rities in England was subsequently exemplified by refusing to allow the chiefs of Mandave and Colaba the privilege of adoption on the failure of natural heirs, and annexing their territories, while they rewarded the chief of Sanglee for his loyalty and attachment to the British Government, by permitting him to perpetuate his sovereignty by this process.

Lord Dalhousie's
conclusions,
1848.

After a careful examination of these documents and precedents, Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that as a general rule, established beyond cavil and doubt, and sanctioned by the supreme authority in the empire, it rested with the sovereign power, on the death of the holder of a fief without issue, to permit its continuance by adoption, or to annex it to the state; that adoption by such a prince of any individual was valid as regarded his private property or possessions, but insufficient to constitute him heir to the principality, until it had been confirmed by the sovereign authority. In the case of Sattara, the British Government possessed this absolute power to grant or to refuse adoption as the creator of the raj in 1819. If the late raja had left an heir of his own body, no question could have been entertained of the perfect right of such an heir to succeed to the throne; but the death of his Highness without heirs natural, having rendered the throne vacant, the territory should be held, according to law and practice, to have lapsed to the paramount state. He agreed with Mr. Willoughby regarding the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presented itself of consolidating the territories that already belonged to us, and of getting rid of those petty intervening principalities, which might be a means of annoyance, but could never be a source of strength. He remarked, that by incorporating Sattara with our own possessions, we should acquire continuity of military communications, increase of the resources of the state, and uniformity of administration in matters of justice and revenue over a large additional tract. He added, "In my conscience, I believe we should ensure to the population of the state a per-

petuity of that just and mild Government they have lately enjoyed, but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure, if we resolve to continue the raj and to deliver it over to the Government of a boy, brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing whatever was known to the raja who adopted him."

General principles of Lord Dalhousie, 1849.

Seven years before the question of Sattara was presented to the Government of India, the Governor-General and his Council in Calcutta recorded their unanimous opinion that "our policy should be to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just or honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." Lord Dalhousie embraced the opportunity of the Sattara Minute to record his entire concurrence in the views of his predecessor. "It was his strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a sound and wise policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural, when the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindoo law. The Government is bound on such occasions to act with the purest integrity and the most scrupulous good faith. Wherever a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should be at once abandoned. But when the right to territory by lapse is clear, the Government is bound to take that which is justly and legally its due, and to extend to that territory the benefit of our sovereignty, present and prospective." The most liberal provision was made for the Sattara family. The ranees and the adopted son were allowed to retain property to the extent of sixteen lacs of rupees, and valuable landed estates, and likewise received an annual pension of a lac of rupees.

Decision of the
home authorities,
1849

The whole question was referred to the Court of Directors, together with the Minutes which had been recorded in Calcutta and Bombay. Sir George Clerk had stated in his Minute that it would be convenient to the Governments in India, and acceptable to the people, if the "determination of the present question should lead to the declaration of fixed principles for the regulation, under the authority of the British Government, of successions in default of heirs." The Court, with the concurrence of the Board of Control, accordingly communicated for the guidance of the Government of India, the fixed principle upon which all such questions were to be decided, in the following clear and explicit terms: "By the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality like that of Sattara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it." This memorable despatch was dated the 24th January, 1849.

Berar; death of
the raja, 1853.

Nearly five years elapsed without any occasion for the application of the law of succession thus laid down by the supreme authority of the empire, when the raja of Jhansi died on the 21st November, 1853, and the raja of Nagpore three weeks after. It has been stated in a former chapter that the treachery of the raja Appa Sahib, in 1817, and in the succeeding year, placed the state of Nagpore at the mercy of the British Government. Lord Hastings generously restored it to the royal family and seated a youth on the throne, placing him during his minority under the guardianship of his mother, Baka bye, a woman of great spirit and intelligence, and entrusting the administration to Mr. Jenkins, the Resident. The raja died twenty-seven years after, without any heir or successor, lineal, collateral, or adopted. Mr. Mansell, the Resident at Nagpore, at the time of his decease, had repeatedly pressed the subject of adopting a son on his attention for two years, but he always manifested

the greatest aversion to the subject. Neither had his widow, who, according to the usage peculiar to this state, enjoyed the privilege of adoption without the injunction of her dying husband, expressed any desire to take advantage of it. Mr. Mansell, who was one of the advocates of perpetuating native dynasties, recommended that the British Government should appropriate half the public revenue to its own use, and place the management of the state in the hands of Baka by, then in her seventy-fifth year. In case the selection of this lady should not be approved by the Governor-General, he mentioned the names of "two other pretenders to the throne," one of whom "had a delicate constitution, but had not suffered from any serious illness for the last three years;" the other was "a violent and dissipated youth." Lord Dalhousie recorded an elaborate Minute on the subject, in which he discussed it on the ground of right, and of expediency. He observed that there existed no person whatever, who, either by virtue of treaty, or by the custom of the Bhonslay family, or according to Hindoo law, or the Mahratta interpretation of that law, could claim to be the heir and successor of the deceased raja. "We have not now to decide any question which turns upon the right of a paramount power to refuse confirmation to an adoption by an inferior. We have before us no question of an inchoate, or incomplete, or irregular adoption, for the raja has died, and has deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. The state of Nagpore, conferred on the raja and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government has reverted to it on the death of the raja without any heir. The case of Nagpore stands wholly without example. Justice and custom and precedent leave the Government wholly unfettered to decide as it thinks best. Policy alone must determine the question whether the sovereignty of the state which was conferred on a Goojur in 1818 shall be conferred on somebody else as a gift a second time." The conclusion to which he came was that the gratuitous alienation of the state of Nagpore in favour of a Mahratta youth, was called for by no obligation of justice or

equity, and was forbidden by every consideration of sound policy.

British and
native adminis-
trations, 1819-53.

On the question of expediency he contrasted the condition of the country for eight years under the administration of Mr. Jenkins with its subsequent condition under the raja. Colonel Sutherland, whose long experience and connection with native states, made his testimony of peculiar value, had left on record that the name of Mr. Jenkins—Dunkin sahib—was never mentioned by the people without affection, and would be handed down to posterity as that of a great benefactor, and that under his administration the country had become a garden. On the other hand, Mr. Mansell described the late raja as “absorbed in the society of low followers, in the sports of wrestling and kite-flying, in cards, singing, and dancing, and in the vulgar conversation and mean pursuits of his dancing girls.” Eight years before his death, one of his concubines had brought him to a confirmed habit of drinking, and this vice alone, against which the Resident had repeatedly remonstrated, was sufficient to disqualify him for the government. He manifested an invincible distaste for business, and never left the zenana without reluctance. His chief object was to fill the privy purse from bribes, fines, confiscations, and compositions. He was completely in the hands of the most unprincipled favourites, who put up justice to sale, and plundered the country. He contented himself with signing and sealing documents which awarded decisions to those who payed best; and “all his thoughts and actions resembled those of a village chandler.”

Anxiety of the
people for the
British rule,
1837—1853.

It was no matter of surprise that the people should long for the halcyon days of British rule. Mr. Cavendish, the Resident in 1837, had affirmed that while any questioning of the right of adoption at Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Lucknow, would be improper, because those territories were not bestowed on the present or former rulers by the British Government, Nagpore, Sattara,

and Mysore were created by the Hon. Company, and none but a descendant of the grantee could advance any claim to the succession according to the law of the land. He asserted that all the agriculturists, bankers, and shopkeepers would prefer the British rule to that of any native government, and hail with joy the return of their former masters; he therefore recommended the annexation of the country. His successor, Major Wilkinson, who had always upheld the cause of native princes, asserted, on the contrary, that Nagpore stood precisely in the same position as Gwalior, and advised that permission should be given to the raja to adopt a son; but, with an amiable candour, acknowledged that the course proposed by Mr. Cavendish would be most beneficial and gratifying to the mass of the population, who desired nothing so much as to be placed under the British Government; and this, he remarked, "was not a mere idle wish for change, inasmuch as they had experienced the blessings of the rule of British officers. The only people who would regret a change, were a few favourites about the Court and their followers." Mr. Mansell, who advocated the continuance of a native government, because, among other benefits, it would conciliate the prejudices of the native aristocracy, stated that "if the public voice were polled, it would be greatly in favour of escaping from the chance of a rule like that of the late chief in his latter years."

On a review of this body of evidence supplied through a period of twenty-five years, by a succession of officers, who differed from each other in political opinions, Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that the interest and happiness of the people forbade the British Government to bestow the sovereignty of Nagpore afresh on a native ruler. He then passed in review the repeated failures which had attended the experiment of setting up native sovereigns to govern territories we had acquired by the issue of war. "We set up a raja at Mysore; and we have long since been obliged to assume the direct management of the country, and to take out of the raja's hands the power which he was found

Lord Dalhousie's
conclusions, 1858.

unfit to wield. We set up a raja at Sattara, and twenty years afterwards we were obliged to dethrone and exile him. We set up a raja at Nagpore; we afforded him every advantage a native prince could command; an able and experienced princess was his guardian and the regent of the state. So favoured, so aided, he has, nevertheless, lived and died a seller of justice, a miser, a drunkard, and a debauchee." He said he was well aware that the continuance of the raj of Nagpore under some Mahratta rule, as an act of grace and favour on the part of the British Government, would be highly acceptable to native sovereigns and nobles in India; but "I place the interests of the people of Nagpore foremost among the considerations which induce me to advise that the state should now pass under British Government, for I conscientiously declare, that unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed permanently under British rule, no other advantages which could arise out of the measure, would move me to propose it." He then touched on the benefits which might accrue from the annexation. The essential interests of England would be promoted if the great cotton fields in the valley of Beraï were placed under British management, and a railroad constructed to convey its produce to the port of Bombay; the dominions of the Nizam would be surrounded by British territory; a direct line of communication would be established between Bombay and Calcutta, and the British empire materially consolidated.

Minutes of
Colonel Low and
Mr. Halliday,
1853.

Of the three members of Council the proposal of Lord Dalhousie was controverted by only one, Colonel—now Sir John—Low. He had been employed for thirty years in political posts of the highest importance in various parts of India, and acquired a large fund of experience, which gave no ordinary weight to his political opinions. He was distinguished by the amiability of his disposition; and his long intercourse with the native princes and chiefs had created a benevolent sympathy with their feelings

and wishes, which it was impossible not to respect, even when it appeared occasionally to be carried to excess. It was his opinion that as there was no limitation in the treaty, the late raja was placed in the same position as Appa Sahib before he made war on the Government, and when he occupied the throne by hereditary right; that the raja possessed the same power and authority as any other independent prince; and that the annexation of the territory would contravene the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty. He admitted that the great mass of the people ought to be grateful for the system of government projected for them by the Governor-General, and would certainly be better governed than under the late raja, but the men of high rank and influence would be less contented. He considered that we had no right to hinder the widows and relatives from settling the succession to the vacant throne according to their customs and wishes, and that they and the principal men ought to be invited to state their claims openly. He believed that the confidence of our native allies in our good faith had been shaken by the conquest and occupation of Sindh, by our attack on Gwalior, and by the annexation of Sattara; and that the incorporation of Nagpore would fill them with a dread of what might happen on their own death. Mr. Halliday, also a member of Council, affirmed that on the question of right there could be no difference of opinion, and he proceeded to say, "Here is a territory actually without a claimant, a territory full of available resources of a kind important to the Government of India, and still more so to the people of England; a territory whose teeming population is avowedly hoping, praying, expecting to be taken under our Government, as no imaginary blessing, but as a boon of which, having full experience, they know and appreciate the value; and at such a juncture, we, forsooth, are to be deaf to their call, and deaf also to the claims of our own countrymen, and leave the widows and relatives and principal men to settle this affair; or, still more, to invite and solicit them to take some spoilt boy from a nursery, or some

obscure and uneducated youth from a village, and place again in such hands the rod of iron with which the late raja had so scourged the nationality out of his unfortunate subjects, that they are now impatient for the rule of the stranger rather than suffer such another tyranny. We are to give this right of succession as a thing of little worth to some 'son of a daughter of a sister of the adoptive father of the late raja,' or to some 'son of a son of a sister of the adoptive grandfather of the late raja,' for such is the designation of the relationship to the raja of the two youths suggested by the Resident, of whom he says one is a dissipated and violent youth, while the best he can say of the other is that he has not suffered from any serious illness for the last three years."

Decision of the
Court of Direc-
tors, 1854.

The Court of Directors, on receiving information that the Government of India, acting on the instructions conveyed in their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, had annexed the territory, expressed their entire concurrence in its views and proceedings. They remarked that Nagpore was a principality granted, after conquest, by the favour of the British Government to the late raja, on hereditary tenure. He had left no heir of his body; there was no male heir who, by family or hereditary right could claim to succeed him; he adopted no son; there was not in existence any person descended in the male line from the founder of the dynasty; and they had no doubt of their right to resume the grant. As to the policy of resumption, they agreed with the Governor-General that regard for the interest of the people themselves who had suffered under Mahratta rule, and prospered under British administration, forbade the maintenance of the sovereignty of Nagpore, now that it was at the free disposal of the British Government.

Sale of Property,
1854.

With regard to the property of the late raja, Lord Dalhousie stated that although he considered it to be fairly at the disposal of Government, he desired that it should neither be alienated from the family, nor given up to be squandered by the ranees. He directed

that jewels, furniture, and other personal property suitable to their rank having been allotted to them, the value of the remainder should be realized, and constitute a fund for "the benefit of the Bhonslay family." The ranees resolutely resisted the surrender of the gold mohurs which were deposited in their private apartments, and the Governor-General considered it desirable rather to fail in obtaining them than to force an entrance for that purpose. The live stock was at once sold off at Nagpore, and the jewels and other articles of value were sent round to Calcutta to be put up to auction. There can be little doubt that this mode of disposing of the jewels and gems which had been accumulated by that royal house for more than a century, by the hammer of the auctioneer, was revolting to the feelings of the native community, and open to all the censure which has been passed on it; but the proceeds, amounting to twenty lacs of rupees, were considered a sacred deposit for the use of the family. According to the most recent reports from the province, one-fourth of the entire revenue of the country still continues to be devoted to the support of the royal family and its retainers and dependents, notwithstanding the death of some of the annuitants.

Jhansi, 1854. The raja of Jhansi died on the 11th November, and the question of the succession to this principality was brought before the Government of India. To revert to its former history: On the first connection of the Government with Bundelcund, in 1804, a treaty was concluded with Sheo Rao Bhao, a tributary of the Peshwa, who is described in some documents as an *aumil*, or governor of this small territory; in others, as simply the collector. All the rights of the Peshwa in the province were ceded to the Company in 1817, and the Governor-General, adverting to the fidelity and the attachment of the family to British interests "resolved to declare the territory to be hereditary in the family of the late Sheo Rao Bhao." A treaty was concluded with his grandson, Rao Ramchunder, and his heirs and successors; and the title of raja was conferred on him in 1832. He died in 1835,

having adopted a son the day before his death; but Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor of Agra, refused to acknowledge his right to bequeath the sovereignty by adoption, and placed the lawful heir descended from Sheo Rao Bhao on the throne, though a leper. He died in 1838, and was succeeded by Gungadhur Rao, the only surviving son of Sheo Rao Bhao, under whose mismanagement the revenues, which had once amounted to eighteen lacs of rupees, dwindled down to three. Gungadhur died in 1853, and in like manner adopted a son on his death-bed, and thus secured all the spiritual benefits which depended on that rite; but his widow, a woman of no ordinary talent and of high spirit, undeterred by the previous refusal of the British Government to admit of succession to the kingdom by adoption, demanded the sovereignty also for the lad. Lord Dalhousie, before he formed any opinion on the subject, referred to the Minute recorded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor of Agra, which was universally considered a conclusive authority on the law of succession in Bundelcund. Sir Charles was known to be favourable to the maintenance of native thrones and to the principle of adoption, but in reference to that particular province stated, "With regard to chiefs who merely hold lands, or enjoy public revenues under grants, such as are issued by a sovereign to a subject, the power which made the grant, or which by conquest or otherwise had succeeded to its rights, is certainly entitled to limit succession according to the limitation of the grant, which in general confines it to heirs male of the body, and consequently precludes adoption. In such cases, therefore, the power which granted or the power standing in its place, would have a right to resume on failure of heirs male of the body." Jhansi was one of these principalities. Gungadhur Rao had left no heir of his body. There was no male heir of Rao Ramchunder, or of Sheo Rao Bhao, or indeed of any raja or soobadar who had ruled it since the first relations of the Company with the state. Lord Dalhousie, therefore, came to the inevitable conclusion that the right of the British Government to refuse to acknow-

ledge the present adoption, was placed beyond all doubt, by the existence of precedents, by the general law of succession established by the home Government in their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, and by the *lex loci* of the province, as expounded by Sir Charles Metcalfe. He added, that the British Government would not derive any practical advantage from the possession of this territory, as it was of no great extent, and the revenue was inconsiderable; but the possession of it as our own would tend to the improvement of the general internal administration of Bundelcund. Colonel Low, who had a fortnight before vigorously opposed the annexation of Nagpore, recorded his entire concurrence in the opinion of Lord Dalhousie, and added: "The native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns; they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peshwa, and latterly of the Company. . . . I consider that the Government of India has now a full right, if it chooses to exercise that right, to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions." The Court of Directors decided that, as the state of Jhansi was a tributary and dependent province, created by the British Government, the adoption should not be recognized as conferring any right to succeed to the rule of the principality; and as the chief had left no descendants and no descendants of any preceding chief were in existence, the state had lapsed to the British Government. Three years afterwards, on the outbreak of the mutiny and the extinction of British authority in the north-west, the ranee took a fearful revenge for her disappointment, and put to death every European man, woman, and child she could seize.

Enumeration of annexations, 1855. These are the three cases of absorption by lapse which constitute the "annexation policy" of Lord

Dalhousie. In annexing the remainder of the Punjab, he followed the example of Lord Hardinge, who had previously annexed two of its provinces; in both cases it was the necessary result of a war brought on by unprovoked aggression. The retention of Pegu was only a continuation of the policy of Lord Amherst, who had deprived the "Golden-

foot" of three provinces, thirty-six years before. In each case, the act was admitted to be a just and legitimate retribution for the arrogant encroachments of the court of Ava. The sovereignty of Oude was extinguished under special orders from home, contrary to the advice of Lord Dalhousie. He has been censured for having coveted the annexation of Kerowlee, which is said to have been rescued from his grasp by the firmness of the Resident, Colonel Low, and of the Court of Directors. A passing notice of the transaction may be useful in the interests of truth. Kerowlee was a small Rajpoot principality, the raja of which adopted a son just before his death. Colonel Low, the Resident, recommended that the adoption should be recognized. Sir Frederick Currie, one of the members of Council, recorded the same opinion in a Minute in which he pointed out the essential distinction between the ancient principalities of Rajpootana and a state like that of Sattara, "the offspring of our gratuitous benevolence," where we resumed only what we had bestowed. Lord Dalhousie drew up a fair and impartial statement of the arguments on both sides the question, and concluded with the remark that, taking into consideration that British supremacy was established in Kerowlee in 1817, the arguments in favour of causing it to lapse, appeared to him to preponderate; but he referred the question to the Court of Directors. They decided that their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, had reference only to a "dependent principality" like Sattara, and not to the case of a "protected ally" like the raja of Kerowlee. Sumbulpore has also been inserted in the schedule of annexations, but the raja was simply a zemindar, with whom there never was any treaty at all, and who in February, 1827, signed a document in which he acknowledged that "he had been vested with authority from the Government to administer justice, and to conduct the police duties within the limits of his estate." On his death, the office was conferred on a second raja, probably a member of his family, and eventually reverted to Government. Sumbulpore was an

extensive region in the centre of India, thinly inhabited by wild tribes, scarcely less barbarous than they were when the hero of the Ramayun marched through it on his expedition to Ceylon, and recruited his army, according to the epic, with monkeys. Brahmins and rajpoots had contrived to establish their authority in it, but it was a land of forests and swamps, and withal so pestiferous that an appointment to it was dreaded by the European officers of Government like a sentence of death. The revenue amounted to 6,000 rupees a month, and there was little temptation to annex it. Minor estates were also from time to time escheating to the state; but the three acts on which the administration of Lord Dalhousie has been assailed by his censors, are, the annexation of Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, by the "dread and appalling doctrine of lapse." His conduct has been described as resembling "the acts of brigands counting out their spoil in a wood, rather than the acts of British statesmanship," and he has been pronounced to be the "worst and basest of rulers."

Extent of Lord
Dalhousie's re-
sponsibility, 1855.

To form a correct judgment on this subject, it must be recalled to mind that this "annexation policy," as it has been somewhat insidiously termed, was neither created nor enlarged by Lord Dalhousie. On the first occasion on which the question of lapse came before him, he found the principle of annexation supported by all the members of Council in Calcutta and Bombay, with the exception of Sir George Clerk, and, on the ground that it was in accordance with the immemorial law and usage of India. He found also that it harmonized with the practice which had received the sanction of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. That it was in unison also with his own views of public policy he fully admitted; but he refrained from acting upon it till a reference had been made to England, and until a declaration of the "fixed principle" which was in future to guide the proceedings of the Government of India on this important question, was received from the highest authority in the empire. If any censure is to be attached to the adoption

of this policy, a much larger share of it would, upon every principle of justice, fall on the masters than on the servant. It has been asserted that these annexations created alarm among all the princes of India, and shook their feeling of loyalty to the Company; but it appears to be forgotten that the application of this law of succession was confined to extremely narrow limits. It did not affect any of the Mahomedan princes of India; and the Court of Directors and Lord Dalhousie explicitly declared that it was applicable exclusively to those subordinate and dependent principalities which had been created by the "spontaneous generosity" of the British Government, and not to any of the independent sovereigns. It was, in fact, restricted to the states of Mysore, Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, and possibly to one or two others of minor account. If any alarm had arisen in the minds of the independent princes, a few words of explanation from the Resident would have been sufficient to dispel it.

Opposition to annexation, 1855. The principle of refusing to allow these dependent states which had lapsed by the failure of natural heirs to be continued by adoption, was vigorously combated by a considerable body of the European functionaries of Government. Ever since the days of Edmund Burke, who has been justly described as a worshipper of ancient dynasties, there has always been a succession of men in the Direction at home, and in the public service abroad, prepared to advocate the cause of native princes as princes, without any particular reference to the merits or demerits of their government. Among them may be enumerated some of the most eminent men connected with the administration,—Tucker, Malcolm, Henry Lawrence, Clerk, Outram, Sleeman, Low,—all animated with an honourable and chivalrous feeling of respect for the royal families of India. Considering the inevitable tendency of our progress to level them, it is an honour to our national character that there should be men in authority eager to defend their interests; and it is impossible not to admire the feeling even when it may appear to interfere with interests

of a higher character. On the other hand, there has always existed a body of public men at home and in India, equally eminent and high-minded, who consider British rule an inestimable blessing to the people, and are anxious to substitute it for native administrations, wherever this can be effected with a scrupulous regard to the claims of justice and equity. The feelings of one party incline to the wishes and susceptibilities of the princes of India; those of the other to the interests of the people. The opinions of both are equally entitled to respect, and nothing can be more preposterous than to introduce into the controversy a charge of indifference to national faith. These antagonistic principles have been alternately in the ascendant, and they will probably continue, in turns, to sway our counsels, till the British empire in India reaches the same point of consolidation as that of Rome under the Cæsars, and these independent principalities expire from the extinction of every element of vitality, and the princes themselves subside into the position of grandees.

Arguments for
permitting
adoption, 1855.

Two arguments have been adduced for permitting these subordinate and dependent states to be perpetuated by adoption. A native administration is said to be more beneficial to the people than any we can construct, and more congenial with their wishes. There are doubtless many provinces within the wide circuit of our empire where it would be more adapted to the wishes of certain classes than a government of foreigners. If, as has been asserted, our Government is the purgatory of the upper ten thousand, it is still the paradise of the million. But the allegation that native rule is more advantageous to the general interests of the country, or of the people, is contrary to all the lessons of the past. Even when a minor prince has enjoyed all the benefit of careful training under our own auspices, for one instance in which he has proved a beneficent ruler, there are half-a-dozen in which he has sunk into the sensualities of the zenana, and abandoned all care of his people. Well has it been observed that “the education which tells on

kings, like the education that tells on all public men, is the education of the world," and not of the school room. If, moreover, a government with the purest intentions, and acting under a sense of severe responsibility, cannot promote the prosperity of a province more effectually than such rulers as the rajas of Mysore or of Nagpore, or the king of Oude, we can have no business in India. The other argument advanced for the perpetuation of lapsed kingdoms, is the opportunity it affords of employment for native talent, which does not exist under our rule. It carries much weight; it will be readily admitted that this has been the opprobrium of our administration ever since the days of Lord Cornwallis. Under the government of his predecessor, Mr. Hastings, the native *fouzdar* or commissioner of Hooghly received an allowance of 7,000 rupees a-month. Lord Cornwallis declared the natives unfit for any situations of trust, and reduced the salary of the best paid among them to 50 rupees. The empire of Akbar rose as rapidly as our own, but as he subjugated province after province, he enlisted the nobles and the aristocracy in his own service, and they became the firmest supporters of his throne. But with the progress of our empire a blight comes over the prospects of the higher and more influential classes of native society; there is no room for their aspirations in our system of Government, and they sink down to one dead level of depression in their own land. The remedy for this error is to be found, not in perpetuating the power, so constantly abused, of native princes, simply on the ground of finding employment for native intelligence and ambition, but in incorporating these qualities in our own administration, with all necessary safeguards against the defects of the oriental character, and thus to combine the gratification of the upper classes with the welfare of the lower.

Nabob of the Carnatic; previous history, 1801—53.

It was during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and with his concurrence, that the dignity and privileges of the Nabobs of the Carnatic became extinct. The proceedings of Lord Wellesley

regarding the Carnatic have been circumstantially detailed in a former chapter, and it is only necessary to recall to the memory of the reader that in consequence of the treasonable correspondence of the Nabob Mahomed Ali, and his son, with Tippoo Sultan, which was discovered in 1801, the Governor-General declared all the treaties made with the Nabob by the British Government null and void, and all the right and claim of the family to the musnud of the Carnatic annihilated. Lord Wellesley was disposed at first to abolish the nabobship altogether, but he eventually resolved to place one of the family on the throne with a liberal allowance. This arrangement was reduced to the form of a treaty which, as originally drawn up at Madras, contained expressions which implied that the British Government was simply recognizing a right already in existence, and not conferring a new right, but these words were, at once, struck out by Lord Wellesley, who explicitly declared that the Nabob owed his elevation, not to any existing right, for it had been entirely forfeited, but to the generosity and liberality of the British Government. The treaty stated that the allowance made to the Nabob of 213,421 pagodas a-year should be considered a permanent deduction in all times to come from the revenues of the Carnatic. But Lord Wellesley, expressly and intentionally excluded from this document, as he had done from that which related to Mysore, the words heirs and successors, which were invariably inserted by him in the treaties made with the independent princes of India. It was always understood at Madras and Calcutta that Lord Wellesley did not, in this case, contemplate a treaty such as is usually executed between parties who are in a position of equality but simply a personal settlement with one who was in a subordinate position. The Nabob enjoyed a titular dignity, but was obliged to reside in Chepauk Palace, under the guns of Fort St. George, and he was not allowed to travel to any distance without permission. He received royal salutes, and he was placed above law, but being without duties or responsibilities, he passed his life in

debauchery, and the palace became the pest of the Presidency. The Nabob died in 1819, and the Government of Madras placed his son on the throne. On his death in 1825, Sir Thomas Munro continued his infant son in the nabobship, but he died childless in 1853, when his uncle, Azim Jah, laid claim to the prerogatives and the allowances of the post, as his collateral heir.

Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, recorded an elaborate Minute on the subject, which became the basis of subsequent arrangements. He did not consider that the Company was bound by any act or deed to maintain the hereditary succession of the Nabobs of the Carnatic, as long as the family continued to exist. On the death of the Nabob in 1819, the Government of Madras had pointed out to the Governor-General that they were not authorized by the terms of the treaty to acknowledge any successor. Though the musnud had been allowed to descend in two instances in regular succession from father to son, this circumstance did not bind the Government to continue it when that succession had failed, as in the present instance. He objected, likewise, to the perpetuation of the nabobship, on the ground of expediency. The semblance of royalty without any of its power was a mockery of authority which must necessarily be pernicious. It was not merely anomalous, but prejudicial to the community that a separate authority, not amenable to the laws, should be permitted to exist. This pageant, though hitherto harmless, might at any time become a nucleus of sedition and agitation. Moreover, the habits of life, and the course of proceeding of the Nabobs had been morally most injurious, and tended to bring high station into disrepute, and favoured the accumulation of an idle and dissipated population in the chief city of the Presidency. He recommended that the royal privileges and immunities hitherto conceded to the Arcot family should cease, that a handsome allowance should be given to Azim Jah, that Government should undertake to settle his debts, and that the salaries of

Opinion of the
Governor and
Council of
Madras, 1853.

the principal officers should be continued for their lives. Sir Henry Montgomery, the member of Council at Madras, seconded these views, and stated in his Minute that the affairs of the Nabob were irretrievably embarrassed; that his palace was mortgaged, and that his debts were computed at fifty lacs of rupees, for the payment of which the creditors were importunate. Those who were responsible for the peace and the welfare of Madras were unquestionably the best judges of what was necessary to secure it, and the opinions thus expressed by them of the importance of extinguishing the noxious influence of Chepauk Palace, could not fail to carry weight with the Government in Calcutta and in England.

Opinion of Lord Dalhousie, 1853. Lord Dalhousie, who happened at the time to be at Madras on his way to Rangoon, recorded his entire concurrence in the arguments and conclusions of the Governor and Council. On his return to Calcutta he embodied his views in a Minute, in which he stated that he agreed with Lord Harris and the members of the Government of Madras in holding that the treaty of 1801 was a purely personal settlement concluded between the Company on the one part, and the Nabob Azim-ood-dowlah on the other, without any mention of heirs or successors. The strongest point in the claim of Azim Jah, he said, was that the Court of Directors had, in more than one despatch, alluded to him as the heir of his nephew, but no attempt need be made to evade these allusions, or to weaken the full force of their meaning. They may be readily admitted to indicate an expectation on the part of the British Government that if Mahomed Ghouse should die without children, his uncle Azim Jah would be allowed to succeed him; but to indicate an expectation, or even an intention, was not to recognize or confer a right. These words contained no pledge or promise of the succession; and there had subsequently been too much reason to forego any such intention regarding the claimant or his family. The Decision of the Court of Directors with whom the settlement of

Court, 1853. the question rested, deemed it expedient to notice the expressions upon which Azim Jah had laid so much stress, of his having been alluded to in a letter addressed to Madras, thirty-six years before, as the "next heir." They observed that the question then before them was not the succession to the musnud, but the appointment of a physician to the young Nabob. As nearest of kin they had spoken of him as heir to whatever could be legally derived by inheritance. After "that earnest deliberation which was due to all questions which could be supposed to involve considerations of public faith," the Court came to the conclusion that the rights of the family were derived from the treaty of 1801, and necessarily limited by its terms, which were exclusively personal to Azim-ood-dowlah; that there was no obligation on the British Government to continue the provisions of the treaty in favour of any collateral heirs, and that it would be highly inexpedient to do so. "The title and dignity of Nabob and all the advantages annexed to it by the treaty of 1801 are therefore at an end." A liberal allowance was made to Azim Jah, besides a suitable provision for the dependents of the family, and he was recognized as the first nobleman in the Presidency of Madras, and allowed to maintain a military guard.

The Nizam and Berar, 1853. The vexatious question of the Hyderabad Contingent was brought to a satisfactory conclusion under Lord Dalhousie's administration, by the transfer of Berar to the management of British officers. To trace this transaction to its origin, it is necessary to observe that by the treaty of 1801 the Nizam was bound to join the British army, in time of war, with 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse. These troops, however, were found to be worse than useless in the field, and the Resident, Mr. Russell, was urged by the Court of Directors to obtain the consent of the Nizam and his minister, Chundoo-lall, to substitute for them a British Contingent of 5,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries. In a former chapter, special reference has been made to this efficient but expensive force, which was over-officered and over-

paid, and severely taxed the resources of the Hyderabad state. Its allowances had repeatedly fallen into arrears, and the Government of India, considering itself bound to ensure the payment of a force enlisted under its guarantee, directed the necessary funds to be advanced from the Resident's chest, and they were acknowledged by the Nizam as a debt due with interest to the Company. In 1843, the Resident was again required to make advances, when he was instructed by the Government of India to inform the Nizam that, unless he observed greater punctuality in future, he would be called on to transfer to the Government territory of sufficient value to meet these periodical demands. Small sums were, from time to time, doled out in dribbles, from the Nizam's treasury, but not sufficient to cover the pay of the Contingent, or to keep down the interest of the debt. The Resident had repeatedly remonstrated with him on the deplorable state of his affairs. The territory of Hyderabad was sufficiently productive to provide for all the demands of the administration, and to maintain the court in affluence and splendour; but it was impossible to prevail on the Nizam to attend to public business, and he had for a long time left the Government without a responsible minister. The hordes of foreign mercenaries he persisted in maintaining, to the number of more than 40,000, devoured his revenues, oppressed his people, and even held his own sovereign power in check. Lord Dalhousie was determined that this unsatisfactory state of things should not be allowed to continue, and he brought his clear head, practical judgment, and resolute will to the solution of the difficulty.

Lord Dalhousie's
movements,
1849. In August, 1849, he directed the Resident to intimate that arrangements must be made to liquidate the debt by the 31st December, 1850.

This communication produced no result. At the appointed period, not only had no attempt been made to cope with the debt, but it was augmented to seventy lacs by fresh advances on account of the Contingent. Accordingly, in May, 1851, Lord Dalhousie addressed a letter to the Nizam desiring him

to make over certain districts, specified in a schedule, to cover the past and the growing obligations. The Nizam, who had been apprized of the transmission of the communication, anticipated its official delivery by appointing Seraj-ool-moolk, the grandson of the great Meer Alum, and the ablest man at the court, to the office of minister, and likewise pledged his royal word to discharge half the debt immediately, and the remainder by the 31st October, as well as to appropriate the revenue of certain districts to the payment of the Contingent. The first instalment was paid by money raised at an exorbitant premium; the second was neglected; the pay of the Contingent again fell into arrears, and the officers and men were driven to the bankers, who accommodated them at the rate of twenty-four per cent. Again were advances made by the Resident, and the debt, notwithstanding the recent payments, swelled to fifty lacs of rupees. Four years of

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, 30th
March, 1853.

evasion on the part of the Nizam had worn out the patience of Lord Dalhousie. In one of those lucid and exhaustive Minutes in which he was accustomed to record the ground, and to furnish the justification, of his decisions on public questions, he examined the subject of the Contingent in a moral and practical point of view. The sole cause, he observed, of all the discord which vexes the two states is the Contingent, for which the Resident maintains a constant wrestle with the Dewan, and which transforms the representative of the British Government, by turns, into an importunate creditor, and a bailiff in execution. If the Nizam had at any time refused, or should now refuse to maintain the Contingent any longer, the Government of India could not make good any right by treaty to enforce the continuance of it. Our simple right was to require 15,000 infantry and cavalry of the Nizam's army in time of war, and this provision has been made to justify our requiring the Nizam to uphold a force of 7,000 men and twenty-four guns, officered by British officers, and controlled by the British Resident, in time of peace. Neither the words nor the intention of the treaty can

be held to warrant such a construction of its obligations. But, the rulers of Hyderabad, having for forty years consented to maintain this field force on certain terms, are bound faithfully to fulfil those terms as long as the original consent to its maintenance is not withdrawn. The present Nizam, though he has enquired in moments of irritation why the Contingent was kept up when there was no war, has steadily resisted every attempt to reduce it by a single bayonet or sabre. It has been upheld of his own free will. However anomalous in its origin, it has become a practical necessity, and the Nizam has repeatedly declared that his government cannot be carried on without its assistance. It is required as a counterpoise to the large and disorderly body of foreign mercenaries who continually threaten the peace of the country. Lord Dalhousie proceeded to remark that the Government owed much consideration to the Nizam, for having allowed the Contingent to be maintained at a larger cost than was necessary to secure him all the advantages of it, and that it would be worth the while of Government and worthy of its dignity, to obtain an adjustment of a question which disturbed the amity of the two states, even at a considerable sacrifice. He therefore proposed the draft of a treaty to be submitted to the Nizam, which should place the Contingent on a definite and permanent footing, determine its strength and its duties, provide for its punctual payment, and effect an equitable settlement of the interest and principal of the debt. Including the pay of these troops, the interest of the debt, and certain annuities to native chiefs guaranteed by the Government of India, the annual payments of the Nizam amounted to between forty-two and forty-three lacs of rupees, and Lord Dalhousie proposed to require the transfer of territory yielding between thirty-six and thirty-seven lacs. By this arrangement the Nizam would benefit to the extent of six lacs of rupees a-year, besides being exempted from the repayment of a debt of nearly half a crore of rupees. If, remarked Lord Dalhousie, the Nizam should determine not to continue the Contingent, and refuse to make

assignments for its support, the whole force must be broken up; but the Government of India cannot consent at once to let loose on the country a large body of trained troops, and thus endanger its peace and security. The reduction must necessarily be gradual, and the assignment of districts must still be made to meet the expenses of the force while the disbandment is in progress, and to secure the liquidation of the debt, both principal and interest. When these objects are accomplished, the districts will be restored to the Nizam. Sir Frederick Currie and Mr. Lewis, the two members of Council, fully acquiesced in the sentiments and the propositions of the Governor-General's Minute.

Conclusion of the Treaty and its results, 1853. The Nizam manifested the deepest reluctance to the proposal. He said there were two royal maxims which he held sacred,—never to part with territory, and never to dismiss soldiers who had been useful to the state. When the Resident presented the draft of the treaty, a long and acrimonious discussion ensued, in the course of which he said that his Highness had only to declare that he did not require the Contingent, and the Governor-General would gradually reduce it, and then restore the districts. The Nizam exclaimed, “I beg you to assure him that I do not want the present strength of the Contingent reduced; I am able and willing to pay it month by month, and I undertake to do so, independent of the minister;” but he had neither the power nor the intention to fulfil these grand promises. The debt of the state amounted to three crores of rupees, borrowed at usurious interest, and its finances had not been in so hopeless a condition for half a century. The minister and the principal officers of the durbar considered the proposed arrangement highly advantageous to the interests of the kingdom, but for a fortnight the Nizam turned a deaf ear to all their representations. Seraj-ool-moolk at length succeeded in purchasing the goodwill of a favourite and confidential valet, who exercised a paramount influence over the mind of his master. The treaty was speedily accepted, but with modifications to suit the

wishes of the Nizam. The sovereignty of the assigned districts was still to remain with him, and they were to be made over to the management, not of the Government of Madras or Bombay, but of the Resident at his court, who was to render a faithful account of receipts and disbursements, and to remit the surplus revenue to his treasury. The question which was thus solved by the talent of Lord Dalhousie, and by the skill, firmness, and judgment of Colonel Low, the Resident, to whom the entire management of the negotiations was committed, was one of the most perplexing which had ever been brought before the Indian authorities, and the arrangement was one of the masterstrokes of the Governor-General's policy. It encountered the opposition of that section of the Court of Directors which was given to fondling the sensibilities of native princes, and who, on this occasion, seemed to forget that the question was one for practical statesmanship and not for the fancies of philanthropy. In passing their judgment upon it, the Court of Directors said that they regarded with the greatest satisfaction this mode of settling our pecuniary relations with the Nizam's government; they sanctioned the treaty, and conveyed their cordial thanks to the Governor-General and the officers employed by him. They were fully justified in their approval of it. Seldom has there been a settlement in India from which all parties have derived such equal advantages. It delivered both Governments from those derogatory disputes about money which disturbed the harmony of their intercourse. It relieved the British treasury from incessant but uncertain demands; it absolved the Nizam from the obligations of a debt of nearly half a crore of rupees, and reduced his annual responsibilities in a very material degree, while it bestowed on the people thus transferred to our charge the inestimable benefit of those institutions which had been brought to maturity in the Punjab. The territory thus placed under British control, and brought within the circle of British enterprise, included the great cotton field of Berar, and Lord Dalhousie immediately laid the foundation of a railway for the conveyance

of its produce to the port of Bombay. To the inhabitants of that district the assignment brought the age of gold during the civil war in America, while it furnished a grateful supply of the raw material to the manufacturers of England. Two years after the settlement, Lord Dalhousie, finding that the revenues of the districts he had taken over exceeded the requirements, restored territory yielding three lacs of rupees a-year. The treaty was revised by his successor in 1860, when the British Government gave back all the districts which had been surrendered, with the exception of Berar, the revenues of which were found to be sufficient to cover the sum to which the expenses of the Contingent had been reduced, and the whole amount of the debt, principal and interest, was wiped out. The family of the Nizam of Hyderabad, which has not produced a single ruler of even ordinary capacity, since the death of its great founder, has been the most fortunate of all the royal houses of India. At the close of the last century, it was rescued by Lord Wellesley from the ambition and rapacity of the Mahrattas, through the guarantee of British protection. Since that period there has been no diminution of its territory. If Lord Wellesley took over large districts for the payment of the subsidiary force in 1801, and incorporated them with the Company's dominions, they consisted of those which he and Lord Cornwallis had bestowed on the Nizam from the spoils of Tippoo Sultan. If Lord Dalhousie took over another province for the support of the Contingent in 1853, it consisted of the territory with which Lord Hastings had enriched the Nizam from the spoils of Nagpore in 1819. While every other throne in the Deccan has become extinct, the Tartar dynasty founded by Nizam-ool-moolk retains in all its integrity the territory which the Mahrattas had left it seventy years before.

Nana Sahib,
1853.

Bajee Rao, the ex-Peshwa, died at Bithoor, in January, 1853, at the age of seventy-seven. The circumstances connected with his surrender in 1818 have been detailed in a former chapter, and it is only necessary to

remark that he did not open a negotiation with Sir John Malcolm until the divisions of the British army were closing upon him in every direction. He was allowed an interview with Sir John, who advised him either to throw himself on the consideration of the British Government, or manfully to resolve on further resistance. "Resistance," exclaimed Bajee Rao, "how can I resist; am I not surrounded; am I not enclosed?" It was in these desperate circumstances that Sir John offered him a pension for himself and his family of eight lacs of rupees a-year. Lord Hastings, who had destined him an annuity of only two lacs, was mortified to find it quadrupled by the pliability of his representative. "I well knew," he wrote to him, "that the vagabond would try every appeal to your kindness, and I thought you might have a little too much sympathy with fallen greatness. It is a condition which ordinarily challenges respect, but when it is the condition of so thorough and incorrigible a scoundrel as Bajee Rao, one sees in it only deserved punishment." Sir John stated in reply, that he was convinced it would not have been possible to obtain his submission on other terms, that the provision made for him was indeed most princely, and far beyond what he had, from his treacherous conduct, any right to expect; but then it was only a life pension. Mr. Prinsep, the Secretary to Government in attendance on the Governor-General, and the author of the History of the Mahratta and Pindaree campaigns, which is the highest authority on these transactions, says: "The principal objection to this arrangement was the extent of the personal allowance provided to his Highness, amounting to no less than £100,000 a-year for life." Mr. Kaye, in his excellent life of Sir John Malcolm, also describes Bajee Rao as a simple annuitant, who drew his pension for a quarter of a century. If any further evidence be required to determine the character of this grant, it is furnished by Bajee Rao himself, who, after having adopted Dhoondoo Punt—Nana Sahib—as his son, repeatedly appealed to the generosity of Government to provide for his family after his death, which he would not have done if he

had considered the pension hereditary. Bajee Rao died, at length, after having received the sum of two crores and a-half of rupees, with the reputation of being immensely rich—hoarding was the passion of his life—but his adopted son did not acknowledge an accumulation of more than twenty-eight lacs of rupees. The Nana then petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra to continue the pension, or some portion of it, for the support of the family, but Mr. Thomason discouraged every hope of further assistance, and advised that the retainers should return to the Deccan, but he granted him the town and jageer of Bithoor rent free for life. Lord Dalhousie, to whom the matter was referred, considered that the grant was for life only, and that the family had no further claim on the Government; that Bajee Rao had received the enormous sum of two millions and a-half sterling, out of which he ought to have made adequate provision for them. The Nana then despatched an envoy to London to appeal to the Court of Directors, claiming the continuance of the pension, as a matter of right, grounded on the expression in the original settlement that it was intended for “the Peshwa and his family,” which he said was designed to include heirs, both natural and adopted. But this term was used by Sir John simply to distinguish the allowance to Bajee Rao and his family from the separate provision which he made for “his principal jageerdars, for his old adherents, for brahmins of respectable character, and for religious establishments founded or supported by his family.” The Nana had the effrontery to assert that this annuity was granted in consideration of the territory, valued at thirty-four lacs a-year, which Bajee Rao had ceded to the Company, and that the enjoyment of the one was contingent on the payment of the other. This demand, more especially on the part of an adopted son, for the continuation of a pension which the grantor declared to be for life only, after a sum of two crores and a-half of rupees had been paid on the strength of it, was universally regarded at the time by all who heard of it in India, natives and Europeans, as the most preposterous and

impudent request which had ever been made to Government. It was unceremoniously rejected by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The enraged Nana took advantage of the mutiny to obtain his revenge by inflicting barbarities on all the English who fell into his hands, which are not paralleled in the history of crime. It has been whispered that some palliation may be discovered for the atrocities he committed in what is called Lord Dalhousie's breach of national faith in the matter of his pension. But neither in this case nor in that of the rane of Jhansi is it equitable to infer that the refusal of their claims was unjustifiable simply because an opportunity was subsequently presented to them of wreaking their vengeance on innocent Europeans, men, women, and children. The real character of the annexation of Jhansi and the discontinuance of the pension to Nana Sahib are to be determined upon their own intrinsic merits, and not by a reference to the diabolical crimes of those whose expectations were disappointed.

Mysore.
1799-1856.

It has been stated in a former chapter that the insufferable misrule of the raja of Mysore for twenty years, which culminated in rebellion, constrained Lord William Bentinck in 1831 to assume the entire management of the country. The administration was placed in the hands of General Cubbon, one of the great statesmen of the Company's service, who conducted it for twenty-five years with such efficiency and success, as to surprise even the Government of India. The record of his administration was pronounced by Lord Dalhousie to be honourable to the British name, and to reflect the highest credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers by whom these great results had been accomplished. Every department had felt the hand of reform. In that of civil and criminal justice, regularity, order, and purity had been introduced, where, under native rule, caprice, uncertainty, and corruption prevailed. Works of public improvement had been prosecuted with a liberal hand. Taxes had been reduced to the extent of eleven lacs of rupees a-year, and the revenue had nevertheless increased from forty-four

to eighty-two lacs. It was, as Lord Dalhousie remarked, to the ability and judgment of General Cubbon, and to his long continued and vigilant superintendence, that the British Government owed, in a great measure, the successful issue of its interposition in the affairs of Mysore. In 1847, the raja requested Lord Hardinge to restore the government to him. A reference was made to General Cubbon, who replied that any improvement that had taken place in the condition and resources of the country, had been effected in spite of the opposition he had met with on the part of the Maharaja and his partisans, and that the conduct of his Highness during his suspension from power, afforded no security that the crisis which induced his supersession, would not recur in the event of his restoration. The request of the raja was, therefore, negatived. In 1856 he made a similar application to Lord Dalhousie, who investigated the question with great assiduity, and arrived at the conclusion that it was impossible to reinstate the raja, pointing out at the same time, that the treaty was personal and not dynastic. The accuracy of this assertion had been impugned, but it has been placed beyond controversy by a reference to the original papers of the Original Treaty of 1799. Lord Wellesley, which show, moreover, by the multiplicity of alterations, the care he bestowed on the wording of the treaty. In the draft drawn up by Colonel Kirkpatrick, the fifth article ran thus:—"The contracting parties mutually and severally agree, that the districts in Schedule C shall be ceded to the Maharaja, and his heirs and successors, for ever, and shall form the separate Government of Mysore." Lord Wellesley struck out the words "heirs and successors," with both pencil and pen, noting in the margin, "this is unnecessary and dangerous." In the fair copy of the treaty he wrote in the margin, "this clause is approved with the omission of the words struck out with the pen," and he attested the note with his signature "Mormington." Colonel Kirkpatrick pointed out to him, that if the guarantee clause of the treaty were allowed to remain, the raja would be placed

in the same position as regarded heirs and successors as the Nizam; to which Lord Wellesley replied, "strike it out." In the original draft of the subsidiary treaty it was stated that "it should be binding on the contracting parties, and their heirs and successors, as long as the sun and moon should endure." Lord Wellesley again struck out the words "heirs and successors," but left in the oriental flourish about the sun and the moon. These extracts prove to a demonstration that the settlement made with the raja was intended by Lord Wellesley to be strictly personal, and that he carefully excluded every expression which might be supposed to imply a right of hereditary succession.

Subsequent
history of
Mysore, 1867.

To bring the history of the Mysore raj to a close. The raja solicited Lord Canning to reinstate him in the Government, but it was refused on the ground that "it was his conviction, founded on an experience of the past, that if the authority of the British officers were removed, or even hampered, the peace and prosperity of the country would be at an end." In 1862, the raja renewed his request to Lord Elgin, but with no better success. He then appealed to the present Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, who upheld the decision of his four predecessors, which was likewise sanctioned by Sir Charles Wood. The raja then proceeded to adopt a son, and required that he should be recognized as his successor in the sovereignty, but, under the rule laid down by the Court of Directors sixteen years before, it was refused both in India and in England. Thus stood the question when the Whigs retired from office in 1866. Even if the treaty with the raja had included heirs and successors, it would still have come within the category of those principalities, like Sattara, the offspring of our "gratuitous benevolence" which the Government had a right to resume on the failure of natural heirs. But in this case, the words heirs and successors had been expressly excluded. This was fully admitted by Lord Cranbourne, the Conservative Secretary of State for India, who stated in the House, "I must express most em-

phatically the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the rights conferred on the Maharaja terminated with his life." The treaty in fact became extinct on his death, and if he left natural heirs, they had no right of succession; the territory reverted to those who had bestowed it. But the present Secretary of State for India has overruled all the decisions of the Government which preceded him, as well as of five successive Governors-General, and has ordered the re-establishment of a native sovereignty in Mysore, and the surrender of the country to the child whom the raja has adopted, on his coming of age. With all the lessons of experience before us, it is difficult to conceive any adequate reason for this new policy, by which the government of four millions of people, after they have enjoyed for nearly fifty years the inestimable benefit of a wise, liberal, and beneficent administration, is relegated to the caprices and oppressions of a native prince. "To supplant," says Sir John Grant, in his *Oude Minute*, "the British Government of any province by the best native government that ever yet existed, is in one moment to abolish law, and establish arbitrary power in its place." If it was deemed necessary to make some concession to the spirit of agitation which the raja has raised in this country, it might have been sufficient, as an act of grace, to continue the titular sovereignty, and the sixth of the revenues which the raja now enjoys, to the boy when he comes of age, to furnish him with the means of personal gratification. But to sacrifice to a new theory the welfare of a whole people, whose interests we are bound to hold sacred, and to demolish the fabric of prosperity we have been building up for half a century, is so repugnant to every feeling of humanity, that before the period for consummating this policy arrives, it is to be hoped that some future Secretary of State will be found to annul it, as the present Secretary has annulled the decision of his predecessor.

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—OUDE—ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS—CONCLUSION, 1848-1856.

Chronic misrule
in Oude, 1801-
1855.

THE history of our connection with Oude has been given in preceding chapters down to the time of Lord William Bentinck. No province in India had suffered the affliction of misgovernment for so long a period. The people had scarcely known repose or happiness since the first Nabob, the Khorasan merchant, acquired the principality by treachery. As early as 1779, Warren Hastings remonstrated with the prince on the dissipation of his revenues and the oppression of his subjects. The expostulation was repeated by Lord Cornwallis and by Sir John Shore, but without effect. At the beginning of this century, Lord Wellesley found that "the inveterate abuses which pervaded every department of Government destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness," and he pronounced that the only substantial remedy for these evils was to vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military government in the hands of the Company. In 1801 a large portion of the territory was made over to them, and a treaty was concluded with the Nabob, by which he, on his part, bound himself to introduce into his reserved dominions a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and invariably to act in conformity with the advice of the Resident, while the British Government, on its part, engaged to defend his dominions from all foreign and domestic enemies. So little, however, was this pledge regarded by him, that in the course of thirteen years, he amassed a sum of no less than thirteen

crores of rupees, though the annual revenue of the country was only a trifle in excess of a crore of rupees a-year. In 1831, Lord William Bentinck, who was distinguished by a desire to maintain the independence of native princes, proceeded to Lucknow, and after describing the flagrant abuses of his Government, assured the king—he had been raised to royal dignity by Lord Hastings—that matters had come to such a pass, that unless prompt measures were adopted to reform them, and to govern the country for the benefit of the people, in conformity with the treaty of 1801, the British Government would assume the entire administration till order was restored, and reduce him to the condition of a pensioner of the state, like the raja of Tanjore and the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Moorshedabad. To impress this warning more deeply on his mind, it was likewise left with him in writing. The Court of Directors, in their remarks on this proceeding, observed that the Oude administration had become progressively more inefficient and oppressive, till the country presented a scene of anarchy and tyranny scarcely paralleled in any other part of India; and they gave the Governor-General the fullest authority to carry out his intentions, and assume the temporary administration of the country. The reformation which this menace produced was, however, very short-lived, and in 1837 Lord Auckland constrained the Nabob to enter into a new treaty for the protection of his subjects, but it contained stipulations which induced the Court of Directors to disallow it, and it became void. In 1847, Lord Hardinge proceeded to Lucknow to remonstrate in person with the king upon the state of desolation to which the country was reduced, and gave him a solemn warning that if at the end of two years there should not be a complete reform in his administration, the Government would assuredly carry into effect the orders received from the Court of Directors in 1834, and deprive him of the management of the country.

Colonel Sleeman, Soon afterwards, Colonel Sleeman was appointed
1851. Resident, and made a tour through the country to

ascertain from personal observation the condition of the people and the character of the administration. The valuable journal which he presented to Government on his return to Lucknow, presented a black record of crimes and misery. The king's army of 70,000 men which, while British troops protected the throne from all domestic and foreign foes, was altogether redundant, received scanty and uncertain pay, and was employed only in preying on the people. As soon as a regiment reached its encamping ground, foraging parties were sent out to rob the villagers of provisions, and to bring in the roofs, doors, and windows of their houses for fuel. In the peaceable parts of the country, the Colonel remarked, not a house was to be seen with a thatched or tiled covering. It was impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a body of licentious, predatory, and disorganized soldiery. The people affirmed that rebels and robbers sometimes spared them, but the king's troops never. There were 246 forts or strongholds in the country, with 476 guns, held by first-class landholders, chiefly Rajpoots. They had converted into jungle large tracts of the most fertile land in Oude, extending many miles round their castles, which became the dens of lawless men who infested all parts of the country, set the Government at defiance, and levied intolerable imposts on all traders and travellers. Within sixteen miles of the capital one landholder had converted thirty miles of rich land into a dense jungle, and erected four fortifications within its circle. One rapacious and brutal revenue contractor had driven off hundreds of the wives and children of the cultivators from entire towns and villages, and had not only sold the cattle and the implements of husbandry but the men themselves, and thus reduced a smiling district to desolation. The king, immured in his palace, was invisible except to his women, singers, musicians, and buffoons, and the minister, whom he sometimes saw, was obliged to succumb to them. His favourite fiddler was appointed chief justice. The chief singer, was, *de facto*, king of Oude; justice was openly bought and sold, and nothing was seen but corruption, from the monarch

on the throne to the lowest functionary. Every officer on his appointment was obliged to pay heavy douceurs to the king, to the heir apparent, to the minister, and to every one who was supposed to have interest at court. He reimbursed himself by extortions, all the more severe for being necessarily rapid, since he was never certain of his post for a single day. The king never read a report, and the great object of his ministers and his favourites was to guard him from the cares of business. This system of misrule was in some measure mitigated by the privileges which the sepoys in the Company's service enjoyed of transmitting their complaints through their own commanding officer to the Resident, who was required to take them up, and use his influence, which was all powerful, to obtain redress. With few exceptions, every agricultural family in Oude planted one of its members in the Company's army, and thus obtained the protection of British power. It will, therefore, be no matter of surprise that there should be 40,000 Oude sepoys in the ranks of the native army, when the enlistment made them a privileged class in their own misgoverned country. In presenting his report on the state of the administration to Government, Colonel Sleeman stated that "his friendly feelings towards native states, and his earnest desire to do everything in his power, and consistent with his duties, to support them, were so generally known in India, that his nomination to the Lucknow Residency was considered by all native chiefs as the surest pledge the Governor-General could give of his earnest desire, if possible, to maintain the native sovereignty of Oude in all its integrity." But, he remarked, fifty years of sad experience have shown that the hopes in which the treaty of 1801 was founded, that while the British Government defended the king from all enemies, foreign or domestic, he should by means of his own officers carry out a system of administration calculated to secure life and property, and to promote the happiness of the people, were utterly fallacious. "He did not think that with a due regard to its own character, as the paramount power in India, and to the

particular obligations by which it was bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the administration." No reigning family in India, he added, had a juster claim for its loyalty to the protection and consideration of Government; but this claim could not be expected to embrace the privilege of rendering wretched in perpetuity, five millions whose welfare and happiness the British Government was bound by solemn treaties to promote. He advised that on assuming the Government of the country, such provision should be made for the king as would enable him and his family and dependents to live, in perpetuity, in suitable dignity and comfort.

General Outram was appointed Resident at Lucknow in 1854, and directed to institute a minute and searching enquiry into the condition of the people and the administration. He was required to report whether the country was still in the same state which Colonel Sleeman had described, and whether any progress had been made in the correction of abuses which Lord William Bentinck had peremptorily demanded thirteen years before, and for which Lord Hardinge had given the king two years of grace. He reported that there was not only no improvement whatever, but no prospect of any. The vices of the Government were inherent in its constitution, and absolutely incurable. He had no hesitation, therefore, in affirming that the duty imposed on the British Government by treaty could no longer admit of its honestly indulging the reluctance it had hitherto felt of having recourse to the decisive measure of assuming the government. "In pronouncing," he said "an opinion so unfavourable to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed a painful duty. I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining states in India, so long as we can, consistently with our duty as the paramount power and the pledges of our treaties. It is distressing to me to find that in upholding the sovereign power of this effete and

General
Outram's report,
1855.

incapable dynasty, we do it at the cost of five millions of people, for whom we are bound to secure good government."

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, 1855.

General Outram's report was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie while residing for his health at Ootacamund, and he drew up one of his great and comprehensive Minutes upon it. "For the convenience of those to whom it would belong to decide the future fate of Oude," he made a complete and masterly analysis of the evidence which had been given during a long series of years of the gross and inveterate abuses of power in Oude. He collected together the opinions which had been recorded of our solemn obligations to the people, by those officers of Government who were distinguished by their anxiety to maintain the existing royal families, and then proceeded to state that, if it were not for the presence of British troops, the people would long since have worked their own deliverance. Our Government was, therefore, heavily responsible for having so long tolerated this disregard of the treaty of 1801, and for all the ills and human suffering which had sprung therefrom. The time had now arrived when inaction on our part could no longer be justified, and was already converting responsibility into guilt. "But," he added, "the rulers of Oude, however unfaithful to the trust conferred on them, have yet ever been faithful and true in their allegiance to British power. No wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge, and they have aided us, as best they could, in the hour of our utmost need. Although we are bound by all the means in our power to amend the lot of a people whom we have so long indirectly injured, justice and gratitude nevertheless require that in so doing we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereign of Oude no farther than is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of our righteous ends. The reform of the administration may be wrought, and the prospects of the people secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne, and I, for my part, do not advocate the advice that the province of Oude be declared

British territory." He proposed, therefore, that the king should retain the sovereignty of all the territory which he possessed, that he should vest the whole of the civil and military administration in the hands of the Company; that an annual stipend should be allotted for the support of his honour and dignity, and due provision be made for all the members of the royal family, besides his own children. The scheme which Lord Dalhousie thus proposed differed from that of Colonel Sleeman only in regard to the surplus revenue, which he proposed to expend entirely for the benefit of the royal family and the people of Oude. Lord Dalhousie, on the other hand, remarked that the revenue of the country might be expected largely to increase under the judicious management of our own officers, and that the British Government would not be justified in making over so considerable a surplus to the reigning sovereign, to be unprofitably squandered in the follies, vices, and excesses of a native court. He considered that the British Government ought to be at liberty to devote to the general advantage of the Indian empire some portion of that surplus of which its own exertions would have been the sole origin and creative cause. He likewise urged, that the arrangement should be perpetual and not transitory. He cited the cases of Hyderabad and Nagpore, where the country had flourished under British management, and had been desolated when restored to the native princes.

Opinions of the
Members of
Council, 1855.

The members of Council unanimously concurred in the opinion that the Government of India could no longer postpone the assumption of the entire administration, but they were divided in their views regarding the mode in which this was to be effected, two of them siding with Lord Dalhousie, and two others voting for a more radical measure. General Low, who had been Resident at Lucknow, and was thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the people and the Government, and who had, moreover, recently resisted the annexation of Nagpore, declared it to be his deliberate opinion that "the disorders of Oude were of so long

standing and so deeply rooted, and the corruption of the public officers so general and so inveterate that there was now no other remedy available for effecting and maintaining a just government over the people of Oude than that of placing the whole of its territory, *exclusively* and *permanently*, under the direct management of the East India Company." In a subsequent Minute he said "the scheme I advocate may be considered harsh towards the king himself, individually, but I contend that it would only be a fulfilment of our own obligations to the people of Oude." He wished, however, to avoid the assertion contained in Lord Dalhousie's Minute, that the king should retain his sovereignty, and desired to substitute for it that he should retain the rank and title, and all the honours heretofore enjoyed by him as sovereign of Oude. He saw no objection to the application of the surplus revenue to the general interests of the empire, but proposed that "after a *bonâ fide* peaceful and beneficial government to the inhabitants of the country should be fully established in the Oude territory, the king should receive an addition of three or four lacs a-year to his income." The Minute of Mr.—now Sir Barnes—Peacock, the legislative Member of Council, was replete with the refinements of legal analysis, and concluded with advising that in conformity with the proposal of the Governor-General, the province of Oude should not be declared British territory, but that the civil and military administration should be vested in the Company. Mr. Dorin earnestly seconded the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie that the transfer of power should be permanent. In support of this opinion he cited the recent case of the raja of Sorapore, who had been carefully trained as a minor by the Governor of Bombay, but when invested with the Government of his principality on coming of age, so completely disorganized the administration in one short year, that no respectable adherent was safe under his auspices. This case of failure, he remarked, "teaches us the bitter lesson that, with all our care, we may still be unable to impress on the minds of the native princes of India, even with education, a proper

sense of their responsibilities." But he recommended that the king of Oude should be required to abdicate his sovereignty, and that the province should be incorporated with the possessions of the British Crown. Mr.—now Sir John—Grant, Governor of Jamaica, took up the subject from a different point of view, and brought his extraordinary powers of argumentation to bear on the discussion of it, but he coincided with Mr. Dorin, and came to the conclusion that "the incorporation of Oude with the territories administered by the British Indian Government was the best measure on the whole, which could be adopted for the good government of the people, and that the East India Company had a clear right to adopt it."

Decision of the
home authorities,
1855.

These Minutes were transmitted to England. It was a great and important question, and it received earnest and conscientious deliberation for two months, when the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, and the Cabinet, came to the unanimous determination to overrule the advice of Lord Dalhousie, and to adopt what he had endeavoured to dissuade them from, as an "extreme measure," the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne;—thus ended the sovereignty of Oude. In communicating his Minute to the India House, Lord Dalhousie had stated, that if they considered his experience of eight years likely to arm him with greater authority for carrying their decision into effect than a Governor-General just entering on the Government, he was ready to undertake the duty, though it would doubtless be assailed by those who were ever on the watch to attack the policy of the Indian Government. On the arrival of the orders from England, he prepared to carry them into execution with promptitude, though so ill as scarcely to be able to move. A body of troops was moved up to the frontier. General Outram was instructed to endeavour to persuade the king to sign the treaty which transferred the government to the Company. He received the communication with an undignified burst of tears, said he was a miserable wretch, and placed his turban in the lap of the Resident; he positively

refused to affix his signature to the treaty, and a Proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring the province of Oude to be a component part of the British empire in India. Not a blow was struck in favour of the dynasty; there were no popular risings, and the whole body of the people went over peaceably to their new rulers. An allowance of fifteen lacs of rupees a-year—more than a seventh of the revenues of the country—was allotted for the support of the king and his palace guards. An elaborate scheme of administration, on the model of that of the Punjab, was drawn up by Lord Dalhousie, which embraced every possible contingency in every department. Compared with the plan of government for Bengal drafted eighty years before by the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings—who was in no respect inferior to the last,—it exhibits a proof of the vast progress which had been intermediately made in the science of oriental administration.

Remarks, 1856.

The assumption of the Government of Oude was the fulfilment of a sacred obligation to the people, which had for half a century been acknowledged without exception by all the public officers, not excepting even those who advocated the continuance of native dynasties. The condition of that province was forcibly delineated in an eloquent article which appeared in the columns of the leading journal of England several years before the annexation. "Rebellion and deposition," the writer remarked, "were the correctives of despotism, in India. This remedy we have taken away from the inhabitants of the states still governed by native princes. We give those princes power without responsibility. Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne despite their imbecility, their vices, and their crimes. The result is in most of these states a chronic anarchy, under which the revenues of the state are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the court. The heavy and arbitrary taxes levied on the miserable ryots serve only to feed the meanest and the most degenerate of mankind. The theory seems in fact admitted, that government is not for the people

but for the king, and that so long as we secure him his sinecure royalty, we discharge all the duty that we, as sovereigns of India, owe to his subjects, who are virtually ours." It was from this deplorable condition that Lord Dalhousie's measure was intended to relieve Oude. The abolition of the throne and of the king's sovereignty, were added to it by the home authorities. The equity and justice of the measure were not impaired by the revolt of the province in the succeeding year. The large and powerful body of zemindars, from whose tyranny we were anxious to deliver the people, were not likely to neglect the opportunity of rising against us when they saw our power in Hindostan shaken to its foundation, and Oude left with only a mere handful of European troops,—not a tenth of the number left in the Punjab to maintain our authority on its annexation. Neither was it to be expected that when 40,000 Oude sepoy were in a state of mutiny, their kinsmen and connections, forming, according to the estimate of the Resident, one tenth of the population would remain firm in their allegiance to a foreign power which appeared to be tottering. The rescue of five millions of people from a state of the deepest misery was, notwithstanding the mutiny, an act of benevolence which Lord Dalhousie might justly congratulate himself on having had an opportunity of performing.

The period of Lord Dalhousie's administration, which extended to eight years, was rendered memorable, not less by administrative reforms and material progress, than by its political results. There was no division of the public service in any portion of the empire, which his keen eye did not penetrate, and into which his strong hand did not introduce substantial reforms. He simplified and lubricated the whole machinery of the Government. He had an unconquerable aversion to what he considered the cumbersome and obstructive agency of Boards, and he considered individual responsibility to be the secret of success in public business. He abolished the Board of Customs, Salt

Administrative
reforms, 1849-
1856.

and Opium, and transferred its duties to the Board of Revenue which he, unhappily, left standing, but which the depopulation of Orissa by famine in the present year,—chiefly through its supineness,—will doubtless consign to the tomb. In no branch of the service were his reforms more radical and more beneficial than in the military department. He had not been many months in India, before the approach of the second Punjab war and its exigencies, convinced him of the necessity of a complete reorganization of our whole system of military economy, and he remarked that he would have demolished the venerable and senile Military Board at once, if he did not apprehend that the Court might exclaim, “What is the boy about?” The Board was not only viciously constituted, but loaded with duties, which could not have been efficiently performed by it, even if its organization had been perfect. After a complete investigation of the subject, he withdrew from its control, in the first instance, the Army Commissariat, one of the most important departments of the army, on the efficiency of which its movements in the field depend. It was placed in the hands of a Commissary-General; and the practice of keeping accounts in Persian, which had lingered for nearly a century was at the same time abolished, and they were ordered to be rendered at once in English. Next followed the Stud department, which, at the suggestion of the Court of Directors, was invigorated by unity of control and responsibility. In like manner, the Ordnance Commissariat, with its powder manufactures, gun foundry and gun carriage agency, was placed under a single officer. The Board had likewise been laden with the superintendence of all public works, and in no department of duty had our failure been more palpable and more flagrant. Compared with our Mahomedan predecessors, we had nothing to shew for our dynasty; and it was not inaptly remarked, that if we were obliged to quit the country there would remain no token of our rule but empty soda water bottles. The Court of Directors became at length fully alive

The Military Board, 1850.

Public Works Department, 1852.

to the scandal of this neglect, and ordered a Commission of enquiry to be appointed at each Presidency. It was on the receipt of their report that Lord Dalhousie proceeded to reorganize the system, root and branch. The charge of the works was withdrawn from the Board—which was then abolished—and a Public Works Department became one of the institutions of Government, with a separate Secretary, not only to the Government of India, but to that of each Presidency. The responsibility of management was vested in a Chief Engineer, assisted by executive officers and subordinates appointed from England, and youths trained in the College of Roorkee, and at the corresponding colleges founded in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. This was, in fact, to supply the need which had long been felt in India of a civil engineering establishment. To secure the uninterrupted progress of these works, which had previously been prosecuted by spasmodic efforts, it was ordered that a schedule of all the undertakings which it was proposed to commence, or to carry on during the year, at each Presidency, and under each commissionership—now designated the budget—should be submitted at the beginning of the year to the Government of India. Funds were supplied with a lavish hand. The liberality with which Lord Dalhousie fed this department, which had been famished for many years, may be gathered from the fact, that while the entire sum expended during the seventeen preceding years, including the repairs of civil and military buildings, had not on an average exceeded seventeen lacs of rupees a-year, the expenditure in the last year of his administration fell little short of three hundred lacs.

Education, 1848-
1855.

The cause of education received special encouragement from Lord Dalhousie. Mr. Thomason, the enlightened Governor of the north-west provinces, had established a Government vernacular school in each revenue division of certain districts under his charge. The experiment was attended with such signal success, that Lord Dalhousie resolved to extend the system to the whole of the north-west provinces

as well as to Bengal and the Punjab—but vernacular education has never yet been duly appreciated by those who have hitherto exercised power in Bengal. At the suggestion of Mr. Bethune, the legislative Member of Council, who devoted his time and his purse to the cause of female education, Lord Dalhousie officially announced that the education of females was considered by the British Government an object of national importance, and he was the first Governor-General who had the courage to proclaim this doctrine in the teeth of native prejudices. On the death of Mr. Bethune, he took on himself the support of the female school established by him. It was while engaged in devising plans for the improvement of education that he received the celebrated despatch of Sir Charles Wood, of July, 1854, which has justly been denominated “the Intellectual Charter of India,” and which Lord Dalhousie described as “containing a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Government could have ventured to suggest.” It embraced vernacular schools throughout the districts; Government colleges of a higher character, a university at each Presidency, to which all educational establishments, supported by the state, or by societies, or by individuals, might be affiliated; and above all, the glorious measure of grants in aid to all schools, without reference to caste or creed. Lord Dalhousie took immediate measures to carry out this large scheme; organized a distinct department of public instruction, and placed it under the responsibility of a Director-General, with a suitable staff of assistants.

Revenue,
finance, com-
merce, 1848-55.

The revenue of India was advanced during Lord Dalhousie's administration from twenty-six to thirty lacs of rupees. Yet, such is the elasticity of the resources of India under our scientific management, that even this large amount has since been augmented fifty per cent., and the income now stands at forty-five crores of rupees. The wars in which the Government of India had been engaged, with little interruption for more than ten years, had absorbed

thirty crores of rupees, and entailed an annual deficit; but for some little time after they had ceased there was a trifling surplus. The deficiency which appeared again during the last two years of Lord Dalhousie's rule, was occasioned by the copious expenditure which he authorized in the department of public works for the improvement of the country. During the period of eight years now under review, the commerce of Bombay was developed to an extraordinary extent, and that of Calcutta was doubled. The coasting trade was liberated from every obstruction; many improvements were sanctioned in the various ports from Kerachee to Rangoon, and lighthouses erected in dangerous parts of the Indian and eastern seas. Lord Dalhousie's attention was equally bestowed on the improvement of internal navigation. Steamers were placed on the "silent Indus," for periodical trips between Mooltan and Kerachee, the port of Sindé, destined one day to be the emporium of the trade of the Punjab and of Central Asia, but neither has this undertaking nor that of the guaranteed Company, which has since continued to work it, been marked by success. They have only served to demonstrate more clearly the necessity of completing the Sindé railway to expand the commerce of the Punjab—and, not less, to bring its capital within forty hours of the sea, which is the basis of our security. After the conquest of Pegu, Lord Dalhousie transferred half the steam flotilla of Government to the delta of the Irawaddy, a country abounding in rivers, but destitute of roads. The apprehension which was entertained of interruption to the commerce of Calcutta from the silting up of the Hooghly led him to contemplate the establishment of an auxiliary port, and after careful surveys, he fixed upon the Mutlah, a channel in the Soonderbuns, twenty-eight miles east of Calcutta, which presents every facility of navigation for the largest vessels. Anticipating the future importance of the settlement, whenever its advantages should be fairly developed, he adopted the precaution of purchasing on behalf of Government, and for an inconsiderable sum, the large estate on which stood the site selected for the

new port. To the latest period of his administration he laboured earnestly to promote the undertaking; but, by one of the caprices of fortune, the port has been ungratefully named after his successor, who treated the whole project with supreme contempt. Lord Dalhousie likewise gave every encouragement to the project of a bridge across the Hooghly, at Calcutta, which, after the establishment of the railway, became an indispensable necessity. Boring operations were commenced under his auspices; but twelve years have since been allowed to elapse without any further progress in a work, which, if he had been in power, would long have been completed.

Private posts had long been established in India by the mercantile community, but Government had thought fit to abolish them under heavy penalties. The postage by the public mail was, for a poor population like that of India, prohibitory, and it was felt to be a severe tax even by the merchants. The importance of conferring on India the boon of cheap and uniform postage which had long been enjoyed in England, had frequently been suggested and discussed, but without any practical result, as is usually the case when there is not a resolute spirit of energy at the source of power. Lord Dalhousie took up the subject with his accustomed zeal, and appointed a commission, consisting of an experienced civilian from each Presidency, to revise the postal system of the empire, and to suggest improvements. Their report was submitted to the authorities in England, and, with their concurrence, Lord Dalhousie proceeded to remodel the postal economy of India, which he placed under one Director-General. He established a uniform rate of half an anna, or three farthings, for letters of a given weight, irrespective of distance, to be levied by means of stamps. He likewise procured a reduction of the rate of postage between England and India, and took no little pride in an arrangement by which, as he said, "the Scotch recruit at Peshawur might write to his mother at John O'Groat's house for sixpence." Of all the improvements of Lord Dalhousie's administration there was none

Low and uniform postage,
1853.

which conferred on the population a blessing so universally felt as the privilege of sending letters through the length and breadth of the land, if necessary, to a distance of two thousand miles, at a cost which placed the means of correspondence within the reach of the poorest.

Lord Dalhousie's
Journals,
1848-55.

No Governor-General has ever traversed the vast dominions committed to his care to the same extent as Lord Dalhousie. He visited the Punjab, Madras, Pegu, and Sinde, investigating the state of the country and of the administration with his own eyes, and immediately turning his observations to practical account. Nor did he overlook the Straits settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore which had been visited but once by the head of the state. It was when inspecting the jail at Penang, that he perceived something resembling a gibbet within the walls, and found upon enquiry that it was the gallows on which criminals were executed. He ordered it immediately to be placed without, with the facetious remark that if its position came to be known in England, he should be liable to an impeachment for having permitted an infringement of the most ancient and indefeasible right of an Englishman,—to be hung in public. In order to keep the Government of India constantly and fully acquainted with the state of each division of the empire, he established the rule that the Governor of each Presidency and the chief of each province should annually transmit a report of every event of importance, and of the progress which had been made in the several departments. These reports have proved of the highest value. They have enabled the controlling authorities in England and in India to trace the progress of improvement in each province, year by year, and to compare the state of one province with that of another. They also furnish materials from which the nations of Europe may estimate the extent to which England is fulfilling her mission of civilization in India.

Roads and
Canals, 1848-55.

The great importance which Lord Dalhousie attached to the construction of roads and canals

has been illustrated in a preceding chapter by a reference to the great works with which he endowed the Punjab. Other provinces and districts were likewise benefited by improved means of communication, but two undertakings deserve to be selected for particular notice. No sooner had Pegu become a British province, than Lord Dalhousie perceived the necessity of connecting it with Bengal by a military road, and thus obviate the objections of the sepoys to the sea. A road was constructed from Dacca to Aracan, but not without a great sacrifice of life and money. To pass from Aracan to Pegu, it was necessary to cross the Yoma range through the Toungoo pass, which presented such formidable obstacles to the engineer that the construction of a road appeared at first an impracticable undertaking. The mountains were lofty; the forests were dense; water was scarce, and labour still more so, and the climate was so pestiferous as to reduce the working season to five months in the year. It was entrusted to Lieutenant Forlong, who succeeded in collecting, embodying, and training a brigade of Burmese labourers, and by his untiring zeal and energy completed the enterprise in two years. Another arduous and important work, executed under the orders of the Governor-General, was the road intended to stretch from the plains of Hindostan to the frontiers of Tibet. The first portion of it extended from Kalka, where it left the plains, to Simla, 7,800 feet above the level of the sea, a distance of about fifty miles, and it was accomplished with a gradient of not more than three feet in a hundred. From Simla the road advanced to Chini, through the valleys, forests, and cliffs of the mighty range of the Himalayas; but the skill and perseverance of the engineer officers, and more especially of Lieutenant Briggs, animated by the deep interest Lord Dalhousie took in the work, surmounted every difficulty. The vale of Chini, the favourite residence of Lord Dalhousie when in the hills, is surrounded by the most sublime scenery in the world, and faces the magnificent Koilas, 21,000 feet above the level of the sea, the fabled paradise of the god Shiva. It is one of the most salubrious and

lovely spots yet discovered in India; and produces the most luxuriant grapes at an elevation of 8,700 feet. One object of constructing the road was to establish a convalescent depôt for European soldiers. Nor was Lord Dalhousie without a hope that when it was completed, it might attract the traffic of Tibet, now transported in packs on the shoulders of goats. The Ganges Canal was sanctioned and commenced before the arrival of Lord Dalhousie; but it was advancing at so sluggish a pace, that the sum expended on it from the beginning had not exceeded seventeen lacs of rupees. He considered it a work of paramount importance, and pressed it forward with great ardour, allowing no financial pressure and no exigencies of war to interrupt its progress. The sum expended under his direction in the course of six years exceeded a crore and a-half of rupees. The main stream was for the first time opened by a grand ceremonial, over which Mr. Colvin presided, on the 8th April, 1854. The canal, in its class and character, stands among the noblest efforts of civilized nations. It nearly equals the aggregate length of all the lines of the four greatest canals in France, and its length is five times greater than that of all the main lines in Lombardy. This gigantic work was designed and completed by Colonel Cautley, and seldom has the star of the Bath, which adorns his breast been so richly earned by pacific labours in the service of humanity.

Mr. Thomason. The Ganges Canal was pressed forward by the Governor-General with a spirit of zeal proportioned to the value he attached to it, but the immediate superintendence of Colonel Cautley's labours devolved on Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the north-west provinces. He was not permitted to see the completion of it; before its waters began to fertilize the country his eyes were closed in death, just as he had been rewarded for his successful administration of ten years by the governorship of Madras. In 1832, he resolved to quit the honourable post he held in Calcutta, in order to make himself acquainted with the economy of our system of government in the interior. He took charge of the large and

populous district of Azimgur, on the borders of Oude, where in five years he acquired that intimate knowledge of the working of our institutions which was of the greatest service when he came to rule the Presidency. He was subsequently raised to the post of foreign secretary, and was in attendance, during his tour in the north-west provinces, on Lord Ellenborough, who, with his characteristic discernment of talent, selected him for the Lieutenant-Governorship of the north-west provinces. At the same time, Lord Ellenborough exhibited a noble instance of disinterestedness by relinquishing the patronage of that Presidency, which, as well as that of Bengal, had hitherto been vested in the Governor-General, and transferring it to the officers charged with the responsibility of governing them. Mr. Thomason occupies a very high rank among the great administrators of the Company, and his long, beneficent, and vigorous administration reflected honour on the British name in India. Every cold season, he was in the habit of making a tour through the various districts in his jurisdiction, which gave him a complete acquaintance with the circumstances and wants of the people, and the qualifications of his subordinate officers, and likewise afforded him an opportunity of conciliating the confidence of the most influential men in each district by personal intercourse. He devoted great attention in the revenue department to the establishment of an equitable and moderate assessment, and the definition of boundaries, the absence of which was one of the most fruitful sources of litigation and crime, as well as to the completion of proprietary records, which he laboured to render accessible to the native public. But his warmest and most zealous efforts were directed to the promotion of education, and more particularly of vernacular tuition; and well did he earn the eulogy of Lord Dalhousie, when, in announcing the loss the country had sustained by his death, he said, that "though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, his system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career."

Railways, 1843
—1853.

The system of railways, which is working a greater and more beneficial change in the social, political, and commercial condition of India than has been known at any former period of its history, is due to the indefatigable exertions of Lord Dalhousie. The question had been for some time under discussion, when Mr.—now Sir Macdonald—Stephenson proceeded to Calcutta in 1843, with the hope of drawing the attention of Government and of the public to its importance. Lord Ellenborough pronounced the whole project to be moonshine; but his temporary successor, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, announced, in an official communication, that the Government was fully alive to the value of the proposal, and would recommend it to the Court of Directors. About the same time, Mr. Chapman endeavoured to secure the patronage of the Bombay Government, and succeeded in laying the foundation of the Great India Peninsular Rail; and Mr. Andrew likewise brought his local knowledge and zeal to the aid of the cause. Mr. Stephenson returned to England and formed a Company for the construction of a railway through the valley of the Ganges, from Calcutta to Delhi. The commercial disasters of 1846 and 1847, which indisposed the public to all railway enterprises, gave his task for some time the appearance of a forlorn hope, but his indomitable energy and perseverance surmounted every obstacle, and enabled him to give a fair start to the East India Railway Company, the largest of these Indian undertakings,—which now works a capital of twenty-five crores of rupees, and embraces 1,500 miles of line. It was manifest that, under the most favourable circumstances, a railway project in so remote and unexplored a field of labour, could not attract public confidence without the material support of Government. But, for a long time, the public authorities in Leadenhall Street and in Calcutta, persisted in limiting the aid of the state to the grant of the land, an insignificant item of expense in India. The eventual assent of the Court of Directors to the indispensable concession of a pecuniary guarantee was secured by the enlightened views and earnestness of

Sir James Hogg, to whom the cause of the railway is not much less indebted in England, than to Lord Dalhousie in India. In the year 1848, a guarantee of five per cent. was granted on two short and experimental lines in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Bombay. Every subsequent concession was, however, preceded by a severe struggle at the India House, and in 1852, the total number of miles sanctioned for the whole continent of India did not exceed two hundred. But the Court came gradually to appreciate the importance of the undertaking, and, in referring the various applications which had been made to them, to the consideration of Lord Dalhousie in 1852, expressed their wish "that India should, without unnecessary loss of time, possess the immense advantage of a regular and well-devised system of railway communications."

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, April,
1853.

The question could not have been placed in the hands of one better qualified to do justice to it.

Lord Dalhousie had been at the head of the Board of Trade during the most active period of railway enterprise in England, and had become master of the principles and details of the system. With this pre-eminent advantage he united large and comprehensive views of imperial policy. In the memorable Minute which he transmitted to the Court of Directors on the 20th April, 1853, and which became the basis of the railway system of India, he expressed his hope that the limited section of experimental line heretofore sanctioned by them would no longer form the standard for railway works in India. A glance upon the map, he remarked, would recal to mind the vast extent of the empire, the various classes and interests it included, the wide distance which separated the points at which hostile attacks might at any time be expected, the expenditure of time, treasure, and life, involved in the ordinary routine of military movements, and the comparative handful of men scattered over its surface who have been the conquerors of the country, and now hold it in subjection. This glance would suffice to show how immeasurable would be the political advantages of a system of internal communication by

which intelligence of every event should be transmitted to the Government at a speed, under all circumstances, exceeding five fold its present rate, and Government would be enabled to bring the main bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it now required months. The commercial and social advantages India would derive from the rail were beyond all calculation. Great tracks were teeming with produce we could not transport, and new markets were opening to us under circumstances which defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their probable value, or calculate their future extent. A system of railways judiciously selected and formed would surely and rapidly give rise within this empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of latent forces, the same increase of national wealth that have marked the introduction of improved and extended communications in the various kingdoms of the western world. With a railway, moreover, touching every important military station from Calcutta to the Sutlege, native states would be deterred from resorting to combined attacks; and the army now maintained, might, it was probable, be numerically reduced without diminishing our military strength. With the aid of the rail carried up to the Indus, the risks involved in the extension of our frontier to a distance of 1,500 miles from the capital of the country would be infinitely diminished. Peshawur would, in fact, be reached in less time and with greater facility than Moorshedabad, though only seventy miles distant from Calcutta, was reached in the days of Clive. He already anticipated the great improvement in the conveyance of troops from England, which, after the lapse of fourteen years, has been at length consummated. "If," he said, "when the Egyptian railway is completed, permission could be obtained to send troops through Egypt, a corps might leave England after the heat of the summer was over, and be quartered before Christmas on the banks of the Sutlege, without any exposure on its way, and with four months before it of the finest climate under the sun, and, withal, in less time and with less

trouble, than it could now march from Calcutta to Benares." He then proceeded to lay down a system of railways for the whole continent which should connect the Presidencies with each other, and form the great trunk lines. He entered into a minute analysis of the various lines which sought the patronage of Government, and pointed out their respective merits and demerits, and his judgment in each case has been abundantly confirmed by time and experience. He advocated the construction of the lines by public companies sustained by a Government guarantee, and "directly, but not vexatiously controlled by the Government of the country, acting for the interests of the public on the principle for which I contended"—when at the Board of Trade—"and I may venture, without arrogance, to add, that if the principle had been then more fully recognized, the proprietors of railway property in England, and the suffering public would have been in a better condition now than they appear to be." The bitter experience of the fourteen years which have elapsed since these remarks were recorded by him has served to give them additional weight, and to render this melancholy truth more grievously apparent. But, while England pays the penalty of a hundred millions sterling for the rejection of Lord Dalhousie's advice, India will always have reason to rejoice that the construction of her railway economy fell to the lot of one who combined with a solid judgment and mature experience, the power to turn them to account.

Result of the
Minute, 1853.

This communication reached England at an auspicious juncture. The Court of Directors had already indicated their desire to establish a system of railways in India, but they might have been staggered by the boldness and magnitude of Lord Dalhousie's scheme. Happily, the question of the renewal of the Charter was at the time under the consideration of Parliament. Night after night were they assailed for their shortcomings in the management of the national estate entrusted to them, and Mr. Bright, in one of his most fiery philippics, more particularly denounced their

neglect to establish the means of communication in India. If any hesitation was felt in Leadenhall Street to sanction the grand proposals of the Governor-General, it soon ceased to exist, and a guarantee upon a capital of twelve millions was at once granted. Upon the broad foundation thus laid by the Governor-General, the Indian authorities at home have raised a noble superstructure. In the course of fourteen years they have increased their guarantee from twelve crores to eighty, for the construction of 4,200 miles of line, and, at the present rate of progression, they will not stop short at a hundred crores. Of the sum expended on these Indian railways, only about three per cent. has been contributed by native capitalists and Europeans in India; the remainder has been supplied by the London Stock Exchange. There are not wanting philosophers who assert that England gains nothing by her connection with India, and would lose nothing by cutting her adrift; but there cannot be two opinions on the inestimable advantage which India derives from her annexation to England, which not only gives her a strong and beneficent government, the security of life and property, and the unrestricted pursuit of wealth and happiness, but enables her to draw from the inexhaustible mine of British capital, whatever resources are necessary for material improvements. It was at one time surmised that the priesthood would take umbrage at this innovation, and that the unchangeable habits and traditional prejudices of the Hindoos would present a serious obstacle to the success of the rail; but these fancies were dispelled before the line had been six months in operation. The brahmins, with all their religious conservatism, hailed it with delight, folded up their caste prejudices, and travelled third class with those whose touch was pollution. At a meeting, moreover, of the Dhurmu Subha in Calcutta, the great sanhedrim of Hindoo orthodoxy, which had petitioned the Privy Council for the restoration of the "sacred rite" of suttee, it was unanimously determined that pilgrims might freely avail themselves of the rail, which, considering that the merit of pilgrimage diminishes in propor-

tion to the ease with which it can be performed, was a concession of no small merit. Travelling by rail became at once, and still continues, a national passion, and the number of passengers conveyed during the last year of account, on the 2,500 miles open, exceeded twelve millions, of whom ninety-five per cent. were of the third class.

The Electric
Telegraph, 1852.

Another benefit conferred on the commercial and political interests of India by Lord Dalhousie, was the Electric Telegraph. The system owes its existence to the professional enterprise and the persevering industry of Dr.—now Sir William—O’Shaughnessy. After a series of experiments continued for many years in which every failure became a new element of success, he succeeded in laying a line from Calcutta to the sea at Kedgerree, which proved to be of the highest value during the Burmese war. Lord Dalhousie had watched these experiments with deep interest, and on receiving from Dr. O’Shaughnessy in April, 1852, a report of the successful working of the experimental line, lost no time in transmitting his views on the subject to the Court of Directors. He said, “the complete success of the experimental line has added intensity to the ardent desire I have entertained ever since the first report was submitted, to see the main line of electric telegraph between Calcutta and Peshawur, Bombay and Calcutta, and Madras and Calcutta, fairly commenced before I quit India next year. Since then the early establishment of the electric telegraph is all important, alike to the Government and to the community in India; since it has been shown to be practicable, safe, cheap, and profitable, I make my most earnest personal solicitation to the Honourable Court of Directors, that they will authorize the immediate construction of a line or lines from Calcutta to Agra, to Bombay, to Peshawur, and to Madras, either simultaneously, or as soon as possible, in the order in which they are placed in my list. Every thing, all the world over, moves faster now a days, than it used to do, except the transaction of Indian business.” He then proceeded to remark, that, what with the number of

functionaries, boards, references, correspondences, and the several Governments in India, what with the distances, the consultation of the several authorities in England, the reference to India for further information, and the fresh correspondence arising from it, the progress of any great public measure, even when all were equally disposed to promote it, was often discouragingly slow. To obviate these obstructions, he directed Dr. O'Shaughnessy to proceed to England simultaneously with the despatch, and place himself in personal communication with the Court of Directors, and afford them every information on the subject. Happily, Sir James Hogg was in the Chair at the India House, and he took the same interest in promoting the project of the telegraph as he had that of the railway. It was carried through the various stages with such cordiality and promptitude that, within a week of the arrival of Lord Dalhousie's despatch, it had received the sanction of the Court and of the Board of Control, and a despatch conveying this gratifying intelligence was on its way to India. There had been no parallel to the expedition of these movements within the memory of the oldest functionary at the India House. Dr. O'Shaughnessy returned to India with all the necessary apparatus, and a large staff; the construction of the telegraph from Calcutta to Agra was commenced at the end of 1853, and more than 3,000 miles were covered with the wires in the course of fifteen months. Considering the local difficulties presented by the rivers and the swamps, the jungles and the mountains, Lord Dalhousie was fully justified in affirming that the electric telegraph in India might challenge comparison with any public enterprise which had been carried into execution in recent times, among the nations of Europe or America. The establishment of these telegraph lines, which now extend over not less than 12,000 miles, have fully answered the expectations of the Governor-General by increasing the security of the empire, and multiplying the facilities of governing it. Even his most ambitious anticipations have been realized by the

progress of science and the energies of civilization. "It may yet be hoped," he wrote, "that the system of electric telegraphs in India may one day be linked with those which envelope Europe, and which already seek to stretch across the Atlantic." The Governor-General is able now to hold communication with the Secretary of State in London between breakfast and dinner, and a message from New York has been conveyed to Calcutta in less than twenty-four hours. Since the days of Lord Wellesley, who was at one time without intelligence from England for seven months, the appliances for maintaining our dominion in India have been augmented to an indefinite degree. The reasonable apprehensions once entertained that the extension of the boundaries of the empire would increase its insecurity, have vanished before the miracles of modern science. Steam and electricity have given an irresistible strength to European power in Asia. The British Government in India is now prepared for every emergency. If, at the period of the Sepoy mutiny, when the British empire was exposed to the greatest danger it had ever encountered, the Government had possessed the advantages which have since been created,—telegraphic wires pervading every district, and stretching to London, magnificent steam transports on both sides the Isthmus of Suez, with the Egyptian rail as the connecting link, railways radiating from Bombay and extending throughout the country—any number of European troops might have reached the north-west provinces from England within five weeks of the outbreak at Meerut, and the mutiny would have been crushed in the bud.

Character of Lord
Dalhousie's Ad-
ministration,
1856.

Lord Dalhousie embarked at Calcutta on the 6th March, 1856, for England. The whole population, moved by a feeling of admiration of the great ruler who had enlarged and consolidated the empire, and enriched it with solid and lasting improvements, crowded the plain to testify their regret at his departure. Eight years of incessant toil in the service of his country had completely exhausted his constitution, and after a painful and lingering

illness of more than four years, he sunk into the grave on the 13th December, 1860. His administration marks a new and important era of civilization in India. The principle of uninterrupted progression which has since characterized the movements of Government is due to the impulse which he communicated to it. To his genius is to be ascribed the grateful fact that the India of 1867 presents so pre-eminent a contrast to the India of 1847. He grasped the largest projects for the improvement of the country, and his views of policy were of imperial magnitude. In all his measures he exhibited a clear intellect, a sound judgment, and deep sagacity, while his firmness of purpose and resolution of character turned all these qualifications to the highest account. He communicated vigour to the administration by exacting a rigid performance of duty from all under him, and he set them the example of his own intense application to public business, to which, by a noble devotion, he sacrificed leisure, ease, comfort, and even health. He investigated every question that came before him with great patience and diligence, and with a scrupulous desire to be right. He marshalled all the arguments which could be adduced on both sides of it, and always recorded weighty reasons for whatever decision he formed, the soundness of which was seldom questioned either by his colleagues, or by the public in India. If he had little imagination for the sensitive feelings of princes who represented ancient and effete dynasties, the absence of it was in some degree compensated by his compassion for their misgoverned subjects; and his administration was distinguished throughout by incessant efforts to benefit the people, whether in our own territories or independent states. The present age is inclined to form its judgment of his administration from the narrow point of his refusal to commit the government of Sattara, Jhansi, and Nagpore to three rads, when he was authorized by the ancient law of India, and the orders of his superiors in England, to incorporate those states with the territories of the paramount power—and thus bestow on them the blessing of a British

administration. When this error has had its day, and his administration comes to be surveyed in its broad dimensions, it will be apparent that he exhibited perhaps the finest example which ancient or modern history affords, of what can be accomplished for the benefit of mankind by an enlightened despotism acting upon a large theatre.

Lord Dalhousie's
not foreseeing
the Mutiny, 1856.

Lord Dalhousie has been censured for not having foreseen the mutiny, and provided against it. It has been noted against him, that the only allusion to the native army in the Minute in which he reviewed his administration was, that "the position of the native soldier in India had long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement, while the condition of the European soldier, on the other hand, was susceptible of great improvement, and had received it liberally." This had reference to the condition in which the sepoy had been placed by his indulgent masters, not to his feeling towards them. The repeated acts of insubordination exhibited by the sepoys convinced Lord Dalhousie that the native army was no longer to be depended on; but neither he nor Sir Henry Lawrence, nor any other public functionary, ever dreamt that a hundred thousand sepoys, after all the attention which had been bestowed on their comforts, would rise as one man, massacre their officers, and endeavour to subvert the Government. Such an anticipation would have been deemed as wild and improbable as that the United States of America were likely to be plunged into a civil war, and to prosecute it on the grandest scale the world had ever seen. The constitution of the native army was vicious in the extreme. Two fifths of the sepoys were drawn from a single province, and the fraternity thus established in the various regiments, caused every feeling of irritation to vibrate through the whole body. It was impossible for Lord Dalhousie to eradicate this fundamental defect, and the only practicable mode of averting its consequence, was to re-establish the proportion between European and native troops, which from the days of

Lord Cornwallis had been considered essential to our safety. He had fixed the proportion at one to three, but not less than one to four; it had now been reduced to the dangerous scale of one to six. To this vital question Lord Dalhousie bent his earnest attention. During the Crimean war the Ministry announced their intention to withdraw two European regiments from India, but Lord Dalhousie raised the strongest objections to it. In his Minute on the subject he stated that "the withdrawal of European troops from India to Europe would weaken the essential element of our strength; if European troops were farther withdrawn for service in the Persian gulf, he could no longer feel, or express, the same confidence as before, that the security and stability of our position would remain unassailed." He confidently submitted to the candour of Her Majesty's Ministers, that "placed as it is amidst distances so vast—amidst multitudes so innumerable—amidst peoples and sects various in many things, but all alike in this, that they are the lately conquered subjects of our race, alien to them in religion, in language, in colour, in habits, in all feelings and interests, the Government of India has had solid ground for the declaration more than once made of late years, that the European force at its command is not more than adequate for preserving the empire in security and tranquillity even in ordinary times," much less then, in circumstances of political difficulty. The regiments were, notwithstanding, withdrawn both to the Crimea and to the Persian gulf, and when the mutiny broke forth, the entire force of European infantry at all the Presidencies had been reduced to thirty-one battalions, and there were only two regiments between Calcutta and Agra, a distance of 800 miles, amidst a population of fifty millions. Treble that number, under a Gillespie or a Havelock would have been sufficient to strike terror into the mutineers, and to restore our authority. On the last day Lord Dalhousie presided in Council, he laid on the table nine Minutes in which he stated his mature and final views regarding the condition of the army and the requirements of the

country. He considered it essential to increase the European battalions to thirty-seven, and to reduce the sepoy army by 14,000 men, and thus to protect the Government from the hazard to which it was exposed by the disproportion of the sepoy force.

The annexation
policy and the
mutiny, 1857.

Lord Dalhousie has been charged not only with having neglected to foresee the mutiny, but with having been himself the cause of it. When the intelligence of this catastrophe reached England, the nation became wild with excitement at the prospect of losing the empire,—in which it had manifested but little interest before,—and swelled with indignation at the atrocities of the sepoys. In this state of feeling, a national victim was required, and it was found in the person of the late Governor-General. Those who had always been opposed to annexation came to the conclusion that it had now produced the result they had long foreseen, of shaking our empire in India to its foundations. “Lord Dalhousie’s annexation policy has caused the mutiny,” was echoed through the land. A dictum thus pronounced by men who were supposed to understand India relieved the mind from the labour of thought, and became an article of faith. All his services were forgotten in the tragedy which “his lust of territorial aggrandisement” had created; and instead of receiving the ovation due to a great statesman who had enlarged the dominions of England, and planted the seeds of a great civilization among a fifth of the human race, his name became a scandal and a reproach. The investigations which have since been made have tended to show the fallacy of this hasty assumption. That the annexation by war or lapse did not create the mutiny, appears evident from the fact that except in the case of Oude, and the little principality of Jhansi under the instigation of the enraged rane, none of the annexed provinces manifested the slightest disposition to turn against us in the great crisis. Sattara and Nagpore were tranquil. Burmah was so contented with its new masters that the European corps stationed in it was withdrawn with safety,

and the Punjab was mainly instrumental in putting down the mutiny. If the annexations had created any of that alarm for their own possessions in the minds of the independent princes of India, Sindia, Holkar, the Guickwar, or the Nizam, which was assumed, the fairest opportunity was now presented to them for expelling us from India by the revolt of the whole native army, and the extinction of our authority in Hindostan. But so exemplary was their loyalty to the British Government in the day of its extremity, that the advocates of native dynasties have adduced it as one of the strongest arguments for maintaining them. Neither did the sepoys manifest any feeling of irritation at the annexation even of their own province. They took up arms to avenge, not the deposition of their sovereign, but the supposed attempt on their caste. Their relatives and connections included a tenth of the whole population, as well as the great bulk of the agricultural yeomanry, and strange indeed would it have been if they had remained inactive when the sepoy army was triumphant in its rebellion, and the Resident was besieged in Lucknow. The zemindars in Oude, whom it was the object of the incorporation to restrain from plunder and oppression, did in many cases join the malcontents; but during the entire period of the eclipse of our authority in that province, neither sepoy, nor zemindar, nor peasant, appears to have manifested any desire to restore the king to his throne.

The assumed
causes of the
mutiny, 1857.

It does not fall within the compass of this work to embrace the period of the mutiny. We live, in fact, too near this stupendous event, and the feelings it has excited are still too sensitive, to admit of a calm and conclusive judgment of its origin and character. All that can be expected of the present age is to contribute individual opinions, more or less valuable, for the examination of the future historian. Under this impression, a few brief remarks on the mutiny suggested by this review of our progress in India, are offered to the candour of the reader. It has been surmised that the melancholy events of 1857 are to be attri-

buted to a national revolt against our authority. But, independently of the irresistible conclusion that, if this had been the case, we could not have retained our footing on the continent, all the evidence which has since been collected runs counter to this hypothesis. There was no insurrection in any district of any class, however lawless, until after our authority had been extinguished by the triumph of the sepoy, when all the vagabonds were let loose upon the country, and petty and obscure chiefs came forth to take advantage of the confusion. In many districts, on the contrary, natives of influence stepped forward and maintained order, till we should return. Where there were no sepoy, there was no insurrection. Wherever there was revolt, it was the consequence, and not the cause of the mutiny. Neither does the resumption of rent-free tenures, thirty years before, appear to have exercised any influence, as has been asserted, upon the revolt. The province of Behar, with seven millions of inhabitants, of a martial character, had suffered more severely than any other province from the operation of the resumption law; but, with the exception of one district, there was no symptom of disaffection till after the mutinous sepoy had been allowed, by the weakness of the General commanding at Dinapore, to overspread it. We refer to Shahabad, where Koer Sing, the most influential of the zemindars, whose circumstances were irretrievably embarrassed, threw himself into the cause of the mutineers and set the Government at defiance, in the hope of obtaining relief from the process of the courts and the pursuit of his creditors. In two of the most flourishing districts of Behar, containing 10,000 square miles, and filled with landholders whose fathers had felt the heavy hand of resumption, not a finger was raised against our Government, though there was not so much as a corporal's guard left to maintain our power. The mutiny has likewise been attributed to the virtues of our administration, the introduction of female schools, the spread of English education, the railway, the telegraph, and, indeed, to whatever contributed to lessen the

importance and authority of the priesthood. But the sepoy knew nothing of English instruction, and none of our improvements had ever reached them. They had been scrupulously guarded by our timidity from everything that could remotely affect their religious prejudices. The railroad was then unknown out of Bengal. It was in Bengal that the influence of the priesthood had been most rudely shaken by a flood of improvements; but the thirty millions of Bengalees never dreamt of rebellion. Moreover, in no province had those measures and those innovations to which the mutiny has been ascribed been introduced with more rapidity and vigour than in the newly conquered province of the Punjab. In the course of seven years, the Lawrences had abolished suttees and infanticide, two practices ardently cherished by the upper classes; they had carried out an extensive plan of resumptons; they had humiliated Runjeet Sing's aristocracy; established English schools; fostered female education, and even introduced the telegraph. But the Sikhs, instead of making common cause with the sepoy, and seizing the opportunity to re-establish their beloved Khalsa, hastened to assist in putting down the mutineers and restoring our authority.

Real cause of the mutiny, 1857.

"The mutiny," says Sir John Lawrence, "had its origin in the army itself; it is not attributable to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; the approximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else." This assertion, made by the highest authority on the subject, is corroborated by irrefragable evidence. Neither the old resumptons, nor the spread of English, nor the attempt to teach females, nor the diffusion of knowledge, nor the railway, nor the telegraph, nor all other causes which have been conjectured, put together, were sufficient to account for the savage mutiny of a hundred thousand sepoy; while the delirious alarm created by the story of the greased cartridges is fully adequate to the effect. The sepoy rebels only for his pay or his caste. The various muti-

nies which have been enumerated in this work, between 1763 and 1853, may all be traced to one or other of these causes. The condition of the sepoy as regarded his pay left him nothing to desire, but the most strenuous efforts had been made, after the arrival of Lord Canning, to persuade him that his religion was in danger. It was confidently affirmed that Lord Canning had come out especially pledged to the Queen to make all the army Christians, and had undertaken to have all the native officers to dine at Government House. The King of Oude had left Lucknow, and planted his residence in the suburbs of Calcutta, and his emissaries were incessantly employed in inflaming the minds of the sepoys, as the family of Tippoo had done at Vellore. Then came the report which spread like wild-fire, that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs, with the object of destroying the caste of both Mahomedans and Hindoos. The preposterous tale was believed by ninety-nine out of every hundred sepoys, and a feeling of uncontrollable alarm for their religion and their caste spread through every regiment, from Calcutta to Peshawur, and the whole army was extinguished in a blaze of mutiny.

The Charter of 1853; changes it introduces.

The Charter of 1833 expired in 1853, and a strenuous effort was made in Parliament to wrest the Government of India from the Company, but the Whig Ministry resolved to continue it in their hands, until Parliament should otherwise ordain. The India Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, in a lucid speech of five hours, which, considering that he had been only a few months in office, and was previously ignorant of India, exhibited great power of analysis, and held out the prospect of an enlightened and vigorous administration, which has since been fully realized. The settlement did not last much beyond five years, and it is only necessary to notice the three chief modifications which it embodied. The number of the Court of Directors was reduced from thirty to eighteen, and the elimination was performed by a most ingenious process of balloting, devised

for the occasion. Of the reduced number of Directors, a certain proportion was to be nominated by the Crown. This was no small improvement on the old constitution of the Court, into which it was impossible to obtain admission, except after a laborious and humiliating canvass, often prolonged for years. The most eminent statesmen of the Company's service, men like Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, whose experience and influence would have been invaluable at the India House, were thus excluded from all share in the home Government, from their invincible repugnance to this wearisome mode of election; and the vacancies were filled up with bankers and brewers, and captains of ships, and other city men, who coveted a seat in the Direction for its position and its patronage. Under the new arrangement the Minister was enabled to call to his aid the most eminent of the Company's retired officers. A second improvement consisted in entrusting the Government of Bengal and Behar to a separate Lieutenant-Governor. These provinces contained a thriving population of thirty-five millions, and contributed one-third of the revenues of the whole empire, yet the task of administering the Government was still imposed on the Governor-General, when in Calcutta, even after his imperial functions had been doubled. He was generally absent more than half his time, and this duty devolved upon the senior member of Council, who sometimes happened to be a military officer, rewarded for services in the field, or for reforming the Commissariat at Madras, by a seat at the Council Board and £10,000 a-year. Under this anomalous system there were no fewer than ten successive Governors and Deputy Governors of Bengal in the course of eleven years. Happily Mr.—now Sir Frederick—Halliday continued to hold the post of Secretary throughout this period of permanent instability and inevitable weakness, and it was owing entirely to his local knowledge and experience, his sound judgment and great diligence that the administration exhibited any degree of spirit, or even consistency. His long and eminent services

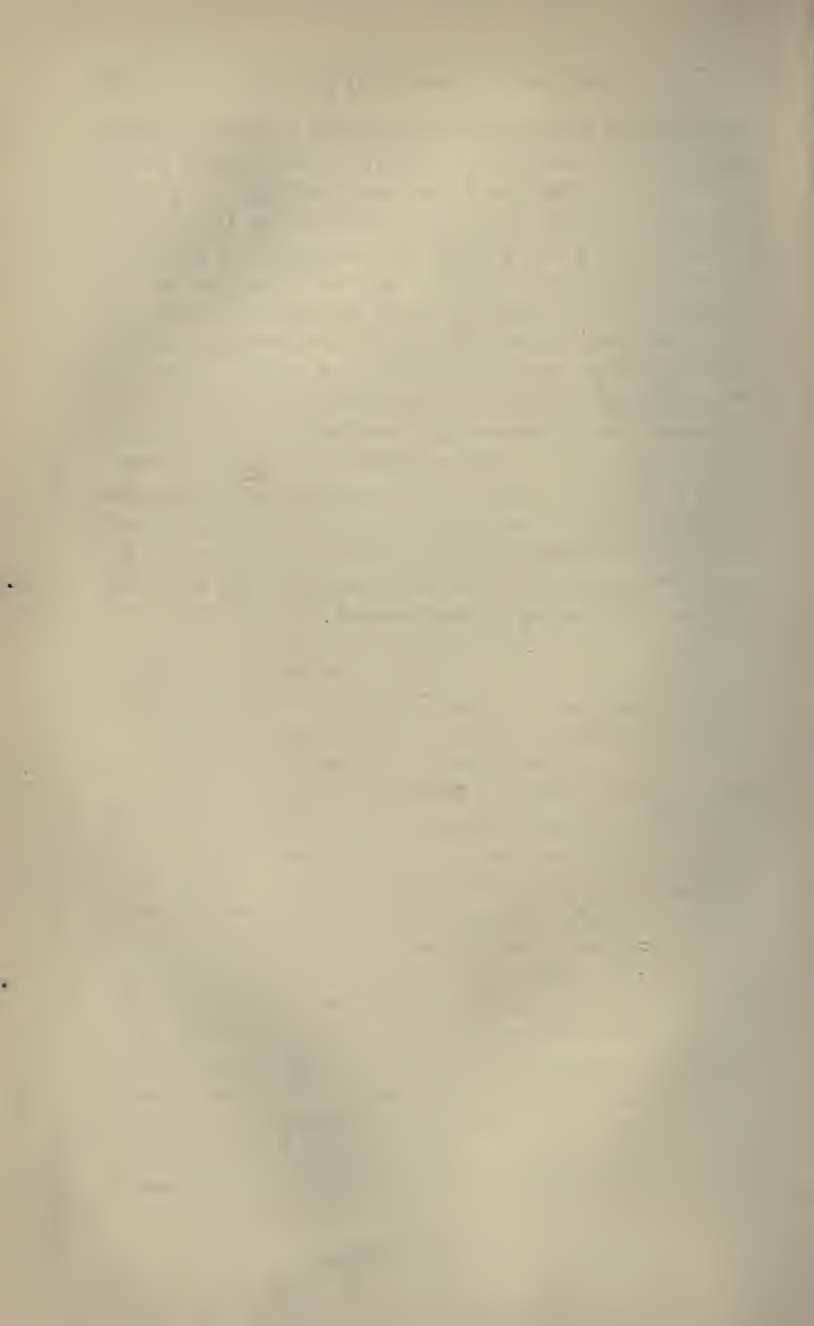
were rewarded by the first appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship. By a third provision in the Charter, the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Court of Directors to make way for the principle of unreserved competition. This system has entirely changed the character of the service, but there has not as yet been sufficient time to estimate its full effect on the general interests of the empire. It possesses many advantages, but is not, of course, without its drawbacks. At all events, the new class of men whom it introduces into the service have the advantage of a high standard of excellence before them. The nomination system, with all its tendency to jobbery, did produce a fine body of public servants, who were invariably distinguished by the honourable bearing and high principle of English gentlemen, and who, with few exceptions, threw their whole soul into their work and took a pride in the efficient performance of it. It is to be hoped that when the higher responsibilities of office devolve on those who have entered the service by competition, they will be found equally competent to represent the dignity of British power among the nobles and princes of India, and equally anxious to conciliate the confidence of the people by their consideration and kindness.

The East India Company fell with the mutiny of 1857. That catastrophe would equally have occurred, if the government had been in the hands of the Crown. Indeed, the Board of Control had been for more than seventy years the mainspring of authority, and the Court was little more than the medium of making public its decisions. If any portion of the responsibility of the mutiny was attached to the authorities in England, it belonged to the Prime Minister, who, in utter disregard of the experience of the past, and the deliberate opinion of successive Governors-General, and the remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, withdrew the European regiments, which formed "the essential element of our strength." But when the appalling crisis came, the national feeling sought relief and comfort, both with regard

End of the East
India Company,
1858.

to the past and the future, in changing the organs of government, and the East India Company was required to resign its power. Its work was accomplished, and the cycle of its existence completed. It was created by the Crown, two hundred and fifty years before, for the purpose of extending British commerce to the East; and it transferred to the Crown, on relinquishing its functions, an empire more magnificent than that of Rome. Its political power began with the battle of Plassy; and in the course of a single century, its servants abroad, contrary to every injunction from home, but acting under the influence of an irresistible impulse, extended its authority over the whole continent. A company of merchants in London thus became the instrument, under the mysterious, but wise and benignant agency of Divine Providence, of establishing the British empire in India, with all its attendant blessings, and of leading the way to the extension of European supremacy throughout Asia.

FINIS.



INDEX.

a Vol. I.; *b* Vol. II.; *c* Vol. III.

Abdalees, their origin, *a* 264.

Abdoolla Khan, the Syud, assists Feroکشere to mount the throne, *a* 185, sets up another emperor; is defeated, *a* 190.

Aborigines of India, their creed and languages; dislodged by successive invaders, *a* 2.

Adam, Mr. John, Governor-General, *ad interim*, persecutes the press, and destroys its freedom, *b* 381.

Adil Shah, of Beejapore, joins the confederacy against the Portuguese, and is defeated, *a* 118.

Adili, the last emperor of the Soor dynasty, *a* 101 and 102.

Adoption, arguments for permitting it, *c* 401.

Afghanistan, expedition to, *c* 133; authorized by Sir John Hobhouse, *c* 133; objections of great statesmen to it, *c* 133; its character, *c* 134; strength of the expeditionary force, *c* 141; advance of the army, *c* 144; difficulties of its progress; reaches Candahar, *c* 145; captures Ghuznee, *c* 147; reaches Cabul, *c* 148; determination to retain the force, *c* 150; perilous state of the Government, *c* 160; Court of Directors advise retiring, Lord Auckland resolves to remain, *c* 169; retrenchment of stipends, and revolt, *c* 171; the army annihilated, and British authority extinguished, *c* 195; remarks on the expedition, *c* 233; reconquest of Afghanistan by the army of retribution, *c* 223; retirement from the country, *c* 228.

Afghans of Orissa rebel, and are extinguished, *a* 216.

Agency houses in Calcutta, their origin, prosperity and downfall, *c* 79.

Agnew, Mr. Vans, murdered at Mooltan, *c* 313.

Ahmednugur, dynasty of Nizam Shah established, *a* 83; attacked by Akbar, and defended by Chand Sultana, *a* 120, capture of it, *a* 121; its vigour renewed by Malik Amber, *a* 128; the king attacks the Portuguese, and is repulsed, *a* 119; absorbed in the Mogul empire, *a* 137.

Ahmed Shah, Abdalee, his early history and progress; invades the Punjab; defeated at Sirhind, *a* 265; invades India a second time, *a* 266; his third invasion; sacks Delhi, *a* 267; defeats the Mahrattas at Paniput, *a* 291.

Ahmed Shah, the Mogul, ascends the throne of Delhi, *a* 265.

Ajnere, a powerful Hindoo monarchy in 1191, *a* 41.

Akbar Khan arrives at Cabul and assumes the command, *c* 181; dictates a treaty, *c* 185; assassinated Sir W. Macnaghten, *c* 189; defeated at Jellalabad, *c* 209; sends his prisoners to Toorkistan, *c* 222; defeated at Tezzen, *c* 222.

Akbar, the Mogul emperor; his birth, *a* 99; succeeds to the throne, *a* 103; defeats Hemu at Paniput, *a* 104; becomes his own master at eighteen; constitution of his army, *a* 105; revolt of his generals, *a* 106; full establishment of his authority, *a* 107; intermarries with Hindoo princesses, *a* 108; conquers Chittore and Guzerat, *a* 109; and Bengal, *a* 111; revolt and subjugation of his Mogul generals, *a* 112; conquers Cashmere, *a* 113; defeated by the Khyberrees; conquers Sinde and Candahar, *a* 114; attacks and captures Ahmednugur, *a* 121; his death, *a* 122; his character and institutions: his religious views and toleration. *a* 123; his revenue system

- and the division of the empire, *a* 124; his military system, and the economy of his court, *a* 125.
- Albuquerque, the greatest of all the Portuguese viceroys, *a* 89; raises the colonial power of the Portuguese to its summit; his base treatment and death, *a* 90.
- Alexander the Great, his expedition to India, *a* 12; defeats Porus, and the Cathaians, *a* 13; his army refuses to cross the Sutlege; his grand views; builds Alexandria; dies at Babylon, *a* 14; his fame spread throughout the east, *a* 15.
- Ali Gohur, son of the emperor, escapes from Delhi and enters Behar; besieges Patna; retires, *a* 284; accepts a donation from Clive, *a* 285.
- Ali Merdan, betrays Candahar to Shah Jehan; his great public works and his canal, *a* 139.
- Ali Morad, his perfidy; obtains the turban by fraud; deceives Sir C. Napier; deceives Meer Roostum, and urges the Ameers to rebel, *c* 242.
- Ali Verdy Khan, viceroy of Bengal; marches into Orissa, *a* 224; encounters the Mahrattas on his return, *a* 225; harassed by continual Mahratta invasion, *a* 227; rebellion of Mustapha, *a* 228; resigns Orissa, and pays *chout* to the Mahrattas, *a* 229; his death, *a* 269.
- Aliwall, battle of, *c* 293.
- Alla-ood-deen, Ghilzye, conducts the first Mahomedan expedition across the Nerbudda; takes Deogur; assassinate his uncle, *a* 54; conquers Guzerat, *a* 55; captures Chittore, *a* 56; extinguishes the Bellal dynasty, *a* 57; sends successive expeditions to the Deccan, as far as Cape Comorin, and acquires extraordinary wealth, *a* 58; his death, *a* 59.
- Alla-ood-deen, Ghory, defeats Byram, *a* 39; sacks Ghuznee; is defeated and captured by the Seljuks and restored to power; his death, *a* 40.
- Almeyda, the first Portuguese viceroy of India; attacked by the Egyptian and Guzeratee fleets, *a* 88; death of his son and his own great success, *a* 89.
- Almora, conquest of, *b* 298.
- Alumgeer, emperor of Delhi, assassinated by Ghazee-ood-deen, *a* 288.
- Aluptugeen, governor of Candahar, becomes independent, *a* 27.
- Amalgamation of the troops of the Crown and the Company, enjoined on Lord Cornwallis, *b* 9; approved by Pitt, *b* 48; and by Dundas; Lord Cornwallis's scheme rejected by the Court of Directors, *b* 63.
- Ameer Khan, his rise, *b* 134; joins Holkar, *b* 135; plunders the Rajpoot states, *b* 203; attacks Nagpore, *b* 233; repulsed by the raja's troops, *b* 235; full establishment and strength of his power, *b* 304; his exactions from the Holkar state, *b* 325; sides with the British Government, and becomes an independent prince, *b* 330.
- Amherst, Lord, Governor-General, *b* 379; engages in the Burmese war, *b* 385; his annexations, *b* 399; expedition against Bhurtpore, *b* 402; created an earl, *b* 410; disastrous financial results of his administration, *b* 411; his lenity towards the press, *b* 411; his departure from India, *b* 413.
- Amiens, peace of, and restoration of the foreign settlements, *b* 113.
- Andra dynasty, extent and duration of its power, *a* 20.
- Angria, Conajee, the Mahratta pirate, fortifies Gheriah, beats an English and Portuguese fleet, and captures three Dutch vessels, *a* 268; Gheriah captured by Clive and Watson, *a* 269.
- Annexation of lapsed principalities; opinion of Lord Dalhousie, *c* 387; fixed principle established by the Home authorities, *c* 388; opposed by a party in England, *c* 400; the annexation policy, attributed to Lord Dalhousie; examination of the three cases on which the assumption rests, *c* 397; extent of Lord Dalhousie's responsibility, *c* 399.
- Anungpal, the Hindoo king of the Punjab, attacks Mahmood of Ghuznee, and is totally defeated, *a* 30.
- Anwar-ood-deen, appointed Nabob of the Carnatic; founds the family of the Nabobs, *a* 231; attacks the French at Madras and is defeated, *a* 235, defeated and slain at Amboor, *a* 241.

- Arabs, enlisted in large numbers by the Deccan princes, *b* 353; their obstinate defence of forts, *b* 353.
- Aracan, conquest of, *b* 393.
- Argaom, battle of, *b* 151.
- Army of the Company reduced by Lord Hardinge, *c* 304.
- Arnee, indecisive action before, between Coote and Hyder, *a* 399.
- Arras, battle of, gained by Colonel Keating over the Mahrattas, *a* 359.
- Assam, conquest of, *b* 392.
- Asseergur, besieged and captured, *b* 355.
- Assye, battle of, *b* 149.
- Auckland, Lord, Governor-General, *c* 112; difficulties regarding Persia, Russia, and Afghanistan, *c* 121; his advisers, *c* 123; resolves to depose Dost Mahomed and elevate Shah Soojah, *c* 130; forms the tripartite treaty, *c* 132; expedition to Afghanistan, *c* 132; his manifesto, *c* 134; persists in the expedition after the relief of Herat, *c* 140; occupation of Afghanistan, *c* 150; created an earl, *c* 152, embarrassments of the Government, *c* 160; expulsion of the British from Afghanistan, *c* 195; Lord Auckland's despondency and weakness, *c* 196; quits India, *c* 200.
- Aurangzebe, appointed viceroy of the Deccan, *a* 141; attacks Golconda and burns Hyderabad, *a* 142; attacks Beejapore; recalled to Delhi by his father's illness, *a* 143; his character, *a* 144; defeats Dara, enters Delhi, deposes Shah Jehan, and mounts the throne, *a* 145; disposes of his brothers, *a* 148; his illness and recovery, *a* 149; reaches the height of his prosperity, *a* 162; renews the war with Sevajee, *a* 162; invades the Khyber, and is baffled, *a* 164; persecutes the Hindoos, and imposes the *jezzia*, *a* 165; his grand expedition to the Deccan, *a* 171; disastrous invasion of the Deccan, *a* 172; conquers and extinguishes Beejapore, *a* 173; puts an end to the kingdom of Golconda, *a* 174; his conduct towards the English, *a* 212, 213; his increasing embarrassments in his conflict with the Mahrattas, *a* 180; makes overtures to them, and retires discomfited to Ahmednugur; his death, *a* 181; and character, *a* 182.
- Aylah-bye, her magnificent administration of the Holkar state for thirty years, *b* 133.
- Baber, his early career, *a* 91; his five expeditions to India, *a* 92; defeats the emperor, and captures Delhi, *a* 93; defeats Rana Sunga, *a* 94; conquers Chunderee, Oude, and Behar; his death and character, *a* 95.
- Baeza-bye, widow of Dowlut Rao Sindia, adopts a son, *c* 29; monopolizes all power, *c* 29; collision with the raja, *c* 30; interference of the British Government, *c* 30; obliged to retire from the country, *c* 30.
- Bahadoor Shah succeeds Aurungzebe, *a* 182; his death, *a* 185.
- Bahadoor Shah, of Guzerat, his aggressive wars, *a* 96; defeated by Humayoon; recovers his kingdom, *a* 97.
- Bahmany dynasty; its establishment in the Deccan by Hussun Gunga; extent of the kingdom, *a* 77; reaches the summit of prosperity, *a* 81; the kingdom broken up, and five states formed out of it, *a* 83.
- Baillie's, Colonel, detachment entirely annihilated by Hyder, *a* 390.
- Bajee Rao becomes Peshwa; impetuosity of his character, *a* 192; incursions into Malwa, *a* 193; obtains the *chout* of Guzerat, *a* 194; defeats Dhabarry and makes the ancestor of the Guickwar family guardian of his infant son; convention with the Nizam, *a* 195; obtains Jhansi; Malwa conceded to him, *a* 196; marches to the gates of Delhi and retires, *a* 197; defeats the Nizam at Bhopal, *a* 198; his death, and character; consolidation of the Mahratta power under him, *a* 226.
- Bajee Rao, the 2nd; the throne bequeathed to him by Madhoo Rao; his character, *b* 59; plots and counter-plots at Poona, *b* 60; he succeeds as Peshwa; gets rid of Nana Furnuvese, *b* 61; designs the assassination of Dowlut Rao Sindia, *b* 62. *See* PESHWA.
- Balajee Vishwunath, his origin; rises to the office of Peshwa; his energy *a* 187; obtains great privileges from Hussein Ali; observations on them,

- a* 188; the privileges confirmed by the emperor; he reorganises the Mahratta polity; his death, *a* 192.
- Balajee Rao, succeeds Bajee Rao as Peshwa, *a* 226; obtains the supreme authority among the Mahrattas, *a* 252; attacks Salabut Jung, and is defeated by Bussy, *a* 253; ravages the Carnatic; Mahratta system of plundering, *a* 255; sends a great army against the Abdalees, *a* 289; which is defeated at Paniput, *a* 291; dies of a broken heart, *a* 292.
- Balance of power in India extinguished by the battle of Kurda, *b* 73.
- Balasure, establishment of the Company's factory at, *a* 207.
- Bappa, the Rajpoot; his exploits; attacks the Mahomedans, *a* 24; placed on the throne of Chittore, *a* 25; goes to Khorasan, and marries Mahomedan wives, *a* 26.
- Bareilly, insurrection at, *b* 301.
- Barlow, Sir George. Governor-General *ad interim*, *b* 189; his antecedents and his character, *b* 190; resolves to upset the policy of Lord Wellesley, *b* 190; withdraws from his alliances, *b* 191; adds two declaratory articles to the treaties with Sindia and Holkar, and neutralizes them, *a* 196; abandons Jeypore to plunder, *b* 196; interposes at Hyderabad to advantage, *b* 204; refuses to concede the demands of the Peshwa, *b* 205; Governor of Madras, *b* 236; his great unpopularity, *b* 236; treatment of Mr. Sherson, *b* 237; the Carnatic Commission, *b* 237; his proceedings stir up a mutiny of the European officers, *b* 238; his firmness quells it, *b* 243; his recal, *b* 245.
- Bassein, memorable treaty of, *b* 140; gives umbrage to Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, and leads to a war, *b* 142.
- Beder; one of the principalities which arose on the ruins of the Bahminy kingdom, under the Bereed Shahy dynasty, *a* 83, 114.
- Beejapore; becomes independent under the Adil Shahy dynasty, *a* 83, 115; the great gun cast by Roomy Khan, *a* 117; attacked by Aurungzebe, *a* 143; again invaded by him, *a* 173; extinction of the kingdom; magnificent edifices of its princes, *a* 174.
- Beejuynugur, foundation of the Hindoo kingdom of, *a* 63; the king constantly worsted by the Bahminy armies; he enlists Mahomedans; his continued want of success, *a* 80; resources of the kingdom; attacked by four Mahomedan princes; entire defeat of the Hindoo army at Tellicotta, *a* 116; extinction of the kingdom, *a* 117.
- Begums of Oude, demand the treasures and jageers said to be bequeathed to them by the vizier; the demand compromised by the Resident, *a* 348; the vizier at Chunar obtains Hastings's consent to despoil them, *a* 418; they are deprived of their wealth and their lands, *a* 419; their servants tortured, *a* 420; their jageers restored, *a* 421.
- Bellal, the Hindoo dynasty of, in the Deccan, extinguished, *a* 57.
- Beloli Lodi, emperor of Delhi; his ancestry; incessant wars with Jounpore, *a* 69; extinguishes that kingdom; his death, *a* 70.
- Benares, the ancient Hindoo dynasty of Pal, *a* 41; its temples destroyed by Aurungzebe, *a* 165; the province of, ceded to the Company by the Vizier, *a* 348. See CHEYT SING.
- Benfield, Paul, his humble position in the service; his demand of 23 lacs he had advanced to the Nabob, and on the crops of Tanjore, *a* 380; creates eight members of Parliament with the funds of the Nabob; consigned to infamy by Burke, *a* 436; gains 60 lacs by the payment of the Nabob's debts without enquiry, *a* 437.
- Bengal, introduction of brahmins and kayusts, *a* 26; Hindoo power extinguished, *a* 45; revolts from the throne of Delhi, *a* 63; reconquered by Akbar, *a* 112; establishment of Portuguese power in it, *a* 137; its total extinction, *a* 139; first establishment of the East India Company, *a* 206; abandoned by Charnock, *a* 213; he returns and founds Calcutta, *a* 214; fifty years contest between the Company and the Nabob, *a* 220; devastated by the Mahrattas, *a* 228; comes under the authority of the English, *a* 280;

- injurious effect of the double Government established by Clive, *a* 342; its miserable condition 1767-1772, *a* 315; created into a Lieutenant-Governorship, *c* 456.
- Bentinck, Lord William, Governor of Madras; recalled on the Vellore mutiny, *b* 211; appointed Governor-General, *c* 1; his economical reductions, *c* 2; passes the half batta order, *c* 2; annexes Cachar, *c* 11; annexes Coorg, *c* 11; his non-interference policy, *c* 14; deprives the raja of Mysore of his government, *c* 20; threatens the King of Oude to take over the whole administration, *c* 26; supported in this by the Court of Directors, *a* 27; meeting with Runjeet Sing at Roopur, *c* 41; makes a treaty with Sindé, *c* 43; his great administrative reforms, *c* 45; settlement of the north-west provinces, *c* 47; originates the employment of natives in the public service, *c* 49; abolishes suttees, *c* 51; modifies the Hindoo law of inheritance, *c* 56; admits native Christians to office, *c* 57; suppresses thuggee, *c* 58; encourages steam navigation, *c* 60; labours in the cause of education, *c* 63; establishes the medical college, *c* 68; financial results of his administration, *c* 78; remarks on it, *c* 80.
- Berar, becomes independent under the Imad Shahy dynasty, *a* 83; absorbed in the kingdom of Ahmednugur, *a* 114; ceded to Akbar by Chand Sultana, *a* 121. For the Bhonslay dynasty, *see* NAGPORE.
- Bharut, the earliest king of India, *a* 2.
- Bhawulpore, the khan of, welcomes Captain Burnes, *c* 38; assists in defeating Moolraj, *c* 315.
- Bheels, civilized by Capt. Outram, *c* 100.
- Bhojé raja, his peaceful and illustrious reign, *a* 42.
- Bhopal, noble conduct of the raja to General Goddard, not forgotten by the British Government, *a* 368; invaded by Sindia and Nagpore, *b* 306; saved by the interposition of the British Government, *b* 307; treaty with the state in 1817, *b* 332; great talents of the Begum, and her admirable administration; adorned with the Star of India, *c* 22.
- Bhurtpore, founded by the Jauts, *a* 202; the failure of the siege in 1805, *b* 173; treaty with the raja, *b* 173; Doorjun Saul seizes the government in 1825, *b* 403; collects a large army and defies the Government, *b* 406; second siege and capture, *b* 407; disgraceful plunder, *b* 409; effects of the capture in India, *b* 410.
- Bidgegur, captured by the English; the troops divide 40 lacs of booty among themselves, *a* 417.
- Bird, Mr. Robert, his eminent services in the settlement of the north-west provinces, *c* 48.
- Bird, Mr. Wilberforce, Deputy-Governor of Bengal, improves the condition of the magistracy, and raises the pay of the Darogas, *c* 268; instrumental in abolishing lotteries, *c* 269; and slavery, *c* 270.
- Black Hole, the tragedy of, *a* 273.
- Board of Control, established by Mr. Pitt, *a* 433; Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium abolished in Calcutta, *c* 430; Board of Revenue left, *c* 430; Military Board abolished, *c* 431.
- Bombay, the port acquired from the King of Portugal, *a* 208; the Presidency enlarged by the territories taken from the Peshwa, *b* 365.
- Bombay, President and Council; offer assistance to Raghoba; capture Salsette, *a* 358; conclude the treaty of Surat with Raghoba, *a* 359; which is disallowed at Calcutta, *a* 360; despatch an army to Poonah in the cause of Raghoba, *a* 365; the disgraceful convention of Wurgaum, *a* 367; which the Council repudiate, *a* 369.
- Boodh, his birth, religion and death, *a* 11.
- Boodhism spreads through Ceylon, Tibet, Tartary, and China, *a* 11.
- Boodhists expelled from India, *a* 18.
- Boorhanpore captured, *b* 150.
- Bourbon, Isle of, captured by an English force, *b* 248.
- Broadfoot, Major, his eminent services at Jellalabad, *c* 205; political agent at

- Loodiana, *c* 283; his efforts to collect supplies during the first Sikh war, *c* 283; his death at Ferozeshuhur, *c* 291.
- Brumha, his worship succeeds the Institutes of Munoo, *a* 6.
- Buckingham, Mr. J. S., banished from India by Mr. Adam, *b* 382.
- Bulbun, emperor of Delhi, his exemplary reign, *a* 51.
- Buonaparte sends a large armament to Pondicherry, after the peace of Amiens, which Lord Wellesley does not allow to land, *b* 113.
- Burma; rise and progress of Burmese power, *b* 382; haughty treatment of British envoys, *b* 383; conquests of the Burmese, 1815-23, *b* 384; origin of the first war, *b* 385; faulty arrangements of the campaign, *b* 387; disaster at Ramoo, *b* 388; arrival of the expedition at Rangoon, *b* 389; sickness and mortality, *b* 390; army advances to Prome, *b* 395; negotiations for peace, *b* 395; final engagement, *b* 397; treaty of Yandaboo, *b* 398; remarks on the war, *b* 398; second Burmese war, *c* 360; organization of the force, *c* 368; capture of Rangoon, *c* 369; war closed without a treaty *c* 371; annexation of Pegu, *c* 372.
- Furnes, Capt., proceeds up the Indus with the dray horses for Runjeet Sing, *c* 37; honourably welcomed by him, *c* 38; sent on a mission to Cabul, *c* 124; his negotiations with the Dost, *c* 124; his false position, *c* 125; failure of his mission, and his departure from Cabul, *c* 129; knighted, *c* 152; murdered on the 2nd Nov. 1841, *c* 174.
- Bussy, makes Salabut Jung sor badar, *a* 245; obtains large donations from him, *a* 253; obtains the northern sircars, and establishes a great French power in the Deccan, *a* 254; captures the English factories on the coast, *a* 257; his character and progress; his power extinguished by Lally, *a* 258; returns to India at the end of twenty-four years, and reaches the coast, *a* 404; his operations at Cuddalore suspended by the news of peace between France and England *a* 405.
- Buxar, the Nabob Vizier defeated at the battle of, *a* 305.
- Byram of Ghuznee, the last of the dynasty, puts Seif-ood-deen to death; defeated by Alla-ood-deen; his death, *a* 39.
- Cabral, conducts the second Portuguese expedition to India, and discovers Brazil, *a* 86; intrigues against him at Calicut; he seizes Moorish vessels and burns the town, *a* 87.
- Cabul, occupied by a British army, *c* 148; troops turned out of the Bala Hissar, *c* 157; insurrection of the 2nd Nov. 1841, *c* 173; inactivity of the political and military chiefs, *c* 175; the envoy calls up a reinforcement from Candahar, which returns after a few marches, *c* 179; he orders Gen. Sale to return, but he proceeds on to Jellalabad, *c* 178; spread of the insurrection, *c* 176; fatal error in the construction of the cantonments, *c* 177; Brigadier Shelton made second in command, *c* 181; his impracticable temper, *c* 181; the last action, 23rd Nov., *c* 183; negotiations with the insurgent chiefs, *c* 184; treaty of 11th Dec. violated by the chiefs, *c* 186; assassination of Sir W. Macnaghten, *c* 189; renewed negotiations with Major Pottinger, *c* 190; new treaty, *c* 192; retreat of the army, *c* 192; its unexampled misery, *c* 193; surrender of the ladies and officers, *c* 193; total extinction of the force, *c* 195; character and effects of the catastrophe, *c* 195; second expedition to Cabul, *c* 217; the city reoccupied, *c* 223; rescue of the British prisoners and hostages, *c* 225; destruction of the great bazaar, *c* 227; departure of the British army, *c* 228.
- Cachar, campaign in, *b* 392; annexed by Lord W. Bentinck, *c* 11.
- Calcutta, foundation of, *a* 214; its fortification, *a* 216; the Mahratta ditch, *a* 227; its defenceless state in 1756, *a* 271; besieged by Seraja Dowlah, *a* 272; surrenders; tragedy of the Black Hole, *a* 273; recaptured by Clive, *a* 275 becomes the capital of Bengal, *a* 343.
- Calcutta Council, its atrocious conduct regarding the transit duties, *a* 301; makes war on Meer Cassim, *a* 302; its rapacity on the elevation of Nujum-ood-dowlah, *a* 307.
- Calicut, becomes independent in the ninth century, *a* 22; the Zamorin receives

- the first Portuguese expedition, *a* 85; he attacks the Portuguese, and is defeated, *a* 119.
- Campbell, Capt., his efforts to eradicate human sacrifices in Goomsoor, *c* 109.
- Canals of the Mogul dynasty, restored by Lord Hastings, *c* 305; the great Ganges Canal, designed by Col. Cautley, *c* 305; begun by Lord Auckland, *c* 306; works suspended by Lord Ellenborough, *c* 306; resumed and pushed forward by Lord Hardinge, *c* 307; energetic efforts of Lord Dalhousie to complete it, *c* 437; constructed and finished by Col. Cautley, *c* 437; Baree Dooab Canal in the Punjab, projected by Lord Dalhousie and executed by Col. Napier, *c* 359.
- Candahar, betrayed by Ali Merdan to the Moguls, *a* 139; reconquered by the Persians; three unsuccessful efforts to retake it by the Moguls, *a* 140; captured by the expeditionary force, in 1839, *c* 145; disaffection of the Dooraneees, *c* 167; their total discomfiture, *c* 168; progress of events after the insurrection at Cabul, *c* 210; admirable arrangements of Gen. Nott and Major Rawlinson, *c* 210; attacked by the insurgents 10th March, 1842, defended by Major Lane and Major Rawlinson, *c* 211; army quits it, and marches to Cabul, *c* 223.
- Candesh, becomes independent, *a* 65; is subordinate to the neighbouring princes, *a* 71; annexed to the Mogul empire, *a* 121.
- Carnac, Col., his incapacity and supersession, *a* 366, 367.
- Carnatic, invaded by Sevajee, *a* 168; its extent; overrun by the Moguls; entrusted to Zulfikar Khan, Daood Khan, and Sadutoolla, *a* 229; Anwar-ooddeen founds the family of the Nabobs of the Carnatic, *a* 231; its revenues taken over for the expenses of the Mysore war, *a* 396; restored to the Nabob by Mr. Dundas, *a* 438; deplorable embarrassment of the Nabob; fleeced by his creditors, European and native, *b* 104; makes assignments of land contrary to the treaty, *b* 105; Lord Wellesley offers a reasonable settlement, which he refuses, *b* 106; discovery of his reasonable correspondence with Tippoo, *b* 106; Lord Wellesley annexes the Carnatic, *b* 107; new treaty with the Nabob in 1801; its personal character, *a* 108; Nabob dies childless in 1853, *c* 404; Lord Harris proposes to extinguish the Nabobship, *c* 404; Lord Dalhousie fully concurs with him, *c* 405; Court of Directors order the titular Nabobship to cease, *c* 406.
- Cashmere conquered by Akbar, *a* 113; and by Runjeet Sing, *c* 33; sold by the British Government to Golab Sing, in 1846, *c* 299.
- Ceded and conquered provinces receive the promise of a permanent settlement, from Lord Wellesley, *b* 265; disallowed by the Court of Directors, *b* 266; settlement made by Mr. Robert Bird, *c* 47.
- Chandernagore, established by the French, *a* 209; captured by Clive, *a* 277.
- Chand Sultana, her noble defence of Ahmednugur, *a* 120; her tragic death, *a* 121.
- Charnock, retires from Hooghly to Chuttanutty, *a* 211; is taken away to Madras by Captain Heath, *a* 213; returns and founds Calcutta; his death and monument, *a* 214.
- Charter of the East India Company of 1793, *b* 49; of 1813, *b* 273; of 1833, *c* 82 of 1853, *c* 454
- Chey Sing, the raja of Benares; his family and position; extraordinary aid demanded of him, *a* 415; he hesitates, and Mr. Hastings imposes a fine of 50 lacs on him; is placed under restraint and escapes to Ramnugur, *c* 416; to Bidgegur, *a* 417; and to Bundlecund, *a* 418; remarks on this transaction, *a* 418.
- Chillianwalla, battle of, *c* 333; its results, *c* 337; public opinion of it in England and in India, *c* 338; leads to the recall of Lord Gough, *c* 339.
- Chin Kilich Khan, the Tartar, as Nizam-ool-moolk, appointed subadar of the Deccan, and founds a new dynasty, *a* 186.
- Chinsurah, its foundation, *a* 209; attacked by Clive, *a* 285.
- Chittore, illustrious ancestry of the raja, *a* 23; invaded by Mahmoon, who is defeated by Khoman, *a* 26; captured by Akbar, *a* 109; singular mode in

- which the capture is commemorated to this day; abandoned for Oodypore, *a* 109.
- Cholas in the Deccan, *a* 21.
- Cholera, its first appearance in India in Col. Pearce's detachment proceeding to Madras, *a* 375; breaks out in Lord Hastings's camp in 1817, *b* 329.
- Christianity introduced into India by St. Thomas, *a* 20; propagation of it in India, *b* 213.
- Christian natives first admitted to office by Lord W. Bentinck, *c* 57.
- Chronology, ancient, of the Hindoos, *a* 2.
- Chunda Sahib, his origin; allies himself with the French, *a* 230; a prisoner in Satara; is liberated, *a* 239; proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic, *a* 241; marches against Tanjore and obliged to retire, *a* 242; gives himself up to Mahomed Ali, who orders him to be put to death, *a* 248.
- Chundra-gooptha, king of Mugudu, his connection with Seleucus, *a* 15.
- Chutter Sing goes into revolt, *c* 318; delivers up his sword to Gen. Gilbert, *c* 347.
- Cis-Sutlege province confiscated by Lord Hardinge, *c* 284.
- Civil Courts, new organization of, in 1793, *b* 36.
- Civil Service, its efficiency; its high and honourable character, *b* 367; thrown open to competition in 1853; remarks on the change, *c* 456.
- Clerk, Mr. George, his energetic efforts to retrieve the disasters of Cabul, *c* 197; Governor of Bombay, *c* 382; Sir George Clerk's Minute on the case of adoption at Sattara, *c* 384.
- Cleveland, Augustus, his efforts to civilize the Rajmahal hill tribes, *c* 99.
- Clive, first development of his genius, *a* 239; captures Arcot, *a* 246; memorable siege of that place, *a* 247; captures Gheriah; Governor of Fort St. David, *a* 269; sent to recover Calcutta, *a* 274; retakes it, and attacks Hooghly, *a* 275; defeats the Nabob, *a* 276; captures Chandernagore, *a* 277; victory at Plassy, *a* 279; sends an expedition under Col. Forde to the coast, *a* 283; conflict with the Dutch, *a* 285; returns to England, *a* 286; created a peer, *a* 307; his unworthy treatment in England; Court of Directors constrained to send him out a second time as Governor to Bengal, *a* 308; his arrangement with the Nabob of Moorshedabad, the Emperor and the Vizier, *a* 310; gives back Oude; obtains the Dewanny, *a* 310; quells the mutiny of the European officers; sets up the society of inland trade, *a* 313; returns to England; review of his career; bullied and badgered at home, *a* 315; his tragic death, *a* 316.
- Cole insurrection, *c* 8.
- College of Fort William, established by Lord Wellesley, *b* 123; abolished by the orders of the Court, and revived in a modified form, *b* 125.
- Colvin, Mr. John, private secretary to Lord Auckland; his great influence over his mind; one of his counsellors, *c* 123; promotes the Afghan expedition, *c* 123.
- Combermere, Lord, captures Bhurtpore, *b* 409; obtains six lacs of rupees of prize money, *b* 409.
- Conolly, Capt. Arthur, his treatment at Bokhara, and his execution, *c* 236.
- Coorg, character of the country, *c* 11; atrocities of the raja, *c* 12; conquered and annexed, *c* 13.
- Cooté, Col., defeats Lally at Wandewash, *a* 261; captures Pondicherry, *a* 263; Sir Eyre appointed Commander-in-chief in Bengal; embarks for Madras, *a* 392; captures Carangolly; gains the battle of Porto Novo, *a* 393; and of Pollilore, *a* 394; and of Solingur, *a* 395; his death, *a* 404.
- Cornwallis, Lord; his antecedents; his great reputation, *b* 4; appointed Governor-General; sets about the reform of abuses, *b* 5; enumeration of aid them, *b* 6; demands the Guntoor Sircar, *b* 9; the Nizam's demand of aid perplexes him; his notable letter to the Nizam, *b* 10; resolves on war with Tippoo, *b* 12; treaties of alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, *b* 13; leaves the campaign of 1790 to General Meadows, *b* 14; sends a force by

- land to Madras, *b* 15; takes the field in person; arrives at Madras; marches towards Seringapatam, *b* 16; captures Bangalore, *b* 17; battle of Arikera, *b* 18; obliged to retire through want of provisions, *b* 19; conquers the Baramahal; captures numerous forts; the grand convoy, *b* 22; he marches into Mysore; captures the defences around Seringapatam, *b* 23; Tippoo sues for peace, *b* 24; peace of Seringapatam, *b* 25; its terms, *b* 25; his proceedings arraigned in both Houses; ratified by Parliament; he is created a Marquis, *b* 28; his revenue reforms, *b* 29; his code, *b* 37; his civil and criminal institutions, *b* 36; review of them at the end of seventy years, *b* 268; he proposes the guarantee treaty, which is accepted by the Nizam, *b* 52; and rejected by the Mahrattas, *b* 53; he returns to England, *b* 53; accepts the office of Governor-General, but throws it up in disgust, *b* 67; goes out to India a second time as Governor-General in 1805, *b* 185; annuls Lord Wellesley's policy, *b* 187; his death, *b* 189.
- Court of Directors, contend with the Board of Control, in the matter of Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad, *c* 73; writ of mandamus issued against them, and they sign the despatch under compulsion, *c* 74; resist the orders of the Board to compel the King of Oude to pay the demands of the bankers, *c* 75; their enlightened despatch to India after the Charter of 1833, *c* 87; character of their government for twenty-five years after that date, to the day of their extinction, *c* 87; number reduced from thirty to eighteen, *c* 454.
- Cunouj; its magnificence; the king submits to Mahmood of Ghuznee, *a* 32; occupied by the Rathores, *a* 41; the king celebrates the sacrifice of the horse, *a* 42; conquered by Mahomed Ghory, and the kingdom extinguished, *a* 45.
- Currie, Sir F., resident at Lahore, *c* 310; his proceedings during the revolt of the Sikhs, *c* 313-318.
- Cuttack, made over to the Nagpore raja by Aliverdy Khan, *a* 229; conquered by the English in 1803, and annexed, *b* 150; disturbances in 1817 and 1818; their cause, and their suppression, *b* 363.
- Dacoity, its great prevalence in Bengal; system of the dacoits, their atrocities; impunity with which they were committed, *b* 271; violent attempts to extinguish them, *b* 272.
- Dalhousie, Lord, Governor-General, *c* 309; forced into a second Punjab war, *c* 321; on its successful issue annexes the kingdom, *c* 349; created a Marquis, *c* 350; his arrangements for the government of the Punjab, *c* 353; earnest endeavours to put down infanticide, *c* 357; the great material improvements he promotes in the Punjab, *c* 358; grand results of the system of administration he introduced, *c* 360; forced into a second Burmese war, *c* 361; his energetic prosecution of it, *c* 367; confiscates Pegu, *c* 372; dispute with Sir C. Napier, *c* 377; opinion of the Duke of Wellington upon the subject, *c* 380; annexation of Sattara, *c* 381; his opinion of our policy regarding native states, *c* 387; annexation of Berar, *c* 388; and of Jhansi, *c* 395; enumeration and examination of his annexations, *c* 397; concurs with Lord Harris in extinguishing the titular nabobship of the Carnatic, *c* 403; obtains Berar from the Nizam in lieu of the debt, and the annual payment of the contingent, *c* 406; refuses to continue the pension to Nana Sahib, *c* 412; refuses to restore the government of Mysore to the raja, *c* 416; his advice regarding Oude, *c* 424; annexes it by orders from England, *c* 427; his administrative reforms, *c* 429; organizes Public Works Department, and lavishes funds on it, *c* 431; promotes education, *c* 432; revenue, finance, and commerce during his administration, *c* 432; promotes steam communication on the Indus and the Irawaddy, *c* 433; projects the port of the Mutlah, *c* 434; encourages the project of a bridge over the Hooghly, *c* 434; establishes low and uniform postage, *c* 434; his journeys, *c* 435; promotes the construction of roads and canals, *c* 436; establishes the grand system of railways in India, *c* 439; and of the electric telegraph, *c* 444; embarks for England, *c* 446; character of his adminis-

- tration, *c* 446; censured for not having foreseen the mutiny, *c* 448; censured for having caused it, *c* 450; the annexation policy attributed to him not the cause of it, *c* 451; his death, *c* 447.
- Daoud Khan, Governor of the Carnatic, entertained by Mr. Pitt, Lord Chatham's father at Madras, *a* 183; offers the *chout* to the Mahrattas, *a* 184; Governor of Guzerat, *a* 186; attacks and defeats Hussein Ali Syud, but is killed by a cannon ball, *a* 187.
- Dara, son of Shah Jehan, his character, *a* 144; defeated by Aurungzebe's force; is paraded through Delhi, and put to death, *a* 148.
- Darius, his expedition to India; extent of his conquests, *a* 10.
- Deccan, the southern division of India; its extent and boundaries, *a* 1; comprises five of the early divisions and languages, *a* 4; its early history, *a* 21; first irruption of the Mahomedans into it, *a* 53; revolts from Mahomed Toghluq, and the Bahminy kingdom founded, *a* 64; its deplorable condition in the sixteenth century, *a* 119; first invasion by Akbar, *a* 120; invaded by Aurungzebe, *a* 171; conquered by him; great confusion in consequence, *a* 175.
- Deeg, battle of, *b* 172.
- Delhi, its last Hindoo king, Prithiraj, contests supremacy with the king of Cunouj, *a* 41; defeats Mahomed Ghory, *a* 43; is totally defeated by him, and the Hindoo dynasty ceases, *a* 44; sacked by Timur, *a* 67; and by Nadir Shah, *a* 200; and by Ahmed Shah Abdalee, *a* 267; and by Gholam Kadir, *b* 42.
- Deogaom, treaty of, *b* 152.
- Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa bestowed on the Company by the emperor, *a* 310.
- Dhoondia Waug, pursued and crushed by General Wellesley, *b* 100.
- Dias, Bartholomew, first doubles the Cape of Good Hope, *a* 84; perishes in a storm off the Cape, *a* 86.
- Dixon, Capt., his great efforts to civilize the Mairs, *c* 102.
- Doorgawuttee, the Hindoo queen of Gurra; her beauty, her valour, her tragical end, *a* 107.
- Dooryudhun defeated by Yoodistheer; his death, *a* 8.
- Dost Mahomed, ruler of Cabul, *c* 113; proclaims a religious war to recover Peshawur from the Sikhs, *c* 115; its failure, *c* 116; his application for assistance to Lord Auckland, *c* 116; to Persia, *c* 117; to Russia, *c* 127; receives Capt. Burnes cordially, *c* 124; determination of Lord Auckland to dethrone him, *c* 128; receives the Russian envoy, *c* 129; dismisses Capt. Burnes, *c* 129; flies from Cabul on the approach of the British army, *c* 148; pursued by Captain Outram and others, *c* 149; his movements after his flight, *c* 161; collects a large force at Khooloom, and is defeated, *c* 162; advances into the Kohistan, *c* 163; defeats an English force, and surrenders, *c* 163; liberated on the return of the army, *c* 233; his last interview with Lord Ellenborough, *c* 233; forms an alliance with the rebel Sikhs in 1848, *c* 323; the force he sent into the Punjab, flies back in disgrace, *c* 347; reconciled to the British Government, and concludes a treaty in 1856, *c* 234.
- Drake, Mr., Governor of Calcutta in 1756: his dastardly conduct, *a* 272.
- Duff, Dr., his great and successful efforts in the cause of native education, *c* 67.
- Duncan, Mr. Jonathan, his efforts to eradicate infanticide at Benares, *c* 103; and on his appointment as Governor of Bombay, *c* 104.
- Dundas, Mr., moves a vote of censure on Hastings, *a* 429; and for his recal and that of Mr. Hornby, President at Bombay, *a* 430; refuses to support the Rohilla charge against Hastings, *a* 424; first and ablest President of the Board of Control, *a* 434.
- Dupleix, his antecedents; Governor of Chandernagore and of Pondicherry, *a* 233; his opposition to Labourdonnais, *a* 234; violates the capitulation of Madras; besieges Fort St. David; repulsed by the Nabob; persuades

- the Nabob to join him, *a* 236; defends Pondicherry against the English, and obtains great renown in India, *a* 237; determines to establish a French empire in the Deccan, *a* 239; experiences a reverse, *a* 242; takes Masulipatam, *a* 243; is appointed Viceroy of all the territories south of the Kistna, and reaches the summit of his glory, *a* 244; superseded by Godeheu, *a* 250; his fate; remarks on his career, *a* 251.
- Dutch, their first establishment in Bengal, *a* 209; they bring a force from Java to Chinsurah, where it is defeated by Col. Forde, *a* 285.
- East India Company; its origin; first adventure, *a* 203; eight succeeding adventures; first send vessels to India, *a* 204; successful combat with the Portuguese; firman from Jehangeer, *a* 205; and from Shah Jehan, *a* 206; their privileges confirmed by Cromwell, *a* 207; and by Charles the Second, *a* 208; their great prosperity, 1662—1682, *a* 209; obtain Admiralty jurisdiction, *a* 210; determined to fight the Great Mogul; rival Company established in London, *a* 210; send out Admiral Nicholson with a large armament; his instructions; his fleet dispersed; he burns Hooghly, *a* 211; attack of the pilgrim ships, which leads to an accommodation with the emperor, *a* 212; ambition of the Company quenched for half a century, *a* 214; union of the two Companies, *a* 219; embassy to Delhi, *a* 221; noble conduct of Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon, and privileges obtained through him, *a* 222; strange anomaly of the Company's position in 1772, *a* 337; its vicious constitution, *a* 338; interference of Parliament in its affairs, *a* 339; its financial difficulties; the Regulating Act, *a* 340; close of the career of the East India Company, in 1858, *c* 457.
- Education, great encouragement given to it by Lord Hastings, *b* 357; Parliamentary grant devoted to oriental studies, *c* 63; the despatch of the Court of Directors on the subject, *c* 64; struggle between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, *c* 65; decision of Lord W. Bentinck in favour of English instruction, *c* 66; auspicious results of this decision, *c* 67; education fostered by Lord Hardinge, *c* 272; encouraged by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 431; great educational despatch of Sir Charles Wood, *c* 432; Director-General of public instruction appointed by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 432; great encouragement given to vernacular education by Mr. Thomason, *c* 438.
- Edwardes, Lieut., his great and successful efforts to put down the insurrection in Mooltan, *c* 315; gains the battle of Kineyree, *c* 315; and of Sudoosain, *c* 316; his efforts neutralized by the defection of Shere Sing, *c* 320.
- Electric Telegraph in India, *c* 444.
- Ellenborough, Lord, Governor-General, *c* 202; his spirited notification, 15th March, 1842, *c* 213; orders the armies to retire, 19th April, *c* 214; authorizes the Generals to advance, 4th July, *c* 217; orders the gates of Somnath and the mace of Mahmood to be brought away from Ghuznee, *c* 224; Proclamation of 1st Oct., *c* 229; Gates Proclamation, *c* 230; orders the Ameers of Sinde to sign new treaties, *c* 238; after the victory of Meanee annexes Sinde, *c* 249; complications at Gwalior, *c* 254; his Minute of 1st Nov. 1843, *c* 259; British armies advance, and gain two victories, *c* 262—265; he concludes a new treaty with Sindia, which destroys the independence of the state, *c* 265; recalled by the Court of Directors, *c* 267.
- Ellora, the wonderful caves of, *a* 19.
- Elphinstone, Gen., commanding in Afghanistan; his bodily infirmities, *c* 175; is given up as a hostage during the retreat, *c* 194; his death, *c* 220.
- Elphinstone, Mr. Mount Stuart, sent on a mission to Cabul, *b* 226; his judicious proceedings with Bajee Rao, *b* 335; Governor of Bombay; his successful administration, *b* 412; his code, *b* 412; twice refuses the Governor-Generalship, *c* 89.
- Emangur, captured by Sir Charles Napier, *c* 244.
- Emperor, Shah Allum, invades Behar, and is defeated by Col. Calliaud, *a* 294; defeated a second time by Captain Knox, *a* 295; invests Meer Cassim with the Soobadaree of the three provinces, and proceeds to Delhi, *a* 298; his

- arrangement with Clive; grants the Dewanny to the Company, *a* 310; seated by the Mahrattas on the throne of Delhi, *a* 335; quarrels with them, and is reduced to submission, *a* 336; Gholam Kadir puts out his eyes, *b* 42; rescued from the Mahrattas and restored to his throne by General Lake, *b* 156.
- England, Brigadier, repulsed at Hykulzye, *c* 212; his singular conduct in the Kojuck pass, *c* 213.
- Europeans first allowed to settle in India in 1833, *c* 86.
- Eusufzyes defeat Akbar's army in the Khyber, *a* 113; and baffle Aurungzebe, *a* 164.
- Expedition, from Bengal to Madras, along the coast under Col. Pearce, *a* 375; he reaches Pulicat, *a* 394.
- Famine, the great, in Bengal, 1770, *a* 316; the famine at Madras, *a* 401.
- Ferokshere, ascends the throne of Delhi, *a* 185; assassinated, *a* 189.
- Feroze Bahminy, makes twenty-four campaigns; wars with Beejuynugur; patronizes learning; his seraglio, *a* 79.
- Feroze Toghluq, the emperor, his magnificent public works, *a* 64.
- Ferozepore, the army starts from, on the Afghan expedition, *c* 141; reviewed there by Lord Ellenborough on its return, *c* 231; Sir John Littler beleaguered by the Sikhs at Ferozepore, *c* 283.
- Ferozeshuhur, battle of, 21st Dec. 1845, *c* 287; second engagement, 22nd Dec., *c* 289; remarks on them, *c* 290.
- Fishbourne, Capt., insulted by the governor of Rangoon, which results in war, *c* 360.
- Fleet, the magnificent mercantile fleet of the Company, *b* 366.
- Flint, Lt., his gallant defence of Wandewash; refused any promotion by the Court of Directors, *a* 393.
- Flogging in the native army, abolished by Lord W. Bentinck, revived by Lord Hardinge, *c* 273.
- Forde, Col., his expedition to the coast; defeats the Marquis Conflans, *a* 283; takes Masulipatam and obtains a cession of territory from Salahut Jung, *a* 284; defeats the Dutch force at Chinsurah, *a* 286.
- Fort William, its erection, *a* 216.
- Fox's India Bill; its provisions, *a* 430; violent opposition to it, *a* 431; passes the Commons; rejected in the House of Lords, *a* 432; comparison of it with Pitt's Bill, *a* 434.
- Francis, Mr. Philip, arrives in Calcutta as member of Council; enters on a violent and systematic opposition to Hastings, *a* 346; is wounded in a duel with him, and returns to England, *a* 354.
- Fraser, Gen., gains the battle of Deeg; and is mortally wounded, *b* 172.
- French East India Company, established, *a* 209.
- Fullerton, Col., his expedition into Mysore, *a* 407; his success, *a* 408; his progress arrested by the Madras Government; ordered to restore all his conquests.—and then to retain them, *a* 408, 409.
- Futteh Khan, the great vizier at Cabul, blinded and murdered by Kamran, *c* 33.
- Gates of Somnath, demanded by Runjeet Sing. and refused by Shah Soojah, *c* 113; brought away by order of Lord Ellenborough, *c* 224; the magniloquent Proclamation concerning them, *c* 230; consigned to oblivion in the fort of Agra, *c* 231.
- General Assembly's institution in Calcutta, *c* 67.
- Ghazee-ood-deen, son of the Nizam, advances to seize the Deccan; is poisoned by his own mother, *a* 254.
- Ghazee-ood-deen, son of the former, generalissimo of the imperial army; deposes and blinds the emperor, 1754, *a* 266; invades the Punjab, and provokes Ahmed Shah Abdalee, *a* 267; invites the Mahrattas, *a* 286; murders the emperor Alumgeer, *a* 288.
- Ghazee Toghluq, first emperor of that family, *a* 60; his death, *a* 61.
- Gheias-ood-deen mounts the throne and associates his brother, Mahomed Ghory with him in the Government, *a* 40.

- Gheriah, Angria's, captured by Clive and Watson, *a* 269.
- Ghilzye dynasty, succeeds to the throne of Delhi, *a* 53; extinguished by Ghazee Toghluq, *a* 59.
- Ghilzyes, the eastern; their turbulent character, their disaffection; defeated by Col. Wymer, *c* 168; break out into rebellion in October, 1841, *c* 171.
- Gholam Kadir, sacks Delhi; puts out the eyes of the emperor, 1788; is mutilated by Sindia and dies in torture, *b* 42.
- Ghore, rise of the dynasty of, *a* 39; it ends with Mahomed, *a* 47.
- Ghuznee, its fortifications, *c* 147; captured by the British army, *c* 147; surrendered to the Afghans by Col. Palmer, *c* 212; recaptured and burnt, *c* 224.
- Gillespie, Gen., suppresses the mutiny at Vellore, *b* 209; captures Fort Cornelis in Java, *b* 252; subdues the native chiefs, *b* 253; is killed at Kalunga, *b* 291.
- Ginjee, the strong fortress of, occupied by the Mahrattas, and captured by Zulfikar Khan, *a* 179.
- Goddard, Gen., his successful expedition across the country from the Jumna to Surat, *a* 368; takes Ahmedabad, and drives the Mahrattas back to the Nerbudda, *a* 371; beats them at Doogaur, *a* 374; failure of his expedition to Poona, *a* 374.
- Godeheu, supersedes Dupleix and terminates hostilities with the English; *a* 250.
- Godwin, Gen., commands in the second Burmese war, *c* 368.
- Gohud and Gwalior, complications arising out of their cession to the raja, *b* 174; restored to Sindia, *b* 187.
- Golab Sing, his origin and rise, *c* 274; coerced and plundered by the Khalsa troops, *c* 279; negotiates for the durbar with Lord Hardinge, *c* 300; obtains Cashmere for a crore of rupees, *c* 300.
- Golconda, the Kootub Shahy dynasty establishes an independent kingdom at, *a* 83; the king submits to Aurungzebe, and consents to pay down a crore of rupees, *a* 143; he is attacked again by Aurungzebe, *a* 173; and the kingdom is extinguished, *a* 174.
- Goorkha, campaign planned by Lord Hastings, *b* 291; three out of four divisions unsuccessful, *b* 291; effect of our discomfiture on the princes of India, *b* 294; Lord Hastings's extraordinary efforts to retrieve our honour, *b* 295; successful exertions of Gen. Ochterlony, *b* 297; conquest of Almora, *b* 298; second campaign, *b* 299; Gen. Ochterlony marches towards the capital, *b* 299; the durbar submits, and signs the treaty, *b* 300; remarks on the war, 300.
- Gooroo Govind, the Sikh prophet, *a* 184.
- Gough, Sir Hugh, fights the battle of Maharajpore, *c* 264; advances in haste to the aid of Sir John Littler, *c* 284; battle of Moodkee, *c* 285; of Ferozeshuhur, *c* 286; and of Sobraon, *c* 294; created a Baron, *c* 302; takes the command of the army for the reconquest of the Punjab, *c* 324; Ramnugur, *c* 326; Chillianwalla, *c* 332; is recalled, *c* 339; fights the battle of Guzerat, *c* 343; and is made a Viscount, *c* 350.
- Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, depopulated and deserted, *a* 113.
- Governor-General; the office created in 1773, *a* 340; enlargement of its powers, *b* 47.
- Guickwar, the dynasty established in Guzerat by Peelajee, originally a cowherd, *a* 195; transactions at the court of the, *b* 163.
- Gungadhur Shastree, murdered by Trimbukjee, *b* 310.
- Guzerat, governed by the Bhagilas, *a* 41; the Hindoo power extinguished by Alla-ood-deen, *a* 55; becomes independent of Delhi, *a* 65; Mozuffer the first king, *a* 71; his grandson Ahmed builds Ahmedabad, *a* 72; Mahmood governs it for fifty years; his illustrious reign, *a* 74; Mozuffer the second; the wild and turbulent Bahadoor Shah, *a* 76; it is conquered by Akbar, *a* 109; it passes over to the Guickwar, *a* 195; disputes between Govind Rao and Futteh Sing Guickwar, *a* 357; Futteh Sing makes a

- treaty with Raghoba, and Col. Keating, *a* 360; Guzerat, in the Punjab; last and decisive battle, of 1849, *c* 344; remarks on it, *c* 346.
- Gwalior, gallant capture of it by Major Popham, *a* 372; Junkojee Sindia dies without issue, *c* 254; his widow of thirteen adopts a lad of eight, *c* 254; appointment of the Mama as regent, *c* 255; he is dismissed, *c* 256; insubordination of the army, *c* 255; confusion at the capital, *c* 257; Lord Ellenborough's Minute of 1st Nov. 1843, *c* 259; his proceedings, *c* 261; orders the army to advance, *c* 263; battles of Maharajpore and Punniar, *c* 264; new treaty and settlement, *c* 265; the contingent augmented, *c* 266; it revolts during the Sepoy mutiny and fights Gen. Windham at Cawnpore, *c* 266.
- Hakim Mehdi, the illustrious minister of an unworthy master in Oude, *c* 27.
- Half batta order, enjoined by the Court of Directors, and carried into effect by Lord W. Bentinck, *c* 2.
- Hall, Capt., his efforts to civilize the Mairs, *c* 102.
- Halliday, Mr., Secretary to the Government of Bengal for eleven years; appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor, *c* 455.
- Hamilton, Mr., the surgeon; his noble conduct at the Court of Delhi; he obtains privileges from the Company, *a* 222.
- Hardinge, Sir Henry, Governor-General, *c* 270; his antecedents, *c* 271; revives flogging in the native army, *c* 273; his preparations on the Punjab frontier, *c* 281; the Sikhs invade our territory, *c* 283; he confiscates the Cis-Sutlege districts, *c* 284; engaged in the battle of Moodkee, *c* 285; takes the second in command of the army, *c* 286; engaged at Ferozeshuhur, *c* 287; calls up reinforcements, *c* 292; engaged at Sobraon, *c* 294; pushes a division across the Sutlege, *c* 297; determines to spare the throne of the Punjab, but annexes the Jullunder Doab to the Company's territories, *c* 299; sells Cashmere to Golab Sing, *c* 300; makes a settlement of the Government of the Punjab, 9th March, 1846, *c* 300; and a second in December, *c* 302; created a Viscount, *c* 302; reduces the Company's army; and the public expenditure by a crore and a-half of rupees, *c* 304; puts down suttees in native states, *c* 307; retires from the Government, *c* 308.
- Harris, General, commands the coast army, *b* 87; defeats Tippoo at Malavelly, *b* 89; captures Seringapatam, *b* 93; obtains a rich haul of prize money beyond his share, *b* 99.
- Hartley, Col., his extraordinary talent and success pass unrequited, *a* 366; his brilliant exploit in Malabar, *b* 15.
- Hastings, Lord, Governor-General, *b* 283; forced into a war with Nepal, *b* 285; arranges the campaign, *b* 291; dictates a treaty to the durbar at Katmandoo, *b* 300; addresses the Court on the growing power of the Pindarees in 1813, *b* 304; and again in 1815, *b* 312; forbidden to undertake any offensive operations, *b* 316; forms a subsidiary treaty with Nagpore, *c* 314; receives permission to take the field against the Pindarees, *b* 318; his arrangement of the campaign, *b* 327; military preparations on the grandest scale which had ever been seen, *b* 327; obliges the Peshwa, as the penalty of his perfidy to sign a new treaty, and to surrender large territory, *b* 322; takes the field in person, *b* 328; advances to Gwalior, and obliges Sindia, who was wavering, to sign a treaty, *b* 328; enters into treaties of alliance with the various native princes, *b* 331; on the outbreak of the Peshwa, confiscates all his dominions, *b* 350; operations against the Pindarees, and the confederacy utterly eradicated from the soil of India, *b* 345; great results of the campaign; the Pindaree, Patan, and Mahratta power, utterly broken up, *b* 345; the Satara family endowed with a small principality, *b* 349; general hostility of the Court of Directors to him, *b* 356; the first Governor-General to patronize education, *b* 357; leaves the finances in a state of prosperity before unknown, *b* 363; his partiality to the unworthy Rumbolds of

- Hyderabad, injurious to his fame, *b* 372; vote of thanks from the Directors and proprietors in 1822, *b* 375; vote of censure on his proceedings in 1825, *b* 377; remarks on his administration, *b* 375; his death, *b* 378.
- Hastings, Warren, his appointment to the service; returns to England; appointed second in Council at Madras, *a* 341; Governor of Bengal, *a* 342; introduces great changes into the administration; the first Rohilla war, *a* 343; sells Corah and Allahabad to the Vizier, *a* 344; first Governor-General, *a* 341; outvoted in Council and becomes powerless, *a* 347; accusations concocted against him, *a* 349; charge brought by Nundu koomar; Hastings refuses to sit in Council to be bullied by natives, *a* 350; the execution of Nundu koomar, laid at his door; he is condemned by the Court of Directors; supported by the Court of Proprietors, *a* 352; offers to resign, and then recalls his resignation; Col. Monson's death restores his authority; Clavering's attempt to seize the fort baffled by Hastings, *a* 353; dispute settled by the Supreme Court, *a* 354; his vigorous measures on the breaking out of the war with France, *a* 368; offers a treaty to the raja of Berar, which is declined, *a* 374; comes to an understanding with him; the land expedition to Madras, *a* 375; treaty with Sindia; treaty of Salbye with the Mahrattas, *a* 376; restores the Guntoor Sircar to the Nizam, *a* 384; energetic measures on Baillie's defeat, *a* 391; sends money and troops, and Sir Eyre Coote to Madras, *a* 392; makes Sir Elijah Impey chief judge of the Sudder, *a* 414; demands extraordinary aid of Cheyt Sing, and fines him fifty lacs; on his hesitating to pay it, proceeds to Benares, *a* 416; his extreme peril; escapes to Chunar, *a* 417; consents to the spoliation of the Begums of Oude, *a* 418; Motion for his recall passed by the House of Commons, *a* 429; supported by the Court of Directors; repudiated by the Court of Proprietors, *a* 430; transactions regarding Fyzoolla Khan, *a* 420; Hastings censured by the Court of Directors, resigns the Government and returns to England, *a* 421; his reception; refused a peerage by Mr. Pitt; attacked by Mr. Burke, *a* 422; Burke goaded into the impeachment by Major Scott; charges against Hastings; he reads a prolix reply, *a* 423; the Rohilla charge; charge regarding Cheyt Sing, *a* 424; the Begum charge, *a* 425; Hastings's trial; dignity of the scene; the impeachment conducted by the Whigs, *a* 426; their unexampled violence; his acquittal; remarks on his character and administration, *a* 427; his death, *b* 368.
- Hatrass, fort of, captured and demolished, *b* 303.
- Havelock, Capt., dissuades from surrender at Jellalabad, *c* 206; arranges the battle of the 7th April, 1842, which accomplishes the deliverance of the garrison, *c* 209.
- Heath, Capt., his expedition to Bengal, and its disastrous results, *a* 213.
- Heera Sing assassinated at Lahore, *c* 277.
- Hemu, the Hindoo minister of Adil Shah; his great talents, *a* 102; he is defeated by Akbar, *a* 104.
- Herat, Persian expedition against, *c* 122; character of the Government and the people, *c* 136; besieged five months without result, *c* 137; battle of the 24th June, 1838, *c* 137; the siege abandoned, *c* 139; Major Todd, political agent, *c* 159; unexampled perfidy of the king and his minister, *c* 159; Major Todd obliged to withdraw the mission, *c* 166.
- Heytesbury, Lord, appointed Governor-General by the Tories; the appointment cancelled by the Whigs, *c* 90.
- Hindoo Pantheon, fully developed after the expulsion of the Boodhists, *a* 6.
- Hindooism introduced into Java, *a* 17.
- Hindoo College established, 1818, *b* 358.
- Hindustan, the northern division of India; description of it; its boundaries, *a* 1; early settlement of the Hindoos, *a* 3; comprises five of the early divisions and original languages, *a* 4; its condition when invaded by Mahomed Gbory, *a* 41.

- Holkar, origin of the family, *a* 195; Tokajee, his marauding expedition into Hindostan, *a* 334; sent to Hindostan by Nana Furnuverse to watch Sindia, *b* 41; last appearance of the Holkar troops under the national standard, *b* 55; Jeswunt Rao, his descent; his wild character; his rise to power, *b* 134; defeats Sindia's army, *b* 135; is defeated in his turn, *b* 136; he recruits his force, marches on Poona, and totally defeats the armies of the Peshwa and Sindia, *b* 138; his rampant feeling, and his insolent demand on General Lake, *b* 166; war declared against him; he draws on and annihilates Col. Monson's force, *b* 168; he besieges Delhi, but is baffled by Col. Ochterlony, *b* 171; lays waste the Dooab, pursued and defeated by Gen. Lake, *b* 171; his army defeated at Deeg, *b* 172; pursued into the Punjab, by Gen. Lake, brought to bay, and let off by Sir George Barlow, *b* 193; violates the treaty; plunders Jeypore, *b* 198; close of his wild career in insanity, *b* 199; anarchy on his death, *b* 324; the army omnipotent; it resolves to oppose the British force advancing against the Pindarees, *b* 341; is defeated at Mehidpore, *b* 342; new treaty and curtailment of territory, *b* 343.
- Holwell, Mr., Governor of Calcutta at the time of the tragedy of the Black Hole, *a* 272.
- Hooghly, early establishment of the Portuguese, *a* 138; destruction of the Portuguese settlement, *a* 139; first English factory, *a* 207; burnt by Admiral Nicholson, *a* 211; captured by Clive, *a* 275.
- Hughes, Admiral, captures Negapatam and Trincomalee, *a* 396; fights four naval actions with Suffrein, *a* 399; quits Madras Roads and proceeds to Bombay, *a* 401.
- Human sacrifices among the Khonds, *c* 108; efforts to eradicate them, *c* 109.
- Humayoon, emperor of Delhi, conquers Guzerat, *a* 96; thrice defeated by Shere Khan; his sufferings in the desert, *a* 99; flies to Persia; his treatment there; captures Candahar, *a* 102; establishes himself in Afghanistan; defeats Secunder Soor, and re-ascends the throne of Delhi, *a* 103; his death, *a* 103.
- Hussein Ali, assists Ferokshere to ascend the throne of Delhi, *a* 185; viceroy of the Deccan, *a* 187; the Mahrattas incited to oppose him, and he grants them the *chout*, *a* 188; marches to Delhi, deposes Ferokshere, and puts him to death, *a* 189; is stabbed to the heart, *a* 190.
- Hussein Gungu, first Bahminy king of the Deccan; his origin and progress, *a* 77.
- Hyderabad, made the seat of the Nizam's Government, *a* 191; French force established by the Nizam, *b* 77; that force extinguished, *b* 82.
- Hyderabad, in Sinde, battle of, *c* 249.
- Hyder Ali, his parentage; his early career, *a* 320; foundation of his fortune, *a* 321; agrees to aid Lally, *a* 322; reduced to extremities; recovers his fortunes, and usurps the throne of Mysore, *a* 323; increases his power; conquers Bednore; great wealth acquired there, *a* 324; totally defeated by the Mahrattas, *a* 325; invades Malabar and conquers Calicut; confederacy against him, *a* 326; buys off the Mahrattas; bribes the Nizam to join him, *a* 327; defeated at Changama, *a* 328; proceeds to the western coast, defeats the Bombay expedition; returns to the Coromandel coast, *a* 330; his offer of peace rejected by the Madras Government, *a* 331; dictates peace under the walls of Madras; war with the Mahrattas, *a* 332; his disgraceful defeat at Milgota, *a* 333; constrained to make peace, *a* 334; his encroachments on the Mahrattas, *a* 334; allies himself with Raghoba; is attacked by the Mahrattas and the Nizam; defeats their objects, *a* 335; joins the confederacy against the English; peace with the Mahrattas, *a* 337; preparations for war; supineness of the Madras Government, *a* 338; he bursts on the Carnatic; desolation of the province, *a* 339; annihilates Col. Baillie's detachment, *a* 391; is defeated at Porto Novo, *a* 393; at Pollilore, *a* 394; at Solingur, *a* 395; his reverses in Malabar, *a* 397;

- his despondency; arrival of the French expedition revives him, *a* 398; he repulses Coote from Arnee, *a* 399; his death, *a* 402.
- Ibrahim Lodi, the last of that dynasty, defeated by Baber, *a* 93.
- Ibrahim, son of Ali Merdan, governor of Bengal, invites Job Charnock from Madras, *a* 214.
- Idol temples connected with the state in 1811, dissociated in 1833, *c* 201.
- Impey, Sir Elijah, chief judge of the Supreme Court, *a* 346, and of the Sudder Dewanny, *a* 414.
- India, its boundaries, divisions, extent, and population, *a* 1; its ten divisions, and ten languages, *a* 4; its condition on the accession of Baber, *a* 93; and after the invasion of Nadir Shah, *a* 201; and after the battle of Paniput, *a* 292; its condition in 1798, *b* 73; in 1813, *b* 284; at the close of 1817, *b* 325; its altered aspect after the Pindarree and Mahratta war, *b* 345.
- Indian empire, completed by the annexation of the Punjab, which extended it from Cape Comorin to the Khyber Pass, *c* 351.
- Infanticide, female, its prevalence, *c* 104; great efforts to eradicate it, *c* 105; successful operations in the Punjab, *c* 356.
- Inheritance, Hindoo law of; its persecuting character modified by Lord W. Bentinck, *c* 56.
- Inland trade, Society for, established by Clive; abolished by the Court of Directors, *a* 314.
- Instaliff, the virgin fortress of Afghanistan, captured, *c* 227.
- Jauts, emigrate from the banks of the Indus, *a* 202.
- Java, passes under the dominion of Napoleon, *b* 249; he strengthens the army and the defences, *b* 251; expedition fitted out from Calcutta to conquer it, *b* 250; capture of fort Cornelius, *b* 251; and of the whole island, *b* 252.
- Jehander Shah, mounts the throne of Delhi, and is put to death, *a* 185.
- Jehangeer, ascends the throne of Delhi, *a* 125; his early proceedings, *a* 126; marries Noor Jehan, *a* 127; attacks Malik Amber, and is foiled; subdues Oodypore, *a* 129; operations in the Deccan, *a* 132; seized by Mohabet, *a* 133; is released and dies, *a* 134.
- Jellalabad, occupied by Sir Robert Sale, *c* 205; the miserable defences restored by Major Broadfoot, *c* 206; injured by earthquakes, but again completed, *b* 207; battle of the 7th April, 1842, and total defeat of Akbar Khan, *c* 209.
- Jenghis Khan, his antecedents, *a* 48; defeats Mahomed of Kharism; lays waste a thousand miles of country; revolution created by him in Central Asia; founds the Mogul power, *a* 49.
- Jesus Christ, his birth and divine mission, *a* 20.
- Jeypal of Lahore, crosses the Indus, attacks Subuktugeen; submits to him; refuses the payment he had promised; is attacked, *a* 28; and totally defeated, *a* 29, 30.
- Jeypore, the Hindoo raja of, gives a daughter in marriage to Humayoon, and also to Akbar, *a* 108; menaced by Ameer Khan, seeks a British alliance, which he refuses as soon as it is promised, *b* 316; the last prince to accept the alliance in 1817, *b* 333; renewed discord and anarchy, *c* 24; interference of the British Government, *c* 24; murder of Mr. Blake, *c* 25.
- Jezzia, an odious poll tax imposed by Aurungzebe on the Hindoos, *a* 165; and removed by Mahomed Shah, *a* 190.
- Jhansi, annexation of, *c* 395.
- Jones, Sir Harford, embassy to Persia, *b* 228.
- Joudhpore, the raja of, gives his daughter in marriage to Akbar, *a* 108; contest between the raja and his nobles; differences with the British Government; raja succumbs on the appearance of a British force, *c* 23.
- Jounpore, becomes an independent kingdom, *a* 65; it is extinguished eighty years after; its splendid buildings, *a* 70.
- Kerowlee, Minute of Lord Dalhousie on the death of the raja, *c* 398; he refers the question of succession to the Court; their decision, *c* 398.

