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CASSELL'S

ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

JAMES GRANT,

Author of "British Battles on Land and Sea," &c.



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VOL. I.

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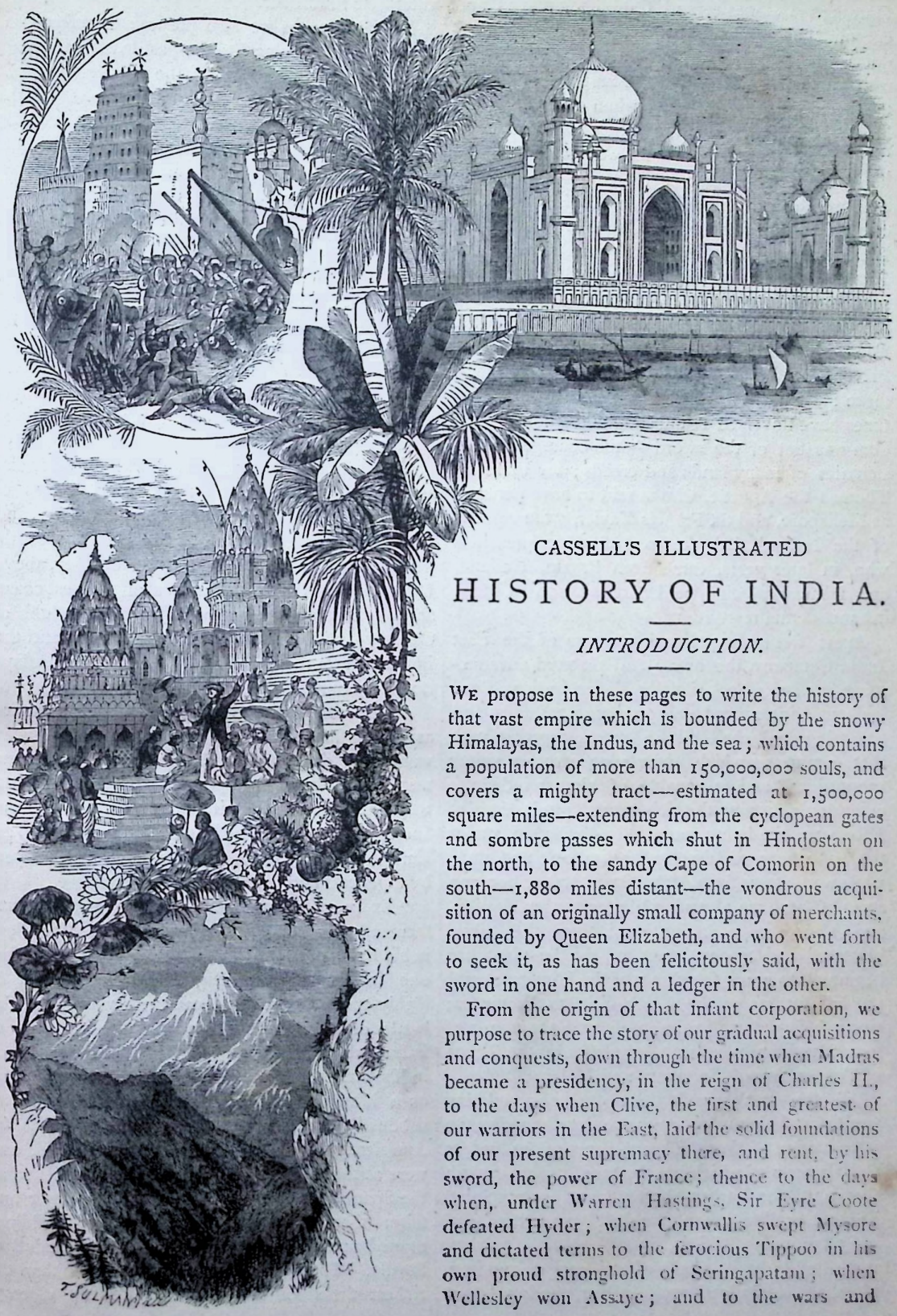


CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

We propose in these pages to write the history of that vast empire which is bounded by the snowy Himalayas, the Indus, and the sea; which contains a population of more than 150,000,000 souls, and covers a mighty tract—estimated at 1,500,000 square miles—extending from the cyclopean gates and sombre passes which shut in Hindostan on the north, to the sandy Cape of Comorin on the south—1,880 miles distant—the wondrous acquisition of an originally small company of merchants, founded by Queen Elizabeth, and who went forth to seek it, as has been felicitously said, with the sword in one hand and a ledger in the other.

From the origin of that infant corporation, we purpose to trace the story of our gradual acquisitions and conquests, down through the time when Madras became a presidency, in the reign of Charles II., to the days when Clive, the first and greatest of our warriors in the East, laid the solid foundations of our present supremacy there, and rent, by his sword, the power of France; thence to the days when, under Warren Hastings, Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder; when Cornwallis swept Mysore and dictated terms to the ferocious Tippoo in his own proud stronghold of Seringapatam; when Wellesley won Assaye; and to the wars and

treaties of more recent years, when, in succession, Hardinge, Dalhousie, and Canning annexed and consolidated under our sway four extensive kingdoms—the Punjaub and Pegu, Oude and Nagpore, with all their cities and fortresses; and down to the horrors of the Mutiny, when the pious and heroic Havelock, Neill, Campbell, and Outram—"the Bayard of India," as he was named by the lion-hearted conqueror of Scinde—so terribly avenged the destruction of our people, and when, eventually, the title of the Queen of the British Isles, as Empress of India, was proclaimed in the Palace of Delhi by the heroic Wilson and his soldiers, after the two last descendants of the Great Mogul had perished under Hodson's hand in the Tomb of Hoomaion.

Nor shall we forget, in the course of our history, those other brave men, who in remote and perilous times have traversed Hindostan, and whose "kingdom was not of the sword"—the courageous missionaries of many lands and creeds; for there St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have perished at Meliapore, and St. Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies," led the van of those preachers who, in later years, came from Britain, Holland, and Denmark, facing peril and toil, and in many instances cruel martyrdom.

Apart from the political progress of the East India Company, the moral and material advancement of India (so signally shown when Lord Dalhousie introduced cheap postage, railways, and the telegraph) shall all be traced, together with that commerce which every year assumes vaster proportions, and is capable of almost indefinite extension; for now the rich natural productions of Hindostan are being more fully developed, under the appliances of Western civilisation; and thus, while wool comes from Afghanistan, and 24,000,000 acres of land are already under cotton cultivation, and 1,000,000 acres under indigo, the silver blossoms and tender leaves of the tea-plant are beginning to cover the slopes of the Himalayas and the hill-districts of the North-Western Provinces; rice is being grown in the south, and thousands of logs of teak are now furnished yearly by the forests of Tenasserim, of Martaban, and Malabar.

All the vast means there for accumulating wealth are being more and more developed by the introduction of those railways, some of the bridges and viaducts of which are the most magnificent in the world; and when the ten great contemplated lines are finally complete, we shall have a grand total of 5,859 miles. Then, indeed, will the mineral wealth of India, its mines of coal, copper, and iron, plumbago and lead, gold, silver, and precious stones, be more fully developed, and European enterprise rewarded.

In these pages we also propose to refer occasionally, in their place, to the past historical events of India, without wearying the reader by much of barbarous dynastic record; and also to the wonderful vegetable productions of that teeming land, and the marvels of its native architecture, the remains of its mosques and tombs, and rock-hewn temples, from the vast fabrics of the Patans, who, as Bishop Heber says, built like giants but finished their work like jewellers, to the more elegant and luxurious red-and-white marble palaces of the Moguls, and other princes.

Our vital interests in India are great beyond all doubt, as it affords—and for ages, let us hope, may continue to do so—the most ample arena for that exertion, honest enterprise, and hardy valour, which, when combined, make a character so essentially British.

We do not, as yet, possess the whole of India, as two other nations still retain some places of but small value—the French at Pondicherry and Carical on the east coast, at Mahé on the south-west, and at Chandernagore on the Hooghley, above Calcutta; the Portuguese at Goa, on the west coast, and at Diu, on the north, between the Gulfs of Cambay and Cutch; while the Looshais, and the Bhotanese on the southern slopes of the Himalaya range, are fast coming under our sway.

A subject so attractive and of such importance as India, has caused the production of several works, by distinguished soldiers and statesmen, many of whom bore important parts in the events they describe. Yet, with all this interest in our Indian possessions, which in extent are equal to all Europe without Russia, we have much to learn yet, by a general and comprehensive history.

"Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and strangled Atahualpa," says Macaulay, in his Essay on Lord Clive; "but we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly-cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Surajah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the Cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz; viceroys

whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry, and trains of artillery, which would have astonished the Great Captain; so it might be expected that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history, would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years one of the greatest empires in the world."

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF GLANCE AT ANCIENT INDIA AND THE FORMATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

LONG before the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, the Greeks had travelled there in search of knowledge; for there, more than two thousand four hundred years ago, says Voltaire, "the celebrated Pilpay wrote his Moral Fables, that have since been translated into almost all languages. All subjects whatever have been treated by way of fable or allegory by the Orientals, and particularly the Indians." Hence it is that Pythagoras, who studied among them, and Pachimerus, a Greek of the thirteenth century, expressed themselves in the spirit of Indian parables.

India, on this side of the Ganges, had long been subject to the Persians, and Alexander, the avenger of Greece and the conqueror of Darius, led his army into that part of India which had been tributary to his enemy. Though his soldiers were averse to penetrate into a region so remote and unknown, Alexander had read in the ancient fables of Macedonia that Bacchus and Hercules, each a son of Jupiter, as he believed himself to be, had marched as far, so he determined not to be outdone by them, and thus the year B.C. 327 saw his legions entering India by what is now called the Candahar route, the common track of the ancient caravans from Northern India to Agra and Ispahan. Encountering incredible difficulties, and surmounting innumerable dangers, he marched across "the Land of the Five Waters," now named the Punjaub, to the banks of the Hydaspes (a tributary of the Indus) and the Hyphasis. "No country," says Robertson in his "Historical Disquisitions," "he had hitherto visited, was so populous and well cultivated, or abounded in so many valuable productions of nature and of art, as that part of India through which he led his army; but when he was informed in every place, and probably with exaggerated description, how much the Indus was inferior to the Ganges, and how far all that he had hitherto beheld, was surpassed in the happy regions through which that great river flows, it is not wonderful that his eagerness to view and take possession of them should have prompted him to assemble his soldiers, and propose that they should resume their march towards that quarter where wealth, dominion, and fame awaited them."

But after the erection of twelve stupendous altars on the bank of the river, he found himself by the pressure of circumstances compelled to issue orders for retiring back to Persia. Collecting a numerous fleet of galleys, built of pines, firs, and cedars, he descended to the mouth of the Indus, where his army and fleet parted company. He marched with the troops by land, while Nearchus, who wrote an account of the voyage, sailed with the galleys through an ocean till then unknown. He went by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, while Alexander was traversing the deserts of Gedrosia, now called Beloochistan.

By this expedition of the adventurous Greeks, a sudden light was thrown upon the vast nations of the East, though the accounts given by Nearchus of all he saw—the serpents, the banian-tree, the birds that spoke like men (unless he meant the parrots)—were greatly exaggerated.

Alexander left behind some of his hardiest Macedonians to keep possession of the conquered country on the banks of the Indus, but his death, which happened shortly after his retreat, hastened the downfall of the Persian power in Hindostan, though it was not quite annihilated. Seleucus, the holder of Upper Asia, on the death of his warlike master, marched into those countries which had been subdued, partly to establish his own authority and partly to curb the King of Maghada, with whom eventually he concluded an amicable treaty by giving him his daughter in marriage on receiving fifty elephants; and from this time till nearly two hundred years after, we hear no more of Indian affairs. With all the exaggerations of early writers, if, says Elphinstone in his history, "we discard the fables derived from Grecian mythology, and those that are contrary to the course of nature, we shall find more reason to admire the accuracy of these early writers,

than to wonder at the mistakes into which they fell, in a country so new and different from their own, and where they had everything to learn by means of interpreters, generally through the medium of more languages than one."

Strabo and others refer to the Indian sects of philosophers, and the peculiar lives led by the Brahmins, together with the feats of those half-crazed ascetics called "fakirs;" of the self-immolation named the "suttee," and those magnificent and wonderful fairs, festivals, and gatherings for religious purposes, which successive foreign conquests, and the mingling of foreign blood, have all left to-day unchanged, as when the trumpets of the Macedonians proclaimed the fall of Porus.

During those dark ages that followed the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, the Oriental trade with Europe, small though it was, became greatly diminished, but some of the productions of the East had become necessary for, and consecrated to, the services of the Church. "Even in our remote island of Great Britain, and in the poor semi-barbarous Saxon period, the venerable Bede had collected in his bleak northern monastery at Jarrow some of the spices and scented woods of the East. At the dawn of our civilisation under Alfred the Great, English missionaries are said to have found their way to the coast of Malabar."

There, in the sixth century, a merchant of Syria settled with his family and left his religion, which was Nestorian, and as these Eastern sectaries multiplied, they called themselves Christians of St. Thomas.

Vasco de Gama's discovery of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, where, according to Camoëns, he saw the Spirit of the Mountain and the Storm, led to a great commercial revolution; the Eastern trade, which hitherto had its emporiums at Constantinople, Venice, and Amalfi, and whither goods were conveyed from India, Persia, and Asia Minor, or by the way of the Red Sea, was turned into the Deccan and a new channel. Hence the most valuable part of that important trade was placed in the hands of the Portuguese merchants and conquerors, who, by holding the Straits of Malacca, secured the commerce of the Indian Archipelago, and monopolised it for all Europe during the sixteenth century, till on the English, Dutch, and French beginning to find their way round the dreaded "Cape of Storms," and to appear on the shores of India, the Portuguese lost their influence as rapidly as they won it.

In 1588, the year of the Armada, one of the bravest navigators of the Elizabethan age, Captain Thomas Cavendish, returned after a two years' exploration of the Molucca Isles, where he had been kindly treated by the natives, who assured him that they were quite as willing to trade with the English as with the Portuguese. He and others applied for a small squadron for India, but the English Government did not think the subject deserving of consideration.

The first genuine English expedition to India partook more of the warlike and piratical than the commercial element, and was rather a species of cruise against the Portuguese.

It was fitted out in 1591, under Captains George Raymond and James Lancaster, and consisted of three large ships, the *Penelope*, *Merchant-Royal*, and *Edward-Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April.* Storms and tempests, shipwreck and other disasters, attended this expedition, which never saw India, and after more than three years of perilous wandering in unknown seas, Lancaster, almost the sole survivor, landed at Rye on the 20th of May, 1694, a ruined man.

As another example of the danger and uncertainty of voyaging by unexplored seas and shores in those days, when navigation was in its infancy, and superstition invested unknown lands with more than material perils, we may mention the expedition of Captain Wood, who sailed from London for the East Indies in 1591 with three vessels, the *Bear*, *Bear's-whelp*, and *Benjamin*. He was bearer of a letter from Queen Elizabeth vaguely addressed to the Emperor of China. Every species of disaster attended his little squadron, which, instead of finding the East Indies, was driven to the West, where the last survivor was heard of at Puerto Rico, in 1601.

It was not until the great Sir Francis Drake captured five large Portuguese caravels, laden with the rich products of India, belonging to certain merchants of Turkey and the Levant, and brought from Bengal, Agra, Lahore, Pegu and Malacca—and undoubted intelligence of the wealth of the country had begun to flow in through other channels—that any anxiety was manifested by the English to participate in the riches of the East; and on the departure of the first Dutch expedition in 1595, under Cornelius Hootman, their national pride and rivalry were thoroughly roused.

In one of those five caravels taken at the Azores, named the *St. Philip*, there were found many papers and documents, from which the English fully learned the vast value of Indian merchandise, and also the method of trading in the Eastern world.†

Accordingly a company was suggested for that

* Camden and Hakluyt. † Camden.

purpose, in September, 1599, the petitioners being Sir John Hart, Sir John Spencer, knights of London; Sir Edward Mitchellson, William Candish, Esq., Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Holiday, John Watts, John More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Cambell, citizens and aldermen of London; and upwards of two hundred more, being those "of suche persons as have written with there owne handes, to venter in the pretended voiage to the Easte Indias (the whiche it maie please the Lorde to prosper), and the somes they will adventure: xxij Septumber, 1599."

Such was the origin of that wonderful commercial body of merchants, who in time to come were to carry the British colours to the slopes of the Himalayas, to Burmah, Ava, Java, and through the gates of Pekin.

The sum subscribed amounted to £30,133 6s. 8d., and a committee of fifteen was deputed to manage it. They were formed into "a body corporate and politic" by the title of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies."

On the 16th of October, the queen having signified her approbation of their views, the committee began to exert themselves to procure armed vessels for the expedition, when suddenly—Spain having become desirous of peace—the whole affair was nearly crushed by the queen's approval being withdrawn, as she feared the voyage might give umbrage to Spain. Eventually, on the 31st of December, a Royal Charter of Privileges was given to the company of merchant adventurers, but conditionally for fifteen years only.*

Thomas Smith, alderman of the city of London, was named the first governor, with twenty-four members as a committee; and the space over which they were empowered to trade was of mighty extent, as it included Asia, Africa, and even America, with all cities and ports therein, and beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan.

The spring of 1601 saw the expedition in readiness at Woolwich, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, the unfortunate survivor of that squadron which left Plymouth in 1591.

It consisted of only four vessels; the *Red Dragon*, of 600 tons; the *Hector*, of 300 tons; the *Swan*, of the same tonnage; and the *Guest*, a victualling ship of 130 tons. They had on board in all 550 men, well furnished with arms, ammunition, and food, and had with them money and goods to the value of £20,000 as a trading stock.

The Woolwich of that day was little more than a hamlet with a church, having a square tower and double aisles, on a bare green eminence, northward of which lay an old dock built by Henry VIII., and its inhabitants were chiefly fishermen; but we may easily imagine the excitement with which the gathered crowds on shore, and in craft on the river, must have watched the departure of Lancaster and his shipmates, when, on that eventful 15th of May, 1601, these four little vessels dropped down the Thames on their voyage to that distant land of which the people had scarcely the least idea, but which they regarded with something of awe and mystery. "It is curious," says Macaulay, "to consider how little the two countries, destined to be one day so closely connected, were then known to each other. The most enlightened Englishmen looked on India with ignorant admiration. The most enlightened natives of India were scarcely aware that England existed. Our ancestors had a dim notion of endless bazaars, swarming with buyers and sellers, and blazing with cloth of gold, with variegated silks, and with precious stones; of treasuries where diamonds were piled in heaps, and sequins in mountains, of palaces compared with which Whitehall and Hampton Court were hovels, and of armies ten times as numerous as that which they had seen assembled at Tilbury to repel the Armada."

With such visions in their mind, and full of high hopes and aspirations, after a brief detention at Torbay, Lancaster's crews saw the white cliffs fade into the sea, and the 20th of June found them two degrees north of the line.

The first place they visited was the island of Sumatra, where they met a welcome reception. In the Malacca Straits, Lancaster captured a large Portuguese vessel having on board calico and spices sufficient to load all his ships, and on being thus suddenly enriched, he bore away for Bantam, in Java, where he left some agents—the first founders of the Company's factories, and sailing from thence for England, came safely to anchor in the Downs in September, 1603. James of Scotland had been crowned King of Great Britain three months before.

As three generations passed away before events seemed to indicate that the East India Company would ever become a great military and commercial power in Asia, a brief glance at its history will bring us to the reign of Charles II.

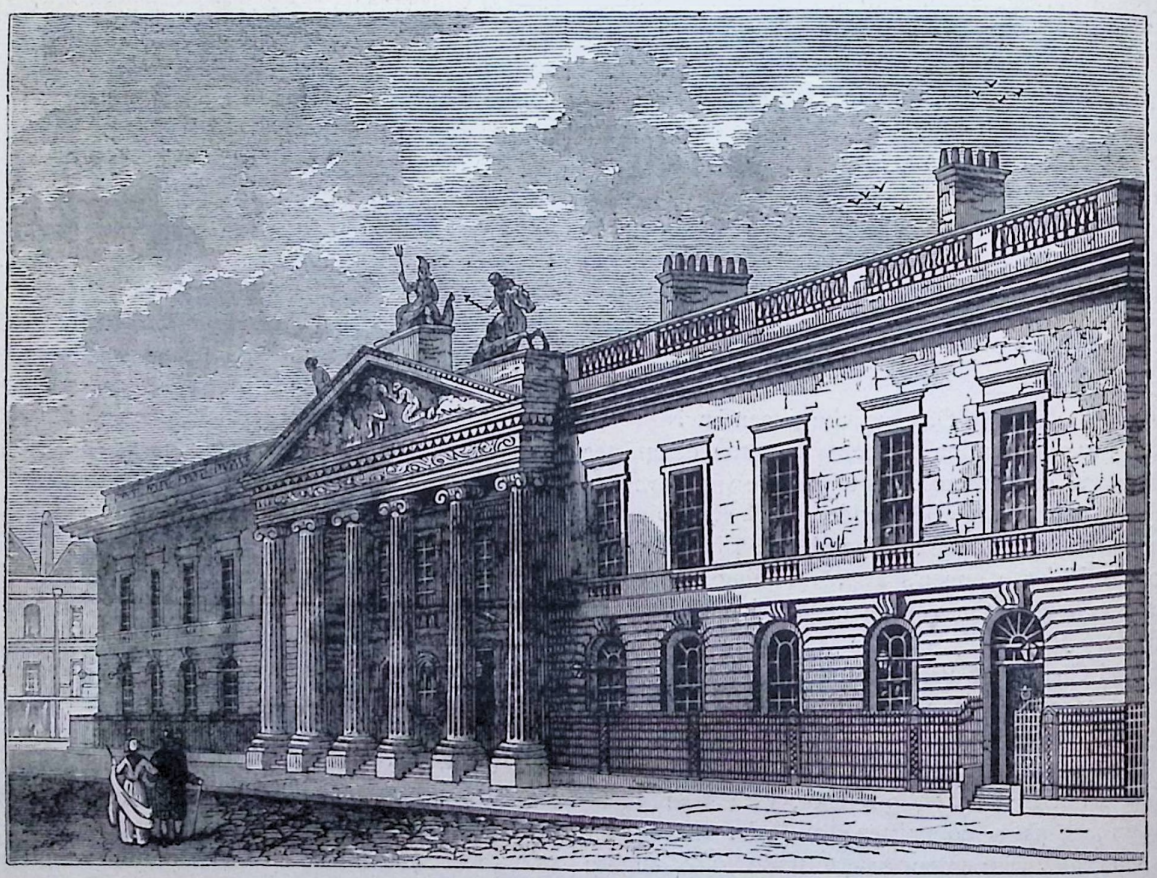
In 1609, the Company obtained a renewal of its charter for an undefined period, subject to its dissolution by government on a three years' notice; but before 1612, when a firman of the Mogul emperor confirmed the Company in certain privileges

* It is given at great length by Purchas at page 139, vol. i.

in the isles of the Indian Ocean, and on the continent of Hindostan, their ships had each made eight voyages to the East, realising enormous profits.

"Few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British Empire in India," says a historian. "It was in the course of 1612, in the reign of James, that the agents of the Company timidly established their first little factory at Surat. . . . At this period the of the Company for three years, he found all his diplomacy baffled by the intrigues of the Portuguese; he obtained some new privileges, however, and some petty territorial grants.

The Dutch, whose power in the Indian Seas far exceeded ours, were quite as jealous, and in their resolution to secure the lucrative trade in the Spice Islands, perpetrated a detestable outrage at Amboyna, a fertile isle in the Molucca group, where we had a little factory at Cambello, occupied by

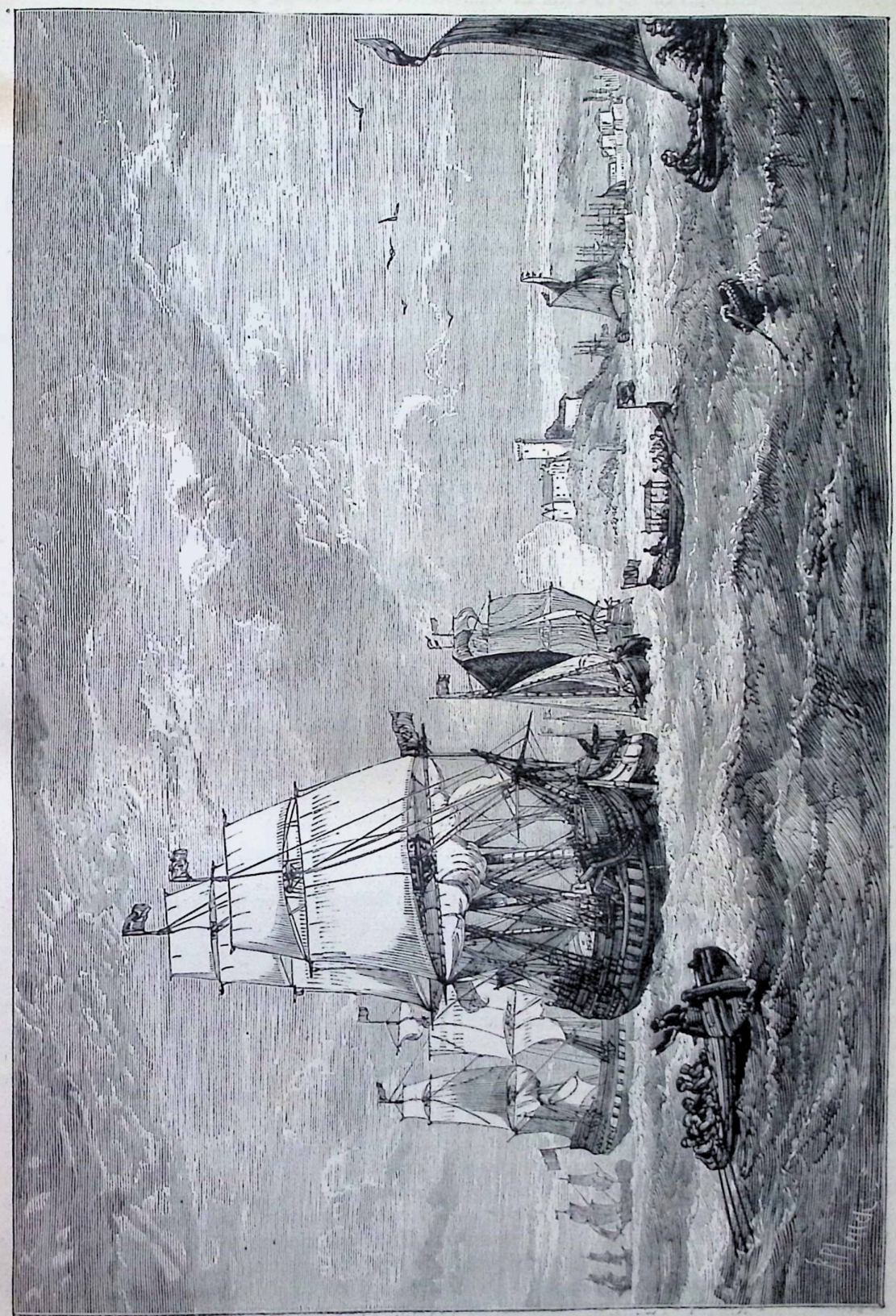


THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.

nominal sovereigns of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of a good part of it, were the Mohammedanised Mogul Tartars, a people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindoos, the aboriginal, or ancient inhabitants of the country."

At the solicitation of the Company, yet in its infancy, King James sent as ambassador to Delhi Sir Thomas Roe, in 1615. Landing at Surat with eighty English men-at-arms in their full panoply of steel, with trumpeters, banners, and considerable pomp, he marched across the country to Ajmere, where, on the 23rd of December, the Mogul emperor received him with unwonted ceremony; but though he remained as ambassador in the interests eighteen defenceless Englishmen. These were invited, in a most friendly manner, one evening in 1622, to visit the governor of a Dutch castle which was garrisoned by 200 soldiers. He suddenly closed the gates, accused them of a design to surprise his petty fortress, put them to the most dreadful tortures, and finally cut off the heads of ten.

A Portuguese and nine Japanese were decapitated as accomplices of the English, and this massacre was, according to the Abbé Raynal, neither resented nor punished until the time of Cromwell; so our trade in the Spice Isles was abandoned, and the affairs of the Company began to decline, though in 1623, on the 4th of February,



EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS LEAVING WOOLWICH.

another royal grant was made to them at Westminster.*

At this crisis, through the favour in which a Dr. Boughton stood with the Shah Jehan, they were authorised to make a new settlement on the Hooghley, and the ground on which Fort St. George and Madras now stand was obtained from a native prince. Thereon Mr. Francis Day instantly erected the fortress, and soon around it there sprang the town, to which the natives always resorted as the best place for trading; and therein they placed the money they acquired, to protect it from their native lords and princes.

During the great Civil War and the suspension of all trade, the East India Company sank into comparative obscurity; but in 1652, Cromwell reconfirmed its privileges, and to their peculiarity must be ascribed the growth of its political power in Hindostan. Upon payment of a very inconsiderable sum, they obtained from the native government of Bengal an unlimited right of trading throughout that province, without the payment of any duty.

On the 3rd of April, 1661, they obtained a new charter from Charles II., giving them authority to *make peace or war* with any prince or people "not being Christians;" and seven years subsequently, the isle of Bombay, which had been ceded by Portugal, as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine, was granted to the Company "in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, at an annual rent of £10 in gold on the 30th of September in each year." Soon after, the king granted the Company the isle of St. Helena, as a resting-place. In 1687, the Company, lured by the defensible nature of Bombay, transferred (says Bruce in his "Annals of the East India Company") the presidency over all their settlements thence, from Surat; and from that time the city, with its magnificent port, began to spread and increase steadily.

The Company did not get possession of the "island of Bombaim," as Mr. Pepys calls it, without some trouble, as the Portuguese, according to Dr. Fryar, refused to surrender it, until five English ships of war, under James Ley, Earl of Marlborough (who was killed in battle with the Dutch in 1665), appeared before it, and "landed 500 stout men, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, who was appointed generalissimo for the King of England on the Indian coast."

Our Indian trade was liable to frequent interruptions by the fierce wars among the natives, fermented in many instances by the Dutch and Portuguese; and these insane strifes, by weakening the Mogul empire, encouraged the English to relinquish the merely standing on their defence, and to become aggressive.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATION OF CALCUTTA AND FALL OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.—ANGRIA THE PIRATE, ETC.

In this spirit, in the year 1686, a Captain Nicholson, with ten armed vessels of from twelve to seventy guns each, having on board only six companies of infantry, 1,000 strong, proceeded up the Ganges, with orders to levy war against the Mogul emperor, the descendant of the mighty Tamerlane, the Nabob of Bengal!

This force was ridiculously small to be employed for either warlike or political purposes; but the totally undisciplined state of the Bengalese was fully considered. Nicholson's orders were to seize upon Chittagong, which had been the great emporium in the time of Ackbar, and was now held by the Rajah of Arracan. The interior is mountainous and still covered with jungle; but between the ranges are well-cultivated valleys, covered with olive, mango, orange and plantain trees.

On being joined by the Company's fleet, Nicholson found himself at the head of nineteen sail; but he managed matters so badly that he was beaten off by the cannon of Chittagong; on which the nabob, inflamed with fury, destroyed the English factories at Patna and Cossimbazar. Upon this, the Company sent out a large ship called the *Defence*, with a frigate, under Captain Heath, who had no better success than his predecessor. He arrived in Bengal in October, 1688, and came to anchor in Balasore Roads. The members of our factory there had been seized and imprisoned. Captain Heath opened a negociation for their release with the native governor, but was too impatient to await the result of it. He landed at the head of 160 soldiers, captured a thirty-gun battery, and plundered the town; but the result of these proceedings was, that the English prisoners were carried

* Rymer's "Fœdera."

into the interior, where they perished in hopeless captivity.

From Balasore, Heath now sailed to Chittagong, and after some fruitless negociations there, he went to Arracan, and finally arrived at Madras in March, 1689, with fifteen ships, on board of which was all that now remained to the Company of their once flourishing factories in Bengal. The irritated nabob vowed to expel the English everywhere from his dominions. Our factory at Surat was seized; the island of Bombay was environed by an Indian fleet; the factories at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were captured, and in the latter many of the Company's servants were put to cruel and lingering deaths; but, according to the histories of Mill and others, the treasury of the nabob began to sink low, and he and his ministers believing that, from their recent failures, the Company could never become sufficiently strong to be formidable, became open to friendly negociations.

Surat was restored with all that had been taken; but during our contests with the natives, our powerful enemies, the French, had won a footing in India, and established themselves at Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast, where they obtained a slip of land, five miles in length, from the King of Bejapore, and at once proceeded to fortify it, while sedulously cultivating the friendship of such native princes as were inimical to the English, who now saw the stern necessity for obtaining, by gold or steel, an extension of territory to render them independent of all native princes.

"The truth is," says Sir John Malcolm, "that from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength, which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger."

While Pondicherry was growing in strength, so far were the Company from being able to attempt its destruction, that they were unable to hold the sea against a French squadron of four ships, armed with twenty, forty, sixty, and sixty-six guns respectively, which hovered on the western coast of India, and captured one of their large ships within forty miles of Bombay. About this time Tegnapatam, a town and port not far from Pondicherry, was acquired by purchase from a native prince, and thereon the Company built a stronghold called Fort St. David. "It is rather curious," says Beveridge, "that while the French, with whom we were at war, allowed the Company quietly to fortify themselves in their immediate vicinity, the Dutch, our allies, manifested the utmost jealousy, and refused to recognise the right which the Company claimed, in virtue of their purchase, to levy harbour dues and customs."

About nine years later, more important acquisitions were made by the Company. Aurungzebe, the Mogul emperor, had made his son Assim Ooshaun, Viceroy of Bengal, and as the latter aspired to dethrone his father, as Aurungzebe had dethroned his, money was requisite for the scheme. Thus, for a good round sum he sold to the East India Company the zemindarships of Govindpore, Chutanutty, and Calcutta. The word *zemindar*, according to Grant's "Inquiry into the Nature of Zemindary Tenures" (1791), signifies a possessor or holder of land, without ascertaining the particular mode of tenure, or the interest in the lands holden. But in 1707, nine years after these territories were acquired, Fort William (so called in honour of the late reigning king) was finished, a town rose under its protection—the future "City of Palaces"—and the Company made Calcutta its presidency, and it rapidly rose to the dignity of being capital of British India.

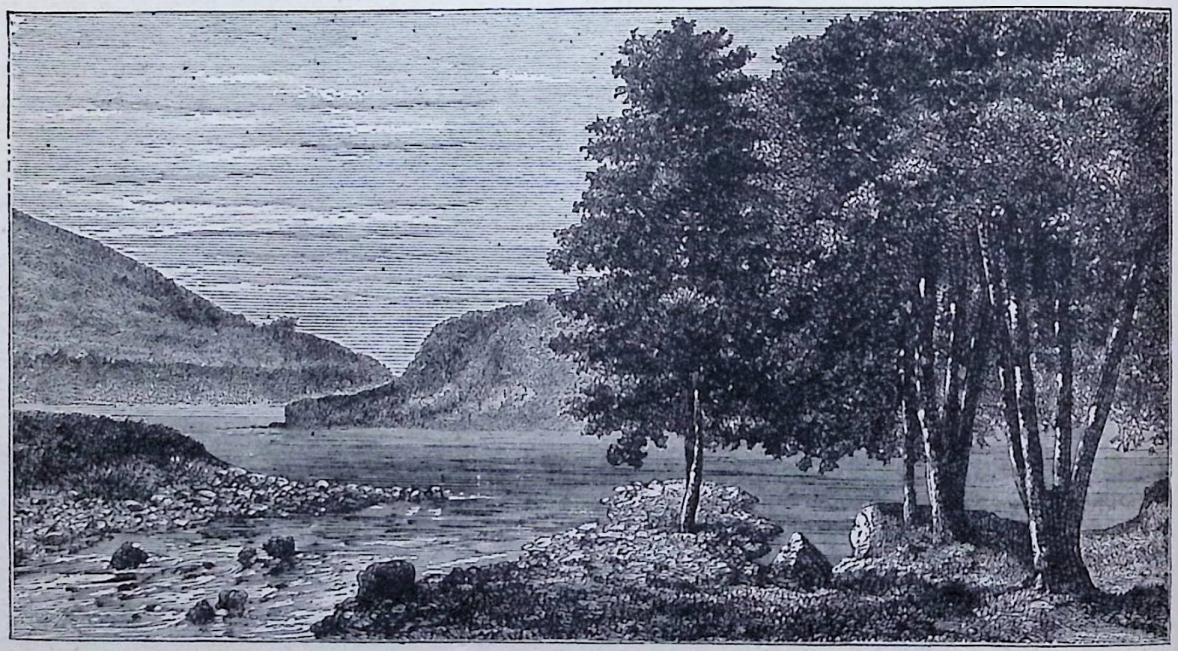
The actual founder of our settlement at Calcutta was Mr. Job Charnock, one of the first Englishmen who made a conspicuous figure in the political theatre of India, and who, it may literally be said, laid the first stone of the mighty fabric of our Eastern Empire; and his tombstone was long visible in the old cemetery of Calcutta. The Company had now a footing in Bengal, similar to that it already possessed at Madras and Bombay.