- Kerulu, the ancient kingdom of, in the Deccan, included in Malabar and Carnata, *a* 22.
- Khalsa, the Sikh commonwealth, its character, *c* 40; the Khalsa army pampered by the rulers becomes insubordinate, *c* 277; becomes master of the state, *c* 278; its strength, efficiency, and spirit, *c* 281; pours down on the British territory, *c* 282; finally and completely conquered and dissolved, *c* 347.
- Kharism, the ancient kingdom of, rises upon the ruins of the Seljuks, *a* 46.
- Khelat, treaty with Mehrab Khan, *c* 145; capture of the fort and death of the Khan, *c* 151.
- Khiva, Russian expedition against it, *c* 155; and its entire failure, *c* 157.
- Khonds, human sacrifices among them, and efforts to eradicate them, *c* 108.
- Khyberes, defeat Akbar's army, *a* 114; and baffle Aurungzebe, *a* 164.
- Kidd, Capt., the notorious pirate, captures Mogul ships, *a* 218.
- Kirkee, battle of, *b* 335.
- Knox, Capt., defeats the Nabob of Purneah, *a* 295.
- Kholapore, becomes the seat of the younger branch of the Mahratta royal family, *a* 183.
- Kooroo-Kshetru, the great battle at, fought between the Kooroos and the Pandoos, and celebrated in the great epic of the Muhabharut, *a* 8.
- Kootub-ood-deen, his extensive conquests in Hindostan; makes Delhi the capital of the Mahomedan power in India, *a* 47; his death, *a* 48.
- Korygaum, battle of, *b* 348.
- Krishnu, his legend, not to be found in the Vedus, *a* 5; accompanies Yoodisthee in his wanderings; his valour at Kooroo-Kshetru; retires to Dwarka; is slain and deified, *a* 8.
- Kurnu, king, his great liberality, *a* 21.
- Kurruck Sing, succeeds Runjeet Sing, *c* 273.
- Kutlugh Khan, the Mogul, the descendant of Jenghis Khan invades Hindostan, and is defeated, *a* 56.
- Labourdonnais; his antecedents, his abilities; comes out to India with a large armament to expel the English, *a* 232; captures Madras, *a* 233; returns to Europe, *a* 234; thrown into the Bastile; his death, *a* 235.
- Lake, Gen., takes the field in 1803, and captures Allygur, *b* 154; defeats Sindia's army at Delhi, *b* 156; enters Delhi, and delivers the blind emperor from captivity, *b* 157; captures Agra, *b* 158; and defeats Sindia's army at Laswaree, *b* 158; pursues Holkar into the Dooab, and defeats him, *b* 171; chases him into the Punjab, brings him to bay, and is obliged to conclude a disgraceful treaty with him by order of Sir George Barlow, *b* 193; raised to the peerage, *b* 173; besieges Bhurt pore, and is four times repulsed, *b* 173; throws up his political appointment in disgust, *b* 197.
- Lall Sing, the paramour of the ranees of Lahore appointed minister, *c* 280; commands at Moodkee and at Ferozeshuhur, *c* 285-286; tried for his treachery to the British Government, and banished from the Punjab, *c* 303.
- Lally, appointed Governor of French India; his antecedents; captures fort St. David; recalls Bussy, *a* 259; attacks Tanjore without success; unsuccessfully besieges Madras, *a* 260; defeated by Col. Coote at Wandewash, *a* 261; nobly defends Pondicherry; which is captured; his lamentable fate on his return to Paris, *a* 263.
- Lambert, Commodore, deputed to Rangoon, *c* 362; blockades the port, and renders the war inevitable, *c* 364.
- Laswaree, battle of, *b* 158.
- Lauderdale, Lord, appointed by the Whig ministry Governor-General; the appointment vigorously and successfully resisted by the Court of Directors, *b* 207.
- Lawrence, Major Stringer, sent against Devi-cotta, *a* 238; defeats the French at Bahoor, *a* 249; baffles them for two years at Trichinopoly, *a* 249.
- Lawrence, Mr. John, afterwards Sir John, in charge of the Jullunder dooab;

- clears it of rebels in a fortnight, *c* 330; member of the Board of Administration in the Punjab, *c* 352; subsequently Governor-General, *c* 352.
- Lawrence, Major Henry, afterwards Sir Henry, Resident at Lahore, *c* 302; puts down revolt in Cashmere, *c* 302; head of the Board of Administration, *c* 352.
- Lawrence, Major George, afterwards Sir George, in command at Peshawur, *c* 323; overpowered by his mutinous troops and made prisoner, *c* 324.
- Legislative power withdrawn from the minor Presidencies, and concentrated in the Supreme Council, *c* 85.
- Littler, Sir John, besieged at Ferozepore, *c* 283; commands a division at Ferozeshuhur, *c* 287.
- Lodi, the Afghan family of, acquires the throne of Delhi, *a* 69.
- Lotteries, abolished, *c* 269.
- Lunar race, *a* 6.
- Macao, occupied by a British force, *b* 246.
- Macartney, Lord, Governor of Madras, *a* 395; opens negotiations with Tippoo, *a* 408; sets Hastings at defiance, *a* 409; his commissioners sign the treaty of Mangalore, *a* 410.
- Macaulay, Mr., legislative member of the supreme council, *c* 85.
- Macnaghten, Mr. W. H., his progress in the service, *c* 123; one of Lord Auckland's counsellors, *c* 123; his mission to Lahore, *c* 131; appointed envoy at Cabul, *c* 141; created a Baronet, *c* 152; his security while the revolt was spreading, *c* 172; his efforts during the siege, *c* 182; forms a treaty with Akbar Khan, *c* 185; negotiates with other chiefs, *c* 187; assassinated by Akbar Khan, *c* 189; remarks on his character and proceedings, *c* 189.
- Macpherson, Sir John, Governor-General *ad interim*; his administration, *a* 439.
- Macpherson, Major, his successful efforts to suppress human sacrifice in Goomsoor, *c* 110.
- Madhoo Rao, becomes Peshwa at the age of eighteen, *a* 324; his death, *a* 355.
- Madhoo Rao, the second, installed Peshwa when ten days old, *a* 357; receives the investiture of regent of the Mogul empire through Sindia, *b* 45; assembles the whole army of the Mahratta commonwealth, for the last time at Kurdla, *b* 55; his tragic death, *b* 59.
- Madras, first establishment of the Company's factory at, *a* 207; captured by Labourdonnais, *a* 233; restored to the English, 237; besieged by Lally without success, *a* 260; state of affairs in 1761, *a* 317.
- Madras Council, treaty with the Nizam in 1766, *a* 326, and in 1768, *a* 329; mismanage the war with Hyder, *a* 330; refuse his offers of peace, *a* 331; sign the treaty he dictates, *a* 332; refuse him the aid they were bound to give by treaty, *a* 334; they depose Lord Pigot; seven of the members expelled by the Court of Directors, *a* 381; their incredible infatuation, *a* 388.
- Maharajpore, battle of, *c* 263.
- Mahé, captured by the English; Hyder incensed by this act, goes to war, *a* 386.
- Mahmood Gawan, the able minister of the Bahminy state; his talents; his success, *a* 81; assassinated by order of his master, *a* 82.
- Mahmood, succeeds to the throne of Ghuznee; his twelve expeditions to India, *a* 29; defeats Jeypal, and the raja of Bhutnere, *a* 30; captures Nagarcote, and Thanesar, *a* 31, and Cunouj, *a* 32; takes Somnath, and obtains immense booty, *a* 34; his death and character, *a* 35.
- Mahomed, his birth; his creed; its diffusion, *a* 24.
- Mahomed Ali, son of Anwar-ood-deen, Nabob of the Carnatic, *a* 241; besieged in Trichinopoly by Chunda Sahib, *a* 246; is relieved by Major Lawrence; puts Chunda Sahib to death, *a* 248; becomes Nabob; his character, *a* 317; made independent by the emperor in 1765, *a* 319; obliged to transfer the revenues of the Carnatic to the English Government; *a* 396; his debts, *a* 435. See NABOB OF ARCOT.

- Mahomed Ghory, the real founder of the Mahomedan power in India, *a* 41; defeated by the Hindoos, *a* 43; defeats the Hindoo princes in the north, *a* 44; defeated by Takash, *a* 46; subdues the Gukkurs, and is killed by two of them, *a* 47.
- Mahomed Shah, emperor of Delhi, *a* 189; his death, *a* 265.
- Mahomed Shah, the last substantive king of the Bahminy dynasty, plunders Conjeveram, *a* 81; puts his minister to death, *a* 82.
- Mahomed Toghluq, extinguishes the Hindoo dynasty of Telingana, *a* 60; his extravagant character; his expedition to China, which fails, *a* 61; his atrocious cruelties; endeavours to remove the capital to Dowlutabad, *a* 62; sends an embassy to the Caliph; revolt of the provinces; universal anarchy, *a* 63; his death, *a* 64.
- Mahomedan invasion of India, the first, *a* 25.
- Mahrattas, their rise and progress, *a* 150; their power founded by Sevajee, *a* 152, seat of Government transferred to Ginjee; their extensive depredations, *a* 177; comparison of their military force with that of the Moguls, *a* 178; weakened by internal dissensions, *a* 183; accession of power gained by the Convention of 1717, *a* 188; they invade Bengal, *a* 226; and the Carnatic, *a* 230; their power at its summit, *a* 287; broken at Paniput, *a* 291; their expedition to Hindostan, *a* 334; invade Rohilcund, *a* 335; extract a bond from the Nabob Vizier; enter Oude for plunder, *a* 336; retire to their own country, *a* 337; resources of the Mahratta empire in 1772, *a* 355; defeated at Arras, *a* 359; invade Mysore and make peace with Tippoo, *b* 3; co-operate with Lord Cornwallis in the Mysore war, *b* 13; description of their encampment; siege of Simoga; their main body returns to the English camp when peace had been concluded, *b* 21; but they receive their full share of territory and indemnity, *b* 25; totally defeat Nizam Ali at Kurdla, *b* 56.
- Malavelly, battle of, *b* 89.
- Malcolm, Capt. John, his services at Hyderabad, *b* 90; envoy to Persia, *b* 109; second embassy to Persia, *b* 229; gains the battle of Mehidpore, *b* 342; concludes a personal settlement with the Peshwa, *b* 352; Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, *c* 69; collision with the Supreme Court, *c* 70; decision of the home authorities, *c* 72.
- Malik Amber, the Abyssinian; his great talent; sustains for twenty years the sinking state of Ahmednugur; engages the services of the Mahrattas, *a* 128; his revenue settlement; burns Mandoo, *a* 131; joins Shah Jehan, *a* 132; his death, *a* 135.
- Malwa, its independence established by Sultan Dilawur; Sultan Hoosung builds Hoosungabad, *a* 71; Mahmood Ghilzye founds a new dynasty; his illustrious reign, *a* 72; his successor's singular seraglio; Mahmood, the last king, *a* 75-76; extinction of the kingdom, *a* 77.
- Mangalore, siege and noble defence of; it capitulates, *a* 407; treaty of, *a* 410.
- Massacre of the European prisoners at Patna, *a* 303.
- Mauritius, hostile proclamation of the Governor, *b* 74; proposed expedition frustrated by Admiral Rainier, *b* 111; depredations of French privateers, *b* 248; capture of the island, *b* 249.
- Meance, battle of, *c* 247.
- Medical college established in Calcutta, *c* 68.
- Medows, Gen., his inefficient campaign of 1790, *b* 14.
- Meer Cassim Nabob, *a* 296; his vigorous administration; removes his government to Monghir; organizes a powerful army, *a* 297; receives investiture from the emperor, *a* 298; plunders Ramnarayun, *a* 299; his convention with Mr. Vansittart regarding the transit duties, *a* 300; rejected by the Council; he abolishes all duties, *a* 301; the Calcutta Council declare war against him; he is defeated at Cutwa and at Gheriah, *a* 302; massacres his English prisoners; flies to the Nabob Vizier, *a* 303.
- Meer Jaffier, joins the confederacy against Seraja Dowlah, *a* 277; made Nabob, *a* 280; his donations to the English, *a* 280; deposed, *a* 296; made Nabob *a*

- second time, *a* 302; pecuniary engagements with the Calcutta Council, *a* 306; his death, *a* 307.
- Meer Joomla; his early career, *a* 141; prime minister at Golconda; joins Aurungzebe, *a* 142; defeats Shah Soojah, *a* 147; governor of Bengal; disastrous expedition to Assam; his death, *a* 149.
- Mehidpore, battle of, *b* 342.
- Metcalf, Mr., envoy to Lahore, checks the career of Runjeet Sing, *b* 222; obliges him to sign a treaty, *b* 225; concludes treaties with the native princes, *b* 331; succeeds to the baronetcy, *b* 373; successful opposition to Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad, *b* 373; persuades Lord Amherst to take the field against Bhurtpore, *b* 406; appointed Governor of Agra, *c* 88; and Governor-General, *ad interim*, *c* 88; establishes the liberty of the press, *c* 91; beneficial results of this measure, *c* 92; great displeasure of the Court of Directors, *c* 94; he throws up the service, *c* 96; remarks on his administration, *c* 97; appointed Governor of Jamaica and of Canada, *c* 96; raised to the peerage, *c* 96.
- Mill, Mr. James, despatch on the subject of education, *c* 64; despatch on the principles of government after the Charter of 1833, *c* 87.
- Minto, Lord, Governor-General, *b* 215; his vigorous efforts to restore security in Bundelcund, *b* 216; sends embassies to Lahore, Cabul, and Persia, *b* 221-230; checks Ameer Khan's designs on Nagpore, *b* 234; proceeds to Madras to quell the mutiny, *b* 244; sends an expedition to Bourbon and the Mauritius, *b* 249; proceeds on the expedition to Java, *b* 249; representation to the Court regarding the Pindarees, *b* 259; superseded, *b* 253; returns to England, Oct. 1813, *b* 254.
- Mohabet, pursues Shah Jehan, *a* 131; is persecuted by Noor Jehan, *a* 132; seizes the person of the emperor, *a* 133; releases him, *a* 134; raises Shah Jehan to the throne, *a* 135.
- Monson, Col., his disastrous retreat, *b* 168.
- Montgomery, Mr. Robert, member of the Board of Administration in the Punjab, *c* 352; draws up a simple code of jurisprudence, *c* 353.
- Moodkee, battle of, *c* 285.
- Moolraj succeeds his father in the government of Mooltan, *c* 310; coerced and fleeced by the Khalsa, *c* 310; offers to resign his post, and the Regency appoint a new governor, who proceeds with Mr. Agnew and Lieut. Anderson to Mooltan, *c* 311; the officers murdered, *c* 312; Moolraj raises the standard of revolt, *c* 313; besieged by a British force, *c* 319; siege raised by the defection of Shere Sing, *c* 320; siege renewed, *c* 339; town and fort captured, *c* 341.
- Moorshed Koolee Khan; his origin; appointed dewan of Bengal, *a* 221; his system of government; his persecution of Hindoo zemindars; his remittances to Delhi; his death, *a* 223.
- Moorshedabad, its foundation, *a* 221.
- Morari Rao of Gooty, his fine army; his activity and courage; joins Mahomed Ali, *a* 249; his power extinguished by Hyder, *a* 385.
- Mozuffur Jung, aided by the French; defeats Anwar-ood-deen at Amboor, *a* 240; assumes the dignity of Soobadar of the Deccan, *a* 241; falls into the hands of Nazir Jung, *a* 242; is released on his death, and saluted Soobadar, *a* 244; killed by the Patan Nabobs, *a* 245.
- Mugudu, grandeur of the kingdom; its maritime trade, *a* 16.
- Muhabharat, the great epic, *a* 7-9.
- Munoo, the institutes of, *a* 5.
- Munro, Major Hector, quells the mutiny of the Bengal Sepoys, *a* 304; defeats the Vizier at Buxar, *a* 305; Sir Hector Munro; his incapacity at Madras, *a* 390; retreats before Hyder Ali to the Presidency, *a* 391.
- Munro, Sir Thomas, his celebrated ryotwary system, *b* 359; his great statesmanship eulogized by Mr. Canning, *b* 412; appointed Governor of Madras, *b* 412; his great services in the first Burmese war, *b* 412; his death, *b* 412.

- Mustapha Khan revolts against Aliverdy, and is defeated, *a* 228.
- Mutiny of the sepoys quelled by Major Munro, *a* 304; of the European officers quelled by Clive, *a* 311; of the European officers in Bengal, in 1795-96; weak concessions of Government, *b* 65; third mutiny of the European officers, at Madras, *b* 238; of the sepoys at Barrackpore, *b* 399; of the regiments on being ordered to Sinde, *c* 252; of the Madras 47th and other regiments, *c* 253; of the corps in the Punjab in 1848-49, *c* 377; of the regiment ordered to Burmah, in 1852, *c* 367; the last and greatest mutiny of the sepoys, 1857, not occasioned by annexations, *c* 450; assumed causes of it, *c* 451; the real cause, *c* 453.
- Mutra, its temples and shrines destroyed by Mahmood, *a* 32.
- Mysore, Lord Wellesley creates a new principality, and puts a boy of six on the throne, *b* 96; opinion of Sir Thomas Munro on the subject, *c* 18; treaty made with the raja purely personal; Lord Wellesley expressly excludes the words "heirs and successors," *c* 416; the raja assumes the government, *c* 19; twenty years of misrule create a rebellion, which Lord W. Bentinck puts down, and then takes the entire management of the country, consigning the raja to an annuity, *c* 20; Court of Directors refuse to restore any portion of it to him, *c* 21; admirable administration of General Cubbon, *c* 415; raja requests Lord Dalhousie to restore the government to him, which is refused, *c* 416; three succeeding Governors-General refuse the same request, 417; he adopts a son; the Government of India refuse to acknowledge his right to the sovereignty, and it is refused by Sir Charles Wood, *c* 417; these decisions reversed by the Tory administration of 1867, *c* 418.
- Nabob of Arcot's debts; nefarious proceedings of the Nabob Mahomed Ali and his creditors; proposed settlement by Warren Hastings, by Fox, by Dundas, *a* 435; and by Pitt; Dundas pays them off without enquiry; Burke's celebrated speech, *a* 436; sequel of the debts, *a* 437.
- Nadir Shah, his origin, *a* 198; invades Afghanistan and India, *a* 199; massacre of Delhi, *a* 201; immense booty acquired by him; returns to Persia, *a* 201.
- Nagpore, kingdom of, called also the kingdom of Berar, founded by Bhonslay, *a* 225; origin of that family; Rughojee Bhonslay invades the Carnatic, *a* 225; Hastings endeavours to form an alliance with him, but without success; he supplies Goddard with provisions, *a* 369; joins the confederacy against the Company, *a* 373; makes an amicable settlement with Hastings in 1780, *a* 375; the raja declines the alliance proposed by Lord Wellesley, in 1798, *b* 81; allies himself with Siudia against the British Government, *b* 142; is defeated at Argaom, *b* 151; signs the treaty of Deogaom, *b* 152; threatened by Ameer Khan, *b* 233; offered assistance by Lord Minto, *b* 235; death of the raja, *b* 314; subsidiary alliance with his successor, *b* 314; the raja, Appa Sabib, breaks out into revolt, *b* 337; is defeated at Seatabuldee, *b* 338; deposed, *b* 340; administration of Mr. Jenkins, during the minority of his successor, *c* 390; misrule of the raja when he assumes the government, *c* 390; anxiety of the people for the restoration of British rule, *c* 399; death of the raja without issue or adoption, *c* 388; Lord Dalhousie's Minute on the succession, *c* 391; Minutes of Col. Low and Mr. Halliday, *c* 393; annexation of the country, *c* 394; decision of the Court of Directors, *c* 394; sale of jewels, *c* 395.
- Nana Furnuverse, flies from Paniput; member of the regency in the durbar at Poona, *a* 363; overpowered by the partizans of Raghoba; restored to power, *a* 364; conducts the war against the English, *a* 365; alliance with Lord Cornwallis against Tippoo, *b* 13; flies from Poona, *b* 60; recovers his power; deceived and confined, *b* 61; his death and character, *b* 131.
- Nana Sahib; pension to his adoptive father purely personal, *c* 413; he demands the continuation of it, which is refused, *c* 414; becomes, in revenge, the great fiend of the mutiny, *c* 415.

- Nanuk, the Sikh prophet, *a* 184.
- Napier, Sir Charles, assumes the command in Sinde; his harsh treatment of the Ameers, *c* 239; gains the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad, *c* 248-249; appointed Commander-in-chief, *c* 339; his collision with Lord Dalhousie, *c* 379; decision of the Duke of Wellington on the subject, *c* 380; he retires from the service, *c* 380.
- Napoleon, his ambitious designs on India in 1807 lead the Government to seek foreign alliances, in the Punjab, in Afghanistan, and in Persia, *b* 221.
- Narayun Rao, the Peshwa, assassinated, *a* 355.
- Natives of India injudiciously excluded from office by Lord Cornwallis, *b* 38; introduced to offices of respectability by Lord William Bentinck, *c* 49; Charter of 1833 removes all restriction on their employment, *c* 86.
- Native princes, their incessant encroachments on each other, *b* 26.
- Nazir Jung, soobadar of the Deccan, *a* 240; defeats Chunda Sahib and Mozuffer Jung, *a* 242; unexpectedly attacked and killed, *a* 244.
- Nepal, description of it, *b* 285; progress of Goorkha power, *b* 286; encroachments on British territory, *b* 287; remonstrances of the Calcutta Government, *b* 287; the durbar determines on war, *b* 288; and strikes the first blow, *b* 289. For Nepal War, see GOORKHA CAMPAIGN.
- Newspaper, first native, published by the Missionaries at Serampore in 1818, *b* 358.
- Nizam Ali, puts his brother to death; usurps the throne of Hyderabad, *a* 318; plunders and burns Poona; defeated by Raghoba, *a* 325; English treaty with him in 1767; forms a confederacy against Hyder; then joins him; and deserts the English, *a* 327; defeated at Changama; his territories invaded from Bengal, *a* 328; deserts Hyder and makes peace with the English; treaty of 1768, *a* 329; forms a grand confederacy against the English, *a* 383; surrenders the Guntoor sircar, *b* 9; his alliance with the English against Tippoo, *b* 13; the contingent of troops supplied by him, *b* 17; totally defeated by the Mahrattas at Kurdla, *b* 56; his French force under Raymond, *b* 57; disbanded, *b* 82; revolt of his son, *b* 58; treaty with Nana Furnuvene, *b* 60; subsidiary treaty formed with him by Lord Wellesley, *b* 78; cedes territory to pay the subsidiary force, *b* 101; establishment of the Contingent under his successor, *b* 369; Chundoo Lall's oppressive administration, *b* 370; interference of Sir Charles Metcalfe, *b* 371; Palmer and Co. make advances at a high rate of interest, and obtain assignments on the land, *b* 371; they are opposed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, *b* 373; they are paid off by the Government of India, and become bankrupt, *b* 374; Lord Dalhousie determines to settle the vexatious question of the Contingent, *c* 406; debt accruing from nonpayment of it, *c* 407; the Nizam's utter inattention to business, *c* 407; Lord Dalhousie's Minute, *c* 408; new treaty forced on the Nizam, *c* 410; Berar and other districts taken over for the debt and the annual payments, *c* 411; singular good fortune of the Nizam family, *c* 412.
- Nizam; Chin Killich Khan, the Tartar favourite of Aurungzebe, the first Soobadar of the Deccan, *a* 186; appointed vizier of the empire, and retires in disgust to the Deccan, and becomes independent, *a* 191; defeated by Bajee Rao, *a* 197; appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces; defeated at Bhopal, *a* 198; his death, at the age of 104, and the confusion which ensued, *a* 240.
- Noor-jehan, her parentage and beauty, *a* 126; becomes the queen of Jenhan-geer; her talents and influence, *a* 127; intrigues against Shah Jehan, *a* 131; her hatred of Mohabet, *a* 132; is defeated by him and then reconciled to him; again breaks with him, and retires into private life on the death of the emperor, *a* 135.
- Northern sircars, ceded to the French, *a* 254; apportioned to the English, *a* 284; transferred to the Company by the emperor; misconduct of the Madras Council regarding them, *a* 319.

- North-West Provinces, law to redress fraudulent sales of land in them, *b* 361 ; revenue settlement, *c* 46.
- Nott, Gen., his proceedings at Candahar, *c* 210 ; advances for the recovery of Cabul, *c* 223.
- Nozed affair, anomalous interference of Parliament to compel payment of an unjust claim, *c* 77.
- Nundu, king of Mugudu, *a* 15.
- Nundu koomar, charges brought by him against Hastings, *a* 350 ; Hastings charges him with conspiracy ; a native charges him with forgery ; he is tried and executed, *a* 351 ; remarks on this transaction, *a* 352.
- Ochterlony, Gen., his noble defence of Delhi *b* 171 ; his great skill and eminent success in the Goorkha campaign of 1815, *b* 297 ; commands in the second campaign, marches towards Catmandoo, and dictates peace, *b* 300 ; orders a force against Bhurtpore, *b* 403 ; countermanded by Lord Amherst, *b* 403 ; his spirited remonstrance, *b* 404 ; his resignation and death, *b* 405 ; remarks on his character, *b* 405.
- Omichund, his vast wealth, and princely establishment ; joins Seraja Dowlah, *a* 278 ; and then joins the confederacy against him, *a* 278 ; is circumvented by Clive ; reflections on the transaction, *a* 279.
- Oodypore, made the capital of Mewar, *a* 109 ; captured by Shah Jehan, *a* 129 ; the country desolated by Aurungzebe, *a* 166.
- Orissa, its early history, *a* 23 ; the Guzu-putee, and Gungu-bungsu dynasties ; the Hindoo monarchy extinguished, *a* 110 ; ceded by Aliverdy to the Mahrattas, *a* 229 ; ceded by the Mahrattas to the Company, *b* 152.
- Ostend, E. I. Company establish a factory at Bankybazar ; rooted out by the English, *a* 224.
- Oude, origin of the royal family, *a* 191 ; Sufer Jung defeated by the Rohillas, calls in the Mahrattas, *a* 265 ; establishes his independence in 1753, *a* 266 ; joins and deserts Ali Gohur, *a* 284 ; marches to Patna, *a* 304 ; battle of Buxar, *a* 305 ; the kingdom restored by Clive, *a* 310 ; alliance with the Rohillas against the Mahrattas, *a* 337 ; plots the destruction of the Rohillas, *a* 337 ; which is effected, *a* 344 ; interference of the Calcutta Council in his affairs, *a* 347 ; his death ; new treaty made by the Council with his successor, *a* 348 ; he is impoverished by the begums, *a* 348 ; enters into an engagement with Hastings to despoil them, *a* 418 ; his arrangement with Lord Cornwallis, *b* 8 ; his boundless dissipation, *b* 9 ; his character and pursuits, *b* 67 ; disorganization of his Government, *b* 67 ; his death, *b* 68 ; Vizier Ali ; his reputed son appointed his successor, *b* 68 ; he is set aside by Sir John Shore, *b* 69 ; Saadut Ali made Nabob, *b* 70 ; he is requested by Lord Wellesley to make provision for a larger British force, and offers to resign, *b* 116 ; remonstrates against the demand, *b* 118 ; submits to it, *b* 119 ; makes a large cession of territory, *b* 120 ; remarks on the transaction, *b* 120 ; raised to the dignity of royalty by Lord Hastings, *c* 420 ; Lord W. Bentinck threatens to assume the Government, if he does not reform the administration, *c* 26 ; Court of Directors sanction the assumption, *c* 27 ; Lord Hardinge renews the remonstrance, and gives him two years of grace, *c* 420 ; no effort made at reform, *c* 421 ; Col. Sleeman's report, *c* 421 ; Gen. Outram's report, *c* 423 ; Lord Dalhousie's proposal, *c* 425 ; Minutes of the members of Council, *c* 425 ; decision of the home authorities, *c* 427 ; the country annexed, *c* 428 ; remarks, *c* 428.
- Outram, Lieut., his successful efforts to civilize the Bheels, *c* 100 ; his proceedings in Sindh, *c* 237 ; Gen. Outram's report on Oude, recommending the assumption of the administration, *c* 423.
- Pacheco the Portuguese general with a handful of Europeans defeats a host of natives, *a* 87.
- Pandya kingdom in the Deccan, *a* 21.
- Paniput, first great battle, *a* 93 ; the second, *a* 104 ; the third, *a* 291.
- Patan nabobs of the Deccan, join Nazir Jung ; become disaffected, *a* 242 ; attack Mozuffer Jung ; by one of whom he is killed, *a* 245.

- Patan power in Hindostan revived by Ameer Khan, *b* 304; crushed by Lord Hastings, *b* 345.
- Pegu, incorporated with the Company's territories in 1852, *c* 372; benefits resulting from it, *c* 374.
- Peninsular and Oriental Company, successful efforts to establish steam communication between England and India; great national importance of their labours, *c* 61.
- Permanent settlement in Bengal, in 1793, *b* 34; the result of that measure, *b* 35.
- Persia, native envoy to the court, in 1799, *b* 108; he succeeds in withdrawing Zemaun Shah from India, *b* 108; Capt. Malcolm's costly and magnificent embassy, *b* 109; French embassy, *b* 227; the Ministry send Sir H. Jones as envoy from the Crown, *b* 228; Lord Minto sends Col. Malcolm as envoy from the Government of India, *b* 228; conflict between Persia and Russia; total discomfiture of the former, *c* 119; Persian expedition to Khorasan, *c* 120; Mr. McNeill endeavours to prevent an expedition to Herat, *c* 121; it is undertaken notwithstanding, *c* 122; siege of eight months raised, *c* 139; king returns to his capital disgraced, *c* 139; and undertakes another expedition in 1856, *c* 233.
- Pesliwa, Bajee Rao, subsidiary treaty proposed by Lord Wellesley, and declined, *b* 79; he refuses the share offered him of Tippoo's territories, *b* 100; defeated by Holkar, and takes refuge in British territories, *b* 138; signs the treaty of Bassein, *b* 140; restored to power by the British, *b* 144; important character of that treaty, *b* 141; it leads to a war with Sindia and Nagpore, *b* 142; Peshwa's oppressions and superstitions, *b* 308; comes under the sinister influence of Trimbukjee, *b* 309; sanctions the murder of Gungadhur Shastree, *b* 311; his hostility to the British Government, *b* 321; Lord Hastings deprives him of territory, *b* 322; he breaks out in open hostility, *b* 333; attacks the British force at Kirkee, and is defeated, *b* 335; flies from Poona and is pursued, *b* 347; defeated at Korygaum, *b* 348; defeated at Ashtee, *b* 350; surrenders on receiving a pension for life, *b* 351; sent to Bithoor, *b* 352.
- Phayre, Sir A., his administration of Burmah, *c* 376.
- Pigot, Lord, his antecedents; Governor of Madras; restores Tanjore to the raja, *a* 380; deposed by the Council; restored by the Court of Directors; dies, *a* 381.
- Pindarees, their origin, *b* 254; their connection with the native princes, *b* 255; their leaders, *b* 256; their system of plunder, *b* 257; their atrocities, *b* 258; attack British territories, 1812, *b* 259; Lord Minto's strong representation to the Court, *b* 259; Lord Hastings' representation, *b* 304; second and more urgent despatch, *b* 312; their bold expedition to the south in 1815, *b* 313; Mr. Canning forbids active operations, *b* 317; but on hearing of their atrocities authorizes them, *b* 318; their last expedition of 1816-17; its wide range, *b* 319; members of Council yield to Lord Hastings' remonstrance, and agree to exterminate them, *b* 320; Lord Hastings organizes the Pindaree campaign on a grand scale; strength of the force brought into the field, *b* 327; they are completely exterminated, *b* 345.
- Piracy on the coast of Arabia suppressed by Lord Minto, *b* 245.
- Pitt's India Bill, *a* 432.
- Plassy, the battle of, changes the fortunes of the Company, *a* 280.
- Political officers in the Punjab; their noble conduct during the revolt, *c* 329.
- Pollock, General, sent with a brigade to relieve Cabul, *c* 199; reaches Peshawur, finds Col. Wild's force totally demoralized, *c* 203; spends February and March in restoring discipline and confidence, *c* 203; forces the Khyber, *c* 204; reaches Jellalabad, *c* 205; advances with the army of retribution, *c* 221; defeats the Afghans at Jugdulluk and Tezeen, *c* 222; and reoccupies Cabul, *c* 223;

- Pondicherry, besieged without success by Admiral Boscawen, *a* 237; captured by Col. Coote, *a* 263; captured a second time in 1778, *a* 386; and again in 1793, *b* 39.
- Poona, plundered by Nizam Ali, *a* 325; and by Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, *b* 62.
- Poornea, Hyder's able minister conceals his master's death; his exemplary conduct, *a* 402, the eminent minister of the new dynasty; but, after eleven years of service, is dismissed by his master, *c* 19.
- Poorunder, treaty of, its degrading provisions, *a* 361; disapproved of by the Court of Directors, *a* 363.
- Popham, Major, captures Gwalior, *a* 372.
- Porto Novo, battle of, gained by Gen. Coote, *a* 393.
- Portuguese, the first to double the Cape of Good Hope, *a* 84; their first expedition to India, *a* 85; their trade, and their importance in the sixteenth century, *a* 117; defeat the combined Mahomedan powers; repel the attack on Goa, in 1578, *a* 118; establish themselves in Bengal, *a* 137; they found and fortify Hooghly; their establishment at Chittagong, *a* 138; Hooghly captured and their power broken, *a* 139.
- Postage, low and uniform rate established, *c* 434.
- Pottinger, Lieut., his exertions at Herat, *c* 136; Major Pottinger, political officer at Chareekar, *c* 190; flies wounded to the cantonment, *c* 190; assumes political charge in Afghanistan on the murder of Sir William Macnaghten, *c* 190; his bold advice rejected, *c* 191; is taken as a hostage, *c* 193; his energetic efforts to rescue the hostages and captives at Bameean, *c* 225.
- Press, persecuted by Mr. Adam, *b* 380; treated with lenity by Lord Amherst, *b* 411; practically free under Lord William Bentinck, *c* 91; and rendered legally free by Sir Charles Metcalfe, *c* 92; high displeasure of the Court of Directors, *c* 94.
- Principal Sudder Ameen; the office established by Lord William Bentinck, *b* 51.
- Privateers, French, destroy British trade in the Indian seas, *b* 247.
- Procession of the guns captured from the Sikhs, *c* 301.
- Proprietary right in the lands of Bengal discussed; generously given to the zemindars by the Court of Directors, *b* 32.
- Punjab, confusion on the death of Runjeet Sing, *c* 273; constant revolutions, end in making the army supreme, *c* 274-280; invasion of British territory, *c* 282; the Punjab placed at the feet of the Governor-General by the four battles of the Sutlege, *c* 298; British army enter it, *c* 297; arrangement by Lord Hardinge of the government, 9th March, 1846, *c* 300; the Jullunder annexed, and Cashmere sold, *c* 299; new arrangement in December, *c* 302; council of regency, *c* 303; general revolt, *c* 320; the Maharanee intrigues, and is banished, *b* 317; the revolt quelled, *c* 345; the Punjab annexed, *c* 348; system of government established by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 351; his particular attention to the administration, *c* 359; protective force on the border, *c* 353; disarmament of the country, *c* 353; the new police, *c* 354; the revenues, *c* 354; abolition of slavery, dacoity and thuggee, *c* 355; suppression of infanticide, *c* 356; the great trunk-road, *c* 358; the Baree dooab canal, *c* 359; grand results of these measures, *c* 359.
- Public works, erected into a department and fully organized, and liberally supplied by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 431.
- Raffles, Sir Stamford, suggests the expedition to Java, and assists in the organization of it, *b* 250; appointed Governor of it, *b* 253; founds Singapore, *b* 365.
- Raghoba plunders Guzerat; ravages the domains of the emperor, *a* 255; captures Delhi; marches to the Indus; he is deprived of the command of the army, *a* 286; defeats Nizam Ali, *a* 325; assassinates Narayum Rao, and becomes Peshwa; makes war on the Nizam, *a* 356; displaced by the Poona regency; prepares to resist them, *a* 357; negotiates with

- Bombay, *a* 358; treaty disallowed in Calcutta, approved of in England, *a* 362; revolution in his favour at Poona, *a* 363; counter-revolution, *a* 364; new treaty with Bombay; expedition to Poona on his behalf, *a* 365; its disastrous result, *a* 366; he surrenders to Sindia, *a* 367; receives a jagere; sent to Hindostan; escapes, *a* 369; pensioned off, *a* 377.
- Railways, great Indian system of, established by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 439.
- Rajpoot princes claim British protection, without success, *b* 202; it is extended to them by Lord Hastings, in 1817, *b* 331.
- Rajpoots, revolt of, through the bigotry of Aurungzebe; their permanent alienation from the throne of Delhi, *a* 166.
- Ramayun, the epic of Valmeeki, *a* 6-9.
- Rannugur, engagement at, *c* 326; death of Cols. Havelock and Cureton, *c* 327.
- Ramraja, retires to Ginjee, *a* 177; returns to the north; makes Sattara the Mahratta capital, *a* 179.
- Ramu, his expedition against Ravunu, and his death, *a* 7.
- Rana Sunga, the Rajpoot, his power and magnificence, *a* 76; defeated by Baber, *a* 94.
- Ranco of Lahore, assumes power, *c* 280; her licentiousness, *c* 278; designated by Lord Hardinge the Messalina of the north, *c* 279; her intrigues, *c* 317; banished to Benares, *c* 318.
- Rangoon, capture of in 1824, *b* 389; and also by Gen. Godwin in 1852, *c* 369.
- Ravunu, the ruler of Ceylon, defeated by Ramu, *a* 7.
- Red Sea, expedition to, under Gen. Baird, *b* 112.
- Regulating Act of 1773, *a* 340.
- Rent-free tenures, freely resumed under native rulers, *c* 6; resumption of them in 1828, *c* 7.
- Revenue Board, established by Lord William Bentinck at Allahabad, *c* 46.
- Revenue settlement in Bengal, in 1772, *a* 343; in 1777, *a* 354; it is ordered to be concluded for ten years, and then made permanent in 1793, *b* 31.
- Revenue settlement, North-West Provinces, *c* 46.
- Revenues of India, their elastic character, *c* 432; increase from 30 crores in 1846, to 45 crores in 1856, *c* 432.
- Roads constructed under Lord Dalhousie, *c* 435.
- Robertson, Mr. T. C., Governor of Agra, his energetic efforts to send relief to Cabul, *c* 197.
- Roe, Sir Thomas, his embassy to Delhi, *a* 130.
- Rohilla Afghans, their rise, *a* 202; they defeat the Nabob of Oude, *a* 265.
- Rohilla war, *a* 343; destruction of the Rohillas, *a* 344; remarks, *a* 345.
- Roopur, magnificent pageantry at the meeting, *c* 41.
- Rumbold, Sir Thomas, Governor of Madras; his large remittances to England, *a* 382; transactions concerning the Guntoor Sircar, *a* 383; his dismissal, *a* 384; defence of his conduct furnished by his own papers. *Appendix*, vol. 1.
- Runjeet Sing, his rise to power; subdues the various tribes in the Punjab, *b* 219; attempts to annex the Cis-Sutlege principalities, and extend his power to Delhi, *b* 220; Lord Minto determines to oppose it, *b* 221; Mr. Metcalfe sent as envoy to his Court, *b* 222; obliges him to sign a treaty, and confines him to the right bank of the Sutlege, *b* 225; he reforms his army, *c* 31; obtains the Koh-i-noor, *c* 33; conquers Mooltan, *c* 33; conquers Cashmere, *c* 33; takes French officers into his service, *c* 34; conquers the Derajat, *c* 40; insurrection of Syud Ahmed, *c* 35; welcomes the mission of Capt. Burnes, *c* 38; his great power, his army, his resources, his ambition, *c* 39; meets Lord W. Bentinck at Roopur, *c* 41; obtains possession of Peshawur, *c* 114; his views on Sindé restrained, *c* 115; concludes the tripartite treaty, *c* 132; his death and character, *c* 152.
- Russia, progress of her power and increase of her territory, *c* 118; acquires a paramount influence at the court of Persia, *c* 119; sends an envoy to Cabul, *c* 127; assists the Persians in the siege of Herat, *c* 138.

- Ryotwarry system at Madras, *b* 267; fully established by Sir Thomas Munro, under orders from the Court, *b* 359.
- Sadoolapore, battle of, *c* 327.
- Sadut Ali, a Khorason merchant founds the royal family of Oude, *a* 191; his reasonable advice to Nadir Shah, *a* 200; laid under contribution by him, and swallows poison, *a* 201.
- Sagur, the sea king of Bengal, *a* 6.
- Sahoo, made king of the Mahrattas, while in Aurungzebe's hands, *a* 177; is released, *a* 187; his weakness leads to the usurpation of the Peshwa, *a* 193; arrangement with the Kolapore branch of the family, *a* 194; his follies and death, *a* 251.
- Salabut Jung, Soobadar of the Deccan, *a* 245; invades Mysore, *a* 255; attacks Savanore, *a* 256; marches against Bussy, and is obliged to submit, *a* 257; cedes territory to the English, *a* 284; acknowledged Soobadar of the Deccan by the peace of Paris; deposed and put to death by his brother, *a* 318.
- Salaries of civil servants increased by Lord Cornwallis, *b* 7.
- Salbye, treaty of, *a* 376; ratified by the Mahrattas only on hearing of Hyder's death, *a* 377.
- Salsette, occupied by the Bombay Government, *a* 358.
- Sambajee, succeeds Sevajee; his vicious reign, *a* 170; tortured to death *a* 176.
- Sanscrit language; its original seat and gradual mixture with the provincial languages of India, *a* 4.
- Santal émeute, *c* 376.
- Satara, principality of, established by Lord Hastings, *b* 349; death of the raja in 1848; question of perpetuating it by adoption, *c* 382; Minutes of Sir George Clerk, *c* 382; of Mr. Willoughby, *c* 383; researches of Lord Dalhousie, *c* 384; his conclusion; his Minute, *c* 386; orders of the Home authorities on the subject of the annexation of this and kindred dependent principalities, *c* 388; it is annexed, *c* 388.
- Satgong, the ancient port of Bengal; its decay, *a* 138.
- Seetabuldee, battle of, *b* 338.
- Seleucus invades India, *a* 15.
- Selim, ascends the throne of Delhi, under the title of Jehangeer, *a* 125.
- Seljuks, their progress and proceedings, *a* 36, 37; extinction of their power, *a* 40.
- Seraja dowlah, nabob of Bengal, his oppressions, *a* 269; he takes Calcutta, *a* 273; returns to Moorsheadabad, *a* 274; marches again to Calcutta, *a* 275; is defeated by Clive, and concludes a treaty, *a* 276; confederacy against him, *a* 277; he is defeated at Plassy, *a* 279; flies to Rajmahal, *a* 280; is captured and assassinated by Meerun, *a* 281.
- Serampore Missionaries, their labours, *b* 213; opposed by Government; anomalous conduct of the public authorities, *b* 214; violently assailed in the House of Commons by Mr. Marsh, and defended by Mr. Wilberforce, *b* 281.
- Seringapatam, strength of the fortifications, *b* 86; it is invested, *b* 91; and captured, *b* 92.
- Setts, the bankers of Moorsheadabad, join the confederacy against Seraja Dowlah, *a* 277; advise Clive to join it, *a* 278; put to death by Meer Cassim, *a* 303.
- Sevajee, his birth, *a* 152; education; early talents; captures Torna; builds Raigur, *a* 153; his progress; ravages the Mogul territory, *a* 154; obtains the Concan, *a* 155; attacks Shaista Khan at Poona, *a* 157; plunders Surat, *a* 158; assumes royalty; his depredations on the sea; expedition to Barcelore, *a* 159; submits to Aurungzebe; convention of Poorunder; origin of the *chout*, *a* 160; proceeds to Delhi; is insulted, placed under restraint, and escapes, *a* 161; his civil and political institutions, *a* 162; plunders Surat a second time, *a* 163; defeats the emperor's troops, *a* 164; is crowned with great ceremony, *a* 167; his expedition to the Carnatic, *a* 168; his death, *a* 169; and character, *a* 170.

- Shahjee, his birth, *a* 151; succeeds to the jageer of Poona; creates a king of Ahmednugur, and makes extensive conquests in the south, *a* 152; revisits his son, Sevajee, *a* 157; his death; his possessions, *a* 159.
- Shah Jehan, driven to rebellion, attacked and pursued by Mohabet, *a* 131; flies to Bengal, *a* 132; ascends the throne of Delhi, *a* 134; his extravagant expenditure, *a* 135; subdues Ahmednugur, *a* 137; breaks the Portuguese power in Bengal, *a* 138; his four sons, *a* 144; deposed by Aurungzebe, his character, his magnificence, *a* 145, 146; his death, *a* 162.
- Shah Soojah receives the embassy of Mr. Elphinstone, in 1809, with whom he forms a treaty; is defeated by his brother and obliged to fly across the Indus, *b* 226; obliged to resign the Koh-i-noor to Runjeet Sing, *c* 33; becomes a pensioner of the British Government at Loodiana, *c* 33; unsuccessful attempt to recover his power in 1833, *c* 113; Lord Auckland determines to seat him on the throne of Cabul, *c* 130; signs the tripartite treaty, *c* 132; Shah Soojah proceeds with the expedition, *c* 140; enters Cabul as king, *c* 149; his unpopularity, and its cause, *c* 160; his tragic death, *c* 218.
- Shere Sing, son of Runjeet Sing, becomes raja, *c* 274; is put to death, *c* 277.
- Shere Sing, sent with an army to coerce Moolraj, *c* 317; goes over to him, *c* 320; marches towards Lahore, *c* 322; baffles Lord Gough at Ramnugur, *c* 325; takes up a strong position on the Chenab at Russool, *c* 33; fights the battle of Chillianwalla, *c* 333; defeated at Guzerat, *c* 345; surrenders to General Gilbert, *c* 347.
- Shere Khan, the Afghan; his origin, occupies Behar; conquers Bengal; defeats Humayoon, *a* 98; mounts the throne of Delhi; conquers Malwa and Marwar, *a* 100; his institutions, death, and character, *a* 101.
- Shore, Sir John, his views on the permanent settlement, *b* 32; Governor-General, *b* 51; remains neutral during the struggle between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, *b* 54; British reputation compromised by it, *b* 55; makes concessions to the mutinous officers, *b* 65; is superseded, *b* 66; his scrupulous justice regarding the succession of Oude, *b* 68; his danger at Lucknow, *b* 69; his courage and composure; resigns the Government, and returns to England, *b* 70; created a peer, *b* 70.
- Sikhs, their origin and progress; become a military community, *a* 184.
- Sinde, establishment of the Talpoora Ameers, *c* 37; their hostile feelings to the English, *c* 37; treaty formed with them by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, *c* 43; exactions from them in 1839, and new treaty forced on them, *c* 144; their general fidelity during the troubles in Afghanistan, *c* 237; Lord Ellenborough dictates new treaties, *c* 239; violent proceedings of Sir C. Napier, *c* 241; conference with Col. Outram, *c* 244; they sign the treaties, *c* 244; the Beloochee troops attack the Residency, *c* 247; battle of Meanee, *c* 247; battle of Hyderabad, *c* 249; Sindie annexed, *c* 249; remarks on these transactions, *c* 250.
- Sindia, the origin of his family, *a* 195; ravages Rohilcund; driven back across the Ganges; defeated by Ahmed Shah, *a* 288; killed at Paniput, *a* 292.
- Sindia, Dowlut Rao, succeeds his great uncle, Mahdajee Sindia, at the age of thirteen, *b* 53; refuses the alliance proposed by Lord Wellesley, *b* 81; is defeated by Holkar in 1801, *b* 135; defeats Holkar, but neglects to crush him, *b* 137; is totally defeated by Holkar at the battle of Poona, 1802, *b* 138; takes umbrage at the treaty of Bassein, and forms an alliance with Nagpore, *b* 142; his memorable declaration, which leads to war, *b* 145; defeated at Assye, *b* 149; concludes an armistice with Gen. Wellesley, *b* 151; attacks the British army at Argaom, *b* 151; strength of his French force in Hindostan, *b* 153; loses Allygur, *b* 154; his troops defeated in the battle of Delhi, *b* 155; signs the treaty of Sirjee Anjengao, which deprives him of half his territory, *b* 160; his hesitation regarding the Pindarees, *b* 320; Lord Hastings advances to Gwalior, and obliges him to sign a treaty, *b* 328; his death, *c* 28; his widow, Baeza-bye, adopts a son, *c* 29; refuses him any share of power *c* 29; the Resident prevents a

- conflict, *c* 30; the Bye expelled the kingdom, *c* 30. For the war of 1843, *see* GWALIOR CAMPAIGN.
- Sindia Mahdajee, detached from Raghoba by the Poona regency, *a* 358; negotiates the convention of Wurgaum; Raghoba surrenders to him, *a* 367; connives at his escape; *a* 369; is defeated by Goddard, *a* 371; completely defeated by Col. Carnac, *a* 373; makes a treaty with Hastings, *a* 376; concludes the treaty of Salbye, on the part of the Mahratta confederacy, *a* 377; his great success in Hindostan; demands *chout* for Bengal and Behar, *b* 40; plunders the Rajpoots; defeated by them, *b* 41; his sepoy force organized by de Boigne; gains the battle of Patun, *b* 43; and of Mairta, *b* 44; marches to Poona; invests the Peshwa with the title given by the emperor, *b* 45; his mock humility; his death, *b* 46.
- Singapore, established by Sir Stamford Raffles, *b* 365.
- Sirjee Anjengoum, treaty of, *b* 160.
- Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, Sindia's father-in-law, his oppression and atrocities, *b* 137.
- Slave dynasty on the throne of Delhi; its beginning and end, *a* 53.
- Slavery, abolished in India, *c* 270.
- Sleeman, Col., the chief instrument in abolishing thuggee, *c* 59; Resident at Lucknow; makes the tour of the country; recommends Government to take over the administration and subsidize the king, *c* 421.
- Smith, Sir Harry, loses prestige at Buddowal, *c* 292; regains it at Aliwall, *c* 293.
- Solar race, *a* 6.
- Solingur, battle of, gained by Coote, *a* 395.
- Somnath, wealth and celebrity of the shrine, *a* 33; gallantly defended by the Hindoos; captured by Mahmood of Ghuznee; vast treasure found in the body of the idol; its sandal wood gates conveyed to Ghuznee, *a* 34.
- Soojah, son of Shah Jehan, his character, *a* 144; defeated by Dara, *a* 145; and by Meer Joomlah; flies to Aracan and is assassinated, *a* 147.
- Soor dynasty, established at Delhi by Shere Shah, *a* 100.
- Sooruj Mull, the chief of the Jauts, joins Sudaseeb Rao Bhao; his advice rejected; withdraws in disgust from the Mahratta camp before the battle of Paniput, *a* 290.
- Steam communication; continued and unsuccessful attempts to establish it, between England and India, *c* 60; the work accomplished by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, *c* 61; steam communication on the rivers of India promoted by Lord Dalhousie, *c* 433.
- Stoddart, Col., his treatment at Bokhara, *c* 234; executed by orders of the Ameer, *c* 236.
- Stuart, Gen., his disgraceful neglect on Hyder's death, *a* 403; marches to Cuddalore; opposed to Bussy, and rescued from peril by the treaty of peace concluded between France and England; placed under arrest, and sent to England, *a* 405.
- Subuktugeen, succeeds to the throne of Candahar, *a* 28; routs Jeypal of Lahore; his death, *a* 29.
- Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, the Mahratta generalissimo, *a* 286; advances against the Abdalee, *a* 289; takes Delhi and plunders it, *a* 290; defeated at Paniput, *a* 291.
- Sudder court in Calcutta, modified and improved by Lord Wellesley, *b* 122; established at Allahabad, by Lord William Bentinck, *c* 46.
- Sufder Ali, succeeds Dost Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic; is assassinated, *a* 230.
- Suffrein, the French Admiral; his various naval engagements with Admiral Hughes; captures Trincomalee, *a* 400.
- Sumbulpore, a zemindaree in Central India, escheats to Government on the death of the raja, *c* 399.
- Sultana Rezia, empress of Delhi, *a* 50.
- Sumroo, a German adventurer, murders the Nabob's European prisoners, *a* 303.

- Supreme Council, installed in Calcutta, *a* 346; its opposition to Hastings, *a* 347; disallows the treaty with Raghoba, and sends Col. Upton to Poona, who concludes the treaty of Poorunder, *a* 361.
- Supreme Court in Calcutta, established, *a* 340; arrival of the Judges, *a* 346; its undefined jurisdiction, hangs Nundu koomar; interference with the zemindars, *a* 411; ignores the Nabob of Moorshedabad; disorganizes the whole system of Government, *a* 412; summons the Governor-General and Council, *a* 413; Act of Parliament passed to define its jurisdiction, *a* 415.
- Supreme Court of Bombay, its collision, in like manner, with the Government, *c* 70.
- Surat; Company's first establishment, *a* 204; its commercial importance; defended against Sevajee by the English servants of the Company, *a* 158.
- Suttees, abolished in the Company's territories by Lord William Bentinck, *c* 51; and in the native states by Lord Hardinge, *c* 307.
- Swartz, the missionary, his mission to Hyder, *a* 387; his sage remarks to Col. Fullerton on his retreat, *a* 409.
- Syuds, the imperial dynasty of the, *a* 69.
- Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan fanatic, stirs up a revolt in the Punjab, and is put to death, *c* 36.
- Tagara of the Romans, identified with Deogur and Dowlutabad, *a* 23.
- Takshuk invasion of Hindostan; the supposed origin of the race, *a* 9.
- Talneir, capture of the fort, *b* 353.
- Tamul literature before the introduction of brahminism, *a* 21.
- Tanjore, a Mahratta principality established in the extreme south by Shahjee, *a* 159; invaded by Sevajee, *a* 168; disputed succession and interference of the English, *a* 238; besieged without success by Lally, *a* 260; arrangement of 1763 made with the raja by the Nabob, *a* 318; exorbitant demand of Mahomed Ali; refused by the raja; who is attacked by an English army; constrained to conclude a treaty, *a* 378; fresh demands of the Nabob; Tanjore conquered by a Madras force and made over to him; restored to the raja; and the Governor of Madras dismissed, *a* 380; the raja mediatized by Lord Wellesley, *b* 103.
- Tara-bye, regent of the Mahratta state for seven years, *a* 183; intrigues on the eve of Sahoo's death; her grandson raised to the throne, *a* 252.
- Tea, first introduced by the Company into England, *a* 208.
- Teetoo Meer, his insurrection, *c* 10.
- Tej Sing, appointed Commander-in-chief of the Sikh army, *c* 280; beleaguers Sir John Littler, *c* 283; his misconduct at Sobraon, *c* 296.
- Telingana, its early history, *a* 22; the Hindoo dynasty extinguished, *a* 60; a new Hindoo dynasty established, *a* 63.
- Tellicherry, gallant sortie, and defeat of the Mysore army, *a* 397; Tellicotta, decisive battles at, *a* 116.
- Territorial acquisitions in India; various proposals to limit or relinquish them by Clive, Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Shelburne, *b* 26.
- Thanesur, the most opulent Hindoo shrine, destroyed by Mahmood of Ghuznee, *a* 31.
- Thomason, Mr. James, his successful administration of the N. W. Provinces, *c* 437.
- Thuggee, its character, prevalence, and atrocities, extinguished by Lord William Bentinck, through Col. Sleeman, *c* 58.
- Tibet, movement of Golab Sing defeated, *c* 276.
- Timur, his birth and early adventures; his conquests in Central India, *a* 66; enters India and puts 100,000 captives to death; captures and plunders Delhi; recrosses the Indus, *a* 67.
- Tippoo, plunders the country seats around Madras, *a* 328; ascends the throne; his resources; returns to the western coast, *a* 403; recaptures Bednore; siege of Mangalore which costs him half his army, *a* 407; treats the Madras commissioners with indignity; signs the treaty of Mangalore, *a* 410; war with the Mahrattas; makes peace suddenly, *b* 3; attacks the

- Travancore lines and is repulsed, *b* 12; war with the English, the Nizam and the Peshwa; campaign of 1790, *b* 14; he lays waste the Carnatic; his embassy to France, *b* 16; battle of Arikera, *b* 18; awaits the arrival of Lord Cornwallis at the capital, 1792; is attacked and defeated, *b* 23; constrained to make peace, and cede half his territory, and pay three crores of rupees, *b* 24; reduction of his power, *b* 28; he determines to expel the English from the Deccan, *b* 73; forms an alliance with the French at the Mauritius, *b* 74; receives the French officers, *b* 75; strength of his army, *b* 76; first communication of Lord Wellesley to him, *b* 84; continuation of the correspondence, *b* 85; his duplicity, *b* 86; war with him sanctioned in England, *b* 83; General Harris marches against him, *b* 88; Tippoo marches against the Bombay army on the western coast and is defeated, *b* 89; defeated by General Harris at Malavelly, and retires to Seringapatam, *b* 89; is slain in the assault of his capital, *b* 93; his character, *b* 94; allotment of his territory between the Nizam and the English, and the boy raja set up by Lord Wellesley, *b* 96.
- Toder Mull, subdues the Moguls in Bengal, *a* 112; and the Khyberees, *a* 114; his settlement of the land revenue and the finances of Bengal, *a* 124.
- Toghluq dynasty on the throne of Delhi, *a* 60; its termination, *a* 68.
- Toolsee-bye, the regent of the Holkar state, her talents, her beauty, and her licentiousness, *b* 324; her tragic death, *b* 342.
- Trade, private, encouraged by Lord Wellesley, *b* 126; reprobated by the Court of Directors, *b* 127; trade of India thrown open to private enterprise in 1813, *b* 278; trade of China thrown open to the nation in 1833, *c* 83.
- Transit duties; their origin and nature; occasion of disputes with Meer Cassim which cost him his throne, *a* 299.
- Travancore, threatened by Tippoo; the raja purchases Ayacotta, and Cranganore from the Dutch, *b* 11; the raja repels Tippoo's attack, *b* 12.
- Treaty, tripartite, between Shah Soojah, Runjeet Sing, and the British Government, *c* 132.
- Treaties with the native princes in the north, concluded by Lord Wellesley, *b* 161; revoked by Lord Cornwallis, and Sir George Barlow, *b* 187, 190; revived by Lord Hastings in 1817-18, *b* 331.
- Trevelyan, Sir Charles, his eminent services in the cause of English education, *c* 65.
- Trimbukjee, his sinister influence over Bajee Rao, *b* 309; murders Gungadhur Shastree, and is surrendered to the British Government, *b* 312; placed in confinement and escapes, *b* 321.
- Ugnikools, the ancestors of the four great tribes of Rajpootana; their legendary origin, *a* 17.
- Vasco de Gama conducts the first Portuguese expedition to India, *a* 85; lands at Calicut; opposition of the Moors, *a* 85; second voyage to India; burns Calicut; establishes a factory at Cochin, *a* 87.
- Vedus, collected by Vyasa; their leading doctrines, *a* 5.
- Vikramadityu, king of Oojein; his era; his grandeur; his encouragement of learning, *a* 19; his fabulous power: his creed, *a* 20.
- Vizier Ali, assassinates Mr. Cherry at Benares, *b* 114.
- Wade, Col., and Prince Timur force the Khyber Pass and reach Cabul, *c* 149.
- Waldemar, Prince, takes part in the engagements of Ferozeshuhur, *c* 291.
- Walid, his extensive conquests in India; his ambition, *a* 25.
- Walker, Col., restores the Guickwar's finances, *b* 163; his efforts to abolish infanticide, *c* 105.
- Watson, Admiral, his arrival at Bombay; assists in the capture of Gheriah, *a* 269; and of Calcutta, *a* 275.
- Wellesley, Lord, Governor-General, *b* 71; state in which he found India, *b* 73; adopts the most vigorous policy throughout India, *b* 78; proposes subsidiary alliances with the princes, *b* 78; extinguishes the French force at Hyderabad, *b* 81; declares war against Tippoo, *b* 87; proceeds to Madras

to prosecute it with vigour, *b* 84; abolishes the kingdom of Mysore, and divides the territory, *b* 97; creates a new dynasty, *b* 96; forms a new treaty with the Nizam, *b* 101; mediates the Nabob of the Carnatic, *b* 107; sends an embassy to Persia, *b* 109; his transactions with the Nabob of Oude, *b* 115; obtains a large cession of territory, *b* 116; establishes the College of Fort William, *b* 123; encourages private trade, *b* 126; loses caste at the India House, *b* 128; offers to resign, *b* 128; entreated to remain, *b* 131; concludes the treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa, *b* 140; which offends Sindia and Nagpore, *b* 142; war with them on a grand scale, *b* 147; victory attends the British arms, and Sindia loses half his territories, *b* 160; treaties made with the princes in the north, *b* 161; disallowed by his successor, *b* 187; unfortunate siege of Bhurtpore, *b* 172; treaty with the raja, *b* 173; close of Lord Wellesley's administration, *b* 178; remarks on it, *b* 178; prosecuted by Mr. Paull, *b* 183; alarm at the India House, *b* 181; hostility of the Court of Directors to him, *b* 181.

Whish, Gen., sent with a brigade to Mooltan, *c* 316; his operations suspended by the defection of Shere Sing, *c* 320; siege renewed, *c* 339; capture of the town and fort, *c* 341.

Wilkinson, Mr. Launcelot, his efforts to eradicate infanticide, *c* 106.

Willoughby, Mr. J. P., his efforts to eradicate it, *c* 106; his Minute on the Satara case, *c* 383.

Wilson, Dr. H., opposes the abolition of suttees, *c* 54; the great champion of Orientalism, *c* 65.

Wurgau, convention of, *a* 367.

Yoodistheer, performs the sacrifice of the horse, *a* 7; goes into exile for twelve years; victorious in the battle of Kooroo Kshetru, and retires to Dwarka with Krishnu, *a* 8; and disappears, *a* 9.

Zemindars, their rise, *b* 29; settlement of the land made with them in 1793, *b* 31; their constant extortions; the necessity of restricting their demand on the ryots, *b* 32; the classes whose rents they were not at liberty to enhance, *b* 33.

Zulfikar Khan, captures Ginjee, *a* 179; supports Jehander Shah, and is murdered by Ferokshere, *a* 185.

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INDEX.

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Alpine Guide (The)	23	Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths	9
ALTHAUS on Medical Electricity	14	CHESNEY's Euphrates Expedition	22
ANDREWS's Life of Oliver Cromwell	5	———— Indian Policy	3
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ARNOTT's Elements of Physics	11	———— and REEVE's Military Resources	
Arundines Cami	26	of Prussia and France, &c.	2
Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson	9	CHILD's Physiological Essays	15
AYBE's Treasury of Bible Knowledge	20	Chorale Book for England	16
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on the Study of Character	10	Translation of VIRGIL's	
BALL's Alpine Guide	23	<i>Aeneid</i>	26
BAYLDON's Rents and Tillages	19	CONTANSEAU's French-English Dictionaries	8
Beaten Tracks	23	CONYBEARE and HOWSON's Work on St.	
BENKER's Charicles and Gallus	25	Paul	19
BENEFY's Sanskrit Dictionary	8	COOK on the Acts	19
BERNARD on British Neutrality	1	COOK's Voyages	5
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BLACKLEY's Word-Gossip	7	COPLAN's Dictionary of Practical Medicine	15
German-English Dictionary	8	COTTON's Introduction to Confirmation	19
BLAINE's Rural Sports	26	COULTHART's Decimal Interest Tables	28
Veterinary Art	27	Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit	9
BOURNE on Screw Propeller	18	COX's Aryan Mythology	4
BOURNE's Catechism of the Steam Engine	18	Manual of Mythology	5
Handbook of Steam Engine	18	Tale of the Great Persian War	3
Improvements in the Steam		Tales of Ancient Greece	25
Engine	18	CRESY's Encyclopedia of Civil Engineering	18
Treatise on the Steam Engine	18	Critical Essays of a Country Parson	9
Examples of Modern Engines	18	CROWE's History of France	2
BOWDLER's Family SHAKESPEARE	26	CULLEY's Handbook of Telegraphy	17
BRANDE's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art	13	CUSACK's History of Ireland	3
BRAY's (C.) Education of the Feelings	10	D'AUBIGNE's History of the Reformation	
Philosophy of Necessity	10	in the time of CALVIN	2
on Force	10	DAVIDSON's Introduction to New Testament	20
BROWNE's Exposition of the 39 Articles	19	Dead Shot (The), by MARKSMAN	26
BUCKLE's History of Civilization	4	DE LA RIVE's Treatise on Electricity	12
BULL's Hints to Mothers	23	DENISON's Vice-Regal Life	1
Maternal Management of Children	23	DE TOCQUEVILLE's Democracy in America	2
BUNSEN's (Baron) Ancient Egypt	4	DISRAELI's Lothair	24
God in History	3	DOBELL's Reports on the Progress of Medi-	
Memoirs	5	cine	15
BUNSEN (E. DE) on Apocrypha	21	DOBSON on the Ox	27
's Keys of St. Peter	21	DOVE on Storms	11
BURKE's Vicissitudes of Families	5	DOYLE's Fairyland	16
BURTON's Christian Church	4	DYER's City of Rome	3
Vikram and the Vampire	24	EASTLAKE's Hints on Household Taste	17
Cabinet Lawyer	28	History of Oil Painting	16

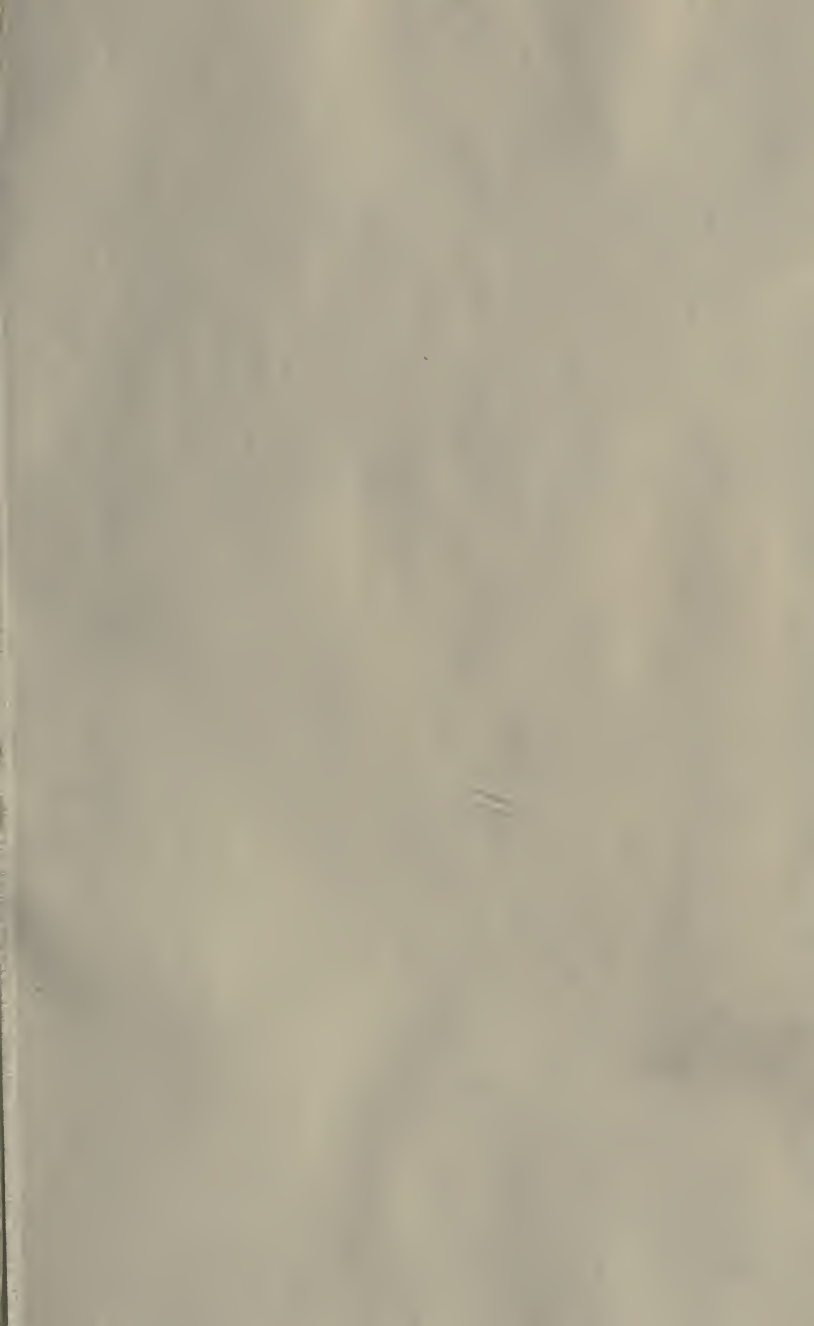
EASTLAKE'S Gothic Revival.....	17	HUME'S Essays	10
— Life of Gibson	16	— Treatise on Human Nature	10
EDMONDS'S Names of Places	9	HUMPHREY'S Sentiments of Shakspeare....	16
EDWARDS'S Shipmaster's Guide.....	27		
Elements of Botany	13	IHNE'S Roman History	3
ELLCOTT on the Revision of the English		INGELOW'S Poems	25
— New Testament.....	19	— Story of Doom	26
— 's Commentary on Ephesians	19	— Mopsa	26
— Commentary on Galatians	19		
— Pastoral Epist.	19	JAMESON'S Saints and Martyrs	17
— Philippians, &c.	19	— Legends of the Madonna.....	17
— Thessalonians	19	— Monastic Orders	17
— Lectures on the Life of Christ..	19	JAMESON and EASTLAKE'S History of Our	
Essays and Contributions of A. K. H. B....	8	— Lord	17
EWALD'S History of Israel.....	20	JOHNSTON'S Geographical Dictionary.....	11
		— on Second Death	21
		— on Types of Genesis	21
FAIRBAIRN on Iron Shipbuilding	18		
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— Information for Engineers ..	18	— Hebrew Grammar	8
— Mills and Millwork ..	18	KEITH on Fulfilment of Prophecy	20
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FARRAR'S Families of Speech	9	KERL'S Metallurgy by CROOKES and	
— Chapters on Language	7	— ROHRIG.....	18
FELKIN on Hosiery and Lace Manufactures	18	KESTEVEN'S Domestic Medicine.....	15
FENNELL'S Book of the Roach.....	26	KIRBY and SPENCE'S Entomology.....	13
FFOULKES'S Christendom's Divisions ..	21		
FITZWYGRAM on Horses and Stables ..	27	LONDON'S (L. E. L.) Poetical Works	26
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		— Gardening	19
HARE on Election of Representatives	7	— Plants	19
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— Polar World	13	LUBBOCK on Origin of Civilisation	12
— Sea and its Living Wonders ..	13	Lyra Eucharistica	22
— Tropical World	13	— Germanica	16, 21
HAUGHTON'S Manual of Geology	12	— Messianica	22
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HERSCHEL'S Outlines of Astronomy.....	11		
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— Visits to Remarkable Places....	24	MAGUIRE'S Life of Father Mathew	5
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MARCEZ on the Larynx	15	Manual of Chemistry.....	13
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History of India	3	Our Children's Story.....	25
MARTINEAU'S Endeavours after the Christian Life	22	OWEN'S Lectures on the Invertebrate Animals	12
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MATHERSON'S England to Delhi	22	PAGET'S Lectures on Surgical Pathology ..	14
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Geographical Treasury	11	PERKIN'S Italian and Tuscan Sculptors....	17
Historical Treasury	4	PEWTNEY'S Comprehensive Specifier	28
Scientific and Literary Treasury.....	13	PHILLIPS'S Guide to Geology	12
Treasury of Knowledge.....	28	Pictures in Tyrol	22
Treasury of Natural History	13	PIESSE'S Art of Perfumery	18
MAURY'S Physical Geography	11	Natural Magic.....	18
MAY'S Constitutional History of England..	2	PRATT'S Law of Building Societies	8
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General Bounce	25	PRESCOTT'S Scripture Difficulties	20
Gladiators	25	PROCTOR on Plurality of Worlds	11
Good for Nothing	25	Saturn and its System.....	11
Holmby House	25	RAE'S Westward by Rail.....	23
Interpreter.....	25	Recreations of a Country Parson.....	8
Kate Coventry	25	REICHEL'S See of Rome	20
Queen's Maries	25	REILY'S Map of Mont Blanc	23
Memoir of Bishop COTTON.....	4	REIMANN on Aniline Dyes.....	15
MENDELSSOHN'S Letters	5	REYNOLDS'S Glaphyra, and other Poems ..	26
MEEVALE'S (H.) Historical Studies	2	RILEY'S Memorials of London	23
(C.) Fall of the Roman Republic.....	3	RIVERS' Rose Amateur's Guide	13
Romans under the Empire	3	ROBBIN'S Cavalry Catechism	27
MERRIFIELD and EVER'S Navigation	11	ROGER'S Correspondence of Greyson	9
MILES on Horse's Foot and Horseshoeing ..	27	Eclipse of Faith	9
Horses' Teeth and Stables	27	Defence of ditto.....	9
MILL (J.) on the Mind	10	Essays from the <i>Edinburgh Review</i> ..	9
MILL (J. S.) on Liberty	6	Reason and Faith	9
on Representative Government	6	ROGET'S English Words and Phrases.....	7
on Utilitarianism.....	6	Roma Sotteranea.....	24
MILL'S (J. S.) Dissertations and Discussions	7	RONALD'S Fly-Fisher's Entomology	26
Political Economy	6	ROSE'S Ignatius Loyola	2
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England and Ireland.....	6	on Government and Constitution ..	1
Subjection of Women.....	6	SANDAR'S Justinian's Institutes	6
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Hymn-Writers	21	SCHAEFFLER on Ocular Defects and Spectacles	15
MITCHELL'S Manual of Assaying	18	SCOTT'S Lectures on the Fine Arts.....	16
MONSELL'S Beatitudes.....	22	Albert Durer	16
His Presence not his Memory	22	SEBBOHM'S Oxford Reformers of 1493	2
'Spiritual Songs'.....	22	SEWELL'S After Life	24
MOORE'S Irish Melodies	25	Amy Herbert	24
Lalla Rookh	25	Cleve Hall	24
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No Appeal	24	Principles of Education	21
NORTHCOTE'S Sanctuaries of the Madonna	20	Readings for Confirmation	21
NORTHCOTT'S Lathes and Turning	17	SEWELL'S Readings for Lent.....	21
NORTON'S City of London	23	Tales and Stories	24
		Thoughts for the Age.....	21
		Ursula.....	34

SEWELL'S Thoughts for the Holy Week.....	21	TYNDALL'S Faraday as a Discoverer	10
SHAFTESBURY'S Characteristics.....	10	Lectures on Light.....	11
SHAKESPEARE'S Midsummer Night's Dream illustrated with Silhouettes.....	16	UNCLE PETER'S Fairy Tale	20
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SMART'S WALKER'S Pronouncing Dictio- nary	8	WARBURTON'S Hunting Songs	26
SMITH'S (A. C.) Tour in Portugal.....	22	WATSON'S Principles and Practice of Physic	14
(Southwood) Philosophy of Health	28	WATTS'S Dictionary of Chemistry	13
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SOUTHEY'S Doctor	7	WEST on Children's Diseases.....	14
Poetical Works	25	WHATELY'S English Synonymes	6
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STONEHENGE on the Dog	27	Truth of Christianity	22
on the Greyhound.....	27	Whist, what to lead, by CAM.....	28
STRICKLAND'S Tudor Princesses.....	5	WHITE and RIDDLE'S Latin-English Dic- tionaries	8
Queens of England	5	WILCOCK'S Sea Fisherman.....	27
Strong and Free	10	WILLIAMS'S Aristotle's Ethics	2
Sunday Afternoons at the Parish Church of a Scottish University City (St. Andrews)..	9	WILLIAMS on Climate of South of France Consumption	15
SWEETMAN'S Through the Night, and Onward.....	24	WILLIS'S Principles of Mechanism	17
TAYLOR'S History of India	3	WINSLOW on Light	12
(Jeremy) Works, edited by EDEN	22	WOOD'S Bible Animals	12
TRIBLWAL'S History of Greece.....	2	Homes without Hands	12
TROMPSON'S (Archbishop) Laws of Thought (A. T.) Conspectus	15	WOODWARD'S Historical and Chronological Encyclopædia	4
Paraguayan War	23	YEO'S Manual of Zoology	12
Three Weddings.....	24	YONGE'S English-Greek Lexicons.....	8
TODD (A.) on Parliamentary Government	1	Editions of Horace.....	26
TODD and BOWMAN'S Anatomy and Phy- siology of Man.....	15	YOUATT on the Dog	27
TRENCH'S Realities of Irish Life	3	on the Horse	27
TROLOPE'S Barchester Towers	24	ZELLER'S Socrates	6
Warden	27	Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics..	6
TWISS'S Law of Nations.....	27		
TYNDALL on Diamagnetism.....	12		
Heat	11		
Sound	12		

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J. Mitchell.

ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
HISTORY OF INDIA



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ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF INDIA

*FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE
PRESENT TIME*

BY

JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN

C.S.I.

NEW EDITION, ENLARGED

WITH A MAP

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

CALCUTTA SCHOOL BOOK SOCIETY, CALCUTTA

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INTRODUCTION

I HAVE BEEN ADVISED that an Abridgment of the History of India which has been in use by the students of the University of Calcutta for eight years would be welcome to them, and I have endeavoured to compress the substance of the three volumes into one, which, although scanty in detail, will suffice to give them a view of the salient events of the different periods.

The space allotted to the Mahomedan period has been abbreviated to make room for a fuller narrative of the progress of British power, in which the Queen's Indian subjects are more particularly interested. This will not be considered a matter of regret, as Elphinstone's classical and standard History of India, which treats exclusively of the Musulman dynasties, is included in the student's curriculum of study.

The present abridgment has been brought down to the close of the administration of the East India Company, and the annexation of the empire of India to the crown of Great Britain, which forms one of the most important epochs in Indian history. A brief notice of events from that date to the death of Lord Mayo has been added.

Since the publication of the original work a new system of spelling Indian names, designated the transliteral, has been introduced in India, which in some

cases differs so materially from that which has hitherto been in vogue, that it is not easy to identify the places or persons. I have adhered to the old form of orthography, as the student may have occasion to refer to the records and despatches of Government, to Parliamentary papers, to previous histories, and to current English journals, in which it has been, and continues to be, used. There are some cases in which names have been variously spelled by different writers, but the diversities are neither important nor embarrassing. On the principle of preferring general usage to philological nicety, I have in every such instance collated diverse authors, and, to the best of my ability, made choice of that mode which appeared to have the preponderance. For the convenience of the native student, the two forms of spelling are placed in juxtaposition in the following table.

JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN.

LONDON: *October*, 1873.

NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE hand which wrote the above lines no longer holds the pen: John Clark Marshman died in London on the 8th of July 1877, and India lost in him a zealous worker, and a most conscientious and faithful historian. During a long life, his efforts were unceasingly directed to the study of her interests, and the welfare of her people, and it was his highest aim and proudest title to be considered "the Friend of India." In the present edition, the summary of important events, from the death of Lord Mayo in 1872 to the close of the year 1879, has been briefly chronicled by a member of the author's family.

LONDON, *April* 1880.

TABLE OF ORTHOGRAPHY



CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL	CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL
Abdalee . . .	Abdáli	Bednore . . .	Bednor
Abdoolla . . .	Abdullah	Beejannger . . .	Bijanagar
Aboo . . .	Abú	Beejapore . . .	Bijapur
Abul Fazil . . .	Abul Fazl	Beema . . .	Bhima
Acharjyu . . .	Achárya	Begum . . .	Begam
Afzool Khan . . .	Afzal Khán	Behar . . .	Bihár
Agra . . .	Agrah	Bellais . . .	Ballálas
Ahmed . . .	Ahmad	Bellary . . .	Ballary
Ahmedabad . . .	Ahmadábád	Beloch . . .	Bilúch
Ahmednugur . . .	Ahmadnagar	Belochistan . . .	Bilúchistáú
Ajeet . . .	Ajit	Beloli . . .	Belól
Ajmere . . .	Ajmir	Berar . . .	Barár
Aliverdy . . .	Alivardi	Beyas . . .	Beya
Alla-ood-deen . . .	Alá-ud-din	Bharutu . . .	Bharata
Alliwal . . .	Aliwal	Bhawulpore . . .	Bháválpur
Allygurh . . .	Aligarh	Beem . . .	Bhima
Alum . . .	Alam	Bhonslay . . .	Bhonslé
Alumgeer . . .	Alamgir	Bhoobaneshur . . .	Bhuvaneshwar
Aluptugeen . . .	Alptigin	Bhurt pore . . .	Bhurt pur
Ambajee . . .	Ambaji	Biana . . .	Biánah
Amboor . . .	Ambur	Bithoor . . .	Bithour
Ameer . . .	Amir	Bokhara . . .	Bukhara
Amercote . . .	Amarkot	Boohddha . . .	Buddha
Amrut . . .	Amrita	Booddhism . . .	Buddhism
Anglia . . .	Ingliá	Booddhist . . .	Buddhist
Anund . . .	Anand	Boorhanpore . . .	Burhánpur
Anwar-ood-deen . . .	Anwar-ud-din	Bootwul . . .	Bhút wál
Argaum . . .	Argáon	Brahmín . . .	Bráhmañ
Arracan . . .	Arakán	Brunhapooter . . .	Brámaputra
Aseergurh . . .	Asirgahr	Budgebudge . . .	Baj-Baj
Asof Khan . . .	Asaf Khán	Budukshan . . .	Badakshán
Assye . . .	Assai	Bukhtijar . . .	Bakhtíar
Aurungabad . . .	Aurangábád	Bulbun . . .	Balban
Aurungzebe . . .	Aurangzeb	Bullabhis . . .	Vallabhis
Aylah . . .	Ahalyá	Bundlecund . . .	Bandelkhand
Azim . . .	Azam	Burdwan . . .	Burdwán
Azingurh . . .	Azingarh	Burmah . . .	Barmah
Baber . . .	Bábar	Buxar . . .	Baxar
Baboo . . .	Bábú	Bye . . .	Bái
Bagdad . . .	Baghdád	Byram . . .	Bairám
Bahadoor . . .	Bahádur	Cábul . . .	Kábul
Bahminee . . .	Bahmani	Cachar . . .	Kachár
Bajee Rao . . .	Báji Rao	Calicut . . .	Calicát
Balaghaut . . .	Bálaghát	Caliph . . .	Khalif
Ballahee . . .	Báláji	Callinger . . .	Kálinjar
Bandoo . . .	Bauda	Calpee . . .	Kalpi
Bapoo . . .	Bápú	Cambay . . .	Kambáy
Barcelore . . .	Barcelor	Cambuksh . . .	Kámbaksh
Bareilly . . .	Bareli	Camran . . .	Kámrán
Beder . . .	Bidar	Candahar . . .	Kandahár

CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL	CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL
Candesh . . .	Khândesh	Fyzabad . . .	Faizábád
Carrical . . .	Kárikal	Furruckabad . . .	Farakhábad
Cashmere . . .	Kashmir	Gawilgurh . . .	Gawilgarh
Cauvery . . .	Kaverí	Geriah . . .	Gheriah
Cawnpore . . .	Cawnpur	Ghaults . . .	Ghátis
Chanderee . . .	Chanderi	Ghazee . . .	Ghází
Chandernagore . . .	Chaudernagar	Ghazee pore . . .	Gházípur
Cheetoo . . .	Chitu	Ghiljie . . .	Khiljí
Chenab . . .	Chináb	Gholam . . .	Ghulám
Chey Sing . . .	Chait Singh	Ghore . . .	Ghor
Chillumbrum . . .	Chilambram	Ghuzni . . .	Ghazni
Chittore . . .	Chitor	Gingee . . .	Gingi
Choule . . .	Choul	Godavery . . .	Godávári
Choute . . .	Chauth	Gogra . . .	Ghoghra
Chumbul . . .	Chambal	Gohud . . .	Gohád
Chumpanere . . .	Champánir	Gohur . . .	Gauhár
Chunar . . .	Chanár	Golab . . .	Gulab
Chunda . . .	Chandá	Golconda . . .	Golkandah
Chundergiree . . .	Chandragiri	Goomsoor . . .	Gumsur
Chundraooptu . . .	Chandragupta	Gooptu . . .	Gupta
Chuttanuttee . . .	Chattanatty	Goorkha . . .	Ghurká
Chutter . . .	Chattar	Gooroo . . .	Guru
Coimbatore . . .	Coimbator	Goruckpore . . .	Gorakhpur
Colapore . . .	Kohlapur	Gour . . .	Gaur
Coles . . .	Kols	Gukkers . . .	Gakkhars
Coorg . . .	Kúrg	Gungadbur . . .	Gangádhar
Corah . . .	Korah	Guntoor . . .	Guntur
Cossim . . .	Kásim	Guzerat . . .	Guzarát
Cossimbazar . . .	Kasimbazár	Gwalior . . .	Gwálár
Cuddalore . . .	Cuddalor	Gya . . .	Gaya
Cuddapa . . .	Kadapa	Hafiz Rubmut . . .	Hafíz Rahmat
Cunouge . . .	Kanauj	Hajee . . .	Haji
Curumnassa . . .	Karmanasa	Hamed . . .	Hahmid
Cutch . . .	Kach	Hejira . . .	Hijrah
Cuttack . . .	Cattack	Hemu . . .	Himú
Daniel . . .	Dányál	Herat . . .	Harát
Daood Khan . . .	Daud Khán	Hindee . . .	Hindi
Deccan . . .	Dakkin	Hindoo . . .	Hindú
Deeg . . .	Dig	Hindoo Coosh . . .	Hindú Kush
Deogaum . . .	Deogaon	Hindostan . . .	Hindústán
Deogurh . . .	Deogiri	Hooghly . . .	Hugli
Devicotta . . .	Devikotta	Hoosen Ali . . .	Husian Ali
Dewan . . .	Diwán	Hoshungabad . . .	Húshangábád
Dewanee . . .	Diwáni	Humayoo . . .	Humayún
Dholpore . . .	Dholpur	Hnooman . . .	Hanumát
Dhriturastu . . .	Dhritarástra	Hussun Gunga . . .	Hasan Gango
Dhuleep Sing . . .	Dhúlip Singh	Hustinapore . . .	Hastinápura
Dhyan . . .	Dian	Hyderabad . . .	Haidarábád
Delawur . . .	Deláwar	Hyder Ali . . .	Haidar Ali
Dilere . . .	Dilir	Indore . . .	Indor
Dindigul . . .	Dindigal	Irrawaddy . . .	Irawádi
Doondhoo Punt . . .	Dhandu Pant	Jain . . .	Jaina
Dooranees . . .	Duranis	Jaulna . . .	Jálna
Doorjun Sal . . .	Durjan Sál	Jaut . . .	Ját
Dooryudhun . . .	Duryodhana	Jehander . . .	Jahándár
Dowlut . . .	Daulat	Jehangeer . . .	Jahángir
Drupudee . . .	Draupudi	Jehan Lodi . . .	Jahán Lodi
Dumdum . . .	Damdám	Jellalabad . . .	Jalálábád
Dushuruthu . . .	Dasaratha	Jellal-ood-deen . . .	Jalál-ud-din
Eldoze . . .	Ilduz	Jenghis Khan . . .	Changiz Khán
Ellichpore . . .	Ilichpur	Jeswunt . . .	Jeswant
Emangurh . . .	Imangurh	Jeypore . . .	Jaijur
Eusufzies . . .	Yúsufzais	Jey Sing . . .	Jai Singh
Ferokshere . . .	Farrukh Siyar	Jhelum . . .	Jhelam
Feroze . . .	Firúz	Joudhpore . . .	Jodhpur
Ferozepore . . .	Firúzpur	Jounpore . . .	Jaunpur
Firman . . .	Farmán	Juggut Sett . . .	Jazat Set
Furnavese . . .	Farnavis	Jullunder . . .	Jallandar
Futteh Khan . . .	Fathkhán	Jummoo . . .	Jammu
Futtehpore . . .	Fathpur	Jumna . . .	Jannah

CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL	CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL
Junkojee . . .	Jankoji	Moslem . . .	Muslim
Junuku . . .	Janaka	Mozuffer . . .	Muzaffar
Katmandoo . . .	Khátmandu	Muazzim . . .	Muazzam
Kharism . . .	Khwarizm	Muckwanpore . . .	Makwánpur
Khelat . . .	Kalát	Mugudu . . .	Maghada
Khizir . . .	Khizr	Muhabharut . . .	Mahábhárata
Khojah . . .	Khwájah	Muhanudee . . .	Mahanádi
Khoond . . .	Khond	Mulhar . . .	Mal hár
Khorasan . . .	Khurásán	Mundel . . .	Mandal
Khosroo . . .	Khusrau	Munee pore . . .	Manipur
Khurruk . . .	Karak	Munoo . . .	Manu
Khyber . . .	Khaibar	Musulman . . .	Musalmán
Khyrpore . . .	Khairpur	Muttra . . .	Mattra
Kineyree . . .	Kineri	Mysore . . .	Maisúr or Mysor
Kirkee . . .	Kharki	Nabob . . .	Nawáb
Kistna . . .	Krishna	Nagarcote . . .	Nagarkot
Koh-i-noor . . .	Koh-i-nur	Nagpore . . .	Nagpúr
Kolapore . . .	Kolhapur	Nahapan . . .	Nahápána
Koombho . . .	Khumbo	Nalagurh . . .	Nalagarh
Kooroos . . .	Kurus	Nanak . . .	Nanak
Koorookshetru . . .	Kurukshetra	Narrain . . .	Naráyana
Kootub . . .	Kutb	Nazir Jung . . .	Nasir Jang
Korygaum . . .	Koregám	Nepaul . . .	Nepál
Krishnu . . .	Krishna	Nerbudda . . .	Narbaddah
Kshetriyus . . .	Kshatriyas	Nizam-ool-moolk . . .	Nizám-ul-mulk
Kuloosha . . .	Kulusha	Noor Jehan . . .	Núr Jahán
Kulyan . . .	Kalian	Nuddea . . .	Naddea
Kureem . . .	Kharim	Nundu . . .	Nanda
Kurnool . . .	Karnúl	Nunkoomar . . .	Nandakumár
Kurrachee . . .	Karáchi	Nuzeeb-ood-dow- lah . . .	Nazib-ud-daulah
Kootub . . .	Kutb	Omar . . .	Umar
Lahore . . .	Lahor	Omichund . . .	Umáchánd
Lall . . .	Lal	Omrá . . .	Umará
Leswaree . . .	Laswari	Ooch . . .	Uchh
Lohanee . . .	Loháni	Oodypore . . .	Udai pur
Loodiana . . .	Lúdhíánah	Oody Sing . . .	Udai Singh
Lucknow . . .	Lakhnau	Oojain . . .	Ujjain
Lucknowtee . . .	Laknauti	Oude . . .	Oudh
Lueksmunu . . .	Lacksmana	Palghaut . . .	Páلكkát
Madhoo . . .	Mádu	Pandoos . . .	Pándavas
Mahmood . . .	Mahmúd	Pandyas . . .	Pándics
Mahomed . . .	Muhammad	Panjani . . .	Ponáni
Mahomedan . . .	Muhammadan	Paniput . . .	Panipat
Mallojee . . .	Malloji	Pataus . . .	Patháns
Malown . . .	Maloun	Peelajee . . .	Pilaji
Mama Sahib . . .	Mama Saheb	Persajee . . .	Parsaji
Mandoo . . .	Mándú	Pertab Sing . . .	Pratáb Singh
Mangalore . . .	Mangalor	Peshawur . . .	Pesháwar
Mawulees . . .	Máwalis	Pindarces . . .	Pindáris
Meeanmeer . . .	Mianmír	Plassy . . .	Plassey
Meeanee . . .	Miani	Poona . . .	Púna
Meer . . .	Mír	Pooranus . . .	Puránas
Meer Jaffier . . .	Mirjáfár	Pooree . . .	Purí
Meer Joomla . . .	Mír Jamla	Poornea . . .	Púrniah
Meerun . . .	Míran	Pooroosran . . .	Purasu Ramza
Meerut . . .	Mírat	Poorundur . . .	Púrandhar
Mehidpore . . .	Mahidpur	Punchala . . .	Panchála
Melown . . .	Mellún	Punderpore . . .	Pandharpur
Merdar . . .	Merdán	Punjab . . .	Panjáb
Mewar . . .	Maiwár	Punt . . .	Pant
Mednapore . . .	Midnapur	Purwandurra . . .	Parwándurra
Mobarik . . .	Mubarak	Prithee . . .	Prithvi
Mogul . . .	Mughul	Qwettah . . .	Kettah
Monghyr . . .	Monghír	Raiseen . . .	Raisin
Moodkee . . .	Múdkí	Raigurh . . .	Raigarh
Moolraj . . .	Mulráj	Rajpoot . . .	Rajpút
Mooltan . . .	Multán	Rajpootana . . .	Rajpútána
Moorsheadabad . . .	Murshidábád	Ramayun . . .	Rámáyana
Morad . . .	Murad	Ramnugger . . .	Ramnagar
Morteza . . .	Múrtazá		

CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL	CUSTOMARY	TRANSLITERAL
Ramraj . . .	Rámrajá	Soor . . .	Súr
Ramu . . .	Ráma	Sooruj Mull . . .	Suiráj Mall
Ranu Sunga . . .	Ráná Sangá	Subuktugeen . . .	Sebaktigin
Rangoon . . .	Rangún	Succaram . . .	Sakaram
Ravee . . .	Rávi	Suddaseo-rao-bhow	Sivadáś ráo bhao
Ravunu . . .	Rávana	Suddoosain . . .	Suddosam
Rawul-piudee . . .	Ráwal-pindi	Sufder . . .	Safdar
Rezia . . .	Ráziah	Suraj-ood-dowlah	Siráj-ud-daulah
Rhotas . . .	Rahtás	Surat . . .	Saurashtra
Rinthimbore . . .	Rantambhor	Sutlej . . .	Satlaj
Robileund . . .	Rohilkhand	Sutnaramees . . .	Satnurámis
Roopur . . .	Ropar	Suttee . . .	Sati
Rughoojee . . .	Raghuji	Syhadree . . .	Syhadri
Rughoonath . . .	Raghunáth	Syuds . . .	Sayylds
Runjeet Sing . . .	Rangit Singh	Talikotta . . .	Talikot
Sa'adat . . .	Sa'adat	Talpooras . . .	Talpúrs
Sahoo . . .	Sáhu	Tanul . . .	Támil
Salabut Jung . . .	Salábat Jung	Tanjore . . .	Tanjor
Salbye . . .	Salbai	Tanna . . .	Thána
Sambajee . . .	Sambaji	Taptee . . .	Tápti
Satgang . . .	Sátgawn	Tara-bye . . .	Tara-bái
Satpoora . . .	Sátpurá	Tartar . . .	Tatár
Saugor . . .	Ságar	Tellicherry . . .	Tellicheri
Savanoor . . .	Sávanur	Teloogoo . . .	Telugu
Savendoorg . . .	Suvarnadrúg	Terace . . .	Tarái
Secunder . . .	Sikandar	Thanesur . . .	Thuneswar
Seeta . . .	Síta	Tinnevelly . . .	Tinnevelli
Seetabuldee . . .	Sitábaldi	Tippoo . . .	Tippú
Seeva . . .	Siva	Tirhoot . . .	Tirlút
Selim . . .	Salm	Toder Mull . . .	Todar Mall
Seljuks . . .	Saljúks	Toghluks . . .	Tughlak
Sen . . .	Sena	Tokajee . . .	Tukaji
Seoraj . . .	Sioráj	Tonk . . .	Tank
Sets . . .	Sets	Toolsee-bye . . .	Tulsi-bái
Sevajee . . .	Sevaji	Toombudra . . .	Tumbadra
Shah Alum . . .	Shah Alam	Travancore . . .	Travancor
Shahee . . .	Sháhhí	Trichinopoly . . .	Trichinápalli
Shahjee . . .	Sháji	Trimbukjee Dang-	Trimbakji
Shah Jehan . . .	Shah Jahán	lia . . .	Dainglia
Shahpooree . . .	Shahpúri	Tumlook . . .	Tamluk
Shariat . . .	Shahryár	Ugni-Kools . . .	Agnikulas
Shastur . . .	Sastra	Umritsir . . .	Amritsar
Shustree . . .	Sahstri	Urjoon . . .	Arjuna
Sheah . . .	Shiah	Vedio . . .	Vaidik
Sheiks . . .	Shaikhs	Vellore . . .	Vellor
Shere . . .	Sher	Vencajee . . .	Venkáji
Shirjee . . .	Shirji	Vikramadityu . . .	Vikramáditya
Shunkur . . .	Sankara	Vishnoo . . .	Vishnu
Sikkim . . .	Sikhim	Vizier . . .	Vazir
Sinde . . .	Sind	Warungul . . .	Warangal
Sing . . .	Singh	Wassil . . .	Wasil
Sipree . . .	Sipra	Wishwanath . . .	Vishwanáth
Sircars . . .	Circars	Wiswas . . .	Viswas
Sirhind . . .	Sarhind	Wurda . . .	Warda
Sirjee Angengaum . . .	Sir ji Angengaon	Wurgaum . . .	Wargám
Soane . . .	Son	Wuzeerabad . . .	Vazirábád
Soliman . . .	Sulaimán	Yoodistheer . . .	Yudhisthira
Soobah . . .	Súbah	Zabita . . .	Zabitah
Soobadar . . .	Súbahdar	Zeman . . .	Zamán
Sooder . . .	Sudra	Zemindar . . .	Zamindár
Shoojah . . .	Shujá	Zoolfikar . . .	Zulfikár

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.		PAGE
	Boundaries and divisions of India	1
	Early history and chronology	2
	The Aborigines; the Aryans	2
B.C.	Rise of Brahminism	3
1400	The Muhabharut; the Pandoos and the Kooroos	4
	The battle of Kooroo Kshetru	5
1200	Kingdoms of Uyodhyu and Mithila	6
	Events recorded in the Ramayun	6
	Conquest of Ceylon by Ramu	7
900	The code of Munoo	8

SECTION II.

598	Birth of Booddhu	8
	Doctrines of Booddhism	8
543	His death and his relics	8
521	Invasion of India by Darius	9
327	Invasion of Alexander the Great	9
	Battle of the Jhelum with Porus	9
	He turns back from the Beyas	10
324	Death of Alexander the Great	10
	Kingdom of Mugudu	10
325	Chundragooptu founds the Mauryan dynasty	10
	He repels the invasion of Seleucus	10
300	Great prosperity of the dynasty	11
260	Asoka, its greatest prince	11
	Extent of his kingdom; his edicts	11
	He establishes Booddhism	12
226	Death of Asoka	12
188	Dynasty of the Sungas; their temples	12
	The Ugni-Kools revive Brahminism	12
	Prevalence of Booddhism in the seventh century A.D.	13
57	Rise of the Andhra dynasty	13
	Vikrum-adityu; the Augustan age of Sanscrit literature	13
	Bengal and its capital Gour	14
	Adisoor founds the Sen dynasty	14
	Cashmere conquered by the Guudurvus	14

A.D.	PAGE	
	Dynasty of the Shahs in Surat	15
	Displaced by the Bullabhis	15
	The various kingdoms in the north of India between the first and tenth centuries of the Christian era	15
	First settlement of the Deccan—the Dravidian	16
	The Pandyas and the Cholas	16
	The Mahrattas and the Ooriyas	16
473	The Kesari dynasty in Orissa	17

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.

569	Birth of Mahomed and spread of his religion	18
711	Mahomed ben Cossim invades Rajpootana and is expelled	18
872	The Samanides established in Khorasan and Afghanistan	19
	Aluptugeen establishes the kingdom of Ghuzni	19
976	Succeeded by Subuktugeen	19
997	Mahmood of Ghuzni	20
1001	He engages in twelve expeditions to India	20
1001	To Nagarcote and Thanedur	20
1017	To Cunoage and Muttra	21
1024	Plunder of Somnath	21
1030	Mahmood's death and character	22
1186	Extinction of Ghuzni	23

SECTION II.

	The dynasty of GHORE	23
	Mahomed Ghory the real founder of Mahomedan power in India	24
	State of the Hindoo kingdoms	24
	The virtues of Bhoje Raj	24
1193	Prithee raj defeats Mahomed Ghory	25
1193	Mahomed crushes the Hindoos at Tiraauri	26
1194	Conquest of Bengal and Behar	26
1206	Demolition of Hindoo power	27
1206	Death and character of Mahomed	27

A.D.	PAGE
1206 Kootub-ood-deen establishes the SLAVE dynasty	27
1219 Invasion of Jenghis Khan	28
1219 Conquests of Altumsh	28
1236 Reign of Sultana Rezia	28
1266 Reign of Bulbun	29
1288 Succession of the GHILJIE line	30
1294 First irruption of the Mahomedans into the Deccan	30
1295 Alla-ood-deen mounts the throne	30
1298 His struggles with the Moguls	31
1309 Malik Kafoor ravages the Deccan	31
1316 Alla-ood-deen's misfortunes and death	32
Extent of his conquests	32
1321 Five years of anarchy	32

SECTION III.

Origin of the TOGHLUK dynasty	33
1321 Ghazee Toghluks accession	33
1325 Mahomed Toghluks wild projects	34
1340 Dismemberment of the empire	34
1340 Hindoo kingdom at Beejanuger	34
1351 Feroze Toghluks magnificent buildings	35
His great canal	35
1388 His death at the age of ninety	35
1394 Universal anarchy; rise of four independent kingdoms	36
1401 Kingdom of Malwa	36
1396 Guzerat	36
Candesh	36
1394 Jounpore	36
1393 Invasion of Timur	36
1411 The SYUD dynasty	37
1450 The last monarch resigns his throne to Beloli-Lodi	38
The LODI dynasty at constant war with Jounpore	38
The magnificent court and splen- did buildings of Ibrahim of Joun- pore	38
1478 It is reannexed to Delhi	38
1483 Beloli Lodi's conquest	38
1517 Ibrahim third and last king; uni- versal revolt	39
1396 Kingdom of Guzerat established	39
1411 Ahmed Shah's constant wars	39
1459 Mahomed Shah's illustrious reign of fifty years; his navy	40
1526 Bahadoor Shah conquers Malwa	40
1535 Killed, as supposed, by the Portu- guese	40
1572 Akbar annexes the kingdom to the empire	40
1401 Dilawur Ghore establishes Malwa	40
1435 Mahomed Ghiljie usurps the throne, his reign passed in ince- sant wars	41
1482 His son Ahmed's scraglio	41
1531 The kingdom extinguished	41
1500 Rana Sanga the most powerful of the Rajpoot princes	42
1347 Rise of the BAHMINEE kingdom in the Deccan	42
Constant wars with the Hindoo kingdoms of Telingana and Beejanuger	42
1397 The splendid reign of Feroze	42

A.D.	PAGE
1432 The kingdom crumbles to pieces	43
Five independent kingdoms created out of it	43
1439 Adil Shahee dynasty remains inde- pendent 197 years; capital Beejapore	43
1490 Nizam Shahee dynasty; indepen- dent 150 years; capital Ahmed- nugur	43
1434 Imad Shahee dynasty; capital Berar; independent 90 years	44
1512 Kootub Shahee dynasty; inde- pendent 175 years; capital Gol- conda	44
1498 Small state at Beder; period of its extinction uncertain	44

SECTION IV.

Mogul dynasty	44
Early career of Baber	45
1519 First irruption into India	45
1526 Fifth irruption; conquers Ibra- him Lodi at Paniput, and mounts the throne	45
State of India at the time	46
1527 Baber totally defeats the Raj- poots	46
1528 Recovers Oude and Behar	46
1530 His death and character	46
1530 Humayoon succeeds him	47
1534 He conquers and loses Guzerat	47
Early career of Shere Shah	48
1540 Defeats Humayoon, and mounts the throne	48
1542 Humayoon flies to Candahar	48
1545 The five years of Shere Shah's reign the most brilliant period of Indian history	49
1553 Empire lost to his family	50
Humayoon's adventures abroad	50
1556 Recovers the throne and dies	50
1556 Akbar mounts the throne	50
1556 Hemu defeated at Paniput	51
1556 Akbar's great minister, Byram, his arrogance and fall	51
Akbar's conflict with his satraps	52
1563 His power fully established	53
His matrimonial alliances with Rajpoot princesses	53
1572 Conquest of Guzerat	54
1576 Conquest of Bengal	54
1578 Conquest of Orissa	55
Sketch of its previous history	56
1560 City of Gour depopulated	56
1586 Conquest of Cashmere	56
Akbar's army annihilated in the passes of Afghanistan	57
1592 Annexation of Sinde	57
1594 Recovery of Candahar	57

SECTION V.

Akbar's views on the Deccan	59
State of the Deccan	57
1336 The great Hindoo monarchy of Beejanuger established	58
Its magnitude and power	58
1565 Confederacy of the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan against it	58

A.D.	PAGE
1565 Extinguished at the battle of Tallikotta	59
1595 Deplorable state of the Deccan	59
1595 Akbar invades the Deccan	59
1595 Siege of Ahmednugur—heroism of Chand Sultana	59
1600 Capture of Ahmednugur	60
1605 Death and character of Akbar	61
His admirable institutions; his heterodoxy; his toleration	61
His revenue settlement; splendour of his court and progresses	62

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

1605 Accession of Jehangeer	63
Antecedents of Noor Jehan	64
1611 Marriage with Jehangeer	64
1612 Malek Amber defeats the imperial armies in the Deccan; his great talents	65
1614 Shah Jehan conquers Oodypore	65
1615 Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Delhi	65
1620 Shah Jehan in the Deccan	66
1622 Persecuted by Noor Jehan	66
1625 Mohabet driven into revolt by her	67
1626 He seizes the emperor	67
1626 Noor Jehan rescues him	68
1627 Death of Jehangeer	68

SECTION II.

1627 Accession of Shah Jehan	68
State of the three Mahomedan powers in the Deccan	69
1628 Rebellion of Jehan Lodi	69
1637 Ahmednugur extinguished	70
1637 Beejapore rendered tributary	70
1637 Candahar recovered	70
Expedition to Balkh	71
1647 Persians recover Candahar	71
Aurungzebe fails to regain it	71
He renews the war in the Deccan	71
1656 He plunders Hyderabad	71
1657 Recalled to Delhi	72
1657 Shah Jehan's dangerous illness; his four sons intrigue for the succession; their character	73
1657 Dara defeats Soojah	73
1658 Aurungzebe defeats Dara; deposes his father, and mounts the throne	74
Character of Shah Jehan; magnificence of his buildings and his court; his enormous wealth	74
1660 Aurungzebe puts his brothers to death	75
1662 His dangerous illness and recovery	75
1663 Meer Joomla's expedition to Assam	76

SECTION III.

A.D.	PAGE
Rise and progress of the Mahratta power	76
1620 Origin and progress of Shahjee; his expedition to the south	77
1627 Birth of Sevajee, the founder of Mahratta power	77
1646 His daring adventures	78
1649 His acquisitions of territory	78
1657 Intercourse with Aurungzebe	79
1659 Treacherously murders Afzool Khan	79
1662 His possessions at the age of thirty-five	80
1663 Baffles the imperial generals	80
1664 Plunders Surat	81
1665 Origin of the <i>chout</i>	82
1665 Proceeds to Delhi; is confined and escapes	82
1668 Revises his institutions	83
1672 Again defeats the emperor's generals	83
1673 Aurungzebe defeated in the Khyber	83
1677 He renews the persecution of the Hindoos	84
1677 Alienation and revolt of the Rajpoots	85
1674 Sevajee assumes royalty	85
1676 His expedition to the Carnatic	85
1680 His death and character	86

SECTION IV.

1683 Aurungzebe marches to the Deccan with a magnificent army	87
1684 Disastrous march to the Concan	88
1686 Extinguishes Beejapore	88
Unrivalled magnificence of the edifices of Beejapore	89
1687 Aurungzebe extinguishes Golconda	89
The Deccan a scene of anarchy	89
1680 Sambajee succeeds Sevajee	90
1689 His vicious reign and tragic death	90
1689 Collapse of the Mahratta power; the court retreats to the Carnatic	91
Comparison of the Mogul and Mahratta armies	91
1698 Siege of Gingee for nine years	92
1701 Aurungzebe's marvellous activity at the age of eighty	92
Treats with the Mahrattas	93
1707 Retreats in disgrace towards Delhi and dies at Ahmednugur	93
His character	94
1707 Bahadour Shah emperor	94
1700 Discord among the Mahrattas	94
1708 Daood Khan, the Emperor's lieutenant, grants them the <i>chout</i> of the Deccan	95
Origin of the Sikh commonwealth; Nanuk; Gooroo Govind	95
1712 Bahadour Shah drives their chieftain Bandoo to the hills, and dies	95

A.D.	PAGE
1713 Jehander Shah emperor; murdered by Feroکشere	96
1713 Feroکشere mounts the throne under the galling yoke of the Syuds	96
1714 Rise of the Nizam	96
1714 Ballajee Wishwanath revives the vigour of the Mahrattas	96
1717 His independence acknowledged	97
1717 The <i>chhut</i> confirmed	97
1718 Feroکشere murdered	98
1719 Mahomed Shah emperor	98
1720 Relieved from the tyranny of the Syuds	98
1720 Saadut Ali soobadar of Oude	99
1724 Nizam-ool-moolk establishes an independent power in the Deccan	99
1720 Ballajee Wishwanath establishes the power of the Peshwas	99
1720 Succeeded by Bajee Rao	99
1730 Rise of the Gaekwar family	101
1730 And of the Sindia family	101
1730 And of the family of Holkar	101
1732 Bajee Rao's conquests on the Jumna	102
1734 Acquires possession of Malwa	102
1734 His demands on the emperor	102
1737 He marches to the gates of Delhi	103
1738 Defeats the Nizam	103
Early career of Nadir Shah	104
1738 He crosses the Indus and defeats the emperor	104
1739 Sacks Delhi and returns with thirty-two crores of rupees	105
State of India at his invasion	105

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION I.

Rise and progress of the Portuguese	106
1486 Bartholomew Dias first doubles the Cape	106
1497 Vasco de Gama discovers India by the Cape; lands at Calicut on the Malabar coast	107
1500 Second Portuguese expedition	108
1502 The third under Vasco de Gama	108
1505 Almeyda defeats the combined Egyptian and Guzeratee fleets	109
1508 Albuquerque appointed viceroy: he founds Goa	109
1508 Extends the Portuguese power over 12,000 miles of coast, and makes them paramount in the Eastern seas	110
1515 Ungratefully dismissed and dies	110
1517 Portuguese occupy Ceylon	110
As well as Macao in China	110
1537 They defeat the Turkish and Guzeratee fleets	110
1570 Resist the attack of the whole Mahomedan power in the Deccan for nine months with success	111
1538 Establish themselves in Bengal	111
1596 Rise of the Dutch power and decay of the Portuguese	111

SECTION II.

A.D.	PAGE
Rise of the French power	112
1674 Martin founds Pondicherry	112
1676 It is captured by the Dutch and restored	112
1719 French East India Company reorganised	112
1735 Dumas the governor raises the first sepoy army	113
1740 Obliges the Mahrattas to retire	113
1740 Dupleix enriches Chandernagore	114
1741 Is appointed governor of Pondicherry	114
1745 Labourdonnais arrives with a large armament	115
1745 First engagement in the Indian seas between an English and French fleet	115
1746 Labourdonnais captures Madras	116
1746 Nabob of the Carnatic attacks the French and is utterly defeated	117
Consequences of this first encounter	117
1748 Admiral Boscawen besieges Pondicherry without result	117
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restores Madras to the Company	117

SECTION III.

1749 Madras Government invade Tanjore	118
Ambition of Dupleix	118
1748 Death of Nizam-ool-moolk	119
1749 Dupleix assists Mozuffer his grandson to become soobadar of the Deccan	119
1749 Bussy defeats the nabob of the Carnatic	119
Mahomed Ali supported as nabob by the English	119
Chunda Sahib supported as nabob by the French	119
1750 Nazir Jung soobadar	120
He is defeated by Bussy and shot by the nabob of Cuddapa	121
1750 Mozuffer Jung soobadar; is shot by the nabob of Kurnool	121
1751 Bussy makes Salabut Jung soobadar	121
1751 Siege and defence of Trichinopoly	122
1751 Clive's defence of Arcot	123
1754 Dupleix superseded and recalled	124
1764 Disgraceful treatment of him	125
1764 Greatness of his character	125
1754 Convention between the French and English	125

SECTION IV.

1751 Bussy seats Salabut Jung in his capital	126
1751 He defeats the Mahrattas	126
1752 Ghazee-ood-deen poisoned by his stepmother	127
1753 Bussy acquires the Northern Sircars	127
1756 Salabut Jung dismisses him	128
1756 He completely recovers his power	129
1758 Lally, governor of Pondicherry	130

A.P.	PAGE
1758 He ruins Bussy's power . . .	130
1758 Lally besieges Madras . . .	130
1759 Obligated to retire . . .	131
1759 Indecisive action of the fleets . . .	131
1759 French defeated by Sir Eyre Cooté at Wandewash . . .	131
1761 Pondicherry captured and demolished . . .	132
1763 Trial and execution of Lally at Paris . . .	132

SECTION V.

1747 Ahmed Shah Abdalee invades India and is defeated . . .	133
1748 Death of Mahomed Shah, emperor of Delhi . . .	133
Succeeded by his son Ahmed; Nabob of Oude appointed vizier . . .	133
1754 Ghazee-ood-deen blinds Ahmed and raises Alumgeer to the throne . . .	134
1756 The Abdalee again invades India and sacks Delhi; leaves the Punjab under his son Timur . . .	134
1757 Ghazee-ood-deen invites the Mahrattas to drive him out . . .	134
1758 Raghoba captures Delhi and marches to the Indus . . .	134
1758 Peshwa extorts large concessions of territory from the Nizam . . .	135
1759 Mahrattas at the zenith of their power . . .	135
1759 The Abdalee's last invasion . . .	135
1759 He defeats Sindia and Holkar . . .	135
1760 Peshwa puts forth the whole strength of the Mahratta commonwealth to meet him . . .	136
1761 Total defeat of the Mahrattas at Paniput . . .	137

SECTION VI.

1600 The East India Company . . .	138
1601 Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth . . .	138
1611 They dispatch vessels to Surat . . .	138
1615 Sir Thomas Roe's embassy . . .	139
1620 Mr. Broughton cures the emperor's daughter and obtains privileges for the Company . . .	139
1630 Madras founded . . .	139
1662 Bombay acquired by the Company . . .	139
1685 The Company aim at political power in Bengal; its disastrous result . . .	140
1690 Job Charnock founds Calcutta . . .	141
1695 Permission to fortify it . . .	142
1693 Establishment of a rival Company . . .	142
1702 Union of the two Companies . . .	143
1702 Moorshed Kooly Khan dewan of Bengal . . .	143
1715 Embassy to Delhi for permission to purchase thirty-eight villages near Calcutta . . .	144
1716 Mr. Hamilton cures the emperor and obtains permission . . .	144
1717 Moorshed Kooly Khan frustrates it . . .	144

A.D.	PAGE
1725 His admirable administration of twenty-five years . . .	144
1725 Revenues of Bengal . . .	144
1725 His son Sujah-ood-deen succeeds him . . .	145
1739 He is succeeded by Serefrax Khan . . .	145

SECTION VII.

1741 Aliverdy Khan supplants him at Delhi by bribery . . .	145
1742 Mahrattas invade Bengal and plunder Moorshedabad . . .	145
1742 The English surround Calcutta with the Mahratta Ditch . . .	146
1751 Aliverdy cedes Orissa to the Mahrattas, and pays the <i>chout</i> of Bengal . . .	146
1756 His death . . .	146
1756 Suraj-ood-dowlah succeeds him . . .	146
1756 He marches against Calcutta . . .	147
1756 Its defenceless state; Nabob captures it . . .	147
1756 Tragedy of the Black Hole . . .	148
1756 The Company expelled from Bengal . . .	148
1755 Clive captures the port of Gheriah . . .	149
1757 He recaptures Calcutta . . .	149
1757 He defeats the Nabob at Dumdum . . .	150
1757 He captures Chandernagore . . .	150
1757 Confederacy against the Nabob by his ministers, joined by Clive . . .	150
1757 Battle of Plassy; Nabob is defeated and flies . . .	151
1757 Deception of Omichund . . .	151
1757 Clive makes Meer Jaffier Nabob . . .	152
1757 Suraj-ood-dowlah brought back and killed by Meerun, Meer Jaffier's son . . .	152

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

1757 Ali Gohur, the emperor's son, invades Bengal and is obliged to retreat . . .	153
1759 Meer Jaffier invites the Dutch from Java to counterbalance Clive . . .	154
1759 The Dutch army defeated at Chinsurah . . .	154
1760 Clive returns to England . . .	154
1760 Second invasion of Ali-Gohur; military operations at Patna . . .	155
1760 Mr. Vansittart succeeds Clive . . .	155
1760 Profligacy of the Council in Calcutta . . .	156
1760 They depose Meer Jaffier and make Meer Cossim Nabob . . .	156
1762 His vigorous administration . . .	156
1763 Disputes about the transit duties . . .	157
1763 He seizes every European in Bengal . . .	158
1763 The Council take the field; he is defeated, and massacres 48 English gentlemen and 100 soldiers . . .	158

A.D.	PAGE
1763 Meer Jaffer again nabob . . .	159
1765 His death . . .	159
1765 Base conduct of the Council . . .	159
1764 First Sepoy mutiny . . .	159
1764 Battle of Buxar; Nabob of Oude totally defeated . . .	160
1765 Clive created a peer; sent out to retrieve the Company's affairs . . .	160
1765 He mediatizes the Nabob of Moor- shedabad . . .	161
1765 Restores Oude to the Nabob . . .	161
1765 His arrangement with the em- peror . . .	161
1765 He acquires the Dewanee . . .	161
1765 Congratulates the Directors on the extent of their possessions . . .	162
1766 Quells the mutiny of the Euro- pean officers . . .	163
1767 His eminent success; his un- grateful treatment in England . . .	164
1774 His death . . .	164

SECTION II.

Transactions at Madras and Bom- bay . . .	164
1762 Misrule of Mahomed Ali . . .	165
1763 Spoliation of Tanjore . . .	165
1765 The Northern Sircars granted to the Company by the emperor . . .	165
1766 Madras Council basely agree to pay tribute for them to the Nizam . . .	166
Rise and progress of Hyder Ali . . .	166
1749 His first repute at Deonhully . . .	166
1761 At sixty is master of Mysore . . .	167
1763 Acquires Bednore and its wealth . . .	167
1765 Is defeated by the Mahrattas . . .	167
1766 Annexes Malabar . . .	168
1767 Madras Council join the Nizam and the Mahrattas against him . . .	168
1767 The Nizam joins him against the English . . .	168
1767 General Smith twice defeats the confederates . . .	168
1767 The Nizam reduced to extremity . . .	169
1768 Disgraceful treaty made with him by Mr. Palk, governor of Madras . . .	169
1768 Madras government at the lowest pitch of degradation . . .	170
1769 Hyder dictates peace under the walls of Madras . . .	171
1770 The Council engage to assist him in his wars . . .	171
1770 He attacks the Mahrattas; is de- feated at Milgota, and besieged for five weeks . . .	171
1772 Madras Government refuse him succour, and he loses much territory . . .	172
1769 Mahratta expedition to Hindo- stan . . .	172
1772 Transactions in Rohilcund . . .	173
1772 Anomaly of the Government in India . . .	173
1772 Great embarrassment at the India house . . .	174
1773 Interference of Parliament; the Regulating Act . . .	174

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.

A.D.	PAGE
Early career of Hastings . . .	175
1772 Appointed Governor of Bengal . . .	175
1773 Abolishes the double government of Clive, introduces great re- forms, makes a new settlement, removes the treasury to Cal- cutta . . .	176
1773 Unhappy treaty with the Nabob of Oude . . .	176
1773 Embarks in the Rohilla war . . .	177
1774 New Government in Calcutta . . .	177
1774 Hastings Governor-General; his counsellors . . .	177
1774 They bully him; their unjust treatment of the Nabob of Oude . . .	178
1775 They supersede Hastings' author- ity . . .	178
1775 Gross charges against him . . .	179
1775 Execution of Nunkoomar . . .	179
1775 Hastings tenders his resignation, and then recalls it . . .	180
1776 Directors appoint his successor . . .	180
1777 Confusion in Calcutta by this event . . .	181
1777 Death of Sir John Clavering . . .	181
1780 After six years' contest, Hastings fights a duel with Mr. Francis, who is wounded and goes home . . .	181

SECTION II.

Progress of Mahratta affairs . . .	181
1772 The Peshwa Narayun Rao as- sassinated; Raghoba ascends the throne . . .	182
1774 Widow of Narayun delivered of a posthumous child, and a re- gency formed . . .	182
1775 Raghoba negotiates with the Bombay authorities . . .	182
1775 Treaty of Surat results in war . . .	183
1775 Mahrattas defeated at Arras . . .	183
1775 Calcutta council annuls the treaty . . .	184
1776 Colonel Upton's treaty at Poona . . .	184
1777 French adventurer at Poona . . .	185
1778 Revolution at Poona, first in favour of Raghoba, and then against him . . .	185
1778 Expedition from Bombay to Poona; disgraceful convention of Wur- gaum . . .	186
1778 General Goddard's expedition from the Jumna to Bombay . . .	187
1780 Brilliant capture of Gwalior . . .	188
1781 Complete defeat of Sindia . . .	188
1779 General confederacy against the Company . . .	189
Military operations at Bombay . . .	189
1780 Hastings conciliates Nagpore . . .	189
1781 Concludes peace with Sindia . . .	190

SECTION III.

Transactions at Madras 1771-1780 . . .	191
1771 Proceedings against Tanjore . . .	191
1774 Paul Benfield's demand . . .	192
1776 The Council arrest Lord Pigot . . .	192

ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
HISTORY OF INDIA

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

EARLY HISTORICAL NOTICES.

INDIA is bounded on the north and the east by the Himalaya mountains, on the west by the Indus, and on the south by the sea. Its length from Cashmere to Cape Comorin is 1900 miles; its breadth from Kurra-Boundaries and divisions of India.chee in Sinde to Sudiya in Assam, 1500 miles.

The superficial area is 1,287,000 miles, and the population under British and native rule is now estimated at 240,000,000. It is crossed from east to west by the Vindhya chain of mountains, at the base of which flows the Nerbudda. The country to the north of this river is generally designated Hindostan, and that to the south the Deccan. Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus on one side, and of the Ganges on the other, with the great sandy desert on the west, and an elevated tract now called Central India. The Deccan has on its northern boundary a chain of mountains running parallel with the Vindhya, to the south of which stretches a table-land of triangular form, terminating at Cape Comorin, with the western ghauts on the western coast, and the eastern ghauts, of minor altitude, on the opposite coast. Between the ghauts and the sea lies a narrow belt of land which runs round the whole peninsula.

India has no authentic historical records before the era of

the Mahomedans. The notices of the earliest period can only be gleaned from the two great epics, which were composed ten or twelve centuries after the events which they celebrate, and are so overlaid with the vagaries of an oriental imagination that it is difficult to extract a few grains of truth from a vast mass of fable. Between the era of the *Muhabharut* and the *Ramayun* and the arrival of the Musulmans, the rise and fall of dynasties is to be traced exclusively from coins and inscriptions, through the researches of antiquarians, whose conjectures differ so widely from each other that their theories cannot as yet be accepted with implicit confidence. The chronology of the Hindoos consists of astronomical periods, and the successive ages of the world are made to correspond with the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, and are divided into four periods. The first, or *sutyu joog*, is therefore, said to have extended to 1,728,000 years; the second, or *treta joog*, to 1,296,000; the third, or *dwapur joog*, to 864,000; and the fourth, or *kulee joog*, is predicted to last 432,000 years; of which 4500 have already expired. The periods of the first three joogs may therefore be dismissed as altogether imaginary, while the commencement of the fourth, or present age, corresponding, as it does to a certain extent, with the authenticated eras of other nations, is entitled to greater consideration.

Of the original inhabitants of India there is not the faintest record. To distinguish them from their Aryan conquerors it is usual to designate them Turanians, who came from across the Indus. By Hindoo writers they are described as rakshusus, usoors, pisaches, hobgoblins and monsters, and it is therefore natural to suppose that they must have offered a stern resistance to the invaders. Some of them doubtless made their submission, and it is conjectured that they may have formed the basis of the soodra, or servile caste, which was probably recruited also from the issue of intercourse with the victors. But the great body of them retreated to the forests of the Sone, the Nerbudda, and the Mubanudee, and to the hills of Sirgooja and Chota Nagpore, and they are identified with the Bheels, the Meenas, the Coles, the Santals, the Gonds, and other tribes. In those inaccessible fastnesses they have continued to maintain their primitive barbarism of habits, their language, and their crude religious observances, with little change amidst the revolutions which have convulsed India for thirty centuries.

Early history
and chrono-
logy.

The abori-
gines, and
the Aryan
invasion.

At the present time they are supposed to number 12,000,000. The 'fair complexioned Aryans,' the ancestors of the present Hindoo communities, are believed to have emigrated in a remote age from some undefined region in Central Asia, from which other tribes swarmed westward, and spreading over Europe, laid the foundation of its present nationalities. The only notices we obtain of them are derived from the Vedus, the most ancient and sacred of the Hindoo writings, and more especially from the Rig Vedu, which, however, consists chiefly of the hymns and invocations which were traditionally handed down. From them we gather that the original Aryans crossed the Hindoo Coosh and the Indus in search of a settlement, bringing with them their own language, the Sanscrit, and settled in the Punjab, the cradle of Hindooism. They were devoted to pastoral and agricultural pursuits, worshipped Indra, the god of the firmament, as the sovereign of the gods, and inferior deities as the personification of the powers of nature. They do not appear to have had either idols or temples, and there was no distinction of castes.

The age of the Vedus was succeeded by what has been termed the heroic age, when the Aryans extended their conquests beyond the narrow limits of the Punjab, ^{Rise of Brah-} and, expanding to the south and the east, estab- ^{minism.} lished kingdoms at Hustinapore, at Oude, and at Mithila, under two dynasties, which are distinguished as the solar and lunar races. It is to this period that the memorable events celebrated in the Muhabharut and the Ramayun belong. The Aryan conquerors were of the military caste of kshetriyus, and the brahmins served them as sacrificial priests. It has been conjectured that this age of conquest and progression was favourable to the growth of brahminism, and that to it belongs the large pantheon of gods which came into vogue, the institution of caste, and the introduction of animal sacrifices. The brahmins gradually advanced their pretensions to a divine origin, and to divine authority, and at length brought the kshetriyus under their yoke, and assumed not only supremacy over rajas and princes, like Pope Hildebrand, but represented even the deities of the Vedic Aryans as subordinate to them.

Of the events of the heroic age, only two have been rescued from oblivion, in the immortal epics of the Muhabharut and the Ramayun. These are, the great ^{The Muba-} war of the two branches of the lunar race, and ^{harut.} the expedition of Ramu, a sovereign of the solar race to

the Deccan and Ceylon. The scene of warfare in the Muhabharut lies in the neighbourhood of Delhi, while the kingdom of Ramu lay farther south, and it is natural to conclude that the one preceded the other in point of time.

B.C.
1400

The story of the Muhabharut runs thus: The city of Hustinapore, about sixty miles distant from Delhi, was governed by the king Pandoo, who in a hunting excursion wounded two deer with his arrows, on which they assumed their natural shape, and sprang up as a brahmin and his wife. The brahmin inflicted a curse on him, of which he died soon after, leaving five sons, who were designated the Pandoos. The blind brother of Pandoo, Dhriturastu, was then placed on the throne, and his wife gave birth to a progeny of sons, who are called the Kooroos. The cousins were educated together in the royal palace, but a feeling of jealousy arose between Yoodisteer, the eldest of the Pandoos, and Dooryudhun, the eldest of the Kooroos, which resulted in the banishment of the former to a city, usually identified with Allahabad. There the Kooroos still plotted the destruction of their relatives, and they were fain to escape to the jungle. At this period the raja of Punchalu, which cannot, however, be identified, allowed his daughter Drupudee to perform the *swayamburu*, that is, to make choice of a husband for herself; and he proclaimed a great tournament, not differing greatly from the tournaments of the middle ages in Europe. A pole was fixed in the ground, on the top of which was placed a golden fish, and beneath it a revolving wheel, and it was proclaimed that whoever succeeded in directing the arrow through the wheel and piercing the eye of the fish, should win the queen of beauty. The plain was covered with the pavilions of noble and princely suitors and their splendid equipages and retinue; and, among them appeared the five Pandoos, in the humble guise of brahmins. One of them, Urjoon, with his bow of 'celestial virtue,' pierced the eye of the fish, and Drupudee threw the garland round his neck and led him away. Her father, however, considered himself disgraced by an ignoble alliance with a brahmin, but was overjoyed when he discovered that the victor was of the noble race of the ksatriyus. In accordance with the practice of polyandry which appears to have been prevalent at the time, she became the wife at once of the five brothers.

The Pandoos returned to Hustinapore in triumph, and the blind old king offered to divide his kingdom

between them and his own family, and they proceeded to the site of the present Delhi, and having overcome the aboriginal inhabitants erected the city of Indruprutha. They were successful in extending their territory and popular in governing it, and Yoodistheer, in the pride of his heart, determined to offer a royal sacrifice, as an assertion of his supremacy. Dooryudhun, the eldest son of the king, envious of the glory acquired by his cousin, invited him to a gambling match, the ruling passion and the vice of the kshetriyus. In an evil hour Yoodistheer accepted the challenge, and staked in succession, his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and his wife, and lost them all. The condition of the game was that the losing party should go into exile in the country for twelve years and for one year in the city. The Pandoos submitted to this injunction, and having wandered the prescribed period in the forest, visiting the hermitages of the holy sages, determined to demand the restoration of their share of the kingdom. Dooryudhun haughtily refused their request, and they resolved to assert their right by arms. The contest was one between cousins for the possession of a quantity of land, which, since their capitals lay within sixty miles of each, must have been of very limited extent, but the poet has given loose to his imagination, and princes from the remotest parts of India, from regions then unknown to the Aryans, are brought upon the field, and the number said to have been engaged exceeds in number all the present inhabitants of the globe; the chariots and elephants are reckoned by millions; the plain overflows with rivers of blood, and whole armies are destroyed by a single talismanic weapon. The battle doubtless formed one of the most memorable events of that early period of society, and it was preserved in tradition and commemorated in ballads, and, a thousand years after, elaborated into an epic poem of a hundred thousand couplets, by the illustrious Vyasa. The conflict, which is said to have raged for eighteen days, ended in the triumph of the Pandoos. Yoodistheer was installed raja at Hustinapore, and celebrated his victory by the proud sacrifice of the horse, the emblem of universal sovereignty. He and his brothers and their common wife eventually assumed the character of devotees, and disappeared in the Himalaya. The real hero of the Muhabharut was Krishnu, the son of a cowherd, who established his kingdom at Dwarka, on the western coast, married 16,000 wives, and was slain at the fountain of the

The battle of
Kooroo
Kshetru.

lotus by the irrepressible Bheels. He was deified after his death, and placed second in the Hindoo triad of the brahminical theogony, which was not completely organised till centuries after the events of the Muhabharut. The object of the epic was to identify him, when his worship was introduced, with those transactions which were among the most cherished recollections of the Aryan race, as an incarnation of the deity.

Between the events commemorated in the Muhabharut and the Ramayun the Aryans would appear to have burst ^{The} the boundary of their original settlement and ex-
 Ramayun. tended their conquests to the south and the east, and to have established two kingdoms, the one at Udyodhyu, or Oude, and the other at Mithila, both designated by way of distinction the solar race. The order of events in the Ramayun may be thus epitomized :—Ramu, the hero of the poem and an incarnation of the deity, was the eldest of the four sons of Dushuruthu, the king of Oude. Junuka, the sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom of Mithila, had a beautiful daughter, Seeta, whom he promised to bestow on the prince who could bend the bow with which the god Seeva had destroyed the other gods, and which was preserved as an heirloom in the royal armoury. Ramu broke the bow in the midst and won the princess. The marriage ceremony was performed by the raja himself, and not by the priests. Ramu returned to Oude, and was appointed heir apparent; but the raja's second wife, who had gained his affection by her beauty, was anxious to obtain the throne for her own son, Bharutu, and persuaded her uxorious husband to consent to the banishment of Ramu. On the morning fixed for his installation he was constrained to quit the royal palace with his wife and his brother Lukshmunu, and he proceeded into the forest, from hermitage to hermitage, and terminated his wanderings at Nassik on the Godavery, where he erected a hut. The sister of Ravunu, the king of Lunka, or Ceylon, called also Taprobane, or the island of Ravunu, passing by the bower, was struck with the beauty of Ramu, and endeavoured to prevail on him to desert Seeta, and marry her. Her offers were rejected with scorn, when she rushed upon Seeta and threatened to devour her, on which Lukshmunu, at the request of Ramu, cut off her ears and nose. She returned to Ceylon, and in revenge for the injury she had sustained, persuaded her brother to carry off the lovely Seeta. Ravunu, described as a monster with ten heads and twenty

B.C.
1200

arms, assumed the form of a mendicant and appeared before the hermitage, and having caused his brother to take the form of a deer, and decoy the two brothers after him, seized upon Seeta and carried her off through the air in his chariot to Ceylon. Ramu having discovered the place of her concealment, assembled an army of the wild inhabitants of the south, probably the aborigines, poetically described as bears and monkeys, under their sovereign Soogreevu, and his general Hunooman, subsequently deified as the great baboon, and proceeded to the island. He spanned the straits between it and the continent with a bridge, and after many severe conflicts recovered Seeta and slew Ravunu. But as she had resided in the palace of Ravunu she was required to submit to the ordeal of fire to testify her purity, and the poet affirms that after she had ascended the pile, the three hundred and thirty millions of gods assembled in the heavens to behold the scene, and the god of fire arose from the flames, and bearing Seeta on his knees presented her to her husband. They returned in triumph to Oude, and Ramu was installed raja. The epic is so intermingled at every turn with the grotesque fancies of mythology, and the agency is so constantly described as supernatural, that it is difficult to extract from it the germs of historical truth on which it was based. But it appears clear that it indicates the first expedition of the Aryans to the Deccan, that the southern division of it was still peopled with the aborigines, and that the island of Ceylon was the seat of a higher civilisation, probably wafted from Egypt. It led to no permanent conquest, as the army of monkeys and bears which aided Ramu, after accompanying him in triumph to his capital, returned to their forests, and we hear no more of them on the page of history till they had been transformed into orthodox Hindoos. It must not be forgotten that the poem was composed ten centuries after the events it celebrates, when brahminism was consolidated into a dominant system, which it was intended to support.

Next to the Vedus, the Code of Munoo is the most important of the Hindoo shasters. It embodies the ancient religious traditions, to which additions were made from century to century, and which were collected, as it is said, by Vyasu. It gives us the constitution of a Hindoo commonwealth when the brahmins had completely superseded the ancient authority of the kshetriyus

B.C.
900

and established religious depotism in the state such as no priesthood has ever enjoyed. The ancient and simple worship of the Vedus was supplanted by an elaborate system of ceremonies and by animal sacrifices. Ramu, Krishnu, and other gods, who subsequently became popular, are not mentioned with reverence or with disapprobation. There is no intimation of regular orders, or of the immolation of widows. Brahmins eat beef and flesh of all kinds, and intermarry with women of inferior castes, and various other practices are permitted which would at the present day entail excommunication. The style is less rugged than that of the Vedus, but not so polished as that of the epics; and the date of its compilation is generally fixed at 900 B.C.

SECTION II.

FROM THE AGE OF BOODDHU TO THE MAHOMEDAN INVASION.

THE next event of importance in the ancient history of India is the appearance of Booddhu, or Sakhya Moonee, as the great reformer of religion and morals. He was born of a princely Aryan family of kshetriyu parents in the year 598 B.C. He resided with his own family till his twenty-eighth year, when, disgusted with the decay of religion and the spread of superstition, he retired from society and passed many years in constructing his system of religion and philosophy. He repudiated the entire system of caste, and thus rendered his doctrines acceptable to those who had suffered from it, while it made the brahmins his irreconcilable enemies. He rejected the whole pantheon of the Hindoos, and endeavoured to bring back his countrymen to the simplicity of the Vedus. The priesthood, instead of being an hereditary caste, was recruited from the various ranks of society, and bound by a vow of celibacy, and required to relinquish the pleasures of sense. He obtained many disciples before his death, which is fixed at 543 B.C., but it was not till two centuries later that booddhism became the religion of the state. The preservation and worship of relics was one of the distinguishing features of his creed. Eight cities are said to have contended for his remains, and the dispute was at length settled by distributing them in various provinces.

The most sacred of these relics was the tooth, which was at length assigned to Orissa, and magnificently enshrined on the spot where subsequently arose the Hindoo temple of Jugernath, and it remained there, with some interruptions, for nearly a thousand years.

The first authentic record we possess of any invasion of India is that of Darius, king of Persia, who was seated on the throne 521 B.C., and extended his conquests from the Grecian Sea to the Indus. Upon a report of the wealth of the country from his admiral, Scylax, who constructed a fleet on the higher portion of that river and sailed down to the sea, he despatched an expedition to India and annexed several of its provinces to his great empire. The extent of his conquests it is impossible to trace, but his Indian possessions must have been of no small magnitude since they were considered more valuable than any other satrapy, and are said to have furnished one-third of the revenues of the empire, and were paid in gold.

Two centuries after, Alexander the Great, the greatest military and political genius of antiquity, if not of any age, subverted the Persian empire, and sweeping through its provinces in Central Asia, took possession of Afghanistan. He advanced through its terrific defiles, and encountered the same stern resistance from its wild highlanders which, for more than twenty centuries they have opposed to every intruder. He crossed the Indus, as generally supposed, at Attock, and entered the Punjab, where he received the submission of one of its princes, and was hospitably entertained by another. But Porus, whose dominions stretched eastward to the Jhelum, offered a more determined resistance to his arms than he had experienced since he left Macedonia; and, by a singular coincidence, it was in the same region that the English, twenty-two centuries later, met with a more formidable opposition than they had encountered throughout the conquest of India for a century. The chivalry of Porus fought with the same gallantry as the troops of the Khalsa, but they could not withstand the veterans of Alexander, and, after an engagement as obstinate as Ferozeshuhur or Sobraon, that high-minded prince gracefully submitted to the superiority of his conqueror, and was treated by him with his habitual generosity. Alexander now heard of the great Gangetic kingdom of Mugudu, the king of which, it was reported, could bring 30,000 cavalry, and 600,000 infantry, and 9,000 elephants

B.C.
521

327

into the field, and he became impatient to plant his ensigns on the battlements of its splendid capital, Palibothra. But on reaching the banks of the Beyas, his troops, worn out with the fatigues and wounds of eight campaigns, refused to advance any farther. He employed menace and flattery by turns, but nothing could shake their resolution, and he was obliged to make that river the term of his conquests. He caused a flotilla to be constructed on the Indus, and transported his army down to the sea-coast, not, however, without serious opposition from the Malli, the inhabitants of Mooltan. He had fully resolved to return to India with a body of fresh troops, but he died of fever caught in the marshes of Babylon at the early age of thirty-two. His name does not appear in any Hindoo record, which only shows their imperfect character, but it is a household word in Central Asia, and his fame was widely diffused through India by the Mahomedans, among whom he is esteemed one of the first of heroes, and it was carried far and wide with the stream of their conquests, and the distant islander of Sumatra and Java may be found extolling the exploits of the mighty Secunder.

B.C.
324

The most important kingdom at this period in Hindostan was that of Mugudu, designated by the Greek historians that of the Prasii, the capital of which was Palibothra, supposed to be the modern Patna. It was probably founded about the sixth century before our era, by a colony of Tartars, or Scythians, denominated the Takshuk or Nagas, the serpent dynasty, so called from the worship of snakes which they introduced, and which has never been eradicated. About the time of the Macedonian invasion, the throne was occupied by Nundu. He was assassinated by his minister, Chundra-gooptu—called by the Greek historians, Sandracottus—a man of ignoble birth but of extraordinary genius, who had measured swords with Alexander the Great under Porus, and who now seized the throne and established the Mauryan dynasty. The empire of Alexander after his death was partitioned among his marshals, and the province of Babylon, in which was included his eastern possessions, fell to the lot of Seleucus, one of the ablest and most enterprising of them. He determined to carry out the ambitious projects of his master, and advanced with a large army into the Gangetic provinces, where he was opposed by Chundra-gooptu with the whole strength of Mugudu. According to the Greek historians he was vic-

325

The king-
dom of
Mugudu.

torious, but it is difficult to reconcile this assertion with the fact recorded by themselves, that Seleucus concluded a treaty with him and ceded all his conquests east of the Indus for an annual tribute of fifty elephants. Megasthenes, an eminent philosopher, was appointed his representative at the court of Palibothra, and it is from the fragments of his writings which have come down to us that we gather any knowledge of the state of northern India at that period. It is said to have been divided into a hundred and twenty principalities. Chundra-gooptu was succeeded by his son Mitra-gooptu, a man of the same large and liberal views as his father, and it was under their enlightened administration that the country attained its highest prosperity. Highways were constructed from the capital to the Indus, in one direction, and in the other to Broach, then the great emporium on the western coast, with caravanseras at convenient intervals. Their dominion extended to the sea-coast at Ganjam on the west, around the bay to Aracan on the east. They gave especial encouragement to commerce, and their subjects embarked in maritime enterprises, crossed the bay of Bengal, and founded colonies in Java and the other islands of the Archipelago, into which they introduced the Hindoo religion and the Pali language, the classical variety of the Sanscrit.

B.C.
300

Asoka, the grandson of Chundra-gooptu, who ascended the throne 260 B.C., stands forth as the most distinguished prince of this period, the glory of the Mauryan dynasty. His dominions extended from Orissa

Asoka.

to the Indus, and included provinces both in the Deccan and in Afghanistan. The boundaries of this great kingdom were marked by stone columns, many of which are still extant. His edicts were engraved on the face of rocks, and on *lats*, or pillars, in various localities from the bay of Bengal to the Himalaya and Peshawur; and a permanent record has thus been preserved of the great events of his reign. He established courts of justice, and abolished the punishment of death. He promoted the progress of civilisation, and gave a new impulse to commerce. Breaking through the isolation of the brahminical system—which still continues after the lapse of more than twenty centuries to fetter the native mind—he established a friendly intercourse with Greece and Egypt, and it is to this connection that we trace the introduction of stone architecture and of sculpture into India, which was totally unknown before his time. Some of the temples were

260

excavated in the rock, and others erected on the plain. Of these, the most magnificent is the shrine at Sanchi, commenced in 225 B.C. Asoka embraced the booddhist creed, and made it the religion of the state. A great booddhist synod was held soon after, and religious missions were despatched to Tibet, China, Cambodia, Siam and Ceylon, and the creed was extensively diffused beyond the limits of India. He died in 226 B.C., after a reign of thirty-seven years, and with him sank the grandeur of the dynasty, which has the peculiar merit of having produced three illustrious princes in succession. It was succeeded in 188 B.C. by the dynasty of the Sungas, which, though of limited duration, was distinguished by the erection of another series of booddhist temples and monasteries.

The establishment of booddhism as the religion of the state, deprived the brahminical hierarchy of their ascend-
 The Ugni Kools. ancy. The Hindoo annalists assert that ignorance and infidelity had overspread the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood—of booddhists. The holy sages, dwelling on Mount Aboo, carried their complaints to the father of creation, who was floating on a hydra in the sea of curds. He commanded them to return to the sacred mount and recreate the race of the kshetriyus, whom their own champion Pooorosram had formerly annihilated. The fountain of fire was purified by water from the Ganges, and each of the four gods who accompanied them formed an image, and cast it into the fire, upon which there sprang up the four men who afterwards became the founders of Rajpoot greatness. They were sent forth to combat the monsters, who were slain in great numbers; but as they fell on the ground, fresh demons arose, when the gods stopped the renewal of the race by drinking up the blood. This allegory, independent of the flattery it is intended to convey to the royal houses of Rajpootana, evidently points to some political revolution, which checked the progress of booddhism and restored to a certain degree the power of the brahmins. But booddhism continued for more than ten centuries to divide the allegiance of princes and people at different eras and in different provinces, with the creed of Munoo, and from time to time we have notices of booddhist sovereigns who brought all the resources of the state to the support of their creed.

About the year 629 A.D., Huen-tsang, a Chinese booddhist,

travelled through the continent of India, in order to visit its various shrines. In his travels, which have been preserved in the Chinese language, he states that while he found the creed in a state of decay in some provinces, he found it flourishing and dominant in Cunouge, in Mugudu, in Malwa and in Surat. About the eighth century of our era, the booddhists appear to have been subjected to a more implacable proscription than they had experienced for many centuries by Shunkur Acharjyu, a brahmin reformer; and from that time they decayed rapidly, and they entirely disappear from India soon after the invasion of the Mahomedans, while they increased and multiplied in the Indo-Chinese nations and in China, and the creed is at the present time professed by a larger number than the votaries of Hindooism.

About the year 56 B.C. the Andhra dynasty obtained possession of the throne of Mugudu, and flourished till 436 A.D. Their dominion extended into the Deccan, with Warungul for their capital, and Oojein as the great metropolis of their power in the north. The founder of the dynasty, Vikrum-aditya, was the most illustrious and powerful monarch of the age; his memory continues to be cherished with profound veneration, and the era he established is still current. He was a munificent patron of literature, and encouraged the resort of the learned to his court from all parts of India by princely donations. The classic writers of that Augustan age have exhausted the resources of flattery in his praise; indeed, the extravagance of their panegyrics has induced some Indian antiquarians to regard him as a myth. Some of the most exquisite productions in the Sanscrit language were compiled under his auspices. It was about this period, a century or so before the Christian era, that India appears to have attained its greatest literary eminence, and the highest stage of civilization it has ever reached. At a time when the western colony from the cradle of the Aryan race, which is supposed to have migrated to Europe and formed the aborigines of Great Britain and Gaul, of Germany and Scandinavia, was sunk in barbarism, the eastern stream of colonists, in India, had cultivated the science of law, of grammar, of astronomy, and of algebra, and had dived into the subtleties of philosophy and metaphysics. They had made their classic language, the Sanscrit, the most perfect and refined medium for the communication of thought, and

Prevalence
of Booddh-
ism.

The Andra
dynasty.

B.C.
57

Augustan
age of Sans-
crit litera-
ture.

enriched it with poetry, which has enchanted every succeeding generation. But with all this high cultivation, they neglected one of the most important branches of human knowledge, that of history. The Pooranus, of which the earliest is placed in 800 A.D., are the only treatises which pretend to anything like an historical character; but they furnish us with little beyond a barren record of royal races and rulers, none of which, however, can be implicitly depended upon. The most laborious researches of antiquarians have only resulted in deducing from half-defaced coins and servile inscriptions a chronological series of dynasties and princes, with here and there a fact, of little interest, and of no practical utility to the student of history. It is idle for him to fancy that he has gained much, if any, valuable knowledge when he has simply loaded his memory with an empty catalogue of genealogies. Yet the ten centuries preceding the arrival of the Mahomedans present little else, and a cursory glance at the date and locality of successive dynasties is all that the student can desire.

Eastward of the Andhra dominions lay the great kingdom of Bengal, containing the estuary of the Gangetic valley, with the ancient and magnificent city of Gour, or Lucknoutee for its capital. It was governed, first by the booddhist dynasty of Pal, and then by the Hindoo dynasty of Sen. While booddhism was the religion of the state, Hindooism fell into decay, and Adisoor, the founder of the Sen family, sent to Cunouge, the sanctuary of the Hindoo creed, for five sound and pure brahmins, who became the ancestors of the present brahminical communities of Bengal. They were accompanied by five attendants, from whom the kayusts, or writer caste, the second in dignity, are descended. The Sen dynasty was on the throne when the Mahomedans in 1192 A.D. conquered the country. Shortly before the Christian era Cashmere was invaded by a tribe of Tartars, which was displaced by a dynasty of Gundurvus. They were booddhists, and under a long succession of kings, contributed the most celebrated structures to the architecture of India. They appear to have enjoyed extensive dominion, as some of their grandest edifices were erected on the Kistna in the Deccan. They are said to have invaded Ceylon, but their succession cannot be traced beyond 622 A.D.

In the first century before the Christian era, Nahapan

established the dynasty of the Shahs in Surat, on the western coast. They are supposed either to have been a Parthian tribe, who invaded India through ^{The Shahs of Surat.} Sinde, or Persians of the Sassanian race. They adopted the creed of Booddhu, and to the founder is attributed the excavation and the construction of the wonderful cave temple of Karlee between Bombay and Poona. They were conquered about 318 by the Bullabhis, who are likewise designated the Gooptus, and who would appear to have extended their power over a large portion of northern India. The second monarch of the line is said to have overrun Ceylon, but no traces of them are to be found after 525.

During this period of ten centuries, northern India was parcelled out among various dynasties, of whom Mr. Elphinstone, in his valuable history, enumerates no fewer than eleven: Mugudu, Cunouge, Mithila, ^{Various kingdoms of northern India.} Benares, Delhi, Ajmere, Mewar, Jeypore, Jessulmere, Sinde and Cashmere. Of the princes of these kingdoms some claimed the dignity of *Muharaj-adheeraj*, or emperor of India; but however extensive may have been their conquests, it is much to be doubted whether any of them ever succeeded in 'bringing all India under one umbrella,' as the Moguls and the English have since done. Regal vanity doubtless induced some of them to assume the appellation of 'Lords Paramount' on their coins and inscriptions, but on examining the most accurate list of the claimants to that lofty title, that of Mr. Fergusson, we find that in the brief space of two hundred and forty-three years no fewer than ten monarchs arrogated it to themselves in Malwa, in Cunouge, in Surat, and even in the obscure state of Kulyan in the Deccan; and in some cases there is only a period of twenty years given for the acquisition of this universal sovereignty.

The early history of the Deccan is involved in even greater obscurity than that of Hindostan. At the period of the expedition of Ramu the inhabitants in the lower Deccan are described as bears and ^{The Deccan.} monkeys; but at the extreme south of the peninsula, as he approached Ceylon, he entered the continental possessions of its king, Ravunu, and came in contact with a higher civilisation than that of the Aryans. At a subsequent period—some suppose nine or ten centuries before the Christian era—we find even the land of the bears and the monkeys peopled with a civilised race, which is commonly

supposed to have entered India through Sinde and spread over the Deccan. To distinguish them from the Aryan colonists of Hindostan they are generally designated Dravidian, and their language, the Tamul, attained a high state of culture, and was enriched with a noble literature—and that by some of the servile class—long before the Sanscrit, with which it has no affinity, had attained perfection. Surrounded on all sides, except the north, by the sea, a constant intercourse was maintained with Greece and Egypt, and this may have contributed to the early civilisation of the peninsula. The most ancient and authentic history of the Deccan records the existence of two dynasties, that of the Pandyas, which was first in point of time, and that of the Cholas, which was the most powerful. The capital of the Pandyas, after two removals, was fixed at Madura, and its dominion lay along the Malabar coast. The kingdom of the Cholas, which some identify with Coromandel, was founded by an emigrant from Hindostan who established his capital at Canchi, or Conjeveram, and eventually removed it to Tanjore. Of the history of Telingana, no reliable records are extant, but about the eleventh century the Bellal dynasty obtained paramount power in this division of the country. Another dynasty also rose to distinction in the north of the Deccan, denominated the Chalukyas, and their capital was eventually established at Kulyan, in the territory now belonging to the Nizam. In their inscriptions they claim to have brought under subjection the Cholas and Pandyas in the south, and the Andhras of Warungul in the north, and there is reason to believe that for some time they may have been without a rival in the Deccan. The dynasty subsisted till 1182 A.D., when it was subverted by the Jadows of Deoghur, the modern Dowlatabad. Of the Mahrattas on the western coast only two facts can be traced, the existence of Tagara, a great emporium in the time of the Romans, and of Salivahun, the king of some unknown province, who was a bitter persecutor of the booddhists, and who is remembered only by his era, which prevails throughout the Deccan. Of Orissa nothing is known before the introduction of booddhism, except that the country was a marsh, and the people ‘barbarous and as black as crows.’ The tooth of Booddhu, the most sacred of his relics, was, in the distribution of his remains, allotted to this kingdom, and his creed appears

Its superior literature.

Pandyas and Cholas.

Telingana and Chalukyas.

The Mahrattas and the Ooriyas.

A.D.	PAGE
1779 Hastings reverses their trans- actions regarding the Guntoor Sircar	193
Progress of Hyder Ali 1773-1780	193
1779 War between France and England	194
1780 Hyder joins the confederacy	194
1780 He bursts on the Carnatic	194
1780 Destruction of Colonel Baillie's force	195
1780 Hastings's energetic efforts	196

SECTION IV.

1781 Sir Eyre Coote proceeds to Mad- ras and thrice defeats Hyder	197
1781 Lord Macartney Governor of Mad- ras	198
1781 Negapatam and Trincomalee con- quered from the Dutch	198
1782 Arrival of a French armament	199
1782 Four naval actions	199
1782 Great famine at Madras	200
1782 Death of Hyder Ali 7th December	201
1782 Succeeded by Tippoo	201
1783 Supineness of General Stuart	201
1783 He besieges Bussy at Cuddalore	202
1783 Peace between France and Eng- land	202
1783 Tippoo invests Mangalore	203
1783 Colonel Fullerton's successful ex- pedition towards Seringapatam	203
1784 Treaty of peace at Mangalore with Tippoo by the Madras Council	204

SECTION V.

Proceedings in Bengal	205
1774 Encroachments of the Supreme Court	205
1779 The Cossijural case	206
1779 Hastings stops their proceedings	206
1780 Sir Elijah Impey, chief judge of the Sudder	206
1780 Hastings's proceedings regarding Cheyt Sing	207
1781 His extreme danger at Benares	208
1781 Cheyt Sing raises an army and is defeated	208
1782 Plunder of the Begums of Oude	209
1783 Hastings, worried by the Direc- tors, resigns	209
1785 Embarks for England	210
1786 Impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by the House of Commons	210
1795 His acquittal	211
His character	211
1782 Reports of two Committees of the House of Commons	212
1783 Mr. Fox's India Bill	212
1784 Mr. Pitt's India Bill	213
1784 Nabob of Arcot's debts	214
1784 Mr. Dundas's extraordinary pro- ceedings regarding them	214
1805 Fabrication of fresh loans for 32 crores of rupees	214

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

A.D.	PAGE
1785 Mr. Macpherson, officiating Go- vernor-General; his economical reforms	215
1786 Lord Cornwallis Governor-Gene- ral	216
1786 Advantages of his position	216
1786 He stems the current of jobbing, speculation, and fraud	217
1786 His proceedings regarding Oude	217
1788 Demands the surrender of the Guntoor Sircar	218
1789 His imprudent letter to the Nizam	218
1789 Tippoo attacks the raja of Travanc- ore, the ally of the Company	219
1790 Lord Cornwallis's alliances with the Nizam and the Peshwa against Tippoo	220
1790 General Medows' first campaign; abortive	220
1791 Second campaign; Lord Corn- wallis beats Tippoo; obliged to return for want of provisions	221
1791 Dilatory proceedings of the allies	222
1792 Third campaign; peace dictated under the walls of the capital	223
1792 Tippoo surrenders half his do- minions	223
1792 Remarks on the campaign	224

SECTION II.

Lord Cornwallis's revenue re- forms	225
1793 History and nature of the Perma- nent Settlement	226
1793 Reconstruction of the judicial establishments	228
1793 The Cornwallis Code	228
1793 Exclusion of natives from the public service	228
1793 War between France and Eng- land; capture of Pondicherry	229
1793 Lord Cornwallis returns to Eng- land	229
1784 Progress of Sindia's power	229
1785 He demands the <i>chout</i> for Bengal, and fleeces the Rajpoots	230
1788 Delhi plundered and the emperor deprived of sight by Gholam Khadir	230
1791 General de Boigne raises a Sepoy army for Sindia; he defeats the Rajpoots	231
1792 Sindia proceeds to Poona where he becomes paramount	232
1794 His death	232
1793 The Company's charter renewed for twenty years	233

SECTION III.

1793 Sir John Shore Governor-General	233
1794 Mahratta designs on the Nizam	234
1794 Sir John Shore's feeble policy	234
1795 All the Mahratta princes march against the Nizam	235

A.D.	PAGE	A.D.	PAGE
1795	He is routed at Kurdla and obliged to pay three crores . . .	1800	Establishment of the College of Fort William . . .
1795	The Peshwa destroys himself . . .	1798	Encouragement given by Lord Wellesley to Free Trade . . .
1797	Three years of anarchy at Poona; Bajee Rao the last of the Peshwas . . .	1801	Disputes between him and the Court . . .
1796	Second mutiny of the European officers . . .	1802	He tenders his resignation . . .
1796	Sir John Shore quails before it, and is superseded . . .	1802	Is requested to remain another year; its consequences . . .
1797	Lord Cornwallis sworn in as Governor-General . . .	SECTION III.	
1797	The ministry concede the demands of the officers and he throws up the appointment . . .	1800	Death of Nana Furnavese at Poona and its effect . . .
1797	Sir John Shore's proceedings at Lucknow . . .	1795	Death of Aylah bye; her exemplary and vigorous administration . . .
1798	He embarks for England . . .	1795	Early career of Jeswunt Rao Holkar . . .
CHAPTER VIII.		1800	Rise and progress of Ameer Khan . . .
SECTION I.		1801	Joins Holkar; their depredations . . .
1798	Lord Wellesley Governor-General State of India on his arrival . . .	1801	Holkar ravages Sindia's territories . . .
1798	Hostile designs of Tippoo; the Mauritius proclamation . . .	1801	Sindia defeats Holkar, and despoils Indore . . .
1798	Embarrassments of Lord Wellesley; he breaks up the system of isolation; his negotiations with the native princes . . .	1802	Holkar marches on Poona and defeats the Peshwa and Sindia . . .
1798	New treaty with the Nizam . . .	1802	The Peshwa takes refuge at Bassein . . .
1798	Proposed treaty with the Peshwa rejected by him . . .	1802	He signs the treaty of Bassein . . .
1798	Extinction of the French force at Hyderabad . . .	1803	Sindia and the raja of Nagpore take umbrage and resolve on war . . .
1798	Bonaparte lands in Egypt . . .	1803	General Wellesley invested with full powers in the Deccan . . .
1798	Communications with Tippoo . . .	SECTION IV.	
1799	March of the army from Madras . . .	1803	Lord Wellesley's vigorous preparations . . .
1799	Tippoo attacks the Bombay army and is defeated . . .	1803	Grand military organization of Lord Wellesley . . .
1799	Defeat of Tippoo at Malavelly . . .	1803	General Wellesley captures Ahmednugur . . .
1799	Seringapatam captured; extinction of Hyder's dynasty . . .	1803	Decisive battle of Assye . . .
1799	Remarks on the campaign . . .	1803	Sindia loses all his possessions in the Deccan . . .
1799	Consequent security of the Deccan . . .	1803	His strong position in Hindostan . . .
1799	Restoration of the old family of Mysore . . .	1803	General Lake captures Allygurh . . .
SECTION II.		1803	His victory before Delhi . . .
1800	The Nizam cedes territory and forms a subsidiary alliance . . .	1803	Enters Delhi and restores the royal family . . .
1800	State of the Carnatic . . .	1803	Gains the battle of Laswaree . . .
	Clandestine and hostile correspondence of the Nabobs with Tippoo . . .	1803	General Wellesley defeats the raja of Nagpore at Argaum . . .
1801	The Nabob mediatized and the Carnatic becomes a British province . . .	1803	Treaty of Deogaum with him . . .
1800	Captain Malcolm's embassy to Persia . . .	1803	Humiliation of Sindia; signs the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaum . . .
1800	Expedition to the Red Sea . . .	1803	The war which produced these brilliant results lasts only five months . . .
1802	Peace of Amiens; Bonaparte sends a grand armament to Pondicherry . . .	1803	Treaties of alliance with the princes of Hindostan . . .
1800	Demand on the Nabob of Oude . . .	SECTION V.	
1801	He makes a new treaty and cedes half his territories . . .	1804	Holkar's wildness and his encroachments . . .
		1804	Lord Wellesley declares war . . .

A.D.	PAGE
1804 Colonel Monson imprudently marches into his territories . . .	272
1804 His ignominious retreat to Agra . . .	272
1804 Holkar advances to Muttra . . .	273
1804 He besieges Delhi, but is repulsed by Colonel Ochterlony . . .	273
1804 Lays waste the Company's territories and is pursued by General Lake . . .	274
1804 His army defeated at Deeg . . .	274
1805 Siege of Bhurtpore; its disastrous failure . . .	274
1805 Hostile attitude of Sindia and his confederates . . .	275
1805 Their movements . . .	276
1805 Lord Wellesley superseded by Lord Cornwallis . . .	276
1805 Character of his administration . . .	277
1808 Attempt to impeach him . . .	278
Thirty years after the Directors pass the highest eulogium on him . . .	278

CHAPTER IX.

SECTION I.

1805 Lord Cornwallis a second time Governor-General . . .	279
1805 Reverses Lord Wellesley's policy . . .	279
1805 Expires at Ghazee pore . . .	280
1805 Sir George Barlow succeeds him, and adopts his line of policy . . .	280
1805 Lord Lake chases Holkar into the Punjab . . .	281
1805 Sir George Barlow makes great concessions to Sindia and Holkar . . .	282
1805 Jeypore and Boondee abandoned to the ravages of Holkar . . .	283
1806 Anarchy of ten years through the reversal of Lord Wellesley's policy . . .	283
1807 Desolation of Rajpootana . . .	284
1806 Sir George's vigorous policy at Hyderabad and Poona . . .	284
1806 Restoration of the finances . . .	285
1806 The Vellore Mutiny . . .	285
1806 Cause of the mutiny . . .	286
1806 Recall of Lord William Bentinck from Madras . . .	287
1806 Mutiny visited on the missionaries . . .	287
1807 Sir George Barlow's appointment as Governor-General cancelled by the Ministry . . .	288

SECTION II.

1807 Lord Minto Governor-General . . .	288
1807 Anarchy in Bundelcund; vigorous policy of Lord Minto . . .	290
Early career of Runjeet Sing in the Punjab . . .	290
1806 His encroachments across the Sutlej . . .	290
1808 Appeal of the chiefs to Government against him . . .	291

A.D.	PAGE
1808 Mr. Metcalfe sent on a mission to Lahore . . .	291
1808 Runjeet Sing ordered to retire . . .	292
1808 His reluctant submission . . .	293
1803 Mr. Elphinstone's embassy to Cabul . . .	293
1809 It proves abortive . . .	294
1808 Establishment of French influence in Persia . . .	294
1808 Sir Harford Jones sent as envoy from the Crown to Teheran; he concludes a treaty . . .	294
1809 Lord Minto sends Colonel Malcolm envoy on the part of the Company . . .	295

SECTION III.

1809 Ameer Khan invades Nagpore and Lord Minto sends aid to the raja . . .	296
1807 Sir G. Barlow Governor of Madras . . .	297
1809 Third mutiny of the European officers . . .	297
1809 It is inflamed by his intemperance and quelled by his firmness . . .	299
1810 Recall of Sir George Barlow . . .	299
1809 Suppression of piracy among the Arabs . . .	300
Depredations of French privateers for fifteen years in the eastern seas . . .	300
1810 Capture of the Mauritius and Bourbon . . .	301

SECTION IV.

1811 Expedition to Java . . .	302
1811 Capture of Fort Cornelis and conquest of the island . . .	303
1812 Lord Minto superseded on the pressure of the Prince Regent . . .	304
Connection of the Pindarees with the Mahratta princes . . .	304
Their leaders . . .	305
Their system of plunder . . .	305
1811 They plunder to the gates of Nagpore . . .	306
1812 Their first inroad into the Company's territories . . .	306
1813 Lord Minto's vigorous representations to the Court of Directors . . .	306
Character of his administration . . .	307
1812 Negotiations for the new Charter . . .	307
1813 Demand of free trade by the manufacturers and merchants of England . . .	308
1813 Opposed by the Court of Directors . . .	308
1813 They bring forward witnesses to support their monopoly . . .	309
1813 The question of Indian missions . . .	309
1813 India thrown open to the enterprise of the nation, and to the labours of missionaries . . .	310

CHAPTER X.

SECTION I.	
A.D.	PAGE
1813 Marquis of Hastings Governor-General	310
1813 State of India on his arrival	311
1813 Description of Nepaul	311
Rise and progress of the Goorkhas	311
Their encroachments	312
1813 Lord Minto proposes a conference	312
1814 Lord Hastings demands the evacuation of the usurped districts	312
1814 The Goorkhas determine on war—the extent of their forces	313
1814 Lord Hastings obtains a loan from the Nabob of Oude	313
1814 Plan of the campaign	314
1814 Total failure of three divisions	314
1814 Disastrous effect of these reverses on the native mind	315
1815 Successful operations of General Ochterlony	316
1815 The Nepaul cabinet sues for peace, but refuses to ratify the treaty	317
1816 Second campaign of General Ochterlony, and conclusion of peace	317

SECTION II.

The Patans and Pindarees ravage Central India	318
1814 Lord Hastings's earnest representations to the court	318
1814 Proposed alliance with Bhopal	319
1815 Affairs at Poona—Trimbukjee Danglia	320
1815 Gungadur Shastree the minister of the Gaikwar murdered by him—and he is placed in confinement	321
1815 Lord Hastings's renewed representations regarding the Pindarees	321
1816 They plunder the British district of Guntoor	322
1816 Subsidiary alliance with Nagpore	322
1816 Proposed alliance with Jeypore, rejected by the raja	323
1816 The Court of Directors forbid any operations against the Pindarees, and afterwards sanction them	323
1816 Greatest expedition of the Pindarees	324
1817 Resolution to exterminate them	324
1817 Sindia promises to co-operate in this work	325
1817 Hostility of Bajee Rao	325
1817 Heavy penalty inflicted on him	325
Anarchy in Holkar's court, from his death in 1811 to 1817; domination of the soldiery	326

SECTION III.

A.D.	PAGE
1817 Lord Hastings revives the policy of Lord Wellesley, and forms alliances with the native princes	327
1817 Peshwa forms a confederacy against the Company	328
1817 Great extent of Lord Hastings's military preparations	328
1817 Sindia signs a new treaty	329
1817 Ameer Khan's power dissolved	329
1817 Peshwa breaks out; attacks Mr. Elphinstone, is totally defeated; his power extinguished	330
1817 Raja of Nagpore breaks out; attacks the Residency; totally defeated at Seetabuldee	331
1818 He is deposed and escapes	332
1817 Holkar's army defeated at Mehidpore	333
1818 Pursuit and extinction of the Pindarees	334
1818 Magnitude and results of the campaign	335
1818 Victory of Korygaum	335
1818 The Peshwa surrenders; sent to Bithoor	336
1819 Capture of remaining forts	336

SECTION IV.

1819 Mr. Canning's ungracious speech in the Commons	337
Unworthy treatment of Lord Hastings by the Directors	337
1818 He encourages education	338
1818 His liberality to the press	339
1816 Disturbances in Cuttack	339
Financial prosperity and territorial increase	340
Affairs at Hyderabad; the contingent	341
Administration of Chundoo lall	342
1818 Loans made by Palmer & Co.	342
1820 Sir W. Rumbold joins the firm	343
1821 Sir C. Metcalfe's remonstrance about their proceedings	343
1822 The loans paid off	344
1823 Lord Hastings returns to England	344
1823 Character of his administration	344
1824 His treatment at the India House	345

CHAPTER XI.

SECTION I.

1823 Lord Amherst Governor-General	346
1823 Mr. Adam, while officiating, persecutes the press	346
1823 Ruin of Mr. Buckingham	347
1822 Progress of the Burmese from 1811 to 1822	347
1822 The king demands the cession of eastern Benual	347
1823 Origin of the Burmese war	348
1824 Arrangements of the campaign	349
1824 Strength of the armament	349
1824 The army paralyzed at Rangoon by disease	350

A.D.	PAGE
1825 Conquest of Assam and Aracan . . .	350
1825 Second campaign and negotiations for peace . . .	351
1826 Treaty of Yandaboo; territorial cessions . . .	352
1824 Sepoy mutiny at Barrackpore . . .	353
1825 Bhurtpore; usurpation of Doorjun Sal . . .	354
1826 Siege and capture of Bhurtpore . . .	356
1828 Financial results of Lord Amherst's administration . . .	356

SECTION II.

1828 Lord William Bentinck Governor-General . . .	357
1828 Reduction of allowances . . .	357
1828 The half batta order . . .	358
1828 Examination of rent-free tenures . . .	359
1831 Insurrection of Teetoo Meer . . .	360
1832 The Cole Insurrection . . .	360
1832 Annexation of Cachar . . .	361
1834 Conquest and annexation of Coorg . . .	362
Lord W. Bentinck's non-intervention policy . . .	362
1830 Misconduct of the Mysore raja . . .	363
1832 The management of the country assumed by Lord W. Bentinck . . .	363
1834 Misgovernment of Joudpore . . .	364
1835 Complications at Jeypore . . .	365
Misgovernment in Oude . . .	365
Hakim Menhdy . . .	366
1833 The Directors authorize Lord William to assume the government of Oude . . .	366
Conquests of Runjeet Sing . . .	367
His French officers . . .	367
1823 His conflicts with the Afghans . . .	368
1827 His intercourse with Lord Amherst . . .	368
1830 The present of the dray-horses . . .	369
1831 Resources of Runjeet Sing . . .	369
1831 Meeting with Lord W. Bentinck at Roopur . . .	370
1832 Lord W. Bentinck's treaty with Sinde . . .	371

SECTION III.

1831 Lord W. Bentinck's administrative reforms . . .	371
1831 The judicial courts . . .	372
1831 Revenue settlement . . .	373
1831 Employment of natives . . .	373
1829 Abolition of suttee . . .	375
1830 Suppression of thuggee . . .	376
1830 Steam communication . . .	377
1833 Education; triumph of English . . .	379
1835 The Medical College . . .	379
1835 Financial results of his administration . . .	380
1835 Character of his administration . . .	380
1833 The Charter and its arrangements . . .	381
1835 The governor-generalship in dispute . . .	382
1835 The new government of Agra . . .	383
1835 Sir C. Metcalfe governor-general <i>ad interim</i> . . .	383

A.D.	PAGE
1835 He establishes the liberty of the press . . .	383
1836 Displeasure of the Court of Directors; he retires from the service . . .	384

CHAPTER XII.

SECTION I.

1836 Lord Auckland, Governor-General . . .	385
1834 Shah Soojah invades Afghanistan . . .	385
1835 Runjeet Sing's designs on Sinde . . .	385
1835 He seizes on Peshawur . . .	385
1836 Dost Mahomed appeals to Lord Auckland . . .	386
1837 Russian influence in Persia . . .	387
1837 Persian expedition to Herat . . .	388
1837 Lord Auckland proceeds to Simla, his cabinet of secretaries . . .	389
1837 Captain Burnes's mission to Cabul . . .	389
1837 Russian envoy arrives at Cabul . . .	390
1838 Captain Burnes obliged to retire . . .	391
1838 Expedition to depose Dost Mahomed and place Shah Soojah on the throne . . .	391
1838 Expedition universally condemned . . .	392
1838 Exertions of Lieut. Pottinger at Herat . . .	393
1838 Siege of Herat raised and the Persians retire . . .	394

SECTION II.

1838 Meeting of Runjeet Sing and Lord Amherst . . .	395
1838 The army of the Indus . . .	395
1839 Coercion of the Ameers of Sinde . . .	396
1839 Advance of the army to Candahar . . .	397
1839 Capture of Ghuzni . . .	397
1839 Dost Mahomed flies; Shah Soojah enters Cabul . . .	398
1839 Determination to occupy Afghanistan . . .	399
1840 Honours bestowed . . .	399
1839 Death and character of Runjeet Sing . . .	400
1840 Russian complaints against Khiva . . .	400
1840 Russian expedition to Khiva; its failure . . .	401
1839 The Bala Hissar given up to the Shah's zenana . . .	402
1840 Unpopularity of the English . . .	402
1840 Movements of Dost Mahomed; he surrenders to the envoy . . .	403

SECTION III.