In 1693, King William had granted a new charter to the Company, under which it was required to augment its capital stock, then amounting to £756,000, to £1,500,000, and to export in every year British produce to the value of £100,000. But the power of the Crown to grant such a monopoly was questioned by the Commons, who passed a resolution declaring, "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or to any part of the world, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." In this situation the affairs of the Company remained until 1698, when, to obtain a charter conferring an exclusive right of trading to India, £2,000,000, at eight per cent., were offered to Government by a number of subscribers unconnected with the old Company, which, to maintain its privileges, had previously offered £700,000 at four per cent.

Thus were two East India Companies erected in the same kingdom, which could not but be very prejudicial to each other. A few private traders now began to speculate on their own risk, thus establishing a kind of third company. In 1702, these corporations were in a measure united by an indenture tripartite, to which the queen was the third party, and six years later saw them perfectly consolidated by Act of the first British Parliament, by their later name of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies."

From this period, the Company has occupied a station of vast importance in the commercial interests of this country; and an account of the various legislative provisions which have been made for its support and regulation may be found incorporated in most of the histories of England. At this period English and Scottish ships seem at times to have fought each other in Indian waters, as some of those sent from Edinburgh by the Darien Company were, after the ruin of that colony by the artifices of William III., attacked, and their crews treated as pirates. For acting thus, an English captain named Green, was seized in 1705, when in command of the *Worcester*, East Indiaman, in Burntisland harbour, together with thirteen of his crew, who were alleged to have been concerned in the murder of an entire Scottish crew in the Indian Seas. For this, after a due trial, Green and two of his crew were conducted to Leith, and there hanged, amid the execrations of an infuriated mob, on a gibbet within the high-water mark.* Before the Consolidating Bill had passed the Commons, the Great Mogul, Aurungzebe, a man whose heart never felt a generous sentiment or inspired that feeling in the heart of another—died, and fierce wars followed his death.

His son Azim, or Assim, was proclaimed emperor in Hindostan; his son Bahadur Shah seized the remote throne of Cabul, and marching down to Agra, at the head of the hardy Afghans, the ferocious Kyberees, and other tribes, defeated his rival in a severe battle, in which Azim and his two grown-up sons were slain, and his youngest, an infant, was captured.



RIVER VIEW IN RAJPOOTANA.

Scarcely was the sword sheathed, when a prince named Cambakah unfurled the standard of revolt in that spacious district named the Deccan, or "the South," a term applied by Hindoo writers to all that portion of Hindostan which lies to the south of the Nerbudda river; but in advancing, he was defeated and slain near Hyderabad.

Every event subsequent to this, by weakening the Mogul, tended to strengthen the Company's prospects of territorial aggrandisement; for though thus victorious, he was compelled to make a truce that was humbling and dishonourable with the plundering Mahrattas, and to stoop to a compromise with the Rajpoots. These were barely accomplished, when the fierce and fanatic Sikhs burst into his territories and ravaged them as far as Lahore on the one side, and the gates of Delhi on the other.

* Burton's "Trials."

In the towns captured, they massacred, with wanton barbarity, men, women, and children, and even dug up the bodies of the dead, that they might become food for birds and beasts of prey. They were led by a chief called Bandu, who had been bred a religious ascetic, and who combined with bold and daring counsels a sanguinary nature.

Bahadur Shah had to march against them in person, and compelled them to retire to the mountains, where Bandu took refuge in a fort, which, though surrounded, was too strong to be stormed. The Sikhs cut a passage through at the point of the sword, and a man was taken, who gave himself up as Bandu, that the latter might escape. The emperor, though sufficiently struck by the prisoner's noble self-devotion to spare his life, yet was ungenerous enough to send him in an iron cage to Delhi.*

Bahadur died soon after, in February, 1712, and left four sons to contend for the throne. Zehander Shah, who triumphed over his brothers, after putting to death every prince of the blood he could lay hands on, by having their eyes torn out of the sockets, was in a few months dethroned by his nephew Farokshir, though already the Hindoos were beginning to feel, that for the vast majority of the population of India, any form of government would be better than this, and these convictions made the coming reign of the Company easier.

Farokshir had been seven years on his bloody throne, when again the Mahrattas, and the Sikhs under Bandu, invaded him. The latter was made prisoner, and conveyed to Delhi with a hundred and forty others, all of whom were beheaded, while their unfortunate leader was tortured to death. The emperor soon after was assassinated, and succeeded by a young prince of the blood, who died in three months, to be succeeded by another youth, who died—most probably by poison—within a shorter period. Long ere this, the Mahratta drum had been heard in every part of the empire, and wherever it was beaten, carnage, ravage, and plunder ensued.

Mohammed Shah was now set upon the throne, and under him, the empire of the Great Mogul crumbled away. The Hindoos and Mohammedans began to fight constantly, even in Delhi; and the Shiahs and Soonees, the two rival Moslem sects, slaughtered each other. Under the rule of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Deccan was rent from the empire; the Rohillas seized upon the northern provinces, and in 1739, all went still more to wreck and ruin, when the Persians, under the great Nadir Shah, 80,000 strong, laid siege to Candahar, and pushing on, crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, and advanced into the Punjaub, massacring alike Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Delhi was taken and sacked. From sunrise to sunset that magnificent city was given up to the fury of 20,000 soldiers; and slaughter, rapine, and outrage reigned in their most horrible forms. Nadir's sole object was plunder. He seized the imperial treasures and the jewels of the famous "peacock throne"—a mass of priceless gems. He plundered all the Omrahs of the empire, and the common inhabitants, employing every species of the most inhuman torture to extort contributions. Many died under these cruelties, and many slew themselves to escape them.

After a residence of fifty-eight days, he marched from Delhi, carrying off with him treasure, in money, plate, and jewels, to the value of £30,000,000 sterling.

The Mogul had escaped with his life only. He preserved his liberty, but was so stupefied by his humiliation and defeat, that a kind of lethargy, born of despair, seized him. His capital was a ruin; his treasury empty; his army destroyed; the sources of revenue gone; the Mahrattas threatened him on the south, while the Afghans hung like a thundercloud on the mountains of the north-west; and now it was that, amidst this dissolution and dismemberment of his own mighty empire, the British began to lay the sure and solid foundation of *theirs*.

About this time Angria the pirate greatly infested the Indian seas, his flotilla being always recruited by the military and other stores captured from British ships. An expedition was fitted out against him in 1737. Among those commanding the Company's troops were William Mackenzie, son of the Earl of Cromartie, formerly of the Scots Brigade; and among the Company's sea officers Patrick, son of James, Lord Torphichen. But the whole force perished in a tempest; and Angria and his brother, also a pirate, held the seas against all comers, till naval operations were taken against them by Commodore Bagwell.

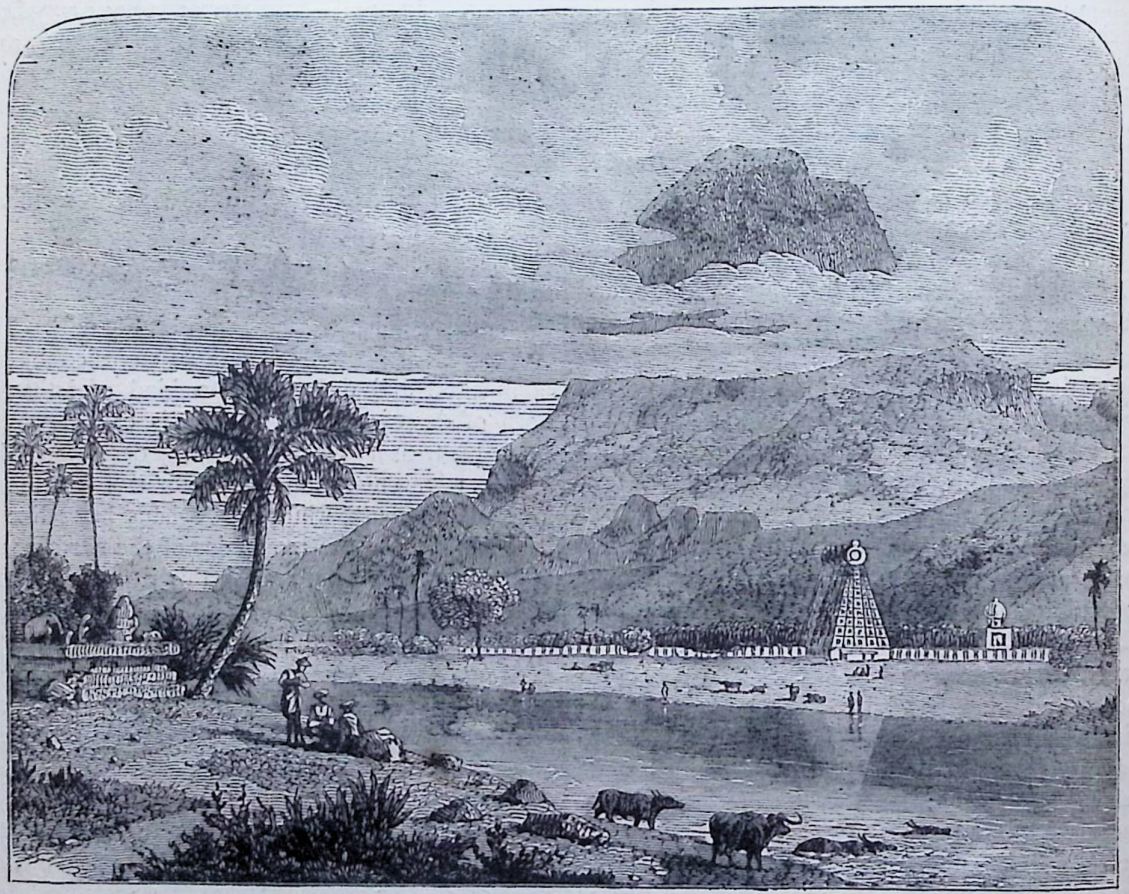
After long watching for Angria, on the 22nd of December, 1738, he at last descried this ferocious wretch, who was for so long the terror of the Eastern seas, issuing with nine grabs and thirteen gallivats from the strong port of Gheriah, which opens in a point of land that juts out into the ocean 170 miles southward of Bombay, and forms a good land-locked harbour. The fortress here was the abode and stronghold of Angria. Grabs were three-masted, square-rigged vessels of about 200 tons,

* Bohn's "India;" "Hist. of the Punjaub," &c.

armed usually with nine and twelve-pounders; these were handsome vessels of barque rig. Gallivats were craft of seventy tons, each carrying from 200 to 300 men.

The commodore bore down upon them, and though their force was greatly superior to his, they fled from his cannon, and took shelter in Rajahpore. Their swift sailing rendered them successful in flight; and though they suffered from Bagwell's broadsides, they contrived to elude him, and in spite of his vigilance, while he pursued them, some of their ships captured certain British merchantmen. Soon after this craven flight from Bagwell's little squadron, four large East Indiamen were attacked by a powerful flotilla belonging to the same pirate chief. A single ship of the commercial squadron beat them off with severe loss; though the British in their sea encounters with these pirates were deficient in promptitude, their physical strength, however, caused them to be greatly dreaded, while their capacity to handle large ships inspired wholesome fear.

The other Angria, named Menajee, by his violence, insolence, and daring spirit, alternated by strange cowardice, was a source of perpetual complaint at Bombay; and Captain Inchbird was compelled to make prizes of his grabs, gallivats, and fishing boats. Nevertheless Menajee seized upon the isle of Elephanta, so celebrated for its wonderful cave and mythological sculptures, which have been so often described, and which lies only seven miles south-west of Bombay. When at last reduced to misfortune by the neglect of his brother, he became the sycophant of the British, and humbled himself to beg their aid—but for a time only.



VIEW NEAR CAPE COMORIN.

The union of the clashing interests of the rival Indian companies, the tranquillity and commercial prosperity, all contributed to increase the value of our growing possessions in the East, and to encourage the Company to seek their extension. "Every year some branch in India was lopped off the Mogul tree; some adventurer succeeded in making an independent sovereign state out of a smaller or larger portion of that empire; there was a constant destruction and reconstruction, or attempts at it. The mass of the population had now a much stronger aversion to the Mussulmans than to European Christians. They showed a marked preference for our rule and protection; and at Surat, Bombay, Fort St. David, Calcutta, and

every establishment where we could protect them, they flocked to trade with us and live with us. Even many of the Mussulmans, when oppressed at home, took refuge in our settlements. The Company were signally indebted, in various stages of their progress, to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one Mogul emperor that they had first been allowed a footing in Bengal."*

In the year 1715, a Scottish medical man named Hamilton, as a reward for curing, at Delhi, the Emperor Farokshir of a dangerous disease, obtained for the Company a grant of three villages near Madras, with the liberty of purchasing in Bengal thirty-seven townships, and conveying their goods through the province duty free; and about seven years after the death of Farokshir, the Company was allowed to establish a court of justice, consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, at each of the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.



VIEW NEAR PONDICHERRY.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIEGES OF MADRAS, FORT ST. DAVID, AND PONDICHERRY.

THE French East India Company, having made Pondicherry a formidable stronghold, now began to excite the fears and jealousy of the English Company by their increasing influence and extending trade; and on Sir Robert Walpole losing office at home, the war which broke out in Europe rapidly spread to India; and many of the most distinguished officers in the French service repaired to the East, for the express purpose of attacking the British settlements before they were capable of defence.

Among these was M. de la Bourdonnais, who from a subaltern rank in the navy had risen to be Governor of the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, and who prepared a squadron in France for the East. Of this our government was duly informed, and a British naval force, commanded by Commodore Barnet, comprising two ships of sixty guns each, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty, soon hovered

* Macfarlane.

in the Eastern seas, and between the Straits of Sunda and Malacca made many valuable French prizes, and one of forty guns was taken into the service and named the *Medway's Prize*. In July, 1745, the commodore was off the coast of Coromandel, at a time when there was no French fleet there as yet, and when Pondicherry, with all the strength of its fortifications, had a garrison of only 436 Europeans under M. Dupleix.

By an agreement made with the Nabob of Bengal, Barnet's operations were confined to the sea, and a few more prizes were taken prior to his death at Fort St. David, after which Captain Peyton assumed the command, and, when cruising on the morning of the 25th of June, 1746, off the coast near Negapatam, he suddenly sighted the squadron of La Bourdonnais, consisting of nine sail, armed with 294 guns, and carrying 3,300 men, 700 of whom were Africans. The flag of La Bourdonnais was on board a seventy-gun ship.

Our squadron had not half this number of men; but they were resolute and better disciplined, and keeping the weather-gauge, baffled all the manœuvres of the French to beat to windward. The indecisive conflict that ensued was maintained by cannon alone, and Peyton, without the consent of his officers, bore away to Trincomalee, leaving the enemy in possession of the ocean.

M. de la Bourdonnais, believing that he had nothing further to fear from our naval force, bore up for Pondicherry, where he began to prepare in earnest for the siege of Madraspatam, as it was then called, a prize worth fighting for, and, to all appearance, to be won without much labour. Madras proper consisted of three divisions. Its northern quarter was a vast assemblage of huts; adjoining this was the Black Town, or Chinnapatam, occupied by Indian and Armenian merchants, and surrounded by a low wall. South of this lay the White Town, or Fort St. George, forming a parallelogram 400 yards long by 100 broad. A very defective wall, strengthened by four bastions, engirt it; there were no outworks. Within it stood an English and Roman Catholic church, the factory, and some fifty houses for the Europeans, whose number was only 300. Of these, 200 were soldiers. The governor never went abroad without being attended by sixty armed peons, besides his British guard, and with two Union Jacks borne before him.

Such was the state of Madras when M. de la Bourdonnais appeared before it on the 14th of September with eleven sail, two of which were bomb-vessels, manned by 3,700 men. The troops, artillery, and stores were landed, and a camp formed while the Count d'Estaing, captain of artillery, was sent forward with a hundred bayonets to reconnoitre a place where defence was never seriously contemplated, but which was not to be surrendered at the first shot. On the 18th, the town was battered by twelve mortars on the land side, and by three of the largest ships of the squadron from the seaward; their fire was so heavy that the little garrison began to think of negociations; and on the 20th, Messrs. Monson and Haliburton came forth as deputies, and urged that as the town was within the territory of the Mogul, the attack should cease; but understanding that the views of the French were serious, asked what contribution would induce them to retire.

"I do not traffic in honour," replied La Bourdonnais proudly. "The flag of France shall be planted on Madras, or I shall die before its walls!" *

Preparations were made for an assault, which there were no means of withstanding; and to spare the little place the horrors of a storm, on the 21st the town and fort capitulated, all the garrison, &c., were made prisoners of war, but were allowed to go where they pleased, "on condition that they shall not bear arms against France till exchanged. The garrison to be landed at Fort St. David, the sailors to go to Gondeloar, and the Watreguel Gate to be put in possession of the French troops at two in the afternoon—all mines and countermines to be revealed." La Bourdonnais pledged himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the Company ultimately, on a fixed ransom; but M. Dupleix, who had previously formed his own schemes for universal conquest, and had a desire for the entire conduct of the war, insisted that the former should break the treaty of capitulation, and at all hazards retain Madras. But La Bourdonnais was averse to a plan which would compromise his honour; and leaving all authority in the hands of M. Desprémenil, he hurried to Pondicherry, in October, to remonstrate with the governor.

Many quarrels and much coolness ensued, after which La Bourdonnais took his departure to France, in order to answer certain allegations made against him by M. Dupleix and others, and to seek such patronage from the East India Company as might enable him to return and crush them. But on his homeward voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship of war, and brought to England, where, as he had shown himself alike a man of honour, valour, and humanity, he was received with favour by all ranks.

"A director of our East India Company offered

* "Atlas, Geo.," 1712.

* Baron Grant.

to become security for him and his property; but the government desired no security beyond the word of La Bourdonnais, and permitted him to return to France. It would have been better for him if they had kept him in England; for, upon the representations of the insidious Dupleix, he was arrested without process, and thrown into the Bastille, where he pined for three long years." He died soon after his liberation.

"It has been said," says Baron Grant, in his papers (1801), "that the interest of his wife alone, who was of the family of Auteuil, preserved him from being sacrificed; but whether it was from chagrin, or some other cause, he did not long survive. (It has been suspected that he was poisoned.) M. de la Bourdonnais was soon revenged. M. Dupleix was, in his turn, obliged to render an account of his conduct, and died in a state of penury."

Our friend, the Nabob of Arcot, sent a body of his native troops, under Maphuze Khan, to drive the French out of Madras; but they fled at the first discharge of the French cannon; and now Dupleix publicly broke the treaty we made with La Bourdonnais, and ordered every article of property, public or private, British or native, except the clothes and trinkets of the women, to be confiscated—an edict executed without mercy.

The governor and some of the principal inhabitants were next carried off to Pondicherry, and triumphantly, but meanly, exhibited there to a mob of 50,000 spectators. Among these captives was a young man named Robert Clive—the Clive who was yet to avenge the insult put upon himself, his companions, and his country! Dupleix now turned his attention to Fort St. David, and prevailed upon the Nabob of Arcot to quit our cause and join him; but three attempts he made against that place failed signally.

After Madras, this place was our most important settlement on the Coromandel coast, and upon the capture of the former, became the seat of the presidency. The fort, small but strong, stood 100 miles south of Madras, fourteen south of Pondicherry, and formed the nucleus of a considerable territory, within which stood the rising town of Cuddalore, the climate of which is so delightful that it is still one of our principal stations where soldiers are placed who choose to remain in India after having served out their time or become invalided. Dupleix thought that, until he could utterly crush us on the coast of Coromandel, his object was but half accomplished so long as Fort St. David remained in our hands. Recalling from Madras M. Paradis, a Swiss whom he had placed there as governor—a man without humanity or scruple—that officer came on with 300 men; and on being reinforced from Pondicherry, appeared before Fort St. David with 1,700 Europeans, six field-pieces, and six mortars. Ere operations began, the officers, for some reason, refused to serve under him, and the command was assumed by M. de Bury.

At daybreak on the 9th of December, 1746, the Pennar, which joins the sea some distance north of the fort was reached, unopposed, save by a few of our sepoys, the white smoke of whose fire spurted out from the green leafy jungles in which they were concealed. A greater resistance had been anticipated, yet the garrison consisted of only 200 Britons, 100 Topasses, or natives of Portuguese blood, while the whole force for the defence of the territory was only 2,000 peons, with 900 muskets among them.

The sudden appearance of a body of 9,000 horse and foot, belonging to the nabob, led by his sons Maphuze Khan and Mohammed Ali, burning to avenge their late repulse at Madras, filled the French with consternation, and, abandoning their baggage, they made a rush to cross the river. The garrison made a sally, and, joining the Raj troops, pursued them for six miles.

Two subsequent attempts were equally unsuccessful, though the nabob now threw his whole weight into the French scale, recalled his army from Fort St. David, and sent Maphuze Khan in state to Pondicherry, where a grand reception awaited him.

Our situation on the Coromandel coast was becoming desperate now; our people looked in vain for assistance from home, and had almost ceased to hope for it. On the 2nd March, the French made their third attempt, in strength, and this time under M. Paradis. To their surprise they found the passage of the river was to be contested by a troop of volunteer horse with three field-pieces. These were driven in after a three hours' contest, when a squadron of ships was seen coming to anchor in the roads, with the Union Jack flying. On this the French retired in all haste to Pondicherry.

The new arrivals proved to be the squadron which had been inactive in Bengal, and was now under the command of Admiral Griffin, who had come from Britain with two ships, one of sixty and the other of forty guns. Partly by recruits from Bengal, England, and Bombay, Fort St. David now became so strong that it was beyond the reach of danger, and then the subtle Dupleix began to tremble for Pondicherry itself. But the approach of the October monsoon compelled the admiral to bear away for Trincomalee, on the way burning

and sinking in Madras Roads the *Neptune*, a French ship of fifty-four guns.

His flag was on board the *Princess Mary* (sixty guns), and his whole squadron consisted of eleven sail, mounting 560 pieces of cannon.

The spring of 1748 saw it once more before Fort St. David, while at the same time, Major (afterwards General) Stringer Lawrence, an officer of the highest merit, arrived to take command of all the Company's troops in India; but for some months little of moment occurred, though in consequence of a rumour that Dupleix was about to make an attempt on Cuddalore, the major formed an intrenched camp near the passage of the Pennar. Dupleix had here recourse to treachery, and tempted by gold 400 sepoys to desert with their commander on a given opportunity. Fortunately the scheme was discovered. Two suffered death, and the leaders of the sepoys were sent in irons, for life, to St. Helena.

About this time Rear-Admiral Griffin received intelligence, on the 9th of June, from Captain Stephens of the *Lively*, twenty guns, that he had discovered seven French ships of war off the coast, so he resolved to sail at once to attack them. By noon next day they were seen a few leagues to windward of Fort St. David, careening well over, for the wind was blowing half a gale. This had prevented our admiral getting under weigh till eleven at night, when he put to sea, his sailors bursting with impatience to meet the enemy. M. Bouvet, their commander, was an able officer and experienced seaman, and took care to avoid a battle. To deceive Griffin, he kept to windward the whole day, and at night bore away under a press of sail, even to his royals, for Madras, where he anchored on the morning of the 11th, having accomplished the object of his voyage, by landing 400 soldiers, and £200,000 in silver for M. Dupleix, after which he put to sea, and steered for the Mauritius.

In the meantime Admiral Griffin had looked into Pondicherry Roads, and not finding the enemy there, bore away for the rough billowy roads of Madras, where he met with an equal disappointment. Popular clamour now wanted a victim. He was summoned home, tried by a court-martial, and most unjustly dismissed his Majesty's service. He was —when too late—restored, and died in 1771.*

The next great event of the Indian war, which hitherto had excited little or no interest in England, was the first attempt to reduce Pondicherry, and, if possible, drive the French out of India. "India," says a leading journal in 1875, "is as remote from this country as though it were situate in another planet, even now that the English occupation has conveyed a sense of identity."

The first project of a French East India Company was formed under Henry IV., by Gerard le Roi, a Flemish navigator, who had made voyages to Hindostan in Dutch ships. By letters patent, in 1604, the king granted him an exclusive trade for fifteen years. Five years after, he formed a new association, and obtained letters patent, 2nd March, 1611. Four years passed without any enterprise being undertaken; some merchants of Rouen, therefore, solicited the transfer of these privileges to them, and engaged to fit out a certain number of vessels for India in 1615. These Gerard opposed, till the king united both companies by a charter, 2nd July, 1615.

Still nothing of enterprise was attempted, and in 1642 a new commercial company was formed, under the great Cardinal Richelieu, called "the Company of Madagascar," where it made some progress, and established a colony of 100 Frenchmen, who built them a fort; and then, after various changes of fortune, it was abandoned, and factories were established at various places, and lastly at *Boudoutscheri*, where they erected their principal entrepôt of Indian commerce, and named it Pondicherry.

Fortified by M. Marten, Pondicherry speedily became a place of importance, and the foreign commerce of France attained its zenith in 1742; yet only seven ships were sent to India, with cargoes to the value of 27,000,000 livres. At the period to which we have come, "the governor's house was a handsome edifice, and equal to the finest hotels in France. This officer," says a cotemporary, "is attended by twelve horse-guards, and 300 foot soldiers, who are called peons. On days of ceremony he is carried by six men in a palanquin, whose canopy and panels are adorned with a rich embroidery, and various ornaments of gold. This pomp is necessary in a country where the power of a nation is determined by the exterior splendour of those who represent it."

Occupying a gentle declivity at the south-eastern extremity of a long flat eminence, Pondicherry was even then one of the best-built modern cities in India, with an aspect alike pleasing and commanding. Its strong citadel stood within the town, and, along with it, was enclosed on the three land sides by a ditch, rampart, and wall flanked by bastions. The eastern front, which faced the sea, was defended by works armed with 100 guns; but that number was quadrupled before the place was finally captured.

* Schomberg, "Naval Chron."

A mile distant from these defences, a thick jungly hedge of aloes and other thorny plants, mingled with cocoa-nut and other palms, was carried round for a circuit of five miles from the seashore to the river Ariancoopan, forming an impenetrable barrier to cavalry, and, without the use of the axe, one equally so to infantry. Each roadway through this hedge that led to the town was protected by a redoubt armed with guns; and near where it joined the river was a small but strong work named Fort Ariancoopan.

The season was far advanced before our besieging force commenced operations; yet instead of capturing one of the petty forts and making a dash at the city, they began operations by wasting their time and strength in attacking the fort by the river. Through the neglect of the officer commanding at St. David's, no means had been taken, though the fleet had long been expected, to ascertain when the siege would commence. An engineer sent to reconnoitre Ariancoopan reported that it was a place of small strength; and this was confirmed by a deserter, who stated that it was manned by only 100 sepoys; whereas the fort, which was triangular, regularly scarped, and surrounded by a deep dry ditch, was garrisoned by 100 Europeans and 300 sepoys, under a resolute French officer.

This was about the 8th of August, when Admiral Boscawen had arranged everything for the siege, and had off the place his squadron, consisting of fifteen sail, six of which were line-of-battle ships, and carrying in all 662 guns. Entrusting the squadron to Captain Leslie, of the *Vigilant* (sixty-four), he landed to conduct the operations. The *Exeter* and *Pembroke* (sixty guns), and the *Chester* and *Swallow* (sloops), were ordered to anchor and sound the roads, prior to the larger ships approaching to batter.

On the 12th of August, Captain Lloyd, of the *Deal Castle* (twenty), landed in command of 1,100 seamen who were to co-operate with the troops; and the 27th of September saw the line-of-battle ships warped within range of the place. Admiral Boscawen, who had been grossly misled, ordered the instant assault of Fort Ariancoopan; and though made with resolute bravery, the results were most disastrous. Inspired by shame or fury, and with the conviction that they could not be beaten, the gallant stormers persisted in the attack, and did not retire until 150 of them were killed by grape and musketry, and Major Goodere, a most experienced officer of the royal service, had fallen mortally wounded.

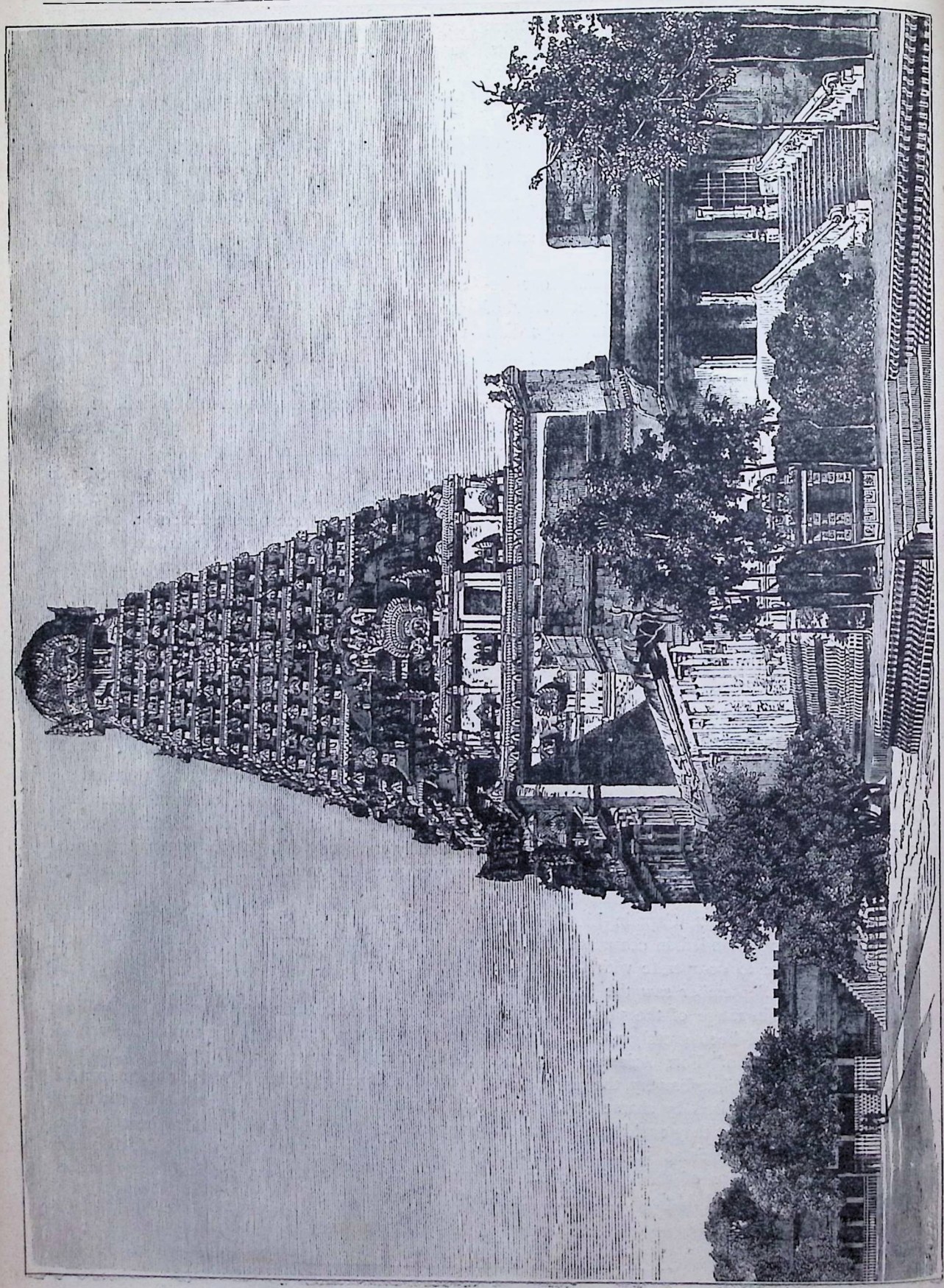
Though finding that they had been deceived by the strength of this outwork, instead of making an approach to the city from another and weaker point, the siege was postponed till Ariancoopan could be reduced; and the French were not slow to profit by the blunder, by keeping the attacking force in play for eighteen days, when, on their magazine blowing up, they abandoned it.

Passing the formidable hedge, the besiegers opened their first parallel at the distance of 1,500 yards from the place, instead of 800 yards from the covered way. They then found they had broken ground in the wrong direction, and that between their works and the town they had a deepening morass. September was a month for sickness, and the rainy season was fast approaching; yet very shame prevented our people from retiring, and though many lives were lost in the process, two batteries of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, and two bomb-batteries were erected; but their fire never told, and neither did that from the ships, as all were a thousand yards distant, and the breaching-guns of the present age had not been conceived.

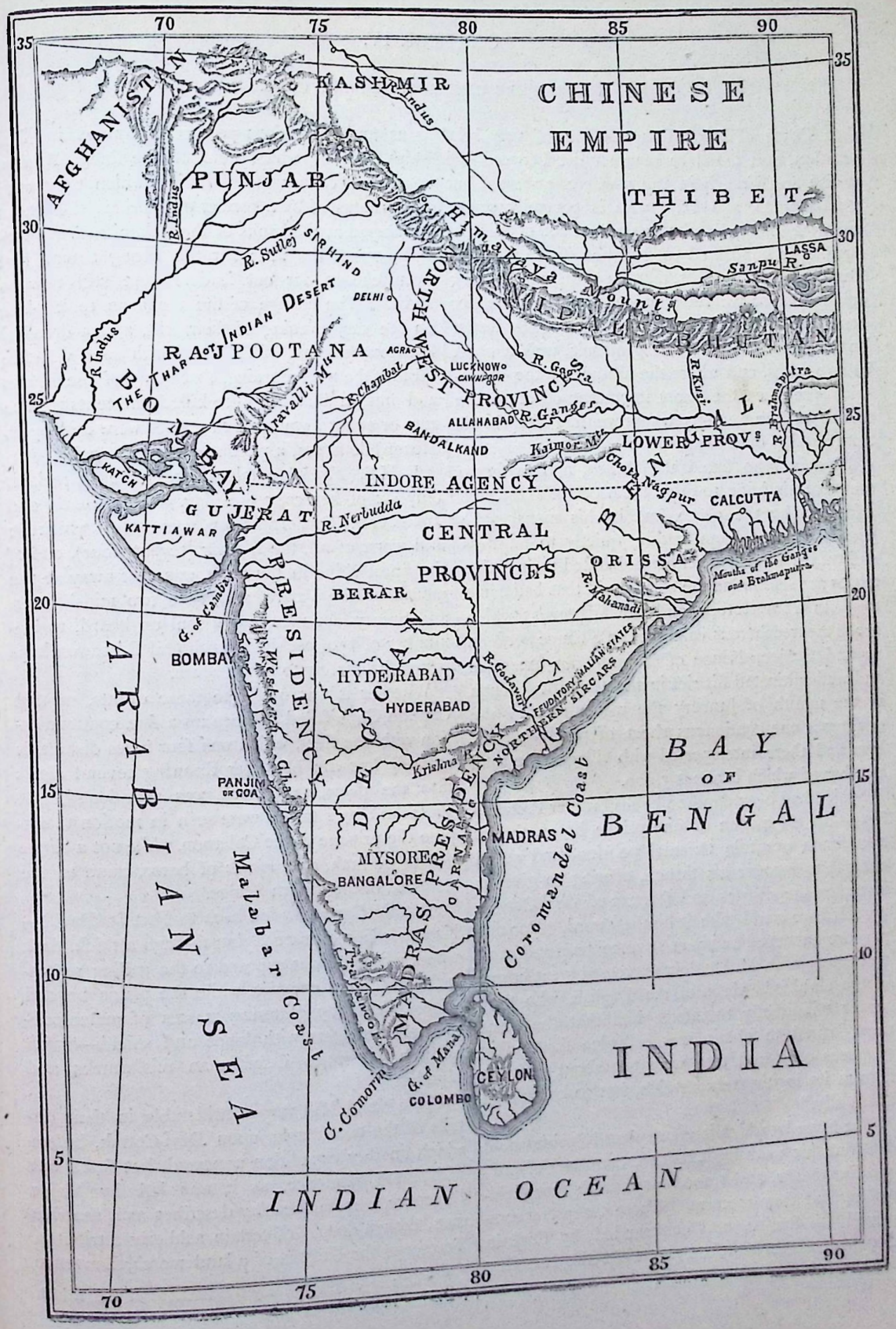
Finding that they were nearly surrounded by water, that the monsoon might dash the ships to pieces, and that they had lost 729 soldiers, and 265 seamen, out of their original strength of 3,720 men, they abandoned the siege. On the 6th October, the troops marched back to Fort St. David, and, to avoid the monsoon, Boscawen sent the squadron to Achin and Trincomalee; and all felt that nothing had been produced but a series of heartless blunders, over the result of which, the French garrison, originally consisting of 1,800 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys, sang *Te Deum*. Dupleix's loss was only 250 men.