1840 Major Todd envoy at Herat; obliged to retire . . .	404
1840 General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Candahar . . .	405
1841 Universal spirit of discontent in Afghanistan . . .	406
1841 Court of Directors advise retire-	

A.D.	PAGE	A.D.	PAGE	
		1842	Energy of Major Pottinger, and rescue of the prisoners	428
1841	Outbreak of the revolt; the passes closed	1842	Destruction of Istaliff, and of the Cabul bazaar	429
1841	Insurrection in Cabul; Sir. A. Burnes murdered	1842	The armies return to India	429
1841	Utter incapacity of General El- phinstone	1842	Lord Ellenborough's extraordi- nary proclamations	430
1841	Progress of the revolt; daily dis- asters	1842	The grand meeting at Feroze- pore	430
1841	Brigadier Shelton's perverse ob- stinacy	1842	Conduct of the Ameers of Sinde, 1839-42	431
1841	Last engagement; the army cooped up in the cantonments	1842	New treaty proposed by Colonel Outram	432
SECTION IV.		1842	Sir Charles Napier arrives with full military and diplomatic powers	432
1841	Akbar Khan assumes the com- mand	1842	His violent and unjust conduct towards the Ameers	433
1841	Negotiations with the enemy; starvation in the encampment	1842	He compels them to assemble at a conference at Hyderabad	434
1841	Disgraceful treaty of the 11th De- cember; arrogance of the Af- ghans	1842	Exasperation of the chiefs, the people, and the soldiery	434
1841	Treaty violated	1843	Battle of Meeanee; total defeat of the Beloches	435
1841	The envoy enveigled and mur- dered	1843	Battle of Duppa	435
1841	Major Pottinger assumes the com- mand; makes a new treaty, which is violated	1843	Lord Ellenborough annexes Sinde	435
1842	The army 4,500 strong with 11,000 camp followers begin its retreat	SECTION III.		
1842	It is entirely annihilated, with the exception of one officer and 120 hostages and prisoners	1844	Mutiny of the native regiments	436
1842	Depression of Lord Auckland	1843	State of affairs at Gwalior	437
1842	Want of energy in the Com- mander-in-chief	1843	Insubordination of the army	437
1842	Close of Lord Auckland's melan- choly reign	1843	Confusion in the Administration	438
CHAPTER XIII.		1843	Lord Ellenborough's masterly minute on the subject	438
SECTION I.		1843	He demands security for the safety of the frontier	439
1842	Lord Ellenborough Governor- General	1843	He proceeds in person to the capital with the army	439
1842	General Pollock arrives at the Khyber with reinforcements	1843	Battles of Maharajpore and Pun- niar	440
1842	He reaches Jellalabad	1844	New arrangements for the king- dom	441
1841	General Sale with his column reaches Jellalabad from Cabul and fortifies it	1844	Lord Ellenborough recalled by the Court of Directors	441
1842	Akbar Khan blockades it	1844	His improvements	442
1842	He is totally defeated	SECTION IV.		
1842	Great difficulties of General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Canda- har	1844	Lord Hardinge Governor-Gene- ral; his antecedents	442
1842	Lord Ellenborough's vacillation	Series of revolutions in the Pun- jab after the death of Runjeet		443
1842	Shah Soojah murdered at Cabul	1843	Insubordination of the army	444
1842	Condition of the hostages and the prisoners	1844	The army overawes the Govern- ment and plunders Golab Sing and Moolraj	445
1842	They are sent to the Hindoo Coosh	1845	Ranee Jhindun regent; Lall Sing minister; Tej Sing general	445
1842	Akbar Khan defeated at Tezzen	1845	English troops massed on the frontier	446
1842	General Pollock enters Cabul	1845	Ranee and the ministers launch the Khalsa army on the British territories	446
1842	General Nott on his march to Cabul blows up the fortifica- tions of Ghuzni	1845	60,000 Sikh soldiers and 40,000 well-armed followers cross the Sutlej	446
		1845	Sir John Littler's critical position at Ferozepore	447

A. D.	PAGE
1845 Battle of Moodkee	447
1845 Battle of Ferozeshuhur	449
1845 The whole Sikh force recrosses the Sutlej	450
1846 Battle of Allival	450
1846 Decisive battle of Sohraon	451
1846 The Punjab prostrated; Lahore occupied by the British army	452
1846 Territorial arrangements of Sir Henry Hardinge	453
1846 His settlement of the Punjab	453
1846 A second settlement in Decem- ber	454
1846 Reduction of the Company's army	455
Measures of improvement 1844 to 1847	456
1848 Lord Hardinge retires from the Government	457

CHAPTER XIV.

SECTION I.

1848 Lord Dalhousie Governor-Gen- eral	457
1848 Moolraj revolts at Mooltan and murders two officers	458
1848 Inactivity of the Commander-in- Chief	459
1848 Lieutenant Edwardes defeats Moolraj twice, and shuts him up in Mooltan	459
1848 A column despatched to his sup- port under General Whish	460
1848 The General invests Mooltan	460
1848 Shere Sing revolts and joins Moolraj	460
1848 The General waits three months for reinforcements	460
1848 Spread of the revolt	461
1848 Shere Sing joins his father Chut- ter Sing and collects a large army	462
1848 Lord Gough takes the field; strength of his army; engage- ment at Ramnuggur	462
1848 Engagement of Sadoolapore	462
1848 British army inactive for six weeks	463
1849 Calamitous battle at Chillian- walla	463
1849 It entails the recall of Lord Gough	465
1849 Appointment of Sir Charles Na- pier	465

SECTION II.

1848 Siege of Mooltan renewed	466
1849 Captured after a fearful resist- ance	466
1849 Victory of Guzerat	468
1849 Sikh army dissolved	468
1849 The Punjab annexed	469
Lord Dalhousie's arrangements for its Government	470
The border tribes curbed; the	

A. D.	PAGE
country disarmed; slavery, da- coity, and thuggee put down	471
Roads, canals, and other improve- ments, and their result	472
1852 Oppressive conduct of the Bur- mese	472
1852 Sixty gun frigate sent to demand redress, which is refused	473
1853 Lord Dalhousie organises the Burmese expedition in person	474
1853 Pegu confiscated	475

SECTION III.

Annexation policy attributed to Lord Dalhousie; its origin in 1841	476
1848 Case of Satara, referred to the Court of Directors	477
1849 They refuse their sanction to the right of adoption; they lay down the law on the subject	477
1853 Case of the raja of Nagpore	478
1854 Principality of Jhansi annexed	478
1853 Title and dignities of the Nabob of the Carnatic extinguished	479
1853 Settlement of the Nizam's debts and of the pay of the Conting- ent	480

SECTION IV.

Chronic misrule in Oude	480
1851 Colonel Sleeman's report on Oude	481
1855 General Outram's report	482
Lord Dalhousie's minute	482
1856 Annexation of Oude	483
1850 Lord Dalhousie's military reforms	483
1853 He establishes a low and uniform postage	484
1854 The Ganges Canal	484
1853 His minute on railroads	485
1852 He establishes the electric tele- graph	486
1851 Character of his administration	487
1853 The new charter	489

CHAPTER XV.

SECTION I.

1856 Lord Canning Governor-General	489
1856 Disaffection in Oude	490
1856 Discontent at Delhi	491
1856 State of the native army	491
1857 The greased cartridges	492
„ Terror and indignation of the sepoys	493
„ Paucity of European troops	493
„ Conspiracy for a general revolt	494
„ Outburst at Meerut, May 10	495
„ Massacre of the Europeans	495
„ Rebellion at Delhi; proclamation of the emperor	496
„ Proceedings at Lahore; the Sepoys disarmed	497
„ Active measures at other stations in the Punjab	499
„ Proposal to abandon Peshawur	499

SECTION II.		A. D.	PAGE
A. D.			
1857	Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow	500	
"	General revolt of Sepoys in Oude	500	
"	Death of Sir Henry Lawrence	501	
"	State of the Cawnpore garrison	501	
"	Massacre of Europeans at the Ghaut	502	
"	Colonel Neill at Benares	503	
"	Massacre of officers at Allahabad, and plunder of the town	504	
"	General Havelock arrives at Allahabad	505	
"	He repeatedly defeats the Sepoys	505	
"	Nana Sahib murders 200 European women and children	505	
"	Havelock advances twice to the relief of Lucknow, and retires	507	
"	Lucknow relieved by Outram and Havelock	508	
SECTION III.			
1857	Death of Generals Anson and Bernard	508	
"	Siege of Delhi for fourteen months	509	
"	Energetic efforts of Sir John Lawrence to send reinforcements from the Punjab	510	
"	Assault and capture of Delhi	510	
"	The king banished to Burmah	511	
"	Result of the capture of Delhi	511	
"	Relief of Agra	511	
"	Sir Colin Campbell relieves Lucknow	512	
"	Death of General Havelock	512	
"	Disaster of General Windham	512	
1858	Campaign against the mutineers in Central India	514	
"	Capture of Gwalior by the rebels, and its recovery	515	
SECTION IV.			
1858	The Doab cleared of rebels	516	
"	Sir C. Campbell captures Lucknow	517	
"	Lord Canning confiscates the land in Oude	517	
"	Extinction of the mutiny	518	
"	Causes of the mutiny	520	
"	Extinction of the East India Company	521	
"	The Crown assumes the Government of India	521	
"	The Queen's proclamation	522	
SECTION V.			
1859	Remodelling of the Supreme Council, and appointment of Legislative councils at the three presidencies	523	
"	The Punjab regiments embark for China	523	
"	Extinction of the Company's European army and navy	523	
"	Indigo riots in Bengal	524	
1860	Finances of India; Mr. Wilson financial member of Council	525	
1860	The penal code passed; and the code of civil and criminal procedure	525	
"	New arrangement with the Nizam	525	
1861	Supreme and Sudder courts united	525	
1862	Death of Lord Canning	526	
"	Lord Elgin Governor-General	526	
1863	His death	526	
"	Disturbances on Afghan frontier	526	
1864	Sir John Lawrence Governor-General	527	
"	Wealth poured into India by the export of cotton	527	
1865	Failure of the Bank of Bombay	527	
"	The Bootan War	527	
"	The tenancy question	528	
1866	The famine in Orissa	528	
1867	Mysore restored to the native family	529	
1868	Sir J. Lawrence's Afghan policy	529	
"	His minute on canals	529	
"	Lord Mayo Governor-General; his Afghan policy; his state railways	530	
1872	His death	530	
"	Lord Northbrook Governor-General	530	
"	Russian progress in Central Asia	530	
1873	Their occupation of Khiva	530	
"	Agreement between English and Russian Governments	531	
"	Precautions against threatened famine	531	
1874	Failure of two crops; and public works begun to employ sufferers	531	
"	Unsettled state of Afghanistan	532	
"	Corrupt government of Gaikwar of Baroda; attempt to poison the Resident	532	
1875	His trial and deposition	532	
"	Lord Hobart Governor of Madras; his death	532	
"	Lord Lytton Governor-General	533	
"	Prince of Wales visits India	533	
1876	Invests native princes with Star of India	533	
1877	The Queen assumes the title of Empress of India	534	
"	Another famine; great loss of life	534	
"	Death of Jung Bahadoor of Nepal	535	
"	Expedition against the Jowakis	535	
1878	Native soldiers sent to Malta	535	
"	Russian Embassy at Cabul	535	
"	English Embassy turned back at Ali Musjid; and war declared against the Ameer	535	
"	Capture of Ali Musjid and Candahar	536	
1879	Death of Shere Ali; succession of his son Yakooob Khan	536	
"	Treaty concluded at Gandamak	536	
"	Major Cavagnari appointed Envoy	536	
"	His murder	537	
"	Occupation of Cabul, and deposition of Yakooob Khan	537	
"	British Government purchase the Indian Railways	537	

to have predominated in it for ten centuries, during which the rocks were studded with shrines and monasteries. It was subjected to various invasions by sea and land, and on one occasion the precious tooth was conveyed for safety to Ceylon, of which it has ever since been, in one sense, the palladium. The Kesari dynasty superseded the boodhist monarchs in 473, and established the supremacy of Hinduism, of which they were the ardent devotees. They enjoyed power for more than six centuries, which seem to have been passed in little else but in building temples and founding religious communities. The country was covered with settlements of brahmins, of whom ten thousand were introduced from Cunouge. Bhoobaneshur became the ecclesiastical metropolis of Orissa, and was crowded with seven thousand temples, in honour of Seeva, less than a tenth of which remain, but they are sufficient to attest the zeal and the taste of that religious dynasty.

A.D.
473

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION OF MAHOMEDANISM—THE GHUZNI DYNASTY.

A.D. 569 MAHOMED was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A.D. 569, and at the age of forty announced himself as a prophet commissioned by the Almighty to convert the human race to the 'true faith' by the agency of the sword. He obtained many proselytes in his native land by his genius and eloquence, and, having raised an army of Arabs to subjugate the surrounding nations to his creed and his power, commenced that career of conquest which was pursued by his successors with unexampled vigour and rapidity. Province after province and kingdom after kingdom succumbed to them, and before the close of a century they had conquered Egypt, Syria, Northern Africa, and a part of Spain. Persia was prostrate before them, and they were advancing towards Cabul. A few years after the death of Mahomed, the Caliph Omar founded Bussora, at the estuary of the Tigris, and his generals were enabled to make descents upon Sindh and Beloochistan by sea. Under the Caliph Walid, between 705 and 715 A.D., that province was entirely subjugated, and the banner of the crescent was planted on the turrets of Mooltan. About the same period the Mahomedans advanced into Central Asia, and overran the country north of the Oxus. The general of the Caliph, Mahomed ben Cossim, likewise conquered the kingdom of Guzerat, and eventually advanced to Chittore, the capital of Rajpootana, when the gallant young Bappa placed himself at the head of the Rajpoot forces, and expelled the invader. On his return from the field he was raised to the throne, and founded the present royal family of Oodypore. The Rajpoot annals record that in the days of Khoman, the grandson of Bappa,

Rise of Mahomedan power.

705
to

715

711

Chittore was again invaded by Mahomed, the governor of Khorasan, when the other princes in the north hastened to his assistance; and a very patriotic description is given of the different tribes which composed the northern chivalry on this occasion. With their aid Khoman was enabled to defeat the invader, with whom he is said to have fought twenty-four battles. The Mahomedans were thus expelled from all the territory they had been endeavouring to acquire for a century and a half, and it was not till three centuries after their first invasion that they succeeded in making a permanent lodgment in India.

A.D.
750

The opulent regions of Khorasan and Transoxania, which had been conquered by the Caliphs in the first century of the Hejira—the Mahomedan era, which dates from the flight of Mahomed from Mecca to Medina—continued under their government for about a hundred and eighty years; but after the death of the renowned Haroun-al-rashid, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne, the central authority began to decay, and the governors of provinces to assume independence. Ismael Samani, a Tartar, seized upon Khorasan, Transoxania, and Afghanistan, in 872, and fixed his capital at Bokhara, where his dynasty—usually designated that of the Samanides—continued to reign for about a hundred and twenty years. The fifth prince in descent had a Turkish slave, Aluptugeen, a man of courage and good sense, who rose to be governor of Khorasan. On the death of his patron he was consulted about the choice of a successor, and having voted against the son of the deceased king—who was, however, raised to the throne by the other chiefs—he was deprived of his post and retreated with a band of trusty followers to Ghuzni, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, where he succeeded in establishing his independence. He had purchased a slave of the name of Subuktugeen in Tartary, in whom he discovered great powers of mind, and whom he raised to the highest offices. He stepped into the throne on the death of his sovereign, A.D. 976.

976

The establishment of a powerful kingdom under a vigorous monarch in the vicinity of the Indus created no little alarm in the mind of Jeypal, the Hindoo sovereign of the Punjab, and he led a large army across the river, and attacked Subuktugeen at Lughman in the Cabul passes. On the eve of the engagement a violent storm of wind, rain, and thunder swept down the valley, which alarmed the superstitious soldiers of Jeypal to such

Hindoos at-
tack Subuk-
tugeen.

a degree that he was constrained to sue for an accommodation, which was not granted without the promise of a heavy payment; but on hearing that his opponent had been obliged to march to the westward to repel an invasion, he refused to fulfil his engagement, and imprisoned the king's messengers. Subuktugeen, having disposed of his enemies, marched down to the Indus to avenge this perfidy. Jeypal succeeded in enlisting the aid of the rajas of Delhi, Ajmere, Callinger, and Cunouge, and advanced across the Indus with an immense force, but was again defeated, and the authority of Ghuzni was established up to the banks of the Indus.

A.D. 997 Subuktugeen died in 997, and was succeeded at first by his son Ismael, and a few months after by his second son, the renowned Mahmood of Ghuzni. From his early youth he had accompanied his father on his various expeditions, and acquired a passion for war and great military experience. He ascended the throne at the age of thirty, and became impatient to enlarge his dominions, and contemplated with delight the glory of extending the triumphs of his creed in the untrodden plains of India. He began his crusade against the Hindoos in 1001, and conducted no fewer than twelve expeditions, of more or less importance, against them. He left Ghuzni in August. Jeypal crossed the Indus a third time, and in the neighbourhood of Peshawur was again defeated and captured. He was generously released, but resigned the throne to his son Anungpal, and sought death on a funeral pyre to which he had himself set fire. Passing over several minor expeditions, we come to the fourth, which was directed against Anungpal, who had instigated a revolt against Mahmood in Mooltan, in conjunction with six of the most powerful rajas of the north. The Hindoos again took the fatal resolution of crossing the Indus, and were a fourth time defeated with the loss of 20,000 men. The next expedition was a mere plundering excursion to Nagarcote, a place of peculiar sanctity, and so strongly fortified as to have been made the depository of the wealth of the neighbouring princes. The stronghold was easily captured, and despoiled—according to the Mahomedan historians—of 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 200 maunds of pure gold ingots, 2,000 maunds of unwrought silver, and twenty maunds of jewels. The sixth expedition was directed against Thanedur, one of the most ancient and wealthy shrines in India. Anungpal implored Mahmood to spare it, but he made the characteristic reply that the

Mahmood of
Ghuzni.
His expedi-
tions.

1001

extermination of idolatry was his mission, and that his reward in paradise would be measured by his success in accomplishing it. All the costly images and shrines, the accumulation of centuries, together with 200,000 captives, were transported to Ghuzni, which began to wear the appearance of a Hindoo colony.

After several minor expeditions Mahmood determined to penetrate to the heart of Hindostan, and to plant his standard on the banks of the Ganges. With an army, it is said, of 20,000 foot and 100,000 horse,

A.D.
1017

attracted chiefly from Central Asia by the love of adventure and the lure of plunder, he burst suddenly on the city of Canouge, which had been for centuries the citadel of Hindooism. The descriptions given of the magnificence of the city and the splendour of the court, both by Hindoo and Mahomedan writers, stagger our belief, more especially when we consider the limited extent of the kingdom. The army of the state is said to have consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horsemen, and 500,000 infantry; yet the raja made his submission after a short and feeble resistance. Mahmood left it uninjured, and turned his footsteps to the great ecclesiastical city of Muttra, the birthplace and sanctuary of the deified hero Krishna, filled with shrines, blazing with jewelry. For twenty days the city and the temples were given up to plunder, and the idols were melted down or demolished. Some of the temples were spared for their great solidity or their surpassing beauty. "Here are a thousand edifices," wrote the conqueror, "as firm as the creed of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Such another city could not be constructed under two centuries."

Expedition
to Canouge
and Muttra.

Passing over two expeditions of lesser moment, we come to the last and most celebrated, the capture of the shrine of Somnath, the most wealthy and the most renowned on the continent of India. At the period

1024

of an eclipse, it is said to have been resorted to by 200,000 pilgrims. The image was daily bathed with water brought from the Ganges, 1,000 miles distant. The establishment consisted of 2,000 brahmins, 300 barbers to shave the devotees, 200 musicians, and 300 courtizans. To reach the temple Mahmood had a painful march of 350 miles across the desert. The raja retreated to the fortified temple, and the defenders on the first attack withdrew to the inner sanctuary, and prostrated themselves before the idol to implore its help. The neighbouring chiefs hastened

Expedition
to Somnath.

with large forces to the defence of the shrine, and Mahmood was so severely pressed by them that he, in his turn, prostrated himself on the ground to invoke divine assistance; and then, springing into the saddle, cheered on his troops to victory. After 5,000 Hindoos had fallen under their sabres, Mahmood entered the temple and was struck with astonishment at its grandeur. The lofty roof was supported by fifty-six columns, elaborately carved, and studded with jewels. The shrine was illuminated by a single lamp, suspended by a golden chain, the lustre of which was reflected from the numerous precious stones embossed in the walls. The image, five yards in height, one half of which was buried in the earth, faced the entrance, and Mahmood ordered it to be demolished, when the priests threw themselves at his feet and offered an immense ransom for it, but he replied that he had rather be known as the destroyer than the seller of idols. Then, lifting up his mace, he aimed a blow at it, and the figure, which was hollow, burst asunder, and poured a larger treasure at his feet than the brahmins had offered for its ransom. The wealth obtained on this occasion exceeded any he had acquired in his previous expeditions, and the mind is bewildered with the enumeration of the treasures and jewels which he carried back. The sandal-wood gates were sent as a trophy to his capital where they remained for eight centuries, till they were brought back in a triumphal procession to India by a Christian ruler.

He retired to Ghuzni after a toilsome and perilous march through the desert, and died in the sixtieth year of his age.

A.D.
1030

Two days before his death he caused the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before his eyes, and is said to have shed tears at the thought of leaving them. Mahmood was not only the greatest conqueror, but the grandest sovereign of the age. He extended his dominions from the sea of Aral to the Persian Gulf, and from the mountains of Kurdestan to the banks of the Sutlege, and the order which reigned through these vast territories gave abundant proof of his genius for civil administration. His court was the most magnificent in Asia, and few princes have ever surpassed him in the munificent encouragement of letters. He founded and richly endowed a university at his capital, which was adorned with a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to collect. His taste for architecture was developed after he had seen

Death and
character of
Mahmood.

the grand edifices of Cunouge and of Muttra, of Thanedur and Somnath, and his capital, which at the beginning of his reign was a collection of hovels, was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and palaces.

The dynasty of Ghuzni may be said to have reigned, though it did not flourish, for a hundred and fifty-six years after the death of Mahmood, inasmuch as it was not dispossessed of its last territories before 1186. During this period, the attention of its princes was so incessantly distracted by the political and military movements of Central Asia, and more especially by the aggressions of the Seljuks, as to leave them little leisure for the affairs of India. It would be idle to encumber the attention of the reader with the revolutions beyond the Indus, which have no bearing upon the interests of India, or with the catalogue of the sovereigns engaged in them. The provinces of Lahore and Mooltan were permanently annexed to the throne of Ghuzni, though more than one effort was made by the Hindoo princes to drive the Mahomedans across the Indus.

Progress and close of the Ghuzni dynasty. A. D. 1186

SECTION II.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF GHUZNI TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TOGHLUK.

THE dynasty of Ghore, which succeeded that of Ghuzni, was founded by Eis-ood-deen, a native of Afghanistan, who entered the service of Musaood, the king of Ghuzni, and obtained the hand of his daughter together with the principality of Ghore. His son was married to Byram, the last sultan of Ghuzni, who put him to death on the occasion of some family quarrel. The brother of the deceased prince, Seif-ood-deen, took up arms to revenge his death, and Byram was obliged to fly, but he returned soon after with a larger force, and conquered his opponent, whom he butchered with studied ignominy. Alla-ood-deen, his brother, vowed a bitter revenge, and a battle was fought under the walls of Ghuzni, when Byram was defeated and fled to Lahore, but perished on the route. Alla-ood-deen then proceeded to wreak his vengeance on the city of Ghuzni, which had become the grandest in Asia, and gave it up for three,

Origin of the House of Ghore.

and, according to some authors, for seven days, to indiscriminate slaughter, flame, and devastation. The superb monuments of the kings of Ghuzni were levelled with the ground, and the palaces of the nobles sacked and demolished. This savage vengeance has fixed an indelible stigma on his memory, and he is branded by Mahomedan historians as 'the incendiary of the world.' He was succeeded in 1156 by an amiable and imbecile youth, who was murdered within a twelve-month, when Gheias-ood-deen was raised to the throne, and associated his brother Shahab-ood-deen, the renowned Mahomed Ghory, with him in the government, the most important functions of which were left in his hands. The harmony which subsisted between the two brothers for forty-five years, and the exemplary loyalty which Mahomed, though in possession of the real power of the state, continued to manifest towards his brother in an age of universal violence, deserve especial commemoration.

Mahomed Ghory was the real founder of Mahomedan power in India, and it may be serviceable to glance at the condition of the Hindoo thrones north of the Nerbudda on the eve of their extinction. The kingdom of Cunouge had passed under the authority of the Rathore tribe of Rajpoots. The kings of Benares who professed the booddhist creed had become extinct, and the principality had been divided between the rulers of Cunouge and Bengal. Bengal was independent under the dynasty of the Sens. Guzerat was governed by the Bhagilas, and the powerful kingdom of Ajmere by the Chohans. The last King of Delhi, Prithee raj, was of the Tomara tribe, and he had adopted his grandson, the raja of Ajmere, and bestowed his daughter on him. With the chief of Guzerat for his ally, the king of Cunouge was engaged in mortal conflict with the king of Delhi, with whom were associated the rajas of Chittore and Ajmere. The arrogant raja of Cunouge had, moreover, determined to celebrate the sacrifice of the horse, the emblem of universal sovereignty, and this vainglorious assumption was resented by half the powers of Hindostan, which was thus divided into two hostile camps, with its rulers engaged in deadly hostilities, when the Mahomedan invader was thundering at its gates. On the threshold of this great revolution we pause for a moment to notice the virtues of Bhoje-raj, the last of the great Hindoo sovereigns of India. He was of the ancient and

A. D.
1156

Gheias-ood-deen.

State of the
Hindoo
kingdoms.

Bhoje-raj.

time-honoured tribe of the Prumuras, who still continued to rule, but with diminished splendour, the kingdom of Oojein. Seated on the throne of Vikrum-aditya, he resolved to emulate him in the encouragement of literature. His memory is consecrated by the gratitude of posterity, and his reign has been immortalised by the genius of poetry.

Mahomed Ghory turned his attention to India with all the vigour of a young dynasty. In 1176 he took the province of Ooch, at the junction of the rivers of the Punjab and the Indus. Two years later he was defeated in his attempt on Guzerat. He subsequently overran Sinde, and took possession of the two provinces of Mooltan and the Punjab, which alone had remained to the house of Ghuzni, which thus became extinct. Having no longer any Mahomedan rival within the Indus, his entire force was brought to bear on the great Hindoo monarchies. At this period there was little trace of the invasion of Mahmood; the prosperity of the country was renewed, and it teemed with wealth and abounded in temples; but the year 1193 brought a tempest of desolation which completely overwhelmed the Hindoo power in the north. Prithee raj, the gallant but thoughtless king of Delhi, though he had wasted his strength in his struggle with the raja of Cunouge and his associates, was still able to bring a force of 200,000 horse into the field with a proportionate number of foot. The two armies joined battle at Tiraauri, not far from Thanedur, the battle-field of Hindostan, when the king of Ghore was completely defeated, and was happy to escape with the wreck of his army across the Indus.

Having recruited his army with Turks, Tartars, and Afghans, he recrossed the Indus to wipe out his disgrace. The Hindoos met him on their old and, as they considered it, fortunate ground, with an augmented force of infantry and cavalry; 150 chiefs rallied round the standard of Delhi, and the king sent an arrogant message to Mahomed, granting him permission to retire without molestation. He replied, with apparent humility, that he was merely his brother's lieutenant, to whom he would refer their message, and the moderation of this reply was interpreted as a symptom of weakness. The Caggar flowed between the two armies, and Mahomed, after having in vain endeavoured to surprise the Hindoos by crossing it during the night, feigned a retreat, which drew the enemy in confusion after him, when he charged

A.D.
1176

1193

Mahomed
Ghory.Defeat of the
Hindoos.

them with 12,000 chosen horse, and, as the historian relates, "this prodigious army, once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The raja of Chittore fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his Rajpoot cavalry. The king of Delhi was taken prisoner, and butchered in cold blood. Mahomed then proceeded to Ajmere, where he stained his reputation by the massacre of several thousands of his captives. Mahomed returned to Ghuzni laden with plunder, leaving one of his slaves, Kootub-ood-deen, who had risen to eminence by his talent, to continue his conquests. He captured 1193 Meerut and Coel, and eventually Delhi, which now became the seat of Mahomedan power in India. The kings of Cunouge and Guzerat, who had looked on with malicious delight while the Mahomedans smote down their Hindoo opponents, had no long respite themselves. Mahomed 1194 returned to India the next year with a powerful force, and defeated Jey-chunder, the Rathore raja of Cunouge, on the banks of the Jumna, and captured Benares, where he demolished a thousand temples. Upon this reverse, the whole tribe of Rathores emigrated in a body to Rajpootana, and established the kingdom of Marwar, and the ancient city of Cunouge, which had seen the days of Ramu sank to insignificance. Kootub-ood-deen lost no time in despatching one of his slaves, Bukhtyar Bengal and Behar. Ghiljie, to conquer Behar, which offered no resistance. That officer then advanced to Bengal, which was under the rule of Lukshmunu Sen, eighty years of age, who usually held his court at Nuddea. He appears to have made no preparations for the defence of the country, and was surprised at a meal, and fled for refuge to Jugernath. It is particularly worthy of note, that while the heroic Rajpoots, the kings of Delhi and Cunouge, and other princes in the north-west, offered a noble resistance to the Mahomedans, Bengal fell, without the slightest effort for its independence. It remained under Mahomedan rule for five centuries and a half, till it was transferred to a European government by the issue of a single battle, which cost the conquerors only seventy men. Bukhtyar delivered up Nuddea to plunder, and then seized on Gour, the ancient capital. He subsequently invaded Bootan and Assam, but was gallantly repulsed by the highlanders, and died of chagrin on his return to Bengal.

During these transactions Mahomed marched against the king of Kharizm, the modern Khiva, and, though at

first victorious, experienced so crushing a defeat that it was with difficulty he made his way back to Ghuzni, the gates of which were shut against him by the governor. Revolts at the same time broke out in India on the news of his reverses. He succeeded eventually in restoring his authority, and was returning to his capital, when he was murdered on the banks of the Indus by a band of Gukkers, who stole unperceived into his tent and revenged the loss of a relative in the late war. He governed the kingdom forty-nine years, forty-five in conjunction with his brother, and four after his death. His military operations in India were on a larger scale, and their result was more permanent than those of Mahmood of Ghuzni. Mahmood attacked the most opulent towns and temples and carried their wealth to Ghuzni. It was a sudden tornado of spoliation, and when it had passed over, the sovereigns recovered their power, and the country resumed its prosperity. But Mahomed of Ghore in the course of ten years completely demolished the Hindoo power, and at the period of his death northern India, from the Himalaya to the Nerbudda, with the exception of Malwa, had come under a permanent Mahomedan government. The treasure left by Mahomed is stated at a sum which exceeds belief, more particularly the five maunds of jewels. He had no children, and his nephew was proclaimed throughout his dominions, and ruled them for six years. On his death there was a general scramble for power between the governors of the different provinces, and in 1215 Ghuzni was taken by the king of Kharizm, and the dynasty of Ghore disappears from the page of history.

A. D.
1203

1206

1215

Kootub-ood-deen, to whose management Mahomed had confided his Indian conquests, was invested with the full sovereignty of them by his successor, and assumed the insignia of royalty at Lahore in 1206, from which year the real foundation of Mahomedan power in India is usually dated. The dynasty which he founded is known in history as that of the slave kings. He made one expedition across the Indus and overcame Eldoze, another of the slaves of Mahomed, who had caused himself to be crowned at Ghuzni, and claimed the submission of Kootub. Kootub himself was soon after defeated and returned to India, and from that time forward contented himself with the dominions he possessed there. To commemorate the capture of Delhi, he commenced the magnificent Kootub-

The Slave
dynasty.
Kootub-ood-
deen,

1206

Minar in that city, which was completed by his successor. He died in 1210, after an independent reign of five years.

- 1210 While Central Asia was the scene of convulsion created by the ambition of its different rulers, and more especially by the violence of Mahomed the turbulent king of Kharizm, its polity was entirely subverted by the memorable irruption of Jenghiz Khan. He was the petty chief of the Moguls, a tribe of nomadic Tartars, roaming with their flocks and herds on the north of the great wall of China. By the age of forty he had established his authority over all the tribes, and burst with resistless force on China, and, after sacking ninety cities, obliged the emperor to cede the provinces north of the Yellow River. With an army of 700,000 men he then poured down on the Mahomedan principalities of Central Asia, and defeated Mahomed of Kharizm, who is said to have left 160,000 dead on the field. From the Caspian sea to the banks of the Indus, the whole region for more than a thousand miles was laid waste with fire and sword. This tide of desolation which swept over the country was the greatest calamity which has ever befallen the family of man. Although Jenghiz Khan did not invade India, he gave a predominant influence to the Moguls, who, after the lapse of three centuries, were led across the Indus by Baber, and placed on the throne of India.

- Kootub was succeeded by his son Aram, who was dethroned within a year, and Altumsh, his slave and son-in-law, was raised to supreme authority, which he enjoyed for twenty-five years. He was occupied in reducing to subjection the few districts which still remained in the hands of the Hindoos, in curbing his subordinate governors, and consolidating the new empire. He reduced the strong fortresses of Rinthimbore in Rajpootana, of Gwalior, and of Mandoo. He captured Oojein, the venerable capital of Vikrum-adityu, and destroyed his magnificent temple of Mubakal, and sent the images to Delhi to be mutilated and placed as steps of his great mosque. He was succeeded by his son, who was deposed within six months for his vices, and his sister Rezia was raised to the throne. "She was," says the historian, "endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinised her actions most severely could find in her no fault but that she was a woman." She managed the affairs of the empire with singular talent, revised the laws, appeared

daily on the throne in the habit of a Sultan, and gave audience to all comers. But an Abyssinian slave had gained her favour and was appointed to the command of the army; the nobility were aggrieved, insurrections broke out, and she took the field against the rebels, but was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of three years and a half. The two succeeding reigns were without events, and occupied only six years, when Nazir-ood-deen, a grandson of Altumsh, mounted the throne. The reign of this quiet and studious monarch extended to twenty years. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his habits, his frugality, and continence, and for the royal Mahomedan virtue of transcribing the Koran. The merit of all the important events of his reign belongs to his great minister, Bulbun, the Turkish slave and son-in-law of Altumsh. Throughout this reign the provinces contiguous to the Indus were constantly subjected to the ravages of the Moguls whom Jenghiz Khan had established in Central Asia, and twenty-five of the princes whom they had expelled were hospitably entertained at the court of Delhi. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his minister, Bulbun, the greatest statesman in the annals of the slave dynasty. He was a prince of great energy and ability, but is represented by some historians as a monster of cruelty, by others as a model of perfection. During an insurrection in Merut he is said to have put 100,000 to death, and the rebellion in Bengal was punished with such extreme severity as to constrain the ministers of religion to interpose their influence to stay the savage execution of women and children. On the other hand, he set an example of the most rigid abstemiousness, and punished immorality with great rigour. His court was maintained on a scale of great magnificence, and adorned with the presence of men of literary genius, whom he attracted by his munificence; but he made it a rule to employ no Hindoos in the public service. His accomplished son, Prince Mahomed, the idol of the age, was sent to repel a renewed invasion of the Moguls. They were defeated, but the illustrious youth fell in the field, and with him perished the hopes of the dynasty. Bulbun was succeeded by one of his grandsons, who was speedily superseded by another, and on his falling a victim to his debaucheries, a struggle for power arose between the Tartar mercenaries and the Afghan Ghiljies. The Tartars were cut to pieces, and the dynasty, which began in 1205 with the slave

A.D.
1246

1266

1279

Kutub, terminated in 1288, within three years of the death of the slave Bulbun.

The victorious Ghiljies, Feroze, then in his seventieth year, mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal-ood-deen. The dynasty, which lasted only thirty years, was rendered memorable by the extension of Mahomedan power over the Deccan. The reign of Jellal-ood-deen was marked, except in one instance, by an injudicious lenity, which relaxed the whole frame of government; the governors withheld their tribute, and the roads were infested with banditti. In the fifth year of his reign, his nephew, Alla-ood-deen, a man of great energy, violent ambition, and no scruples of conscience, projected a marauding expedition to the south. Avoiding all communication with his uncle, he swept down across the Nerbudda with a body of 8,000 chosen horse, and suddenly presented himself before the fortress of Dowlutabad. Neither the king nor any of the neighbouring Hindoo princes were prepared for resistance, and the town with all its treasures fell a prey to the invader. The audacity of this adventure struck terror into the chiefs on the line, and before they were prepared to encounter him he was enabled to return, on the twenty-fifth day, without any interruption. This expedition revealed the wealth and the weakness of the Deccan to the Mahomedans, and paved the way for its subjugation. The aged emperor, then in his seventy-seventh year, was delighted to find his nephew return in safety, laden with plunder and covered with glory. His ministers endeavoured to put him on his guard against the ambitious designs of his nephew, but the over-confident monarch was induced to cross the Ganges to welcome him, and at the first interview was treacherously assassinated by men placed in ambush in the tent.

Alla-ood-deen hastened to Delhi, and put the two sons of his uncle to death and imprisoned their mother; but he endeavoured to efface the memory of these atrocities by the just exercise of the power he had so nefariously acquired, and by the exhibition of games and festivities; he was never able, however, to suppress his arbitrary temper, and his reign, though long and glorious, was always disturbed by conspiracies. He was ignorant of letters when he ascended the throne, but he applied successfully to study, and surrounded himself with learned men, in whose society he took great pleasure. His government

was stern and inflexible, but not unsuited to the exigencies of the time. The military operations of his reign, which extended to twenty-seven years, were divided between the north and south of India. Early in his reign he finally conquered Guzerat, which had assumed independence, and two years after obtained possession of the fortress of Rinthimbore and then of Chittore, which brought the Rajpoots "under the yoke of obedience." His territories to the north-west of Delhi were constantly disturbed by the inroads of the Moguls from Central Asia, and in 1298 Kutlugh Khan marched down from the Indus with an army of 200,000 men upon Delhi, which was crowded with fugitives till famine began to stare them in the face, when Alla-ood-deen marched out and dispersed this vast host. The invasion was twice repeated, and as often repelled, and the emperor, to deter these inveterate enemies by a severe example, caused the heads of all his male prisoners to be struck off and erected into a pillar at Delhi.

His first expedition to the Deccan, when seated on the throne, was directed against Warungul, the ancient capital of Telingana, but it was not successful. Three years later, a larger army was sent under the command of Malik Kafoor, a eunuch, once the slave, but now the favourite general of the emperor, and the object of envy to the nobles of the court. He overran the Mahratta country and recovered Dowlutabad, which had revolted. In the previous expedition against Guzerat, the wife of the raja had fallen into the hands of the victors and was placed in the imperial harem, where her singular beauty and her talents excited the admiration of the emperor. She had borne a daughter to her former husband, whose attractions were said to be equal to her own, and the generals were ordered diligently to seek her out. She was unexpectedly discovered and conveyed to Delhi, where she made such an impression on the king's son that he married her;—at so early a period do we find inter-marriages between the Mahomedans and the Hindoos in vogue. In 1309, Kafoor ravaged the north of Telingana, and conquered Warungul. The next year he was sent with a large army down to the Carnatic, and reached the capital after a march of three months. The raja was defeated and made prisoner, and with him ended the Bellal dynasty of the Deccan. Kafoor then ravaged the eastern provinces along the Coromandel coast down to the extreme limit of the peninsula, and, as a memorial of his

A.D.
1297

1298

Expeditions
to the
Deccan.

1306

1309

1310

victories erected a mosque on the island of Ramisseram, between the continent and the island of Ceylon, contiguous to the magnificent temple erected ages before in honour of Seeta, the wife of the hero of the Ramayun. The value of the plunder he acquired in these expeditions was calculated by historians deemed sober, at a hundred crores of rupees.

- In the decline of life Alla-ood-deen exhibited an in-
 1312 fatuated attachment to Kafoor, whose depravity equalled
 his talents, and a spirit of discontent spread
 throughout the provinces. His strength, both
 of body and mind, was impaired by constant in-
 dulgence, and the empire, which had been sus-
 tained by his energy, fell into a state of anarchy. Guzerat,
 Chittore, and Deoghur deserted their allegiance, and he sank
 1316 into the grave under a cloud of misfortunes. His con-
 quests were greater than had ever been achieved before in
 India ; his internal administration was eminently successful,
 and the wealth and prosperity of the country were in-
 creased. His death became the signal for revolutions
 The infamous Kafoor seized upon the regency and put out
 the eyes of the two sons of his benefactor. The nobles of
 the court, however, caused him to be put to death, and
 placed the deceased emperor's third son upon the throne,
 who lost no time in putting the instruments of his eleva-
 tion to death, and extinguishing the sight of his youngest
 brother. He reconquered some of the provinces which
 had revolted, but on his return to the capital gave him-
 self up to the most degrading vices, while his favourite,
 Khosroo, a converted Hindoo, undertook an expedition to
 the Deccan and ravaged the maritime province of Malabar,
 which Kafoor had spared. Khosroo returned to Delhi
 laden with booty, assassinated his master, and usurped the
 throne, and then proceeded to massacre the royal family ;
 but Ghazee Toghluq, the governor of the Punjab, marched
 on Delhi with the veteran troops of the marches, disciplined
 1321 by constant conflicts with the Moguls, and put an end to
 the reign and life of the monster.

SECTION III.

THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK TO THE MOGUL DYNASTY.

GHAZEE TOGHLUK was desirous of placing some scion of the royal house upon the throne, but the family had been ex-terminated during the recent convulsions, and he yielded to the wishes of the nobles and people to accept it himself. His father was originally a slave of the emperor Bulbun, but raised himself to high honour by his abilities. His reign, which lasted only four years, was as commendable as his accession had been blameless. Bengal had prospered for forty years under the viceroyalty of Kurrah, the son of the emperor Bulbun, and as charges had been brought against him, Ghazee Toghluk investigated them in person, and, finding them groundless, confirmed him in the government; and the native historian illustrates the mutations of fortune at this period by the remark that it was the son of the father's slave who granted the royal umbrella to his son. An expedition was sent into Telingana; the capital, Warungul, was captured, and the Hindoo dynasty which had flourished there for two centuries and a half became extinct. Jona Khan, the son of the emperor, on his return from this campaign, gave an entertainment to his father in a magnificent pavilion which fell unexpectedly, but not accidentally, and crushed him to death.

Jona Khan, who ascended the throne and assumed the title of Mahomed Toghluk, is one of the most extraordinary characters in the Mahomedan history of India—a singular compound of opposite qualities. He was the most accomplished sovereign of the age, skilled in every science, and versed even in Greek philosophy; the liberal patron of learning, temperate to the verge of asceticism, and distinguished in the field by his gallantry and military skill. But all these virtues were neutralised by such perversity of disposition and such paroxysms of tyranny as to render him the object of general execration. It was the intoxication of absolute power which led him to acts bordering on insanity. He began his reign by completing the reduction of the Deccan; he extended the limits of the empire beyond any of his predecessors, and brought the remotest districts into as good order as those

around Delhi; yet, before his death the whole of the Deccan was lost to the crown by his follies. He assembled a large army for the conquest of Persia, but, after exhausting his resources, the troops deserted for want of pay, and became the terror of his own subjects. To replenish his treasury he resolved to march into China and levy contributions in that remote region, but the army of 100,000 men which he sent across the snowy range, after encountering incredible hardships, was all but exterminated by the Chinese and the exasperated highlanders, and the few who escaped to tell the tale were butchered by his own orders. Hearing that the Chinese had a paper currency in use, he determined to introduce it into his dominions, to the ruin of thousands and the general derangement of commerce. His exactions drove the husbandmen into the woods, and filled the country with banditti. By way of revenge he surrounded a large tract of territory with his troops, and driving the wretched inhabitants into the centre, slaughtered them with all the brutality of a battue. In 1338 he took the field against his nephew, who had been driven into revolt, and the young prince was captured and flayed alive. On reaching Deoghur, he was so enchanted with the beauty of the situation and the mildness of the climate, that he resolved to make it the capital of the empire, and changed its name to Dowlutabad. He then ordered the inhabitants of Delhi to migrate to it, and thousands of men, women, and children were constrained to travel a distance of eight hundred miles; but he planted the road with full-grown trees. The project of transplanting the metropolis failed, but not till it had inflicted incalculable misery on the people. At the same time, as if to mock the calamities of his subjects, he erected a splendid mausoleum over the grave of a decayed tooth.

These caprices and oppressions produced the usual harvest of insurrections. The Afghans crossed the Indus and ravaged the Punjab, and when they retired the Gukkers completed the desolation of the province. Bengal revolted, and remained independent for two centuries. Two fugitives from Telingana established a Hindoo kingdom near the Toombudra, with Beejanuger for its capital. About the same time a descendant of the royal house of Telingana founded an independent principality at Golconda; and these two Hindoo powers maintained a vigorous struggle for many years with the Mahomedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan.

Expedition
to Persia.

A. D.
1325

Change of
capital.

1338

Dismember-
ment of the
empire.

1340

1344

A still more important revolution wrested the remaining provinces south of the Nerbudda from the sceptre of Delhi. A large body of Moguls who had settled in Guzerat raised the standard of revolt. The emperor proceeded against them with his usual vigour, gave up the cities of Surat and Cambay to plunder, and desolated the province as if it had been the possession of an enemy. The Moguls fled to the Deccan, and being joined by those whom the emperor's oppressions had exasperated, took possession of Dowlutabad, where they proclaimed Ishmael Khan, an Afghan, king, and, after one reverse, established a new monarchy, known in history as the Bahminee kingdom. Mahomed Toghluks died in Sindh after a reign of twenty-one years, leaving the throne of Delhi dispossessed of the whole of the Deccan and of the province of Bengal. A.D. 1351

Mahomed Toghluks was succeeded by his son Feroze, whose reign extended to thirty-seven years, and though mild and beneficent, was by no means brilliant. He discouraged luxury by his own example, repealed vexatious taxes, and abolished torture and mutilation. Feroze Toghluks and his successors. His ruling passion was architecture; and the Mahomedan historian records with pride the erection of forty mosques, thirty colleges, twenty palaces, a hundred hospitals, a hundred public baths, a hundred and fifty bridges, and two hundred towns. But the noblest memorial of his reign was the canal he constructed between the source of the Ganges and the Sutlege, which bears his name, and keeps it fragrant in the recollection of posterity. After a reign of thirty-four years he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Mahomed Toghluks the second; who gave himself up to indulgence, and constrained his father to resume his power, but at the age of ninety, he resigned the sceptre to his grandson. 1388 During the next ten years the throne was occupied by four princes, two of whom held authority in the capital at the same time and for three years waged incessant war with each other. Hindostan fell a prey to anarchy; four independent kingdoms were carved out of the imperial dominions, and nothing remained to the crown of Delhi but the districts immediately around the capital. 1394

These kingdoms were all founded by the Mahomedan viceroys; no effort was made by the Hindoos to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and regain their supremacy, and the ancient chiefs of Rajpootana were the only depository of Hindoo Four independent kingdoms.

power in Hindostan. Of these kingdoms two, Malwa and Guzerat, rose to great power and eminence; while the two others, Candesh and Jounpore, were of minor weight and more limited duration. Dilawur Khan of Ghore, the viceroy of Malwa, who assumed independence, established his capital at Mandoo, fifteen miles north of the Nerbudda. Mozuffer Khan, a Rajpoot converted to Mahomedanism, and like all converts, more especially in India, a virulent persecutor of his former creed, was sent by one of the feeble successors of Feroze Toghluk to supersede the suspected governor of Guzerat, and, seeing no power at Delhi to enforce obedience, threw off the yoke of allegiance. The viceroy of Candesh, which consists of the lower valley of the Taptee, followed his example, and formed a matrimonial alliance with the new king of Guzerat. Still nearer the capital, Khoja Jehan the vizier of Mahomed Toghluk the third, availed himself of the weakness of the throne, and "assumed the royal umbrella," in Jounpore. The empire of Delhi, distracted by these revolts, and shorn of its fairest provinces, fell an easy prey to the ruthless invader who was now advancing to despoil it of its wealth.

The Ameer Timur, or Tamerlane, was born in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, of a Turki family which had been in the service of Jenghiz Khan. His lot was cast at a period when the decay of vigour in the governments in the east offered the fairest opportunity of conquest to any daring adventurer. He was raised to the throne of Samarcand at the age of thirty-four, and in a few years prostrated every throne which stood in the way of his ambition, and became at once the scourge of Asia and the terror of Europe. He led the hordes of Tartary to the conquest of Persia, Khorasan and Transoxiana, of Mesopotamia and Georgia, and brought a portion of Russia and Siberia under subjection. Having mastered the whole of Central Asia, he sent his grandson to invade India, but as he met with more opposition than was expected, Timur himself crossed the Indus at Attock, September 12, 1398, with ninety-two squadrons of horse, and advanced to Bhutnere, which was surrendered by the inhabitants on terms; but, by one of those mistakes which seemed always to occur in his capitulations, they were put to the sword and the town burnt to the ground. Villages and towns were abandoned as he advanced, but on his arrival at Delhi, he found himself encumbered with prisoners, and, according to the statement of the historians, which were doubtless ex-

aggerated, he caused 100,000 men to be massacred in cold blood. A battle was fought under the walls of the capital, between the veterans of Timur and the effeminate soldiers of the empire. The emperor Mahomed Toghluk the third was defeated and fled to Guzerat, and Timur entered the city and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Disputes, as might have been expected, arose between the citizens and his ferocious soldiers, and the whole of the Mogul army was let loose on the devoted city. The inhabitants sold their lives dearly, but their valour was quenched in their blood. The scenes of horror defy all description; entire streets were choked up with the dying and the dead. For five days Timur remained a tranquil spectator of the plunder and conflagration of the city, while he celebrated his victory by a magnificent feast. Having glutted his revenge and satiated his cupidity he proceeded "to offer "up to the divine Majesty his humble tribute of grateful "praise for his success, in the noble mosque of polished "marble, erected by Feroze on the banks of the Jumna." This whirlwind of desolation lasted six months, and Timur recrossed the Indus in March 1399. Mahomed Toghluk returned to Delhi after the departure of Timur, and continued to exercise a precarious authority for twelve years, when Khizir Khan, the governor of the Punjab, marched to Delhi, and extinguished the dynasty of the Toghluks, after it had subsisted ninety-one years.

A.D.
1399

The dynasty established by Khizir Khan which lasted only thirty-six years, is designated in Indian history the 1414
dynasty of the Syuds, as they claimed descent from the Prophet. The founder professed to be ^{Dynasty of} _{the Syuda.} only the lieutenant of Timur, who had bestowed the government of the Punjab on him, and caused money to be coined and prayers to be read in his name. His administration, which was extended to nine years, was beneficial to the distracted provinces, but, with the exception of his own province, he recovered none of the revolted districts. 1421
His son, Mobarik, was assassinated after a reign of thirteen years, in which no event of importance requires to be noted. Syud Mahomed who succeeded him left the throne to his son Alla-ood-deen, during whose feeble reign the territory annexed to the crown was still farther reduced till at length it extended twelve miles from Delhi on one side and only one in another. In 1450 Beloli Lodi 1450
marched down to Delhi, and the emperor resigned the empty honours of royalty to him without a sigh, and re-

tired on a pension to Budaon where he passed the remaining twenty-eight years of his life in cultivating his garden.

The grandfather of Beloli Lodi, the founder of this dynasty, was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, or Lohance, The dynasty of Lodi. engaged in the transport of merchandize, in which he had amassed a fortune. He repaired to the court of Feroze Toghluk, and gradually rose to the government of Mooltan. He was not content with the narrow limits to which the imperial domains had been reduced, but his chief object was the conquest of Jounpore, which had become independent in 1394 by the revolt of Khoja Jehan. The Jounpore dynasty flourished for eighty-two years, under six sovereigns, the most illustrious of whom, Ibrahim, occupied the throne for one half that period. Under his beneficent rule the country reached the summit of prosperity. Learned men from all parts of Asia were invited to his court, which was esteemed the most polished and illustrious in India. His capital was adorned with superb and massive edifices, the remains of which still excite our admiration. Not merely was it the rival of Delhi in magnificence, but the strength of the kingdom was so pre-eminent that the struggle between the emperor and the king was prolonged with varied success for twenty-eight years, during which Delhi was twice besieged by the arms of Jounpore. Hostilities were occasionally suspended by a hollow truce, but they came to a final issue in 1478, when the last of the "kings of the east," as the dynasty was termed, fled to Bengal, and the kingdom was reannexed to the dominions of Delhi. Beloli Lodi succeeded in extending the territories of the crown from the Jumna to the Himalaya, and from the Indus to Benares; and after a reign of thirty-eight years bequeathed the throne to his son Secunder, who added *Behar* to his conquests. But his administration, though otherwise just and equitable, was marked by the oppression of the Hindoos, whose pilgrimages he prohibited, and whose temples he demolished in every direction, erecting mosques with the materials. In 1517, Ibrahim, the third and the last of the line, succeeded to the crown, and alienated his nobles by his arrogance and hauteur to such a degree that his reign of nine years was a constant succession of revolts, which broke out in Behar, in Jounpore and in the Punjab, where the governor opened negotiations with Behar for the invasion of India. The

emperor's own brother joined him at Cabul. The success which attended the expedition of the Mogul will be narrated in a subsequent chapter. Having thus reached the threshold of the period when the imperial throne was transferred to the last Mahomedan dynasty, under which it was gradually restored to its integrity, we turn back to the progress of events in Hindostan and in the Deccan when it was first dismembered.

Candesh became independent about the year 1399, and was not reannexed to the empire till the reign of Akbar, two centuries after. It was a small principality, of no note in history, remarkable only for the fertility of its soil, and the prosperity of its people; it was, moreover, always considered subordinate to its more powerful neighbour Guzerat. The independence of Guzerat was established in 1396 by Mozuffer Shah, and a succession of thirteen princes governed it for 165 years, till it expired in 1561. At the period of the revolt the province was of limited extent, consisting of the land lying between the mountains and the sea, but it was enlarged by successive acquisitions. The great figure it makes in history is owing to the energy and ability of its princes, the first of whom Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot convert, was constantly at war with the king of Malwa, or with the raja of Edur, the most powerful Hindoo principality in the north. His son Ahmed Shah reigned thirty-eight years, and was likewise incessantly engaged in hostilities with his neighbours, but he brought the country into good order, and built the town of Ahmedabad, which he made his capital, and adorned with such a profusion of magnificent mosques, caravanseras, and palaces, as to lead the Mahomedan historians to pronounce it the handsomest city in the world. The next two reigns, which extended to sixteen years, were occupied chiefly with struggles with Koomblo, who was then building up a great Hindoo power in Rajpootana. Mahomed Shah, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, shed a lustre on it for a period of more than half a century. The European travellers who visited his court formed the most extravagant conceptions of his power, and asserted that a portion of his daily food consisted of mortal poisons with which his system became so impregnated that if a fly sat on him it fell down dead. He was the original of the picture drawn by the British poet of the prince of Cambay, 'whose food was asp, and basilisk, and toad.' But even without

A.D.
1399

Candesh.

Guzerat.

1396

1411

1459

the power of digesting poisons he was a most puissant prince. He captured Gernar, a Hindoo fortress renowned for its antiquity and its strength. He overran Cutch, defeated an army of Belooches, and annexed Sinde to his dominions. But the distinguishing feature of his reign was the navy he constructed, and the numerous naval expeditions which he undertook. He cleared the coast of pirates, who are said to have fought twenty battles before they were subdued. His memorable conflict with the

A.D. Portuguese will be narrated in a future chapter. He was
1511 succeeded by his son, Mozuffer the second, whose reign of fourteen years consisted of constant campaigns against Malwa, and the renowned Rana Sanga of Rajpootana.

The rapid disappearance of two of his sons, in a single
1526 year, opened the throne to his third son, Bahadoor Shah,
Bahadoor who subdued the hereditary foe of his dynasty,
Shah. the Hindoo prince of Edur, and compelled the kings of Berar, Ahmednugur and Candesh to do him homage. His next exploit led to a more splendid result. The king of Malwa having provoked his hostility, he marched against him in conjunction with his ally, Rana Sanga, captured both his capital and his person, and annexed the
1534 kingdom to his own territories. Soon after, the brother of the last emperor of Delhi of the Lodi family, which had been dispossessed by the Mogul Baber, sought an asylum at the court of Guzerat, and Bahadoor Shah supplied him with the means of raising an army, which was however defeated. Humayoon, then emperor of Delhi, incensed at this proceeding, marched down to Guzerat, expelled Bahadoor, and took possession of the kingdom. But he was soon after recalled to defend his own throne against Shere Khan; dissensions broke out among his generals, and Bahadoor was enabled to recover his throne. After a reign of ten years he was drowned in the harbour of Diu,
1535 as he left the vessel of the Portuguese admiral. The next sovereign was distracted for sixteen years by the factions of his chiefs. Two pageants were set up in succession by the courtiers, but they eventually partitioned the kingdom among themselves. At length, after nearly twenty years of convulsions, Akbar put an end to this state of anarchy by annexing the kingdom to the throne of Delhi, after it
1572 had been alienated a hundred and seventy-six years

Malwa became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghore, who bequeathed the throne four years
1401 Malwa. after to his son Hoosein Ghore. His reign of

twenty-five years was passed in incessant wars with his neighbours. His son was assassinated by his minister, Mahomed Khan Ghiljie, who mounted the throne, and during a period of forty-seven years proved himself the ablest of the kings of Malwa. He appears to have had the unobstructed range of northern India, as we find him besieging Delhi, and establishing his son as governor of Ajmere. It was recorded of him that 'the tent was his house, and the battle-field his resting place.' His son, Gheias-ood-deen, mounted the throne in 1482, and, having invited his courtiers to a splendid entertainment, informed them that he had passed thirty-four years of his life in the field, fighting by the side of his gallant father, and that he was resolved to spend the remainder of his days in peace and enjoyment; while therefore he retained the royal dignity, he should leave the management of public affairs to his son. The youth was proclaimed vizier, and the king retired to his seraglio, which he had stocked with 15,000 of the most beautiful women he could procure. In this female court the pomp and parade of royalty was strictly maintained. The royal body-guard consisted of 500 Turki maidens, arrayed in male attire, and of 500 Abyssinian maidens. Strange to say, he was allowed to retain this pageantry for eighteen years, without any attempt at rebellion. His son succeeded him in 1500 and his reign of twelve years was marked only by cruelty and sensuality. Mahmood, the last king, was assailed by the Rajpoots, and rescued by Bahadoor Shah, king of Guzerat; but he was incapable of gratitude, and attacked his benefactor, who marched down to his capital in conjunction with the Rajpoots, and extinguished the kingdom after a hundred and thirty years of independence.

At the period of the first invasion of the Mahomedans in 1001, the Rajpoots appear to have been in possession of all the governments in northern India; but, although they succumbed to the conquerors, they continued to maintain a spirit of independence under their respective chieftains in the table-land of Rajpootana, in the centre of Hindostan. The most important of these chiefs was the rana of Oodypore, in his capital of Chittore. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the throne was filled by Rana Sanga, whose genius and valour raised it to the height of power. His army consisted of 80,000 horse and 500 war elephants; and seven rajas of superior rank and more than a hundred of inferior note attended his stirrup into

A.D.
1435

1482

1531

the field. The chiefs next in importance, the rajas of Jey-pore and Joudpore, or Marwar, served under his banner, and he was the acknowledged head of the Rajpoot tribes. The national historian dwells with pride on the eighteen battles he fought with Guzerat and Malwa. His genius consolidated the power of that gallant and chivalrous race, and prepared it for the resistance which it was soon to offer to the Moguls, which, if it had been successful, would doubtless have restored the sovereignty of Hindostan to the Hindoos.

It has been stated that the oppressions of Mahomed Toghluk led to the establishment of an independent Mahomedan government in the Deccan, by Hussun Gunga, an Afghan, in 1347. Out of gratitude to his Hindoo patron, he took the additional title of Bahminee, by which the dynasty is known in history, and extended his authority over all the territories belonging to the crown of Delhi south of the Nerbudda, with the exception of those included in the two Hindoo kingdoms of Beejanuger and Telingana. His son, who succeeded him in 1358, commenced his reign by attacking the king of Telingana, from whom he obtained the surrender of a throne, which, with the jewels he added to it, was valued at four crores. In a drunken revel he offered an insult to the king of Beejanuger, who attacked the town of Moodgul, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Mahomed, the king, swore that food and sleep should be unlawful to him till he had propitiated the martyrs of Moodgul by the slaughter of 100,000 infidels. He entered the raja's territories, and ravaged them without mercy; and having, as he supposed, completed his vow, granted him honourable terms, and on his return devoted his attention to the improvement of his country. After a reign of seventeen years he left the crown to his son, but he was murdered by his uncle. Feroze, the son of the assassin, mounted the throne in 1397, and his reign, together with that of his brother, which extended over thirty-seven years, are considered the palmy days of the dynasty. He made twenty-four campaigns, and carried fire and sword through the length and breadth of the Carnatic. At the same time, he was an eminent patron of literature. He likewise established a mercantile marine, and instructed his commanders to bring the most learned men and the handsomest women from every port they visited. His seraglio is said to have contained beauties

A.D.
1347 The Bah-
minee
dynasty.

1358

1397

from thirteen different countries, and the historians affirm that he was able to converse with each one in her own tongue. He likewise made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran daily. Towards the close of his reign he attacked the raja of Beejanuger, and was totally defeated, when the triumphant Hindoos retaliated on him for the destruction of their temples, by the demolition of his mosques. His brother, Ahmed Shah, in his turn defeated the Hindoos, and pursued them with unrelenting severity from day to day, not pausing till the number of the slain was reported to have reached 20,000. We pass on to the last monarch of the dynasty. Mahomed Shah, who was placed on the throne at the age of nine, was affectionately nurtured by his minister Mahomed Gawan, the most eminent general and statesman of the age, through whose energetic efforts the kingdom reached its greatest limits, and was extended from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, and from the Nerbudda to the Kistna. His internal administration was equally successful, and the prosperity of the country rose to its highest measure. The envious courtiers succeeded, however, in alienating the king from the man to whom he was under these obligations, and in a fit of drunken revelry, he ordered him to be put to death. Gawan was then in his seventy-eighth year, and he knelt down with his face towards Mecca, and received the fatal blow. Though he had held high office under five kings, he died in graceful poverty. The king himself became a prey to remorse, and died within a twelve month. It is unnecessary to pursue the history of this dynasty; Mahomed Shah, his son, ascended the throne in 1482, and lived on, though he cannot be said to have reigned, for thirty-seven years. The kingdom crumbled away as governor after governor revolted, and was at length resolved into five independent sovereignties.

1. Adil Shah, the adopted son of Mahomed Gawan, founded the kingdom of Beejapore and the Adil Shahee dynasty in 1489, which retained its independence for one hundred and ninety-seven years, until it was absorbed by Aurungzebe in 1686.

Five independent kingdoms.

2. Hussun Bheiry, who instigated the murder of Mahomed Gawan, was executed by order of his master, and his son Ahmed Nizam raised the standard of revolt in 1487, at Ahmednugur, where he established the Nizam Shahee dynasty, which continued for one hundred and fifty years, till it was subverted by Shah Jehan in 1637.

A.D.
1463

1482

1489

1490

A.D. 1484 3. Imad-ool-moolk made himself independent at Berar in 1484, and commenced the Imad Shahee dynasty, which was extinguished at the end of ninety years by the king of Ahmednugur in 1574.

1512 4. Koolee Kootub, a Turkoman, who rose to be governor of Golconda, established his independence there in 1512, under the name of the Kootub Shahee dynasty, which subsisted for a hundred and seventy five years, and was extinguished by Aurungzebe in 1687.

1498 5. Ahmed Bereed, who was appointed minister on the murder of Mahomed Gawan, gradually absorbed all the power of the state, and erected what remained of its domains into an independent state at Beder. It was of limited extent, and the period of its extinction is uncertain.

This partition of the Deccan among five independent sovereigns who were constantly at war with each other, or with the Hindoo monarchs, subjected the wretched country to perpetual desolation; but there can be little advantage to the reader in wading through a long succession of sieges and battles, and encumbering the memory with a string of names and dates of no interest. The salient events of this long period of anarchy will come up in the history of the Mogul empire, in which they were eventually absorbed after more than a century and a half of conflict.

SECTION IV.

THE MOGUL DYNASTY—BABER—HUMAYOON—AKBAR.

1526 IN the month of April 1526 Sultan Baber captured Delhi, and established the Mogul dynasty, which continued to flourish with only one interruption, and with increasing lustre, for a hundred and eighty years, under a succession, unprecedented in Indian history, of six sovereigns, distinguished by their gallantry in the field, and, with one exception, by their ability in the cabinet.

Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur, was the son of Sheikh Mirza, the ruler of Ferghana on the upper Jaxartes. His mother was a descendant of Jenghiz Khan, and he inherited the spirit of enterprise which distinguished both his renowned ancestors, and at the early age of fifteen commenced that adventurous career which he pursued without intermission for thirty-

five years. His first campaign was directed against the city of Samarcand, the capital of Timur and the metropolis of Transoxiana, but though he captured it three times, he was as often expelled from it. For eight years he was engaged in a series of perilous and romantic enterprizes, and experienced vicissitudes of fortune which would have crushed an ordinary mortal, but which only seemed to give fresh vigour to his buoyant spirit. In the year 1504, seeing little prospect of success in his native province, he seized the city of Cabul, of which he retained possession for twenty-two years, incessantly employed in defending or enlarging his dominions. His greatest peril arose from the progress of the Uzbeks, a tribe of ferocious Turks and Tartars, then swarming from their native hive, whose leader, Sharbek, had swept the posterity of Timur from Khorasan and Transoxiana. In his march towards the Indus the Uzbek captured Candahar, and threatened Cabul, and would probably have extinguished the hopes and the ambition of Baber had he not been recalled to resist the hostility of Ishmael Shah, who had recently founded the dynasty of the Sophis in Persia. The Uzbek chief was routed and slain, but the footing which his tribe obtained in Transoxiana they retain with vigour to this day. Baber, who had again occupied Samarcand, and had been again expelled from it, now turned his attention to India, where the imbecility and the unpopularity of the emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, offered an allurements too Baber in India. strong for a descendant of Timur to resist. He was invited to invade it by men of influence who had been alienated from the emperor by his oppressions, and more particularly by his own brother, who sought refuge at Cabul. In the course of five years, commencing with 1519 he made five irruptions across the Indus, with alternate success and disappointment. In 1526 he undertook his last and crowning expedition, with an army not exceeding 12,000 men, but, though a heterogeneous mixture of mercenaries, they were all veterans, disciplined in many fields. The destiny of India was decided on the field of Paniput, where the emperor Ibrahim encountered him with, it is said, 100,000 troops and 1000 elephants, and was totally discomfited and fell. May 1526 Delhi opened her gates to the conqueror, and in May 1526 he vaulted into the vacant throne. But Delhi had long ceased to be the capital and the mistress of State of India. India. The great Mahomedan empire which, in the early days of Mahomed Toghluks, embraced the whole continent, had been broken up a century and a half before

by his extravagances, and the victory of Baber only gave him possession of the districts to the north-west of the capital, and a strip of territory extending along the banks of the Jumna down to Agra. The various provinces were in the hands of independent rulers. In the southern extremity of India the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejanuger was lord of the ascendant. Farther north lay another Hindoo principality, and the territories of the five kingdoms recently formed on the dissolution of the Bahminee monarchy. Guzerat was governed by a wild youth who had recently absorbed Malwa. Bengal, including Behar, was ruled by an Afghan king. Orissa was still in possession of its ancient Hindoo dynasty, and in northern India Rana Sanga had consolidated Hindoo sovereignty in Rajpootana, and was at this time the most powerful ruler north of the Nerbudda.

Rana Sanga, elated by the success he had recently obtained over the king of Malwa in conjunction with the king of Guzerat, espoused the cause of the dethroned family of Lodi. All the Rajpoot princes ranged themselves under his banner, and he advanced with 100,000 men, the flower of the Rajpoot chivalry, to drive Baber back across the Indus. In the first engagement at Biana, Baber experienced a very disastrous defeat: some of his officers and men deserted their colours, others went over to the enemy, and all were disheartened, but he did not allow himself to despair. He states, in his interesting memoirs, that he repented of his sins, and determined to reform his life, that he forswore the use of wine, melted down his silver and gold goblets, and determined to live like a true Moosulman and cultivate his beard. His enthusiasm reanimated his troops, and in the engagement to which he led them, he obtained a splendid victory which completely crippled and humbled the Rajpoot power. The next year he attacked and mastered Chanderee, a Rajpoot fortress hitherto deemed impregnable; and in the succeeding year recovered Oude and northern Behar, and chastised the king of Bengal. But his constitution, which had been impaired by early indulgences, was worn out by these exertions in an ungenial climate, and he died at Agra in 1530, at the age of fifty, and was interred at Cabul, in a beautiful spot he had selected for his grave, the simple and chaste monument erected over which has continued to attract the admiration of three centuries. No

A.D.
1527

Baber's victory over the Rajpoots.

1528

1530

His death and character.

Mahomedan prince in India is held in higher estimation than Baber. His career exhibited all that romantic spirit of adventure of which nations are always proud. His personal courage bordered on rashness; his activity appears fabulous; for thirty-eight years, as he records, he had never kept the feast of Ramzan twice in the same place. But he was rather a valorous soldier than a great general, and lost almost as many battles as he won, but he never lost heart, and was as buoyant after a defeat as after a victory. Amidst all the bustle of war he found leisure for the cultivation of literature, and his poetry has been not a little admired. There is no Indian prince with whose individual character and tastes and feelings we are so familiar; and this is owing to his interesting autobiography, in which he records his transgressions with so much candour, and his repentance with so much sincerity, and his friendships with such warmth, that the reader is led involuntarily to regard him as a personal friend.

Humayoon succeeded his father in 1530, at the age of ^{A. D.} 1530 twenty-six, and the first act of his reign displayed the weakness of his character. His brother Camran, the governor of Cabul and Candahar, refused to ^{Humayoon.} acknowledge his authority, but he resigned those provinces to him—adding thereto the Punjab—and thus deprived himself of the means of recruiting his army with the hardy mountaineers of Afghanistan, and, as Baber's veterans died out, was obliged to depend on those whom he could enlist from his half-subdued subjects in India. In the third year of his reign he was involved in hostilities with Bahadoor Shah, the wild king of Guzerat, who had furnished the dethroned family of Lodi with the means of ¹⁵³⁴ assailing him. Bahadoor was defeated, and obliged to take refuge at the land's-end of Diu, and the whole province was occupied by the Mogul troops. Humayoon then proceeded against Chumpanere, a fortress likewise considered impregnable, but with 300 troops he climbed a perpendicular rock by means of spikes driven into it, and captured it at once. He was immediately after recalled to Agra to arrest the progress of Shere Khan, but was defeated and expelled from India after a reign of ten years, and a new dynasty mounted the throne.

Shere Khan was an Afghan of noble parentage, born at Sasseram, in Behar, where his father held a jagcer under the governor. He enlisted as a ^{Dynasty of} private soldier under the revolted viceroy of ^{Shere Shah.}

- Jounpore, but cultivated his mind with great assiduity and educated himself for a future career of ambition. A long series of adventures, ended in his obtaining possession of Behar, and invading Bengal, and it was to oppose his alarming progress that Humayoon was recalled from Guzerat. He marched down upon him, but wasted six months in the siege of Chunar, which was at length captured by the powerful artillery of Humayoon manned by Portuguese gunners and directed by Roomy Khan, a Turk of Constantinople, whom he had brought with him from Guzerat. Meanwhile Shere Khan had defeated the king of Bengal and captured Gour, but not deeming himself sufficiently strong to resist the imperial troops he retired to the mountain region of Behar and deposited his family and his treasures in the stronger fortress of Rhotas.
- 1538 The emperor took possession of Gour, but when the rains set in, the delta of the Ganges became a sheet of water, and his army was isolated and decimated by sickness and desertion. Shere Khan then issued from his fastnesses, took possession of Behar and Benares, recovered Chunar, and pushed his detachments up to Cunouge. Humayoon was obliged to retreat towards his capital, but was intercepted and defeated, and Shere Khan assumed the imperial title. Humayoon at length reached Agra after his defeat, and employed eight months in recruiting his force, while his rival was employed in organising the provinces he had conquered. The two armies met at Cunouge, where the emperor experienced a second and more fatal defeat, and fled first to Delhi, and then to Lahore; thus at the end of fourteen years, the power which the energy and perseverance of Baber had established was subverted, and scarcely a vestige of Mogul sovereignty remained in India, while the throne of Delhi reverted to the Afghans. Humayoon fled to Sinde and was engaged for eighteen months in fruitless negotiations with its chiefs. He then threw himself on the kindness of the Rajpoot prince of Marwar, but was rudely repulsed from his court and pursued with an armed force by his son. The wretched emperor, after suffering incredible hardships in crossing the desert, at length succeeded in reaching Amercote with only seven mounted attendants; and there his queen, who had nobly shared with him the torments of the journey, gave birth to a son, afterwards the illustrious Akbar. After another series of reverses, he quitted India and repaired to Candahar.

A.D.
1535

1538

1540

1542

Defeat of
Humayoon.

Leaving Humayoon across the Indus, we turn to the A.D. career of Shere Shah, who mounted the throne and estab- 1540
 lished a new dynasty, which however did not last more than sixteen years. In 1542 he con- Shere Shah.
 quered the province of Malwa, and reduced the great fortress of Raiseen, of boundless antiquity. Here his repu-
 tation was tarnished by the only stain ever attached to it. The garrison capitulated on terms, but the Mahomedan
 doctors assured him that, according to the doctrines of the Koran, no faith was to be kept with unbelievers, and they
 were slain to a man. In 1544 he invaded Marwar, which was 1544
 defended by 50,000 Rajpoots, and he was exposed to such peril, that, in allusion to the barrenness of the country, he
 exclaimed that "he had nearly lost the empire for a "handful of millet." Soon after, the capture of Chittore
 placed Rajpootana at his feet, and he then proceeded to attack Callinger, an ancient and strong fort in Bundlecund,
 but was killed by the explosion of a magazine. The five 1545
 years of his reign form the most brilliant period in native history. He was equally qualified for the duties of war
 and of peace—a consummate general, and a liberal and enlightened statesman. Though incessantly engaged in the
 field, he reformed every branch of the civil administration; and of his institutions it is sufficient to say that they
 became the model of those of Akbar. He constructed a grand trunk road, lined with trees, from Bengal to the
 banks of the Indus, erected caravanseries, and excavated wells for the convenience of travellers; he was, moreover,
 the first prince to establish a mounted post. His second son Selim, after quelling a dangerous rebellion, was enabled
 to enjoy the throne in peace for nine years, indulging his hereditary taste for architecture. It was the profligacy of
 his brother and successor, known in history as Adili, which at length extinguished this short-lived dynasty. Having
 exhausted the treasury, he began to resume the estates of his Patan nobles, who went one by one into rebellion, and
 established five independent authorities, and nothing was 1544
 at length left to the crown but the districts immediately around Delhi.

To turn to the career of Humayoon. He proceeded from India to Candahar, but was driven from it by the hostility of his brother, and constrained to seek refuge at the
 court of Persia, where he was subject to all the mor- Restoration
of Huma-
yoon.
 tifications a capricious despot could inflict. He was even constrained to undergo the indignity of putting on the

A.D. Kuzzilbash, or red cap of the Persians, and it was “proclaimed
 1544 “ by a triumphal flourish from the king’s band.” After repeated importunity, he was furnished with 14,000 horse for the conquest of Afghanistan, but only on condition of ceding the frontier provinces to the king. Candahar was captured after a siege of five months, and made over to the Persian prince who had accompanied him to receive possession of it. On his death Humayoon put a large portion of the Persian garrison to the sword—an act of perfidy which has left an indelible blot on his memory. He then marched to Cabul, and after various severe struggles succeeded in
 1553 wresting it from his brothers, one of whom he deprived of sight, with excruciating torture. The increasing confusion in India led him to make a bold stroke to recover his throne. He crossed the Indus and encountered the formidable army of Secunder Soor, who had seized the Punjab on the dissolution of the imperial authority, and gained a complete victory. It was in this battle that the young Akbar earned his spurs. Humayoon hastened to Delhi, and remounted the throne which he had lost fifteen
 1555 years before, but was not destined to enjoy it long. Six months afterwards, while descending the steps of his library, he heard the muezzin’s call to prayer, and, as usual, stopped to repeat the creed, and then sat down; but on endeavouring to rise, the staff on which he leaned slipped over the polished steps, and he fell headlong over the parapet, and expired within four days, in the forty-
 1556 ninth year of his age, and, including the period of his exile, the twenty-sixth year of his reign.

Akbar, the pride and ornament of the Mogul dynasty, was only thirteen years and three months of age when he was called to the throne, which he adorned by his
 Akbar’s early years. genius for fifty years. He was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, his reign having begun two years before, and ended two years after hers. The administration was managed during his minority by Byram Khan, a Turkoman, the companion of Humayoon in all the vicissitudes of his career, and an eminent statesman and general, but austere, arrogant, and exceptionally bigoted. Hemu, one of the greatest commanders of the age, and, though a Hindoo, most loyal to the deposed emperor Adili, on hearing of the death of Humayoon, deposited his master at Chunar, and moved up to the capital with 100,000 men. Agra and Delhi opened their gates to him, and the ministers of Akbar entreated him to abandon India, and retire to

Afghanistan; but Byram advised an immediate and vigorous attack, and Akbar supported his opinion. The two armies met at Paniput, and the destiny of India was again decided on that memorable field. Hemu was completely defeated, and conducted bleeding into the presence of the young monarch. Byram urged him to secure the religious merit of slaying an infidel, but he refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of a gallant and now helpless foe, and Byram struck off the head of the captive with one stroke of his scimitar. It was the military talent and the energy of Byram which had seated the Moguls again on the throne, and maintained Akbar's power; but the minister had grown too big for a subject, and for four years after his accession Akbar felt himself to be a cipher in his own court. Such bondage was intolerable to a high-spirited prince, and, at the age of eighteen, he resolved to emancipate himself from it. While out, therefore, on a hunting party, he suddenly returned to Delhi without his minister, and issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and that no orders were to be obeyed which did not issue from himself. Byram felt that his power was waning, and retired to Nagore, giving out that he was going on pilgrimage to Mecca, not without the hope of being reinstated, but Akbar sent him a message dismissing him from all his offices. He immediately went into revolt, and having raised an army, attempted an invasion of the Punjab, but was defeated and captured. As he entered the royal presence with his turban humbly cast around his neck, and threw himself at the feet of the prince he had cherished from the cradle, Akbar hastened to raise him, seated him on his right hand, and, after investing him with a robe of honour, offered him his choice of any post in the empire. He preferred a retreat to Mecca, but was assassinated on the route by an Afghan, whose father he had put to death.

Akbar was now his own master at the age of eighteen. Born amidst hardships, and trained up in adversity, he was beset with difficulties which would have broken a spirit of less energy. Of all the Mahomedan dynasties which had ruled India, that of the Moguls was the weakest. It was not connected with any large and powerful tribe beyond the Indus, ready to advance and support the ascendancy of its fellow-countrymen in India. His army was a collection of mercenaries drawn to his

A.D. standard from the various countries of Central Asia by the
 1560 hope of plunder. His officers were a band of adventurers
 to bound to him by no ties of hereditary loyalty, and more
 1567 disposed to carve out principalities for themselves than to
 build up a Mogul empire. Before he could attempt to
 recover the dominions of the crown, it was necessary for
 him to establish his authority over his own chiefs, and for
 seven years he was engaged in crushing their revolts. In
 the first year of his reign, his territories were confined to
 the Punjab and the districts around Agra and Delhi, but he
 gradually recovered Ajmere, Gwalior and Oude. The son of
 the late emperor Adili made an attempt to recover his throne;
 he was defeated by Zeman Shah, but the general, despising
 the youth of his sovereign, withheld the royal share of
 the booty, and Akbar was obliged to take the field against
 him. Adam Khan, another general, was sent to expel the
 Afghans from Malwa; but, after defeating them, kept the
 fruits of the victory to himself. Akbar marched against
 him, but consented to accept his submission, and he re-
 quited this lenity by stabbing the vizier while at prayer
 in a chamber adjoining that occupied by the emperor, who
 thereupon ordered him to be thrown headlong into the
 Jumna. Soon after, Abdoolla Khan, a haughty Uzbek,
 who had been received with a host of his countrymen into
 the Mogul service, "withdrew his neck from the yoke of
 "obedience," but Akbar came down upon him with prompti-
 tude, and constrained him to fly to Guzerat. Great dis-
 satisfaction was thereby created among the Uzbek officers,
 and a treasonable confederacy was organised in the
 army. One of their number, Asof Jah, was sent to sub-
 jugate the little Hindoo principality of Gurra, on the
 Nerbudda, near Jubbulpore, then governed by the Princess
 Doorgawutee, who was no less renowned for her valour
 than for her beauty. She commanded her army in person,
 and maintained the conflict with a noble heroism, till she
 1564 received a wound in her eye. The troops, missing her
 presence, began to give way, when, to avoid falling into
 the hands of the enemy, she seized the stiletto of the
 elephant driver, and plunged it into her bosom. Her
 martial exploits are still a favourite theme with the bards
 of the Deccan. The principality was conquered by Asof
 Jah, but he appropriated the largest share of the rich
 booty to his own use, and then joined the confederacy,
 which now embraced the most considerable of Akbar's
 generals. His danger was extreme; it was no less than a

struggle for the throne, and the question at issue was, whether the empire should be Uzbek or Mogul. His detachments were repeatedly defeated, but he maintained the conflict with unflinching resolution for two years. At this critical juncture he was obliged to quit the pursuit of the Uzbeks, in consequence of the revolt of his brother, to whom he had entrusted the government of the Punjab. It was at once crushed, but on his return to the south he found that the revolted generals had taken possession of Allahabad and Oude, and were preparing to march on the capital. Though the rains had set in, when military operations are usually suspended in India, he did not hesitate to take the field against them, and, by his promptitude and vigour, succeeded at length in breaking up the confederacy. He had now subdued all his adversaries by his valour, or his clemency, and, at the age of twenty-five, he had the happiness of seeing his authority completely established over all the revolted provinces.

With a spirit of liberality foreign to preceding conquerors, Baber determined to strengthen his throne by matrimonial alliances with the Hindoos. Humayoon had espoused the daughter of the raja of Jeypore. Akbar had likewise married two Rajpoot princesses, and his son had followed his example. Offices of great dignity and responsibility were conferred on these Hindoo princes, and they took a pride in these imperial alliances. But the orthodox house of Chittore, wrapped up in its religious exclusiveness and hauteur, disdained every such connection, and excommunicated those who had adopted them. The raja had given encouragement to the king of Malwa, and Akbar was determined to chastise him. The throne was at the time occupied by Oody Sing, the degenerate son of the illustrious Rana Sunga. He took refuge in the hills on the approach of the Mogul troops, and left the defence of his capital to Jeymul, the Rajpoot chief of Bednore, esteemed by his countrymen the bravest of the brave. The siege was protracted by his skill and valour, but he was killed by a bolt from the bow of Akbar. His death deprived the garrison of all confidence, and they devoted themselves to death with the accustomed solemnities. The women threw themselves on the funeral pyre of the chief, and the men rushed recklessly on the weapons of the Moguls, and perished to the number of 8,000.

General
Uzbek con-
spiracy.

Matrimonial
alliances
with the
Rajpoots.

Attack of
Chittore.

A.D.
1568

Akbar's next enterprise was of greater magnitude. The kingdom of Guzerat, enlarged by the conquests of Bahadoor Shah, had been a prey to faction since his death in 1537, and four weak and profligate princes had occupied the throne in thirty-five years. Etimad Khan, once a Hindoo slave, who managed the government for Mozuffer the third, seeing no other mode of terminating the distractions of the country, invited Akbar to take possession of it, and he proceeded to Patun, where that feeble monarch resigned the sceptre to him, and Guzerat was again annexed to the crown of Delhi, after two centuries and a half of independence. But no sooner had he returned to his capital with the bulk of his army, than a turbulent chief of the name of Mirza raised a new revolt, and the imperial general was reduced to extremities. The rains had set in, but Akbar was ready for action at all seasons. He immediately despatched 2,000 cavalry, and followed them with 300 of his own guards, marching 450 miles in nine days. The promptitude of his movements confounded the rebels, and the subjugation of the province was rendered complete.

The attention of Akbar had been directed to Bengal while he was engaged in Guzerat. Under the successor of Shere Shah, the Afghan governor of the province assumed independence, and four kings of his line reigned in Bengal during a period of thirty years. The last was assassinated soon after he ascended the throne, which was then seized by Soliman, an illustrious Afghan, who determined on the conquest of Orissa, which was effected by his general, Kala-pahar. Soliman died in 1573, and was succeeded by Daood Khan, a debauchee and a coward, who, considering himself a match for Akbar, ventured to attack a fort above Ghazeepore. Akbar ordered an army down for the conquest of the kingdom, and the king retired to Orissa, where he encountered the Mogul army, and was defeated, but was allowed to retain the kingdom as a feudatory. The next year, on the withdrawal of the imperial troops, he revolted, and was defeated. He fell in the action, and with him terminated the last line of the Afghan kings of Bengal, which they had held for a period of two hundred and thirty-six years. The Mogul officers seized the jaguers of the discomfited Afghans, but on being summoned to account for the revenues, and to produce the roll of the troops they were bound to maintain, they rose in a body, and 30,000 of Akbar's finest cavalry

appeared in arms against him. The new conquest was lost for a time, and the spirit of disaffection was spreading through Oude. In this emergency the emperor, finding it impossible to trust the fidelity of his Mogul officers, sent an army of Rajpoots under the celebrated raja, Toder Mull, to reduce the province. He succeeded in giving a severe blow to the insurgents, but the war was protracted and the Afghans of Orissa took advantage of the confusion, and recovered their footing in the southern districts of Bengal. The great Rajpoot, raja Man Sing, was then despatched to quell this formidable insurrection, but it was not before the year 1592, after a dozen engagements and sixteen years of conflict, that the authority of the emperor was fully established in this province. A.D.
1577

Two years after the conquest of Bengal, the kingdom of Orissa was added to the Mogul empire. Orissa had for twenty centuries been considered the Holy Land of India, and the region of pilgrimage under three successive creeds. For more than seven centuries it was the depository of the sacred tooth of Booddha, until that relic was removed to Ceylon. Then came the Hindoo dynasty of the Kesaris, who covered it with thousands of temples in honour of Seeva. This was succeeded by the dynasty of the Gunga-bungsas, who are believed to have come from the Gangetic province, and who assumed the title of Lords of the Elephant. Their dominions covered 40,000 square miles, and extended from the banks of the Hooghly to the banks of the Godavery. They gave the ascendancy to the worship of Vishnoo, and although Jugernath, a form of that god, makes his first appearance in that land of religious merit early in the fourth century, it was under the auspices of this dynasty that the 'Lord of the World' attained that supreme homage throughout the continent which he still maintains. The first sovereign of the line was fourteen years in erecting the magnificent temple at Pooree, and the resources of the state were exhausted by a succession of princes, in ecclesiastical endowments and the support of brahmins. Inroads were occasionally made by the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, but the Hindoo princes of Orissa continued to maintain their independence with great vigour till the death, in 1532, of the last able monarch of the Gangetic dynasty, which was followed by a period of anarchy for twenty-four years, when Soliman, the king of Bengal, sent his general, Kala-pahar, to invade it. He was a brahmin by birth, but 1578

had embraced the religion of the Prophet to obtain the hand of a princess of Gour, and became the unrelenting oppressor of his former creed. He defeated the raja, and with him ended the independence of this ancient and renowned kingdom. Kala-pahar persecuted the brahmins and confiscated the religious endowments which had accumulated during twenty generations of devout monarchs. He destroyed the idols and pulled down the temples to erect mosques with the materials, and he dug up the image of Jugernath from the Chilka lake, into which it had been thrown for safety, and conveying it to the banks of the Hooghly, committed it to the flames. According to popular rumour, the arms and legs of the idols dropped off at the sound of his kettledrums. Upon the conquest of Bengal, the king Daood took refuge in Orissa, and was pursued by the generals of Akbar, and after more than one revolt, was slain, and Orissa became a province of the Mogul empire.

A.D. 1560 A short time previous to this invasion of Bengal by Akbar, the ancient city of Gour, the metropolis of Bengal, was depopulated and abandoned. It was admirably situated on the confines of Bengal and Behar for the government of both provinces. It had been the capital of a hundred kings, who adorned it, more especially those of the Mahomedan creed, with massive and superb edifices. It extended along the banks of the river, and was defended from its encroachments by a stone embankment, said to have been fifteen miles in length. This magnificent city, the abode of wealth and luxury, was suddenly prostrated by some pestilence which has never been explained, and has since been the abode of wild hogs and tigers.

The next event of importance in the reign of Akbar was the conquest of Cashmere, by his brother-in-law, the raja of Jeypore. The king, on his submission, was enrolled among the nobles of the court, and this noble valley, considered the paradise of Asia, which enjoys "a delicious climate, and exhibits in the midst of snowy summits a scene of continual verdure," became the summer residence of Akbar and his successors. The effort to curb the highlanders between the Indus and the passes into Afghanistan, which was next undertaken, proved a more arduous task. These wild mountaineers had been for ages the plague of every ruler of the province. They regarded it as their hereditary vocation to plunder travellers passing through the defiles, and to levy black mail on the industry of

the valleys. Akbar sent a strong army under the raja of Jey-
 pore to subjugate them, but it was assailed in the passes and
 annihilated; and the Mahomedan historian records ^{The} that of 40,000 horse and foot, scarcely a man re- ^{Khyberes.} A. D.
 turned. Such wholesale destruction would appear incredible, 1586
 if we had not witnessed a repetition of it, in the same scenes,
 under the British Government in 1841. The rajas Toder
 Mull and Man-sing imposed some restraint on their vio-
 lence by the establishment of military posts which cut off
 their supplies from the plains; but they were as trouble-
 some as ever a century after in the reign of Aurungzebe. 1591
 Soon after, Akbar proceeded to the conquest of Sinda, and
 reannexed Candahar to the crown; and thus, ^{Sinda and} ^{Candahar.}
 after a series of conflicts which extended over
 twenty-five years, he found himself at length undisputed 1594
 master of his hereditary dominions across the Indus, and
 of all the territories north of the Nerbudda which had
 ever belonged to the imperial throne, and it only remained
 for him to extend his authority over the Deccan. A
 brief notice of the progress of events in that division of
 India during the sixteenth century will be a suitable
 introduction to the expedition which the emperor now
 undertook.

SECTION V.

AKBAR. INVASION OF THE DECCAN. HIS DEATH.

It has been stated in a previous chapter that five inde-
 pendent kingdoms—Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda,
 Beder, and Berar—arose on the ruins of the Bah-
 minee kingdom. Beder rarely appears on the
 page of history, and Berar which was never of
 much weight in the politics of the Deccan, was
 absorbed by Ahmednugur in 1572. ^{The Deccan}
^{in the}
^{sixteenth}
^{century.} The attention of the
 kings of Golconda was chiefly directed to the subjugation
 of the various Hindoo principalities which lay on its
 eastern frontier, and stretched along the Coromandel coast
 from Orissa southward. It appears also to have gradually
 absorbed the Hindoo state of Telingana, with its capital
 at Warungul, which had assumed independence on the fall
 of the Bahminee kingdom. Beejapore and Ahmednugur,

which bordered on each other, were engaged in constant hostility. Within the circle of their territories was included the region inhabited by the Mahrattas, which had formerly belonged to the Hindoo kingdom of Deoghur, conquered by Alla-ood-deen in 1295; and the origin and growth of their importance is to be attributed primarily to the training they received in the constant warfare of these princes. During the sixteenth century the armies of these two Mahomedan states were constantly recruited by Mahratta soldiers, sometimes to the extent of 20,000. There was not as yet any bond of national unity among them, and they sold their mercenary swords to the highest bidder, without caring whether their own countrymen might not be fighting in the opposite ranks.

But the great event of that century was the extinction of Hindoo power in the Deccan. To the south of the Kistna lay the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejanuger, established in 1336, which had maintained a perpetual conflict with the Bahminee dynasty, and subsequently with the kingdoms which arose on its decay. In the early period of the sixteenth century Beejanuger had attained its greatest extent and power. It was enriched by maritime commerce; and all the Hindoo chiefs south of the Kistna—below which the Mahomedans had no footing—were completely under its control, even where they were not under its government. No single state was able to cope with it. The reigning raja, Ram-raj, had recently wrested several districts from Beejapore; he had overrun Golconda, laid siege to the capital, and exacted large concessions from the king. The four Mahomedan kings—Beder still existed—felt the necessity of restraining the growth of his power, and, suspending their mutual jealousies, formed a quadruple alliance against him. It was nothing less than a conflict between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans for the supremacy of the Deccan. Although Ram-raja called up all the strength of his Hindoo feudatories from the south down to its extreme limits, the enumeration of his host by Ferishta appears fabulous. His younger brother is said to have commanded a wing of the army consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 100,000 foot, and 500 elephants. His second brother had another wing of equal strength, while the raja himself led the flower of the army. The confederate force was likewise prodigious, and included 20,000 elephants and 600 pieces of artillery of all calibre. This important battle, known in history as that of Tali-

kotta, which lies at a short distance from the Kistna, was fought on the 25th January, 1565, and it resulted in the total defeat of the raja, and the slaughter, as the Mahomedan historians boast, of 100,000 infidels. The raja, seventy years of age, was beheaded in cold blood, and his head was preserved as a trophy at Beejapore, and annually exhibited on the anniversary of his death. The Hindoo power in the south was irretrievably broken, but dissensions among the victors enabled the brother of the raja to retain a fraction of his territory, and to establish his court eventually at Chundergiree, which has been rendered memorable in the history of British India as the town, where, seventy years after the battle of Tallikotta, the descendant of the raja granted the East India Company the first foot of land they ever possessed in India, and on which they erected the factory of Madras.

At the period of Akbar's invasion of the Deccan, the three Mahomedan princes were those of Beejapore, Golconda, and Ahmednugur. This expedition was, doubtless, dictated by the "lust of territorial aggrandisement;" but, if it had been completely

Akbar's
views on
the Deccan.

successful, it would have been an unquestionable blessing to the country. Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of the Deccan at this period. Its various kings had no occupation but war, aggressive war without even the excuse of provocation. Scarcely a year passed in which villages were not desolated, and the fair fruits of industry blasted by their mutual hostilities; and the substitution of a single authority, even though despotic, was a real godsend. On the death of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednugur, four factions arose in the state, the most powerful of which sent an invitation to Akbar, which he accepted at once; but, before the force which he despatched could reach the capital, another revolution placed the government in the hands of Chand Sultana, the aunt of the minor raja. This celebrated woman, the favourite heroine of the Deccan, and the subject of a hundred ballads,

Chand
Sultana of
Ahmed-
nugur.

1595

determined to defend the city to the last extremity. The Moguls had constructed three mines, two of which she countermined; the third blew up, leaving a large opening in the wall, and her officers prepared to desert the defence. The sultana flew to the spot fully armed, with a drawn sword in her hand, and a veil over her face. Combustibles of every description were thrown into the breach, and so

- heavy a fire was directed upon it, that the assailants were constrained to retire. It is a popular and cherished tradition that, when the shot was exhausted, she charged the guns with copper, then with silver, and lastly with gold. Her allies were now approaching, and the Mogul camp was straitened for provisions. Morad, the son of the sultana cedes Berar. Akbar, offered to retire upon the cession of Berar,
- 1596 and the sultana, who placed little confidence in her own troops, reluctantly accepted these terms. Within a year the kings of Ahmednugur, Golconda, and Beejapore formed a league to drive the Moguls out of the Deccan, and brought 60,000 troops into the field. An action was fought at Soniput, which lasted two days without any decisive result. Discord broke out among the Mogul officers, and Akbar,
- 1599 who had resided for fourteen years near the Indus, felt the necessity of proceeding to the Deccan in person. He advanced to the Nerbudda, and sent his son Morad to lay siege to Ahmednugur. The government of Chand Sultana was in a more disturbed state than ever, and, seeing defence hopeless, she felt the necessity of negotiating a peace with the Moguls, when the soldiery, instigated by her enemies, burst into her chamber, and put her to death. Her tragic death.
- 1600 The city was stormed and plundered, and the young king and the royal family were sent prisoners to Gwalior; but the kingdom was not incorporated with the Mogul territories till thirty-seven years later.
- 1601 This was the last political event of any importance in the reign of Akbar, who returned to the capital in 1601. The last four years of his life were embittered by the misconduct of his eldest son Selim, a violent and vindictive prince, and the slave of wine. He took up arms against his father, but was conciliated by a grant of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He had contracted an inveterate dislike of Abul Fazil, one of the most illustrious and esteemed of the emperor's officers, equally eminent as a general, a statesman, and a historian, to whose classic pen his reign is indebted, in no small degree, for its lasting renown. Selim caused him to be assassinated by a zemindar of Bundelcund. In September 1605, Akbar began to feel the approach of death. The profligacy of Selim had induced an influential body of courtiers to contemplate the elevation of a younger son to the throne, but Akbar assembled them around his dying couch, and in their presence ordered Selim to gird his own scimitar to his side, as a token of the bequest of the empire. Then, addressing

the assembled omrahs, he asked forgiveness for whatever offence he might have given them, and, after repeating the Moslem confession of faith, expired in the odour of sanctity, though he had lived the life of a heretic. He died at the age of sixty-three, after a reign of forty-nine years.

Akbar is described as "a strongly built and handsome man, with an agreeable expression of countenance, and very captivating manners." He was not only the pride of the Mogul dynasty, but incomparably the greatest of all the Mahomedan rulers of India. Few of these princes have ever exhibited greater military talent or personal courage. He never fought a battle which he did not win, or besiege a town which he did not take. Yet he had no passion for war; and he had no sooner turned the tide of victory by his skill and energy, than he left his commanders to complete the work, and hastened back to the more congenial labours of the cabinet. The glory of his reign rests not so much on the extent of his conquests, as on the admirable institutions by which they were consolidated and improved. In the early part of his career he was a devout follower of the Prophet, and, at one time, contemplated a pilgrimage to his tomb, the earnest longing of every Mahomedan. But, about the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he began to entertain latitudinarian views. Rejecting all prophets, priests, and ceremonies, he professed to take simple reason as his guide. The formula of his creed seems to have been: "There is no god but God, and Akbar is his Caliph." Yet with all his scepticism, he was not without a touch of superstition, of which he afforded an instance by the awe and veneration with which he adored the image of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, when shown to him by the Roman Catholic missionaries. The tendency of his measures was to discourage Mahomedanism. He changed the era of the Hegira; he restrained the study of Arabic, and of Mahomedan theology, and wounded the dearest prejudices of the faithful by prohibiting the beard, though it was enjoined by the Koran. Nothing but the ascendancy of his character, and his brilliant success in war and in peace, could have preserved his throne amidst the discontents occasioned by these heterodox proceedings. Amidst a people with whom the persecution of infidels was regarded as a sacred duty, he adopted the principle, not only of religious toleration, but of religious equality, and determined to rest the strength of his throne upon the attach-

Death of Akbar.

A.D.

1605

Character of Akbar.

ment of all his subjects. He secured the loyalty of the Hindoos by inviting them to share the highest civil offices and military commands with those of his own creed. He abolished the jezzia, the odious capitation tax inflicted on unbelievers, rescinded the pilgrim tax, sanctioned the marriage of Hindoo widows, and positively prohibited suttees.

Under the supervision of the Hindoo raja, Toder Mull, the great financier of the age, he remodelled the whole His revenue settlement. revenue system of the empire, and thus brought to maturity the great plans which Shere Shah in his brief reign of five years had inaugurated. The lands were measured according to a uniform standard, and divided into three classes according to their character and fertility. The demand of the state was fixed, generally, at one-third the produce, and then commuted into money. The settlement was made with the ryots, to the exclusion of all middle-men, and all arbitrary cesses were abolished. The whole empire was divided into fifteen provinces or soobahs, each of which was placed under the authority of a soobadar. He was entrusted with full powers, civil, military and financial, and assisted by a military commander and finance minister, who were accountable to him, though nominated by the crown. Akbar's military system was the least perfect of the departments of the state, and was enfeebled by paying the commanders for their men by the head, which created an irresistible temptation to present false musters, and to fill the ranks with vagabonds. The same organisation which pervaded the state establishments was introduced into every division of the court, and the whole was regulated, to the minutest detail, by the emperor himself. Every department was maintained upon a scale of imperial Splendour of his court. magnificence, of which there had been no example since the establishment of the Mahomedan power in India. During his progress through the country his camp was a moving city, and the eye was dazzled by the splendid tents of his ministers and officers, and more especially by the royal tents, blazing with ornaments and surmounted with gilt cupolas. A taste for literature was diffused through his court. Translations were made under his directions from the Hindoo classics, and his accomplished courtier, Fiezi, was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF JEHANGEER.

ON the death of Akbar, Selim stepped into the throne and assumed the title of Jehangeer, the Conqueror of the World. The great empire to which he succeeded was in a state of profound tranquillity, not disturbed by any insubordination among the public officers nor by foreign aggression. His first measures were judicious and benevolent. He confirmed most of his father's ministers in their posts, remitted some vexatious taxes which had survived his father's reforms, and made arrangements for giving easy access to the complaints of his subjects. He likewise replaced the Mahomedan creed on the coin, and manifested a superstitious obedience to the precepts of the Koran. But the quiet of the realm was speedily interrupted by the rebellion of his son, Khosroo, to whom he had always exhibited a feeling of strong antipathy. The unhappy youth fled to the Punjab, and collected a force of 10,000 men, but was pursued and captured, when the emperor exhibited the brutality of his disposition by causing 700 of his adherents to be impaled alive, while Khosroo was deliberately carried along the line to witness their agonies.

The event which exercised the greatest influence on the reign of Jehangeer was his marriage with Noor Jehan, contracted in the sixth year of his reign. This celebrated princess was the daughter of a Persian noble, who had been reduced to poverty, and, following the current stream of emigration, proceeded to India to repair his fortunes. During the journey his wife gave birth to a daughter, under very distressing circumstances. A merchant, who happened to be travelling on the same route, offered them timely assistance, and conveyed them in his own train to the capital. He took the father into his service, and eventually introduced him to the Court of

A.D.
1605

1606

Noor Jehan.

Akbar, where he rose to considerable eminence. As the daughter grew up, she received all the accomplishments which the metropolis of the empire could provide, and attracted admiration by her exquisite beauty and elegance. In the harem of Akbar, which she visited with her mother, she excited the passion of prince Selim; but as she had been already betrothed to a young and gallant Persian noble, who had acquired the title of Shere Afghan, from having killed a tiger in single combat, the marriage was completed by the orders of the emperor, and a jageer in the distant province of Burdwan was bestowed on him, to withdraw his wife from the capital. But Jehangeer had no sooner mounted the throne than he determined to remove every obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, and the noble Persian perished in an affray which was not believed to be accidental. His lovely widow was conveyed to the capital, and the emperor offered to share his throne with her; but she rejected his advances with such disdain as to disgust Jehangeer, and she was consigned to neglect in the harem. Reflection served to convince her of her folly, and she contrived to throw herself in his way and to rekindle his passion. The nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and she was clothed with honours such as no princess had ever enjoyed before in India. Her name was associated with the emperor's on the coin, and announced in these graceful terms: "By order of Jehangeer, gold acquired a hundred-fold value by the name of Noor Jehan." Her talents for business were not inferior to her personal charms, and her influence was beneficial in softening the emperor's disposition, and producing that reformation in his habits which marked the early years of his reign. Her taste imparted grace to the splendour of the court, while, at the same time, she curtailed its extravagance. Her brother was raised to high office, and her father placed at the head of the administration, which he managed with great ability.

The capture of Ahmednugur and the murder of Chand Sultana did not ensure the conquest of the kingdom. A kinsman of the late king was placed on the throne by Malik Amber, the chief of the Abyssinian nobles of the court. He holds the foremost rank in the history of the

1610 Deccan monarchies as a statesman and general of surpassing ability. He took entire charge of the administration, and maintained the sinking fortunes of the state for many years with singular energy. Planting himself on the

A.D.
1611

Her marriage with the emperor.

borders of the Deccan, he repeatedly drove the Moguls across the Nerbudda. Two powerful armies were sent by Jehangeer into the Deccan; one was completely baffled by Malik's peculiar mode of warfare, and obliged to retreat, and the other was too disheartened by this event to advance far. His artillery, which was obtained from the Portuguese in his ports, was greatly superior to that of the imperial army. He availed himself, moreover, of the contingents of the Mahratta chieftains, which served to foster and to mature their military power, and it was under his banner that Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, laid the foundation of the greatness of his family. Malik Amber had no natural passion for military enterprises, though his success in the field has seldom been surpassed. It was his attention to the duties of peace on which his renown rests, and his revenue settlements rival those of the raja Toder Mull. Jehangeer's failure in the Deccan was counter-^{Subjugation of Oodypore.} balanced by his success in Rajpootana. Pertab Sing, the rana of Oodypore, who is still idolized by his countrymen for the heroism with which he repelled the Moguls and eventually regained the provinces they had conquered, was succeeded by his son Omrah, who, though equally valliant, was not equally fortunate. He was attacked by Shah Jehan, the favourite and the gallant son of Jehangeer, and obliged to acknowledge his fealty to the empire. The independence of Oodypore, which had been maintained for eight centuries, was virtually extinguished, for although Shah Jehan, himself of Rajpoot blood on the mother's side, generously restored the territories he had conquered to the fallen rana, it was only as the vassal of the emperor of Delhi.

The tenth year of the reign of Jehangeer was rendered memorable by the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, as the ambassador of James I., to solicit privileges for the East India Company. The result of his embassy will be stated in its place hereafter. Here it may be sufficient to remark that he was fascinated with the oriental magnificence of the court, which completely eclipsed the tinsel pomp of his own master; but he saw little comfort among the people, who were ground down by extortion. The emperor dispensed justice daily in person, but retired in the evening to his cups, which he seldom quitted before his reason was obscured. The different governments were farmed out; the courtiers were universally corrupt, and military discipline was relaxed. There

was a large influx of Europeans at the court; one of the emperor's nephews had embraced Christianity, and the emperor himself had an image of Christ in his rosary. Shah Jehan, the emperor's gallant son, who was married to the niece of Noor Jehan was now declared heir apparent, and sent in the following year to invade the Deccan. The prosperity of Malik Amber had created a feeling of envy at the court, and he was still farther weakened by the desertion of the king of Beejapore. He was constrained, therefore, to cede to Shah Jehan the fortress of Ahmednugur, as well as all the conquests he had made from the Moguls. Within four years he renewed the war, and drove the imperial troops across the Taptee. Shah Jehan was again selected to command the army, and the usual success attended his arms. Malik Amber was deserted by his own officers, and obliged to purchase peace by a large sacrifice of territory and treasure.

Just at this juncture Khosroo, the brother of Shah Jehan, died, and his own misfortunes began. Noor Jehan had bestowed her daughter by Shere Afghan on Shahriar, the youngest son of the emperor, and, in the hope of retaining her power under his weak administration, determined to secure the reversion of the throne for him. To remove Shah Jehan out of the way, she persuaded Jehangeer to employ his great military talents in recovering Candahar from the Persians, who had recently conquered it. Shah Jehan was fully aware of the danger of quitting India, and began to stipulate for securities. His request was pronounced treasonable; all his jageers were confiscated, and he was driven into revolt, and Mohabet, the most eminent of the imperial commanders, was directed to proceed against him. After a partial and indecisive action in Rajpootana, Shah Jehan injudiciously retreated to the Deccan, where he arrived with the loss of his prestige. Malik Amber and the kings of Beejapore and Golconda refused him any assistance; his own troops began to desert his standard, and he retired to Telingana. On reaching Masulipatam, he marched along the coast up to Bengal, and, having taken possession of that province as well as of Behar, advanced towards Allahabad. Mohabet, who had lost sight of him, on hearing of his progress, hastened from the south to the banks of the Ganges, and Shah Jehan was obliged a second time to fly to the Deccan, but was pursued with such vigour that, seeing his fortunes desperate, he

sought reconciliation with his father, for which he was obliged to give his two sons as hostages.

A new scene now opens in this drama. Mohabet, the greatest subject in the empire, and the prime favourite of the emperor, manifested no disposition to second the wishes of Noor Jehan, and raise her son-in-law, a prince devoid of energy or ability, to the throne, and she resolved on his destruction. A charge of embezzlement during his last expedition was trumped up against him, and he was summoned to the court to answer it. He came, but with a body of 5,000 Rajpoots. He had recently betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman, without having first obtained the usual consent of the emperor. Jehangeer summoned the youth into his presence, and, in a fit of brutal rage, ordered him to be stripped naked and scourged with thorns before the courtiers. Mohabet perceived that his ruin was determined on, and resolved to strike the first blow. The emperor was then on his way to Cabul, and was encamped on the Hydaspes, which the army crossed in the morning on a bridge. The emperor had not recovered from the debauch of the previous night, and remained behind with a slender guard, when Mohabet proceeded to his tent, and seized his person. Seeing himself helpless, he submitted to mount an elephant, together with his cupbearer and his goblet, and to proceed to Mohabet's tent.

A. D.
1625

Noor Jehan's
persecution
of Mohabet.

Mohabet
seizes the
emperor.

Noor Jehan crossed the river in disguise the next morning, and joined the army which she led to the rescue of the emperor; but the Rajpoots had broken down the bridge, and she advanced at the head of her troops to a ford which had been discovered, mounted on a large elephant, and fully armed. The struggle was long and deadly. In spite of all her efforts, her troops were precipitated into the stream by the shower of balls, rockets, and arrows which Mohabet's Rajpoots discharged from their vantage ground. Her elephant was assailed with particular violence, and of the numerous missiles aimed at her, one at length struck the infant son of her daughter, whom she carried in her lap. The ford became a scene of universal confusion. The elephant driver was killed, and the elephant was wounded and borne down the stream back to the opposite bank. Her female attendants hastened to the spot, and found the howda, or seat, covered with blood, and the empress employed in binding up the wound of the infant. Noor Jehan yielded to necessity, and joined the emperor

Noor Jehan
rescues him.

in his captivity, and affected to be reconciled to Mohabet, who had assumed the command of the army, and marched on to Cabul. There the fertile genius of the empress was employed in cajoling Mohabet and throwing him off his guard, while, by a series of skilful manœuvres, she gradually, and without observation, assembled a body of troops. Seeing his position becoming daily less secure, Mohabet was led to make her offers of submission. She agreed to condone his revolt on condition that he should proceed in pursuit of Shah Jehan, who had fled to Sinde. Mohabet dreaded a reign of weakness under Shahriar, and resolved to join Shah Jehan; and Noor Jehan, on hearing of this defection, ordered him to be hunted through the empire, and set a price on his head. But all her plans of ambition were at once extinguished by the death of the emperor. After his liberation, he proceeded from Cabul to Cashmere, but his constitution was exhausted by a life of indulgence; he was seized with a violent fit of asthma, and died on his way to Lahore, on the 28th October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. He was contemporary with James the First of England. Not only were their reigns of the same duration, but there was a remarkable similarity in their characters. They were both equally weak and contemptible, both the slaves of favourites and drink; and by a singular coincidence, they both launched a royal decree against the use of tobacco, then recently introduced into England and India, and in both cases with equal success.

SECTION II.

SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

1627 ON the death of Jehangeer, Asof Khan, one of the chief ministers of the cabinet, the brother of Noor Jehan, though he owed his position to her influence, determined, from a patriotic motive, to support Shah Jehan, and invited him to the capital, while at the same time he placed the empress under restraint. Her power expired with the death of her husband, and she retired from the world upon an annuity of twenty lacs a year, and passed the remaining twenty years of her life in cherishing his

memory. Shah Jehan was proclaimed emperor at Agra, and rewarded the instruments of his elevation—Asof Khan and Mohabet—with offices of the highest dignity. His reign was distinguished by a passion for magnificence, which was developed on the very first anniversary of his accession, when he was weighed against silver and gold and precious substances; vessels filled with jewels were waved over his head—from the superstitious notion of averting misfortune—and then scattered on the floor for a general scramble. The expense of this festival was computed at a crore and a half of rupees. A.D. 1627

The first ten years of his reign were occupied with military operations in the Deccan. The genius of Malik Amber had restored much of its former splendour to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, but he had recently died at the age of eighty, and the country was distracted by factions. The king of Beejapore, Ibrahim Adil Shah, renowned for the grandeur of his buildings, had died about the same time, bequeathing to his successor a flourishing country and an army, reported, not without exaggeration, at 80,000 horse and upwards of 200,000 infantry, sufficiently powerful to cope for years with the whole strength of the Mogul empire. The king of Golconda was employed in extending his authority over his Hindoo neighbours to the east and the south. These three Deccan monarchies had recovered their former limits, and of all the conquests made by Akbar nothing remained to the crown of Delhi but the eastern portion of Candesh and Berar. The war in the Deccan on which Shah Jehan entered in the second year of his reign, was occasioned by the revolt of Jehan Lodi, an Afghan adventurer of low birth, but great courage and enterprise, who had commanded the imperial troops in the Deccan, but was disliked and mistrusted by the emperor. Suspecting some sinister designs on his part, he marched out of his palace at Agra at the head of 2,000 of his veteran Afghans, with his kettledrums beating a note of defiance, and fought his way to the Deccan, where he was joined by many adherents, and supported by the king of Ahmednugur. The revolt became so serious that Shah Jehan ordered three armies into the field and proceeded in person to the Deccan. The king of Ahmednugur was defeated. Jehan Lodi sought aid of the king of Beejapore and was refused, and he then endeavoured to make his way to Afghanistan, but was brought to bay in Bundlecund, where he fell pierced with Wars in the Deccan. 1628

wounds, after having performed prodigies of valour at the head of 400 men who adhered to his fortunes to the last.

Moorteza Nizam, of Ahmednugur, after his defeat, had fallen out with his minister Futteh Khan, the son and successor of Malik Amber, and imprisoned him, but, when threatened with disorder and ruin on all sides, restored him to power. The ungrateful Abyssinian rewarded his kindness by putting him and his chief adherents to death, and then, after placing an infant on the throne, offered his submission to the emperor. But Shahjee, the Mahratta chief, who had risen to great importance under Malik Amber, found himself strong enough to set up a new pretender to the throne, and obtained possession of the greater portion of the country. The Deccan was thus as far from being subjugated as ever, and Shah Jehan deemed it necessary to undertake another expedition in person. Shahjee was driven from Ahmednugur, and the whole force of the empire was brought to bear on Beejapore, the king of which had made common cause with Ahmednugur, and now maintained a struggle of five years with the imperial generals. To baffle their efforts, he created a desert for more than twenty miles round his capital, destroying every particle of food and every vestige of forage. Both parties became at length weary of this war, and listened to terms of accommodation. The result of this conflict of eight years may be thus briefly summed up: the kingdom of Ahmednugur was extinguished, after a century and a half of independence; a portion of it was ceded to Beejapore for a tribute of twenty lacs a year, and the remainder absorbed in the Mogul dominions, while the king of Golconda consented to pay an annual subsidy.

Shah Jehan was soon after gladdened by the recovery of Candahar. Ali Merdan, the governor under the Persians, was driven into revolt by the tyranny of his sovereign, and made over the town and territory to the Moguls. He was taken into the service of Shah Jehan, and employed in many military expeditions beyond the Indus, but his fame rests on the public works he constructed in India, and more especially, on the noble canal near Delhi, which still preserves the grateful remembrance of his name. After several years of repose, the emperor determined to prosecute the dormant claims of his family on the distant regions of Balkh and

Extinction
of Ahmed-
nugur.

A. D.
1630

1637

1637

Candahar
and Ali
Merdan.

Budukshan, and he proceeded to Cabul. Ali Merdan and Morad, the emperor's son, reduced Balkh, but it was immediately after overrun by the Uzbeks. Raja Juggut Sing was then sent with 14,000 Rajpoots, and they manifested their loyalty to a just and tolerant government by crossing the Indus, in spite of their Hindoo prejudices, traversing the lofty passes of the Hindoo Coosh, constructing redoubts by their own labour—the raja himself taking an axe like the rest—and encountering the fiery valour of the Uzbeks in that snowy region. Aurungzebe, the emperor's third son, was subsequently sent there, but, after gaining a great victory was obliged to retreat in the depth of winter, and with the loss of the greater part of his army; after which the emperor had the moral courage to relinquish this ill-advised enterprise.

Two years after, the king of Persia, marched down on Candahar, and recaptured it, and Aurungzebe was directed to recover it, but was obliged to retire after having in vain besieged it four months; a second expedition led by him, and a third by his brother Dara, were equally unsuccessful. These failures were followed by two years of tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan completed the revenue settlement of the possessions he had acquired in the Deccan.

The year 1655 marks an important era in the history of Mahomedan India;—the renewal of the war in the Deccan, which continued for fifty years to exhaust the resources of the Mogul empire, and hastened its downfall. During the eighteen years of peace which followed the treaty made with Ibrahim Adil Shah, the king of Beejapore, he had devoted his attention to the construction of those splendid palaces, mausoleums, and mosques by which his reign was distinguished, and to the conquest of the petty Hindoo chiefs in the south. The king of Golconda had punctually paid his subsidy, and manifested every disposition to cultivate the favour of the emperor. The Deccan was tranquil, but in an evil hour Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy, and resolved to efface the disgrace of his repulse from Candahar by the subjugation of its two remaining kingdoms. An unexpected event gave him the desired pretext. Meer Joomla, born of indigent parents at Ispahan, had repaired to Golconda, and amassed prodigious wealth in commerce and maritime enterprises. He was taken into the service of the king, and, having risen to the office of vizier by his extraordinary talents, led the armies to the southern provinces of the

A.D.

1647

1653

to

1655

Renewal of
the war in
the Deccan.

Deccan, and established the royal authority over many of the Hindoo chieftains. While absent on one of these expeditions his son incurred the displeasure of the king, and Meer Joomla, unable to obtain any consideration from him, determined to throw himself on the protection of the Moguls.

Aurungzebe was but too happy to take up the quarrel; and, with the permission of his father, sent a haughty

Aurungzebe's proceedings in the Deccan. mandate to the king to grant redress to the youth, to which the king replied by placing him in confinement and confiscating all the estates of the family. Shah Jehan ordered his son to

enforce compliance with his command by the sword, and he advanced to Hyderabad, now become the capital of the kingdom, with the most friendly assurances. The king was preparing a magnificent entertainment for his reception, when he was treacherously attacked and obliged to seek refuge in the hill fort of Golconda. Hyderabad was plundered and half burnt, and the king was constrained to submit to the humiliating terms imposed on him of bestowing his daughter on one of Aurungzebe's sons with a rich

A.D.
1656

dowry, and paying a crore of rupees as the first instalment of an annual tribute; but the emperor, who had a conscience, remitted a considerable portion of it. Aurungzebe now prepared for a wanton attack on Beejapore. A pretext was found in the assertion that the youth who had recently succeeded to the throne was not the real issue of the late king, and that to the emperor belonged the right of deciding the succession. Aurungzebe suddenly burst upon the territory

His attack on Beejapore.

while the bulk of the army was absent in the Carnatic; two important forts were captured, and the capital was invested. The king was

obliged to sue for peace on reasonable terms, which were peremptorily refused, and the extinction of the dynasty appeared inevitable, when an event occurred in the north which gave it a respite of thirty years. News came posting down to the Deccan that Shah Jehan was at the point of death, and that the contest for the empire had begun; and

1657

Aurungzebe was obliged to hasten to the capital to look after his own interests.

Shah Jehan had four sons. Dara, the eldest, had been declared his heir and entrusted with a share of the

Shah Jehan's sons.

government. He possessed great talents for government, and an air of regal dignity; he was brave and frank, but haughty and rash. Soojah, the second,

though addicted to pleasure, had been accustomed to civil and military command from his youth, and was at this time viceroy of Bengal, which he had governed with no little ability and success for twenty years. Aurungzebe, the third, was the ablest and most ambitious, as well as the most subtle of the family. Morad, the youngest, though bold and generous, was little better than a sot. Dara was a freethinker of Akbar's school. Aurungzebe was a fierce bigot, and courted the suffrage of the orthodox by reprobating the infidelity of Dara. The claims of primogeniture had always been vague and feeble in the Mogul dynasty, and were, moreover, always subordinate to the power of the sword. When therefore four brothers, each with an army at his command, aspired to the throne, a conflict was inevitable.

Soojah was the first in the field, and advanced from Bengal towards Delhi. Morad, the viceroy of Guzerat, seized the public treasury and assumed the title of emperor. Aurungzebe extorted a large sum from the king of Beejapore, and moved northward to unite his fortunes with Morad, whom, with his usual craft, he succeeded in cozening. He saluted him as emperor, and congratulated him on his new dynasty, declaring that, as for himself, he was anxious to renounce the vanities of the world, and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, as soon as he had succeeded in releasing his father from the thralldom of the godless Dara. Morad was so simple as to give credit to these professions, and their united armies advanced to the capital. Dara prepared to meet both attacks, and sent raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, and his own son, to oppose Soojah, and raja Jeswunt Sing to encounter Aurungzebe. The selection of two Hindoo generals to command the armies which were to decide the fortunes of the Mogul throne affords the strongest evidence of the principle of fidelity which the generous policy of Akbar and his two successors had inspired in the Hindoo mind. At this juncture, Shah Jehan recovered his health, and endeavoured to resume his authority; but it was too late. Soojah was defeated and obliged to fly to Bengal, and, the year after, was pursued by Meer Joomla, and obliged to seek refuge in Aracan, where he was basely murdered, together with the whole of his family. Aurungzebe defeated the Rajpoot raja at Oojein, and then advanced to Agra, where Dara met him with a superior army, but, contrary to the wise advice of his father, hazarded an

A.D.

1657

Soojah takes the field.

Dara defeats Soojah.

Shah Jehan's recovery.

A.D. 1658 engagement in which he was completely overpowered, and fled. Three days after, Aurungzebe entered the capital in triumph, deposed his father, and mounted the throne.

The character of Shah Jehan is thus described by his native biographer:—"Akbar was pre-eminent as a warrior and a lawgiver; Shah Jehan for the incomparable order and arrangement of his finances, and the internal administration of the empire. But although the pomp of his court and his state establishments were such as had never been seen before in India, there was no increase of taxation, and no embarrassment to the treasury." By the general consent of historians, the country enjoyed greater prosperity during his reign than under any previous reign, and it has therefore been characterised as the golden era of the Mogul dynasty. This is to be attributed to that respite from the ravages of war which afforded scope for the pursuits of industry; for though engaged in foreign wars, his own dominions enjoyed uninterrupted repose. He was the most magnificent prince of the house of Baber; but in nothing was the splendour of his tastes more visible than in the buildings he erected. He contributed to the grandeur of many of the cities of India by the construction of noble palaces. It was he who founded the new city of Delhi, in which his castellated palace, with its spacious courts, and marble halls, and gilded domes, was the object of universal eulogy. Of that palace, the noblest ornament was the far-famed peacock throne, blazing with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, the value of which was estimated by one of the European jewellers of his court at six crores of rupees. To him also the country was indebted for the immaculate Taj Mehal, the mausoleum of his queen, the gem of India, and the admiration of the world. But all his establishments were managed with such vigilance and care, that after defraying the cost of his numerous expeditions, he left in his treasury, according to his native biographer, a sum not short of twenty-four crores of rupees, though the annual income of the empire did not exceed thirty.

Aurungzebe having thus obtained possession of the capital and the treasury, threw off the mask. He no longer talked of renouncing the world and becoming a pilgrim, but assumed all the powers of government, and took the title of Alungeer, the Lord of the World. His father was placed in

Aurungzebe disposes of his brothers.

honourable captivity in his own palace, where he was treated with the greatest respect, and survived his deposition seven years; but Aurungzebe did not consider his throne secure while there remained any member of his family to disturb it. Morad was invited to an entertainment, and allowed to drink himself into a state of helplessness, when he was taken up and conveyed to the fort of Agra. Soojah was chased by Meer Joomla out of India. Dara fled to Lahore, but was driven from thence to Guzerat, where he obtained aid from the governor, and was enabled to advance against the emperor, but was defeated, and sought refuge with the raja of Jun, whom he had formerly laid under great obligations. That ungrateful chief, however, betrayed him to his vindictive brother, who paraded him on a sorry elephant through the streets of Delhi, where he had recently been beloved as a master. A conclave of Mahomedan doctors was convened, who gratified the emperor's wishes by condemning him to death as an apostate from the creed of the Prophet. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head was cut off and carried to Aurungzebe. His son, Soliman, was betrayed by the raja of Cashmere, and, like his father, was paraded through the streets of the capital, but with his hands bound in gilded fetters; and his noble bearing and his deep calamity are said to have moved the spectators to tears. He and his younger brother, together with a son of Morad, were consigned to death in the dungeons of Gwalior. Morad himself, after a mock trial for some execution he was said to have ordered when viceroy of Guzerat, was likewise put to death.

Aurungzebe had thus in the space of three years secured, to all appearance, the stability of his power by the confinement of his father, and the destruction of his brothers and their families, when his own life was threatened by a dangerous attack of illness, and his court was filled with intrigues while he lay helpless on his couch. One party espoused the cause of his eldest son, Muazzim, and another that of Akbar, his brother, while the rajah Jeswunt Rao advanced from Rajpootana and Mohabet from Cabul, to liberate and reinstate Shah Jehan. But Aurungzebe, having passed the crisis of the disease, summoned the officers of his court to renew their allegiance to him, and his recovery dissolved all these disloyal projects.

A short time previous to the illness of the emperor,

Meer Joomla, who had been appointed governor of Bengal, assembled a large army and proceeded up the river in Assam. Brumhapooter, for the conquest of Assam, and eventually of China. The capital was reduced without difficulty, but the rains set in with extraordinary violence; the river rose beyond its usual limits, and the whole country was flooded. The supplies of the army were cut off, and a pestilence completed its disasters, while Meer Joomla was obliged to retreat, and was pursued by the exasperated Assamese. He returned to Dacca in disgrace, and died there at a very advanced age, leaving behind him the reputation of the ablest statesman and general of that age of action. In the letter of condolence which the emperor sent to his son, on whom he conferred all his father's honours, he said, "You have lost a father, and I, the greatest and most dangerous of my friends." After the recovery of Aurungzebe, it became necessary for him to send an army to check the devastations of the Mahrattas; and the reader's attention must now be called to the origin and progress of this nation, which rose to dominion on the ruins of the Mogul empire, and for more than a century swayed the destinies of India.

A.D.
1663

SECTION III.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE MAHRATTAS.

THE country inhabited by the Mahrattas, designated in the Hindoo shasters, Muharastra, is generally considered to extend from the Wurda on the east to the sea coast on the west, and from the Satpoora range on the north down to a line drawn due east from Goa. The salient feature of the country is the Syhadree mountains, called the ghauts, which traverse it from north to south at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles from the sea, and which rise to the height of 4,000 or 5,000 feet above its level. The strip of land along the sea coast is called the Concan. The inhabitants are of diminutive stature, and present a strong contrast to the noble figure of the Rajpoot, but they are sturdy, laborious, and persevering, and distinguished for cunning. "The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, the Mahratta the most formidable enemy." This mountain region was difficult of access, and its salient points were

strengthened by fortifications. For centuries the Mahrattas had been known as plodding accountants and managers of villages and districts, and it was not till the sixteenth century that they came to be noticed as soldiers. Their country was comprised within the territories of Beejapore and Ahmednugur, and the two kings, who were incessantly at war with each other, or with their neighbours, were happy to employ the Mahratta chiefs in raising levies of their hardy countrymen, each one commanding his own body of free lances. It was the wars which raged for a century in the Deccan which cradled their military prowess, and no small portion of the national aristocracy trace their origin to the distinction gained in these conflicts and the lands they acquired; but it was chiefly under Malik Amber that they made the most rapid strides to military and political importance. A community of village clerks and husbandmen was transformed into a nation of warriors, and it only required a master spirit to raise them to empire. Such a spirit appeared in Sevajee.

Mallojee Bhonslay was a man of ignoble rank, but a valiant captain of horse in the service of the king of Ahmednugur at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and obtained from the venal court the Origin of Shahjee. jageers of Poona, Sopa and some other districts. His son Shahjee inherited the jageers on his death in 1620, and augmented his military force and his importance by a close A.D. 1620 alliance with Malik Amber. Nine years after he joined the revolt of Jehan Lodi, already mentioned, but deserted his cause when it began to wane, and went over to the Moguls, by whom he was rewarded with the title of a commander of 5,000, and the confirmation of his jageer. Soon after he again changed sides, and on the capture of the young king was sufficiently strong to set up a pretender and obtain possession of all the districts of the kingdom, from the sea to the capital. After a warfare of three years with the imperial troops, he was driven out of the country, and having obtained an asylum at the court of Beejapore, was entrusted with an expedition to the Carnatic. His success was rewarded with the extensive jageers in the vicinity of Bangalore, which he had conquered, and he formed the design of establishing an independent Hindoo kingdom in the extreme south of the peninsula, resigning his Poona jageer to his son Sevajee.

Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, was born 1627 in 1627, and—his father having taken a second wife—was

placed under the tutelage of Dadajee Punt, a Brahmin, who, in conformity with the national usage in a community in which all the chiefs were illiterate, managed the affairs of the estate. Birth and early life of Sevajee. Sevajee, who was never able to read or write, became expert in the use of the weapons required in the hills, and in all manly exercises, and an accomplished horseman. He likewise grew up a devout and rigid Hindoo, with a profound veneration for brahmins and a cordial hatred of mahomedans. His young imagination was kindled by the recital of the national epics, and he longed to emulate the exploits celebrated in them. At the age of sixteen, he formed an association of youths of wild and lawless habits, with whom he engaged in hunting or marauding expeditions, and thus became familiar with every path and defile in the hills. Having trained the inhabitants of his native glens, the Mawulees, to arms and discipline, he commenced his career of ambition at the age of nineteen by capturing the hill fortress of Torna, and the next year erected the fort of Rajgurh, which became his headquarters. A.D. 1643 These proceedings roused the attention of the king of Beejapore, and Shahjee, to whom the jageer belonged, was called to account for them. He remonstrated with Dadajee Punt, the guardian of his son, who entreated Sevajee to desist from a course which must inevitably bring destruction on the family; but the old man perceived that the purpose of his pupil was not to be shaken, and, worn out with age, disease, and anxiety, sunk into the grave; but just before his death is said to have sent to Sevajee, and advised him to prosecute his schemes of independence, to protect brahmins, kine, and husbandmen, and to preserve the Hindoo temples from violation.

Sevajee immediately took possession of the jageer, and 1648 with the treasure which had been accumulated by his guardian, augmented his force, and within two years extended his authority over thirty miles of territory, attacked a convoy of royal treasure and carried off three lacs of pagodas to his eyrie in the mountains. The audacity of these and similar proceedings roused the indignation of the Beejapore monarch, who seized the father Shahjee, and threatened him with death. Sevajee, then twenty-two, entered into a negotiation with the emperor Shah 1649 Jehan on his father's behalf, which is believed to have saved him from a cruel death, though he was detained for four years at Beejapore, till the increasing disorders in the Carnatic

induced the king to release him and send him back to his government. During the period of his father's detention, Sevajee discreetly abstained from further encroachments, but renewed them on his release, and by an act of base treachery, which has inflicted a deep stain on his memory, caused two chieftains of Jowlee to be assassinated.

While Aurungzebe was engaged in hostilities with Beejapore, Sevajee professed himself a devoted servant of the throne of Delhi, and obtained a confirmation of his title to the lands he had wrested from the empire. But no sooner had the prince set his face His inter-course with Aurungzebe. towards Delhi to secure the crown, than the Mahratta chief began to ravage the Mogul territories. To extend his operations to a more distant sphere, he likewise organised A. D. 1657 that corps of light horse which afterwards became the scourge of India. At the same time, he took a body of mahomedans into his service, but placed them under Mahratta officers. The success of Aurungzebe's efforts to obtain the throne gave just alarm to Sevajee, and he sent an envoy to Delhi to excuse his incursions and to conciliate the emperor, and offered to protect the Mogul interests in the Concan if they were intrusted to his charge. Aurungzebe considered that the security of these possessions in the Deccan was likely to be promoted by encouraging the Mahratta adventurer, and consented to his occupation of that maritime province; but in his attempt to take possession of it, Sevajee experienced the first reverse he had ever sustained.

The court of Beejapore was at length roused to the danger of these incessant encroachments, which had been 1659 increasing in audacity for fourteen years, and sent Afzool Khan with a body of 12,000 horse and Afzool Khan assassinated. foot and a powerful artillery to suppress them. He was a vain and conceited nobleman, and Sevajee determined to destroy him by treachery. He professed a humble submission to the king, and offered to surrender all the territories he had usurped if he were allowed to hope for forgiveness. Afzool Khan was thrown off his guard by this flattery, and agreed to give a meeting to Sevajee with only a single attendant. Sevajee performed his religious devotions with great fervour, and advanced with all humility to the interview, and while in the act of embracing Afzool, plunged a concealed weapon into his bowels, and despatched him with his dagger. The troops of the murdered general were suddenly surrounded by a body of

Mahrattas placed in ambush, and routed with the loss of all their equipments. The success of this stratagem, notwithstanding the atrocity of the deed, obtained the admiration of his countrymen beyond many of his other exploits, and the weapon was carefully preserved as an heirloom in the family. Sevajee followed up his victory by plundering the country to the very gates of the capital. The king then took the field in person, and recovered many of the forts and much of the territory he had lost. The war was protracted for two years with varied success, but generally in favour of the Mahrattas. A reconciliation was at length effected, and a treaty concluded through the mediation of Shahjee, who paid a visit to his son after an absence of twenty years. He congratulated him on the progress he had made towards the establishment of a Hindoo power, and encouraged him to persevere in the course he had

A.D.
1662

begun. At this period, Sevajee, then in his thirty-fifth year, was in possession of the whole coast of the Concan, extending four degrees of latitude, and of the ghats from the Beema to the Wurda. His army, consisting of 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse, was out of all proportion to his territories and his resources, but he was incessantly engaged in war, and made war support itself by his exactions.

Sevajee being now at peace with Beejapore, let loose his predatory bands on the Mogul possessions, and swept the country to the suburbs of Aurungabad. The emperor appointed his own maternal uncle,

ShaistaKhan
attacks Se-
vajee.

1663 Shaista Khan, to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, with orders to reduce Sevajee to submission. He captured Poona, and took up his residence in the house in which Sevajee had passed his childhood, and the Mahratta chief conceived the design of assassinating the Mogul general in his bed. He got up a marriage procession, and entered the town in disguise with thirty followers, and proceeding unperceived to the palace, suddenly attacked its inmates. The viceroy escaped the assault with the loss of two fingers, but his guards were cut down. Sevajee, baffled in his project, returned to his encampment amidst a blaze of torches. This daring exploit was so completely in harmony with the national character as to be viewed with greater exultation than some of his most famous victories.

1664 The operations of Sevajee were now extended to a bolder enterprise. A hundred and fifty miles from Poona lay the

Attack of
Surat.

city of Surat, the greatest emporium of commerce on the western coast, and two of the firms in the

town were considered the most wealthy merchants in the world at the time. It was, moreover, the chief port to which devout Mahomedans resorted from all parts of India to embark on pilgrimage to Mecca. Sevajee suddenly appeared before it with 4,000 of his newly raised cavalry, and after plundering it leisurely for six days, returned to his capital. He met with no resistance except from the European factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English chief, defended the property of the East India Company, and likewise of the natives under his protection, with such valour and success as to extort the applause of Aurungzebe. It is worthy of note that this was the first occasion on which European soldiers came into collision with native troops, and that the result filled both Hindoos and Mahomedans with astonishment. A.D. 1664

On his return from this expedition, Sevajee heard of the death of his father at the age of seventy, and immediately assumed the title of raja, and struck the coin in his own name. Finding that his power would not be complete unless he could obtain the command of the sea, he had been employed for some time in constructing a navy, and while his troops were employed in ravaging the Mogul territories on land, his fleet was engaged in capturing the Mogul vessels bound to the Red Sea and exacting heavy ransom from the opulent pilgrims. In February, 1665, he secretly drew together a fleet consisting of eighty-eight vessels and embarked with 4,000 troops to Barcelore, thon a great trade mart on the Malabar coast, where he obtained large booty, and returned to his capital before it was known that he had left it. On his return, he found that a large Mogul army commanded by the renowned Rajpoot raja Jeysing, and the general Dilere Khan, had entered his territories. Aurungzebe, an intense bigot, had felt greater indignation against Sevajee for obstructing the progress of the devout pilgrims than for any of his audacious assumptions of power, and the largest force yet sent against him now entered his territories, and reduced him to such straits that he was constrained to have recourse to negotiations. They resulted in the memorable "Convention of Poorundur," in which it was stipulated that he should restore all the forts and districts he had taken from the Moguls with the exception of twelve, which he was to retain as a jageer, and that his son Sambajee should hold rank as a noble in the command of 5,000 men. But he dexterously inserted a

Sevajee creates a fleet.

He is attacked by Jeysing and Dilere Khan.

1665

clause in the treaty granting him, in lieu of certain pretended claims on the old Nizam Shahee state, assignments of a fourth and a tenth of the revenue,—termed by him the *Chout* and *Surdehmookee*,—of certain districts above the ghauts, the charge of collecting which he took on himself. So eager was he to obtain the imperial authority for this grant, that he offered a sum of forty lacs of pagodas for it, and intimated his intention of visiting the emperor at Delhi, and “his desire to kiss the “royal threshold.” This is the first mention of the celebrated claim of *chout*, which the Mahrattas marched throughout India to enforce. In the communication which Aurungzebe addressed him on this occasion, no allusion was made to this claim, the insidious tendency, or even the import, of which the imperial cabinet could not comprehend, and Sevajee assumed that the principle was tacitly conceded.

Sevajee had now entered the service of the Moguls and lost no time in marching with 10,000 horse and foot against Beejapore, though his half-brother commanded the Mahratta contingent in its services. Aurungzebe was gratified with his success and invited him to court, to which he repaired with an escort of 1,500 troops. But he found himself regarded by the emperor in the light of a troublesome captain of banditti, whom it was politic to humour, and he was presented at the durbar with nobles of the third rank. He left the “presence” with ill-concealed indignation, and is said to have wept and fainted away. It became the object of the emperor to prevent his leaving Delhi, and his residence was beleagured, but he contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards and made his escape in a hamper, and reached Rajgurh in the disguise of a pilgrim, with his face smeared with ashes. The Rajpoot commander in the Deccan was not insensible to the influence of money, and Sevajee was thus enabled through him to make his peace with Aurungzebe, who acknowledged his title of raja and even made some addition to his jageer. Having now a season of greater leisure than he had yet enjoyed, he spent the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government, and nothing gives us a higher idea of his genius than to find a rough soldier, who was unable to read or write, and who had for twenty years been employed in predatory warfare, establishing a form of government and a system of civil polity so well suited to the consolidation of a great kingdom. His military

A. D. Sevajee at
1665 Delhi

1666

1668
and
1669

Revision of
his institu-
tions.

organisation, which was equally distinguished for its rigid discipline and its strict economy, was admirably adapted to the creation of a new and predominant power in India.

This was also the most prosperous period of Aurungzebe's long reign. The empire was at peace; the emperor was held in the highest esteem throughout the Mahomedan world, and received complimentary missions from the Scheriff of Mecca, the Khan of the Uzbeks, the king of Abyssinia, and the Shah of Persia. But his restless ambition again kindled the flames of war, which continued to rage, without the intermission of a single year, during the remaining thirty-seven years of his reign, and consumed the vitals of the empire. Finding it impossible to inveigle Sevajee into his power, he issued the most peremptory orders to pursue him to the death. Sevajee prepared for the conflict with unflinching resolution. He opened the campaign by the capture of two important fortresses, and, with an army of 14,000 men, again plundered Surat, where the Company's factors once more covered themselves with renown by their military energy. He overran the province of Candesh, and for the first time levied the *chout* on a Mogul province: in this instance it was simply black mail. Aurungzebe was dissatisfied with the inactivity of his general, and sent Mohabet with an army of 40,000 against Sevajee, who met his opponents for the first time in the open field and gained a complete victory, which elevated the crest of the Mahrattas, and not a little disheartened the Mogul generals.

The turbulent Khyberes and Eusufzies in Afghanistan, the hereditary enemies of order and peace, had again broken out and defeated the Mogul general in the passes subsequently rendered memorable by the annihilation of a British army. The emperor determined to undertake the subjugation of these incorrigible highlanders in person, and led his army as far as Hussun Abdal, where he left the expedition to his son, who was obliged to content himself with the nominal submission of the tribes, after a bootless warfare of two years. On his return to Delhi Aurungzebe found himself involved in an unexpected and formidable difficulty. Such is the nature of the natives of India, that the peace of the country is liable to be broken any day by the most insignificant cause: the shape of a turban, or the make of a cartridge. On this occasion it was the violence of a single police officer, who insulted a sect of Hindoo fanatics called

A. D.
1666
to
1670
Tranquillity
of Hindos-
tan.

War with
Sevajee.

1672

Aurung-
zebe's con-
flict with
the Khy-
beres and
Sutnaramees

1673

A.D. 1676 Sutnaramees. Their excitement created an émeute, and the émeute grew into a revolt. The devotees assembled in thousands, and being joined by some disaffected zemindars, defeated the troops sent against them, and obtained possession of the two provinces of Agra and Ajmere; a general revolt, therefore, appeared imminent. They gave out that they possessed the magic power of resisting bullets, and the imperial troops naturally shrank from an encounter with them, till Aurungzebe wrote out texts of the Koran with his own hand, and attached them to his standards, when the confidence of his troops was revived and the rebellion quelled.

Akbar and his two successors had adopted the wise and generous policy of granting the Hindoos religious liberty and equality, and they served the state as zealously and faithfully as the Mahomedans, even when employed against their own countrymen. The same principle appears to have prevailed in some degree during the early period of Aurungzebe's reign, and he had formed two family alliances with Rajpoot princes; but his defeat in the Khyber, and the revolt of the fanatics, appear to have embittered his temper, and roused a feeling of bigoted animosity. No pains or penalties were inflicted on the Hindoos for the profession of their creed, but they were made to feel that they lay under the ban of the ruling power of the empire. Aurungzebe ordered that no Hindoos should in future be employed in the public service, and he reimposed the odious poll-tax, the jezzia, on infidels. His measures, however disguised, breathed the spirit of intolerance. The Hindoo temples in Bengal, and even in the holy city of Benares, were demolished, and mosques erected on the sites, and the images used as steps. These bigoted proceedings produced a feeling of disaffection in every province, but it was only in Rajpootana that they created political disturbance. Jeswunt Sing, the faithful Rajpoot general of the emperor, had died in Cabul, and as his widow and family passed through Delhi, Aurungzebe surrounded their encampment with troops, intending to detain them as hostages. They were rescued by the contrivance of Jeswunt Sing's minister, and conveyed to Joudpore; but this ungenerous treatment of the family of a devoted servant roused the indignation of the high-spirited Rajpoots, and the country was speedily in a blaze. Aurungzebe lost no time in marching into it, and obliged the rana of Oodypore to make his submission;

but on a second revolt, he summoned troops from every direction, and let them loose on the unhappy country. The Joudpore territory was laid waste, villages were destroyed, families carried into slavery, and the inhabitants made to feel the extremities of war. The Rajpoots retaliated by plundering the mosques and burning the Koran in Malwa. The alienation of the various tribes was complete. After this period they were often at peace with the empire, and furnished their contingents of troops, whom Aurungzebe was happy to employ as a counterpoise to his Mahomedan soldiers; but that cordial loyalty to the Mogul throne which had for a century made them its most reliable champions, was extinct. It was during these disturbances that the emperor's son Akbar went over to the Rajpoots, and was encouraged by them to assume the title and functions of royalty, and to march with an army of 70,000 men against his father; but he was defeated, and fled to the Mahrattas.

To return to Sevajee. He took advantage of the absence of Aurungzebe in the Khyber, and the death of the king of Beejapore, to annex the whole of the Concan, and likewise of a considerable tract above the ghauts. He had long struck the coin in his own name, and he now determined to proclaim his independence, and to assume all the ensigns of royalty and the pomp of a Mahomedan potentate. After many religious solemnities, on the 6th June, 1674, he was enthroned at his capital, Rajgurh, and announced himself as the "ornament of the Kshetriyu race, and lord of the royal umbrella." He was weighed against gold, which was distributed amongst the brahmins, who found to their chagrin that he only weighed ten stone. Two years after he undertook one of the most extraordinary expeditions on Mahratta record, with the object of recovering his father's jageer in the distant south from his brother. Having concluded an armistice with the Mogul general who had charge of the operations against him, by a large douceur, he marched to Golconda with an army of 30,000 foot and 40,000 horse, and extorted a large supply of money and artillery from the king, together with an engagement to cover his territories during his absence, on condition of receiving half his acquisitions in land and money. He then proceeded to pay his devotions at the shrine of Purwuttum. Naked, and covered with ashes, he assumed the character of a devotee, and after having,

A.D.
1679Sevajee
assumes
royalty.

1674

His expedi-
tion to the
Deccan.

1676

His
fanaticism.

for nine days, committed various acts of superstitious folly, which at one time led his officers to doubt his sanity, he resumed the command of his army, which he had sent forward in advance. He swept past Madras, then an unnoticed factory, and captured fort after fort, not excepting even the redoubted fortress of Gingee (pronounced Jinjee) "tenable "by ten men against an army," and at Trivadey, 600 miles from his own territory, met his brother Vencajee. He held possession of Tanjore, and the other jageers bequeathed to him by his father, and refused to share them with his brother, who thereupon occupied them by force, and sent his horse to ravage the Carnatic. The dispute between the

A.D. 1678 brothers terminated in a compromise, by which Vencajee was to retain the jageer, paying half the revenues to Sevajee, while he was to keep possession of all the conquests he had made from Beejapore. He reached Rajgurh after an absence of eighteen months, but no portion of his conquests or of his plunder did he think of surrendering to the king of Golconda.

The next year Aurungzebe sent a formidable army to

1679 besiege Beejapore, and the regent, during the minority of the king, invoked the aid of Sevajee, who laid waste the Mogul territories between the Beema and the Godavery, and subjected the town of Aurungabad to plunder for three days. Meanwhile, his son Sambajee, who had been placed in durance by his father for an attempt to violate the wife of a brahmin, made his escape, and went over to the Mogul general, and was received with open arms; but Aurungzebe ordered him to be sent as a prisoner to his father's camp. Sevajee renewed his exertions for the relief of Beejapore upon a fresh concession of territory; but in the midst of these events, all his plans of ambition were demolished by his death, which happened

Aurungzebe attacks Beejapore.

1680 Death and character of Sevajee.

at Rajgurh, on the 5th April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age. Aurungzebe did not conceal his satisfaction at the death of his formidable opponent, but he did full justice to his genius. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had "the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have "been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of "India; my armies have been employed against him for "nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always "increasing." That state, at his death, comprised a territory 400 miles in length and 120 in breadth. It was created by his own genius, and consolidated by a com-

munion of habits, language, and religion among his countrymen. He is one of the greatest characters in the native history of India, greater even than Hyder Ali and Runjeet Sing, who subsequently trod the same path of ambition and conquest. He did more than simply found a kingdom; he laid the foundation of a power which survived the decay of his own family, and he kindled a national spirit of enthusiasm which in a few years made the Mahrattas the arbiters of the destiny of India.

SECTION IV.

AURUNGZEBE TO MAHOMED SHAH.

AURUNGZEBE having now in a great measure subdued the opposition of the Rajpoot tribes, determined to bring the whole strength of the empire to bear on the subjugation of the Deccan. It was a wanton and iniquitous aggression, and, by a righteous retribution, recoiled on himself, and led to the downfall of his dynasty. In the year 1683 he quitted Delhi, which he was destined never to see again, with an army of unexampled magnitude. The finest cavalry was assembled from the countries beyond and within the Indus, supported by a large and well-equipped body of infantry, and several hundred pieces of artillery, under European officers. A long train of elephants, intended both for war and equipage, and a superb stud of horses accompanied the camp. There was, moreover, a large menagerie of tigers and leopards, of hawks and hounds without number. The camp, which resembled a large moving city, was supplied with every luxury the age and country could provide. The canvas walls which surrounded the emperor's personal tents were twelve hundred yards in circumference, and they contained halls of audience, courts, cabinets, mosques, oratories, and baths, all adorned with the richest silks and velvet and cloth of gold. There is no record of such extravagant luxuriousness in any modern encampment. Yet, amidst all this grandeur, the personal habits and expenditure of the emperor exhibited the frugality of a hermit. With this unwieldy army Aurungzebe advanced to Aurung-
Aurungzebe proceeds to the Deccan.
Invasion of the Concan.

A. D.
1683

his arrival in the Deccan by ordering the hateful jezzia to be imposed on the whole Hindoo population. His first expedition was disastrous. His son Muazzim was sent to lay waste the Concan with 40,000 cavalry; the little forage that was to be found in the rocks and thickets of that wild region was speedily destroyed; the Mahratta cruisers intercepted the supplies sent from the Mogul ports; the Mahratta light horse blocked up the passes, and prevented the approach of provisions; and the wreck of this noble army, exhausted by hunger and pestilence, was happy to find shelter under the walls of Ahmednugur.

Aurungzebe then sent his son to attack Beejapore, and in this the last year of its national existence, the king and his troops defended their independence with exemplary courage. They cut off the supplies of the Mogul army, intercepted its communications, and obliged it to retire. On the failure of this expedition the emperor turned his force against Golconda, the king of which had formed an alliance with the Mahrattas. His chief minister was a Hindoo of singular ability, and had equipped an army of 70,000 men for the defence of the country; but the employment of an infidel gave offence to the bigoted Mahomedan courtiers. The minister was murdered, and Ibrahim Khan, the general, treacherously went over to the enemy with a large portion of the army. The helpless king sought refuge in the fort of Golconda; the capital, Hyderabad, was plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiers, whom their commander was unable to restrain, and the treasure which Aurungzebe had destined for his own coffers was, to his great chagrin, partitioned among them. The king was obliged to sue for peace, which was not granted him without the promise of two crores of rupees.

Aurungzebe now brought his whole strength to bear upon Beejapore. The lofty walls of the city were of hewn stone six miles in circumference, with a deep moat and a double rampart. The artillery was, as it had always been, superior to that of the Moguls, and the emperor was constrained to turn the siege into a blockade. The garrison was reduced to a state of starvation and obliged to capitulate; and on the 15th October Beejapore was blotted out of the roll of Indian kingdoms, after an independent career of a hundred and fifty years. This Adil Shahee dynasty employed its resources in works of utility or magnificence which were without a rival in

A.D.
1684

1685

1685

1686

Invasion of
Beejapore
and Gol-
conda.Conquest of
Beejapore
and Gol-
conda.

India. The majestic ruins of the palaces in the citadel, and of the mosques and tombs in the city, after two centuries of decay in an Indian climate, still attract the admiration of the traveller. "The chief feature in the scene is the mausoleum of Mahomed Adil Shah, the dome of which, like the dome of St. Peter's, fills the eye from every point of view, and though entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonises with the wreck and desolation around it. One is at a loss in seeing these ruins, to conjecture how so small a state could have maintained such a capital." The fate of Golconda was not long delayed. Aurungzebe, with his usual craft, advanced into the country on pretence of a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint, and extracted from the fears of the monarch all his treasure, even to the jewels of the seraglio, and then charged him with the crime of having employed a brahmin for his minister and formed an alliance with the infidel Mahrattas. The prince, though addicted to pleasure, defended his capital with a heroism worthy his ancestors, but it was at length taken, though only by an act of treachery, and the royal house of Kootub Shah became extinct, after a brilliant career of a hundred and seventy years. A.D.
1687

The ambition of Aurungzebe was now consummated. His power was extended over regions which had never submitted to the sovereignty of the Mahomedans, and after seven centuries, the whole of India did Confusion in the Deccan. unequivocally acknowledge the supremacy of a Lord Paramount. The year 1688 was the culminating point of Moslem grandeur, and likewise of its decay. The misfortunes of Aurungzebe commenced with the fall of Golconda. The 1688 governments which had maintained public order in the Deccan had disappeared, and no system of equal vigour was established in their stead. The public authority had been maintained in the extinct states by a force of 200,000 men; the Mogul force on their subjugation did not exceed 34,000. The disbanded soldiery either joined the predatory bands of the Mahrattas, or enlisted under disaffected chiefs. There was no vital energy at the head-quarters of the emperor. Oppressions were multiplied, and no redress could be obtained. The Deccan became a scene of general confusion, and presented a constant succession of conspiracies and revolts which consumed the spirit of the Mogul army, and the strength of the empire.

Sevajee's son Sambajee, succeeded to the throne after much 1680

intrigue and opposition, and at first exhibited considerable vigour and method, but it was not long before he gave way to the ferocity of his natural disposition.

Sambajee's reign and cruel death. He had none of his father's qualifications except his ardent bravery. He put his widow to death, and imprisoned his brother Raja Ram; he threw the ministers into irons, and beheaded those who opposed his wishes, and proceeded so far as to execute a brahmin. These atrocities alienated the great men who had contributed to build up

A. D. 1681 the Mahratta power. Sambajee rendered himself still farther an object of general contempt by his infatuated attachment to a favourite, Kuloosha, a Cunouge brahmin, a man totally unfitted for the conduct of public affairs, which was entrusted to him. In the early period of his reign he 1684 took an active share in driving Prince Muazzim out of the Concan. He was engaged for several years in endeavouring to reduce the power of the Portuguese, but without success, and was incessantly in conflict with the forces of Aurungzebe. He formed an alliance with the king of Golconda, and, to create a diversion in his favour, plundered the cities of Boorhanpore and Broach, and likewise despatched bodies of Mahratta horse to the relief of the capital, but they acted without vigour. In fact, under his inefficient rule, the discipline introduced by Sevajee had been relaxed and the morale of the army deteriorated. On the extinction of the two Mahomedan powers of Beejapore and Golconda, Aurungzebe directed his whole attention to the reduction of his remaining opponent, and fort after fort was captured, while Sambajee abandoned public business, and resigned 1688 himself to sloth and pleasure. One of the emperor's generals, at length, succeeded in surprising him after a night's revel, and he was conveyed on a camel to the imperial presence. The emperor at first deemed it politic to spare his life to secure the surrender of the Mahratta 1688 fortresses, and asked him to turn Mahomedan. "Not if you would give me your daughter in marriage," was his reply, pouring at the same time a torrent of abuse on the Prophet. Aurungzebe ordered his tongue to be cut out, deprived him of his sight, and consigned him to death with excruciating torture. He had occupied the throne for nine years, amidst the contempt of his subjects, but 1689 his tragic death excited emotions of pity amongst them, and gave a keener edge to their detestation of the Mahomedans.

The Mahrattas were now exposed to the whole power of

the Mogul empire under the immediate eye of the emperor, whose personal reputation, together with the grandeur of his establishments, and the prestige of the imperial throne, filled them with a feeling of awe, and they bent to the storm. The cabinet

The Mah-ratta Court retires to Gingee.

A.D.
1689

elected Shao, the infant son of Sambajee, to succeed him, and appointed his uncle, Raja Ram, regent. Of the great kingdom founded by Sevajee, there was only a mere vestige left in the north, and it was resolved to preserve the embers of Mahratta power by emigrating to the south. Raja Ram and twenty-five chiefs made their way in disguise to the Mahratta jageers in Tanjore with many romantic adventures carefully preserved in the ballads of the nation, and established the Mahratta court at Gingee.

1690

The regent soon after despatched two of his ablest generals with a large force, which was increased in its progress, to desolate the Mogul territories in the north, and they extended their ravages up to Satara, where Ram-chundur was left in charge of the Mahratta interests. He devised a new plan for molesting the Moguls. Among the Mahrattas the thirst for plunder was always the strongest national passion; indeed, the only word

New exactions of the Mahrattas.

for "victory" was "the plunder of the enemy." To this predatory spirit he gave an extraordinary impulse, as well as a systematic direction, by conferring the right to levy the "*chout*" and the "*tenth*" for the state treasury on any Mahratta chieftain who could bring his followers into the field, and allowing them to appropriate the new exaction he invented of *ghaus dana*, or food and forage money, to their own use. Under this new impetus, every mountain glen and valley poured forth its tenants, and Aurungzebe, instead of having the army of a single responsible chief to deal with, had a hundred-headed hydra on his hands.

1692

The imperial army was ill-fitted to contend with this new swarm of assailants. Its silken commanders were not the iron generals of Akbar, and they vied with each other only in the display of extravagance. The spread of effeminate luxury had eaten up the spirit of enterprise, and there was nothing they desired so little as the sight of an enemy. There was a total relaxation of discipline. The stipend of the commanders was regulated by the number of their men, and not only was it never honestly maintained, but the ranks were filled up with miserable recruits, totally unable to cope with the Mahratta soldiers, accustomed to hard fare

Comparison of the Mogul and Mah-ratta armies.

A.D. and harder work. "The horse without a saddle," as the army
 1692 was aptly described, "was rode by a man without clothes ;
 "footmen inured to the same travail, and bearing all kinds
 "of arms, trooped with the horse ; spare horses accompanied
 "them to bring off the booty and relieve the wounded or
 "weary. All gathered their daily provision as they passed.
 "No pursuit could reach their march. In conflict their
 "onset fell wherever they chose, and was relinquished even
 "in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames
 "before their approach was known, as a terror to others to
 "redeem the ravage."

The rallying point of the Mahrattas at this time was
 the fort of Gingee, the siege of which lasted as long as the
 Siege of siege of Troy. Zoolfikar Khan, the ablest of the
 Gingee. Mogul generals, was sent against it, but he was
 too often in collusion with the Mahratta chiefs. It was
 during the languor of the siege that Suntajee, the Mah-
 ratta general, having defeated the imperial forces in the
 1697 north, and augmented his army, appeared before it with
 20,000 horse. The besieging army was besieged in its turn,
 and Cam-buksh, the son of the emperor, the nominal
 commander-in-chief at the time, was driven to conclude a
 humiliating convention. It was disallowed by Aurungzebe,
 who recalled his son and sent Zoolfikar Khan, a third time
 to command the army, but as he was again in communica-
 tion with the garrison, the siege was protracted till the
 emperor threatened him with degradation if it was not
 successful. The fort was then assailed in earnest, and fell,
 but Zoolfikar connived at the escape of Raja Ram, who
 1698 made his way to his native mountains, and selected Satara
 as the capital of the Mahratta power. He was able in time
 to collect a larger army than Sevajee had commanded, and
 he proceeded to collect what he termed the "Mahratta
 dues" with vigour, and the settlement of the Deccan was
 as distant as ever.

To meet the increasing boldness of the Mahrattas,
 1699 Aurungzebe separated his army into two divisions, one to
 Plans of be employed in protecting the open country,
 Aurungzebe. the other in capturing forts. The first he en-
 trusted to Zoolfikar, who repeatedly defeated the Mahrattas,
 but was unable to reduce their strength, and they
 always appeared more buoyant after a defeat than his own
 troops after a victory. Aurungzebe reserved to himself the
 siege of the forts, in which he was incessantly employed
 1701 for five years. It is impossible to withhold our admira-

tion of the spirit of perseverance exhibited by this octogenarian prince during these campaigns in which he was subjected to every variety of privations. Amidst all these harassing operations his vigour was never impaired. All the military movements in every part of the Deccan, in Afghanistan, in Mooltan, and at Agra were directed by the instructions he issued while in the field. With indefatigable industry he superintended all the details of administration throughout the empire, and not even a petty officer was appointed at Cabul without his sanction. But all his energy was unable to cope with the difficulties which were accumulating around him. The Rajpoots were again in open hostility, and other tribes, emboldened by his continued absence, began to manifest a spirit of insubordination. The treasury was exhausted by a war of twenty-five years' duration, and the emperor was tormented with incessant demands for money, which he was unable to meet. The Mahrattas became more aggressive than ever, and in every direction around his camp, north and south, east and west, nothing was seen but the devastation of the country and the sack of villages. In these deplorable circumstances he made overtures to the Mahrattas, and offered them a legal title to the *chout* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the Deccan, but they rose in their demands, as might have been expected, and the negotiations were thus broken off. The imperial camp began to retire to Ahmednugur closely followed by the Mahrattas, who plundered up to its very precincts, and converted the retreat into an ignominious flight. Twenty years before Aurungzebe had marched from his capital in all the pride and pomp of war; he was now returning to it in a state of humiliation, with the wreck of a broken army, pursued by a victorious foe, and he expired at Ahmednugur on the 27th February, 1707.

A.D. 1705

He treats with the Mahrattas.

1706

His death. 1707

Of all the princes of the house of Baber, Aurungzebe is the greatest object of admiration to the native historians, and his name is invested even among Europeans with an indefinite idea of grandeur, but the illusion vanishes on a close inspection of his biography. Few characters in Indian history, whether amongst its Mahomedan or English rulers, have been more overrated. The merit of his personal bravery, his civil administration, and of his attention to business will be fully admitted, but for twenty-five years he persisted in a war of intolerance and aggression, though he must have been aware that it was sapping

Remarks on his reign.

the foundations of the empire. He had no heart and no friend; he was crafty and suspicious, and often cruel; he mistrusted all his officers, and they repaid him by precarious loyalty. Notwithstanding his manifest abilities, the rapid decay of the empire dates from his reign, and may in some measure be traced to his personal character.

On the death of Aurungzebe, his son, prince Azim, came in to the encampment, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, Bahadoor and marched towards the capital. At the same
 A.D. 1707 Bahadoor Shah time, the eldest son, Prince Muazzim, who had been nominated heir to the empire, was hastening to Delhi. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Agra, and Prince Azim was defeated and fell in action. Prince Akbar was a fugitive in Persia, and the remaining son of Aurungzebe, Cam-buksh, who was assembling troops in the Deccan, was defeated by Zoolfikar Khan, with the aid of a Mahratta contingent, and there ceased to be any rival to the throne which Prince Muazzim ascended at the age of sixty-seven, with the title of Bahadoor Shah.

The Mahrattas were unable to take advantage of these distractions by their internal dissensions. Raja Ram, the
 1700 Discord among the Mahrattas. regent, died soon after his return to Satara, and the government was administered for seven years by his widow Tara Bye, in the name of her own son. The lineal heir, Shao, the son of Sambajee, was a captive in the Mogul encampment, but treated with great kindness. Prince Azim, when starting for the capital, had released him, and afforded him the means of asserting his rights, on condition of his doing homage to the Mogul throne. Tara Bye proclaimed him an impostor, and collected an army to resist his claims, but he obtained possession of Satara and in 1708 assumed the functions of royalty. In this family contest, the Mahratta sirdars espoused opposite sides, and drew their swords on each other. In the course of five years the son of Tara Bye died; her minister superseded her authority and placed another son of Raja Ram on the throne of Kolapore, which became the capital of the junior branch of Sevajee's family, and the rival of Satara. Bahadoor conferred the viceroyalty
 1708 Rival house of Kolapore. of the Deccan on Zoolfikar, the chief instrument of his elevation, and as his presence was required at court, the administration was left in the hands of Daood Khan, a noble Patan, famous throughout the Deccan for his matchless daring and his love of strong drink, of whom

it is recorded that when he visited Madras, Mr. Pitt, the father of the first Lord Chatham, the governor, gave him a grand entertainment in the council chamber, and that the Patan "pledged the chief largely in cordial waters and French brandy, amidst a discharge of cannon." By the desire of his master, he granted to the Mahratta the concession of the *chout* on the six soobahs of the Deccan, which Aurungzebe in his extremity had offered them, and this arrangement, though made by a subordinate authority, kept them quiet to the end of the reign. The tranquillity of Rajpootana was secured by the same spirit of conciliation and concession to its three principal chiefs of Oodypore, Jeypore, and Jondpore.

The emperor was now called to encounter a new enemy in the north—the Sikhs. About the end of the fifteenth century, Nanuk, the founder of their religious community, taught that devotion was due to God alone, that all forms were immaterial, and that the worship of the Hindoo and the Moslem was equally acceptable to the Deity. The sect increased in numbers, but was fiercely persecuted by the bigoted Mahomedan rulers, who massacred their pontiff the year after the death of Akbar. In 1675, Gooroo Govind, the tenth successor of Nanuk, conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a military as well as a religious commonwealth. He abolished all distinction of caste, but required every member of the society to be pledged as a soldier from his birth or his initiation, and to wear a peculiar dress and to cultivate his beard. He inculcated reverence for brahmins and prohibited the slaughter of cows. This union of martial and religious enthusiasm rendered the Sikhs a formidable body, and they had to maintain an arduous struggle with the Mahomedans, who captured the strongholds of the Gooroo, murdered his mother and sisters, and mutilated, slaughtered, or dispersed his followers. Still the sect grew and multiplied, and towards the close of Aurungzebe's reign, under a formidable chief of the name of Bandoo, extended its depredations to the vicinity of Delhi. Bahadoor Shah took the field against them and drove them back to the hills.

On his return from this expedition he died at Lahore, after a brief reign of five years, at the age of seventy-two. His death was followed by the usual scramble for power among his four sons, three of whom were defeated and killed. The survivor

A.D.
1708

The Sikhs.

1675

1710

1712

Death of Bahadoor Shah and Jehander Shah.

mounted the throne with the title of Jehander Shah, and put all the members of the royal family within his reach to death; he resigned himself to the influence of a dancing girl, and indulged in the most degrading vices. His career
 A. D. 1713 Bengal, who marched up to Delhi, and deposed and murdered the wretched emperor, as well as the noble but crafty Zoolfikar.

Ferokshere. Ferokshere, the most contemptible, as yet, of the princes of his line, mounted the throne, and for six years disgraced it by his vices, his weakness, and his cowardice. He owed his elevation to two brothers descended from the Prophet, and thence denominated the Syuds. Abdoolla, the eldest, was appointed vizier, and his brother, Hoosen Ali, commander-in-chief, but the emperor held them in detestation, and his reign was little else than a series of machinations to destroy them. Hoosen Ali was sent against the Rajpoot raja of Joudpore in the hope that the expedition would prove fatal to him; but he concluded an honourable peace with the prince and induced him to give the hand of one of his daughters to the emperor. The nuptials, which were celebrated with great splendour, were rendered memorable by an incident which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

1714 Nizam-ool-moolk. The office of viceroy of the Deccan had been bestowed on Ghazee-ood-deen. The family had emigrated from Tartary to seek its fortunes in India, and he had risen to distinction in the service of Aurungzebe, who granted him the title of Cheen Killich Khan, to which was now added that of Nizam-ool-moolk. He was a statesman of great ability and experience, but of still greater subtilty. During the seventeen months in which he held the office of viceroy he fomented the dissensions between the houses of Kolapore and Satara. Shao had been brought up in all the luxury of a Mahomedan seraglio, and was fonder of hunting, hawking, and fishing than of the business of the state. The Mahratta commonwealth was falling into a state of anarchy, when the genius of Ballajee Wishwanath. Ballajee Wishwanath placed the party of Shao in the ascendant, and rekindled the smouldering energies of the nation. Ballajee, a brahmin, was originally a simple village accountant, but rose through various gradations of office till he became a power in the state, and was appointed Peshwa, or prime minister. It was to his energy that the rapid expansion of the Mahratta power is to be

attributed, and he may justly be regarded as the second founder of its greatness.

With the view of separating the two brothers, the Syuds, from each other, Ferokshere displaced Nizam-ool-moolk, and appointed Hoosen Ali viceroi of the Deccan. At the same time he sent secret instructions to the re-

nowned Daood Khan to offer him the most strenuous opposition, and he rushed at once into the field, and attacked him with such impetuosity as to disperse his army like a flock of sheep; but in the moment of victory he was killed by a cannon ball, and the fortune of the day was changed.

A.D.
1716

His devoted wife, a Hindoo princess, stabbed herself on hearing of his death. Hoosen Ali, flushed with his success, took the field against the Mahrattas, whose depredations had never ceased, but was completely defeated. In these circumstances, distracted by Mahratta encroachments on the one hand, and on the other by the hostility and intrigues of the emperor, he entered into negotiations with Ballajee Wishwanath which resulted in a convention as disgraceful to the Mogul throne, as it was fortunate for the Mahratta state. Shao was

His concessions to the Mahrattas.

acknowledged as an independent sovereign over all the dominions which had belonged to Sevajee. The *chout* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the six soobahs in the Deccan, which were valued at eighteen crores—their assumed product in their most palmy state—were conferred on him, together with the tributary provinces of Tanjore, Mysore, and Trichinopoly, on condition that he should furnish a contingent of 15,000 troops, and be responsible for the peace of the Deccan. This was the largest stride to power the Mahrattas had yet achieved. They were furnished with a large and permanent income by these assignments on districts stretching from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, and from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, the collection of which gave them a right of constant and vexatious interference with the internal administration of every province. An army of Mahratta officers, chiefly brahmins, was planted throughout the country with indefinite powers of exaction for the state, which they did not fail to turn also to their own profit.

1717

Ferokshere was advised to disallow the convention, and the breach between him and the Syuds became wider. Abdoolla called up his brother, who hastened to the capital, accompanied by 10,000 Mahrattas under Ballajee, and entered it without opposition. The emperor made the most abject submission, but was dragged

Death of Ferokshere.

from the interior of the zenana, where he had taken refuge, and assassinated. Two puppets were then placed on the throne, but they disappeared in a few months by disease or poison, and a grandson of Bahadoor Shah was raised to the imperial dignity, and assumed the title of A. D. 1719 Accession of Mahomed Shah. Mahomed Shah, the last who deserved the name of emperor of India. Weak and despicable as Ferokshere had been, his tragic death created a feeling of compassion throughout the country. The popular indignation against the Syuds was increased, and they found themselves the mark of universal execration; but the great object of their alarm was Nizam-ool-moolk, who, though he had been united with them in opposition to Ferokshere, was now alienated from their cause. He marched across the Nerbudda with a large force into the Deccan, where he had many adherents both among the Mahrattas and the Mahomedans, defeated two armies sent against him, and remained master of his position. Meanwhile, Mahomed Shah was fretting under the yoke of the Syuds, and, under the discreet guidance of his mother, formed a confederacy among his nobles to relieve himself from it. Distracted by the difficulties which accumulated around them, they resolved that Hoosen Ali should march against Nizam-ool-moolk, taking the emperor with him, while Abdoolla remained at 1720 Delhi to look after their common interests. Five days after the march commenced, a savage Calmuk, instigated by the Hussun Ali assassinated. confederacy, approached the palankeen of Hussun Ali, under the pretence of presenting a petition, and stabbed him to the heart. In the conflict which ensued the partizans of the emperor were victorious, and he returned to Delhi. Abdoolla, whose energy rose with his danger, set up a new emperor and marched against Bahadoor Shah, but was defeated and captured, though his life was spared in consideration of his sacred lineage.

SECTION V.

MAHOMED SHAH TO NADIR SHAH'S INVASION.

1720 MAHOMED SHAH entered Delhi with great pomp, a free monarch a twelvemonth after he had ascended the throne; but his reign, though long, was marked by the tokens of rapid decay. The canker worm was at the root of the august Mogul throne, and Proceedings of Mahomed Shah.

every year disclosed its ravages. He abolished the odious jezzia, and bestowed high appointments on the rajas of Jeypore and Joudpore; but the rana of Oodypore, wrapped up in his orthodox dignity, refused all intercourse with the court and sank into obscurity. Saadut Ali, a Khorasan merchant, who had taken an active share in the recent proceedings, was appointed soobadar of Oude, and laid the foundation of the royal dignity, which was extinguished in 1856.

A D. 1720
Origin of Saadut Ali, Soobadar of Oude.

The office of vizier was reserved for Nizam-ool-moolk, who repaired to the capital, but found the emperor immersed in pleasure, and so indifferent to the interests of the state as to have given the custody of the imperial signet to a favourite mistress. He endeavoured to rouse him to a sense of his responsibilities at a time when

Nizam-ool-moolk.

the empire was crumbling around him, but the emperor rejected all advice, and joined his dissolute companions in turning to ridicule the antiquated habits and solemn demeanour of the venerable statesman, then in his seventy-fifth year. Disgusted with the profligacy of the court, and despairing of any reform, he threw up his office and returned to his government in the Deccan. The emperor loaded him with honours on his departure, but instigated the local governor at Hyderabad to resist his authority; but he was defeated and slain, and the Nizam fixed on that city, the capital of the Kootub Sahee dynasty, as the seat of his government, and from this period may be dated the origin of the kingdom of the Nizam.

1723

1724

Ballajee had accompanied Hoosen Ali with his troops to Delhi, but made his submission to Mahomed Shah, and obtained from him a confirmation of the grants which had been made by the Syud Hoosen, and returned to Satara with these precious muniments, fourteen in number, and died soon after. The political arrangements he made before his death established the predominant authority of the eight brahmins who formed the cabinet, and it was likewise extended throughout the interior, by means of the brahmin agents employed to collect "Mahratta dues." He was succeeded by his son Bajee Rao, who had been bred a soldier and a statesman, and "united the enterprise, vigour, and hardihood of a Mahratta chief with the polished manners and address of a Concan brahmin." The interest of the succeeding twenty years in the history of India centres in the intrigues, the alliances, and the conflicts of

Ballajee Wiswanath's acquisitions and death.

1720

Bajee Rao and his movements.

the Mahratta statesman at Satara, and the crafty old Tartar, Nizam-ool-moolk, at Hyderabad, who made peace and war without any reference to the authority of the emperor at Delhi. Bajee Rao felt that unless employment could be found abroad for the large body of predatory horse who formed the sinews of the Mahratta power, they would be employed in hatching mischief at home. Fully aware of the weakness of the empire, he urged on his master, Shao, "to strike the trunk of the withering tree; the branches must fall off of themselves. Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos. By directing our efforts to Hindostan the Mahratta flag shall float, in your reign, from the Kistna to the Attock." But Shao had been bred in the luxuriance of a Mogul seraglio, and Bajee Rao, finding his ardour ill-seconded by his effeminate sovereign, was constrained to act for himself; and thus the house of the Peshwa waxed stronger, and the house of Sevajee weaker.

A.D.
1724

Nizam-ool moolk, while vizier, had appointed his uncle, Hamed Khan, governor of Guzerat, in opposition to the court, and Sur-booland Khan was sent to expel him. Hamed defeated him with the aid of two Mahratta commanders, whom he had rewarded with a grant of the *chout* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the province. Bajee Rao took advantage of this discord to send Sindia, Holkar, and Puar, of Dhar, to levy contributions in Malwa, while he himself proceeded on the same errand to Seringapatam in the south. Alarmed

Dissensions
between
Kolapore and
Satara.

by the increasing audacity of the Mahrattas, Nizam-ool-moolk endeavoured to renew the dissensions of the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara. They were at issue for their respective shares of the assignments granted to the Peshwa on the revenues of the six soobahs of the Deccan; and the Nizam, as the representative of the emperor, called on them to substantiate their claims before him. Bajee Rao, indignant at this attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Mahratta commonwealth, assembled an army and marched against him, and though the Nizam was supported by a large body of Mahrattas, he was driven into a position which constrained him to enter upon negotiations. The Peshwa, having his eye upon the course of proceedings in Guzerat, granted him favourable terms. Sur-booland had succeeded in establishing his authority in that province, and the Peshwa was negotiating with him to obtain for himself the grant of the

chout and the *tenth* which Hamed Khan had granted to the two Mahratta generals. To expedite the bargain he sent his brother to ravage the country, and the Mogul governor was obliged to purchase peace by conceding his demands. While Bajee Rao was thus engaged, Sambajee, the ruler of Kolapore, crossed the Wurda and laid waste the territories of Shao. He was defeated, and obliged to sign an acknowledgment of his cousin's right to the whole tract of country around Kolapore, to which this branch of ^{A.D.} 1730 Sevajee's family was to be confined. The principality still exists, while the kingdom of the elder branch has been absorbed in the British Empire. The Nizam now found a new instrument of mischief in Dhabaray, the Mahratta commander-in-chief, who was mortified to find that the prize of the *chout* and other dues he had obtained from Hamed in Guzerat, had been carried off by the Peshwa. Under the instigation of the Nizam, he proceeded with an army of 33,000 men towards Satara, on the pretence of releasing his master, Shao, from the tyranny of Bajee Rao, but ¹⁷³¹ he was defeated, and fell in action. The Mahratta interests in Guzerat were then entrusted to Peelajee Gaikwar, whose immediate ancestor was a cowherd, and whose descendants still occupy the throne of Baroda.

To this period also belongs the rise of the families of Holkar and Sindia, destined to play an important part in the subsequent politics of India, and whose ^{Rise of} descendants continue to wear the crowns they ^{Sindia and} acquired. ^{Holkar.} Mulhar Rao Holkar was the son of a herdsman who exchanged the crook for the sword, and by his daring courage recommended himself to Bajee Rao, by whom he was entrusted with the very agreeable charge of levying contributions in eighty-four villages in Malwa. Ranojee Sindia was of the caste of husbandmen, and entered the service of Ballajee as a menial, but was introduced into his body-guard, and became one of the foremost of the Mahratta chieftains in that age of enterprise. Like Holkar, he was sent to establish the Mahratta authority in Malwa, and these assignments became the nucleus of their future dominions.

After the defeat of Dhabaray, the Nizam was, to a certain extent, at the mercy of Bajee Rao, but they both perceived that it would be for their common interest to come to an understanding, and they entered into ^{Bajee Rao's} a secret compact, which stipulated that the ^{incursions in} ^{Hindustan.}

- A.D. Nizam's territories should not be molested, while Bajee Rao
 1731 should be at liberty to plunder the Mogul territories in the north. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and laid waste the province of Malwa. The imperial governor was at the time employed in coercing a refractory chief in Bundelcund, who called in the aid of Bajee Rao, and rewarded his services by the cession of a third of the province of
 1732 Jhansi, and thus the Mahratta standard was for the first time planted on the banks of the Jumna. The government of Malwa was then bestowed on the Rajpoot raja Jeysing, whose reign was rendered illustrious by the patronage of science, the erection of the beautiful city of Jeypore, with its palaces, halls, and temples, and its noble observatory. The profession of a common faith promoted a friendly
 1734 intercourse between him and Bajee Rao, the result of which was the surrender of the province to the Mahratta, with the tacit concurrence of the helpless emperor.