In November, the commanders received advice that a cessation of arms had taken place between Great Britain and France, prior to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and, as possession was to be restored in the state, as nearly as might be, to that condition in which it was at the commencement of the war, the Company completely recovered Madras.

At this time, the French, by their manners and subtle mode of paying flattering compliments, were supposed by the natives of India to be a people superior in valour to us; but though M. Dupleix was nothing of a soldier, he had many brave officers under him.



THE PAGODA OF TANJORE.


CHINESE EMPIRE
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THE THAR OR INDIAN DESERT
RAJPOOTANA
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BOMBAY
Aravalli Mts
AGRA
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NORTH WEST PROVINCES
LUCKNOW
CAWNPOOR
ALLAHABAD
R. Ganges
R. Goora
Himalaya Mounts
NIPAL
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Sanpu R.
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R. Brahmaputra
BENGAL
LOWER PROVs
BANDALKAND
Kaimor Mts
Chota Nagpur
CALCUTTA
INDORE AGENCY
KATCH
GUJERAT
KATTIAWAR
R. Nerbudda
CENTRAL PROVINCES
ORISSA
Mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra
R. Mahanadi
BERAR
G. of Cambay
BOMBAY
PRESIDENCY
Western Ghats
HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD
R. Godavari
FEUDATORY MALIAN STATES
NORTHERN SIRCARS
DECCAN
Krishna R.
PANJIM OR GOA
ARABIAN SEA
Malabar Coast
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
ARNATIC
MADRAS
MYSORE
BANGALORE
Coromandel Coast
BAY OF BENGAL
Travancore
C. Comorin
G. of Manar
CEYLON
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INDIAN OCEAN
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CHAPTER IV.

THE TANJORE CAMPAIGN.—ROBERT CLIVE.

THE Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was of very brief duration, and failed to secure quiet between the British and French in India, where it seemed but a false truce, and Mill, who is generally severe upon the former, attributes the first act of indirect hostility to our armed intervention in the affairs of Tanjore; and true it is, that the anarchy prevailing among the native rulers opened a way to easier conquests in the Carnatic, a province of Hindostan on the eastern side of the peninsula, with a coast of 650 miles, and where the altitude of the mountains produces the most important effect in the nature of the seasons by preventing the clouds from passing over them.*

Dupleix, who hated the British, and made no secret of his hope to drive them out of India, was infuriated by the peace, and by his menaces he prevented them from settling quietly to business and trade; thus they neither disbanded their native troops nor sent home the slender aid that had come to them from Europe, and the first event which broke the treacherous calm was an alliance between us and Syajee, Prince of Tanjore, an extensive and well-cultivated district in the Carnatic, though in the month of January the whole face of the country is one continuous sheet of paddy-ground, here and there interspersed with villages, the total number of which is about 5,000.

Syajee had been deposed by his brother Pretauab Sing—the deposition of one prince by another is a common event in Oriental politics—and asked our aid to recover his throne, offering to give us in return the district and fortress of Devi-Cottah, provided we could take it by the sword. For this purpose an expedition was at once prepared, and on hearing of it, M. Dupleix expressed great horror of the ambitious views of the English, who took means "indirectly to inform him that the place they desired to obtain was of value for trading purposes only, and they were not about to wrest it from its legitimate sovereign, but to conquer it as his ally."

The force by which it was expected Syajee would dethrone his usurping kinsman, consisted of only 400 Europeans, and 1,000 sepoys, with four field-pieces, and four mortars. These troops, accompanied by Syajee, and commanded by Captain Cope, set out in March, 1749, while the battering guns and provisions proceeded by sea in four ships, two of which were of the line. After a march of twenty miles, during which they were much harassed by a species of guerillas, the troops encamped at the banks of the Valaru, near its confluence with the sea; but the wrong season had been chosen, for our leaders were still new to India. The change of the monsoon took place on the very evening of their halt, and a dreadful hurricane ensued, which lasted with such violence till four the next morning, that many of the horses and draught bullocks were killed, the tents torn to rags or swept away, and the stores were destroyed. Meanwhile at sea, a piteous event occurred.

H.M.S. *Pembroke* (sixty guns) was wrecked, only six of her crew escaping. The *Lincoln* and *Winchelsea*, East Indiamen, were also wrecked; and worst of all, the *Namur* (seventy-four), one of the finest ships in the navy, was cast away at the mouth of the Valaru, and, save two midshipmen and twenty-four men, every soul on board, to the number of 750, perished. Admiral Boscawen happened fortunately to be on shore.

Whether it was owing to these events, or that Captain Cope failed to keep up a due communication with the fleet, which was four miles distant, is scarcely known; but after throwing several shells into the place, the attack was abandoned, and Pretauab Sing's troops were seen in motion to dispute the passage of the Coleroon, while not a single person of rank, or a *risala* of horse, came to the standard of the forlorn Syajee.

Captain Cope now fell back to Fort St. David—his whole line of march lying through a thick, dark wood, where he was exposed to the galling matchlocks of unseen enemies, while the plains beyond were covered by glittering masses of matchlockmen and troopers with lance and shield—"with nothing better to detail than misfortunes and blunders."

Orme* and Mill vary considerably in their details of the two attacks upon Devi-Cottah, before which another expedition appeared, but fitted out with more prudence, as it was led by Major Lawrence, whom Macaulay describes as a sensible man, though devoid of certain soldierly attributes. To escape the dangers of a land march, Lawrence

* Rennell.

* "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India."

proceeded at once by sea, with six ships, three of which were of the line, carrying 800 Europeans, with artillery and baggage, while 1,500 sepoys accompanied them in coast boats. When he came to anchor in the Coleroon, he led the force up an arm of the river direct to Devi-Cottah, and encamped on the bank opposite to it, for the double reason that the Tanjore army lay under its walls on one side, and a perilous marsh was on the other.

Enclosed by a brick wall eighteen feet high, and flanked by strong towers, the fortress was an irregular hexagon. The attack was made on its eastern flank, which in three days was breached by the fire of four twenty-four-pounders, and the gap declared practicable; but the chief difficulty was to cross the branch of the Coleroon, which was dangerously rapid, and had jungly banks, which the enemy were quite prepared to defend.

In this dilemma, a brave and skilful ship's carpenter, named John Moor, constructed a raft capable of carrying 400 men, and swam the river in a dark night, when he succeeded in attaching, unseen, to a large tree, a rope, the other end of which was rove through a purchase-block attached to the raft, by means of which the whole troops were safely carried over, and soon cleared the jungle.

The enemy had not repaired the breach, but contented themselves by digging an intrenchment. This presented a serious obstacle to the troops, more especially as before it lay a deep and muddy nullah. The attack, however, was resolved on, and Lieutenant Robert Clive, who had now completely relinquished the civil for the military service—and of whom more anon—with the rank of lieutenant, bravely volunteered to lead the forlorn hope. His offer was accepted, and he dashed, sword in hand, across the nullah at the head of thirty-four Europeans and 700 sepoys. This force he had formed into two bodies. It was the design of Lieutenant Clive to take the *épaulement* in flank, while the sepoys, pushing on to the front, should keep the garrison in check.

Unfortunately, the native troops, overtaken by an unaccountable panic, held back; and the sequel was most disastrous. Concealed behind the projection of a tower was a body of Tanjore cavalry, who suddenly rushed forth with lance and tulwar upon the little band of Europeans, all of whom were instantly destroyed, save Clive and three others.

Clive, who was reserved for greater events, escaped the downward stroke of one horseman by nimbly springing aside, and with his three men escaped to the sepoy corps, which, though it failed to advance, yet stood in good order beyond the nullah, where the Tanjoreans, overawed by their steady aspect, did not attempt to attack them.

Nothing daunted by this check, Major Lawrence now ordered the whole of the Europeans to the front, placing them, as before, under the orders of Lieutenant Clive. On this occasion all went as could have been wished. The Tanjore cavalry attempted to charge the stormers, who repelled them by a volley and a bayonet charge which tumbled them over in heaps, horse and man; while the former, animated by the heroic example of their leader, dashed up the rugged breach, and soon made the place their own.*

Nor were the future operations of the expedition less fortunate. A detachment of 100 Europeans and 200 sepoys took possession of the Pagoda of Achereran, a strong square edifice five miles south-westward of Devi-Cottah, where they repulsed a fierce attempt, made amid the darkness of the night by an infuriated and yelling horde, to recapture it. With all this, it was not difficult to perceive that, in the expectations they had been led to form by the statements of Syajee, the British had been deceived. As before, not a single Tanjorean joined them; and the chiefs were, in consequence, well pleased to come to an accommodation which, while it secured to our own government the possession of Devi-Cottah with all its dependencies, obtained for the dethroned prince an annual revenue of 9,000 pagodas (about £350), together with all the expenses of the war.

"This last stipulation," says Beveridge justly, "all things considered, was utterly disgraceful to those who exacted it; but the king was not in a condition to resist, for events had just taken place in Arcot which made him aware that he might soon be engaged in a deadly struggle with still more formidable enemies."

And now the suitable moment has come wherein to relate something of the past life of that Lieutenant Clive who has already been brought prominently before the reader as a subaltern officer, and who was to be the future conqueror, the really true founder of all our greatness in the East, and with whose name the history of our acquisitions and dominion there is inseparably connected.

Robert Clive, the eldest of a family of six sons and seven daughters, was born on the 29th of September, 1725, in the mansion of a small estate called Stytche (in the parish of Moretown-Sea, Salop), which had been in possession of his family for fully 500 years—a family "which," says Mr. Gleig, "never aspired to a station of society more

* "Brit. Mil. Com.," vol. iii.

elevated than that of the middling gentry, a rank now unhappily extinct." But it is said that the first establishment of the Clives in Shropshire dates from the reign of Henry II.

His father was bred to the law, and practised as an attorney in the little town of Market Drayton, on the Fern. His mother was Rebecca, daughter and co-heiress with her sister of Mr. Gaskell, of Manchester, whose other daughter, Sarah, became the wife of Hugh, Lord Semple, who commanded the king's left wing at Culloden, and was colonel of the Regiment of Edinburgh—the 25th. Many tales are current respecting the youthful extravagances of Robert Clive, and of these we can scarcely here pretend to sketch an outline; but rather refer the reader to Sir John Malcolm's work. His temper was wayward and reckless; he was impatient of control and resolute in purpose; and the former element is shown in the frequency with which he changed his places of abode between his eleventh and eighteenth years. He was first settled in Cheshire, under the tuition of Dr. Lostock, who, though he failed to manage the boy, foretold that "few names would be greater than his." We next find him at Market Drayton, under the master of the grammar school; and it was while here that there occurred the singular episode of his sitting astride a gargoyle of the church tower which was carved like a dragon's head. Such acts as this compelled his father to send him to Merchant Taylors', London—with little effect, as he was soon transferred to another school in Herts, where his master, Sterling, spoke of him as "the most unlucky boy that ever entered his establishment."

It is very probable that his adventurous spirit, his pugilistic encounters, his love of racing, boating, cricket, and all manner of out-door sports, with his wild and daring manner, which made him the terror of ushers, and to be known as "naughty Bob," and deemed, as Macaulay says, "a dunce, if not a reprobate," kept the lad from following, as his father wished, the frigid study of the law, and led him into the ranks of the East India Company's civil service. He had barely completed his eighteenth year when he landed at Madras in 1744, and entered at once upon his official duties.

The impatience of control he had shown as a scholar was not the less exhibited when he was a clerk or "writer." He became involved in a dispute with a senior, and was commanded by the governor to ask pardon. He did so, however unwillingly, and the functionary, hoping to smooth over all coldness of feeling, invited young Clive to dinner.

"No, sir," replied he, scornfully; "the governor commanded me to apologise to you, and I have done so; but he did not command me to dine with you."

With all this, the idle Salopian schoolboy now became a severe student, and devoted his attention to the culture of the native languages. Two years passed thus, when the advent of war between Britain and France opened up a more congenial field for his ability and ambition. He was present at the bombardment of Madras in 1746, and became, on parole, the prisoner of La Bourdonnais, and was one of those, as we have said, who were made a public spectacle by Dupleix when he violated the terms of the capitulation. Disguised as a native he made his escape from Pondicherry, and on reaching Fort St. David, became a gentleman volunteer, and in that humble capacity gave proofs of the indomitable courage that inspired him. He once formed one of a party at play, whom two officers by ungentlemanly cheating contrived to fleece. The winners were noted duellists, so the other losers paid their money in silent rage; but Clive refused to follow their example, and taxed the players with knavery. He was challenged, went out and gave his fire, upon which his adversary quitting his ground, put his pistol to Clive's head, desired him to ask his life. Clive did so; but the bully now required that he should pay the sum he had lost, and retract what he had said.

"And if I refuse?" demanded Clive.

"Then I fire," replied the other.

"Fire, and be hanged!" said Clive coolly. "I still say you cheated; nor will I ever pay you."

The gamester, struck with the bold bearing of his antagonist, called him a madman, and threw away his pistol. We must not finish this anecdote, continues Mr. Gleig, without recording Clive's conduct in the sequel. When complimented by his friends, he observed,—

"The man has given me my life, and I have no right in future to mention his behaviour at the card-table; though I shall certainly never pay him, nor associate with him again."

In 1747, he sought and obtained the rank of ensign, still retaining his position in the civil service, so few were the Europeans then in India. He marched against Pondicherry, was in the attack on Fort Ariancoopan, and the retreat to Fort St. David. During the affair of Pondicherry, it chanced on one occasion, that the ammunition of his picket, when hotly engaged, fell short. Eager to avoid a repulse, he hurried rearward to the depôt, and carried up a fresh supply ere his absence was observed by his men. Of this circumstance a brother-officer took advantage to cast a slur upon

his character; but Clive called the slanderer to such a severe account, that the latter was compelled to resign his commission. One strong feature in the somewhat melancholy mind of Robert Clive was an intense love of his own country.

"I have not enjoyed a happy day since I left my native country," he wrote to one of his relatives; "I must confess at intervals when I think of *my dear native England*, it affects me in a very particular manner. . . . If I should be so blest as to visit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, all I could hope or desire for would be presented in one view."

In his Essay on Malcolm's "Life of Clive," the latter, says Macaulay, "expressed his feelings more softly and pensively than we should have expected from the waywardness of his boyhood, and the inflexible sternness of his later years."

When lonely and in low spirits, at Madras, he twice attempted to shoot himself through the head; on each occasion the pistol snapped, and then he received the impression that divine Providence had designed him for some important career by miraculously saving his life.

"Such," says Nolan, "was the state of mind of this young man, who was borne a prisoner by the perfidious Dupleix to Pondicherry, and there paraded about for the sport of a people who were little better than their infamous governor. It is easy to conceive how the high spirit of Clive chafed under these indignities; but his resolute will and fertile genius soon found an opportunity to assert themselves. Well had it been for Dupleix and for France, if the wanderer who so well affected the mien and garb of Islam, had been fettered in Pondicherry, or if La Bourdonnais' clemency and honour had prevailed, and the young clerk had been left in 'Writers' Buildings' at Madras, until commercial success, dismission, or suicide had prevented him from interfering in the field of war with the governor of Pondicherry, and the genius of French conquest."

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN THE CARNATIC, ETC.

THOUGH the means by which it was obtained are open to question, the possession of the fortress of Devi-Cottah, with its district, proved of immense importance to the Company. Situated most advantageously on the Coromandel coast, with the channel of the Coleroon immediately under the town walls, ships of the largest burden could approach with ease, though there was a bar at the mouth of the river, and this was of all the greater consequence that from Masulipatam to Comorin there was no harbour that could receive a vessel even of 300 tons burden. In addition to this, the district was fertile, rich and highly cultivated.

Though partially baffled, M. Dupleix was in no wise intending to relinquish his schemes for conquest or for availing himself of local contentions. The British flag had not waved many days on Devi-Cottah ere he was engaged in transactions of great moment, and taking part in a revolution in the Carnatic.

A number of princes disputed the succession to the throne of that country—the six sons of Nizam-ul-Mulk—and Dupleix, acting precisely upon our own plan in India, *Divide et impera*, resolved to make profit out of the civil war by adhering to the strongest claimant, Chunda Sahib, who had collected a large army, and eagerly courted his assistance, and through whom he hoped to attain a complete ascendency throughout the whole of Southern Hindostan. These ambitious projects are fully admitted by the Abbé Raynal, Voltaire, and Orme. In addition to this war in the Carnatic, fierce disputes were in progress among minor princes for the possession of other dominions bordering upon, or connected with it.

From Pondicherry Dupleix marched a body of 400 French soldiers, and 2,000 sepoys, many of whom were disciplined Caffirs, and in the first battle, by a ball fired by one of these, Chunda Sahib's most powerful opponent fell. Mohammed Ali, son of the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong place, while the allied conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered on the first summons. Mohammed earnestly implored succour from the British, offering high prices for their aid, but they were few in number, they were without orders from home to justify them for embarking in such new and extensive operations; moreover, peace had been concluded at home, and they were amply occupied in taking repossession of Madras, and strengthening

it. Meanwhile, Dupleix sent some troops with Chunda Sahib to plunder the Rajah of Tanjore, for giving up Devi-Cottah to us, and compelled that prince to give to France two lacs of rupees, and eighty-one villages belonging to Carical, which the latter, whom he now kept loaded with chains and carried him thus in his train wherever he went.

Nazir Jung and Prince Anwar-ud-Deen, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service



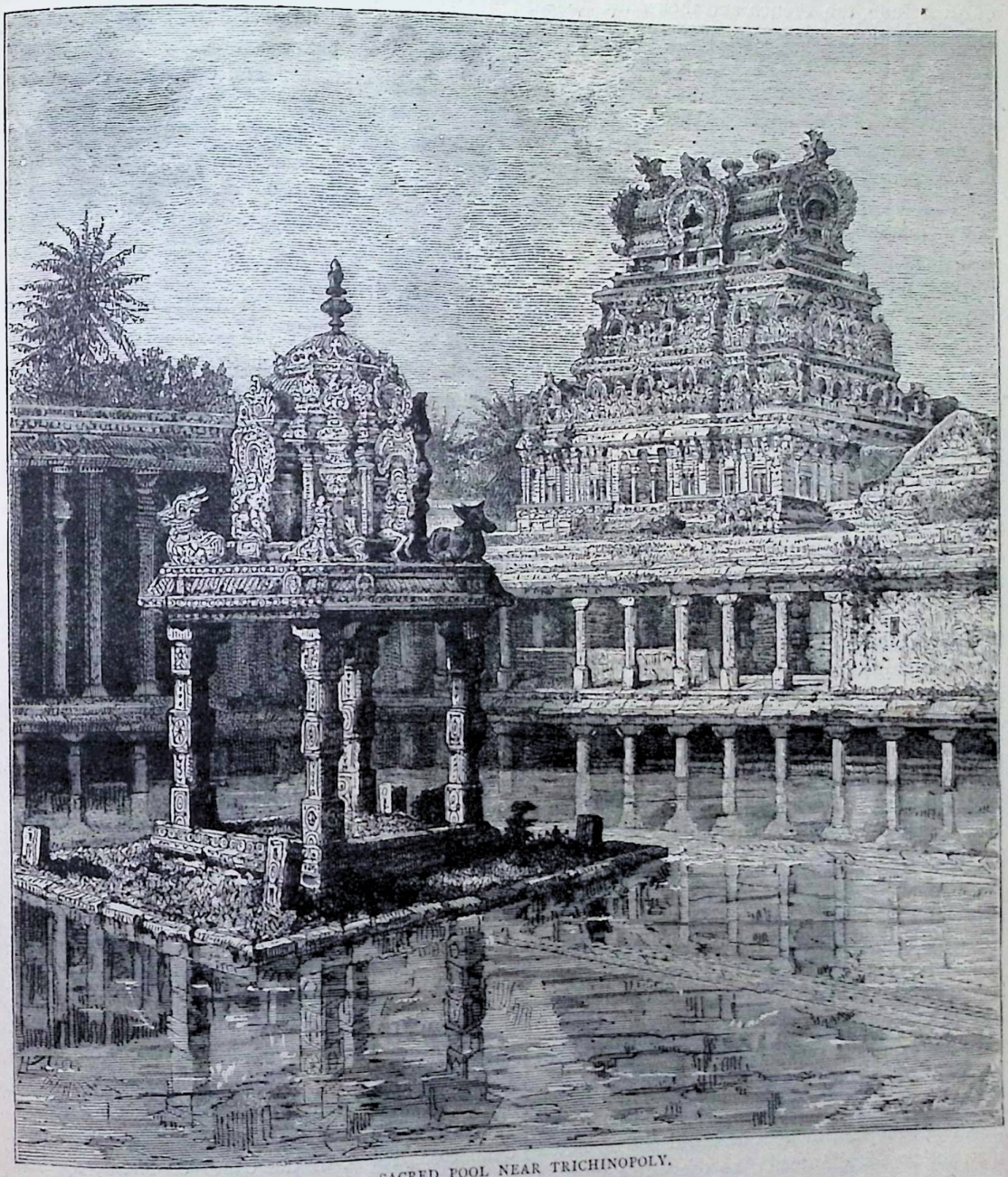
NATIVE OF MADRAS.

the French had seized in 1736, and had built a fort there.*

In the adjacent regions of the Deccan—that great and powerful country which formerly dominated over the whole of the Carnatic—the succession to the late Nizam-ul-Mulk had been bitterly disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzuffer Jung; but the former prevailed over nearly all the Mogul troops, advanced suddenly to the frontier of that country at the head of an immense army, including 30,000 Mahrattas to act as light cavalry. On their approach, Chunda Sahib and his French friends retreated towards Pondicherry, where Dupleix, by incredible exertions, increased his contingent to 2,000 men, and added a column of well-trained sepoys, with an excellent park of artillery.

* Malcolm's "Life of Clive," &c.

In the meantime, to sustain Mohammed Ali, we had contrived to send a few slender detachments to Trichinopoly, a fortified city on the southern bank of the Cauvery, long the capital of the Naik of Madura. It is famous for its magnificent temples and mosques, and is surrounded by a double loop-holed wall; and in its centre the citadel crowns a singular isolated and stupendous rock, of almost sugar-loaf form, 350 feet in height, on the little plateau of which are now the arsenal and military hospital. While garrisoning this place, a few companies had also been sent to aid the Rajah of Tanjore; and Major Lawrence, on joining these with a few more, found himself enabled to aid the army of the Nazir Jung with 600 British soldiers.



SACRED POOL NEAR TRICHINOPOLY.

Though that officer had obtained the orders of his civil superiors for this armed co-operation, he had painful doubts as to whether he was justified in fighting French troops in time of peace, without distinct orders from London; while "the presidency, having satisfied themselves that the man who could muster an army of 300,000 men must be

the real soubahdar, had got rid of all their doubts and scruples on the subject of his title, and magnanimously resolved to share his fortunes." As he advanced with the showy and glittering army of Nazir Jung, the French and their allies strongly intrenched themselves, and, confident of victory, quietly waited the attack. Their position was so admirable, that Major Lawrence advised Nazir against the risk of an attack; but the haughty Indian prince replied, that "it became not the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk to retreat before any enemy!"

The guns opened the strife, and the infantry were put in motion for a closer attack, with matchlock and gingal, but at this crisis the French troops became utterly disorganised. Numerous as was the mighty host of Nazir Jung, the only really formidable portion of it was Lawrence's handful of Britons with their old "brown Besses" and socket-bayonets; hence M. d'Auteuil sought to bribe it into inactivity, by sending a secret messenger to acquaint the major that, "though their troops were arrayed on opposite sides, it was his wish that no European blood should be spilled, and therefore desired to know in what part of Nazir's army the British were posted, in order that none of his fire might go that way."

Estimating this remarkable communication at its true worth, Major Lawrence replied,—

"The British colours are carried on the flag-gun of our artillery, and though I, too, am anxious to spare European blood, I shall certainly return any shot that may be sent me."

But M. d'Auteuil, in proposing this absurd neutrality, had not given the true reason, which was that his men were in open mutiny, and that thirteen of his officers had resigned their commissions in front of the enemy. This was to revenge themselves on Dupleix, with whom they had a fierce dispute, before leaving Pondicherry. Whatever the cause by which these men courted death by the articles of war, matters not; one account says they were enraged at not sharing the booty of Tanjore, but, however that may be, M. d'Auteuil ordered his whole contingent to quit the field, and march home. Chunda Sahib, who saw his own troops now deserting fast, thought he could not do better than follow M. d'Auteuil; so the whole position was abandoned without another blow, and for a time the triumph of the British and their allies seemed quite secure, though Chunda, at the head of his cavalry, repeatedly charged the Mahrattas, who, led by Morari Rao, hung like a cloud upon the flanks and rear of the flying column, the arrival of which in wretched plight at Pondicherry, threw all that place into consternation.

The refusal of Nazir Jung, with true Indian cunning and rapacity, to grant to Britain a territory near Madras as the reward of her co-operation, so irritated Major Lawrence, that he instantly marched his 600 men back to Fort St. David. On the other hand, Dupleix had not lost heart; by various arts he pacified the mutinous officers, infused a new spirit into their soldiers, and opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs of the Patan troops in the army of his antagonist, Nazir. These were ferocious and warlike mercenaries, who were divided into clans or tribes, like those of the Scottish Highlands; and they engaged to perform various services, even to the murder of Nazir, if wished.

D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers, at the head of 300 bayonets, was allowed by the Patan guards to penetrate into the heart of Nazir's camp in a dark and cloudy night, and slay a thousand men in cold blood, with the loss of only three; while at the same time, a small French detachment sailed for Masulipatam (a seaport having a great trade with Bassorah on the Persian Gulf), which was escaladed and taken by Colonel Forde in 1739. Landing in the night, they assailed its fort—a great oblong work close by the sea—and stormed it with trivial loss, while another detachment seized the Pagoda of Travadi, within fifteen miles west of Fort St. David. These troops were under "the French Clive," the Marquis de Bussy, who, continuing his rapid career, next stormed the famous hill-fort of Gingee, which towers above six other conical mountains on the summit of a mighty rock, and is impregnable to ordinary modes of attack. Built by the ancient kings of the Chola dynasty, strengthened by the Naik of Tanjore in 1442, and successively by the Mohammedan kings of Bejapore, the Mahrattas, and the Mogul, it was deemed a maiden fortress, and its capture struck awe into the hearts of the Indians, and filled all Europeans with astonishment.*

Impressed by this event, Nazir Jung opened a secret correspondence with Dupleix, who replied to his letters in a friendly spirit, and drew up a treaty of peace, while at the same time arranging for a treacherous revolt in the camp of Nazir, against whom he posted 4,000 men unseen under the great rocky hill of Gingee, with ten field-pieces, to await the summons of the Patan traitors.

The secret signal was given, and 800 Europeans, with 3,200 sepoys, burst into the camp of Nazir, who, on the first alarm, mounted his battle-elephant, and was hastening to the lines, when two musket-balls entered the howdah and shot him through the

* Orme.

heart. He fell out, dead, at the feet of the savage traitors, who slashed off his head, and bore it through the lines upon the spear.

The tragedy caused a sudden revolution. The chains were struck from the limbs of his nephew, Muzuffer Jung, who was instantly proclaimed Soubahdar of the Deccan, and set out in military and Indo-barbaric triumph for Pondicherry, where, to reward the French, he gave them a great part of the fallen prince's treasures, appointing Dupleix governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast, from the mouth of the Kistna to Cape Comorin, while Chunda Sahib obtained the government of Arcot. But neither the new soubahdar nor Dupleix could satisfy the avarice of the Patan chiefs, who marched off to their native mountains full of rancour and revenge, sentiments to which they had an opportunity of giving full sway in the spring of 1751.

In that year it became necessary for Dupleix to turn his attention to certain revolts which broke out in the Carnatic—as he shrewdly suspected, not without encouragement from the Company or its native allies, and the new soubahdar took the field at the head of the Raj, or state troops, accompanied by a French force under the Marquis de Bussy. On this march into the interior, a mutiny burst forth in a portion of their army, and it was discovered that a savage pass in the territory of Kurpa (*en route* to Golconda) was in possession of the ferocious Patans, armed with their long juzails or rifles, matchlocks, and gingals, together with arrows and other missiles.

Bussy ordered up his light guns to sweep the pass with round shot and grape. The Patans fled, but one, by a Parthian shot, sent an arrow through the brain of the new soubahdar, and slew him on the spot. Another account says he was slain by the javelin of the Nabob of Kurnool. Be that as it may, the native army packed up their lotahs and rice-kettles to retire, when the energetic Bussy proclaimed a third soubahdar, in the person of Salabut Jung, the infant child of Muzuffer, a tiny black youngling, who was now borne aloft in triumph through the ranks. It is worthy of remark that to the succession of children no respect is ever shown in India, where hereditary right has no fixed rule of successions, and hence the domestic dissensions by which, from first to last, we have ever profited. The army continued its march to Hyderabad, where it was given out that ere long France would make the Great Mogul to tremble on his throne at Delhi.

The sudden ascendency of the wily Dupleix filled the Council of the East India Company with something more than genuine consternation, and they endeavoured to induce Mohammed Ali to break off those negociations whereby Trichinopoly was ultimately to be surrendered to France; but Mohammed Ali declared that he would hold out Trichinopoly to the last gasp, whereupon we pledged ourselves to aid him with men, money, and ships. Yet for all this, in his first faintness of heart, he might have joined Dupleix. To encourage him, the presidency at Fort St. David twice sent him succour; but the results were far from satisfactory, and in one instance we had a positive defeat, owing to the smallness of the force at our disposal, and as Major Lawrence had returned to England, the Council were at a loss to whom to give the command of the first expedition.

Lieutenant Robert Clive was too junior in rank and years, so they gave the command to Captain Cope, who, says a writer, "might have been of the same stock as Sir John Cope, the hero of Prestonpans." With a mixed force of 600 men, he advanced to Madura, a town situated in a wild and hilly district, then as now in some parts swampy, in others cultivated with paddy-wheat, sugar, and tobacco, and having savage districts where elephants, tigers, chetahs, antelopes, and hogs roam untamed. Its fortifications were then rectangular and extensive, and consisted of a ditch and wall, round which mephitic miasma and fever are yet exhaled from the stagnant basins of the fort. This unsavoury place still adhered to Mohammed Ali, though a garrison, led by a soldier of fortune, held it against him.

Captain Cope had with him only three field-pieces, and two cohorns, with 150 Europeans, and 600 native horse, with which to invest a city two miles in extent. He was joined, however, by 5,000 of Mohammed's men, but his whole power of breaching depended on an antique Indian gun, the shot for which was so soon expended that it failed to enlarge some ancient gaps in the outer wall; yet to one of these the stormers advanced with the bayonet, to find it held, among others, by three stalwart champions, one of whom, a bulky man, was clad "in complete armour," *i.e.*, chain mail, and these defenders cut down many of the stormers ere they perished. In the interim, a storm of balls, arrows, and stones was poured from the rampart above, and on gaining the parapet, the little handful of Britons saw there a sight which was sufficiently appalling. "On each side of the breach was a mound of earth, with trees laid horizontally upon it (an abatis?), yet leaving openings through which the enemy thrust their pikes, while at the bottom of the rampart a strong entrenchment had been thrown up, and from three to four thousand

men stood ready to defend it. The assault, in which it would have been madness to persist, was abandoned, and on the following day, Captain Cope, after blowing his old gun to pieces because he had not the means to carry it away, returned crestfallen to Trichinopoly."

He had not retired a moment too soon, for 3,500 of his allies went instantly over to the enemy. All this only serves to show that the means at the disposal of our officers were too small to achieve much as yet, in a region so warlike and populous.

On the falling back of Cope, Trichinopoly, a place of vital importance, was immediately besieged by the French and the forces under Chunda Sahib. As it was the only place in the Carnatic which now remained in the hands of our ally, and as the French were showing what we might expect by planting white Bourbon flags in every field around our boundaries, and in some instances insolently within our limits, the presidency at Fort St. David became roused to greater exertions.

There were mustered 500 Europeans, 100 Caffirs, and 1,000 sepoys, and eight guns, and these, with Captain Gingen, a somewhat weak and wavering officer, marched to raise the siege. With him went the famous Clive, but unluckily merely in the position of a commissary. According to Cambridge's "War in India," a spirit of jealousy and division existed among our officers which could not fail to be prejudicial to the work in hand. Captain Gingen marched in April, 1751, and at the same time Chunda Sahib began his movement to meet him at the head of 12,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and a strong battalion of French. The opposing forces met near the great fort of Volconda, which is fifty miles north-west of Trichinopoly, barring the way from that city to Arcot, and the chief defence of which is a rock 200 feet high, a mile in circuit, and moated round by the Valaru. On this rock were three walls, one at the bottom hewn out of the living stone, another near it, and the third at the summit. The governor was summoned by both parties, but, looking down from his perch complacently on those below, replied that he would wait the issue of a battle.

The forces that opposed ours were no doubt overwhelming; but the British troops behaved in such a manner as British troops never behaved before or since. They fled at the first shot! Clive, the young subaltern, strove in vain to rally them, while Abdul Wahab Khan, Mohammed Ali's brother, riding up to them upbraided them for their cowardice; but the Caffirs and sepoys fought for some time with undoubted valour. Another account, which we would rather believe, says:—"It is but just to the English nation to say that only a few in that detachment were English; they consisted for the most part of Germans, Swiss, Dutch, French, and Portuguese deserters; all these, except the Dutch, were in awe of the French, whose reputation for discipline and military science, together with the late splendid victories of themselves and their allies, had spread an impression among all nations in India, save the English, that they were invincible." Gingen, who was calling councils of war, and debating when he ought to have been fighting, was hurled from position to position, till, by changing his line of march, and literally stealing away under cloud of night, he contrived to reach Trichinopoly, after an eighteen hours' march without refreshment, in the hottest season of the year. Chunda Sahib was close on his rear, and the siege was renewed with more vigour than ever.

Lieutenant Clive contrived to make his way to Fort St. David, where he stormed at, and execrated, the conduct of our officers, and solicited some employment more suited to his abilities. In a lucky hour he was promoted to the rank of captain, and the Council adopted a plan which his bravery and genius had formed, and entrusted the boy-captain—for in years he was little more—with the execution of his own daring project.

This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden and furious attack upon Arcot, the capital of the whole Carnatic.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTURE OF ARCOT.—DEFENCE OF IT BY CLIVE.—CAUVERYPAUK.

For this perilous and important service, the attack upon Arcot, the whole force of Captain Clive amounted to only 200 Europeans, and 300 sepoys; he had only eight officers, six of whom had never been under fire, and four were younger than himself, and had just left the Company's civil service. His artillery consisted of three light field-pieces—probably six-pounders. On the 26th August he marched

from Madras full of confidence in the success to come, for with him there "was no such word as fail."

Proceeding south-east, he reached Conjeveram on the 29th, and there learned that the fort of Arcot was garrisoned by 1,100 men, nearly thrice his force, and on the 31st, a march due west from the bank of the Paliar, brought him within ten miles of Arcot. He now sent back to Madras for two eighteen-pounders, to be sent after him without delay. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, now preceded him with tidings that they had seen the British marching with the greatest unconcern, amid a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which was actually the case. This was considered a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort, and a few hours after their departure saw Clive marching, amid tens of thousands of wondering spectators, through the streets of Arcot, the capital of an extensive maritime district, a large, but unwalled town, surrounding a large and strong fort.

After the capture of Gingee by the Mogul armies, they were forced to remove in consequence of the unhealthiness of the plains of Arcot, and this led to the erection of the city in 1716. Anwar-ud-Deen, the nabob, having been slain in battle in 1749, the town was taken by Chunda Sahib, supported by the French, and was now in turn taken by Clive, who found in the fort eight pieces of cannon and great abundance of munition of war.

As he scrupulously respected all property, and permitted about 4,000 persons who had dwellings within the fort to remain there, together with £50,000 worth of goods which had been deposited therein for security, this won him many friends among the natives, who cared little for either of the parties who were contending for the lordship of their native land. As a siege was soon to be expected, says Dr. Taylor, he exerted his utmost diligence to supply the fort, and made frequent sallies to prevent the fugitive garrison who hovered round, from regaining their courage.

He made a search at the head of the greater part of his slender force, with three field-guns, and found a body of the enemy, on the 4th of September, posted near the fort of Timery, but after discharging a field-piece a few times, they fled to the hills before they could be brought within musket-shot. Two days after, he sallied forth again, and found, as before, the enemy 2,000 strong posted near Timery, in a grove, covered by a ditch and bank, and having, about fifty yards in their front, a large alligator tank, almost dry, and choked by luxuriant weeds.

As he advanced, the enemy opened with two field-guns, and killed three Europeans. On this, Clive led up his troops rapidly, but the enemy found shelter in the tank, as behind a breastwork, where they were so well sheltered, that they could inflict severe loss, yet sustain none. Clive now sent two subdivisions to take the tank on each flank by opening a cross and enfilading fire. On this, they fled, and Clive won the village under the walls of the fort, the holders of which, perceiving that he was without a breaching gun, refused to surrender, and he, knowing that the enemy's cavalry were hovering about, fell back on Arcot, where he spent the next ten days in strengthening the works.