These multiplied concessions only served, as might have been expected, to inflame the ambition and to increase the demands of the Peshwa. Great as were the ^{His increased} demands. resources of the Mahratta commonwealth, the larger portion of the revenues was absorbed by the different feudatories, and only a fraction reached the treasury at Satara. The magnitude of Bajee Rao's operations had involved him in debt; his troops were clamorous for pay, and the discipline of the army necessarily suffered by these arrears. He demanded of the imperial court a confirmation of the assignments granted by Sur-booland Khan on the revenues of Guzerat, of the rights he had acquired
 1736 in Bundelcund, and the absolute cession of the rich province of Malwa. The feeble cabinet at Delhi endeavoured to pacify him by minor grants, which only led him to increase his claims, and he proceeded to demand the cession of all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Benares, and Allahabad. To quicken the apprehensions of the emperor, he sent Holkar to plunder the Dooab, the province lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, but he was driven back by Saadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude. This was magnified into a great victory, and it was reported that the Mahrattas had been obliged to retire. "I was compelled," said Bajee Rao, "to
 1737 "tell the emperor the truth, and to prove to him that I was "still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and the Mah-rattas at the gates of his capital." He therefore took the field in person, and marching at the rate of forty miles a

day, suddenly presented himself before the gates of Delhi. The consternation in the capital may be readily conceived; but the object of Bajee Rao was not to sack the city, but to intimidate the emperor into concessions, and circumstances rendered it advisable for him to retreat to Satara. A.D. 1737

The Mahrattas now appeared to be paramount in India, and the Nizam was considered the only man who could save the empire from extinction. He listened to the overtures of the emperor and proceeded to Delhi, where he was invested with full powers to call out all the resources of the state; but they were reduced to so low a point that the army under his personal command could only be completed to 30,000 men, with which he returned to the south. Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda with 80,000 men. Owing, perhaps to his great age—ninety-three—perhaps to over confidence in the great superiority of his artillery, the Nizam entrenched himself near Bhopal. Bajee Rao adopted the national system of warfare, laid waste the country, intercepted all supplies, attacked every detachment which ventured beyond the lines, and on the twenty-fifth day of the siege obliged the Nizam to sign a humiliating treaty, granting him the sovereignty of Malwa and the territories up to the Chumbul, and engaging to use his influence to obtain from the imperial treasury the sum of half a crore of rupees, which he had not ceased to demand; but that treasure was to find a very different destination. 1738

It was in the midst of these distractions that Nadir Shah appeared on the banks of the Indus, and India was visited with another of those tempests of desolation to which it had been repeatedly subject for some centuries. The Persian dynasty of the Sofis, which had occupied the throne for nearly two centuries, was subverted in 1720 by the Ghiljies, the most powerful tribe in Afghanistan. Shah Hossen, the last of that royal line, was besieged by them in his capital, Ispahan, then in the height of its prosperity, and after enduring for six months the extremities of misery and starvation, went out with his court in deep mourning to the Afghan camp, and surrendered his crown to Mahmood, the Afghan chief. He died at the end of two years, and was succeeded by his son Asruf. Nadir Shah, the greatest general Persia has produced, was the son of a shepherd of Khorasan, and commenced his career by collecting a band of freebooters. Finding himself, at length, at the head of a Nadir Shah.

powerful army, he freed his native province from the Afghans, and then constrained the Ghiljie monarch to resign all his father's conquests in Persia. He raised
 A.D. 1729 Thamasp, the son of the dethroned Sofi king, to the throne; but after expelling the Turks and the Russians from the provinces they had conquered, deposed Thamasp and bestowed the nominal sovereignty on his infant son, while he himself assumed the title of king, upon the importunity, as it was affirmed, of 100,000 nobles, soldiers, and peasants whom he had assembled on a vast plain. To find employment for his troops and to gratify his own ambition and avarice, he carried his arms into Afghanistan, and resolved to re-annex Candahar to the Persian throne. While engaged in the siege of that town he sent a messenger to Delhi to demand the surrender of some of his fugitive subjects, but, owing to the distraction of the times, the claim was neglected. A second messenger was murdered at Jellalabad. The Government of India had from time immemorial paid an annual subsidy to the wild highlanders who occupied the passes between Cabul and Peshawur, and the imperial cabinet doubtless trusted to their power to arrest the progress of Nadir. The payment of this black mail had, however, been for some time withheld, and they opened the gates of India to the Persian monarch, who crossed the Indus with 65,000 of his veteran troops and overran the Punjab before the court of Delhi was aware of his approach.

The emperor Mahomed Shah marched to Kurnal to meet this invasion, but experienced a fatal defeat, and proceeding to the Persian camp, threw himself on the compassion of the conqueror. The object of
 Capture of Delhi, and massacre. Nadir Shah was treasure and not conquest, and it is affirmed that he was prepared to retire on the payment of two crores. of rupees; but Saadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude, having some cause of offence with the emperor, represented to the Persian that this was a very inadequate ransom for so rich an empire, and that his own province alone could afford this sum. Nadir resolved, therefore, to levy exactions under his own eye. He entered Delhi in March, and on the
 1739 succeeding day a thousand of his soldiers were massacred upon a report of his death. He went out to restore order, but was assailed with missiles, and one of his chiefs was killed by his side, upon which he issued orders for a general massacre. For many hours the metropolis presented a scene of rapine, lust, and carnage, and 8,000 are said to

have fallen victims to his infuriated soldiery. Yet so complete was the discipline he had established that every sword was sheathed as soon as he issued the order. He took possession of all the imperial treasures, including the peacock throne; plundered the nobles, and caused every house to be sacked, sparing no cruelty to extort confessions of wealth. From the disloyal Saadut Ali he exacted the full tale of two crores, and the traitor terminated his existence by poison. The governors of other provinces were not spared; and Nadir Shah, after having thus subjected the capital and the country for fifty-eight days to spoliation, and feeling satisfied that he had exhausted the wealth of the empire, prepared to retire with an accumulation of thirty-two crores of rupees. He restored Mahomed Shah to the throne, but annexed all the provinces west of the Indus to the crown of Persia. On his departure he issued a proclamation to the princes of India, stating that he was now proceeding to the conquest of other regions, but that if any report of their having revolted from "his dear brother, Mahomed Shah," reached his ears, he would return and blot their names out of the book of creation.

The Mogul power, which had been in a state of rapid decay since the death of Aurungzebe, received its death blow from the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the sack of the capital. The empire was breaking up into fragments, and the authority and the prestige of the throne was irrecoverably gone. The various provinces yielded only a nominal homage to the crown. All its possessions beyond the Indus were permanently alienated. In the extreme south of the peninsula the Mogul sovereignty was a matter of history. The Nabob of the Carnatic acknowledged no superior. The rest of the Deccan was shared between the Nizam and the Mahrattas. In the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa, the power of the Peshwa was already predominant. The allegiance of the princes of Rajpootana was very vacillating. The viceroys of Oude and Bengal, the richest provinces of India, acknowledged the emperor as their suzerain, but yielded him no obedience. Even in the vicinity of the capital, new chiefs were, as the native historian remarks, "beating the drum of independence." The house of Baber had accomplished the usual cycle of Indian dynasties, which seldom exceeded two centuries, and its sceptre was now to pass into the hands of a company of European merchants, with the sea, and not Central Asia, for the base of its enterprise.

Having thus reached the period when the Mogul throne ceased to exercise any influence on the politics of India, we turn to the progress of the European settlements on the continent, and to the history of the East India Company, which began its career with a factory, and closed it by transferring the Empire of India to the Crown of England.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION I.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

FOR five centuries the tide of Mahomedan invasion had rolled across the Indus from Central Asia, and spread from north to south. A new era now dawns upon us, ushered in by the appearance of a European fleet, and the progress is, henceforth, from south to north. The Mahomedans entered India in the spirit of conquest; the Europeans came in search of trade. The productions of the East had, from time immemorial, been a great object of desire to the inhabitants of the West, who had been accustomed to obtain them through many circuitous channels. In the middle ages the trade had enriched the republics of Venice and Genoa, and a general anxiety was created to obtain direct access to India. During the fifteenth century the spirit of maritime adventure was strongly developed in Europe, and more especially in the small but spirited kingdom of Portugal, in which great progress had been made in the science of naval architecture. This spirit was warmly encouraged by its sovereigns, who fitted out a succession of expeditions, and gradually advanced along the coast of Africa, making fresh discoveries in each voyage. At length, John II. sent three vessels, under the command of Bartholomew Dias, to discover the southern limit of the African continent. He was the first navigator to double the Cape, where the tempestuous weather he encountered led him to designate it "The Cape of Storms"; but his delighted sovereign, hoping to reach India by

A. D.

1486

Discovery
of the Cape.

this route, more appropriately called it the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after, Christopher Columbus, the enterprising Genoese sailor, convinced that India was to be discovered by sailing west, offered his services to king John, but they were not accepted, and he proceeded on his adventurous expedition under the auspices of the king of Spain, and the continent of America was discovered in 1492.

Eleven years elapsed after Dias had rounded the Cape before any attempt was made to improve the discovery. King John was succeeded by Emanuel, who entered on the field of enterprise with great ardour, and in 1497 fitted out three vessels in the hope of finding a way to India from the Cape. The little fleet, consisting of vessels of small tonnage, was entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who quitted Lisbon, after the performance of religious solemnities, on the 8th July, 1497, amidst the acclamations of the king, the court, and the people. Having reached the Cape in safety, he launched out boldly into the unexplored Indian Ocean, where, while traversing three thousand miles, nothing but the sea and the sky was visible for twenty-three days. He sighted the Malabar coast in May, 1498, and brought his enterprise to a glorious issue as he cast anchor off the town of Calicut. It lay in that portion of the Deccan which the Mahomedan arms had not reached, and belonged to a Hindoo prince styled the Zamorin, who gave the Portuguese commander an honourable reception, and at once granted him the privilege of trade in his dominions. But the commerce of the Malabar coast, with its fifty harbours, had hitherto been monopolised by the traders from Egypt and Arabia, who felt no little jealousy at the arrival of these interlopers, and having gained over his minister, persuaded the Zamorin that the Portuguese were not the merchants they represented themselves to be, but pirates who had escaped from their own country, and had now come to infest the eastern seas. The feelings of the prince were at once changed to hostility, and Vasco, after a residence of several months on the coast, seeing little hope of an amicable intercourse, set sail on his return. He entered the Tagus, after an absence of twenty-six months, on the 29th of August, 1499, in regal pomp, and received the homage of the court and the people, who crowded to the beach to admire the vessels which had performed this wonderful voyage. It was six years and a half after Columbus had astounded the nations of Europe by the discovery of the New World,

that Vasco increased their amazement by announcing the discovery by sea of the way to India, the region of fabulous wealth.

The king of Portugal lost no time in following up the enterprise, and immediately fitted out an expedition, which consisted of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of which was given, not to Vasco, but to Cabral, who was, however, well qualified for the undertaking. He was accompanied by eight friars, and directed to carry fire and sword into every province which would not receive their teaching. After launching into the Atlantic, his fleet was driven, in 1500, by the violence of the wind, to the coast of South America, where he discovered, and took possession of, Brazil, which has ever since remained an appanage of Portugal. On the 13th of September he anchored off Calicut, and having restored the hostages who had been taken away by Vasco, was graciously received by the Zamorin, and obtained permission to erect a factory. But the Mahomedan traders effectually prevented his obtaining any cargoes, and he seized one of their richest vessels, and having transferred its contents to his own ships, set it on fire. An attack was immediately made on his factory, and fifty men were killed. Cabral resented it by capturing and burning ten other vessels, after he had taken possession of their cargoes. He then cannonaded the town from his fleet, and sailed to the neighbouring port of Cochin, where he formed an alliance with the chief, a dependent of the Zamorin, and returned to Lisbon.

The disasters which Cabral had encountered induced the officers of state to advise the abandonment of these enterprises, but the king was ambitious of founding an oriental empire, and having obtained a bull from the Pope conferring on him the sovereignty of all the countries visited by his fleets in the East, he assumed the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, Arabia, and India." A third expedition, consisting of fifteen vessels, was fitted out and entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who, on his arrival at Calicut, demanded reparation for the insult offered to Cabral, which was peremptorily refused, and he set the town on fire. He then proceeded to the friendly port of Cochin, where he left Pacheco with a handful of men to protect the Portuguese factory, and unaccountably set sail for Europe. The Zamorin of Calicut marched to the attack of Cochin for

having harboured the Portuguese, and invested the factory, but though his troops exceeded those of Pacheco by fifty to one, they were ignominiously defeated, and the superiority of European to Asiatic soldiers, which has ever since been maintained, was now for the first time exhibited, and the foundation was laid for European ascendancy in India.

A.D.

In 1505, the king of Portugal sent out Almeyda with the grand title of viceroy of India, though he did not possess a foot of land in it. Almeyda had to encounter a new and more formidable opponent.

1505

Almeyda.

The Venetians, who had hitherto monopolised the lucrative trade of India, regarded with a jealous eye the attempts of the Portuguese to divert it into a new channel round the Cape. The bulk of the commerce which had made their island the queen of the Adriatic and the envy of Europe, was conveyed through Egypt, where they enjoyed a paramount influence, and they prevailed on the Sultan to send a fleet down the Red Sea to sweep the interlopers from the coast of India, and assisted him with naval materials from their forests in Dalmatia. The king of the maritime province of Guzerat was equally alarmed at the growing power of the Portuguese on the sea, and sent his ships to co-operate with the Egyptian fleet. They came up with a portion of the Portuguese fleet in the harbour of Choul, and defeated it. Young Almeyda was killed in the action; his father determined to avenge his death, and, finding that Dabul, one of the greatest commercial marts on the coast, had taken part with the Egyptian fleet, reduced it to ashes, with great slaughter. He then proceeded in search of the combined fleets, and found them

Naval actions.

anchored in the harbour of Diu, and obtained a splendid victory over them; but he stained his reputation by the massacre of his prisoners to avenge the death of his son.

1508

He had been previously superseded by Albuquerque, sent out by the court of Lisbon to take charge of the Portuguese interests in India. He was a man of great enterprise and boundless ambition. He attacked the town of Calicut, but lost a fourth of his force in the assault. He came to the conclusion that, instead of these desultory attacks in which the Portuguese had hitherto been engaged, it would be more advisable to make a permanent establishment on that coast, in some port and town which would afford a safe harbour for their ships, and become the citadel of their power. He fixed on Goa, on

Albuquerque.

the coast of Canara, situated on an island twenty-three miles in circumference, and one of the most valuable ports on that coast. It thus became the metropolis of the Portuguese dominions in India, and every effort made from time to time to capture it by the native princes proved unavailing. He now assumed the position of an eastern prince, and received embassies with oriental pomp. He proceeded to the remote provinces in the Malay archipelago, where he established his authority, and carried his commercial enterprises to Siam, Java, and Sumatra. His efforts were next directed to the west, and he obtained possession of Ormuz, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf. The genius of Albuquerque had thus in the course of nine years built up a great European power in the East. He appeared rather to eschew than to court territorial possessions, but his power throughout the eastern seas was irresistible, and his authority was supreme along 12,000 miles of coast, on which he had planted thirty factories, many of which were fortified. But his last days were clouded by the ingratitude of his country. In the midst of his triumphs he was superseded by the intrigues of the court; the reverse broke his heart, and he died

1515 as he entered the harbour of Goa. He was interred in the great settlement which he had established, amidst the regrets of Europeans and natives, by whom he was equally beloved.

During the whole of the sixteenth century the maritime power of the Portuguese continued to be the most formidable in the eastern hemisphere, and the terror of every state on the sea-board. They took possession of the Island of Ceylon, and in 1517 proceeded to China, and established the first European factory,

1531 at Macao, in the Celestial Empire. In 1531 they equipped an armament of 400 vessels, with an army of 22,000 men, of whom 3,600 were Europeans, and captured Diu, which,

1537 though lost for a time, was regained. In 1537 the king of Guzerat implored the Grand Seigneur to assist him in freeing India from the presence of the infidels, and a large fleet, with 7,000 Turkish soldiers on board, was fitted out at Suez, and being joined by the Guzerat army, 20,000 strong, laid close siege to Diu. Sylviera, the commander, had only 600 men for its defence, but he sustained the siege, amidst the deepest privations, with European gallantry, for eight months. The assailants, driven to despair, were obliged to withdraw, and the fame of the foreigners who had baffled the united forces of the Sultan of Turkey and the king of

The Portuguese sixteenth century.

Guzerat was diffused through India. The most memorable event in the annals of Portuguese India was the combination formed for their expulsion by the kings of Ahmednugur and Bejapore and the Zamorin of Calicut. The ^{A.D.} 1570 siege of Goa, which they undertook, lasted ten months, but was at length abandoned after the confederates had lost 12,000 men. The king of Bengal, pressed by Shere Sing, in 1538 sent an embassy to Goa to implore the aid of the ¹⁵³⁸ Portuguese Governor-General, who despatched nine armed vessels with troops to his assistance. This was the first introduction of Europeans into the valley of the Ganges. The Portuguese established a factory at a place called the Gola, or granary,—subsequently designated Hooghly,—and completely drew off the trade of the province from the neighbouring town of Satgang, which had been the great mercantile emporium of Bengal for fifteen centuries. The factory grew to be a flourishing town, adorned with numerous churches, and so strongly fortified, that when the Moguls subsequently attacked it with three armies, they were unable to carry it by storm, but were constrained to have recourse to mines.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the greatness of the Portuguese had reached its zenith, they were encountered, and eventually supplanted by a European rival. The Dutch, having thrown off the yoke of Spain, entered upon a career of maritime enterprise with extraordinary ardour. In 1596 ^{Rise of the Dutch and decay of the Portuguese.} they sent an expedition round the Cape to the eastern islands, ¹⁵⁹⁶ which returned laden with spices and other valuable commodities, and gave so great a stimulus to the spirit of commerce that, within five years, forty vessels, of from four to six hundred tons burden, were embarked in the trade. They gradually wrested the spice islands and Malacca and the island of Ceylon from the Portuguese, but not without many a sanguinary conflict. An expedition, undertaken jointly by the king of Persia and the East India Company, deprived the Portuguese of Ormuz, and within a century and a half of the arrival of Vasco de Gama there remained nothing to the crown of Portugal of its eastern possessions but Goa, Mozambique, and Macao in China. The commerce of the Dutch lay chiefly with the eastern archipelago; on the continent of India they never possessed more than a few factories.

SECTION II.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE great advantages which the trade of India had conferred on the Portuguese and Dutch inspired the French with a desire to participate in it, and several attempts were made to acquire a commercial footing in the East during the first half of the seventeenth century, but without success. At length, the great minister, Colbert, who had created the French navy and harbours, took up the matter, and established the French East India Company. Its first enterprise was directed to the island of Madagascar, but it was abandoned, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate and the hostility of the natives, and the Company took possession of the uninhabited island of Bourbon and of the larger island of the Mauritius in its vicinity. In April, 1674, Martin, the earliest of the French colonists, and a man of remarkable energy, having obtained a grant of land on the Coromandel coast from the native prince, laid the foundation of the town of Pondicherry, which he was permitted to fortify. Three years later it was threatened by Sevajee in his southern expedition, which has been noticed in a previous chapter, but was saved by the tact of Martin. War broke out at length between Holland and France, and the Dutch, envious of the prosperity of Pondicherry, sent a fleet of nineteen vessels against it. Martin was obliged to capitulate, and all hope of establishing French power on that coast appeared to wither away. The Dutch improved the fortifications and rendered it one of the strongest fortresses in India, but four years after were obliged to restore it by the treaty of Ryswick. Martin, with his usual energy, strengthened the works, and attracted native settlers by his honest dealings and his conciliatory manners; and on the spot which he had occupied thirty-two years before with six European settlers, there had grown up at the period of his death a noble town with 40,000 inhabitants. The charter of the Company was cancelled in 1719, and it was absorbed in the schemes of Law, of Mississippi notoriety. On the collapse of his project, the Company was re-organised as a commercial association; the town gradually recovered its prosperity, which had been affected by the extinction of the Company, and was

embellished by the taste of its governors, who also rivalled the native princes in the state they now assumed.

M. Dumas was appointed governor of Pondicherry in ^{A.D.} 1735. He united great energy of character with, what is so rarely found among Europeans in India, a genial disposition, which in an eminent degree conciliated both the native princes and the people.

Rughoojee Bhonslay, the raja of Berar, poured down with 50,000 Mahratta troops, and Dost Ali, who had become nabob of the Carnatic amidst the confusion of the times, endeavoured to arrest his progress, but was signally defeated and fell in battle. His son, Sufer Jung, and his son-in-law, Chunda Sahib, prevailed on M. Dumas to grant them and their families and property an asylum at Pondicherry, the strongest fortress on the coast. He received them in princely state, surrounded by his horse and foot guards, and they and their cortege entered the gates of the town under a royal salute. Soon after Sufer Ali made his peace with the Mahrattas, upon an engagement to pay a crore of rupees, and was installed nabob of the Carnatic without any reference to the emperor, or even to his representative in the Deccan, Nizam-ool-moolk. His family was withdrawn from Pondicherry, but the family and the wealth of Chunda Sahib remained under the protection of the French ramparts. Rughoojee Bhonslay, disappointed of this treasure, sent a force of 16,000 men to demand the payment of sixty lacs of rupees and the surrender of Chunda Sahib's family. Dumas had organised a body of 1,200 Europeans and 4,000 or 5,000 native troops—the germ of a sepoy army—and he received the envoy with courtesy, and after showing him over his military stores and equipments, and drawing up his force, desired him to assure his master that so long as a single Frenchman was left there would be no surrender. The resolute character of Dumas, and the resources of the garrison, made a deep ¹⁷⁴⁰ impression on the Mahratta prince, but it was French cordials rather than French bayonets that carried the day. M. Dumas sent by the envoy a present of French liqueurs to Rughoojee, who gave them to his wife, and she was so delighted with them as to insist on a further supply. The desire to gratify her, combined, doubtless, with a reluctance to risk an assault on a fortress of ^{Rughoojee Bhonslay.} European strength, led to a negotiation which ended in the retreat of the Mahrattas. M. Dumas was congratulated by the native princes of India on his successful resistance

of the redoubted Mahrattas, and the emperor conferred on him and his successors the title of nabob, and the rank of a commander of 4,500 horse.

Dumas was succeeded by Dupleix, a man of extraordinary genius, and one of the most illustrious statesmen in the annals of French India. He had acquired a large fortune in trade before he was appointed Intendant of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Hooghly, where a French factory had been established in 1676. It had never flourished, while the English factory at Calcutta had been rising in wealth and importance, but the creative genius of Dupleix in the course of ten years made it one of the most opulent European factories in Bengal. At the period of his assuming the charge of the town not more than half-a-dozen small coasting craft were to be seen at the landing-place; before his departure seventy vessels were engaged in trade to Yeddo, to Mocha, to Bussorah, and to China. He established agencies in the great marts in the interior, and his transactions were extended to Thibet. He surrounded the town with fortifications, and assisted in the erection of two thousand houses. He was appointed to the government of Pondicherry in October, 1741, and well knowing that in the East the pomp of state is always an element of political strength, made such a display of magnificence, and exacted such deference as an officer of the Mogul Empire, as to dazzle the princes and people of the Deccan, and to augment the reputation of French power. His first attention was given to the improvement of the fortifications, but before they were completed he was informed by the Directors of his company that war between France and England was imminent; and, moreover, that they would be unable to supply him with money, ships, or soldiers. At the same time he learned that a large naval squadron was ready to sail from England, while he could only muster 436 European troops, and had only a single vessel of war at his disposal. In this emergency he determined to invoke the aid of the native princes whose friendship his predecessors had assiduously cultivated, and to solicit Anwar-ood-deen, who had been appointed nabob of the Carnatic by Nizam-ool-moolk, to lay an injunction on the governor of Madras to abstain from any aggression on the French settlement. The governor considered it prudent to obey the order. The anxieties of Dupleix were likewise relieved by the arrival of Labourdonnais with a powerful

A.D.
1741

1746

War between
France and
England.

1745

French fleet. This officer, a man of singular enterprise, had been for several years governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, and had raised the islands by his energy and ability to a state of the greatest prosperity. He found the greater part of the Mauritius on his arrival covered with an almost impenetrable jungle, and inhabited by a sparse and indolent population. He created magazines and arsenals, barracks and fortifications; he erected mills, quays, and aqueducts, and gave the settlement that importance in the operations of his nation, which it maintained for nearly seventy years; but the value of all his noble qualities was impaired by his pride and arrogance. The two fleets were not long before they came to an engagement.

A.D.
1746

The conflict between the French and the English in India, which began with this naval battle in 1746, forms an important era in its modern history. Hitherto, the European settlements dotted around the ^{Result of} _{the conflict.} Malabar and Coromandel coasts, content with the peaceful pursuits of commerce, had taken no share and little interest in the revolutions of power in the interior, and in the rise and fall of states. Down to the present time, moreover, while the French and English nations were often at war in Europe, during seventy years their Indian settlements lay peaceably side by side. But the scene was now changed. The governors of the two Companies embarked in a struggle for supremacy, embodied native troops and imported regiments from Europe, directing their attention more to the operations of war than of commerce, and, in more than one instance, fighting to the death in India after peace had been restored in Europe. They formed alliances and were drawn into conflicts with the native princes, which served to demonstrate the vast superiority of European soldiers over native troops, and this led to the rapid acquisition of political influence in the country, and, by an inevitable consequence, to the possession of territory. Within the brief period of eleven years after the two European powers had fired the first shot at each other, the French had acquired the undisputed authority of a territory in the south, containing a population of thirty-five millions, and in the north the English had the supreme command of provinces exceeding in area and population the whole of Great Britain.

The two fleets met in July, 1746. The action was indecisive, but the English admiral, on the plea that one of his ships stood in need of repairs, sailed away to the south

and left Madras, which he had been sent out to protect, at the mercy of the French. The little hamlet on which the British ensign was planted in 1639, had in the course of a century expanded into a town with a native population of between one and two hundred thousand. The fortifications of Madras, which had never been very substantial, were now dilapidated, and of the small garrison of two hundred Europeans few had ever seen a shot fired. Against this defenceless town Labourdonnais advanced with a large fleet, 1,100 European troops, and 800 native sepoy and Africans. The President, after a decent resistance, surrendered it, and Labourdonnais held it at ransom for a sum of about sixty lacs of rupees; but Dupleix asserted that as long as the English held possession of the settlement, Pondicherry could not be expected to flourish, and he was determined to extinguish all English interests on the coast. The violent altercations which arose between these two able but inflexible men may be readily imagined. Meanwhile, the monsoon set in with exceptional violence, and the French fleet suffered to such an extent as to oblige Labourdonnais to return to the islands to refit. Dupleix immediately annulled the convention he had made with the president of Madras, and conveyed all the European officers prisoners to Pondicherry. Labourdonnais retired to France, where he was followed by the accusations of Dupleix and of the enemies he had made, and was thrown into the Bastille, where he lingered for three years, and, though released when the charges against him were disproved, died of a broken heart.

On the approach of the French armament, the president of Madras, in his turn, had appealed to the nabob of the Carnatic, as Dupleix had done, and prevailed on him to prohibit any attack on the town. Dupleix, however, found little difficulty in persuading him to withdraw the injunction by promising to make over the settlement to him when it was captured, but after he had obtained possession of it it appeared too valuable a prize to be relinquished. The nabob was irritated beyond measure, and asked who were these foreigners that they should thus set him at defiance, with a handful of European and native troops not equal to a twentieth of his own army? His son was sent with 10,000 men to drive the French from Madras, but half a dozen rapid discharges of cannon bewildered them, and they retired more quickly than they had advanced. Dupleix, on hearing of the investment of the town, despatched a reinforcement consisting of 230 Euro-

SEPT
21ST,
1746

Battle of
St. Thomé.

peans and 700 sepoys. The son of the nabob marched to meet the detachment, and came up with it at St. Thomé, ^{Nov.} 4TH, about four miles from Madras. The commander, Paradis, ¹⁷⁴⁶ though without guns, assaulted the enemy with such vigour that the young nabob, who was mounted on a lofty elephant, and carried the royal ensign, was the first to fly from the field. He was followed precipitately by the whole body of 10,000 men, who never paused till they were almost in sight of Arcot. This engagement, although small in comparison with others, may be considered one of the most important and decisive battles in India. For the first time it gave the European settlers confidence in their own strength, and took all conceit of fighting out of the native princes. It taught the Europeans to disregard the disparity of numbers, however great, and dissolved the spell which had hitherto held them in abject subjection to the native powers.

The success of the French induced the nabob at once to change sides. The only possession left to the English on the coast was Fort St. David, and Dupleix sent an expedition against it; but it was defended by the ^{Siege of Pon-} ¹⁷⁴⁶ ^{dicherry.} earliest of our Indian heroes, Major Stringer Lawrence, and the French were obliged to retire, after four unsuccessful assaults. Soon after, admiral Boscawen arrived off the coast with a large fleet and a large reinforcement of troops, and it was determined to retaliate on the French by the capture of Pondicherry. The admiral unhappily determined to take the conduct of the siege on himself, but being altogether ignorant of military science and impatient of advice, he ¹⁷⁴⁸ was subject to an ignominious failure. After having invested it for fifty days with the largest European force, little short of 4,000 men, which had ever yet been assembled in India, he was obliged to raise the siege, but not before he had lost one-fourth of his troops. Dupleix lost no time in trumpeting his success throughout India, and he received ¹⁷⁴⁸ congratulations from the nabob at Arcot, from the Nizam at Hyderabad, and even from the emperor at Delhi. Immediately after this event, the peace of Aix la Chapelle restored Madras to the English, and Dupleix had the mortification of seeing his hated rivals reinstated in all their ¹⁷⁴⁹ possessions.

SECTION III.

FROM THE PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE TO THE YEAR 1756.

It might have been expected that the English and the French would now sheathe their swords and return to the pursuits of commerce; but, as the great historian, Orme, remarks, "The two nations having a large body of troops at their disposal, and being no longer authorised to fight with each other, took the resolution of employing their armies in the contests of native princes, the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition." The English were the first to set the example; they were anxious to obtain an accession of territory on the coast, and they accepted the offer of Sahoojee, who had been deposed from the government of Tanjore, to cede the town and district of Deviccotta, at the mouth of the Coleroon, if they would restore him to the throne. A force of about 1,500 men was accordingly sent under Major Lawrence, who obtained possession of the town, after a long and clumsy siege—the first the English were engaged in. But he found the cause of Sahoojee hopelessly unpopular, and returned to Madras, and persuaded the president to come to an accommodation with Pertab Sing, the prince then on the throne.

A.D.
1749

Dupleix, however, aimed at a higher object than the acquisition of an insignificant town and a few miles of territory on the coast. He had seen a single battalion, consisting only in part of Europeans, disperse a native army, of ten times its number, like a flock of sheep. The rise of this new military power filled the minds of the native princes with awe; and Dupleix determined to avail himself of their rivalries, and the fermentation of the times, to erect a French empire in India. Chunda Sahib, the most enterprising prince in the Deccan, had been deprived of the important town of Trichinopoly by the Mahrattas, and carried away prisoner to Satara, where he languished for seven years. He was exceedingly popular throughout the Carnatic, and Dupleix conceived that his ambitious plans would be promoted by making him the nabob, in the room of Anwar-ood-deen, whose government was greatly disliked. He therefore obtained his liberation by the payment of a ransom of seven lacs of rupces; and Chunda Sahib speedily collected a body of 6,000 men, and advanced

towards the borders of the Carnatic. Just at this period, Nizam-ool-moolk, the soobadar of the Deccan, and the founder of the kingdom of Hyderabad, died at a patriarchal age, and the affairs of the Deccan were thrown into a state of confusion which greatly facilitated the ambitious projects of the French governor. Of the five sons of the Nizam, Nazir Jung, though often in revolt against his father, happened to be with him at the hour of death, and having obtained possession of the treasury and bought over the chiefs in the army and the state, proclaimed himself soobadar. But there was a grandson of the Nizam, Mozuffer Jung, the son of his daughter, whom he had destined for the succession, and in whose favour he had obtained a *firman* from the emperor of Delhi. He lost no time in collecting an army to assert his claim to the throne, and was joined by Chunda Sahib, to whom he promised the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French at once embarked in the cause, and a force was despatched to his aid under the command of Bussy, the ablest officer in the French service. The confederates encountered the army of Anwar-ood-deen at Amboor; he was completely defeated, and fell in action, and his son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly, where the treasures of the state were deposited. Mozuffer marched the next day to Arcot, and assumed the state and title of soobadar of the Deccan, and conferred the government of the Carnatic on Chunda Sahib. They then proceeded to Pondicherry, where Duplex received them with an ostentatious display of oriental pomp, and was rewarded by the grant of eighty-one villages.

Death of
Nizam-ool-
moolk.

Death of
Anwar-ood-
deen.

JULY
1749

Mahomed Ali, finding that he could not hold Trichinopoly against the victors, sought the aid of the president of Madras, who sent a small detachment of 120 men to support him. It was a feeble movement, but it had the important effect of engaging the English in the cause of Mahomed Ali, which from that time forward they considered themselves bound in honour to support, under every vicissitude, as a counterpoise to French influence. Meanwhile, Nazir Jung assembled an army of 300,000 men, of whom one-half were cavalry, with 800 pieces of cannon, and marched in search of the confederates. At Valdaur, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry, he was joined by Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans, while Duplex augmented the contingent with Mozuffer to 2,000 bayonets. But on the

English and
Mahomed
Ali.

Nazir Jung
in the Car-
natic.

1750

eve of the engagement, thirteen of the French officers refused to fight; the force became demoralised, and nothing could stop its precipitate flight to Pondicherry. Chunda Sahib joined in the retreat, but Mozuffer determined to throw himself on the mercy of his uncle, who took an oath to protect him, and then loaded him with irons. Nazir Jung, now undisputed master of the Deccan, appointed Mahomed Ali nabob of the Carnatic. All Dupleix's plans were apparently demolished by this blow, but never did the fertility of his genius appear more conspicuous than on this occasion. He sent envoys to treat with Nazir Jung, and they discovered that his three Patan feudatories of Kurnool, Cuddapa, and Savanoor, were displeased at his proceeding, and prepared to revolt. Dupleix opened a correspondence with them, and, at the same time, to intimidate the soobadar into a compliance with his terms, sent an expedition to Masulipatam, and occupied the town and district. He attacked and defeated the force of Mahomed Ali, the remnant of which sought refuge in the renowned fort of Gingee. It was immediately besieged by Bussy, and within twenty-four hours of his appearance before it, the French colours were flying on its ramparts, though the armies of Aurungzebe had besieged it for nine years. It was the first instance in which a European force had attacked a fortress considered impregnable, and its success spread a feeling of dismay through the Deccan, and created the conviction that nothing could withstand European valour.

Nazir Jung, astounded by these proceedings, hastened to concede all Dupleix's demands—that the town and district of Masulipatam should be made over to him, Mozuffer Jung released, and Chunda Sahib installed nabob of the Carnatic. The soobadar concluded a treaty on these terms with Dupleix, but Dupleix had previously come to an understanding with the three mutinous Patan nabobs, and had directed Bussy to attack the army of the soobadar as soon as he received a requisition from them. Bussy was ignorant of the settlement which Dupleix had made with Nazir Jung when he was called upon to assail him by the Patan chiefs. He accordingly marched with 800 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys, and ten guns, against the soobadar's army, which he found stretched over eighteen miles of ground, and obtained a complete victory. "Never," remarks the historian of these events, "since the days of Cortes and Pizarro did so small a force

Capture of
Gingee by
Bussy.

1750

Bussy de-
feats Nazir
Jung.

“decide the fate of so great a sovereignty.” As the nabobs were moving off to join the French, Nazir Jung rode up to them with burning indignation, and engaged in a hand to hand struggle with the nabob of Cuddapa, whom he upbraided with his treachery. The nabob lodged two balls in the heart of his unfortunate master, and having cut off his head, presented it to Mozuffer Jung.

Mozuffer Jung, then confined in the camp, whom Nazir Jung had ordered to be decapitated if the day went against him, was proclaimed soobadar of the Deccan, and proceeded in company with Chunda Sahib to ^{Mozuffer Jung soobadar.} Pondicherry to express his obligations to Dupleix, and to make a suitable return for his aid. Dupleix, arrayed in the gorgeous robes of an imperial noble, received him with oriental magnificence. A splendid tent was erected, and in the presence of the native chivalry of the Deccan, Dupleix invested him with the office of soobadar, and, having paid homage to him, received the title of governor of all the country lying between the Kistna and Cape Comorin. Dupleix then presented Chunda Sahib to the soobadar, and requested that the real sovereignty and emoluments of the Carnatic might be granted to him. Mozuffer Jung was extremely anxious to return to the capital, and requested Dupleix to allow a French force to accompany him, and Bussy was sent with 300 Europeans and 3,000 disciplined sepoy. The encampment broke up from Pondicherry on the 7th of January, but within three weeks the turbulent Patan nabobs who had conspired against Nazir Jung, entered into a conspiracy against his successor. Their troops were speedily dispersed by Bussy; but Mozuffer Jung, rejecting all advice, insisted on pursuing them and was struck dead by the javelin of the nabob of Kurnool. The camp was thrown into wild confusion, but Bussy's presence of mind never forsook him. He immediately assembled the officers and ministers, and, ^{Salabut Jung soobadar.} with the ascendancy he had gained, prevailed on them to assent to his proposal of raising Salabut Jung, the brother of Nazir Jung, to the vacant dignity, and he was drawn from confinement to rule over thirty-five millions of subjects. The camp then moved forward, and in due course reached Aurungabad, then the capital of the Nizam. Dupleix had now attained the summit of his ambition, and the power of the French had reached its zenith. The soobadar reigned over the northern division of the Deccan, but it was virtually ruled by a French general, whose authority was supreme.

A.D. In the south, all the country south of the Kistna was under
 1751 the sway of Dupleix and all its resources were entirely sub-
 servient to his interests.

We turn to the proceedings in the Carnatic, where the French and English were employed for four years in attempts to obtain possession of Trichinopoly, which they both considered essential to the control of the country. It was held by Mahomed Ali, with the aid of a small body of English troops, and Dupleix, in conjunction with Chunda Sahib, sent a strong detachment under Law, the nephew of the famous South Sea financier, to expel them. It was on this occasion that the military genius of Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, was first developed. The son of a private country gentleman, he came out to India in 1744, in the civil service of the East India Company. Two years after, he was in Madras when it surrendered to Labourdonnais, and made his escape to Fort St. David, where he exchanged the pen for the sword and took part in the defence of the fort. He was present at the abortive siege of Pondicherry by admiral Boscawen, and in the assault on Devicotta, where he attracted the admiration of Major Lawrence. He was attached to the force which the president of Madras, Mr. Saunders, despatched to the relief of the besieged garrison of Trichinopoly, and he perceived, by the instinct of his military genius, that it must fall unless some diversion could be created in its favour. He returned to Madras, and advised Mr. Saunders to sanction an expedition against Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, which he was convinced would have the effect of drawing off a considerable portion of Chunda Sahib's army for its defence. The president, who, happily, appreciated his merits, entrusted the enterprise to his direction, and he marched with 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, and eight officers, of whom one half were in the mercantile service and six had never been in action. They were allowed to enter the town, and, as Clive had calculated, Chunda Sahib withdrew 10,000 men to recover it. The fort was a mile in circumference, defended by a low and lightly built parapet and by towers, of which several were in a state of decay, and the ditch was dry and choked up. From the day of its occupation, Clive had been incessantly occupied in repairing the fortifications. During the siege, one of his officers had been killed and two wounded, and another had returned to Madras. The troops fit for duty were

Career of
Clive.

1744

1748

1749

1751

1751

Clive's
defence of
Arcot.

reduced to 120 Europeans and 200 sepoy, but with this handful of men he sustained for seven weeks the incessant assault of Chunda Sahib's force, aided by 150 French soldiers. The last assault lasted eighteen hours, after which Clive had the unspeakable gratification of seeing the enemy strike their tents and retire in despair. "Thus," says Orme, "ended this memorable siege, maintained for fifty days under every disadvantage of situation and force by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops, and conducted by the young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken confidence, and undaunted courage, and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art, all the resources he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as were indicated by the greatest masters of the art." Truly did the great statesman, William Pitt, designate him the heaven-born general.

On his return from Arcot, Clive was employed in a variety of enterprises, in which he distinguished himself by the same energy and talent. After the French had besieged Trichinopoly in vain for a twelvemonth, they were driven into a position which obliged the commander, Law, to surrender at discretion with all his troops, stores, and ammunition. In the early part of the siege, Mahomed Ali had called in the aid of the great Mahratta general, Morari Rao, of the regent of Mysore, and of the troops of the raja of Tanjore. Chunda Sahib, reduced to extremity by the surrender of his French allies, sought an asylum with the Tanjore general, who caused him to be assassinated at the instigation of Mahomed Ali; and that prince, as barbarous as he was cowardly and perfidious, after feasting his eyes with the sight of his murdered rival, caused his head to be cut off and bound to the neck of a camel and paraded five times round the walls of the city. Unknown to Major Lawrence, he had promised to make over the fortress of Trichinopoly, which it was important for the English to hold, to the Tanjore general. Disgusted with this baseness, Major Lawrence withdrew to Madras, leaving a body of European troops to hold the citadel. Mahomed Ali refused to fulfil the bargain, and the Tanjore troops joined the French in the siege, which Dupleix lost no time in renewing. The operations in and around it continued with little interruption for two years; but even the fascinating pages of Orme are not

Operations at
Trichi-
nopoly.

A.D.
1752

1752

sufficient to induce the reader to wade through the narrative of the marches and counter-marches, the successes and the discomfiture, which marked these dreary campaigns. Suffice it to state that the French were three times worsted by the superior tactics of Major Lawrence, and that on one occasion the English sustained a memorable defeat, and that their native allies consequently deserted them. Dupleix at length, proposed the appointment of commissioners to treat of an accommodation, but the English agents, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Palk—who had divested himself of his holy orders to enter the Civil Service—defeated the object by insisting, as an indispensable preliminary, that Mahomed Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic. To these terms, Dupleix, to whom the soobadar had granted the control of the Carnatic affairs, could not be expected to agree, and the operations of war were resumed, and continued with varied success till the 1st of August, 1754, when Dupleix was suddenly superseded by the arrival of his successor, and all his schemes of ambition were at once subverted.

A.D.
1754

The French and English had been tearing each other to pieces in India, while the mother countries were at peace in Europe. The two Companies had been straining their energies and wasting their resources in the cause of native princes whose fidelity was always doubtful. Their attention had been withdrawn from the counting-house to the field. They were both anxious, especially the English East India Company, to terminate this anomalous state of things, which the president at Madras attributed primarily, and not without justice, to the ambition of Dupleix. There was an influential minority at the French Board hostile to him, and they were strengthened by the disasters of the campaign of 1753. The cabinet of St. James, moreover, sent over a strong remonstrance to the French ministry, and supported it by the despatch of an entire regiment and four ships of war, under Admiral Watson, and the Directory in Paris was thus induced to take up the question in earnest, and they sent out Godeheu, a member of their own body, with absolute authority over all the French settlements in the East Indies. He had already been in their service in India, and had always lived on the most friendly terms with Dupleix, but being a man of base and treacherous disposition, solicited permission to send him home in irons at the time when he was making fulsome protestations of cordiality. On his arrival at Pondicherry he

spared no pains to degrade and ruin him. The public accounts showed that twenty-five lacs of rupees were due to him for sums he had advanced to carry on the Government, from the fortune he had acquired before he assumed office, but Godeheu refused to allow these accounts to be audited. Dupleix had been in the habit of assisting the native allies with advances from his own purse on the security of certain districts, but Godeheu seized the districts, and farmed them out for the benefit of the Company. Dupleix, dishonoured and beggared, quitted the scene of his glory on the 14th October, 1754. On his arrival in Paris he was at first received with some show of distinction, but as soon as the Directors were assured that all differences had been adjusted in India, they treated him with hostility, and for ten years, to the day of his death, refused even to look into his accounts. He was pursued by creditors who had advanced money to Government on his security, and during the last three months of his life his house was in the hands of bailiffs. Three days before his death he wrote in his diary,—"I have sacrificed my youth and my fortune to enrich my country. I am treated as the vilest of mankind." Thus perished the second victim of the ingratitude of the French East India Company. Of those illustrious men who have established European supremacy in India, Dupleix stands among the foremost. He was the pioneer of European conquest. It was he who taught the way to govern native states by a handful of civil functionaries and a small body of European troops, and it was he who created a sepoy army. No Indian statesman has ever exhibited a more fertile political genius, and it is not improbable that, if he had remained in power in India for two or three years, with the two thousand European troops brought out by Godeheu, he would, in conjunction with Bussy, have made the French as complete masters of the Deccan as the English became of Bengal and Behar two years after.

A.D.
1754

1764

Godeheu and Mr. Saunders, the commissioner on the part of the East India Company, agreed upon an immediate suspension of arms, and concluded a convention which provided that the territories of the two Companies should eventually be of equal value when the convention was ratified in Europe. Mahomed Ali was confirmed as nabob of the Carnatic. The treaty was most disastrous to the French. It gave up all they had been contending for;—the nabobship of the Carnatic, the Northern Sircars, their allies, their influence, and their

Convention
between
France and
England.

honour. Both parties bound themselves for ever “to renounce all Moorish government and dignity,” and never to interfere in the affairs of the native princes. The ink, however, was scarcely dry before the treaty was given to the winds. The English despatched a force to subdue the districts of Madura and Tinnevely for their nabob, and the French sent a detachment to seize Terriore. But the prospects of peace were at once dissipated by the proclamation of war between France and England in 1756, and hostilities were prosecuted with greater fury than ever for five years.

SECTION IV.

CAREER OF BUSSY—WRECK OF THE FRENCH POWER—NATIVE STATES, TO PANIPUT.

To turn to the brilliant career of Bussy in the north of the Deccan: In military genius he stands on a level with Clive, but was greatly his superior in the art of political organisation. For several years he had been in association with natives of distinction, and had obtained a thorough knowledge of the native character. He also acquired the tact of managing them by the exercise of that wise accommodation to their feelings and habits, in which the French have always been more successful than the English. Having elevated Salabut Jung to the throne, he conducted him in triumph to his capital; but his elder brother, Ghazee-ood-deen, who held a high position in the court of Delhi, had obtained a patent of appointment to the soobadaree of the Deccan, and, having gained over the Mahrattas by the promise of a large section of territory, commenced his march to the south. His ally, the Peshwa, with 40,000 horse, advanced to encounter Salabut Jung, laying the country waste on his march. Bussy, with his handful of Europeans and 2,000 sepoys, and eight or ten field pieces, received the shock of the Mahratta cavalry, who came thundering down upon him in full speed with shouts of triumph. He awaited their approach with perfect coolness, and then poured volleys of grape with great rapidity into their ranks, and in a few moments they turned round and fled in disorder. This was the first time the Mahratta horse, the terror of the Deccan, had encountered a European force in the field, and

the result of the conflict increased the power and influence of Bussy in no ordinary degree. He followed up his success with great spirit, and vigorously pursued the Peshwa within twenty miles of Poona, and constrained him to sue for an accommodation. Meanwhile, Ghazee-ood-deen was advancing from the north with 150,000 men. The army of Salabut Jung was mutinous for want of pay, and Bussy wisely advised him to conciliate the Peshwa by ceding the territory west of Berar from the Taptee to Godavery, which had been promised by Ghazee-ood-deen, and which, being in a remote corner of his dominions, it would not be easy to protect. There was living at the time at Aurungabad, where Ghazee-ood-deen's army was encamped, one of the widows of Nizam-ool-moolk, to whom she had borne one son, Nizam Ali, and it was her earnest desire to seat him on the throne of the Deccan. To remove Ghazee-ood-deen out of the way, she invited him to a feast and urged him to partake of a particular dish, which she had prepared, she said, with her own hands. It was poisoned, and he died the same night, and his troops immediately dispersed.

A.D.
1752Murder of
Ghazee-ood-
deen.

The ascendancy which Bussy had acquired at the court of the soobadar had raised him many enemies, and the minister, though under great obligations to him, began to plot his destruction. At the beginning of 1753 he was obliged to resort to the sea-coast for the restoration of his health, and the treacherous minister, having dispersed his European forces in small bodies over the country, and withheld their pay, entered into a hostile correspondence with the president of Madras. One of his letters fell into the hands of Bussy, who felt that his cause was lost unless he could regain his influence, and though still labouring under disease, determined to make an immediate effort to baffle his enemies. He directed the detachments which had been scattered to assemble near Hyderabad, and, marching 500 miles to Aurungabad, unexpectedly presented himself at the court with 4,500 men, Europeans and natives. Not only was his ascendancy restored, but he was enabled to obtain from the fears of the soobadar and his ministers a grant of the four Northern Sircars for the maintenance of his force. They lay on the Coromandel coast, protected by a chain of hills running parallel with the sea, stretching about 450 miles along the coast, and from 30 to 100 miles inland. They contained many important towns, admirably adapted by the bounty of Providence and the

1753

The North-
ern Sircars.

industry of the inhabitants to sustain a lucrative commerce, and already yielded a revenue of half a crore of rupees. "These territories," remarked the great historian, "rendered the French master of the greatest dominion, both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed in Hindostan by Europeans; not excepting the Portuguese when at the height of their prosperity."

On his return from the coast, Bussy found the soobadar resolved on an expedition to Mysore, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, to extort whatever sums, under the pretence of tribute, could be obtained, and Bussy was informed that he "must attend the stirrup of his sovereign." But the regent of Mysore was in alliance with the French authorities at Pondicherry, and had sent the flower of his army to co-operate with them in the siege of Trichinopoly. Bussy was placed in a serious dilemma, from which he was relieved only by his extraordinary tact. He accompanied the soobadar's army with 500 European troops, and assumed the command of the expedition. He moved forward with such rapidity as to astound the Mysore regent and dispose him to agree to terms, and, assuming the character of a mediator, prevailed on the soobadar to accept of fifty-six lacs of rupees, to realise which he was obliged to despoil the females of their jewels and the temples of their wealth. Soon after, Bussy, joined by a Mahratta force and the army of the Nizam, was sent against the rebellious nabob of Savanoor, and was enabled to bring him to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Nizam; but his ever vigilant enemies misrepresented his proceedings to the Nizam, and induced that silly prince to dismiss him summarily, while he was yet in the south-west several hundred miles distant from the capital, and from his own resources. Bussy received the order of dismissal with his usual imperturbability. After crossing the Kistna, finding his ammunition running short, he turned out of his way to Hyderabad, and took up a position at Charmal, which he fortified. His ungrateful master, whom he had raised from a prison to a throne, summoned every tributary and dependent to his standard, and for two months assailed the encampment of his benefactor, who defended himself with his usual skill—his sepoy had deserted him—and was at length released from danger by the fortunate arrival of reinforcements from the coast. Salabut Jung was in a fever of alarm, and sued humbly for a reconciliation, and within three months of his dismissal

A.D.
1754 Bussy's
trials.

1756

Dismissal of
Bussy.

the authority of Bussy was more firmly established than ever. The zemindars in the Northern Sircars took ^{Bussy's} advantage of this season of embarrassment to ^{triumph.} revolt, and Bussy was obliged to give five months of un- ^{A.D.}remitting attention to the settlement of the province. ¹⁷⁵⁶ The incidental effect of these events on the fortunes of the English in India deserves particular notice. It was during this period that Clive re-captured Calcutta, as will be hereafter related, and defeated the nabob, who sent an urgent request to Bussy to advance to his aid in Bengal. But he was detained by the necessity of regaining his power in his own province, and when the pacification of the province was complete, and he was prepared to move up through Orissa with a powerful body of troops, he heard to his mortification that Chandernagore had already surrendered. His presence in Bengal before that event might have given a different turn to the battle of Plassy.

During the absence of Bussy on the coast, the impotent ¹⁷⁵⁶ Salabut Jung was threatened with ruin by his profligate minister, who had seized the fortress of Dowlutabad, and placed the authority of the state in the hands ^{Bussy re-} of one of the Nizam's brothers. The crown was ^{lieves Sala-} falling from his head, and the country was threatened with convulsions, when Bussy started from the coast with his army, and, traversing a region never yet trodden by Europeans, reached Aurangabad, a distance of four hundred miles, in twenty-one days. His presence extinguished these conspiracies as if by the wand of a magician. The minister was killed in a tumult created by his own devices; Nizam Ali fled, and Dowlutabad was recovered by a *coup de main*, and the French head-quarters were fixed in an impregnable position. Bussy had now been for seven years the arbiter of the Deccan. He had placed the interests of France on a foundation not to be shaken by any ordinary contingency, and they were as substantially established in the ¹⁷⁵⁶ south of India as those of England were in the north by the victory of Plassy; and it seemed as if the empire of India would be divided between these two European nations. But it was otherwise ordained; the power of the one was destined to become permanent and expansive, that of the other was extinguished by the folly of one man. Lally arrived in India in 1758 as governor of the French ¹⁷⁵⁸ possessions, and partly from caprice and partly ^{Recall of} from envy, ordered Bussy to quit the scene of his ^{Bussy.} triumphs and return to Pondicherry with all his force.

Bussy considered obedience the first duty of a soldier, and, to the inconceivable surprise of the native princes, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, who trembled at the sound of his name, at once retired from the Deccan at the period of his greatest strength, and the sun of French prosperity in India set not to rise again.

Lally, a member of an Irish Roman Catholic family, which retired to France on the flight of James II.,

Lally—
Siege of
Madras. had from his early youth, and for forty years, been trained in arms. His military reputation stood so high that when war broke out between

France and England in 1756, he was considered the fittest man to command the large armament the French ministry was sending to India to establish French power. He was

A.D. 1758 accompanied by the scions of the most illustrious families in France. He landed at Pondicherry in April, 1758, and

marched at once against the English factory at St. David's, which was surrendered within a month. The time was peculiarly favourable for the expulsion of the English from the Deccan. Madras was unfortified, its European force and its fleet were in Bengal, and the French commanded the sea and were paramount on land. Lally was bent on attacking Madras without delay, but he was basely thwarted by the admiral, who refused the aid of his ships, and by the council of Pondicherry, who would not afford him any pecuniary assistance. Seven years before this time the rajah of Tanjore, pressed by the demands of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, had given them a bond for fifty-six lacs of rupees, which was considered valueless, and made over to Dupleix. As a last resource, Lally resolved to supply his military chest by demanding payment of this bond. With the largest European and native force which had ever till then taken the field, he hurried on to Tanjore; on his route he levied forced contributions, and blew six brahmins from the guns. The town was besieged for a fortnight, and a practical breach had been made when an English fleet appeared on the coast, and threatened Carical, the French depôt; Lally, who had only twenty cartridges left for each man and two days' provisions, raised the siege and retired. On his return to Pondicherry, he prevailed on the council to grant him some aid towards the siege of Madras, which

1758 was the object nearest his heart, and in November advanced to it with an army of 2,000 European foot and 300 European cavalry, the first ever seen in India, besides a large force of sepoy. The garrison of the fort

Siege of
Madras.

consisted of 1,758 Europeans and 2,200 natives, but they were under the command of the veteran Lawrence, who was supported by thirteen officers trained under his own eye. The siege was prosecuted for two months with great vigour, and a breach was at length effected, but, at the last moment, the refusal of his officers to second him defeated Lally's plans, and the appearance of an English fleet in the roads obliged him to raise the siege and retire. A.D. 1759
 Misfortunes thickened upon him. The Northern Siege raised.
 Sircars were occupied by a force despatched from Calcutta by Clive, under the gallant Colonel Forde, and Salabut Jung, having no longer anything to hope or fear from the French, threw himself into the arms of the English, and bound himself by treaty never to allow a French force to enter his service.

Lally returned to Pondicherry, with his army, officers as well as men, in a state of insubordination. But his hopes were raised by the arrival of a powerful Naval fleet consisting of eleven vessels, the smallest of engagement. which carried fifty guns; the English squadron was scarcely less powerful. In the engagement which ensued both 1759 parties were crippled, but neither of them beaten. The French admiral, however, disregarding the entreaties and even the menaces of the authorities at Pondicherry, sailed away with his whole fleet to the Isle of France, leaving the command of the sea with the English. The French troops mutinied for their pay, which was ten months in arrear, and marched out of Pondicherry towards Madras, but were induced to return by the discharge of a portion of it. Lally, determined to bring on an engagement, marched on Wandewash, and captured the town and laid siege to the fort. The English force under Colonel Coote, an officer second in ability only to Clive, came up for its relief. The result was a pitched battle, known French as the battle of Wandewash, one of the most defeated at severely contested and most decisive which had as yet been Wandewash. fought in India, in which the French, after prodigies of valour, sustained a signal defeat. It was the last struggle 1760 for empire between the French and English on the plains of India, and it demolished the hopes of establishing a French power. Lally fell back on Pondicherry, where he encountered nothing but intrigue and sedition from those who ought to have been unanimous in sustaining the national honour at this crisis. "From this time," he said, "without money, without ships, without even provisions,

"Pondicherry might be given up for lost." Coote, in the
 meantime, drove the French from all the towns and posi-
 tions they held in the Carnatic, and prepared for the siege
 of Pondicherry, when the folly of the Court of
 Directors had well-nigh marred it, by sending
 out orders to supersede him by the Honourable Colonel
 Monson, the second in command. In the first independent
 enterprise of Colonel Monson, his success was so equivocal
 as to present an ill-omen of his efforts, but he was disabled
 by a severe wound, and Colonel Coote was prevailed on by
 the council of Madras to resume the command. The town
 was subject to a strict blockade during the rains, and vigor-
 ously besieged as soon as they ceased. Lally was thwarted
 at every turn by the civil functionaries who detested
 him, and in whom every spark of honesty and loyalty was
 extinct; but he maintained a long and energetic defence
 with a spirit and courage which elicited the applause of his
 English opponents, and he did not surrender the town until
 he was reduced to two days' provisions. As the victors
 marched into it, their feelings were deeply excited by the
 skeleton figures to which the noble forms of the two gallant
 regiments Lally had brought out with him were
 reduced by months of fatigue and famine. The
 French Court of Directors had sent instructions to Lally
 to erase the English settlements from the land. The
 despatch had fallen into the hands of the English Directors,
 and, by their orders, Pondicherry was levelled with the
 ground, and not a roof left of that noble colony. The war
 which, with a brief interval, the two nations had waged
 for fifteen years, terminated in the extinction of the French
 power. The ambitious hope of establishing a French
 empire in India, which had equally animated Labourdonnais
 and Dupleix, Bussy and Lally, was extinguished. Their
 settlements were, indeed, restored at the peace of Paris in
 1763, but they never recovered their political position in
 India. Lally returned to Paris and was thrown into the
 Bastile, where he lingered for three years. He was then
 brought to trial, denied the assistance of counsel,
 and condemned to death for having betrayed the
 interests of the king and the company. He was drawn
 on a dung cart to the scaffold and beheaded, the third
 illustrious victim of the ingratitude of his country in
 fifteen years.

A.D.
1760Siege of
Pondicherry.

1761

Capture of
Pondicherry.Fate of
Lally.

SECTION V.

NATIVE STATES, FROM THE SACK OF DELHI, 1739, TO THE
BATTLE OF PANIPUT, 1761.

To return to the events in the native states, from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, to the battle of Paniput in 1761. The atrocities perpetrated by Nadir Shah on his return to Persia, for eight years, were at length terminated by his assassination.

Ahmed
Shah
Abdalee.

But a new and more formidable foe to India arose on his death in the person of Ahmed Shah, the chief of the tribe of Abdalee Afghans, who was proclaimed king at Candahar before the close of the year, and became supreme in the regions beyond the Indus. Encouraged by the success of Nadir Shah, whom he had accompanied in his expedition, he turned his attention to India and occupied the province of Lahore, and advanced to Sirhind, where he was defeated by prince Ahmed, the son of the emperor of Delhi, who obliged him to recross the Indus.

A.D.
1747

Mahomed Shah, the emperor, after a reign of more than thirty years, during which the imperial throne had been steadily becoming weaker, died in 1748, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who appointed the nabob of Oude his vizier. Alarmed by the growing power of the Rohillas, who had taken advantage of the invasion and of the confusion of the times to enlarge their power in Rohilkund, the Vizier attacked them and was defeated, and his province overrun, when he had recourse to the humiliating and dangerous expedient of calling in the Mahratta chiefs Holkar and Sindia, by whose aid he chased the Rohillas back to their hills. To gratify their avarice, he authorised them to plunder the conquered territory, which did not recover from the effect of their ravages for many years.

Ahmed Shah, having recruited his force, again occupied the Punjab and Mooltan, and sent an envoy to Delhi to demand the formal cession of them. The emperor, under the influence of a profligate eunuch, complied with the request. The Vizier, then absent in the pursuit of the Rohillas, hastened to Delhi, but being too late to prevent the surrender of the provinces, invited the eunuch to a banquet and caused him to be assassinated. The emperor was exasperated by this outrage, and enlisted the services of Ghazee-ood-deen, the grandson of Nizam-

His second
and third
invasion.

ool-moolk and the son of the prince who was poisoned by his mother-in-law. This brought on a civil war between the emperor and the Vizier, and for six months the capital was deluged with blood. Ghazee-ood-deen then called to his assistance Holkar's mercenaries, and the Vizier, unable to cope with them, consented to an accommodation, and was allowed to retain possession of Oude and Allahabad, which were now finally alienated from the empire. The emperor, unable to bear the arrogance of Ghazee-ood-deen, marched out of his capital to oppose him while he was engaged in the siege of Bhurtpore, but was defeated and made prisoner, when the monster deprived him and his mother of sight, and raised one of the princes of the blood to the throne, with the title of Alumgeer the second. He then proceeded to the Punjab and expelled the Alungeer II. lieutenants of Ahmed Shah, who no sooner Emperor. heard of the insult than he hastened to avenge it, and having recovered the Punjab, advanced to Delhi. Ghazee-ood-deen made the most abject submissions, and was forgiven, but the Abdalee was determined to obtain a pecuniary indemnity, and gave the city up to plunder. For many days the atrocities of Nadir Shah's time were repeated, and the wretched inhabitants were a second time 1756 subject to the insolence and rapacity of a brutal soldiery. Soon after, several thousand unoffending devotees were sacrificed in the holy city of Muttra at the time of a religious festival. A pestilence which presently broke out in his camp obliged him to recross the Indus. He left his son Timur in charge of the Punjab, and at the particular request of the emperor, placed the Rohilla chief 1757 Nujeeb-ood-dowlah in command of the imperial army to protect him from the designs of Ghazee-ood-deen.

That abandoned minister immediately called the Mahrattas to his aid, and Rughoonath Rao, more commonly Mahratta grandeur. known in history as Raghoba, advanced and captured Delhi after a siege of a month, and then proceeding to the Punjab, drove the force of Timur back 1758 into Afghanistan and planted the Mahratta standard for the first time on the banks of the Indus. He returned to Poona, after having conferred the government of the province on a Mahratta officer. The Peshwa had, meanwhile, been intriguing for the possession of Ahmednugur, the most important city south of the Nerbudda, and at length obtained it by treachery. This aggression brought on hostilities with Salabut Jung and his brother Nazir

Jung, who had been reconciled. They had no longer the support of Bussy's genius or his troops, and even Ibrahim Khan, the ablest of Bussy's native generals, had been dismissed, and gone over with a powerful and well-served artillery to the Peshwa. The Nizam was reduced to such straits as to be obliged to agree to whatever terms the Peshwa might dictate, and obliged to surrender four of the most important fortresses in the Deccan, to confirm the possession of Ahmednugur, and to make over districts yielding fifty-six lacs of rupees, which reduced the Mogul possessions in the Deccan to a very narrow circle. The power of the Mahrattas was now at its zenith; it was acknowledged equally on the banks of the Indus and of the Coleroon, and it was predominant both in Hindostan and in the Deccan. The vast resources of the commonwealth were wielded by one chief and directed to one object, and they began to talk proudly of establishing Hindoo sovereignty throughout the continent of India.

Raghoba had left Holkar and Sindia to support the Mahratta interests in the north, and to despoil Rohilcund, of which Sindia had laid waste thirteen hundred villages in the course of a month, but he was soon after driven across the Jumna by the nabob Vizier. Just at this juncture the north of India was astounded by the report that Ahmed Shah Abdalee had crossed the Indus a fourth time in September, with a large army, to recover and extend his possessions. During his advance, Ghazee-ood-deen, dreading an interview between the Abdalee and the emperor Ahmed Shah, whom he had blinded, put him to death, and placed an unknown youth on the throne, who was, however, never acknowledged. Holkar and Sindia were in command of 30,000 horse, but they were widely separated from each other, and the Abdalee determined to attack them before they could form a junction. Sindia was overpowered, and lost two-thirds of his army. Holkar was routed with great carnage. The news of these reverses only served to inflame the ardour of the Peshwa and his cabinet, and it was resolved at Poona to make one grand and decisive effort to complete the conquest of India. The command of the force destined to this object was entrusted to Sudaseo Rao Bhow, commonly known as the Bhow, the cousin of the Peshwa, a general who had seen much service and was not wanting in courage and energy, but rash and impetuous, and filled with an overweening conceit of his own abilities.

A.D.
1758

1759

The Abdalee's fourth invasion.

1759

Defeat of Sindia and Holkar.

1759

A.D. 1760 The army which now moved up to encounter Ahmed Shah was the largest with which the Mahrattas had ever taken the field. Its gorgeous equipments formed a strong contrast with that of the humble and hardy mountaineers of Sevajee. The Mahrattas had already begun to assume the pomp of Mahomedan princes. The spacious and lofty tents of the chiefs were lined with silks and brocades, and surmounted with glittering ornaments. The finest horses richly caparisoned, and a train of elephants with gaudy housings, accompanied the army. The wealth which had been accumulated during half a century of plunder was ostentatiously displayed; and cloth of gold was the dress of the officers. The military chest was furnished with two crores of rupees. Every Mahratta commander throughout the country was summoned to attend the stirrup of the Bhow, and the whole of the Mahratta cavalry marched under the national standard. It was considered the cause of the Hindoos as opposed to that of the Mahomedans, and the army was therefore joined in its progress by numerous auxiliaries, more especially from Rajpootana. Sooruj Mull, the Jaut chieftain, brought up a contingent of 30,000 men. The army was, however, encumbered with two hundred pieces of cannon, and Sooruj Mull wisely advised the Bhow to leave them at Gwalior or at Jhansi, and resort to the national system of warfare, cutting off the supplies, and harassing the detachments of the enemy; but this sage counsel was haughtily rejected, and the Jaut withdrew from the camp in disgust, together with some of the Rajpoot chieftains. The Bhow entered Delhi and defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines which had been spared by the Persian and Afghan invader. The two armies met on the field of Paniput, where for the third time the fate of India was to be decided. That of the Mahrattas consisted of 55,000 cavalry in regular pay, 15,000 predatory horse, and 15,000 infantry, who had been trained under Bussy, and were now commanded by his ablest native general. The Mahomedan force numbered about 80,000 chosen troops, besides irregulars almost as numerous, with seventy pieces of cannon. After a succession of desultory engagements, some of them, however, of considerable magnitude, the Mahrattas formed an entrenched camp, in which, including camp followers, a body little short of 300,000 was collected. Within a short time this vast multitude began to be straitened for provisions. Cooped up in a blockaded encampment, amidst dead and dying

animals, and surrounded by famishing soldiers, the officers demanded to be led out against the enemy. The battle began before daybreak on the 7th of January, and the Mahratta chiefs nobly sustained their national reputation; but about two hours after noon Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was mortally wounded, and Sudaseo Rao Bhow fled from the field, and the army became irretrievably disorganised. No quarter was asked or given, and the slaughter was prodigious. Not one-fourth of the troops escaped with their lives, and it was calculated that from the opening of the campaign to its close the number of casualties, including camp followers, fell little short of 200,000. Seldom has a defeat been more complete or disastrous. There were few families throughout the Mahratta empire which had not to mourn the loss of some relative. The Peshwa died of a broken heart, and his government never recovered its vigour and integrity. All the Mahratta conquests north of the Nerbudda were lost, and though they were subsequently recovered, it was under separate chieftains, with individual interests, which weakened their allegiance to the central authority. The Abdalee having thus shivered the Hindoo power, turned his back on India, and never interfered again in its affairs. The Mogul throne may be said to have expired with the battle of Paniput. Its territory was broken up into separate and independent principalities; the claimant to the throne was wandering about Behar with a band of mercenaries; and the nation which was destined to establish a new empire, and, in oriental phrase, to "bring the various tribes of India under one umbrella," had already laid the foundation of its power in the valley of the Ganges. To the rise and progress of the English Government we now turn.

Prodigious
slaughter.

Effect on
the Mogul
empire.

A. D.
1761

SECTION VI.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN BENGAL.

THE wealth which Portugal had acquired in the sixteenth century by the trade to the east raised an earnest desire in England to obtain a share of it; and Drake, Cavendish, and other navigators were impelled by the spirit of maritime enterprise, which Queen Elizabeth fostered, to undertake voyages of discovery in

The East
India
Company.

A.D. the eastern seas. In 1583 Fitch and three other adven-
 1583 turers traversed the length and breadth of the unknown
 continent of India, and the accounts they brought home of
 the opulence of its various kingdoms, and the grandeur of
 the cities, opened up the vision of a lucrative commerce to
 the English nation. The ardour of enterprise was, how-
 ever, damped by the unsuccessful issue of a voyage of three
 years undertaken by Captain Lancaster, but it was re-
 vived by the report of the first mercantile expedition of
 the Dutch, which had resulted in a rich return. An
 association was accordingly formed in London, consisting
 1600 of "merchants, ironmongers, clothiers, and other men of
 "substance," who subscribed the sum of £30,133, for the
 purpose of opening a trade to the East. The next year
 Queen Elizabeth granted them a charter of incorporation,
 under the title of the "East India Company," which for
 a hundred and fifty years confined itself to commercial
 pursuits, and then took up arms in defence of its factories,
 and impelled by the normal law of progression, became
 master of the continent of India.

The first attention of the Company was drawn to the
 spice islands in the eastern archipelago, in which the
 Dutch were endeavouring to supersede the Portu-
 Its first enterprises. guese. The chief object of the India trade at
 that period was to obtain spices, pepper, cloves, and nut-
 megs, in return for the exports from England of iron, tin,
 lead, cloth, cutlery, glass, quicksilver, and Muscovy hides.
 1601 The first expedition sailed from Torbay in April, 1601.
 Eight voyages were undertaken in the next ten years,
 which yielded a profit of more than a hundred and fifty
 per cent. A portion of this return was obtained by piracy
 on their European rivals, which all the maritime nations at
 that period considered a legitimate source of gain. In
 1611 the Company despatched vessels to Surat, then the
 great emporium of trade on the western coast of India;
 but the Portuguese were determined to repel the interlopers,
 and planted a squadron of armed vessels at the mouth of
 the Taptee. In the several encounters which ensued, the
 Portuguese were invariably discomfited, and as they were
 universally dreaded by the natives for their oppressions,
 the reputation of the English rose high, and they obtained
 1613 permission to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, and
 other towns. These privileges were confirmed by the
 emperor Jehangeer.

Soon after, the Company prevailed on James I. to send

Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of Delhi, A.D. 1615 where he met with a distinguished reception Sir T. Roe's embassy. and obtained further privileges for the Company.

The Company also succeeded in wresting Ormus from the Portuguese, and obtained a commercial footing in the Persian Gulf, but it never proved to be of any value. In 1620 the Company's agents for the first time visited the valley of the Ganges, and set up a factory at Patna; but it was through the patriotism of Mr. Boughton, Mr. Boughton's disinterestedness. one of their surgeons, that they obtained permission to settle in Bengal. The emperor was at the time in the Deccan, and his daughter being taken seriously ill, he sent to the Company's factory at Surat to request the services of an able physician. Mr. Boughton was despatched to the camp, and effected a cure; and being requested to name his own reward, asked permission to establish factories in Bengal, which was at once granted. Two years after, the emperor's second son, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, established his court at Rajmahal. One of the ladies of the seraglio was attacked with disease, and the services of Mr. Boughton were again solicited, and he again declined any personal remuneration, but obtained permission for his masters to plant factories at Hooghly and Balasore.

The first factory of the Company on the Coromandel coast was opened at Masulipatam and then transferred to Armegaum; but as the trade did not flourish, the superintendent accepted the invitation of the raja Madras. of Chundergiree, the last representative of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuger, to settle in his territories, and a plot of ground was accepted at Madraspatam, one of the most inconvenient places for trade on the Coromandel coast, on which the Company erected a fort, called, after the patron saint of England, Fort St. George, around which arose the city of Madras. Surat continued to be the port of the Company on the western coast till 1662, when, on the marriage of Charles II. to the Infanta Catherine, Bombay. the daughter of the king of Portugal, he bestowed the port of Bombay as her dowry, and the Crown, finding it more expensive than profitable, made it over to the Company, who removed their chief establishments to it. The annals of the Company for a period of forty years in Bengal are barren of events. They enjoyed great prosperity, and their trade flourished to such an extent that it was erected into a separate Presidency, but

the simple men of the counter in Dowgate were at length seized with a fit of political ambition, which brought them to the verge of ruin.

The Court of Directors had obtained admiralty jurisdiction from the Crown, with liberty to seize all interlopers.

The Com-
pany's
ambition. The profits of the Company had, as usual, led to the establishment of a new and rival Company in London, which it was deemed advisable to root

out. The agent of the old Company, with the view of excluding them from Bengal, had sought permission of the Mogul viceroy to erect a fortification at the mouth of the river, but he resented their application by increasing the duty on their exports, in violation of the firman granted by the emperor. Such impositions which had frequently been made before, had been eluded by a discreet distribution of presents, but on the present occasion the Company assumed a high tone, and determined to seek redress by engaging in hostilities with the Mogul empire, then in the zenith of its power. With the permission of the Crown, they sent out admiral Nicholson with twelve ships of war, carrying 200 guns and 1,000 soldiers, to seize and fortify Chittagong, to demand the cession of the neighbouring territory, and to establish a mint. But these ambitious prospects were destined to a severe disappointment. The fleet was dispersed in a storm, and a portion of it sailed to Hooghly where the advanced-guard of 400 men had already arrived from Madras. The appearance of this formidable armament induced the nabob to seek an accommodation, when three intoxicated sailors reeled into the bazaar, and fell out with the police. Both parties were

A.D.
1685

Battle at
Hooghly. reinforced, and a regular engagement ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Moguls. The admiral set the town on fire, and burnt down five hundred houses. Job Charnock, the chief of the Company's factory, dreading an attack from the nabob's troops, moved down with all his establishment to the village of Chuttanutty, and then to the island of Ingelee, a swamp in the Soonderbun, where half his people perished of jungle fever. He was relieved from this embarrassing position by the appearance of an envoy from the nabob with proposals of peace. The Court of Directors, who were determined to carry their views by force, had directed their chief at Bombay to blockade Surat, which was the pilgrim port on the western coast, and the departure of

devout Mahomedans to the shrine of the Prophet was at once stopped. Aurungzebe's fanaticism overcame his pride, and, in order to open the road to Mecca, he condescended to seek accommodation with the infidels who had blocked it up. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and Charnock returned to Chuttanuttu, but not to remain there. The Court of Directors, hearing of the proceedings at Hooghly, determined to prosecute the war with increased vigour, and despatched Captain Heath with several vessels of war to Bengal. On his arrival, he disallowed the treaty and commenced warlike operations, and embarking the whole of the Company's property and officers on fifteen vessels, proceeded to Balasore, which he burnt, and then crossed over to Chittagong. Its fortifications were stronger than he had expected, and he sailed to Madras, where he landed all the Company's establishments. Aurungzebe, incensed at these renewed aggressions, ordered all the English factories in every part of India to be confiscated, and nothing remained of the Company's possessions except the fortified towns of Madras and Bombay. Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, sent two gentlemen to the emperor's encampment at Beejapore to treat for a reconciliation. Aurungzebe by the recent conquest of Beejapore had extended his power over the whole of India; but though it was irresistible on the land, the English were masters of the sea, and they blockaded the Mogul ports, and both obstructed the pilgrimage, and destroyed the trade of the Moguls. Nor was he insensible to the loss his subjects sustained by the suspension of the English trade, which was calculated at a crore of rupees a year, and he agreed "to overlook their offences," and restore their factories. The nabob of Bengal, who was favourable to them, lost no time in acquainting Mr. Charnock at Madras with the emperor's wishes, and beseeching him to return to Bengal. He landed at Chuttanuttu on the 24th of August, 1690, and in the neighbouring village of Calcutta laid the foundation of the future metropolis of British India. This spasm of ambition did not last more than five years, and for half a century afterwards the servants of the Company were instructed to consider themselves "the representatives of a body of merchants, and to live and act accordingly."

The Company having now a settlement of their own in

A. D. Bengal, were anxious to place it, like Madras and Bombay,
 1695 in a state of defence; but it was contrary to the policy
 of the Mogul empire to permit the multiplica-
 tion of such fortifications. The forts at the two
 other Presidencies had been erected before the
 authority of the Moguls was extended over the territory
 in which they were situated. The nabob of Bengal refused
 the permission which the governor had sought, but in
 1695 the zemindar of Burdwan revolted, and in conjunc-
 tion with Rehim Khan, the chief of the Orissa Afghans,
 plundered Hooghly, and threatened the foreign settlements.
 The danger to which they were exposed was strongly re-
 presented to the nabob, who was bewildered by the
 rebellion, and he desired the agents of the Companies, in
 general terms, to provide for their own security. Im-
 mediately every hand was set to work, night and day, to
 raise the fortifications, by the Dutch at Chinsurah, the
 French at Chandernagore, and the English at Calcutta.
 In compliment to the reigning monarch the fortress was
 designated Fort William.

The Company was now threatened by a more formidable
 opponent in London. The dazzling profits of the India
 trade had drawn forth a multitude of competi-
 tors, but they succeeded in obtaining a renewal
 of their charter from the Crown in 1693. A few months
 after, however, the House of Commons passed a resolution
 to the effect, "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade
 to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parlia-
 ment." This gave fresh animation to those who were
 eager to share in the trade, and they petitioned Parlia-
 ment for a charter, backed by the tempting offer of a loan
 of two millions to the treasury at eight per cent., and it
 was accepted. The old Company had not been able to offer
 more than a third of the sum, and they were ordered to
 wind up their affairs in three years. But the rivalry of the
 two Companies was found, even in the first year,
 to be fatal to the public interests. Their competi-
 tion enhanced the price of produce in every market in
 India, and created a scarcity. The native officers, courted
 by two parties, fleeced them in turn, and oppressed both,
 and the money which should have been laid out in invest-
 ments was squandered in bribes, to the extent of seven lacs
 of rupees. At Surat, the agents of the old Company were
 seized by the agents of their rivals, dragged through the
 streets and delivered to the Mogul authorities of the town

as disturbers of the public peace. The nation became ^{A.D.} at length sensible of the disastrous results of this conten- 1702
 tion, and in 1702 the two Companies were amalgamated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants
 "trading to the East." Their former privileges were granted by the Crown; the new charter ^{Their union.}
 was sanctioned likewise by Parliament, and the strength of union inspired them with greater animation in the prosecution of their commerce. The fortifications of Calcutta were silently but diligently improved, and gave confidence to the native merchants, who came there in large numbers, and it became one of the most flourishing settlements in the province. But the history of it from this time to the battle of Plassy, for more than fifty years, and more especially during the viceroyalty of Moorshed Kooly Khan and his successor, is only a register of the extortions of the Mogul government, and the contrivances of the president to evade them. It is an unvaried tale of insolence and plunder on the one part, and humiliating submission on the other, which was at length avenged by the battle of Plassy.

1702

In the year in which the Companies were united, Moorshed Kooly Khan was appointed dewan, or financial administrator, of Bengal. He was the son of a ^{Moorshed-} poor brahmin in the Deccan, and was purchased ^{Kooly-Khan.} and circumcised by an Ispahan merchant. On the death of his master, he obtained service with the dewan of Berar, and by his financial ability attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who appointed him dewan of Bengal in 1702. He was soon after invested with the soobadaree, or viceroyalty of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and removed the capital to the new city of Moorshedabad, which he founded and called after his own name. He was aware that the prosperity of Bengal was greatly promoted by its maritime trade, and gave every encouragement to the Mogul and Arab merchants, but regarded the fortified factories of the foreign companies, and more especially that of the English, with great jealousy, and when firmly seated in power, trampled under foot the privileges obtained from the emperor by the English Company. He imposed heavy taxes on the trade of the Company, which they had no means of evading except by the offer of exorbitant bribes.

The president in Calcutta determined, therefore, to ¹⁷¹⁵ appeal to the emperor, and despatched an embassy to

Delhi with presents so costly as to make the Court of Embassy to Directors wince. Moorshed Kooly used all his influence at court to defeat an application directed against his own interest and authority, and would doubtless have succeeded in baffling it but for an unexpected event. The emperor Ferokshere was betrothed to a Rajpoot princess, but the nuptials were postponed in consequence of a sharp attack of disease, which the royal physicians were unable to subdue. On the advice of one of the ministers, who was favourable to the English, Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the mission, was called in, and effected a cure. He was required by the grateful emperor to name his own recompense, and, imitating the noble patriotism of Mr. Boughton, only asked that the emperor would grant the privileges the embassy had been sent to solicit, the chief of which was permission to purchase thirty-eight villages adjacent to Calcutta. Many objections were raised to this concession by the representatives of the Bengal viceroy, but it was at length conceded. The possession of these villages, extending ten miles on each side of the river, would have given the Company the complete control of the maritime trade of the province, and Moorshed Kooly threatened the zemindars with his vengeance if they parted with a single inch of land. The firman became a mere piece of waste paper.

A.D.
1717

Moorshed Kooly Khan is one of the greatest names in the Mahomedan history of India. He was as eminent a financier as Toder Mull. He caused an accurate survey to be made of the lands, and revised the assessment; he divided the province into chuklas, or districts, and appointed officers over each to collect the rents, who became rich and powerful zemindars, and as the office, as usual, became hereditary, assumed the title and the state of rajas. Of these rajas, only one—in Burdwan—retains his zemindaree unimpaired at the present time. The Mahomedan officers were regarded as sieves, which retained nothing; the Hindoo officers as sponges, which could be squeezed when saturated with plunder, and they were accordingly employed in the collections, to the entire exclusion, except in one instance, of the professors of the creed of the Prophet. The revenues of Bengal were a little in excess of a crore and a quarter of rupees, of which one-third was reserved for the expenses of the Government, and a crore regularly transmitted to the imperial treasury, the viceroy invariably accompanying

1702

to Administration of Moorshed.

1725

the procession which conveyed the tribute in person, the first march out of Moorshedabad. Though severe in the exaction of revenue, he was eminently just in his administration, constant to one wife, frugal in his domestic habits, and exemplary in his charities. Under his administration the prosperity of the country was abundantly increased. He died in 1725, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Soojah-ood-deen, a Turkoman noble from Khorasan, who retained his post in spite of the intrigues at the imperial court, chiefly through the punctual transmission of the tribute. He was succeeded in 1739 by his son, Serefraz Khan, at the time when Nadir Shah was plundering Delhi, and as the dictate of prudence, the nabob ordered the coin to be struck and prayers to be read in his name.

A.D.
1725

1739

SECTION VII.

SACK OF CALCUTTA AND CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

WITHIN a twelvemonth Aliverdy Khan, a native of Turkistan who had been entrusted with the government of Behar, succeeded, by large bribes and larger promises to the venal ministers of the emperor Mahomed Shah in obtaining the office of viceroy, and marched against Serefraz, who was defeated and slain. Aliverdy had been employed for twenty years in public affairs, and was eminently fitted by his talents to adorn the position he had clandestinely obtained, and it was through his energy that Bengal was saved from becoming a Mahratta province. While Rughoojee Bhonslay was employed in the Carnatic, as narrated in the last chapter, one of his generals, Bhaskur Punt, entered Bengal and laid waste the whole country west of the Bhagruttee, from Cuttack to Rajmahal. A division of his army suddenly appeared before Moorshedabad and plundered the suburbs and extorted two crores and a half of rupees from the Setts, the most opulent bankers in Hindostan. The Mahratta commander then moved down upon Hooghly, which he plundered, and the wretched inhabitants crowded for shelter into the foreign settlements. The president at Calcutta sought permission of the viceroy to surround the settlement with an entrenchment, which was readily granted, and the work was prosecuted with vigour, but sus-

1742

1742 A.D. Mahratta Ditch. depended on the retirement of the enemy and never completed. This was the celebrated Mahratta Ditch, which, though it has disappeared like the old wall of London, long continued to mark the municipal boundaries of the town, and to give its citizens the soubriquet of the "inhabitants of the Ditch."

The Mahrattas, though invariably defeated, renewed their ravages from year to year. The recollection of these devastations was not effaced for several generations from the memory of the inhabitants in the western districts, and the invasion of the Burgees—the name by which the Mahrattas were called—continued, even in the present century, to be an object of horror. Wearied out with the conflict of ten years, which ruined the country and exhausted the revenue, Aliverdy, then in his seventy-fifth year, agreed to pay the raja of Berar the *chout* on the revenues of Bengal, and to cede the province of Orissa to him. The nabobs of Bengal continued, however, to retain the name of Orissa as one of the three soobahs under their rule, though nothing was left of it to them but a small territory north of the Subunreka. Aliverdy devoted the remaining five years of his viceroyalty to repairing the ravages of this harassing warfare, and died in April, 1756, at the age of eighty. The very next year the sovereignty of the three provinces passed from the Turkoman Mahomedans to the English, and became the basis of the British empire in India.

1756 Aliverdy Khan bequeathed the government to his favourite grandson Suraj-ood-dowlah, a youth of twenty, who had already become the object of universal dread and abhorrence for his caprices and cruelty. He had long evinced particular animosity towards the English, and the Court of Directors had specially enjoined the president to place Calcutta in a state of defence. The factory was reported to be very rich, and the young tyrant had marked it out for early spoliation, but an unexpected event hastened his movements. Before he came to power he had despoiled the Hindoo governor of Dacca, and placed him in confinement. His son Kissendas, anxious to place his family and treasures in a state of security, under pretence of a pilgrimage to Jugernath, proceeded with a large retinue to Calcutta, where he received a cordial welcome from the president, Mr. Drake. Immediately on the death of the old nabob, Suraj-ood-dowlah peremptorily demanded the surrender of Kissendas

with all his wealth. It was followed by a second communication, ordering him to demolish the fortifications which it was reported he had erected at Calcutta. Mr. Drake replied that he had only put the ramparts facing the river in repair, in the prospect of a war with France, but he refused to give up the refugee to whom he had given protection. The young soobadar was at this time marching into Purneah to coerce the refractory governor, his cousin; but enraged at this opposition to his wishes, he ordered his army to turn back and march directly down to Calcutta.

The town was ill-prepared for such an assault. During A.D. fifty years of peace the defences had been neglected, and 1756 warehouses had been built up to the ramparts. Capture of Calcutta. The attention which the French had always paid to the fortification of their settlements formed a singular contrast to the indifference manifested by the English; and Chandernagore was at this time so thoroughly defensible that it would have baffled all the attacks of any native army. After the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais, the Court of Directors had sent out orders to strengthen the works, and these orders were repeated with increased importunity as the health of the old viceroy declined. But their servants in Calcutta were too busily intent on amassing fortunes to heed these injunctions, and their infatuation down to the latest moment was exceeded only by their cowardice when the crisis came. The militia was not embodied, and the powder furnished by a fraudulent contractor was deficient both in quality and in quantity. There were only 174 men in garrison, not ten of whom had ever seen a shot fired, and the besiegers were 50,000 in number. Yet, against these odds, Clive would have made as noble and successful a defence as he did at Arcot; but the governor was Drake, and the commandant Minchin. The nabob's army sat down before it on the 17th June; 1756 the town was occupied the next day, and the day after, it was determined to send the women and children on board the vessels anchored off the fort. As soon, however, as the watergate was opened, there was an indiscriminate rush to the boats, many of which were capsized. The enemy sent some "fire arrows" at the ships, which did no damage at all, but the commanders immediately weighed anchor and dropped down the river two miles. Two boats alone remained at the stairs, and Mr. Drake, without leaving any instructions, quietly slipped into one of them; he was followed by the military commander, and they rowed down

A.D. 1756 to the ships. As soon as this base desertion of their posts became known, and calmness had been restored, Mr. Holwell was unanimously placed in command, and it was resolved to defend the fort to the last extremity. It held out for forty-eight hours, during which signals were made day and night to the vessels anchored below, and they might have come up with perfect ease and safety and have rescued the whole of the gallant garrison, but not a vessel moved. On the 21st the enemy renewed the attack with redoubled vigour: more than half the force was killed or wounded, and the European soldiers broke into the liquor stores and became unfit for duty. Mr. Holwell was obliged to agree to a parley, during which the nabob's soldiers treacherously rushed into the fort and obtained possession of it. Search was immediately made for treasure, but only five lacs of rupees were found in the vaults, and the nabob's indignation knew no bounds.

The nabob retired about dusk to his encampment. The European prisoners were collected together in a veranda, while the native officers went in search of some building in which they might be lodged for the night, but none could be found, and they were desired to move into an adjoining chamber, which had been used as the lock-up room of the garrison. It was not twenty feet square, with only a single window, and, however suitable for the confinement of a few refractory soldiers, was death to the hundred and forty-six persons now thrust into it, in one of the hottest months of the most sultry season of the year. The wretched prisoners soon became frantic with suffocating heat and intolerable thirst, and called upon the sentries to fire upon them and put them out of their misery. They sank one by one in the arms of death, and when the door was opened in the morning, only twenty-three were dragged out alive, the most ghastly of forms. This is the tragedy of the Black Hole, which has fixed an indelible mark of infamy on the name of Suraj-ood-dowlah. Yet so little did it appear an extraordinary occurrence that it excited no attention in the native community, and is not even mentioned by the great Mahomedan historian of the period. The nabob returned to Moorsshedabad and confiscated all the property of the Company at the out factories, and they were as completely expelled from Bengal as they had been seventy years before in the reign of Aurungzebe.

1757 But the time of retribution was not distant. The Court

of Directors had regarded the progress of Bussy in the Deccan with a feeling of great jealousy, and determined to contract an alliance with the Peshwa to arrest it. Clive, who had been received with distinguished honour by the Company and the ministry, was sent for this purpose to Bombay with a considerable force, but on his arrival found the president and his council inflexibly averse to embark in so perilous an enterprise. Admiral Watson happening to arrive at the same time with his fleet from Madras, it was determined to employ the powerful armament thus assembled in rooting out the piratical chief Angria on that coast. His power had become so formidable, and his audacity had increased to such an extent, that in the previous year his corsairs had overpowered three Dutch ships of war, respectively, of fifty, thirty-six, and eighteen guns, the two largest of which they burnt. The English fleet and army proceeded against Geriah, his capital, and within an hour after the attack began, the whole pirate fleet was in a blaze. In the arsenal were found two hundred pieces of cannon, with a very large store of ammunition, and twelve lacs of rupees, which the captors, with very commendable wisdom, distributed among themselves without ceremony. The admiral and Clive then returned to Madras, where information had just been received of the sack of Calcutta; and although a strong party in the council was still bent on a conflict with Bussy, the majority came to the conclusion that it was their first duty to retrieve the affairs of their masters in Bengal. An expedition was accordingly fitted out and entrusted to the genius of Clive, who sailed from Madras with admiral Watson's fleet, on which were embarked 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy.

They entered the Hooghly, and on the 15th December 1755 reached Fulta, where they found the dastardly Drake and his fellow fugitives in the ships on which they had taken refuge in June. A little higher up the river there was a small fortification at Budge Budge, held by the Hindoo general of the nabob, who had been left in charge of the army. It was attacked by Clive, and a ball happening to pass too close to the commander's turban, he hastened back to Calcutta. Not deeming himself, however, safe there, he fled to Moorshedabad, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, which was delivered up to Clive on the 2nd January, when the Company's standard was again hoisted on its ramparts. The nabob had persuaded himself that the

Clive's
movements
—Geriah.

A.D.
1755

Capture of
Calcutta.

1757

English would never again enter his dominions, and he was filled with indignation when he heard of their audacity. He refused to listen to any overture from Clive, and thus marched down in haste with an army of 40,000 men. Finding a contest inevitable, Clive determined to take the initiative, and long before dawn on the 5th February marched out with his entire force, augmented by 600 marines, and assaulted the nabob's encampment. Towards sunrise a February fog bewildered the troops and weakened the strength of the attack, but the Nabob, who had never been under fire before, and had moreover seen many of his officers fall around him, hastened to make overtures of peace, and a treaty was concluded on the 9th February. All the former privileges of the Company were restored, and permission was given to establish a mint and to fortify Calcutta. Information had soon after been received of the declaration of war between England and France. The French settlement of Chandernagore, twenty miles above Calcutta, was garrisoned with 700 Europeans, besides a large body of native troops, and Bussy was encamped with a victorious army at a distance of only four hundred miles in the Northern Sircars. The nabob had no sooner signed the treaty than he importuned Bussy to march up to Bengal and expel the English. Clive felt that the junction of the two French forces would compromise the position of the Company, and he determined to attack Chandernagore before it could be effected. He attacked it by land while admiral Watson bombarded it with his fleet, and the town was surrendered upon honourable terms after a very gallant resistance of nine days. When the capture had been effected, Clive remarked, "We cannot stop here," and his prediction has been verified by a century of progress which has carried us beyond the Indus.

1757 Meanwhile, the violence and the atrocities of the nabob continued to augment the disgust of his ministers and officers. Every day produced some new act of oppression, and in May, Meer Jaffier, the military paymaster and general, and the brother-in-law of Ali-verdy Khan, entered into a combination with other officers of state, and the all-powerful bankers, the Setts, to supersede him. There was at Moorsshedabad at the time one Omichund, who had settled in Calcutta about forty years before, and amassed immense wealth by contracts with the Company, and who maintained the state of a prince. He ac-

Battle at
Dumdum.

Capture of
Chanderna-
gore.

Confederacy
at the capital.

accompanied the nabob to the capital after the battle of the 9th February, constantly attended the durbar, and obtained such influence in the public councils as to render it advisable for the confederates to take him into their confidence. Clive was invited to join the league with magnificent offers for the Company; and as he was convinced that "there could be neither peace nor security while such a monster as the nabob reigned," he entered readily into their plans. A secret treaty was concluded, stipulating that the English should instal Meer Jaffier, and that he should pay a crore and three-quarters of rupees to make good their losses. Omichund got scent of the treaty and threatened to disclose the transaction to the nabob—which would have led to the immediate massacre of the whole party—unless an additional article was inserted guaranteeing to him a donation of thirty lacs, and a commission of five per cent. on all the payments. Clive on hearing of this outrageous demand came to the conclusion that "art and policy were warrantable to defeat the plans of such a villain," and he drew up a fictitious treaty on red paper, in which his demand was provided for, while the real treaty, authenticated by the seals of the confederates, contained no such stipulation. He is said to have died within a year raving mad, but this statement is utterly unfounded. This is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive which does not admit of vindication, though he himself always defended it, and declared that he was ready to do it a hundred times over.

Clive marched from Chandernagore on the 13th June with 900 Europeans, consisting partly of the 39th Regiment of foot, who still carry on their colours "Primus in Indis," 2,100 natives, and ten pieces of cannon. He marched up to Cutwa, where he called a council of war, which voted against any farther advance; but immediately after he resolved to carry out the enterprise, and on the night of the 22nd moved on to the grove of Plassy. The nabob's army, consisting of 50,000 horse and foot, was encamped in its immediate vicinity. Meer Jaffier had taken an oath to join Clive before or during the engagement, but he did not make his appearance, and was evidently waiting the result of events. On the memorable 23rd of June the nabob's troops moved down on the small band of English troops, and Clive advanced to the attack. The enemy withdrew their artillery; Meer Mudun, the general-in-chief, was mortally wounded and expired in the presence of the nabob,

A. D.
1757

Battle of
Plassy.

1757

who was unable to control his terror, but mounted a swift camel and fled at the top of his speed with 2,000 horse, and did not pause till he reached Moorshedabad. His army immediately dispersed, and this battle, which decided the fate of Bengal and Behar, and eventually of India, was gained with the loss of only seventy-two killed and wounded. As soon as the victory declared in favour of Clive, Meer Jaffier advanced with his troops to congratulate him, and to obtain the fruits of it. Suraj-ood-dowlah on reaching the capital found himself deserted by all his courtiers, and after a day of gloomy reflections, descended in disguise from a window in the palace with a favourite eunuch and a concubine, and embarked in a boat in the hope of overtaking M. Law, a French officer, whom Bussy had sent up with a small force. He proceeded up the river and landing at Rajmahal to prepare a meal, entered the hut of a religious mendicant, whose ears he had ordered to be cut off the preceding year. He was recognised and made over to those who were in pursuit of him, and conveyed back to Moorshedabad, eight days after he had quitted it. Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier, immediately caused him to be put to death, and his mangled remains were paraded the next day through the city and buried in the tomb of his grandfather.

A. D. Clive entered Moorshedabad on the 29th of June, and
1757 proceeded to the palace, where the great officers of state

Clive at
Moorshed-
abad.

were assembled, and having conducted Meer Jaffier to the throne, saluted him as soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The change in the position of the English in the course of a twelvemonth appears more like a scene in a fairy tale than in sober history. In June, 1756, Calcutta had been sacked and burnt, and the Company extirpated. In June, 1757, they had not only recovered the seat of their commerce and extinguished their European rivals, but defeated and dethroned the nabob, and disposed of the sovereignty of a country larger and more populous than England. Of the treasures at Moorshedabad more than two crores were made over to the conquerors, and the first instalment of eighty lacs was conveyed in a triumphant procession to Calcutta, along the road where, a twelvemonth before, Suraj-ood-dowlah had marched back to his capital with the plunder of Calcutta. For the Company Clive reserved only the fee simple of 600 yards of land around the Mahratta Ditch, and the zemindaree rights of the districts south of Calcutta. For himself, he rejected the magnificent offers of the opulent nobles who

were anxious to secure his favour, and contented himself with a gift of sixteen lacs from Meer Jaffier. When his services were afterwards forgotten, and he was upbraided in the House of Commons with his rapacity, he replied indignantly—"When I recollect entering the treasury of Moorshedabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation." Intelligence of the loss of Calcutta was eleven months in reaching England, and seven weeks after the Directors heard of its recovery and of the brilliant results of the battle of Plassy. Seventy years before they had sent admiral Nicholson with a powerful armament to establish them as a political power in Bengal, but so completely had they dismissed all the dreams of ambition, that with the richest provinces of India at their feet, the only satisfaction they expressed was that their factors would now be able to provide investments for two years without drawing upon them.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

PROCEEDINGS IN BENGAL FROM THE BATTLE OF PLASSY TO HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

THE emperor of Delhi was at this time a puppet in the hands of his unprincipled minister, Ghazee-ood-deen, and his eldest son and heir, Ali Gohur, had succeeded in making his escape from the capital, and raising the imperial standard. India was swarming with military adventurers ready to take service under any chief, and the prince found no difficulty in collecting an army of 40,000 men, and, being joined by the nabob Vizier of Oude, invaded Behar, and appeared before the city of Patna. Clive lost no time in advancing to its defence, and the prince retired in all haste on his approach. During his flight he was reduced to such distress as to throw himself on the consideration of Clive, and the heir and descendant of Akbar and Aurungzebe was happy to receive a donation of eight thousand rupees to relieve his necessities.

A. D.
1757

1758

The influence which Clive necessarily exercised in the

A.D. government of Bengal from his character and position
 1759 Battle at tended to lessen the importance of Meer Jaffier,
Chinsurah. and his court and family could not fail to re-
 member with chagrin that the foreigners who now over-
 shadowed the throne had only three years before approached
 it as suppliants. The nabob, looking about for the means
 of counterbalancing Clive's ascendancy, began to intrigue
 with the Dutch at Chinsurah. The governor of Java,
 moreover, viewed with no friendly eye the superior ad-
 vantages which the English had acquired in Bengal, and in
 the hope of fishing up some prize in the troubled waters of
 the province, fell in with the projects of the nabob, and
 despatched a fleet of seven vessels with 700 Europeans and
 800 well-trained Malay sepoys to Chinsurah. Clive was
 resolved not to tolerate any rival European influence in
 Bengal, and, although the two nations were at peace, seized
 the vessels, and directed Colonel Forde to intercept the
 progress of the troops. That officer shrank from the
 responsibility of attacking the soldiers of a friendly power,
 and requested a written authority from his chief. Clive
 was sitting at cards when the Colonel's letter was placed
 in his hands, and sent a reply in pencil on the back of one
 of them—"Fight them immediately. I will send you the
 "order in council to-morrow." The Dutch force was
 attacked and defeated as it approached Chinsurah. Im-
 mediately after the action, the nabob's son appeared in
 sight with an army of 7,000 men who were to have joined
 the Dutch if the fortune of the day had gone against the
 English. Clive exacted from the Dutch the expense of the
 expedition sent to defeat their plans, and having sent a
 haughty and defiant despatch to the Court of Directors,
 from whom he had long been estranged, embarked for
 England on the 25th of February, 1760.

1760 At the period of Clive's departure, the prince Ali Gohur
 was advancing a second time to the invasion of Behar.
Second On his route, he heard of the assassination of the
invasion of emperor, his father, by Ghazee-ood-deen, and
Ali Gohur. assumed the imperial dignity under the title of
 Shah Alum. The nabob Vizier joined his force in the
 hope of adding Behar to his possessions, and they moved
 down upon Patna. Colonel Calliaud, one of the great
 soldiers trained under Lawrence and Clive, marched up to
 the defence of the town, together with 15,000 of the
 nabob's troops under his son Meerun, and the imperial
 force was completely routed. The emperor, having received

a promise of assistance from the Mahrattas, marched down through the hills in the hope of surprising Moorshedabad. 1760 Colonel Calliaud followed him without loss of time, and the two armies confronted each other about thirty miles from the city; but the emperor hearing no tidings of his Mahratta auxiliaries, broke up his encampment and marched back to Patna, to which he laid close siege for nine days. All hope of prolonging the defence was fading away when Captain Knox, who had been despatched in haste by Colonel Calliaud, was seen approaching the walls with a handful of troops. He had performed the march from Moorshedabad to Patna, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, in the extraordinary space of thirteen days, marching himself on foot to encourage his men. The next day he attacked the emperor's camp, and completely defeated him and dispersed his entire force. The nabob of Purneah, who had been intriguing with him, now threw off the mask and immediately advanced to his aid with 12,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. To the utter amazement of the natives, Captain Knox marched out with a battalion of sepoy, 200 Europeans, a squadron of cavalry, and five field pieces, and, after a conflict of six hours, completely routed the nabob. The native historian dwells with admiration upon the conflict, and describes the breathless anxiety with which the inhabitants of Patna crowded on the walls watching the exit of this gallant little band, and the delight with which they were welcomed back, covered with dust and sweat. This was another of those daring exploits which in our early career established the prestige of our arms and contributed to give us the empire of India. Colonel Calliaud and Meerun arrived after the engagement; Meerun was struck dead by a thunderbolt as he lay in his tent, and the country was rid of a monster, in whose cabinet was found a list of three hundred men of note whom he had destined to destruction.

Clive had become so completely identified with the existence of British power in Bengal that it seemed to the public officers as if the soul had departed from the Government on his retirement. He was succeeded by Mr. Vansittart, a man of great probity, but without any strength of character. He belonged to the Madras service, and the appointment was resented by the members of the Bengal council, who set themselves to thwart him on every occasion. To increase the confusion

Gallantry of
Captain
Knox.

Mr. Van-
sittart
governor.

which bewildered his weak mind, three of the elder members of council who had signed the contumacious letter of Clive to the Court of Directors were peremptorily dismissed by them, and their places were filled, on the rule of rotation, by men of violent passions, who regarded Mr. Vansittart with a feeling of hatred, and he was constantly outvoted in council. The death of Meerun increased the complication. Notwithstanding his profligacy, his vigour had been the main stay of his father's government, and on his death the administration fell into a state of complete anarchy. The troops besieged the palace for their arrears, and Meer Jaffier sent his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, to Calcutta to obtain pecuniary assistance from the council, but the treasure obtained at Moorshedabad had been dissipated, and there was scarcely a rupee in the treasury. It was vain to expect any further supplies from the nabob, and the council determined to depose him and to elevate Meer Cossim to the throne, on his promising to reward his benefactors with twenty lacs of rupees, to make good all arrears, and to transfer three rich districts in lower Bengal to the Company. Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Moorshedabad with a military force to persuade the nabob to resign the Government, and the old man was obliged, though not without the greatest reluctance, to yield, and retire to Calcutta. Meer Cossim met the difficulties of his position with great skill and energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments; he obliged the public officers to disgorge their plunder; he revised the land assessments, and added a crore of rupees a year to his rent-roll. He faithfully discharged all his obligations to the Company and to the members of the council, but the great object he set before himself was to emancipate himself from their control, and to become the soobadar in reality, and not in name only. He removed the seat of government from Moorshedabad to Monghyr, three hundred miles from Calcutta, and strengthened the works of that important fortress. In the course of three years he created a force of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry; he established a large arsenal, he manufactured firelocks, and cast cannon, and had made great progress in consolidating his power, when a storm was raised by the unprincipled conduct of the council board in Calcutta, which in a few months swept him from the throne.

From time immemorial a large proportion of the public 1762 revenue had been derived from the duties levied on the

transport of goods through the country. Under the firman A.D. of the emperor, the merchandise of the Company The transit intended for export by sea was allowed to pass 1762 duties. free, under a *dustuk*, or pass, signed by the president. The battle of Plassy transferred all power to the Company, and their servants immediately embarked on the inland trade of the country, and claimed a similar exemption for their private investments. The native merchants, in order to pass their own cargoes duty free, adopted the plan of purchasing passes from the civilians, and the boys in the service were thus enabled to realise two or three thousand rupees a month. The country traders, moreover, frequently hoisted the English flag; and as it was deemed indispensable to maintain its immunity, Company's sepoy were sent to release their boats whenever they were seized by the nabob's officers. The trade of the country was paralysed, and its peace destroyed, and the two ruling powers were brought into a state of perilous antagonism. These encroachments, which were rare during Clive's administration, increased to an alarming extent on his departure. In order to remedy these disorders Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Monghyr, and concluded a convention with the nabob, which provided that the trade of the Company's servants should pay nine per cent., though that of his own subjects was often weighted with twenty-five per cent. On his return to Calcutta he found the members of council indignant at this unauthorised concession, and resolved not to pay more than two and a half per cent., and that only on the article of salt. The nabob then determined to put all 1763 parties on an equality, and abolished all transit duties throughout the provinces. The council voted this measure a crime, and demanded, as a matter of right from one whom they had raised to authority, that the native traders should be subject to the usual duties, while their own flag was exempt. This flagitious demand was indignantly resisted by the only two honest men in the council, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings.

The Company's factory at Patna was unfortunately at this time under the charge of Mr. Ellis, the War with most inveterate of Meer Cossim's opponents, and MeerCossim. the most violent and unscrupulous of the civilians. He was resolved to bring about a change in the government, and, in a time of peace, suddenly seized on the city of Patna with a handful of European troops. The native commandant, on hearing that the soldiers were rendered

incapable by drink, returned to the town and recaptured it, and Mr. Ellis and his officers, who had proceeded up the river, were overtaken and brought back prisoners. Meer Cossim was no sooner informed of this wanton aggression than he ordered every Englishman in the province to be seized. Both parties now prepared for war. The nabob augmented his army, and invited the fugitive emperor and the Vizier of Oude, who was hankering after Berar, to join his forces. The English army, consisting of 650 Europeans, 1,200 sepoy, and a troop of native cavalry, opened the campaign on the 2nd July, although the rains, the season of military inaction, had just set in. The nabob's advanced guard at Cutwa was defeated. With the army stationed at Geriah to dispute the advance of the British force, there was a long and arduous battle of four hours, and never had native troops fought with greater resolution and valour than the newly-raised battalions of the nabob; but nothing could withstand the spirit of the English soldiers. The nabob's army abandoned its guns and encampment and fled. Early in November the English commandant carried the fortified entrenchment at Oodwa-nulla, and the nabob fled to Patna, after having ordered all his European prisoners to be put to death. His own native officers indignantly refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of brave and unarmed men; they were soldiers, they said, and not executioners. But Raymond, subsequently known as Sumroo, a name of infamy, who had been a sergeant in the French army, and was now in the employ of the nabob, offered his services, and, proceeding to the house where the prisoners were confined, poured in volley on volley through the venetian windows, till forty-eight English gentlemen, and a hundred English soldiers, lay lifeless on the floor. The campaign was completed in four months by the capture of Patna and the flight of Meer Cossim to Oude, where the nabob Vizier did not scruple to despoil him of his property.

A. D.
1763

Massacre of
Europeans.

Meer Jaffier
again
nabob.

On the breaking out of the war with Meer Cossim, the Council determined to place Meer Jaffier again on the throne, but the old man, seventy-two years of age, and scarcely able to move for the leprosy, was previously required to confirm the grant of the three districts already mentioned to the Company, to concede the flagrant exemption from the transit duties in which the war had originated, and to make further donations to the civil and military officers. But in a few months, the govern-

ment having a large army to maintain in the field, found itself on the verge of bankruptcy, which was not to be wondered at, considering that peculation was universal, from the highest to the lowest official. Meer Jaffier was therefore brought down to Calcutta to concert the means of replenishing the treasury. The members of council demanded a payment of five lacs of rupees a month for the public service as long as the war lasted, and they insisted on a donation at first of ten lacs, and eventually of fifty lacs, for themselves, for what they had the effrontery to term "compensation for losses." These harassing importunities, combined with age and disease, served to hasten his end, and on his return to Moorshedabad he expired in January, 1765. A.D. 1765

Death of
Meer Jaffier.

The making of nabobs had for the last eight years been the most lucrative occupation of the senior civil and military officers of the Company, and the fourth occasion which now arose was not to be neglected. His son
nabob.

The Court of Directors, exasperated by the iniquities of their servants, had peremptorily ordered them to execute covenants to abstain from the receipt of presents from the natives of the country. But these injunctions were given to the winds, and, with the covenants on the council table, the son of Meer Jaffier was obliged to become responsible for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the members of the council board before he was allowed to succeed him. The conduct of these men for five years after the retirement of Clive was marked by a degree of profligacy of which it would not be easy to find a parallel in any age or country. Fortunes of vast amount were acquired by the most nefarious means in the shortest period; every idea of common morality was treated with sovereign contempt, while luxury, corruption, and debauchery pervaded every rank, and threatened the dissolution of government.

Six months after the close of the war with Meer Cossim, the nabob Vizier determined to take advantage of the confusion of the times to acquire possession of the province of Behar, and marched down upon Patna with a large but ill-trained force, accompanied by the fugitive emperor and the disinherited nabob of Bengal. The attack was unsuccessful, and he withdrew his encampment to Buxar. Meanwhile Major Munro, who had assumed the command of the army, found the sepoy in a state of flagrant mutiny, and demanding increased pay and large gratuities. Mutiny of
the Sepoys. 1764 With undaunted resolution the Major resolved

to subdue this spirit of revolt at once, and twenty-four of the ringleaders were arraigned before a court martial, consisting of native officers, and condemned to death. Twenty of them were blown away from the guns, and the discipline of the army was restored. This was the first of that series of mutinies which have broken out from time to time among the sepoys, and which in less than a century culminated in the dissolution of the whole army of the Bengal Presidency. At the close of the rains, the Major did not hesitate to lead this army, so recently in a state of insubordination, to Buxar, where the nabob Vizier had been encamped for several months. His army, consisting of 50,000 troops, was completely routed, with the loss of his entire camp and a hundred and thirty guns. The victory of Buxar was an important supplement to the victory of Plassy. It demolished the only independent power in the north of India, and it left the Company masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the sea. The Vizier fled to Bareilly, and offered to redeem his forfeited kingdom by the payment of half a crore of rupees to the Company and the army, and a large douceur to the commandant, but the negotiation came to nothing. Immediately after the victory, the emperor joined the English camp, and began to negotiate for a share of the territories of his late ally, the nabob Vizier, and the council was contemplating a division of them between him and the Company, when Clive made his appearance in Bengal.

Oct.
23RD,
1764

Battle of
Buxar.

On his return to England in 1760, Clive was received with great distinction by the king and his great minister, Mr. Pitt, who pronounced him "a heaven-born general," and he was honoured with an Irish peerage. But the Court of Directors, in which his enemies were predominant, treated him not only with malevolence, but with injustice, and he was obliged to file a bill in equity to recover an annuity which Meer Jaffier had settled upon him, and which they had ungratefully sequestered. The war with Meer Cossim, the massacre of the Europeans, and the total disorganisation of the government, had dissipated the golden dreams of prosperity in which the Company had been indulging. The Proprietors began to tremble for their dividends, and they constrained the Directors, to their infinite reluctance, to send Clive out to retrieve their affairs. He landed at Calcutta on the 3RD of May, 1765, and found the whole

Clive's
second ap-
pointment.

1765

service steeped in corruption, and felt himself justified in asserting that "there were not five men of principle to be found in it." His first duty was to enforce the signature of the covenants the India House had prescribed to abolish the receipt of presents. The corrupt officials questioned his right to make such a demand, but he reduced them to silence by declaring that he would dismiss every one who refused to sign them, and send him back to England; and they found it prudent to submit to his iron will. Having thus, in the course of seven weeks fully established his authority in the Government, Clive proceeded to the upper provinces to dispose of the imperial questions which awaited his decision. To prevent another rising like that of Meer Cossim, he took away the power of the sword from the nabob of Moorshedabad, and assigned him out of the revenues of the province the sum of fifty-three lacs for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. The young nabob exclaimed with delight, "Thank God, I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I like." The Vizier of Oude had forfeited his kingdom by the result of the war he had wantonly waged against the Company; but Clive, who was indisposed to the enlargement of the Company's territories, determined to restore it to him, with the exception of the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which he reserved for the emperor, who was now a dependant on the bounty of the English. Clive treated the vagrant prince with much consideration, and assigned him an annual payment of twenty-five lacs of rupees from the revenues of the country, in addition to the product of the districts. Looking back on the cession of Oude with the light of a century of experience, we are enabled to perceive that it was anything but judicious; and that if Clive had at that period annexed it, and given it the benefit of a British administration, as in the case of Bengal and Behar, he would have conferred a boon on the population, and benefited the Company's government.

The emperor had repeatedly offered the Company the *Dewanee*, that is, the revenues of the three provinces, and Clive now took occasion to solicit the official grant of it. Orissa was still considered one of them, although all but one district in the north belonged to the Mahrattas. This act was completed on the 12th of August, 1765, a memorable day in the political and constitutional history of British India. As a substitute for a

Arrange-
ment with
the nabob.

A.D.
1765

With the
Vizier
of Oude.

1765

With the
emperor.

1765

throne two dining-tables were put together in Clive's tent, with a chair on them, and covered with embroidery. The emperor took his seat, and transferred the government of twenty-five millions of people and a revenue of three crores to Lord Clive, as the representative of the East India Company. The Mahomedan historian of this period, scandalized by the simplicity of this great transaction, exclaims with indignation that "a business of so much importance, which at other times would have required the sending of wise ministers and able envoys, was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up in the sale of a jackass." What will appear scarcely less remarkable is the expansion of Clive's sentiments.

A. D.
1765

Extension of
Clive's
views.

On taking leave of the Court of Directors in 1764, he assured them that nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce them to extend their views of territorial acquisition beyond the three districts ceded to them by Meer Cossim. Before sixteen months had elapsed, he congratulated them on having become the sovereigns of three kingdoms; yet, with this demonstration of the vanity of all such resolutions, he again ventured to circumscribe the British empire in India, and after acquiring the Dewanee, declared that "to extend our possessions beyond the Curumnassa,"—the north-west boundary of the three soobahs,—"would be a scheme so extravagantly ambitious that no Government in its senses would dream of it." Not more than eighty-four years after this solemn denunciation, our boundary had crossed the Indus and was extended to the Khyber Pass.

1766

Mutiny of
the Euro-
pean officers.

This transaction was scarcely completed when the new empire, which Clive assured the Directors that "all the princes of Hindostan could not deprive us of" "for many years," was shaken to its foundation by the mutiny of the European officers. They had been accustomed to an extra allowance, called *batta*, when in the field, which the gratitude of Meer Jaffier had doubled when he was first raised to the throne, and, as it was not withdrawn when they were in cantonments, they considered it a permanent right. When the Court of Directors became responsible for the finances of the country, they found that the military expenses swallowed up its resources, and they ordered this extravagant allowance to cease; but the timid Council was deterred by the imperiousness of the officers from executing their orders. The duty of reduction was imposed on Clive as he left England, and

on his arrival he announced that the double batta was to cease on the 1st of January, 1766. The officers immediately formed a confederacy to resist the order, and it was agreed that two hundred of them should resign their commissions on the same day, and, as an army of 50,000 Mahrattas was advancing to invade Behar, they felt confident that the Government would be obliged to retain their services on their own terms.

But they had to deal with a man of inflexible resolution, who declared that he must see the bayonets levelled at his throat before he would yield to their demands. He directed the commandants to accept the resignation of every officer, and to send him under arrest to Calcutta. He ordered up officers and cadets from Madras; he engaged the services of others in the settlement, and proceeded with those who remained faithful, to the headquarters of the army, arrested the ringleaders, and ordered them to be tried by court-martial. In the course of a fortnight this formidable conspiracy was quashed by his undaunted firmness. He was fully aware, however, that all the officers of Government had a real grievance in the preposterous policy of the Court of Directors, who limited their allowances to a pittance on which it was not possible to live, and forbad all engagement in trade, while they were surrounded with wealth, which their official position enabled them to grasp with ease. He therefore established a Society for conducting a traffic in salt, on the principle of a monopoly, the profits of which, after a large reservation for their masters in Leadenhall Street, were to be proportionately divided among their servants, civil, military, medical, and ecclesiastical. But it was speedily suppressed by the Directors, who substituted for it a commission of two and a half per cent. on the gross revenue of the province.

After a residence of twenty-two months in India, Clive was driven home by an acute attack of disease. It has fallen to the lot of few men to exercise so important and so permanent an influence on the course of human affairs. He not only made the Company sovereigns of a country larger than England, with a revenue of imperial magnitude, but he laid the foundation of an empire in the east with an irrepressible element of expansion. Still more, he established the supremacy of Europe in Asia, which has ever since been growing more complete, and is never likely to be shaken. His reception

A.D.
1766

Clive in
England. 1767

in England corresponded, at first, with his eminent merits, but the tables were soon turned against him. His greatness excited envy and censure. He had made many enemies in India by his stern probity and resolution, and they purchased India stock that they might wreak their vengeance on him. One Sullivan, a Director, who possessed great power at the India House, pursued him with inveterate malignity, and the Court of Directors, who had always been hostile to him, now manifested their feelings by restoring to the service those whom he had cashiered for speculation or mutiny. The king's ministers joined the hue and cry. The Attorney-General proposed to confiscate all the donations he had received from native princes. In Parliament his conduct was stigmatised as a "mass of the most unheard of villanies and corruption." But the feeling of the House revolted from the proposal which was made to fix a brand of infamy on him, and substituted for it a resolution that he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country. But his lofty spirit could ill brook the treatment to which he had been subject, and, under the pressure of physical and mental suffering, he put a period to his existence.

A.D.
1773

1774

1767
to
1772

The next five years of administration were a disgrace to the national character. No sooner was the strong arm of Clive removed, than the whole system of Government was paralysed by the rapacity of the Company's servants. The covenants they had signed were treated as waste paper, and they plunged into the inland trade of the country, and prosecuted it with the strength of their official authority. The Council had not the power and still less the inclination to restrain these abuses. The nefarious charges of commissaries, contractors and engineers drained the treasury. Every man who was permitted to make out a bill against the state made a fortune. These evils were indefinitely aggravated by the memorable famine of 1770, which swept away one-third of the population of the lower provinces.

SECTION II.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1761—1772.

HAVING thus narrated the progress of events in the Gangetic valley, we turn to the transactions in the Deccan during this period, and to the intrigues, perfidy, and hostilities in which the Mahrattas, the Nizam,

Affairs at
Madrass.

and Hyder Ali, were incessantly involved. The extinction of the French power in 1761 placed the protégé of the English, Mahomed Ali, in the position of nabob of the Carnatic. Among the native princes of the time he was distinguished by his imbecility and his unscrupulousness. His army was a mere rabble, and the Company's Government found itself encumbered with the expense of defending a territory of 50,000 square miles without the command of its revenues. The country had been without any settled government for twenty years; it had been despoiled by successive invasions, and it was now administered by a court profligate and wasteful, supported by loans raised at Madras on usurious interest, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed them, and the morals of those who provided them. The

Conduct of
Mahomed
Ali. A.D.
1763

The governor of Madras was constrained to make a demand of fifty lacs from the nabob to discharge the obligations incurred in seating him on the throne; but his treasury was empty, and he proposed to him to obtain funds from the spoliation of several chiefs, and more particularly of the raja of Tanjore, from whom a contribution

Spoliation of
Tanjore. 1763

of twenty-four lacs in four instalments was extorted. The peace of Paris restored to the French all the possessions they had held in India, and provided, moreover, that Mahomed Ali should be acknowledged by both parties nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung soobadar of the Deccan. He had been deposed

Peace of
Paris. 1763

eighteen months before by his brother Nizam Ali, who, on hearing that his right to the throne had been acknowledged by these two great powers, caused him to be assassinated.

On the memorable 12th of August, 1765, Clive obtained from the emperor, at the same time with the Dewanee, a firman releasing the nabob of the Carnatic from all dependence on the Nizam, and a grant of the northern Sircars to the Company. These districts

The
Northern
Sircars. 1765

on the Coromandel coast had furnished Bussy with the sinews of war, but, on his departure, had been wrested from the French by Colonel Forde. Nizam Ali was not disposed to submit to the alienation of this province, and on hearing that an English force was marching down to occupy it, threatened to send his army and exterminate it. The government of Madras was at this time in the hands of Mr. Palk, who had gone to India as one of the Company's chaplains but renounced his orders, went into the civil service, in which he amassed a noble fortune, and on his return to

England obtained a baronetcy. The feeble Council of the Presidency directed the commander to suspend all military operations and proceed to Hyderabad to negotiate a treaty; and on the 12th November, 1766, he concluded the humiliating convention which provided that the Company should hold the northern Sircars, which had been conferred on them by the supreme authority in India, as vassals of the contemptible soobadar of the Deccan, paying a tribute of seven lacs of rupees a year. But the Madras Presidency went further, and involved the Company in the intricate web of Deccan politics, by agreeing to furnish the Nizam with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon, "to settle everything right and proper in the affairs of his highness' government," well knowing that his immediate object was to employ them in attacking Hyder Ali.

A.D.
1766

Disgraceful
conduct of
Madras.

The rise and progress of this extraordinary chief, one of the three men who during the last two centuries have risen from obscurity to be the founders of great kingdoms in India, will now demand the reader's attention. Mysore was one of the provinces of the Hindoo empire of Beejanuger, extinguished in 1564, and fell to the lot of a family of Hindoo princes, who gradually enlarged their territories, and, though repeatedly invaded by the Mahrattas, maintained their independence for two centuries, till they were dethroned by Hyder Ali. His family emigrated to the Punjab, and his father raised himself to the post of head-constable and obtained the command of a small body of troops. Hyder was born about the year 1702, and remained without distinction for forty-seven years. It was not before 1749, during the struggles of the French and English for power in the Deccan, that he attracted the attention of the regent of Mysore at the siege of Deonhully, and was promoted to an important command. This brief epitome affords no space for narrating the progress of his career; and it is sufficient to notice that he augmented his resources by false musters, and by his incomparable tact and duplicity gradually absorbed the chief authority in the state. Having at length acquired the absolute command of the army, he constrained the feeble raja to resign the sceptre to him and to retire into private life on an annuity, which was soon after curtailed. He was a brave soldier, a bold and skilful general, and a brilliant administrator. Like Sevajee and Runjeet Sing, he was unable to read or write, and it may

Rise and
progress of
Hyder.

1702 His birth.

1749 His first
distinction.

1761

be questioned whether either of them could have passed the modern test of talent in a competitive examination, but they could all three create empires and govern them. Hyder became master of Mysore at the age of sixty, and devoted himself for twenty years to the aggrandisement of his power at the expense of his neighbours. Within two years he extended his authority up to the Kistna, and overran the territory of Bednore on the summit Acquires Bednore. of the western ghauts, which overlooks the maritime province of Canara. The capital, then esteemed the most wealthy city in the Deccan, fell without a struggle, and Hyder always attributed his subsequent prosperity to the treasure he obtained in it. He had previously cast off the title of Hyder Naik, or constable, and assumed the dignity of Hyder Ali Khan Bahadoor, and he now introduced a style of greater splendour and etiquette into his court.

A.D.
1763

The Peshwa, Ballajee Rao, died of a broken heart on hearing of the fatal battle of Paniput, and was succeeded by his son Mahdoo Rao, then eighteen years of age. The Nizam determined to take advantage War between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and Hyder. of the weakness of the Mahrattas, to recover the districts his predecessor had been obliged to cede to them in their palmy days, and having formed an alliance with Bhonslay, raja of Nagpore, marched upon Poona, which he plundered and partially burnt. Raghoba, the uncle of the Peshwa, retaliated by laying Hyderabad under contributions, and the two armies met on the banks of the Godavery. Before the battle, Raghoba had managed to buy off the raja of Nagpore by the promise of lands valued at thirty-two lacs a year, and on the eve of the battle he accordingly deserted the Nizam, who was defeated with great slaughter. But as the Mahrattas were incensed at the raja for joining the Nizam, and the Nizam was annoyed by his desertion at a critical moment, they united their forces, invaded his kingdom, and stripped him of the greater portion of the territory he had acquired by his perfidy.

1761

1763

1766

Mysore had hitherto been regarded by the Mahrattas as a reserve field for plunder when there happened to be no other marauding expedition on hand, but the rapid rise of a new power under Hyder Ali, with Mahrattas attack Hyder. an army of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, one half of which consisted of well-disciplined battalions, aroused the alarm and the indignation of the Poona cabinet, and it was determined to chastise his audacity. An army was accordingly despatched into the country, and Hyder was

- A.D. brought for the first time into contact with the Mahrattas,
 1765 and suffered a signal defeat. The next year the Peshwa again took the field, and the Mysore army was a second time defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, and Hyder considered himself fortunate in being relieved from the Mahrattas by restoring the greater portion of the districts he had usurped, and paying an indemnity of thirty-two lacs of rupees. To compensate for these losses he invaded the maritime province of Malabar, which had never been subjugated by the Mahomedan arms. The gallant Nairs, or military chieftains, offered a noble resistance, but the whole province was nevertheless occupied, and the Mysore flag was planted on the towers of Calicut, the chief of which was still designated the Zamorin, as in the days of Albuquerque, two centuries and a half before. From these schemes of conquest Hyder was recalled to defend his own dominions and to resist a confederacy of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, into which
 1766 the Company was unwillingly drawn by the fatal article in the treaty of the 12th November, 1766, which bound the Madras Government to assist the Nizam with an auxiliary force. He now claimed the fulfilment of this engagement, and, in an evil hour, Colonel Smith was sent with an army to co-operate with him and the Mahrattas in coercing
 1767 Hyder. The Mahrattas forestalled the Nizam, and crossing the Kistna in January, let loose their predatory horse on Hyder's northern dominions, and constrained him to purchase their retreat by the payment of thirty lacs of rupees.

Colonel Smith, on his arrival in the Nizam's camp, found that he was basely negotiating with Hyder for a joint attack on the English army, and he withdrew with the bulk of his force to defend the frontier of the Carnatic. The bargain with Hyder was completed by an engagement on the part of the Nizam to fall on the British force on receiving an immediate payment of twenty lacs of rupees and a promise of six lacs of annual tribute. The confederate armies numbered 42,000 cavalry and 28,000 infantry, with a hundred guns, while the British force did not exceed 1,030 sabres and 5,800 bayonets, with sixteen guns. With this disproportionate force
 1767 Col. Smith defeats the confederates. Colonel Smith twice defeated the allies and captured sixty-four pieces of cannon. During these operations Hyder's eldest son Tippoo, then seventeen years of age, suddenly advanced to Madras with

a body of 5,000 horse, and plundered the country houses of the Madras gentry, and the members of Government only escaped being captured by the eagerness of the Mysore troops for plunder. In the meantime, the Government of Bengal sent an expedition by sea under Colonel Peach, to create a diversion in the Nizam's territories. He landed on the coast, carried everything before him, and advanced to Warungul, within eighty miles of Hyderabad, and the Nizam deserted Hyder, and hastened to make his peace with the English.

The Nizam's territories attacked.

The affairs of the Nizam were now in a desperate condition. He had been defeated in two engagements; his northern territories were occupied and his capital was threatened; and the Madras President, Mr. Palk, might have dictated his own terms. It

Disgraceful treaty with the Nizam.

might have been expected that he would, at least, have declared the former treaty annulled by the monstrous perfidy of the Nizam; but, after several weeks of negotiation, he concluded another treaty, the most disgraceful which had ever sullied the annals of the Company. It confirmed the dishonourable engagement to pay tribute for the northern Sircars, which had been granted by the imperial firman "to the Company, their heirs and descendants for ever and ever, free, exempt and safe from all demands of the imperial dewanee office and the imperial court," and it postponed the possession of the Guntoor Sircar till the death of the Nizam's brother, Basalut Jung, to whom he had illegally assigned it. Hyder Ali, who had been a sovereign prince for seven years, was contemptuously described in the treaty as Hyder Naik, or constable, a rebel and a usurper, and it was stipulated that the English Government should wrest the Carnatic Balaghaut, the table-land of Mysore, from him, and hold it as a fief of the Nizam on the payment of seven lacs a year, and likewise pay *chout* for it to the Mahrattas, who were no parties to the treaty. To crown their folly the Madras Council again involved their masters in all the intrigues and dangers of Deccan politics, by engaging to assist the Nizam, the most treacherous prince in that age of perfidy, with two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery whenever he should require them. The treaty was reprobated by the Court of Directors, who remarked, "We cannot take a view of your conduct from the commencement of your negotiations for the Sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when we see the opulent fortunes acquired by our servants since

A. D.
1768

“ that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion that this rage for negotiations, treaties and alliances, has private advantage for its object more than the public good.” A truer verdict was never pronounced in Leadenhall Street. During this disgraceful decade the Madras Presidency was sunk in speculation and profligacy as deeply as that of Bengal, with the additional vice of official poltroonery.

- Hyder, who was fully cognizant of this treaty which treated him as an usurper, and bound the English Government to dismember his dominions, saw that he had now to maintain a struggle for his political existence, and he prepared for the conflict. An expedition from the Bombay Presidency had destroyed a portion of his fleet and captured some of his towns on the Malabar coast; but he speedily recovered them, and returned to prosecute the war in his eastern districts. In the management of the war into which the Madras Council had so wantonly plunged, they exhibited the same spirit of infatuation as in their negotiations. Two “field deputies” were sent to control the movements of the force, and the supply of the commissariat was entrusted to the imbecile nabob of the Carnatic, who disappointed the Government, as a matter of course. But notwithstanding every disadvantage, Colonel Smith overran half Hyder’s territories and captured some of his principal fortresses. Under the dread of a simultaneous invasion of the Mahrattas, Hyder deemed it prudent to bend to circumstances, and offered to cede the Baramahal and to pay down ten lacs of rupees; but the President, inflated by recent successes, advanced the most extravagant and inadmissible demands, and Hyder prepared for a mortal struggle. Colonel Smith, who had remonstrated with the Council on the folly of their proposals, was recalled to Madras, and the tide now began to turn against the Company. The siege of Bangalore was raised, and Hyder, with his usual energy and rapidity, recovered all the forts he had lost; descended into the Baramahal, and turned south to Tanjore, and having exacted four lacs of rupees from the raja, moved up northwards towards Madras. The consternation of the community may be readily conceived. It was now the turn of the bewildered Council to sue for an accommodation, but after a fruitless negotiation, they obtained an armistice of only twelve days when they had asked for forty. Hyder resumed his course of desolation. He drew Colonel
- A. D.
1768 War with Hyder.
- 1768 Col. Smith’s success.
- 1769 Hyder dictates peace.

Smith, who had been reinstated in his command, to a distance of one hundred and forty miles from Madras, and determined to bring the war to a termination by dictating peace under its walls. Placing himself at the head of 6,000 of his best cavalry he marched a hundred and thirty miles in three days and a half, and suddenly making his appearance at St. Thomé, about four miles from Madras, demanded that an order should be sent to stop the pursuit of Colonel Smith, who was following him with the greatest rapidity, and that the President, Mr. Du Pré, who had succeeded Mr. Palk, might be sent to his camp to treat with him. Hyder was master of the situation and dictated his own terms. A treaty was concluded on the 3rd April, the salient points of which were a mutual restitution of conquests, and an alliance offensive and defensive. Hyder was to be assisted by a British contingent if he was attacked by any of the powers in the Deccan, and for the third time did the Madras Council involve the Company in the ever shifting and perilous politics of the Deccan. Thus ended the second Mysore war, with the loss of all the acquisitions which had been made and all the treasure which had been expended, and above all, of the prestige of the English arms.

A. D.
1769

Hyder Ali, having settled his dispute with the Madras Government, and obtained the promise of its support, withheld the payments due to the Mahrattas and invaded their territories. The Peshwa assembled a large army with the determination to subjugate Mysore. Hyder's forts were rapidly reduced and his districts laid waste, and he was induced to make overtures of peace; but as the Peshwa demanded a crore of rupees the negotiation was broken off. Hyder then advanced with 35,000 men and forty guns to Milgota, where he found himself entrapped into a false position. After sustaining an incessant cannonade for eight days he commenced a stealthy retreat by night to Seringapatam, twenty-two miles distant. It was, however, discovered, and the Mahrattas assaulted the fugitive army with great vigour, and it was saved from annihilation only by their eagerness for plunder. Hyder's capital was besieged for five weeks, and he importuned the President of Madras for that assistance which he was bound to afford by the recent treaty. The President and Council considered it of vital consequence for the honour and the interests of the Company to support him, but they were overruled by the

Hyder
and the
Mahrattas
at war.

1770

1771

interference of Sir John Lindsay, whom the prime minister, deluded by the representation of the nabob of the Carnatic, had, by an act of incredible folly, sent out as the king's representative to his court. The authority of the Company's Government was at once superseded by that of the Crown, and the profligate nabob not only set the Madras Council at defiance, but induced Sir John to insist on an alliance with the Mahrattas. Hyder Ali, deprived of British support, was reduced to extremities, and obliged to purchase peace by the payment of thirty-six lacs of rupees and submitting to an

annual tribute of fourteen lacs, and making a
 A.D. 1772 Hyder's loss of territory. cession of territory which reduced the kingdom of Mysore to smaller limits than it comprised at the beginning of the century. He never forgave or forgot this desertion, and ten years later exacted a fearful penalty.

Eight years after the Mahrattas had been expelled from Hindostan by the battle of Paniput, the Peshwa equipped an army of 50,000 horse and a large body of
 1769 Mahratta expedition to Hindo- stan. infantry, with a numerous artillery, to recover their footing, and renew their spoliations. The first operations of this force were directed against the Rajpoots, from whom they exacted ten lacs of rupees; and then against the Jauts, who agreed to pay them sixty-five lacs; after which they overran the districts of the
 1770 Rohillas, and ravaged the whole of the Doob, or country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, and returned to Delhi before the rains. The emperor, after the arrangement made with Lord Clive in 1765, had continued to reside at Allahabad, in the tranquil enjoyment of the annuity settled on him, and of the revenues of Corah and Allahabad, while the districts around Delhi still attached to the Crown were administered by Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, and, on his death, by his son Zabita Khan. The emperor was naturally desirous of mounting the throne of his ancestors and establishing his court in the ancient capital. The Mahrattas were equally desirous of seating him on it, and obtaining the important influence of his name. In spite of the advice of the Council in Calcutta, who warned him of the danger of such a movement, he threw himself into their arms, and was by them installed on the 25th December.

The next year the Mahrattas again overran Rohilcund, and the Rohilla chiefs were driven to solicit the aid of the Vizier of Oude. There are few transactions involved in greater obscurity than the negotiations between the Mah-

rattas, the Rohillas, and the Vizier, on this memorable occasion. It would appear that the Mahrattas offered to retire on receiving forty lacs of rupees, or a bond for that amount from the Rohilla chiefs, but guaranteed by the Vizier himself. The Vizier endorsed the bond, and received an instalment of five lacs from Hafiz Ruhmut, the Rohilla chief, but neglected to pay any portion of it to the Mahrattas. Meanwhile, the Mahrattas offered to cancel the demand on the Rohillas if they would join in an attack on Oude, receiving half the conquered territories; but they refused to listen to the proposal, and cast in their lot with the nabob Vizier. Several detachments of Mahrattas laid waste a portion of Rohilcund, but they were held in check by the combined force of the Rohillas, of the Vizier, and of the English brigade sent to protect the country. The Peshwa Mahdoo Rao, meanwhile, died at Poona, and his successor planned an expedition to the Carnatic, and recalled the whole of the Mahratta force from Hindostan, and they quitted it laden with the booty of three campaigns. At the close of the previous year the emperor, unable any longer to support the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, met them in the field, but his army was completely defeated, and he was obliged to open the gates of Delhi to their hostile battalions, and submit to all their demands.

A.D.
1772

1773

The British Government in India at this period presented a singular anomaly. The agents of a London trading Company had acquired the sovereignty of provinces larger and more populous than England. They were making war and peace, putting up and pulling down thrones, and disposing of princely revenues. Their servants in India, with salaries of three and four hundred rupees a month, were coming home, year after year, with colossal fortunes, and setting up establishments which cast the ancient aristocracy into the shade. The Indian nabobs, as they were called, were exposed on the stage and avoided in society, from the impression that their sudden and enormous wealth had been acquired by injustice and oppression. The machinery of the Government at home had been constructed for the management of commerce, and was ill suited for the administration of an empire. The posts in India which afforded the means of amassing these ambitious fortunes were at the disposal of the Directors, who were elected by the votes of the Proprietors. A vote was consequently considered so valuable

Reform of
the Govern-
ment.

- that in 1771 the ship's husbands, then a wealthy and powerful body, bought fifteen lacs of rupees of stock to create three hundred votes. The India House became a scene of jobbery and corruption never seen in England before. The Indian Government was equally fetid in London and in
- 1771 A.D. Calcutta. A general cry was raised for Parliamentary investigation, which was redoubled by the financial embarrassments of the Company. The frauds of their servants in India had exhausted their treasury. With an annual revenue of two crores and a half of rupees, they owed more than a crore and a quarter in England, and a crore in Calcutta. It was in these circumstances of impending bankruptcy that the Court of Proprietors voted themselves a dividend at the rate of twelve and a half per cent. The Court of Directors borrowed of the bank of England as long as the bank would lend, and then solicited a loan of a million from the English exchequer, to prevent the doors of the India House from being closed. The ministers referred them to Parliament, which was consequently convened
- 1772 earlier than usual. A select Committee was appointed to collect evidence, when the scenes of violence and iniquity by which the British name had been disgraced in India were, for the first time, laid bare to the nation, and Parliament determined at once to take the regulation of Indian affairs into its own hands. The Company protested against this invasion of their chartered rights, but the universal odium they had incurred throughout the country placed them at the mercy of the ministry. The vicious constitution of their corporation was reformed. The Directors were to be chosen for four years instead of one; the votes of the Proprietors were to be limited to four, whatever amount of
- 1773 Regulating Act. stock they might hold; and twelve hundred of the proprietors were disfranchised at a stroke. The governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General upon two lacs and a half a year, with a Council consisting of four, on one lac each, and a Supreme Court was to be established in Calcutta on the model of the courts of Westminster, with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges. The Act, which was designated the "Regulating Act," purified the home administration, but it shook the British power in India to its foundation.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.

MR. HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION TO THE DEPARTURE OF
MR. FRANCIS.

WARREN HASTINGS was appointed in the Act the first Governor-General of India. He had landed in Calcutta as a writer on the Company's establishment in 1750, and was employed for the first seven years in appraising silks and muslins and copying invoices. Warren Hastings's early career. A.D. 1750

The great events which followed the battle of Plassy afforded the first opportunity of developing his talents, and he was selected by Colonel Clive to represent the Government at the durbar of Moorshedabad, then the most important of subordinate offices in the service. Three years after he came by rotation into the Council board, and offered a strenuous resistance to those profligate measures of his colleagues which brought on the war with Meer Cossim. He returned to England after fifteen years' service comparatively poor, while Mr. Vansittart, who sailed in the same ship with him, was reported to have taken home little short of fifty lacs. 1760

After a residence of several years in England the Court of Directors restored him to their service, and appointed him second member of Council at Madras, where he exhibited such zeal and ability as to be selected to take charge of the Government of Bengal. Hastings found the administration in a state of complete anarchy. The double Government established by Clive, which was considered a masterpiece of policy, had turned out to be the curse of the country. Governor of Bengal. 1772

The management of the revenue, which embraced the most important functions of Government, was in the hands of natives, acting under the venal court of the nabob, though nominally under the control of the English Resident, and they were practically without any control whatever. The people were oppressed by the native functionaries and zemindars, who enriched themselves at the expense of the state. Supervisors were appointed in 1769 to check these abuses, but they knew nothing of the language or of the people, or of the value of the lands, and became mere tools in the hands of their rapacious banians, or head officials. The Court of Directors determined therefore "to stand forth as Duan," as they termed it, and

to take on themselves the collection and management of the revenues through the agency of their own European servants. To Hastings was committed the arduous duty of carrying out this difficult policy, and he entered upon it with his accustomed resolution. A new revenue settlement was formed under the immediate direction of members of the Council. The charge of civil and criminal jurisprudence was committed to the covenanted servants of the Company, and the treasury was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, which became from that time forward the capital of Bengal. Without the aid of a lawyer, he drew up a simple code of regulations for the courts he had established, which exhibited in a remarkable degree the versatility of his talents. All these organic changes were completed in the brief space of six months.

A.D.
1773

His vigorous reforms.

The Rohilla war.

The first military operations of Hastings's administration exercised unhappily a very inauspicious influence on his reputation. The Vizier had long eagerly coveted the possession of Rohilcund, and the Mahrattas had no sooner returned to their own country, as already stated, than he importuned Hastings to assist him in seizing it, with the offer of forty lacs of rupees, as well as a subsidy of more than two lacs of rupees a month for the pay of the troops employed in the service. He represented that the Rohillas had offered to pay him forty lacs to deliver them from the Mahrattas, that they had been expelled by his army, aided by a brigade of Company's troops, and that the Rohilla chiefs now repudiated the obligation. The Vizier's tempting offer was made at a time when the Court of Directors, overwhelmed with debt and disgrace, were importuning the Council by every vessel for remittances. The treasury at Calcutta was not only empty, but more than a crore of rupees in debt. The nabob wanted territory and Hastings wanted money, and he persuaded his conscience that the statements of the Vizier were true, and that the ingratitude of the Rohillas merited punishment, more especially as this act of retributive justice would likewise promote the interests of the Company.

1773

Treaty with nabob.

Hastings proceeded to Benares and concluded a treaty with the nabob to that effect, and at the same time restored to him the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which Clive had taken from him and made over to the emperor, and which the emperor had transferred under compulsion to the Mahrattas. For this grant the treasury was enriched by a further payment of fifty lacs. The nabob

Vizier, having secured the aid of an English force, demanded of the Rohilla chief the balance of the bond, of which only five lacs had been paid. Hafiz Ruhmut offered to make good whatever the Vizier had actually paid to the Mahrattas, though they had left the country by orders from Poona and not through any exertions on his part; but as nothing had been paid them, the offer was treated with contempt. The Rohilla chief, seeing the storm ready to burst, offered to compromise the claim, but the perfidious Vizier raised his demand to two crores. The Rohillas determined, therefore, to defend themselves to the last extremity, and brought 40,000 troops into the field, but they were defeated and dispersed, and the brave Hafiz defeated.

A.D.
1774

Ruhmut fell with three of his sons. The Vizier remained beyond the reach of fire, but as soon as the battle was decided let his troops loose to plunder. "We have the honour of the day," exclaimed the English commandant, "and these banditti the profit of it." This transaction is one of the few stains on the bright and honourable career of Hastings. It is doubtless true that the Rohillas, who had recently occupied the country, were, like all other Afghan tribes in Hindostan and the Deccan, dangerous and formidable neighbours, and might at any time have joined the Mahrattas and overrun Oude, which the Company's Government was bound to defend, but the war unquestionably originated in the rapacity of the Vizier and also in the necessities of the treasury in Calcutta. The assertion that half a million of people were driven across the Ganges, and that "the country became a howling wilderness," was an oriental figure of speech.

Six months after the conquest of the Rohillas, the four judges of the Supreme Court, and the three new councillors, landed in Calcutta, and the new Government was proclaimed on the 20th November. Of the ^{New} Government ^{in Calcutta.} 1774 councillors, Colonel Monson was a scion of nobility and had served on the Coast; General Clavering was the personal favourite of the king, and all powerful with the prime minister; and Mr. Francis, the reputed author of *Junius*, was equally distinguished by his talents and his malignity. They came out with the impression that the Government was a compound of tyranny and corruption, and that Hastings was a monster of iniquity whom it was the duty of virtuous men to oppose in every mode. At the first meeting of Council in which Hastings presided as Governor-General, they outvoted him, and at once divested

him of all power in the Government. They proceeded to recall Mr. Middleton, whom Hastings had placed as the Company's representative at Lucknow, and sent Mr. Bristow one of their friends to occupy the post, thereby proclaiming the extinction of Hastings's authority throughout Hindostan. They ordered the officer in command in Oude peremptorily to withdraw the brigade, and to demand the payment of all arrears from the Vizier within a fortnight, and thus compromised the safety of Oude, and the faith of the British Government.

During these transactions the Vizier died, upon which Mr. Francis declared that every engagement between the Company's Government and that of Oude was thereby cancelled, except that which referred to the payment of arrears. Mr. Francis accordingly constrained his son to enter into a new treaty, and though he had denounced Hastings for "letting out "British troops for hire to the Vizier," not only repeated the bargain, but increased the hire of the troops. He likewise obliged the Vizier to cede to the Company the province of Benares, valued at twenty-two lacs a year. The deceased Vizier had accumulated two crores of treasure, which were buried in the vaults of the zenana. His widow and his mother, historically known as the "begums," claimed the whole of this property under the terms of a will, which, however, was never produced. The Vizier was under heavy obligations to the Company, and the troops, 100,000 in number, were twelve months in arrear. The treasure was state property and answerable in the first instance for its debts, but Mr. Bristow constrained the Vizier to affix his seal to a deed assigning three-fourths of it to the princesses, under the guarantee of the Government in Calcutta. The troops mutinied for pay, and it was reported that 20,000 were slaughtered, but the state was preserved from a revolution by the presence of the Company's brigade.

As soon as it became known that Hastings's authority was extinct, and that the surest mode of obtaining the favour of those who were now in the seat of power was to bring accusations against him, a swarm of informers hastened to Calcutta and filled the antechambers of his opponents. Charges of every variety were rapidly manufactured and eagerly welcomed, and the triumvirate placed it on the minutes of Council "that there "appeared to be no species of peculation from which the

A.D. Violent
1775 conduct
towards
Oude.

1775 Accusations
against
Hastings.

“Honourable the Governor-General had thought it reasonable to abstain, and by which he had amassed a fortune “of forty lacs of rupees in two years.” The most important and memorable of these charges was that brought forward by Nunkoomar. He was by birth a brahmin, who had taken an active part in public affairs at Moorshedabad and Calcutta, and had accumulated a crore of rupees by intrigue and treachery. He had been repeatedly denounced to the Council by the Court of Directors for his knavery. On this occasion he came forward and offered to impeach Hastings of having received a bribe of three lacs and a half from Muneer begum, who had been appointed by him to superintend the nabob’s household.

The hostile councillors proposed to confront him with the Governor-General in the Council chamber, but Hastings asserted that he knew what was due to the character and dignity of the head of the Government, and would not preside at the board to be criminated by the dregs of society. He dissolved the sitting and retired, when his opponents placed General Clavering in the chair, and called in Nunkoomar, who descanted on the venality of Hastings, and produced a letter from Muneer begum, which testified to the payment of the *douceur*. The Council immediately voted that the Governor-General had clandestinely and illegally received the sum of three lacs and a half, and should be called upon to refund it to the treasury. The begum denied all knowledge of the letter; the best Persian experts pronounced the signature a forgery, but the seal appeared to be genuine, and the mystery was not cleared up till, after Nunkoomar’s death, facsimiles of the seals of every eminent character in the state were found in his cabinet. For the vindication of his own character Hastings now brought an action for conspiracy in the Supreme Court against Nunkoomar and several others. The judges admitted the charge, and held him to bail.

Eight weeks after the commencement of this suit, a native merchant in Calcutta brought an action for forgery against Nunkoomar. It had been instituted originally in the old mayor’s court, and Nunkoomar was committed to prison, but released through the intervention of Hastings. On the establishment of the Supreme Court this suit, together with all others then pending, was transferred to its files. The forgery was established by the clearest evidence, before a jury consisting

Hastings’s
dignified
conduct. A.D.
1775

Trial and
execution of
Nunkoomar. 1775

of the most respectable European residents in Calcutta, and he was found guilty and hung in the most conspicuous portion of the town. This transaction was long considered the culminating crime of Hastings's administration. It was asserted in high quarters that the brahmin was murdered by Hastings through the forms of law, and that the execution was designed to stifle all further accusations. But time, the vindicator of truth, has dispelled the clouds of prejudice. The coincidence of the charge of Hastings against Nunkoomar and of the native against Nunkoomar was purely accidental. There has never been a particle of evidence to connect Hastings with the forgery suit, and his own assertion that he had neither prompted nor encouraged it must be considered conclusive. The sentence, however conformable to the sanguinary laws of England at the time, was essentially iniquitous. The crime was not capital by the law of India, nor in the opinion of the native community, and it was committed before the Supreme Court brought the weight of English law to press on India. The odium of the deed is divided between the judges of the Supreme Court and the triumvirate who, possessed of supreme power, declined to suspend the execution of the sentence pending a reference to England, which they must have known would have saved his life.

The Court of Directors, to whom both parties had appealed against each other, passed a vote of censure on Hastings, but it was overruled by the Court of Proprietors, who entertained an exalted opinion of his merits. During the height of the conflict in Calcutta, Hastings, worried by the opposition and insults of his opponents, had instructed his agent in London to tender his resignation, but two or three months later, having recovered the tone of his mind, revoked the authority. The agent, however, seeing the strength of the current against Hastings both in Leadenhall Street and Downing Street, took upon himself to intimate to the Court of Directors that he was authorised to offer his patron's retirement from office. Then ensued several months of violent disputes in the Court between Hastings's friends and enemies, which resulted in a resolution by the majority that he had positively resigned his post, although his letters revoking his first instructions were before them, and they proceeded to fill up the vacancy. The intelligence of these transactions created a serious convulsion in Calcutta. General Clavering, the senior member of council, determined to

A. D. 1776
Hastings
tenders his
resignation.

take possession of the Government, and was sworn in by his colleagues as Governor-General; but Hastings, who repudiated the fact of his resignation, refused to give up the keys of the fort or of the treasury, and issued his commands to all civil and military officers to obey no orders but his own. The dispute was drifting into hostilities, which must have been fatal to the public interests, when Hastings brought it to a safe issue by offering to refer the question to the arbitrament of the judges of the Supreme Court, who, after long and anxious deliberation, continued till four in the morning, decided that any assumption of authority by Sir John Clavering would be illegal. He died shortly after, and Hastings recovered his authority for a time by his own casting vote; but he was systematically opposed by Mr. Francis upon every question, political, military, and administrative. The contest ended, according to the barbarous practice of the period, in a duel, in which Mr. Francis was wounded, and soon after returned to England.

Violence and
death of
Gen. Claver-
ing. A.D.
1777

Duel
between
Hastings
and Francis.
1780

SECTION II.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

To resume the thread of affairs in the Mahratta commonwealth, the constitution of which was passing through great and important changes. The four chiefs—Sindia and Holkar, the Gaikwar and the raja of Nagpore—originally the generals of the Peshwa, were outgrowing his authority, and developing into independent princes, and enjoyed two-thirds of the Mahratta revenues. The military force of the state, consisting of 100,000 splendid cavalry, with a proportionate strength of foot and artillery, was no longer under the single control of the Peshwa; a large portion of it acted under the command of these princes, each one of whom had his own individual interests to pursue. The young Peshwa, Mahdoo Rao, little inferior to any of his race in the cabinet or in the field, died in November, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Narrain Rao, who recalled the troops from the banks of the Ganges, as already stated. After a brief reign of nine months he was assassinated, as the Mahrattas universally believed, by the orders of his uncle Raghoba, a

Progress of
Mahratta
affairs.

1772

brave soldier, but an inveterate intriguer, always imprudent and never fortunate. He took possession of the vacant throne, and at once plunged into hostilities with the Nizam, and constrained him to make a large cession of territory, which, however, by an act of infatuation, he restored to him. He then proceeded against Hyder, from whom he obtained nothing but empty promises. From these southern expeditions he was recalled to the seat of government by a formidable confederacy raised against him by the leading ministers at Poona. They had received intimation that the widow of the deceased Peshwa was about to become a mother, and they conveyed her for security to a hill fortress, taking the precaution of sending with her a number of brahmin females in the same condition, to meet the contingency of her giving birth to a daughter. The widow was confined of a son, who was installed as the Peshwa Mahdoo Rao the second, and a regency was formed to conduct the Government. Raghoba hastened towards Poona, and with the aid of Morari Rao of Gooty, the greatest Mahratta general of the age, who had measured swords with Lawrence and Clive, inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of the regency; but, instead of following up his victory by advancing at once upon the capital, and taking advantage of the consternation which prevailed, he turned off to Boorhanpore, and moved across the Nerbudda. There he was joined by Sindia and Holkar, as they returned from Rohilcund, and advanced into Guzerat to secure the aid of the Gaikwar's troops.

Raghoba now opened negotiations with the President of Bombay, and made an offer of money and territory, in return for military support, which was eagerly embraced. The Company, whose possessions had been confined for a century to Bombay, had always coveted the acquisition of the harbour of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, separated from it by a narrow channel. The President offered to assist Raghoba with a body of troops, on his providing funds for their maintenance, and ceding these coveted possessions in perpetuity to the Company; but he could not bring himself to alienate the island and the harbour, which the Mahrattas prized the more highly as they had been wrested from a European power, the Portuguese, about thirty years before. An engagement was nevertheless concluded with him, and a British force of 1,500 men sent to his aid. While the

A. D. Raghoba
1773 assassinates
the Peshwa.

Raghoba's
1774 movements.

Raghoba
1775 negotiates
with Bom-
bay.

negotiation was pending, the Bombay authorities received information that a large armament was about to be sent from Goa to recover Bassein and Salsette, and as they considered that the Portuguese were likely to be more troublesome neighbours than the Mahrattas, proceeded to take summary possession of them. Meanwhile, the regency at Poona having succeeded, by large offers, in detaching Sindia and Holkar from the cause of Raghoba, sent a large force to attack him. He was routed at Wassud, and fled with 1,000 horse to the encampment of Colonel Keating, who had by this time reached Surat with the Bombay detachment. A.D. 1774

A treaty was then presented for his acceptance, which stipulated that the Bombay Government should furnish him with a body of 3,000 troops to reinstate him as Peshwa, on condition of his ceding territory of the annual value of nineteen lacs of rupees, making an immediate payment of eighteen lacs, and irrevocably ceding Salsette and Bassein; and he could no longer continue to refuse this demand. It was this treaty, called the treaty of Surat, which involved the Company in the first Mahratta war, and it was concluded without the knowledge of Hastings and the Supreme Council. The Bombay authorities having thus embarked in a war with the regency, ordered Colonel Keating to march down on Poona. He found the Mahratta army strongly posted at Arras, and it was on this field that the English and Mahratta forces met for the first time since the gentlemen of the factory of Surat had gallantly repulsed Sevajee in 1669. The disproportion of the armies was as ten to one, but the Mahratta generals sustained a signal defeat and fled precipitately across the Nerbudda, after having thrown their guns into it. The Gaikwar, who had hitherto held aloof, now hastened to join Raghoba, and promised to furnish him with a large supply of money and to secure to the Company a share of the revenues of Broach. The Mahratta fleet was simultaneously crippled by the English commodore. The campaign had been prosperous beyond the highest expectation, and the insignificant Presidency of Bombay had obtained territory of the value of twenty-four lacs a year. The Poona regency was tottering, and the Nizam had been emboldened by their weakness to exact a considerable cession of territory. Treaty of Surat. 1775
Battle of Arras.

These brilliant prospects were marred by the folly and perversity of Mr. Francis and his associates. They

pronounced the treaty impolitic, dangerous, and unjust, and above all unauthorised by the Supreme Council, which had been invested with the control of the minor Presidencies, and they sent peremptory orders to annul the treaty and recall the army from the field. Hastings equally disapproved of the treaty, but took a statesman's view of their position, and affirmed that as the Company's Government was actually involved in war, it should be prosecuted with vigour, and concluded as speedily as possible. At the same time the majority in Council deputed Colonel Upton to Poona to disavow the proceedings of the Bombay Government, and to open negotiations with the regency. It was in vain the Bombay authorities remonstrated on the imprudence of destroying their influence, and withdrawing the victorious troops from the field, and the disgrace of violating a solemn engagement.

Colonel Upton, on his arrival at Poona, found the astute ministers determined to take advantage of these divided councils. They extolled to the skies "the wisdom of the great governor of Calcutta, who had ordered peace to be concluded;" but when the Colonel proposed that Salsette and Bassein should be guaranteed to the Company, they assumed an arrogant tone, and demanded the immediate surrender of Raghoba, and the restoration of all the territory the Company had recently acquired. The insolent demands of the regency roused the indignation of Mr. Francis and his colleagues, and they determined to support Raghoba; the troops were again ordered to take the field, and a supply of treasure was despatched to Bombay. But the regency, after a little more bluster, came to terms with

Colonel Upton, and the treaty of Poorundur was concluded, which stipulated that Raghoba should disband his army, and retire to the banks of the Godavery, that all the territorial acquisitions of the Company should be relinquished with the exception of Salsette, which "might be retained if the Governor-General desired it," and that twelve lacs of rupees should be paid for the expenses of the war "by way of favour." Considering that all the advantages of the late campaign had been on the side of the English, the Bombay President was justified in pronouncing the treaty "highly injurious to the interests and reputation of the Company." It was a flagrant breach of faith with Raghoba; it shook the confidence of the native princes in the engagements of our Government, and it

A.D. Folly of the
1775 Supreme
Council.

1776

Col. Upton
at Poona.

1776

Treaty of
Poorundur.

inflated the regency with an undue sense of its power, which led to future difficulties.

Four months after the signature of the treaty, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors approving of the treaty of Surat, directing that the territories ceded by Raghoba should be retained, and that the other Presidencies should assist in supporting him. The Bombay Council, smarting under the indignity which had been inflicted on them, gave the treaty of Poorundur to the winds, invited Raghoba to Bombay, and settled a monthly allowance on him. The Poona regency raved at this violation of the treaty, but their strength was weakened by discord between the aged premier Succaram Bapoo and his younger associate Nana Furnavese. To increase the complication of affairs at Poona, a French adventurer, of the name of St. Lubin, arrived there in March, and announced himself as the envoy of the king of France, then on the eve of a war with England. He was authorised, he said, to offer the regency the support of 2,500 Europeans, and equipments for 10,000 sepoys, as well as officers to discipline and command them. Nana Furnavese affected to believe in his mission, and made over to him the harbour of Choul, only twenty-three miles from Bombay, for the reception of the troops.

Soon after another despatch was received from the Court, regretting the sacrifices made by the treaty of Poorundur, and stating that while the Directors were determined to adhere to it, if any attempt were made to evade any of its provisions, the Bombay Government should be at liberty to renew the alliance with Raghoba. The President found little difficulty in discovering infractions of a treaty which the Mahrattas never intended to respect, and prepared to espouse the cause of Raghoba. These movements were quickened by a revolution in the cabinet at Poona which placed the partisans of Raghoba in the ascendant, and an envoy was sent to Bombay to request the President to conduct him to the capital with a military force. Within a few months a counter-revolution placed Nana Furnavese in power, and extinguished the party of Raghoba, but the Bombay Council were determined not to abandon him. Their passions were enlisted in his cause, which they identified with their own honour; and, without adequate preparation, without alliances, without even a commander in whom they had any confidence, they determined to launch a handful of men against

Decision of A.D.
the Court of 1776
Directors.

St. Lubin. 1777

Second
despatch
from
Directors.

1778

the whole strength of the Mahratta empire. Nana Furnavese prepared to meet the coming storm, increased his army, provisioned his forts, and refitted his fleet.

A new treaty was now made with Raghoba, which differed little from that of Surat. An army of 4,000 men, of whom 600 were Europeans, was sent to capture the Mahratta capital, under Colonel Egerton, an officer utterly unfit for the charge. Encumbered with 19,000 bullocks, besides other cattle, the army moved at the rate of two miles a day, while the forces of the enemy were accumulating around it. Colonel Egerton resigned the command to Colonel Cockburn, but the responsibility of all movements lay with Colonel Carnac, who had been sent as civil commissioner with the force. On reaching Tullygaum, which had been burnt, a report was spread that the Mahrattas intended also to burn Chinchore, and even the capital itself. Colonel Carnac was seized with a panic, and though only eighteen miles from Poona, with eighteen days' provisions in the camp, determined, in the first instance, to open a negotiation with the regency, and then to retreat. Without waiting for the result of the negotiation, he threw his heavy guns into a pond, and commenced his retreat, hotly pursued by the enemy. On the evening of the 12th January the army encamped at Wurgauum. The Mahrattas brought up their guns during the night, and assailed the camp with great vigour in the morning. The bewildered Carnac declared that even a retreat was now impossible and made overtures to Nana Furnavese, who demanded the surrender of Raghoba before he would listen to terms. The commissioner would have complied with the demand had he not saved them from this infamy by delivering himself up to Sindia, and, under the auspices of that chief, the British army was rescued from destruction by a convention which sacrificed all the acquisitions obtained since 1773, and for the first time obliged the British Government to give hostages to a victorious enemy. The Court of Directors lost no time in dismissing Colonels Egerton, Cockburn, and Carnac from their service. Bombay was now at the mercy of the Mahrattas, and its preservation depended on the arrival of General Goddard's expedition from Hindostan.

A.D. Expedition
1778 to Poona.

Convention
1779 of Wur-
gauum.

Hastings, who had recovered his ascendancy in Council, gave his sanction to the proposal of the Bombay Council to support Raghoba, and resolved likewise to send an expedition from Bengal across the continent, to frustrate the

intrigues of the French at Poona, and to strengthen the Bombay Presidency. The force consisted of ^{General Goddard's expedition.} between 4,000 and 5,000 men, and was destined to march from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay, through 1,000 miles of unknown country occupied by chiefs who were far more likely to be hostile than friendly. It was pronounced by Mr. Dundas, the India minister, one of "the frantic military exploits of Hastings," but it was through such frantic exploits that British power and prestige had been established in India by a handful of foreigners. It was conducted by General Goddard, one of the most illustrious names in the history of British India. So strict was the discipline which he maintained, so punctual his payments, and so conciliatory his intercourse with the chiefs and people on the route, that they cheerfully supplied him with all his requisitions. The raja of Bhopal particularly distinguished himself by his generous hospitality, though threatened with the vengeance of the Mahratta regency. On reaching Boorhanpore the general heard of the misfortunes of the Bombay force, and turned out of his route to Surat, by which he avoided an encounter with a body of 20,000 horse sent from Poona to intercept him.

A.D.
1778

The timely arrival of General Goddard on the western coast, and the *éclat* of this celebrated expedition, proved the salvation of the Bombay Presidency, and restored the reputation of the British arms. The convention of Wurgauum was equally repudiated by the Bombay Government and by Hastings, who directed General Goddard to open a fresh negotiation with the regency on the basis of the treaty of Poorundur. In the mean time Sindia connived at the escape of Raghoba, who repaired to Surat, where he was honourably entertained by General Goddard, and received an allowance of half a lac of rupees a month. The reception granted to him gave mortal offence to the regency, who determined to join the confederacy which had just been formed against the Company, and in reply to the General's categorical demand of a reply to his proposal, informed him that the surrender of Raghoba, and the restoration of Salsette, were the indispensable preliminaries of any treaty; he therefore dismissed their vakeels and prepared for war. At the same time he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Gaikwar, which provided that he should join the English camp with 3,000 horse, and receive possession of all the Peshwa's territories north of the Myhee, and make

General
Goddard's
continued
success.

1779

over certain districts south of it to the Company. On the
 A.D. 10th February General Goddard captured the noble city of
 1779 Ahmedabad, the modern capital of Guzerat, and, having
 dispersed an army of 20,000 horse with which Sindia
 and Holkar were advancing to attack him, encamped for the
 season on the banks of the Nerbudda.

The success which meanwhile attended our arms in the
 north-west of Hindostan was equally brilliant. Hastings
 Capture of sent a force of 2,400 infantry, with cavalry and
 Gwalior. artillery, under the command of Major Popham,
 one of the most enterprising officers in the service, to
 protect the little principality of Gohud, sixty miles south-
 east of Agra, from the encroachments of Sindia. He
 1780 marched in February, and after having captured Lahar,
 without a battering-train, by the sheer gallantry of his
 men, proceeded to the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, on the
 summit of a stupendous rock scarp almost entirely round,
 and deemed throughout India impregnable. Sir Eyre Coote,
 the veteran hero of the Carnatic, then General in chief in
 Bengal, pronounced the attempt to capture it an act of
 madness, but Popham had set his heart on the "glorious
 "object," as he called it, and lay about the fort for two
 months silently maturing his plans. On the night of the
 3rd of August, under the guidance of Captain Bruce, twenty
 European soldiers and two companies of sepoy, led by four
 officers, applied their scaling ladders to the successive
 stages of rock and battlements; the bewildered garrison
 made a feeble resistance; and at daybreak, without the loss
 of a single man, the British ensign was waving over the
 ramparts. The report of this achievement resounded
 through India, and served to wipe out the disgrace of the
 "infamous convention" of Wurgaum, as Hastings always
 designated it, and which he said it was worth millions to
 obliterate. Major Camac, who succeeded Major Popham,
 brought up an additional force, and not only invaded
 Sindia's possessions in Malwa, but threatened his capital,
 1781 Defeat of and he was obliged to quit Poona to attend to the
 Sindia. defence of his own dominions. Major Camac,
 who was no soldier, allowed himself to be surrounded by
 the more numerous army of Sindia. His camp was reduced
 to a state of starvation, and he would have been obliged to
 surrender had not Captain Bruce, who had distinguished
 himself at Gwalior, made a vigorous attack on Sindia's
 camp during the night. The surprise was complete, and
 he lost elephants, horses, baggage, and men, but, above all,

his reputation, while the crest of his rival, Holkar, was elevated by a successful attack on General Goddard.

Towards the close of 1779 Hastings received intimation of a general confederacy organised by the Nizam to extinguish the power of the Company, which embraced all the princes of India with the exception of the Gaikwar. A simultaneous attack was to be made on all the Presidencies. Hyder was to invade Madras; the attack of Bombay was assigned to Sindia, Holkar, and the regency; while the raja of Nagpore was to enter Bengal through his province of Cuttack. England was at the same time at war with the French, and they were intriguing at Poona. Never had the Company been menaced with such peril, and it required the extraordinary genius of Hastings to avert it. Hyder was the first in the field, and burst upon the Carnatic, as will be hereafter narrated. Bombay was left to its own resources, and the governor, Mr. Hornby, proved equal to the emergency. The gallant Colonel Hartley had cleared the Concan of the Mahrattas, but it was again invaded by Nana Furnavese, and he had to sustain for two days the assault of 20,000 Mahratta horse with only 2,000 exhausted troops, and 600 sick in his camp. On the third day the Mahratta general was killed, and the army became dispirited and retired. General Goddard ascended the ghauts with a large force, in the hope of capturing Poona, but he was incessantly assailed by the Mahrattas, and, being vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 troops, was obliged to retreat to Bombay with the loss of 450 of his troops—the only reverse he experienced in his victorious career.

The raja of Nagpore, in accordance with the compact, sent his son Chimnajeel with 30,000 troops to Cuttack, but he was lukewarm in the cause of the allies, and loitered seven months on the road. On reaching the province he found himself straitened for funds, and he accepted the offer of sixteen lacs of rupees which Hastings made him on condition of his withdrawing from the confederacy. Hastings was thus enabled to buy off the most formidable member of the league, and to save Bengal from the horrors of predatory warfare. To relieve Madras from the pressure of Hyder's army, Hastings resolved to send a detachment of Bengal troops; but as the sepoys had recently broken into revolt, and murdered their officers, to avoid a sea voyage, he adopted the bold plan of sending them by land seven hundred miles along the coast,

A. D.
1779
Confederacy
against the
English.

1781

1780

Nagpore de-
tached from
the league.

through unknown and probably hostile provinces. This
 A.D. 1781 was another of the "frantic military exploits of Hastings,"
 but it effectually overawed the native chiefs and augmented
 our prestige. The raja of Nagpore, on the receipt of the
 money, agreed to send 2,000 horse to co-operate with this
 expedition, which Colonel Pearce conveyed to Madras in
 safety.

After his defeat by Major Camac, Sindia perceived that
 with a victorious enemy in the heart of his dominions he
 had everything to lose by continuing a conflict
 which might end in driving him across the
 Nerbudda and destroying his influence in the
 Mahratta commonwealth. He accordingly made overtures
 to the British commandant which Hastings was but too
 1781 happy to accept. They resulted in a treaty, signed on the
 13th October, by which all the territories of Sindia west of
 the Jumna were restored to him, and he agreed to negotiate
 a peace between the Company and the regency at Poona ;
 and, at all events, to remain neuter. Hastings's anxiety for
 peace with the Mahrattas was quickened by the arrival of a
 French armament on the Coast, which he feared might
 result in the extirpation of our nation from the Carnatic.
 To bring the war with the Mahrattas to a close, he was
 ready to sacrifice every foot of ground which had been gained
 from them, not excepting even the harbour of Bassein.

After a succession of disappointments the treaty of
 Salbye was at length completed on the 17th May through
 the mediation of Sindia, who undertook to
 1782 Treaty of Salbye. guarantee the settlement, and thus acquired
 additional consequence among the Mahratta chiefs. All
 the territory acquired by the Company since the treaty of
 Poorundur was relinquished, and it was stipulated that
 Hyder Ali should be required to restore all his conquests in
 the Carnatic and to release his prisoners within three
 months, on pain of being treated as an enemy by the
 regency. Nana Furnavese, after having accepted the
 treaty, delayed the ratification of it for six months, while he
 endeavoured to make advantageous terms with Hyder for
 repudiating it. Hastings's impatience for the completion
 of this pacification was raised to fever heat by the receipt
 on the 5th December of a copy of the resolution of the
 House of Commons, to the effect that he had acted contrary
 to the honour and policy of the nation, and that it was the
 duty of the Court of Directors to remove him from the
 head of affairs. The promulgation of this vote throughout

India would not only have prevented the ratification of the treaty, but paralysed the authority of Government in every court; but on the 7th the death of Hyder dispersed the cloud of anxiety, and Nana Furnavese immediately affixed the Peshwa's seal to the treaty. The peace thus concluded with the Mahratta powers continued unbroken for twenty years.

A.D.
1782

SECTION III.

PROCEEDINGS AT MADRAS, 1771—1780.

WE revert now to the progress of events at the Madras Presidency and in the south of India. The little Hindoo kingdom of Tanjore had been in a great measure exempt from the ravages of war during the hostilities with Hyder, which terminated in the peace dictated by him under the walls of Madras. Mahomed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, now came forward and importuned the Madras Council to assist him in plundering the raja, as former nabobs had done. The demands of the nabob were exorbitant, but, after a little virtuous reluctance, the President sent an army into the country. The Tanjorines offered a spirited defence, but a breach was at length effected in the fortifications, when the nabob's second son, without consulting the English commander, who had been dragged into this unholy crusade, signed a treaty with the raja after having extorted an engagement to pay fifty lacs of rupees. In less than two years he again demanded the assistance of the Madras Council to exterminate the raja, on the plea that a fifth of the payment was still due, and that he had been in communication with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. The President was fully aware that to meet the extortion he had been under the necessity of pledging his crown jewels and even his principality—to the Dutch at Negapatam, instead of to the English at Madras—but was base enough to resolve on his ruin. An army was despatched in September; the raja was deposed and the principality made over to the unprincipled nabob. The Court of Directors, indignant at this infamous proceeding, expelled the President, Mr. Wynch, from the service and peremptorily ordered the country to be restored to the raja. Lord Pigot, who had been in the Madras civil service forty years and amassed a fortune of forty lacs of rupees, obtained an Irish

Proceedings
at Tanjore. 1771

1773

Directors
restore the
raja. 1774

peerage on his return to England, and was now sent out as governor of Madras; and, though offered a bribe of sixty lacs of rupees by the nabob to prevent the execution of the Court's orders, proceeded in person to Tanjore and seated the raja on his ancestral throne.

The restoration was no sooner proclaimed than Paul Benfield, a Madras civilian, came forward and advanced a claim on the revenues. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the total demoralisation of the Company's service at Madras at that period than the fact that this man, who came to India without a farthing, and whose salary had never exceeded three hundred rupees a month, should not consider it preposterous to assert that for money lent to the nabob he had assignments on the revenues of Tanjore of sixteen lacs, and for money lent to individuals he had assignments on the present crop of more than seven lacs. After long deliberation, the Council rejected his claim; but as they and other members of the civil service were creditors, real or fictitious, of the nabob to the extent of a crore and a half of rupees, they perceived that they were thereby impairing their own claims and the question was reconsidered. Lord Pigot and his friends strenuously resisted these nefarious proceedings, but a majority of seven to five voted that the assignments made to Benfield were valid. The breach in the council became wider. Lord Pigot suspended two of the members, and placed Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief, under arrest, and the majority retaliated by placing the governor himself in confinement and seizing the Government. The Court of Directors ordered that he should be restored to his position and then resign the service. Seven of the members of Council were dismissed, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had been in the public service in Bengal, was placed at the head of the Government, but neither was his administration smooth, and it ended in his recall.

Basalut Jung, who held the Guntoor Sircar as a fief of his brother the Nizam, had taken a small French force into his service, but had acceded to the request of the Madras Government to receive a British detachment in its stead, and to make over the Sircar for its support. The treaty was no sooner signed than it was leased for ten years to the nabob Mahomed Ali, that is, to his creditors, and a key was thus furnished to the transaction. Mr. Holland was deputed to Hyderabad to explain it to the Nizam, who expressed no little resentment at this inde-

A.D.
1774

Paul
Benfield.

1776

Lord Pigot
confined.

1779

Guntoor
Sircar.

pendent negotiation with one of his feudatories, and this interference with the affairs of his family. But when Mr. Holland proceeded farther to request, on the part of the Madras Government, that the sum of seven lacs which was paid as tribute for the Northern Sircars should be remitted, his indignation knew no bounds, and he charged the Madras authorities with a flagrant breach of faith. It was under the influence of this feeling of irritation that he set himself to organize the general league for the expulsion of the English previously alluded to. Hastings on hearing of these proceedings immediately superseded the authority of the Madras Government at the Nizam's Court, and assured him that the intentions of the British Government were honourable and pacific; that the Sircar should not be occupied, and that the annual tribute should be paid up as soon as possible. By these assurances Hastings was enabled to neutralize the Nizam in the contest for existence which was now impending. A.D. 1779

The second war with Hyder Ali commenced in 1780, but before entering on the narrative of it, a review of his previous progress for eight years appears necessary. It has been stated that the crushing defeat he experienced at Milgotta reduced his possessions within a very narrow compass, but the confusion created at Poona by the murder of the Peshwa enabled him to recover his position. In November he subjugated the principality of Coorg, which offered a noble resistance and was subjected to extraordinary barbarity. He promised the sum of five rupees for each head, and distributed the reward in person, and seven hundred heads were piled up before he ordered the carnage to cease. The next year he reconquered the districts of which the Mahrattas had dispossessed him, and strengthened his authority in Malabar. Alarmed by these incessant encroachments, and by the support he afforded to Raghoba, the regency at Poona formed an alliance against him with the Nizam, and the combined armies took the field in 1776; but the generals were corrupted by the gold of Hyder, the expedition proved abortive, and his power was extended up to the banks of the Kistna. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Madras Government to afford him aid, in accordance with the treaty, under the sinister influence of Mahomed Ali and Sir John Lindsay, he renewed the application, to enable him to meet the continued hostility of the Mahrattas. He asked only for a supply of stores and arms, and a small body of troops, for which he was prepared to

make a suitable return in money, but the Madras Council, who were still controlled by the nabob, resisted every overture and turned him into an irreconcilable enemy.

Information was soon after received of the commencement of war between France and England, and Pondicherry, which had been completely rebuilt, was captured after a gallant resistance of ten days. In announcing this success to Hyder, the governor of Madras intimated that it was his intention to send an expedition against the French settlement at Mahé, a small port on the Malabar coast, through which Hyder had been in the habit for three years of receiving supplies and recruits from Europe. He replied that he should support the French garrison with all his strength, and retaliate any attack by invading the Carnatic; the place was nevertheless attacked and taken, though his colours were hoisted side by side with those of his French allies. While Hyder's feelings were in this state of irritation, an envoy arrived from Poona to request that, as he had the same reason as the regency to complain of the perfidy of the English, he would join the general confederacy which had been formed to expel them from India. The regency promised an amicable adjustment of all differences, the relinquishment of the *chout*, and a confirmation of his right to all the territories he had acquired up to the Kistna. Their proposal was accepted with avidity.