Meanwhile, the enemy increased to 3,000 men, collected from various parts of the Carnatic, and encamped within three miles of the fort, prior to besieging it, for which purpose they were making preparations; but on the night of the 14th, when their camp was buried in sleep, Clive, the indefatigable, burst into it, sword in hand, swept through it from end to end at the point of the bayonet, slaying and wounding right and left, without the loss of a man, while the enemy fled on all sides with shrieks and confusion, and, when day broke, none remained there but the dying and the dead.

The two eighteen-pounders with some stores, were meanwhile on their way, under a sepoy escort, and, in the hope of intercepting them, a body of the enemy occupied the great Pagoda of Conjeveram, "the City of Gold," the Orissa of Southern India, and headquarters of heathenism, situated amid the most lovely scenery, where the roadsides are planted with palm-trees; but Clive had tidings of their plan, and sent thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys to attack the great pagoda, from whence they expelled the enemy, who retired to a neighbouring fort. Then their numbers began daily to augment, and Clive, anxious for the safety of his convoy, sent all his force against them, save eighty men.

On this, the enemy most dexterously became the attacking force, and, quitting the pagoda, reached Arcot by a détour and environed the fort in the dark with horse and foot. As day broke, they opened a musketry fire upon the ramparts from some house-tops that commanded them. As this produced no effect, a body of horse and foot, oddly mingled together, with shouts, yells, and war-like music, made a furious rush at the great gate; but a well-directed shower of hand-grenades scared the horses, which scoured about in all directions, trampling down the foot. Clive then opened on them with musketry, and they fled *en masse*.

An hour later, they suddenly renewed the attack, to be quite as rapidly repulsed, and between night and morning, Clive's main body from the

pagoda, "with the sepoys and the two precious battering cannon from Madras, appeared on the skirts of the town," and Clive quietly opened his gates to receive them.

As he had fully calculated, Chunda Sahib withdrew a great portion of his force from the siege of Trichinopoly, and sent his son Rajah Sahib with 4,000 native horse and foot, and 150 Frenchmen, from Pondicherry to Arcot, where they suddenly took possession of the palace on the 23rd of September. Clive, naturally impetuous, was somewhat unwilling to be cribbed and confined to the fort, and resolved, by a vigorous effort, to rid himself of the enemy utterly. "Facing the north-west gate of the fort was a street, which, after running north for seventy yards, turned east to the nabob's palace, where Rajah Sahib had fixed his headquarters. From the palace another street ran south, and was continued along the east side of the fort. The space thus bounded by streets on the west, north, and east, and by the north wall of the fort on the south, formed a square occupied by buildings and enclosures."

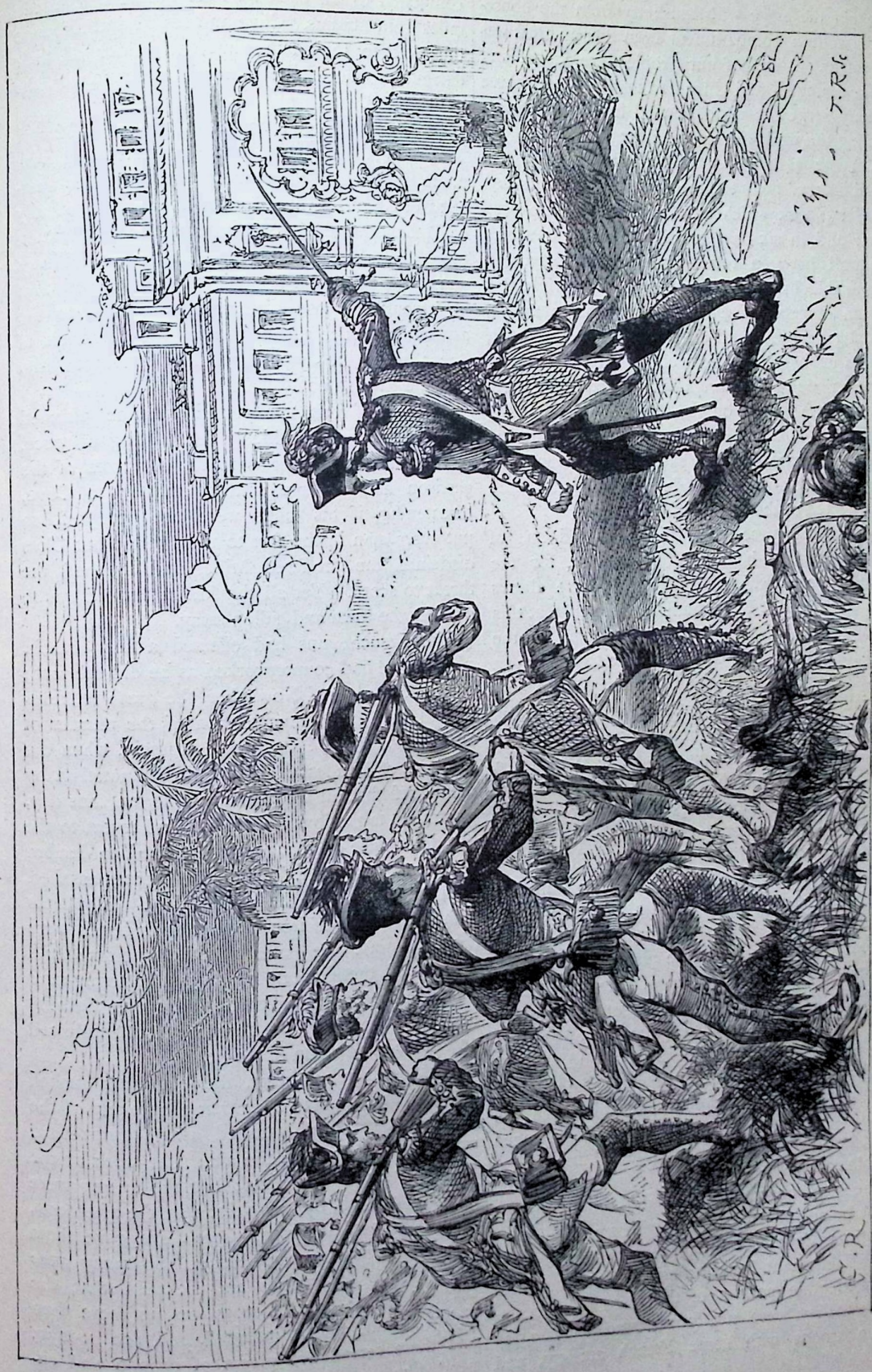
To avail himself of these thoroughfares, so as to put the enemy between a cross fire, was now the plan of Clive. With four field-pieces, and the greatest part of his petty force, he sallied from the north-west gate, and advanced along the street that led north and east, while Ensign Glass had orders to proceed from the east gate up the street leading north to the palace, the common point at which both detachments were to meet.

On wheeling eastward, Clive found the white-coated French infantry, with four field-pieces, drawn up at the palace, from whence they opened fire at thirty yards' range, but were speedily driven in-doors. Meanwhile the rajah's troops fired from the houses, and shot down fourteen men who were sent to drag off the French guns; and, after a severe fight, Clive fell back to the fort, to which Glass's detachment returned about the same time, the enemy's strength rendering the attempt to dislodge them a failure. In addition to the killed, Clive had sixteen disabled, one mortally, including Lieutenant Revel of the Artillery and Lieutenant Trenwith, who, by pulling Clive aside when he saw a sepoy taking deliberate aim at him, lost his life, as the sepoy changed the aim, and shot Trenwith in the body. Next day Rajah Sahib was reinforced by 2,000 men from Vellore, under Mortiz Ali, and other troops were coming on.



ENTRANCE TO THE PAGODA OF CONJEVERAM.

Clive was now more than ever cooped up within the narrow limits of an old fortress, the walls of which in many places were crumbling into ruin. The French tirailleurs picked off many of his garrison, and another night sortie left him with only four officers fit for duty. To spare his provisions, he was now reluctantly compelled to put forth all the natives, save a few artificers. His garrison now consisted of 120 Europeans and 200 sepoys, to oppose a besieging force of ten thousand men—viz., 150 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, 5,000 peons, and 3,000 cavalry. Every avenue was blocked up, and for fourteen days the enemy



CLIVE LEADING HIS MEN UP TO CONJEVERAM.

pressed the siege with musketry from the house-tops, while a bombardment from four mortars was incessant. Many of our people were killed, and more wounded, and Clive had many escapes, three orderly sergeants who attended him singly, when visiting the works, being killed by his side.

On the 24th of October there came in from Pondicherry two eighteen-pounders and seven smaller pieces, which were at once got into position; and in six days these had beaten down all the wall between two of the towers, making a practicable breach fifty feet wide; but while this was in process, Clive was cutting a deep trench, erecting palisades and an earthwork in rear of it, and to enfilade the approach he planted a field-piece on one of the towers, with muzzle depressed, and two other guns on the flat roof of a building within the fort and facing the breach; but the besiegers, aware of these skilful preparations, declined to attempt an escalade until another breach was effected at the back of the fort.

Within that precinct Clive had found one of those enormous bombards, or cannon, for the manufacture of which the Orientals have always been celebrated. Local tradition averred that this gigantic gun had been sent from Delhi by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and that it had been drawn to Arcot by 1,000 bullocks. Though in Dow's translation of "Ferishta," guns are mentioned, it has been supposed that the proper term should have been *naphtha*, as no cannon were used in India before the time of the invasion of Baber (the founder of a line of kings under whom India rose to the greatest prosperity) in 1537, but mention is made of arrows tipped with naphtha and shot against opposing troops, so early as the ninth century. Clive raised a mound of earth high enough to command the palace of the rajah, and on that mound he placed the monster cannon. He found some of the iron balls belonging to it, each weighing seventy-six pounds, and requiring a charge of thirty pounds of powder. The first of these tore like a whirlwind through the palace, making a clean breach in the walls on both sides, to the terror of the rajah and his attendants. Clive ordered it to be fired once daily, but on the fourth discharge it burst with a terrible crash.

The perilous condition of the little band in Arcot being known at the presidency, there were sent from Madras 100 Europeans and 200 sepoys, under Lieutenant Innes, to assist Clive; but after a considerable portion of the route was accomplished, they were nearly surrounded by 2,000 native troops with some French artillery, and compelled to fall back on Fort Ponamalee, fifteen miles from Madras. Clive and his "handful" were thus left to their fate; but the valour of their defence produced a deep moral impression on the native mind.

Clive now opened a communication with Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief who lay encamped with 6,000 men among the mountains thirty miles westward of Arcot. He had come there as hired ally of Mohammed Ali, but on seeing the desperation of his affairs remained aloof. The charm of Clive's name was being felt now, so Morari replied that he "would not lose a moment in coming to the assistance of such valiant men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now convinced him that the English could fight."

Tidings of this unexpected alliance alarmed Rajah Sahib, who suddenly sent a flag of truce, offering honourable terms to the survivors of the garrison and a large sum of money to Clive, threatening, if his offers were not accepted, to put every man in the fort to the sword; but Clive disdained the proffered bribe, and laughed the threat to scorn. Yet all the Mahrattas did was to plunder the town and gallop away.

The French guns had effected a new breach, which Clive had counterworked as he did the first; but on the 14th of November, the great religious festival held in commemoration of the murder of the holy brothers, Hassan and Hussein, when the Moslems of Hindostan inflame their fanaticism by the belief that all who fall in battle on that day, go straight to the joys of Paradise, and resort to the maddening use of bhang and hempseed to deaden their sense of danger, Rajah Sahib's forces assailed both breaches with the utmost fury. Elephants with large plates of iron fixed to their heads were driven against the gates at other points; and in rear of these enormous living battering-rams scrambled a yelling multitude, their eyes flashing like their swords, with the drugs they had swallowed and the wild devotion of the hour.

Wounded by musketry, the elephants rushed madly to and fro, and after trampling many of the rabble-rout to death, trotted away, trumpeting, with their probosces in the air. The work at the breaches was more serious; but the enemy were repulsed at both, by two o'clock in the afternoon, with the loss of 400 men, whom Clive gave them two hours' leave to carry away. So many were disabled now by wounds and sickness, that the strength of the garrison now was no more than eighty British, officers included, and 120 sepoys; and these served five pieces of cannon and expended 12,000 cartridges in repelling the attack.

At four o'clock the fire again reopened from the town, nor did it close until two next morning, when suddenly the flashes ceased, and a dead silence ensued. When day broke, Clive learned, to his joy and astonishment, that the whole army of Rajah Sahib had abandoned Arcot in haste and disorder, leaving their guns and much ammunition behind them. "During the fifty days the siege went on," says Macaulay in his Essay on Lord Clive, "the young captain maintained the defence with a firmness, vigilance, and ability that would have done honour to the oldest marshals of France. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice would suffice for *themselves*. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind."

A detachment from Madras, under the command of Captain Kilpatrick, arrived safely at Arcot on the evening of that day on which the siege was abandoned. Leaving a slender garrison under the captain to hold the fort, Clive departed on the 19th of November, to follow up the fast retreating foe, with 200 Europeans, 700 sepoys, and three guns; after being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent by Morari Rao, he overtook the enemy near Arnee—a strong fort fourteen miles south of Arcot. They mustered 300 French, with 4,500 native horse and foot.

Aware of their great superiority in force, they faced about to offer battle. Clive placed the Mahrattas in a palm tope on his left; the sepoys held a village on the right; the Europeans, the centre, or open ground between these points. In front lay swampy rice-fields, with a causeway through them, leading to the village. Most spirited was the action that ensued.

The Mahrattas made five distinct charges, but were always repulsed. The enemy attempted to advance by the causeway, but the fire of our artillery drove them to flounder in the rice-fields, and a general alarm soon produced a flight and total rout. The darkness of the night that came suddenly on, alone saved the French from total destruction; but the Mahrattas captured 400 horsemen with Chunda Sahib's military chest, containing 100,000 rupees, and so great was the disgust of the enemy's sepoys, that 600 deserted to Clive with all their arms and accoutrements.

Still pressing on, Clive, a pursuer now, captured the strong Pagoda of Conjeveram, strengthened the garrison he had left in Arcot, and returned to Fort St. David, to report that triumphant campaign which covered him and his comrades with glory. But his labours were not yet over, for—though Mohammed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the whole country open to him, and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will—the enemy soon reassembled, and 4,500 natives, with 400 French and a train of guns, began to ravage the territories of the Company.

In February, 1752, Clive was ordered to drive them back, with a force consisting of only 380 Europeans, 1,300 sepoys, and six field-pieces, while the enemy mustered 400 Frenchmen, and 4,500 natives, with a large train of artillery, yet they did not venture to risk an encounter, so great was now their terror of the conquering Clive, at whose approach they fell back to Vandaloor, and intrenched with equal strength and speed.

As he approached again, they retreated from position to position; but Clive, by lengthening and quickening his marches, came suddenly upon them at Cauverypauk—a town some sixty miles from Madras, chiefly remarkable for its tank, which is the most magnificent structure of its kind in Southern India, as it is no less than eight miles in length by three in breadth, and is enclosed by an embankment planted with beautiful palmyra trees. Here they took post and opened a fire with nine guns at 250 yards from a wooded bank, while their whole force lay in a species of ambuscade; but Clive's plans were made coolly though time pressed.

Posting his infantry in a nullah immediately on his left, and sending the baggage rearward half a mile under a guard, he dispatched a detachment with two field-pieces against Rajah Sahib's horse, who were spreading over the plain, and employed his remaining force to answer the fire from the bank. Advancing along the nullah, or watercourse, the French came on in columns of sections, six men abreast, but were met by the British bayonets in the same order; yet no charge ensued, doubtless from the peculiarity of their formation, though, under the brilliant moonlight, a sputtering fire of musketry was kept up for two hours. The rajah's

horse, who failed in many attempts upon the baggage, were kept completely at bay.

So many of Clive's gunners were killed and wounded, that he found the fire of his three field-pieces overborne by the French now, and no alternative was left him but to storm the battery, or retreat. He chose the former, and on an intelligent sergeant, whom he had sent forward to reconnoitre, reporting that the enemy's rear was quite uncovered, he dispatched a strong party to approach it, unseen, by a détour. He accompanied this party half-way, and returned only in time to find his front about to fall back.

Rallying them, sword in hand, he was renewing the fight, when, all at once, the enemy's cannon ceased firing; then he knew that the rear attack had proved completely successful. Reaching the bank unperceived, the detachment poured in their fire at thirty yards, thus turning the position and taking the guns. Instantaneous was the panic, and, without firing another shot, the foe fled, leaving fifty French and 300 sepoys dead upon the field. Many of the French, who had crowded into a choultry, surrendered as prisoners. Nine field-pieces, and three cohorns were taken. The fort of Cauverypauk at once surrendered. Clive's loss in killed was forty British soldiers and thirty sepoys.

The surviving Frenchmen made a rush to the usual place of shelter, Pondicherry, while Chunda Sahib's troops dispersed and fled to their homes in all directions.

Just when the presidency at Fort St. David were about to dispatch Clive to Trichinopoly, Major Lawrence returned from England, and took the command as superior officer. From that impetuosity and impatience of control which characterised Clive in the camp, as of old at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that after such brilliant achievements, he might dislike to act with zeal in a subordinate capacity; but it was not so with the self-taught soldier of India.

"He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend," says Macaulay, "and exerted himself as strenuously in the second part, as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men thoroughly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules."*

* Essays.

Taking Clive with him, the major set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 British, 1,100 sepoys, and eight guns. As now 20,000 Mysoreans, and 6,000 of the warlike Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with him, the troops of Chunda Sahib, and the French who had mustered in and about Trichinopoly, broke up in something more than despair. The latter retired to the isle of Seringham, which is formed by the junction of the Coleroon and Cauvery.

There they took possession of the most celebrated of its Hindoo temples, the great pagoda near its western extremity, an edifice surrounded by seven enclosures of massive brick, at the distance of 350 feet from each other, the outer being nearly four miles in circumference. Dupleix sent M. d'Auteuil to reinforce them here, but he was driven into an old fort on the way, and compelled to capitulate. This was followed by the surrender of those in the great pagoda on the isle, as they were in a state of starvation; so Chunda Sahib, finding himself deserted by the last of his forces, surrendered to the leader of the Tanjore army, who promised him protection, but put him in chains.

This ended, for a time, the operations in and about Trichinopoly, the sieges and blockades of which lasted fully a year, and the most ample details of them will be found in the thick quarto volumes of Orme; but now a violent dispute ensued between Mohammed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjoreans, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner Chunda Sahib. To end the growing quarrel, Major Lawrence proposed that the fallen prince should be surrendered to Britain; but the Tanjoreans solved the difficulty in true Indian fashion, by cutting off Chunda's head and sending it to his now fortunate rival, Mohammed Ali, who, with savage exultation displayed it on a spear before his army. "Lawrence and Clive have both been blamed for suffering this foul assassination; but it will appear on candid examination of the facts, that neither they nor their allies had any foreknowledge or anticipations of the deed, which sprung from the jealousy and ferocity of the Tanjore chief, over whom they had no control."