Preparations were now made on the largest scale. Hyder, in his seventy-eighth year, superintended every arrangement in person, and by the end of June had equipped the most efficient force ever collected under the banner of a native prince. It consisted of 90,000 horse and foot, a large proportion of which had been trained under European officers. His artillery consisted of a hundred guns, directed also by European skill and science, and his commissariat had been admirably organised by the Hindoo Poornea, one of the ablest of his officers. While this portentous cloud was advancing towards Madras, the Government was buried in a fatal security, and the Commander-in-Chief declared that there was not the slightest cause for apprehension, but this illusion was speedily dispelled. Hyder, having completed his preparations, and proclaimed a *jehad*, or holy crusade, in every mosque and temple in Mysore, burst on the Carnatic on the 20th of July, and his progress was marked by the blaze of villages and towns, and the desolation of the country. He

A.D.
1779

War with
France.

Capture of
Mahé.

1780

Hyder
bursts on the
Carnatic.

appeared determined to exhaust all the resources of cruelty which his ferocious nature could suggest. The wretched inhabitants were driven with their flocks and families to Mysore, and those who lingered were mutilated. All the forts, except four, held by English lieutenants, were surrendered by the venal or dastardly officers of the nabob.

The Madras army did not exceed 8,000, of which number 2,500 were under Colonel Baillie in Guntoor, and it was not till clouds of smoke were seen in every direc-
 tion from St. Thomas's Mount, nine miles from
 Madras, that orders were issued to take the field.

March of
 Madras
 army.

A.D.
 1786

Sir Hector Munro moved out to Conjeveram to relieve Arcot, which contained the few military stores the nabob possessed, and which Hyder had besieged. Colonel Baillie was ordered to join Sir Hector with expedition, but he halted on the banks of the Cortilla when it was fordable, and the next day it was swelled by the rains, and continued impassable for ten days. Hyder Ali sent Tippoo with the flower of his army to prevent the junction, and an action was fought on the 6th September, in which Tippoo was so severely handled that he informed his father that no impression could be made on the English force without reinforcements, while Colonel Baillie informed the general that it was no longer in his power to join him at Conjeveram. Instead of proceeding at once with his whole force, Sir Hector simply detached Colonel Fletcher with 1,100 men to reinforce Colonel Baillie. So great was the dread which Hyder entertained of British prowess, that he had determined, in case of a junction of the two forces, to raise the siege of Arcot and retire. Colonel Fletcher and Colonel Baillie moved forward till the evening of the 9th, and a short march would have completed their union with the main body, but by an act of incredible fatuity Colonel Baillie ordered his men to lie on their arms for the night. Hyder Ali, seeing no preparation for any movement on the part of Sir Hector, brought his whole force up against Colonel Baillie. He planted his guns during the night with great skill, and on the morning of the 10th September the encampment was enveloped by the whole Mysore army.

1780

The troops fought like heroes, and the European force, when reduced to 300, still demanded to be
 led against the enemy; but Colonel Baillie refused to sacrifice the lives of these brave men, and held out a flag of truce, when Hyder's soldiers rushed on them and would have butchered the whole body but for the interference of

Defeat of
 Baillie.

the French officers. Of eighty-six officers, seventy were killed or wounded, and the whole army, with all its stores, baggage, and equipments, was irretrievably lost. Had the Commander-in-Chief moved up when the cannonade was first heard, Hyder, attacked on both sides, must have suffered a severe defeat; but the dastardly Munro threw his heavy guns into the great tank or pond at Conjeveram, destroyed his stores, and retreated in haste and disorder to Madras, hotly pursued by the enemy.

A vessel was immediately despatched to Calcutta with information of the disaster. To the embarrassment of a
 Energy of Hastings. war with the Mahrattas was now added that of a war with Hyder, which had opened with the greatest disgrace the English arms had as yet suffered in India; but never did the genius and resolution of Hastings appear more conspicuous than on this occasion. "All my hopes," he wrote, "of aggrandizing the British name and enlarging the interests of the Company have given instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic; nor did I hesitate one minute to abandon my own views for such an object." He suspended Whitehill, the officiating governor of Madras who had refused to restore the Guntoor Sircar; he despatched every soldier that could be spared, together with fifteen lacs of rupees, for the exclusive use of the army, not to be fingered by the civilians; and the whole expedition was equipped and embarked within three weeks. The veteran Sir Eyre Coote, who had extinguished the French power on the Coast twenty years before, consented to take the command, and retrieve the honour of the Company amidst the scenes of his early triumphs. Hastings also adopted the hazardous expedient of stopping the Company's investment and devoting the funds to the expedition; but even this resource was found insufficient, and he was obliged, for the first time in his administration, to have recourse to a loan.

A.D.
1780

Coote
proceeds to
Madras.

SECTION IV.

PROCEEDINGS AT MADRAS, FROM THE DEFEAT OF COLONEL BAILLIE TO THE PEACE WITH TIPPOO, 1780-1784.

SIR EYRE COOTE arrived at Madras, eight weeks after the ^{A.D.} disaster of Colonel Baillie, but found the equipment of the 1781 army so wretched, and the difficulty of obtaining ^{Difficulties} supplies in a country swept by hostile cavalry ^{of Coote.} so great, that it was ten weeks before he could make any movement. But his arrival raised the drooping spirits of Madras, and checked the career of Hyder, who, instead of driving the English, as he had hoped, into the sea, found himself confronted by his old opponent. Hyder had obtained possession of Arcot through the treachery of the nabob's brahmin commandant, and was engaged in besieging Wandewash, which was defended by Lieutenant Flint with the same gallantry which had been displayed by Clive at Arcot. The hostile armies remained inactive for four months; the English for want of provisions, and Hyder from a dread of encountering them. Coote then attacked the fortified temple of Chillumbrum, but was repulsed, and Hyder was emboldened to risk a general en- ^{Battle of} gagement, and marching a hundred miles in two ^{Porto Novo.} days and a half, attacked the English on the 1st of July at 1781 Porto Novo; but after an engagement of six hours' duration, was totally defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, while the casualties on the side of Coote did not ex- ^{Of Pollilore.} ceed 300. The Bengal brigade was conducted along the coast by Colonel Pearce with admirable skill, and without a single accident, and he reached Pulicat in July. Hyder detached Tippoo to intercept it, and Coote marched 150 miles to form a junction with it, which he effected on the 2nd of August. Hyder had brought up the whole of his army to oppose his return, and taken up his position on the field where, exactly a twelvemonth before, Colonel Baillie's army had been exterminated, which the astrologers assured him was a lucky spot and a lucky day. The result of the battle was doubtful, and both parties claimed the victory by firing a salute. In the month of September there was a third engagement at Solingur, in which ^{Of Solingur.} Hyder was completely defeated, with the loss of 5,000 men, while only 100 fell on the side of the English.

Soon after the army retired into cantonments for the season at Madras, after a campaign in which all Hyder's plans were baffled by the superior strategy of Coote, and Coote's movements were crippled for want of supplies and equipments.

In the brief period of seven years, two governors of Madras had been dismissed by the Court of Directors; one had been suspended by Hastings, and a fourth deposed by his own Council. The Presidency was demoralized to the core by corrupt transactions with the nabob, and the Court of Directors resolved to place the government in the hands of one who was free from all local associations, and untainted by the general corruption. Their choice fell on Lord Macartney, an Irish peer of great political experience and dignified character. He reached Madras in June, with the first intelligence of the war between Holland and England. Hyder lost no time in forming an alliance with the Dutch on the basis of mutual co-operation against the English. Their principal settlement on the Coromandel coast was Negapatam, 160 miles south of Madras, garrisoned by an army of 6,500 men. Contrary to the advice of Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Macartney equipped an expedition from Tanjore and Madras, which was confided to Sir Hector Munro, and greatly strengthened by the marines and seamen. The settlement was captured in November, and found to contain a large quantity of military stores besides two valuable investments. Two months after, Trincomalee, the noblest harbour in Ceylon, was also captured from the Dutch. But, notwithstanding the successes of the year, the pressure of the war was severely felt on the finances of Madras. All the revenues of the Carnatic, which ought to have been available for its defence, were absorbed by the nabob and his rapacious creditors, and the Government was at length constrained to assume the entire control of the province, reserving one-sixth for the nabob.

Colonel Braithwaite had been despatched to protect Tanjore from the ravages of Tippoo, with a detachment of 2,000 men, almost all sepoys. The treachery of his guides betrayed him into a position where he came unexpectedly on Tippoo's army of 20,000 horse and 20,000 infantry and twenty guns; for twenty-eight hours his force maintained the unequal contest without flinching, but was at length overpowered. "The annals of war,"

A. D.
1781

Lord
Macartney
governor
of Madras.

1781

Capture of
Negapatam.

1782

Colonel
Braithwaite.

says the historian Mill, "can seldom exhibit a parallel to "the firmness and perseverance of this little army." This disaster was counterbalanced on the opposite coast by a sortie under Major Abingdon from Tellicherry, where he had been besieged for eighteen months, and the capture of 1,200 prisoners with sixty pieces of cannon. Hyder's despondency; his French allies had not made their appearance; Hastings had succeeded in detaching Sindia, the Nizam, and the raja of Nagpore from the grand confederacy, and the Peshwa now threatened to combine with the English, and wrest from him all the territories he had gained between the Kistna and the Toombudra. He lamented to his minister his folly in having plunged into a war with the Company. "The defeat of many Braithwaites and many "Baillies," he said, "will not crush them. I may ruin "their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea, and "I must be exhausted by a war in which I gain nothing "by fighting." The western coast he considered the weakest part of his dominions, and he determined to concentrate his efforts in that direction. He had issued orders to blow up the fortifications of Arcot, and to lay waste the Carnatic, without leaving a vestige of human habitation, when these gloomy forebodings were dissipated by the arrival of the French armament.

The French fleet was commanded by Suffrein, one of the greatest admirals France has produced. He met Admiral Hughes returning from the capture of Trinco-^{Naval} malee, and an engagement ensued which proved ^{actions.} indecisive. Suffrein then proceeded to Porto Novo, and landed 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 disciplined Africans. In June, Sir Eyre Coote attempted the capture of Arnee, Hyder's chief depôt in the south, but after an indecisive action under its walls, Hyder succeeded in rescuing his treasure and his stores. Two other actions were in the meantime fought between the fleets without any practical result, and Suffrein having refitted his ships, sailed to the south. Lord Macartney had received intelligence that a second French force had arrived at Galle, and he began to tremble for Trincomalee and Negapatam. He entreated Admiral Hughes to hasten to the defence of Trincomalee; but he was jealous of interference, and sluggish in his movements, and on entering the harbour found that the place had capitulated four days before. The fleets now came again in contact, but the result was again indecisive.

A.D.
1782

1782

A.D. 1782 This was the fourth naval action of the year, which was distinguished as much by the activity of the fleets as by the inefficient operations of the army.

Admiral Hughes on his return to Madras announced his intention of proceeding to Bombay to refit his vessels after four severe actions. The governor represented the desperate condition to which the affairs of the Admiral Hughes goes to Bombay. Company would be reduced on his departure, with Hyder master of the Carnatic, Bussy daily expected with large reinforcements, and the French masters of the sea and intercepting the supplies of grain on which Madras depended for its subsistence. But he was deaf to every remonstrance, and set sail on the 15th of October. That same night the monsoon set in with a terrific gale; the shore was strewed for miles with wrecks; the largest vessels went down at their anchors, and a hundred coasting craft laden with rice were irrecoverably lost. Four days after Admiral Bickerton arrived in the roads from England, with a considerable fleet; and having landed 4,000 troops, resisted all the importunity of the Government to remain for the protection of the coast, and insisted on putting to sea to join his commander. Madras was now subject to all the horrors of famine. The ravages of Hyder had driven the wretched inhabitants into the town for shelter and subsistence, and for some time the deaths amounted to 1,500 a week. Sir Eyre Coote's shattered constitution required him to retire to Bengal, and the monsoon suspended all military operations.

1782 Death of Hyder. Soon after the defeat of the Mysore army at Tellicherry in February, Colonel Humberstone, who succeeded to the command, marched into the heart of Mysore, and sat down before Palghaut, one of the strongest fortresses Hyder possessed, but the Bombay Council ordered him peremptorily to retire. Hyder lost no time in sending Tippoo with a contingent of French troops to repel this invasion, which might have penetrated to his capital. He came up with the retiring force at Paniani, and assaulted it in four columns, but was driven back with great loss, when he determined to turn the attack into a blockade, while waiting for his heavy guns. But on the 12th of December the whole of his army was seen to strike its tents, and march off to the eastern coast. A dromedary express had arrived the preceding evening with despatches announcing that "the ever-victorious spirit of Hyder," to use the language of his native biographer, "had taken its flight to Paradise." Worn out by the fatigues of war, and suffering from a

cancer in his back, he sunk on the 7th of December, at the age of eighty, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest, most enterprising, and most successful princes in the modern history of India. A.D. 1782

An Asiatic army deprived of its head always becomes a scene of confusion and intrigue. On this occasion the danger was increased by the absence of Hyder's successor, four hundred miles away; but it was averted by the consummate prudence of Poornea, the ablest of his ministers. The death of Hyder was carefully concealed; his body was embalmed and sent to Seringapatam, like a chest of valuable plunder. All orders continued to be issued in his name, and his closed palanquin with the usual retinue moved out at the usual hour from the canvas enclosure of his tent. Tippoo, on his arrival in the camp, gratified the troops by a liberal donation, and entered upon the possession of a kingdom with a treasure of three crores of rupees and jewels of countless value, and an army of 100,000 men in a high state of efficiency. But the fatality which had blighted the Madras Presidency for fifteen years still seemed to pursue it. The departure of Sir Eyre Coote placed the army under the command of General Stuart, who was perverse, insubordinate, and incapable. Lord Macartney urged him to take advantage of the consternation in Hyder's camp when his death was known, but he affected to disbelieve the report, and the golden opportunity of striking a decisive blow was lost. With a nobler army and a more ample commissariat than Sir Eyre Coote had ever possessed, he allowed sixty days to pass without any effort. The anxiety which this inactivity created was happily relieved by the sudden departure of Tippoo for the opposite coast. The alarming intelligence he received of the progress made by the British force there induced him, without waiting for the arrival of Bussy, then hourly expected, to break up his encampment and proceed in person to avert the danger. Obstinacy of General Stuart. 1783

Bussy landed at Cuddalore on the 10th April, and found himself at the head of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys; but he found also to his mortification that Tippoo had left only 3,500 troops to co-operate with him. General Stuart, having no longer any excuse for delay, began his march towards Cuddalore with a fine park of artillery, and an army of 14,500 men, of whom 3,000 were Europeans. Nothing was wanting to the efficiency of this army—the largest ever yet assembled at Bussy and Stuart at Cuddalore.

the Madras Presidency—but a commander; and the troops were looking with intense eagerness for their beloved old chief to lead them again to victory; but Sir Eyre Coote, who had been persuaded by Hastings to return to Madras, died three days after he had landed. The expedition now moved on to Cuddalore at the rate of three miles a day, and the town was invested on the 7th June. On the 13th

A.D.
1783 Bussy made a sally, which resulted in a general action, and he was defeated, with the loss of thirteen guns; but the victory was dearly purchased with the loss on the side of the English of 68 officers and 920 European soldiers. On the same day Suffrein made his appearance in the offing, and the two fleets came to an engagement, which was as indecisive as the former which had preceded it. Admiral Hughes proceeded to Madras to refit, and Suffrein reinforced Bussy with 2,400 marines and soldiers. On the 25th June, Bussy made a sortie, and was repulsed with heavy loss. But General Stuart, who had been peddling about Cuddalore for three weeks, had made no progress in the siege, while his force was daily wasting away from sickness, fatigue, and wounds; and Bussy was waiting for the maturity of his errors to strike a decisive blow, which would have resulted, there can be little doubt, in the disgrace and retreat of the English army, and possibly also in the investment and capture of Madras. From this danger the Company was happily saved by the arrival of

1783 intelligence that peace had been concluded between France and England. Hostilities at once ceased, and Tippoo was deprived of all the aid of the French troops. General Stuart on his arrival at Madras was placed under arrest by Lord Macartney and sent to England. It was he who had arrested Lord Pigot with great treachery; and the facetious remark of the nabob's second son on this occasion is not unworthy of record:—"General Stuart catch one lord, and "one lord catch General Stuart!

The abrupt departure of Tippoo to the Western coast was occasioned by the success of an expedition sent by the Bombay Government against his possessions in that quarter. On hearing of the death of Hyder, General Matthews was despatched, contrary to his own better judgment, to seize Bednore on the table-land of Mysore. The ascent of the ghauts, which had been fortified at every point, presented the most formidable obstacles, but they were surmounted by the gallantry of the 42nd Highlanders. When, however, the army arrived

Expedition
from
Bombay.

in front of the fortress, it was unexpectedly and unconditionally surrendered. The Mysore commander, who was a favourite with Hyder, but hated by his son, had obtained the sight of a letter from him to one of the officers at Bednore, containing an order to deprive him of his command, and, if necessary, to put him to death; and he made over the fortress to the general. After obtaining possession of it, he relaxed his vigilance, and allowed his men to disperse over the country in search of plunder. Tippoo hastened to recover it, and it was surrendered only when it had become a heap of ruins. Tippoo then descended to the siege of Mangalore, which forms one of the most memorable events of the war. The garrison, commanded by the valorous Colonel Campbell of the 42nd Highlanders, consisted of 700 Europeans and about 2,000 native sepoys, while the investing force numbered 100,000 men with 100 guns. The privations sustained by the garrison have seldom been exceeded. The place was defended for nine months with unsurpassed fortitude, and did not capitulate till the defenders were reduced to 850 mere skeletons.

A.D.
1783

Fall of
Mangalore.

While Tippoo was wasting his strength and his reputation on this siege, which cost him half his army, the Madras Government sent a force of 13,500 men across the Peninsula into the heart of the Mysore territory, under the command of another of the Company's great soldiers, Colonel Fullarton, who would in all probability have brought the war to a speedy and successful issue, if he had not been thwarted by the folly of the Madras authorities. After having captured the renowned fort of Palghaut and the important city of Coimbatore, he was on the point of marching on the capital, while the Mysore army was employed at Mangalore, when he received orders to suspend all operations, and to restore the districts he had occupied. Lord Macartney, contrary to the express orders of Hastings, had opened negotiations with Tippoo, at the very time when the Peshwa, in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Salbye, was threatening him with hostilities if he did not come to an accommodation with the English. The governor of Madras had even offered of his own accord a suspension of arms till the reply was received, and the progress of Colonel Fullarton was according arrested. Lord Macartney was so ignorant of the native character as not to be aware

Colonel
Fullarton's
success.

1783

that a proposal of negotiation is more likely to render it abortive than successful.

Tippoo treated the proposal with silent contempt for three months, and then sent one of his most astute officers to cozen the Madras authorities, and they were actually persuaded to despatch two commissioners to his camp at Mangalore. Tippoo was thus enabled to represent in every durbar that the British Government had sent two officers of rank from Madras to sue for peace. Disputes arose between the envoy of Tippoo and the commissioners which were referred to Madras; and the Council, after reviewing their position, ordered Colonel Fullarton to relinquish all his conquests and retire, instead of directing him to push on to Seringapatam with his victorious army, and bring the war to a successful issue. Hastings, with his profound knowledge of the native character, reprobated the negotiation through these commissioners, and maintained that it ought to have been committed to Colonel Fullarton, and dictated under the walls of the capital; but he was now powerless. The Court of Directors had recently renewed the condemnation of his proceedings, and the members of his Council had consequently deserted him; the conduct of the negotiations was therefore left to the Madras authorities, who fully maintained on this occasion their traditionary characteristic of imbecility.

The commissioners were marched leisurely through the country, detained at every stage, and subjected to constant indignity. On the fall of Mangalore they were admitted into the Mysore camp and insulted by the erection of gibbets in front of their tents.

The treaty, based on a mutual restitution of conquests, was at length signed. All that could be said of it was that it was not more disgraceful than those which the governor and Council of Madras had been invariably making for fifteen years. It was equally injurious to the reputation of the Company and inimical to the interests of peace, and it entailed the necessity of another conflict to correct the arrogance with which it inspired Tippoo, and to which he gave expression in the following announcement:—"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."

A.D. 1784 Treaty of Mangalore.

Treatment of the commissioners.

SECTION V.

THE SUPREME COURT—CHEYT SING—THE BEGUMS—CLOSE OF
HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

TO RESUME the thread of events in Bengal. The Supreme Court, established in Calcutta in 1774, was intended to protect the natives from the oppression of Europeans, and to give the Europeans the blessing of their own laws. The judges were commissioned to administer every branch of English law, and were invested with all the prerogatives of the King's Bench. Parliament had thus, in its wisdom or ignorance, established two independent powers in this new conquest, without deeming it necessary to define the limits of their respective authority, and a collision between them became inevitable. The first stroke fell upon the zemindars. They had been accustomed to use coercion in the collection of their rents from the ryots, who had seldom paid them without it. The Supreme Court was no sooner established than it began to issue writs against them at the suit of any ryot who was persuaded to sue them under the instigation of the attorneys who spread themselves over the country. They were dragged down to the Court in Calcutta, and sent to gaol if they were unwilling or unable to furnish bail. Even when the arrest was pronounced to have been illegal, they received no compensation for the expense and indignity to which they had been subject.

A feeling of dismay spread over the country, such as had not been felt for thirty years, since the invasion of the Mahrattas. The arrest and humiliation of the zemindars destroyed their credit and authority, and enabled the ryots to evade the payment of their rent with impunity. If the defaulters were subjected to confinement, the attorneys advised them to apply to the court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, when they were brought down to Calcutta and discharged. The zemindars pleaded these proceedings as an excuse for withholding payment of their dues to government, and its resources, which were then dependent solely on the land revenue, were placed in extreme peril.

The criminal judicature of the country, which embraced

- A.D. the police of thirty millions of people, had been entrusted to
 1775 In criminal
judicature. the nabob of Moorshedabad and to his judicial and
 executive officers ; but the judges of the Supreme
 Court declared that he was a phantom, a mere man of
 straw, without any right to the exercise of any authority
 whatever, and in one instance they issued a process of
 contempt against his Highness. They affirmed that the
 orders of the Provincial Courts established by Government,
 were of no more value than if they had been issued by the
 king of the fairies. They denied that the East India
 Company itself had any authority in India, beyond that of
 an ordinary commercial association, and affirmed that the
 Governor-General in Council was subject to their jurisdic-
 tion, and that it would be penal for him or any public
 officer to disobey any process they might issue. The
 judges doubtless acted conscientiously, but the whole
 fabric of Government was, nevertheless, shaken to its
 foundation, and the country was threatened with universal
 anarchy.
- 1779 The aggression of the Court reached its climax in the
 Cossijurah case. A native brought an action against the
The Cossi-
jurah case. raja, living at a distance from Calcutta, and not
 subject to the Court, and two sheriff's officers
 were sent with a body of eighty men armed with muskets
 and swords to execute the writ of the Court, and bring him
 up to Calcutta. They invaded his zenana and packed up
 his idols, but he escaped their vigilance. Hastings con-
 sidered that it was time to vindicate the authority of
 Government, and afford protection to its subjects ; and
 ordered the party to be intercepted on their return, and
 liberated on their arrival in Calcutta. To prevent the
 recurrence of such visitations, he issued a proclamation to
 landholders of every degree to consider themselves exempt
 from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court unless they had
 especially bound themselves to submit to it. The Court
 then issued a process against the Governor-General and the
 Council, which they treated with the contempt it deserved.
 Petitions were addressed to Parliament both by the
 native and the European community, praying for redress,
 but three years elapsed before it was granted. In
 1780 Appoint-
ment of Sir
E. Impey. the meantime Hastings provided a more imme-
 diate remedy by offering the post of chief judge
 in the Sudder Court, the Company's court of final appeal,
 to the Chief Justice, upon a salary of 7,000 rupees a month.
 He accepted the office, but declined any remuneration. All

the encroachments of the Crown Court ceased at once. The appointment was severely censured in Leadenhall Street and in Parliament, and Sir Elijah Impey was recalled and impeached, but honourably acquitted. The arrangement proved to be in a high degree beneficial to the interests of the country. Hastings had recently remodelled the judicial system, and though he placed over the civil courts the best men the service could furnish, they were necessarily without any judicial experience; and the Chief Justice, a lawyer of great eminence, was thus enabled to give form and consistency to their proceedings. With this object he drew up a code of regulations, clear and concise, and adapted to the simplicity of native habits, and it has formed the basis of subsequent legislation.

The pecuniary difficulties of this period were greater than had been felt for seven years. There was war with Hyder Ali then ravaging the Carnatic, war with the Mahrattas, and war with the French and ^{Cheynt Sing.} with the Dutch. The entire expense of all military operations fell on the treasury of Bengal—the only Presidency which paid. Heavy loans had been contracted; the credit of Government was low, and Hastings was obliged to cast about him for some exceptional source of relief. By the political constitution of India, a feudatory was always liable to a demand for extraordinary aid to meet the exigencies of his superior lord. The grandfather of Cheyt Sing, the raja of Benares, had, in the confusion of the times, succeeded in carving out a little principality for himself, which he held of the Vizier of Oude, and which Mr. Francis had constrained the Vizier to transfer to the Company, giving the raja a *sunnud*, or deed, which fixed his annual payment at twenty-two lacs of rupees. Hastings now made a demand on Cheyt Sing of five lacs of rupees and a body of 2,000 horse to assist in protecting Behar. The ^{Hastings's} requisition was strictly constitutional, and the ^{requisition.} raja paid it for some time, but at length endeavoured to evade farther payment on the plea of poverty. Hastings was assured that he had amassed a crore and a half, which was to a great extent true, and he construed his reluctance into a crime, and determined, as he said, “to make him pay largely for his pardon, to exact a severe vengeance for his delinquency, and to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company’s distresses.” ^{A.D.} Hastings 1780 had occasion to visit Benares, and the raja, anxious to avert his displeasure, met him on the way, and offered

A.D. 1781 him twenty lacs, but he raised his demand to fifty lacs. On reaching the city, Hastings transmitted him a statement of his offences, and placed him under arrest by sending the two companies of sepoys he had brought with him to mount guard on his palace. The populace rose on them, and, as they had brought no ammunition, massacred them all, as well as their officers.

During this *émeute* the raja escaped across the river, but the situation of the Governor-General was perilous in the extreme. His native force was annihilated. He was in a city renowned for its turbulence, and in the midst of an infuriated mob; and he and the thirty gentlemen with him had only their own swords to trust to. Happily, the multitude, instead of attacking Hastings in his defenceless state, hastened across the river to join the raja. The whole province was soon in a state of revolt, but Hastings never lost his self-possession; and it was at this critical period that he continued and completed the negotiations with Sindia which issued in the treaty of Salbye, with as much calmness as if he had been residing in his own garden-house in Calcutta. Equally remarkable was the confidence manifested by Sindia in the destinies of the Company, by affixing his seal to it under such circumstances. Troops arrived rapidly from various quarters; but Hastings, not considering his position tenable, made his escape by night through a window, and rowed down to Chunar.

The raja collected an army of 20,000 men, but it was repeatedly defeated, and his last fortress, Bidgegurh, in which his treasure was deposited, was surrendered by his begums. Major Popham, the commander, took advantage of an incautious expression in one of Hastings's letters, and divided the whole of the prize money, forty lacs of rupees, at once, among the officers and men, to the infinite annoyance of Hastings, who had been calculating on the receipt of it to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments. This is one of those transactions in the career of Hastings for which it would be difficult to offer any palliation. Cheyt Sing was contumacious in having hesitated to afford the necessary aid to his suzerain in a great public emergency; but the imposition of a fine of fifty lacs for demurring to the payment of a tenth of that sum was a vindictive proceeding, and has always been considered a blot on his administration.

The loss of the raja's treasure was a source of deep

anxiety to Hastings. There were 60,000 troops in the field, and the treasury was empty. The arrears which were due from the Vizier, however, amounted to a crore and a half of rupees, and Hastings looked to this source for relief, when the Vizier waited on him at Chunar, and informed him that his own funds were exhausted, and that it was no longer possible for him to maintain the English troops employed in protecting his territories. He then alluded to the treasures of the begums, and requested permission of the Governor-General to take possession of them and thus discharge his obligations to the Company. At the same time it was asserted, but on the worthless testimony of Colonel Hannay, that the begums had abetted the rebellion, as it was officially termed, of Cheyt Sing, and supplied him with troops and money. Hastings, under the severe pressure of circumstances, persuaded himself that "the begums had made war on the Company," and he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Vizier, and authorised the spoliation of the princesses. Seventy-five lacs of rupees were extracted from their vaults, and transmitted to Calcutta, but not before the two eunuchs, their ministers, had been subject to torture. For this act of atrocity, Hastings is no farther responsible than as it might be considered the result of his own injustice. To this treasure the begums had no legitimate title; it was the property of the state and answerable for its obligations, but six years before, their right to it had been acknowledged under the seal of the Government in Calcutta, which ought to have been considered sacred. Hastings was so little conscious of the turpitude of this transaction that he ridiculed the censure which "men of virtue" might cast on it. But posterity has vindicated the principles of public morality, and although Hastings had no personal interest in the transaction, but was led into it by a mistaken loyalty to the interests of the Company, it has been the subject of general censure.

A.D.
1782

These proceedings were severely condemned by the Court of Directors, and the members of his Council thereupon united in opposition to him, and he justly complained that while he was held personally responsible for the safety of India, his degradation had been proclaimed in every native court, and in the Council he had only a single vote. In a letter of the 20th March to the Directors, after alluding to the patience and temper with which he had submitted to the indignities heaped

Close of
Hastings'
administra-
tion.

A.D. on him during his long service, he announced his determina-
 784 tion to retire from the Government. He proceeded to Luck-
 now, and in compliance with the injunctions of the Court of
 Directors restored the jageers which had been sequestered
 to the begums, adjusted all accounts with the Vizier, and
 then withdrew the Resident. On his return to Calcutta
 he addressed valedictory letters to the princes and chiefs of
 India, by all of whom he was held in the highest esteem,
 1785 and embarked for England in February.

From the king and queen Hastings met with a gracious
 reception, and even the Court of Directors greeted him
 with a courteous address. With one exception,
 the ministry likewise evinced a very friendly dis-
 position towards him, and Mr. Dundas, who had
 moved the vote of censure upon him in the House of
 Commons, in terms exceptionally virulent, now pronounced
 him the "Saviour of India." But Mr. Pitt, the prime
 minister, was strongly biassed against him, and while ap-
 plauding his genius and his success refused to advise the
 king to confer any mark of distinction upon him. Burke,
 who had made Indian politics his especial study for many
 years, had contracted a feeling akin to personal animosity
 towards him, and aided by the local knowledge and the
 unmatched rancour of Mr. Francis, who had obtained a
 seat in Parliament, denounced his conduct in the House of
 1786 Commons. The House was induced to vote his impeach-
 ment at the bar of the House of Lords on twenty-two
 charges. Of these only three were of any serious import;
 the Rohilla war, the treatment of Cheyt Sing, and the
 spoliation of the begums; the rest were the mere litter
 of Mr. Francis's malignity. The trial commenced on
 1788 the 13th February, 1788, and presented the most august spec-
 tacle which had been witnessed in England since the trial
 of the bishops, a century before. The queen, the prin-
 cesses, the Prince of Wales and his royal brothers, and the
 peers in their ermine proceeded in state to Westminster
 Hall to witness the opening of the proceedings. But the
 most memorable scene in this great drama was the galaxy
 of genius in the seats appropriated to the managers of the
 House, Fox and Burke, and Sheridan and Grey, and
 Windham, names of imperishable renown in the annals of
 the country. In the presence of this illustrious assembly
 Warren Hastings, who had given law to the princes and
 people throughout the continent of India, was arraigned
 as a culprit. The management of the trial was left with

the Whigs, who conducted it with ability which has never been surpassed, and in a spirit of animosity which has seldom been equalled. They applied to him the epithets of thief, tyrant, robber, cheat, swindler, sharper, captain general of iniquity and spider of hell; and then expressed their regret that the English language did not afford terms more adequate to the enormity of his offences. The trial dragged on for seven years, and ended in his complete and honourable acquittal, but it cost him ten lacs of rupees, and reduced him to poverty.

A.D.
1795

The most severe censor of his administration, the philosophic historian Mill, admits that "he was beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company ever employed, nor is there any one of them who would not have succumbed under the difficulties he had to encounter." Censurable as some of his acts undoubtedly were, the grandeur of his career is by many considered as casting his offences into the shade, and one of the most eminent statesman of the day asserted that "though he was not blameless, if there was a bald place on his head, it ought to be covered with laurel." While the king and his ministers were losing an empire in the west, he was building up another in the east. The authority of the Company was limited to the valley of the Ganges when he assumed the government. He was anxious to avoid territorial acquisitions—and, indeed, he made none—but it was the object of his ambition to extend the influence of the Company to every court in India, and to render it the paramount power on the continent; and this object he fully accomplished, in the midst of unexampled difficulties. At the time of his retirement the Company was recognised as the most substantial and important power in India, whose favour was courted and whose hostility was dreaded equally by Tippoo, the Nizam, and the five Mahratta princes. No British ruler, moreover, has ever secured to an equal extent, not merely the homage but the warm attachment of the people under his government, by whom, after the lapse of a century, the name of "Hustin Sahib" is still pronounced with a feeling of veneration.

Character
of
Hastings.

In February 1781, the petitions of the inhabitants of Calcutta against the encroachments of the Supreme Court were presented to the House and referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Burke was the life and soul, and which presented

Reports of
Committees.

1781

A.D.
1782

twelve able reports. On the receipt of intelligence of Hyder Ali's irruption into the Carnatic, a secret committee was appointed, of which Mr. Dundas was chairman. On the presentation of the report, he denounced the conduct of Hastings and the governors of Madras and Bombay, and moved the recall of Hastings from Bengal, and Hornby from Bombay, for having acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation, and brought calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the Company. The House voted the recall of Hastings, and the Court of Directors responded to it; but the Court of Proprietors, which, at this time, comprised men of higher standing and of greater eminence than the superior Court, passed a vote of thanks to Hastings for his eminent services. The pecuniary embarrassment occasioned by the expensive wars waged in India constrained the Company to apply to Parliament for the loan of a crore of rupees, which was not refused, but it weakened still farther their position, which had been seriously damaged by the unfavourable reports of the two committees, and there was a general outcry for remodelling the Government of India.

1783

Mr. Fox, then at the head of the coalition ministry, accordingly introduced his famous India bill, which had been drafted by his colleague Mr. Burke. It provided that all the powers of Government should be transferred for four years from the Company to a Board consisting of seven Commissioners, to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament, and subsequently by the Crown, while the trade was to be managed by nine assistant Directors. The patronage of the India House was at the time estimated at two crores of rupees a year, and it was maintained that the transfer of it to the ministry would be fatal to the constitution. The Court of Directors, threatened with extinction, filled the town with complaints of the violation of chartered rights, and inflamed the public mind by a caricature representing Mr. Fox as Carlo Khan, mounted on an elephant and assailing the India House; but the bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of two to one. The king had been persuaded that it would take the crown from his head and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox, and by the exercise of an unconstitutional influence, he induced the House of Lords to throw it out, and he lost no time in dismissing the ministry.

Mr. Pitt, then in his twenty-fourth year, was placed at

the head of the new administration, and brought in another India bill, which provided for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners by the Crown, with power "to check, superintend, and control all the "acts, operations and concerns," connected with the civil and military government and revenues of India. A secret committee, consisting of the chairman, deputy chairman, and the senior member of the Court of Directors was to act in subordination to the Commissioners, and control all correspondence of any importance; and twenty-one of the Directors were thus excluded from all influence in the administration of India. Mr. Fox's bill annihilated the Company, but, under Mr. Pitt's bill they retained their golden patronage and their social position and the trappings of dignity, but the substantial power of Government was transferred to the Crown. The Proprietors, who had recently set the House of Commons at defiance in the matter of Hastings' recall, were restricted from interfering with any of the decisions of the Board of Commissioners, usually denominated the Board of Control, and, though they retained the empty privilege of debate, were reduced to a state of political insignificance. It was, moreover, resolved that "to pursue schemes of conquest and acquisition of territory was contrary to the wish, the honour, "and the policy of the British nation;" but this renewed attempt to stop the growth of the British empire in India only afforded another exemplification of the vanity of human wishes.

A.D.
1784Pitt's India
Bill.

Mr. Dundas was appointed President of the Board of Control, and one of the first questions which came before him related to the debts of the nabob of Arcot. For many years he had been living on loans obtained at an exorbitant premium and usurious interest, for which he gave assignments on the districts of the Carnatic. When his court was removed from Arcot to Madras, the town became the focus of intrigue and fraud. All classes, both in and out of the service, not excepting the members of Council, embarked in the traffic of loans, which became the shortest road to fortune. Everyone was eager to obtain access to the pagoda-tree, as it was called, then in full bloom. Hastings, on taking over the revenues of the Carnatic to support the war with Hyder, was anxious to deal summarily with this incubus on its resources, and proposed to deduct a fourth from the principal, to consolidate it with the interest to a fixed date,

1785
The Nabob
of Arcot's
debts.

and pay off the amount by instalments. But the creditors would not listen to any proposal to cut the tree down.

Mr. Pitt's India bill made provision for the investigation of these claims preparatory to their liquidation, and Mr. Dundas's the Court of Directors entered on the duty with extraordinary great alacrity, but Mr. Dundas removed the case out of their hands, and determined to pay off the debts without enquiry. The princes of India had already discovered that the most effectual mode of counteracting the Government of India, both in England and abroad, was to subsidize members of Parliament. The nabob of Arcot adopted this expedient on a magnificent scale. Paul Benfield was sent to London with large funds, established an office in Westminster for the purchase of boroughs, and in the general election of 1783, made no fewer than eight members of Parliament, whose votes were placed at the disposal of the ministry. It was to this Parliamentary influence that the anomalous proceedings of Mr. Dundas were generally attributed, by which Paul Benfield secured the undisturbed enjoyment of a sum little short of sixty lacs of rupees. The heaviest class of the loans was fixed, with interest, at two crores and a quarter, but it cost the Company five crores before it was paid off.

Mr. Fox's Indian Bill made it penal for any servant of the Company, civil or military, to engage in money transactions with any native prince, but no such clause was inserted in Mr. Pitt's bill, and the nabob and his friends embarked in the fabrication of fresh loans while the liquidation of the old loans was in progress, and on the payment of the last pagoda brought forward new demands, to the incredible amount of thirty crores of rupees. Parliament was now resolved that they should be subject to a severe scrutiny, and a board of Commissioners was appointed at Madras to investigate them, and another board in London to receive appeals. Their labours extended over fifty years, and cost India a crore of rupees, but they reduced the claims from thirty-two crores of rupees to about two and a half. Mr. Dundas's proceedings regarding the revenues of the Carnatic were equally disastrous. The nabob had received a larger income from them while they were under the management of the Company than when administered by his own officers, but those officers and his creditors lost the opportunity of plunder, and induced him to become importunate for the restoration of the country.

A.D.
1784

Fabrication
of new loans.

1805

1785

Revenues of
the Carnatic.

Contrary to the advice of the Court of Directors, Mr. Dundas ordered the districts to be given back to the nabob, that is, to his creditors, who began again to reap a rich harvest, while the Madras Presidency, with an army seven months in arrears, was reduced to a state bordering on bankruptcy.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS—MYSORE WAR.

ON the departure of Hastings, Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of Council succeeded temporarily to the Government. He had originally gone out to India as purser of one of the Company's vessels, but attached himself to the nabob of the Carnatic and returned to England as his agent, and through the influence of the Duke of Grafton, who highly appreciated his abilities, was appointed to the Madras civil service, from which he was subsequently promoted to the Bengal Council. The great merit of his brief administration, which lasted only twenty-two months, lay in his economical reforms which resulted in the laudable reduction of a crore and a half of annual expenditure.

The Government of the Company's possessions since the battle of Plassy had hitherto been given to one of the officers on their own establishment in India, but it was found that whatever advantage might be derived from his local knowledge and experience was counterbalanced by the trammels of local associations, and the difficulty of exercising a due control over those who had once been his equals. The ministry determined, therefore, to select for the office of Governor-General a nobleman of high character, unfettered by any Indian ties of friendship or relationship. Lord Macartney, the governor of Madras, was chosen for the appointment, but he disgusted Mr. Dundas by endeavouring to make terms with the ministry, and Lord Cornwallis was

A.D.
1785Mr. Mac-
pherson
officiating
Governor-
General.

1786

Lord Corn-
wallis
Governor-
General.

A.D. 1786 nominated in his stead, and he assumed charge of the Government in September, 1786. And thus, by the singular caprice of events, the man who had surrendered a British army to Washington at York Town, which entailed the loss of America, was appointed to govern India, while the man who had saved India under the most arduous circumstances was subjected to a prosecution for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The Government of Lord Cornwallis commenced under the most auspicious circumstances. Hastings's administration had been crippled by the chronic opposition of the home authorities at the India House and Downing Street. Lord Cornwallis enjoyed the entire confidence of Mr. Pitt, and of the Board of Control, to which the Directors were subordinate, and of which his friend Mr. Dundas was President. The office of Commander-in-Chief was likewise united with that of Governor-General, and Lord Cornwallis was thus enabled to control all the military arrangements and expenditure. Hastings had only a single voice in the Council, while his successor was invested with the power of overruling the votes of his colleagues whenever he deemed it necessary. The Court of Directors had been in the habit of nominating their friends and relatives to the most lucrative appointments in India, and the influence of this independent connection greatly fettered the authority of government, and fostered and protected abuses. Hastings had protested against it, but he had not sufficient official strength to secure success; Lord Cornwallis, on the other hand, was strong in the support of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and threatened to resign the Government unless it was discontinued; It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the arrival of Lord Cornwallis should have quenched the spirit of faction and intrigue, and given a higher tone to the Government.

1786 to 1789 Lord Cornwallis's economical reforms. The first three years of his administration were occupied in the reform of abuses, which were to be traced mainly to the vicious and traditional policy of the Court of Directors of giving small salaries, and allowing indefinite perquisites. The salaries came from their own treasury, but the perquisites from the pockets of the people. Every man, as Lord Cornwallis remarked, who returned to England rich was deemed a rogue, and every man who went home poor a fool. He found the system of peculation in full vigour. The treasurer was lending the public funds at twelve per cent.

Advantages
of Corn-
wallis's
position.

The Commander-in-Chief had given two of his favourites the lucrative commission of raising two regiments, but while they drew full allowances for the men, the regiments existed only on paper. The collectors of the land revenue, who were also armed with the power of magistrates, monopolised the trade of the district under fictitious names, and amassed fortunes. The post of political Resident at the court of the raja of Benares was considered worth four lacs of rupees a year, while the salary attached to it did not exceed a thousand rupees a month.

Lord Cornwallis set himself to the task of reforming these abuses with unflinching vigour. He hunted out frauds in every corner, put a period to jobbing agencies, and exorbitant contracts. He refused to allow men of power and influence at home to quarter their friends and kindred, and sometimes their victims at the gambling-table, on Indian appointments, and he had the courage to decline the recommendations of the Prince of Wales, "who," he wrote, "was always pressing some infamous and unjustifiable job upon him;" but it was not till he had convinced the Court of Directors of the truth which Clive and Hastings had in vain pressed on them, that "it was not good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make fortunes in a few months, without giving them adequate salaries," that the purification of the public service became practicable. It has continued to improve ever since, notwithstanding the growth of the empire, and the Indian service now presents an example of administrative integrity which has seldom, if ever, been equalled.

The Vizier lost no time in renewing the request he had not ceased for years to make, to be relieved from the expense of the Company's troops stationed in his dominions for their protection, but the rapid increase of Sindia's encroachments in Hindostan, and the growing power of the Sikhs, convinced Lord Cornwallis that the troops could not be withdrawn without great risk, but he reduced the charge by one third. The Vizier was likewise delivered from the pressure of the European harpies, who, under the predominance of British influence, had long been preying on him, one of whom, Colonel Hannay, had amassed a fortune of thirty lacs in a few years. He likewise conferred an inestimable boon on him by peremptorily refusing to recognise the claims of

A.D.
1786
to
1789

Lord Corn-
wallis's stern
vigour.

1786

The affairs
of Oude.

any of his private creditors, whether European or native, and thus saved him from the fate of the nabob of Arcot. But he did not fail to remonstrate with him, though in vain, on the abuses of his administration. The only concern of the Vizier was to obtain the means of personal gratification, and hence the zemindar was allowed to squeeze the ryot and the ministers to squeeze the zemindar, and he squeezed the ministers and public officers when they were sufficiently gorged with plunder, and squandered the money in boundless dissipation.

By the treaty with the Nizam, the Gunttoor Sircar was assigned to the Company after the death of his brother Basalut Jung. He died in 1782, but the Nizam steadily evaded the surrender of it, and Lord Cornwallis, when taking leave of the Directors, was directed peremptorily to demand it. In 1788, he drew a body of troops to the frontier, and instructed the Resident to claim the full execution of the treaty. To his great surprise, the Nizam at once acceded to his wishes, but he also expressed his confidence that the Company's Government would with equal alacrity fulfil the obligations to which they were bound by the other articles of the treaty; which were, to assist him with two battalions of troops, and six pieces of artillery whenever he should require their services, and to reduce and transfer to him the province of the Carnatic Balaghaut, then usurped by Hyder Naik. With his usual duplicity he despatched an envoy simultaneously to Tippoo to propose an alliance for the extirpation of the English. Tippoo readily embraced the proposal, and demanded the hand of one of the Hyderabad princesses, but the Tartar blood of the son of Cheen Killich boiled at the idea of a matrimonial alliance with the son of a naik, or head constable, and the negotiation was broken off.

Lord Cornwallis was disconcerted by this manœuvre. Since the unfortunate treaty of 1768, the Company's Government had twice acknowledged Hyder and Tippoo as the lawful sovereigns of this province, and to furnish the Nizam with the English brigade he desired would lead to dangerous complications; on the other hand, it was important to prevent his throwing himself into the arms of Tippoo. To meet the difficulty, Lord Cornwallis addressed an official letter to him, engaging to transfer the province if it should come into the possession of the Company with the aid of his troops, and likewise to furnish him with the brigade on condition

The Gunttoor Sircar.

A.D. 1788

Lord Cornwallis's imprudent letter.

1789

that it should not be employed against any of the allies of the Company, a list of whom, which did not include the name of Tippoo, was subjoined. Tippoo was naturally irritated to find that the dismemberment of his dominions was within the contemplation of the Governor-General, and that he was prepared to place a British force at the disposal of the Nizam, with liberty to employ it against him. That this communication was highly injudicious will not be questioned; but it is idle to attribute the war with Tippoo six months after to its influence, inasmuch as he had fitted out an expedition against the raja of Travancore six months before the date of it. A.D.
1789

The little principality of Travancore, at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast, had been placed under British protection by the treaty of Mangalore. Tippoo, who had long coveted the possession of it, had been for some time assembling an army to invade it, and the raja, to strengthen his defences, had purchased two towns in the neighbourhood of the Dutch. Tippoo demanded the surrender of them on the plea that they belonged to his vassal, the raja of Cochin. The raja appealed to Lord Cornwallis, who directed the authorities at Madras to inform both him and Tippoo that if the Dutch had really held independent and unreserved possession of these places, the raja was to be supported in retaining them. Mr. Holland, the governor of Madras, more unprincipled than any of his predecessors, not only withheld this communication from Tippoo, but endeavoured to extort a lac of pagodas for himself from the raja as the condition of supporting him. The army on the Coast was likewise kept in an inefficient state, and the pay of the troops was allowed to fall into arrears, while, in direct violation of the orders of Lord Cornwallis, the public revenues were appropriated to the payment of the creditors of the nabob, of whom he was one of the principal. Tippoo suddenly attacked the "lines of Travancore," as they were termed, —the defensive wall the raja had erected—and was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men, upon which he ordered up a battering train from Seringapatam, and reinforcements from every quarter. This wanton attack of an ally was an unequivocal declaration of war against the Company, but Holland proposed a pacific adjustment of the question to Tippoo, and soon after deserted his post and embarked for England. 1789

Lord Cornwallis considered it essential to our honour to

defend an ally, and to take up the gauntlet which Tippoo had thrown down. It was not a time for pottering over Acts of Parliament, and he proceeded at once to offer alliances, offensive and defensive, to

Lord Cornwallis's alliances.

A.D. 1790 the two native powers in the Deccan, the Nizam and the Peshwa, which their hatred and dread of Tippoo led them to accept with great alacrity. A tripartite treaty was concluded which provided that they should simultaneously attack Tippoo's dominions, and join the British army with 10,000 horse, if required, for whose services they were to be reimbursed, and that the Mysore territories and forts conquered by their united arms should be equally divided among them.

General Medows, an officer of acknowledged ability, had arrived at Madras as governor and Commander in Chief, and Lord Cornwallis entrusted the conduct of the campaign to him. The deficiency of the commissariat, owing to the profligate neglect of Holland, retarded the departure of the army for

General Medows's abortive campaign.

several months, but the General was enabled to march from Trichinopoly on the 26th of May, at the head of a force of 15,000 men. Coimbatore was captured in July, and Palghat and Dindigul, both deemed impregnable, in September, but the force was injudiciously separated, and Tippoo, by a masterly movement, interposed between the divisions, one of which suffered heavy loss both in men and guns. When the war became inevitable Lord Cornwallis adopted the bold plan of Hastings, and despatched a large expedition to Madras along the coast where we had no allies; and, notwithstanding the able dispositions of Tippoo to prevent its junction with the Madras army, it was effected without a conflict. Tippoo then proceeded southward, closely followed by General Medows, but these marches and counter-marches, which were without result, subjected the troops to severe fatigue, and weakened their confidence in the General. The campaign proved abortive, and Lord Cornwallis determined to take the command of the army into his own hands.

1790

He arrived at Madras on the 12th December and made the most vigorous preparations to take the field. Meanwhile, Tippoo proceeded to the north, and having ravaged the Carnatic, marched south to Pondicherry, and despatched a mission to Paris, to Louis XVI., soliciting the aid of 6,000 troops, for whom he would make suitable provision. The unhappy king was then in the vortex of the Revolution, and replied: "This resembles the affair of

Second campaign.

“America, of which I never think without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we are suffering for it now; the lesson is too severe to be forgotten.” The army was assembled at Vellore, on the 11th February, and marched without any opposition to Bangalore, which capitulated on the 21st, but not before Tippoo had succeeded, by forced marches, in removing his seraglio and his treasure. The Nizam’s contingent of 10,000 horse was assembled at Hyderabad in the preceding year, but did not enter Tippoo’s dominions till it was certain that he had marched southward, and that there was no risk of encountering him. In 1791, they hastened to join Lord Cornwallis’s camp as soon as they heard that Bangalore had capitulated; but there was neither discipline nor valour in their ranks, and the flaunting cavaliers were unable to protect their own foraging parties, and soon ceased to move beyond the English pickets. Lord Cornwallis was now in full march on Seringapatam, and Tippoo determined to try the result of a battle. It was fought at Arikera, and he sustained a total defeat. From the summit of the hill, where the last shot was fired, the eastern face of the capital greeted the eyes of the victors; but here, to their deep chagrin, the campaign terminated. For several weeks the army had been suffering the extremity of want. The stores, scanty when the army began its march, were rapidly exhausted; Tippoo’s light horse intercepted all supplies, and created a desert round the camp. On the 20th May the artillery officers reported that the bullocks were reduced to such a state that they could no longer drag the heavy guns, and Lord Cornwallis was convinced that the safety of the army depended on an immediate retreat. General Abercromby, who had been sent with a force from Bombay to cooperate with Lord Cornwallis from the western coast, had arrived within forty miles of the capital, but was directed on the 21st May to destroy a portion of his siege guns and bury the rest and retire to the coast. The next day Lord Cornwallis destroyed his own battering train and began his melancholy return to Madras.

By the coalition treaty, signed on the 1st June, the regency at Poona engaged to furnish 10,000 troops to operate against Tippoo, but the minister, Nana Furnavese, still allowed his envoys to remain at the court, in the hope—which he did not conceal—that, at the eleventh hour, Tippoo might be induced to purchase his neutrality by

A.D.
1791

Battle of
Arikera.

The Mah-
ratta army.

a concession of territory. When this expectation vanished and the Mahratta force took the field, it became evident that the primary object of the Nana was to use the British artillery in recovering the fortresses which Tippoo had wrested from the Mahrattas, and six months were occupied in the siege of Dharwar. Hence, in the first campaign of 1790, the Peshwa's force rendered no assistance whatever. In the campaign of 1791 it joined the army of Lord Cornwallis only on the first day of the retreat. If he had received any intimation of its approach, the result of the campaign might have been different; but his intelligence department was deplorable, while Tippoo's admirable establishment of scouts intercepted all communication. The bazaar of the Mahratta army, rich with the spoils of India, presented a singular contrast to the poverty of the English camp, and the provisions they brought, though sold at an exorbitant price, proved a seasonable relief to the famishing English soldiers. The Mahratta sirdars, who had been enriching themselves by pillage from the day they took the field, set up a plea of poverty, and demanded an advance of fourteen lacs of rupees, which Lord Cornwallis was constrained to make to prevent the transfer of their alliance to Tippoo. It was on this occasion that he followed the example of Hastings, and took the funds provided for the Company's investment out of the holds of their ships.

A. D. 1791 On his return to Madras Lord Cornwallis employed the army in the conquest of the Baramahal and the capture of the fortresses with which the country was studded. Nothing filled the native princes with such awe of the military power of the Company, as the ease and rapidity with which such forts as Kistnaghery, Nundidroog, Savandroog, and others that were deemed impregnable, were captured, while they considered themselves fortunate if forts of inferior strength were taken after a siege of six months. Early in January Lord Cornwallis took the field with a conyoy surpassing in magnitude anything which had been seen before, and which led Tippoo to exclaim: "It is not what I see of the "resources of the English that I dread, as what I do not "see." The army consisted of 22,000 men and eighty-six field pieces and siege guns. It was augmented, but by no means strengthened, by about 8,000 of the Nizam's troops, more showy than serviceable, and a small contingent of Mahratta horse. On the 5th February the whole force reached a position which commanded a view of Seringapatam,

A. D.
1791

Preparations
for the third
campaign.

1792

situated on an island of the Cauvery, protected by three lines of defence mounting three hundred guns, and surrounded by a hedge of thorny plants absolutely impervious to man or beast. Tippoo's army was encamped on the northern bank of the stream, in a strongly fortified position, which Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred on the 6th, and determined to storm the same night. The generals of the allies were lost in astonishment when they heard that the English commander had gone out "like an ordinary captain," in a dark night without guns, to assail these formidable lines. The conflict, which was carried on throughout the night, terminated in the capture of all Tippoo's redoubts, and the establishment of the British force in the island itself. Soon after Lord Cornwallis was strengthened by the junction of General Abercromby's force of 6,000 men from Bombay, and the operations were pushed on with such vigour that Tippoo was assured by his principal officers that no dependence could any longer be placed on his troops, and that he had nothing left but submission. Threatened as he was with the loss of his kingdom he accepted the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis:—that he should surrender half his dominions, pay a war indemnity of three crores, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The generals of the Peshwa and the Nizam left the negotiations entirely with the English plenipotentiary; but after they had been completed, the Mahratta commander put in a demand of sixty lacs for himself and the Nizam's general, as a "reasonable remuneration for their labours in the negotiations," but consented to its reduction by one half. From documents found at Seringapatam when it was captured six years later, it appears that the generals of both the allies were all the time engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo, the perfidious object of which was happily defeated by the prompt movements of Lord Cornwallis and the early completion of the treaty. The coalition treaty provided that the territories and fortresses conquered by their united exertions should be equally divided among the three signatories. The Mahrattas had given no assistance in the war; indeed, their main body did not join the English camp until a fortnight after the treaty had been signed. The Nizam's force had done nothing but consume food and forage; but Lord Cornwallis determined to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to the original compact, and made over a third of the indemnity, as well as of the territory, to each of his

A.D. 1792 confederates, annexing only one third, of the annual value of forty lacs of rupees, to the Company's territories.

This was the first acquisition of territory after it had been resolved to prevent it by Act of Parliament. Mr. Pitt, when introducing his Bill in 1784, stated that his first and principal object was to prevent the governor of Bengal from being ambitious, and bent on conquest; but, though the dread of territorial expansion was the bugbear of the day, and continued to haunt the India House and Downing Street till we had absorbed all India, the tendency of our policy for twenty years had lain in an opposite direction. Clive had given back the kingdom of Oude in 1765, when it was forfeited by the issue of the war, and he denounced any attempt to extend our dominions beyond the Curumnussa. Hastings was at one time prepared to relinquish the Northern Sircars; Lord Cornwallis, soon after he assumed the Government expressed his wish to withdraw from the Malabar coast, and reduce Bombay to the position of a factory; and Lord Shelburn, when prime minister in 1782, proposed to abandon Madras, and give up everything but Bengal and Bombay. If the size of the Indian empire had depended on the wishes or the policy of the public authorities of the day, it would have been comprised within very narrow limits.

The increase of the Company's dominions in India, which was reprobated by the Court of Directors, by Parliament and by the ministry, arose from the progress of circumstances over which none of those authorities had any control. From time immemorial, aggression had been the vital principle of all native states. Twenty-five centuries before, the father of Hindoo legislation had placed conquest among the foremost of royal virtues. "What the king has not got," said Munoo, "let him strive to gain by military strength;" and it was a precept never disregarded. The Mahomedans adopted this standing rule, not only in reference to infidel princes, but to those of their own creed. Every new dynasty proceeded to attack and appropriate the dominions of its neighbours. During the eighteenth century, the political cauldron in India had been seething with more than ordinary violence. The four chief powers of the period, Tippoo, the Nizam, the Peshwa and Sindia, who, had been established within the previous sixty years, were maintained in vigour by the impulse of aggressiveness. Scarcely a year had passed

Remarks on the growth of the empire.

Cause of the growth.

without an invasion of the rights of some prince in Hindostan or the Deccan. It was in this state of things that the Company appeared on the scene, and took up arms for the defence of their factories, and by the superior discipline and valour of their troops became a first-rate military power, and consequently an object of jealousy and dread to the belligerent princes of India. It was the restlessness and encroachment of the native princes, and not the ambition of English rulers, that gave rise to nearly all the wars in which they were engaged. The slightest symptom of weakness, and too frequently the appearance of moderation, became the signal for hostility; and when the aggression was subdued it appeared the dictate of prudence to prevent the repetition of it by reducing the resources of the aggressor, and depriving him of some portion of his territory. And thus has the British empire in India been gradually extended by a mysterious and inexorable necessity, which has overpowered not only the opposition of the India House and the ministry, and the denunciations of English patriots, but the omnipotence of Parliament. The House of Commons ratified all the proceedings of Lord Cornwallis, not excepting even the acquisition of territory. and the king conferred on him the dignity of a marquis. The precedent has been scrupulously followed ever since, and every Governor-General who has enlarged the British dominions in India has received the thanks of Parliament and been decorated with honours by the Crown.

SECTION II.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—REVENUE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS—PROGRESS OF SINDIA.

THE brilliant success of the Mysore war reflected great credit on Lord Cornwallis; but the permanent reputation of his administration rests on his revenue and ^{Revenue} judicial reforms. The changes which had been ^{reforms.} so repeatedly made in the revenue arrangements during the thirty years of our rule were found to have been equally detrimental to the welfare of the ryots and the interests of the state, and Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival, affirmed that agriculture and internal commerce were in a state of rapid decay, and that no class appeared to flourish

but the money-lenders. The Court of Directors felt the necessity of adopting some decisive policy to arrest the progress of ruin, and accordingly framed their memorable letter of the 12th April, the salient points of which were, that the settlement should be made with the old zemindars, and not with farmers or with temporary renters,—on the ground of fiscal expediency, and not as a matter of right,—and for a period of ten years, and eventually, if it was found to work well, in perpetuity. Lord Cornwallis employed three years in endeavouring to acquire information on the subject to serve as the basis of a settlement. The fee simple of the land had always been considered as belonging to the sovereign, but the Court of Directors, acting on a generous and enlightened policy, determined to confer it on the zemindars, and thus give them a permanent interest in the soil. The land thus became real property, and a large and opulent class of landholders was thereby created. The relationship between the zemindar and the ryot was an important question, and involved in great perplexity, which has not yet been removed. The zemindar had always squeezed out of the ryot every farthing that could be realised, leaving him little beyond a rag and a hovel. Mr. Shore, who superintended the settlement, the ablest revenue officer in India, was of opinion that some decisive provision should be made to ensure an equitable adjustment of the demands of the zemindar, but, unfortunately, the regulations passed to protect the ryot from extortion were indefinite and inadequate. He was, indeed, permitted to resort to law, but to expect that a poor cultivator could appeal to the courts against a rich and powerful landlord was an absurdity. This defect was unquestionably a blot in the settlement, which, in other respects, was benevolent, if not beneficent.

After the settlement had been completed, the important question arose whether it should be decennial or permanent.

1792 The permanent settlement. Lord Cornwallis maintained that a fixed and unalterable settlement was the only panacea for the evils which afflicted the country, and the only protection from the still greater ruin which threatened it, and that the grant of this boon would give the zemindars an irresistible inducement to promote the cultivation of the land and the welfare of the ryots. On the other hand, Mr. Shore, who was far better acquainted with the subject than the Governor-General, opposed with equal tenacity the proposal to make the settlement irrevocable. He argued

that the Government had only the roughest estimate of the capabilities of the land and of the collections, that the land revenue formed the bone and muscle of the public resources, and that it was preposterous to fix the revenue for ever without any definition of the boundaries of estates, and when a third of Bengal was a jungle. As to the public spirit of the zemindars which a permanent settlement was expected to foster, he justly remarked that the whole zemindary system was a mere conflict of extortion on the one part and resistance on the other, and that it was vain to hope for any improvement. The question was referred to Leadenhall Street, and some of the Directors, influenced partly by their own local experience in India and partly by Mr. Shore's opinion, proposed to make it decennial. It was then placed before the Board of Control, and Mr. Pitt, who had studied Indian subjects as no prime minister has ever studied them since, closely investigated it for a week in conjunction with Mr. Dundas and Mr. Charles Grant, and came to the determination to make the settlement permanent, and it was promulgated at Calcutta on the 22nd March, 1793. It was the boldest and most important administrative measure the Company had ever ventured upon. Under its operation cultivation has been extended, and the opulence of the provinces has been augmented; the zemindars, and those who have acquired interests in the land under them, have grown wealthy, and the comfort of the cultivators has, perhaps, been promoted. But it is now universally felt that the permanent character given to it was an egregious blunder, and that a term of fifty years, if not of a shorter period, would have equally promoted the object in view. No margin was allowed to meet the inevitable increase of expenditure which would be required for the defence of the country, or for the improvement of it by the institutions of civilisation. The Government has, however, continued for a period of eighty years to maintain the settlement to the very letter with scrupulous fidelity under every emergency, and has thus exhibited an example of good faith heretofore unknown in India.

A.D.
1793

The administration of Lord Cornwallis was likewise distinguished by a radical change in the fiscal and judicial branches. The control of the revenue was concentrated in a board in Calcutta. A civil court was established in each district and in the principal cities, presided over by a covenanted servant of the Company. Four courts of appeal were erected at Calcutta,

Civil and
criminal
courts.

A.D. 1793 Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna, from whose decisions an appeal lay to the sudder or chief court at the Presidency, composed of the Governor-General and the members of Council. The judges of the four courts of appeal were to proceed on circuit twice a year to administer criminal justice and to hold jail deliveries. The district judges were likewise invested with magisterial powers, and authorised to pass sentence in trivial matters, and to commit delinquents for trial before the judges of circuit. Within circles of about twenty miles a native officer, called a daroga, was appointed to arrest offenders on written charges, and to take security, not only for his appearance, but also for that of the witnesses, before the magistrate. For more

The code. than ten years the simple rules for the administration of justice drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey had been the manual of the courts. Lord Cornwallis determined that all the regulations affecting the rights, the property, and the persons of the subjects of Government should be embodied in a code, and translated into Bengalee and Persian. Mr. George Barlow, a civilian of mark, but without any legal education, was entrusted with the charge of drawing up the new code, and he expanded the ordinances of Sir Elijah into a bulky folio of regulations, but without improving them. This volume of laws, however valuable as a monument of British philanthropy, was little suited to the habits or wants of a people accustomed to prompt and simple justice. The course of procedure was loaded with formalities, and, combined with the multiplication of technical rules, tended to defeat the object in view. Every suit became a game of chess; "justice," as the natives observed, "was made sour by delay," and equity was smothered by legal processes. To crown the grievance, the business of the courts was transacted in a language—the Persian—equally foreign to the judges, the suitors, and the witnesses.

1793 The wisdom and judgment manifested in Lord Cornwallis's various institutions have always been freely acknowledged, but they were deformed by one great and radical blemish. From the days of Akbar all Exclusion of natives. civil and military offices, even those of the highest grade, had, with occasional exceptions, been open to all the natives of the country; and, in the early days of Hastings, some of the most important offices in the state had been enjoyed by natives of merit or influence. Lord Cornwallis pronounced the natives unworthy of trust, and considered that the administration in every department

ought to be conducted by the Company's covenanted servants, some three hundred in number, to the entire exclusion of native agency, with the exception of the daroga on twenty-five rupees a month, and a moonsiff to try petty civil suits, to be paid by a commission on them; in other words, by the encouragement of litigation. Every prospect of honourable ambition was thus closed at once against the natives of the country, and the fatal effects of this ostracism were speedily visible in the inefficiency of the whole system of government.

The only other event of any note in the year 1793 was the capture of Pondicherry on the declaration of war between France and England at the outbreak of the Revolution. Lord Cornwallis embarked for England in October, after a memorable reign of seven years, during which period he had contributed to the purity and vigour of the power created by the daring of Clive, and consolidated by the genius of Hastings. The dignity of his character, and his firmness and integrity, combined with his calmness and moderation, conciliated and swayed the native princes, and commanded the cheerful obedience of the European servants.

Capture of
Pondicherry. A.D.
1793

The treaty of Salbye, which Sindia had concluded with Hastings in 1782 on the part of the Peshwa, gave him an elevated position in the Mahratta commonwealth. He was no longer the mere feudatory of Poona, but an independent chief, and an ally of the British Government, and he determined to push his schemes of ambition in Hindostan, for which circumstances were peculiarly favourable. The imbecile emperor was a mere puppet in the hands of his minister, Afrasiab Khan, who invited Sindia, in his master's name, to assist in demolishing the power of his rival, Mahomed Beg, and he accordingly advanced with a large army to Agra, where he had an interview with the emperor. Soon after Afrasiab was assassinated, and Sindia became master of the situation, and was appointed the executive minister of the empire, with the command of the imperial troops. The districts of Agra and Delhi were assigned for their support, and he was thus put in possession of the Doab, the province lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, and its great resources. Intoxicated with this success, he preferred a demand for the *chout* of Bengal, which was indignantly rejected by Mr. Macpherson, the officiating Governor-General. He then proceeded to demand the arrears of

Progress of
Sindia.

1784

1785

tribute, which he stated at sixty lacs of rupees, from the Rajpoots at the gates of Jeypore. The greater portion of the amount was paid, but, on his demanding the balance, the Rajpoots made common cause to resist him. In the battle which ensued, he was deserted by Mahomed Beg, and by the whole of the imperial troops, who took over eighty pieces of cannon to the enemy. He was discomfited and fled from the field, and in his extremity entreated Nana Furnavese, the head of the regency at Poona, to aid him in supporting the Mahratta authority in Hindostan. The Nana was jealous of his growing power, but despatched troops under Holkar, although rather with the object of watching his movements than of supporting them.

A.D.
1787

Mahomed Beg fell in the battle, but his place Ishmael Beg. was supplied by his nephew, Ishmael Beg, who laid siege to Agra, on the part of the Rajpoots, and was joined by Gholam Khadir, a Rohilcund jageerdar, and his free lances. Sindia advanced to raise the siege, but was again completely defeated in a battle fought on the 24th April. Gholam Khadir was recalled to defend his own jageer from the encroachments of the Sikhs, now rising into power, and Sindia took advantage of his absence to attack Ishmael Beg,

1788

who was defeated, and escaped from the field by the swiftness of his horse. He joined Gholam, and the united chiefs advanced to Delhi, of which Gholam obtained possession, and his licentious soldiery were let loose on the imperial city, which was subjected for two months to such scenes of violence, rapine and barbarity, as were said to be "almost without example in the annals of the world."

1788

The ladies of the seraglio were exposed and dishonoured, and some of them starved to death, and the unhappy monarch, plundered and dethroned, was deprived of sight by this monster of cruelty. Ishmael Beg turned with horror from these atrocities, and accepted service with Sindia, who proceeded to Delhi, reseatd the emperor with great pomp on his throne, and made every effort to alleviate his sorrows. Gholam Khadir fled on his approach, but was captured, and deliberately hacked to pieces. The turbulent Ishmael Beg did not long remain faithful to Sindia, but again joined the Rajpoots, whom Sindia defeated at Patun in 1790, and the next year at Mairta.

1790

1791

The success of both these engagements was due chiefly to the disciplined battalions of the Count de Boigne, a native of Savoy, an officer of distinguished ability and great military experience, who had come out to India in search of

employment, and entered the service of Sindia, and induced him to create a sepoy corps on the model of the Company's army. De Boigne raised and organised a large force, disciplined by European officers, the majority of whom were natives of France. It was eventually augmented to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse and 600 Persian cavalry, with 200 pieces of artillery. This formidable force rendered Sindia the paramount native power in Hindostan, and the most important member of the Mahratta body.

Sindia offered to join the alliance against Tippoo, promoted by Lord Cornwallis, on condition that the Company's Government should guarantee all the pos-
sessions he had acquired in Hindostan, and Sindia at Poona.

furnish him with two battalions of troops, similar to those granted to the Nizam. These proposals were considered inadmissible, and he declined to become a party to the treaty of Poona. That he might, however, be in a position

to take advantage of circumstances in the war in which the princes of the Deccan were about to be engaged with Tippoo, he proceeded with an army to the Mahratta capital, greatly

to the annoyance of Nana Furnavese, who dreaded his ambitious designs. He had obtained from the impotent

A.D.
1792

Mogul the title of Vakeel-i-Mootluk, or regent of the Mogul empire, for the Peshwa, and for himself the office of hereditary deputy, and he gave out as the pretext for the

journey that he was proceeding to the Mahratta capital to invest the Peshwa with this dignity. The Nana and

the ministers could not view without disgust the acceptance of honours by the head of the Mahratta power from the

puppet of an emperor, but their opposition was unavailing. Sindia had gained a complete ascendancy over the young

Peshwa by his cheerful and genial demeanour, which formed a strong contrast to the stern and morose bearing

of the prime minister, Nana Furnavese. Sindia had, moreover, brought a variety of rarities for him from Hindostan,

and studied to make arrangements for his amusement. The ceremony was imposing beyond anything which had been

seen at Poona. A grand suite of tents was pitched in the vicinity of the city, a throne was placed

Investiture
of the
Peshwa.

1792

to represent that of the Great Mogul, on which the patent and the insignia were deposited. The Peshwa,

surrounded by his whole court and the representatives of foreign powers, approached the throne and made his

obeisance, and then retiring to another tent was invested

with the gorgeous robes of the office, and returned to Poona with such pomp and grandeur as the inhabitants had never before witnessed. Sindia and Nana Furnavese, though plotting each others' destruction, maintained an outward appearance of civility, but their armies could not be restrained from hostility in Hindostan. The forces of Holkar and Sindia were jointly engaged in levying tribute from the Rajpoots, but they quarrelled about the division of the spoil. Sindia's commander, De Boigne, with 20,000 horse and 9,000 infantry, attacked Holkar's army, consisting of 30,000 men, including four battalions disciplined by his French general. Holkar was completely defeated, and the four regiments were all but annihilated,

A.D.
1792

only one European officer escaping the carnage. This victory rendered Sindia the first power among the Mahrattas, and deepened the apprehensions of his rival Nana Furnavese, but he was relieved from all anxiety by the unexpected death of Sindia, on the 12th February. For thirty-five years he may be said to have passed his life in his camp, devoting his time and energies to the improvement of his army and the increase of his possessions. From his father he received a small principality, and he bequeathed to his son a kingdom, extending from the Sutlege to Allahabad, and including two-thirds of Malwa, and some of the fairest provinces in the Deccan, and the most efficient military force in India.

1794

Death of
Mahdajee
Sindia.

1793

The new
Charter.

The period for which their exclusive privileges had been granted to the Company expired in 1793, and the Court of Directors applied to Parliament for the renewal of them. But new commercial and manufacturing interests had been springing up in England with great vigour, and petitions poured into the House from Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, Manchester, and other seats of industry and enterprise, protesting against the exclusion of the country from any share in the trade of India. The India House met these representations by the bold assertion that it was essential to the national interests that the Company should be the sole agents for conducting the commerce and the government of India. The ministry found the existing state of things exceedingly comfortable, inasmuch as Indian affairs were, on all essential questions, under their control. Lord Cornwallis had placed the finances of India in a flourishing condition, and Mr. Dundas, the India minister, asked the House with an air of triumph, whether they were prepared to interrupt this tide of

prosperity and the growing commerce of India for a mere theory. His arguments were received with blind confidence in a House in which free trade was considered the inevitable road to ruin; and the monopoly of the Company was renewed for twenty years, although, to meet the clamours of the merchants, the Company were directed to allot 3,000 tons a year for their private trade. An effort was made by Mr. Wilberforce to obtain permission for missionaries and schoolmasters to proceed to India and give instruction, religious and secular, to the natives who might desire it, but it was resisted by the ministry, the Court of Directors, and the old Indians. The charter of 1793 was a faithful mirror of the views of an age in which it was considered that the introduction of free trade and European settlers, of schoolmasters and missionaries, would be fatal to the British power in India.

SECTION III.

SIR JOHN SHORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

LORD CORNWALLIS was succeeded by Sir John Shore, one of the ablest of the Company's servants, and the author of the permanent settlement. In a letter to Mr. Dundas on the subject of appointing his successor, Lord Cornwallis had said that "nobody but a Sir John Shore's antecedents. A. D. 1793

"person who had never been in the service, and who was essentially unconnected with its members, who was of a rank far surpassing his associates in the government, and who had the full support of the ministry at home, was competent for the office of Governor-General." This letter, however, did not reach England till after the selection of Sir John Shore had been made, at the instance of Mr. Pitt, who was favourably impressed with the industry, the candour, and the ability exhibited by him in reference to the revenue settlement. He entered on his duties on the 28th October, 1793.

The first question which arose to try the mettle of the new Governor-General was connected with the politics of the Deccan. After the termination of the war with Tippoo, Lord Cornwallis, anxious to secure The guarantee treaty. 1793 permanent peace to the Deccan, submitted to the two native princes who were parties to the tripartite treaty of

1790 the draft of a "treaty of mutual guarantee," which would have established a balance of power in the Deccan, and guarded the rights of the princes from mutual aggression. The Nizam, as being the weakest, agreed to it with alacrity; but the Mahrattas had a long account against him which it was not their policy to close, and which they intended to settle by the sword, and they therefore, declined any engagement which would interfere with the designs they formed against him. After twelve months of fruitless discussion, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to abandon all hope of securing the concurrence of the Poona regency. Sindia had been the most strenuous opponent of the guarantee treaty, and his death seemed to present a favourable opportunity for renewing the negotiation, and making a vigorous effort to preserve the tranquillity of the Deccan, then menaced by the Mahrattas. They fully anticipated some decisive interference on the part of the Company's Government, such as they knew Lord Cornwallis would have undertaken. But they soon perceived that the sceptre was now in feeble hands, and they hastened their preparations when they found that Sir John Shore had resolved to limit his intervention to "good offices." The Nizam, who advanced counter claims of even greater amount than those of the Mahrattas, immediately claimed the fulfilment of the treaty of 1790; but Sir John lacked the spirit of his predecessor. He had a morbid dread of offending the Mahratta powers, and he paid a servile homage to the Act of Parliament which discountenanced native alliances, though Lord Cornwallis had driven his coach through it, and he resolved to remain neuter in the impending struggle. It is, however, due to his memory to state that this decision was evidently influenced, to a considerable extent, by the incompetency of the Commanders-in-Chief at all the Presidencies, with none of whom could he venture to undertake hostilities.

A.D. 1793
Rejected by
the Mah-
rattas.

1794

1795 Expedition
against the
Nizam.

To assemble a Mahratta army when there was any hope of plunder had never presented any difficulty. On this occasion the young Peshwa, having determined to take the field in person, summoned his feudatories of every degree, and it proved to be the last time they were ever assembled together under the national standard. Sindia, Holkar, the raja of Nagpore, the Gaikwar, and the southern jageerdars, each furnished a quota, and the whole force numbered 130,000 horse and foot, with 150 guns, while the army of the Nizam amounted to about

110,000. The Nizam had engaged a French officer of the name of Raymond to discipline two battalions, which were increased to twenty-three when the struggle with the Mahrattas appeared inevitable. In the ranks of Sindia were likewise 10,000 men commanded by Perron, and 2,000 with Holkar, under Dudrenec; and the most efficient soldiers on each side were under the command of natives of France.

The two armies met on the 12th March, a little in advance of the village of Kurdla, which has given its name to this decisive battle. The advanced guard of the Nizam put to flight one large division of the Mahratta infantry, but the whole of the Nizam's cavalry broke and fled when it was assailed by the French force. Raymond's infantry had, however, obtained considerable advantage over Perron's, and there was some prospect of his ultimate success, when he was peremptorily ordered by his master to withdraw from the field. The Nizam had taken his zenana with him, and his favourite sultana, terrified by the roar of the cannon, insisted upon his retiring beyond its reach. The dotard yielded to her importunities, and the whole army retreated in wild confusion, although scarcely two hundred men had fallen in both armies. The Nizam took refuge in Kurdla, and within two days was obliged to sign a humiliating treaty, making cessions of territory of the value of thirty-five lacs a year, paying the sum of three crores of rupees, and delivering up his minister, the only able man at his court, to the Peshwa. The two battalions of Company's troops in his service were not permitted by Sir John Shore to assist him during the battle; and on his return to Hyderabad he dismissed them in disgust, and ordered Raymond to use every exertion to augment and discipline his sepoys, and assigned districts for their support. The power and influence in the Nizam's councils which Lord Cornwallis had secured for the Company, were thus transferred to the French.

The battle of Kurdla completely prostrated the Nizam, and the Mahrattas would doubtless have returned to complete his humiliation, but for the unexpected death of the Peshwa, and the confusion which it occasioned. Nana Furnavese had, with occasional intermissions, enjoyed the chief control in Mahratta affairs during his minority; but though the Peshwa was now of age, he was still kept in a state of galling tutelage, which at length became insupportable, and on the 25th October he

Battle of
Kurdla. A.D.
1795

Death of the
Peshwa.

threw himself from a terrace in his palace, and expired two days after, bequeathing the crown to his cousin Bajee Rao, the son of the once famous Raghoba, who was then held in durance by Nana Furnavese. Then ensued a scene of intrigue and anarchy, which lasted more than three years, and which has scarcely a parallel in the native history of India. After a variety of convulsions, the fortunes of the Nana were reduced to the lowest ebb, but retrieved by his extraordinary genius. "The vigour of his judgment," observes the historian of the Mahrattas, "the fertility of his resources, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments he called into action, surprised all India, and from his European contemporaries procured him the title of the Mahratta Machiavelli." He proposed to restore to the Nizam the territory which had been wrested from him, and to remit the balance remaining due, and having thus gained his assistance, as well as that of Sindia and Holkar, marched in triumph to Poona, where he seated Bajee Rao on the throne, and regained his own power as prime minister. But Bajee Rao, the most perfidious of native princes, incited Sindia to destroy him, and he was treacherously seized at a banquet and sent prisoner to Ahmednugur. The Peshwa then made arrangements for the assassination of Sindia, but his courage failed him at the last moment, and he exhibited for the first time that indecision of character which marked all his future career.

A. D.
1796

1797

1794

1795

Mr. Dundas had announced his opinion that India could only be retained by a large European army, that the proportion of European to native troops should be as one to three, and that the whole force should be placed under the Crown, and "act in concert with the general strength of the empire." The scheme of amalgamation which Lord Cornwallis had drawn up was not altogether approved by the Board of Control, or the Court of Directors, and Mr. Dundas undertook to draw up a second. But the European officers of the Company, who were opposed to any amalgamation, were already in a state of mutiny, and Sir John Shore found, on assuming the Government, that he had to deal with the insubordination of a whole army. The officers repressed their resentment while they awaited the arrival of Mr. Dundas's regulations, but their patience was exhausted by delay. On Christmas day Sir John convened the Council, and informed them that delegates had been elected from each regiment

Mutiny of
European
officers.

to form an executive board, and that every regiment had bound itself to protect their persons and make good their losses. The terms which this board was to demand from the Government were, that the native regiments should not be reduced, or the European regiments increased, beyond a certain limit, and that all allowances which had been granted to the army at any time should be restored. If these conditions were not accepted, they were prepared to seize the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and to take possession of the Government.

The Council was "thunderstruck by this announcement. It was a crisis similar to that which the undaunted spirit of Clive had quelled in two months, thirty years before; but there was no Clive at Calcutta. Orders were sent to Madras and the Cape for

Submission
of the
government.

troops, and the admiral was desired to bring up his fleet, and even De Boigne was asked for a regiment of Sindia's cavalry. The Commander-in-Chief went to Cawnpore, and by his courteous manners soothed the feelings of the officers, but it was the firmness of the artillery that stemmed the tide of mutiny. The long-expected regulations of Mr. Dundas arrived in May 1796, and disgusted all parties. The Governor-General himself described them as a mass of confusion. The flame of revolt blazed forth afresh in the army, and remonstrances poured in upon the bewildered Government. Sir John Shore, in writing to the Court of Directors, stated that the pressure was so severe that he had been obliged to give way. The regulations were modified and concessions made which exceeded even the expectations of the army. The intelligence of this submission filled the ministry with such alarm that it was resolved to supersede Sir John Shore forthwith, and Lord Cornwallis was importuned to proceed to India, if only for twelve months, and restore order. He was accordingly

A.D.
1796

sworn in as Governor-General on the 1st February, and the appointment was duly notified at all the Presidencies. But the mutineers had a representative body of officers sitting in London, and, incredible as it may appear, the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, after having recalled Sir John Shore for his weakness, entered into negotiations with them and made concession after concession, and silenced one of the ringleaders by a lucrative post at the India House. An order was passed in reference to the mutiny which Lord Cornwallis described as "milk and water," and he threw up the appointment in disgust.

1797

The last act of Sir John Shore's administration was marked by as much vigour as those preceding it had been signalised by feebleness. The Vizier of Oude, was a man of good disposition, but spoiled by the enjoyment of absolute power, and vitiated by the fools, knaves and sycophants who composed his court. The Government was completely effete, and but for the protection of British bayonets, the country would have been absorbed by the Mahrattas or the Sikhs. Before his departure from India, Sir John Shore visited Lucknow and endeavoured to impress on the Vizier the necessity of reforming the abuses of the administration; but whatever favourable impression he might have produced in the morning was effaced in the evening when the prince was surrounded by buffoons and parasites, or stupefied with opium. Six weeks after Sir John's return to Calcutta, he sank into the grave, exhausted by indulgence, and the succession of Vizier Ali, whom he had acknowledged as his son, was sanctioned by the Government of India.

Information was received soon after that his birth was spurious and his character atrocious, and Sir John returned to Lucknow to ascertain the truth, when he obtained evidence that he was not even the illegitimate son of the late Vizier, but the offspring of a man of the lowest caste, and likewise that his profligacy had created a feeling of universal disgust. Sir John was convinced that he had been accessory to an act of injustice, and as the late ruler had left no legitimate issue, he conferred the throne on his brother, then residing at Benares. He was required on being installed, to sign a new treaty, by which the defence of the country was entrusted to a body of 10,000 British troops, for whom an annual subsidy of seventy-five lacs of rupees was allotted, that the native army of the state should not exceed 35,000 troops, that the fortress of Allahabad, the key of the north-west provinces, should be made over to the Company, and the Vizier eschew all foreign negotiations. During these arrangements, Sir John Shore was encamped with a small force near the town of Lucknow, and exposed to eminent danger from the violence of Vizier Ali, and the bands of desperate men in his pay, under the command of a reckless adventurer, who had 300 pieces of cannon, and openly talked of assassinating the Governor-General. The fearlessness which he exhibited in this perilous position, as

A.D.
1797 Vizier Ali.

1798 Saadnt Ali
Nabob.

well as the resolution and justice of his proceedings, created general admiration in India, and the Court of Directors applauded the "great temper, ability and firmness he had displayed on this occasion." The arrival of the Vizier with a large force from Benares rescued him from danger, and on his return to Calcutta he embarked for England, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth. A.D.
1798

CHAPTER VIII.

SECTION I.

LORD WELLESLEY—LAST MYSORE WAR.

SIR JOHN SHORE was succeeded by Lord Mornington, subsequently created Marquis Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, under whose vigorous rule the power of the Company was rendered paramount throughout India. At the Board of Control, where he had occupied a seat for four years, he had acquired a comprehensive knowledge of Indian affairs, and he moreover enjoyed the advantage of Mr. Pitt's personal friendship and the confidence of Mr. Dundas. He called at the Cape on his way to India, and had the good fortune to meet there Lord Macartney and Lord Hobart, both of whom had been governors of Madras, as well as Major Kirkpatrick, formerly resident at Sindia's court, and more recently at Hyderabad, and obtained from their communications the most important information regarding the views and the position of the various princes in India. 1798

At the commencement of this important epoch, it may be useful to glance at the state of India. After the humiliation of Tippoo Sultan, Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to establish a balance of power in the Deccan. But there never had been any real balance of power in India, and aggression and rapine had been the only principle of action among its princes. Wars were commenced and prosecuted without any semblance of justice, and restrained only by the power of resistance. Eighteen months after the departure of Lord Cornwallis, the battle

of Kurdla prostrated the power of the Nizam; the Peshwa was reduced to extremity by the encroachments of Sindia; and even the appearance of a balance of power in the Deccan was irretrievably lost. The Government of Calcutta had become an object of derision in all the native courts, and a prolongation of Sir John Shore's nerveless administration would have entailed very serious calamities. In the south, Tippoo was brooding over his misfortunes, and husbanding his resources to retrieve them. Though deprived of half his dominions, he was still able to maintain a powerful army in full efficiency. The Nizam had augmented the battalions under Raymond to 14,000, men and the French, who were animated by the national hatred of England which then prevailed in France, exercised a paramount authority in the state. Sindia was supreme at Poona and at Delhi, and enjoyed all the influence and authority still attached to the imperial throne. His territories in the Deccan extended to the Toombudra, and skirted the frontiers of the Nizam and the Peshwa, while in Hindostan it extended to the Sutlege, and abutted on the dominions of the Vizier and of the Company. The French battalions, raised and disciplined by De Boigne, had been augmented to 40,000 men, in no way inferior to the Company's sepoy army, with 450 guns, and fortresses, arsenals, foundries, depôts, and all the appliances of war. Lord Cornwallis had bequeathed to his successor a surplus revenue of a crore and eighty lacs of rupees a year, but it had dwindled into a deficit, and the Company's credit was so low that the treasury could not raise a loan under 12 per cent.

Lord Wellesley landed in Calcutta on the 17th May, and within three weeks was startled by the receipt of a proclamation issued by the governor of the Mauritius, stating that envoys had arrived from Tippoo Sultan with despatches for the Government in Paris, proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, and requesting the aid of a body of troops to assist him in expelling the English from India. Soon after it was announced that a French frigate had landed 150 men, including officers, from the Mauritius at Mangalore, on the Malabar coast, who had proceeded to Seringapatam and entered the Mysore service. Lord Wellesley determined to anticipate the hostile movements of Tippoo, and directed General Harris, the officiating governor of Madras, to assemble the Coast army for an immediate

A. D.
1798

The Mauri-
tius pro-
clamation.

march on Seringapatam, and called on the Nizam and the Peshwa, the signatories of the treaty of 1790, to furnish their quota of troops in accordance with its twelfth article.

The Presidency of Madras was thunderstruck with this venturesome project. They had a morbid dread of the Mysore power, which had dictated peace under ^{Dismay at} the walls of Madras, and annihilated Baillie's ^{Madras.} force, and ravaged the Carnatic; and they conjured up the memory of all the disasters which had for twenty years attended their wars with Hyder and Tippoo. The entire disposable force of the Presidency did not exceed 8,000 men, and they were destitute both of draft cattle and commissariat stores; and far, they said, from being in a condition to march on Tippoo's capital, the force was not equal to the defence of the Company's territories, if he should invade them. On the other hand, the Mysore ruler ^{A. D.} could muster 60,000 troops, a large portion of whom ¹⁷⁹⁸ consisted of the celebrated Mysore horse; his infantry was in part disciplined by French officers; he possessed a hundred and forty-four field-pieces, a rocket brigade, a long train of elephants, an ample supply of draft and carriage cattle, and a splendid commissariat. In these circumstances Lord Wellesley found it impossible to strike an immediate blow, but he issued peremptory orders for the speedy equipment of the army, and he met the remonstrances addressed to him in his own imperious style, by threatening with his severest displeasure "those who presumed to thwart him, and arrogated to themselves the power of governing the empire committed to his charge."

The state of affairs at Hyderabad demanded Lord Wellesley's earliest attention. The troops, to the number of 14,000, disciplined and commanded by French ^{Lord Welles-} officers, presented a serious difficulty. They ^{ley's embar-} could not be taken into the field as a portion of ^{rassments.} the Nizam's contingent, without the risk of their joining the Sultan, with whose French officers they were in constant correspondence; while to leave them behind without an adequate force to watch them, was equally perilous. At this critical juncture, moreover, Lord Wellesley received a communication from Zeman Shah, announcing his intention to cross the Indus and enter Hindostan, and asking the British Government to assist him in driving the Mahrattas back into the Deccan. He was the grandson of Ahmed Shah Abdalee, who had astounded India by his

victory at Paniput forty years before ; and the prospect of another Abdalee invasion created a universal feeling of excitement, if not of alarm. Thus beset with embarrassments in the north and in the south, Lord Wellesley resolved boldly to carry out his policy of alliances with the native princes on his own responsibility, without waiting for the sanction of the Court of Directors or the ministry. He found that the Company had not augmented their security by curtailing their influence, but had drifted into a position in which it was less perilous to advance than to stand still. He determined to break up that policy of isolation which had been erroneously considered the safeguard of British power, and within three months after he had taken the chair at the Council board, negotiations were opened throughout the continent, and every durbar was electrified by the revival of that energy which recalled the days of Hastings and Cornwallis.

A.D. 1798 Lord Wellesley found it necessary to dispose of the French force at Hyderabad before he took the field against

Negotiations at Hyderabad. Tippoo. The great minister of the Nizam, Meer Alum—otherwise called Musheer-ool-Moolk—on being released from Poona and resuming his office, was alarmed at the power which the French officers had obtained in the state, and was disgusted with their arrogance. He lost no time in proposing to Sir John Shore to substitute an English subsidiary force for the French battalions ; but Sir John had not the nerve for so bold a proceeding. Lord Wellesley eagerly embraced the proposal, and made an offer to protect the state from all unjust claims in every quarter with a body of 6,000 troops, to be subsidised by the Nizam, on condition that the French corps should be dismissed, and the settlement of all disputes with the Mahrattas referred to the British Government. The Nizam manifested great reluctance to contract an alliance which he could never shake off, with so irresistible a power as the Company, but his minister persuaded him that it was better to repose under the protection of a power governed by the principles of honour, than to be perpetually exposed to the avarice of the Mahrattas and the ambition of Tippoo.

In the preceding year the Peshwa solicited the aid of a British force to protect him from the encroachments of Sindia, but it was declined by Sir John Shore.

Proposed alliance with the Peshwa.

He then concluded an alliance with the Nizam, and ceded territory of the annual value of eight lacs of rupees as the price of his assistance.

Sindia revenged himself by releasing Nana Furnavese, whom he held in confinement, and inviting Tippoo to join him in an attack on the Nizam. These manœuvres led to a temporary reconciliation between Sindia and the Peshwa, and it was at this juncture that the proposal of a subsidiary alliance, which included the reference of all claims on the Nizam to the arbitrament of the British Government, was renewed. The Peshwa was too astute not to perceive that such an alliance involved the extinction of his political importance, and it is not to be wondered at that he, in common with the other princes of India, with whom independence had a charm, the value of which was enhanced by its risks, should have been indisposed to resign it. But the Peshwa assured the Resident that he would faithfully observe the conditions of the tripartite treaty in the approaching war with Tippoo, and a large Mahratta force was ostensibly ordered into the field.

To give effect to the treaty with the Nizam, troops were despatched to Hyderabad; but at the last moment he evinced an invincible reluctance to place himself in a state of helpless and irretrievable dependence on a superior power, and he fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Resident was obliged to assume a high tone and to assure the minister that his master would be held responsible for this breach of faith. He was at length convinced that there was more danger in endeavouring to evade the engagement than in fulfilling it, and a proclamation was issued dismissing the French officers, and releasing the sepoys from the obligation of obedience to them. Officers and men were thrown into a state of confusion and dismay by this unexpected order—Raymond was no longer at Hyderabad—but the British force was moved into a position which completely commanded the French encampment and placed their magazines at its mercy. In this helpless state, the officers sent to inform the Resident that they were ready to place themselves under his protection; but the men, to whom large arrears were due, rose in a body and placed the officers in confinement, and it was not without great difficulty they found refuge in the English camp. Captain Malcolm, a young and ambitious officer, then rising into notice, succeeded in quelling the excitement by the payment of their arrears; and before the evening this large body of disciplined troops, possessed of a powerful train of artillery and well-stored arsenals, was disarmed without the loss of a single life. This great

A.D.
1798Extinction
of the French
force.

achievement, the first act of the new Government, filled the native princes, who were calculating on the decay of the Company's power, with amazement, while the ability with which it was planned, and the promptitude with which it was executed, diffused a spirit of confidence throughout the civil and military services which contributed in no small degree to the success of Lord Wellesley's plans.

A.D. 1798 On the 8th October, Lord Wellesley received information that Bonaparte had landed in Egypt, on his way to the East and he reiterated his orders to press forward the organisation of the Madras army, which he promised to strengthen by the addition of 3,000 volunteer sepoy from Bengal, and with the 33rd Foot, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington. On hearing that the disbandment of the French force at Hyderabad had been completed, he addressed his first letter to Tippoo, upbraiding him with his embassy to the Mauritius, and the connection he had formed with the inveterate enemies of the British nation, "which must subvert the foundations of friendship subsisting between him and the Company." He proposed to depute Major Doveton to his court, to propound a plan calculated to remove all doubt and suspicion. To infuse vigour into these arrangements he resolved to proceed in person to Madras, where he landed on the last day of the year, and assumed the control of all political and military movements, leaving the local administration in the hands of the governor.

1799 Tippoo's replies. Tippoo's reply was altogether evasive. He asserted that the vessel which had gone to the Mauritius was sent by a mercantile tribe, and that "the French, who were full of vice and deceit, had put about sinister reports to ruffle the minds of the two Sircars." He declined the proposed conference with Major Doveton as superfluous, "inasmuch as his friendship and regard for the English were perfectly apparent." At this very time, however, he was despatching one of his French officers to the Directory in Paris, to solicit 10,000 troops, to be employed at his expense in expelling the English; and he was likewise inviting Zeman Shah to join him in prosecuting a holy war against the infidels and polytheists. "Please God," he wrote, "the English shall become food for the unrelenting sword of the pious warriors." Lord Wellesley addressed another letter to him on the 9th

January, demanding a reply in twenty-four hours, to which Tippoo, after a considerable delay, replied that he was going on a hunting excursion, as was his wont, and that Major Doveton might be despatched after him.

Every moment now became precious. The capital, ^{A.D.} ¹⁷⁹⁹ Seringapatam, was the heart of Tippoo's power, his principal granary, and his only arsenal. Owing to the rise ^{Progress of} of the Cauvery around the island on which it ^{the army.} was built, it was impregnable from June to November, and it was necessary to reduce it before the rains set in. After waiting in vain for a definite reply, Lord Wellesley ordered the army to take the field. It was the largest and the most complete in point of equipment and discipline which had ever yet assembled under the Company's colours. It consisted of 20,802 men, of whom 6,000 were Europeans, with a battering train of forty guns, and sixty-four field-pieces and howitzers, and 10,000 of the Nizam's cavalry, as well as the Hyderabad subsidiary force, which, under the command of Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm, had become a most efficient auxiliary. The entire army was commanded by General Harris, whose personal knowledge of the route was of great value. Tippoo, leaving his generals to watch the movements of the general at Madras, proceeded with the flower of his army to the ^{Tippoo on} Malabar Coast to oppose the Bombay force march- ^{the Malabar} ^{Coast.} ing on his capital.

On the 5th March, Tippoo unexpectedly appeared before its advanced guard. General Stuart, the commandant, with the main body, was ten miles in the rear, and it fell to the gallant General Hartley—a name of high renown on that coast—to meet the shock. His little force, and more especially the battalions under Colonel Montresor, bore the assault of the whole of Tippoo's force for six hours with the most determined resolution, but as they were reduced to their last cartridge the general happily came up and decided the fate of the day. Tippoo retreated through the wood with the loss of 2,000 men, and six days after marched off in an opposite direction to resist the advance of General Harris, whose army stood on the table land of Bangalore on the 15th March. Contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers and his French commander, Tippoo fixed on Malavelly as the field for disputing the progress of the British army, and the battle ended ^{Battle of} in his complete discomfiture on the 27th March. ^{Malavelly.} ¹⁷⁹⁹ He felt certain that General Harris would pursue the

northern route to the capital as Lord Cornwallis had done, and he had taken the precaution to lay it waste, not leaving a particle of food or forage. But the general moved down in an opposite direction, and crossed the Cauvery at the hitherto unknown ford of Sosilla, without any interruption. Nothing could exceed the rage and dismay of Tippoo when he discovered that all his plans were frustrated by this strategy, and he called a meeting of his officers, and asked their advice with tears in his eyes; they declared that they would make one last and desperate effort for the defence of the capital and the kingdom, and, if unsuccessful, die with him.

Seringapatam was invested on the 6th April, and the siege was pushed on with such vigour that Tippoo was induced to propose a conference. General Harris informed him that the only terms on which he was authorised to treat were the cession of half his territories, the payment of a war indemnity of two crores, and the delivery of four of his sons and four of his chief officers as hostages. These terms were rejected by the Sultan. On the 4th May the breach was reported practicable, and the troops were led to the storm by General Baird, a distinguished officer, who had been immured in the dungeons of the fort for four years, in irons, by Hyder and Tippoo. He ascended the parapet at one in the afternoon, and exhibited his noble figure in the view of both forces, and then, drawing his sword, desired his men to follow him, and show themselves worthy the name of British soldiers. A small and select band of Tippoo's soldiers met the forlorn hope in the breach, the greater portion of whom on either side fell in the desperate struggle. The works were defended with great valour, more especially in the gateway where Tippoo had taken his station, and where he fell covered with wounds. The fortress was captured, and, as his remains were conveyed through the city, the inhabitants prostrated themselves before his bier, and accompanied it to the superb monument of Hyder, where he was interred with the imposing rites of Mahomedan burial, and the honours of a European military funeral.

Thus fell the capital of Mysore, though garrisoned by 20,000 troops, and defended by 287 pieces of cannon, and abundantly supplied with provisions and military stores. It was the opinion of Lord Wellesley, and of the best military authorities in the camp, that, considering the strength of its fortifications, and the diffi-

A. D.
1799

The siege.

Remarks.

culty of approaching it, a thousand French troops under an able commander might have rendered it impregnable. But throughout the siege, and indeed throughout the campaign, Tippoo had failed to exhibit either wisdom or energy. He rejected the advice of his most experienced officers, and listened only to the flatteries of youths and parasites, and the predictions of astrologers. During the line of march General Harris was so heavily encumbered with his ponderous siege train and endless impediments, that his progress was restricted to five miles a day, and it was a miracle that he was not constrained, like Lord Cornwallis, to turn back for want of provisions. There were numerous occasions on which an active and skilful enemy might have impeded his march till the rains set in, and rendered the campaign abortive; but all these opportunities were neglected by Tippoo in a spirit of infatuation. The success of the army was owing to a combination of boldness and courage, and good fortune. Tippoo was forty-six years of age at the time of his death. He possessed none of his father's abilities for peace or war. He was a compound of tyranny and caprice, of superstition and bigotry, and likewise an atrocious persecutor. In the opinion of his own subjects, Hyder was born to create an empire, and Tippoo to lose it.

A.D.
1799

For half a century the Deccan had been the scene of convulsions, and the great source of anxiety and expense to the Court of Directors, whose possessions, even in the intervals of peace, had always been insecure. Lord Wellesley terminated this state of jeopardy. Within a twelvemonth after he landed in Calcutta, he had extinguished the French force and influence at Hyderabad, and obtained the command of all the resources of the Nizam. He had subverted the kingdom of Mysore, and established the authority of the Company, without a rival, in the Deccan, on so solid a basis that it has never since been menaced. The capture of Seringapatam in less than a month resounded through the continent of India, and the extinction of one of its substantial powers struck terror into the hearts of its princes, and exalted the prestige of the Company's Government. These advantages were not, however, obtained without a violation of those solemn injunctions which the wisdom of Parliament, of the ministry, and of the India House had periodically repeated to restrain the growth of British power in India, and hence, in writing to Mr. Pitt, Lord Wellesley said, "I suppose

A.D. 1799 “you will either hang me, or magnificently honour me for my deeds. In either case, I shall be gratified, for an English gallows is better than an Indian throne.” He was magnificently honoured—by the king with a step in the peerage, and by Parliament with its thanks.

The issue of the war had placed the whole of the Mysore dominions at the disposal of the Governor-General, and he exercised the rights of conquest with great wisdom and moderation. He resolved to make over a portion of it to the family of its ancient and disinherited princes, though they had passed out of all recollection, and were living in abject poverty and humiliation. A child five years of age was drawn from a cottage and seated on a throne, with a revenue of fifty lacs of rupees a year. The kingdom was bestowed on him as a free gift, and it was emphatically declared to be personal and not dynastic. Every allusion to heirs and successors was therefore distinctly eliminated. Indeed, Lord Wellesley did not hesitate to affirm that the territories placed under the nominal sovereignty of the raja whom he created, constituted an integral portion of our own dominions, and they were treated in this light for more than sixty years.

The remaining territories were thus partitioned. Districts of the annual value of about thirty lacs, were allotted to the Company, but charged with the payment of about eight lacs a year to the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and territory valued at about twenty-four lacs was transferred to the Nizam. The Peshwa was not overlooked. He had not only violated his engagement by taking no part in the campaign, but, with his usual duplicity, had received envoys from Tippoo, and accepted a gratuity of thirteen lacs of rupees from him, and concerted a scheme for attacking the dominions of the Nizam while his army was employed in the siege of Seringapatam. But Lord Wellesley overlooked this duplicity, and offered him out of the spoils of Mysore districts yielding ten lacs of rupees, on condition of his excluding the French from his dominions, and admitting the mediation of the British Government in the questions still in dispute with the Nizam. The offer was rejected, and the reserved territory was divided between the Company and the Nizam.

The personal property captured at Seringapatam rather exceeded a crore of rupees and Lord Wellesley took on himself the responsibility of anticipating, as he said, the assent of the Crown, and the sanction

Prize money.

of the Directors, and directed the immediate distribution of it among the troops—the third instance in which prize money had been, not unwisely, divided in India, without waiting for dilatory orders from England. The Court of Directors manifested their sense of Lord Wellesley's merits by offering him ten lacs from the proceeds of the captured stores; but his high sense of honour induced him to decline it, upon which they settled an annuity of half a lac of rupees a year on him. To complete this narrative of the last Mysore war, it only remains to be stated that a daring adventurer, Dhondia Waug, collected together a body of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry and proceeded northward, plundering towns and villages. Success brought crowds to his standard, and the peace of the Deccan was seriously menaced. At length, Colonel Wellesley set out in pursuit of him with four regiments of cavalry, and after chasing him for four months without any relaxation, at length brought him to bay, and he was killed, and his army broken up.

A.D.
1800

SECTION II.

LORD WELLESLEY—THE CARNATIC—OUDE—FORT WILLIAM
COLLEGE—WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

THE refusal of the Peshwa to refer the settlement of his demands on the Nizam to the arbitration of the British Government, pointed out to his able minister the treatment he might expect from Mahratta rapacity, and he was anxious to secure his master against it. He proposed, therefore, to Lord Wellesley that the subsidiary force should be augmented and territory allotted for its support in lieu of the monthly payment then made in money. The proposition was, on a variety of considerations, welcome to the Governor-General, and the arrangement was speedily completed. The force was increased to eight battalions, and districts yielding sixty-three lacs a year were made over in perpetual sovereignty to the Company, under the stipulation that the British Government should guarantee all the remaining territories of the Nizam from every attack. The districts thus transferred consisted simply of those which had been assigned to him from the Mysore territory in the wars of 1792 and 1798. The transaction was mutually advantageous. It

Cession of
territory by
the Nizam.

1800

extended the Company's territories to the Kistna, and it relieved the Nizam of all further apprehension from his hereditary and insatiable enemies—and that without the alienation of any portion of his patrimonial kingdom. It is true, that by resigning the defence of his dominions and the royal prerogative of conducting negotiations with foreign princes, he lost his political independence; but, on the other hand, he secured the continuance of his royal dynasty. Every other throne in the Deccan has been swept away, while the descendant of the Tartar, Cheen Killich Khan, still continues to hold his regal court at Hyderabad. About the same time the raja of the little principality of Tanjore was mediatised. His debts to the Company were cancelled on the resignation of his territory, out of the revenues of which he received four lacs a year, and a fifth of its improved resources.

A. D.
1800

By the treaty concluded with the nabob, Mahomed Ali, by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, certain districts were hypothe-
Tanjore mediatised.
State of the Carnatic.
 cated for the support of the Company's troops who defended the country. That prince, who had been placed on the throne by the Madras Government in the days of Clive and Coote and had occupied it for fifty years, died
 1795 in 1795. His son Oomdut-ool-omrah was surrounded, as his father had been, by a legion of rapacious Europeans, many of them in the public service, who fed his extravagance by advances at exorbitant interest, and, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, received assignments on the districts pledged for the support of the troops. The loans thus furnished the nabob with the means of paying his instalments to the Government of Madras with punctuality, but they served also to increase his embarrassments, though the crisis was for a time postponed. At the particular request of the Court of Directors, Lord Hobart, the governor of Madras, proposed to the nabob to transfer the districts to the Company in lieu of the pecuniary payment, and offered him as an inducement, to relinquish debts due to the Government, to the extent of a crore of rupees. But though the arrangement would have been highly beneficial to the nabob, it was not to the interest of his creditors, who held him at their mercy, to resign the lands which they subjected to rack rent, and the proposal was rejected. Lord Hobart then proposed to resort to force, on the ground that as the nabob had violated the treaty of 1792 by granting these assignments, it was no longer binding on the Company; but Sir John Shore peremptorily

refused his concurrence. The correspondence thereupon became acrimonious, and the matter was referred to Leadenhall Street, and Lord Hobart was recalled. The Court, however, requested Lord Wellesley to call at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and make another effort to obtain the sanction of the nabob to the surrender of the districts, which were in a state of rapid decay, as a substitute for the payment he was bound to make; but, under the sinister influence of the harpies around him, the proposal was again spurned.

The nabob was bound by treaty "not to enter into any negotiation or political correspondence with any European or native power without the consent of the Company." But on the capture of Seringapatam, it was discovered that both the late and the present nabob had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo by means of a cypher, which was found; and that they had made important communications to him, inimical to the interests of the Company. The fact of this intrigue was established by the clearest oral and documental evidence, to the satisfaction of the Governor-General, the governor of Madras, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control; and Lord Wellesley came to the conclusion that "they had not only violated the treaty, but placed themselves in the position of enemies of the Company, by endeavouring to establish a unity of interests with their most inveterate foe." The obligations of the treaty were considered to be extinct, and it was resolved to deprive the family of the government of the Carnatic, reserving a suitable portion of the revenue for its support. But when the period for action arrived, the nabob was on his death-bed. On his death his reputed son, whom he had nominated his successor, was made acquainted with the evidence of his father's and his grandfather's treacherous correspondence with Tippoo, and informed that all claim on the consideration of Government was forfeited. His succession to the throne was no longer a matter of right, but of favour, and would be conceded only on condition of his making over the Carnatic to the Company, with the reservation of a suitable provision for the maintenance of his court and family. He refused to accept the title on these terms, and it was granted to a cousin, of whose legitimate birth there was no question. The nabob was mediatised, and the Carnatic became a British province. The territories obtained from

Lord
Hobart's
recall.

A. D.
1798

Clandestine
corres-
pondence.

1799

The nabob
mediatised.

1801

Mysore and the Nizam, from the nabobs of the Carnatic and Tanjore, may be said to have created the Madras Presidency. Of the population, which, according to the latest census, amounted to twenty-two millions, eighteen are inhabiting the districts which Lord Wellesley annexed to it.

A.D. 1800 Embassy to Persia. While Zeman Shah was advancing into Hindostan, Lord Wellesley despatched a native envoy to the king of Persia to induce him to threaten his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, and constrain him to retire from India. The agent urged that the Shah was a Soonee, and had grievously oppressed the Sheahs, the ruling sect in Persia, and that it would be an acceptable service to God and man to arrest the progress of so heterodox a prince. The pious monarch swallowed the bait, and instigated Mahomed Shah to invade the territories of his brother Zeman Shah, who was obliged to recross the Indus in haste. But Lord Wellesley farther deemed it advisable to send a more imposing embassy to the court of Ispahan "to establish British influence in Central Asia, "and prevent the periodical disquietude of an invasion by "Zeman Shah, with his horde of Turks and Tartars, "Usbecks and Afghans." The officer selected for this duty was Captain Malcolm, who was eminently qualified for it by his thorough knowledge of the oriental character and weaknesses, and his acquaintance with eastern languages, as well as his admirable tact and invariable good humour. The embassy was equipped in a style of magnificence intended to dazzle the oriental imagination, and to inspire the Persian court with a due sense of the power and majesty of the British empire in the east. The result, which had been in a great measure anticipated by the native agent, was not commensurate with its cost, which made the Court of Directors wince; but it secured the object of establishing British influence in Persia, at least for a time.

Expedition to the Red Sea. 1800 Lord Wellesley could not consider India safe while a French army held possession of Egypt; and he proposed to the ministry to send a force from India to support the army which he felt confident they would despatch, to co-operate with the Turkish Government in expelling it. After long delay the necessary orders were received from Downing Street, and an army consisting of 4,000 European troops and 5,000 volunteer sepoy, was sent up the Red Sea under General Baird,

with the animating remark of the Governor-General, "that
 " a more worthy sequel to the storm of Seringapatam
 " could not be presented to his genius and valour." The
 troops landed at Cosseir, in the Red Sea, and after traversing
 120 miles of arid and pathless desert to the Nile, en-
 camped, on the 27th August, on the shores of the Mediter-
 ranean; but the report of its approach, combined with the
 energy of the commander from England, had induced the
 French general to capitulate before General Baird's arrival.
 The history of India abounds with romantic achievements,
 but no incident can be more impressive than the appearance
 of sepoys from the banks of the Ganges, in the land of the
 Pharaohs, marching in the footsteps of Cæsar to encounter
 the veterans of his modern prototype.

A.D.
1800

Within a month of the surrender of the French army in
 Egypt, the preliminaries of peace between France and
 England were signed by the former Governor-
 General, Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens. The Court
 of Directors immediately issued orders for their military
 establishments to be reduced, but Lord Wellesley, with
 great forethought, wisely suspended the execution of them.
 The treaty of Amiens was no sooner ratified than Bonaparte
 despatched a large armament to Pondicherry, which the
 treaty had restored, consisting of six vessels of war, a large
 military staff, and 1,400 European troops, under the
 command of M. Leger, who was designated, in his patent,
 " Captain-General of the French establishments east of
 " the Cape." It was to be followed by a second squadron of
 equal magnitude. For three years it had been the great
 aim of Lord Wellesley to eradicate French influence from
 India, and as he had now succeeded in excluding it from the
 Deccan, he could not regard the re-establishment of a
 powerful French settlement on the Coromandel coast with-
 out a feeling of anxiety. He felt that all the relations of
 Government with the native states would be at once
 deranged, and the seeds of a more arduous conflict than
 the last planted in the soil of India, ever fruitful in
 revolutions. The order to restore Pondicherry was re-
 iterated from Downing Street, but, by an act of unexampled
 audacity, Lord Wellesley directed Lord Clive, the governor
 of Madras, to inform the French admiral on his arrival
 that he had resolved to postpone the restitution of the
 French settlements till he could communicate with the
 ministry in England. The French fleet returned to the
 Mauritius, and the recommencement of hostilities in

Peace of
Amiens.

1802

Europe saved India from the danger to which it would have been exposed if the continuance of peace had enabled Bonaparte to give full scope to his designs.

On the approach of Zeman Shah to the Indus, Lord Wellesley, well-knowing that the kingdom of Oude would be one of the early objects of spoliation, requested Sir James Craig, the commandant, to communicate his views on the defence of it. He replied that the rabble of troops maintained by the Vizier was not simply useless, but actually dangerous; and that if he were required to take the field against the Shah, he could not leave them behind with safety. The Court of Directors had stated that the British force, 13,000 in number, was too weak for the protection of the country, more especially since Sindia had planted an army of more than 30,000 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, on its frontier, watching an opportunity of springing on its opulent districts. The existing treaty had allotted a subsidy of seventy-six lacs of rupees a year for the payment of this force, and also provided for its augmentation, if necessary. Lord Wellesley now pressed on the Vizier the absolute necessity of disbanding his disorderly soldiers, and devoting the fifty lacs of rupees thereby saved to the support of a larger British force.

A.D.
1800

This reform would have placed the military power of the kingdom absolutely in the hands of the Company; to this the nabob manifested an invincible repugnance, and he proposed to abdicate in favour of his son, and to retire into private life with the treasure he had accumulated. Lord Wellesley stated that he was prepared to sanction his retirement provided he took up his residence in the British dominions, and vested the government of the kingdom permanently in the hands of the Company, but could not permit him to withdraw the treasure which belonged to the state. The nabob immediately withdrew his abdication, and Lord Wellesley expressed great indignation at his insincerity and duplicity, as he termed it, and charged him with having made a proposal, which was from the first illusory, in order to defeat the reform of his military establishment, which was imperatively required. Several regiments were ordered to march into the Oude territory, and the nabob was directed to provide for their maintenance. He remonstrated in earnest language, but Lord Wellesley returned his communication, which he said was deficient in the respect due to

Discussions
with the
nabob.

the first British authority in India. The proceedings began to assume a very vexatious appearance. The Vizier continued to exhibit a spirit of passive resistance, and Lord Wellesley's correspondence was marked by increasing hauteur; but he was desirous, if possible, to avoid the appearance of a compulsory cession of the districts, and despatched his own brother and private secretary, Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, to overcome his repugnance; but the nabob continued inflexible, and persisted in asserting that it would inflict an indelible stain on his reputation throughout India to deprive one of its royal houses of such a dominion.

The Resident at length brought the discussion to an issue by ordering the intendants of the districts selected for the support of the British force to transfer their collections and their allegiance to the Company. The nabob deemed it vain any longer to contend with such negotiators, and on the 12th November, signed a treaty which made over to the Company in perpetual sovereignty districts yielding one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees. The security which this transfer of military power gave to the possessions of the nabob as well as of the Company will admit of no question. A British army, fully adequate to the defence of the country, was substituted for the wretched troops of the nabob, always an object of more dread to their masters than to their enemies; a valuable addition was made to the strength and resources of the Company, and a large population was rescued from oppression. But of all the transactions of Lord Wellesley's administration, this acquisition of territory by the process of compulsion has been the most censured. For any justification of it we must look to the position of the country. The throne of Oude was upheld by British bayonets alone, and the dynasty would have ceased to exist in a twelvemonth, if they had been withdrawn. Under the perpetual menace of a Mahratta invasion, it was necessary that a large and efficient force should be maintained there; but it was not possible for the Company to support such a force with only one-third of the revenues. The settlement of the provinces thus ceded by the Vizier was entrusted to a commission, consisting of members of the civil service, with Mr. Henry Wellesley as president, but he received no additional allowance. Their labours were completed within a year; the Court of Directors, however, lost no time in denouncing this appointment, though temporary, as "a virtual super-

A.D.
1801

Deputation
of Mr. H.
Wellesley.

New treaty
with the
nabob.

1801

“cession of the just rights of the civil service,” and drafted a despatch, peremptorily ordering Mr. Wellesley to be dismissed; but the President of the Board of Control drew his fatal pen across it. At the same time they expressed their cordial approbation of the terms of the treaty, which, among other merits, created thirty new appointments for their favourite service.

Lord Wellesley unhappily approved and maintained the erroneous policy initiated by Lord Cornwallis of excluding natives from any share in the government of the country, and working it exclusively by the European agency of the covenanted servants; but he determined to qualify them for their important duties by a suitable education. The civil service was originally a mercantile staff, and India continued to be treated more in the light of a factory than of an empire. The public servants rose, as they had done a century before, through the grades of writer, factor, and junior and senior merchants, and though they were required to perform the functions of magistrates and judges, of secretaries of state and ambassadors, it was deemed sufficient, if, before they left England, they were initiated into the mysteries of the counting-house, and understood book-keeping by double-entry. Of the laws and institutions, and even the language of the people, they were not required to know anything. Lord Wellesley was resolved to remove this glaring anomaly by founding a college in Calcutta, in which their European education should be completed, and they should acquire a knowledge of the laws, literature, and language of the natives.

Like all Lord Wellesley's plans, the institution was projected upon a scale of imperial magnificence; and it was, moreover, erected without so much as consulting the Court of Directors, and they passed a peremptory order for its immediate abolition. Lord Wellesley was mortified beyond measure by this subversion of one of his most cherished schemes, which exposed him to the contempt of India, and he gave vent to his feelings in a passionate appeal to his friends in the ministry, and entreated them to save from extinction an institution he deemed invaluable—which indeed, he regarded with greater pride than the conquest of Mysore. On receiving the orders from Leadenhall Street, he passed a resolution abolishing the college, with the sullen remark that it was done “as an act of necessary submission to the controlling authority of the Court;” but in a second resolution he allowed eighteen

The College
of Fort
William.

A.D.
1800

1802

Its grandeur.

months for the gradual abolition of it; and in the meantime the Court of Directors, under the pressure of the Board of Control, consented to the continuance of it on a reduced scale.

At the renewal of the charter in 1793 the ministry endeavoured to silence the clamours of the manufacturers of England, as already stated, by obliging the Court of Directors to allot them 3,000 tons of freight annually, but this concession was found inadequate to the demand. The commerce of India was, in fact, bursting the bonds of the monopoly, which, however serviceable it might have been during the infancy of our connection with India, was altogether unsuited to an age of development. The trade of Calcutta had been rapidly expanding, and was forcing itself into the continental markets, in foreign vessels provided with cargoes by English capital. In 1798 the exports in vessels under the flags of America, of Portugal, and of Denmark, had exceeded a crore and a half of rupees.

Shipbuilding had likewise made great progress in Calcutta during the previous ten years, and Lord Wellesley, finding 10,000 tons of India-built shipping in the port on his arrival, chartered a large portion of it for the use of the private merchants. In his letter to the Court of Directors on the subject, he said that it would be equally unjust and impolitic to extend any facilities to British merchants which would sacrifice or hazard the Company's rights and privileges, and that the commercial indulgence he had granted extended only to such articles of Indian produce and manufacture as were necessarily excluded from the Company's investments. Mr. Dundas, who entertained the same liberal views as Lord Wellesley, was anxious to authorise the Government of India to license India-built shipping "to bring home that which the means and capital of the Company were unable to embrace." But at the India House the dread of interlopers was still in undiminished vigour. Though the cream of the India trade was still to be assured to the Company, the Directors would not permit others to obtain the dregs. The proceedings of Lord Wellesley were emphatically reprobated; he lost caste irretrievably in Leadenhall Street, and the treatment he experienced from the Directors during the last three years of his Indian career was scarcely less rancorous than that which had embittered the life of Warren Hastings. Notwithstanding the remon-

A.D.

1793

Private
trade.

to

1801

Disapproval
of Lord
Wellesley's
conduct.

strance of the minister, they passed a direct vote of censure on the commercial policy he had patronised.

A.D. 1802 As soon as the arrangements in Oude were completed, Lord Wellesley tendered his resignation, assigning to "his Honourable Masters," as he termed them, no other reason than the full accomplishment of his plans for the security and prosperity of the empire. To the prime minister, however, he unburdened his mind, and informed him that the real cause of his retirement was the invariable hostility of the Court and the withdrawal of their confidence. They had peremptorily ordered the reduction of the military establishments, while he considered it, in the existing circumstances of the empire, essential to its security to maintain them in full vigour. They had cut down the stipends he considered advisable at the close of the war, and had selected for especial censure and retrenchment, the allowances granted by the Madras Government to his brother General Wellesley to meet the cost of his important and expensive command in Mysore; this he considered "the most direct, marked, and disgusting indignity which could be devised." They had abrogated the power vested in the Governor-General in Council by Parliament of enforcing his orders on the minor Presidencies, though they might happen to supersede the injunctions of the Court, and they had destroyed the authority of the Supreme Government over them by reversing this regulation. They had wantonly displaced officers of the highest ability and experience who enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor-General, and, contrary to law, had forced their own nominees into offices of emolument, for which, moreover, they were totally unfit.

Lord Wellesley vigorously remonstrated against this practice. "If the Government of India," he said, "was thus

The causes of it. "to be thwarted in every subordinate department, deprived of all local influence, and counteracted in every local detail by a remote authority interfering in the nomination of every public servant, it would be impossible to conduct the government under such disgraceful chains." Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, was anxious to retain the services of Lord Wellesley, and placed his letter to the premier in the hands of the chairman at the India House. He did not disguise from him the great dissatisfaction and jealousy felt by the Company with regard to certain of Lord Wellesley's measures, and, more especially to the employment of

Mr. Henry Wellesley. He had, in fact, wounded them on the two points on which they were most sensitive—their monopoly and their patronage. But Lord Castlereagh was assured that the Court were not unmindful of his eminent services, and would request him to postpone his departure to the 1st January 1804; little dreaming of the momentous consequences of this resolution. Before that date, the Mahratta power was prostrate, and the map of India reconstructed.

A.D.
1802

SECTION III.

LORD WELLESLEY—MAHRATTA AFFAIRS—TREATY OF BASSEIN—
WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

THE extinction of the kingdom of Mysore, and the complete control established over the Nizam, left the British Government without any antagonist but the Mahrattas, and the two rival powers now confronted each other. The offer of a subsidiary alliance to the Peshwa, made by Lord Wellesley in 1799, which would have introduced the thin end of the wedge of British ascendancy was rejected under the advice of Nana Furnavese. That great statesman closed his chequered career in March, 1800. For more than a quarter of a century he had been the mainspring of every movement in the Mahratta commonwealth, which he had regulated by the strength of his character and the wisdom of his measures, not less than by his humanity, veracity and honesty of purpose, virtues which were not usually found among his own countrymen. "With him," wrote the Resident at Poona, "departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." His death left Sindia without a competitor at Poona, where he exercised supreme authority, and it was not without delight that the Peshwa contemplated the rising power of his rival, Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Mulhar Rao Holkar, who raised himself from the condition of a shepherd to the dignity of a prince, and established one of the five Mahratta powers, died at the age of seventy-six, after a brilliant career of forty years. His only son died soon after, leaving a widow, Aylah bye, and a son and daughter. The son died and his mother, a woman of extraordinary talent and energy, resisted the importunity of the chieftains to adopt

a son and retire into private life. She resolved to undertake the government of the state herself, and selected Tokajee Holkar, one of the same tribe, though not of her kindred, to command the army. Through his singular moderation and the commanding genius of the bye, this perilous arrangement, which placed the military power in the hands of a distinguished soldier, while the civil government was administered by a female, was perpetuated without jealousy for thirty years. She sat daily in durbar and gave audiences without a veil, and dispensed justice in person. She laid herself out to promote the welfare of the country by the encouragement of trade and agriculture, and raised Indore from the obscurity of a village to the rank of a capital. She acquired the respect of foreign princes by the weight and dignity of her character, and in an age of universal violence was enabled to maintain the security of her dominions. She was the purest and most exemplary of rulers, and she added one more name to the roll of those illustrious females who have adorned the native history of India by their talents and virtues.

A. D.
1795

She died in 1795, and Tokajee two years later, and the reign of anarchy began, and continued without abatement, for twenty years. Mulhar Rao, the son of Tokajee, assumed the command of the army and the government of the state, but he was attacked and killed by Sindia, who was thus enabled to reduce the rival house of Holkar to a state of complete subordination. Jeswunt Rao, the illegitimate son of Tokajee, fled from the field to Nagpore, but the raja, anxious to conciliate Sindia, placed him in confinement, but he contrived at length to make his escape, and took refuge at Dhar, which, under the same hostile influence, he was obliged to quit, with seven mounted followers and about a hundred and twenty ragged half-armed infantry. He determined now to trust his fortunes to his sword, and giving himself out as the champion of his nephew, the young son of his brother Mulhar, called upon all the adherents of the house of Holkar to rally round him and resist the encroachments of Sindia; and the freebooters who swarmed in Central India flocked to his standard.

Jeswunt Rao was soon after joined by Ameer Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, about twenty-five years of age, together with a large body of free lances, and for eighteen months they spread desolation through the districts lying on the Nerbudda, but were at length

Early move-
ments of
Jeswunt
Rao.

Ameer
Khan.

obliged to separate when the field of plunder was exhausted. Ameer Khan proceeded eastward to the opulent town of Saugor, where he subjected the inhabitants to every species of outrage, and acquired immense booty. Nothing gives us a clearer view of the anarchy and wretchedness of Hindostan at this period than the ease with which Jeswunt Rao was able, in the space of two years, to collect under his standard, by the hope of plunder, a force of 70,000 Pindarees and Bheels, Afghans and Mahrattas. With this force Holkar entered Malwa, and the country was half ruined before Sindia could come to its rescue from Poona. To expel Holkar he despatched two bodies of his troops, one of which, though commanded by Europeans, was obliged to lay down its arms, and the other was attacked with such vigour that of its eleven European officers seven fell in action and three were wounded. The city of Oojein, Sindia's capital, was saved from indiscriminate plunder, by submitting to a contribution of fifteen lacs. At Poona, Bajee Rao, relieved from the presence of Sindia, subjected his feudatories to extortion and his people to oppression, which led to the appearance of numerous bodies of brigands, one of which, Wittotjee, the brother of Jeswunt Rao, was constrained to join. He was captured and sentenced to be trampled to death by an infuriated elephant, while Bajee Rao sat in the balcony of the palace to enjoy the yells of the expiring youth. Jeswunt vowed sharp vengeance, and it was not long before he found an opportunity of executing it.

A.D. 1800

A.D. 1801

Sindia, having ordered Shirjee Rao, his father-in-law, and the greatest miscreant of Central India, to join his camp, proceeded in pursuit of Holkar, who was totally defeated on the 14th October. The wretch entered the capital, Indore, and gave it up to plunder. The noblest edifices in the city, which had been erected and adorned by Aylah bye, were reduced to ashes. Those who were possessed of property were tortured to reveal it, and the wells were choked up with the bodies of females who destroyed themselves to escape dishonour. Holkar was not long in recovering the blow. His daring spirit was exactly suited to the temper of the age, and his standard was speedily crowded with recruits, with whom he proceeded to the north, plundering every town and village in his progress, and to the horror of his lawless, but superstitious soldiery, not sparing even the shrines of the gods. He then laid waste the province of Candesh, and

1801

Sindia defeated Holkar.

moved down on Poona, and the Peshwa began to tremble for his safety. Lord Wellesley had not ceased to renew the offer of the subsidiary alliance when there appeared any prospect of success. The negotiation fluctuated with the Peshwa's hopes and fears, and when Sindia, who had earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, sent ten battalions of infantry and a large body of cavalry to protect him from the assault of Holkar, it came to an abrupt termination.

Holkar continued to advance to Poona, and the dismayed Peshwa made him the most abject offers, but they were haughtily rejected. The combined army of Sindia and the Peshwa encamped in the vicinity of the capital, consisted of 84,000 horse and foot. Sindia's force comprised ten battalions under the command of Col. Dawes, while Holkar had fourteen battalions, disciplined and commanded by European officers. The battle of Poona, which was long and obstinately contested, ended in the complete victory of Holkar, who captured the whole of the baggage, stores and encampment of the allies. The Peshwa, who had kept out of the reach of fire, fled precipitately to the sea coast, where he obtained the accommodation of a British vessel from the governor of Bombay and embarked for Bassein, which he reached on the 6th December. Holkar entered the capital and placed the Peshwa's illegitimate brother, Amrut Rao, on the throne, after exacting the promise of an immediate payment of two crores, and territory yielding another crore, as well as the command of the army and the control of the state. After two months of singular moderation he gave up the capital to pillage. Bajee Rao, now became eager for the alliance as affording him the only chance of regaining his crown, and on the last day of December, he signed the memorable treaty of Bassein, by which he agreed to entertain a body of 6,000 English troops, and a suitable complement of artillery, and to assign districts yielding twenty-six lacs for their support, to entertain no Europeans in his service, and to refer all his claims upon the Nizam and the Gaikwar to the arbitration of the Governor-General. The treaty likewise guaranteed the southern jageerdars in the enjoyment of their ancient rights.

The treaty of Bassein, viewed in connection with its consequences, forms one of the most important events in the history of British India. Although the authority of the Peshwa had long ceased to

Battle of
Poona.

A. D.
1802

1802

The treaty of
Bassein.

Remarks on
the treaty.

possess its former importance in the Mahratta counsels, he was still regarded by the other chiefs as the centre of their national unity, and the recognised chief of the Mahratta commonwealth, and the extinction of his independence essentially weakened its power. It has been the subject of warm controversy, but the sound judgment of the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley, based upon his extensive Indian experience, may be considered conclusive. "The treaty of Bassein," he asserted, "and the measures adopted in consequence of it, afforded the best prospect of preserving the peace of India, and to have adopted any other measure would have rendered war with Holkar nearly certain, and war with the whole Mahratta nation more than probable." This opinion has been fully confirmed by posterity. War with the Mahratta powers was inevitable; the treaty may have hastened it, but it must not be forgotten that it likewise deprived them of all the resources of the Peshwa's Government.

The establishment of the Company's paramount authority at the Mahratta capital gave great umbrage to Sindia and to the raja of Nagpore. The former found all his ambitious projects in the Deccan defeated, and exclaimed: "The treaty takes the turban from my head." The Nagpore raja was at once deprived of the hopes he and his ancestors had cherished of some day obtaining the office of Peshwa. The two chiefs immediately entered into a confederacy to obstruct the objects of the treaty, and Bajee Rao himself had no sooner signed it, than he despatched an envoy to solicit their aid to frustrate it. Holkar, whose plans were thwarted by this masterly stroke of policy, agreed to join the coalition on condition that the domains of his family should be restored to him; but, although he was reinstated in them, he no sooner perceived Sindia involved in hostilities with the British Government, than he let loose his own famishing hordes on his possessions in Malwa.

Lord Wellesley, who had early information of this coalition, informed Sindia and the raja of Nagpore that he was desirous of maintaining friendly relations with them unimpaired, but would resist to the full extent of his power any attempt to interfere with the treaty. To be prepared for every contingency, he ordered the whole of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and 6,000 of the Nizam's own infantry, and 9,000 horse, under Colonel Stephenson, up to the frontier. General

A.D.
1803Umbrage of
Sindia and
the Nagpore
raja.Lord Wellesley's military
movements.

Wellesley likewise marched up 600 miles in the same direction with the Mysore contingent, 8,000 infantry, 1,700 cavalry, and 2,000 of the celebrated Mysore horse, under an able native commander. The southern jageerdars were induced by the influence which General Wellesley had obtained over them, to join him with 10,000 troops. Amrut Rao, whom Holkar had left in command at Poona, had declared his determination to reduce it to ashes when he could no longer hold it; but the city was saved by the energy of General Wellesley, who made a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours to rescue it. Soon after Bajee Rao quitted Bassein, and on the 13th May, the day which had been selected by his astrologers, entered Poona, accompanied by British bayonets, and ascended the throne under a British salute.

A.D.
1803

The designs of Sindia became daily more evident. He marched down with a large force from Oojein to form a junction with the raja of Nagpore, who moved up to meet him with a large force on the 17th April. Both princes informed the Resident that it was their intention to proceed to Poona "to adjust the government of the Peshwa." He assured them that any such movement would be considered an act of hostility, and involve the most serious consequences. Various communications were intercepted in different directions, which placed their warlike designs beyond doubt; and, on the 23rd May, therefore, Colonel Close, the Resident at Sindia's court, was instructed to demand a categorical explanation of his intentions, when he replied that, with regard to the negotiations on foot, he could give no decisive answer till he had seen the raja of Nagpore, then encamped about forty miles distant, "when you shall be informed whether there is to be war or peace." Lord Wellesley considered this announcement not merely an insult to the British Government, but an unequivocal menace of hostility on the part of both princes, who had planted their armies on the frontiers of the two allies, the Nizam and the Peshwa, whom the Government were bound to defend. The complication of affairs at this juncture was increased by the arrival of the French armament, already mentioned, at Pondicherry, which Sindia announced to all the Mahratta princes as the reinforcement of an ally. The confederates continued to prolong the discussions for two months, while they were employed in pressing Holkar to join them. During this period of suspense, the perfidious Peshwa con-

Develop-
ment of
Sindia's
designs.

tinued to importune Sindia to avoid any concession, but advance at once to Poona "to settle affairs." He obstructed the progress of supplies, and lost no opportunity of embarrassing the Government.

Time was now invaluable, but no reply could be received to any reference to Calcutta under six weeks, and Lord Wellesley, therefore, ventured to take upon himself the responsibility, for which he was afterwards captiously censured, of vesting full powers, civil, military, and diplomatic, in reference to the conduct of Mahratta affairs in the Deccan, in General Wellesley, and at the same time furnished him with a clear exposition of his views of policy. The general received this commission on the 18th July, and lost no time in calling on the allied chiefs to demonstrate the sincerity of the pacific declarations they were making, by withdrawing their forces from a position, not necessary for the security of their own territories, but menacing equally to the Nizam, the Company, and the Peshwa. A week of frivolous and fruitless discussion then ensued, during which Sindia had the simplicity to say that they were not prepared to determine on any movement, as the negotiation with Holkar was not yet complete. Wearied with these studied delays, General Wellesley gave them twenty-four hours for their ultimatum, when they proposed that the British armies should retire to their cantonments at Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, while their forces fell back forty miles to Boorhanpore. To this General Wellesley replied: "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties: you have chosen war, and are answerable for all consequences." On the 3rd August the British Resident withdrew from Sindia's camp, and the Mahratta war of 1803 commenced.

Delegation
of powers to
General
Wellesley.

A.D.
1803

SECTION IV.

LORD WELLESLEY—WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

LORD WELLESLEY, finding a war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore inevitable, determined to strike a decisive blow at their power, simultaneously, in every quarter of India. In the grand combinations of this campaign he was his own war minister, and never under

Preparations
for war.

the Company's rule had the resources of Government been drawn forth upon a scale of such magnitude and applied with such promptitude and effect. In the Deccan the advanced force under General Wellesley of about 9,000 men, and of Colonel Stephenson, consisting of about 8,000, was appointed to operate against the main armies of the confederates. In the north 10,500 troops were assembled under General Lake, to attack Sindia's possessions in Hindostan, which were defended by his French battalions; and a force of 3,500 was allotted for the invasion of Bundelcund. On the western coast an army of 7,300 men was organised to dispossess Sindia of his possessions in Guzerat, while 5,200 men were to occupy the province of Cuttack, belonging to the raja of Nagpore, on the eastern coast. The whole force of about 43,500 men was animated by that traditional spirit of enterprise and enthusiasm which had created the British empire in India, and which, on this occasion, was heightened by unbounded confidence in the statesman at the head of the Government. The armies of the confederates were computed at 100,000, of whom one half consisted of cavalry, with a superb train of artillery of many hundred pieces.

As soon as the Resident had quitted Sindia's camp, General Wellesley opened the campaign by the capture of the strong fortress of Ahmednugur, Sindia's great arsenal and depôt in the Deccan, and by taking possession of all his districts south of the Godavery. Meanwhile the confederates spent three weeks in marching and countermarching, apparently without any definite object. General Wellesley, misled by his guides, was unexpectedly brought, after a march of twenty-six miles, to a position from which he could behold Sindia's encampment, consisting of 50,000 men and 100 guns, stretched out before him, and he resolved to bring on an immediate action without waiting for the junction of Colonel Stephenson's force. The handful of British troops which had to encounter this formidable array at Assye, did not exceed 4,500. The Mahratta infantry was entrenched behind formidable batteries, which the General had particularly enjoined the officer commanding the advance not to assail in front, but he charged up to the muzzle of the guns; the carnage was appalling, but the indomitable courage and energy of the troops, more especially the 74th, bore down all opposition, and Sindia's splendid infantry, standing by the guns to

Capture
A. D. of Ahmed-
1803 nugur.

Battle of
Assye.

the last, was at length overpowered and dispersed. The A.D. 1803
 victory was the most complete which had ever crowned the
 Company's arms in India, but it was dearly purchased by
 the loss of one-third of its numbers. Sindia lost 12,000
 men and all his guns, ammunition, and camp equipage.
 His army was a complete wreck, and he retreated with a
 small body of horse to the Taptee. Colonel Stephenson
 was sent in pursuit of him, and captured the flourishing
 town of Boorhanpore and the strong fortress of Aseergurh.
 Meanwhile all Sindia's districts in Guzerat were occupied,
 and nothing remained to him but his possessions in
 Hindostan.

This valuable territory had been enlarged and con-
 solidated by the indefatigable exertions of the late Mah-
 dajee Sindia, and chiefly through the army raised
 and disciplined by the Count de Boigne, on Sindia's pos-
 sessions in
 Hindostan.
 whose retirement to France the command de-
 volved on General Perron. Dowlut Rao, since his acces-
 sion to his uncle's throne in 1794, had continued to reside
 at Poona that he might maintain a paramount influence in
 the Mahratta councils, and the administration of these
 provinces in the north devolved on the general, who con-
 ducted it with great ability and moderation. He had
 succeeded in extending the control of Sindia over the
 Rajpoots, and was rapidly stretching it over the Sikhs up
 to the banks of the Sutlej. His advanced posts approached
 the Indus in one direction and Allahabad in the other, and
 the territory under his control yielded a revenue of two
 crores of rupees. His army consisted of 28,000 foot, not
 inferior in any respect to the Company's sepoy army, with
 5,000 cavalry and 140 guns. The jeopardy to which the
 interests of the Company were continually exposed by the
 presence of this powerful force, entirely under French
 influence, along the whole of the north-west frontier was
 but too apparent, and Lord Wellesley considered it an
 object of the highest importance to extinguish it. Happily
 for the accomplishment of his wishes Sindia's Mahratta
 officers entertained such jealousy of the extraordinary
 power granted to a foreigner that he considered his position
 no longer tenable, and was contemplating his retirement
 when the war broke out.

General Lake had been entrusted with the same plenary
 powers in Hindostan which had been confided to General
 Wellesley in the Deccan. He opened the cam- Capture of
 Allygurh.
 paign by advancing against General Perron's

encampment, but he withdrew his army 15,000 strong without firing a shot, upon which General Lake laid siege to Allygurh, the great arsenal and depôt of Sindia in Hindostan. It had been fortified with extraordinary skill by French officers, but it was captured by a *coup de main*, through the irresistible gallantry of the 76th Highlanders. The number of guns captured amounted to 281. Shortly after, Perron having learnt that his enemies at Sindia's court had procured an order for his dismissal, obtained permission to pass through the British camp on his way to Lucknow, and was received with the distinction due to his rank and his talents. General Lake then advanced from Allygurh towards Delhi, and within sight of its minarets encountered the French force under General Bourquin, 19,000 in number. The battle was severely contested, but the British infantry, led again by the 76th Highlanders, and by the Commander-in-Chief in person, advanced calmly amidst a storm of grape and chain shot, and charged with the bayonet; the ranks of the enemy reeled, and then broke up in confusion.

Three days after the engagement, General Bourquin and three of his officers delivered up their swords to General Lake. The city of Delhi was immediately evacuated by Sindia's troops, and the British standard was hoisted upon its battlements. The emperor, though a prisoner and sightless, was still considered the fountain of honour by Hindoos and Mahomedans, and a patent of nobility under the imperial seal was as highly prized in the remotest provinces of the Deccan as it had been in the days of Aurungzebe. "General Lake," in the magniloquent proclamation of Lord Wellesley, "was ushered into the royal presence, and found the unfortunate and venerable emperor, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age and degraded authority, extreme poverty and loss of sight, seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition." Lord Wellesley made a noble provision for his support, and then formed the judicious resolution of removing him and the royal family from the dangerous associations of Delhi, and proposed Monghyr for his future residence; but the emperor clung with such tenacity to the spot which had been for six centuries the capital of Mahomedan power that the Governor-General was reluctantly constrained to relinquish the design. For this

A.D.
1803

1803
15th
Sept.

The troops
enter Delhi.

generous but imprudent act the Government was required to pay a fearful penalty half a century later. A.D. 1803

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony in command at Delhi, General Lake marched down to Agra, which capitulated after a protracted siege, when the treasure found in it, about twenty-eight lacs of rupees, was promptly and prudently distributed among the officers and men, "in anticipation of the approval of the home authorities." On the outbreak of the war Sindia had sent fifteen of his French battalions across the Nerbudda to protect his possessions in Hindostan. They were considered the flower of his army, and were usually called the "Deccan Invincibles," and nobly did they sustain the reputation they had gained. Including the fugitives from Delhi they formed a body of 13,000 horse and foot, with 72 pieces of cannon, under native commanders. General Lake came up with their encampment at Laswaree on the 1st November, and they fought as native soldiers had never fought before when they had no European officers to animate them. They were at length overpowered, but not till one-half of their number, as reported, lay on the field killed or wounded. The general himself conducted all the movements, and impetuously led the charge in person, more to the credit of his gallantry than of his military talent. Though a dashing soldier and adored by his men, he was a very indifferent general, but the flagrant errors of the day were covered—as they have since been on more than one occasion—by the chivalrous valour of the men at the sacrifice of their lives.

Alarmed by the reverses he had sustained, Sindia made overtures which resulted in an armistice, and General Wellesley was now enabled to turn his whole attention to the raja of Nagpore, whom he had been closely following. On the 28th November he came up with his whole army at Argaum, and obtained a complete victory. The fortress of Gawilgurh surrendered in the middle of December, and General Wellesley prepared to march upon Nagpore, which must have at once capitulated. The province of Cuttack had also been occupied by a British army without a single casualty. The raja, reduced to extremities by these rapid reverses, and trembling for his capital and his throne, hastened to sue for peace, and the treaty of Deogaum was negotiated and concluded in two days by Mr. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone on the 18th December. Cuttack was

Battle of
Argaum.
Submission
of Nagpore. 1803

A.D.
1803

annexed to the Company's territories, and the uninterrupted communication between Calcutta and Madras, which the Court of Directors had coveted for many years, and for which they were at one time prepared to pay a large sum, was established. The opulent province of Berar was made over to our ally the Nizam, though during the campaign his officers had behaved with more than ordinary perfidy. The raja likewise engaged to refer all his differences with the Nizam and the Peshwa to the arbitrament of the British Government. These cessions of territory, which comprised some of his most valuable districts, reduced him to the position of a secondary power in India.

Sindia could no longer hesitate to accept the severe terms dictated by the Governor-General. His French battalions, the bulwark of his power, were annihilated. His territories in the Deccan, in Guzerat and in Hindostan, the rich patrimony bequeathed to him by his uncle, had been wrested from him, and nothing lay before him but the extinction of his power. He yielded to necessity within a fortnight after the raja of Nagpore had agreed to the treaty of Deogaum, and signed the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaum. He was obliged to cede all his territories lying between the Ganges and the Doobab, and those north of the principalities of Jeypore and Joudpore, the fortress and territory of Ahmednugur in the Deccan, and Broach and its dependencies in Guzerat. He relinquished all claims on the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Gaikwar, and acknowledged the independence of the rajas and feudatories in Hindostan with whom Lord Wellesley had recently concluded treaties. The war which produced these great results was scarcely of five months duration, and it was concluded before it was known in Leadenhall Street that it had commenced. Ahmednugur with its territory was made over to the Peshwa, and the wealthy districts in Hindostan were united with those which had been acquired from the Vizier of Oude, to form a separate

Treaties of
alliance in
the north.

province now known as the North West Presidency. Having thus reduced the Mahratta power in Hindostan, Lord Wellesley was anxious to prevent the renewal of it by establishing a barrier between the possessions of Sindia, north of the Nerbudda and those of the Company, and General Lake was instructed to conclude treaties of alliance with the Jaut prince of Bhurtpore, and the princes of Jeypore, Joudpore, Machery, Boondee and Gohud, who were thereby absolved

from all allegiance to the Mahratta powers, and relieved from all dread of their encroachments. A.D.
1803

The genius of Lord Wellesley had thus, in the course of five years, reorganized the political condition of India, and placed his masters on the pinnacle of power. The Company had now become the absolute sovereigns of the most valuable portion of the continent, the protector of the states not included within its possessions, and the umpire in the disputes of all. Its authority was established on a more solid basis than that of Akbar or Aurungzebe. The reputation and splendour of Lord Wellesley's administration had now reached its culmination, and the disasters which clouded the remainder of his Indian career were owing entirely to the blunders of the Commander-in-Chief, though his Government was necessarily saddled with the obloquy of them.

SECTION V.

LORD WELLESLEY—WAR WITH HOLKAR—COLONEL MONSON'S RETREAT.

DURING the war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, Holkar, instead of uniting his forces with theirs, sought more profitable employment for them in predatory excursions into Hindostan. On the conclusion of the peace he marched upon the wealthy town of Muhesur, where he was reported to have obtained a crore of rupees, by which he was enabled to take into his pay the soldiers whom Sindia and the raja of Nagpore had disbanded. His army was thus augmented to 60,000 horse, and 15,000 foot, a force far exceeding his requirements or his resources, and which could only be maintained by plunder. He was assured by the Governor-General and General Wellesley that, as long as he abstained from invading the dominions of the Company or of their allies, no attempt should be made to interfere with his movements. But repose was incompatible with his condition; his fortune was in his saddle, and his reckless disposition led him to throw himself on the British buckler. In March he demanded of General Wellesley the cession of certain districts in the Deccan which he affirmed had once belonged to his family, and he sent to General Lake to demand the *chout* as the inalienable right of the Mahrattas, and threatened "if his demands were not complied with, that countries many

A.D.
1804

“hundred miles in extent should be plundered, and calamities fall on many hundred thousand human beings by a continued war, in which his armies would overwhelm them like waves of the sea.” These insolent menaces were followed up by an inroad into the territories of the British ally, the raja of Jeypore.

Lord Wellesley felt that there could be no prosperity or even peace in Central India while this large predatory horde continued to roam through it under this rampant chief, and that an army of observation would be found to be far more costly than an army of action; and on the 16th April directed Generals Wellesley and Lake to take the field against him. General Lake moved into the Jeypore territory, and chased him out of it. General Wellesley then in the Deccan urged him to continue the pursuit without pause, and assured him that if it was prosecuted with vigour, the war would be over in a fortnight. By an act of incomprehensive fatuity, General Lake rejected this advice, withdrew his army into cantonments, and sent Colonel Monson with a weak force to follow Holkar. Lord Wellesley strenuously urged him either to recall the brigade or to strengthen it, but General Lake did neither. Colonel Monson was as remarkable for his personal bravery as for his professional incompetence. With a detachment feeble in numbers, and not supported by a single European soldier, with only about 2,500 worthless irregular horse, he advanced into the heart of Holkar's territory to encounter a force ten times its number, and commanded by the most daring soldier of the day; and he neglected to make any provision for supplies, or for crossing the various streams which would become unfordable in two or three weeks.

1804

On the 7th July Colonel Monson received the alarming intelligence that Holkar had called up his whole force and was marching upon him, and that Colonel Murray, whom General Wellesley had ordered up from Guzerat to support him, had fallen back. The provisions in his camp were only equal to two days' consumption, and he deemed it necessary to make an immediate retreat. Whenever the troops stood at bay, Holkar, notwithstanding the immense superiority of his force, sustained a repulse. At Rampoora Colonel Monson was reinforced by two battalions sent to his aid by General Lake, and was well supplied with provisions; but he unaccountably lingered there twenty-four days,

Colonel
Monson's
retreat.

during which time Holkar never once ventured to attack him. He then recommenced his retreat, which soon became a disgraceful rout, and the last sepoy straggled into Agra fifty days after he had begun to retire. Twenty-three years before Colonel Camac had, with equal indiscretion, marched into the heart of Sindia's territories, and found himself in the same predicament as Colonel Monson; yet, by the unfailing expedient of a bold and aggressive movement, Sindia was completely defeated, and lost guns, ammunition, encampment, and reputation. But for the imbecility of the commander, the same triumph would have crowned the valour of the troops under Colonel Monson, and Lord Wellesley would not have had to lament the loss of five battalions of infantry and six companies of artillery. This was the most signal disgrace the Company's arms had sustained since the destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment by Hyder, and it was commemorated in ribald songs in the bazaars throughout the continent. The raja of Bhurtpore, who was the first to seek the alliance of the Government in the flood-tide of success in 1803, was the first to desert them when the tide appeared to be ebbing.

A.D.
1804

Flushed with success, Holkar advanced to Muttra with an army estimated at 90,000 men, and General Lake, with his usual energy, rapidly assembled his regiments to meet this unexpected inroad. Meanwhile, Holkar besieges Delhi. Holkar planned the daring project of seizing the city of Delhi and obtaining possession of the person of the emperor, and of the influence still attached to his name. Leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of General Lake, he suddenly appeared before the gates of the city on the 7th October. It was ten miles in circumference, defended only by dilapidated walls and ruined ramparts, and filled with a mixed and unruly population. The garrison was too weak to admit of reliefs, and provisions were served to the troops on the battlements; but Colonel Ochterlony, with a spirit worthy of Clive, defended it for nine days against the utmost efforts of the enemy, 20,000 strong, with 100 pieces of artillery. Holkar at length drew off his force in despair, and sending back his infantry and guns into the territory of his new ally, the raja of Bhurtpore, set out with his cavalry to lay waste the Company's districts in the Doab.

1804

General Lake left his infantry under General Fraser, to

watch Holkar's battalions, and started in pursuit of him with six regiments of cavalry, European and native, and his horse artillery, giving him no rest night or day. Holkar generally contrived to keep twenty or thirty miles ahead of him, ravaging the defenceless villages as he swept along; but, after a forced march of fifty miles in twenty-four hours, the general succeeded in overtaking him at dawn, at Futtygurh, on the 17th November. The enemy's horses were at picket, and the men asleep beside them in apparent security, when several rounds of grape announced the arrival of their pursuers. Holkar sprang on his horse, and galloped off with a few troopers, leaving the rest of the troops to shift for themselves, and they were dispersed and cut up in all directions. He hastened back to rejoin his infantry, but found on recrossing the Jumna, that they had suffered an irreparable defeat. General Frazer with a force of 6,000 men had attacked his army consisting of fourteen battalions of foot, a large body of horse and 160 guns, and obtained a decisive victory, capturing more than half his artillery; but the victory was dearly purchased by the loss of the general. During the engagement, a destructive fire was opened on the British force from the fortress of Deeg, belonging to the raja of Bhurt-pore, which was immediately invested and captured.

The fortunes of Holkar were now at the lowest ebb. General Jones, who had succeeded the incompetent Colonel Murray, had captured all his forts in Malwa, and marched up, unmolested, to General Lake's encampment. The large host with which he had proudly appeared on the banks of the Jumna only four months before had disappeared, and the annihilation of his power appeared inevitable, when every advantage was thrown away by the fatal resolution of General Lake to invest Bhurt-pore. The town was eight miles in circumference, surrounded by the invulnerable bulwark of a mud wall of great height and thickness, protected by numerous bastions and by a broad and deep ditch, filled with water, and defended by 8,000 of the raja's troops and the remnant of Holkar's infantry. General Lake turned a deaf ear to all advice, and without a sufficient siege train, or an engineer officer of any experience, without even making a reconnaissance, commenced the siege with breathless impetuosity. Four consecutive attacks were made upon it during fifteen weeks, which entailed the unprecedented

loss of 3,200 in killed and wounded, of whom 103 were A.D. officers. The siege was abandoned on the 21st April; 1805 but the raja, who had severely felt the loss of all the revenues of his districts and the exactions of Holkar, sought an accommodation with the Government, and a treaty was soon after concluded on condition of his contributing twenty lacs of rupees in four instalments towards the expenses of the war. But this issue of the campaign did not cover the disgrace of our failure, the remembrance of which was perpetuated even in the remote districts of the Deccan by rude delineations of British soldiers hurled from the battlements of Bhurtpore.

This pacification was hastened by the hostile attitude of Sindia. By the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaum, he had agreed to relinquish all claim on the rajas with whom Lord Wellesley had concluded treaties. But, Hostile attitude of Sindia. when the list was presented to him four months after, he was exasperated to find the name of the rana of Gohnd included in it, and also the fort of Gwalior. He scouted the idea of considering the rana, whose territories he had absorbed twenty years before, as an independent prince, or of making over to him the fortress of Gwalior, which he valued not merely for its strength, but as a personal gift from the emperor. General Wellesley affirmed that Sindia had subscribed the treaty with the distinct understanding that the fort and territory should remain with him, and it was in ignorance of this agreement that Lord Wellesley had resolved to consider Gohnd as an independent principality. General Wellesley said, "that he would sacrifice it, and every other frontier town ten times over, to preserve our credit for good faith." Major Malcolm, the envoy at Sindia's court, was equally urgent, but Lord Wellesley, who was entirely in the wrong, imperiously persisted in his resolution, and Sindia was obliged to submit, but the loss continued to rankle in his bosom.

The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson and the failure of the siege of Bhurtpore, produced a profound sensation throughout Hindostan. The victors of Assye had been chased by Holkar up to the Confederacy against Government. walls of Agra. The captors of Gwalior had been baffled before a mud fort in the plains, and an impression was created that the Company's good fortune was on the wane. A hostile confederacy was secretly formed, which included Sindia, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the raja of Bhurtpore; and Sindia ventured to attack our allies

A.D. 1805 and to invade Saugor. At the instance of his minister, Sirjee Rao, the encampment of Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, was plundered, and he was placed under restraint. Sindia moreover assembled an army of 40,000 men, and moved on towards Bhurtpore, with the intention, he said, of negotiating a peace between the raja and the British Government. Lord Wellesley could not fail to feel acutely the insult which such a proposal implied, but he and his brother were anxious to avoid a rupture with Sindia at this time. The *morale* of the army was low, and the north-west frontier was defenceless. The Resident dissuaded Sindia from crossing the Chumbul towards Bhurt-pore, assuring him that it would inevitably result in a war, and advised him to return to his own capital; but he said his funds were exhausted, and General Wellesley assured Lord Wellesley that he was really impoverished by his late losses, and under the advice of the General an advance of money was made to him from the treasury, on which he retraced his steps to Subulgurh.

He was joined soon after by Ameer Khan and Holkar, with about 3,000 of the cavalry which yet adhered to his standard. The confederates pressed Sindia for money, but his exchequer was exhausted, and he gave them permission to despoil his general, Ambajee Anglia, who had amassed two crores in his service, and Shirjee Rao, Sindia's father-in-law, extorted fifty lacs of rupees from him by torture. The atrocities of this miscreant constrained Sindia to discard him, and Ambajee having been appointed in his stead, broke up the alliance between his master and Holkar and Ameer Khan, and the path was thus opened for an accommodation with the British Government. Sindia had nothing to expect, but everything to lose, by a struggle with the Company, and he was sincerely desirous of the restoration of concord. Lord Wellesley was equally anxious for the re-establishment of a good understanding, that he might reduce the burdens of the state. He had determined to restore Gohud and Gwalior, as a matter of policy, and another month or six weeks would have brought about an amicable adjustment of all differences, and placed the tranquillity of India on a solid basis; but, on the 30th July he was superseded by the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and his whole scheme of policy was at once subverted.

The administration of Lord Wellesley is the most

Movements
of the con-
federates.

Supersedeure
of Lord
Wellesley.

1805

memorable in the annals of the Company. He found the empire beset with perils in every quarter; he bequeathed it to his successor in a state of complete security, with the prestige of our power higher than it had ever stood. He annihilated the French force at Hyderabad, demolished the kingdom of Mysore, and became master of the Deccan. He extinguished the more formidable battalions of French troops in the employ of Sindia, and turned his possessions in Hindostan into a British province. He paralysed beyond redemption the great Mahratta sovereigns; he doubled the territories and resources of the Company; he exhibited a special genius for creating and consolidating an empire, and he would rank as the greatest of the Governors-General if he had not been preceded by Warren Hastings and followed by Lord Dalhousie. He was resolved to quench those internecine contests among the princes of India which, for a century since the death of Aurungzebe, had turned its fairest provinces into a desert. He felt as his brother the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley, happily expressed it, "that no permanent system of policy could be adopted to protect the weak against the strong, and to keep the princes for any length of time in their relative positions, and the whole body in peace, without the establishment of one power which, by the superiority of its strength and its military system and resources, should obtain a preponderating influence for the protection of all." The Company was to be this preponderating power, but the Company was still a commercial body, with an instinctive dread of military operations, which interrupted its investments and disturbed its balance-sheet. The mercantile spirit was still in the ascendant in Leadenhall-street, whereas Lord Wellesley maintained that "as long as the Company represented the sovereign executive authority in this vast empire, its duties of sovereignty must be paramount to mercantile interests." These antagonistic views created a strong feeling of antipathy towards him at the India House. Parliament, moreover, had thought fit to interdict all increase of territory and all alliances with native princes without the sanction of the Court of Directors, and they hoped under the shadow of this injunction to continue at peace with the native princes, and to pursue their mercantile enterprises without any impediment. But, in defiance of this rule, Lord Wellesley had been engaged in wars from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej, had broken the power

Remarks on
his adminis-
tration.

A.D.
1805

A.D. 1805 of prince after prince, and loaded the Company with the responsibility of governing one half and controlling the other half of India. The vastness of his schemes, and the audacity of his aspirations, confounded them; and even his friend Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, regarded with a feeling of anxiety the vast extent of our dominion and our responsibilities. The announcement of the war with Holkar, however inevitable, filled up the measure of his delinquencies, and completed the dismay of the India authorities in Leadenhall-street and at the Board of Control; and it was resolved to supersede him, and "to bring back things to the state the legislature had prescribed in 1792;" in other words, to put the political clock back a dozen years.

On the return of Lord Wellesley to England, an attempt was made to subject him to an impeachment. A Mr. Paull, originally a tailor, had gone out to India as an adventurer, and having amassed a fortune in the hot-house of corruption at Lucknow, obtained a seat in Parliament, and brought articles of charge against Lord Wellesley of high crimes and misdemeanours which were dropped on the dissolution; and Paull having failed to obtain a seat at the election, put a period to his life. Lord Folkstone subsequently renewed the charge, but the resolution of censure which he proposed was negatived by 182 to 31. On the other hand, the vindictive Court of Proprietors passed a vote of condemnation by 928 to 195. But thirty years later, when truth had triumphed over passion and prejudice, the Court of Directors took occasion, on the publication of his despatches, to assure him by a unanimous resolution, "that in their judgment he had been animated throughout his administration by an ardent zeal to promote the well-being of India, and to uphold the interest and honour of the British empire; and that they looked back to the eventful and brilliant period of his administration with feelings common to their countrymen." They voted him a grant of 20,000*l.* and ordered his statue to be placed in the India House as a recognition of his services.

Attempt at
impeach-
ment.

Applause of
the Court of
Directors.

CHAPTER IX.

SECTION I.

LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR G. BARLOW.

LORD CORNWALLIS was Mr. Pitt's invariable refuge in every Indian difficulty. When the Company's possessions were considered to be in danger from the proceedings of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis was sent out to restore their security. When again, in 1797, Sir John Shore's weakness had brought on the mutiny of the officers which threatened the dissolution of Government, he was entreated to go out, if only for a year; and now he was importuned a third time in 1805 to undertake the office of Governor-General, and save the empire from the ruin with which it was supposed to be threatened through Lord Wellesley's ambition. His constitution was exhausted by thirty years of labour in America, in India and in Ireland, but he would not refuse what he considered the call of duty, and he landed at Calcutta on the 30th June, with the finger of death visibly upon him. Within twenty-four hours Lord Wellesley had the mortification to learn that his whole system of policy was to be immediately demolished. Lord Cornwallis lost no time in announcing that it was his object to restore the native princes to a condition of "vigour, efficiency, and independent interest," and to remove the impression of our design to establish British control over every Indian power. He was resolved, in fact, to steer the vessel of the state in 1805 by the ephemeris of 1793.

He immediately proceeded up the country by water, and on the 19th September sent a despatch to Lord Lake defining the policy he intended to pursue. He proposed to restore all Holkar's family domains when he manifested a reasonable disposition; to give up Gohnd and Gwalior to Sindia, and even to waive the demand which had been made by Lord Wellesley

Lord Cornwallis's brief rule and death.

A.D.
1805

Lord Cornwallis's policy.

of the release of the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, whom Sindia detained in honourable bondage, if it was found to be an obstacle to a reconciliation with that chief; to abrogate the treaty with Jeypore; to remove the emperor and his family to some town near Calcutta, and to restore Delhi to the Mahrattas; to dissolve all the alliances concluded with the princes north of the Chumbul, and to compensate them for the loss of our protection from the territories we had acquired beyond the Jumna, which was to be our future boundary. Before this letter could reach Lord Lake, Lord Cornwallis was in his grave. It was dictated to his secretary at a time when he was in such a state of mental and physical debility, that it may be questioned whether he fully comprehended the scope and consequences of this abrupt and fundamental change of policy. He was put on shore at Gha-
His death. zeepore, where he expired on the 5th October. He had not the genius of Hastings or of Lord Wellesley, and his merits as a Governor-General have been over-rated, but none of the rulers of British India have ever more richly earned the esteem and confidence of Europeans and natives by his sterling integrity, his straightforward and manly character, and the spirit of justice and moderation which regulated all his actions.

A.D.
1805

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, succeeded temporarily to the office of Governor-General. He had presided for many years over some of the most important offices in the state, in which he had acquired a rich fund of experience. He had been extolled for his official aptitude and ability by three successive Governors-General, and though the ministry had wisely resolved never again to place any local officer at the head of the Government, they had yielded to the recommendation of Lord Wellesley, and given him the reversion of the highest office. But Sir George was simply a first-rate civilian, eminently qualified for every subordinate department, but destitute of that patrician dignity and that elevation of mind which the management of the empire required. While he continued under the influence of Lord Wellesley's master spirit, he cordially adopted his large and comprehensive policy, and became so closely identified with it that he lost the prospect of succeeding him when that policy was discarded at the India House. This fact was communicated to him by Lord Cornwallis, and may not have been without its influence in converting him to the opposite line of policy, of which he now became

Sir G. Bar-
low and his
policy.

the unflinching advocate. He hastened to inform Lord Lake that it was his intention to dissolve all our alliances with the native princes, to relinquish all right to interfere in their affairs, and to withdraw from all connection with any state beyond the Jumna. Lord Wellesley proposed to rest the security of our dominion on the establishment of general tranquillity under our supremacy. Sir George considered that our position would be equally secure if the native states were allowed to tear one another to pieces, and were thus deprived of all leisure to attack us. This despicable policy was aptly described by Mr. Metcalfe, subsequently Governor-General *ad interim*, as "disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace without tranquillity."

Sindia was as anxious to avoid a second collision with the Government of Calcutta as the Governor-General himself, and an envoy was sent to the head-quarters of Lord Lake, then about to start in pursuit of Holkar. A treaty was concluded on the 25th December, by which Gohud and Gwalior were restored to him, and it was stipulated that the Chumbul should be the boundary of the two states, and that the British Government should enter into no treaties with the rajas of Oodypore, Joudpore, and other chiefs whom he claimed as his feudatories. Northern India swarmed with military adventurers, consisting of the fragments of the armies disbanded by Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, and of the irregulars whom our Government had dismissed; hence Holkar, notwithstanding his reverses, was able to collect a body of 12,000 horse and 3,000 foot, whom it was important to disperse. Lord Lake set off in pursuit of him at the head of his cavalry and light infantry, and a British army was, for the first time, conducted to the banks of the Sutlej by the general who had been the first to camp on the Jumna. On crossing the Sutlej Lord Lake was brought into communication with Runjeet Sing, the young chieftain of twenty-four, then employed in laying the foundation of a new kingdom in the Punjab; and on the banks of the Beyas (the ancient Hydaspes) concluded a treaty with him by which he engaged to afford no further assistance to Holkar, and to oblige him to evacuate the Punjab forthwith. Holkar, now a helpless fugitive, was pursued to the holy city of Umritsir, and sent an envoy humbly to sue for peace, which he was ready to accept on any terms.

Under the positive instructions of Sir George Barlow,

A.D.
1805

1805

A.D.
1805

the draft of a treaty was presented to him which provided for his complete reinstatement in power, the restoration of all the territories which had belonged to his family, and the relinquishment of all interference with the chiefs whom he claimed as his dependents. He was required to relinquish all right to Rampoor, and all claim on Boondee, to entertain no Europeans in his service, to return to Hindostan by a prescribed route, and to abstain from injuring the territories of the Company or their allies. To Holkar, whose fortunes were now desperate, these proposals appeared like a godsend, but their incredible leniency convinced him that they could only be dictated by fear, and his envoy returned with a demand for eighteen additional districts in Hindostan, and liberty to levy contributions on Jeypore, both of which were peremptorily refused. Fresh difficulties were started by his envoys, till Lord Lake threatened to recommence the pursuit, when the ratified treaty was at once produced. But Sir George Barlow was displeased with the terms of the treaty both with Sindia and Holkar. He considered that to fix the Mahratta boundary on the banks of the Chumbul, might imply a pledge to protect the princes beyond it from their rapacity; and he therefore added declaratory articles withdrawing British protection from every state to the west of the Jumna. Rampoor was voluntarily surrendered to him, and he fired a royal salute on the occasion, declaring at the same time that "the English were great rascals, and never to be trusted." The raja of Boondee had the strongest claims on the gratitude of the Company as a constant and faithful ally, and as having two years before afforded shelter and aid to Colonel Monson in his retreat, in spite of the menaces of Holkar. Lord Lake made a strenuous effort to save him, but Sir George was deaf to every remonstrance, and cancelled the article in the treaty which protected him from the rapacity and revenge of Holkar.

The course pursued toward Jeypore was yet more disgraceful. The raja was the first to accede to Lord Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances, but he wavered in his fidelity when Colonel Monson was flying before Holkar, and Lord Wellesley informed Lord Cornwallis that this defection had cancelled his claim to our alliance. In the following year Holkar entered his territories and claimed his assistance against the Company, but Lord Lake assured him that the boon of our protection

would be restored to him if he resisted the advances of that chief, and in this hope he afforded cordial and efficient aid to our detachments proceeding in pursuit of him. Lord Cornwallis, who was the soul of honour, said that any promise Lord Lake had given to the raja should be held sacred. Sir George Barlow, however, refused to acknowledge any such obligation, and as Holkar entered the Jeypore territory, bent on plunder and revenge, informed him that the protection of Government was withdrawn for the breach of his engagement during Colonel Monson's retreat. Lord Lake, indignant at the contempt with which his expostulations were treated and the degradation of the national character, threw up all his political functions.

A. D.
1806

Holkar was bound by the treaty to return to Hindostan by a prescribed route, and to abstain from all aggression on the territories of the Company or their allies. But to save the field allowances ^{Aggression of Holkar.} Sir George Barlow directed Lord Lake to hasten out of the Punjab; and Holkar no sooner found him across the Sutlej than he let loose his predatory bands on the districts of the Punjab; nor was there any article of the treaty which he did not violate with audacity. He halted for a month in the Jeypore territory, and, seeing the British support withdrawn from the raja, extorted eighteen lacs of rupees from him, and then marched down to wreak his vengeance on Boondee. This disastrous termination of the Mahratta war sowed the seeds of a more momentous contest. The wisdom of Lord Wellesley's policy was amply vindicated by the twelve years of anarchy which followed the subversion of it; while the adoption of a neutral policy and of a system of isolation fostered the growth of a new predatory power, which it eventually required an army of 100,000 men to extinguish.

It was not long before the evils of this policy of non-interference became visible. The rana of Oodypore was regarded as the "sun of Hindoo glory," and an alliance with his family as the summit of social distinction. ^{Desolation of Rajpootana.} The beautiful daughter of the reigning prince had been betrothed to the raja of Joudpore, and on his premature death was claimed by his successor; but her hand was given to the raja of Jeypore. The rivals appealed to arms, and 100,000 men, consisting not only of Rajpoots, but of Sindia's Mahrattas and Ameer Khan's Patans, were brought into the field. In February 1807 the raja of Joudpore sustained a crushing defeat, but soon

A.D. after succeeded in detaching Ameer Khan from his ally,
 1807 the raja of Jeypore, by the promise of half a crore of
 rupees, and the plains of Jeypore were laid waste by him.
 The rana of Oodypore, who had taken no part in the war
 of which his daughter was the innocent cause, was not-
 withstanding subjected to plunder by Sindia and Ameer
 Khan, and in his extremity supplicated the Governor-
 General for protection, offering to make over half his terri-
 tories for the defence of the remainder. Rajpootana was
 bleeding at every pore, and its princes, the rajas of Joudpore
 and Jeypore, the rana of Oodypore as well as Zalim Sing,
 the renowned regent of Kotah, invoked the aid of British
 authority, and represented that there had always been in
 1807 India some supreme power to which the weak looked for
 protection from the ambition and rapacity of the powerful.
 The Company, they said, had now succeeded to this
 position, and were bound to fulfil the responsibilities
 attached to it. The Mahrattas and the Patans, who were
 now spreading desolation through the country, could offer
 no resistance to the British arms, and the Governor-General
 had only to speak the word, and peace and tranquillity
 would be restored. But any such interference was contrary
 to the prevailing policy of the India House; the request of
 the rana of Oodypore was refused, and he was obliged to
 come to a compromise with Ameer Khan and assign him a
 fourth of his dominions to preserve the rest from rapine,
 and likewise to submit to the indignity of exchanging
 turbans with the Patan freebooter.

The great blot in Sir George Barlow's administration
 was the abandonment of Rajpootana, but he earned no
 little credit for the resolution with which he
 Hyderabad. maintained the peace of the Deccan. Meer Alum,
 the able minister of the Nizam, had become obnoxious to
 his master by his steady support of the British alliance,
 and was obliged to take refuge at the Residency to escape
 assassination. The Nizam then proceeded to open nego-
 tiations with Sindia and Ameer Khan, and to assemble
 troops with the undisguised intention of dissolving all
 connection with the Company's Government. Sir George
 1806 Barlow "felt that the dissolution of the alliance would
 "subvert the very foundation of British power and ascend-
 "ency in the political scale in India. The position we
 "abandoned at Hyderabad would be immediately occupied
 "by our enemies, and the result would be universal
 "turbulence and distrust." On this occasion therefore he

did not hesitate to discard the principle of neutrality, and to order the Nizam to restore Meer Alum to his post, and submit to a more direct interference of the Resident in the management of his affairs. Equally meritorious were his proceedings at Poona. The Court of Directors considered the treaty of Bassein the source of multiplied embarrassments, and were desirous of withdrawing from Mahratta politics, and allowing the Peshwa to resume his position as the head of the Mahratta commonwealth. Sir George resisted with energy every effort to modify the treaty, and had the courage to state to his masters that, while he desired to manifest every attention to their wishes, there was a higher obligation imposed on him, that of maintaining the supremacy of British rule, which would be compromised by any deviation from the policy established by Lord Wellesley at Poona.

The state of the finances demanded the early attention of Sir George. The pecuniary difficulties of the Company had always arisen from the wars in which they had been involved. There was no elasticity in a revenue derived almost exclusively from the land, and any extraordinary demand on the treasury could only be met by having recourse to loans. With the return of peace and the alleviation of the military pressure, the finances, with one exception, had recovered their spring. The extensive military operations of Lord Wellesley had augmented the public debt and brought on one of the intermittent fevers of alarm at the India House. It was overlooked that our wars in India had generally terminated in an accession of territory and revenue which speedily overbalanced the encumbrance they had entailed. Thus, in Lord Wellesley's administration the increase of the debt amounted to about eight crores and a half of rupees, and the permanent increase of revenue to about seven crores. By the cessation of war and the reduction of the regiments of irregulars, the deficit which had appalled Leadenhall-street was converted into a surplus, which, with little fluctuation, remained steady for twenty years.

In the month of July the Government was astounded by the massacre of European officers and soldiers by the native sepoys in the fort of Vellore. It was situated eighty-eight miles west of Madras, and only forty from the frontier of Mysore, had been selected, contrary to the wise judgment of the Court of Directors, for the residence of Tippoo's family, and it was speedily filled

A.D.
1806

The Peshwa.

The finances.

The Vellore mutiny.

1806

A.D. 1806 with 1,800 of their adherents and 3,000 emigrants from Mysore. The European troops in the garrison consisted of about 370 men, and the sepoys numbered about 1,500, many of whom were Mahomedans who had been in the service of Tippoo. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 10th July the sepoys suddenly assaulted the European barracks, and poured in volley after volley through the venetian blinds, till eighty of the soldiers had been killed and ninety-one wounded. They then proceeded to the residence of the officers, of whom thirteen fell victims to their treachery. During the massacre an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace of the Mysore princes, many of whose followers were conspicuous in the scene. Provisions were also sent out to the sepoys, and the royal ensign of Mysore was hoisted amidst the shouts of the crowd. The remaining Europeans held their position till they were rescued by the gallantry of Colonel Gillespie, who was in garrison at Arcot, eight miles distant, and who, on hearing of the outbreak, started without a moment's delay with a portion of the 19th Dragoons and his galloper guns, and arrived in time to rescue the survivors.

The searching investigation which was made revealed the cause of the mutiny. The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Cradock, soon after his arrival obtained permission of the governor, Lord William Bentinck, to codify the military regulations, but upon the express condition that no rules should be added without the permission of Government. Unknown to the governor, the adjutant-general took on himself to introduce several innovations which interfered with the religious prejudices of the sepoys. But that which gave them peculiar offence was the new form prescribed for the turban, which bore some resemblance to a European hat, an object of general antipathy to the natives. A report was industriously spread through their ranks by the Mahomedans, who led the hostile movement, that the new turban was the precursor of an attempt to force them to become Christians; and the panic-stricken and exasperated sepoys were thus stirred up to mutiny and massacre. The Court of Directors were overwhelmed by the news of this catastrophe, and in that wild and vindictive spirit which terror inspires, instantly recalled the governor and the Commander-in-Chief before a single line of explanation had been received from either. Lord William Bentinck remonstrated against

the gross injustice of punishing him as an accomplice in measures with which he had no farther connection than to obviate their evil consequences. The Court, in their reply, bore testimony to his uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal and respect for the system of the Company, but also remarked that, "as the misfortune which happened under his administration placed his fate under the government of public events and opinions which the Court could not control, so it was not in their power to alter the effect of them."

Of the panic created by the mutiny at the Council board in Calcutta, the unoffending missionaries were made the victims. In 1793, Mr. Carey had proceeded to Bengal to establish a Christian Mission, and laboured with much zeal but little success for seven years in the Malda district. In 1799, Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward proceeded to join him, and, being without a licence, were ordered to quit the country the day after their arrival, but obtained an asylum at the Danish settlement of Serampore and were taken under the protection of the Danish crown. There they were joined by Mr. Carey, and established a fraternity which, under the designation of the "Serampore Missionaries," has attained historical distinction as that of the pioneers of Christian civilisation in Hindostan. They opened the first schools for the gratuitous instruction of native children; they set up printing-presses and prepared founts of type in the various Indian characters; they compiled grammars of the Bengalee, Sanscrit and other languages, into which they translated the Sacred Scriptures. They gave their chief attention to the cultivation and improvement of the Bengalee language, and published the first prose works which had appeared in it, and laid the foundation of that vernacular literature which has since obtained a large development. They, and the converts who had joined them, were tacitly permitted to itinerate in the districts of Bengal, and met with considerable success in the propagation of Christianity. But missionary efforts had always been viewed with mistrust by the Court of Directors and by their servants in India, on the ground that they might disturb the prejudices of the natives and create disaffection. The mutiny at Vellore was hastily ascribed to an interference with the religious prejudices of the Madras sepoys, and Sir George Barlow, under the influence of alarm, considered it necessary peremptorily to interdict the

A.D.
1806The propa-
gation of
Christianity.A.D.
1800
to
1806

A.D. 1806 labours of the Serampore Missionaries. The Vellore panic gradually died out, and the restrictions imposed on them were allowed to fall into abeyance.

The Court of Directors had always been anxious to have the highest office in India left open to their own servants, and the great zeal which Sir George Barlow had manifested in carrying out their non-inter-
Supersession of Sir George Barlow.vention policy recommended him to them as the permanent successor of Lord Cornwallis. The death of Mr. Pitt and the dissolution of his ministry introduced the Whigs to Downing-street, and within twenty-four hours of their accession to power they were called upon to make provision for the Governor-Generalship. The President of the Board of Control, new to office, agreed as a temporary measure to the nomination of the Court, and Sir George Barlow's commission was made out and signed; but ten days after the ministry announced that they had selected Lord Lauderdale for the office. The Court of Directors strenuously resisted the appointment, not only as an abrupt and contemptuous rejection of their nominee, but likewise on personal grounds. His ostentatious admiration of the French revolution, which led him to drop his aristocratic title, might have been forgiven; but he had rendered himself obnoxious to them by his advocacy of Fox's India Bill, and, more recently, by his support of Lord Wellesley's free-trade policy. The Directors refused to sanction the appointment, and the ministry retaliated by cancelling the nomination of Sir George Barlow. The controversy between them was carried on for many weeks with great acrimony, but was at length terminated by the nomination of Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Control.

SECTION II.

LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION—FOREIGN EMBASSIES.

A.D. 1807 LORD MINTO had been engaged for many years in the administration of public affairs. As Sir Gilbert Elliot he was one of the managers nominated by the
Lord Minto governor-general.House of Commons to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and the prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey was committed to his especial charge. He

was subsequently minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, and had been for twelve months President of the Board of Control, where he obtained an insight into the machinery and character of the Indian Government. He was an accomplished scholar, a statesman of clear perceptions and sound judgment; mild and moderate in his views, yet without any deficiency of firmness, and distinguished above his predecessors for his singular urbanity. He was accepted by the Directors with the understanding that he should eschew the policy of Lord Wellesley, and tread in the footsteps of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. His first act in India was an act of clemency. On his arrival at Madras he found 600 of the Vellore mutineers awaiting their sentence. The Supreme Government had sentenced them to transportation beyond sea, a punishment equivalent to death, but Lord Minto adopted the more lenient course of expelling them from the service, and declaring them incapable of re-enlistment.

A.D.
1807

On reaching Calcutta, his attention was immediately called to the state of anarchy into which the feeble policy of his predecessor had plunged the province of Bundlecund. The country was overrun by military adventurers who lived only by plunder, and 150 castles were held by as many chieftains who were perpetually at feud with each other. The inhabitants, a bold and independent race, were, moreover, disgusted with the stringency of the judicial and revenue systems we had introduced, and deserted their villages, and too often joined the banditti with which the country swarmed. The two strongest forts in the province, Callinger and Ajygurh, were held by chiefs who bid defiance to the British Government. Lord Lake considered the possession of these fortresses essential to the tranquillity of the country, and urged Sir George Barlow to reduce them, but he considered that "a certain extent of dominion, power and revenue would be cheaply sacrificed for security and tranquillity in a more contracted circle." The sacrifice was made, but the security was farther off than ever. The two chiefs who had seized the forts, together with some of the most notorious leaders of banditti, received a legal title to the lands they had usurped, with permission to settle their quarrels among themselves by the sword.

Within five weeks after Lord Minto had assumed the Government he recorded his opinion that "it was essential not only to the preservation of political influence over

A.D. 1807 “ the chiefs of Bundlecund, but to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder.”
 Vigorous policy of Lord Minto. The simple announcement that the British Government was determined to enforce its full authority through the province was found sufficient to induce the numerous chiefs to make their submission, and to engage to refer every dispute to its decision. The renowned fortress of Callinger, which had baffled all the efforts of Mahmood of Ghuzni eight centuries before, and which the Peshwa’s general had recently besieged two years without success, was surrendered after an arduous struggle. The fortress of Ajygurh was likewise mastered, and peace and prosperity were restored to Bundlecund.

The difficulty of maintaining the principle of non-interference was again demonstrated before Lord Minto had been a year in India, in reference to the proceedings of Runjeet Sing, whose career now claims attention. On the retirement of the Abdalee after the battle of Paniput, the Punjab became the scene of confusion, and the semi-military, semi-religious community of the Sikhs was enabled to enlarge and consolidate its power. It was divided into fraternities or *misils*, the chief of each of which was the leader in the field and the umpire in time of peace. Churrut Sing, the head of one of them, commenced a series of encroachments on his neighbours, and his son Maha Sing pursued the same course of ambition. He died in 1792, leaving an only son, Runjeet Sing, who at the early age of seventeen commenced that career of conquest which resulted eventually in the establishment of a power as great as that of Sevajee or Hyder Ali.

1792 Runjeet obtained possession of the city of Lahore, the ancient seat of authority in the Punjab, and succeeded in absorbing the various Sikh *misils*. By the year 1806 his dominions were extended to the banks of the Sutlej, and he cast a wishful eye on the province of Sirhind, lying beyond that river, and occupied by about twenty independent Sikh chieftains. They had been obliged to bend to the authority of Sindia when General Perron established his power over the province, and on the extinction of Mahratta rule in that region transferred their allegiance to the British Government, and considered themselves subject to the sovereignty of the Company, and entitled to its protection. Runjeet

1806 His encroachments in Sirhind.

Sing proceeded with his usual caution, and by inducing one or two of the chiefs to invite his intervention for the settlement of their differences, obtained a pretext for entering Sirhind with an army. On his return from one of these expeditions in 1807, he levied contributions indiscriminately in every direction, seized upon forts and lands and carried off all the cannon which he could lay his hands upon. A.D.
1807

These repeated inroads filled the Sikh chieftains with alarm, and in March, 1808, a deputation proceeded to Delhi to implore the protection of the British Government, whose vassals they had always considered themselves since the downfall of Sindia's power. Runjeet was anxious to discover the views of the Governor-General in reference to this appeal, and addressed a letter to him expressing his wish to cultivate friendly relations with the Company, and adding, "the country on this side the Jumna—except the stations occupied by you—is mine; let it remain so." This bold demand of the province of Sirhind brought up the important question whether an energetic and ambitious chieftain, who had in ten years erected a large kingdom upon the ruin of a dozen princes, should be allowed to plant his army, composed of the finest soldiers in India, within a few miles of our frontier, and Lord Minto boldly assumed the responsibility of taking the Sikh states of Sirhind under British protection, and shutting up Runjeet Sing in the Punjab. 1808

Appeal of
the Sikh
chiefs to Go-
vernment.

The treaty of Tilsit, concluded in 1807 between the emperor of Russia and Napoleon, was supposed to include certain secret articles intended to afford facilities for the invasion of India by the French. It was determined, therefore, by the ministry to anticipate the designs of the French emperor, and to block up his path by forming defensive alliances with the rulers of the intermediate kingdoms of Persia, Afghanistan, and the Punjab. The most difficult of these negotiations, that with Runjeet Sing, was entrusted by Lord Minto to Mr. Metcalfe, a young civilian of high promise, who had been trained up in the school, and, indeed, under the eye of Lord Wellesley. He was sent to Lahore to accomplish two objects which appeared mutually irreconcilable—to frustrate Runjeet Sing's passionate desire of annexing the province of Sirhind, and to obtain his co-operation to prevent the entrance of a French army into our territories. Mr. Mission to
Lahore.

A.D.
1808

Metcalfe was treated with feelings of suspicion and hostility, and when he was at length permitted to propound the object of his mission was given to understand that, although Runjeet Sing did not object to the proposed treaty, in which, however, he had less interest than the Company, it must recognise his sovereignty over all the Sikh states beyond the Sutlej. Mr. Metcalfe replied that he had no instructions to make this concession; but while the negotiation was in progress, Runjeet Sing broke up his camp at Kussoor, crossed the Sutlej a third time, and for three months swept through the province, plundering the various chiefs, and compelling them to acknowledge his authority.

Lord Minto resolved to lose no time in arresting his progress, and, if necessary, to have recourse to arms. Napoleon, moreover, had begun to be entangled in the affairs of Spain, and all idea of invading India, even if it had ever been seriously entertained, was abandoned. Having, therefore, no longer anything to ask of Runjeet Sing, Lord Minto was enabled to assume a bolder tone, and to resolve on making a military demonstration. The Commander-in-Chief was directed to hold a force in readiness to advance to the banks of the Sutlej, and a letter was addressed to the Sikh ruler informing him that by the issue of the war with the Mahrattas the Company had succeeded to the power and the rights they had exercised in the north of Hindostan. The Sikh states in Sirhind were now under British protection, and the Maharaja must withdraw from the districts of which he had taken possession in his late raid, and confine his future operations to the right bank of the Sutlej. Runjeet Sing, on his return from the expedition across the river, hastened to Umritsur to exchange the toils of the field for the enjoyments of the harem. Like Hyder Ali, he was the slave of sensual indulgence when not absorbed in the excitement of war. On the evening of his arrival Mr. Metcalfe waited on him to present the Governor-General's letter, but he exclaimed that the evening was to be devoted to mirth and pleasure, and called for the dancing-girls, and then for the strong potations to which he was accustomed, and before midnight was reduced to a state of unconsciousness.

1808

The letter delivered by Mr. Metcalfe remained for several weeks unnoticed, and on the 22nd. December he demanded an audience of Runjeet Sing, and announced that a British army was about to take the field, and would sweep his

garrisons from Sirhind. He bore the communication for some time with composure, but unable at length to control his feelings, rushed out of the room, vaulted into the saddle, and galloped about the courtyard with frantic vehemence, while his ministers continued the discussion with Mr. Metcalfe. Two months were again wasted in studied delays and constant postponement, but Mr. Metcalfe continued with unflinching firmness to insist on the complete evacuation of Sirhind.

Runjeet
Sing's sub-
mission.

Runjeet Sing was constrained to submit, and on the 25th April affixed his seal to a treaty which provided that the British Government should not interfere with his territory or subjects, and that he should abstain from any connection with the states under British protection. The treaty consisted of fifteen lines, and is one of the shortest on record. In the range of our Indian history there are few incidents of more romantic interest than the arrest of this haughty prince in the full career of success by a youth of twenty-four. On the retirement of the British army a garrison was left at Loodiana, which became our frontier station in the north-west, and the British ensign which Lord Wellesley had planted on the Jumna was six years after erected on the Sutlej by Lord Minto.

A.D.
1809

The embassy to Cabul was fitted out on a scale of magnificence intended to impress the Afghan court with an idea of the power and grandeur of the present rulers of India, and was entrusted to Mr. Mount

Embassy to
Cabul.

Stuart Elphinstone, one of Lord Wellesley's school of statesmen. The sovereign of Afghanistan, Shah Soojah, the brother of Zeman Shah who invaded India in the days of Lord Wellesley, gave the mission a cordial reception, but his cabinet did not fail to remark that its object appeared to be more in the interests of the Company than of Afghanistan. They said they had nothing to apprehend from the French, and were desirous of ascertaining what offers they were prepared to make before a definite reply was given. While the negotiation was in progress, the expedition which Shah Soojah had imprudently sent to subjugate Cashmere was completely defeated. His rival brother had obtained possession of Cabul and Candahar, and was advancing on Peshawur. Shah Soojah, whose army was annihilated and whose treasury was empty, earnestly solicited pecuniary aid from the Government of India, and Mr. Elphinstone advised a grant of ten lacs of rupees, which would have enabled him to recruit his force and regain his

power; and it might possibly have saved the Government the many crores of rupees spent thirty years after to reseate him on the throne. But the dread of a French invasion had died out, and it was no longer considered necessary to conciliate the ruler who held the gate of India, as Cabul was then deemed. The request was refused; Shah Soojah was defeated by his brother and fled to India and became a pensioner on the Company's bounty.

A.D.
1810

The third mission to counteract the designs of the French was sent to Persia. The king had wantonly involved himself in a war with Russia and lost some of his most valuable provinces. He applied for aid to the emperor Napoleon, who sent General Gardanne as his representative to Teheran, with a large military staff and a body of engineers to make surveys, and military officers to discipline the Persian troops. A treaty was concluded which provided that a French army marching through Persia should be furnished with supplies and joined by a Persian force; that the island of Karrack, in the Persian gulf, thirty-three miles from Bushire, should be ceded to France, and that all Englishmen should be excluded from the country, if the emperor desired it. The British ministry, who considered the French embassy the precursor of a French army, were determined to counteract these hostile movements by sending an ambassador to the Court, and Lord Minto and General Wellesley united in recommending

English
embassy to
Teheran.

that Colonel Malcolm, who was eminently qualified for the duty by his skill in oriental diplomacy and languages, and by the popularity he had acquired in his first embassy, should be again sent from Calcutta; but the ministry considered that a representative of the Crown would be likely to carry more weight than an envoy from the Company, and they selected Sir Harford Jones, who had been consul at Bushire, for the office, and he landed at Bombay in April. But Lord Minto, on his arrival in Calcutta, was resolved to despatch Colonel Malcolm as the representative of the Government of India, and Sir Harford Jones was desired to tarry at Bombay till the result of his mission was known. On reaching Persia Colonel Malcolm, overlooking the paramount influence the French minister had acquired at the Court, assumed a dictatorial tone, and was forbidden to advance farther than Sheraz, where he was desired to place himself in communication with the king's son. Colonel Malcolm took umbrage at this proceeding, abandoned the mission, and,

1808

returning to the coast, embarked with his suite for Calcutta. Sir Harford Jones was then directed by Lord Minto to proceed with his mission.

Ten days after this order had been despatched, Colonel Malcolm arrived in Calcutta, breathing vengeance against the Persian court, and persuaded Lord Minto that the only effectual mode of counteracting the influence of the French was to make a military demonstration, and arrangements were made forthwith to despatch an armament to occupy the island of Karrack. Repeated and peremptory orders were likewise sent to Sir Harford Jones to quit Persia, under the threat of disavowing his mission and dishonouring his bills; but before they could reach him he had accomplished his object and concluded a treaty with the king. The French embassy was dismissed, and the Persian envoy at Paris recalled. Lord Minto felt that Sir Harford had been fully accredited by the Crown, and that the national faith was pledged to his engagements, and he accordingly ratified the treaty. He felt, however, that the rank and estimation of the Government of India had been compromised in the eyes of Asia by the mission from the Crown, and he considered it among the first of his duties "to transmit to his successor unimpaired the powers, prerogatives and dignities of the Indian empire in its relations to surrounding nations as entire and unsullied as they were committed to his hands."

Another embassy was imprudently fitted out in the most costly style, to eclipse the mission of the Crown, and entrusted to Colonel Malcolm, in order that "he might lift the Company's Government to its own height and to the station which belonged to it." He was welcomed by the king and courtiers with great cordiality, but in the royal presence stood the ambassador of the Crown, "whose face the Indian Government had spared no pains to blacken in the eyes of the Persian court." There was every prospect of an unseemly and dangerous collision. The Persian courtiers, finding two rival envoys contending for their favours, were preparing to play off the one against the other, in the hope of a golden shower of presents. But the good sense of Sir Harford and of the colonel smoothed down asperities and defeated the intrigues and cupidity of the court, and the English ministry soon after recalled both envoys, and appointed Sir Gore Ouseley minister from

Success of
Sir Harford
Jones.

A. D.
1808

Colonel Mal-
colm's se-
cond em-
bassy.

1809

the King of England to the Shah of Persia. The cost of Colonel Malcolm's mission was twenty-two lacs, and that of Sir Harford Jones, which was also saddled on the Company, did not fall short of sixteen lacs.

SECTION III.

LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION—AMEER KHAN—MUTINY OF THE MADRAS OFFICERS.

A.D. 1809 WITHIN four months of the signature of the treaty with Runjeet Sing another occasion arose to test the possibility of maintaining the policy of neutrality. The freebooter Ameer Khan, having within ten years created a principality which yielded a revenue of fifteen lacs of rupees a year, was recognised as the head of the Patans in Central India, and aspired to the rank of a prince. His army, however, was too large for his resources, and, after having drained Rajpootana, he was obliged to seek for plunder in a more distant sphere, and selected Nagpore for his next operations. Under pretence of asserting certain fictitious claims of Holkar on the raja, he poured down across the Nerbudda with 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindarees. The raja was simply an ally of the Company, and had no claim to their protection; but Lord Minto did not hesitate to affirm that "an interfering and ambitious Mussulman chief at the head of a numerous army should not be allowed to establish his authority on the ruins of the raja's dominions over territories contiguous to those of the Nizam—likewise a Mahomedan—with whom projects might be formed inimical to our interests."

The raja had not solicited our assistance, but two armies were ordered into the field to protect his territories. The Nagpore general, however, twice succeeded in repulsing Ameer Khan, but he returned a third time and blockaded the raja's army in Chauragurh, while his Pindarees desolated the country.

The British divisions were now closing upon him, and Colonel Close took possession of his capital and his territories, and the extinction of his power appeared inevitable, when the troops were unexpectedly recalled, from the apprehension felt by Lord Minto that the further prosecution of hostilities might lead to complications displeasing

Ameer Khan
repulsed
but not
crushed.

to the Court of Directors. He was allowed to recruit his strength, and Central India was left for seven years more at his mercy. But the tide appeared to be turning at the India House against this neutral policy, and the Directors not only questioned the wisdom of the moderation Lord Minto had exercised towards him, but went so far as to advise the conclusion of a subsidiary alliance with the raja of Nagpore.

A.D.
1809

Sir George Barlow was appointed to succeed Lord William Bentinck at Madras. During the twenty months he had filled the office of Governor-General he had alienated society by his cold and repulsive manners, and the absence of all genial feeling in the intercourse of life. He was never able to obtain that personal influence which is essential to the successful administration of public affairs, more particularly in India. The submission he exacted to his will, which in Lord Wellesley was regarded as the natural absolutism of a great mind, was in him resented as the vulgar despotism of power. At Madras he became unpopular by his arbitrary and unjust proceedings, as well as by the lofty assumption of official dignity, and by isolating himself in a small coterie of officials and confidants. But it was the mutiny of the army which fixed a lasting stain on his administration.

Sir George
Barlow at
Madras.

This was the third time in the course of half a century that the Company's Government had been shaken to its foundation by the insubordination of their European officers. The invidious distinction between the pay of officers in Bengal and Madras, and the monopoly of all posts of command by the officers of the royal army, had created a feeling of discontent among the officers of the Madras army, which was unhappily fomented by the bearing of the Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Macdowall. The Court of Directors had refused him the seat in Council, which, with its liberal allowances, had always been attached to his office, and he did not care to conceal the exasperation of his feelings from the officers under him.

Mutiny of
European
officers.

Since the conclusion of the war in 1805, the Court of Directors had been importunate for retrenchments, and had threatened "to take the pruning knife into their own hands" if they found any hesitation on the part of the Madras Government. Among the plans of economy which had been contemplated by Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Cradock was the

Abolition of
the tent
contract.

A.D.
1809

abolition of the tent contract, which had given the officers commanding regiments a fixed monthly allowance to provide the men with tent equipage, whether in the field or in cantonments. The Quartermaster-General was ordered by the governor in Council to report on the question, and he stated that the nature of the contract was found by experience to place the interests of the commanding officers in opposition to their duty. They took fire at this remark, and called on the Commander-in-Chief to bring him to a court-martial for having aspersed their characters as officers and gentlemen. The Quartermaster-General was placed under arrest, and appealed to the governor, and the Commander-in-Chief was directed to release him. But, while yielding to this authority, he issued a general order of extraordinary virulence, protesting against the interference of Government and denouncing the conduct of the Quartermaster in having resorted to the civil power in defiance of the officer at the head of the army. Sir George Barlow, instead of treating the order with contempt as an ebullition of passion on the part of the general, who was on the eve of quitting the service, issued a counter order equally intemperate, charging him with inflammatory language. Major Bowles, the Deputy Adjutant-General, who had signed the order officially, was suspended; his cause was immediately taken up as that of a martyr; addresses commending his conduct poured in upon him, and subscriptions were raised to compensate the loss of his allowances.

Three months passed after the departure of the Commander-in-Chief, who was lost at sea, and the ferment had begun to subside, when Sir George Barlow blew the dying embers into a flame. In the height of the excitement a memorial of grievances had been drawn up to the Governor-General, though not transmitted; but on the 1st May Sir George Barlow issued an order suspending four officers of rank and distinguished reputation, and removing eight others from their commands, on the ground of their having signed the memorial, which had been surreptitiously communicated to him. The whole army was immediately in a blaze. A hundred and fifty-eight officers of the Jaulna and Hyderabad divisions signed a flagitious address to Government, demanding the restoration of the officers, in order "to prevent the horrors of civil war" and the ultimate loss of a large portion of the Company's "possessions in India." The Company's European regi-

1809

General
mutiny.

ment at Masulipatam placed the commanding officer in arrest, and concerted a plan for joining the Jaulnah and Hyderabad divisions, and marching to Madras and seizing the Government. A.D.
1809

Sir George Barlow had thus by his intemperance and indiscretion goaded the army into revolt, and brought on a portentous crisis; but in dealing with the mutiny he exhibited such undaunted resolution as almost to make amends for having caused it. Colonel Malcolm and other officers of high standing and great experience, advised him to bend to necessity and recall the obnoxious order of the 1st May; but he resolved to vindicate the public authority at all hazards. He called upon all the officers in the army to sign a pledge to obey the orders of Government on pain of removal from their regiments. The sepoy and their native officers generally remained faithful to their salt, and there was no collision except at Seringapatam, where the native regiments under disaffected officers refused to submit, and were fired upon by the royal troops, and a hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The vigorous proceedings of Sir George confounded the officers, and induced them to pause on the brink of a rebellion against their king and their country. Lord Minto, moreover, had announced his intention to proceed at once to Madras, and the general confidence reposed in his justice and moderation promoted the return of the officers to a sense of duty. 1810

The Hyderabad brigade, which had been the first to mutiny, was the foremost to repent. Its example was followed by the other brigades and regiments; the seditious garrison of Seringapatam surrendered that fortress, and a profound calm succeeded the storm which had threatened to overturn the Government. On his arrival at Madras Lord Minto issued a general order reprobating the conduct of the officers, but likewise expressing his anxiety for the welfare and the reputation of the army in kind and conciliatory language. He granted a general amnesty to all but twenty-one officers, who were either cashiered or dismissed; but they were all eventually restored to the service, and in the great Mahratta and Pindaree war, seven years later, had an opportunity of effacing the stain on their character by their gallantry and devotion. The mutiny was the subject of long and acrimonious debates at the India House, which terminated in Sir George Barlow's recall. The mutiny
extin-
guished.

It was in connection with his administration that Mr. Edmonstone, who had served under two civilian and three noble Governors-General, and who, after filling the highest subordinate office in India, became the Nestor of Leadenhall-street, said, that "he was averse to selecting Governors from among those who had belonged to the service, and that a person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by talent and character, carried with him a greater degree of influence, and inspired more respect than an individual who had been known in a subordinate capacity."

A.D. 1809. The suppression of piracy in the eastern hemisphere is the especial vocation of the English nation; and the attention of Lord Minto was imperatively called, at this time, to this duty. The Arabs, who were the bravest soldiers and the most hardy seamen in the east, were also the most notorious pirates. The chief tribe on the sea coast, the Joasmis, had recently embraced Wahabee tenets, and added the fierceness of fanaticism to their national valour; and the only alternative they offered to their captives was the profession of Mahomedanism or death. Their single-masted vessels, manned with about 150 men, sailed in squadrons, and it was rarely that any native craft was able to escape their pursuit. Hitherto they had prudently abstained from molesting English vessels, but they became emboldened by the inactivity of the Company's cruisers, which were forbidden to interfere with them, and they had recently captured a large merchantman, and cut the throats of all the Europeans on board and thrown them into the sea with the pious ejaculation, "Alla Akbar! great is God!" Lord Minto was determined to root out these buccaneers, and sent a powerful armament against their chief stronghold, Ras-al-Kaima. It was defended with Arab obstinacy and carried by British gallantry. The port, with all the valuable merchandise in it—the accumulation of numerous piratical expeditions—together with a large fleet of pirate vessels, was delivered to the flames, and piracy was for a time suppressed in these waters.

The possession of the Mauritius and of Bourbon by the French in the bay of Bengal exposed British commerce in the eastern seas to the constant depredation of the privateers fitted out in them. The losses sustained by the merchants of Calcutta from the

Depredations
from the
Mauritius.

commencement of the war with France in 1793 to the year 1808 were calculated at between three and four crores of rupees. By an act of incomprehensible folly, the ministry in England had not only neglected to send an expedition against them, while they were capturing every island in the West Indies, but had positively interdicted any effort on the part of the Indian Government to reduce them. The French cruisers consequently continued to prey on British trade, and to sweep the seas from Madagascar to Java. With six ships of the line and sixteen frigates on the Indian station, six vessels sailing from Calcutta, valued at thirty lacs of rupees, had been captured by French cruisers in as many weeks. A memorial was at length transmitted by the mercantile community to the ministry, complaining of the insecurity of commerce and the supineness of the navy, and the Governor-General and the Admiral were instructed to take decisive measures for the protection of trade. That object, it was supposed, would be attained by blockading the Mauritius; but six of the Company's magnificent Indiamen, valued at more than half a crore of rupees, were captured by French frigates which sailed out of the port, and returned to it in triumph with their prizes, in the teeth of the blockade. An expedition was then sent, in the first instance, to the island of Bourbon, which was captured with a slender effort; but this achievement was overbalanced by a series of unexampled disasters at sea, which were justly attributed to the ignorance and mismanagement of the naval department. Three English frigates were captured, and three set on fire by the French squadron, which maintained its national honour in these seas as nobly as Suffrein in the days of Warren Hastings. Meanwhile, Lord Minto was assembling an armament of overwhelming force, consisting of one 74 gun ship and thirteen frigates, besides sloops and gunboats, and a land force of 11,000 men, which comprised 6,300 European bayonets, and 2,000 seamen and marines, and four volunteer regiments. To oppose this force the French general could only muster 2,000 European soldiers, and a body of half-disciplined African slaves, and, unwilling to sacrifice the lives of brave men in a hopeless contest, he surrendered the island on fair and equitable terms.

A.D.
1810

1810

SECTION IV.

LORD MINTO'S ADMINISTRATION—EXPEDITION TO JAVA—
THE PINDAREES—THE NEW CHARTER.

A. D. 1811 THE subjugation of Holland by the emperor Napoleon placed the Dutch settlements in the east at his command, and he spared no pains to complete the defences of the most important of them, the island of Java. He despatched large reinforcements under an officer in whom he had confidence, General Daendels, who repaired the old fortifications and erected new and more formidable works in the vicinity of the capital, Batavia. From some unexplained cause he was superseded by General Jaensens, who had surrendered the Cape to the English squadron four years before. The emperor at his final audience reminded him of this disaster, and said: "Sir, remember that a French general does not allow himself to be captured a second time." Lord Minto, having obtained the permission of the Court of Directors to proceed against the island, summoned to his counsels Mr.—afterwards Sir Stamford—Raffles, a member of the government of Penang, who had acquired a knowledge of the condition, the policy, and the language of the various tribes in the eastern archipelago superior to that of every other European at the time. The expedition consisted of 90 sail, on which were embarked 6,000 European troops, and about the same number of sepoys, and was the largest European armament which had ever traversed the eastern seas. Lord Minto determined to accompany it as a volunteer, leading the way in the "Modeste" frigate, commanded by his son, and the whole fleet anchored in the bay of Batavia without a single accident on the 4th August. The entire body of troops under the command of General Jaensens amounted to 17,000, of whom 13,000 were concentrated for the defence of Fort Cornelis, which was strong from its natural position, and had been rendered, as was supposed, impregnable by science. It was an entrenched camp between two streams, one of which was not fordable, and the other was defended by strong bastions and ramparts. The entire circumference of the encampment was five miles, and it was protected by 300 pieces of cannon.

Sir Samuel Ahmuty, the General-in-Chief, determined at first to assail it by regular approaches, but the attempt was found to be all but impracticable under a tropical sun, and must have been abandoned when, on the setting in of the rains, the malaria of the Batavian marshes prostrated the army. It was resolved, therefore, to carry it by a *coup de main*, which brought into play the daring spirit of Colonel Gillespie, of Vellore renown, to whom the enterprise was committed. His column marched soon after midnight on the 26th August, and came upon the first redoubt as the day dawned, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. The impetuous valour of his troops mastered the other redoubts in succession, till he found himself in front of the enemy's reserve and of a large body of cavalry posted with powerful artillery in front of the barracks. Having driven them from this position, the Colonel placed himself at the head of the dragoons and horse artillery, and pursued them for ten miles till he had completed the disorganisation of the whole army. Java was won in a single morning, and by the efforts of a single officer. The loss of the French in the field was severe, and 6,000 of their troops, chiefly Europeans, were made prisoners; but the victory cost the invaders 900 in killed and wounded, of whom eighty-five were officers. The Court of Directors had given instructions that on the capture of the island the fortifications should be demolished, and the arms and ammunition distributed among the natives, and the island evacuated. But Lord Minto was not disposed to put weapons into the hands of the natives, and abandon the colonists without arms or fortresses to their vindictive passions, and consign this noble island to the reign of barbarism. He determined to retain it, and committed the government of it to Mr. Raffles, under whose wise and liberal administration it continued to flourish for several years.

Lord Minto returned to Calcutta in 1812, and immediately after learned that he had been superseded in the Government. The usual term of office was considered to extend to seven years, and Lord Minto had intimated to the Court of Directors his wish to be relieved early in 1814; but the Prince Regent was anxious to bestow this lucrative post on the favourite of the day, the Earl of Moira, who had recently failed in his attempt to form a ministry. Under the dictation of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors were obliged to

A.D.
1811Capture of
Fort Cor-
nelis.Supersession
of Lord
Minto.

pass a resolution for the immediate termination of Lord Minto's administration. Circumstances detained Lord Moira in England longer than he expected, and Lord Minto did not quit India till within three or four months of the time he had fixed for his departure; but the infliction of this indignity on a Governor-General whose government had been without a failure, and who had given universal satisfaction, reflected equal discredit on the servile ministry and on their royal master.

A.D.
1812

On the return of Lord Minto from Java, it became necessary for the first time to order troops into the field to repel the inroads of the Pindarees. The earliest trace of these freebooters is to be found in the struggles between Aurungzebe and the Mahrattas, whose armies they accompanied into the field. After the Peshwa had delegated the charge of maintaining the Mahratta power in Hindostan to his lieutenants, Sindia and Holkar, the Pindarees nominally ranged themselves under their standards, and were designated Sindia Shahee and Holkar Shahee Pindarees, but they were not allowed to pitch their tents within the Mahratta encampment. Those chiefs found it useful to attach to their armies a body of freebooters who required no pay, and were content with an unlimited license of plunder, and were always ready to complete the work of destruction. The Pindarees found their account in establishing a connection, although indirect, with established governments, to whom they might look for protection in case of emergency. But this relationship did not restrain the Pindarees from plundering the districts of their patrons when it suited their interests, nor did it prevent the Mahratta princes from seizing the Pindaree leaders after their return from a successful foray, and obliging them to give up a portion of their plunder.

The withdrawal of British protection from Central India opened a wide field for plunder, and increased the strength and audacity of the Pindarees. Two of the chiefs in the suite of Sindia offered their services to the nabob of Bhopal to plunder the territories of Nagpore; and, when their offer was declined, proceeded to Nagpore, and were readily engaged by the raja to ravage the dominions of Bhopal. On their return the raja did not scruple to break up their encampment and despoil them of the rich booty they had acquired. Of the two leaders, one took refuge with Sindia, and his two sons Dost Mahomed and Wassil Mahomed collected and or-

Pindaree
leaders.

ganised his scattered followers. The other died in confinement, when the leadership devolved on Cheetoo, who had been purchased when a child, during a famine, and regularly trained to the Pindaree profession. His superior abilities and daring spirit raised him to the head of the troop, and he was rewarded for his services to Sindia by the title of nabob and a jageer. He fixed his head-quarters at Nimar, amidst the wild fastnesses of the region lying between the Nerbudda and the Vindya range. Kureem Khan another Pindaree leader of note was a Rohilla, who in the progress of events obtained a title and an assignment of lands from Sindia; but, as he continued to encroach upon the Mahratta territories, Sindia determined to crush his rising power, and treacherously seized him at a friendly entertainment. He was placed in confinement for four years, and not liberated without the payment of six lacs of rupees. On obtaining his liberty the Pindarees flocked to his standard in greater numbers than ever. Cheetoo, also was induced to join him, and an alliance was formed with Ameer Khan, then in the spring tide of his career. Their united bands did not fall short of 60,000 horse, and from the palace to the cottage every mind was filled with consternation by this portentous assemblage of banditti in Central Asia. Happily the union was short-lived. Cheetoo, who had always felt the hostility of a rival to Kureem Khan, was prevailed upon to desert him, when his camp was assailed and broken up by Sindia.

A.D.
1812

These were the acknowledged leaders of the Pindarees, to whose encampment the minor chiefs repaired when the season arrived for their annual expeditions. Their ranks were recruited by miscreants expelled from society, and men pursued by their creditors, as well as by men weary of peaceful occupation, and eager for excitement. The Pindaree standard was generally raised at the Dussera, or autumnal festival, towards the end of October, when the rains had subsided, and the rivers became fordable. Leaders of experience and acknowledged courage were selected, who took the command of bodies of 4,000 or 5,000 men, all mounted, and armed with spears of from four to six yards in length. They were not encumbered with either tents or baggage, and they obtained supplies for themselves and their horses from the villages they plundered on the line of march. Neither were they embarrassed with any prejudices of caste, or compunctions of conscience, and the history of their career is not relieved

by a single generous or chivalrous act. They frequently moved at the rate of forty or fifty miles a day, and as they were unable to remain long in one spot, the greatest despatch was used to complete the plunder of the village; and tortures which almost exceed belief were inflicted on men and women to hasten the discovery of property. Their progress throughout the country was indicated by a stream of desolation, for what they could not carry off they destroyed.

For several years their depredations had been confined to the neighbourhood of the Nerbudda and the frontiers of the Peshwa, the Nizam and the raja of Nagpore; but, as these districts became exhausted, they were obliged to enlarge the sphere of their expeditions, and on one occasion swept through 400 miles of country south of the Nerbudda, and returned without molestation, laden with plunder. The Dussera of 1811 was celebrated by a congregation of 25,000 Pindaree horse, and a detachment of 5,000 plundered up to the gates of Nagpore, and burnt down one of its suburbs. The next year a large body under Dost Mahomed plundered the British district of Mirzapore, and boldly proceeded down towards Gya, within seventy miles of Patna, levying heavy contributions in this new and untrodden field, and then disappeared up the source of the Soane, before a British soldier could overtake them. This was their first invasion of British territory, and, coupled with the periodical devastation of the native states, induced Lord Minto to entreat the Directors to consider whether "it was expedient to observe a strict neutrality amidst these scenes of disorder and outrage, or to listen to the voice of suffering humanity and interfere for the protection of the weak and defenceless states who implored our assistance against the ravages of the Pindarees and the Patans." Before he quitted the Government he addressed a second letter to the Directors, pointing out that the augmented numbers, the improved organisation, and the increasing audacity of the Pindarees, rendered the adoption of an extensive system of measures for their suppression, a matter of pressing importance.

Lord Minto's administration has never been sufficiently appreciated, perhaps from the circumstance of its intervening between the more active and brilliant careers of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. But it should not be forgotten that his hands were tied by the ruling policy of the India House,

Character of
Lord Minto's
tion.

Attack on
British
territories.

A.D.
1812

which he altogether reprobated. He assured the Court of Directors that "no extent of concession or territorial res-^{A.D.} titution on our part would have the effect of establishing 1812
 'any real and effective balance of power or forbearance on the part of other states, when the means of aggrandisement should be placed in their hands;" and that "the expectation of augmenting our security by diminishing our power and political ascendancy on the continent of India was utterly vain." He remarked, "that with the native princes, war, rapine, and conquest constituted an avowed principle of action, a just and legitimate pursuit, and the chief source of public glory; sanctioned and even recommended by the ordinances of religion, and prosecuted without the semblance or pretext of justice, and with a savage disregard of every obligation of humanity and public faith, and restrained only by the power of resistance." By these and similar representations he prepared the Court of Directors to abandon the absurd policy of non-intervention, and to assume that supremacy on the continent which was irrevocably established by his successor; but he did not hesitate to vindicate the paramount authority of the British Government on many occasions, in Travancore, in Nagpore, in Bundelcund, and in Sirhind; and to his administration belongs the merit of having swept every hostile and piratical flag from the Indian seas, and established the predominance of British power on the ocean, though he was forbidden to do so on land.

The period was now approaching when the question of 1809 renewing the Company's commercial monopoly was to 1812 come before Parliament. In the preliminary discussions between the ministry and Leadenhall ^{Negotiations for a new charter.} Street, the Court of Directors assumed a lofty tone, and made extravagant demands, which they were obliged gradually to withdraw; but they continued to insist on the renewal of the charter in all its integrity. The President of the Board of Control, however, informed them that the ministry had made up their minds no longer to exclude the merchants of England from the trade of India. The points at issue between the Company and the Cabinet appeared at length to be reduced to the question of opening the outports of England to the enterprise of private merchants, and on this point the Court of Directors determined to take their stand. They affirmed 1812 that any diversion of the trade from London to the out-

ports would break up large and important establishments, and throw thousands out of bread; would increase smuggling beyond the possibility of control; would entail the ruin of the China trade, and reduce the value of the Company's stock; would paralyse their power in India, and compromise the happiness of its inhabitants; and not only impair the interests of Great Britain in Asia, but imperil the British constitution.

The ministry, however, were not appalled by these terrific spectres, which the genius of monopoly had conjured up, but informed the Directors that if the extension of commercial privileges to the rest of the nation would render it impossible for them to continue the government of India, some other agency might be provided for that object, consistent with the interests of the public and the integrity of the constitution. But the Directors and the Proprietors refused any concession, and expressed their confidence that Parliament would not consent to gratify a few interested speculators by abolishing a commercial system which had existed for two centuries, and was fortified by a score of Acts of Parliament. On the other hand, the claim of the Company to a continuance of their monopoly encountered a strenuous opposition throughout the country. In the twenty years which had elapsed since the previous charter, manufactures and commerce had been developed beyond all former example, and the merchants and millowners demanded the right of an unrestrained trade with India, from their respective ports, and in their own vessels, with such unanimity and vigour, that the ministry felt it impossible to resist the national voice. On the 22nd March the President of the Board of Control brought forward the ministerial propositions, that the Government of India should be continued for twenty years longer in the hands of the Company, with liberty to continue to prosecute their trade, but that the whole nation should be allowed to participate in it; that the Company should enjoy the exclusive trade to China, and that the restrictions on the resort of Europeans to the country should be relaxed so as to amount to a virtual abolition.

These propositions were violently opposed by the Directors and Proprietors, and they petitioned Parliament for leave to bring forward witnesses to support their claims. The first witness was the venerable Warren Hastings, then in his eightieth year.

Opposition
of the Court
of Directors.

A.D.
1813

Witnesses of
the Direc-
tors.

A.D.
1813

Twenty-six years before he had been arraigned by the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords for high crimes and misdemeanours. He had outlived the passions and prejudices of that age, and the whole House rose as he entered and paid a spontaneous homage to his exalted character and his eminent services. But his views of Indian policy belonged to that remote period when he was laying the foundation of the empire; he could not realise the change of circumstances in England and in India, and was opposed to all innovations. The evidence of Lord Teignmouth, of Mr. Charles Grant, of Colonel Malcolm and Colonel Munro, and indeed of all the witnesses marshalled by the India House, ran in the same groove. They maintained that the climate of India and the habits and prejudices of the natives precluded the hope of any increased consumption of British manufactures; that the trade of India had reached its utmost limit, and that it could be conducted to advantage only through the agency of the Company; that the free admission of Europeans would lead to colonisation, and to the oppression of the natives, and the loss of India. But all the authorities and all the evidence the Court of Directors could muster, proved of no avail. The House yielded to the voice of the nation, and opened India to the commercial enterprise of all England.

Reference has been made in a previous chapter to the restrictions imposed on the Serampore missionaries by Sir George Barlow during the panic created by the Vellore mutiny, which were removed on his arrival by Lord Minto. But on his return from Java, without the remotest appearance of any political necessity, he was induced to adopt stringent measures against the missionary enterprise, and to order eight missionaries, the majority of whom had recently arrived, peremptorily to quit the country. The hostility of the Court of Directors to missions and to education had all the inveteracy of traditional prejudice, and it became necessary to take advantage of the Charter discussions to apply for the interposition of Parliament. The question was entrusted to Mr. Wilberforce, who, in a speech distinguished for its eloquence, entreated the House to grant permission to place the truths of Christianity before the natives of India for their voluntary acceptance. But the India House and its witnesses, with some exceptions, were as virulently opposed to this concession as to that of free trade, and

reprobated the admission of missionary and mercantile agents with equal vehemence. But the voice of the country was raised with more than ordinary unanimity against the monstrous proposition that the only religion to be proscribed in India should be that of its rulers. The House was inundated with petitions from every corner, and from all classes and denominations, and the clause giving missionaries the same access to India as merchants was passed by large majorities.

CHAPTER X.

SECTION I.

LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE NEPAUL WAR.

A.D. 1813 THE Earl of Moira, subsequently created Marquis of Hastings, took the oaths and his seat in Council on the 4th October. He was of the mature age of fifty-nine, a nobleman of Norman lineage, with a tall and commanding figure, and distinguished by his patrician bearing. He entered the army at the age of seventeen, and served seven years in the war of independence in America. His life had been subsequently passed in connection with important public affairs, and he brought to his high office a large fund of experience, a clear and sound judgment, and great decision of character, together with the equivocal honour of being the personal friend of the Prince Regent. In his place in Parliament he had denounced Lord Wellesley's wars and his ambitious policy of establishing British supremacy throughout India; but this opinion was reversed as soon as he had taken a survey of the position and prospects of the Indian empire; and before he had been many months in India he recorded his impression that "our object in India ought to be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so . . . and to oblige the other states to perform the two great feudatory duties of supporting our rule with all their forces, and submitting their mutual differences to our arbitration."

Lord
Hastings
Governor-
General.

Lord Hastings found his eastern throne no bed of roses. A.D.
 The non-intervention policy—which the authorities in 1813
 Leadenhall street considered the perfection of State of
 political wisdom, and the native princes an India.
 obvious token of pusillanimity—had brought on a contempt
 of our power, and sown the seeds of new wars. The
 violence of Holkar had ended in insanity; his government lost
 its strength, and Ameer Khan stepped in and became at
 once the prop of the throne and the curse of the country.
 The troops of Sindia had been incessantly employed in
 aggrandising his power by encroachments on his neigh-
 bours. The Peshwa had been husbanding his resources
 for the first opportunity of shaking off British control.
 The Pindaree freebooters were spreading desolation through
 a region 500 miles in length and 400 in breadth; and on
 the northern frontier of Bengal and Behar a new power
 had arisen and invaded our districts, and hung like a dark
 cloud on the mountains of Nepaul. The Company's army,
 which had been subject to large reductions in a spirit of
 unwise economy, was found to be inadequate to the defence
 of our frontier, and the treasury was empty.

The first and immediate difficulty of Lord Hastings arose
 out of the encroachments of the Nepaulese or Goorkhas. The
 valley of Nepaul is embosomed in the Himalaya, Description
 and bounded on the north by some of its loftiest of Nepaul.
 and most majestic peaks, and on the south by its first and
 lowest range. That range is skirted by a magnificent
 forest, from eight to ten miles in depth, which presents an
 unbroken series of gigantic trees; no breath of wind
 reaches the interior, which is littered with rank and
 decayed vegetation; no animal ventures into it, and no
 sound of a bird is heard in its recesses. An open plain,
 called the *terae*, stretches along the south of the forest,
 about 500 miles in length and 20 in breadth. The soil is
 watered by the streams which descend from the mountains,
 and, when cultivated, produces the most luxuriant crops,
 but during the greater part of the year is as pestilential as
 the Pontine marshes.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, various
 colonists of Rajpoots entered the country and subdued the
 aboriginal Newars, and in the course of time
 were ranged under three tribes. About ten Rise and
 years after the battle of Plassy, Prithee Narrain, progress of
 the chief of the tribe of Goorkhas, having sub- the Goor-
 dued all the other chiefs, established a new dynasty, with khas.

A.D. 1805 Katmandhoo for its capital. His descendant, an infant, was placed on the throne in 1805, and Bheem Sen formed a council of regency under his own presidency. The impulse of conquest which the founder had given to the nation continued in undiminished vigour. An expedition was sent to Lassa, and the living type of Boodddha was subject to the humiliation of paying tribute to his Hindoo conqueror. But the emperor of China, the secular head of Boodddhism, avenged the insult by invading Nepaul and obliging the Nepaulese to send an embassy with tribute to Pekin every three years. The cabinet of Katmandhoo then pushed their conquests eastward to Sikkim, and westward to the mountainous region of the higher Sutlej, where Umur Sing, their renowned general, came in contact with the rising power of Runjeet Sing, but was recalled from the siege of Kote Kangra to the defence of his own country from the assaults of the British Government.

During the twenty-five years preceding the war we treat of, the Goorkhas had come down into the plains and usurped more than 200 British villages, and the subjects of the Company were exposed to continual aggression along the whole line of their frontier. At length they had the presumption to seize upon the districts of Bootwul and Seoraj in Goruckpore, which the Vizier of Oude had transferred to Lord Wellesley in 1802. Lord Minto was anxious, if possible, to avoid a resort to arms, and proposed a conference with the Nepaul ministry, which resulted in demonstrating that they had not the shadow of a right to them. Accordingly, in June, he demanded the immediate restitution of them, and intimated that, in case of refusal, the Government would be obliged to have recourse to force; but the Nepaul cabinet distinctly refused to evacuate them. Their reply did not reach Calcutta till after the arrival of Lord Hastings, and, upon a careful examination of all the documents, he deemed it indispensable to make a categorical demand that they should be surrendered within twenty-five days. The period expired without any communication from Katmandhoo, and he ordered the magistrate of Goruckpore to expel the Goorkha officers.

1814 Lord Hastings's letter created a profound sensation at Katmandhoo, and convinced the regent that the dispute about these border lands was rapidly merging into a question of peace or war with the British power. A national council was convened to

Their encroachments on British territory.

Goorkhas resolve on war.

discuss the question, when Umur Sing said that his life had been passed amidst the hardships of war, and he was not ignorant of its risks, but he deprecated a war with the British Government, and affirmed that the lands were not worth the hazard. "We have hitherto," he said, "been hunting deer, but if we engage in this war we shall have to hunt tigers." But the regent and his party were bent on war, and determined to demand the surrender of the whole of the country north of the Ganges, and, as if to render hostilities inevitable, sent a detachment down to Bootwul, and put the police officer and eighteen of his men to death. The Goorkhas had thrown down the gauntlet, and Lord Hastings had no alternative but to take it up, promptly, without waiting for the result of a reference to Leadenhall Street. This defiance of the British power seemed an act of incredible temerity on the part of the Goorkhas. Their whole army did not exceed 12,000, and it was scattered over a long line of frontier, and their largest gun was only a four-pounder; but uninterrupted success for many years had infused a feeling of confidence into their minds. Their real strength consisted in the impracticable nature of their country, and in our entire ignorance of its localities.

A.D.
1814

Lord Hastings found himself dragged into an arduous conflict with an empty exchequer. On all former occasions the Government had resorted to a loan, but this was difficult, if not altogether impracticable, at a time when their promissory notes were at a discount of nine and ten per cent., and money was worth twelve per cent. in the market. In this dilemma he cast his eye on the hoards of the Vizier, amounting to seven crores of rupees. That prince was anxious to be relieved from the imperious interference of the Resident in the affairs of his government and of his court, and Lord Hastings had expressed a wish to afford him relief from this annoyance; on hearing, therefore, of the embarrassment of the Government, he resolved to evince his gratitude by offering a donation of a crore of rupees. He died while Lord Hastings was on his way to Lucknow, where the offer was renewed by his son and successor. Lord Hastings agreed to accept it as a loan to the Company, bearing interest, though he could not receive it as a gratuity; but he gained little by the aid thus afforded him. Of the old loan at eight per cent., which the Government was endeavouring to convert into a six per cent. stock, about half a crore of rupees was still unredemmed; and

the Vice-President in Council, without any intimation to the Governor-General, employed half the sum obtained at Lucknow in paying it off. This act of folly deprived Lord Hastings of the sinews of war, and would have produced a disastrous effect on the campaign if he had not submitted to the humiliation of soliciting a second crore, which was not, however, given without much reluctance.

A.D.
1814

With regard to the plan of the campaign, Lord Hastings considered it impolitic to confine his operations to the simple defence of a line of frontier several hundred miles in extent, which it would be found impracticable to guard effectually against an energetic and rapacious enemy. He felt that our military reputation could be sustained only by a bold and successful assault on the strongest of the Goorkha positions. He accordingly planned four expeditions on four points: the western on the Sutlej, the eastern on the capital, and two others on intermediate points. The division under General Gillespie, who had gained a high reputation at Vellore and in Java, was the first in the field, 3,500 strong, and advanced toward the Dhoon valley; during his progress he came upon a small fort at Kalunga, held by 600 Goorkhas. Lord Hastings had warned him against any attempt to storm works which should be reduced by artillery, but, with the reckless daring of his character, he determined to carry it by assault, and as he rushed up to the gate to encourage his men who were staggered by the murderous fire of the Goorkhas, he was shot through the heart. A retreat was immediately sounded, but not before twenty officers and 240 rank and file lay killed or wounded.

1814

A month was lost in waiting for heavy ordnance from Delhi; but after the breach was reported practicable, the assault was repulsed, with another loss of 680 men. Three days of incessant shelling rendered the post untenable, and the brave Goorkha commander made his escape with only seventy survivors. The reputation of the division was not restored by General Martindell, on whom the command devolved, who allowed himself, with an army of 5,000 sepoy and 1,000 Europeans, to be held at bay by 2,300 Goorkhas. The division under General J. S. Wood, which was appointed to penetrate Nepaul through Palpa, was paralysed by similar incapacity, and an army of 4,500 British soldiers, European and native, was not found to be a match for 1,200 of the Nepaul force. The chief reliance of Lord Hastings was placed on the

Failure of
three of the
divisions.

division of General Marley, 8,000 strong, destined to march directly on the capital, only 100 miles from our frontier; but he surpassed the others in imbecility. Two detachments were sent east and west without any precautions, and were fiercely assailed by the enemy. The sepoy fled, but the officers fell fighting with their usual valour, and guns, stores, and ammunition were captured by the enemy. The wretched general made a retrograde movement, and, though reinforced by two European regiments, could not be persuaded to enter the forest; and one morning, at early dawn, mounted his horse, and, without even delegating the command to any officer, galloped back to the cantonments at Dinapore. General George Wood, who succeeded him, was equally devoid of spirit, and the services of the division were lost.

This was the first campaign, since the Company took up arms in India, in which their troops outnumbered those of the enemy. Our non-success was owing entirely to the exceptional incompetence of the generals. Lord Hastings regarded his position with extreme anxiety, and, in his diary, stated that if we were to be foiled in this struggle, it would be the first step to the subversion of our power. These reverses were diligently promulgated throughout India, and revived the dormant hopes of the native princes, who began to make military demonstrations. Under the auspices of the Peshwa, who sent envoys to all the courts in India, not omitting even the Pindarees, a secret treaty of mutual support was concluded against the British Government. The army of Sindia was organised on our frontier. Ameer Khan, with 25,000 horse and foot, took up a position within twelve marches of our territories. Runjeet Sing marched 20,000 men to the fords of the Sutlej, and 20,000 Pindarees stood ready for any opportunity of mischief. To meet this emergency, Lord Hastings ordered up the whole of the disposable force of the Madras army to the frontier of the Deccan, and raised additional regiments of infantry, enlisted irregular horse, and increased the strength of the army to 80,000. But the Company's *ikbal*, or good fortune, as the natives observed, was still in the ascendant. Runjeet Sing was recalled by a threatened inroad of the Afghans. Sindia's two commanders, after long discord, attacked each other; the Pindaree leaders quarrelled among themselves; Ameer Khan found more immediate employment in the plunder of Joudpore, and the cloud

was completely dispelled by the brilliant success of General Ochterlony.

A.D. 1815 The division of this general was appointed to dislodge the Goorkhas from the territories they had acquired on the higher Sutlej, where Umur Sing was in command, and the ablest of the Goorkha generals was pitted against the ablest of the English commanders. The scene of operation was a wild and rugged region, presenting successive ranges of mountains rising one above another to the lofty peaks of the Himalaya, broken by deep glens and covered with thick forests. The general had formed a correct estimate of the bold character of his opponent and of the advantage he enjoyed in his position, and pursued his object by cautious but steady advances. He opened the campaign by the capture of the important fortress of Nalagurh, after a bombardment of thirty hours, with the loss of only one European soldier. During the next five months the valour of the British troops was matched by the gallantry of the Goorkhas, and the skill of British engineers was repeatedly foiled by the tact and resolution of their opponents. The service was the most arduous in which the Company's army had ever been engaged. At an elevation of more than 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, at the most inclement season of the year, amidst falls of snow often of two days continuance, the pioneers were employed in blasting rocks and opening roads for the eighteen-pounders, and day after day the men and the elephants were employed in dragging them up those alpine heights; but the energy of the general, and the exhilarating character of the warfare, diffused a feeling of enthusiasm throughout the army. By a series of bold and skilful manœuvres every height was at length surmounted and every fortress captured but that of Malown. Before General Ochterlony reached it, Lord Hastings had despatched some irregular corps raised by Colonel Gardner, an officer of great merit who had been in the Mahratta service, to occupy the province of Almora. That gallant officer and his new levies speedily cleared it of the Goorkhas, and effectually cut off Umur Sing's communication with the capital, and deprived him of all hope of reinforcements. The Goorkha officers entreated him to make conditions with the general, but the stern old chief spurned their advice, and they passed over to the English camp. He retired into the citadel with 200 men, but when the batteries were about to open upon it he

hesitated to sacrifice in a forlorn conflict the lives of the brave men who had nobly adhered to him to the last, and accepted the terms offered by his generous foe, who, in consideration of the skill, bravery, and fidelity with which he had defended the country, allowed him to march out with his arms and colours and personal property.

The discomfiture of their ablest general, and the loss of their most valuable acquisition, took away from the regency all confidence in their fastnesses, and induced them to sue for peace. Commissioners

Second
Goorkha
campaign.

came down to Segowlee and signed a treaty on the 2nd December, under an engagement to deliver the ratification of it within fifteen days, and a royal salute was fired in Calcutta in honour of the peace. But the ratification was never sent. Umur Sing and his son had in the meantime arrived at Katmandhoo, and successfully urged the regency to continue the war and to dispute every inch of ground. Another campaign became inevitable, and Lord Hastings had to assemble an army with all speed to strike a blow at the capital before the rains commenced. A force of 20,000 men was collected on the frontier, and placed under the command of General Ochterlony, who advanced with his usual caution and promptitude. Finding the Goorkha works in the first pass unassailable, he determined to turn the flank of the enemy, and on the night of the 14th February marched in dead silence through a narrow ravine, where twenty men might have arrested a whole army. The force bivouacked for two days and nights without food or shelter, awaiting the arrival of the second detachment, and then advanced to Muckwanpore, within fifty miles of Katmandhoo, where the Goorkha army sustained a signal defeat. The regency lost all conceit of fighting; the treaty duly ratified, was sent down in hot haste, and peace was concluded on the 2nd March on terms singularly moderate. The Goorkhas were not only the most valiant but the most humane foes we had ever encountered in India, and they also proved to be the most faithful to their engagements. Unlike other treaties with Indian princes, this of 1816 has never been infringed; and instead of taking advantage of our embarrassments during the mutiny of 1857, they sent a large force to assist in quelling it.

A.D.
1815

1816

SECTION II.

LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—TRANSACTIONS WITH NATIVE PRINCES—MAHRATTA AND PINDAREE WAR.

THE policy of Lord Wellesley had been steadily repudiated by the Court of Directors, but its wisdom was amply vindicated by the misery which followed its abandonment, and by the desolation of Central India for ten years by the Patans and the Pindarees. Ameer Khan, the Patan, had established a regular government, but the predatory element was always predominant in it. His army was estimated at 10,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with a powerful artillery, and as it was his plan to levy contributions from princes and states, he marched about with all the appliances for the siege of towns. The object of the Pindarees was universal and indiscriminate plunder, and they swept through the country with a degree of rapidity which rendered it impossible to calculate their movements, and baffled all pursuit. On his arrival, Lord Hastings found 50,000 Patans and Pindarees in the heart of India subsisting by plunder, and extending their ravages over an area as large as England.

A.D. 1814 One of his earliest acts was to point out to the Court of Directors, in language more emphatic than that of Lord Minto, the increasing danger of this predatory power. He asserted that India could not prosper until the Government "became the head of a league embracing every power in India, and " was placed in a position to direct its entire strength " against the disturbers of the public peace." But this course of policy was systematically opposed by the two members of his Council. Mr. Edmonstone combined official talent of a high order with long experience, but lacked the endowments of a statesman, and clung to the retrograde policy of Sir George Barlow. Mr. Dowdeswell had all the narrowmindedness of Sir George without a tithe of his ability. In reply to Lord Hastings's representation, the Court, still clinging to the non-intervention policy, forbade him to engage "in plans of general confederacy or of offensive operations against the Pindarees, " either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in " anticipation of expected danger." They enjoined him to

Representa-
tion to the
Court of
Directors.

1815

undertake nothing that could embroil them with Sindia, and to make no change in the existing system of political relations; to maintain the course of policy pursued by Sir George Barlow, to reduce the strength of the army, and practise a rigid economy.

Before this communication reached Calcutta, Lord Hastings, in the hope of preventing the Pindarees from crossing the Nerbudda, had entered into negotiations for a subsidiary alliance with the raja of Nagpore, which the Court had sanctioned five or six years before, but the raja persisted in resisting the proposal. Lord Hastings then proposed a similar alliance with Bhopal, with the view of holding the Pindarees in check. Bhopal was a small principality in Malwa, in the valley of the Nerbudda, lying between the British territories and the head-quarters of the Pindarees. The prince was the only chief in Central India who gave any support to the expedition of General Goddard in 1778, and the testimonials granted by him on that occasion are still carefully preserved in the archives of that noble house. In 1813, Sindia and the raja of Nagpore formed a confederacy to absorb its territories, and brought a force of 60,000 men against its renowned minister, Vizier Mahomed, which besieged the capital successively for two years. He implored the interference of the British Government, and Lord Hastings considered that in the existing circumstances of Central India, it was of no little importance to protect a state situated like Bhopal from extinction, and the two Mahratta powers were informed that it was under the protection of the Company. The raja of Nagpore, after some hesitation, withdrew his army, but Sindia assumed a lofty tone—it was at the time of the three failures in the Nepaul war—and declared that Bhopal was one of his dependencies, with which the Government was debarred from interfering by Sir George Barlow's treaty of 1805. But the vigorous preparations made by Lord Hastings to enforce his requisition, and more especially the success of General Ochterlony, staggered him; his two generals attacked each other under the walls of Bhopal, and the siege was raised. But the projected alliance with Bhopal fell to the ground.

Bajee Rao, the Peshwa, was about this time brought into conflict with the Government, which eventually ended in his ruin. He had none of the talents for government which had distinguished his pre-

Proposed
native
alliances.

A.D.
1814

1813

Affairs at
Poona.

decessors, and rested the success of his schemes on intrigue and perfidy. He was the slave of avarice and superstition; he had accumulated five crores of rupees in ten years, but he was lavish in his gifts to temples and brahmins, and his time was passed in constant pilgrimages from shrine to shrine. His efforts to seize on the estates of the great feudatories of the Mahratta empire, denominated the "southern jageerdars," many of them of greater antiquity than his own house, had been defeated by the interposition of the Resident, and increased his disaffection.

A. D.
1813

About the year 1813, one Trimbukjee Danglia, who was originally in the spy department, entered his service, and by his intelligence and energy, and not less by pandering to his vices, obtained a complete ascendancy over his mind. So great was the servile devotion he manifested to his master that he assured Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, that he was ready to kill a cow at his bidding. Towards the English Government he always manifested an implacable hostility, and was incessantly urging the Peshwa to shake off their alliance and assert his position as the head of the Mahratta power.

The Peshwa had claims on the Gaikwar extending back for half a century, which, with interest, amounted to little

Claims on the Gaikwar. short of three crores. The Gaikwar advanced counter claims of scarcely less amount, and he

1814

deputed his chief minister, Gungadhur Shastree, to Poona, to adjust them; but he would not venture into the city without the guarantee of the Resident. His reception was ungracious, and he was so completely baffled by evasions, that he determined to return to Baroda, upon which Trimbukjee changed his tactics, and spared no pains to gain him over to the interests of his master, who promised to bestow the hand of his sister-in-law on his son. The Shastree was thus induced to compromise the Gaikwar claims, without his concurrence or that of the Resident, for land yielding about seven lacs of rupees a year. An auspicious day was selected by the astrologers for the nuptials, and splendid preparations made for it; but the Shastree, hearing that his master repudiated the treaty, requested that the marriage might be suspended. The Peshwa considered this an unpardonable insult, which could be expiated only with his blood.

The Shastree was accordingly induced to accompany the
1815 Peshwa on his pilgrimage to Punderpore, though warned of his danger, and, soon after his arrival there, yielded

to the importunities of Trimbukjee to pay his devotions at the shrine after dusk. On his return he was waylaid and assassinated. The murder of a brahmin of the highest rank and learned in the shasters, in a holy city, at a period of pilgrimage, and in the immediate precincts of the temple, filled the Mahratta community with horror. But the victim was also the minister of an ally of the Company, and had proceeded to the court at Poona under a safe conduct. The Resident took up the case with promptitude and vigour, and having traced the murder to the agency of Trumbukjee, called on the Peshwa to deliver him up. The demand was resolutely resisted, and the Peshwa began to levy troops and determined to raise his standard, although unable to obtain the promise of assistance he solicited from the other Mahratta powers; but Mr. Elphinstone had taken the precaution of calling up troops to the capital. Bajee Rao's constitutional cowardice mastered every other feeling, and he surrendered his favourite on condition that his life should be spared. He was placed in confinement in the fort of Tanna, when he fully confessed the assassination, but declared that he had not acted without his master's orders.

A.D.
1815

Lord Hastings returned to Calcutta at the close of 1815, and placed on the records of Council an elaborate minute pointing out in stronger language than he had yet used the increasing danger arising from the growth of the Pindaræ power, and, in order to suppress it, proposing a general system of alliances under the guarantee of the Company, a revision of our relations with the native powers, and a new settlement of the Mahratta dominions. His two colleagues opposed the proposal and it was sent on to the India House with their dissent. While it was on its way to England, the necessity of some immediate effort was rendered more imperative by their increasing audacity. The *dussera* festival, when the plan of the winter campaign was usually organized, was celebrated in the autumn of 1815 at Nimar, the headquarters of Cheetoo, the chief leader, by a larger collection of Pindarees than had been assembled on any previous occasion, and their operations were especially directed against the territories of the Company and of the Nizam. A body of 8,000 crossed the Nerbudda in October, and swept through his provinces as far south as the Kistna, and returned so richly laden with booty that merchants

Lord Hastings' second representation.

1815

were invited from all quarters to purchase it. This extraordinary success attracted fresh crowds to their standard, and a body of 23,000 crossed the Nerbudda in February. One large division poured down on the northern Sircars, sacked the civil station of Guntoor on the Coromandel coast, and for ten days plundered the adjacent villages with perfect impunity. Troops were immediately despatched from Calcutta by sea, but the Pindarees had disappeared before their arrival, and it would have been as vain to follow them as to pursue a flight of locusts. It was found on investigation that during this raid 330 villages had been plundered, and many of them burnt; 500 persons had been wounded; 182 put to death, and 3,600 subjected to torture, while the loss of property was estimated at twenty-five lacs of rupees.

A.D.
 1816

This expedition demonstrated the importance of obtaining the co-operation of the raja of Nagpore, through whose territories the Pindarees had passed, but the raja still continued to resist every proposal of a subsidiary alliance. He died on the 22nd March, and was succeeded by his son Persajee, who was blind, palsied, and a confirmed idiot. His nephew, subsequently known as Appa Sahib, was acknowledged as regent, but was vigorously opposed by the intrigues of the court and the zenana, and threw himself upon the British Government, and offered at once to conclude the proposed alliance. A treaty was accordingly signed on the 29th May, which provided that a body of 6,000 infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a suitable proportion of artillery, should be subsidized by the Nagpore state, and that the raja should not contract any foreign alliances, and refer all differences with other powers to the arbitration of the Governor-General. Lord Hastings was thus enabled to place on record that in two months he had been able to effect what had been fruitlessly laboured at for twelve years, and he now considered it certain that the Pindarees would not be able again to cross the Nerbudda. A despatch was soon after received from the India House revoking the permission formerly given to contract such an alliance, but it arrived too late to do any mischief.

1816

Subsidiary
 alliance with
 Nagpore.

The Court of Directors had in 1813 sanctioned the renewal of the protective treaty with Jeypore which Sir George Barlow had torn up. Ameer Khan and his freebooters having drained Joudpore, fell upon this state, and laid siege to the capital.

Proposed
 alliance with
 Jeypore.

A.D.
1816

The raja despatched an envoy to Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, to implore the protection of the Government, and Lord Hastings, having regained his authority in Council by the accession of Mr. Seton who voted with him, resolved to avail himself of the warrant of the Court, and to conclude the alliance. Two divisions of troops, each 9,000 strong, were ordered into the field to expel the Patans from Jeypore, and to meet the hostility of Sindia or Holkar, who, having once subjected the country to plunder, considered that they had established a right over it. The four subsidiary armies of the Peshwa, the Nizam, the Gaikwar, and the raja of Nagpore were ordered forward, but the raja of Jeypore had no intention to fetter himself with any such connection, and, in the true spirit of oriental policy, was negotiating with Ameer Khan, whom he induced eventually to raise the siege by threatening to sign the treaty, and thus bring down the weight of the British armies upon him.

1816

Mr. George Canning, one of the most brilliant of English statesmen, who was appointed President of the Board of Control in June 1816, was immediately called upon to take into consideration Lord Hastings's proposal to form a general system of alliances with a view to the extirpation of the Pindaree power. New as he was to the Government, it is no matter of surprise that he should have been unwilling to assume the responsibility of so fundamental a change in the policy of the empire, more especially when it was opposed by the counsellors in Calcutta, and by those who might be considered his constitutional advisers in Leadenhall Street. Lord Hastings was, therefore, informed that the Court of Directors were unwilling to incur the risk of a general war for the uncertain purpose of rooting out the Pindarees, and that they would not sanction any extended military and political combinations for that purpose. They suggested that the Government might possibly enter into negotiations with some of the Pindaree leaders, or treat with the men to deliver up their chiefs. This advice kindled the indignation of Lord Hastings. The suggestion of the Court to engage one portion of the Pindaree confederation to destroy another, he attributed to the culpable negligence of the Government of India to point out the brutal and atrocious character of these wretches. But immediately after the transmission of this despatch from the India House, Mr. Canning received information of the

Despatches
from Eng-
land.

A.D. irruption of the Pindarees into the Northern Sircars, and
 1816 the atrocities they had committed. His views were at once changed, and another despatch was sent under his directions, which stated: "We think it due to your Lordship not to lose an instant in conveying to you an explicit assurance of our approval of any measures you may have authorised or undertaken, not only for repelling invasion but for pursuing and chastising the invaders. 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. . . . Any connection of Sindia or Holkar with the Pindarees against us or our allies, known, though not avowed, would place them in a state of direct hostility to us."

Lord Hastings was confident that the Nagpore subsidiary force planted on the banks of the Nerbudda would effectually prevent the Pindarees from crossing it, but he was painfully disappointed. As the period of the annual swarming approached, Colonel Walker moved up to the Nerbudda with the whole body, numbering 6,000 men, but they were found unequal to the protection of a line a hundred and fifty miles in extent. The Pindaree detachments pushed across between his posts, and a large body dashed down on the British district of Kimedya, and burnt a portion of the town of Ganjam, and but for the accidental arrival of Company's troops to quell an insurrection in Orissa, would have laid the whole province under contribution. Other bodies plundered the territories of Nagpore and Hyderabad. The expeditions of 1816-17 were the boldest they had undertaken, and the success which attended them gave rise to serious considerations. With the Nagpore subsidiary force guarding the Nerbudda, 23,000 Pindarees had crossed it. With 32,000 British troops, besides the Poona brigade and the Nizam's contingent distributed over the country, they had rushed through the peninsula and ravaged both coasts. It was felt that the cost of these defensive measures exceeded the largest calculation of the cost of a campaign to exterminate the freebooters. It was therefore unanimously resolved in Council to abandon the resolution which had been adopted to abstain from any system of offensive operations till the sanction of the home authorities could be received, and to adopt vigorous measures against them without delay.

1817 Intimation of this determination to extinguish the Pindarees was immediately conveyed to Sindia, and he was

requested to cooperate in carrying it into execution, but they had agents at his court, and warm partizans amongst his ministers, who endeavoured to persuade him that his own security would be impaired if he sanctioned the extirpation of these valuable auxiliaries, who were ready at any time to flock to his standard, and who required no pay. The agents of the Pindarees boasted that they would outdo the exploits of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and that 50,000 of their body would carry fire and sword to Calcutta. But Sindia was not to be misled by this gasconade; he had not forgotten Assye, the Company had recently triumphed in Nepal, they had secured the resources of Nagpore, and the Government in Calcutta was again animated with the spirit of Lord Wellesley, and he promised his co-operation.

Sindia's
determina-
tion.

During these negotiations at Gwalior events of great importance transpired at Poona. Trimbukjee effected his escape from Tanna, and though the Peshwa manifested unusual cordiality towards the Resident for some time, there was the clearest evidence that he was engaged in correspondence with Holkar, and Sindia, and Ameer Khan, and the Pindarees, for a simultaneous rising against the Government. Under the direction of Trimbukjee, he hastened the enlistment of troops, collected draft cattle, augmented his artillery, provisioned his forts, and deposited his jewels and treasure in the strongest of them. In April, Mr. Elphinstone presented a note to him upbraiding him with the hostile movements he was abetting, and declaring that the good understanding between the Government and him was at an end. At the same time, he peremptorily demanded the surrender of Trimbukjee, and the delivery of three forts as security, and he supported these representations by ordering up troops to Poona. The Peshwa's brave general Gokla urged a bold appeal to arms, but he had not the spirit to adopt this advice. The forts were surrendered, and a reward offered for the apprehension of Trimbukjee.

A.D.
1816

Hostility of
Bajee Rao.

1817

On the eve of his comprehensive operations against the Pindarees, Lord Hastings deemed it necessary to exact greater securities from this perfidious prince. Mr. Elphinstone was desired to present him with the draft of a treaty which required him to dismiss the agents of foreign princes accredited to his court, to refer all matters in dispute with them to the arbitrament of the British Government, to renounce all his

Heavy
penalty in-
flicted on
him

A.D. 1817 rights in Saugor and Bundelcund, and, in lieu of the contingent of 5,000 horse and 3,000 foot he was bound to furnish, to cede territory yielding twenty-four lacs a year. His ministers endeavoured to mitigate the severity of these penalties, and they affirmed that we appeared to exact a greater degree of fidelity to engagements than any native prince was able to observe. The treaty was nevertheless signed on the 13th June. When the intelligence of these arrangements and of this large addition to the Company's territories reached England, Mr. Canning remarked that this transaction sufficiently proved "the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds, and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most pre-emptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and the most scrupulous obedience of them in India. These measures were considered an unwelcome though justifiable exception to the general rule of our policy; only the occurrence of these exceptions had been unfortunately too frequent." Before this despatch had left the India House, the Peshwa was a fugitive, and his kingdom a British province.

On the death of Holkar in 1811, Toolsee bye, the favourite of his harem—young, beautiful, and fascinating in her address, with great talent for business, but violent and vindictive, resolved to conduct the government as regent. Ameer Khan exercised a preponderating influence in the state, by means of his lieutenant and his battalions when he was absent plundering Rajpootana. He was considered the head of the Patan faction. Tantia joge, a brahmin and a merchant, accepted the office of prime minister, and was the leader of the Mahratta party. The troops of the state were frequently mutinous for pay, when districts were assigned to the commandant, who fleeced the people without mercy, and sacked open villages, and cannonaded walled towns. There was no power in the state stronger than that of the military, and the government was in a state of anarchy. It was at this period, in the autumn of 1817, that the agents of Bajee Rao arrived in the camp to promote the confederacy he was forming against the Government of India.

SECTION III.

LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—WAR WITH THE PESHWA—
WITH NAGPORE—WITH HOLKAR—THE PINDAREES.

THE disorganisation of Central India had now reached its climax. The number of armed men who lived by violence fell little short of 100,000, and there was no native potentate with the power, or even the disposition, to restore peace and security. On the 8th July, Lord Hastings proceeded to the upper provinces to reduce this chaos to order. He felt that the only mode of dealing effectually with the Pindarees was to assail them in their haunts, and hunt them through the country till their organisation was completely broken up. He felt, likewise, that, to prevent the revival of such a confederacy, it was necessary to resettle Central India, to define the boundaries of each principality, and to prevent mutual encroachments by the establishment of our paramount power; in short, to restore and complete the system of policy devised by Lord Wellesley twelve years before. But the President of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, and his own Council, were equally opposed to any such general federation under our supremacy. In his progress up the country, he therefore communicated to the Council his intention to take upon himself the sole responsibility of deviating from the views of the home authorities, and carrying out the general system of alliances he had determined to form.

The resolution was executed with promptitude and vigour. The chiefs of Malwa and Rajpootana were informed that the neutral policy had ceased, and that the Government was prepared to admit them to protective alliances. The intelligence was received with exultation throughout those provinces, and the Residency of Delhi was speedily crowded with the agents of nineteen of the princes of Central India. The first to enter into the circle of alliances was the venerable and virtuous Zalim Sing, the regent of Kotah. Then came the youthful and accomplished nabob of Bhopal, who eagerly embraced the alliance his father had refused. The raja of Boondee, ungenerously abandoned to the mercies of Holkar by Sir George Barlow,

A.D.
1817

Lord Hastings's new policy.

Treaties of alliance with native princes.

was now taken again under British protection. The raja of Joudpore, brought to the brink of ruin by the rapacity of the Mahrattas and Patans, eagerly accepted an offer which released him from all further anxiety. Even the proud house of Oodypore, which had never acknowledged the supremacy of Mogul or Mahratta, now submitted to the supremacy of the Company; and lastly, the raja of Jeypore, seeing every other prince bending the knee to the ruling power in India, came into the system of alliances. Within four months, Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, to whom the management of these negotiations was committed, concluded the treaties of alliance with all these princes upon the principle of "subordinate co-operation and acknowledged supremacy."

A. D.
1817

The military operations on which Lord Hastings entered were upon a larger scale even than those of Lord Wellesley, and embraced the whole extent of country from the Kistna to the Ganges, and from Cawnpore to Guzerat. The armies of the three Presidencies were called out, and, including irregulars and the contingents of native princes, the entire force amounted to 116,000 infantry and cavalry, and 300 guns. The magnitude of this array was out of all proportion to the simple object of exterminating bands of marauders who never stood an attack; but Lord Hastings was not ignorant that the extinction of the Pindarees was opposed to the wishes and the interests of the chief native powers, and that the ever perfidious Peshwa was endeavouring to unite them in a confederacy against the Government; his preparations were, therefore, intended to provide for any adverse movements on their part. Happily, the powers of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were united in his person, and all the arrangements, political and military, were regulated by the same undivided authority. The veteran soldier of sixty-five took the field in person. The plan of the campaign provided that four divisions should advance from the Deccan, under the orders of Sir Thomas Hyslop, the Madras Commander-in-Chief, and four from the north-west, and converge on the camps of the Pindarees.

In the north it was necessary to place a check on the dubious intentions of Sindia and Ameer Khan. Sindia had at once agreed to the proposal to co-operate in attacking the Pindarees, but rumours had been diffused through his army that Bajee Rao was about

Treaty with
Sindia.

to raise the national standard and assail the Company, and his troops were eager to join in the warfare; he himself also had accepted twenty-five lacs of rupees from the Peshwa. On the 10th October, a note was delivered to him, stating that as he had excited the Pindarees to attack the Company's territories, and had subsequently afforded them an asylum on their return, the Governor-General considered the treaty of 1805 abrogated, and was about to enter into alliances with the chiefs of Malwa and Rajpootana, which that treaty had interdicted. He was now required to manifest his sincerity by placing his troops at the disposal of the British Government, and admitting a garrison into the fortresses of Hindia and Aseergurh. To quicken his decision, Lord Hastings took the field on the 16th October, and having crossed the Jumna marched directly towards Gwalior. By this manœuvre Sindia's communications with the Peshwa and the Pindarees, and even with the bulk of his own army then encamped in his southern districts, was cut off, and he was isolated in his capital with only 8,000 troops. He signed the treaty on the approach of Lord Hastings, and saved his kingdom from the fate which overtook the other Mahratta powers. While the camp lay in the vicinity of Gwalior it was desolated by a visitation of cholera, little, if at all, known previously in India, which reduced the strength of the force, including camp followers, to the extent of nearly 20,000 men. At the height of the disease, Lord Hastings gave instructions to his staff that if he himself should fall a victim to it, his body was to be silently buried in his tent, lest his death should discourage the troops, and embolden Sindia to attack the encampment in its prostrate condition.

Ameer Khan was at this juncture scarcely less important a chieftain than Sindia. His army consisted of fifty-two battalions with an efficient cavalry, and a hundred and fifty guns. It was as necessary to break up the Patan as the Pindaree force, and Lord Hastings did not hesitate to compass that object by offering to confirm him in the sovereignty of the districts he held belonging to the Holkar state, on the condition of his disbanding his force, and surrendering his guns at a valuation. He wavered at first, but on hearing of the extinction of the power of Bajee Rao and Appa Sahib, he accepted the proposal and became an acknowledged feudatory prince, with a territorial revenue of fifteen lacs a year.

The advance of one division from Hindostan and two from the Deccan towards the head-quarters of the Pindarees, became the signal for the explosion of the plot which the Peshwa had organized among the Mahratta powers against the Company. He himself broke out on the 5th November, the raja of Nagpore on the 26th, and Holkar's army on the 16th December. After the signature of the treaty of the 5th June, he went on pilgrimage to Pundrapore, and soon after received a visit from Sir John Malcolm. The credulous general allowed himself to be so completely cajoled by the craft of the Peshwa, into the belief of his cordial attachment to the British Government, that he advised him to increase the strength of his army. Under his advice, moreover, General Smith's army was allowed to quit Poona, and the cautionary fortresses were restored. Bajee Rao now redoubled his preparations for war. From his private hoards he advanced a crore to Gokla his commander, to increase his levies and to provision his forts. He likewise spared no pains to conciliate the southern jageerdars with whom he had always been at issue, and endeavoured to seduce the sepoys from their allegiance by large bribes, but without success. He even laid a plan to assassinate Mr. Elphinstone, but it was discountenanced by Gokla. He returned to Poona in the beginning of October, and it became daily more and more evident throughout the month that a conflict was inevitable. Mr. Elphinstone, therefore, fell back two miles to a more defensible position at Kirkee, and called up a European regiment from Bombay, but, even with this addition, the British force collected for his protection did not exceed 3,000, while the Mahratta army numbered 18,000.

The Peshwa was confident that Sindia and Ameer Khan had already taken the field in accordance with their engagements, and that their example would be immediately followed by Holkar and the raja of Nagpore; and on the 5th November he plunged into hostilities, but it was on this very day that Sindia signed the treaty which neutralized his power. Towards noon he sent an arrogant message to Mr. Elphinstone, propounding the terms on which he would consent to remain on terms of friendship with the Government. While his messenger was on the way back, the plain was covered with masses of cavalry, and a stream of soldiers issued from every avenue of the city. Mr. Elphinstone wisely advised the

A.D.
1817

Outbreak of
the Peshwa.

Battle of
Kirkee.

commanding officer, Colonel Burr, to take the offensive; and that veteran, though labouring under a disease which soon after proved mortal, boldly charged into that vast host, and obtained a signal victory with the loss of only eighty-six men in killed and wounded. The battle of Kirkee was one of the most brilliant in the annals of British India, and inasmuch as it annihilated the kingdom of the Peshwas was also one of the most decisive. General Smith, hastened back to Poona; but, although the Peshwa had been reinforced by the troops of the southern jageerdars, he declined another engagement; and on the 17th November, leaving his camp standing, decamped southward with his army. Poona surrendered to the General, and thus ingloriously fell the power of the Peshwa one hundred years after it had been established by his great grandfather, Ballajee Wishwanath.

Appa Sahib, the regent of Nagpore, continued on friendly terms with the Resident for several months after the conclusion of the subsidiary alliance, but on the 1st February the imbecile raja Persajee was

Affairs at
Nagpore.

A.D.
1817

found strangled in his bed, and subsequent enquiries fixed the guilt on Appa Sahib, who immediately mounted the throne. From that time forward there was a marked change in his conduct, and he exhibited an anxiety to relieve himself from the state of dependence in which the alliance had placed him. He entered cordially into the hostile views of the Peshwa, and bestowed a dress of honour on the Pindaree leader, Cheetoo, who visited his court to claim his aid. The Peshwa, then flying before the British troops, conferred on him the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Mahratta empire, and on the 24th November, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Resident, he proceeded to his camp to be invested with the insignia, and this was immediately followed by an attack on the Residency. It was situated on two hills called the Seetabuldee, the one lower than the other, in the immediate vicinity of the city. The force consisted of about 1,500 men, with four six-pounders. The raja's army mustered 18,000, of whom 4,000 were Arabs, the bravest soldiers in the Deccan, and thirty-six guns. Throughout the night the Mahratta artillery played on the hills, till at length a tumbril exploded, and in the confusion of the moment the Arabs charged up the smaller hill and captured the guns, and turned them upon the larger hill. The whole of the raja's army now began to close upon the encampment in all directions, and to

A.D. 1817 prepare for a general assault. The ammunition at the Residency was running short; one-fourth of the little force, which included fourteen officers, was either killed or wounded, and its total annihilation appeared inevitable, when the fortune of the day was changed by the gallantry of Captain Fitzgerald, commanding the three troops of Bengal cavalry. Contrary to the impassioned protest of his faint-hearted commander, he rushed upon the main body of the enemy's horse with irresistible fury, and captured two guns, which he turned upon them. The sight of this gallant exploit roused the enthusiasm of the jaded troops on the upper hill, who had been eighteen hours incessantly fighting, and officers and men plunged down the hill, fell upon the infantry, and chased it like a flock of sheep.

Reinforcements poured into Nagpore from all quarters, and Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, dictated his own terms to the raja. He was required to disband his troops, surrender his guns, and repair to the Residency, and acknowledge the forfeiture of his kingdom; these terms were accepted. Lord Hastings had determined to punish the atrocious perfidy of Appa Sahib by depriving him of the throne; but finding that Mr. Jenkins had engaged to restore his royal dignity, he agreed to uphold the engagement, and the raja resumed his authority on the 8th January. But within a short time he offered the Peshwa, then flying before his pursuers, an asylum in his dominions, and prepared to join his camp himself. He was also detected in exciting the forest tribes to insurrection and impeding the surrender of his forts; and Lord Hastings ordered him to be deposed and sent to the holy city of Benares, with an allowance of two lacs a year; but he saved the Company's exchequer this burden by corrupting his guards on the line of march, and effecting his escape. The next of kin was placed on the throne, and the administration during his minority was placed in the hands of Mr. Jenkins, under whom the country enjoyed twelve years of unexampled prosperity.

Lord Hastings had made the offer of a treaty to Toolsee bye, the regent of the Holkar state, and she had responded to it by sending a private communication to the Resident at Delhi, offering to place the young prince and the state under British protection. All the substantial power of the state was, however, in the hands of the military chiefs, and as soon as it was known that the Peshwa had risen in arms they resolved to march

down and join his standard. The regent and the ministers were suspected of a leaning to a British alliance, and the officers placed the chief minister under restraint, and, on the evening of the 20th December, conveyed the bye to the banks of the Sipree and struck off her head, and threw her body into the stream. The army, 20,000 strong, then marched down to join the Peshwa, and in their progress found the British force, which was in pursuit of the Pindaree leader Cheetoo, encamped at Mehidpore, where a decisive engagement was fought on the 21st December. The Mahratta army was posted with great skill on the banks of the Sipree, its left defended by an angle of the stream, and its right by a deep morass, and the front protected by a formidable battery of seventy guns. The main feature of the action was the rash step of crossing a difficult river by a single ferry in the face of strong entrenchments, and rushing forward to seize the guns which had silenced the light field pieces of the English army. The sepoy were mowed down by the enemy's cannon, but continued to advance with unshaken steadiness, and at length succeeded in capturing the batteries, though not without the loss of 778 in killed and wounded. The movements of the day were directed by Sir John Malcolm, who was less of a general than of a diplomatist; with better strategy the same result might have been obtained with less slaughter. Holkar's entire camp, with all his guns and military stores, fell to the victors, and the power of the state was irrecoverably broken. A treaty was soon after concluded, and cessions of territory were made to the Company, to Zalim Sing of Kotah, to Ameer Khan, and to his lieutenant, which reduced the kingdom to two-thirds of its former dimensions.

A.D.
1817

During the rainy season of 1817 the Pindarees were encamped to the number of 23,000 under the three leaders Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wassil Mahomed. They were not ignorant of the measures in progress to extirpate them, and they implored aid of the Mahratta princes, but they had enough to do to protect themselves, and the different bodies of the Pindarees were obliged to disperse as the British detachments advanced upon them. Sindia, indeed, invited Kureem Khan and Wassil Mahomed to Gwalior, but Lord Hastings immediately took up a position which prevented their advance. They then turned off to the west, where they were intercepted by General Donkin, who captured Kureem Khan's

Operations
against the
Pindarees.

elephants, kettle-drums, standards, and family. The two leaders burnt their tents and fled southward with about 4,000 of their best horsemen, and their followers were cut up by the British troops and the exasperated villagers whom they had subjected to plunder. The chiefs were so hotly pursued that they were constrained at length to surrender at discretion, and one of them was settled on a small estate in the province of Ghazepore; the other was placed under surveillance, and put a period to his life by poison. The most renowned of the leaders, Cheetoo, was pursued by Sir John Malcolm; his bivouac was repeatedly beaten up, and he wandered about for a twelvemonth with a handful of followers who gradually deserted him, and being at last separated by hunger from his son and his last companion, plunged into a jungle infested with tigers. After a diligent search his horse was discovered grazing saddled and bridled, and not far off the mangled remains of this renowned freebooter who had recently ridden forth at the head of 20,000 men.

These military and political operations are equally remarkable for the rapidity with which they were executed

and for the completeness of their result. In the
 Result of the
 campaign.

A. D.

1817

middle of October 1817, the Mahrattas, Pindarees, and Patans, presented an array of more than 150,000 horse and foot, and 500 cannon, prepared to try conclusions with the British Government. In the course of four months this formidable armament was utterly broken up. The power of Sindia was paralysed; the army of Holkar existed only in name; the Peshwa was a fugitive; the Patan force of Ameer Khan was disbanded, and the Pindarees had disappeared; the Mahratta commonwealth was irretrievably dissolved, and every military organisation within the Sutlej was extinguished, with the exception of that of Sindia which ceased to be formidable. The effect of the

1818

campaign, moreover, was to subjugate not only the native armies but the native mind, and to convince both princes and people that the sceptre of India was now definitely transferred to a foreign power. To the chiefs who lost their independence, and with it that feeling of dignity which was sometimes the parent of royal virtues, the change was a calamity, but to the community at large it was an unquestionable blessing. General tranquillity took the place of universal violence under the guarantee of a power willing and able to maintain it. A feeling of substantial security was diffused through Central India, and its

inhabitants sought the means of subsistence and distinction by cultivating the arts of peace and not by war and rapine. The settlement of India in 1818 was, moreover, built on so sound and solid a foundation that it has required fewer modifications than so great a political structure might have been expected to need. Having thus extinguished all opposition, Lord Hastings proclaimed the universal sovereignty of the Company throughout the continent, and declared that the Indus was to all intents and purposes the boundary of their dominion.

Bajee Rao began his retreat southward on the 28th November, and on passing Satara caused the raja and his family, the descendants of Sevajee, to be brought into his camp. Finding himself closely pursued by General Smith, he turned northward towards Poona. Colonel Burr, the commandant, immediately called down to his support the detachment left at Seroor, under Captain Stanton, consisting of one battalion of infantry and 300 irregular horse. He commenced his march at eight in the evening, and reached the village of Korygaum, sixteen miles from Poona, at ten the next morning, when, to his surprise, he perceived the whole army of the Peshwa, 25,000 strong, encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The Mahratta troops were immediately sent across against this handful of soldiers exhausted by a fatiguing march through the night, and destitute both of provisions and water, but the officers and men met the shock with invincible resolution. The engagement was kept up throughout the day, and every inch of ground in the village was disputed with desperate valour, but it ended in the discomfiture and retreat of the Mahrattas. The most remarkable feature of this brilliant engagement lay in the fact that the sepoy were without any European support except twenty-four artillery men, of whom twenty were killed and wounded. Of eight officers engaged, three were wounded and two killed; the total loss amounted to 187.

A.D. 1817

Battle of Korygaum.

Jan. 1 1818

On leaving Korygaum the Peshwa again marched southward, always keeping ahead of his pursuers, but he was suddenly overtaken at Ashtee, and, after reproaching his general Gokla for allowing him to be surprised, quitted his palankeen and mounted his horse and fled, leaving the general to cover his retreat. Stung with the reproaches of his master, and determined not to survive the day, he placed himself at the head of

Pursuit and surrender of the Peshwa.

300 horse and rushed on the British cavalry, and, after receiving three pistol shots and three sabre cuts, expired on the field of honour, the last and one of the noblest of the great Mahratta commanders. The raja of Satara was rescued at Ashtee. The Peshwa, hunted out of the Deccan, moved again to the north, crossed the Taptee, and advanced to the Nerbudda, but the fords were guarded and the different divisions of the army were closing upon him, when, seeing no chance of escape, he appealed to the weakness of Sir John Malcolm, calling him "his oldest and best friend." Strange to say, he was admitted to an interview, when he so thoroughly cajoled him by his flatteries, that at a time when his fortunes were desperate and he must have surrendered at discretion, the imprudent general engaged to allow him eight lacs a year, and made other concessions equally unwise and preposterous. Lord Hastings, who had destined him an allowance of only two lacs, was not a little mortified at the prodigality of these terms, but felt himself bound in honour to ratify them. A proclamation had been previously issued announcing that the Peshwa and his family were for ever excluded from the throne. A small portion of the territory, yielding about fifteen lacs of rupees a year, was then erected into a separate principality and bestowed on the descendant of Sevajee, and the remainder was incorporated in the Company's territories. The Peshwa was conducted to Bithoor, near Cawnpore, where he lived long enough to receive two crores and a half of rupees from the treasury in Calcutta.

A.D.
1818

1818 The country which had been the scene of warfare, was studded with forts which held out for some time after the submission of the princes. They were garrisoned in general by Arab mercenaries, whose services were valued not only for their courage and fidelity, but as a counterpoise to the native soldiery, among whom a spirit of insubordination was traditionary. The capture of the fort of Talneir was marked by the untoward circumstance of the massacre of 300 of the garrison in hot blood, owing to a misunderstanding, and by the unjust execution of the commandant, which tarnished the laurels of Sir Thomas Hislop. At length the only fort which had not submitted was Aseergurh, for the surrender of which 1819 Sindia had given an official order on the commandant, but he had private orders not to deliver it, and it was not captured till a battery of more than sixty guns had played on it for a fortnight.

SECTION IV.

LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—HOME PROCEEDINGS—
EDUCATION—THE PRESS—PALMER AND CO.

MR. CANNING moved the usual vote of thanks to Lord Hastings A. D. and to the army in the House of Commons; but he qualified 1819 his eulogy by stating that the House and the Home pro- country were in the habit of appreciating the ceedings. triumphs of our armies in India with great jealousy; that, almost uniformly successful as our military operations had been in that part of the world, they had almost as uniformly been considered questionable in point of justice; that the termination of a war in India, however glorious, was seldom contemplated with unmixed satisfaction, and that the increase of our territories was ascribed by sober reflection and impartial philosophy to a spirit of systematic encroachment and ambition. These considerations, he said, were not necessarily applicable to the Mahratta and Pindaree war, but the House was to understand that the vote was intended merely as a tribute to the military conduct of the campaign, and not in any sense as a sanction of the policy of the war. In the same captious spirit the Court of Directors, while duly appreciating "the foresight, promptitude, and vigour with which Lord Hastings had dispersed the gathering elements of a hostile conspiracy," recorded their deep regret that any circumstances should have led to an increase of territory. Lord Hastings had lost caste at the India House, and its official communications to him were scarcely less acrimonious than those which had been addressed to Clive, to Warren Hastings, and to Lord Wellesley. The despatch written on receiving information of the brilliant termination of the campaign was loaded with petulant and frivolous animadversions, and "not mitigated," as Lord Hastings observed, "by the slightest indication of satisfaction at the fortunate issue of the military exertions." They censured him for disregarding their orders regarding the reduction of the army, though they had undoubted evidence that, under existing circumstances, on the eve of a great and inevitable conflict, to have carried them out would have been fatal to the interests of the empire. In anticipation of extensive military operations he had

remodelled the Quarter-master-General's department, and he was censured by the Court for not having previously obtained their sanction, while they pressed on him the appointment of one of their own nominees to the post, of whom Lord Hastings remarked in his correspondence, that it would be difficult to find in the whole army a field officer more signally unfit for the post. In the same spirit of antagonism, the honours so richly earned by the heroes of Kirkee, and Seetabuldee, and Korygaum, were withheld from them.

The pacification and final settlement of India would have been a sufficient distinction for any administration, but Lord Hastings established a higher claim to public gratitude, by the encouragement which he was the first to give to the intellectual improvement of the natives. The India House had hitherto acted upon the principle that any attempt to enlighten the people would create political aspirations which might endanger their power, and lead to its subversion. Lord Hastings repudiated this policy, and in one of his public addresses stated that "it would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude." These enlightened views gave an immediate and powerful impulse to the cause of education. Lady Hastings had already set an example by establishing a school at Barrackpore Park, and compiling treatises for the scholars. Schools also sprang up in the districts around Calcutta through the agency of the missionaries, and were fostered by a liberal donation from Government. Some of the most wealthy and influential native gentlemen in the metropolis raised large subscriptions, and established the Hindoo College for the education of their children and relatives in the English language and European science. All the efforts which have since been made with constantly increasing vigour, to impart knowledge to the native community, date from this period.

Emboldened by this liberal policy and the success of Lord Hastings, the Serampore Missionaries, on the 31st May 1818, issued the first native newspaper, entitled the "Sumachar Durpun," or Mirror of Intelligence. This attempt to rouse the native mind from its torpidity, by the stimulus of a public journal, created great alarm among the leading men in the Government, but Lord

Encourage-
ment of
education.

A.D.
1818

Lord Hast-
ings and
the Press.

Hastings afforded every encouragement to it ; he manifested the same spirit of liberality towards the English Press, and, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the members of his Council, removed the censorship which had been imposed by Lord Wellesley during the anarchy of war. In deference, however, to the despotic sensibilities of the governing class, he imposed severe restrictions on the editors regarding the subjects and the personages which were to be exempted from remark, but the exceptions soon fell into abeyance. In vindication of his policy, he stated, in reply to an address from Madras, " that he was
 " in the habit of considering the freedom of publication
 " as the natural right of his fellow subjects, to be narrowed
 " only by special and urgent cause assigned ;" and, further, that " it was salutary for supreme authority, even when its
 " intentions were most pure, to look to the control of
 " public opinion." This heterodox doctrine gave mortal offence at the India House, and a despatch was immediately drafted, reprobating the abolition of the censorship, and directing that it should be immediately reimposed, but the despatch was suppressed by Mr. Canning.

A.D.
1818

In the year 1816 the peaceful province of Orissa became 1816 the scene of disturbances. On the acquisition of the country in 1803, a swarm of Bengalee baboos flocked into it, and obtained possession of every official post of influence, and by their knowledge of the mysteries of civil and fiscal legislation were enabled to take advantage of the simplicity of the people, and to deprive them of their lands. The province was also over-assessed, the zemindars were improvident, and half the estates were brought to the hammer, and bought up by the Bengalee officials in the courts, often at a nominal price. To add to the wretchedness of the province, the salt monopoly was introduced, and the cost of this necessary of life was increased sixfold in a country where the sea furnished it spontaneously. Under this accumulation of misery, the people sold all they possessed, and then their wives and children, and finally took to the jungle. The country being thus ripe for revolt, one Jugbundoo, the hereditary commander of the old Hindoo dynasty, raised the standard of rebellion and collected about 3,000 men, with whom he plundered the civil station of Khoorda, and repulsed two detachments of sepoy. This success augmented his force, and he took possession of the town of Pooree, and burnt down the European residences, but the

Disturb-
ances at
Cuttack.

Collector escaped with his treasury to Cuttack. The triumph of the insurgents was, however, short, and they were dispersed by the troops which poured into the province. The people were assured that their grievances would be redressed if they were peaceably represented to Government, and they at once submitted to its authority. A special Commissioner was appointed to the charge of the province, the most notorious of the rapacious officials were punished, and the assessment was reduced by 40 per cent. Its tranquillity has never since been interrupted, and another proof has been afforded that, with a moderate assessment and congenial institutions, and an equitable and speedy administration of justice, few countries are more easy to govern than India, even under the sceptre of foreigners.

A. D.
1822

Financial
and territorial in-
crease.

The financial results of Lord Hastings's administration were auspicious. Notwithstanding the war of eighteen months' duration in the mountains of Nepal, and the employment in the field of eight armies during the Pindaree and Mahratta campaign, the treasury was at no period in so prosperous a condition as at the close of his government. The state bonds, which were at a discount of 12 per cent. on his arrival, were at 14 per cent. premium at his departure. The debt had indeed increased four crores and a half, but the cash balances in the various treasuries exceeded by five crores the amount when he landed. The permanent revenue had increased by six crores, and the permanent expenditure by four, leaving a clear surplus of two crores of rupees; the year 1822 may therefore be considered the palmy period of Indian finance. Lord Hastings entered upon the Pindaree campaign with the confident expectation that the pacification of the continent would be effected without adding a foot to the Company's territories, but "the irrepresible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its boundary," which Mr. Canning had lamented, was fatal to this hope. The unprovoked aggression and complete overthrow of the Mahratta powers placed their territories at his disposal. He restored the larger portion of their dominions to Holkar and to the raja of Nagpore, but he considered that the annexation of the whole of Bajee Rao's kingdom—the territory of Satara excepted—was forced on him "by the imperious necessity of guarding against the speedy renewal of a treachery so rooted in its nature as to admit of no other prevention." It was annexed to

the Bombay Presidency, and the management of it entrusted to one of the ablest of the Company's statesmen, Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone. The utter indifference manifested by Parliament to Indian affairs throughout Lord Hastings's administration afforded a singular contrast to the active and energetic movements of the Government in India. Mr. Dundas had introduced the practice of an annual budget, that Parliament might be reminded, at least once a year, of the existence of the Indian empire. But so utterly lukewarm had Parliament become to its affairs, that Mr. Canning, the President of the Board, stated to the House that "the Indian budget was always considered a dull and disagreeable subject, and the practice of making budget speeches had therefore been discontinued. The time and attention of the House was quite as much occupied without throwing away a day in the discussion of a subject which was sure to drive gentlemen away from it." During the five years of his tenure of office, the only occasion on which he touched on the subject of India in the House, except when moving thanks to Lord Hastings, was in reference to a bill for legalizing Scotch marriages there. Yet it was in this period of neglect that the great revolution in Lord Hastings's administration was consummated, that twenty-eight actions were fought, and a hundred and twenty forts captured, and the sovereignty of Great Britain proclaimed throughout the continent of India.

One of the last acts of Lord Hastings had reference to Hyderabad. Meer Alum, who had managed the affairs of the state with consummate talent for thirty years, died in 1808, when, after an irritating discussion with Lord Minto, Moneer-ool-moolk, whom the Resident described as both a coward and a fool, was appointed minister, while all the substantial power in the state was given to Chundoo Lall, a Hindoo of great ability, experience and energy. The Court of Directors interdicted all interference with the internal administration of Hyderabad, and directed the Resident to confine his attention to the reform of the contingent of 6,000 foot and 9,000 horse, which the Nizam was obliged by the treaty of 1800 to furnish in time of war. These levies, which were a mere rabble, were converted by the strenuous exertions of the Resident into an efficient force, disciplined and commanded by officers drawn from the Company's army, with which it was soon able to vie in military spirit and qualifications. As the force was entirely at the disposal of Chundoo Lall,

A. D.
1816
to
1821

he was not disposed to check its profuse expenditure. It was not only over-officered, but the officers were overpaid. It became a source of valuable patronage to the Resident, and, however beneficial in time of war, was, in a season of peace, little more than a magnificent job.

A. D.
1809
to
1820

The administration of Chundoo Lall was, with some intervals of repose, the scourge of the country for thirty-five years. It was upheld by British power, but not controlled by British honesty; nothing flourished but corruption; judicial decrees could be obtained only for money; the land was farmed out to the highest bidder, and the farmer had the power of life and death; the utmost farthing was wrung from the wretched peasant, hundreds of villages were deserted, and, in the absence of cultivation, food rose to famine prices. The wealth thus obtained was expended by Chundoo Lall in fortifying his position. He erected a noble palace for the Resident and fitted it up with the most costly furniture from Bond street; he bribed the courtiers, and subsidized the zenana, and secured the favour of the Nizam by indulging his royal passion for hoarding. Mr. Metcalfe was appointed Resident in November 1820, and, on surveying the state of the country, resolved on a vigorous reform. Some of his political assistants, and some of the officers of the contingent were placed in charge of districts; a lenient assessment was made, and the current of oppression checked. Security was at once established; villages were re-peopled, cultivation was resumed, and rents were collected without a military force.

Mr. Metcalfe had not, however, been long at Hyderabad without perceiving that every prospect of improvement was endangered by the transactions of Palmer and Co. with the state. Mr. William Palmer had established a banking-house at Hyderabad in 1814, and soon after became connected with Chundoo Lall, and began to make advances to the Nizam's treasury. The express sanction of the Government of India to such transactions was required by Act of Parliament; and, with the consent of the Council, and in accordance with the opinion of the Advocate-General, Lord Hastings gave his assent to them, and loans were accordingly made from time to time, but at twenty-five per cent. interest. In 1820, the firm was joined by Sir W. Rumbold, who had married a ward of Lord Hastings, whom he regarded with paternal fondness. In an evil hour, he wrote to Sir William, "The partners

“speculate that your being one of the firm will interest me in the welfare of the house. It is a fair and honest conclusion. The amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well with the supreme Government.” This communication was widely circulated by Sir William, and placed the house on a firm footing at Hyderabad, and there was a constant stream of loans, at exorbitant interest, to the Nizam, and fresh assignments of territory as security for them.

A.D.
1820

Mr. Metcalfe could not fail to observe that Palmer and Co. were becoming a dangerous power in the state, that the public revenues were passing into their hands, and that the government of the Nizam was prostrate before them. He ventured at length to communicate his views on the subject to Lord Hastings, but found that his mind had been prepossessed, and his feelings worked on by the correspondence of the Rumbold family; and his representations were resented. Chundoo Lall had been put up by the firm to solicit the sanction of the Governor-General in Council to a loan of sixty lacs, for the professed object of paying up the public establishments, of repaying debts due to native brokers, and making advances to the ryots. Lord Hastings considered these to be legitimate objects, and gave his casting vote to the proposal. But Mr. Metcalfe learnt on his arrival that only a fraction of this loan had found its way to the Nizam's treasury; that the sum of eight lacs was a bonus to the members of the firm, and that the remainder consisted of sums advanced, or said to have been advanced, to the Nizam's minister without the consent of the Government in Calcutta, whose sanction was thus surreptitiously obtained to these loans. This transaction was too gross to admit of any palliation, and it was severely censured both by Lord Hastings and the members of Council. By compound interest at twenty-five per cent., Palmer and Co. swelled their demand on the Nizam to a crore of rupees, and the Government, anxious to put a peremptory stop to these transactions, determined that the whole debt should be at once discharged—with the exception of the clandestine bonus. By the disgraceful treaty of 1768, the Madras Government had engaged to pay the Nizam an annual tribute of seven lacs

Mr. Metcalfe's representations.
1821

A.D.
1822

for the Northern Sircars, and the payment had been punctually made for half a century. It was now capitalized, and the Nizam was released from the grasp of the firm, which became insolvent within twelve months.

The antipathy of the Court of Directors which was repeatedly manifested towards Lord Hastings by their captions criticisms, their reluctant praise, and their eager censure, became more violent after he had given freedom to the press, and particularly so after Sir W. Rumbold had joined the Hyderabad firm, and they issued peremptory orders to revoke the licence which Government had given to the firm. Their despatch implied a mistrust of his motives in that transaction, and exhibited a determination to identify him with all their obnoxious proceedings. Indignant at these insinuations, and at the offensive tone of their despatches he sent in his resignation, on the ground that he had lost their confidence. They assured him that he was entirely mistaken, and voted him their thanks for "the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nine years, he had administered the government of British India with such high credit to himself and advantage to the interests of the Company." The Proprietors eagerly concurred in this opinion, and desired the Directors to convey to him "the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause." He embarked for England on the 1st of January, 1823.

In the grand work which Lord Hastings accomplished of consolidating the British empire, and, as the natives expressed it, "bringing all India under one umbrella," he exhibited talent of the highest order, though he may not stand on the same level of political genius with Warren Hastings or Lord Wellesley. His administration was made grateful to the inhabitants of the Mahomedan capital of India by restoring the canal which had been dry for sixty years, and giving them the blessing of pure water without a water cess. The improvement of Calcutta, devised by Lord Wellesley but which he was unable to complete in the last year of his government, was accomplished by Lord Hastings. The ventilation and the health of the town were promoted by opening a street through the centre sixty feet wide, and laying out squares with reservoirs of water; while the foreshore of the river, which was a disgraceful cesspool, was adorned with a noble embankment worthy of the "city of palaces."

Thanks of
the India
House.

Estimate of
his adminis-
tration.

No Governor-General ever laboured more assiduously in the performance of his duty. Though approaching the age of seventy, he was at his desk at four in the morning ; and in the fervid climate of Bengal, which is now considered insupportable since the means of escaping from it have been multiplied, he worked for seven years at the rate of seven and eight hours a day without a hill station to resort to, or even a sea-going steamer at his command.

Within two years of his return to Europe, Mr. Douglas ^{A.D.} Kinnaird brought forward a proposal in the Court of ¹⁸²⁴ Proprietors to make him a pecuniary grant befitting the greatness of his services. It served to disclose the strong current of rancour which ^{Debate at the India House.} underlay the crust of official compliment embodied in the tribute of "admiration, gratitude, and applause," which that Court had recently voted. The motion was met by an amendment, calling for all the papers connected with the transactions at Hyderabad. They occupied a thousand foolscap pages, and gave rise to a debate which, having all the relish of personality, was prolonged for six days, at the end of which time, Mr. Astell, the chairman of the Court of Directors, moved as an amendment to the original motion that, "while admitting that there was no ground "for imputing corrupt motives to the late Governor-General, the Court of Proprietors records its approbation "of all the despatches sent out by the Court of Directors." These despatches, four in number, charged Lord Hastings, among other misdemeanours, with having lent the Company's credit to the transactions at Hyderabad for the sole benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co., with proceedings which were without a parallel in the history of the East India Company, and with assuming to elude all check and control. The approbation of these despatches was, necessarily, the severest condemnation which could be passed on him, but the vote was carried by a majority of 212. Thus did the East India Company dismiss the man who had raised them to the pinnacle of greatness with the verdict that he was simply "not guilty of having acted "from corrupt motives." But the Company, princely beyond all other rulers in their munificence, were not superior to the influence of vulgar prejudices, and they now added another name to the roll of illustrious men—Clive, and Warren Hastings, and Lord Wellesley—whom they rewarded with ingratitude. Lord Hastings died at Malta on the 24th August, 1827, and in the succeeding

year the India House endeavoured to make some atonement for the vote of censure, and placed 20,000*l.* at the disposal of his family.

CHAPTER XI.

SECTION I.

LORD AMHERST—BURMESE WAR—BHURTPORE—BARRACKPORE MUTINY.

ON the receipt of Lord Hastings's resignation, the post of Governor-General was accepted by Mr. Canning, the late President of the Board of Control, but, on the eve of embarkation, the death of Lord Londonderry led to his appointment as foreign Secretary of State. Two candidates then appeared for this splendid office; Lord William Bentinck, who had been unjustly removed from Madras by the Court of Directors in the height of the Vellore panic, and who was pre-eminently qualified for it; and Lord Amherst, whose claim rested on his embassy to Peking, and the exemplary fortitude with which he had borne the arrogance of the Court. The preference was given to him, and he landed at Calcutta on the 1st August. During the interregnum, the government devolved on Mr. John Adam, the senior member of Council, a meritorious officer of considerable ability and experience, but totally disqualified for the highest post in the empire by the strength of his local partialities and prejudices. His brief administration of seven months is now remembered only by his persecution of the press. Mr. Buckingham had come out to Calcutta in 1818, and established the "Calcutta Journal," the ablest newspaper which had till then appeared in India. He availed himself of the freedom granted to the press by Lord Hastings, and commented on public measures with a degree of freedom which was considered politically dangerous. But the great offence of the journal consisted in the poignancy with which a little knot of wits in the service ridiculed the weaknesses

Mr. Canning
Governor-
General.

A.D.
1823 Lord
Amherst
Governor-
General.

Mr. Adam.

and follies of some of the leading members of the Govern-^{A.D.}ment. They had been nursed in the lap of despotism, and 1823 resented the sarcasms of the press. Mr. Adam had systematically opposed Lord Hastings's liberality to the press, and only waited for his departure to reverse it. Soon after taking office, therefore, he passed a stringent regulation which completely extinguished all freedom; and as Mr. Buckingham, instead of bending to the storm, which was too violent to last, continued to write with unmitigated severity, he was banished from the country and ruined.

Lord Amherst had no sooner assumed the government than he found himself involved in hostile discussions with the Burmese, which, in the course of five ^{Rise of the} months, resulted in a declaration of war. ^{Burmese.} The ultra-Gangetic kingdom of Burmah lies to the east of Bengal, from which it is separated by hills and forests, inhabited by various tribes of barbarians. Four years 1761 after the battle of Plassy, Alompra, a man of obscure birth, but cast in the same mould as Hyder Ali and Runjeet Sing, who had began his career with a hundred followers, established a new dynasty at Ava. Aggression and conquest became as usual the element of this new power. The province of Tenasserim was wrested from the Siamese, and the principality of Arracan, which was separated from the Company's territories only by the Teek Naaf, was annexed. More than 30,000 of its inhabitants were driven by the oppression of the Burmese officials to take refuge in the neighbouring districts of Chittagong, where they were settled on waste lands. The Burmese authorities repeatedly demanded their extradition, but the Governor-General steadily refused to deliver them up to a Government proverbial for its cruelty. The king of Ava, exasperated by our firmness, at length sent a rescript to Lord Hastings, demanding the surrender of the whole of eastern Bengal. "Those districts," he said, "do not belong to India—they are ours; if you continue to retain them, we will come and destroy your country." Lord Hastings treated the letter as a forgery, and enclosed it to the king. The course of aggression was continued without cessation, and in 1822, Maha Bundoola, the national hero, reduced 1822 the kingdom of Assam, which abutted on the Company's district of Rungpore, and then the principality of Muncie-pore, at no great distance from our eastern frontier. The dynasty of Alompra had thus, in sixty years, established

its authority over territories 800 miles in extent, stretching from the confines of Bengal to those of China. The uniform success of every enterprise had filled the Burmese court with an overweening conceit of its strength, and the evident indisposition of the English Government to engage in war with them inspired the whole nation with a desire to try conclusions with it in the field.

A.D. 1823 The immediate cause of the war was an arrogant demand made by the Burmese governor of Arracan for the surrender of the little island of Shahpooree, lying at the estuary of the Teek Naaf, on which a small guard had been posted. The Governor-General proposed a joint commission to investigate the question of right, to which the Burmese replied by sending 1,000 men who put a portion of the feeble detachment to the sword, and hoisted the Burmese flag. Lord Amherst immediately sent a force to dislodge them, and addressed a letter to the king stating that, however desirous he might be of remaining at peace, he must resort to force if such insults were repeated. The court of Ava was now confirmed in the conviction that the English dreaded an encounter with their troops, and Maha Bundoola was despatched with a large army to Arracan, with orders to expel them from Bengal, and to send the Governor-General to Ava bound in the golden fetters which he took with him. Lord Amherst, finding that every effort to maintain peace only served to increase the arrogance of the Burmese, issued a declaration of war in February.

1824 The Burmese were the most contemptible enemy with whom the British arms had come in contact. Their army was a wretched half-armed rabble, without either valour or discipline. Their weapons were simply swords and pikes of an inferior description, with a few muskets, and their chief defence lay in the admirable skill and rapidity with which they were able to construct stockades. At the commencement of the war the Government in Calcutta was profoundly ignorant of the resources, the military force, or even the topography of Burmah, and for the planning of the campaign depended on the advice of Captain Canning, who had acquired some knowledge of the country. He represented that the occupation of Rangoon, the great port of the Irrawaddy, would paralyze the Burmese authorities, and that provisions and draft cattle, as well as the means of building a flotilla to navigate the rivers, might be obtained in abun-

Origin of
the war.

Arrange-
ments of
the
campaign.

dance. The expedition was assembled in the spacious harbour of Port Cornwallis, in the largest of the Andaman islands, and consisted of about 11,000 troops, European and native, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served with distinction under the Duke in Spain. The fleet of transports was convoyed by three vessels of war, and by the *Diana*, a little steamer recently built in Calcutta, the first ever floated in eastern waters. The campaign opened inauspiciously. The defence of the frontier at Chittagong had been left to a small and inadequate force, and a weak detachment of 300 native infantry, under Captain Noton, with some local levies, held a post on the extreme boundary, a hundred miles from the nearest support. Maha Bundoola came down upon this little band with an army estimated at more than 10,000 men. The levies fled at the first onset, the sepoys maintained the conflict gallantly for three days with little food or rest, and were then constrained to retreat, and of the officers five were killed and three wounded.

The expedition arrived off Rangoon on the 12th of May, to the inexpressible surprise of the Burmese, who had never dreamt that the English, whom Bundoola had been sent to expel from Bengal, would venture to attack them in their own territories. The only defence of the town consisted of a teak stockade, with a battery of indifferent guns, which was silenced by the first broadside from the *Liffey*. The troops landed without opposition, but found the town deserted. The Governor had ordered the whole population, men, women, and children, to retire into the jungles with their provisions and cattle, and the order was implicitly obeyed. The British encampment was isolated; all local supplies were cut off, all hope of advancing to the capital, either by land or water, was extinguished, and Sir Archibald was obliged to confine his attention to the shelter of the troops during the rains. Within a week after the occupation of the town, they set in with extreme violence, the country around became a swamp, and malaria brought disease and death into the camp. The want of wholesome food rendered the condition of the troops still more deplorable. There was no lack of cattle around the town, which would have amply supplied their wants, but the Government in Calcutta had forbidden the commander to touch them, in deference to the Boodhist prejudices of the Burmese, and the European soldiers were condemned to starvation, that the cows might live. The army became

A.D.

1824

The army at
Rangoon.

dependent on supplies from Calcutta, then proverbial for the dishonesty of its contractors; the meat was putrescent, and the maggoty biscuits crumbled under the touch. The troops were left in this state of destitution for five months, owing to the culpable neglect of the commissariat department; and it was only through the prompt and indefatigable exertions of Sir Thomas Munro, the governor of Madras, that the army was preserved from annihilation; but the unhealthiness of the climate and the want of wholesome nourishment filled the hospitals, and of a body of 11,000 scarcely 3,000 remained fit for duty.

A.D. 1825 At the beginning of 1825, General Richards occupied the province of Assam without resistance. Under the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, two expeditions were also organized to enter Burmah by land, the one from the north through Cachar and Muneepore; the other, through Arracan, but both of them proved abortive. The Cachar force under Colonel Shuldhham, 7,000 strong, was enabled to advance by the road which the pioneers had opened with infinite labour to a position within ninety miles of Muneepore, but the country beyond it consisted of an unbroken succession of abrupt hills clothed to the summit with impenetrable forests, and dales rendered impassable by quagmires. The rains set in early, and as it was deemed impossible to transport the stores and artillery, and the appliances of civilized warfare through these impediments, the expedition was given up. The Arracan force was still more unfortunate. The commander, Colonel Morrison, was a king's officer of good repute, but he had a contempt for the officers of the Company's service who were acquainted with the nature of the country, and the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and rejected their advice. The army was three months marching 250 miles along the coast, and did not reach the capital of Arracan till it was too late to make any further advance. One-fourth of the force likewise fell victims to the climate, and two-thirds of the remainder were in hospitals. As an organized body, indeed, the army had ceased to exist; and on one occasion, when a wing of a regiment was ordered on parade, only one soldier appeared to answer to his name.

The king of Ava at length determined to collect the strength of his kingdom for one vigorous effort to expel the invaders, and Maha Bundoola was sent down with 60,000 men to Rangoon, and arrived in front of the British encampment on the 1st December. Within

1824 Second campaign.

a few hours, it was enveloped by stockades, which appeared to spring up one after another in rapid succession as if by the wand of an enchanter. But the Burmese, though skilful in fortifying their position, were unable to stand the shock of the British battalions, and, after sustaining two defeats, retired to Donabew, forty miles higher up the river. Sir Archibald Campbell, after having been idly encamped for nine months at Rangoon, and lost two months of the second season of operations, at length moved up towards the capital on the 13th February, in two columns, the one by land under his personal command; the other by the river under Brigadier Cotton. On coming abreast of Donabew, the Brigadier found that all the resources of the Burmese engineers had been employed in strengthening the fortifications, which stretched a mile along the bank, and were garrisoned by 12,000 men and 150 guns, such as they were. In his assault on the place, he was vigorously repulsed, and, as he had unwisely left one of his regiments in the rear, pronounced his force unequal to the capture of the place. Sir Archibald, who was considerably in advance, felt it necessary to retrace his steps to reinforce Brigadier Cotton, and another month was thus sacrificed. On the 1st April, a shower of shells and rockets was poured down on the fortified town of Donabew, and the next morning the whole of the Burmese army was observed to be in full retreat. On the preceding night Bundoola had been killed by the bursting of a shell, and with him expired the courage and spirit of the troops. No further resistance was offered to the expedition, and Prome was occupied without firing a shot; but as the rains were approaching, the campaign, which had lasted only ten weeks, during which the army had advanced 150 miles, was brought to a termination.

A.D.
1825

1825

The general proposed to stop at Prome and act on the defensive, though the extraordinary expenses of the war amounted to a lac of rupees a day; but Lord Amherst insisted on an immediate march to the capital as soon as the season permitted. At the same time, he urged the general to welcome any disposition the Burmese might evince for peace, and, the more effectually to secure it, associated the naval commander and Mr. Robertson, a Bengal civilian, in a commission with him, with Mr. Ross Mangles as secretary. The king, on being informed that the general was authorised to treat, sent envoys to ascertain the terms, who were informed that their master would be required to abstain from all inter-

Negotiations
for peace.

A.D. 1825
ference with Cachar or Assam, to recognise the independence of Munipore, to cede the provinces of Arracan and Tenasserim, to liberate all his prisoners, and pay two crores as a war indemnity. These terms the king rejected with great indignation, and a Burmese army of 40,000 men was sent down to Prome, but it was signally defeated and closely pursued. The negotiations were then resumed by the Burmese envoys, who waived every objection to the cession of territory, but withstood the pecuniary payment, on the score of poverty, with such importunity that the Commissioners were induced to curtail it by one half, and the treaty was signed on this basis on the 3rd January, and the ratification of it promised on the 18th, but it never came. The intermediate period had been employed in the fortification of Melown, opposite the British encampment. It was attacked on the 19th; all the guns, stores, and ammunition were captured, the camp was delivered to the flames, and the army resumed its march to the capital.

The king began now to tremble for his throne, and released two of his European prisoners, whom he sent to reopen the negotiations. They were informed that no severer terms would be exacted in consequence of their perfidious conduct at Melown, but that a fourth of the indemnity must be paid down at once. While the envoys were, however, on their return to Ava, the king determined to make one last effort to avert this humiliation, though he could not muster more than 16,000 troops. Sir Archibald had only 1,300 left under his command, but of these 900 were Europeans. The Burmese force was completely routed, and fled in disorder to the capital with the news of its own disgrace, and the English army advanced to Yandaboo, within forty miles of Ava. The king lost no time in sending the two American missionaries whom he had held for two years in cruel captivity, together with two of his own ministers, to accept whatever terms the Commissioners might dictate. They brought with them the first instalment of the indemnity, as well as the European captives, and the treaty was signed
Final engagement and peace.
1826 on the 24th February on the terms which had been previously proposed, with the addition that a British representative should reside at the court. Thus ended the first war the Company had waged beyond the limits of India, and it was also the most expensive in which they had as yet been engaged, and the least recuperative. It absorbed thirteen crores of rupees, and the return consisted of three thinly inhabited and impoverished provinces.

The Burmese war gave rise to another sepoy mutiny. A.D. 1824
 The native regiments from Bengal, owing to religious objections to a voyage by sea were directed to march down to Aracan along the coast. The disaster ^{Mutiny.} at Ramoo had diffused through the army a dread of the Burmese soldiers, who were represented as magicians, and the service was regarded with great antipathy. The Bengal sepoy had been accustomed to provide from their own pay for the transport of their baggage, but the public demand for draught cattle had exhausted the supply and doubled the price. The 47th regiment at Barrackpore, one of those warned for service, presented a respectful memorial setting forth the extreme difficulty of procuring the means of conveyance. The military chiefs, instead of investigating this just and reasonable representation, treated it as a token of contumacy, and the men were told that they were to expect no assistance from Government. Discontent ripened into insubordination; excited meetings were held in the cantonments; the sepoy rose in their demands and pledged one another not to march without a supply of cattle, and also an increase of pay. The Commander-in-Chief resolved to crush the spirit of mutiny by force, and two regiments of Europeans, the Governor-General's body guard, and a detachment of horse artillery were marched to Barrackpore and drawn up unperceived in the vicinity of the parade ground. The 47th was paraded and ordered to march forthwith, or to ground arms. The men stood still in a state of mute bewilderment, resolved not to yield, but making no attempt at resistance. A volley was discharged on them by the horse artillery, when they flung down their arms with a piercing shriek, and fled in dismay. The European troops then fired on them, and the body-guard sabred the fugitives. The slaughter on the ground and in the line of pursuit was very severe. The ringleaders were tried by court-martial and executed, and others were sent to work on the roads in irons. A court of enquiry was held which came to the decision that "the mutiny was an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so." When the corps had reached a state of positive mutiny, there was no alternative but military execution, but the Commander-in-Chief incurred a heavy responsibility by treating their legitimate representations with scorn.

Runjeet Sing, the Jaut chief of Bhurtpore, who had

baffled Lord Lake in 1805, was succeeded by his son in 1823 on whose death without issue the principality devolved on his brother. He applied to Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi to recognise his son, a child of six years, as his successor, and he received investiture under the express orders of the Government. About a twelvemonth after, on the death of his father, he was placed on the throne under the guardianship of his maternal uncle. Before a month had elapsed Doorjun Sal, the nephew of the deceased raja, a wild and impetuous youth, put the regent to death, placed his cousin in confinement, and seized on the Government. Sir David, acting on his own responsibility, issued a proclamation calling upon all the Jauts to rally round their lawful sovereign, and ordered a force of 16,000 men and 100 guns into the field to support his rights and vindicate the authority of the Company's Government. Lord Amherst disapproved of this proceeding and considered it imprudent while engaged in a conflict with the Burmese to embark in a new war, and to incur the risk of a second failure before Bhurtpore.

A.D. 1825 A disposition had for some time existed in high quarters in Calcutta to remove the veteran Resident from his post, and in the hope of provoking his voluntary resignation the views of Government commanding him to recall his proclamation and to countermand the troops were communicated to him in a very imperious tone. He replied with great, and perhaps undue, warmth, and having given effect to the orders of Government, tendered his resignation. This ungenerous treatment broke his heart. He felt himself disgraced in the eyes of the native princes and of the public service, and retiring to Meerut died within two months, after an illustrious career of half a century. He was one of the brightest ornaments of the Company's service, equally eminent in the cabinet and in the field, a man born for high command and fitted to strengthen the power and sustain the dignity of Great Britain in India.

While the army was assembling, Doorjun Sal manifested a spirit of humble submission and professed to be satisfied with the regency, but as soon as the troops were countermanded, he assumed a higher tone and claimed the throne for himself, and prevailed on the chiefs of his tribe to support his pretensions. The little success we had obtained in the Burmese war, had, as on all similar occasions, affected our prestige, and the latent feeling of disaffection to the rule of foreigners

Proceedings
in Council.

A.D.
1825

began again to manifest itself in the native community. The cause of Doorjun Sal became popular when it was known that he intended to enter the lists with the Company's Government. Rajpoots, Jauts, Mahrattas, Afghans, and not a few of our native subjects crowded to his standard, and an army of 25,000 men was speedily collected for the defence of the place. All the members of Council concurred in opinion that in these circumstances we were bound in honour and policy to support the cause of the youth we had invested with the purple against the usurper, but Lord Amherst still continued to hesitate. Happily Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived at Calcutta at this juncture on his way to Delhi as the successor of Sir David, and in a masterly minute pointed out that as the paramount state in India, we could not be indifferent spectators of anarchy therein without ultimately giving up the country again to the pillage and confusion from which we had rescued it; that a vigorous exercise of our power would be likely to bring back the minds of men to a proper tone, and that the capture of Bhurtpore, if effected in a glorious manner, would do us more honour by removing the hitherto unfaded impression created by our former failure than any other event that could be conceived. Lord Amherst gracefully surrendered his opinion to that of Sir Charles, and it was resolved, if remonstrance with Doorjun failed, to resort to arms.

To the astonishment of the princes of India who believed that the Burmese war had absorbed all the resources of Government, an army of 20,000 men with 100 heavy ordnance and mortars suddenly sprung up in the midst of them. Throughout India it was remembered that Bhurtpore was the only fortress which the British Government had besieged and failed to capture, and the eyes of all India were fixed upon the second siege, not perhaps, without a latent hope that it might be as unsuccessful as the first. The head-quarters of Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, were established before it on the 10th December. Thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance played upon the mud walls for many days without making any impression or creating a practicable breach. A great mine was at length completed, and charged with 10,000 pounds of powder. The explosion took place on the 18th January, and seemed to shake the foundations of the earth, while enormous masses of hardened earth and blocks of timber, mingled with

1826

A.D. 1826 heads, legs and arms, were sent flying into the air, and the sky was darkened with volumes of smoke and dust. Of the usurper's army, 6,000 were said to have fallen during the siege and the casualties on the side of the English were about 1,000. Doorjun Sal endeavoured to make his escape, but was captured and sent to join the assemblage of disinherited princes at Benares, where he passed twenty-five years on an allowance of 500 rupees a month. The boy raja was then placed on the throne by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Combermere, but the laurels of Bhurtpore were tarnished by the rapacity of the military authorities. The siege was undertaken to expel a usurper, and restore the lawful prince to his rights, but the whole of the state jewels and treasure was seized by the victors to the extent of forty-eight lacs of rupees, and divided among themselves as prize-money, Lord Combermere appropriating six lacs to himself. The proud walls which had bid defiance to the hero of Delhi and Laswaree were levelled with the ground. The capture of the fort produced a profound sensation, as Sir Charles Metcalfe had predicted, throughout India; and, combined with the submission of Burmah, dissolved the sanguine hopes of the disaffected, and restored the prestige of the Company. Lord Amherst was advanced to the dignity of an earl, not of Bhurtpore, his brightest achievement, but of Aracan, the most disastrous of his expeditions.

1823 The financial result of his administration was calamitous.
to The wealth left in the treasury by Lord Hastings was
1828 dissipated, the annual surplus turned into a
Finances. deficit, and an addition of ten crores made to
the public debt. On his arrival, and while new to the
country and the community, he was led by the superior
The press. officers of Government to continue those truculent proceedings against the press which they had originated; but it was not long before he adopted a more generous policy, and on his departure was complimented by the journals in Calcutta "on the liberality and
"even magnanimity with which he had tolerated the free
"expression of public opinion on his own individual
"measures, when he had the power to silence them with a
"stroke of his pen." He embarked for England in February, and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, the senior member of Council, assumed charge of the Government.

SECTION II.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY OPERATIONS—NATIVE STATES—RUNJEET SING.

THE stigma unjustly inflicted on Lord William Bentinck's character by his abrupt removal from the Government of Madras in 1806, was at length effaced by his appointment to the office of Governor-General. ^{Lord} ^{William} ^{Bentinck.} He was sworn in at the India House in July 1827, while his relative, Mr. Canning, who had promoted his nomination, was prime minister; but his lamented death soon after brought into power those who had opposed his elevation, and Lord William Bentinck suspended his departure till he was assured that the new ministry did not object to his appointment; hence he did not reach Calcutta before the 4th July, 1828. With his advent commenced a new and beneficent era in the history of the Company, marked by a bold and energetic improvement in the institutions of the state, although his administration did not open under favourable circumstances. ^{Reduction of} ^{allowances.} The Burmese war had not only saddled the treasury with an additional debt of ten crores, but created an annual deficit of a crore of rupees, and Lord William ¹⁸²⁸ Bentinck was constrained to enter upon the unpopular duty of retrenchment. Two committees were appointed to investigate the increase of expenditure, and to suggest the means of curtailing it. The sweeping reductions which the Court of Directors had already made in the strength of the army, left little for the military committee to suggest, except the diminution of individual allowances, though they were in no case excessive, and, in many cases, inadequate. The civil department afforded a more legitimate field for revision; some offices were abolished, a few were doubled up, and the income of others was curtailed; but the total reductions did not affect the aggregate allowances of the service to a greater extent than six per cent. It was still the best paid service in the world, in the enjoyment of an annual income of ninety lacs, which divided, as it was, among 416 officers, gave each of the members an average allowance of 20,000 rupees a year; but even the moderate contraction of allowances suggested by the committee and adopted by Lord William Bentinck, subjected him to indignities which severely taxed his habitual equanimity.

Of these economical measures, none excited so much bitterness of feeling as the half batta order. Soon after the beginning of the century the supplementary allowance of full batta was granted to the officers when in cantonments in the lower provinces. The Court of Directors objected to the arrangement, and directed Lord Hastings, and subsequently Lord Amherst, to reduce the amount by one half, but they referred the order back to England for reconsideration, when it was repeated in a more peremptory tone. The latest despatch reached Calcutta soon after the arrival of Lord William, and in obedience to the Court's orders, he issued a notification in November, reducing the allowance one half at all stations within 400 miles of Calcutta. The order raised a flame in the army which at one time created the apprehension of a fourth European mutiny. One officer went so far as to assert that if an enemy were to make his appearance in the field, he did not believe there was a single officer who would give the order to march, or a single regiment which would obey it. The insults inflicted on the Governor-General by the officers of the army rivalled those of the civil service, and were more severe than any of his predecessors had ever experienced. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, prevented the organisation of representative committees, as in the mutiny of 1796, but he did not hesitate to pronounce the order unjust; and the Court of Directors declared that they would have superseded him if he had not resigned the service. Lord William Bentinck also considered the order unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic, but he felt that it was beyond his power to suspend the execution of it after the Court of Directors had, for the third time, insisted upon its being carried into effect, without assuming that the Government in Calcutta was the supreme power in the empire. The Court of Directors denounced the tone of the memorials presented to them by the officers as subversive of all military discipline, and, with the full concurrence of the Duke of Wellington, signified their determination to enforce the order at all hazards; indeed, considering the pass at which matters had arrived, they had no other alternative. But the reduction was an egregious blunder; and it appears strange that so astute a body as the Directors should have risked the attachment and confidence of their army for a paltry saving of less than two lacs a year; and it is still more surprising that for the thirty years in which they continued

A. D.
1828

to administer the Government, they had not the magnanimity to rescind the order, even as a graceful acknowledgment of the services subsequently performed by the army in twenty hard-fought battles.

The native princes had always been in the habit of making grants of land to individuals and to ecclesiastical establishments free from the payment of rent. ^{Rent free} Some of these religious endowments and grants ^{tenures.} to charities were held sacred by superstitious chiefs, but in numerous instances they were resumed, both in the Deccan and in Hindostan, on each succession to the throne, and sometimes during the same reign. In the confusion created by the dissolution of the Mogul power, this royal prerogative was usurped by the governors of provinces. On assuming the management of the revenue the Government in Calcutta announced that all grants made previous to 1765 should be deemed valid; but, as there was no register of them, the rajas, zemindars, farmers, and revenue officers, set to work to fabricate and antedate new deeds, and it was subsequently asserted that a tenth of the land revenues had thus been alienated from the state during the infancy of our Government. The revenue settlement of Lord Cornwallis reserved the right of resuming these tenures when their validity had been investigated and disallowed. The overworked collector to whom the duty of the investigation was committed, found himself thwarted at every step by his own mercenary officers, who were in the pay of the occupants; he became lukewarm in the work, and it was necessary either to abandon the pursuit of this lost revenue, or to adopt more effectual measures to recover it. Three weeks before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, a regulation was passed, appointing commissioners selected from the ablest men in the service, to hear and finally to determine appeals regarding these tenures from the decisions of the collectors, who were thus stimulated into greater activity. These energetic proceedings gave great offence to those affected by them, who pleaded, and not without reason, that the difficulty of substantiating their claims had increased with the lapse of time, that many documents had disappeared by the effects of the climate and the ravages of white ants, and that lands which might have been fraudulently obtained several generations back, had since been bought *bonâ fide* at high prices. Though the holders were in no cases dispossessed, but simply required to pay rent to the state, the assessment of their

A.D.
1828

lands brought great unpopularity on the Government. The legal machinery of investigation cost about eighty lacs of rupees, and the increase of revenue amounted to about thirty lacs a year.

The political and military events of Lord William Bentinck's administration were of minor importance compared with those of previous and subsequent periods, when thrones and dynasties were overthrown, and the map of India was reconstructed.

The Cole
Insurrec-
tion.

The Cole insurrection however, involved operations of some magnitude. The Coles, Dangars, Santals, and other tribes in the south-west of Bengal who are believed to have been the aborigines of the country, generally retained their independence, except where it had been encroached upon by Rajpoot zemindars, who endeavoured to improve their receipts by substituting a more industrious class of cultivators for these lazy barbarians. The introduction of these men created a strong feeling of discontent, which was augmented by the insolence and rapacity of the Bengal officials who flocked into the province. In 1832, the Coles rose in large numbers, laid waste the fields of the zemindars, burnt down their villages, and put more than a thousand of their men to death, before it was possible to assemble troops. Armed as they were only with bows and arrows and axes, they were easily overcome, and there was much unnecessary slaughter. In the neighbouring district it became necessary to send four regiments into the field before the insurrection was trodden out. The rising was not however without benefit to the people. It induced Lord William Bentinck to relieve them from the incubus of the Company's code and judicial institutions, and to turn the district into a non-regulation province, and place it under the especial control of a commissioner.

A.D.
1832

1831

Another insurrection occurred within fifteen miles of Government House in Calcutta. Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan reformer and fanatic, whose name will come up again hereafter, collected numerous followers in lower Bengal, and more particularly in the suburban district of Baraset. Their bigoted intolerance to those of their own creed, whom they deemed heterodox, and their hostility to Hindoo heretics created a feeling of general animosity, and some of the Hindoo zemindars inflicted heavy penalties on them. They appealed to the magistrates, but the dilatoriness of judicial forms exhausted their patience; and, under the guidance of one Teetoo

Insurrection
of Teetoo
Meer.

Meer, a Mahomedan mendicant, they proclaimed a *jehad*, or religious war. They defiled a temple with the blood of a cow, and forced its flesh down the throats of the brahmins, and then proceeded to burn down villages and factories, and to erect stockades. In the peaceful province of Bengal, which had not seen the smoke of an enemy's camp for more than seventy years, it was found necessary to call out two regiments of infantry and a body of horse, and some guns. Their stockade, in which they defended themselves for an hour, was captured, and the insurrection was quenched in their blood.

The administration of the most pacific of Governors-General could not escape the "inevitable tendency" of the empire to enlarge its boundary, but the addition to the Company's dominions during the administration of Lord William Bentinck was so

Annexation
of Cachar
and Coorg.

insignificant as to escape observation and censure. The chief of the little principality of Cachar in the hills to the north-east of Bengal was murdered in 1832, and amidst the anarchy which ensued the people implored the protectorate of the British Government which Lord William Bentinck did not hesitate to extend to them. This unnoticed nook in the great empire has since acquired a commercial value by the expenditure of a crore of rupees of private capital in tea plantations, for which its position and soil are highly favourable. The principality of Coorg lies on the Malabar coast between Mysore and the sea, and comprises an area of about 1,500 square miles, no portion of which is less than 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. Its chivalrous raja had defended it with so much gallantry against the overwhelming force of Tippoo as to gain the applause of Lord Cornwallis, and also of Lord Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword, which was preserved with pride among the heir-looms of the family. But his successor in 1820 exhibited an example of tyranny and cruelty rarely exceeded by the most atrocious of native princes. On coming to the throne he put to death all who had thwarted his views, and to prevent the possibility of being superseded directed all his kinsmen to be taken into the jungles and decapitated. He never scrupled to take the life of any who became obnoxious to him. He likewise manifested a peculiar hatred of the British Government, and as he strictly interdicted the entry of any Englishmen into the province, his atrocities were concealed from observation. In 1832, however, his

A.D.
1832

A.D.
1834

sister and her husband escaped for their lives, and revealed his barbarities to the Resident in Mysore, who proceeded to his capital and endeavoured, but in vain, to bring him to reason. He addressed letters of extraordinary insolence to the governor of Madras, and even to the Governor-General, while he organized his little force to resist the British authorities. Lord William Bentinck, finding him deaf to every remonstrance, resolved to treat him as a public enemy, and issued a proclamation recounting his cruelties, and announcing that he had ceased to reign. A force of 6,000 men entered the country in four divisions, in different directions, and after penetrating its intricate and perilous defiles, planted the British standard on the ramparts of the capital, Mercara, in April 1832. The country was at once annexed to the Company's territories, and has now been covered with coffee plantations by British enterprise.

The political policy of Lord William Bentinck was at first regulated by that principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of native states which was still in favour in Leadenhall Street. In his minute on the Bhurtpore crisis, in 1826, Sir Charles Metcalfe had placed on record that "having become the paramount power in India we were the supreme guardians of general law, tranquillity and right." The Court of Directors lost no time in repudiating this doctrine, and laid positive and repeated injunctions on the Government of India to abstain from all interference with the native princes beyond what was necessary to secure the punctual payment of their respective tributes. The Government was thus placed in the invidious position of a strong and inexorable creditor instead of a beneficent guardian of peace. Lord William, however, frequently found it impossible to avoid interposing his imperial authority to frustrate the projects of usurpation, to repress internal anarchy, and to promote harmony between prince and people. His political policy, therefore, presents the appearance of vacillation, and is certainly the least satisfactory portion of his administration.

On the construction of the kingdom of Mysore, the administration was placed in the hands of the renowned brahmin Poornea, the great minister of Hyder Ali and Tippoo, and his authority was supported by the invaluable assistance of some of the most experienced of the Company's officers. The country

Mysore raja's
misgovern-
ment.

flourished, and, in the course of ten years, a surplus of two crores was accumulated in the treasury; but the raja, under the influence of his minions and his flatterers proclaimed his majority, when he attained his sixteenth year, dismissed Poornea, and took the administration into his own hands. The Resident reported that he was utterly unfitted for the government by the weakness of his character and his entire subservience to the influence of favourites. The administration steadily deteriorated for twenty years; all the accumulations of Poornea were dissipated; the government became venal and corrupt; the highest offices were put up to sale; crown lands were alienated, and the subjects were crushed by new and grievous taxation. The people at length took up arms, and in 1830 one half the kingdom was in a state of insurrection. Adventurers from all parts joined the insurgents, and the peace of the Deccan, not excepting the Company's territories, was placed in extreme jeopardy. It became necessary to send a large force into the field; but at the same time a friendly proclamation was issued, inviting the people to come in peaceably and represent their grievances to the British officers, with the assurance that they would be redressed if they were found to be real. The natives had full confidence in them, and the insurrection died out.

A.D.
1830

The Governor-General then informed the raja that, though tranquillity was for the present restored, he could not allow the name and the influence of the British Government to be identified with these acts of misrule; and that, in order to prevent their recurrence, and to save the Mysore state from ruin, he deemed it necessary to place the entire administration of the country in the hands of British officers, paying over to the raja, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, about four lacs a year and a fifth of the net revenue, which, under more honest management, would be equal to about a lac and a half more. Lord William Bentinck was soon after led to believe from the report of the court of enquiry he had appointed, that the grievances had been somewhat overstated, and he proposed to retain in perpetuity only a sufficient portion of the territory to meet the subsidy, and to restore the remainder to the raja, on the simple condition that the Government should be at liberty to resume this portion if it appeared necessary for the public benefit. The Court of Directors, however, who had entirely approved of all his proceedings, refused to sanction this

Management
of Mysore
taken over.

1832

proposal, and asserted that the assumption of the whole country was justified by the treaty, and essential to the welfare of the people.

The non-intervention policy was peculiarly unfortunate for the two Rajpoot states of Joudpore and Jeypore, where the turbulent habits of the feudal nobility rendered the interposition of a paramount power indispensable to the public tranquillity. Mar. Sing, the raja of Joudpore, had been deposed by his chiefs before the Pindaree war on the ground of his insanity, real or feigned, but had recovered his power if not his reason in 1821, and began to wreak his vengeance on them. They appealed to the Government in Calcutta, but without success, and then brought an army of 7,000 men against the capital. The raja appealed in his turn to Lord William Bentinck, who felt the necessity of interposing his authority to prevent the kindling of war in Rajpootana, and the Resident was ordered to restore concord between the parties, which he effected with a stroke of his pen. But the insane violence of the raja broke out again; he not only oppressed his subjects, but gave encouragement to the robber tribes of the desert, and refused to apprehend Thugs, or to surrender malefactors. A large army was ordered to Joudpore to bring him to reason. The Rahtores, the designation of the tribe, were accustomed to boast in their ballads of "the hundred thousand swords" with which they had supported the throne of Akbar; but the Joudpore envoy now enquired what occasion there could be for an army when a single messenger would have been sufficient to convey the commands of the Governor-General. Every demand was at once conceded.

A.D.
1834

During the minority of the raja of Jeypore, his mother acted as regent, and resigned herself to the counsels of one Jotaram, a banker. The haughty barons expelled him from the post of minister, and installed one of their own body, Byree Sal; but the regent ranee obtained the permission of Sir David Ochterlony to recall him. The nobles resented this proceeding, and a civil war appeared inevitable, when Sir C. Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir David, proceeded to Jeypore, and convened a general meeting of the chiefs, and gathered from their discussions that the majority of them were favourable to the queen mother, when he confirmed her authority, with leave to choose her own minister. Jotaram became again the head of the administration, but the revenues were

misappropriated, the troops unpaid, and the nobles pursued with vindictiveness. An appeal was made to Lord William Bentinck to terminate the disorders of the state by the supreme authority of the Company's Government, but he declined to interfere. Soon after the ranee died, and her death was speedily followed by that of her son, not without suspicion of poison, and the general indignation against Jotaram became so intense that he retired from the capital, and levied an army. Lord William Bentinck had by this time quitted the Government, and his successor accepted the guardianship of the infant heir, and despatched a political agent to the capital, who was A.D. 1835 just in time to prevent a battle between the party of the exasperated nobles and of the banker. An attempt was made to massacre the agent; he was attacked and wounded as he left the durbar and barely escaped with his life, but his assistant fell under the swords of the assassins. To prevent the recurrence of this anarchy, a more stringent control was established over the affairs of the court.

In 1818 Lord Hastings assumed the prerogative of conferring the title of an independent king upon the nabob Vizier of Oude, which released him from the Affairs of Oude. necessity of doing homage to any member of the imperial family who happened to reside at Lucknow, even in the most indigent circumstances. The king who was seated on the throne during Lord William Bentinck's administration, had been brought up in the zenana, and his ideas were puerile and effeminate, and his life was devoted to indulgence. The resident, Sir Herbert Maddock, represented the country to be in a state of abject wretchedness; there was no security for life and property, and scarcely a day passed in which an attack was not made on the forts of the zemindars, who seldom paid their rents without compulsion. Lord William himself travelled through the country, and saw nothing but desolation and decay. He considered that, as we protected the king from the indignation of his oppressed people, it was our bounden duty to protect the inhabitants from the abuses of the Government. 1831 In a communication to the king in 1831, he insisted on the adoption of reforms, and distinctly assured him that if he continued to withhold them the entire management of the country would be taken out of his hands, and a sufficient annuity assigned to him for the support of his royal family and court.

In anticipation of this remonstrance, the king recalled

Hakim Menhdy, whom he had dismissed, and reappointed him prime minister. This extraordinary man, the son of a Persian gentleman at Shiraj, had emigrated to India in search of political employment and entered the service of Oude, in which he rapidly rose to distinction. He identified the prosperity of his adopted country with his own happiness, and devoted his splendid talents to the improvement of the administration, though thwarted at every step by the vices of his sovereign. Lord William Bentinck pronounced him one of the ablest men in India, and as a revenue administrator unsurpassed by any officer, European or native. He had gradually amassed a princely fortune, which he expended with more than princely liberality; and there was no portion of Hindostan which had not experienced his generosity. On assuming the Government he introduced important reforms, and had the courage to retrench the profligate expenditure of the zenana, and to curtail the allowances of the parasites of the court. But he was too radical a reformer for the meridian of Oude, and as Lord William Bentinck hesitated to support his authority against the wishes of the king, who was offended, he said, because he had not spoken with sufficient respect of his mother, and had insulted the portrait of his father, he resigned his post and retired into the British territories. In reference to the condition of Oude, the Court of Directors had justly remarked that, "it was the British Government which, by a systematic suppression of all attempts at resistance, had prolonged the misrule which became permanent when the short-sightedness and rapacity of a semi-barbarous Government was armed with the military strength of a civilised one." In reply to Lord William's representation of the miserable condition of the country, the Court of Directors authorized him at once to assume the government, if circumstances should appear to render it necessary. Lord William, who was on the eve of leaving India, communicated the substance of these instructions to the king, intimating that the execution of them would be suspended in the hope of his adopting the necessary reforms. But the reforms never came, and the orders were carried into execution twenty years after.

A. D.
1832

1834

The interview of Lord William Bentinck with Runjeet Sing is one of the most remarkable events in his administration; but, before alluding to it, it is necessary to continue the narrative of his progress after

Progress of
Runjeet
Sing.

the check he received from Mr. Metcalfe in 1809. Conquest was the one object of his life, and his attention was directed solely to the improvement of his army and the accumulation of treasure, to the comparative neglect of the civil administration. At the close of the rains his army was assembled for some expedition with the regularity of the seasons. This incessant warfare was exactly suited to the martial character of the Sikh population, whom it furnished with congenial occupation and with the means of acquiring distinction and wealth. The prospect of glory and plunder were the two chief elements of their fidelity to their chief. He commenced the formation of battalions on the model of the Company's army, and by incessant attention to their drill, which he superintended in person, converted his raw troops into an efficient force, which he provided with an admirable artillery.

After the subjugation of all the independent Sikh chieftains in the Punjab, he entered into a convention with Futteh Khan, the vizier of Cabul, for a joint ^{His con-} expedition to Cashmere; but the vizier anti- ^{quests.} A.D.
1817 pated his movements, and, having obtained possession of the province by his own unaided efforts, refused to resign any portion of it to Runjeet, who requited him by the surreptitious seizure of Attock on the Indus, during his absence. This led to a battle, in which Futteh Khan was defeated, and the Sikh authority was permanently extended to the banks of the river. In 1818 Runjeet Sing obtained possession of the province of Mooltan, and taking advantage of the murder of Futteh Khan, the vizier, whose talents 1818 and energy had alone kept the Afghan monarchy from dissolution, seized upon Peshawur, the capital of eastern Afghanistan, but was speedily driven from it. This disappointment was, however, compensated soon after by the acquisition of Cashmere, and two years later of the Derajat, 1819 a strip of territory about 300 miles in length, lying on the right bank of the Indus, and stretching down to the confines of Sinde.

In March 1822, Colonels Allard and Ventura, two 1822 of the French officers of the army of Napoleon who had left Europe on the restoration of the Bourbons and obtained employment in Persia, made their way to Lahore and, after some hesitation, were received into the service of Runjeet Sing. The Sikh soldiery, previously distinguished by their courage, their national enthusiasm, and their religious animation, received Arrival of
French
officers.

from these officers and from Generals Court and Avitabile, who followed them, the benefit of European tactics and discipline, and became more effective and formidable than the battalions which De Boigne had raised for Sindia, and Raymond for the Nizam.

In March 1823 Runjeet Sing proceeded with an army of 23,000 men to establish his authority in Peshawur, but the Eusufzie highlanders proclaimed a religious war against the infidel Sikhs, and 5,000 of them rushed down from their mountains and completely defeated them. Fresh troops were brought up, and Runjeet eventually remained master of the field, and sacked Peshawur. This battle is memorable from the fact that a body of mountaineers, wild with religious enthusiasm, succeeded in baffling the efforts of four times their number of well trained and disciplined troops. The province was left in the hands of Yar Mahomed, the hostile brother of the ruler of Cabul, on condition of his paying tribute. Four years after, the peace of the country was disturbed by Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan fanatic, who had been a petty cavalry officer in the service of Ameer Khan, the Patan freebooter, and on the dissolution of his army, turned religious reformer, pretended to have visions from heaven, and succeeded in raising a flame of fanaticism among his co-religionists. Reference has already been made to his visit to Calcutta, from whence he proceeded to Mecca, the fountain of Mahomedan enthusiasm, and returning to India with more excited feelings, entered Afghanistan, where he proclaimed a holy war against the infidels, and raised the green flag of Islam, but was defeated by Runjeet Sing's disciplined troops, and obliged to fly. He returned in 1830, and obtained possession of the province of Peshawur. Elated with his success, he proclaimed himself Caliph, and struck coin in the name of "Ahmed the first, the Defender of the Faith," but his assumption and his arbitrary proceedings disgusted his followers, who expelled him from the province, and he was overtaken by the Sikh troops and put to death in May 1831.

In 1827 Lord Amherst took up his residence at the sanitarium of Simla, which lies within 150 miles of Lahore, and Runjeet Sing embraced the opportunity of sending him a complimentary mission, with a magnificent tent of shawls for the king of England which he presented on his return. Runjeet Sing had an extraordinary passion for horses, and Lord Ellen-

A. D.
1823

Battle of
Noushera.

1830

Lord Am-
herst and
Runjeet.

borough, then President of the Board of Control, determined to present him in return for the shawl tent with a team of English dray-horses. The Indus was at the time not much better known than in the days of Alexander the Great; and instead of despatching the cattle by the ordinary route through Bengal and Hindostan, Lord Ellenborough resolved that they should be sent up the Indus, with the view of exploring the river, and, if possible, forming friendly relations with the chiefs on its banks. On the arrival of the horses at Bombay, Sir John Malcolm, the governor, selected Lieutenant—afterwards Sir Alexander—Burnes to conduct the mission. At the mouth of the Indus he entered the territory of Sinde, the Ameers of which had always treated the English agents with hostility; and, as they considered his arrival an event of evil omen, subjected him to great indignity, and twice constrained him to retire from the country. They were induced at length to grant him the means of transport, and he reached the confines of the Punjab, through which he was escorted with great pomp, and at the court was received with great courtesy. When the letter from Lord Ellenborough was presented to Runjeet Sing, a royal salute was fired from each of sixty pieces of cannon, and Lieutenant Burnes was treated with distinguished honour as long as he remained at the court. He then proceeded to Simla where Lord William Bentinck was residing, and submitted to him the result of his researches regarding the commerce, politics, and military resources of Sinde and the other states on the Indus. He was directed to return to Bombay through Afghanistan, Balkh, and Bokhara.

A. D.
1831

The power of Runjeet Sing had been steadily increasing for twenty years. Including the contingents of his jageerdars, his army consisted of 80,000 men, animated with the success of a dozen campaigns, and in part disciplined and commanded by European officers. His artillery consisted of 376 guns and an equal number of swivels. His annual revenue was estimated at two crores and a half, and the vaults of his treasury contained ten crores. Though unable to read or write, he fully comprehended the papers in Persian, Punjabee, and Pushtoo, read to him by his able secretaries, who were in attendance upon him day and night, and to whom he dictated replies. But, though he had reached the summit of power he never arrogated the title of an independent sovereign, but was content to be considered simply as the

Resources of
Runjeet
Sing.

head of the Khalsa or Sikh commonwealth, a name regarded with a feeling of superstitious devotion by the chiefs and soldiers. He considered it a matter of importance to secure for his throne and dynasty the strength which a close alliance with the British Government could not fail to impart; and Lord William Bentinck, on his side, deemed it politic to demonstrate to the princes of India, who began to regard the progress of a native power under Runjeet Sing with hope, that a feeling of cordiality existed between the two states; and a meeting was accordingly arranged to be held at Roopur, on the banks of the Sutlej.

This assembly was the most brilliant in which the representative of the Company had ever taken a part. Lord William Bentinck, like Lord Cornwallis, was distinguished for the simplicity of his habits, and his dislike of the pageantry of power; but he considered it important to give *éclat* to this political meeting in the eyes of India by the grandeur of its display. He descended from Simlah to Roopur on the 22nd October, and Runjeet Sing arrived at the opposite bank of the river three days after with a magnificent court, and 10,000 of his best horse and 6,000 select infantry. The next day he crossed the river on a bridge of boats, preceded and followed by his chiefs mounted on elephants decked in gorgeous housings, while a body of 4,000 horse whom he had brought with him by way of caution, formed the wings of the procession. Presents of every variety and of the most costly description had been collected by the Governor-General from all parts of India, sufficient to efface the memory of the dray-horses. Runjeet Sing scrutinized every article with the curiosity of a child, and saw it carefully packed up and delivered to his master of the jewel office. The following day the Governor-General returned the visit; the scene was one of extraordinary splendour; the Sikh encampment exceeded in magnificence anything which had been seen in India since the days of Aurungzebe, and realised the highest conceptions of oriental grandeur.

A.D.
1831

The frank manners of Runjeet Sing, his free enquiries and lively conversation, gave an air of ease to ceremonials which were usually stately and stiff. He called up and paraded his favourite horses before Lord William Bentinck, and recounted their names and virtues with much animation. In their company was also brought up one of the dray-horses, as if to contrast his huge and shaggy legs with their elegant limbs. A week was passed in displays,

entertainments, and reviews, recalling to mind the days of Mogul magnificence, and the parties separated with a mutual appreciation of each other's power.

Runjeet Sing had long been eager to add Sinde to his dominions, and to obtain possession of Shikarpore, a commercial mart on the right bank of the Indus, of such magnitude and importance that the bills of ^{Treaty with} Sinde.

its bankers passed current from Calcutta to Astrakhan. During the meeting he sounded the secretaries on the subject of a joint expedition, hinting that, according to Lieutenant Burnes, the treasury contained twenty crores, and that the army was very feeble. But Lord William Bentinck had already deputed Colonel Pottinger to endeavour to conclude a commercial treaty with the Ameers. They were exceedingly reluctant to form any connection at all with the Company, lest the factory should, as elsewhere, grow into a fortress. They yielded at length to the importunity of the Colonel, but in the treaty of commerce they signed caused it to be stipulated "that the contracting parties should never look with an eye of covetousness "on the possessions of each other." Within eleven years Sinde was a British province.

A. D.
1832

SECTION III.

LORD W. BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATION—ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS—CHARTER OF 1833—SIR C. METCALE.

THE lustre of Lord William Bentinck's administration is derived from his bold and enlightened reforms, his intrepid philanthropy, and his efforts to promote material progress, in which he far surpassed all his predecessors. For thirty years the local government had been engaged, with no encouragement from England, in establishing British supremacy and consolidating the empire, and it remained to endow it with improved and beneficial institutions. No substantial effort had been made since the days of Lord Cornwallis to improve them, and they had become in a great measure effete. For the work of reformation Lord William Bentinck was particularly qualified, by the clearness of his views, his freedom from traditional prejudices, and his inflexible resolution. His administration therefore forms one of the great landmarks in the history of British India.

The current of civil justice was blocked up by the provincial courts, which Lord William Bentinck described as "resting places for those members of the service who were deemed fit for no higher responsibilities." With some exceptions, the judicial character of the judges was contemptible, while their discordant judgments in appeal only served to bewilder the judges of the courts subordinate to them. With regard to criminal justice, their agency was a national grievance. The judges went on circuit to hold sessions and gaol delivery twice a year, and the accused were kept in confinement for months before they were brought to trial, while the prosecutors and witnesses were detained throughout this period at their own expense. Under such circumstances, it is of course no matter of surprise that the daroga who came down to institute enquiries was considered by the natives "the messenger of death," and that the concealment of crime became the one object of solicitude throughout the country.

A.D. 1831 The provincial courts.

Lord William earned the gratitude of the country by abolishing a class of tribunals which combined three of the worst vices of law—delay, expense, and uncertainty. The duties of the session were transferred to the judge of the district, who was to hold a gaol delivery every month. A separate Sudder, or chief court, was also established in the North-West provinces, and the natives of Delhi were no longer obliged to travel a thousand miles to Calcutta to prosecute an appeal. A corresponding boon was also conferred on these provinces by the erection of a board of revenue at Allahabad, which placed the control of the revenue of twenty-three millions of people in the midst of them. The value of these improvements was incalculably enhanced by conferring on the natives the great blessing of the use of their own vernacular tongue in all the courts, civil, fiscal, and criminal, to which they were amenable, in lieu of the Persian, which had been adopted from the Mahomedans to whom it was familiar, whereas in the British courts it was foreign equally to the parties, the witnesses, and the judge.

One of the greatest transactions of Lord William Bentinck's administration was the revenue settlement of the North-West provinces. On the acquisition of the latest of these provinces by Lord Wellesley, in 1804, he promised them a permanent settlement at the end of ten years, if it was approved of by

Revenue settlement in the N.-W. P.

the Court of Directors. The Court repudiated the engagement, and ordered it to be limited to five years; but so brief a term was fatal to all agricultural improvement. A landholder considered it an act of folly to lay out money in the improvement of his land when he knew that this would only serve to increase his assessment in two or three years; and as the period of revision approached, wells were filled up, and cultivation was neglected. An effort was made to grapple with this large question in 1822, but the celebrated regulation of that year was too complicated in its details to be worked by the limited agency at the disposal of Government, and at the end of ten years the settlement had scarcely begun. Lord William Bentinck was resolved to remove the opprobrium of this neglect from the administration, and made a tour through the provinces, discussing the question in all its bearings with the revenue officers in each district, and with the revenue board at Allahabad; and on his return to the Presidency issued the regulation for the new settlement in 1833. It possessed the great merit of simplicity, and dispensed with many of the elaborate enquiries required by the former regulation. The lands were minutely surveyed and classified according to their quality, and an accurate measurement of them was placed on record, by which a prolific source of discord and litigation was cut off, and the assessment was then fixed for thirty years by the collector, after a free and friendly communication with the people on the spot. The general management of these large operations was entrusted to Mr. Robert Bird, the ablest financial officer since the days of Sir John Shore. His knowledge of the intricacies of land tenure in the North-West provinces was greater than that of any other man in the service, and he was moreover endowed with that indomitable energy and that sternness of purpose which enabled him to complete the settlement of 72,000 square miles, affecting the vital interests of twenty-three millions of people, in the course of ten years. He was allowed to select his own assistants, and the honour of having served under him was considered as conferring a distinction for life.

A.D.
1833

The measure which above all others has endeared the memory of Lord William Bentinck to the natives of India, was the access he gave them to the public service. Their exclusion from every office except the lowest and worst paid was the cardinal error of Lord Cornwallis's administration. Such ostracism of a whole people, who

Employment
of natives.

A.D.
1831

had from time immemorial been accustomed to the management of public affairs in every department, was without a parallel in history. The grandsons of the Gauls who resisted Cæsar became Roman senators; the grandsons of the Rajpoots who opposed Baber, and well-nigh nipped his enterprise in the bud at Biana, were employed by his illustrious grandson in the government of provinces and the command of armies, and shed their blood for him on the shores of the Bay of Bengal and the banks of the Oxus, and rewarded his confidence with unshaken loyalty to his throne, even when it was shaken by the treachery of his Mahomedan satraps. But wherever the Company's sovereignty was extended, every office of the least value was bestowed exclusively on their own European and covenanted servants; and the natives of the country, however capable, were at once excluded from all share in the government of their own country, one of the most honourable aspirations of humanity. Lord William Bentinck was deeply impressed with the viciousness of this policy, and determined "to throw open the door of distinction to the natives, and to grant them a full participation in all the honours and emoluments of the state." This liberal policy was ushered in by the regulations of 1831, which completely reconstructed the legal establishments of the Bengal Presidency, and entrusted the primary jurisdiction of all suits, of whatever character or amount, not excluding those instituted against Government, to native agency. They were subsequently introduced into all other departments, and have manifested such eagerness for state employ as, in some measure, to impair the feeling of personal independence. Another anomaly was likewise removed on this occasion. The Company and their servants, from a morbid dread of offending Hindoo prejudices, had debarred native converts from holding any office, even that of a constable. Lord William Bentinck ordained that in admitting natives to the public service, there should be no distinction of caste, creed, or nation.

The most benignant and memorable act of Lord William Bentinck's administration was the abolition of *suttee*, which had been practised for twenty centuries wherever Hindooism obtained a footing. The

1805

Abolition of *suttee*.
first effort to interfere with it was made by Mr. George Udny, the member of Council, and Dr. Carey, who presented an address on the subject to Lord Wellesley. He was then on the eve of leaving India, but recorded his

opinion in favour of the abolition of it. Some attempts were subsequently made to diminish the number of victims by regulating the procedure, but the Court of Directors justly observed that the practice was thereby rendered more popular, inasmuch as, by prohibiting it in some cases, the Government appeared to sanction it in all others. The question was earnestly discussed for many years by some of the most distinguished servants of the state, but they all shrunk from the proposal of interdicting the practice. In 1823 the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Government of India, in which all the arguments against abolition were earnestly and honestly combated, and the question was referred to the decision of the local authorities; but Lord Auckland found the opinions of the public officers so discordant, as to be obliged to inform the Court that he was not prepared to recommend the positive prohibition of it; and they placed the question definitively in the hands of Lord William Bentinck on his appointment.

Lord William Bentinck landed in Calcutta, feeling, as he said, "the dreadful responsibility hanging over his head in this world and the next, if, as the Governor-General of India, he was to consent to the continuance of this practice one moment longer, not than our security, but than the real happiness and permanent welfare of the native population rendered indispensable." He resolved "to come to as early a determination as a mature consideration would allow; and having made that determination, to stand by it, yea or no, and set his conscience at rest." He immediately circulated a confidential communication among more than fifty of the civil and military officers of Government, asking their opinion as to the effect which the abolition would be likely to produce in the country generally, and on the minds of the sepoys in particular. The great majority of the military officers asserted that the immediate and peremptory abolition of the practice would create no alarm among the native troops. Of the civil functionaries three-fourths advocated its positive prohibition. Fortified by these opinions, and secure of the support of the Court of Directors, Lord William Bentinck, on the 4th December, 1829, promulgated that celebrated regulation which declared "the practice of suttee illegal and punishable by the criminal courts as culpable homicide." Not the slightest feeling of alarm or resentment was exhibited, except by a few baboos in Calcutta, encouraged by Dr. Horace Hayman

Lord William
Bentinck's
enquiries.

A. D.
1829

Wilson, the great orientalist, the idol of pundits and brahmins. Within a twelvemonth Lord William Bentinck was enabled to assure the Court of Directors that there never was a greater bugbear than the fear of revolt on this ground. The enlightened natives of the present day regard it in the light of an extinct barbarism, just as we do the human sacrifices of the Druids.

A. D. 1830 Suppression of Thuggee.

It was during Lord William Bentinck's administration that the first energetic measures were adopted to extirpate the Thugs, a fraternity of hereditary assassins, who subsisted by the plunder of the victims they strangled. There were few districts without some resident thugs, but they generally quitted their homes in small bodies with the appearance of cultivators, leaving their families in the village. As they roamed through the country they attached themselves, as if by accident, to the travellers they met, and entered into free and cheerful conversation with them to obtain the information they required; and, on reaching some sequestered spot, suddenly threw round the neck of the victim a strip of cloth or an unfolded turban, the ends of which were drawn tight till he ceased to breathe. His body was then rifled and thrown into a pit hastily dug with pickaxes which had been consecrated with religious ceremonials. The thugs were bound to secrecy by solemn oaths, and recognised each other by a slang vocabulary. They maintained a special veneration for Doorga, the tutelary goddess of vagabonds, thieves, and murderers, observed her festivals with superstitious punctuality, and presented a portion of their plunder at her most celebrated shrines. They endeavoured to ascertain her wishes by signs and omens, and considered themselves acting under divine authority when they were favourable. They traversed the length and breadth of the country, and their victims were counted by thousands. Lord William Bentinck determined to spare no pains or expense to deliver India from this scourge, and created a special department for its suppression, which he placed under the direction of Major—afterwards Sir William—Sleeman, whose name is inseparably connected in the annals of India with this mission of humanity. He organised a comprehensive scheme of operations which embraced every province, not exempting the native states, and by means of approvers who turned king's evidence, obtained a complete clue to the movements and operations of the gangs. With the aid of an efficient staff of officers whom

he had himself selected, he took the field against them in every direction, and within six years 2,000 of these garotters were apprehended and convicted, and sentenced to death or imprisonment, and the fraternity was broken up.

The attention of Lord William Bentinck was directed immediately after his arrival to the establishment of steam communication on the Ganges. Under his direction, two vessels were built in Calcutta and fitted up with engines from England, and they performed the voyage from Calcutta to Allahabad, which had usually employed three months by water, in as many weeks. The enterprise was subsequently transferred to private companies. A still more important object with him was the abridgment of the voyage between India and England. A considerable fund had been raised in Calcutta in 1823 to promote this object, and a premium was offered for any steamer which should perform the voyage in seventy days. The attempt was made in the *Enterprise* by Captain Johnson, round the Cape, but he was 113 days accomplishing it. Lord William determined to try the experiment through the Red Sea, and directed the *Hugh Lindsay*, a small steamer of 400 tons, built at Bombay, to be sent from that port to Suez, which she reached in a month. Three other voyages were performed in succession, and it was demonstrated that, with corresponding arrangements in the Mediterranean, the voyage from Bombay to England might be completed in fifty-five days. The Court of Directors, however, raised an objection to these experiments, and questioned whether the end in view would be worth the expenditure, and at length prohibited any farther employment of the *Hugh Lindsay* in the conveyance of the mails. The subject was then brought before the House of Commons, who passed a resolution that "a regular and expeditious communication by steam between England and India was an object of national importance." The *Hugh Lindsay* was again put in requisition, but the Court of Directors were lukewarm, and the enterprise was performed in a perfunctory manner, and fell into abeyance. It was reserved for the Peninsular and Oriental Company to carry to a successful issue the large views of Lord William Bentinck, and, with the aid of the Suez Canal, to bring India within three weeks' distance of England.

The course of education received a fresh impulse, as well as a more useful direction, from the efforts of Lord William Bentinck. The Parliamentary

A.D.
1830
to
1834

Steam communication.

Education—
Orientalism.

vote of ten lacs of rupees for "the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of learned natives," was interpreted in Leadenhall Street and in Calcutta to apply to the revival of native literature, to which it was exclusively applied. Mr. Adam distinguished his brief tenure of office by appointing a Committee of public instruction to suggest measures for the better education of the people in useful knowledge, and the arts and sciences of the West. This movement was strengthened by a despatch from the Court of Directors, drawn up by Mr. James Mill, the historian of India, who had obtained an important position at the India House, and exercised a beneficial influence on its counsels. The education department in Calcutta was under the control of Dr. Horace Wilson, the great champion of Oriental literature and institutions, and the Court was requested to sanction the appropriation of funds from the Parliamentary grant to improve the Hindoo college at Benares and the Mahomedan college in Calcutta, and also to establish a Hindoo college at the Presidency. In reply to this request, the Court, at the suggestion of Mr. Mill, stated that, "in proposing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo and mere Mahomedan literature, the Government bound itself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned. The great end of Government should be, not to teach Hindoo or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning." But Orientalism was still in the ascendent in Calcutta, and with some trifling exceptions to save appearances, the funds continued to be appropriated to the studies which the Court had condemned.

1833 Meanwhile a predilection for an English education was gaining ground in and around the metropolis, and the demand for it was pressed with increased earnestness on the education board. The board was divided into two hostile and irreconcilable parties—the Orientalists and the Anglicists—the one anxious to devote the education funds to the study of the Shastres and the Koran, the other, to the object of unfolding the stores of European science to the natives through the English language; and it became necessary to appeal to the Government. It happened that Mr. Macaulay was not only a member of the Supreme Council, but also president of the board, and he denounced with irresistible force the con-

A.D.
1823

Predominance of English.

tinued promotion of Orientalism as tending, not to support the cause of truth, but to delay the death of error. "We are at present," he said, "a board for printing books which give artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, and absurd theology." The question was brought to an issue on the 7th March, 1835, by the resolution passed by Lord William Bentinck, in which he most cordially concurred, that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone." The cause of English education triumphed, and the language and literature of England have become almost as familiar to the upper ten thousand in our Indian empire as the language of Rome was to the same class within the circle of her empire.

The last and crowning act of Lord William Bentinck's administration was the establishment of the medical college to supersede native quackery, and to give a complete education to native students in every branch of medical science, through the medium of English treatises and English lectures. The most eminent medical officers in the service were placed in the professor's chairs; a library and a museum were created; and every appliance necessary to place it on the same footing of efficiency as a European college was supplied with a liberal hand. Sage men of reputed wisdom predicted the failure of the experiment, inasmuch as contact with a dead body had been considered by the Hindoos a mortal pollution for twenty centuries; but their predictions have proved visionary; the Hindoo students resorted freely to the dissecting-room, and handled the scalpel with European indifference; and the college has proved an incalculable blessing to the country. The students have even crossed the "black water," and visited England to complete their studies, and have successfully competed with their European rivals.

With two trifling exceptions, Lord William Bentinck's administration was a reign of peace, and it produced the usual result on the finances. He found a deficit of a crore, and he left a surplus of a crore and a half, which his successor wasted in the Afghan war, as his predecessor had squandered the surplus left by Lord Hastings on the Burmese war. He embarked for England in March 1835, having held the government for nearly eight

A.D.
1835

The medical
college.

Financial
results.

A.D.
1828
to
1835

years. His administration marks the most memorable period in the improvement of India between the days of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Dalhousie. He repudiated the stagnant policy of the Government, and introduced an enlightened and a progressive spirit into every department of the state, the impulse of which still continues in vigorous operation. He infused new blood into the sluggish veins of the public institutions, and imparted life and animation to them. The originality of his plans of improvement was not less remarkable than the boldness with which they were executed. He earned the gratitude of the natives by opening to them an honourable career in the government of their own country, and the applause of Christendom by the moral courage he displayed in putting down suttees. The native and the European community vied with each other in commemorating the blessings of his reign, and in raising a subscription for the erection of his statue in Calcutta. It was enriched by an inscription from the pen of Mr. Macaulay :—“ 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, in language, and in religion, cherish with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.” On his return to England, Lord William Bentinck was elected member for Glasgow, the only retired Governor-General who ever sat in the House of Commons ; and, with the exception of Warren Hastings, he was also the only Governor-General on whom no title of distinction was bestowed by the Crown.

The period for which the commercial and political privileges of the Company had been granted expired in 1833, and it fell to Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, to introduce the question of the new charter to the notice of the House. The two

The charter
of 1833.

salient points which demanded its attention were those A.D.
1833 which referred to the continuance of the monopoly of the trade to China and to the government of India. It was found impossible to resist the demands of the merchants and manufacturers for a participation in the commerce of China, and it was thrown open to the country, and the commercial character of the Company ceased altogether, after it had continued for 234 years. The government of India was left in their hands for a further period of twenty years. Several minor, but not unimportant, arrangements were also made in reference to the policy of the Government in India. A fourth Presidency was created to embrace the North-West provinces. The power of legislation was now, for the first time, conferred on the Government, to embrace the whole empire, including all persons—British, foreign, or native—all places, and all things, as well as all courts, whether created by local authority or established by royal charter, but with certain necessary reservations touching the royal prerogative and the privileges of Parliament. A fourth member was also added to the Supreme Council who was to be an English jurist of reputation; and the office was dignified by the genius of Mr. Macaulay. It was moreover enacted that no native of India, nor any native-born subject of his Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour. Another clause, which sanctioned the purchase of land by Europeans and their free settlement in India, was opposed to the deep-seated sentiments of the India House, and was not carried without considerable opposition.

In communicating the arrangements of the charter to the Governments in India, the Court of Directors expressed their determination to strain every nerve “to Effect of the charter. accomplish the just and benevolent intentions of their country in delegating to them the legislative as well as the executive administration of the weightiest, the most important, and the most interesting of its transmarine possessions.” They invited the full and cordial co-operation of their officers abroad in the discharge of these heavy responsibilities. Released from the management of a large mercantile concern, and the disturbing influences inseparably connected with it, they were enabled to devote their energies exclusively to their great political trust. Their minds acquired a higher tone, and it may be affirmed without the risk of controversy, that, with the

exception of an occasional ebullition of traditional prejudice—the old cobwebs of the India House—the principles and measures which they inculcated on their servants in India during the remaining twenty-five years of their rule were marked by a character of wisdom, moderation, and beneficence, of which no other example can be found in the history of conquered dependencies.

On the arrival of Lord William Bentinck's resignation, the Court of Directors offered the post to Mr. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, but the state of his health obliged him to decline it. They then proceeded to pass a resolution that, "adverting to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe"—who succeeded temporarily to the office as the senior member of Council—"it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the place of Governor-General." But the ministry refused to confirm their choice, and took their stand upon the dictum of Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, that "the case could hardly be conceived in which it would be expedient that the highest office in the Government of India should be filled otherwise than from England, and that this main link between the system of the Indian and the British Government ought, for the advantage of both, to be invariably maintained." The Court of Directors remonstrated with great warmth against the adoption of a principle which involved the wholesale exclusion of their servants from the highest prize in their service. Soon after, the Whigs gave place to a Tory cabinet, and Lord Ellenborough, the new President of the Board of Control, offered the post a second time to Mr. Elphinstone, who he knew must decline it, and then nominated Lord Heytesbury, a diplomatist of European reputation, to the office. No sooner, however, had he been sworn in at the India House, and received the accustomed allowance for his outfit, and the usual valedictory banquet at the London Tavern, than the Whigs returned to power and immediately cancelled the appointment. The Tory Government which succeeded to power in 1807, had refrained from interfering with the appointment of Lord Minto by their Whig predecessors, though he had not left the shores of England; but the Whig Government of 1837 had not the grace to follow the example. The Court of Directors earnestly protested against a proceeding which made the vital interests of the British empire in India

A D.
1835
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subservient to the claims of political partisanship in England; but Lord Auckland, the Whig First Lord of the Admiralty, was nevertheless sent out to Calcutta.

The Charter Act created a fourth Presidency at Agra, and the eminent services of Sir Charles Metcalfe were rewarded by the grant of the first appointment, and by the still more dignified position of provisional Governor-General. He had not, however, been long at Agra before he was obliged to return to Calcutta, and assume the government on the departure of Lord William Bentinck. He occupied the office for a twelvemonth, and distinguished his administration by the legal establishment of the liberty of the press. The truculent law passed by Mr. Adam in 1823, which still continued on the statute-book, had been enforced on one or two occasions to the ruin of the printers, but the odium of these arbitrary proceedings was found to damage the character of Government. During the latter period of Lord Amherst's government the press was practically free. Lord William Bentinck avowed his invincible aversion to any political restrictions, and, moreover, had a profound contempt for the animadversions of the press; but the freedom it thus enjoyed was only by sufferance. Sir Charles Metcalfe felt that it was no longer possible to stop there. Parliament had recently granted Europeans liberty to purchase land and to make settlements in India, and Government lost the power of deporting those who rendered themselves obnoxious by their pens; Europeans, moreover, expected to enjoy the privilege they possessed in other British possessions of giving expression to their opinions. Sir Charles Metcalfe had always been a warm advocate of the freedom of the press, and, availing himself of the legislative power recently conferred on the Government, he lost no time in passing an Act repealing all the regulations by which it had been gagged, and making it legally free. The Act was received with feelings of enthusiasm by the European community in India, and by the native gentry most distinguished in society, and a subscription was raised to commemorate the event by erecting a noble hall which bears his name.

In the meantime an important change was made in the position of the Agra Presidency, which had been conferred on Sir Charles. In deference to the earnest wishes of the Court of Directors, it was reduced to the subordinate position of a lieutenant-governorship. Sir Charles naturally felt a re-

Reduction
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A. D.
1835

pugnance to descend to the inferior state of a lieutenant of the Governor-General after having himself occupied that supreme post, and he determined to retire from the service; but the chairman of the Court of Directors appealed to his patriotic feelings to retain the office on its reduced scale, and still to give the Company the benefit of his highly valued services. He was decorated with the grand cross of the Bath, and a third time nominated provisional Governor-General. He yielded to these solicitations, and to the importunities of Lord Auckland, and proceeded to Agra, but was not destined to remain there long. Soon after his arrival he heard that the press law had exasperated the India House, and created a complete revulsion of feeling regarding him and his claims. The Court of Directors regarded the freedom of the press with the same antipathy they had formerly felt to freedom of trade, and they took an early opportunity of manifesting their displeasure. The Government of Madras fell vacant, and Sir Charles naturally expected that, after the sacrifice he had made, it would have been conferred on him; but the Court of Directors would not condescend so much as to include his name among the candidates. There was a unanimous acknowledgment at the India House of his pre-eminent qualifications for it, but it was candidly avowed that his late proceeding regarding the press had cancelled every claim on their consideration. To Mr. Melville, the secretary at the India House, he wrote that reports were in circulation of his having incurred the displeasure of the Court of Directors and lost the governorship of Madras in consequence of the press law. If that misfortune had befallen him, it was his earnest entreaty that they would intimate their pleasure that he might retire from their service. After keeping the letter for four months, the Court sent a curt and discourteous reply, on the receipt of which he immediately sent in his resignation, and his connection with the East India Company was brought to a termination by treatment similar to that which had been inflicted on some of the greatest of his predecessors. But the services which the Company thought fit to discard were fully appreciated by the ministry, and he was successively entrusted with the government of two of the most important colonies of the Crown.

A.D.
1837

CHAPTER XII.

SECTION I.

LORD AUCKLAND—COMMENCEMENT OF THE AFGHAN WAR.

LORD AUCKLAND was sworn in as Governor-General on the 20th March. At the valedictory entertainment given him by the Court of Directors he assured them that "he looked with exultation at the opportunity now afforded him of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education, and extending the blessings of good government to the millions in India." Seldom have expectations been so signally disappointed; his melancholy administration is comprised in one disastrous transaction, the Afghan war, the origin of which may be dated in July, 1837, and the catastrophe in which it closed occurred in January, 1841. To form a correct idea of this momentous transaction, it is necessary to trace the convergence of events in Afghanistan and the Punjab, in Persia and Russia, to the period when this ill-starred expedition was undertaken.

Shah Soojah, the exiled monarch of Cabul and the British pensioner at Loodiana, made a second effort to recover his throne in 1833. He crossed the Indus without the least opposition, and in January defeated the Ameers of Sinde at Shikarpore, and constrained them to make him an immediate payment of five lacs of rupees. On his advance to Candahar he was met by Dost Mahomed and completely routed, when he retraced his steps to his old retreat and pension at Loodiana. While the troops of the Dost were engaged in repelling him, Runjeet Sing made an irruption across the Indus and took possession of the province of Peshawur. At this juncture a wild and predatory tribe on the right bank of the river made repeated inroads into the Hazara district which Runjeet Sing had also subjugated; and as they were traced, whether with or without reason, to the instigation of the Ameers of Sinde, the Punjab army took possession of two of their forts, and both parties stood

ready for a conflict which would doubtless have ended in the discomfiture of the Ameers and the extension of Runjeet Sing's authority throughout the course of the Indus down to the sea, which it was the determination of the Government of India to prevent. It was with difficulty Colonel Pottinger restrained the rulers of Sinde from rushing into war; and Captain Wade, our representative with Runjeet Sing, was obliged to allude forcibly to the risk he must incur if he pursued designs which were opposed by the British Government. On the other hand his gallant and ambitious officers importuned him to resist at all hazards the restrictions thus imperiously placed on the extension of his territories; but he shook his venerable beard, and asked where were now the 200,000 Mahratta swords which had once bade defiance to the Company. He bowed to the majesty of British power, and at once relinquished the expedition to Sinde.

A. D. 1835 The loss of Peshawur rankled in the bosom of Dost Mahomed, and he assumed the character of a ghazee, or champion of the faith, and proclaimed a religious war against the infidel Sikhs. The Mahomedan world in Central Asia was immediately in commotion, and from the regions of the Hindoo Coosh, from the wilds of Turkestan, and the farthest recesses of the mountains thousands poured down to join the standard of the Prophet. The spirit of Runjeet Sing appeared to quail before this host of infuriated fanatics; and, while he advanced with his army to the defence of Peshawur, he sent one Harland, an American adventurer, ostensibly on a mission to Dost Mahomed, but in reality to sow dissensions in the Afghan camp; and so successful was he in planting a feeling of jealousy of the growing power of the Dost among his brothers, that one of them abruptly withdrew with 10,000 men. The encampment was thrown into a state of inextricable confusion and dismay. "At break of day," as Harland reported, "not a vestige of the Afghan camp was to be seen, where, six hours before, 50,000 men and 10,000 horse were rife with the tumult of wild emotion." Dost Mahomed retired with deep chagrin to Cabul.

1836 On hearing of Lord Auckland's arrival in Calcutta, the Dost sent him a complimentary letter, and, in allusion to his unhappy relations with Runjeet Sing, asked him "to communicate whatever might suggest itself to his mind for the settlement of the affairs of the country." Lord Auckland returned a

Movements
of the
Dost.

friendly reply, and stated his intention to send a gentleman to Cabul shortly "to discuss questions of commerce;" but, with regard to the Sikh quarrel, said, "My friend, you are aware that it is not the practice of the British Government "to interfere with the affairs of other independent states." Despairing of any assistance from the British Government the Dost, at the beginning of 1837, applied to the king of Persia, as to the "King of Islam," to relieve him from the "misery caused by the detestable tribe of Sikhs." Impatient to wipe out the disgrace he had sustained, he sent his son Akbar Khan with a large army into the province of Peshawur, and the Sikhs were completely defeated. Reinforcements were pushed forward from the Punjab with a degree of promptitude and speed which has seldom been exceeded, and the Afghans were in their turn obliged to withdraw to Cabul. It was at this critical juncture that Captain Burnes, Lord Anecland's envoy, made his appearance to discourse of trade and manufactures.

A.D.
1837

The Russians, like the Romans, have systematically devoted their energies to the extension of their power and dominion, and for more than a century have prosecuted schemes of aggrandisement in Europe and Asia without intermission or failure. After having succeeded in bringing the Khirgis Cossacks to subordination, they took up their position on the Jaxartes in 1830, and gradually advanced eastward with a steady pace, fixing their grasp on Central Asia more firmly at every step. On that river they erected a chain of forts extending from its estuary in lake Ural to fort Vernoe, 700 miles eastward. Meanwhile the ambitious diplomatists of Russia had been pushing her influence in Persia, and through Persia up to Afghanistan. On the death of the king Futteh Ali, who had always been favourable to an English alliance, he was succeeded by his grandson Mahomed Shah, who threw himself into the arms of Russia. Since the first mission of Captain Malcolm, the British Government had expended more than a crore of rupees in embassies and subsidies to Persia in order to acquire a predominant influence at the court, which might serve as a bulwark to the empire of India. The ministry had now the mortification of finding this labour and expenditure thrown away, and the British influence at Teheran completely superseded by that of Russia.

Progress of
Russia in
the East.

The monarchs of Persia had long coveted the possession of Herat, the key of Western Afghanistan, and Mahomed

Shah had resolved on a second expedition to it. The ruler, Negotiations at Herat. Shah Kamran, had made repeated inroads into the Persian territory, and, according to official report, had kidnapped 12,000 of the subjects of Persia and sold them into slavery. A. D. 1837 Mr. M'Neill, the British minister at the court of Teheran, asserted that the expedition to Herat was fully justified by the atrocities of its ruler, but that, in the present state of the relations of Russia with Persia, the entry of a Persian army into Afghanistan would be tantamount to the advance of Russian influence to the threshold of India, which would not fail to disturb the tranquillity of the empire. He used every argument to dissuade the Shah from the expedition, while on the other hand the Russian minister at the court encouraged him to persevere, and offered him every kind of assistance. The ministry in London presented a remonstrance on the subject at St. Petersburg, and the emperor replied that Count Simonich, his envoy, had exceeded his instructions; but he was not recalled, and his proceedings were so completely in accordance with the national feeling that the "Moscow Gazette" threatened that the next treaty with England should be dictated in Calcutta.

The Shah set out for Herat in the month of July with 50,000 troops and fifty pieces of cannon, exulting in the prospect of overthrowing the Sikhs and following the course of Nadir Shah to Delhi. 1837 The Herat expedition. The expedition was considered as betokening the triumph of Russian over British influence in Persia, and created a profound sensation not only throughout Central Asia, but also in India, where the native princes began to speculate on the humiliation of the Company. The Mahomedans looked for the advent of a countless host of the faithful, backed by 200,000 "Russ." Exaggerated reports of great movements in Central Asia, the cradle of Indian revolutions for eight centuries, were spread far and wide, and in the remote Deccan people began to bury their money and jewels in the ground.

During this commotion Lord Auckland left Calcutta and proceeded to Simla. The north-west provinces were at the time visited with a desolating famine, which was calculated to have swept away 500,000 of its inhabitants, and Lord Auckland, whose camp of 20,000 men served to aggravate the calamity, was entreated to retrace his steps to Calcutta. If he had listened to this advice and returned to the seat of Govern-

Lord Auckland's movements.

ment, and had thus been brought under the wholesome influence of the members of Council, the Company would have been spared the horrors of the Afghan war, but he resolved to continue his progress. At Simla his cabinet council consisted of Mr. Macnaghten, the foreign secretary, Mr. Colvin, his private secretary, and Mr. Torrens, a young civilian of great parts and great impetuosity; but they were all men of much greater strength of character and resolution than Lord Auckland, and the war is to be attributed to their influence. The home Government, seeing in every direction the indication of a restless and aggressive spirit on the part of Russia and her agents directed against the security of the British empire in India, had instructed the Government to adopt vigorous measures for its protection; and Mr. M'Neill, the minister in Persia, strongly advised Lord Auckland to raise up a barrier in Afghanistan by subsidising and strengthening Dost Mahomed.

It was at this period of fermentation that Captain A.D. Burnes appeared at Cabul. In the East, the importance of 1837 a mission is measured by the value of the presents; and the magnificence of the gifts of Mr. Mount-stuart Elphinstone in 1808 was not forgotten.

Captain
Burnes at
Cabul.

When, therefore, Captain Burnes opened his treasury, consisting of a pistol and telescope for the Dost, and some pins and needles for the zenana, he and his embassy sunk at once into contempt. He found the influence of Persia paramount in Afghanistan. The Dost's brothers, the rulers of Candahar, were negotiating an alliance offensive and defensive with the Shah, and an envoy had arrived at their court to complete the treaty, together with an ambassador with robes and presents for the Dost. The passionate desire of his heart was the recovery of Peshawur, and he assured Captain Burnes that if he were permitted to hope for any assistance from the British Government, he would break off all intercourse with Persia, and send back the plenipotentiary from Candahar. But Lord Auckland had a morbid dread of giving offence to Runjeet Sing, and refused to listen to any proposal regarding Peshawur. Yet the Sikh ruler had offered to restore it to Dost Mahomed if he would pay tribute for it; and the Dost was prepared to hold it as a fief, sending the customary presents to Lahore; and there can be no doubt that if the cabinet Council at Simla had boldly met the question, and entrusted the settlement of it to Captain Burnes at Cabul, and to Captain Wade at Lahore, it would have been brought to an

early and satisfactory issue, and the Dost would have been secured as an ally; but from first to last a spirit of infatuation pervaded the Afghan policy of the Government. Captain Burnes had threatened the Candahar chiefs with the severe displeasure of the British Government if they persisted in cultivating the Persian alliance, and they dismissed the envoy without the usual ceremonies, on the assurance of Captain Burnes that he would protect them from the displeasure of the Persians, and, if necessary, subsidise their troops. Lord Auckland severely reprimanded him for having exceeded his instructions, and directed him to inform the rulers that he had held out expectations which his Government declined to sanction; and they lost no time in completing the treaty with Persia, which was ratified by the Russian minister at Teheran, who engaged to defend Candahar from every attack. The proposal of Captain Burnes was, however, highly approved of by the ministry in London.

After the receipt of Lord Auckland's unfavourable reply in 1836, Dost Mahomed despatched an envoy to solicit the

The Russian
envoy.

emperor of Russia to protect him from the Sikhs. Captain Viktevitich was thereupon sent to Cabul with rich presents, and an autograph from the emperor, the authenticity of which has been questioned, but never disproved. He arrived in Cabul on the 19th December, and the Dost immediately visited Captain Burnes, and assured him that he desired no connection except with the English Government, and was ready to dismiss the Russian envoy summarily if any hopes were held out to him from Simla. Captain Burnes, on the one hand, dissuaded him from so imprudent a step, and, on the other, urged on Lord Auckland the importance of immediate and decided action in this neck-to-neck struggle between Russia and England at Cabul; but Lord Auckland replied that he must waive all hope of Peshawur, and be content with whatever arrangement Runjeet Sing might think fit to make. The Dost then stated that he should consider himself safe if the province were placed jointly in his hands and those of his brother, who governed it on behalf of Runjeet Sing; and Captain Burnes again importuned Lord Auckland to give a favourable hearing to his representations, assuring him that the Afghan ruler was so anxious to cultivate the friendship of England that the Russian envoy had not been acknowledged up to that time. This hope, however, was finally quenched by the letter which the cabinet

A. D.
1837

of secretaries at Simla persuaded the Governor-General to address to Dost Mahomed. It was not only supercilious, but arrogant; every sentence in it was calculated to kindle a flame of indignation in the breast of the Afghan nobility, and Captain Burnes's mission became hopeless.

In the last resort, the Dost addressed a conciliatory letter to the Governor-General, imploring him, in language bordering on humility, to remedy the grievances of the Afghans, and give them a little encouragement; but he turned a deaf ear to every overture, and

Retirement
of Captain
Burnes.

continued to require that he should reject the alluring offers made by Russia and Persia, while he himself offered nothing in return but good offices to prevent the farther encroachment of the Sikhs. It could scarcely have been unknown at Simla that Runjeet Sing had no more idea of marching to Cabul than to Peking, and that the mere mention of the Khyber pass, as General Avitabile affirmed, gave the Sikh soldiers the colic. When the last ray of hope vanished, the Russian envoy was conducted with great parade through the streets, and received at the durbar with much distinction. Captain Burnes returned to Simla, and found a strong feeling of animosity against the Dost in Lord Auckland's advisers, who were irritated to perceive that, instead of meekly submitting to their dictation, he was sitting at the gate of India hesitating whether to accept their terms or the offers of their opponents, and it was resolved to march across the Indus and depose him, and to reinstate Shah Soojah on the throne. It was at first contemplated that an expedition should be organised to conduct him to Cabul, and that the British Government should contribute all the necessary funds, as well as a body of officers to discipline and command his troops, and a representative to accompany him. But it was soon apparent that, unless the Government of India engaged in the war as principals, it must end in a deplorable failure. It was accordingly determined to send a large British army into the unexplored regions of Central Asia, where all convoys of provisions, stores, and ammunition must traverse the states of doubtful allies, and thread long and dangerous mountain defiles, beset with wild and plundering tribes, to oblige the Persians to raise the siege of Herat, to drive Dost Mahomed from Afghanistan, and to place Shah Soojah in his seat. A tripartite treaty was negotiated and concluded by Mr. Macnaghten between the Government of India, Shah Soojah, and Runjeet Sing, who engaged to

A. D.
1838

contribute the aid of a body of troops on condition that the Shah should confirm his right to the possessions he had acquired beyond the Indus, and divide with him whatever sums he might be able to extort from the Ameers of Sind. The expedition was undertaken chiefly under the advice of Mr. Colvin, though Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, subsequently claimed to share the responsibility of it, inasmuch as his letter, authorising it on the part of the ministry, crossed the letter from Simla announcing that it had been commanded. With the exception of the ministerial circle in Downing Street and the secretaries at Simla this preposterous enterprise was universally condemned. Mr. Elphinstone stated that "if 27,000 men could be sent through the Bolan Pass to Candahar, and we could feed them, we might take Cabul and set up Shah Soojah; but it was hopeless to maintain him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans." Lord William Bentinck considered the project an act of incredible folly. Lord Wellesley regarded "this wild expedition, 800 miles from our frontier and our resources, into one of the most difficult countries of the world, a land of rocks and deserts, of sands, and ice, and snow, as an act of infatuation." The Duke, with prophetic sagacity, affirmed that "the consequence of once crossing the Indus to settle a Government in Afghanistan would be a perennial march into the country." An attempt was made to justify the expedition in a manifesto dated at Simla the 1st October, one of the most remarkable documents in the Company's archives, unique for its unscrupulous misstatements and its audacious assertions. A single instance will suffice to stamp its character: it affirmed that the orders for assembling the army were issued in concurrence with the Supreme Council, whereas the Council, when required to place the proclamation on record, remonstrated on the consummation of a policy of such grave importance without their having had any opportunity of expressing their opinion on it. The immediate object was said to be to succour the besieged garrison of Herat, and to that memorable siege we now turn.

A.D.
1838

The province of Herat, the acquisition of which had for many years been the one object of desire to the sovereigns of Persia, is the only route through which a large and well equipped army can advance from the north-west towards India, and is considered the gate of

The siege of
Herat.

Afghanistan on the west, as Cabul is on the east. All the materials for the equipment and maintenance of an army are to be found in great abundance, and the fertility of the soil has given it the title of the granary of Central Asia. The king, Kamran, was one of the worst specimens of an Oriental despot and voluptuary, and his minister, Yar Mahomed, though not devoid of courage and abilities, was justly described as "the greatest scoundrel in Afghanistan." The king of Persia sat down before it on the 23rd November; the fortifications were crumbling away, and the town might have been carried by a vigorous assault on the first day. Its successful defence was owing to the exertions of one man. A few days before the commencement of the siege, a young officer of the Bombay Artillery, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, who had been sent to make researches in Central Asia, entered the town in the garb of a *syud*, or descendant of Mahomed, and resolved to remain and take part in the approaching struggle. His services were readily accepted by the king and the vizier, and the natural ascendancy of genius speedily gave him the chief direction of operations. The garrison was animated with a spirit of great resolution, and under his inspiration baffled all the assaults of the Persians for five months, though assisted by a regiment of Russians, who were styled deserters to save appearances. Mr. M'Neill, the English minister at Teheran, joined the Persian camp on the 6th April, and, finding both parties inclined to accept his mediation, proceeded into the city to negotiate with Shah Kamran, and there was every prospect of an early accommodation; but, during his absence, the Russian minister who followed him from the capital in all haste had reached the Shah's encampment, and urged the continuance of the siege, and advanced funds for the support of the army. The aspect of affairs was immediately changed; the Shah gave a cold reception to the British minister on his return from the city, rejected the amicable arrangement he had made, and announced his resolution to renew the siege; and Mr. M'Neill retired to the Turkish frontier.

The 24th June was fixed for a general assault. The works were attacked under the personal direction of Count Simonich, the Russian minister, and his engineer officers at five points; the assailants were repulsed from four of them, but at the fifth a practical breach was made in the defences, and the courage of the Heratees began to fail. Yar Mahomed withdrew from the carnage;

A.D.
1837

1828

The siege
raised.

A.D.
1838

but Pottinger dragged him back to the breach, and urged on the defence with such irresistible energy that the Persians, when on the point of gaining the city, recoiled and fled, leaving 1,700 in killed and wounded. The siege was then turned into a blockade, and the inhabitants suffered the extremity of want. Meanwhile, two steamers were sent by the Government of India to occupy the island of Karrack, and they were magnified by rumour into a portentous squadron. Mr. M'Neill took advantage of the consternation created by this movement to send Colonel Stoddart to the Persian camp to assure the king that, if he did not relinquish his design, he would bring on himself the hostility of the British Government who had already sent an armament into the Persian Gulf. The king wanted only a decent pretext to raise the siege, which had cost him dear, and replied that to secure its friendship he was prepared to abandon it. He broke up his encampment on the 9th September, and retired with the loss of half his army and much treasure, and with the disgrace of having failed in an expedition which had been the talk of Central Asia for nine months. This memorable defence of Herat against 40,000 Persians aided by European engineers, stands side by side with the siege of Arcot, and reflects no little renown on the Anglo-Saxon youth by whose genius it was achieved, though he had never seen service, and possessed no knowledge of the art of war except what he had derived from books.

The grand projects of Persia and Russia which had for two years agitated the public mind from the Caspian Sea to Cape Comorin were now quenched. The dangers which menaced the British possessions in India were at once dispelled. Russia was nowhere in Central Asia, and it was expected that the expedition to Cabul would be relinquished; but the infatuated Government at Simla determined to persevere.

1838

On the 9th November it was announced that, while the raising of the siege of Herat was a just cause for congratulation, the Government would still continue to prosecute the expedition with vigour. Of the reasons assigned, one was that the treaty with Runjeet Sing and with Shah Soojah bound us in honour to proceed with it; but, in the convention with the ruler of the Punjab there was no allusion to the march of a British army across the Indus, and the exiled monarch was particularly anxious to avoid the unpopularity of being carried to

Persistence
in the
expedition.

Cabul on the shoulders of infidels. All he wanted was the Company's gold to enable him to secure the swords of the mercenary Afghans.

SECTION II.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN WAR—SUR- RENDER OF THE DOST.

THE army of the Indus, as it was designated, was assembled in November at Ferozepore, where there was a grand meeting between the Governor-General and the lion of the Punjab, then tottering on the brink of the grave, but still exhibiting in his countenance the calmness of design, while his single eye was still lighted up with the fire of enterprise. There were showy pageants, and gay doings, and the manœuvres of mimic warfare. As the army was no longer destined for Herat, its strength was reduced; and the Commander-in-Chief, who had consented to assume the command when it was to march into Central Asia, declined to head a diminished force simply to place Shah Soojah in the seat of a better man. The Bengal column started from Ferozepore on the 10th December 9,500 strong, with 30,000 camels and 38,000 camp followers. The force raised for Shah Soojah, and called his army, though commanded by Company's officers and paid from the Company's treasury, consisted of 6,000 men. The Bombay troops under Sir John Keane numbered 5,600, and the whole force amounted to 21,000. The political charge of the expedition was entrusted to Mr. Macnaghten, and he was styled the envoy. The direct route to Cabul lay through the Punjab; but Runjeet Sing, whom Lord Auckland styled our "ancient and faithful ally," declined to grant a passage through his dominions to a body of more than 50,000 men, and it became necessary to take a circuitous route of 1,000 miles down the Indus, and then across it up to Candahar and Cabul.

This devious course had an eye also to the determination which had been formed to lay the Ameers of Sinde under contribution. The province had formerly been a dependency of Cabul, and had paid tribute whenever the Afghan sovereign was able to

A.D.
1838
Meeting of
Runjeet
Sing and
the Govern-
or-General.
Coercion of
the Ameers
of Sinde.

A.D. 1839 enforce it. No revenue, however, had been paid for more than forty years, and the Ameers were to all intents and purposes independent; but they were now required to give twenty-five lacs of arrears to a sovereign who had been an exile for thirty years. Colonel Pottinger, the Resident, presented the demand, but was confounded by the production of two releases in full from all further claims of every description which Shah Soojah had written in two Korans and signed and sealed five years before, when he exacted three lacs of rupees of them; Lord Auckland, however, said that he did not consider it incumbent on him to enter into any investigation of this plea, and Mr. Macnaghten affirmed that, rather than allow the grand enterprise they were engaged in to be impeded by the opposition of the Ameers, it would be better to let 20,000 Punjab troops loose on their capital. It was likewise resolved to impose a subsidiary treaty on them for which they were required to pay three lacs a year; and, as they demurred to these demands, Mr. Macnaghten directed Colonel Pottinger to inform them that "neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them nor the will to call it into action were wanting, if it appeared necessary." Sir John Keane marched up with the Bombay army to the vicinity of Hyderabad, and the Bengal column was sent down to co-operate with him. Awed by these demonstrations, the Ameers submitted to necessity, signed the treaty, and sent in the first instalment.

The sepoys, notwithstanding their religious prejudices, crossed the Indus without hesitation, and planted the flag of England on its right bank; but the disasters of the army commenced as soon as it was across. The Bengal column pushed on in advance through the arid desert, 140 miles in length, of Cutch Gundava, which furnished little water and not a blade of grass. The camels died by hundreds, and the mortality among the draft cattle, on which the subsistence of the army depended, was portentous. After traversing this sterile waste the troops were six days getting through the terrific defiles of the Bolan Pass, where a small band might have brought the expedition to a deadlock. The flint stones lamed the camels; fatigue and the want of pasture disabled the artillery horses; the mountain paths were strewed with tents, equipages, and stores; and the rivulet which flowed at the bottom of the ravines was tainted with the carcases of animals. Emerging from this

pass the army entered the beautiful valley of Shawl; but the provisions found there were scanty, and starvation stared the army in the face. On the 6th April the Bombay ^{A. D.} column and Shah Soojah's army joined the Bengal force at ¹⁸³⁹ Qwetta, and Sir John Keane assumed the chief command. The troops were half mutinous for want of food, the loaf of the European soldier was diminished in weight, the native troops were reduced to a pound of flour and the camp followers to half that quantity, and the army was obliged to push on to Candahar. In the intervening space lay the Khojuk pass, scarcely less formidable than the Bolan, though of more limited extent. The batteries and field-pieces were dragged up and lowered down its tremendous precipices by the European soldiers, pressed by hunger, parched with thirst, and consumed by incessant fatigue. As Shah Soojah approached Candahar, the Barukzie chiefs, the brothers of the Dost, betrayed by their own officers who had been corrupted, fled to the west, and he entered the city on the 25th April.

The army, still on reduced rations, was obliged to remain inactive at Candahar for ten weeks to await the ripening of the crops. At a distance of 230 miles from the ^{Capture of} city and 90 from Cabul lay the renowned fortress ^{Ghuzni.} of Ghuzni, from which Mahmood had marched eight centuries before to plant the standard of the crescent on the plains of India. Dost Mahomed's son, Hyder Khan, had been sent to strengthen the garrison and the fortifications and to provision the fort for six months. The parapet which rose sixty or seventy feet perpendicular above the plain, combined with the wet ditch, presented an insurmountable obstacle to any attack by mining or escalade. Sir John Keane had imprudently left his siege guns behind at Candahar, and the collapse of the expedition appeared inevitable. Happily, one of the gates had not been built up, and Captain Thomson, the chief engineer, convinced the Commander-in-Chief that the only mode of attack which presented any chance of success was that of blowing up the gate and forcing his way into the fortress. Under his direction, therefore, 900 lbs. of powder were packed up in bags and conveyed on a tempestuous night to the spot. The powder exploded; the barricade was shivered, and great masses of masonry and wood came toppling down. Colonel Dennie and the 13th Light Infantry rushed in with the storming party, and, after a fearful struggle over the *débris*,

the English ensign was floating at daybreak over the proud citadel of Ghuzni.

The fall of Ghuzni, which left the road to Cabul open, bewildered Dost Mahomed, and he called his officers together, and with the Koran in his hand

Arrival at
Cabul.

implored them to make one bold stand like brave men and true believers. "You have eaten my salt,"

he said, "for thirteen years; grant me one request.

"Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan while he makes

"one last charge on these infidel dogs; he will fall; then

"make your own terms with Shah Soojah." But there

was neither spirit nor fidelity in them; and the Dost,

seeing the struggle hopeless, parked his guns at Urgundeh

and turned with a few followers to the region of the Hindoo

Coosh. Captain Outram and nine other officers, animated

by the ardent spirit of adventure, started in pursuit of him

with a body of cavalry, and gave him no rest for six days

and nights; but they were impeded at every step by the

treacherous chief Hajee Khan, who accompanied them with

several hundred Afghan horse, and on reaching Bameean

they found that the Dost had passed beyond the limits of

A.D. Afghanistan. On the 7th August Shah Soojah, resplendent

1839 with jewels, was conducted with martial pomp through

the city of Cabul to the Bala Hissar, the palace in the

citadel; but there was no enthusiasm. The inhabitants

came to their thresholds to gaze not so much at the Shah

as at the infidel soldiers parading their streets, on whom

they poured a shower of maledictions. Three weeks later

the Shah was joined by his son Timur, who had advanced

on the direct route through the Punjab and Peshawur, with

4,000 raw recruits, paid by the Company, and under the

direction of Colonel Wade. This expedition was accom-

panied by a contingent of 6,000 of Runjeet Sing's soldiers,

to whom any movement into Afghanistan was odious, and

they were repeatedly engaged in flagrant mutiny. As the

force entered the Khyber, the Afreedies prepared, as usual,

to oppose its progress; but Colonel Wade crowned the heights

and turned their flanks, and by this masterly movement

these terrible defiles were opened, probably for the first time,

by steel instead of gold.

The object of the expedition—that of substituting a

friendly for a hostile power in Afghanistan—was now ac-

complished, and the period had arrived when, ac-

ording to the Simla manifesto, the British troops

were to be withdrawn. Within a fortnight after

Retention
of the
army.

the entrance of Shah Soojah, however, Lord Auckland placed on record that "to leave him without the support of a British army would be followed by his expulsion, which would reflect disgrace on Government and become a source of danger." It was determined, therefore, to leave a force of 10,000 men to maintain him on his throne; and, as the Duke had predicted, our difficulties began as soon as our military success was complete. General Willshire, who commanded the Bombay army, was instructed on his return to inflict a severe chastisement on Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Belochistan, for having withheld supplies as the army advanced through his country; but as our troops had wantonly desolated the country in their march, and he had none to give, the proceeding was unjust and vindictive. The Beloches fought valiantly for their country and their chief; but the capital, Khelat, was stormed, and the Khan fell valiantly in its defence with eight of his principal officers.

A.D.
1839

The expedition was as fertile in honours as it was barren in military achievements. It was a ministerial measure, condemned by the general voice of society in England and in India, and it was deemed politic

Honours.

to give as much *éclat* as possible to the first success. Lord Auckland was created an earl; Sir John Keane, who had done less than nothing, a baron with an annuity of 2,000*l.* Mr. Macnaghten, Colonel Pottinger, and General Willshire received baronetcies, and Colonel Wade a knighthood; but Captain Thomson, who had saved the expedition from an ignominious and fatal failure by blowing up the gate of Ghuzni, obtained nothing but a brevet majority and the lowest order of the Bath; and he abandoned the service.

Runjeet Sing died as the expedition was leaving Candahar, on the 27th June, at the age of fifty-seven, the victim of excesses in which he had long been accustomed to indulge. He possessed the same creative genius as Sevajee and Hyder Ali. The edifice of Sikh greatness was exclusively his work, and he would doubtless have established a great empire in Hindostan if he had not been hemmed in by the Company's power. He succeeded to the leadership of a single tribe in the Punjab, when it was distracted with the contests of a dozen chieftains, and to the command of a body of matchlock horsemen. He bequeathed to his successor a great kingdom enriched with the spoils of its neighbours, together with an army 80,000 strong, with 300 pieces of

Death of
Runjeet
Sing.

cannon, superior in discipline, in equipment, and in valour to any force ever before assembled under a native chief. He had the Oriental passion for hoarding, and left twelve crores of rupees in his treasury, of which he bestowed half a crore on the poor; the Koh-i-noor, which now adorns the diadem of England, he bequeathed to Jugernath. He was the only man in his country favourable to the English alliance, and during the expedition to Cabul placed the resources of his country at the disposal of the Government. The hostility of his ministers and officers broke out soon after his death, and so greatly augmented the perils of our position in Afghanistan, that Sir William Macnaghten urged Lord Auckland "to curb the Sings," as the Sikh chiefs were called, "and to macadamise the Punjab, and "annex Peshawur to the dominions of Shah Soojah."

A. D. 1840 Soon after the occupation of Cabul, the Russophobia which distracted Sir William Macnaghten, Sir Alexander

Russian complaints against Khiva. Burnes, and other British officers in Afghanistan rose to fever heat, on the announcement that a great Russian expedition was about to proceed to Khiva, the celebrated Kharism of early Mohamedan history. This country lies to the south of the sea of Aral on the banks of the Oxus, but, with the exception of the oasis of Merv, is a continuous waste, unrelieved by mountains, rivers, lakes, or forests, and with scarcely more than a million of inhabitants. For half a century the rulers had been in the habit of committing depredations on Russian caravans, attacking Russian posts, and kidnapping Russian subjects whom they held in slavery. The emperor determined on a military expedition to fulfil "the imperial obligation of protecting the lives and liberties of his subjects;" but there was likewise a second motive. In his Simla manifesto Lord Auckland had stated that the object of the expedition was also "to give the name and just influence of the British Government its proper footing "among the nations of Central Asia." The ambitious spirit of Sir William Macnaghten was disposed to carry out this policy to an extent which startled even his own Government. He sent a military force beyond Bameean to depose an Oosbek chief and instal another, and alarm was spread through Turkestan. Major Todd, who had been sent as the representative of the Governor-General to Herat, was strengthening its fortifications, and had despatched one of his assistants to Khiva to offer the Khan the boon of British friendship. The envoy exceeded his instruc-

tions, and proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, which Lord Auckland immediately disavowed. A mission was also sent to Bokhara.

These simultaneous movements, military and diplomatic, aroused the jealousy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, who resented any intrusion of the English Govern-
 ment into the politics of Central Asia, and the emperor ordered the Khiva expedition to ad-
 vance without any delay, five months earlier than was originally intended. The manifesto which announced its despatch, after enumerating the injuries the Russians had sustained from the Khivans, adopted the language of Lord Auckland's proclamation, and stated that the expedition was also intended "to strengthen in that part of Asia the lawful influence to which Russia had a right." The Russian journals affirmed without any disguise that the object of it was "to establish the strong influence of Russia in Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand, and to prevent the influence of the East India Company from taking root in Central Asia." The two European nations destined to divide the predominant power in Asia between them, were at this time jealous of each other's progress, and were resorting to the fatal expedient of fitting out expeditions to counteract it. "If we go on at this rate," said Baron Brunow to Lord Palmerston, "the Cossack and the Sepoy will soon cross bayonets on the Oxus." The Russian expedition proved a total failure. It moved from Orenburg in November on a march of 1,000 miles in the depth of winter, when the snow lay several feet deep on the ground, and not a blade of grass was to be found, and the general was obliged to retrace his steps after the loss of half his army. Subsequently Major Todd despatched Captain Shakespear to Khiva, who prevailed on the Khan to deliver up 400 Russian slaves, whom he conducted to Orenburg, but his interference was considered intrusive.

After the determination was formed to retain a British army in Afghanistan, the most important of all questions was the encampment of the troops at the capital. The Bala Hissar of Cabul stood on a hill, and completely commanded the city. It afforded accommodation for 5,000 troops, and, if well provisioned and supplied with military stores, could be held by 1,000 men against whatever force or skill the Afghans could bring against it. It was the key of Cabul, and the security of our position depended on our occupation of it. The Shah insisted on

Russian expedition to Khiva.

A. D.
1840

excluding the soldiers from it, that the privacy of his zenana might not be disturbed, and in an evil hour the envoy, contrary to his own better judgment, yielded to his importunity and the garrison was turned into cantonments in the plain, erected in the most exposed position that could be thought of. The whole of the Afghan policy from first to last was a tissue of folly, but the crowning act of insanity was the resignation of the Bala Hissar to the Shah's hundred and fifty women. The conviction daily became more confirmed, that he had no hold on the attachment of his subjects, and that it was the infidel aid on which he rested for support that was the chief element of his unpopularity. Its presence was regarded like a visitation of the plague. Many of the political officers were men of high honour and conciliatory manners, but there were others whose haughty and arrogant bearing created disgust, and whose unblushing licentiousness, which invaded the honour of the noblest families, raised a feeling of burning indignation. During the twenty-seven months of our occupation, the Government was a Government of sentry-boxes, sustained only by the sheen of British bayonets. The country was garrisoned, not governed, and we were reposing on a smouldering volcano. Within a few weeks of the occupation of Cabul, the highlanders in the Khyber massacred a large detachment of troops and carried off their baggage. The whole province of Belochistan rose in revolt and deposed the chief whom General Willshire had imposed on the people, and General Nott was obliged to march down from Candahar to restore our authority. But the chief cause of anxiety was connected with the movements of Dost Mahomed.

A. D.
1840

After his flight from Cabul, he accepted the hospitality of the Ameer of Bokhara, "the Commander of the Faithful," but the most atrocious tyrant in Central Asia, who soon after subjected him to a grievous captivity. Meanwhile his brother, Jubber Khan, after wandering from place to place with the females of his family, placed them under the protection of the British Government. The confidence thus shown in our honour and generosity by a people proverbial for perfidy, was no ordinary tribute to our national character. The Dost, having at length made his escape from Bokhara, approached Cabul and found himself at the head of 6,000 or 7,000 Oosbeks, with whom he resolved to cross the Hindoo Coosh, raise the war cry of the Prophet, and, gathering strength from the un-

Movements
of Dost
Mahomed.

popularity of Shah Soojah and his supporters, march in triumph to Cabul. But Brigadier Dennie encountered him with a mere handful of troops, and obtained a decisive victory over the host of Oosbeks. After this defeat Dost Mahomed moved into the Kohistan, or highlands north of Cabul, and the chiefs who had recently sworn fidelity to the Shah on the Koran, at once espoused his cause, but Sir Robert Sale attacked him with great success. He fitted about the hills for two or three weeks, and then came down into the Nijrow district in the vicinity of the capital, which was immediately thrown into a state of general ferment. The English officials were filled with consternation, and guns were mounted in all haste on the citadel. On the 2nd November, Sir Robert Sale, who had been incessantly in pursuit of him, came upon him in the valley of Purwandurra; the heights were bristling with an armed population, but the Dost had only 200 horsemen with him. The 2nd Cavalry galloped down upon him, and he resolved to meet the charge manfully. Raising himself in his stirrups and uncovering his head, he called upon his troops, in the name of God and the Prophet, to aid him in driving "the accursed infidels" from the land. The cavalry troopers fled from the field like a flock of sheep, the European officers fought with the spirit of heroes, till three were killed and two wounded. Sir Alexander Burnes, who was on the field, sent a hasty note to the envoy to assure him that there was nothing left but to fall back on Cabul, and concentrate our force for its defence. The note was delivered to him the next afternoon as he was taking a ride, when to his surprise, Dost Mahomed suddenly presented himself, and dismounting, gave up his sword and claimed his protection. He had felt, he said "even in the moment of victory that it would be impossible to continue the contest, and having met his foes in the open field and discomfited them he could claim their consideration without indignity." The Dost rode together with the envoy into the cantonment, where his frank manners and dignified bearing in the hour of adversity created a strong feeling of sympathy and admiration, which was in no small degree heightened by contempt for the puppet in the Bala Hissar. He was sent on to Calcutta, where he was treated by Lord Auckland with the greatest respect and consideration, and two lacs of rupees a year were assigned for his support.

A.D.
1840

SECTION. III.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION — THE AFGHAN WAR — DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMY.

A.D. 1840 MAJOR TODD had been sent by Sir William Macnaghten to Herat to maintain the influence of the British Government and to improve the fortifications. Money was sent in great profusion from Cabul, but Yar Mahomed, the vizier, took great offence at the efforts made by the Major to suppress the execrable traffic in slaves, the curse of Central Asia, in which he himself was deeply implicated, and he offered to place the whole country under the control of the king of Persia. Incensed at this act of ingratitude and perfidy, Sir William Macnaghten urged the immediate annexation of the province to the dominions of Shah Soojah, but Lord Auckland was disposed to condone the conduct of the minister, and the supply of guns, muskets, ammunition, and money was renewed with such prodigality as to alarm the financial authorities in Calcutta. But this lavish expenditure only led to more audacious intrigues, and Yar Mahomed endeavoured to concert a plan with the Persian governor of Meshed for the invasion of Candahar. This renewed act of treachery exhausted Major Todd's patience, and he withheld the monthly subsidy till the orders of the Governor-General could be received. The minister then rose in his demands, and on the 8th February insisted peremptorily on the payment of two lacs for the discharge of his personal debts, and a further advance for the improvement of the fortifications, and an increase of the monthly stipend, or the immediate departure of Major Todd. The Major at 1841 once withdrew the embassy to the great mortification of Lord Auckland, who dismissed him from his political employ and remanded him to his regiment.

The political charge of the province of Candahar was entrusted to Major Rawlinson, and the military command 1840 to General Nott, an officer of sound judgment and great decision of character. He was prompt and successful in dealing with the revolts which were continually cropping up around him, but the freedom of his remarks was displeasing to Lord Auckland and to Sir William Macnaghten, and he was, unfortunately, refused the promotion which he expected on Sir Willoughby

General Nott
and Major
Rawlinson.

Cotton's retirement from the command at Cabul, and which, if it had been granted to him, would, in all probability, have averted the tremendous catastrophe of the ensuing November. The Dooranees who occupied the province lying between Candahar and Herat, and who were of Shah Soojah's own tribe, had hailed with delight the restoration of their own prince to the throne, but when their expectation of sharing the sweets of power was disappointed by the employment of European officers, they manifested a more rancorous hostility to him than any other tribe. Their chief, Akbar Khan, assembled 6,000 men on the banks of the Helmund in July, in six divisions, with a priest at the head of each and a banner inscribed "We have been trusting in God ; may He guard and guide us." He was vigorously attacked by Colonel Woodburn, and defeated ; the confederacy was broken up, and all the chiefs made their submission with the exception of Akram Khan, whose indomitable spirit resisted every overture. In other countries he might have been considered a patriot ; in Afghanistan he was regarded as a traitor. His feelings were well expressed in the Afghan remark, " We are content with blood, but shall never be content with a master." His retreat was betrayed for a bribe by one of his own tribe, and he was blown away from a gun by express orders from Cabul.

The province lying to the north-east of Candahar was inhabited by the Ghiljies, a fine muscular race, expert in the use of military weapons, and able to bring 40,000 men into the field, but characterised by an intense ferocity of disposition. They were as jealous of their own independence as they were eager to conquer that of others. In time past they had carried their victorious arms to the capital of Persia, and exhibited their prowess on many a battle-field of India ; nor had they ever bowed the neck to the rulers of Cabul or Candahar. Sir William had prevailed on them for an annual subsidy to abstain from infesting the highways and levying black mail, but their deep-rooted antipathy to the intruding foreigners became daily more apparent, and it was deemed necessary to strengthen the fortifications of Khelat-i-Ghiljie, a fortress lying in the heart of their territory. They determined to oppose this measure and advanced in great force to defeat it, when they were encountered by Colonel Wymer, who inflicted a signal defeat on them, after an obstinate conflict of five hours continued beyond sunset. Every *émeute* had

A.D.
1841The Eastern
Ghiljies.

now been put down, and Sir William Macnaghten was beginning to congratulate himself on the termination of all his difficulties, but Major Rawlinson assured him that the whole country was pervaded by a spirit of implacable hostility towards us, and that there would be a general outburst on the first favourable opportunity.

That opportunity was not far distant. The expense of garrisoning Afghanistan was beginning to tell on the finances of India. The army of occupation fell little short of 25,000 men, and the annual charge was computed at a crore and a half of rupees. All the treasure accumulated by Lord William Bentinck had been exhausted, the treasury was drained and the Court of Directors were filled with alarm. At the close of 1840 they communicated their views to the Government at Simla, and stated that as it was evident the restored monarchy could not be maintained without a large force, it was necessary to make a large addition to the army; but they should advise the entire abandonment of the country, with a frank avowal of the complete failure of our object. The circumstances of the period appeared to be more favourable to retirement than they had ever been. The Persian court was on the most friendly terms with us; the Russian expedition to Khiva had totally failed; Dost Mahomed and his family were state prisoners with us, and the revolt in Belochistan was completely quelled. Sir William Macnaghten had, moreover, stated that the noses of the Dooranee chiefs "had been brought to the grindstone, and that Afghanistan was as quiet as an Indian district, and its tranquillity was marvellous." Nothing could be more reasonable and politic than this advice, but the question of withdrawal was unfortunately left to the judgment of the Government of India—that is, to the decision of those who had advised the war, and they declared that to deprive the Shah of British support would be an act of "unparalleled political atrocity." There was no difficulty in persuading Lord Auckland that our troops ought not to be withdrawn before the authority of the Shah had been completely consolidated; whereas it was palpable to everyone but the envoy that his authority could never be sufficiently established while the "accursed infidels," as we were universally termed, continued to garrison the country. It was therefore determined to remain in Afghanistan, to make no increase to the army, but to reduce the expenditure, and to open a new loan.

Resolution
to hold
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A.D.
1841

The retrenchments were to be made by reducing the stipends of the chiefs, and, by that fatality which seemed to attend every measure connected with this unfortunate expedition, those which ought to have come last were taken up first. The eastern Ghiljies were the first to be summoned to Cabul, when they were informed that the exigencies of the State rendered the reduction of their allowances indispensable. The subsidies paid by us had been paid from time immemorial by every ruler of Afghanistan, and were regarded by the highlanders as a patrimonial inheritance. They were magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Afghanistan, and cared not who ruled as long as their franchise was not invaded. The stipends now reduced had, moreover, been guaranteed to them when we took possession of the country, and they had performed their part of the contract with exemplary fidelity. They had not allowed a finger to be raised against our posts, or couriers, or weak detachments, and convoys of every description had passed through their terrific defiles, the strongest mountain barriers in the world, without interruption. They received the announcement of the reduction in the beginning of October without any remonstrance, made their salaam to the envoy, and, returning to their fastnesses, plundered a caravan and blocked up the passes. The 35th Native Infantry, commanded by Colonel Monteith, which was under orders to return to India, was directed by the envoy to proceed "to the passes and chastise these rascals, and open the road to India;" but he was attacked during the night and lost the greater portion of his baggage. Sir Robert Sale, commanding the brigade returning to India, who was directed to support the 35th, was vigorously assailed in the Khoord Cabul pass, and on reaching Tezeen, ordered a detachment against the fort of the Ghiljie leader, the capture of which would have inflicted a severe blow on the insurrection, but the wily chiefs contrived to cozen the political agent, and he was drawn into a treaty which conceded nearly all they desired. Their stipends were restored, and 10,000 rupees paid down, but the revolt, instead of being nipped in the bud, was strengthened by this display of weakness. While professing submission, they sent emissaries to raise the tribes in advance, and Sir Robert Sale was obliged to fight every inch of his way to Gundamuk, and on his arrival there, found his communication with the capital closed, and the whole country in a blaze of rebellion.

A.D.
1841

Retrenchment and revolt.

Sir William Macnaghten had been rewarded for his services in Afghanistan with the governorship of Bombay, and had arranged to leave Cabul in the beginning of November. Throughout the previous month, while the surface of society presented the appearance of an unruffled calm, a general confederacy, which embraced every chief of every tribe, had been organised for our expulsion. The envoy was warned by the most intelligent and experienced officers—Sir Alexander Burnes excepted—of the storm which was gathering, but he persuaded himself that the country was in a state of unprecedented repose, and that the rising of the Ghiljies was a local *émeute*. On the evening of the 1st November, Sir Alexander visited him to congratulate him on leaving the country in a state of such tranquillity. At that same hour, some of the confederates were assembled in a house in the city to arrange the plan of the insurrection, and at dawn on the 2nd November, the insurgents surrounded Sir Alexander's house in the city with loud yells. He instantly despatched a messenger to Sir William Macnaghten in the cantonments for aid, and harangued the mob from his balcony, offering large sums for his own and his brother's life, but they were thirsting for his blood. He was more obnoxious to the Afghan chiefs than any of the other British officers, some of whom had gained their esteem by their genial disposition and their high moral character. He was decoyed into his garden by a treacherous Cashmerian, and hacked to pieces, together with his brother. The insurgents then proceeded to assault the neighbouring house to which Captain Johnston, the paymaster of Shah Soojah's force, had been unwisely allowed to transfer his treasure, and plundered it of nearly two lacs of rupees, and burnt down the houses of the other officers. The mob did not originally consist of more than a hundred men, but the rich booty which had been obtained speedily augmented their number, and the whole city was soon in a state of wild commotion. The confederate chiefs had so little expectation of success, that they had their horses saddled for flight on the first appearance of British troops. They subsequently acknowledged that the slightest exhibition of energy at the commencement would have put down the insurrection at once; but no effort was made.

A.D.
1841

General Elphinstone who commanded the troops, was a gallant old Queen's officer, but utterly disqualified for this important and dangerous post by his bodily infirmities, and

not less by his mental weakness and want of decision. On the retirement of Sir Willoughby Cotton, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, had recom-^{General Elphinstone.} mended Sir W. Nott as his successor, but he had, as we have said, incurred the displeasure of the Governor-General by the freedom of his remarks on the perils of our position, and General Elphinstone was importuned to accept the appointment, though his tremulous and gouty handwriting gave the clearest evidence that he was wholly unfit to be placed in the command of an army in a country ripe for revolt. It is therefore impossible to exonerate Lord Auckland from a large share of the responsibility of the overwhelming calamity which ensued, and which is to be attributed solely to the incompetency of the officer whom he had selected. The envoy made light of the *émeute*, and said it would speedily subside, and the General was too happy to be spared the necessity of exertion not to acquiesce in this opinion. It was decided, however, that Brigadier Shelton's brigade, which was encamped on the heights of Sea Sung, should be ordered to the Bala Hissar, and that assistance should be sent, if possible, to Sir Alexander Burnes. No effort was made by either the political or military authorities to rescue him, though it might have been effected with perfect ease by a direct route only a mile and a half long, free from every impediment. At a crisis when moments were of inestimable value, hours were wasted in discussion with the Shah regarding the admission of Brigadier Shelton's force into the Bala Hissar, and when it was settled, he did nothing but cover the retreat of Colonel Campbell and a regiment of the Shah's Hindostanees, who had been sent to the rescue of Sir Alexander, but were driven back.

On the evening of this first day of disaster General Elphinstone, instead of forming a vigorous plan of operations for the morrow, wrote to the envoy, "We must see what the morning brings, and think ^{Inactivity of the envoy and general.} "what can be done." Nothing, however, was done except a feeble attempt to penetrate the city with an inadequate force three hours after midday, but it was driven back by the thousands of armed men whom the success of the rising had brought into the city. Within thirty hours of the outbreak Sir William Macnaghten began to despond—as well he might—and despatched letters to General Nott and General Sale desiring them to come up immediately to his relief. The fatal error of having

A.L.
1841

A.D. 1841 given up the Bala Hissar and planted the cantonment in low ground on the plain, was now fully revealed. The ramparts were so contemptible that a pony might scale them, and they were so completely commanded by the neighbouring hills and forts that the troops could not move out without being exposed to a heavy fire. The commissariat stores, moreover, on which the existence of the army depended, instead of being lodged within the cantonment were deposited in a small fort, 400 yards distant, and guarded by eighty men. The supine general, instead of making a vigorous effort to secure them, allowed the enemy to undermine the fort; and the officer in charge of it, seeing no effort made to support him, was obliged to evacuate it, and men and officers looked over the walls of the cantonment with burning indignation, while a rabble of Afghans was employed unchecked, like a swarm of ants, in carrying off the provisions on which their hope of sustaining life depended.

General Sale received Sir William's order to return to Cabul at Gundamuk, but it was determined at a council of war that the force was in so crippled a state, and the intervening passes so completely blocked up by the insurgents, that any such attempt would result in its complete destruction, and it was determined therefore to push on to Jellalabad. General Nott at Candahar argued that his troops could not reach Cabul under five or six weeks; that beyond Ghuzni they would have to fight every inch of the way, and to wade through the snow, and would eventually arrive in such a condition as to be of little, if any, service. Three regiments were, nevertheless, despatched, but they returned on the first appearance of snow. Extraordinary efforts were now made at Cabul to obtain provisions from the neighbouring villages, and four days after the rising General Elphinstone informed the envoy that they had got temporarily, and he hoped permanently, over this difficulty, and, with 5,000 troops under his command, said, "Our case is not yet desperate; but it must be borne in mind that it goes very fast." Sir William, seeing the honour and safety of the force in such keeping, felt himself constrained to open negotiations with the insurgent chiefs, and, through the moonshee, Mohun Lall, made them an offer of two, three, or even five lacs of rupees; but, as might have been expected, this fresh token of our weakness only served to increase their arrogance.

The utter incompetence of the general was hurrying the

garrison to destruction, but there appeared some faint hope of deliverance if Brigadier Shelton, who had remained in the Bala Hissar since the 2nd November, were associated with him in the command. He was an officer of great energy, distinguished for his courage and iron nerve, and his arrival on the 9th November raised the drooping spirits of the garrison. But it was soon apparent that his insupportable temper neutralised all his military qualifications. He might have secured the salvation of the force if he had cordially co-operated with the general, but the state of things was only rendered more desperate by the discord which his perversity created. There was yet one course which would have rescued the army from all its perils—an immediate retreat to the impregnable position of the Bala Hissar. Shah Soojah did not cease to urge this movement—which was equally advocated by the envoy and the general—but Brigadier Shelton pertinaciously resisted it on grounds positively absurd, and on his memory rests the ignominy of having sealed the doom of 15,000 human beings.

There is little interest in dwelling on the long and melancholy catalogue of errors which followed close on each other, disgusting the officers, demoralising the men, and hastening the ruin of the force. On the 23rd November, the Afghans took up a position on the Behmaroo hills, which enabled them to inflict serious injury on the cantonment, and, at the earnest entreaty of the envoy, Brigadier Shelton went out with a considerable force to dislodge them. The chief who commanded their cavalry was killed, and the whole body was seized with a panic, and fled in disorder to the city. The envoy was standing by the side of the general on the ramparts, and importuned him to hasten out a sufficient force to improve the opportunity, but he languidly replied that it was a wild scheme. The enemy had time to recover their confidence and rushed back with redoubled fury, when the whole battalion of English soldiers abandoned the field and took to flight. The fugitives and pursuers were so mingled in the race that the Afghans might with perfect ease have captured the cantonments, but the chiefs drew off their men in the moment of victory. This defeat concluded all military operations; the disasters of these three weeks were justly attributed to the jealousies and the mismanagement of the two commanders, and all hope for the future was at an end; the army was demoralised, and a feeling of gloom and dismay pervaded the encampment.

SECTION IV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION—THE AFGHAN WAR—ANNIHILATION OF THE ARMY.

A.D. 1841 THE day after the disaster of the 23rd November, Shah Soojah again entreated the envoy to retire to the Bala Hissar, and he pressed it with increasing importunity on the military chiefs, but they persisted in rejecting the proposal, and the general, moreover, informed him in an official communication that it was no longer possible to maintain our position in the country. Sir William was therefore constrained to submit to the ignominy of holding a conference with the Afghan chiefs, but, finding us reduced to extremity, they haughtily demanded that the whole army should surrender at discretion with its arms and ammunition, and the negotiation was necessarily broken off. A week after, Akbar Khan, the ablest of Dost Mahomed's sons, a young soldier of great energy, but of a fiery and impetuous temper, arrived in Cabul and was at once accepted as the leader of the national confederacy. He was not slow to perceive that it was only necessary to cut off its supplies to extinguish the British force, and he immediately threatened with death all who should venture to furnish any provisions. The envoy, seeing the destruction of the force inevitable, renewed his entreaty to withdraw to the Bala Hissar, but the general again refused his concurrence. He then proposed that they should endeavour to obtain provisions from the country by their swords, but the imbecile commander replied that the only alternative now left was to obtain a safe conduct out of the country.

Starvation now stared the garrison in the face. On the 11th December, there was food left only for the day's consumption of the fighting men, and the envoy was obliged to make another effort to negotiate, and found himself constrained to submit to whatever terms the Afghans chose to dictate. They were sufficiently humiliating; the troops at Jellalabad, Candahar, Cabul, and Ghuzni were to evacuate the country, receiving every assistance of carriage and provisions; Dost Mahomed and his family were to be liberated; Shah Soojah was to be at liberty to remain on a pension, or to retire with the

British force; the army was to quit Cabul within three A.D. days, and in the meantime to receive ample supplies of 1841 provisions, and four officers were to be given up as hostages. This is the most disgraceful transaction in the annals of British India. In extenuation of it, the envoy placed on record, that "we had been fighting forty days against "superior numbers, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, with deplorable loss of life, and in a day or "two must have perished of hunger. The terms I secured "were the best obtainable, and the destruction of 15,000 "human beings would little have benefited our country." But the position of the unhappy envoy is described still more accurately by Kaye in his classic history of the war in Afghanistan: "Environed and hemmed in by difficulties "and dangers, overwhelmed with responsibilities there was "none to share—the lives of 15,000 resting on his decision "—the honour of his country at stake—with a perfidious "enemy at his back, he was driven to negotiate by the "imbecility of his companions." The entire responsibility of this humiliating convention rests on General Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton, than whom it would not have been easy to discover two men more disqualified for the posts they occupied, the one by bodily infirmity and constitutional imbecility, the other by almost incredible perversity of disposition. The brilliant success of Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad shows how easily the position of the army of Cabul might have been rectified with the superior means and appliances at command, if it had been under an able commander.

It never, however, was the intention of the Afghans to fulfil the treaty, or to permit any European to escape. The Bala Hissar was evacuated on the 13th by the few Violation of troops in it; the forts around the cantonment were the treaty. surrendered, and Akbar Khan received letters to the commandants at Jellalabad and other military stations ordering them to retire. The chiefs, moreover, were allowed to go into the magazines and help themselves to whatever stores they liked, while officers and men looked on in silent indignation. But the supplies furnished were so scanty as scarcely to appease hunger, and Akbar Khan and his chiefs not only continued to withhold supplies of carriage and provisions for the march, but rose in their demands, and insisted on the delivery of all the stores and ammunition of every description, and the surrender of all the married families as additional hostages. In these cir-

A.D. 1841 cumstances, Sir William directed his moonshee to open negotiations with other tribes, and inform them that if any portion of the Afghans declared to the Shah that they wished him to remain, he would break with the faithless Barukzies, the tribe of Akbar. It was at this critical juncture, when bewildered by the appalling crisis which was approaching, that Sir William Macnaghten received an unexpected message from Akbar, with a fresh proposal that the British force should remain till the spring; that Shah Soojah should retain the title of king, and that Akbar Khan should be appointed vizier, receiving from the British Government an immediate payment of thirty lacs, and an annual allowance of four lacs. In an evil hour for his reputation and safety, the envoy accepted these proposals in writing, and agreed to attend a meeting which was appointed for the next day.

General Elphinstone described the proposal as a plot, and endeavoured to dissuade the envoy from proceeding to the conference, but he replied in a hurried tone, "Let me alone for that. Dangerous though it be—if it succeeds, it is worth all risk. I had rather suffer a hundred deaths than live the last six weeks over again." At noon on the 23rd December he proceeded with three officers and about sixteen of his body-guard to the fatal meeting, 600 yards from the cantonment, where Akbar Khan had spread some horse cloths on the snow on the slope of the hill. They were no sooner seated than the officers were seized and placed each one on the saddle of an Afghan horseman and hurried off to the city. One of them fell off and was hacked to pieces; the envoy was shot dead by Akbar Khan, and the ghazees, or fanatics, rushed in and mutilated his body. Thus perished Sir William Macnaghten, the victim of an unwise and unjust policy, but as noble and brave an officer as ever fell in the service of his country. Throughout seven weeks of unparalleled difficulties, he exhibited a spirit of courage and constancy of which there is not another example in the annals of the Company. He was the only civilian at Cabul, and one of the truest-hearted soldiers in the garrison. He had served several years in the Madras army, and there can be little doubt that if he could have assumed the command of the force it would have escaped the doom that befell it.

No effort was made from the cantonment to avenge the murder of the envoy, or even to recover his mangled re-

Assassina-
tion of the
envoy.

mains, which were dragged in triumph through the city. All eyes were now turned on Major Pottinger, who had come in wounded from Chareekar at the beginning of the insurrection, and had remained ever since unnoticed in the cantonment. He assumed the political post of envoy and called a council of war to consider the new terms on which the Afghan chiefs now agreed to grant the army a safe-conduct to Peshawur. They differed from those to which Sir William had given his consent only in the demand of larger gratuities to themselves. The hero of Herat recoiled from these humiliating concessions, and urged the officers to reject them with scorn and defiance. His energy might yet have saved the army, but the council would not fight, and the new treaty was accepted without a word of remonstrance. The confederate chiefs, as might have been expected, increased their demands, and required that all the coin and the spare muskets and every gun save six should be surrendered, and that all the married officers and their families should be left in the country. But letters were received at the same time from Jellalabad and Peshawur stating that reinforcements were on their way, and imploring the garrison to hold out. Dissensions were also reported among the Afghan chiefs, and the major seized the occasion of this gleam of sunshine to conjure the commanders to make one bold and prompt effort either to occupy the Bala Hissar, or to cut their way to Jellalabad; but Brigadier Shelton, the evil genius of the cantonment, declared that both courses were equally impracticable. The treaty was therefore completed, and small arms, guns, and waggons were given up amidst the indignant exclamations of the garrison. The ratification of the treaty by the seals of eighteen chiefs was received on the 4th January. It was dictated in a spirit of arrogance, and received in a spirit of humility, and violated without a blush.

On the 6th January, 1842, the army, still 4,500 strong, with 11,000 camp followers, began its ominous retreat. As the snow lay ankle-deep on the ground, its salvation depended on the rapidity of its movements. If it had crossed the Cabul river before noon, and pushed on with promptitude, it might have escaped the dangers before it; but, through the mismanagement of the general the rear-guard did not leave the gate before the shades of night came on. The Afghan fanatics then rushed in and set the cantonments on fire, and lighted up this first night of horrors with the blaze. In the morning the spirit

A. D.
1841Major
Pottinger.Retreat
of the
army.

A.D. 1842 of discipline began to wane, and the force was no longer a retreating army, but a panic-stricken and disorganised rabble. Safety was to be found only in speed, but by the unaccountable folly of the military authorities the troops were halted the second night at Bootkhak. The crowd of men, women, and children, horses and camels, lying on the snow in wild confusion, without food or fuel, or shelter, presented a spectacle of unexampled misery. Akbar Khan now made his appearance, and demanded fresh hostages for the protection, as he said, of the force as far as Tezeen, and they were surrendered. Between Bootkhak and Tezeen lay the terrific gorge of the Khoord Cabul, five miles in length, so narrow that the rays of the sun seldom penetrated its recesses. At the bottom of it ran an impetuous torrent, which the road crossed and recrossed twenty-eight times, and it was through this tremendous defile that the disordered mass of human beings pressed on with one maddening desire, to escape destruction. But the Ghiljies poured an incessant fire upon the crowd from every height with their unerring weapons that carried death to the distance of 800 yards, and 3,000 perished from their fire and the intensity of the cold. It was in this scene of carnage that delicate English ladies, some with infants in their arms, had to run the gauntlet of Afghan bullets amidst a heavy fall of snow.

Akbar Khan again appeared in the morning and offered a supply of provisions, and advised the general to halt.

Extinction of the army. The whole force exclaimed against this insane proposal, but the general was deaf to all entreaties, and the perishing troops were constrained to sit down idle for a whole day in the snow. Akbar made an offer to take charge of the ladies and children, and convey them to Peshawur. They had scarcely tasted food since leaving Cabul; they were inadequately clad, and could obtain no shelter from the snow. Major Pottinger, who was Akbar's prisoner, felt that it would be impossible for them to survive these hardships, and, in accordance with his advice, Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and nine other ladies, with fifteen children, and eight officers, were sent to Akbar's camp and rescued from destruction. On the morning of the 10th, the remainder of the army resumed its march, but, before evening, the greater number of the sepoy had disappeared. Panic-stricken and benumbed with cold, they were slaughtered like sheep by the remorseless Ghiljies, and a narrow defile between two hills was choked up with the dying and the dead; 450 European soldiers and a con-

A.D,
1842

siderable body of officers yet remained, but the enemy took post on every salient point, blocked up every pass, and dealt death among their ranks. On approaching Jugdulluk a conference was held with Akbar, who continued to hang upon their rear, and he offered to supply them with provisions, on condition that General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and another officer, should be transferred to him as hostages for the surrender of Jellalabad. But this concession brought no respite from the ferocity of the Ghiljies, in whom the thirst for blood had overcome even the love of money, which was freely offered them. Akbar, having obtained possession of the persons of the ladies and the principal officers, abandoned the remnant of the army to their vengeance. At Jugdulluk, twelve of the bravest of the officers met their doom; and here the Cabul army may be said to have ceased to exist. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers contrived to reach Gundamuk, but they gradually dropped under the weapons of their foes, with the exception of one officer, Dr. Brydon, who was descried from the ramparts of Jellalabad, on the 13th January, slowly wending his way to the fort, wounded and exhausted, on his jaded pony, the sole survivor, with the exception of 120 in captivity, of 15,000 men.

The entire annihilation of this army was the severest blow which had been inflicted on the British power in India. Yet so strongly had its authority become consolidated that it did not produce any of those immediate demonstrations of hostility at the native courts, or any such fermentation in native society, as were visible on the destruction of Colonel Monson's force in 1804, or the failure in the Nepaul campaign of 1814, or even the sluggish progress of the army in Burmah in 1825. Lord Auckland, although overwhelmed by the magnitude of the calamity, was induced to issue a proclamation that "the Governor-General regarded the partial reverse which had overtaken a body of British troops in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour, as a new occasion for displaying the vigour and stability of British power, and the admirable spirit and vigour of the British Indian army." But after this spasm of energy he relapsed into a spirit of dejection, and, instead of considering how most effectually to restore our military superiority, the sole basis of our power in India, was prepared to leave it without vindication, and considered only how he could withdraw

Effects of
the catas-
trophe.

A.D. 1842 General Sale from Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Commander-in-chief was equally devoid of spirit; but Mr. —now Sir George—Clerk, the political agent in the Punjab, on hearing of the siege of the cantonment, hurried on the brigade which had been appointed to relieve the regiments returning from Afghanistan, but they were placed under the command of Colonel Wyld, and sent without cavalry or cannon. He crept through the Punjab at a slothful pace, and was thirty-five days in reaching Peshawur, whereas one of Runjeet Sing's European officers had accomplished the distance with his army in twelve days. The sepoy were eager to advance to the rescue of their fellow soldiers, but he lingered there until they were thoroughly demoralised by intercourse with the Sikh auxiliaries whom Runjeet Sing's successor had sent to co-operate with them, and who, on reaching Jumrood, and looking into the pass, turned round and marched back to Peshawur. Colonel Wyld then entered the pass without them, but the frail guns the Sikhs had lent him broke down on the first discharge; the sepoy lost heart, and allowed themselves to be ignominiously chased back, leaving their artillery in the hands of the Afreedies.

Lord Auckland was reluctant to send on a second brigade to relieve the army besieged in Cabul, but Mr. Clerk's energy overcame all objections, and a force of 3,000 men, including a corps of Europeans, crossed the Sutlej on the 4th January. It was happily under the command of General Pollock, an old artillery officer, who had campaigned with Lord Lake, and fought at Bhurtpore, in Nepaul, and in Burmah, and whose sagacity, caution, and decision of character eminently qualified him for the arduous task before him. The entire destruction of the Cabul force was announced on the 22nd January, and Mr. Clerk met the Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, to discuss the measures necessary to meet the crisis. Sir Jasper stated that the only object now to be pursued was to withdraw Sir Robert Sale's force safely to India; but Mr. Clerk, in a spirit more worthy of a Briton, maintained that the national reputation and the safety of the empire imperatively required that the garrison at Jellalabad should be reinforced to march simultaneously with the Candahar force to the capital, and inflict a signal retribution on the Afghans on the scene of our late disgrace, and then withdraw from Afghanistan with dignity and undiminished renown. The energy of this appeal could

not be resisted, and a third brigade was ordered to be held in readiness to join General Pollock; but Lord Auckland's last communication informed him that "his sole business was to secure the safe return of our people and troops detained beyond the Indus."

The arrival of Lord Ellenborough in Calcutta on the 28th February brought Lord Auckland's disastrous administration to a close. He wrote a benevolent minute on education, and he endeavoured to promote the interests of science, for which he had a natural turn; but his rule was comprised in a single series of transactions—the conquest, the occupation, and the loss of Afghanistan. His administration commenced with a surplus revenue of a crore and a half, and it closed with a deficit of two crores, and a large addition to the debt. The Tories contributed one inefficient Governor-General in Lord Amherst, and the Whigs another in Lord Auckland. The one wasted thirteen crores in the Burmese war; the other squandered an equal sum in the Afghan expedition.

A. D.
1842

Close of
Lord Auck-
land's ad-
ministra-
tion.

CHAPTER XIII.

SECTION I.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—ADVANCE OF THE ARMY ON CABUL.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, who now assumed the charge of the Government, was a statesman of high repute, and an eloquent speaker, and had for several years taken a special interest in the affairs of India, more particularly during the discussion on the last charter. Like Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto, he had served an apprenticeship at the Board of Control, where he had acquired an ample knowledge of the principles and policy of the Indian administration. He was known to possess great energy and decision of character, and the community in India augured a happy relief from the weak and vacillating policy of his predecessor.

General Pollock arrived at Peshawur on the 5th February,

A.D.
1842

and found the four regiments in a state of complete insubordination. Many of the sepoys had deserted their colours, and meetings were nightly held to encourage each other in the determination not to enter the Khyber Pass. Efforts were also made to debauch the regiments which the general had brought with him, but he put down these machinations with promptitude and energy. The officers manifested scarcely less reluctance to encounter the danger of the passes. Sir Robert Sale was importuning the general to hasten to his relief, but he felt that, with a force so completely demoralised, he could not advance without the certain risk of failure. Obligated as he was to wait for reinforcements, he devoted the months of February and March to the task of restoring the discipline, recovering the health, and reviving the confidence of his troops, which was strengthened in no small degree by the arrival of a regiment of dragoons and some horse artillery. Raja Golab Sing also came up and took the command of the Sikh contingent, and the masterly arrangements and resolute bearing of General Pollock at length overcame the dread with which the Sikhs regarded the Khyber, and secured the active co-operation of the raja. The Khyberees demanded an exorbitant sum for a passage through their defiles, and proceeded to block up the entrance of the pass with stones and branches of trees, while they covered the mountains on either side with their troops; but the plan adopted by General Pollock, of crowning the heights baffled all their efforts. At three in the morning of the 5th April the troops moved out of the camp in perfect silence and climbed up the rugged crags with great enthusiasm, and the dawn revealed their presence to the thunderstruck Afghans on the summit of their own hills. After a sharp conflict, they were seen to fly precipitately in every direction; the defence of the pass was abandoned, and it was opened to the long string of baggage which, including the military stores and the provisions for General Sale's force, extended two miles. No further obstacle was offered to the progress of the army, which reached Jellalabad on the 15th April.

Sir Robert Sale, reached Jellalabad on the 13th November, with provisions for only two days. The fortifications were in a state of complete dilapidation, and there were paths over the ramparts into the country. Immediately beyond the walls lay ruined forts and mosques, which afforded cover for assailants at the distance of only twenty or thirty yards, and the inhabitants, both in the

General Sale
at Jellalabad.

town and country, were animated with feelings of bitter hostility. The day after the arrival of the force, 5,000 of the armed population of the neighbourhood advanced with yells and imprecations to the walls, but were completely dispersed by Colonel Monteath. Captain Broadfoot, an officer of indomitable energy and fertile resources, who had accompanied the brigade with his sappers and miners, was appointed garrison engineer, and commenced the task of clearing and strengthening the fortifications. The whole of the 13th Foot was turned into a working party, a spirit of zeal and emulation was diffused through the garrison, and an indefensible mass of ruins was, in a short time, converted into a fortress, proof against anything but siege artillery. On the 9th January a horseman rode up to the gate with the order to evacuate Jellalabad which General Elphinstone had written under compulsion. The officers replied that as Akbar Khan had sent a proclamation to the chiefs in the valley to destroy the force, they would await further communications from the general at Cabul. At the close of January a letter was received from Shah Soojah, as the ostensible head of the Afghan Government, demanding the evacuation of the town. At a council of war, the general and the political agent proposed to comply with the request, and the latter supported his advice to evacuate the place and return to Peshawur by the assertion that the Government of India had evidently abandoned the garrison to its fate, and that it was impossible for them to hold out much longer; to which Captain Broadfoot nobly replied, that even if their own Government had deserted them, they owed it to their country to uphold its honour at this crisis, and it was a duty from which nothing could absolve them. The majority of the council, however, agreed to adopt the views of the political agent, but with the understanding that if the next communication from the Shah and the chiefs at Cabul was equivocal, they should be at liberty to take their own course. The answer was clogged with requisitions which were deemed inadmissible; Captain Broadfoot reiterated his objection to a capitulation; the officers had recovered the tone of their minds, and a recent foray had supplied the garrison with 900 head of cattle; and, contrary to the advice of the general and the political agent, the majority voted against the renewal of negotiations.

On the 18th February a succession of earthquakes destroyed in a few hours the labours of three months. The parapets were prostrated, the bastions seriously injured,

A.D.
1841

1842

A.D.
1842

and one of the gates was reduced to a heap of ruins.

The damage was, however, repaired with such promptitude as to lead the Afghans to declare that the earthquake could not have been felt there.

Soon after, Akbar Khan, who had been detained at Cabul by differences with the chiefs, arrived in the valley to take possession of the town, in accordance with the order of evacuation he had extorted from the British authorities at Cabul; but he found that the defences had been completed, and a store of provisions laid in; that he had not to deal with men like Elphinstone and Shelton, but with officers and men buoyant with animation and confidence. On the 11th March he advanced to the attack of the town, but the whole garrison sallied forth, and he was ignominiously driven from the field. He resolved, therefore, to turn the siege into a blockade, in the hope of starving the garrison into submission, as he had done at Cabul; and its situation began to be critical: the cattle were perishing for want of fodder; the men were on reduced rations of salt meat; the officers were on short commons; and the ammunition was running low. Akbar had been gradually drawing his camp nearer to the town, and it was now pitched within two miles of it. The general at length yielded to the importunity of Captain Havelock and his brother officers to relieve the force from its perilous position by a bold attack on the encampment of the enemy. The plan of the engagement provided that a simultaneous attack should be made in three columns, and that his army should be driven into the river, which was then an impetuous torrent. By some mistake, one column had to bear the brunt of the assault made by Akbar's splendid cavalry; but in the course of an hour he was driven from every point, and pursued to the river with the entire loss of his stores and equipment, and his camp was delivered up to the flames. He disappeared from the scene, and the neighbouring chiefs hastened to make their submission and to pour in provisions. General Pollock, on his arrival a week after, found the garrison, which had achieved its own deliverance, in exuberant spirits and robust health. One such day at Cabul would have saved the army.

Immediately after the outbreak at Cabul the chiefs despatched emissaries to raise western Afghanistan, and General Nott concentrated his force at Candahar, but the spirit of disaffection was irresistible. The Jaunbaz, the Shah's cavalry, as well as the chiefs of

Affairs at
andha

his own tribe, threw off the mask and openly joined the insurgents, and even his own son placed himself at their head. After many weeks of preparation they moved down to attack Candahar, but were completely discomfited in an engagement which did not last more than twenty minutes. At length Mirza Ahned, the ablest man in the country, and who had enjoyed the entire confidence of Major Rawlinson, went over to the hostile camp, and gave strength and organisation to the confederacy. The insurgents continued to hover round the city, and it was considered necessary to break up their camp. General Nott accordingly marched out on the 10th March, and was inveigled to a distance from the city, when Mirza Ahmed and the Shah's own son advanced at sunset to the Herat gate, where their emissaries had been employed for some hours in heaping up brushwood saturated with oil. As soon as it blazed up, the ghazees, or fanatics, maddened with drugs, rushed forward with hideous yells and imprecations. Amidst this scene of wild confusion, which was rendered more appalling by the darkness, Majors Rawlinson and Lane defended the gate with the greatest energy for five hours. Towards midnight the fury of the assailants was exhausted, and they retired, and Candahar was saved.

This brilliant success was counterbalanced by disasters. Ghuzni, after having stood a siege of four months, was surrendered to the Afghans, though under a different commander it might easily have been held till the garrison was relieved. General England, moreover, was advancing up to Candahar from the south with a convoy of provisions, ammunition, and money, and had reached Hykulzye when a body of 500 of his troops was suddenly assailed by a party of the enemy, who sprang up from behind a breastwork, four feet high, erected on a slight elevation, and a considerable number were killed. They recoiled at first from the shock, but soon recovered themselves, and were eager to be led on; but the panic-stricken general retreated in dismay to Qwetta, and actually began to throw up entrenchments.

On the 15th March Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation, signed by himself and all the members of Council, stating that the course now to be pursued must have reference "to the establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow on the Afghans which may make it appear to them and to our subjects and

A.D.
1842

Disasters.

Lord Ellen-
borough's
proclama-
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A.D.
1842

“ allies that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities, and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation.” These noble sentiments were welcomed with exultation throughout India, but after a brief residence in Calcutta, he left the Council board and proceeded to the north-west; and, on hearing of the loss of Ghuzni and the repulse of General England and his precipitate retreat to Qwetta, announced to the Commander-in-Chief his determination to withdraw the troops from Candahar and Jellalabad at the earliest practicable period. He questioned whether “ it would be justifiable to put our troops forward for no other object than that of avenging our losses and re-establishing our military character in all its original brilliancy.” General Nott was therefore directed to retire from Candahar after blowing up the gateways and demolishing the fortifications, and General Pollock was ordered to return to the provinces, except under certain contingencies.

To this communication General Pollock replied that the withdrawal of the force at the present time would necessarily be construed into a defeat, and compromise our character as a powerful nation in Asia, and produce the most disastrous effect. The release of the prisoners was also, he said, an object not to be repudiated; but the want of cattle would effectually prevent his immediate retirement, and he might possibly be detained several months. By this dexterous suggestion he was enabled to evade the injunction to retire at once, and to wait the chance of another and more auspicious change in the versatile mind of Lord Ellenborough. General Nott and Major Rawlinson had, with no small difficulty, succeeded in maintaining anything like subordination in the province amidst the seething elements of revolt and anarchy, and any suspicion of retirement would have raised the whole country and rendered it impossible to obtain cattle or provisions without the employment of force. But General Nott replied promptly that the evacuation of the province should be effected in the best manner circumstances would admit, and thus gained a season of respite.

The order for the immediate evacuation of Afghanistan excited a burst of indignation throughout India. It was universally felt that to retire before our honour had been

Reply of
Generals
Pollock and
Nott.

vindicated, or the prisoners rescued, would inflict a deeper stigma on the national character than the capitulation at Cabul, which might be considered one of the chances of war. With all the contempt Lord Ellenborough professed for public opinion, he could scarcely be indifferent to this unanimous expression of feeling, and he changed his mind again. On the 4th July, General Nott was assured, in an official communication, that the resolution of the Governor-General to withdraw the troops remained without alteration. On the same day, Lord Ellenborough wrote himself to the general, suggesting that it might possibly be feasible for him to withdraw from Afghanistan by advancing to Ghuzni and Cabul over the scenes of our late disasters ; that this would have a grand effect upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our own countrymen, and of foreign nations in Europe. It was an object of just ambition, but the risk was unquestionably great. A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, with the suggestion that he might possibly feel disposed to advance to Cabul and co-operate with General Nott. Both officers were too happy to obtain permission to move up to the capital and retrieve our honour, to think for a moment of the responsibility thus thrust upon them, and which the Governor-General, as the head of the state, should have had the courage to take on himself.

After the retreat of the army from Cabul, Shah Soojah was acknowledged as king, and allowed to reside in the Bala Hissar, but the insurgent chiefs engrossed all the power of the state. He sent repeated messages to Jellalabad declaring his unalterable attachment to the British Government, and asking for nothing but money, although he had contrived to save twenty lacs of rupees out of the sums lavished on him since he left Loodiana. To the Afghan chiefs he protested his constant fidelity to the national cause, and they desired him to demonstrate his sincerity by placing himself at the head of the army about to proceed to Jellalabad to expel General Sale. It was rumoured that he would be murdered or blinded by the Barukzies if he quitted the Bala Hissar, and he exacted an oath for his safety on the Koran, and descended from the citadel on the 5th April decked in all the insignia of royalty. He was shot dead on the road, and his body was rifled of the costly jewels he always carried about his person, and thrown into a ditch. It was rescued by his son, and

A.D.
1842Lord Ellen-
borough's
change of
plan.

Shah Soojah.

A.D. 1842 interred with royal honours. Dissensions then broke out among the different chiefs, which ended in the complete ascendancy of Akbar Khan.

Of the British officers who were taken over as hostages, the greater number were entrusted to Zeman Shah, the only Afghan chief who never wavered in his attachment to the English during these scenes of perfidy. On the murder of Shah Soojah, he was constrained to transfer them to the high priest of Cabul, who sold them to Akbar Khan for 4,000 rupees. The captives, on being made over to him during the retreat, were conducted through the recent scenes of slaughter, amidst the mangled corpses which emitted the sickening smell of death, to a fort at Tezeen, and then over mountain paths, all but impassable, to Budeeabad, forty miles from Jellalabad, and were enabled to correspond with their friends in that town and to receive books and journals. On the approach of General Pollock they were conducted back for safety to Tezeen, where General Elphinstone sunk into the grave, a noble and brave soldier, endeared to all around him for his urbanity, but utterly unqualified for the arduous post which Lord Auckland had thrust upon him. On the 22nd May the captives were conveyed to a fort three miles from Cabul, where they enjoyed comparative freedom and comfort, and were permitted to interchange visits with their friends in the Bala Hissar. Meanwhile, Akbar Khan deputed one of the officers whom he held in captivity to General Pollock to propose the release of the prisoners on condition of his quitting the country without marching on the capital, threatening, in case of a refusal, to send them on to Turkestan and distribute them among the Oosbek chiefs. The proposal was peremptorily refused.

The permission to march on Cabul was received with a shout of exultation at Jellalabad, but it was not before the middle of August that General Pollock was able to learn with certainty that General Nott had actually turned his face towards the capital. On the 20th of that month, 8,000 men, animated with a feeling of the highest enthusiasm, marched out of Jellalabad. At Jugdulluk the Ghiljies again appeared under the ablest of their chiefs, and with the flower of their tribes; but they no longer had a dispirited and fugitive soldiery to deal with, and in the battle which ensued the victory over them was in every way complete. The rout of the Ghiljies and the bold advance of General Pollock spread dismay at Cabul,

and Akbar Khan, having put his threat in execution and sent the prisoners into Turkestan, moved down with all the chiefs and their levies to make one last effort to protect Cabul from the avenging foe. The two armies met in the valley of Tezeen, which had been the scene of a great massacre in January, and every height again bristled with matchlocks. The sepoy vied with his European comrade in driving the enemy from crag to crag, and dispersing them like a flock of sheep. Akbar fled from the field, leaving his troops to shift for themselves, and the British ensign was hoisted on the Bala Hissar on the 15th September. A. D.
1842

General Nott evacuated Candahar on the 7th August. Owing to the admirable discipline maintained by the military and political chiefs, there had been no licentiousness on the part of the soldiery or officers to irritate the inhabitants, and they crowded around them and embraced them as they quitted the town. The army encountered no opposition of any moment on the route. The fortifications of Ghuzni were blown up, and the woodwork set on fire; and the flames of this ancient and renowned citadel, the cradle of Mahomedan power, lighted up the sky throughout the night. In it were deposited the gates of sandal wood of which Mahmood had despoiled the temple of Somnath eight centuries before, and Lord Ellenborough resolved to attach to his administration what he considered the merit of having restored them to India. General Nott was also instructed to bring away from the tomb of Mahmood "his club, which hung over it, and which, together with the gates, would be the just trophies of his successful march." The army reached Cabul the day after the arrival of General Pollock.

Advance
from Can-
dahar.

The first attention of General Pollock on his arrival was directed to the recovery of the prisoners whom Akbar Khan, on the 25th August, had hurried over the barren wastes and steep ascents of the Hindoo Coosh, many thousand feet above the level of the sea to Bameean, where they arrived on the 3rd September. Sir Richmond Shakespear, his military secretary, was therefore despatched after them with 600 horsemen. They were under the charge of Salch Mahomed, who had been a native commandant in a local Afghan regiment, but deserted it in the previous year. On the 11th September, he called Captain Johnson, Captain George Lawrence, and Major Pottinger aside, and produced a letter from

Rescue of
the pri-
soners.

A.D.
1842

Akbar Khan, directing him to convey the prisoners to the higher regions of the Hindoo Coosh, and deliver them to the Oosbek chief of Khooloom. At the same time, he exhibited a letter from Mohun lall, the moonshee in the service of the late envoy at Cabul, promising him, on the part of General Pollock, a gratuity of 20,000 rupees and an annuity of 12,000 rupees if he would restore the captives. "I know nothing," he said, "of General Pollock, but if you three gentlemen will swear to me by your Saviour to make the offer good, I will deliver you over to your own people." The proposal was received with rapture, and the officers and ladies united in making themselves responsible by a deed for the funds.

Major Pottinger, by common consent, assumed the direction of their movements, and the hero of Herat was again in his element. He deposed the hostile governor of Bameean, hoisted another flag, and laid under contribution a caravan of Lohanee merchants passing through the country. He secured the Afghan escort consisting of 250 men by the promise of four months pay on reaching Cabul. He issued proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs to come in and make their obeisance, and granted them remissions of revenue. To prepare for a siege he repaired the fortifications, dug wells, and laid in a supply of provisions. On the 15th September a horseman galloped in with the cheering intelligence that Akbar Khan had been completely defeated, that the Afghan force was annihilated, and that General Pollock was in full march to Cabul. Major Pottinger and his fellow prisoners determined to return to Cabul without any delay. They bid adieu to the fort on the 16th, and slept that night on the bare rock, unconscious of fatigue or suffering. The next afternoon Sir Richmond Shakespear and his squadron was in the midst of them, and the anxieties of eight months were at an end. Two days after, the camp at Cabul was ringing with acclamations as the captives entered it, many of them wrapped in sheep skins. Never since the establishment of British power in India had so intense a feeling of anxiety pervaded the community as the fate of the prisoners excited, and the thrill of delight which vibrated throughout the country on the announcement of their safety may be more easily conceived than described.

The scattered remnant of the Afghan army was assembling in the Kohistan, the highlands of Cabul, under Ameenoola, the most inveterate of our enemies, and it was deemed

necessary to break up the gathering. A force was despatched against Istaliff, the chief town, which was considered the virgin fortress of Afghanistan, but it was captured with little loss. Chareekar, where the Goorkha regiment had been slaughtered, as well as several other towns which had taken a prominent part in the insurrection, were also destroyed. The object of the expedition had now been accomplished; Afghanistan had been reconquered, our prisoners recovered, and our military reputation restored to its former brilliancy; but it was considered necessary to leave some lasting mark of retribution on the capital. The great bazaar, where the mutilated corpse of the envoy had been exposed to the insults of the mob—the noblest building of its kind in Central Asia—was accordingly undermined and blown up. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the officers to guard the gates, the soldiers rushed in from the camps of both generals, and for several days the city was subjected to the wild and licentious passions of men maddened by a remembrance of the indignities heaped on their murdered fellow-countrymen. The English colours were hauled down from the Bala Hissar on the 12th October, and the two armies turned their backs on Afghanistan. The family of Shah Soojah returned with the army to their former retreat at Loodiana. General Pollock halted at Jellalabad to blow up the fortifications, and the whole army at length reached the banks of the Sutlej.

Lord Ellenborough received intelligence of the re-occupation of Cabul while residing at Simla in the house in which Lord Auckland had penned the declaration of war four years before, and he issued a proclamation announcing the termination of it. To give a dramatic effect to the proceeding, it was dated on the same day of the month with Lord Auckland's manifesto, though it was not issued till ten days later. It was universally censured for the unseemly reflections cast upon the preceding Governor-General. "Disasters," Lord Ellenborough said, "unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated, have in one short campaign been avenged on every scene of past misfortune." "The combined army of England and India," he proceeded to say, "superior in equipment, in discipline, and in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any force that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength on its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence,

A. D.
1842

Istaliff.

Lord Ellenborough's proclamations.

A.D. "preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and
1842 "honour."

Lord Ellenborough had been in such a state of excitement ever since he assumed the government, that these inflated expressions excited little surprise, and the public only regretted that, with all his fine talents, he had so little ballast. The proclamation of the Gates appeared next, but it was ridiculed as a servile imitation of Bonaparte's proclamation of the Pyramids. "My friends and brethren," said the Governor-General in his address to the princes of India, "our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnath in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Mahmood looks on the ruins of Ghuzni. The insult of 800 years is avenged. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwara, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful warfare. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal wood to the restored temple of Somnath." This quixotic address was designated by the Duke of Wellington a song of triumph, but by the community in India, native as well as European, it was considered the triumph of folly. The gates, which had been under the charge of General Nott, were placed on a waggon, covered with costly trappings, and brought in the train of the Governor-General to Agra. As the encampment moved on, hundreds of Hindoos prostrated themselves before the waggon, and made poojah, and presented offerings to it as to a deity. But the gates never moved beyond Agra, where they were consigned to a lumber room in the fort.

Lord Ellenborough had assembled a large army at Ferozepore, partly to overawe the Sikhs, and partly to get up a grand ovation, and there "at the foot of the bridge of Meeting at
Ferozepore. "the Sutlej," amidst hundreds of elephants, which he had collected to do honour to the returning heroes, and which had been painted and decorated under his own immediate eye, he welcomed General Pollock with the captives, and General Nott with the gates. The officers were feasted in magnificent tents, decorated with flags bearing the names of their several victories, and the sepoy were regaled, as the Governor-General's notification ran, with their "favourite metoys," or sweetmeats. Including the regiments returning from Afghanistan, the camp at Ferozepore numbered 40,000 troops—an imposing and judicious display of military power after our recent disasters beyond the Indus. The Afghan prisoners in our hands

were liberated. On taking leave of Dost Mahomed, Lord Ellenborough had the curiosity to enquire his opinion of us after all he had seen in India. "I have been struck," he replied, "with the magnitude of your resources and your power, your armies, your ships, your arsenals; but what I cannot understand is why the rulers of so vast and flourishing an empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country." The surprise expressed by the Dost was equally shared by the community in England and in India; and here the curtain drops on the dark tragedy of Afghanistan.

A. D.
1842

On the 1st October Lord Ellenborough announced in his Simla proclamation that "the Government of India, content with the limits which nature appears to have assigned to its empire, would devote all its efforts to the re-establishment and maintenance of peace," and he ordered a medal to be struck with the motto "Pax Asiæ restituta." Within six months he issued another proclamation, annexing the kingdom of Sindé to the Company's dominions. That country was divided into three principalities—upper, middle and lower Sindé, governed respectively by the Ameers, who were independent of each other. They had meekly submitted to the humiliation of the treaties enforced on them by Sir William Macnaghten in 1839, and, during the three years of the occupation of Afghanistan, their conduct had been marked by exemplary good faith. They permitted the free passage of our troops and stores, and supplied the steamers with fuel. After the Cabul force was annihilated, they still continued to furnish supplies and carriage, and it was solely by means of the 3,000 camels provided by them that General Nott was enabled to move on Cabul. Some of the chiefs, however, were emboldened by our reverses to manifest a spirit of hostility, and Major Outram, the Resident, brought charges against them, and advised a revision of the treaties. Lord Ellenborough replied that he was determined to inflict signal chastisement on any chief or Ameer who had exhibited hostile designs against us during the late events on a presumption of our weakness, but there must, he said, be the clearest proof of their faithlessness.

Conduct of
the Ameers
of Sindé.

Sir Charles Napier arrived in Sindé on the 9th September, invested with full diplomatic and military power. He was a soldier of distinguished reputation, and of extraordinary energy, but he came to his post

Sir Charles
Napier.

A. D.
1842

with a violent prejudice against the Ameers. The investigation of the charges of disloyalty was referred to him by the Governor-General with the distinct injunction that he should not proceed against them without the most complete proof of their guilt. All the charges, except three, were at once dismissed, and the question of their delinquency turned upon the authenticity of a letter, which the best scholars in India said was exceedingly doubtful, but which Sir Charles, who was totally ignorant of the language, pronounced to be genuine, without calling on the Ameers for any explanation. The treaties of 1839, he affirmed, had been violated.

Major Outram had submitted to Lord Ellenborough, together with the charges he brought against some of the chiefs, the draft of a new treaty intended to substitute a cession of territory for the annual tribute, and to punish the disloyal Ameers by transferring a portion of their lands to the nabob of Bhawalpore. The treaty was received from the Governor-General by Sir Charles Napier on the 12th November, when Major Outram discovered that it prescribed the confiscation of more territory than had been originally intended, and deprived the Ameers of the cherished prerogative of coining money. He attributed this alteration to inadvertence, and requested Sir Charles to bring the subject to the notice of Lord Ellenborough. He thought fit, however, to detain the document ten weeks, and when it arrived at length with the Governor-General's instruction that the error should be rectified, the Ameers had been irretrievably ruined. Lord Ellenborough had distinctly ordered Sir Charles Napier not to act on the treaty till the Ameers had accepted and ratified it; but before they were allowed to discuss it, he sequestered the whole of the lands stated in the first and incorrect treaty, which belonged to the Beloch chiefs, the feudatories of the Ameers, and they were at once deprived of the means of subsistence.

These violent and unjustifiable proceedings were prompted by the consummate villany of Ali Morad. The office of Rais was the highest dignity in Upper Sinde, and the turban was the symbol of it. It had long been enjoyed by Meer Roostum, then in his eighty-fifth year, who was venerated alike by the chiefs and the people and the British officers. The succession to this honour belonged by the usage of the country to his brother Ali Morad, but he was anxious to bestow it on his

All Morad's
perfidy.

own son. To make sure of the turban Ali Morad insinuated himself, on the one hand, into the confidence of Sir Charles Napier and succeeded in poisoning his mind against Meer Roostum, and on the other, endeavoured to drive Meer Roostum into some overt act of hostility towards the British Government. Under his sinister influence, three haughty and menacing messages were sent by Sir Charles to the Meer, and when he sought an interview to afford an explanation, it was refused him and he was ordered to repair to his brother's fortress at Deejee. Soon after his arrival there, Ali Morad transmitted to Sir Charles a letter from his brother, stating that he had of his own free will resigned the turban, and his army, his forts and his country to him. Sir Charles was not without suspicion that the cession had been obtained by force or fraud, and he informed Ali Morad that it was his intention to see his brother in person on the subject. To prevent this interview, which would have been fatal to his scheme, he awoke his brother at midnight, and urged him to fly, as the English general was coming the next morning to apprehend him. The bewildered old chief rode off in haste to the camp of his relatives twelve miles distant, and Sir Charles immediately issued a proclamation to the Ameers and people of Sinde charging Meer Roostum with having insulted and defied the British Government, and announcing that he was resolved to maintain Ali Morad as the chieftain of the Talpoora family. Meer Roostum immediately sent his minister to assure Sir Charles that he had been placed under restraint by Ali Morad, that his seal was affixed to the deed by force, and that he had been prompted by him to fly. To this communication Sir Charles sent an arrogant reply. Soon after, he started on an expedition to Emamgurh in the desert, because it was considered the "Gibraltar of Upper Sinde," and he was determined to show the chiefs that "neither their deserts nor their negotiations could intercept the progress of the British army." The army traversed the desert for four days amidst great hardships, and finding the fort evacuated, blew it up with the powder contained in it. The Duke of Wellington pronounced it a great military exploit, but as Meer Mahomed, to whom the fort belonged, had never given any cause of offence to the British Government it was an act of wanton aggression.

After having confiscated the lands in Upper Sinde and deprived Meer Roostum of his power and dignity, Sir

Charles Napier ordered the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde to meet Major Outram at Khyrpore, to discuss and sign the treaty, but as some of them did not attend, the conference was transferred to Hyderabad. Two days after, the agents of the Ameers of Lower Sinde arrived in the camp with their masters' seals, which they were authorised to affix to the treaty; and there would have been a peaceful solution of all differences if they had been permitted to do so. Sir Charles, however, refused them permission to execute the deed, and ordered them back to Hyderabad, and thus brought the combustible materials of the upper and lower divisions of the country together in that city.

A. D. 1843
 Conference with the Ameers.
 Conference at Hyderabad.

At the conference, the Ameers denied that they had infringed the treaty of 1839, and they repudiated the correspondence on which they had been condemned, and which they were not permitted to see. On the 12th February, they affixed their seals to the treaty, but assured the Major that the Beloche troops assembled at the capital were exasperated at the sight of the chiefs of Upper Sinde whom Sir Charles had deprived of their lands, and more especially of the venerable Meer Roostum, whom he had deposed, and that it was impossible to answer for their conduct. The confusion was increased by the approach of Sir Charles Napier and his army. As the Major was leaving the fort after the signature of the treaty, he was surrounded by a crowd of citizens and soldiers who poured curses on the British name, and he would have fallen a victim to popular fury, if the Ameers had not personally guarded him to the Residency. The next day a deputation from the Ameers waited on him, and stated that the Beloche troops were wrought up to such a state of desperation that they had ceased to be amenable to authority. For two days they continued to entreat him to retire from the Residency to a position of greater safety, but, with more chivalry than discretion, he refused to move. On the morning of the 15th February, three days after the signature of the treaties, masses of infantry came down on the Residency house, and Major Outram, after a gallant defence of three hours, withdrew to the armed steamer anchored in the river at the distance of 500 yards.

An appeal to arms now became inevitable. The Beloche troops flocked to the capital in augmented numbers when it was found that Sir Charles Napier persisted in advancing upon it after the treaty had been

The battle of Meeanee.

signed. On the morning of the 17th February he came in front of the Beloche army which was posted at Meeanee, six miles from Hyderabad, about 20,000 in number, while his own force did not exceed 2,700. The Beloches disputed every inch of ground, and, after fighting for three hours with desperate valour, retired gradually from the contest, leaving their camp and their artillery in the hands of the victor. Braver men never rushed on death, and never on any Indian battle-field had the gallantry of British troops and the generalship of a British commander been more conspicuous. No quarter was asked or given, and the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was computed at 5,000, while on the side of the English the number did not exceed 257, of whom, however, nineteen were officers. A fresh body of 10,000 Beloche soldiers arrived the next day, and a similar number was hovering about in the neighbourhood, but the voluntary submission of the Ameers and the surrender of the fort, relieved Sir Charles from all anxiety. He entered Hyderabad on the 20th, and obtained possession of the accumulated treasures of the Talpoora dynasty, which, as usual, were at once distributed among the troops as prize-money. Lord Ellenborough on hearing of the victory of Meanee issued a proclamation, annexing Sinde, "fertile as Egypt," to the Company's dominions. The gallant Shere Mahomed collected together the scattered bands of Beloches to make another effort for the independence of his country. Sir Charles Napier, who had received reinforcements which raised his army to 6,000, found the Ameer encamped with 20,000 men at Duppa. The field was gallantly contested on both sides, but the victory was as complete as that of Meeanee, and the subjugation of the country was consummated.

The triumphs of the army in Sinde were contrasted with the pusillanimity exhibited at Cabul and created a feeling of just exultation in India, but it was damped by the conviction that the war was altogether indefensible. The elaborate vindication which Lord Ellenborough drew up of it only served to expose the weakness of his cause. His error lay in the overweening confidence he placed in Sir Charles Napier, who was always more under the influence of excitement than of reason, and who withheld much information which he was bound in honour to give. Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, justly observed that the conquest of Sinde would never have taken place if the Governor-General had been

Remarks.

in full possession of the real facts, and cognisant of Ali Morad's perfidy. But even before Sir Charles knew anything of that caitiff he wrote, "We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers . . . the more powerful Government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker;" and he subsequently remarked, "We have no right to seize Sinda, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be." The rascality is more obvious than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a rich harvest of prize-money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of Sir Charles Napier. On the finances of India it inflicted a loss of two crores and a half of rupees, in the course of fifteen years.

SECTION II.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—WAR WITH SINDIA— HIS RECALL.

A.D. 1843 THE annexation of Sinda brought its own retribution. It led to a relaxation of the bonds of discipline and loyalty of the native army, and afforded a premonition of that climax of mutiny which thirteen years after swept away the whole army. Sinda having become a British province, the sepoy ceased to be entitled to the extra allowance granted to them when on foreign service in an enemy's country, but they could see no reason why their pay should be curtailed because they had added a new kingdom to the dominions of their masters. In February, the 34th Native Infantry refused to march to Sinda without the same allowance which had been granted to troops proceeding beyond the Indus. The 7th Bengal Cavalry and some Bengal artillery followed the example, and were marched back. The 69th and 4th, ordered in their stead to the frontier, refused to embark on the boats at Ferozepore, and the 64th mutinied at Loodiana, at Mood-kee, and at Shikarpore. On none of these occasions was the authority of the state vindicated, or the spirit of discipline maintained. Finding it impossible to garrison Sinda with a Bengal force, the Government turned to the Madras army, and a regiment was sent to Bombay; but when the men found that the usual extra allowance was not to be granted, they also went into mutiny. The province was

Mutiny of
native regi-
ments.

A.D.
1844

then made over to the Bombay Presidency, and satisfactory arrangements were made with regard to the pay of the sepoys.

The next event in the course of Lord Ellenborough's administration had reference to the affairs of Gwalior. A.D. 1843
 Dowlut Rao Sindia died in 1827, and his widow Baeza by adopted Junkojee, who died in 1843 Affairs of Gwalior.
 without issue. In 1838 he had taken for his second wife Tara bye, who was thirteen years of age at the time of his death, when she adopted a boy of eight years, bestowing on him the title of Gyajee. The Gwalior cabinet was anxious that the government should remain with the existing ministry, but Lord Ellenborough, considering the extreme youth of the raja and his adoptive mother, deemed it prudent that the management of public affairs should be entrusted to a single individual. Of the two candidates who were presented to him he chose for regent the Mama Sahib, the uncle of the late raja, while the young queen and an influential party at court preferred Dada Khasjee, the hereditary chamberlain; and, finding their wishes disappointed, set every engine to work to thwart the measures of the regent and to embarrass the administration. To strengthen his authority, the regent betrothed the young raja to his own niece. The palace confederacy assured the queen that this alliance would undermine her influence, and ten days after the nuptials she informed the Resident that she had determined to dismiss the regent from her service. The Resident earnestly remonstrated with her on the folly of this proceeding, but she turned a deaf ear to his expostulations, and expelled him the country. The degradation of the minister who had been nominated and supported by the Governor-General placed the state in a position of antagonism to the British Government, and the Resident was instructed to retire from the court.

The great source of disquietude at Gwalior, however, was the state of the army, about 30,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry, not composed of Mahratta soldiers, but recruited chiefly from the martial population of State of the army. Rajpootana, Oude, and other provinces, and commanded by officers of European descent. It was out of proportion to the necessities of the state, or to its revenues, of which it absorbed more than two-thirds. The ministers had made repeated efforts to reduce the number, but the troops would not permit a single corps to be disbanded. They were, moreover, always in arrears, which increased their arrogance. The

A.D. 1843 state had lost all control of the army. One regiment had recently committed great excesses in Malwa, and upon a strong remonstrance from the Resident the commandant had been summoned to appear at Gwalior alone, but he brought his whole corps with him, and overawed the court. Lord Ellenborough had pressed on the regent the indispensable necessity of dealing vigorously with the spirit of rebellion, but without any result.

On the expulsion of the regent the ranee assumed the ostensible management of affairs, and held durbars daily, though only thirteen years of age, but all real power was in the hands of the Dada, who had secured the influence of the zenana by lavish gifts of land and money. He was obnoxious to the most influential nobles, who formed an opposition party, and he could not venture to move about without the protection of a guard; to the British Government he manifested particular hostility, and expelled from office all who were favourable to it. The army, which was concentrated at the capital, was courted by both parties, and became more overbearing than ever, and the confusion in the state was rapidly approaching a crisis.

The ranee importuned the Resident to return to the court, but he informed her that until the Dada, the source of these complications, was removed from the public councils, there could be no restoration of friendly relations. This communication was received by the Dada, but withheld from her. Lord Ellenborough considered this a serious offence, and insisted on his being delivered up to the custody of the Resident, to which the ranee refused her consent. Three of the most influential of the chiefs, however, gained over one of the brigades, besieged the palace for three days and obtained possession of the person of the Dada, but he contrived to make his escape, and resumed the management of affairs, and began to make preparation to resist any adverse movement of the British Government.

On the 1st November, Lord Ellenborough recorded a masterly minute on the state of affairs at Gwalior. After referring to our position in India as the paramount and controlling power, and to the responsibilities connected with it, he passed in review the transactions of the year at Gwalior. The expulsion of the regent nominated with our concurrence, and the elevation of his rival, were an affront of the gravest character. An army of 40,000 men, with a numerous artillery,

Lord Ellenborough's minute.

lay within a few marches of the capital of the North-West A. D. Provinces, under the management of one who had obtained 1843 his post, and could only maintain it, in despite of the British Government. The events which had recently occurred at Lahore would not permit acquiescence in a policy suited only to a state of tranquillity. Within three marches of the Sutlej, there was an army of 70,000 men, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes over its neighbours, desirous of war and plunder, and under no discipline or control. We were bound to take every precaution against its hostility, and no precaution appeared more necessary than that of rendering our rear and our communications secure, by the establishment of a friendly Government at Gwalior. Lord Ellenborough continued for two months to press the surrender of the Dada on the ranee, but still without success. He arrived at Agra on the 11th December, and finding that he had not left Gwalior, wrote to the ranee that he could neither permit the existence of an unfriendly Government in the territories of Sindia, nor permit it to remain without a Government able and willing to preserve the relations of amity with its neighbours. He had therefore ordered the British armies to advance, and would not arrest their progress until he had full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier.

Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to commence his march to Gwalior, and the Dada was immediately sent in to the encampment of the Resident at Dholpore with a letter from the ranee, Communications with Gwalior. requesting that, as the wishes of the Governor-General had been complied with, the advance of the army might be countermanded. In his reply, Lord Ellenborough repeated his former remarks on the necessity of a strong Government at Gwalior to control its own subjects, and he required that the Gwalior army, which was to all intents and purposes master of the state it professed to serve, should be reduced, and the strength of the British contingent increased. The Cabinet, finding that the British army continued to move down to the Chumbul, the boundary of the two States, sent a deputation of the most influential chiefs to request that the ranee and the prince should be allowed to wait on the Governor-General in his present encampment. Lord Ellenborough replied that he could not wait their arrival, but they represented with greater importunity that the house of Sindia would be for ever disgraced, if, contrary to all precedent, the Governor-

1843 A.D. General should cross the frontier before the head of the State had waited on him on British territory. As Lord Ellenborough continued inflexible, it was arranged that the meeting should take place twenty-three miles from the capital. The troops, however, would not permit the royal family to quit it, but marched out of Gwalior with acclamation, and informed the Resident that they were going to drive the English back across the Chumbul.

After waiting in vain for two days at Hingona for the royal party, Lord Ellenborough directed Sir Hugh Gough to advance to Gwalior. Sindia's army had taken up a strong position at Chounda, and Sir Hugh's arrangements were directed to this point; but during the night seven battalions with twenty guns of heavy calibre moved on unobserved to Maharajpore, and entrenched themselves, with their formidable batteries in front. The Commander-in-Chief and his staff considered the enemy a contemptible rabble, ready to fly on the first shot. The Adjutant-General said he should not have occasion for anything but a horse-whip. The march was described as a military promenade, and the Governor-General and the ladies of the chief officers were in the field on elephants. There had been no reconnoissance, and the enemy's change of position was not known. The troops advanced gaily to Maharajpore, where it was intended to breakfast, when a volley from the masked batteries gave the first intimation of their position. Sir Hugh was required to change his dispositions in haste, and the battle was justly characterised by the Governor-General as one in which everybody and everything was out of place. The British force numbered 12,000, that of the Mahrattas about 14,000. The siege train had been unaccountably left behind on the surrender of the Dada, and the light field pieces of the army were quickly silenced by the heavy ordnance of the enemy, and the troops were, according to the usual tactics of Sir Hugh, launched on the batteries, which were served with desperation as long as a gunner was left. The victory was at length achieved by the irresistible gallantry of our soldiers, of whom 1,000 fell killed and wounded. On the same day, another battle was fought at Punniar, of minor importance, which likewise ended in a victory.

Dec.
29.

These victories placed the kingdom of Sindia at the disposal of the Governor-General, but he left it entire, and simply curtailed its independence. The young ranee was

deposed from the office of regent, and consigned to oblivion on an allowance of three lacs a year, and the administration was committed to a council of regency, who were required to act implicitly on the advice of the Resident. The turbulent army of the state was reduced to 9,000, and allowed only thirty-two guns. The British contingent was raised to 10,000, and became, in fact, a complete and compact little army of all arms, commanded by the officers of the Company, composed of high-caste brahmins and Rajpoots, men of athletic frames and high courage, and also of boundless presumption, as the Government found to its cost during the mutiny.

Lord Ellenborough returned to Calcutta in March, and on the 15th June, India was astounded by the news that the Court of Directors had revoked his appointment. His correspondence with the India House had been marked by the absence of that deference to the Directors which was due to their high position in the empire, and it too much resembled his communications to them when he was dictator at the Board of Control; his proceedings had too often exhibited a contumacious disdain of their authority. He treated the civil service with undisguised contempt, and concentrated his sympathies on the army. He had contracted a fondness for military glory, and his administration presented only a succession of battles. The vagary of the Gates proclamation had exposed the Government of India to the ridicule of England and the contempt of Europe, and destroyed all confidence in the sobriety and soundness of his judgment. He appeared to the Directors to be without any definite principles of action, and they were in constant dread of the new embarrassments in which his eccentricities might involve them. They ceased to consider the empire safe in his hands; and in the teeth of ministerial remonstrances, more especially from the Duke, determined to exercise the power of recall which they had refused to renounce at the renewal of the charter. His removal was resented by the army he had caressed, with expressions bordering on disloyalty. The community in general, while duly appreciating his many noble qualities, the total absence of nepotism, the patriotic distribution of his patronage, his indefatigable industry, and his singular energy, still regarded the resolution of the Court of Directors as an act of unquestionable wisdom. He embarked for England on the 1st August, and the Sikh war was postponed for twelve months.

1844
Recall of
Lord Ellen-
borough.

Lord Ellenborough's attention was so completely absorbed in war and politics as to leave him little leisure or inclination for the moral, intellectual, or material improvement of the country, but there were some measures which deserve notice. It was during his administration that the police of the lower provinces was rendered more efficient by the establishment of the office of deputy magistrate, to which men of every class, creed, and caste were eligible; and also by an improvement of the pay of *darogas*, who held the comfort of the great body of the people in their hands. It was also under his government that state lotteries, which had become a prolific source of demoralisation, were abolished. To him also belongs the merit of having, under the advice of Mr. Wilberforce Bird, passed an Act for the total and immediate extinction of slavery.

SECTION III.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION—THE PUNJAB—THE SIKH WAR.

A.D. 1844 ON the recall of Lord Ellenborough, the Ministry and the Court of Directors concurred in nominating his relative, Sir Henry—subsequently Lord—Hardinge, to succeed him. He had entered the army at an early age, and served in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, and acquired a high reputation, more especially at the battle of Albuera, the success of which was ascribed to his skill and gallantry, and procured him from a great historical authority the commendation of being “the young soldier with the eye of a general, and the soul of a hero.” At Waterloo he was disabled by a severe wound. On his return to England he entered Parliament and was twice Secretary at War, and once Secretary for Ireland, and in these positions acquired much experience in the management of public affairs. It was his military qualifications, however, which recommended him for the government of India at a time when the right bank of the Sutlej was bristling with hostile bayonets and the Sikh army had ceased to be amenable to the control of the state. He was of the same mature age—sixty—as the Marquis of Hastings, and he entered upon his duties, as he said at the valedictory banquet,

with an earnest desire to establish his fame as the friend of peace, and not by means of conquest or the exhibition of military skill. But as in the case of his two predecessors, Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, these pacific intentions were destined to a speedy disappointment, and the most memorable events of his administration consist of the four battles fought within the period of fifty-four days.

From the period of his arrival the attention of Sir Henry Hardinge was anxiously fixed upon the storm then gathering in the Punjab, where the death of Runjeet Sing had been followed by unexampled anarchy and bloodshed. He was succeeded in July, 1839, by his imbecile son Khurruk Sing, whose young and gallant son Nao Nihal Sing, equal to his grandfather in talent and energy, managed the affairs of the State, but was obliged to share his authority with Dhyan Sing, the minister, a member of the Jummoo, or Dogra family, then one of the most influential in the Punjab. Golab Sing, the head of the house, was originally a running footman, who had attracted the notice of Runjeet Sing, and rapidly rose in his favour, and was endowed with the district of Jummoo. He was a Rajpoot and not a Sikh, and this circumstance, combined with the extraordinary power to which the family had risen, rendered them an object of envy and hatred. Khurruk Sing died prematurely of excess, and Nao Nihal his son, after performing his funeral obsequies, was killed by the falling of a covered gateway as he was returning to the city.

Shere Sing, the reputed son of Runjeet Sing, having gained over a portion of the army, marched to Lahore and seized on the government on the 14th January. He was shrewd and frank, but the slave of

Revolutions
in the
Punjab.

A.D.
1839

Army of the
Punjab. 1841

sensuality, and the vassal of the Jummoo family, whom he was unable either to shake off or to control. He rewarded the troops who had been the instruments of his elevation with an increase of pay, which served to sharpen their avarice and to increase their arrogance, and they proceeded to wreak their vengeance on all who were obnoxious to them. Shere Sing had made a request for British support, and so little idea had the Government of India of the strength of the Khalsa army that a force of 10,000 men was held in readiness to march to Lahore, to exterminate it. On receiving notice of this wild proposal, he simply drew his finger across his throat to signify the fate which would await him. If this force had crossed the Sutlej, the whole Khalsa army

would have risen as one man, and hurled back the invasion. That army, with the exception of a few Mahomedans, consisted of a compact body of martial Sikhs, united by the strongest national and religious sympathies, proud of their past achievements, and haughty in the consciousness of their own superiority. When the iron sceptre of Runjeet Sing was removed, these Prætorian bands speedily became masters of the Punjab. The soldiers were individually obedient to their own officers, though they did occasionally tie the commandant up to a gun; but as a body their movements were regulated, not by the will of the sovereign or of the minister, but by the dictation of the army committees or *punches*, the Council of Five, who consulted nothing but the interests of the troops. Those who bestowed on them the greatest largesses were most sure of their support.

A.D. 1843 The year 1843 was marked by those convulsions to which Lord Ellenborough alluded in his minute of the 1st November, when he dwelt on the necessity of securing our rear by reducing the equally insubordinate army of Gwalior. The minister Dhyan Sing, finding his power on the wane, persuaded Shere Sing to recall Ajeet Sing, the head of one of the most powerful clans, whom he had banished. On his restoration to office, he invited Shere Sing to inspect some new levies which he had raised, and shot him dead on the parade. Ajeet Sing then assassinated Dhyan Sing, when his youthful son Heera Sing called on the soldiers to revenge these foul murders, and they proceeded to the citadel and put Ajeet Sing to death. Duleep Sing, then five years of age, the son of Runjeet Sing by the ranee Jhindun, was brought from the zenana and installed maharaja by Heera Sing, who took the post of minister, and attached the troops to his interest by an addition of two rupees and a half to their monthly pay. From this time, the army may be considered absolute master of the state.

The position of Heera Sing was unstable and perilous in the extreme. One of his uncles marched down to Lahore, from Jummoo to supplant him, but was defeated and slain. The Khalsa army, which supported his power, was also the great source of danger, which he endeavoured to lessen by distributing the regiments and raising levies in the highlands, but the *punches* would not permit a single corps to leave the capital without their concurrence. The success of his administration was due

chiefly to the genius of his tutor, the pundit Jalla, the priest of the Jummoo family, who was considered a man of such extraordinary ability that if he could have controlled the troops he might have established a dynasty of Peshwas at Lahore, but before his position was consolidated he endeavoured to reduce the power of Golab Sing, who succeeded Dhyan Sing as the ruler of Jummoo; he also sequestered the estates of some of the chiefs, and, more particularly, offended the ranee Jhindun and her brother by his supercilious deportment. She appealed to the army, and Heera Sing and the pundit were obliged to fly, but were overtaken and killed, and their heads brought in triumph to Lahore. On the dissolution of the Government of Heera Sing the management of affairs fell into the hands of Jowaher Sing, the brother of the ranee, and of her favourite paramour, Lall Sing, a brahmin, who had nothing to recommend him but his comely person. The soldiers received a fresh augmentation of pay, and became so insubordinate that it appeared necessary to find some employment for them to prevent the total overthrow of the Government. They were therefore instigated to march to Jummoo and fleece raja Golab Sing, whom they brought down to Lahore and from whom they wrung more than a crore of rupees. To keep them from mischief at the capital they were then recommended to attack Moolraj, who had been allowed to succeed his father in the government of Mooltan, and from him they extorted eighteen lacs. Soon after, Peshora Sing, another of the sons of Runjeet, raised the standard of revolt, but was defeated and basely murdered by Jowaher Sing. He had always been popular with the people and the army, and the contempt which was felt for the wretched debauchee who occupied the post of minister was turned into indignation by this atrocity, and he was led out into the plain of Meean Meer and executed. After the loss of her brother, the ranee sat daily in durbar, and in the beginning of November appointed Lall Sing minister, and Tej Sing commander-in-chief. But the army, which had within the year humbled the two great feudatories of Jummoo and Mooltan, was now the sole power in the state.

The anarchy which reigned in the Punjab constrained the Government of India to make energetic preparations for the defence of the frontier. The cantonment at Ferozepore on the Sutlej which was inadequately garrisoned had been reinforced by Lord Ellenborough, but Sir Henry Hardinge found that the

A.D.
1844

Preparations
on the fron-
tier.

force assembled there, though amounting to 17,000 men, was not sufficient for its defence, still less for extensive operations if they should be forced upon us. He therefore gradually massed 40,000 men on the frontier, and in the stations below it, so imperceptibly as to attract no attention in our own provinces; and he likewise brought up from Sindh to Ferozepore the fifty-six large boats which Lord Ellenborough had wisely constructed to serve as a pontoon. It has been surmised that it was the assemblage of this large force on and near the frontier which roused the suspicions of the Khalsa army, and led them to anticipate our designs by the invasion of our territories. But since our discomfiture in Afghanistan had lowered our prestige, that army had twice marched down to the banks of the Sutlej and threatened to cross it. Considering, moreover, the distracted state of the Punjab Government, with the most efficient army ever collected under the banner of any native State, flushed with its past successes and panting for new triumphs, and utterly beyond control, the Governor-General would have been without excuse if he had not made the most ample preparations to meet a crisis which might turn up any day. The invasion was the work of the ranees—justly termed by Sir Henry Hardinge the Messalina of the north—and of Lall Sing and Tej Sing. They felt that the only chance of maintaining their authority in the Punjab was to involve the army in a conflict with the British Government; and it was they who launched the Sikh battalions on our provinces for their own security, and endeavoured to avert the plunder of Lahore by sending them across the Sutlej to plunder Delhi and Benares.

On the 17th November, the order was issued to cross the Sutlej. Major Broadfoot, the political agent on the frontier, urged the most prompt and energetic measures of defence, but Sir Henry Hardinge, still clinging to the hope of peace, directed him to send another remonstrance to the durbar, the only reply to which, however, was an order to commence the march without any further delay. Animated by a feeling of national and religious enthusiasm, 60,000 Khalsa soldiers, with 40,000 well-armed camp followers, and 150 guns of large calibre, crossed the Sutlej in four days, and by the 16th December, were encamped within a short distance of the fort of Ferozepore, which was held by Sir John Littler, one of the oldest and best officers in the service, with about 10,000 men and 21 guns. On the 11th December, preparations

A. D. The Sikh
1845 army cross
the Sutlej.

had been made for a grand ball in the state tents of the Commander-in-Chief at Umballa, when information was received that the whole Sikh army had marched down to the Sutlej and was on the eve of crossing it. The ball was abandoned, and the night passed in preparing to march to the relief of Sir John Littler, who was enveloped by a force six times the number of his own. Hours were now invaluable, and the troops, heavily accoutred, performed a march never before attempted in India, of 150 miles in six days, through heavy sands, the most formidable of all roads, with little time to cook their food, and scarcely an hour for repose. On the 13th the Governor-General issued a declaration of war, and confiscated the districts belonging to the Sikh crown south of the Sutlej. The day after the Sikh army had crossed the river, a large portion of it pushed on to Ferozeshuhur and began to construct entrenchments of the most substantial character, leaving Tej Sing to watch the movements of Sir John Littler.

Lall Sing's scouts brought him information that the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were advancing with only a slender force, and he pushed on with 20,000 men and 22 guns to Moodkec, ^{Battle of Moodkee.} where he awaited their arrival under cover of the jungle. On the 18th December, the army had performed a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles over an arid plain; the troops were suffering severely from thirst; they had not broken their fast since the preceding night, and were preparing for a meal, when a cloud of dust rose up in front, and the roar of cannon announced the approach of Lall Sing's army. Sir Hugh Gough was taken by surprise, as at Maharajpore; and then came the first conflict between the sepoy of Hindostan and the Khalsa battalions of the Punjab, and the superiority of the Sikh, whom a high political authority had declared to be "a rabble demoralised by the absence of every principle of subordination, and by its wretched violence," became at once indisputable. One of our regiments turned round and sought the rear, and it was with difficulty the Commander-in-Chief and his staff could drag it to the front. Even a European corps was for a time staggered by the precision and rapidity of the enemy's fire, and in the confusion of the hour, one regiment fired into another; but victory declared on our side, though not without the loss of 900 in killed and wounded. For sixty years it had been the practice of the home authorities to unite the office of Commander-in-Chief with that of Governor-Gen-
A. D. 1845

ral, when he happened to be a military man, as in the case of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Hastings, and Lord William Bentinck. It was unfortunately omitted in the case of Sir Henry Hardinge, but after the miserable tactics exhibited at Moodkee, he placed his services at the disposal of Sir Hugh Gough, and magnanimously took the post of second in command, and thus restored in some degree the confidence of the troops.

A.D. 1845 The army halted two days at Moodkee to take repose and bury the dead, and was reinforced by the arrival of two European and two native regiments, brought up by forced marches, through the indefatigable exertions of Sir Henry Hardinge. It started for the entrenched camp of the Sikhs at Ferozeshuhur on the morning of the 21st December, without provisions or tents. Sir John Littler was directed to join it at the computed hour of its arrival, and he moved out early in the morning, and evaded the notice of Tej Sing by leaving his camp pitched, his bazaar flags flying, and his cavalry pickets standing, and reached the main body with 5,500 men and 22 guns a few moments before noon. The Sikh entrenchment was in the form of a parallelogram, a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, with the village of Ferozeshuhur in the centre. The number of troops within it, commanded by Lall Sing, was estimated at 35,000, with 100 guns and 250 camel swivels. The batteries were mounted, not with ordinary field artillery, but with heavy siege guns, placed in position; the day was the shortest in the year, and with such an enemy to deal with as the Sikhs had proved themselves to be at Moodkee, every moment was of inestimable value; but three hours were strangely frittered away after Sir John Littler's arrival, and it was nearly four in the afternoon before the first shot was fired. Sir Charles Napier in his comments on the strategy of the day remarks that the attack should have been made on the two sides which were not protected by the tremendous guns immovably fixed, but Sir Hugh Gough resolved to follow his usual practice of charging at once right up to the muzzle of the guns and carrying the batteries by "cold steel." He took the command of the right, Sir Henry Hardinge of the centre, and Sir John Littler of the left. It fell to Sir John to assault the strongest section of the enemy's position, where they had gathered the strength of their heaviest guns. His own field pieces were found to be of little, if any use, and his troops advanced gallantly up to the bat-

Battle of
Feroze-
shuhur.

teries, but were at once arrested by the overwhelming fire of the enemy. The 62nd Foot, mowed down by grape and round shot, was checked, and retired beaten, but not, in the eye of candour, dishonoured. The other divisions encountered an equally terrific resistance. To borrow the language of the historian of the Sikhs, "guns were dismounted, and the ammunition blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks; and it was not till after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness and the obstinacy of the conflict threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and all ranks were mixed together. Generals were doubtful of the fact, or the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part." The Governor-General had five aides-de-camp killed and four wounded. He himself passed the night in moving from regiment to regiment, endeavouring to sustain the spirits and to revive the ardour of the men, and, instead of retiring to Ferozepore as he was advised to do, determined to renew the engagement the next morning, although there was only one weak division for the work which had baffled the whole army. At day-dawn he and the Commander-in-Chief collected the scattered soldiers of General Gilbert's division, attacked the batteries in reverse, and captured them after a feeble resistance. In the Sikh encampment during the night there had been stormy counsels and bitter recriminations; the military chest had likewise been plundered, and, through the cowardice or the treachery of the commander, the legions who had defended this Roman encampment with Roman courage were in full flight to the Sutlej. The British line halted as soon as it had cleared the works, and the two commanders were received with acclamation as they rode along the ranks. The cheers had scarcely died out when a cloud of dust announced the approach of a new enemy. This was Tej Sing, who, finding that Sir John Littler had eluded his vigilance, marched down to Ferozeshuhur on the morning of the 22nd, with 20,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and seventy guns. He found that the entrenchment was lost, and the Sikh army in full retreat to the river, and after a brief cannonade, which at once dismounted our feeble artillery, withdrew to the Sutlej. He did not know that the British army, or what remained

A.D.
1845
21 Dec.

A.D. of it, was drooping from hunger, not having tasted food for
 1845 thirty-six hours, and wholly without ammunition, and that, if vigorously attacked, the most brilliant courage could not have saved it from utter destruction. The British empire in India was again saved by a miracle. Our loss was 2,415 killed and wounded, including 103 officers. The battle of Ferozeshuhur was the most severe and critical the British army had ever fought in India. Never before had we encountered so resolute and so skilful an enemy; but it was the defect of our tactics and the deficiency of our ammunition, quite as much as the courage of the Sikhs, which for a time gave a character of equality to the struggle.

The tide of invasion had now been stemmed, and of the 60,000 Khalsa soldiers who had poured down on the Company's territories twelve days before, not one remained in arms on the left bank of the Sutlej. But the two engagements had cost the army a fifth of its numbers and exhausted its ammunition, and it became necessary to bring up a large supply of stores as well as siege guns from the nearest depôt, which was at Delhi, 200 miles distant. The army was thus condemned to a season of inactivity, which the Sikhs attributed to timidity or to weakness, and Runjoor Sing crossed the river in force, and threatened the station of Loodiana. Sir Harry Smith was sent to cover it, but owing to his own obstinacy, he received a serious check at Buddewal which gave no little confidence to the Sikh commander; and it became necessary to make a vigorous effort to clear the left bank of the Sutlej of the enemy, and prevent an attack on the long convoy coming up from Delhi. General Smith's force was therefore raised to 11,000, and the two forces met at Aliwal, on the banks of the river. The hill men who defended it were speedily put to flight, but the Khalsa soldiers, men of true Sikh blood and mettle, stood their ground with unflinching courage, and it was not before their ranks had been thrice pierced by Colonel Cureton's cavalry, that they retreated to the river, in which many found a watery grave, leaving sixty-seven guns as trophies in the hands of the victors. This serious reverse disheartened the cabinet at Lahore. Lall Sing, the prime minister, was deposed for his incapacity, and Golab Sing was invited from Jummoo to open negotiations with Sir Henry Hardinge. He was informed that the Governor-General was prepared to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty at Lahore, but not till the Khalsa army had been entirely disbanded. Golab Sing

informed him that it was impossible to control the move-^{A. D.}ment of the troops, who continued to domineer over the ¹⁸⁴⁰public authorities, and the negotiation was broken off.

While the Commander-in-Chief was awaiting the arrival of the train from Delhi, the Sikhs were transporting their forces across the Sutlej at the Hurrekee ford, ^{Battle of} where they erected one of the strongest works ^{Sobraon.} against which troops had ever been led in India. It consisted of a series of semicircular entrenchments, with the river for their base, the outer line being two miles and a half in circumference, surrounded by a deep ditch. The ramparts were defended by sixty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance and 35,000 Khalsa soldiers. A bridge of boats united the entrenchment with the encampment across the river, where heavy guns had also been planted to sweep the left bank. The long train of ordnance and stores coming up from Delhi marched into the camp on the 8th February, and raised the drooping spirits of the men. General Smith's troops also joined the army, and increased its strength to 15,000, of whom 5,000 were Europeans. The heavy ordnance was planted on commanding positions opposite the enemy's entrenchments, and opened upon them at seven in the morning of the 10th February. The Sikhs answered flash for flash from their powerful artillery, and at nine it was found that the cannonade had made no impression on their position; the ammunition, moreover, began to fall short, and, after having waited seven weeks for these guns, it was discovered that they were of little avail, and that the issue of the conflict must be left to the arbitrament of musketry and the bayonet. The attack was made in three divisions on three points, by Generals Dick, Gilbert, and Smith. Sir Robert Dick's division was the first to move up to the attack, and, charging home with the bayonet, cleared the ditch and mounted the rampart. The Sikhs perceiving that this was to be the principal point of attack, slackened the defence of the entrenchments elsewhere, and concentrated their guns on it. Fresh regiments were sent up to reinforce General Dick, but they were staggered and checked by the deadly fire of the Sikhs. The other two divisions were therefore ordered to make a simultaneous attack, which the enemy no sooner perceived than they immediately returned to the posts they had quitted, and from every foot of the entrenchment poured a withering fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. The most remarkable occurrence of the day was the charge of General Gilbert's division on the

A.D. 1846 centre; his troops were repeatedly driven back, but their indomitable courage mastered the entrenchment, though not without the loss of 689 killed and wounded. The Sikh defences were at length pierced in all three directions. Tej Sing was among the first to fly, and either by accident or design, broke down the bridge after he had crossed it. The Khalsa soldiers, pressed on three sides into a confused mass, still continued to dispute every inch of ground till they were forced to the bridge, and, preferring death to surrender, plunged wildly into the stream, which had risen during the night and flooded the ford, and they perished by hundreds in their attempt to cross. The confusion, dismay, and carnage were such as had not been seen in India since the battle of Paniput. The loss on the side of the Sikhs was computed at 8,000, and the whole of their encampment, with all their artillery, standards, and stores fell to the victors. The loss on our side was 2,383 in killed and wounded, but the victory was complete. The conquerors, as they beheld the trenches filled with the bodies of their iron-hearted defenders, and the fords of the Sutlej choked up with thousands of corpses, and the river itself exhibiting in every direction the wreck of a great army, did not fail to pay a tribute of admiration to the gallantry and devotedness of the noble Khalsa legions.

Major Abbot had been employed day and night in constructing a bridge of the boats which Sir Henry Hardinge had brought up from Sinde to Ferozepore, and it was completed the night before the battle. Sir Henry had been actively engaged in the field at Sobraon, and was severely injured by a fall from his horse, but as soon as the victory was assured, he rode twenty-six miles to Ferozepore to hasten the passage of the troops, and that night six regiments bivouacked in the Punjab. Three days after the action, the whole force, which, including camp followers, fell little short of 100,000 men, and 68,000 animals and forty pieces of artillery, crossed the river without a single casualty. On the line of march to the capital, a deputation from the Sikh cabinet, with Golab Sing at their head, waited on the Governor-General, but they were received as the representatives of an offending Government and their complimentary presents were declined. Soon after, the maharaja Dhuleep Sing came into the camp, and was dismissed with honour. On the 20th the citadel of Lahore was occupied by a British garrison, and the army was encamped on the plain of Meeanmeer.

The army
enters the
Punjab.

The issue of the war had placed the Punjab at the disposal of the Governor-General, and he might have annexed it to the Company's dominions, but he did not consider it prudent to encumber the Government with the charge of a new kingdom. The morale of the army, moreover, was low, the season of heat and prostration was approaching, and the four battles had reduced his European strength to 3,000 men, while the remnant of the Sikh army still mustered 14,000, with forty pieces of cannon. He determined, therefore, to punish the Sikh nation for its wanton aggression without suppressing its political independence, and he simply deprived it of the possessions held south of the Sutlej and the province of Jullunder across it. The state was required to make good the expenses of the campaign, computed at a crore and a half of rupees, but the profligacy of the ministers and the rapacity of the soldiery had reduced the twelve crores left by Runjeet Sing to half a crore. Sir Henry Hardinge determined, therefore, to take over the province of Cashmere in lieu of the remaining crore, and Golar Sing, the powerful raja of Jummo, stepped forward and offered to pay this sum on being constituted the independent monarch of Cashmere and Jummo. The two provinces were, in fact, sold to him, but he merely received an indefeasible title to that which was already in his possession, and which we were not in a position to deprive him of.

The settlement of the Punjab was embodied in the treaty of the 9th March, which provided that the Khalsa army should be disbanded, that the military force of the state should be limited to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, and that all the guns which had been pointed against British troops should be given up. Although the war had terminated in the total defeat of the Khalsa army and the dismemberment of the Punjab, the fact of our triumph was doubted in the native community, more especially as it was unwelcome. The natives had looked with a feeling of complacency on the growth of the new kingdom in the Punjab, the cradle of Hindooism, as the germ of a power destined to restore Hindoo supremacy throughout India. Sir Henry Hardinge considered it important to remove this feeling of incredulity, and to demonstrate that the power of Runjeet Sing was completely prostrated. A grand procession was accordingly formed of the 250 guns obtained from the Sikhs, which was conducted from Lahore to Calcutta with every demonstration of

A.D.
1846Sir Henry
Hardinge's
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Punjab.

A. D. 1846 military pomp. It was received at the stations and cantonments by the public functionaries with all honour, and its arrival in Calcutta was celebrated by a magnificent ceremonial. In England, the thanks of Parliament were moved to Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Hugh Gough, and their brave companions by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, in speeches which enhanced their value in no small degree. Peerages were bestowed on the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, and a baronetcy on the victor of Aliwal. To all the troops engaged in the campaign Lord Hardinge granted twelve months' full batta, without waiting for permission from home.

At the earnest entreaty of the durbar, Lord Hardinge consented to leave a British force for the protection of the maharaja and the new government, but only to the end of the year; and Major Henry Lawrence, of the Bengal Artillery, was selected as the representative of the Government at the Lahore court. Lall Sing, the paramour of the ranee, was appointed prime minister. He was a man of low extraction, without any capacity for civil or military affairs, and his administration, which was both venal and oppressive, rendered him odious to the chiefs and the people. His treachery to the British government soon brought his career to a close. Cashmere had been made over to the raja Golab Sing, but the governor, Sheik Imam-ood-deen, at first hesitated, and then refused to surrender it. Major Lawrence considered it indispensable to extinguish the first spark of resistance, and at the risk of being blocked up by the snows of winter, marched with the utmost promptitude with a large force, consisting of 10,000 of the Sikh army which we had recently conquered, and a small detachment of British troops. The refractory chief was reduced to submission, and, in his own defence, produced a written order from Lall Sing to obstruct the transfer. A mixed commission of European officers and Sikh chieftains assembled to investigate the charge of treachery, which was fully substantiated, and, in spite of the tears of the ranee, he was banished from the Punjab and consigned to oblivion on a pension. At the close of the year, the Sikh cabinet and the most influential nobles assured Lord Hardinge that the withdrawal of the British force would inevitably lead to the resuscitation of the Khalsa army, and he yielded with great reluctance to their importunity. A new treaty was drawn up to which fifty-two chiefs affixed their seals, which provided that a

New arrangements
in the
Punjab.

council of regency, consisting of eight chiefs, should be constituted to act under the control and guidance of the Resident, that the various forts and cantonments should be garrisoned by British troops, for whose maintenance a sum of twenty-two lacs of rupees a year should be appropriated, and that the arrangement should continue for eight years during the minority of Dhuleep Sing. The government of the Punjab was virtually vested in Major Lawrence, an officer of artillery.

For eight years the government in India had been incessantly engaged in war, or in preparations for it, and the armies of the three Presidencies had been augmented to the extent of 120,000 men. The pressure on the finances of the empire had been proportionately severe, and at the close of the Sikh war the expenditure was found to exceed the revenue by a crore and a half of rupees. In the course of the preceding twenty-six months, the three remaining independent armies—those of Gwalior, Sinde, and the Punjab—numbering 120,000 soldiers, had been extinguished, and their artillery, consisting of 500 pieces of cannon, had been transferred to our own arsenals. There was no longer any native military organisation in any province to oppose us, and the time appeared to have arrived when the strength of our own armies could be reduced without danger. Happily Lord Hardinge's long military experience both in the field and, as secretary-at-war, in the cabinet, enabled him to carry out this measure without in any degree impairing our military strength. Leaving the number of officers, European and native, without diminution, he curtailed the rank and file of the army by 50,000 men, and disbanded the police battalions, but he carefully avoided any mutilation of individual allowances. These arrangements resulted in a saving of a crore and a half a year, and the revenues of the two Sikh provinces which he had annexed left him a small surplus. Notwithstanding these material reductions, the security of the north-west frontier, the only point of danger, was more effectually provided for than ever, by allotting to Meerut and the stations above it 54,000 men and 120 guns. Equal wisdom and foresight were manifested in his arrangements for the peace of the Punjab. He did not expect that a country teeming with disbanded soldiers, the bravest and most haughty in India, who had revelled for seven years in military license, would be as free from disturbance as a district in Bengal. To provide for the prompt repression

A.D.
1846

A.D. of any insurrectionary movement, he organised three mov-
 1845 able brigades, complete in carriage and equipment, con-
 to sisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to be held in
 1848 readiness at Lahore, Jullunder, and Ferozepore to take the
 field at the shortest notice on the first appearance of an
 outbreak.

Lord Hardinge's attention during the forty-two months
 of his administration had been chiefly occupied in reducing
 the Khalsa armament, the construction of the
 Other mea- Punjab administration, and the reorganisation of
 sures of m- the army; but he found leisure to attend to the
 provement. social and material improvement of the country. At the
 suggestion of Lord Auckland, the Court of Directors had
 given their sanction to the construction of the great Ganges
 Canal. The work was suspended under the pressure of
 war by Lord Ellenborough, but was resumed and pushed
 on with energy by his successor. It was during his in-
 cumbency that the memorable resolution was passed which
 held out the prospect of employment in the public service
 to the successful students in the Government educational
 institutions, and which thus gave the state the benefit of
 the talent it had assisted to develop. Education was as
 much a party question in India as in England, and this
 liberal measure, which was not universally approved, was not
 fully carried out for some years; but the merit of it belongs
 to Lord Hardinge's administration, and he was recompensed
 by a grateful address on the subject from the most influential
 native gentlemen in Calcutta. He gave a powerful impulse
 at an important crisis to the plan of Indian railways, then
 struggling into existence, which Lord Ellenborough had
 pronounced to be "all moonshine;" he prohibited Sunday
 labour in the public establishments, and gave our Hindoo
 and Mahomedan subjects a proof of our respect for the
 principles of our creed. Lord William Bentinck had
 abolished *suttees* throughout the Company's dominions, but
 they were still perpetrated in the native states, and on the
 death of the raja of Mundee, a principality in the vicinity
 of the Governor-General's residence at Simla, no fewer than
 twelve of his widows were burnt on the funeral pile. Lord
 Hardinge used all the influence of our paramount authority
 to induce the independent native chiefs to abolish the
 practice, and before his departure he had the satisfaction
 of receiving written assurances from twenty-four native
 princes and princesses that they were making strenuous
 efforts to meet his wishes; and a *suttee* is now as much

out of vogue on the continent of India as a duel is in England. The distribution of his patronage was regulated by an exclusive regard to the public interests, and he was as free from the suspicion of nepotism as Lord Ellenborough. He secured the confidence of the community in India by his sterling sense, and by the rare combination of a kind and conciliatory disposition with decision of character and vigour of discipline. He left Calcutta on the 15th March, 1848, with the avowed conviction that it would not be necessary to fire another shot in India for seven years; yet so impossible is it to forecast the future in that hot-bed of revolutions, that before a twelvemonth had passed, the Punjab had revolted, and had been re-conquered, and converted into a British province.

CHAPTER XIV.

SECTION I.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—SECOND SIKH WAR.

LORD DALHOUSIE landed at Calcutta and took his seat in council on the 19th January. He was in his thirty-sixth year,—the youngest of governors general. He had occupied a seat in the House of Commons before he succeeded to the family title, and in Sir Robert Peel's last cabinet enjoyed the post of president of the Board of Trade at the most busy period of its existence, when it was flooded with railway schemes. He entered upon the government of India without any of that acquaintance with its institutions and policy which Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Lord William Bentinck had brought with them, but his natural genius soon caught the spirit, and mastered the details of the administration. The period of his rule, which extended to eight years, was crowded with transactions which will long continue to affect the happiness of the vast population of the empire, and may be considered one of the most memorable in its history. Waiving the chronological order of events, we shall distribute them under the three sections of military operations, annexations, and social and material improvements.

A.D.
1848

Within four months of his arrival, the note of war was again sounded in the Punjab. A small cloud appeared on the horizon over Mooltan, which in the course of six months overspread the country and brought on a conflict as arduous as that of 1845. Major—afterwards Sir Henry—Lawrence was constrained to visit England for the restoration of his health, and was succeeded by a civilian, Sir Frederic Currie, who was unhappily placed in circumstances which required the experience and the authoritative counsels of a military man, and the absence of which culminated in a general war. Moolraj took possession of the province of Mooltan, on the death of his father the governor in 1844, but his subordination to the authorities at Lahore was little more than nominal. Lall Sing, the principal minister, knowing that a large treasure had been accumulated by his father, demanded a crore of rupees as a *nuzzer*, or succession fine. It was compromised for a fifth of the sum, the payment of which, however, he contrived to evade until the establishment of a strong government at Lahore by Lord Hardinge, when it was adjusted, and he offered to resign the government, on the ground that it was intended to introduce new fiscal regulations, which were unpalatable to him. The durbar took him at his word, and sent Khan Sing to take over the government, and Sir Frederick selected Mr. Agnew, a civilian, and Lieutenant Anderson to accompany him, with an escort of about 350 Sikhs and a few guns. The party reached Mooltan on the 18th March.

The next morning Moolraj waited on them to discuss the terms of his resignation, and asked for a general deed of acquittance, but Mr. Agnew insisted on the production of all the accounts of the previous six years. After much recrimination, Moolraj yielded to the demand, but he felt that he had been dishonoured in the eyes of his people, and he left the conference with a scowl on his brow. On the 20th the two officers proceeded to inspect the various establishments which were to be transferred to the new governor, but as they were leaving the fort they were struck down by assassins, and conveyed by their attendants to a fortified temple in the vicinity of the town in which they had taken up their residence. They defended it manfully until their Sikh escort proved treacherous, when the howling savages rushed in and hacked them to pieces, and presented their heads to Moolraj who, instead of affording them any

Murder of
the officers.

assistance when they were attacked, had galloped off to his country residence. The next day he placed himself at the head of the insurrection and issued a proclamation summoning all the inhabitants of the province to rise and wage a religious war against the *feringees*, as the Christian foreigners were contemptuously termed. The emergency had now arisen for which Lord Hardinge had made provision by his movable columns, and there can be no doubt that if Major Lawrence had been the Resident at Lahore he would have marched down with promptitude and nipped the revolt in the bud, as he had extinguished the insurrection of Imam-ood-deen two years before in Cashmere. Sir Frederick, on hearing of the attack on the officers, ordered a large force to be prepared to proceed forthwith to Mooltan, but countermanded it when he learnt that they had been murdered, and referred the matter to the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, who resolved to postpone all operations until he could take the field in person in the cold season.

The Resident and the Commander-in-Chief had scarcely ceased to bandy arguments when Lieutenant—the late Sir Herbert—Edwardes, a young officer employed in the revenue settlement of the district of Bunnoo, across the Indus, animated with the spirit of Clive, determined to take the initiative in crushing the revolt. Without waiting for instructions from Lahore, he crossed the Indus with 1,200 infantry, 350 horsemen, and two guns; but having intercepted a letter, from which he learned that his men had agreed to sell his head and their services to Moolraj for 24,000 rupees, recrossed the river and raised other recruits free from the infection of treachery—"bold villains," he said, "ready to risk their own throats and cut those of anyone else." He was soon after joined by a regiment of Musulmans, under Colonel Cortland, and by the troops of the raja of Bhawalpore, and fought an engagement with Moolraj and 8,000 Sikh troops at Kineyree on the 18th June, and defeated him. He importuned the Resident to support him, and preparations were made to despatch an adequate force, but Lord Gough again interposed his authority, because the season was not favourable, and the siege train had not moved from Cawnpore. Ten days after, Lieutenant Edwardes, who had received a reinforcement of 4,000 men, under Imam-ood-deen, whose fidelity however was doubtful, again attacked Moolraj at Suddoosain, but although his army now consisted of 11,000 Sikh soldiers, supported by

A.D. eleven guns, he was completely defeated, and sought shelter
1848 with his fugitive troops within the walls of the capital.

Sir Frederick Currie now determined to lose no time in following up the successes of Lieutenant Edwardes, and took on himself the responsibility of ordering General Whish to proceed with 7,000 men and a battering train to Mooltan, and to this movement Lord Gough offered no opposition. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Edwardes was joined by a Sikh force, under Shere Sing, which the Lahore durbar had despatched, ostensibly to co-operate against Moolraj, but, in reality, to support him, and it was no secret at Lahore that they were thoroughly disaffected. The distance between Lahore and Mooltan is only 220 miles, but though General Whish had the convenience of water communication, he was thirty-nine days reaching his destination. During this procrastination Moolraj augmented his force and improved the defences of the fort, which was one of the strongest in the country. The battering train reached Mooltan on the 3rd September, but within a week after the batteries opened all operations were brought to a close. Shere Sing, who had joined General Whish's camp in conjunction with Lieutenant Edwardes, yielded to the importunity of his officers and men, and went over to the enemy with 5,000 troops on the 14th September. The general was obliged to relinquish the siege, and retire to a safe position in the vicinity of the town, adapted for the receipt of reinforcements, and there he threw up entrenchments, and was, in fact, besieged in his turn. Shere Sing immediately issued a proclamation, announcing a religious war, "under the auspices of the holy "Gooroo," against "the cruel *feringees*," and called upon all those who eat the salt of the maharaja to come forward and destroy them.

During these proceedings events transpired at Lahore and elsewhere which disclosed the mine upon which we had been sitting. It was discovered that the maharanees, a woman of great ambition and indefatigable intrigue, had for some time been engaged at Cabul and Candahar, in Cashmere and in Rajpootana, in plotting against the British government, and that all the members of the Lahore cabinet, with the exception of two, were confederated with her. Sir Frederick Currie had by a skilful manœuvre obtained possession of her person, and transferred her to the Resident at Benares, the warder of the disinherited princes and princesses of India. The spirit

of revolt now began more openly to develop itself. Chutter ^{A.D.} Sing, the father of Shere Sing, the governor of the province of Hazara, on the left bank of the Indus, threw off the mask, and "devoted his head," as he said, "to God, and his arms to "the Khalsa." He opened a negotiation with Dost Mahomed and offered him the province of Peshawur on condition of his joining the crusade against the English. The proposition was too tempting to be resisted, and he readily agreed to join the insurgents with his contingent. Peshawur, which Chutter Sing thus sold to the Afghans, was under the political charge of Major—now Sir George—Lawrence, and was garrisoned by 8,000 Sikh troops, upon whose fidelity little dependence could be placed when the whole atmosphere of the Punjab was charged with treason. Owing to the influence the Major had obtained over them, they steadily resisted the importunities of Chutter Sing, but at length yielded to the seductions of Sultan Mahomed, the brother of Dost Mahomed, and the personification of Afghan perfidy. He was under the greatest obligations to Sir Henry Lawrence, who had released him from gaol at Lahore and restored his jageer. Under his instigation the troops assailed and sacked the Residency, and Major Lawrence and other English officers retired under the escort provided by him with the most solemn assurances of protection, but no sooner were they in his power than he sold them to Chutter Sing. The whole of the Punjab was now in a state of revolt; the veterans of Runjeet Sing, scattered throughout the country, were burning with impatience to meet the British battalions once more in the field, and recover their lost honour and restore the glory of their beloved Khalsa. The paltry outbreak at Mooltan, fostered by delay, had grown into a portentous war, and Lord Dalhousie had now to encounter the bravest soldiers in India, animated by a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, but he was fully equal to the occasion. Through the great exertions of Sir George Clerk, the governor of Bombay, a body of 7,000 men was after much delay sent up the Indus to reinforce General Whish, and an addition was made of 17,000 to the strength of the Bengal regiments. On the 10th October, Lord Dalhousie proceeded to the scene of operations after having, at a farewell entertainment given him at Barrackpore, said, in the course of his speech, "Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and, "on my word, sir, they shall have it with a vengeance."

A.D.
1848

Shere Sing was received with great mistrust by Moolraj, who wished him to desert the encampment of General

Whish, but not to encumber him with his troops and his requisitions. Twenty-five days after his revolt, he left Mooltan and marched towards Lahore with 5,000 men, whose number was increased at every stage by the old soldiers of the Khalsa, and he had the audacity to burn a bridge of boats on the Ravee, the flames of which were visible from the cantonments. Lahore had been unaccountably left in a defenceless state for weeks after it was known that Shere Sing and his father were in the field with 15,000 troops, and he might have obtained possession of it if this fact had been known to him; but he moved on to Ramnuggur, on the Chenab. The grand army was at length assembled at Ferozepore early in November, and Lord Gough assumed command of it on the 16th. It consisted of four British and eleven native regiments of infantry, three noble regiments of British horse, with five regiments of native cavalry, and five corps of irregular horse. It was weak in infantry, but unusually strong in artillery. Lord Gough opened the campaign on the 22nd by marching down to Ramnuggur, where the main body of Shere Sing was encamped on the right bank, with his front protected by batteries mounting twenty-eight guns. He had boats on the river and the command of a ford, and had pushed a detachment across the river, which was at once driven back, when he opened an irresistible fire from his batteries planted on the high ground on the opposite bank, and the order was given to retire. One gun and two waggons, however, could not be extricated from the sand; but instead of spiking the one and blowing up the others, time was lost in endeavouring to rescue them. Several thousands of the enemy then rushed across the ford, while the batteries played on the British retiring force. Here the operations of the day should have terminated, but the Commander-in-Chief gave permission to Colonel Havelock, in command of the 14th Dragoons, an officer of Peninsular renown, to charge the Sikhs in the dry sandy bed of a river two miles wide; and in this contemptible cavalry skirmish his own life and that of the gallant Colonel Cureton were sacrificed.

Any attempt to assail the position of Shere Sing in front would have been an act of infatuation, and Sir Joseph Thackwell was therefore despatched, with 8,000 horse, foot, and artillery, on the 1st December, to

Battle of Sa-
doollapore.

Wuzeerabad, thirty miles higher up the river, which he A. D. crossed the next day, and marched down twelve miles to- 1848 wards Shere Sing's encampment. That general, on hearing of this movement, at once withdrew his army from Ramnuggur, leaving Lord Gough to waste powder and shot on an empty entrenchment. The two forces met at Sadoollapore, where, after sustaining for two hours the incessant fire of the enemy without returning a shot till they were fully within range, General Thackwell's artillery opened on them with great effect, and their cannon began to slacken and then ceased. There remained only an hour of daylight, and, with the example of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur before him, he wisely determined to postpone the attack till the morning. Under cover of the night Shere Sing retired with his tents, guns, and ammunition, and when General Thackwell put his army in motion in the morning to pursue him, he was already beyond reach. He retired from Sadoollapore with his artillery still entire, and the spirit of his troops unbroken, and took up a position of singular strength on the Jhelum, with his rear resting on that stream, his main body posted in ravines strengthened by field works, and his front covered by a broad and dense jungle. For six weeks our army remained inactive between the Chenab and the Jhelum, and, in the opinion of the first military authorities of the day, it would have done well to continue in this attitude till the capture of Mooltan had brought up to its aid the large division of troops engaged in the siege. This course was eventually taken, and brought the war to a glorious termination; but intermediately occurred the disastrous engagement of Chillianwalla.

On the 12th January the army advanced twelve miles to 1849 Dinjee, and on the following day to Chillianwalla, when it became evident that the Sikhs had quitted their Chillian- strong entrenchments on the heights of Russool, walla. and were ready to combat without the usual support of their bulwarks. Lord Gough had determined to defer the assault till a careful reconnoissance had been made the next day, and directions were given to mark out the ground for an encampment, when a few shots from some field-pieces the Sikhs had pushed forward dropped upon him. The spirit of defiance and antagonism at once overcame his sober judgment, and he issued orders for immediate action. The Sikhs began the engagement by a continuous peal of fire from a jungle so thick that nothing was offered as a mark for

A.D. the British artillery but the flash and smoke of the enemy's
1849 guns. This cannonade lasted an hour or an hour and a half, according to different reports, and it was three in the afternoon with only an hour or two of daylight left, when the divisions were ordered to advance.

Of the two brigades of the infantry division of General Campbell — subsequently Lord Clyde — that of General Pennycuik was subject to a fearful repulse. The 24th Foot, which formed a portion of it, composed chiefly of young soldiers, advanced with such ardour that Shere Sing, to whom they were opposed, was on the point of retiring when he perceived them rushing breathless and panting, as he described it, like dogs in a chase, upon his guns. He poured a shower of grape into them, and, while shattered by its deadly effect, they were torn to pieces by a musketry fire from Sikh troops masked by a screen of jungle. The whole brigade was thrown into a state of confusion, and the most desperate efforts of the officers were of no avail to restore order. The colours of the regiment fell into the hands of the enemy, but not until 23 officers and 459 non-commissioned officers and men had been killed and wounded. General Campbell, who had been victorious in his front, came rapidly to the rescue, and snatched the victory from the Sikhs. General Gilbert's division succeeded by the most heroic efforts in putting the Sikhs to flight, but pursuit in a forest, where the men could not see twenty yards before them, was impossible. While they halted to collect their wounded, a body of Sikhs, who had turned their flank unperceived, opened fire on them, and they were rescued from destruction only by the field battery of Major Dawes. The struggle was terrific, and, to use the language of an eye-witness, it seemed as if the very air teemed with balls and bullets.

The adventures of the cavalry were most disastrous and humiliating. Lord Gough had brought four regiments into the first line, and they were thus opposed to an Movements of cavalry. unapproachable artillery fire, and to entanglements in the recesses of the forest. The troops of artillery attached to the brigade were planted in the rear, and could not open fire from a single gun. The brigade was commanded by a superannuated general, who could not mount his horse without assistance, and who was irascible and wedded to ancient notions of cavalry manœuvres. As the line advanced it was broken up by clumps of trees and brushwood into numerous series of small sections doubled behind each

other. In this state a small body of Sikh horsemen, intoxicated with drugs, rushed on the centre in a mass, and caused a sensation of terror among the native cavalry which nothing could counteract. Just at this crisis some one in the 14th Dragoons uttered the words "Threes about!" The regiment at once turned to the rear and moved off in confusion, and as the Sikh horse pressed on, it galloped headlong in disgraceful panic through the cannon and waggons posted in the rear. The Sikh horse entered the line of artillery with the dragoons and captured four guns. The shades of evening put an end to the conflict. The troops were half dead with fatigue and parched with thirst, but no water could be procured except at Chillianwalla, two miles distant, to which the Commander-in-Chief was obliged to withdraw the force. During the night, parties of Sikh troops and of the armed peasantry traversed the forest which had been the scene of combat, mutilating the slain and murdering the wounded, and rifling both. All the guns which had been secured during the engagement were carried off, with the exception of twelve, which had been brought into the camp.

Such was the battle of Chillianwalla, the nearest approximation to a defeat of any of our great conflicts in India. The Sikh army was not overthrown, but retired ^{Results of} to another position three miles from the field. ^{the battle.} Four British guns were captured, the colours of three regiments were lost, the reputation of the British cavalry deplorably tarnished, while the character of Sikh prowess was proportionately elevated. The number of killed and wounded, including eighty-nine officers, was 2,446. The Governor-General officially pronounced it a victory, and it was announced by salutes at all the Presidencies; but he was anticipated by Shere Sing, who fired a salute the same evening in honour of his triumph. By the community in India it was considered a great and lamentable calamity. The intelligence of the combat was received in England with a feeling of indignation and alarm. British standards had been lost; British cannon had been captured; British cavalry had fled before the enemy, and a British regiment had been annihilated. These disasters were traced, and justly, to the wretched tactics of Lord Gough, and he was recalled, with the full approval of the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out to supersede him.

SECTION II.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION — SECOND SIKH WAR —
ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB — THE BURMESE WAR —
THE SANTALC.

THE conflict at Chillianwalla had so seriously crippled the infantry as to constrain Lord Gough to await the capture of Mooltan and the arrival of General Whish's force before he undertook any further operations. At Mooltan the advantages gained by the spirited exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes had been lost by the defection of Shere Sing. Moolraj regained possession of the province and of its resources, and was enabled to provision the fort and to improve its fortifications. General Whish, who had retired to a fortified position in the neighbourhood, was doomed to three months of inaction by the dilatoriness of the Bombay military authorities in forwarding reinforcements. The Bombay troops on their arrival raised his army to 17,000, with sixty four heavy guns, and he recommenced the siege on the 27th December. After clearing the suburbs, which was not effected without the loss of 300 men and seventeen officers, the batteries opened on the town, and for five days and nights the discharge from howitzers, cannon, and mortars never ceased. On the third day the fury of the combatants was for a few moments arrested by the explosion of a magazine in the town containing 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder, which shook the earth for miles and darkened the sky with smoke. After a brief pause the firing was renewed, the Bombay and Bengal artillery vying with each other and the enemy vying with both. On the 2nd January the city was stormed, and presented a melancholy picture of desolation; the buildings had crumbled under the storm of shot and shell, which had never been suspended for 120 hours, and the streets were strewed with the dead and dying. Moolraj continued to hold the citadel with about 3,000 troops for another fortnight, and he and his brave soldiers sustained the most terrific fire of ordnance, direct and vertical, which had ever been discharged in India within the same narrow limits. At length, when every roof but one had been demolished, and the incessant volleys became insupportable, the valiant chief surrendered at discretion, and on the 22nd January rode into the English camp, his chiefs and soldiers prostrating themselves before him in passionate devotion as he passed.

After the battle of Chillianwalla the Sikh and British ^{A.D.} troops lay encamped within a few miles of each other for 1849 twenty-five days; the one at Russool and the other at Chillianwalla. On the 6th February Shere Sing evaded Lord Gough and marched unperceived round the British entrenchments, and established his headquarters at Guzerat. The last brigade of General Whish's army having joined Lord Gough on the 20th February, the army moved up to that town. General Cheape, of the Bengal engineers, who had directed the siege of Mooltan with that professional skill and personal energy to which its success is to be attributed, joined the camp a week before the battle and assumed charge of the engineering department. With unwearied industry he applied himself to the duty of obtaining the most accurate information of the position of the enemy, the absence of which had produced the lamentable results of Maharajpore, Moodkee, and Chillianwalla. The army of Shere Sing, estimated at 50,000 men, with sixty pieces of cannon, was posted in front of the walled town of Guzerat, with the left supported on a streamlet, while the right was protected by the deep dry bed of the Dwara. Between them was a space of about three miles with two villages, loopholed and filled with troops. In all Lord Gough's battles he had trusted more to the bayonet than to his cannon, and the carnage had been severe. In the present case the principle was reversed. On the day preceding the engagement it was determined by the able engineer officers with the force that the artillery, in which no army in India had been so strong, should be brought into full play, and that the charge of the infantry should be reserved till the consistency of the Sikh army had been broken by the guns.

Arrange-
ments of the
battle of
Guzerat.

The infantry divisions and brigades advanced in parallel lines with eighty-four pieces of cannon in front, and the cavalry on the flanks. The army, invigorated by rest and food, broke ground at half past seven. The morning was clear and cloudless, and the sun shone brightly on the extended lines of bayonets and sabres. The Sikhs, ever ready with their batteries, opened them at a long range. The British infantry was halted beyond their reach, and the artillery pushed boldly to the front and commenced a cannonade, of which the oldest and most experienced soldiers had never witnessed a parallel for magnificence and effect. The Sikhs fired with great rapidity, but it was manifest that neither human fortitude nor the

The battle of
Guzerat.

A.D. 1849 best materials could withstand the storm which for two hours and a half beat on their devoted artillery; not a single musket was discharged before the fire of their formidable line had been subdued. The infantry then deployed and commenced a steady advance supported by their field batteries. The Sikhs fought with desperation, but the two villages were at length carried by the ardent courage of the British troops, and the whole Sikh line gave way and was pursued round the town by all the brigades of infantry. The cavalry, which had hitherto been kept in reserve, was then let loose, and onward they rushed, riding over and trampling down the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, and converting the discomfited enemy into a shapeless mass of fugitives. It was not till half-past four, after they had advanced fifteen miles beyond Guzerat, that the cavalry drew rein, and by that time the army of Shere Sing was a wreck, deprived of its camp, its standards, and fifty-three pieces of cannon. The battle of Guzerat was one of the noblest achievements of the British army in India, and as it was gained by the judicious use of the arm in which the force had a preponderating power, it has justly been designated the "battle of the guns." The happy contrivance by which the Commander-in-Chief was restrained from interfering with the order of battle, and hurling the infantry, as usual, on the enemy's batteries, is well known.

The day after the battle Sir Walter Gilbert left the camp with 12,000 infantry, cavalry, and horse artillery, and pursued the relic of the Sikh army, now reduced to about 16,000 men, along the great high road of the Indus, with such rapidity as to allow them no breathing time, and they sent Major George Lawrence, who had been their prisoner since he left Peshawur, to make terms with the general. On the 12th March Shere Sing and Chutter Sing delivered up their swords to him at the celebrated monument of Manikyla, once considered a trophy of Alexander the Great; thirty-five subordinate chiefs laid their swords at his feet, and the Khalsa soldiers advanced one by one, and, after clasping their weapons, cast them upon the growing pile with a heavy sigh. It only remained to dispose of the Afghans whom Dost Mahomed had sent to co-operate with the Sikhs. The veteran Gilbert followed them across the Indus, with the buoyancy of youth, and chased them up to the portals of the Khyber, and, as the natives sarcastically remarked, "those who had

Pursuit of
the Sikhs
and Afghans.

“rode down the hills like lions ran back into them like
“dogs.” A.D.
1849

The battle of Guzerat decided the fate of the Punjab and finally quenched the hopes of the Khalsa soldiers. It was no ordinary distinction for that noble army to have met the conquerors of India successively at Moodkee, at Ferozeshuhur, at Aliwal, at Sob-<sup>Annexation
of the
Punjab.</sup>raon, at Chillianwalla, and at Guzerat; but after six such conflicts they resigned themselves with a feeling of proud submission to the power which had proved stronger than themselves, and there has never since been the slightest attempt at disturbance. The Punjab was now, by the indefeasible right of a double conquest, after unprovoked aggression, at the disposal of the British Government, and as there was not time for any reference to the Court of Directors, Lord Dalhousie annexed it to the Company's dominions, in a proclamation which stated that, “as the only “sure mode of protecting the Government of India from “the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, “he was compelled to resolve on the entire subjugation of a “people whom their own government had long been unable “to control, whom no punishment could deter from violence, “and no acts of friendship could conciliate to peace.”

On the 29th of March the youthful maharaja Duleep Sing took his seat for the last time on the throne of his father, and in the presence of the high British functionaries and the nobles of his court, heard Lord Dalhousie's proclamation read, and then affixed his initials to the deed which transferred the kingdom of the five waters to the Company, and secured to himself an annuity of five lacs a year. The British colours were hoisted on the ramparts, and a royal salute announced the fulfilment of Runjeet Sing's prediction that “the Punjab also would become red,”—in allusion to the colour which distinguishes the British possessions on the map of India. The jageers of the leaders of the rebellion were confiscated, and they retired into oblivion on small stipends. Moolraj, after a fair trial before a special court, was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but died within a short time. Lord Dalhousie was elevated to the dignity of a Marquis, the fourth marquissate bestowed on the Governors-General who had enlarged the Company's territories. The reproach of Chillianwalla was forgotten in the triumph of Guzerat, and Lord Gough received a step in the peerage.

Lord Dalhousie, having thus annexed the Punjab to the

A.D. 1849 to 1854
 Administration of the Punjab.

Company's dominions, was determined to spare no pains to render our government a real blessing to the population. A noble field was presented for the construction of an administration free from the errors committed in other provinces in the infancy of our rule, and it was not neglected. A board was constituted with ample powers, at the head of which was placed Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the Company's great statesmen, a fit successor of Ochterlony, and Munro, and Elphinstone, and Metcalfe. With him was associated his brother Mr. John Lawrence, who was subsequently rewarded with the Governor-Generalship, and Mr. Robert Montgomery. A more efficient board it would have been difficult to construct even in India. The administration was formed on a new system, and entrusted to fifty-six officers, half of whom were military men and the other half civilians, the flower of the service, men of mature experience, or of noble aspirations for distinction. The system of government was well suited by its simplicity and vigour to the requirements of the country. For the voluminous regulations which lay like an incubus on the older provinces, a clear and concise manual adapted to the habits of a people who courted justice but dreaded law, was compiled by Mr. Montgomery, and comprised in a few sheets of foolscap.

The north-west boundary of the empire was now removed to the mountain range beyond the Indus, inhabited by tribes of highlanders, whose vocation, from time immemorial, had been to levy black mail. To protect the lowlanders from their raids, a chain of fortifications was established on the line, fully provisioned, and connected with each other by a series of roads. Nine regiments were especially raised for duty on these marches. Within six months of the conquest Lord Dalhousie disarmed the Punjab, and 120,000 weapons of every variety of form and character were surrendered. A military police, consisting of six regiments of foot and twenty-seven troops of horse, was organised. The ancient institution of the village watch, paid by the people and acting under local magnates, was revived in a more efficient form. As the result of these admirable arrangements, it was reported within three years that no province in India was more free from crime than the Punjab.

The vital question of the land assessment, on which the happiness, and, to a great extent, the loyalty, of the people in the East depends, was dealt with in a spirit of wisdom

and liberality, and the egregious blunders committed in the older provinces were carefully avoided. The settlement was formed on a minute and accurate investigation; the land-tax was reduced in amount, and leases were granted, which in some cases extended to thirty years. The security of tenure and the moderation of the rent gave such encouragement to agriculture that more than 30,000 of the Khalsa soldiers exchanged the sword for the plough. Lord Dalhousie was likewise resolved to avoid the boundless irritation inflicted on the Gangetic provinces for half a century by dallying with the question of rent-free tenures; every case was carefully examined and satisfactorily and finally disposed of. The duties on the transit of merchandise from district to district and town to town—the great impediments of trade—were swept away, and the loss was compensated by the scientific selection of new taxes, four of which yielded a larger return than forty-eight of Runjeet Sing's clumsy imposts.

A.D.
1849
to
1854

The Board of Administration likewise put down the sale of children, which was all but universal, and thus extinguished domestic slavery. Dacoity was rife when the Punjab came into our possession, but the Board took the field against the criminals with that exceptional energy for which the administration of this province has always been distinguished, and in the course of five years the country was more free from the crime than Bengal after eighty-five years of our rule. The thugs who had resorted to the Punjab, when driven out of Hindostan and the Deccan by Colonel Sleeman, were extirpated. Active measures were likewise adopted to eradicate the practice of female infanticide.

Slavery,
dacoity, and
thuggee.

Lord Dalhousie did not consider the conquest of the Punjab complete till it was intersected with military roads, and in the course of five years 2,200 miles were either completed or under construction. Of these the most important was that which united Lahore with Peshawur, a distance of 275 miles. It passed over more than 100 great bridges and 450 of smaller dimensions, and it penetrated six mountain chains; all these obstacles were overcome by Colonel Napier, since created Lord Napier of Magdala, to whose skill and energy the Punjab was indebted for those material improvements which gave it the appearance of a Roman province. Lord Dalhousie, moreover, considered that "of all works of improvement which could be applied to an Indian province, works of

Roads and
canals.

A.D. 1849 to 1854 “irrigation were the happiest in their effects on the physical condition of the people,” and he directed all the canals excavated by former rulers, Mahomedan and Sikh, to be repaired, and others to be constructed with a liberal hand. The greatest of Colonel Napier’s works of irrigation was the Baree Daoab canal, which with its branches extended to the length of 465 miles, equal, if not superior to, the longest European canal. Lord Dalhousie made the boon the more acceptable to the people by refusing to levy any water-rate, as he considered that the state was fully repaid by the increase of cultivation.

The government established in the Punjab was emphatically Lord Dalhousie’s own creation. The administrative and executive talent employed in the improvement of it had never been equalled in any other province, but it was his genius which gave animation to the whole system. He traversed the country in every direction, and placed himself in constant and unrestrained communication with the public functionaries, who were thus enabled to prosecute their labours without official encumbrances. The administration embodied the maturity of our experience in the science of Eastern government, and rendered the Punjab the model province of India. By these wise and beneficent measures the nation which had recently been the great object of political anxiety became one of the chief elements of our strength. The brave soldiers who had shaken our power to its foundation at Ferozeshuhur and Chillianwalla enlisted under our banners, assisted in reconquering Delhi from the rebel sepoys, marched up the Irrawaddy to fight the Burmese, and aided in planting the English colours on the battlements of Peking.

1851 There was peace for three years after the conquest of the Punjab, and then came the unexpected and unwelcome war with the Burmese, who had been at peace with us for twenty-six years. In September the European merchants at Rangoon transmitted a memorial to the Government of India, complaining of various acts of oppression, sometimes accompanied with torture, which had been inflicted on them by the Burmese authorities, and stating that, unless they could obtain protection, they must quit the country and sacrifice their property. The Council in Calcutta—Lord Dalhousie being up the country—came to the conclusion that British subjects were entitled to British protection. Commodore Lambert,

The second
Burmese
war.

commanding H.M. ship "Fox," who had recently arrived in Calcutta, was sent to Rangoon to investigate the complaints, and if they were substantiated, to forward a communication from the Government of India to the king demanding redress. The Ava cabinet replied that the offending governor should be removed, and that due enquiry should be made into the complaints of the merchants. The governor, however, left Rangoon with ostentatious parade, and his successor treated the British representative with studied insolence, and refused to appoint any day for an official audience. Captain Fishbourne therefore sent to inform him that the deputation from the Government of India would wait on him at midday on the 6th January. He proceeded at the appointed time with his suite to Government House, but they were not permitted to enter it and were detained in the sun by the menials who declared that the governor was asleep and must not be disturbed, whereas he was all the time looking at them through the venetian windows, and enjoying their mortification. After waiting a quarter of an hour Captain Fishbourne returned and reported the treatment he had received to the Commodore. The mission had been entrusted to one of Cromwell's ambassadors, "a sixty-four gun frigate, which spoke all languages and never took a refusal." The Commodore immediately proceeded down the river to establish a blockade, as he had been instructed to do, taking away with him a merchant vessel belonging to the king. On his way down a heavy fire was opened on him from the stockades below Rangoon on both sides the river, which the guns of the "Fox" demolished in a few minutes.

Lord Dalhousie was at the time in the north-west provinces, and apprehending from the aspect of the negotiation that the Government was drifting into a war, hastened down to prevent it, and it was only till the third application for redress had been treated with contempt that he came to the determination to seek it by force of arms. "The Government of India," he said in his minute, "cannot consistently with its own safety appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if for one day it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority of its arms and of its continued resolution to maintain it." The Commander-in-Chief was in Sinde, and Lord Dalhousie was obliged to

A. D.
1852

Proceedings
of Lord
Dalhousie.

A.D. 1852 become his own war minister, and he astonished India by the singular genius he displayed for military organisation. The task before him was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was the 10th February before the declaration of war was issued and the preparations for the campaign commenced, and it was of vital importance that Rangoon should be occupied before the rains came on in the beginning of May. He had two expeditions to despatch, one from Bengal and the other from Madras; the steamers were lying in the harbour of Bombay, and there was no telegraph; but his forethought anticipated, and his energy supplied, every requirement. He superintended every arrangement himself, and his aides-de-camp were incessantly employed in Calcutta in moving about from place to place to ensure promptitude and efficiency in every branch of preparation. The Tenasserim provinces were drained of cattle and provisions; bakehouses were erected on the coast, and steamers stationed to convey bread and meat to the camp. The framework of houses was constructed at Moulmein to afford shelter to the troops when the monsoon set in, and a convalescent depôt was established at Amherst, thirty miles below Rangoon.

The land army amounted to 5,800 men, under the command of General Godwin, who had served in the first Burmese war, and it was strengthened by nineteen steamers carrying 159 guns and manned by 2,200 sailors and marines. On the arrival of the force in the Rangoon river, a flag of truce was sent up by a steamer to receive the reply of the king to the latest letter of the Governor-General, but it was fired upon, and the last hope of a peaceful solution of the difficulty vanished. The whole force took up a position in front of Rangoon on the 11th April. The great pagoda, the key of the enemy's position, had been fortified with great skill, and it was defended with more gallantry than the Burmese had exhibited in the former war; but nothing could withstand the fiery valour of our soldiers, and the British colours were planted on that noble temple after a short struggle. This was the first, and almost the only military operation of the campaign. The Burmese army was dispersed, and the people returned to their houses and resumed their occupations. The town was well supplied with provisions, and carpenters from Pegu hastened to erect the wooden houses. The health of the camp was little affected by the season; the river was crowded with shipping, and the port became a busy mart

The expedi-
tionary
force.

of commerce. But although General Godwin had a magnificent flotilla of steamers, and the complete command of the river, nothing could induce him to advance to Prome, and Lord Dalhousie was obliged to proceed to Rangoon in person, and insist on his moving up to occupy that important position; it was captured with the loss of only one man. A.D. 1852

The king refused to hold any communication with Lord Dalhousie, and he had now to consider the course he was to pursue. The inhabitants of Pegu were impatient to be released from the iron yoke of the Burmese, who had treated them with more than ordinary cruelty since they were conquered. They entreated to be taken under British protection, and Lord Dalhousie determined at once to accede to their wishes and to annex the province. In his minute on the subject he said, "In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war; but I have been drawn most reluctantly to the conclusion that no measure will adequately meet the object which, in my judgment, it is absolutely necessary to secure—the establishment of our security now and its maintenance hereafter—except the seizure and occupation of a portion of the territories of the Burmah kingdom." The Court of Directors and the Ministry concurred in this opinion, and on the 20th December a proclamation was issued declaring that Pegu was henceforth to be considered a portion of the British dominions. No province has ever gained so much in so short a period by annexation. The export and import traffic has increased from a few lacs to nine crores; the people are happy and contented, and would consider a change of masters the greatest of calamities. The first Burmese war had entailed an expenditure of thirteen crores; the second cost a little over one crore.

SECTION III.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—ANNEXATIONS.

THE confiscation of the Punjab and Pegu, like the annexations made during fifty years to the dominions of the Company from the territories of Mysore, Sindia, Nagpore, Holkar, and the Peshwa, followed the

Annexation
policy.

A.D. 1848 fortune of war, and were the natural consequence of unprovoked hostilities; but the absorption of Satara, Nagpore, and Jhansi was based on the failure of heirs, and the assumed prerogative of the paramount power in India. They constitute what has been termed the "annexation policy" of Lord Dalhousie, which has been compared to "the acts of brigands counting out their spoil in a wood, rather than the acts of British statesmanship," and he has been stigmatised as "the worst and basest of rulers." To trace this policy to its origin, it is to be observed that, seven years before his arrival, the Governor-General and Council in 1841 recorded their unanimous opinion that "our policy should be to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just or honourable accession of territory or revenue while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." Lord Dalhousie, soon after assuming the government, recorded his entire concurrence in the views of his predecessors, and said that "we were bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural; but wherever a shadow of doubt can be shown the claim should be at once abandoned."

The principality of Satara, the first to which this principle was applied, was created by Lord Hastings in favour of the descendant of Sevajee on the absorption of the Peshwa's dominions in 1819, and endowed with a revenue of fifteen lacs a year. The raja died on the 5th April, 1848, without issue. He had repeatedly applied to the Resident for permission to adopt an heir, but had been informed that it was not in his power to grant it. Two hours before his death, a boy, previously unknown to him, was brought in by hap-hazard; the ceremony of adoption was performed with the usual rites, and a royal salute was fired. The adopted lad succeeded, as a matter of course, to the personal property of the raja, but the question arose whether he could succeed to the sovereignty without the sanction of the British Government. Sir George Clerk, the governor of Bombay, while admitting that the consent of the paramount power was required by custom, maintained that the Government could not object to it without injustice. His successor, Lord Falkland, concurred with the other members of government in taking an opposite view of the case. Mr. Willoughby, the ablest member of

the Council, affirmed that the confirmation of the para-^{A. D.}mount authority in India was essential to the validity of an adoption, according to custom so ancient and so universal as to have all the effect of law, and he would not allow states which, like Satara, had lapsed to us, to be perpetuated by adoption. These conflicting opinions were submitted to Lord Dalhousie, and after a diligent examination of precedents and documents, he recorded his entire agreement with Mr. Willoughby's views, both on the general principle and on the policy to be adopted in this particular instance. The question was then referred to the decision of the Court of Directors, together with all the minutes recorded at Bombay and Calcutta. The Court, with the concurrence of the Board of Control, communicated for the guidance of the Government of India the principle on which they were to act: "By the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality, like that of Satara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power . . . and the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it." 1843

About five years later a similar case turned up at Nagpore. 1853 It has been already stated that, in consequence of the treacherous attack of Appa Sahib on the Resi-^{Nagpore.}dency in 1817, the kingdom was forfeited, but Lord Hastings generously restored it to the royal family. The raja, who was childless, repeatedly resisted the earnest advice of the Resident to adopt a son, and died in 1853 without any heir or successor, lineal, collateral, or adopted. Lord Dalhousie recorded an elaborate minute on the subject, remarking, "We have not now to decide any question which turns on the right of a paramount power to refuse confirmation to an adoption by an inferior. The raja has died, and deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. The state of Nagpore, conferred on the raja and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government, has reverted to it on the death of the raja without an heir. The Government is wholly unfettered to decide as it may think fit;" and he came to the conclusion that "the gratuitous alienation of the state of Nagpore in favour of a Mahratta youth was called for by no obligation of justice or equity, and was forbidden by every consideration of sound policy." The Court of Directors signified their entire concurrence in the annexation, and stated as the ground of their decision that Nagpore was a principality granted after conquest by the

favour of the British Government to the late raja on hereditary tenure. He had left no heir of his body; there was no male heir who by family or hereditary right could claim to succeed him; he had adopted no son; there was not in existence any person descended in the male line from the founder of the dynasty, and they had no doubt of their right to resume the grant.

A.D. 1854 The principality of Jhansi in Bundelcund was held by a chief as a tributary of the Peshwa, whose rights in the province were ceded to the Company in 1817, and Lord Hastings, to reward him for his fidelity, declared the fief to be hereditary in his family. He died in 1835, after having adopted a son, but Sir Charles Metcalfe, then governor of Agra, declared that in the case of chiefs who merely held lands or enjoyed revenues under grants such as are issued by sovereigns to subjects, the power which made the grant had a right to resume it on failure of heirs male. He therefore refused to acknowledge any right to bequeath the sovereignty by adoption, and bestowed it on a descendant of the first chief. He died in 1853, having adopted a son on his death-bed, and his widow, a woman of high spirit and great talent, demanded the succession for the lad. Colonel Low, one of the members of Council who had opposed the annexation of Nagpore, recorded in his minute "the native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns; they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peshwa, and latterly of the Company; the Government of India has now a full right to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions." Lord Dalhousie stated that, as the last raja had left no heir of his body, and there was no male heir of any chief or raja who had ruled the principality for half a century, the right of the British Government to refuse to acknowledge the present adoption was unquestionable. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, and Jhansi was incorporated in their territories. During the mutiny the ranees took a fearful revenge by putting eighty-three Europeans, men, women, and children, to death in cold blood. To these three cases of annexation, that of Oude has been added to swell the condemnation pronounced on Lord Dalhousie's proceedings, though it was effected contrary to his advice, by the direct orders of the Cabinet and the Court of Directors. On these questions we leave the reader to form his own judgment from the facts which we have thus placed before him.

It was during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and

with his full concurrence, that the dignity and privileges ^{A.D.} of the nabob of the Carnatic were suppressed by ^{Nabobs of} the Government of Madras. The Carnatic was ^{the Carnatic.} annexed to the Company's territories in 1801 by Lord Wellesley, who allotted a sum of about seven lacs of rupees a year for the support of the nabob and his household; but he distinctly excluded all allusion to heirs and successors. It was a personal settlement with a mediatized prince; the nabob enjoyed a titular dignity, received royal salutes, and was placed above law. Two nabobs in succession had left heirs at their death in 1819 and 1825, and the Government had allowed them to succeed to the title and the advantages attached to it. The last nabob died childless in 1853, and his uncle, Azim Jah, claimed the dignity and immunities and allowances attached to the nabobship. Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, pointed out in an elaborate minute that the Government was not bound to recognise a hereditary succession to this dignity, even of direct heirs, still less of those who were only collateral. He objected to the perpetuation of the nabobship, because it was prejudicial to the public interests that there should exist a separate authority in the town not amenable to law, which, combined with the vicious habits of the palace, encouraged the accumulation of an idle and dissolute population in the capital of the Presidency. The nabob's palace was mortgaged, and his debts amounted to half a crore of rupees. Lord Harris proposed that the annuities of the Arcot family should cease, that the Government should undertake to settle its debts and make a moderate allowance to the uncle. Lord Dalhousie fully concurred in these views, and the Court of Directors asserted that the rights of the family were restricted to the prince who signed the treaty in 1801.

The vexatious question of the Hyderabad contingent was ¹⁸⁵³ brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the tact and resolution of Lord Dalhousie and the firmness and ^{The Nizam} judgment of Colonel Low, the Resident at the ^{and Berar.} Nizam's court. The origin of this force has been explained in a former chapter. It was over-officered and over-paid, and formed a severe tax on the revenues of the state, but the Nizam would not hear of its being reduced. Its allowances had repeatedly fallen into arrears, when it became necessary for the Resident to make advances from his treasury, which the Nizam acknowledged as a debt bearing interest. The territory of Hyderabad was sufficiently pro-

A.D. 1853 ductive to provide for all the demands of the administration, but it was impossible to prevail on the Nizam to attend to business; his debts amounted to three crores, and the exorbitant interest he was obliged to pay, combined with the cost of a horde of 40,000 foreign mercenaries he persisted in maintaining, devoured his resources. The Nizam had from time to time made some payments towards the liquidation of the debt incurred for the contingent, but by 1853 it had again accumulated to half a crore of rupees. Lord Dalhousie's patience was exhausted by four years of evasion, and he determined to bring the question to an issue. He proposed the draft of a treaty placing the contingent on a definite and permanent footing, providing for its punctual payment, and effecting an equitable settlement of arrears by the transfer of territory yielding about thirty-six lacs a year, which was less than the annual claim on the Nizam by about six lacs. By this arrangement he was relieved from a debt of half a crore; but, however beneficial it might be to his interests, he manifested a strong reluctance to agree to it, and it was only on the importunity of his ministers, and more particularly through the influence of a favourite valet whom the ministers had bribed, that he was induced to give his consent to it. The districts which he ceded were those in West Berar, which Lord Wellesley had generously given his ancestor for the very equivocal assistance he had rendered in the war with the Mahrattas in 1803.

SECTION IV.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—OUDE—SOCIAL AND MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS.

No province in India had suffered the affliction of misrule for so long a period as Oude, and it was to be traced to the presence of the British army, which effectually protected the ruler from the indignation of his subjects. The expostulations of Warren Hastings, of Lord Cornwallis, of Sir John Shore, and of Lord Hastings had been totally unheeded. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck assured the king, that unless prompt measures were adopted to reform abuses and to give the people the benefit of good government, the Company would assume the administration, and reduce him to the same condition as the nabob of

Chronic
misrule in
Oude.

Moorshedabad. This remonstrance produced a slight reformation, but it was transient. Twelve years after Lord Hardinge visited Lucknow and earnestly renewed the remonstrance, assuring the king that, unless these reformations were carried out within two years, the government of the whole country would be taken out of his hands.

Colonel Sleeman, who was soon after appointed Resident, was desired to make a tour through the country and ascertain whether any reform had been made in the administration. His report presented a dark record of crime and misery. The king maintained a superfluous army of 70,000 men, who received scanty and uncertain pay, and were driven to prey upon the people. Their foraging parties indiscriminately plundered the villagers of provisions, and brought away the roofs and doors of the houses for fuel. It was impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a body of disorganised and licentious soldiery. There were 246 forts or strongholds in the country, with 476 guns, held by the higher class of landholders, chiefly Rajpoots. They had converted large tracts of the most fertile land into jungle, which became the haunts of lawless characters, who levied heavy imposts on all traders and travellers. Within sixteen miles of the capital one landholder had thus turned thirty miles of rich land into jungle, and erected four fortifications within the circle. The king, immured in his palace, was invisible except to his women, musicians, and buffoons. The favourite fiddler had been appointed chief justice; the chief singer was *de facto* king. Every officer on his appointment was required to pay heavy *douceurs* to the king, to the heir-apparent, to the minister, in fact, to whomever was supposed to have interest at court, and he reimbursed himself by extortions from the people. Colonel Sleeman—who was an impassioned foe to annexation—stated in his report that, notwithstanding his earnest desire to maintain the throne of Oude in its integrity, fifty years of experience had destroyed every hope that the king would carry out a system of administration calculated to secure life and property and to promote the happiness of the people. “He did not think that, with a “due regard to its own character as the paramount power “in India, and the particular obligations by which it was “bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this “distracted country, the Government could any longer “forbear to take over the administration,” in perpetuity;

A.D.
1851

Colonel
Sleeman's
report.

A.D. 1855 making suitable provision for the dignity and comfort of the king. General Outram, who was equally desirous of maintaining, if possible, the few remaining states in India, was appointed Resident by Lord Dalhousie, and directed to make a thorough inquiry into the condition of the people. He stated that, not only was there no improvement, but no prospect of any, and that the duty imposed on the Government by treaty could no longer admit of its honestly indulging the reluctance hitherto felt of having recourse to the decisive measure of assuming the administration. He asserted that it was at the cost of 5,000,000 people, for whom we were bound to secure good government, that we were upholding the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty.

Lord Dalhousie drew up a comprehensive minute on the subject, in which he analysed the evidence which had been given during a long series of years of the gross and inveterate abuse of power in Oude, and the opinions which had been recorded, without exception, of our obligation to afford relief to the people. Were it not for the presence of our troops, he said, the people would long since have worked their own deliverance; inaction on our part could no longer be justified. But, he added, the rulers of Oude, however unfaithful to the trust conferred on them, have yet ever been faithful and true in their allegiance to the British power, and they have aided us as best they could in the hour of our utmost need. Justice and gratitude require that, in ameliorating the lot of the people, we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereign as little as possible. The prospects of the people may be improved without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne. "I do not therefore advise that Oude be declared a British province." He proposed that the king should retain the sovereignty, that he should vest the whole of the civil and military administration in the hands of the Company, and receive an annual stipend for the support of his honour and dignity. Of the members of Council, Mr.—now Sir Barnes—Peacock coincided with Lord Dalhousie; Mr.—now Sir John—Grant, and governor of Jamaica, recommended the incorporation of Oude with the British territories; and General Low, who had opposed the annexation of Nagpore, and who had, moreover, been Resident at Lucknow, asserted that the disorders in the country were of such long standing, and so inveterate, that there was no

Minute of
Lord Dal-
housie and
the Council.

mode of maintaining a just government but by placing the whole of its territory exclusively and permanently under the direct management of the East India Company. A. D.
1855

Lord Dalhousie transmitted all these minutes, together with the reports of Colonel Sleeman and General Outram, to the Court of Directors, with whom, and with the Ministry, rested the decision of this great question. ^{Annexation of Oude.} After earnest deliberation for two months, they came to the determination to overrule the advice of Lord Dalhousie, and to adopt what he had endeavoured to dissuade them from—the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne; and thus ended the sovereignty of the king of Oude, on whom an annuity of twelve lacs of rupees a year was settled. 1856

Lord Dalhousie's administration was rendered not less memorable by his administrative reforms and by material progress than by its political results. There was no branch of the public service which his keen eye did not penetrate, and into which he did not introduce improvements, the value of which has been gracefully acknowledged even by his enemies. He had an insuperable aversion to what he described as the cumbersome and obstructive agency of boards, and he abolished them as far as possible, and invigorated each department by unity of control and responsibility. Though a civilian, there was no portion of the public service in which his reforms were more radical and more beneficial than the army. He abolished the military board, and placed the multifarious duties which had been thrust upon it, and which it was never able to perform with efficiency, under the charge of single officers of large experience. The board had been weighted with the superintendence of all public works, and in no division had its failure been more palpable. Lord Dalhousie organised a public works department, with a separate secretary, not only to the Government of India, but to each Presidency. ^{Administrative reforms.} The responsibility of management was vested in a chief engineer, assisted by a body of executive officers and subordinates. To secure the uninterrupted progress of public works, which had previously been prosecuted by spasmodic efforts, a schedule of those which were to be executed during each year was to be submitted to Government at the commencement of it. 1852

The revenues of India were increased during Lord Dalhousie's administration from twenty-six to thirty crores.

mercial interests of India than has been known at any former period, is due to the exertions of Lord Dalhousie. The first railway was projected by ^{Railroads.} Sir Macdonald Stephenson in 1843, and received great encouragement from Mr. Wilberforce Bird, when officiating as governor-general, and subsequently from Lord Hardinge, but the commercial disasters of 1846 and 1847, and the reluctance of English capitalists to embark in an unexplored field of enterprise in India, baffled the undertaking. The indefatigable zeal of Sir Macdonald succeeded at length in forming the East India Railway Company, and Sir James Hogg, a member of the Court of Directors, prevailed ^{A.D.} 1848 on his colleagues, though not without great difficulty, to guarantee a rate of interest sufficient to raise the capital. Two short and experimental lines at Calcutta and at Bombay were sanctioned, but as numerous applications for similar concessions poured in upon the India House, the Court had the wisdom to refer them to the consideration of Lord Dalhousie, with the intimation of their wish "that India should, without unnecessary loss of time, possess the immense advantage of a regular and well-devised system of railway communications."

The question could not have been placed in the hands of one better qualified to do justice to it. He had presided at the Board of Trade for several years during the most active period of railway enterprise, and had become complete master of the principles ^{Lord Dalhousie's minute.} and details of railway economy. To this pre-eminent advantage he added large and comprehensive views of policy. In the elaborate minute he transmitted to the Directors on the 20th April, 1853, which became the basis of the railway system of India, he expressed his hope that the limited section of experimental line hitherto sanctioned would no longer form the standard for railway works in India. A glance at the map, he said, would suffice to show how immeasurable would be the political advantages of a system of internal communication by which intelligence of every event should be transmitted to the Government at a speed fivefold its present rate, and enable the Government to bring the main bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it now requires months. The commercial and social advantages of the rail were beyond all calculation. "A system of railways judiciously selected and formed would surely and rapidly give rise in this empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of

A.D. 1853 “latent forces, and the same increase of national wealth that
 “have marked the introduction of improved and extended
 “communications in the various kingdoms of the Western
 “world. With the aid of a railway carried up to the
 “Indus, the risk involved in the extension of our
 “frontier to a distance of 1,500 miles from the capital
 “would be infinitely diminished. Peshawur would, in fact,
 “be reached in less time and with greater facility than
 “Moorshedabad, though only seventy miles distant from
 “Calcutta, in the days of Clive.” He then proceeded to
 lay down a system of railways for the whole continent
 which should connect the Presidencies with each other
 and form the great trunk lines. He advocated the construc-
 tion of the lines by public companies, sustained by a State
 guarantee and controlled, directly but not vexatiously, by
 the Government of the country, acting in the interests of
 the public on the principle for which he had contended,
 though in vain, when at the Board of Trade.

1852 Another boon conferred on India by Lord Dalhousie
 was the electric telegraph, created by the enterprising
 spirit of Mr.—now Sir William—O’Shaugh-
 nessy. After a series of experiments he succeeded
 in laying down a line from Calcutta to the sea at Kedgerie;
 which, by expediting the communication of intelligence,
 was found to be of eminent service during the Burmese
 war, when hours were invaluable. Lord Dalhousie lost no
 time in sending Mr. O’Shaughnessy to England with a
 letter to the Court of Directors, stating that the success of
 this experiment had added intensity to his desire to bring
 the various sections of the empire into communication with
 each other by telegraphic wires, and he made it his earnest
 personal solicitation that they would authorise the imme-
 diate construction of them. “Everything,” he added,
 “moves faster nowadays all the world over, except the
 “transaction of Indian business.” Happily Sir James
 Hogg occupied the chair at the India House, and he took
 the same interest in the promotion of the telegraph as he
 had done of the rail. The proposal was carried through the
 various official stages with such promptitude that, within a
 week of the arrival of Lord Dalhousie’s communication,
 the despatch sanctioning the establishment of the telegraph
 was on its way to India. The wires have now been spread
 over the country, and have fully answered the hopes of the
 Governor-General, by increasing the security of the
 empire, and augmenting the facilities for governing it ten-

fold. Even his most ambitious expectations have been realised by the progress of science. "It may yet be hoped," he wrote, "that the system of electric telegraphs in India "may one day be linked with those which envelope Europe "and which already seek to stretch across the Atlantic." Not only is the Government of India in daily communication with the home authorities, but on a recent occasion a complimentary message from the Governor-General at Simla to the President of the United States reached Washington and was acknowledged in three hours. It cannot, however, but be considered a fortunate, not to say a providential, circumstance that the submarine telegraph was not in existence before the conquest of India had been completed, and Peshawur had become the frontier station of the empire. Considering the inveterate repugnance of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control to any increase of territory whatever, it is manifest that, if such facilities of communication had existed at a more early period, there would have been no Indian empire to govern.

Lord Dalhousie embarked for England on the 6th A.D. March, 1856. The population of the metropolis, moved by 1856

a feeling of admiration of the great ruler who had enlarged, consolidated, and improved the empire, crowded the plain to testify their regret at his departure. Eight years of incessant toil had exhausted his constitution, and, after a lingering illness of four years, he sank into the grave, on the 19th December, 1860, at the premature age of forty-eight. His administration forms one of the most important eras in the history of British India. His plans were always broad and comprehensive, and bore the stamp of solid improvement, and not of mere sensational innovation. With a clear intellect and a sound and independent judgment, he combined great firmness of purpose and decision of character. If he exacted the rigid performance of duty from those under him, he set them the example by his own intense application to public business, to which, by a noble devotion, he sacrificed leisure, ease, comfort, and even health. Every question that came before him was investigated with patience and diligence, and with a scrupulous desire to arrive at a right decision. He marshalled with great impartiality all the arguments on both sides of any subject, and adduced weighty reasons whatever the decision he formed, the soundness of which was rarely questioned by his colleagues or the public. Among the governors-general

Character of
Lord Dal-
housie's ad-
ministration.

he stands on the same pedestal with Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley, and his public character, like theirs, has had to pass through the ordeal of obloquy. It was twenty-seven years after the House of Commons had impeached Warren Hastings that the members rose in a body to pay spontaneous homage to his merits as he entered their chamber in 1813. It was thirty years before the Court of Directors, who had treated Lord Wellesley as a criminal, assured him that he "had been animated by an ardent zeal to promote the welfare of India, and to uphold the interests and honour of the British empire, and that they looked back to the eventful and brilliant period of his government with feelings common to their countrymen." Lord Dalhousie's acquittal may perhaps be longer delayed, but it is not the less certain. The only indictment against him is his annexation policy, as it is called, which was hastily pronounced to have been the cause of the mutiny; and it was inevitable that the feelings of indignation which its atrocities created should be in some measure transferred to the individual who was charged with having occasioned it. The great merits of his administration cannot, therefore, be fully appreciated till the voice of posterity has removed this reproach from it.

A.D. 1853 The Charter of 1833 expired in 1853, and a strenuous effort was made to wrest the government of India from the East India Company, but the Whig Ministry determined to continue it in their hands, not, however, as formerly, for any definite period, but until Parliament should otherwise ordain. The India Bill was introduced by Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, in a lucid speech of five hours; which, considering that he came into office only five months before, a stranger to Indian affairs, exhibited no ordinary talent, and held out the prospect of an enlightened and vigorous administration, which was subsequently realised to the fullest extent. The chief modifications were three. The number of the Court of Directors was reduced from thirty to eighteen, and the elimination was effected by a most ingenious process of balloting, devised by the secretary, Sir James Melvill. Of the reduced number a certain proportion was to be nominated by the Crown. Under the old system, many of the most eminent of the public servants in India were excluded from the Direction on their return to England, owing to their invincible repugnance to a laborious and humiliating course of canvassing; but the Minister was now

enabled at once to avail himself of their invaluable assistance. The government of Bengal and Behar, moreover, was entrusted to a separate Lieutenant-governor. The administration of these provinces, containing a population of more than fifty millions, and contributing one-third of the revenues of the empire, had down to this period been imposed on the Governor-general; and, whenever he was absent, which was generally one-half his time, it devolved on the senior member of Council, who sometimes happened to be a military officer rewarded for services in the field, and, in one instance, for reforming the Madras Commissariat. Under this anomalous system there had been no fewer than ten governors and deputy-governors of Bengal in the course of eleven years. Throughout this period of perpetual change and inevitable weakness the post of secretary was occupied by Mr.—now Sir Frederick—Halliday, and it was owing to his great local knowledge and experience, and to his sound judgment and diligence, that the administration exhibited any degree of energy or consistency. His eminent services were rewarded by the first appointment to the Lieutenant-governorship. By a third provision of the Charter, the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Court of Directors to make way for the principle of unreserved competition.

A.D.
1853

CHAPTER XV.

SECTION I.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION—THE MUTINY—MEERUT—
DELHI—THE PUNJAB.

LORD DALHOUSIE was succeeded by Lord Canning, the thirteenth and last of the Governors-general of the East India Company, and the first viceroy of the Queen. His father, George Canning, was appointed governor-general in 1822, but did not embark. He himself had sat in the House of Lords for twenty years, and filled several offices of state, and had thus acquired a good store of official experience. At the valedictory banquet given to him by the Court of Directors

Lord Can-
ning gover-
nor-general.

1856

he uttered these memorable expressions:—"I wish for a peaceful time of office; but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst, and overwhelm us with ruin." The succeeding narrative will show how prophetic this enunciation proved to be. His administration was marked by a series of events of unexampled magnitude—the mutiny and extinction of an army of 150,000 sepoy, —the wholesale massacre of Europeans, men, women and children—the loss and recovery of the North-West provinces—the dissolution of the East India Company, and the annexation of the empire of India to the Crown.

A. D. 1856 Lord Canning landed in Calcutta on the last day of February 1856, and for a fortnight enjoyed the benefit of

Appearances
of disaffec-
tion.—Oude.

intercourse with Lord Dalhousie, who believed that India was in a state of profound tranquillity. As the year wore on, however, the elements of disquietude, though not of immediate danger, began to make their appearance. The deposed king of Oude was allowed to take up his residence in the suburbs of Calcutta, and his emissaries were actively employed in diffusing a feeling of hostility to the British Government in and around the metropolis. The chief commissionership of Oude had unfortunately been given to a civilian, Mr. Coverley Jackson, who was utterly unfit for such a post. Instead of labouring to reconcile the chiefs and people to a foreign rule, as Outram and Sleeman would have laboured to do, his time was passed in unseemly squabbles with his subordinates, and in sowing the dragon's teeth of rebellion among the proud aristocracy of the country by a wanton and disastrous interference with the tenures of their estates.

In the old Mahomedan capital of India, in which the royal family had been injudiciously permitted to keep up a mimic court, the proceedings of Government aroused a strong feeling of animosity. Contrary to the advice of some of the venerable members of the Court of Directors, the Board of Control had determined to remove the family from Delhi; and, on the death of the king Bahadoor Shah, to discontinue the royal title and immunities. From a feeling of deference to the strong remonstrances of the Directors who had opposed this measure, Lord Dalhousie had postponed taking action upon it, and it was left to the consideration of Lord Canning, who at once adopted the conclusion that the palace of

Discontent
at Delhi.

Delhi, which was a mile in circumference and the citadel of a fortified town, and which was urgently required for military purposes, should be in the hands of the Government of the country. A communication to this effect was made to the king, who was likewise informed that his son Mahomed Korash would be recognised as his successor, but without the title of king. His young and favourite wife, Zeenut Mehal, was anxious to secure the succession for her own son, and resented his exclusion, and not less the loss of the regal dignity and privileges of the family. She set every engine at work to create a hostile excitement against the British Government in the Mahomedan community, not only of Hindostan, but also of the Deccan, and extended her intrigues to Persia, then at war with England. Rumours were at the same time disseminated that Lord Canning had arrived with orders from the Queen of England to enforce the profession of Christianity on the natives of India. There was likewise a prophecy abroad at the time that the Company's *raj*, or rule, was to last only a hundred years, and 1857 was the centenary of Plassy. This prediction was industriously propagated, and tended, as in other cases, to promote its own fulfilment, by creating an impression that the fate of the British Government was subject to the inevitable law of destiny. There can be little doubt that towards the close of 1856 the public mind had become unsettled, and that a vague apprehension of some portentous event was generally diffused through the community.

A.D.
1856

The native soldiery of India, whether under their native princes or under our own flag, had never been exempt from a spirit of insubordination. Sindia, Holkar, and the other Mahratta rulers had been repeatedly subject to coercion by their mutinous soldiers. Runjeet Sing declared that he dreaded his own victorious troops more than he feared his enemies. In the Company's army, from the first mutiny in 1764 at Buxar to the latest in 1850 at Shikarpore, there had been a constant succession of outbreaks more or less formidable. In 1856 there were two especial causes of annoyance calculated to disquiet the minds of men whom we had been accustomed to pamper. More than forty thousand of the sepoy were recruited from Oude, and with the view of attaching them to our service, they had enjoyed the privilege of having their lawsuits decided before others, on the production of a rescript from their commanding officers. This exclusive privilege, which gave

The native
army.

A.D. 1856 them importance in their native villages, was lost on the annexation of the country, and it created a feeling of discontent. Moreover, only six of the Bengal regiments were enlisted for foreign service, and in 1856 Government promulgated an order that in future the services of no recruit would be accepted who did not engage to embark when required. The order was as reasonable as it was necessary, but it produced a deep feeling of dissatisfaction in every regiment. The Company's military service was considered both an honourable and an hereditary profession; but under the new rule the sons and nephews of the high-caste sepoys who were waiting for vacancies must either forego the service altogether, or defile their caste by crossing the "black water."

It is questionable, however, whether the disaffection excited by the two royal families of Oude and Delhi, or even The greased cartridges. the discontent of the sepoys, would have culminated in the revolt of the whole army, and the barbarities which accompanied it, but for the unexpected incident of the greased cartridges, which proved a god-send to the enemies of Government. It had been determined to supersede the old infantry musket by an improved description of fire-arm with a grooved bore, which could not be loaded without lubricating the cartridge. Dumdum, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, was one of the schools of musketry for instruction in the use of the Enfield rifle. Early 1857 in January 1857 a low-caste man employed in the magazine meeting a brahmin sepoy, asked him for a drink of water from his brass water-flask, and was refused on the ground of his caste; upon which he remarked that "high caste and low caste would soon be on an equality, as cartridges smeared with beef fat and hog's lard were being made up at the magazine which all the sepoys would be compelled to use." The alarm spread like wild fire among the sepoys at Dumdum and through the four regiments at Barrackpore. The emissaries of the king of Oude industriously circulated a report that, in prosecution of a long cherished design, the Government, under special instructions from England, had caused the cartridges to be greased with ingredients which would defile both Hindoos and Mahomedans, as a preliminary to their forcible conversion to Christianity. A frantic feeling of terror and indignation spread through the regiments, which was evinced by the incendiary fires which from night to night destroyed the officers' bungalows and the public buildings.

As soon as the excitement created by the rumour of the

greased cartridges became known to the Government in Calcutta active measures were taken to allay it. Telegraphic messages were despatched to all the stations up the country to issue the cartridges free from grease. At Barrackpore the sepoy were assured by General Hearsay, who had acquired great influence over them, that there was no cause for alarm, that the Government never had any design on their caste, that no greased cartridges had been issued, and that they might lubricate their own cartridges with bees' wax. But they were beyond the reach of reason, and it was found impossible to disabuse them. When it was demonstrated to them that there was no grease in the cartridges, they affirmed that the paper itself which had a glossy appearance, was polluted. The public post was laden with their letters, and in a few days every regiment throughout Hindostan was infected with the same feeling of alarm and passion. The little cloud was "growing larger and larger," and threatening to "burst and overwhelm the Government with ruin."

A.D.
1857Endeavours
to allay
excitement.

At the time when the peril of the empire was thus in the extreme, the usual means of confronting it were wanting. India had been in a great measure stripped of the European force which was now urgently required to control an infatuated and infuriate native army. Regiment after regiment had been withdrawn from the country in spite of the remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, who was constrained at length to inform Lord Palmerston that he could not be responsible for the safety of the empire if any more European troops were withdrawn; yet four more were sent to Persia after he had retired from the country. Instead of the safe proportion of one European to three native regiments, which the tradition of half a century had established, there was at this time, little more than a single regiment to ten native corps between Calcutta and Agra. Lord Lawrence indeed affirmed that, "if there had been 5,000 more Europeans, it "is certain that the mutiny would not have happened; "but the natives thought the country was quite denuded "of troops." When the crisis appeared imminent Lord Canning sent round to Rangoon for the 84th, and, on its arrival, ventured to bring down and disband the 19th, which had mutinied at Berhampore.

Paucity of
European
troops.

The month of April passed with little disturbance, but in great inquietude. It afterwards transpired that a general conspiracy had been organised throughout the

A.D.
1857

sepooy army, for the simultaneous revolt of every regiment at every station in Hindostan, on the evening of the last Sunday in May, at the hour of church service, when all the Europeans were to be massacred without regard to sex or age; but an unexpected transaction at Meerut led to a premature outbreak. It was the largest and most important military station in the North-West provinces, and also the head-quarters of the artillery, and any movement in it was sure to exercise a powerful influence at other stations. There the ordnance department had been employed in making up the greased cartridges under the eyes of the sepoy. The general excitement which pervaded the cantonment and the surrounding country was constantly fomented by fresh and more alarming rumours. It was asserted that the flour in the bazaars had been mixed up with ground bones, and that even the salt had been polluted. No lie was too absurd to be believed. It was manifest that the enemies of Government had taken advantage of the existing agitation to inflame the minds of the sepoy, and to convulse the country. Foremost among these conspirators in the North-West was Doondhoo Punt, commonly known as Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao, who, during his residence at Bithoor, had received through his annuity an aggregate sum of two crores and a half of rupees, the greater portion of which he had bequeathed to the Nana. He had the effrontery to demand a continuance of the pension of eight lacs of rupees a year, which was necessarily refused him, and he vowed vengeance on the Government, and during the early part of the year was found travelling about in Oude and other districts sowing the seeds of revolt.

The troopers of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, chiefly Mahomedans, were the first to break out into open mutiny.

The 3rd Cavalry. It was explained to them on parade that they were not required to bite the cartridges, but simply to pinch off the end; but of the ninety men to whom the cartridges were offered on the 24th April, eighty-five refused to touch them, and were ordered to be brought to a court-martial. The court was composed of fifteen native officers of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and by the vote of fourteen the troopers were found guilty of disobedience of orders, and sentenced to hard labour for ten years. On the morning of the 9th May, in the presence of their fellow-soldiers drawn up on parade, their uniform was stripped

off their backs, and shackles affixed to their ankles. Some of them were the flower of the regiment, and had served the state in many campaigns, and they implored the general to have mercy on them, and not subject them to so ignominious a doom. To the feeling of alarm for their caste in the minds of the sepoys was now added a feeling of burning wrath as they saw their comrades marched off to gaol like the meanest felons. The whole transaction exhibited a spirit of incomprehensible infatuation on the part of the military authorities of the station as well as of the commander-in-chief. A.D.
1857

The next day, Sunday, the 10th May, as the Europeans were proceeding to church in the evening, the native troops broke out. The troopers of the 3rd Cavalry hastened to the gaol, which was guarded only by sepoys, and liberated their companions. The infantry and the cavalry, the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, made common cause, and massacred all the Europeans without distinction of age or sex whom they could find. Half a century before Colonel Gillespie, with a regiment of dragoons and some galloper guns, had at once quelled the Vellore mutiny and saved the Deccan. The European force at Meerut consisted of a battalion of riflemen, a regiment of dragoons, and a large force of European artillery; and the exercise of similar promptitude would have saved Meerut at once, and checked the principle of revolt in its infancy. But the commander of the division, General Hewitt, was a superannuated officer, inert and imbecile, of unwieldy bulk, and the last man who ought to have been entrusted with the charge of so important a station at such a crisis. The night was passed in burning down the residences of the officers and Europeans, and the massacre of the Christians, without any attempt to check it. The women and children who sought refuge in the gardens were tracked out and shot amidst the yells of the mutineers. "The sweepings of the gaols and the scum of the bazaars, all the rogues and ruffians of Meerut and the robber-tribes of the neighbouring villages, were let loose, plundering and destroying wherever an English bungalow was to be gutted and burnt."

In the morning it was found that the mutineers had started on the road to Delhi. Had the carabineers and the horse artillery been instantly despatched after them, they might have reached the city, only forty miles distant, in time to save the lives of the Euro- Atrocities at
Delhi.

A.D. 1857 peans there, and to hold the mutiny in check, even if they had not overtaken and cut up the mutinous regiments on the route; but the wretched Hewitt simply sent his cavalry out to reconnoitre. The 3rd Cavalry was speedily followed by the infantry, and being joined by the 38th, on duty in the city, began the work of destruction and murder. The commissioner, the chaplain and his daughter, and the European officers in the city were massacred. The Delhi bank was gutted and all its inmates slaughtered. The magazine, the largest in the North-West, with its vast supplies of gunpowder, was defended by only nine European officers and a few treacherous natives. The mutineers applied scaling ladders to the walls, and were streaming over them, when Lieut. Willoughby applied the torch to the train he had laid, and blew it up to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and with it hundreds of the mutineers. None of these brave officers expected to survive the explosion, and the sacrifice of their own lives in the service of their country was an act of distinguished heroism; but four of them happily survived the catastrophe.

The city was now completely in the hands of the insurgents. The Europeans who had taken refuge at the main guard were shot down by volleys from the 38th. The cantonment which was immediately beyond the walls contained two sepoy regiments, who rose upon the officers, set fire to their houses, and turned the guns upon them. Some of them and their wives succeeded in making their escape, and many a tale is recorded of the heroic bearing of delicate ladies, some of them with children in their arms, as, under the burning sun of May, they sought refuge in the jungles or waded through streams with scanty clothing and little food. Meanwhile the European and East India women and children in the city, about fifty in number, were seized, and after five days of barbarous treatment, taken into a courtyard of the palace, when a rope was thrown round them to prevent their escape, and they were one and all murdered. Not a European was now left in Delhi. The sepoys then proceeded to offer the sovereignty to the king, which he formally accepted. An old silver throne was brought into the hall of audience, on which he took his seat, under a salute of twenty-one guns, and received public homage, and began to issue royal mandates.

The wire flashed down to Calcutta the portentous intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut, the loss of Delhi, and the

Proclamation of the king.

establishment of a Mogul dynasty. Lord Canning immediately sent to Madras, to Ceylon, and to Bombay for every available European regiment. A steamer was despatched to intercept Lord Elgin on his mission to China, and entreat him to forward to Calcutta the European force which accompanied him, and orders were issued to despatch the troops returning from the Persian expedition to Calcutta as fast as they arrived.

The telegraph gave immediate notice of the crisis at Meerut to the officers in the Punjab. The number of European troops in the province was about 10,000, and of Sikhs 13,000, but they were outnumbered by the Hindostanee sepoy, all ripe for revolt.

The strength of the Punjab consisted, however, not so much in the large collection of European soldiers, as in the body of able men in charge of the government. It was considered Lord Dalhousie's "pet province," and he had drained the older provinces of their best officers to enrich its establishments. Never since the introduction of British power into India had so large a number of statesmen and generals of the first order been collected together in the administration of any province. At the head of this galaxy of talent stood Sir John Lawrence, a tower of strength, with a genius for military organization, although a civilian, second only to Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie; while among the foremost of his assistants were Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, Herbert Edwardes, Neville Chamberlain, and above all John Nicholson. But it is not easy to select any names without doing injustice to other distinguished men, civil and military, whose zeal, devotion, and energy achieved the success of which their country is justly proud. For the detail of their exploits the reader is referred to Kaye's standard "History of the Sepoy War." Cut off from all communication with the Government of India in the capital, they were constrained to act on their own judgment and responsibility; and when the vigour of their proceedings is contrasted with the official feebleness too visible in Calcutta, this isolation cannot but be considered a fortunate circumstance.

In the cantonment of Lahore there were three regiments of native infantry and one of cavalry waiting only for the post to bring them information of the hostile movement at Meerut to follow the example. They were counterpoised by only one European regiment and two troops of European horse-artillery. Sir John

Movements
of Lord Can-
ning.

Proceedings
in the
Punjab.

Sepoys dis-
armed at
Lahore.

A.D.
1857

A.D. 1857 Lawrence was absent at Rawul Pindce, recruiting his health, and Mr. Robert Montgomery was at the head of affairs at the station when intelligence was received by wire on the 11th May of the revolt at Meerut, and on the 12th that Delhi was in the hands of the rebels, and it was resolved to deprive the regiments of their arms the very next morning. A ball had been fixed for the night of the 12th, and it was deemed advisable not to abandon it, lest a feeling of suspicion should be created in the minds of the sepoys. The officers moved from the ball-room to the parade, where the unsuspecting troops were drawn up as on ordinary occasions. The European regiments and the guns were suddenly wheeled into a commanding position, and the disaffected regiments, seeing that any attempt at resistance must be fatal to them, obeyed the order to pile arms, and Lahore was saved by the energy of Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett and Colonel Renney.

In the same spirit of promptitude the important fortress of Govindgurrh which commanded Umritsir, the ecclesiastical capital of the Punjab, was secured. The great magazines of Ferozepore and Phillour, were in like manner saved from the mutineers, though not without difficulty. In the valley of Peshawur, across the Indus, there were about 2,000 European troops, and four times that number of native sepoys. The possession of it was considered essential to the security of the Punjab; and the officers in charge of it, Edwardes, Sydney Cotton, Chamberlain, and Nicholson, were equal to any emergency. At the first council which they held, Colonel Edwardes declared that "whatever gave rise to the mutiny, it had settled down into a struggle for empire under Mahomedan guidance, with the Mogul capital for its centre," and it was resolved to form a movable column of reliable troops, under a competent commander, to act wherever there was danger. On the 22nd, the four regiments of native infantry stationed there were taken by surprise as they were on the point of mutiny, and disarmed. This master stroke of policy produced a magical effect on the people and chiefs in the valley, which was enhanced soon after when a number of the fugitives of the mutinous 55th, which had been dispersed and cut up by Colonel Nicholson, were blown away from the guns on the Peshawur parade. At other stations, however, there was not the same prudence and success. Brigadier Johnson, another imbecile like Hewitt, allowed Loodiana to be plundered, and three regiments from Jullun-

Proceedings
at other
stations.

der and Phillour to escape with their arms to Delhi. The 14th at Jhelum was found to be ready for revolt, and a force was sent by Sir John Lawrence to disarm them, but the commandant disobeyed his instructions, and a fierce engagement ensued, in which the sepoys had the advantage and made their escape. The news of this transaction emboldened the disaffected regiments at Sealkote to rise on their officers, and, as usual, they threw open the gaol, plundered the treasury, gutted the houses of the European inhabitants, and marched on to Delhi, but retribution was not far off. Colonel Nicholson who had taken the command of the movable column, after having by his energy and skill disarmed three more regiments, marched with the utmost speed on the insurgents regardless of the insufferable heat, and completely routed them. All their baggage, and their ammunition, together with the spoils of Sealkote, fell into his hands and they fled, leaving 400 dead and wounded on the field. These energetic measures gave security for the time to the Punjab.

Within a month of the outbreak at Meerut there was scarcely a regiment between the Sutlej and Allahabad which had not revolted. The sepoys gravitated to Delhi as the seat of the new government, and the recapture of it became the more urgent as it became more arduous. Sir John and his associates directed their whole attention to the despatch of men and materials to the siege, but, with the means at his disposal and the local demands on them, the task appeared so difficult that he proposed to place Peshawur and the province lying beyond the Indus in the hands of Dost Mahomed, and thus obtain the valuable services of the European troops stationed there. The measure was strenuously opposed by Colonel Edwardes and his gallant companions, and referred to Lord Canning on the 10th June. His reply, "hold on at Peshawur to the last," was dated the 15th July, but so completely had the communication between the Punjab and Calcutta been cut off that it was despatched by a steamer to Lord Harris at Madras to be telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, and sent on by him as best he could.

A.D.
1857Proposal to
abandon
Peshawur.

SECTION II.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION—THE MUTINY—LUCKNOW—
CAWNPORE—ALLAHABAD.

A.D. 1857 THE post of Resident at Lucknow had been accepted by the great Sir Henry Lawrence in March 1857. The measures of his predecessor had fatally alienated the landed aristocracy, who were found to possess greater influence over the people than had been supposed, and whose opposition was therefore the more formidable. The city was filled with thousands of the starving soldiers and retainers of the old court seething with disloyalty, while the whole country was pervaded by the families of the 40,000 sepoys who were in a state of mutiny. There were nine native regiments of infantry and cavalry in the capital and its environs, containing about 7,000 men, and only 700 Europeans to hold them in check. The 7th cavalry was in a state of violent excitement, and had invited the 48th native infantry to join them in murdering their officers. On the 3rd May, on a bright moonlight night, Sir Henry Lawrence moved down unexpectedly with his Europeans to their lines, when they threw down their arms and fled. He then distributed his small force in such positions as to overawe the city and the native regiments, and laid in a store of provisions in a stronghold called the Mutchie Bhawan. On the night of the 30th May, however, five of the regiments broke out, and set fire to the cantonments and murdered their officers, in some cases with exceptional treachery. This became the signal for a general revolt at all the stations throughout the country, and by the middle of June every regiment in the province, as well as every police battalion, was in a state of mutiny. Sir Henry still held command of the city and the neighbourhood, but on the last day of the month he marched out to Chinhut to meet several thousand mutineers who were marching on it, when his native gunners cut the traces of their horses, threw the guns into a ditch, and rode away, and his little force was constrained to retreat with the loss of a sixth of its number, and, what was more disastrous, of the reputation which had hitherto held the city in awe. After this reverse he was obliged to contract his lines of defence within the Residency grounds. On the

4th of July he expired of a wound he received from a shell which burst into his room two days before, and the state was deprived, at its greatest need, of the invaluable services of one of the most illustrious of its servants, beloved by the natives for his genial benevolence, and by his brother officers for his pre-eminent talent. On his death the command devolved on Brigadier Inglis, and he continued to sustain a close siege with unflinching energy for twelve weeks till he was relieved by Outram and Havelock.

Death of
Sir Henry
Lawrence.

A.D.
1857

The large and important station of Cawnpore was garrisoned by three regiments of native infantry and one of cavalry under the command of General Wheeler, but unhappily he had only 200 European soldiers. With a mutinous feeling around him in every quarter, the month of May was passed in fear and anxiety, and he entrenched a spot about 200 yards square, and stored it with provisions sufficient to last 1,000 men for a month. Doondhoo Punt, the Nana Sahib, living at Bithoor, had been assiduous in fomenting the spirit of rebellion among the regiments, and on the 5th June they rose in mutiny, and after courteously dismissing their officers, plundered the treasury, opened the gaols, and marched off to Delhi. The Nana, whose object was to raise a Mahratta throne for himself and not to revive a Mogul dynasty, hastened after them and prevailed on them to return and clear the entrenchment of the *feringees*. The whole of the European population was crowded into the enclosure; the revolted sepoy laid close siege to it, and planted eleven guns of large calibre against it, which poured in an incessant shower of shot and shell. The miseries of the besieged have seldom, if ever, been exceeded in the history of the world, and the dauntless courage and the spirit of endurance they displayed have perhaps never been surpassed. The 23rd of June, the anniversary of Plassy, the day fixed by the prophets for the extinction of the Company's *raj*, was here, as elsewhere, marked by extraordinary exertions which, however, ended in so signal a defeat that the sepoy begged permission to remove their dead.

State of the
Cawnpore
garrison.

Three weeks had now elapsed since the investment of this slender fortification, and still this heroic band continued to repel every assault, and to inflict an almost incredible amount of slaughter on the insurgents, but their guns were becoming un-serviceable, their ammunition was running low, and starv-

Desperate
state of the
garrison.

A. D.
1857

vation was staring them in the face; a stray dog was turned into soup, an old horse was considered a delicacy, and the well was nearly exhausted. It was impossible for human nature to hold out much longer, and General Wheeler at length agreed to the offer of the Nana to supply them with provisions and conveyances to Allahabad, on condition of his surrendering the entrenchment together with the guns and treasure. Little did the General dream that the incarnate fiend to whom he was entrusting his charge had on the 4th June massacred 130 men, women, and children who had escaped from the mutineers at Futtugurh in boats, and had been induced to land at Cawnpore. On the morning of the 27th June, the remnant of the garrison, together with the women and children, moved down, some on foot and some in vehicles, to the river which they found lined with the ferocious sepoys; and there was perpetrated one of the most diabolical acts of treachery and murder that the darkest page of human annals records.

No sooner had they embarked in the boats than Tantia Topee, acting for the Nana, took his seat on a platform, and ordered the massacre to commence. On the Massacre at the ghaut. sound of a bugle a murderous fire of grape shot and musketry was opened on the boats from both sides of the river; the thatch of many of them was ignited by hot cinders, and the sick, the wounded, and the helpless women were burnt to death. The stronger women, many with children in their arms, took to the river, and were shot down one by one, or sabred by the troopers who dashed into the stream. A number of both sexes escaped to the shore, and the Nana issued his orders that not a man should be allowed to live, but that the women and children should be taken to the house which he occupied. There they were added to the captives he had previously made, and huddled together in one small room, fed on the coarsest food, subjected to every indignity, and taken out in couples to grind corn for his household. Of the entire garrison and the male European population of Cawnpore only four succeeded in making their escape in a boat which drifted down the river, and, after many hair-breadth escapes, were taken under the protection of a loyal Oude zemindar. On the 1st July the Nana was publicly proclaimed Peshwa with the ceremonies usual on such occasions. He then took his seat on the throne under a royal salute, and at night the town was brilliantly illuminated. But his triumph was

of short duration; the avenging sword of Havelock was advancing to extinguish his career. A.D.
1857

The perilous condition of the garrisons of Lucknow and Cawnpore was the chief cause of anxiety to Lord Canning, and as the British troops entered the Hooghly they were pushed forward daily in such detachments as the scanty means of conveyance at his Colonel
Neill at
Benares. command would allow. Benares, the head-quarters of Hindooism, and always the most turbulent city in Hindostan, was likewise a source of disquietude, as the only European troops in the cantonment consisted of thirty gunners opposed to 2,000 native sepoys. It was owing to the cool courage and composure, and the skilful dispositions of Mr. Henry Tucker, the commissioner, and his associates, that an insurrectionary movement was warded off while small reinforcements came up from Dinapore. The first dribblet from Calcutta, consisting of sixty Madras Fusileers under their gallant commander Colonel Neill arrived at Benares, then under the command of Brigadier Ponsonby, on the 4th June, and raised the European force to 250. Immediately before the arrival of the Colonel, the native regiment at Azimgurh, sixty miles distant, had mutinied, and obtained possession of seven lacs of rupees. The 37th at Benares was prepared to follow the example, and it was resolved in haste to disarm it, but the affair was grossly mismanaged, and presented a melancholy contrast to the masterly movements at Lahore and Peshawur, where the regiments were deprived of their arms without the loss of a single life. The sepoys fired upon the Europeans; Captain Olpherts's battery mowed down the sepoys and they fled towards the city. The work, however, was complete, though with an unnecessary sacrifice of life, and all further apprehension at Benares ceased.

Colonel Neill, after having made a terrific example of all who were suspected of disaffection, and placed Colonel Gordon in command, moved up with all speed to Allahabad to save the fort, one of the largest and Allahabad. most important in the North West Provinces, which had been, unaccountably, left without a European garrison, and was at this time defended only by sixty invalids from Chunar, and by a portion of Brazier's Sikh corps. The 6th Native Infantry had offered to march to Delhi and fight the mutineers, and was drawn up on parade on the 6th June to receive the thanks of Lord Canning for its loyalty. The men sent up three cheers, and the European

A.D. 1857 and native officers shook hands with each other. That same night, as the officers were seated at their mess, the perfidious sepoys rushed in and put them to death. In the number of the slain were eight unposted boy ensigns, fresh from Addiscombe, who had recently joined the regiment, and found a bloody grave on the threshold of their career. The prisoners in the gaol were then let loose, the houses of the Europeans pillaged and burnt, and the Europeans, men, women, and children, outside the fort butchered with every aggravation of cruelty. The telegraphic wires were cut, the rails torn up, and the engines, of which the sepoys had a superstitious dread, battered with cannon. The doors of the treasury, containing thirty lacs of rupees, were thrown open, and each sepoy is said to have carried off three or four bags of a thousand rupees each. The town with all its wealth was given up to plunder, and the king of Delhi proclaimed. The fort had been besieged for four days, when it was happily relieved by the arrival on the 11th of Colonel Neill, who had been directed by a telegram from Lord Canning to take the command at Allahabad. The handful of Europeans he brought with him was augmented by other detachments in succession, and he was soon enabled to re-establish the authority of Government in the city and surrounding districts, and to inflict a fearful retribution on the wretches who had been revelling in plunder and bloodshed, of which the gibbets in every direction bore ample testimony. On the last day of June he sent on a detachment to succour Cawnpore, consisting of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 100 irregular cavalry; and two guns, under Major Renaud, who was ordered to inflict summary vengeance on all who were in any degree suspected of disloyalty, and who marched on for three days, leaving behind him traces of retribution in desolated villages and corpses dangling from the branches of trees.

Colonel Havelock, the adjutant-general of the army, who had been the second in command in the Persian expedition, returned to Bengal on the conclusion of peace by way of Madras, and came up to Calcutta in the same steamer with Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, who succeeded provisionally to the chief command in India on the death of General Anson. On the voyage Havelock had mapped out a plan of operations, and recommended the formation of a movable column, to proceed upwards from the lower provinces to

the scenes of revolt. This column was placed under his command as Brigadier-General, with orders, after suppressing disorders at Allahabad, to lose no time in proceeding to the support of Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, and Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. He reached Allahabad on the 30th June, and soon after received unequivocal evidence that Cawnpore had fallen, and that the Nana was marching down with a large force and many guns on Allahabad. He clearly foresaw that if Major Renaud's little band had come in contact with the rebel sepoys, not a soul could have survived to tell the tale; and, contrary to the remonstrances of Colonel Neill, he ordered the Major to halt. Havelock could only muster 1,000 Europeans, 130 of Brazier's Sikhs, 18 volunteer cavalry, and 6 guns which he had improvised, and with this force he hastened to the support of Renaud, and overtook him at Futtehpore, and there he commenced his victorious career. The enemy, 4,000 strong, rushed down upon his army, but was soon seen to fly in dismay, leaving eleven guns with the victors. This was the first check the mutinous sepoys had received below Delhi, and it produced a most salutary impression. Three days after he again defeated them at Onao, and without a halt hastened on to the Pandoo river, where he again routed them, and was enabled to save the bridge, which they were preparing to blow up, and the loss of which would have fatally crippled his movements. The Nana's brother, who was in the field, galloped back in haste to Cawnpore, and gave him the alarming intelligence that the British commander had forced the bridge, and was in full march on the town. The monster determined to avenge himself on the helpless women and children, two hundred in number, who had been crowded together for many days in three narrow rooms. Among the captives there were four or five men, and they were brought out and despatched under the eyes of the Nana. A party of sepoys was then told off, and they poured volley after volley on the helpless victims through the venetian windows, but as the work of death did not proceed fast enough, Mahomedan butchers and other ruffians were sent in with swords and knives and other weapons to hack them to pieces. There the bodies lay through the night, and the next morning the dead and the dying were brought out, together with children alive and almost unhurt, and tossed indiscriminately into an adjoining well.

After this act of unparalleled villany, the Nana marched

A.D.
1857

A.D. 1857 out of Cawnpore with about 5,000 men to dispute Havelock's advance. The sepoy fought with the Battle of Cawnpore. valour of desperation; but the admirable strategy of the commander, and the indomitable courage of the British soldiers, more especially the 73rd Highlanders, gave him a brilliant victory. The next morning the troops marched into Cawnpore, when the sight of the well choked with human victims told them that they were too late, but it inspired them with an unquenchable resolution to avenge this foul massacre. The rebel sepoy blew up the magazine and dispersed. The Nana fled to Bithoor, and then escaped with his females across the Ganges into Oude, when his palace was despoiled and destroyed.

Meanwhile Colonel Neill had arrived at Cawnpore with the recruits which Lord Canning had been pushing up, and Havelock confided the protection of the town to him, and moved on to the relief of Lucknow. Havelock advances to the relief of Lucknow. The task before him was one of no ordinary difficulty. The whole of Oude was in revolt; the lauded aristocracy was universally opposed to us, and an army of sepoy whom we had taught to fight was ready to dispute every inch of ground, while Havelock's force did not exceed 1,400 men. By the 25th July his troops had crossed the river by a bridge which had been erected under every disadvantage, and on the 29th he came up with the enemy at Aong, 12,000 in number, and thoroughly defeated them, capturing fifteen guns. He then pushed on to Busseerut-gunge, a walled village, from which the sepoy were driven with the loss of more guns, but as he had lost 150 men by cholera, wounds, and sunstroke, he was obliged to fall back to Munglewar. The sick and wounded were sent to Cawnpore and reinforcements were received from thence, which raised his force to 1,300, and on the 4th August he advanced a second time to Busseerut-gunge, now held by 20,000 Sepoy, whom he again defeated with heavy slaughter. But the cholera broke out afresh in his camp and his position became critical. A body of 4,000 sepoy had collected at Bithoor and threatened Colonel Neill; the famous Gwalior contingent, the finest native force in India, complete in every arm, had broken out into mutiny, and was said to have arrived at Culpee on the banks of the Jumna, forty-five miles from Cawnpore. The three native regiments at Dinapore had at length mutinied, and were reported to be advancing into Oude, and he felt that to move on to Lucknow with his slender force would not only

risk its destruction, but also the loss of Cawnpore and of the whole of the Dcoab. He determined wisely, to return to Cawnpore and await the arrival of reinforcements; but on reaching Munglewar he was informed by his scouts that a large force of the enemy was advancing against him which would not only have interrupted the passage of the river, but enabled them to report that they had chased him out of the country. He therefore turned back and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, and then crossed the river without molestation. On the 16th August he attacked the encampment of the rebels at Bithoor and put them to flight; and then the heroes of ten successful fights within five weeks rested on their oars, till they were reinforced from Calcutta.

A.D.
1857

Through the month of August fresh troops poured into Calcutta by sea, and were rapidly drafted to Allahabad and Cawnpore. Sir James Outram, on his return from the Persian expedition, had arrived in Calcutta ^{Relief of Lucknow.} and was nominated chief commissioner in Oude, and appointed to the command of the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions. Captain Peel had formed a naval brigade of 500 men from the sailors of his own frigate, the 'Shannon,' and of vessels in Calcutta, and the blue-jackets were for the first time sent into the interior of India. Sir James Outram reached Cawnpore with 1,400 men on the 16th September, and with the chivalrous generosity of his character determined to leave to Havelock the honour of accomplishing the relief of Lucknow, for which he had so nobly toiled, and to accompany him as a volunteer. Since the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis had been incessantly engaged in repelling the assaults of the enemy, but the force at the Residency was now reduced to 350 Europeans, and 300 natives, whose loyalty was beginning to waver under the fatigues and the casualties of the siege. The brigadier informed Havelock that it was not possible for him to hold out much longer, and it became necessary to push on without delay. The relieving force, consisting of 2,500 men, nearly all British, met with little impediment till it reached the Alum-baug in the vicinity of Lucknow, which was mastered on the 23rd September. On the morning of the 25th the bugles sounded the advance into Lucknow, and the army, instead of advancing through two miles of streets of loophold houses filled with sepoy, skirted the city canal, till it reached the Kaiser-baug, a royal palace strongly fortified and garrisoned, and here the most severe struggle of

A.D. 1857 the day occurred. The troops had been fighting without intermission since the morning, and the shades of evening were coming on, but under the impression that the garrison was in extremity, Havelock deemed it advisable to penetrate to the Residency that night, and pushed on through streets where, as he said, every house formed a fortress. The toils of the day, however, were forgotten when the garrison sent up a shout of gratulation as they entered the gate and brought the anxieties of three months to a close. The loss in killed, wounded and missing was very severe, amounting to 464, among whom, to the great regret of the army, was numbered Colonel Neill, who fell in the arms of victory before he had enjoyed the opportunity of adding to his richly-deserved renown as a gallant soldier, the higher reputation of a general.

SECTION III.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION—THE MUTINY—DELHI— LUCKNOW—CENTRAL INDIA.

TO TURN now to the siege and recovery of Delhi. General Anson, the Commander-in Chief, was at Simla when intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut and the occupation of Delhi by the insurgent troops reached him, and he immediately ordered the three European regiments in the hills to proceed to Umballa, where he joined them, but was seized with cholera and expired on the 27th May. The command of the column then devolved on Sir Harry Barnard and he proceeded towards Delhi. In obedience to the reiterated orders of General Anson, General Hewitt had at length sent a detachment from Meerut to join it, and the united force met the rebels posted on the Hindun and twice defeated them, and a week after encountered them at Budlee-ka-serai, about six miles from Delhi, and obtained a still more complete victory, capturing all their guns, stores, and baggage. The army then took up a commanding position on the ridge overlooking Delhi, the site of the old encampment. The fortifications of the city had been greatly improved and strengthened, and it was now held by a large force of well-trained soldiers, fighting with a halter round their necks, who had the command of an almost unlimited supply of guns and military stores from our own arsenal. The impossibility of wresting from them a city

seven miles in circumference by the weak force under General Barnard was self-evident, and it was suggested to relinquish the siege for the present and employ the European force assembled before it in protecting other stations, and restoring the authority of Government; but Lord Canning would not listen to the proposal. He felt that Delhi had become the rallying point of revolt, the capital of a Mogul dynasty, and that it was impossible to restore confidence in our power while it continued in the hands of the enemy. The retirement of the army would, in his opinion, give an irresistible impulse to the spirit of rebellion, and render its suppression all but impossible.

A.D.
1857

On the 5th July Sir Harry Barnard was carried off by cholera, and the command devolved on General Wilson. The British force was established on the ridge on the 10th June, but during the fourteen succeeding weeks, though Delhi was considered to be in a state of siege, it was in reality the cantonment which was besieged by the enemy. The force was too weak in men and guns to do more than defend its own position, and for every shot fired from our batteries the sepoys responded four-fold. Few days passed without an assault on the cantonment, and that on the 23rd June, the anniversary of Plassy, was marked by extraordinary vigour, as the day fixed for the dissolution of the Company's *raj*; but in this, as in every other encounter but one—and they numbered more than thirty—the sepoys were driven back into the city with ignominy. Their loss was indeed always heavier than that of the British force, but their numbers were constantly swelled by the accession of fresh regiments of rebels which gravitated to Delhi as to the common centre of the revolt, while the reinforcements from the Punjab were, for a time, few and far between. While, moreover, they had no lack of guns and stores, the ammunition in the British camp required to be husbanded with great care.

Position of
the forces
at Delhi.

Meanwhile, Sir John Lawrence was actively engaged in raising additional regiments of Sikhs, who were loyal to the core. There was an old Khalsa prophecy that they should one day enjoy the plunder of Delhi, and they now hailed with passionate ardour the prospect of realising it, and enlisted under our banner by thousands. The disbandment of the regiments and the extinction of the Sealkote mutineers by Brigadier Nicholson, enabled Sir John to redouble his efforts to reinforce General Wilson. Nothing could exceed the skill and energy with

Reinforce-
ments from
the Punjab.

A. D. 1857 which he organised and despatched the detachments in succession. It was at length found possible to dispense with the services of the Brigadier's movable column, 2,500 strong, in the Punjab, and it was sent down to Delhi and reached the cantonment on the 14th August, and imparted fresh courage to the exhausted troops. The Brigadier had preceded it by a week, and was welcomed in the camp with a feeling of homage as if he had been the very god of war.

The great siege train, which occupied a line of thirteen miles, was wending its way from Ferozepore, and the revolted

Assault and
capture of
Delhi.

Neemuch brigade, always considered the flower of the sepoy army, which was now in Delhi, was sent out with eighteen guns to intercept it, as it was feebly guarded by the last detachment which Sir John could spare. Brigadier Nicholson marched out to encounter this force, and obtained a complete victory. The train entered the camp on the 3rd September, and the erection of batteries within breaching distance was pushed on with vigour. For a week fifty guns and mortars poured an incessant stream of shot and shell upon the walls and bastions, and on the 13th the breaches were reported practicable. At three on the morning of the 14th the assault was delivered on four points. Brigadier Nicholson, who led the attack, drove the enemy before him, but, to the infinite regret of the whole army was mortally wounded in the arms of victory. The other columns, with one exception, were equally successful, but the resistance of the enemy was desperate, and the operations of this the first day entailed a loss in killed and wounded of sixty-six officers and 1,104 men. The troops had made a lodgment within the walls, but the sepoys continued to dispute every inch of ground, and it was six days before all the important and defensible posts within the vast circle of the city were captured. For several days an uninterrupted fire had been kept up on the well-fortified palace. On the 20th the gates were blown up and the troops rushed into it, but the king had fled to the tomb of Humayoon, a few miles to the south of the city. The next day Captain Hodson proceeded to the tomb and dragged him, together with his favourite wife, who had been one of the chief instruments in stirring up the revolt, and her son, to the palace, where they were lodged as prisoners. The following day he went in search of the two sons and the grandson of the king, and as an attempt was about to be made to rescue them shot them dead on the spot with his own hand. Several months after the king was

tried by a military commission in the imperial palace and found guilty of having ordered the murder of forty-nine Christians at Delhi, of having waged war upon the English Government, and urged the people by proclamation to subvert it. Lord Canning determined to spare his life, but sentenced him to be transported to Burmah; and thus ended the royal house of Baber three hundred and thirty-two years after he had ascended the Mogul throne.

A.D.
1857

The total number of killed and wounded during the siege was 3,537, a heavy return of casualties, but the reduction of the city broke the neck of the rebellion. Oude and Rohilcund were still in revolt; the Gwalior contingent, 10,000 strong, was still in open arms, and Central India was in possession of the mutineers, but so completely had the revolt been identified with the possession of the ancient capital that the capture of it satisfied the country that the star of Britain was again in the ascendant, and that the final extinction of the mutiny was only a question of time. All the machinations in the Punjab, which the protraction of the siege had fostered, were dispelled. The rebel army was deprived of its organization by the loss of its citadel, while the British Government was daily gaining strength by the arrival of the regiments brought by sea. The liberation of the force engaged in the siege of Delhi likewise proved the salvation of the neighbouring city of Agra. It was attacked by the Neemuch and other mutineers on the 6th July, but owing to the incompetence of Brigadier Polwhele, the European troops sent against them were foiled, and retreated to the fort, where for nearly three months between 5,000 and 6,000 people of all rank, ages, and colours were shut up. At the beginning of October a large body of rebels came down and threatened it, when the young Brigadier Greathead, who had been sent from Delhi to clear the Dooab of the mutineers with his flying column, received an express from the fort, and after a forced march of forty miles in twenty-eight hours, drove off the enemy, with the loss of their guns, stores, camp and 500 in killed and wounded.

Result of the
capture of
Delhi.

Sir Colin
Campbell's
march to
Lucknow.

The garrison of Lucknow had been relieved by Outram and Havelock, but their force was too weak to escort the women and children to Cawnpore, still less to recover a city garrisoned by a large rebel army with an abundance of military stores. The Residency was again in a state of close blockade but well supplied with provisions and able to await the arrival

A.D. 1857 of reinforcements with little risk or inconvenience. The attention of the enemy was chiefly devoted to the construction of mines, which they carried on to an extent which Sir James Outram affirmed had no parallel in modern warfare. Sir Colin Campbell, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in succession to General Anson, hastened to Cawnpore with the reinforcements which had reached Calcutta, accompanied by Captain Peel of the "Shannon." He started on the 9th November with a body of 5,000 men and 30 guns, and on the 14th advanced against the enemy's entrenchments, but so determined was the opposition he encountered at the various strong positions they had fortified, that he was three days forcing his way to the Residency. The Secunder-baug, indeed, a large enclosure, was breached and stormed by the Highlanders, when every soul within it perished and 2,000 bodies were carried out and buried. By the masterly arrangements of Sir Colin the relieved garrison, together with the women and children, were withdrawn with such skill as not to attract the attention and the assaults of the enemy, but Havelock, worn out with toil and exposure, was attacked by diarrhœa and sunk under the disease, a Christian hero and general of the highest stamp.

General Outram was left at the Alum-baug with a sufficient force to keep open the communication with Cawnpore and to maintain our footing in Oude, and Sir Colin Campbell hastened back to Cawnpore, the defence of which had been entrusted to General Windham, with more than 2,000 men, and was just in time to save him from a fatal calamity. The Gwalior contingent, which had finally broken into open mutiny in the middle of October, crossed the Jumna and marched down, 20,000 strong, to Cawnpore to join the Nana. General Windham moved out to meet them, without suspecting their numbers, and was at first successful, but his force was handled without any skill, and, finding himself outflanked by the enemy, he retreated in hot haste to the entrenchment, with the loss of his equipage. The sepoys obtained possession of the town, and for two days he had to sustain an unequal contest with a body of the ablest of the mutineers ten times his own number, flushed with recent success, animated by the presence of the Nana, and commanded by Tantia Topce, the only native general created by the mutiny. General Windham must have suffered the fate of General Wheeler, if he had not received timely succour by the

Disaster of
General
Windham.

arrival of Sir Colin, who reached the Ganges in time to A. D. save the bridge of boats, the destruction of which would 1858 have been irreparable. After having safely despatched the sick and the wounded, the women and the children to Allahabad, he marched out against the rebel force, now swelled to 25,000 men with 40 guns. Captain Peel's sailors, handling their 24-pounders like playthings, did fearful execution, and the skilful dispositions of Sir Colin, and the valour of his troops, inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels, who were pursued for fourteen miles and loss of all their guns—the arm in which they were strongest. The total loss on the side of the British army amounted only to 99.

We turn now to the pursuit of the rebels in Central India. While the task of extinguishing the mutiny at Delhi fell to Sir John Lawrence, and that of recovering Cawnpore and Lucknow to Lord Campaign in Central India. Canning, the work of stamping out the revolt in Central India was undertaken by the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. A column of Madras troops was assembled at Nagpore and moved on to Jubbulpore, and a Bombay column advanced to Kotah. They constituted the Central India Field Force, and comprised about 6,000 troops, of whom 2,500 were Europeans. General Stuart, commanding one brigade, proceeded to relieve Mhow, which had been besieged since the commencement of the mutiny, and then captured Dhar, and defeated a body of 5,000 mutineers at Mundisore. Having thus cleared the southern districts of the rebels, he advanced to Indore. There Sir Hugh Rose, on the 15th December, assumed the command of the whole force, and started for Sehore, where he inflicted summary vengeance on the insurgents, and moved on to Saugor, and relieved a body of Europeans who had been cooped up for several months. On the 21st March he proceeded to Jhansi, the little principality in Bundelcund which Lord Dalhousie had annexed five years before, as stated in a former chapter.

The ranee, a woman of extraordinary energy but of unmatched vindictiveness, took advantage of the mutiny to recover the independence of her principality and to Capture of Jhansi. satiate her revenge. The sepoys stationed there rose in mutiny on the 4th June and assailed the Europeans, who took refuge in the fort, but were induced to surrender upon a promise of protection made under the most solemn oaths; but the whole body, seventy-five in number, were immediately bound together, the men in one row, and their

A.D. 1858 wives and children in another, and butchered under the immediate direction of the ranee. She assembled 10,000 men for the defence of the town, which was surrounded by a wall of solid masonry from six to twelve feet thick and from eighteen to thirty feet in height. After Sir Hugh had invested it for nine days, a body of 20,000 men, including that portion of the Gwalior contingent which had escaped from the sword of Sir Colin at Cawnpore, advanced under the command of Tantia Topee to the relief of the ranee. Without slackening fire on the town, Sir Hugh moved out to meet them on the 1st April with 1,200 men, of whom only 500 were British, and drove them in dismay across the Betwa, which gives its name to the engagement, with the loss of 1,500 men and all their guns. The assault on the town was renewed with redoubled vigour; every street was fiercely contested; no quarter was asked or given; and the palace was stormed and sacked.

The ranee, after making her last stand in the fort, fled to Calpee, the head-quarters of the Gwalior contingent, and the rallying point of the mutineers west of the Capture of Calpee. Jumna, where they had established foundries for casting cannon, and collected military stores of every description. Sir Hugh advanced towards it, when the martial ranee who took her share in the command, riding in male attire at the head of her own body guard, came out with Tantia Topee and 20,000 men to meet him at Koonch, but they were signally defeated. The general then marched on to Golowlee within five miles of Calpee where he was again attacked by the entire force of the enemy, but was again victorious and became master of Calpee, with the vast military stores the rebels had accumulated from the plunder of various cantonments. He considered the revolt in Central India extinguished by the capture of their citadel, and resolved to break up the army, which was prostrated by insupportable heat, and issued a valedictory order to the troops, congratulating them on "having marched more than 1,000 miles and taken more than 100 guns, on having forced their way through mountain passes and intricate jungles and over rivers, and captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever they had met him, without a single check, and restored peace and order to the country."

But there was still work for his exhausted troops. Nothing appeared more remarkable during the course of

this revolt than the rapidity with which the insurgent sepoy rallied after a defeat, and presented a new and more formidable array. Tantia Topee, after his defeat at Koonch, proceeded to Gwalior to organise a conspiracy against Sindia. The troops driven from Calpee hastened to join him, and within a week a force of 18,000 mutineers was embodied in the cantonment at the capital. Sindia's able minister, Dinkur Rao, advised him to await the arrival of the troops which were marching down from Agra, but his ardent spirit led him to attack them with his household troops, about 8,000 in number, who either joined the rebels or withdrew from the field, and on the 1st of June he fled to Agra. The rebels then took possession of the capital, and supplied themselves with stores and ammunition from the royal arsenal, and, with the far-famed Gwalior artillery, plundered the treasury of half a crore of rupees, distributed six months' pay to each sepoy, and then proclaimed Nana Sahib, Peshwa.

Sir Hugh, on receiving intelligence of this astounding event, resumed the command he had laid down, and hastened on to Gwalior without a moment's delay, though the heat was 130° in the shade; and on the morning of the 16th June, though the troops were exhausted with marching all night, attacked the sepoy at once, and chased them with heavy loss from the cantonment. The next day, Brigadier's Smith's column came up from the westward, driving the rebels before him, and it was in his last charge that the valiant ranee, who had taken a share in every engagement since she left Jhansi, was killed by a hussar who was ignorant of her sex. On the 18th, the whole of the enemy's entrenchments and positions were stormed and fifty guns captured, and they sought refuge in flight; but a compact body of 6,000 with a splendid field artillery retired in good order from the field, when Brigadier Napier hastened after them with 600 cavalry and six field guns, and, dashing into the midst of their ranks, put them to utter rout. With this brilliant action the campaign was brought to a close, and Sindia remounted his throne amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

A.D.
1858
Capture of
Gwalior by
the rebels.

Recovery of
Gwalior.

SECTION IV.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION—THE MUTINY EXTINGUISHED.

A. D. 1858 DURING these operations, which completely crushed the mutiny in Central India, Sir Colin Campbell was employed in extinguishing it on the east of the Jumna. His first object was to clear the Dooab, lying between that river and the Ganges. Towards the end of November, Colonel Seaton left Delhi with a movable column and marched downwards, while General Walpole moved upwards. The sepoys were beaten in every encounter, and the power of the nabob of Futtighur, who had assumed independence early in the mutiny, was annihilated. By the end of December the authority of the Company was re-established throughout these districts, and Sir Colin Campbell found himself at the head of 10,000 troops at Futtighur. The mutiny was now confined to the two provinces of Rohilcund and Oude, but Sir Colin, whose movements would have been more successful and satisfactory if they had been less tardy, wasted two months idly in this neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, General Franks was organising a force at Benares, which eventually amounted to 6,000 men, to clear the lower portion of Oude of the rebel bands, and in his triumphant progress defeated them at every stage. Jung Bahadoor, the regent, but in reality the ruler, of Nepaul, marched down with a body of 9,000 hardy Goorkhas to assist the British Government in the reconquest of Oude, and on two occasions defeated the insurgents with great slaughter. Sir James Outram, who had been left in command at the Alum-baug, had been twice assailed by the rebel army and population of Lucknow, and had dispersed them though six times his number. At length, on the last day of February, Sir Colin Campbell saw his force, consisting of 18,277 horse, foot, and artillery, Europeans and Sikhs, across the Ganges, and on the 5th March was encamped at the Dilkoosha outside the fortifications of the city, where he was joined by the army of General Franks and Jung Bahadoor. The siege opened on the 6th. The defence was the most obstinate our arms had ever encountered in India, not excepting even that of Delhi. The rebels were animated by

the presence of the begum of Oude, a woman of indomitable ^{A.D.} energy, who had been the soul of the insurrection and had ¹⁸⁵⁸ prevailed on the chiefs and sepoys to recognise her son as king. During the time lost at Futtygurrh, the mutineers had availed themselves of the opportunity of improving the defences of the city, and the extraordinary industry displayed by them had seldom been equalled, and never surpassed, in India. Every outlet had been covered with a work, and barricades and loopholed parapets had been constructed in every direction. The various buildings formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, and they had been fortified with great skill. It was not till after ten days of incessant fighting that the recovery of the city was complete; but by some mismanagement on the part of one of the British commanders, Sir Colin was deprived of the full fruit of victory by the escape of the greater part of the mutineers, together with their leaders. The number of killed and wounded throughout the siege did not exceed 900. It was impossible to restrain the victorious soldiers from the rich plunder of the city, of which, however, the largest share fell to the Goorkhas, who returned to Nepaul with some thousand cartloads of spoil.

On the capture of Lucknow, Lord Canning, on the 31st of March, directed Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, to issue a proclamation confiscating the proprietary right of every estate in Oude, with ^{Confiscation of the land in Oude.} the exception of six zemindarees. Sir James earnestly remonstrated against the injustice, as well as the impolicy, of a measure which confounded the innocent with the guilty, and could not fail to retard the peaceful settlement of the kingdom. The proclamation was repudiated in England by a spiteful and sarcastic despatch from Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, but Lord Canning was, in the meanwhile, induced to mitigate the severity of the order, and to entrust large discretionary powers to Mr.—now Sir Robert—Montgomery, the successor of Sir James Outram, who had been raised to Council. He concluded a fresh settlement with the Talookdars, the proudest aristocracy in India, upon a moderate rental, and gave them the advantage of a new and Parliamentary title to their estates, and, moreover, endeavoured to attach them to the interests of the Government by appointing them honorary magistrates.

Bareilly the capital of Rohilcund was held by Khan Bahadoor Khan, a descendant of Hafiz Ruhmut, of the days

A.D. of Hastings, who had proclaimed his independence in the
 1858 early stages of the mutiny, and put two judges
 Operations in Rohil- to death under the mimic forms of European jus-
 cund. tice. In the town were collected the begum of
 Oude, the Nana, Prince Feroze, and the other chiefs and
 rebels who had escaped from Lucknow, and three columns
 were sent against it. One column, 6,000 strong, with light
 and heavy artillery under Brigadier Walpole came upon a
 petty fortification, fifty miles from Lucknow, consisting of
 nothing but a high loop-holed wall and a ditch, held by
 about 400 men. Instead of shelling them out, the com-
 mander, contrary to the express injunctions of Sir Colin
 Campbell, determined to carry it by assault, but the assail-
 ants were driven back with the loss of 100 men, among
 whom was Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, "the most
 "gallant and best beloved soldier in the army," the idol of
 his own Highlanders, who invoked malisons on the Com-
 mander. By the beginning of May, the columns under the
 personal command of Sir Colin closed upon Bareilly, which
 was speedily captured with all its stores and ammunition ;
 but the prize was again lost ; the rebel chiefs, with the bulk
 of their armed followers, made their escape. They were
 followed up by Sir Hope Grant, and a body of 16,000
 posted in a jungle at Nabob-gunge was attacked and de-
 feated, but the indefatigable begum rallied her forces anew
 on the Gogra, where she was again assailed and routed. She
 was hunted from post to post down to the Raptee, where,
 although hemmed in on every side, she made her escape
 across the river, together with the remaining leaders and
 their followers, and got away safe into the Nepaul territory.
 Jung Bahadoor did not refuse permission to Lord Canning
 to pursue the fugitives, and thousands perished under British
 weapons and from the malaria of the *terae*. The mutiny
 was virtually at an end, though in some districts bands of
 rebels continued for several months to maintain a show of
 resistance. The Nana and his brother died in the jungles
 of Nepaul during 1859 ; the begum found a peaceful
 asylum at Katmandhoo ; Prince Feroze made his way
 through Oude and joined Tantia Topee in Central India,
 where he was moving about with the remainder of his
 troops and a large amount of treasure, baffling the various
 columns which were in pursuit of him. He was at length
 betrayed by his most trusty companion, and was seized on
 the 7th April while asleep in the jungle, and tried and
 executed at Sepree. With the exception of the ranee of

Jhansi and the begum of Oude, he was the only great leader whom the rebellion produced, and the extraordinary energy and valour he displayed might have entitled him to a more lenient penalty; but, for the monster who had taken his seat on a stage and directed the diabolic massacre at the ghaut of Cawnpore, there could be no compassion. On the 8th July 1858, peace was proclaimed by Lord Canning throughout India; and on the 12th October he made a royal progress through the provinces, receiving the homage of chiefs and nobles. On the 3rd November he held a durbar at Cawnpore, with a display of magnificence well suited to captivate the native mind, and to demonstrate the restoration of British power. All the loyal chiefs were collected at that brilliant assembly, and as the representative of the Queen who had assumed the sovereignty of India, he decorated them with dresses of honour and titles of distinction.

The mutiny has been attributed by different writers to a variety of causes—to the annexations during Lord Dalhousie's administration; to the rapid introduction of improvements, such as the rail and the telegraph, which bewildered the native mind; to the spread of English education and European science, which were undermining Hindooism and disquieting the orthodox; and to a national revolt against British authority. On the other hand, Sir John Lawrence asserted, "The mutiny had its origin in the army itself; it is not attributable to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; the approximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else." But we live too near this stupendous event, and the excitement it created is as yet too fervid, to admit of a calm judgment of its origin, which must be left to the unruffled determination of posterity when it has ceased to be a party question. To assist that decision, it may be remarked that the conduct of the people, even in the most disturbed districts in the north-west, was eminently neutral. The agricultural, the mercantile, and the industrial population, made no demonstration in favour of the revolt. There was no insurrection where there were no sepoys; the Sikhs, and more particularly the rajas in the Cis Sutlej states, rendered the most essential service in quelling the insurrection; the princes in Rajpootana were perfectly loyal; Sindia, Holkar, the begum of Bhopal, and the nabob of Rampoor, sided with the British Government; the Nepaul cabinet sent down 9,000 troops to its aid. In

A.D. 1858 the south, the Gaikwar, the inhabitants of the annexed provinces of Satara and Nagpore, the Nizam and his great minister Salar Jung, the great Mahratta feudatories and the nobles of Mysore, were faithful in their allegiance to the British Government. These princes do not appear to have ever entertained a doubt of its triumph even when, before the reduction of Delhi and Lucknow, its fortunes appeared desperate. They were not ignorant that for twenty-five centuries from the period of the great war celebrated in the Muhabharat downwards, India had been the constant theatre of revolutions, and the insurrection which now threatened the existence of the British Government appeared to come in the usual order of events. The confusion, moreover, which ensued on the temporary eclipse of its authority, in the rapid rise of various aspirants for power in Hindostan—the king of Delhi, the Nana, the begum of Oude, the nabob of Futtugurh, the nabob of Bareilly, who would have proceeded to fall upon each other and revive the anarchy of former days when the British power was extinct, rendered these princes the more anxious to maintain it as the guardian of peace and order.

The mutiny was the death-warrant of the East India Company. England was astounded by the announcement of a revolt which threatened the dissolution of the empire, and of the atrocious massacres which accompanied it. The responsibility of the outbreak was at once cast on the Company, though for more than seventy years no political or administrative measure had been executed without the full concurrence of the Ministry. During this period the President of the Board of Control had carried more weight in the government of India than the Chairman of the Court of Directors; but the one was before the public, the other behind the scenes. The argument on which the Court of Directors had endeavoured, half a century before, to justify the precipitate dismissal of Lord William Bentinck after the Vellore mutiny, was now applied with fatal effect to themselves on the occasion of a larger mutiny—"As the misfortunes which " happened under your administration placed your fate under " the government of public events and opinions which the " Court could not control, so it was not in their power to " alter the effect of them." In December 1857 Lord Palmerston informed the Court of Directors that a Bill for placing India under the direct authority of the Crown would shortly be laid before Parliament. Mr. John Stuart

Extinction
of the East
India Com-
pany.

Mill was instructed by the Directors to draw up a petition to Parliament pleading their services, denying that the mutiny was owing to their mismanagement, and deprecating so fundamental a change in the government while the mutiny was still raging. It was one of the ablest state papers in the language, but nothing could withstand the popular outcry. Mr. Baring, on presenting the petition to the House of Commons, moved as an amendment to Lord Palmerston's Bill, that "it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India," but it was rejected by 318 to 173, whereas the continuance of the government of India in the hands of the Company was voted without a division only five years before. While Lord Palmerston's Bill was passing through Parliament, the Conservatives came into power, and it fell to the lot of Lord Stanley to carry through the Bill which extinguished the Company. On the 1st September 1858, the Court of Directors met for the last time in their council chamber in Leadenhall Street, and, as their last act of administration, gracefully voted an annuity of 2000*l.* a year to Sir John Lawrence, who had been the instrument of saving the empire now transferred to the Crown.

The East India Company was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1600, but its political existence is to be dated only from the battle of Plassy in 1757, and closed, after the lapse of a hundred years, with the revolt of the army. During this century it created an empire greater than that of Rome, and at the period of its dissolution transferred the government of 150,000,000 of subjects to its sovereign. There is no record in history of so brilliant a career, nor is there any instance of power so extensive and so rapidly acquired, with so few causes of regret on the score of political morality. Notwithstanding its errors and its shortcomings, it may be safely affirmed that no foreign dependency has ever been administered in a spirit of higher energy, or greater benevolence, or by a longer succession of great men. But its mission was accomplished, and the anomaly of continuing the government of so vast a domain with such an agency was daily becoming more obvious; and even without the crisis of the mutiny, the termination of its trust could not have been far distant.

On the 1st November 1858, the Queen's proclamation, translated into the various languages of India, was promulgated throughout the continent with every demonstra-

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tion of official pomp. It announced that Her Majesty had at length assumed the government of India, which had hitherto been conducted by her trustees, the Honourable the East India Company; that all treaties, dignities, rights and usages should be faithfully upheld, that the public service should be open to all her subjects without distinction of caste or creed, and that while the Government was a Christian Government no one should be molested or benefitted on account of his religion. The proclamation was cordially welcomed by the princes and people of India. The *ikbat*, or good fortune, of the Company to which they had paid homage for a century expired with the mutiny which exposed its weakness. Its name was associated with one of the greatest calamities which had befallen India. British authority had been re-established by the armaments sent by the Queen, and it was expedient that she should assume the sceptre of India. The introduction of an entirely new policy after such a convulsion was eminently calculated to tranquillize and reassure the public mind. The natives of India, moreover, have from the earliest ages paid deference to the principle of royalty, and a feeling of pride and satisfaction was diffused through the country in being considered the subjects of a sovereign, and not of a farmer, in which light the Company was now viewed.

SECTION V.

EPITOME OF EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO 1858.

THE century occupied in the conquest of India terminated with the suppression of the mutiny and the annexation of the empire to the Crown of Great Britain. The record of subsequent events belongs to a new epoch in the history of British India, upon which it is not advisable to enter in the remainder of the space necessarily prescribed for this compendium, and we therefore bring it to a close with a brief reference to the chief transactions of the period extending to the death of Lord Mayo.

1859

At the renewal of the charter in 1853, the Supreme Council, which had been invested with the power of imperial legislation, was enlarged by the addition of one member from each Presidency and lieutenant-governorship, and two of the judges of the Supreme Court. A more

important alteration was made upon the transfer of the government to the Crown; the two judges of the Supreme Court were excluded, and the Governor-General was instructed to summon additional members, not exceeding twelve, to the Council when engaged in making laws. One half the number was to consist of non-official members, who might be either Europeans or natives, and the natives thus for the first time obtained a voice in the deliberations of the state. The earliest members of Council were the raja of Putteala, the raja Dinkur Rao, and the raja of Benares, all of whom had been exemplary in their allegiance to the Government during the mutiny. Similar Councils were attached to the Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, with the same admixture of the native element.

The suppression of the mutiny was mainly due to the assistance derived from the annexation of the Punjab, but the full value of this reservoir of soldiers of exemplary courage, and untainted with the high-caste prejudices of the sepoys, was not fully developed till the war in China came on. The merit of having ventured to enlist their services only three years after they had shaken the empire at Ferozeshuhur belongs to Lord Dalhousie, who called down a regiment from the Punjab to supply the place of the sepoy regiment which had refused to embark for Rangoon. The example was followed by Lord Canning, and a large contingent of Punjabee troops was sent on the expedition to China, who assisted in planting the British standard on the battlements of Peking.

A.D.
1859

The transfer of the establishments of the East India Company to the Crown carried with it the transfer of their European troops, in number about 24,000. But though this made no change in the position or prospects of the men, they protested against being handed over from one service to another without being allowed a voice in the matter, and a feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested by a large number, and a spirit of insubordination in one corps. Lord Canning offered their discharge and a passage to England to all who objected to the exchange. The soldiers felt no objection to the royal service, but they looked for a small bounty, similar to that which the royal troops were accustomed to receive when, upon the expiration of their time, they enlisted into other regiments. The expectation was perfectly reasonable, but it was imperiously and injudiciously denied them, and 10,000 demanded their discharge. The state was thus not only subjected to a heavier

1859

payment for their passage than the small bounty would have amounted to, but lost the invaluable services of a body of seasoned and veteran European soldiers. Contrary, moreover, to the advice of some of the most eminent Indian statesmen, it was resolved to abolish the local European army, the value of which had been insisted on by Lord Cornwallis and by all his successors. The Indian navy, as it was termed, a small squadron of armed schooners belonging to the Company, and which was employed in maintaining the police of the Indian seas, was at the same time abolished, and the duty entrusted exclusively to the royal navy.

A.D. 1859 During the year 1859 the indigo districts in Bengal were disturbed by the refusal of the ryots to cultivate indigo for the planters. The cultivation had never been remunerative, but they were bound to it by advances forced on them, and by contracts to which they were often obliged to affix their mark without knowing their contents. Having once received advances, they found they could never be released from the planter's books. The lieutenant-governor of Bengal, on his return from Dacca, was assailed by thousands of men and women, who lined the banks for a whole day's journey, crying to him for justice. To meet the difficulty, the Government passed an Act, inflicting a penalty for a breach of the contracts of the year, and appointing a commission to investigate the complaints of the ryots. They were fully substantiated, and Sir Charles Wood refused to sanction the proposal which had been made to consider the non-performance of a civil contract by a ryot the ground of a criminal prosecution.

1860 The mutiny had augmented the debt by fifty crores, and the annual expenditure, owing to the increase of the military charges, had risen from thirty-three to fifty crores, while the annual deficit amounted to ten crores. The financial department had always been the weakest point of the Government. India had produced eminent statesmen, and diplomatists, and generals, and administrators, but not one Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Charles Wood resolved to supply this deficiency by adding a financial member to the Executive Council, and selected for this post Mr. James Wilson, one of the secretaries of the treasury in London, who had an especial genius for finance. He revised the customs on scientific principles, and laid on an income-tax for five years as an exceptional impost to meet the charges entailed by the mutiny, and he imposed a license

duty; at the same time he remodelled the currency, and withdrew the privilege of issuing bank notes which had been granted in their charters to the banks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and established a State paper currency. By the taxes thus imposed, and the retrenchments which were effected, the deficit was extinguished in less than three years. Mr. Wilson's career was unhappily cut short by death before his financial reforms were completed.

Mr. Macaulay had drawn up a penal code in 1837, which was bandied about for twenty years from one commission to another, and, having at length received its final modification, became law in 1860. At the same time, the Legislative Council passed an admirable code of civil and criminal procedure, which substituted simplicity and expedition for the complicated and tardy forms of pleading, which had previously impeded the course of justice. Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, who had rendered great service to the state during the insurrection, by repressing every hostile tendency at that Presidency, and by organising the force which quelled the mutiny in Central India, returned to England in this year with his constitution seriously impaired by the labours and anxieties of his post, and sunk into a premature grave.

The Nizam who had remained firm in his loyalty to Government during the mutiny was rewarded with honours, and with the more substantial boon of three of the provinces which he had assigned to meet the payment of the contingent and to satisfy other obligations, as well as with the remission of the balance of his debt to the extent of half a crore of rupees. The principality of Shorapore, which had been confiscated for the treason of the raja, was likewise transferred to him.

The whole machinery of judicature was remodelled throughout the country during the latter period of Lord Canning's administration. The Supreme and Sudder Courts were amalgamated, and a High Court established at each Presidency, consisting partly of English barristers, and partly of the Company's judges. A native lawyer of eminence was likewise placed on the bench, with no little honour to himself and great gratification to the country; and thus was the baneful ostracism of Lord Cornwallis abolished by the admission of natives to the distinction of making and administering the law, upon a footing of perfect equality with Europeans. At the same time Small Cause Courts, with a simple procedure, were established in

the provinces, and the recovery of small debts and demands rendered more easy.

A. D. 1862 The death of Lady Canning hastened the departure of Lord Canning, whose health had been greatly affected by six years of unexampled care and toil. He embarked in March 1862, but did not survive his arrival in England more than three months. His administration forms the most memorable period in the history of British India. No governor-general ever had to pass through a season of such profound anxiety, or to encounter so momentous a crisis. If he was slow and dilatory in his movements in circumstances in which Lord Dalhousie's foresight, promptitude, and energy would have been invaluable, yet he never lost heart or confidence, and his equanimity in the most appalling circumstances has never been exceeded and rarely equalled.

1863 Lord Elgin, who had brought affairs in China to a successful issue, was appointed to succeed him, and reached Calcutta on the 12th March, but died at Dhurmsala, in the Himalayas, on the 20th November in the ensuing year. His brief tenure of office afforded no opportunity for the display of his talents. It was, however, marked by a Mahomedan conspiracy against the British Government, fomented by Wahabee fanatics, which burst forth at Sitana, across the Indus, on the Afghan frontier. A large force, under the command of Brigadier Chamberlain, consisting of two European and six native regiments, was pushed forward into the fastnesses in which the whole army of Akbar had been exterminated two centuries before; but it was not only held in check but vigorously assailed by the irreconcilable highlanders. The Brigadier was disabled by wounds, and the position of the army became so critical that the Council in Calcutta, contrary to the remonstrance of the Commander-in-Chief, was on the point of withdrawing the troops from what appeared to them a bootless warfare in the mountains, a step which would have brought all the wild tribes down upon the Punjab. Happily Sir W. Denison, the governor of Madras, arrived in Calcutta at this juncture to officiate as governor-general, and ordered the campaign to be prosecuted with vigour, and it was brought to a satisfactory close by the end of 1863.

1864 The Ministry in England were filled with alarm at the prospect of a new Mahomedan outburst, and of the risk associated with it, and they at once offered the governor-generalship to the man to whom the salvation of the empire during the mutiny was mainly due, and who was, moreover,

personally acquainted with the condition of that turbulent frontier. Sir John Lawrence arrived in Calcutta on the 12th January 1864, and found the "Umbeyla campaign," as it was called, terminated. Four years after, there was another of the chronic outbreaks of these untameable barbarians, but it was at once suppressed by the timely march of a brigade.

The civil war in America interrupted the supply of cotton with which the looms of England had been fed, and it became necessary to look to India for a substitute. The price accordingly rose to a rare amount, and the exports increased two and three hundred per cent., but as they greatly exceeded the imports from England, the article was paid for in coin. During the continuance of the American war the imports of the precious metals into India amounted to more than seventy-five crores of rupees and poured riches into the lap of the cultivators, such as neither they nor their ancestors had ever dreamt of. The influx of wealth was poetically described by the metaphor that the ryots made the tyres of their cart-wheels of silver. A.D.
1864

The unexpected increase of prosperity at Bombay arising from the export of cotton, created a perfect mania of speculation. The most preposterous schemes were brought forward, and met with ready acceptance, and the shares of the companies rose fifteen and twenty-fold. The Bank of Bombay lent itself to these wild projects without scruple, and when the bubble burst was driven into the bankruptcy Court, the first bank associated with Government which had ever been subject to such disgrace. 1865

Sir John Lawrence found the Government of Bengal involved in disputes with the wild tribes of Bootan. On the conquest of Assam, the tract of cultivated land lying at the foot of the hills, called the Dooars, was annexed, but a trifling annuity was paid to the chief by way of compensation and to keep the tribes quiet, but it did not restrain them from making inroads into the plains, plundering the villages, and kidnapping its inhabitants. The subsidy was accordingly withheld, and the inroads were multiplied, and the Hon. Ashley Eden was sent as an envoy to the Bootan capital by the Government of Bengal. It was an imprudent act, and met with its reward. Mr. Eden was subject to every indignity from the barbarians, and signed an ignominious treaty under compulsion, resigning the Dooars to the chief. The consequence was a declaration of war; the foe was contemptible, yet one fort was retaken; the country was unhealthy, and the force was found to be inadequate. 1864

- A second campaign was undertaken the next year, with a larger force, and though the troops suffered to a fearful extent from the climate, the Bootanees were obliged to succumb. The treaty made with them, however, assigned them an annuity of 25,000 rupees for the Dooars. The whole transaction, from first to last, was unfortunate, and proved that the existing Government of Bengal was equally as incompetent in war as in diplomacy.
- 1865
- 1866 The year 1866 was marked by a desolating famine in Orissa. The total failure of the rains in the preceding year had given a premonition of its approach, but the Government of Bengal took no precautionary measure, and continued indifferent until the visitation arrived, and it was too late in the season to send succour by sea. The calamity was mitigated by the exertions of Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, but the number of victims was moderately estimated at three quarters of a million, and the event has left a deep stain on the reputation of the Bengal authorities.
- 1865 One of the most important legislative measures of Sir John Lawrence's administration had reference to the tenancy question in the Punjab and in Oude. He was anxious to protect the rights of the hereditary cultivators against the encroachments of the landholders, whether zemindars or talookdars. A great outcry was raised against the Acts which were of his creation, as being calculated to unsettle the engagements which had been made with the talookdars, and to revive disaffection. It was found, on enquiry, that the ryots in Oude for whose benefit the Government had incurred the greatest risk, had joined their old talookdars during the mutiny, in spite of the oppression under which they had groaned, and that there was in fact no class to whom the term of hereditary cultivators could be applied. The question was discussed with great earnestness, and no little acrimony, and it was silenced rather than settled by Sir Charles Wood's despatch, desiring the local authorities "to take especial care, without sacrificing the just rights of others, to maintain the talookdars of Oude in that position of consideration and dignity which Lord Canning's Government contemplated conferring on them."
- 1867 The affairs of Mysore were brought to an issue during the administration of Sir John Lawrence. Lord William Bentinck, as already stated, was constrained, by the insufferable misrule of the raja to assume the government of the country, and grant the raja a suitable pension. The

administration was placed in the hands of General Cubbon, one of the Company's great statesmen, under whom Mysore reached a state of unexampled prosperity. The raja petitioned Lord Hardinge to restore the government to him. The question was referred to General Cubbon, who reported that every improvement which had been made had encountered the strenuous opposition of the raja, and that the transfer of the government to him would be fatal to the prosperity of the people; the request was therefore declined. A similar application was made to Lord Dalhousie, to Lord Canning, to Lord Elgin, and to Sir John Lawrence, and it was emphatically refused. Sir Charles Wood upheld the decision of the five Governors-General. The raja then proceeded to adopt a son, and demanded that he should be acknowledged the heir to the throne. In the creation of the principality in 1801, Lord Wellesley had expressly excluded all reference to heirs and successors, and limited the enjoyment of the crown to the raja, on whom he had bestowed it as a personal gift. But in 1867, the Conservative Secretary of State for India reversed the decisions of all the public authorities in India, and recognised the adopted son as the future heir of the throne, to whom the administration of the country is to be consigned on his coming of age.*

Dost Mahomed, who had faithfully maintained his engagements with the British Government, died in 1863, and a struggle for the crown immediately commenced in his family. His son, Shere Ali, whom he had nominated his successor, mounted the throne and was soon driven from it, but at length succeeded in recovering it. During these intestine struggles, Sir John Lawrence maintained a strict neutrality, and avoided any interference in the contests, which were desolating the country. His policy was by some applauded as masterly inactivity, and it might possibly for a time have been a prudent course, but the rapid development of events in Central Asia, and the progress of Russian influence have rendered the maintenance of it impracticable.

A.D.
1868

Sir John's administration was marked by great attention to works of irrigation, and immediately before the expiration of his term of office he drew up a minute detailing those which had been completed and planned for all the Presidencies. These works would have required an expenditure of many crores of rupees, but as the finances exhibited an annual deficit, the complete canalization of India was necessarily postponed to a more auspicious period.

1868

* He does not attain his majority until February 1831,

A. D.
1868 Sir John Lawrence on his return to England was rewarded for his pre-eminent services to India by his elevation to the peerage.

Lord Mayo was appointed his successor, and landed in India in the beginning of 1868; and one of his first acts was to modify Sir John Lawrence's policy of non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. The Ameer Shere Ali was invited to an interview, and, on the 29th March, was received with great distinction and pomp at Umballa, when not only was his position as the ruler of the nation recognised, but he was gratified with a subsidy of twelve lacs a-year, and a supply of arms. Lord Mayo rendered himself popular with the native chiefs by his graciousness, and with the European community by his princely hospitality. The most noted feature of his administration was the projection of a system of railways, embracing 10,000 miles, to be constructed by the State, and not by the agency of guaranteed companies. He fell by the dagger of an assassin, in January 1872, at Port Blair, on the Andamans, to which he was paying an official visit.

1872 On the death of Lord Mayo, Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras, succeeded by law to the supreme administration, until the appointment, early in 1872, of Lord Northbrook. The new Viceroy possessed a large official experience, having been Under-Secretary in various departments at home, and his qualities as a statesman were soon tested by the alarming progress of Russia in Central Asia. To a demand by the Khivans for assistance, Lord Northbrook replied that, where just claims were made by a great European power like Russia, a less civilized nation was bound to comply with them, and that he could not guarantee any aid from England. As the Russian Government had specifically stated that their only object was the redress of grievances, and that there was no intention on their part to retain any Khivan territory, it was difficult to see why England should interfere.

1873 The threatened expedition against Khiva took place in the spring of 1873, and resulted in the complete success of the Russians. Their army, under General Kauffmann, marched almost unmolested through the country, and occupied the capital without serious resistance. The Khan surrendered, and agreed to all the demands which were forced upon him by the Russian General, including a complete submission to the Czar's authority, which virtually deprived him of independence. After this fresh advance, an agree-

ment was concluded between the English and Russian Governments, that the latter should abstain from interference with the boundaries of Afghanistan as fixed by England; and subsequent events showed the wisdom of this arrangement.

In India itself the dread of famine caused great anxiety. The failure of the autumn rains in Bengal and Behar had so materially injured the rice crops, that scarcity was imminent unless precautionary measures were taken. Determined to avoid the miseries of Orissa in 1866, Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, an active and vigorous administrator, had purchased large quantities of grain, and organized relief works in anticipation of the impending dearth; while in all his efforts to surmount the difficulties he foresaw, he received the approval and support of the Viceroy and home authorities.

The year 1874 opened with gloomy prospects, and the distress soon assumed large proportions. Not only the late crop of 1873, but the April crop which followed, proved failures, and the Government found it necessary to supply far larger quantities of rice than they had calculated upon, and to face transport difficulties which impeded the distribution of food. All obstacles were, however, overcome by Sir Richard Temple, the successor of Sir George Campbell, who displayed rare administrative ability, and, by his energy and the skilful use of the means at his disposal, battled with the famine till the plentiful rains in June put an end to all anxiety, and enabled those who had been relieved by Government during the scarcity, to return to their occupations. Some idea may be gathered of the gigantic nature of the task of conveying food to the famine districts, when it was found to require 100,000 carts and 200,000 bullocks to carry the grain from the railway to the depots; and in addition to these, 2000 camels and 9000 horses were needed to take supplies into the more inaccessible parts of the interior; while over 2300 boats and 10 steamers transported the grain by water, on the Ganges and other rivers. Lord Northbrook, moreover, determined to utilize the public distress by employing the sufferers on two great public works—the extension of the Soane Irrigation Canal, and the construction of the Northern Bengal Railway. The number of people engaged in these and local relief works when the distress was at its height, was estimated at 1,770,000; and the cost to the Government of the relief operations alone, was nearly £7,000,000.

A. D.
1874

In Afghanistan affairs had assumed an unsatisfactory position. The Ameer, Shere Ali, having banished his eldest son, Yakoob Khan, induced him to return to Cabul, and then imprisoned him. The ostensible cause of this act of treachery was the report that Yakoob was intriguing for the surrender of Herat to Persia; the real reason was the desire of the Ameer to secure the succession for a younger and favourite son, Abdullah. This son died before the question was settled, and by the recent accession of Yakoob to the throne vacated by his father, it would appear that he had retained his hereditary position, in spite of the deceit practised on him.

A. D.
1874 The corrupt and vicious administration of Mulhar Rao, the Gaikwar of Baroda, had repeatedly called forth the remonstrances of those in authority, and the hesitation of the Government to recognise a son he affirmed to be legitimate, had increased his irritation against them. Colonel Phayre was the British Resident at Baroda, and while these disputes were at their height, an attempt was undoubtedly made to take his life by poison. It was alleged that this act was instigated by the Gaikwar, and a
1875 Royal Commission was therefore formed to inquire into the matter. This Commission was composed of three native princes—the Maharajahs of Gwalior and Jeypore, and Rajah Sir Dinkur Rao—and three English officials—Sir Richard Couch, the President, Sir Richard Meade, and Mr Philip Melville. Although the proceeding was simply an inquiry for the information of Government, it was conducted in the same manner as an English trial, and the Gaikwar was defended by an advocate—Mr Serjeant Ballantine—specially sent out from London on his behalf. In the result the Court was divided in opinion, the native princes expressing doubts as to the guilt of the accused, the English entertaining none. The practical decision, therefore, rested with the Viceroy, who, with the sanction of the home authorities, declared the Gaikwar to have forfeited his throne,—though the measure was afterwards stated to be more an act of political necessity than a judicial sentence. A young prince of the Kandeish branch was chosen to succeed him, and educated for his post by one of the most able of native statesmen under British supervision; but no alterations have been made in any of the existing treaty arrangements.

The Governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, died on the 27th April 1875. He was an able and conscientious administrator, who did much to promote the welfare and prosperity of the

community, and initiated during his tenure of office the construction of an artificial harbour for Madras, and a scheme for draining the town. He was succeeded by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

An event of national importance—the visit of the Prince of Wales to India—took place towards the close of this year. Leaving England on the 11th October, the Prince, after stopping a few days at Athens, proceeded to Cairo, where he invested the Viceroy's eldest son, Prince Tewfik, with the Order of the Star of India, and landed at Bombay on the 8th November. The reception that greeted him was most enthusiastic; and throughout his tour everything tended to show the gratification of the natives at the royal visit. At Madras, where he was magnificently entertained by the Governor, he exchanged visits with the Maharajahs of the Presidency; and on New-Year's Day 1876, he presided over an investiture of the Star of India, which was held at Calcutta on a sumptuous scale. He then proceeded up the country, entered Delhi in state, through five miles of soldiery, and received an address from the native municipality of that ancient capital of Hindostan. Opportunities were afforded him of studying the native principalities, by his visits to Nepal, to the Maharajahs of Puttiala and of Gwalior, and to Holkar at Indore; and when he embarked at Bombay, on the 13th March, he expressed, in a letter to Lord Northbrook, the sincere pleasure as well as instruction which he had derived from his first visit to India. A. D. 1875

Some difficulties had meanwhile arisen between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The Government of India passed, on the 5th August 1875, an edict known as the Tariff Act. It revised the whole system of customs in India, and abolished export duties, but confirmed the import tax on manufactured cotton goods, and imposed an additional tax on raw cotton of the finer sort. Lord Salisbury at once not only expressed his dissent from, and desired the repeal of, these two provisions of the Act, but he also strongly censured the Indian authorities for passing so important a measure without reference to the Home Government. Lord Northbrook defended his position with skill and dignity, and on his retirement from office, on the 4th January 1875, his services were rewarded with an earldom. His successor, Lord Lytton, although he had distinguished himself in literature and diplomacy, had not hitherto held any important administrative trust. The obnoxious cotton duties were repealed by degrees; but, on the other hand, the new Viceroy adopted a concilia-

tory tone towards the natives of India, and endeavoured to diffuse the same through Anglo-Indian society.

A. D.
1877 A year had not elapsed since the Prince of Wales's visit to Delhi, when it again became the scene of a grand ceremonial. Parliament having decided that her Majesty the Queen should assume the imperial title of Empress of India, an assemblage of native chiefs and princes took place at Delhi on the 1st January 1877, when the new dignity was proclaimed by the Viceroy, amidst the most enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty. The presence of so many native and British officials afforded an opportunity of holding a conference on the important legislative and fiscal matters which pressed at this time; while many concessions were made, rewards for past services granted, and pensions augmented. One most important act was the release of some 16,000 prisoners, whose cases had been carefully inquired into by Sir Edward Bayley; and to him must be attributed the beneficial influence this salutary measure exercised upon the minds of the natives of India.

Still, this splendid ceremony did not produce the entire political effect that might have been expected. Men's minds were too full of the prospects of the famine, which threatened to devastate the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and even to penetrate into some of the neighbouring states. These fears were only too soon fulfilled: the rainfall of the previous year had more or less failed, while the spring and summer rains of 1877 were poor and irregular, and the dearth could no longer be averted. But Indian authorities had grown wise by sad experience, and the means previously used in Bengal to distribute supplies, and organize relief works, were everywhere adopted. In spite of all efforts, however, it was afterwards stated in the House of Commons that no less than 1,350,000 lives had been lost; and it was not until autumn was well advanced that the officials in the famine districts ceased to require help. England had liberally assisted their efforts by sending them nearly half a million of money; and the generous and noble manner in which she took up the cause of her impoverished subjects in Asia, did much to unite the two nations, and to frustrate any evils arising from supposed Russian designs. In view, however, of the terrible frequency of famines in India, the Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey, brought forward a proposal, advocating an additional tax, the proceeds of which were to be set aside to form a sinking fund for future emergencies; and the measure in due course received the sanction of Government.

Jung Bahadoor, the virtual sovereign of Nepaul, whose services during the Mutiny are elsewhere noticed (see p. 516), died this year. Although he strictly excluded Europeans from his territory, he invariably maintained an amicable policy towards the Indian Government, and the loss of so steady a friend on the frontier was severely felt.

The tribes on our north-west boundary, always turbulent, now showed signs of aggression, and it was evident that strong measures were required to repress them, one of them, the Jowakis, having, within the short space of a week, made no less than four incursions into British territory. In their last expedition, they attacked a body of the 22d Regiment, and killed and wounded some of the soldiers. A small field-force, however, was sent against them, which soon put down all resistance, and quiet was again restored along the border.

In April 1878 the Government received orders from home to despatch a force of 7000 native soldiers to Malta. Such an event as the employment of sepoys in Europe was without precedent in our annals; but the disturbed state of affairs in the East, which originally caused the movement, becoming by diplomatic arrangements more tranquil, the troops were recalled after a few months' absence.

A.D.
1878

Our relations with Cabul had meanwhile become most precarious. The Ameer, Shere Ali, was offended by our occupation of Quettah; this, and various other alleged grievances, caused the failure of a conference at Peshawur between his agent and our representative, Sir Louis Pelly, and were doubtless among the motives which induced him to receive a Russian embassy at Cabul. A counter-embassy, under General Chamberlain, was promptly despatched by Lord Lytton; but on the 21st September 1878, it was turned back at Ali Musjid, the first Afghan fortress in the Khyber Pass, by the commandant, who, acting under orders from Shere Ali, refused to allow the Mission to proceed. A native envoy, Gholam Hassan Khan, who had previously been sent to sound the Ameer on the subject of the embassy, returned with an unsatisfactory answer; and the Viceroy thereupon despatched an ultimatum to Shere Ali, with the assurance that hostilities would be commenced, if he did not accede to the English demands before the 20th November. An evasive reply was received, and war was at once declared.

General Sir Samuel Browne was directed to move upon the capital with a large body of troops by the Khyber Pass. His forces advanced on the 21st November, but their march was

checked at Ali Musjid. The capture, however, of that important fortress, and the evacuation of Jellalabad by the Afghans, followed in quick succession; and our troops soon afterwards encamped outside the town for the winter, without encountering any serious opposition.

General Roberts, who commanded the 2d brigade, advanced into Afghanistan by the Khurum Valley, and met with a sharp resistance at the Peiwar Pass, the occupation of which the enemy valiantly but unsuccessfully opposed; while General Stewart—in charge of the other battalion—after an unprecedented march of nearly 400 miles over most difficult country, joined the forces of General Biddulph at Takht-i-pul, the junction of the Khojak and Gwaja passes; and, with the exception of a slight encounter with the native cavalry outside Candahar, they took possession of that city unmolested. Desultory fighting followed in the neighbourhood, as well as in the Khost Valley, with General Roberts. The hill-tribes also were unceasingly active; but a further advance of the army into the country was not deemed necessary.

A. D.
1879

At the first approach of the British troops, Shere Ali had fled from Cabul to Mazar-i-Sharif in Balkh, where he endeavoured to obtain assistance against us; but his death there on 21st February 1879 prevented his schemes from being carried out, and closed his checkered career. His son, Yakoob Khan, succeeded in making good his title to the throne, and was acknowledged by the Indian Government; but he at first refused to negotiate with them, until threatened with an advance of the army on Cabul. He then agreed to meet our emissary, Major Cavagnari, at Gandamak, half-way to the capital, where, after some diplomatic delays, a treaty of peace, offensive and defensive, was concluded on the 25th May 1879, one of the principal articles of which was the permanent residence of an English Minister at Cabul.

Major Cavagnari, who had been knighted for his services in the late campaign, was appointed our Envoy—a post which he was eminently fitted to fill, from his long experience and great tact in dealing with the half-civilized nations on our north-west frontier. But he and his mission had hardly entered Cabul, when Yakoob Khan warned him that his life was in danger; to which he replied, “that if he were killed, there were many more in India ready to act as his successors.” A few weeks, however, passed quietly, and confidence seemed to be fairly established, when the massacre of

the gallant Cavagnari and his brave associates, and the burning of the Embassy on the 3d of September, rudely destroyed all hopes of peace. The Afghans had a third time broken faith with us, and avenged their wrongs, fancied or real, on our representatives; and a British army once more advanced, burning with indignation, to exact retribution for the murder of their countrymen. General, now Sir Frederick, Roberts lost no time in marching on Cabul, which he occupied on October 12th, after a struggle at Char-Asiab. Yakoob Khan, who had previously fled to the British camp, was declared to have forfeited the throne, and made a prisoner of State; and it was announced that the future government of the country would be decided after the advice of the Sirdars had been taken, and order had been restored. A fresh rising of some of the hill-tribes and mutinous soldiers in November caused great alarm, which was increased by the cessation of communications with General Roberts, and he was compelled to evacuate his post and establish his troops at Sherpur, a high cantonment outside and commanding the capital. But he succeeded in holding his own. General Gough advanced to support him, and the close of the year saw the British troops again victorious possessors of Cabul. With subsequent events there, and the future prospects of this great question—the government of Afghanistan—it is not proposed to deal.

On the 31st December 1879, the East Indian Railway ceased to be an independent body: the English Government, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, took the same into their own hands, this being the first instance of the exercise of the Imperial powers to purchase the Indian railways.



INDEX

ADA

A DAM, Mr., Governor-General *ad interim*, extinguishes the liberty of the press, 347

Adil Shahee dynasty established at Bejjapore, 43

Adisoor, king of Bengal, introduces Brahmans from Cunnouge, 14

Afghan expedition, its progress through the Bolan Pass, its privations, 396. Capture of Ghuzni, 397. It reaches Cabul; flight of Dost Mahomed, 398. Honours to the victors, 399. The army retained, 401. Bala Hissar given up; vicious position of the cantonments, 402. General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Candahar, 404. The Eastern Ghiljies; the Western Ghiljies, 405. Court of Directors advise retirement; Lord Auckland determines to remain, and retrench expenditure, 406. Ghiljies revolt and block up the passes, 407. General revolt in Cabul, 408. Retreat and extinction of the army, 410, 411

Afghanistan, Sir John Lawrence's policy, 529. Lord Mayo's policy, 530

Ahmednugur, the kingdom established, 43. Its capture by Akbar's generals, 60. The kingdom extinguished, 70

Ahmed Shah Abdalee, his first invasion of India; second and third invasions, 133. Gives Delhi up to plunder, 134. His fourth invasion; defeats Sindia and Holkar, 135. Defeats the great Mahratta force at Paniput, 136. Turns his back on India, 137

Akbar, his birth at Amercote, 48. Mounts the throne, 50. Defeats Hemu at Paniput; shakes off the influence of Byram, 51. Insubordination of his generals, 52. They are eventually crushed, and his authority fully established; matrimonial alliances with Rajpoot princesses, 53. Conquers Guzerat, 54. Invasion, conquest, loss and recovery of Bengal, 55. Conquest of Orissa and of Cashmere, 56. Of Sinde, and reconquest of Candahar; his army annihilated in the Khyber, 57. He invades the Deccan, 59. Last four years of his

AME

life, 60. His death and character, 61. His institutions; his revenue settlement; splendour of his court, 62

Akbar Khan arrives at Cabul, and takes command of the insurrection, 412. Defeated at Jellalabad, 422. And at Tezeen, 427

Albuquerque, viceroy of Portuguese India; founds Goa; extends his power over 12,000 miles of sea-coast; is superseded and dies, 110

Alexander the Great enters the Punjab; defeats Porus, 9. Obligated to turn back from the Beyas; his death, 10

Ali Gohur, son of the emperor, comes down on Patna; retires on the approach of Clive, 153. Becomes emperor under the title of Shah Alum; and again marches on Patna; defeated by Captain Knox, 155

Ali Morad of Sinde, his infamous conduct, 433

Ali Merdan, makes over Candahar to the Moguls; his celebrated canal, 70

Aliverdy Khan, supplants Serefracj at court; defeats him and becomes Soobadar of Bengal, 145. Long contests with the Mahrattas, to whom he at length cedes Orissa, and agrees to pay chout, 146. His death, 146

Alla-ood-deen, of the Ghiljie dynasty, invades the Deccan; puts his uncle to death, 30. Overruns the Deccan, 31. Miserable close of his life; last of his conquests, 32

Alliwal, victory gained by General Smith, 450

Almeida burns Dabul; defeats the Egyptian and Guzeratee fleet, 109

Almora, conquered by Colonel Gardner, 316

Aluptugeen establishes the kingdom of Ghuzni, 19

Ameer Khan, head of the Patans in Central India; joins Holkar and plunders the country, 260. Is repulsed from Nagpore, 297. Confirmed in his acquisitions and breaks up his army, 329

Ameers of Sinde, their severe and unjust

AMH

- treatment by Lord Auckland, 396. By Sir Charles Napier, 433. Deprived of their kingdom, 435
- Amherst, Lord, Governor-General, 346. Engages in the Burmese war, 348. Leaves the finances in a deplorable condition, 356
- Andhra dynasty, 13
- Annexation, the principle of, laid down by the Court of Directors, 477
- Anson, General, Commander-in-Chief, dies of cholera, 508
- Appa Sahib, regent of Nagpore, 322. Signs a subsidiary treaty, 322. Murders the raja, and mounts the throne, 331. Breaks out, and attacks the Residency, and is defeated, 332. Is deposed, 332
- Arracan, conquered from the Burmese, 350
- Aryans, their origin and progress, 3
- Asoka, extent of his dominions; his edicts, 11. Establishes the religion of Booddha; his death, 12
- Assam, conquered from the Burmese, 350
- Auckland, Lord, Governor-General, 385. His secretaries, 389. Embarks in the Afghan expedition, 391. It is universally reprobated; his manifesto, 392. Meeting with Runjeet Sing, 395. His prostration of mind on its failure, 417
- Aurungzebe deposes his father and mounts the throne, 74. Puts his brothers to death, 75. Defeated in the Khyber, 83. Persecutes the Hindoos, 84. His conflicts with the Rajpoots, 85. Proceeds to the Deccan with a magnificent army, 87. Defeated in the Concan; extinguishes the kingdom of Beejapoor, 88. And of Golconda, 89. Perpetually harassed by the Mahrattas; his plans to baffle them, 92. Obligated to treat with them; retires in disgrace from the Deccan; his death and character, 93
- Aylah bye, her exemplary administration, 260
- B**ABER, his ancestry, 44. His early vicissitudes, 46. His expeditions across the Indus, 45. Defeats the Emperor Ibrahim at Paniput, and establishes the Mogul dynasty, 45. Defeats the Rajpoots; his death and character, 46
- Bajee Rao, the first Peshwa; conflicts with the Nizam, 100. Levies contributions on Malwa, 100. His demands on the Emperor; marches to the gates of Delhi, 102. Defeats the Nizam, 103
- Bajee Rao, the last Peshwa; his perfidious character, 262. Is defeated by Holkar, and flies to Bassein, 262. Executes the treaty of Bassein, 262. Infatuated with his favourite Trimbukjee, 320. Connives at the murder of Gungadhur Shastree, 320. Surrenders Trimbukjee, who escapes from confinement, 321. Bajee Rao prepares for hostilities, 325. Obligated to sign a new treaty and cede territory; forms a confederacy against the Government, 330. Treacherously attacks Mr.

BEN

- Elphinstone and is defeated; he flies, and is pursued, 350. Surrenders, and is pensioned, and placed at Bithoor, where he dies after having received two and a half crores from Government, 336
- Bahadoor Shah, Emperor, defeats the Sikhs; his death, 95
- Bahadoor Shah of Guzerat; his conflict with Humayoon; loses and regains his throne, 40. His mysterious death at Diu, 40
- Bahminee dynasty established in the Deccan; constantly at war with Beejanuger and Telingana, 42. It crumbles to pieces, and five independent monarchies spring up, 43
- Ballajee Wishwanath establishes the power of the Peshwas, 96; obtains a disgraceful concession from Hoosen Ali, 97. Establishes the cabinet of brahmins, at his capital Poona, 97. His death, 99
- Bank of Bombay, bankrupt, 527
- Barlow, Sir George, Governor-General *ad interim*, pursues Lord Cornwallis's policy, 281. His treaties with Sindia and Holkar, 282. Abandons Jeypoor and Boondee to Holkar, 282. Appointed Governor-General by the Court of Directors; the appointment cancelled by the Ministry, 288. He restores the finances, 285. Governor of Madras; his unpopularity, 297. The mutiny of the European officers aggravated by his intemperance, and quelled by his firmness, 299. He is recalled, 300
- Barnard, General, succeeds General Anson, 508. Dies of cholera, 509
- Bassein, treaty of, 262
- Beder, an independent state, 44
- Beejanuger, an independent Hindoo state established in the Deccan, 34. Its constant wars; its great extent and power; a confederacy of the Mahomedan princes in the Deccan attacks and extinguishes it at Tallikotta, 58
- Beejapoor, the kingdom established in 1489, 43. Rendered tributary to Delhi, 70. It is extinguished, 88. Unrivalled magnificence of its edifices, 89
- Behar, conquered by Bukhtyar Ghiljie, 26
- Benares, the province, taken from the nabob of Oude, 173. The successful exertions of Mr. Tucker to save it during the mutiny, 503
- Benfield, Paul, his extortions, 192
- Bengal, governed by the Pal and the Sen dynasties, 14. Conquered by Bukhtyar Ghiljie, 26. Conquered by Soliman; his son defeated by Akbar, and the kingdom absorbed in the Mogul empire, 55
- Bentinck, Lord William, recalled from the Government of Madras, 287. Governor-General, 357; reduces allowances, and becomes unpopular, 357; enforces the half batta order, 358. He annexes Cachar and Coorg, 361. His non-intervention policy, 362. Takes over the government of Mysore, 363. Transactions with Joudpore and Jeypore, 364. And with Oude, 365. Meeting at Roopur

BER

- with Runjeet Sing, 370. Reforms the civil courts, 372. Completes the revenue settlement of the N. W. provinces, 373. Disposes of the rent-free difficulty, 373. Admits natives to the public service, 374. Abolishes suttee, 375. Roots out thuggee, 376. Establishes steam communication on the Ganges; and with England, 377. Substitutes English for Oriental education, 378. Establishes the Medical College, 379. Character of his administration, 380. Mr. Macaulay's epitaph, 380
- Berar, becomes independent, 44. Absorbed by Ahmednugur, 57. Conquered by Lord Wellesley, and partly made over to the Nizam, 270. Taken over for the Nizam's debt, 480
- Bhoje raj, 24
- Bhurtporc, besieged by Lord Lake, who fails, 274. Doorjun Sal seizes it, and it is captured by Lord Combermere, 356. Disgraceful scenes of plunder by the Commander-in-Chief and others, 356
- Burnes, Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander, conducts the cart-horses to Runjeet Sing, 369. His mission to Cabul, 389. Advises that Dost Mahomed be subsidized; Lord Auckland refuses it; the Russian envoy received, and Burnes retires, 391. He is murdered at Cabul, 408
- Bird, Mr. R. M., completes the revenue settlement of the N. W. provinces, 373
- Black Hole tragedy, 148
- Bonaparte lands in Egypt, 244
- Boodddhism established by Asoka, 11. Its prevalence in the seventh century, 13
- Boodddha, his birth; his creed; his death, 8
- Boontan war, 527
- Boughton, Mr., cures the emperor's daughter, and obtains privileges for the Company, 139
- Braithwaite, Colonel, his memorable combat with Hyder, 198
- Bullabhi dynasty in Surat, 15
- Burmese, the rise of the, and the progress of their conquests, 347. Demand the cession of eastern Bengal, 347. Immediate cause of the first war, 348. Arrangement of the campaign; disaster at Ramoo, 349. Rangoon captured; sufferings of the army, 350. Assam and Arracan conquered, 350. Second campaign abortive, 351. Third campaign pushed with vigour, and ends in peace, with a large cession of territory, and a crore of rupees, 352. The second war; the cause of it, 472. Easy capture of Rangoon, 474. Pegu annexed, 475. Comparative cost of the two, 475
- Bussy, makes Salabut Jung Soobadar of the Deccan, 126. Defeats the Mahrattas, 126. Obtains the Northern Sircars, 127; the Soobadar dismisses him and attacks him; he regains his authority, 128. And becomes supreme arbiter in the Deccan, 129. Recalled by Lally and his power extinguished, 129. Returns to India; his services to Tippoo rendered useless by the peace, 202

CHU

- CABUL. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone's embassy, 293. Lieutenant Burnes's mission, 389. Occupied by a British army, 393. The revolt and siege of the cantonment, 408. The garrison in a state of starvation, 414. The envoy enveigled and murdered, 414. Evacuated by the army, which perishes in the passes, 417. Reoccupied by the army of retribution, 427. The great bazaar blown up, 429. The army retires, 429
- Cachar annexed, 361
- Calcutta founded by Job Charnock, 141. Surrounded by the Mahratta Ditch, 146. Captured by Suraj-ood-dowlah, 147. Recovered by Clive, 149
- Calicut, the first Indian port visited by Europeans, 107
- Campbell, Sir Colin, (afterwards Lord Clyde) relieves Sir James Outram at Lucknow, 512. He captures the town, 517
- Canals in the Punjab constructed by General Napier, 472. Sir John Lawrence's minute on canals, 529
- Canning, Mr. George, President of the Board of Control, refuses and then grants permission to root out the Pindarees, 323. Moves thanks to Lord Hastings, 337
- Canning, Lord, Governor-General, 489. Memorable character of his administration, 490; his energetic movements on the outbreak of the mutiny, 497. His Onde proclamation, 517. Becomes the first Viceroy, 522. His retirement and death, 526
- Carnatic, struggles for the nabobship, 129; Mahomed Ali, Soobadar; his misrule, 165. Its deplorable condition, 250. Lord Wellesley mediates the nabob, and pensions the family, 251. The title, and privileges of the nabob extinguished, 479
- Cashmere conquered by Akbar and becomes his summer residence, 56. Transferred for a crore of rupees by Lord Hardinge to Golab Sing, 453
- Central India desolated for twelve years by the abandonment of Lord Wellesley's policy, 318. Lord Hastings reverts to that policy and restores peace, 327
- Chalukya dynasty in the Deccan, 16
- Chand Sultana of Ahmednugur, the favourite heroine of the Deccan, 59. Her defence of Ahmednugur; her tragic death, 60
- Cheynt Sing, raja of Benares; Hastings's demands on him; fines the raja for evading them, 207; posts a guard at his palace which is murdered by the populace. Hastings's extreme danger; he escapes to Chunar, 208. The raja collects an army and is defeated, 208
- Chillianwalla, battle of, 464
- Chittore, raja of, rejects all Mogul alliances; encourages Akbar's enemies, 53. His capital captured, 53
- Chola dynasty in the Deccan, 16
- Chclera, first outbreak in 1817, 329
- Chundra-gooptu, king of Mugudu, encour-

CLI

ters Seleucus and makes a treaty with him, 10

Clive, Lieutenant, (afterwards Lord) his parentage, and early career at Madras, 122. Memorable defence of Arcot, 123. Captures Geriah near Bombay, 149. Returns to Madras; proceeds with Admiral Watson to Bengal, and recaptures Calcutta, 149. Defeats the nabob at Dumdum, 150. Concludes a treaty with him, 150. Captures Chandernagore, 150. Joins the confederacy against the nabob, 151. Defeats him at Plassy, 151. Makes Meer Jaffier nabob, 152. His part in the deceit practised on Omichund, 151. Defeats the Dutch army at Chinsurah, 154. Returns to England, 154. Appointed Governor of Bengal, 160. Finds the whole service corrupt, and enforces the covenants, 161. Mediatizes the nabob of Moorshedabad; restores Oude to the nabob; settles Corah and Allahabad on the emperor, together with 25 lacs of rupees, 161. Acquires the Dewane, 161. Puts down the mutiny of the European officers, 163. Returns to England; his disgraceful treatment; dies by his own hand, 164

Cole insurrection, 360

College of Fort William, established on a grand scale by Lord Wellesley; reduced by the Court of Directors, 257

Confederacy of the Peshwa, the Nizam, the raja of Nagpore and Hyder Ali against the Company, 189

Coorg, misconduct of the raja; the country conquered and annexed, 362

Coote, Colonel, (afterwards Sir Eyre) defeats Lally at Wandewash, 131. Captures Pondicherry, 132. Appointed to Council in Calcutta; goes to Madras and defeats Hyder thrice, 197. His death, 202

Cornwallis, Lord, Governor-General, as well as Commander-in-Chief, 216. His economical reforms; he raises the scale of allowances and purifies the services, 217. His revenue reforms, 225. His Permanent Settlement determined on by Mr. Pitt, an egregious blunder, 227. Remodels the whole judicial system; reorganizes the civil and criminal courts, 227. His Code, 228. Excludes natives from the public service, 229. Determines to meet Tippoo in the field, 219. Forms alliances with the Peshwa and the Nizam, 220. Conducts the second campaign against Tippoo in person; obliged to retire in sight of Seringapatam for want of provisions, 221. Grand preparations for the third campaign, 222. Marches to Seringapatam, and makes a night attack on Tippoo's defences, 223. Tippoo sues for peace, which is granted on severe terms, 223

Cotton, influx of wealth from the export of, 527

Currency, the issue of notes from the banks of the three Presidencies discontinued. A State issue of bank notes, 525

Cunouge; its magnificence; conquered

DUM

by Mahmood of Ghuzni, 21. Despoiled by Mahomed Ghory, 26

Cuttack, ceded to the Mahrattas, 146

Conquered from them by Lord Wellesley, 269. Disturbances created by oppressive landlords and oppressive laws, 339. Tranquillity restored by justice, 340. Desolating famine of 1866, 528

DALHOUSIE, Lord, Governor-General, 457. Outbreak at Mooltan, 458. Proceeds to the north-west, 461. After the victory of Guzerat annexes the Punjab, 469. His excellent arrangements for its government, 470. Drawn into a war with Burmah, 473. His admirable organisation of the expedition, 474. Proceeds in person to Rangoon to quicken General Godwin, 475. Annexes Pegu, 475. Annexes Satara, 476. And Nagpore, 477. And Jhansi, 478. Sanctions the extinction of the royal title and privileges of the nabob of the Carnatic, 479. Settles all difficulties with the Nizam, 480. Ordered from home to incorporate Oude, 483. His administrative reforms; cheap and uniform postage, 484. The Ganges Canal, 484. Railroads, and his great minute, 485. The electric telegraph, 487. Character of his administration, 487. His premature death, 487

Darius, his conquests in India, 9

Deccan, its early history, 15. First invasion by the Mahomedans, 30. The greater part subdued by them, 32. Lost to the Crown of Delhi, 36. Rise of the Bahminee kingdom, 42. Its greatest minister Mahomed Gawan, 43. It is broken up and five kingdoms established, 43. Incessant wars between them, 44. Completely conquered by Aurungzebe, succeeded by universal anarchy, 89. Peace and tranquillity restored by Lord Wellesley, 247

Delhi, the Hindoo king of, 20. Becomes the Mahomedan capital, 27. Captured and plundered by Timur, 37. The new city, built by Shah Jehan, 74. Plundered by Nadir Shah, 105. Amount of booty carried away, 105. Plundered by the Abdalee, 134. Lord Lake enters it, 268. Besieged by Holkar, defended by Colonel Ochterlony, 273. Occupied by the insurgent sepoys, 496. Protracted siege and capture of it, 510

Dewanee of the three Soobahs granted to Clive by the emperor, 161

Doondhoo Punt, the Nana Sahib, leads the revolt at Cawnpore, 501. Chased out of India, and dies in Nepal, 518

Dost Mahomed, Lord Auckland dethrones him, 398. He flies to Bokhara, 398. Returns to Afghanistan and defeats English troops, and surrenders, 403. Restored to liberty, 431. Joins the Sikhs, 461. His army chased out of the Punjab, 468

Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry, enlarges French power; creates a sepoy

DUP

army; baffles the Mahratta general, and is created a nabob, 113
 Dupleix, his great genius; builds up Chandernagore; governor of Pondicherry; assumes oriental state, 114. His vast ambition; espouses the cause of Chanda Sahib, and makes him nabob of the Carnatic, 118. Receives Mozuffer Jung with great pomp, 119. He is at the height of his glory, 122. Superseded by his Company, and returns to Paris, 125. His disgraceful treatment and end, 125.

EAST INDIA COMPANY incorporated

by Queen Elizabeth; their first enterprises, 138. Their establishments at Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, 139. They make war on the emperor, and are obliged to retire, 140. All their establishments in Bengal abandoned, 141. They are invited back and build Calcutta, and fortify it, 142. A rival Company established in London, its disastrous results, 142. The two Companies united, 143. Send an embassy to Delhi, and obtain privileges which are nullified by Moorshed Kooly Khan, 144. Loss of Calcutta, and their establishments extinguished in Bengal, 147. Regain their power, and make a nabob of their own, 152. Acquire the Dewannee, 161. Gross abuses of their Government and interference of Parliament, 173. The Regulating Act, 174. Placed under the Board of Control, 213. Charter of 1793, 233. Charter of 1813, and loss of their Indian monopoly, 309. Charter of 1833 and loss of China trade; exist only as a political agency, 380. Charter of 1853; its modifications, 488. Their power and possessions transferred to the Crown, 520; their local army extinguished, as well as their navy, 524

Edwardes, Lt., raises a force and defeats Moolraj, 460. His great energy and services during the mutiny, 498

Electric telegraph established, 486

Elgin, Lord, Governor-General; his death, 526

Ellenborough, Lord, Governor-General, 419. His first proclamation, 423. His subsequent vacillations; recalls the troops from Afghanistan and then orders them to advance, 425. His jubilant proclamation, 429. His eccentric proclamation of the gates, 450. Assembles a large army at Ferozepore, 431. Annexes Sude, 435. Is present at the battle of Maharajpore, 440. The mutinous army of Gwalior extinguished, 440. He is recalled; character of his administration, 441

Elphinstone, General, in command at Cabul; his utter incompetence results in the ruin of the army, 409

Elphinstone, Mr. Mount Stuart, his embassy to Cabul, 293. Twice offered the

GUN

Governor-Generalship and declines it, 382
 England, General, repulsed at Hykulzyr, 425

FEROKSHERE, emperor, in bondage to the Syuds; grants privileges to the Company, 144. Disallows the concession made to the Mahrattas by one of the Syuds, who marches to Deol and murders him, 98

Ferozeshuhur, the battle of, 418

Fox's India Bill; its provisions; rejected by the House of Lords, 212

Francis, Mr., his violent opposition to Mr. Hastings, 178. The duel, 181

Franks, General, conquers the southern portion of Oude, 516

French, the, arrive in India; found Pondicherry, 112. War with the English, 114. Become supreme in the Carnatic, 121. And at Hyderabad, 129. Lose Chandernagore, and all power in Bengal, 150. Pondicherry captured and their power in the Deccan extinguished, 132

Fullerton, Col., his successful expedition frustrated by the Madras Council, 203

GHAZEE-OD-DEEN blinds the emperor and deposes him, 154

Ghiljee dynasty, 30

Gholam Kadir plunders Delhi and blinds the emperor; captured by Sindia and hacked to pieces, 230

Ghore dynasty, 23

Ghuzni becomes independent, 19. Pillaged by Alla-ood-deen, 24. Extinction of the dynasty, 24. Taken by the English, 397. The fortifications blown up, 427

Gilespie, General, quells the Vellore mutiny, 286. Captures Fort Corners, 303. Killed at Kalunga, 314

Goddard, General, his expedition across the Continent, 187. His treaty with the Garkwar, 187. Captures Ammedabad, chases Sindia and Holkar, 188. His unsuccessful expedition to Poona, 189

Golconda, becomes an independent kingdom, 34. Absorbs the Hindoo state of Telugana, 37. The celebrated minister Meer Joomla, 71. The capital taken by treachery, 89. The dynasty extinguished, 89

Gough, Sir Huzh, (afterwards Lord Gough), defeats the Mahrattas at Maharajpore, 440. Battles of Mooltee, 447. And Ferozeshuhur, 448. Engagement at Ramnagar, 462. Battle of Chinnai-walla; he is recalled, 463. Victory at Guzerat, 467

Gour, destruction of the city, 56

Guzerat, becomes an independent kingdom, 39. Occupied by Humayoun; annexed to the empire by Akbar, 49

Gurtoor Sircar, proceedings of the Madras Council regarding it, 195. The

GWA

- Nizam surrenders it to Lord Cornwallis, 218. Plundered by the Pindarees, 322
- Gwalior, taken by Captain Popham, 188. Advance of Sir Hugh Gough to it in 1843, 439. Occupied by Tantia Topee and recovered by Sir Hugh Rose, 515
- H**ALF BATTAL order enforced by Lord W. Bentinck, 358
- Halliday, Sir Frederick, secretary to the Government of Bengal; its first Lieutenant-Governor, 439
- Hamilton, Mr., the surgeon, cures the emperor and obtains privileges for the Company, 144
- Hardinge, Sir Henry, Governor-General; his antecedents, 442. Fights four battles with the Sikhs, 453. Restores the Punjab, 453. Raised to the peerage, 454. Disposes of Cashmere to Golab Sing, 453. Reduces the army, 455. His movable brigades, 456. His civil improvements, 456
- Harris, General, his Mysore campaign, 246
- Hastings, Warren, his early career; appointed member of Council at Madras; Governor of Bengal, 175. His vigorous reforms, 176. Engages in the Rohilla war, 176. Sells Corah and Allahabad to the nabob of Oude, 176. Appointed Governor-General, and bullied by his colleagues, 177. The case of Nunkoomar, 179. His energetic conduct on the destruction of Baillie's detachment, 196. Fights a duel with Mr. Francis, 181. His harsh conduct towards Cheyt Sing; he escapes to Chunar, 208. Consents to the plunder of the Begums, 209. Returns to England, 210. His reception, 210. His impeachment; his acquittal; the ruin of his finances, 211. His character, 211
- Hastings, Lord, Governor-General: his antecedents, 310. Forced into a war with the Nepalese; obtains two loans from the nabob of Oude, 313. Subsidiary treaty with Nagpore, 322. Takes the field against the Pindarees; their complete destruction, 334. War with the Mahrattas, 328. Grand result of the Mahratta and Pindaree war, 334. His alliances with the native princes in Hindostan, 327. Ungracious thanks of Parliament, 337. Hostility of the Directors to him, 337. His encouragement of education, 338. His liberality to the press, 339. Affairs of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, 342. Financial prosperity, and territorial increase during his administration, 340. His unfortunate association with Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, 343. Condemned by the India House, 345. Ungrateful return for his services, 345
- Havelock, General, sent to command the movable column at Allahabad; his numerical force, 504. Defeats the muti-

HYD

- neers at Futtehpore, at Onao, at Pandoonuddee, and at Cawnpore, 505. Crosses the Ganges to relieve Lucknow; beats the enemy at Aong; falls back to Munglewar, 506. Again advances into Oude; defeats the sepoy, and returns to Cawnpore; advances to Lucknow a third time with Sir James Outram, and relieves the besieged garrison, 507. Dies at Lucknow, 512
- Herat, description of the country, 393. The city besieged by the king of Persia; defended by Lt. Pottinger; the siege raised, 394. Major Todd, envoy; obliged to withdraw the mission, 404
- Heytsbury, Lord, sworn in as Governor-General; the appointment cancelled, 382
- High courts established, 525
- Hindoo College established, 338
- Hindoostan, its boundaries, 1. Its state on the invasion of Mahomed Ghory, 24. And on the invasion of Baber, 45
- Holkar, rise of the family, 101. Mulhar Rao, defeated by the Abdalee, 135. Sustains a crushing defeat by Sindia's army, 261. Admirable administration of Aylah bye, 260
- Holkar Jeswunt Rao, his proceedings, 260. Joined by Ameer Khan and plunders Malwa, 261. Defeats Sindia's army, 261. Is defeated by Sindia's general, 261. Marches to Poona, and beats the Peshwa and Sindia, and occupies Poona, 262. His wild proceedings and insolent demands, 271. Lord Wellesley declares war against him, 272. He compels Colonel Monson to retreat, 273. Besieges Delhi and obliged to retire, 273. Plunders the Dooab, 273. Defeated at Deeg, 274. Chased by Lord Lake into the Punjab, and sues for peace; disreputable treaty made by Sir George Barlow, 282. He plunders the Punjab, Jeypore and Boondee, 283. State of affairs at Indore, 1811-17, 326. The army marches down to join the Peshwa, and is defeated at Mehidpore; treaty of peace, 333
- Holland, Governor of Madras; his gross misconduct; deserts his post, 219
- Hope, Brigadier, the Hon. Adrian, killed, 518
- Humayoon, Emperor; cedes the Trans-Indus provinces to his brother; defeats Bahadoor Shah of Guzerat, 47. Is defeated and expelled from India by Shere Shah, 48. His wanderings and adventures, 48. Recrosses the Indus; recovers his throne, and dies, 50
- Hyderabad, the contingent, 341. Mal-administration of Chundoo Lall, 342. Palmer and Co. make advances, and become a power in the State, 342. Their debt paid off, 344. Districts assigned for the pay of the contingent, 450
- Hyder Ali, his rise and progress; his ignorance of letters; his first distinction; deposes the raja of Mysore, and takes possession of the government, 166. Acquires rich booty at Bednore, 167.

IBR

Joins the Nizam against the English; is defeated by Colonel Smith, 170. Recovers his losses, and dictates peace under the walls of Madras, 171. Defeated at Milgoda by the Mahrattas; besieged five weeks; makes peace with them, and cedes much territory, 172. Joins the confederacy against the English, 194. Bursts on the Carnatic, 195. Annihilates Colonel Baillie's force, 196. Thrice defeated by Sir Eyre Coote, 197. His death, 201

IBRAHIM, Adil Shah; his magnificent buildings at Beejapore, 89

Ibrahim of Jounpore, the extraordinary number and magnificence of his edifices, 38

Imad Shahee dynasty established at Berar, 44

Impey, Sir Elijah, appointed chief of the Sudder Court, 207. Great advantages of his service, 207

India, its boundaries, divisions, area and population; early history and chronology, 1, 2. Its aborigines, 3. The period of its greatest literary eminence, 13. Its state at the period of Mahomed Ghory, 24. Of Baber's invasions, 46. Of Nadir Shah's irruption, 105. Of Lord Wellesley's advent, 239. On the arrival of Lord Hastings, 311

Indigo disturbances, 524

Istallif captured, 429

JAVA strengthened by Napoleon, 302. Conquered by Lord Minto, 303

Jehander Shah, killed by Ferokshere, 96

Jehangher succeeds Akbar on the throne; his cruelty, 63. His marriage with Noor Jehan; her character and influence, 64. Failure of his expeditions to the Deccan, 65. Extinguishes Oodypore, 65. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to his court, 65. Is seized by his general Mohabet; rescued by Noor Jehan and dies, 68

Jehan Lodi, revolts in the Deccan; his death, 69

Jellalabad, fortified by General Sale, 420.

Visited with a succession of earthquakes, 421. Relieved by General Pollock, 422

Jenghis Khan desolates Central Asia, 28

Jeypore, Ameer Khan invades it; intervention of the Governor-General; the raja refuses a subsidiary alliance, 323. And accepts it, 328

Jhansi annexed by Lord Dalhousie, 478. The rancee recovers it during the mutiny; she massacres the Europeans, 513. Her martial character and her death, 515

Jounpore, an independent kingdom; Ibrahim its greatest monarch; extinction of the kingdom, 38

LOD

KAFOOR MALIK, the general of Allaood-deen, conquers Warungul and the Carnatic, 31. Ravages the Deccan; his infamous conduct and death, 32

Kala-pahar, a converted Hindoo, conquers Orissa, and persecutes the Hindoos, 56

Kesari dynasty in Orissa, 17

Khiva, a Russian army sent against it, and obliged to retire, 401

Khyberees, annihilate Akbar's army, 57

Kolapore, a Mahratta principality, the rival of Satara, sinks into insignificance, 101

Kooroos, their struggles with the Pandoos, 5

Kootub-ood-deen Eibuck establishes the slave dynasty; makes Delhi his capital, 27

Kootub Shahee dynasty established at Golconda, 44

Korygaum, battle of, 335

LABOURDONNAIS, his improvements at the Mauritius; arrives at Pondicherry with a fleet; indecisive action with the English, 115. Captures Madras; his dissensions with Dupleix, 116. Returns to Paris; thrown into the Bastille and dies, 116

Lake, General (afterwards Lord), captures Allygurh, 267. Beats Sindia before Delhi and at Laswaree, 269. Captures Deeg; besieges Bhurtpore and fails, 274. Pursues Holkar into the Punjab, 281

Lall Sing, paramour of the rancee, prime minister at Lahore, 445. Deposed for treachery and banished, 454

Lally, governor of Pondicherry, 130. Captures St. David, 130. Assaults Tanjore and retires, 130. Lays siege to Madras and fails, 131. Recalls Bussy, 129. Defeated by Colonel Coote at Wandewash, 131. Besieged in Pondicherry, and obliged to surrender; returns to Paris; tried and beheaded, 132

Lawrence, Major Stringer, engaged two years in the siege of Trichinopoly; obliges the French to surrender, 123. Defends Madras, 131

Lawrence, Sir Henry, resident at Lahore, 455. Puts down opposition at Cashmere, 454. Commissioner in Oude, unable to stem the revolt, 500. Disaster at Chinhut, 500. Killed by the bursting of a shell, 501

Lawrence, Sir John (afterwards Lord Lawrence), head of the Lahore administration, 497. His extraordinary energy during the mutiny, 499. Enlists Sikh regiments for the siege of Delhi, 509. His opinion of the mutiny, 519. Appointed Governor-General, 527. His policy in the contest in Afghanistan, 529. His minute on canals, 529

Littler, Sir John, his position at Loodiana and Ferozeshuhur, 448

Lodi dynasty seated on the Delhi throne, 38. Ibrahim, the last of the princes, alienates his nobles who invite Baber, 39

MAC

MACARTNEY, Lord, governor of Madras, 198. Centrary to his instructions negotiates with Tippoo, 204. Refused the Governor-Generalship, 215

Macaulay, Mr., his inscription on the statue of Lord William Bentinck, 380. He gives a fatal blow to orientalism, 378. His penal code, 525

Macnaughten, Mr. W. (afterwards Sir William), envoy with Shah Soojah, 395. His treaty with the Afghans, 412. Inveigled by Akbar Khan and murdered, 414

Macpherson, Sir John, Governor-General *ad interim*; his economical reforms, 215

Madras, its foundation, its growth, 139. Captured by Labourdonnais, 116. Restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 117. Besieged by Lally without success, 130. The governor Mr. Palk's disgraceful treaty with the Nizam, 169. Drawn into a war with Hyder which is mismanaged, when he dictates peace, 171. Demoralised by dealing in the nabob's debts, 213. War with Hyder, 194. A desolating famine, 200. Disreputable treaty with Tippoo, 204. Mutiny of European officers, 297

Maharajpore, battle of, 440

Mahmood of Ghuzni, invades India; conducts twelve expeditions; his expedition to Mooltan, to Nagarcot, to Thanesur, 20. To Cunouge, and Somnath, 21. His death and character, 22

Mahomed, his birth; establishes his creed in Arabia, 18

Mahomedanism, its rapid conquests, 18

Mahomed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic; his cause espoused by the Madras authorities, 124. Urges the spoliation of Tanjore, 165. His debts the source of demoralisation at Madras; the shameless proceedings connected with them, 213. Paid off without enquiry by Mr. Dundas, 214

Mahomed Ghory, founder of Mahomedan greatness in India, 24. Demolishes Hindoo power in Hindostan, 26. His death and character, 27

Mahomed Shah of Guzerat, his brilliant reign of forty years, 39. Creates a navy, his conflicts with the Portuguese, 40

Mahomed Shah, emperor of Delhi, defeated by Nadir Shah, but restored to the throne, 105. His death, 133

Mahrattas, description of the country; their rise and progress, 76. Their military power, 77. Their greatness created by Sevajee, 77. Only a vestige of their empire left in 1689, 91. The regent Ramraj retires to Tanjore; new system of exactions, 91. Comparison of their armies with those of the Mogul, 92. They baffle and pursue Aurungzebe, 93. Discord among them; the rival houses of Satara and Kolapore, 94. They invade Bengal, and obtain the cession of Orissa, 146. They march to the Indus, 134. Obtain large cessions of territory from the Nizam; they are at the zenith of

MYS

their power, 135. Totally defeated at Paniput, 137. Renew their expeditions to Hindostan, and plunder the Rajpoots the Jauts, and the Rohillas, 172. Recalled to Poona, 173. Defeated by the English under Colonel Keating, 183. Conclude the treaty of Poorundur with Col. Upton, 184. Bombay Council send an expedition to Poona, which fails; convention of Wurgau, 186. Treaty of Salbye, 190. Defeat the Nizam at Kurdla, 235. Join Lord Cornwallis in the war with Tippoo, 220. Treaty of Bassein, 263. War with the English; Sindia and the Nagpore raja totally defeated; large portions of their domiunions annexed, 270. War with the English in 1817, 328. Their power completely annihilated, 335.

Mahratta ditch at Calcutta, 146

Malik Amber the great statesman and general of Ahmednugur, 65. His death, 69

Malwa, kingdom of, established by Dilawur Khan, 36. Brilliant reign of Mahomed Ghiljie; eccentricities of his son, 41. Annexed to Guzerat, 41. Conquered by the Mahrattas and divided between Sindia and Holkar, 101

Martin, M., the earliest of French colonists; his extraordinary energy, 112

Mauritius, the, occupied by the French, 112. Great depredations of its privateers, 301. Captured by Lord Minto, 301

Mayo, Lord, Governor-General, his Afghan policy, 530. His state railways; his popularity, and tragic death, 530

Medows, Gen., his abortive campaign in Mysore, 220

Meer Cossim, created nabob of Bengal, his vigorous administration, makes Monghyr his capital; creates an army, 156. Disputes about the transit duties with the Council; their base conduct, 157. They declare war with him; he is defeated and flies, after massacring all his European prisoners, 158

Meer Jaffier, made nabob, 152. Is deposed, 156. Made nabob a second time; his death, 159

Meer Joomla's expedition to Assam; its failure, his death, 76

Meerun, son of Meer Jaffier, puts Surajood-dowlah to death, 152

Metcalfe, Mr. (subsequently Sir Charles), his successful mission to Lahore, 293. His minute respecting Bhurtpore, 355. Nominated Governor-General by the Court of Directors, rejected by the Ministry, 382. First Governor of Agra, 383. Officiating Governor-General, establishes the liberty of the press, which is displeasing to the Directors, and he resigns the service, 384. Governor of Canada and Jamaica, 384

Mysore, a principality created for the old dynasty by Lord Wellesley, 248. The incorrigible conduct of the raja creates a revolt; quelled by British troops, 363. Lord W. Bentinck takes over the admini-

MIN

nistration, 363. It is restored to his adopted son, 529

Minto, Lord, Governor-General, his antecedents, 288. He extinguishes anarchy in Bundelcund, 290. Arrests the progress of Runjeet Sing, 293. Sends an embassy to Cabul, 293. And to Persia, 294. Interferes for the protection of the raja of Nagpore, 296. Proceeds to Madras on the mutiny of the European officers, 299. Captures Bourbon and the Mauritius, 301. Puts down piracy in the Arabian seas, 300. Accompanies the expedition to Java, which is conquered, 303. His earnest representation to the Court for the suppression of the Pindarees, 306. He is superseded; merits of his administration, 307

Mogul dynasty, established by Baber, 44

Montgomery, Mr. Robert, member of the board of administration, 470. Disarms the mutinous sepoy at Lahore, 498

Moodkee, battle of, 447

Mooltan, Moolraj, succeeds his father as governor, 458. Murders two English officers and revolts, 458. Defeated by Lieutenant Edwardes, 459. Shut up in Mooltan and besieged by General Whish, 460. Joined by Shere Sing and the siege raised, 460. General Whish, reinforced, renews the siege; brave defence by Moolraj; capture of the city, 466. Moolraj condemned to imprisonment and dies, 469

Monson, Colonel, his disastrous retreat, 273

Moorshed Kooly Khan, appointed soobadar of Bengal. Finds the city of Moorsheadabad; encourages native trade and discourages that of the Company, 143. His prosperous administration, and death, 145

Mutiny of the European officers, the first, in 1765, 163. The second, in 1795, 236. The third, in 1810, 298

Mutiny of the sepoy in 1764, 159. At Vellore, 285. Of the 47th at Barrackpore, 353. Of the native regiments in 1843-44, 436. Of the 38th in 1852, 523

Mutiny of 1857, the last and greatest; the greased cartridges the immediate cause of it, fill the sepoy with terror and indignation, 492. They reject all explanation; every regiment in Hindostan filled with a hostile feeling, 493. The paucity of European troops furnishes the opportunity, 493. The 84th Queen's brought round from Rangoon, and the 19th disarmed, 493. Outbreak of the regiments at Meerut, 10th May; massacre of Europeans, 495. Disgraceful supineness of General Hewitt in command, 495. The mutineers proceed, unpursued, to Delhi; the regiments there fraternise with them, and massacre the Europeans, and set up a Mogul throne, 496. Sepoy disarmed at Lahore, and at other stations in the Punjab, 498. Revolt of all the regiments between the Sutlej and Allahabad, 499. Revolt of the regi-

NAN

ments in Oude, 500. The Residency besieged for twelve weeks, 501. Revolt of the regiments at Cawnpore, 501. The entrenchment invested for three weeks; the General surrenders; massacre of the Europeans at the ghaut, 502. General Havelock repeatedly beats the sepoy and retakes Cawnpore; atrocious murder of the women and children by the Nana, 505. General Havelock twice endeavours to march to the relief of Lucknow, but is unable, 506. He and Sir James Outram advance again with success, 507. The siege of Delhi protracted for three months, and the city captured after six days' fighting, 510. Sir James Outram and Havelock are besieged in Lucknow, 511. Relieved by Sir Colin Campbell, 512. Campaign against the sepoy in Central India, 513. Relief of Dhar and Saugor, 513. Capture of Jhansi, 513. Escape of the rane, 514. Battle of Koonch, 514. Capture of Calpee, 514. Total defeat of the rebels, 514. They reassemble at Gwalior; flight of Sindia, 515. The rebels defeated, and the mutiny quenched in Central India, 515. Confiscation and restoration of the land in Oude, 517. Operations in Rohilcund, 518. Peace proclaimed, 519. Cause of the mutiny, 520

Mugudu, the kingdom established, 10. its grandeur, 11

Muhabharut, the, its legend, 4

Munoo, his code, 7

Muttra, its magnificent temples plundered by Mahmood of Ghuzni, 21

Mysore, the throne usurped by Hyder Ali, 166. Bequeathed to his son, 201. Conquered and partitioned by Lord Wellesley, 248. A portion given to the old family as a personal boon, 248. Misconduct of the raja and assumption of the government by Lord W. Bentinck, 362. The raja adopts a son, who is acknowledged as his heir, 529

NADIR SHAH, his antecedents; invades Afghanistan; overruns the Punjab; captures and plunders Delhi, and retires with thirty-two crores of rupees, 105

Nagpore, the raja gains Orissa, 146. Confederates with Sindia against the Company, 263. Defeated at Argaum, 269. Signs the treaty of Deogaum, and cedes Orissa and Berar, 270. Appa Sahib, raja, 322. Attacks the Residency, and is defeated, 332. The kingdom restored, 332. Annexed on the total failure of heirs, 477

Nana Furnavese, the Mahratta Machiavelli, his extraordinary genius, 236. His death, and its consequences, 259

Nana Sahib (Doondhoo Punt), fomented the spirit of revolt, 501. Massacres all the Europeans, men, women, and children,

502. Defeated at Cawnpore, 506. Chased into Nepal and dies, 518
- Napier, Brigadier, his improvements in the Punjab, 471. His brilliant charge of the rebels, 515
- Napier, Sir Charles, receives the supreme control in Sinde, 431. His violent proceedings, 432. Captures Emamgurh, 433. Defeats the Beloches at Meeanee, and Duppa, 435
- Napoleon lauds in Egypt, 244. Sends a large armament to India on the Peace of Amiens, 253
- Natives excluded from office by Lord Cornwallis, 228. Admitted by Lord William Bentinck, 373
- Nazir Jung, soobadar of the Deccan, marches to the Carnatic, 120. His cause espoused by the English, 121. He is defeated by Bussy and killed by the nabob of Cuddapa, 121
- Neill, Colonel, his gallant conduct at Benares, 503. Saves the fort of Allahabad, 504. Marches with Outram and Havelock to Lucknow, and killed, 503
- Nepaul, description of it, 311. Rise and progress of the Gorkhas, 311. Their extensive conquests, 312. Encroachment on British territory, 312. Lord Minto fails to effect a settlement, 312. They resolve on war, 313. Plan of the campaign; failure of three divisions, 314. General Ochterlony's masterly tactics; obliges the court to sue for peace: a treaty concluded but not ratified, 317. Second campaign; General Ochterlony beats the Nepaulese, and a treaty is concluded, 317. Jung Bahadoor marches with an army to put down the mutineers, 516
- Nicholson, Brigadier, arrives with his movable column before Delhi; the homage paid to his genius and valour; leads the assault and is killed, 510
- Nizam-ool-moolk (Cheen Kilich Khan) viceroy of the Deccan 96. Leaves Delhi in disgust, and becomes independent at Hyderabad, 99. Entreated by the emperor to save the empire from the Mahrattas, but is defeated by them, 103. Nizam Ali, his son, assassinates his brother Salabut Jung, and ascends the throne of Hyderabad, 165. Makes a treaty with the Madras Council in 1766, 166. Joins Hyder in attacking the English, and is repeatedly defeated, 168. Makes another treaty, 169. Promotes a confederacy against the English; neutralized by Mr. Hastings, 193. Joins Lord Cornwallis in the war with Tippoo, 220; and obtains territory, 222. Totally defeated by the Mahrattas at Kurdla, 235. Dismisses his French force, 243. Joins Lord Wellesley in the war with Tippoo, 245. Cedes the territory he acquired in the two wars, 249. Disputes about the pay of the contingent settled by Lord Dalhousie, 480
- Noor Jehan, her origin, married to Jehangeer; her magnificent court, 64. Her hostility to Mohabet, who seizes the emperor, whom she rescues, 67. Loses her power on the death of Jehangeer, 68
- Northern Sircars granted to Bussy, 127. Granted to the Company by the emperor, 165. Madras Council agree to pay tribute for them to the Nizam, 166
- Nott, General, his conflicts at Candahar, 405. Advances to Cabul; brings away the sandal-wood gates and Mahmood's mace from Ghuzni and blows up the fortifications, 427
- Nunkoomar's charges against Hastings; accused of forgery by a native, tried, convicted, and hung, 180
- OCHTERLONY, Colonel (afterwards Sir David), his defence of Delhi, 273. His successful campaign in Nepaul, 316. His second campaign terminates in peace, 317. His orders to assemble an army to resist Doorjun Sal of Bhurt-pore countermanded, and he dies of a broken heart, 354
- Oodypore, throne filled by Rana Sangra, 41. Its independence virtually extinguished, 65.
- Orissa, its early history, 16. Booddhist for seven centuries; Hindoo dynasties of the Kesaris, and Gunga-hungsa, 55. Conquered by the king of Bengal and annexed to the empire, 56. Ceded to the Mahrattas, 146. Annexed to the Company's dominions, 270. Desolating famine, 523
- Oude, Saadut Ali, soobadar of, 99. He invades Behar, and is totally defeated, 160. His kingdom restored by Clive, 161. Corah and Allahabad bestowed on the emperor, 161. Urges the war with the Rohillas, 176. Obligated to cede Benares to the Company, 178. Visits Hastings at Chunar, and obtains permission to plunder the Begums, 209. Vizier Ali appointed nabob; deposed for his illegitimacy and vices, 238. Lord Wellesley takes half the territory to pay for the defence of the other half, 255. Lord Hastings gives the nabob a royal title, 365. Wretched state of the country in Lord William Bentinck's time; he threatens to take over the government, 366. Chronic misrule; remonstrances of successive Governor-Generals, 480. Colonel Sleeman's report, 481. General Outram's report, 482. Lord Dalhousie's minute, 482. Home authorities order the annexation of it, 483
- Outram (afterwards Sir James) pursues Dost Mahomed, 398. His proceedings in Sinde, 434. Arrives at Cawnpore with reinforcements, 507. Cedes the command to Havelock; relieves the garrison of Lucknow, 507. Is blockaded; relieved by Sir Colin Campbell, 512

PAC

PACHECO'S defence of Cochin, first demonstrates the superiority of European over native troops, 109

Pandya dynasty, in the Deccan, 16

Paniput, Baber's victory, 45. Akbar's victory, 51. The Abdalee's victory, 137

Peel, Captain, of the Shannon; his naval brigade, 507

Persia, embassy sent by Lord Wellesley, 252. And by the Crown, 294. And by Lord Minto, 295

Peshwa, the authority of the, established by Ballajee Wishwanath, 97. Extinguished by Lord Hastings, 330

Pigot, Lord, Governor of Madras, placed in confinement by the Council; decision of the Court of Directors; his death, 192

Pindarees, their origin; their leaders, 304. Their system of plunder, 305. First inroad into the British districts, 306; Lord Minto's representations to the Court, 306. Lord Hastings's repeated representations, 318. Their expedition in 1815, 322. In 1816, 324. Lord Hastings takes the field, and exterminates them, 334

Pitt's India bill, its provisions, 213

Pondicherry founded, captured by the Dutch, restored at the peace, 112. Besieged by Admiral Boscawen without success, 117. Captured in 1761 by Coote and demolished, 132. Captured in 1779, 194. Captured in 1793, 229.

Pollock, General, forces the Khyber pass and reaches Jellalabad, 420. Evades Lord Ellenborough's orders to retire 424. Defeats Akbar Khan, at Tezeen; occupies Cabul, 427

Portuguese, double the Cape, 106. Vasco de Gama discovers India at Calicut, 107. Second expedition under Cabral; third expedition under Vasco, 108. Almeyda defeats the Egyptian and Guzeratee squadrons, 109. Albuquerque Viceroy, founds Goa, establishes Portuguese authority over 12,000 miles of sea coast; superseded and dies, 110. The Portuguese occupy Ceylon, and Macao in China, 110. They are established in Bengal, 111. Resist the whole Mahomedan power of the Deccan, 111. They shrink into insignificance, 111

Pottinger, Lieut. afterwards Major, his defence of Herat, 393. Envoy at Cabul, on the assassination of Sir W. Macnaghten, makes a new treaty, 415. Delivered up as a hostage, 416. His energy at Bameean, 423

Press, liberty of, destroyed by Mr. Adam, 346. Its condition under Lord Amherst and Lord W. Bentinck, 383. Its freedom legalised by Sir C. Metcalfe, 383

Procession of the captured Sikh guns, 453

Punjab; Jeypal, king of, defeated by Subuktgeen, 19. Consolidated under Runjeet Sing, 290. Revolutions on his death, 443. The army becomes all powerful, 444. And murders the prime

SAT

minister, and plunders Golab Sing, and Moolraj, 445. Ranee Jhindun regent, launches the army on the British territories, 446. The four engagements, 451. Sir Henry Hardinge enters it, and confiscates the Cis Sutlej province and Julunder, and alienates Cashmere, 453. Treaty of 9th March, 1846, and of December, 454. Revolts in 1848, 460. Conquered a second time and annexed, 469. Admirable administration under Lord Dalhousie; suppression of slavery, dacoity and thuggee, 471. Roads, canals, and other improvements, 471. Loyalty during the mutiny; contributes to the suppression of it, 509

RAILWAYS, projected by Sir Macdonald Stephenson; encouraged by Lord Hardinge, 485. Organised by Lord Dalhousie; his memorable minute, 485. State railways projected by Lord Mayo, 530

Rajpootana, desolated by Holkar and Ameer Khan, and invokes British protection, 284. Which is granted by Lord Hastings, 327

Rajpoots, their early struggles with the Mahomedans, 41. Defeated by Baber, 46. Join Akbar, and fight for him, 53. Their struggles with Aurungzebe, 85

Ramayun, the epic, its legends, 6

Ramu, his birth and exploits, his expedition to Lunka or Ceylon, 7

Rana Sanga, raja of Oodypore; his extensive power, and his army, 41. Defeated by Baber, 46

Ravunu, the sovereign of Lunka slain by Ramu, 7

Red Sea, expedition to, 253

Rent free tenures, their origin and character, 359. Resumption completed by Lord William Bentinck, 359

Roe, Sir Thomas, envoy to the Mogul court 65

Rose, Sir Hugh, his campaign during the mutiny in Central India, 513

Runjeet Sing, consolidates his power in the Punjab, 290. Makes inroads into Sirhind; Mr. Metcalfe obliges him to retire, 292. He signs the treaty of Umritsir, 293. Annexes Cashmere, Mooltan, and the Derajat, 367. French officers discipline his army, 368. He is defeated at Noushera, 368. Sends a present of a shawl tent to the Queen of England; receives a present of dray horses in return, 369. His power and resources in 1830, 369. Meeting with Lord William Bentinck at Roopur, 370. Seizes Peshawur, 385. His designs on Sinde defeated, 386. Signs the tripartite treaty, 391. His death and character, 399

SAMBAJEE, son of Sevajee, succeeds him, his worthless character; barbarously murdered by Aurungzebe, 90

Satara, a portion of the Peshwa's territory,

SEE

granted to the family of Sevajee, 340. On the failure of heirs, it is annexed to the Company's territories, 477

Seeta, the wife of Ramu, carried off by Ravunu, recovered by her husband, 7

Seetabuldee, battle of, 332

Seraj-ood-dowlah, soobadar of Bengal, sacks Calcutta, 147. Defeated by Colonel Clive at Dumdum, 150. His intolerable oppressions; conspiracy against him, 150. Is defeated at Plassy and flies; is brought back and murdered by Meerun, 152

Serampore Missionaries, their labours interdicted on account of the Vellore mutiny, 288

Serefray Khan, soobadar of Bengal, supplanted by Aliverdy Khan, 145

Seringapatam captured, 246

Sepoys, their chronic insubordination; cause of disaffection in 1856, 491

Sevajee, founder of Mahratta greatness; his birth and early exploits, 78. His conquests, and strength of his army, at the age of 35; ravages the Mogul territories, 80. Plunders Surat, 81. Strikes the coin in his own name; he creates a fleet; signs the convention of Poorundur, 81. Origin of the chout, 82. Proceeds to the emperor's court; is beleaguered, and escapes, 82. Revises his institutions, 82. Proclaims his independence and is crowned, 85. His expedition to the south and his fanaticism, 86. His death and character, 87

Shah Alum, emperor, as Ali Gohur, endeavours to recover Bengal, is defeated by Colonel Calliaud, 154. Cedes the Dewanee to the Company, 161. Blinded by Gholam Khadir, 230. Rescued from misery by Lord Lake, 268

Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, his origin and progress; obtains the jagheers of Poona and other districts; his expedition to the south, where he acquires jagheers, 77

Shah Jehan, the valiant son of Jehangeer, 65. He revolts and is defeated; reconciled to his father, 66. And ascends the throne, 69. His extravagant expenditure, 69. Commences war in the Deccan, 69. Extinguishes the kingdom of Ahmednugur; subjects Beejapore to tribute; recovers Candahar, 70. Unsuccessful expedition to Balkh; loses an army in the Afghan passes; loses Candahar, 71. His four sons and their characters, 72. His serious illness, 72. Struggles for the throne, 73. His recovery, but too late; Aurungzebe enters the capital and deposes him, 74. Survives the deposition six years; his character, his magnificence; the peacock throne; his admirable administration, and immense wealth, 74

Shao, chief of the Mahrattas, 96

Shelton, Brigadier, his abominable temper, and its deplorable effects, 411

Shere Shah, establishes the Soor dynasty, 47. Defeats the king of Bengal; defeats Humayoon at Cunouge, and mounts the

SIN

throne of Delhi, 48. His cruelty at Raiseen; captures Chittore; killed at Callinger; his character, and extraordinary genius, 49

Shere Sing, deserts to Moolraj, 460. Proclaims war against the English, 460. Fights General Thackwell at Sadoolapore, 462. Fights Lord Gough at Chillianwallah, 465. Defeated at Guzerat, 467

Shore, Sir John, opposes the Permanent Settlement, 227. Becomes Governor-General, 233. His feeble policy in the affairs of the Nizam, 234. He quails before the second mutiny of the European officers, and is superseded, 237. His courage in dealing with the affairs of Oude, 238. Created a peer on his return to England, 239

Sikhs, their origin, a religious sect, and political commonwealth; their spiritual guides; driven back by Bahadoor Shah to their hills, 95

Sinde, subjugated by the Mahomedans, 18. Submits to the emperor Akbar, 57. Treaty with Lord William Bentinck, 371. The Ameers coerced by Lord Auckland, 396. Treated unjustly by Sir Charles Napier, 432. Defeated at Meeanee, 435. Sindie annexed by Lord Ellenborough; remarks on the transaction, 435

Sindia, rise of the family, 101. Mahdajee, totally defeated by Colonel Camac, 188. Makes peace with Hastings, 190. Negotiates the treaty of Salbye which increases his consequence, 190. Becomes minister and commander-in-chief of the emperor, and obtains possession of the Doab, 229. Plunders the Rajpoots; defeated by them; defeats them, 230. De Boigne organises a great Sepoy army, 231. Sindia proceeds to Poona, becomes all powerful with the young Peshwa, 231. De Boigne defeats Holkar; death of Sindia, 232

Sindia, Dowlut Rao, defeated by Holkar; defeats Holkar, 261. Joins the Peshwa, and defeated by Holkar at Poona, 262. Joins the raja of Nagpore against the English, 264. Ahmednugur captured by General Wellesley; battle of Assye 266. General Lake captures Allygurh, 267. Beats Sindia's troops at Laswaree, and at Delhi, 268. Reduced to extremities, he signs the treaty of Sirjee Anjengau, 270. His hostile attitude on the failure of the siege of Bhurtpore, 275. Resolves, in conjunction with Nagpore, to absorb Bhopal; Lord Hastings prevents it, 319. Agrees to assist in rooting out the Pindarees, 325. New treaty forced on him by Lord Hastings, 329. Dies in 1827, 437. State of the Cabinet in 1843; the army domineer over the Government, 437. Lord Ellenborough insists on its disbandment 439. Battles of Maharajpore and Punnar, 440. New treaty, 441. The 5th Sindia obliged to fly from Gwalior

SLA

- during the mutiny; restored to his throne, 515
- Slave dynasty, its establishment, 27. Its extinction, 30
- Sleeman Major, suppresses the Thugs, 376. Reports on the state of Oude, 481
- Sobraon, battle of, 451
- Somnath, its magnificent temple despoiled by Mahmood of Ghuzni, 22
- Soojah, Shah Jehan's second son, viceroy of Bengal; his struggles for the throne, is defeated; flies to Arracan and is put to death, 73
- Stuart General, at Madras, his dilatory conduct on the death of Hyder, 201. At length marches to Cuddalore; is baffled by the genius of Bussy, 202. Rescued from peril by the peace between France and England; put under arrest at Madras, 202
- Subuktugeen, ruler of Ghuzni, attacked by Jeypal and defeats him, 19
- Suffrein, the great French admiral, fights four battles with the English; all indecisive, 199
- Sumachar Durpun, the first native printed newspaper, 338
- Supreme Court; its establishment, its encroachments on the Government, which is paralysed, 206. Interposition of Parliament, 206. Amalgamated with the Sudder Court, 525
- Syud Ahmed, a Mahomedan fanatic, obtains possession of Peshawur, but is expelled, 368
- Syuds, dynasty of the, 37

- TAJ MEHAL, built by Shah Jehan as a mausoleum for his queen, 74
- Tallikotta, great battle of; destroys Hindoo power in the Deccan, 59
- Tanjore, the principality founded by Shahjee, 77. Besieged by Lally, but the siege raised, 130. First interference of the Madras authorities, 118. At the instance of Mahomed Ali they fleece the raja and depose him; the Court of Directors restore him, 191
- Tantia Topce superintends the massacre of the Europeans at Cawnpore, 502. Marches to relieve Jhansi; defeated by Sir Hugh Rose, 514. Takes possession of Gwalior, 515. Is chased, captured, and executed, 519
- Teetoo Meer's insurrection near Calcutta, 361
- Telingana, Hindoo kingdom in the Deccan, 16
- Thackwell, General, fights Shere Sing at Sadoollapore, 463
- Timur, or Tamerlane, invades India, 36. Defeats the emperor; lets his soldiery loose on Delhi for five days; proclaims himself emperor and recrosses the Indus, 37
- Tippoo, plunders the garden-houses of the Madras gentry, 169. He invests

WEL

- Mangalore, and captures it after a siege of nine months, 203. Attacks the lines of the raja of Travancore, an ally of the English, 219. Lord Cornwallis declares war; first campaign abortive, 220. Second campaign fails, 221. The third successful, and Tippoo resigns half his territory and pays three crores, 223. His hostility to the English; the Mauritius proclamation, 240. Lord Wellesley takes the field against him; he makes a stand at Malavelly, 245. Is besieged at Seringapatam; the town captured; Tippoo killed, and his dynasty extinguished, 246
- Toder Mull, raja, Akbar's great finance minister, 62
- Toghluk Ghazee, founds the Toghluk dynasty, 33
- Toghluk Mahomed, his accomplishments; his military skill; his insane eccentricities, 33. Extends his power beyond all previous princes, 33. Sends an army to China which perishes; endeavours to remove the capital to Dowlutabad, 34. His caprices create insurrections; Bengal revolts; the whole of the Deccan revolts, 35. The dynasty decays, and four independent kingdoms established, 35
- Toghluk Feroze, extraordinary number of his edifices, 35

- UGNI KOOLS, the allegory of the, 12
- Umbeyla campaign, 526

VEDUS, the, 3

- Vellore mutiny, its cause, 286
- Vikram-aditya, his grandeur; his patronage of literature, 13

- WELLESLEY, Lord, Governor-General, 239. Condition of India, 239. Tippoo's hostile proclamation, 240. Resolves to coerce him; orders the Madras army into the field; its weakness, 241. He breaks up the policy of isolation; negotiates with the Nizam, 242. Extinguishes the French force at Hyderabad, 243. Seringapatam captured, and Hyder's dynasty extinguished, 246. Mediatizes the nabob of the Carnatic, 251. Sends an expedition to Egypt, 253. Takes over half the Oude territory, 255. Concludes the treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa, 262. Encourages private trade, 257. Establishes the college of Fort William, 256. Censured by the Directors, resigns, 258. Is asked to remain another year; consequences of this request, 259. War with Sindia, and the raja of Nagpore, 263. War with Holkar, 272. Alarm at home, 276. He is superseded, 276. Character of his administration, 277. Condemned

WEL

by the Court of Proprietors, 278. The censure reversed thirty years after, 278
 Wellesley, General, pursues Dhondia Waug, 249. Captures Ahmednugur, 266. Beats Sindia at Assye, 266. And the raja of Nagpore at Argaum, 269

WIL

Windham, General, his disaster at Cawnpore extricated by Sir Colin Campbell, 512
 Wilson, Mr. James, financial member of Council, 524. His financial measures, 524
 Wilson, Brigadier, captures Delhi, 510

A D D E N D A.

- Afghanistan, agreement as to boundaries of, between England and Russia, 531. Unsettled state of, 532. Russian embassy received at Cabul, 535. English embassy turned back, 535. Ultimatum despatched, and war declared against, 535. Capture of Ali Musjid, Jellalabad, and Candahar, 536
 Baroda, corrupt administration of Gaikwar of, 532. Attempts to poison British Resident, 532. He is deposed, 532
 Bengal and Behar, threatened famine in 1874, 531
 Bombay, famine in 1877, and great loss of life, 534. Generous efforts in England, 534
 Browne, General Sir Samuel, captures Ali Musjid, 536
 Buckingham and Chandos, Duke of, appointed Governor of Madras, 533
 Campbell, Sir George, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, his precautionary measures against threatened famine in Bengal and Behar, 531. Receives the approval of Viceroy and Home Government, 531
 Cavagnari, Major, concludes a treaty with Yakooob Khan, 536. Is knighted, 536. His murder, along with the members of the embassy, 537
 Empress of India, assumption of title of, by her Majesty the Queen, 534. Proclaimed at Delhi on 1st January 1877, 534. Release of 16,000 prisoners, 534
 Hobart, Lord, Governor of Madras, his able administration, 532. His death in 1875, 532
 Indian railways taken over by English Government, 537
 Jowakis, expedition against the, 535
 Jung Bahadoor of Nepal, his death, 535
 Khiva, Russian expedition in 1873 against, 530. Surrender of the Khan, and submission to the Czar, 530
 Lytton, Lord, Governor-General, 533. Cotton duties gradually repealed, 533
 Madras, famine in, 1877, with great loss of life, 534. Liberal assistance from England towards relief, 534
 Mulhar Rao, Gaikwar of Baroda, corrupt administration of, 532. Attempts to poison the British Resident, 532. Deposed after trial by a commission, 532
 Napier, Lord, Governor of Madras, succeeds by law to Lord Mayo, as Governor-General, 530
 Native soldiers sent to Malta, 535
 Northbrook, Lord, appointed Governor-General in 1872, 530. His qualities as a statesman, 530. Declines to assist the Khivans against Russia, 530. Employs sufferers by the famine on public works, 531. Differences with the Secretary of State as to the Tariff Act, 533. Censured by Lord Salisbury, 533. Retirement from office, 533. Rewarded with an earldom, 533
 Roberts, General, occupies Peiwar Pass, 536. Captures Cabul, 537. Evacuates the city and occupies Sherpur, 537
 Russia and England, agreement between, as to boundaries of Afghanistan, 531
 Shere Ali Khan, Ameer of Afghanistan, banishes his eldest son, 532. Receives a Russian embassy at Cabul, 535. Declines to receive an English embassy, 535. War declared against him, 535. His flight from Cabul, and death at Balkh, 536
 Stewart, General, captures Candahar, 536
 Strachey, Sir John, Finance Minister, proposes a tax for emergencies of famine, 534
 Temple, Sir Richard, his successful measures to counteract the famine in 1874, 531. Gigantic nature of the transport employed, 531
 Wales, Prince of, visits India in 1875, 533. Visits Maharajahs of Madras, 533. Presides over investiture of Star of India at Calcutta, 533. Enters Delhi in state, 533. Visits Nepal, the Maharajahs of Puttiala and Gwalior, and Holkar at Indore, 533. Embarks at Bombay on 13th March, 533. His letter to Lord Northbrook, 533
 Yakooob Khan, succeeds his father as Ameer of Afghanistan, 532. Treaty concluded with, 536. His flight to the British camp, 537. His throne declared forfeited, and made a prisoner of state, 537

161, 162 *Parade of English Poets - 1611*

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