In detailing these affairs, the *London Gazette* of the 6th January, 1753, has the following:—

"M. Dupleix at the desire of Salabad Jing, has solicited for a peace, which the nabob is willing to consent to, provided it is made to our satisfaction, as he owns himself much obliged to us."

Then we have a report of Major Lawrence, dated Trichinopoly, 12th June, 1752, detailing certain operations:—

"We have killed and taken prisoners an army much more numerous than our own, with all their artillery, which amounts to about forty pieces, and ten mortars. We found among the prisoners about thirty French officers, about six killed, and about 800 private men. They were acting as allies to the rebels, that have almost destroyed this country, and we gave our assistance to the lawful prince, who is so sensible of his obligation to the English that I have great hopes our Company will be able to carry on their trade here to more advantage than any other European nation. I am going to begin my march through the Arcot country, to settle the tranquillity of it, and am above 100 miles from the seaside."

The troops of Mysore and some of the Mahrattas occupied Trichinopoly; those of Tanjore marched home, so the British with their sepoys marched against Gingee, a strong place which was held by a brave French garrison. The attacking force consisted of 200 Europeans, 1,500 sepoys, and 600 black cavalry, all under Major Kinnear, an officer just arrived from home, who was repulsed, and had to fall back with considerable loss. Elated by this success, Dupleix reinforced the victors, who were mustering 450 French, 1,500 sepoys, and 500 native horse, and took post near the northern boundary of Fort St. David, while the Company's troops held a position at a redoubt in the boundary hedge three miles westward of the fort.

There they remained inactive, awaiting the coming of 200 Swiss, who had arrived at Madras from England. To avoid delay, 100 of them were embarked in the light boats of the country, and sailed for Fort St. David. It was assumed that on the sea Dupleix would not venture to violate the British flag; but as soon as they were seen from Pondicherry, a ship was sent out to make them all prisoners. "The capture was loudly complained of, as a violation of the peace subsisting between Great Britain and France; but Dupleix thought he had a sufficient precedent in the capture of French troops at Seringham."

The other Swiss company reached Fort St. David safely, and on the 7th August, 1752, Major Lawrence took command of the whole force, consisting of 400 Europeans, 1,700 sepoys, and 4,000 of the nabob's troops. The enemy now took post at Bahoor, where Lawrence attacked with equal skill and vigour. The French and British met in a charge, and the clash of steel was heard as the bayonets crossed; but short was the struggle. Two platoons of our grenadiers, by main strength of arm, broke the enemy's centre, on which their whole line gave way, and had the nabob's horse, instead of turning their energies to plunder, used lance and sabre well, not a man should have escaped. Morari Rao, who had been won over by Dupleix, was on his way to join the French with 3,000 Mahrattas, when he met some of the fugitives. So, with that treachery which is so perfectly Oriental, he made his appearance in the camp of the nabob, "complimenting him on the victory, and lamenting his misfortune in not having been able to join him in sufficient time to share it."

Clive was now detached to Coulong, a town of the Carnatic, twenty-four miles from Madras. The forces he took with him are represented as being 500 newly-raised sepoys, and 200 recruits who had come from London, and who are represented as being gaol-birds, "and the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses." Yet Clive made soldiers of this singular rabble, though they fled at the first shot, and one hid himself at the bottom of a well; but Clive kept them to their duty, "and by the time the fort surrendered, they were heroes." Cutting up, or taking prisoners, some detachments that were marching from Chingleput (a day too late) to relieve Coulong, Clive, by a rapid march of forty miles to the former place, compelled the French commander to surrender it on the 31st of October, permitting him to march out with the honours of war, and proceed to Pondicherry.

Chingleput was a strong fort, 400 yards long by 320 broad, situated at the base of two mountains, close to the left bank of the Paliar.

Clive now returned to Madras, and finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by all he had undergone, he returned on leave to England, where he was greatly *feted* after his landing at Plymouth, on the 10th of September, 1753,* and was presented with a diamond-hilted sword by the East India Company, which, with rare delicacy, he declined to receive unless a similar gift was presented to his brother-officer, Lawrence.

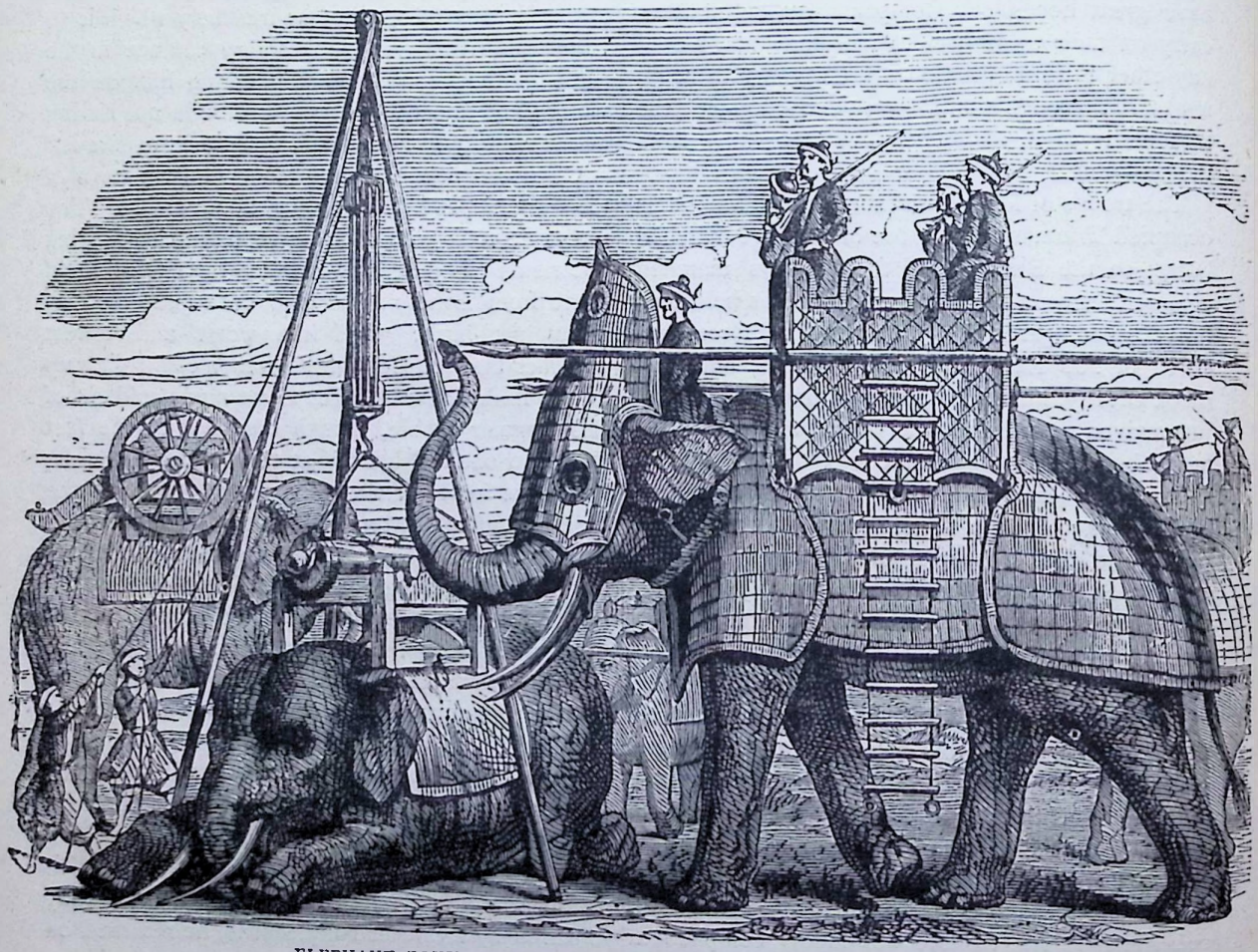
His departure was deplored by the army, and his absence was soon felt along the whole coast of Coromandel.

* *Gentleman's Magazine.*

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE SEPOYS.—SIEGE OF TRICHINOPOLY.—BATTLES OF THE GOLDEN AND SUGARLOAF ROCKS, ETC.

"SEPOY," says Colonel James briefly, in his "Military Dictionary," "derived from *sephaye*, natives of India who have enlisted themselves into the service of the East India Company." The first sepoys seen in India were a body of 200 natives, mingled with a few Portuguese soldiers, in 1594, under the Moguls.



ELEPHANT EQUIPPED FOR BATTLE, WITH ARMOUR, HOWDAH, ETC.

The French had raised a body of them before we began the practice, and it would appear that our first sepoys were trained in 1746, during La Bourdonnais' siege of Madras. Some British officers were then attached to certain irregular native infantry, whom they began to drill and discipline. The system was first introduced into the Madras army by Lieutenant Haliburton, a Scotsman, who, like Clive, had quitted the civil for the military service, but was shot, in 1748, by a sulky fanatic, who was instantly hacked to pieces by his comrades. Haliburton's memory was long revered by the Madras sepoys.

"The aborigines of the Carnatic," says General Briggs, "were the sepoys of Clive and Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and fought the battle of Plassey in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India but in Ava, Afghanistan, and the celebrated siege of Jelalabad. An unjust prejudice against them has grown up in the armies of Madras and Bombay, produced by the feeling of contempt for them existing among the Hindoo and Mohammedan sepoys. They have no prejudices themselves, are always ready to serve abroad, and



ARRIVAL OF MAJOR LAWRENCE AT COILADY.

embark on board ship, and I believe no instance of mutiny has occurred among them. It is to be regretted that separate regiments of this race are not more generally enlisted."

Among the earliest and most brilliant service of the Madras sepoys was the defence of Arcot. At first they appear to have been either Mohammedans or high-class Brahmins, and soon became remarkable for the reverence of their military oath, their attachment to their officers, and their entire devotion to the British flag—by their good conduct in cantonments, and their bravery in battle; but all this was long before the dark days of the Mutiny.

We have said that, before the death of Haliburton, sepoys were first disciplined at Fort St. George, in 1748. At that period they were chiefly under the command of native officers; and one of their subahdars, or captains—Mohammed Esof—seems to have been a heroic soldier, whose name frequently appears in the pages of Orme.

The first regular regiment of Bengal native infantry (styled *Gillis-ka-Pultan*), in scarlet with white facings, was not raised till 1757. And so it was that, British pluck apart, by turning the Indians against themselves, we have been able, as a writer has it, to conquer "a most singular people, who were well fed and well clad, who had a written language and composed metaphysical treatises when the forefathers of the race that now bears sway over 200,000,000 of them were still wandering in the woods of Britain and Germany, all of them savages, and some perhaps cannibals!"

During the progress of the war in the Carnatic, the talent possessed by M. Dupleix for intrigue and diplomacy won him many successes, for he had emissaries everywhere, and the native princes, omrahs, and zemindars were as subtle as they were false. In his intrigues he had an able assistant in Madame Dupleix, who had been born in India, and knew alike the languages and the character of the Indians: moreover, she was inspired by greater ambition than the governor himself. To such intriguing it was, that the Mysorean ruler broke with us and joined him, and that his pernicious example was followed by Morari Rao, the Mahratta, and the Moslem governor of Vellore.

On being joined by these faithless allies of ours, the French once more blocked up Trichinopoly, into which, on the 6th of May, 1753, Major Lawrence threw himself, with the resolution of resisting, even as the absent Clive would have done.

As soon as the major became certain of the defection of the Mahrattas—a people trained to war from their earliest years, and taught to regard learning as better adapted to Brahmins than warriors—he ordered an attack upon that portion of their troops that was yet within his reach. Under cover of night, the attack was led by Captain Dalton, who hurled out of the city, at the same time, a number of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be allies, but were mistrusted.

Shortly after, the Mahrattas made a furious attack upon one of our advanced posts, and cut to pieces seventy British and 300 sepoys. Neither they nor the Mysoreans had any idea of attempting to reduce the fort by storm, though they hoped to do so by famine. To this end, they blocked up every avenue, and kept patrols of horse scouring the country to intercept supplies of every kind, and cut off the noses and ears of all whom they found infringing their orders. In Trichinopoly the magazines had been entrusted to the care of a brother of Mohammed Ali; but when Captain Dalton inspected the stores, he found that this man had sold the contents, and there remained only fifteen days' provisions for those in the place.

On the 7th May—the very day after Major Lawrence threw himself into Trichinopoly, a detachment of 200 French, and 500 sepoys, with four field-pieces, sent by Dupleix, arrived at Seringham, and joined the whole Mysoreans, while the entire force that Lawrence could muster amounted to only 500 British, 2,000 sepoys, and 3,000 of the nabob's horse. With the infantry only—as the horsemen, like the Swiss of old, refused to march because their pay was in arrear—he crossed over to the island, and was immediately assailed by the troops of Mysore in heavy strength. He drove back their infantry, but their cavalry, headed by the fiery Mahrattas, fought valiantly, yet were driven in. The brunt of the conflict then fell on the French infantry and artillery, who held their ground, and kept up a cannonade till evening, when Major Lawrence deemed it prudent once more to cross the Cauvery.

The resistance of that day had convinced him that M. Astruc would prove a more formidable opponent than the former holder of Seringham, the Scoto-Frenchman, James Francis Law (of Lauriston, near Edinburgh), nephew of the Comptroller of France, who was created Count de Tancarville for his many great services in India. So Lawrence found that, instead of attempting to dislodge Astruc from the pagoda and isle, it would be wiser to endeavour to replenish the magazines in the city with provisions, a difficult task, that kept him otherwise inactive for five weeks. Meanwhile Dupleix, fully aware of the importance of the post, poured reinforcements into Seringham, until the whole force there amounted to 450 French, 1,500

sepoys, 3,500 Mahrattas, 8,000 Mysorean horse, and 16,000 Mysorean infantry; and, to oppose all these, Lawrence could oppose but 500 British, and 2,000 sepoys, of whom 700 were constantly employed in escorting provisions.

When provisions for fifty days had been procured, the major determined to march into the Tanjore country, with the double purpose of meeting a reinforcement he expected from the presidency, and of inducing the king to furnish him with a cavalry force of which he stood much in need, for escort, patrol, and other duties, but the troops of Tanjore were clamorous for pay, and declared the nabob should not quit the city till they were satisfied. This the king failed to achieve, "and the singular spectacle was seen of 200 Europeans, with fixed bayonets, escorting the nabob, in whose cause the Company had already expended much blood and treasure, because his own troops, so far from escorting him, were bent on committing outrage on his person."

A few days after his departure, they threatened to join the enemy, so, glad to be rid of them on any terms, Captain Dalton let them march off at noonday without firing a shot at them. The whole country around Trichinopoly was now in possession of the foe; the city alone remained to be contested for, and arrangements were made accordingly. As starvation threatened the inhabitants, they quitted their homes, and in less than a month 400,000 of them disappeared, and there remained behind only a garrison, which, including soldiers, and every description of artificer, did not exceed 2,000 men. The burden of defence lay upon 200 Europeans, and 600 sepoys, stationed at long intervals upon the walls. The former held the gates, and were day and night under arms, but their spirit, if it ever flagged, rose when the approach of Major Lawrence became certain.

On being reinforced from Fort St. David, and accompanied by 3,000 Tanjore horse and 2,000 matchlockmen, under the command of Monajee, on the 7th of August, he arrived at a place called Dallaway's Choultry (*i.e.*, Caravanserai) on the south bank of the Cauvery, five miles eastward of Trichinopoly. The swampy plain that intervened was so flooded by recent rains, that it was necessary to strike southwards. The convoy consisted of 4,000 bullocks, supposed to be laden with provisions, though most of them were in reality appropriated by the nabob and his officers, "selfishly for the transport of baggage and trumpery."

"Since my letter of the 14th instant," reported the major to the directors, in a despatch dated at the camp near Trichinopoly, "Captain Ridge joined me with a detachment of above 200 Europeans. This addition made me resolve to attack the enemy, as the monsoon approached, and their situation was such, that they cut off our provisions, which must have ended in the loss of Trichinopoly. Accordingly, on the 19th (September) I made a motion in the night, towards the left of the enemy's camp; for they had possession of two large rocks, about a mile distant from each other, and I found it necessary to gain one of them.

"The whole day of the 20th was spent in cannonading; and, the better to conceal our design, I had ordered out an eighteen-pounder from the fort, that they might think we had no other means than that of disturbing them in their camp with our shot. This lulled them into security; but at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st, our Europeans being disposed in three lines, with the seapoys (*sic*) on our flanks, and the horse in our rear, we attacked the rock on the left, called the Golden Rock, and gained it without any loss, the enemy retiring after a faint resistance, and leaving behind them two pieces of cannon.

"This earnest of success encouraged our men greatly, and determined me to push on to the main body; so, that no time might be lost, we advanced towards the Sugar-loaf Rock just as day began to break. The enemy were drawn up close to the rock, and had fortified themselves with breastworks, so it was necessary to gain their Black Camp, that we might fall upon them in the rear. This was effected with little trouble, and our soldiers marched through a constant fire from nine pieces of cannon, attacked a line of men which greatly outnumbered themselves, and in ten or twelve minutes drove the enemy out of their lines. They, however, rallied and made some faint resistance, afterwards supported by the Morattas, who rode up very desperately; but as these could not sustain a galling fire which fell upon them from all quarters, they at length ran away, and left us complete masters of the field of battle, their whole camp, baggage, ammunition, and ten pieces of cannon.

"The remains of their army retreated; some towards Altoora and Seringham, some towards Tandamou's country, and some towards Tanjour. The Polligars and seapoys bring in prisoners every minute. The action lasted two hours. We took eight officers, 100 soldiers, besides the killed, about sixty more. The Morattas saved the rest, and prevented a pursuit, as they were vastly superior to Monage, our Tanjour friend."

We had many men killed and wounded. Among the latter were six officers, including Lawrence,

who received a musket-ball in the arm, and Captain Kilpatrick severely. Among the French officers taken here was M. Astruc, undoubtedly one of the best in their service.

Major Lawrence now, after reinforcing the garrison in the city, so as to make it, as he thought, sufficiently strong, with ordinary vigilance, to resist any attempt made upon it, marched to Coilady, on the frontiers of Tanjore, where supplies were abundant, while Captain Dalton sailed for England, and Captain Kilpatrick, on whom the command had devolved, was confined to bed with his wounds.

It was about this time, the 28th of November, that a secret assault was made upon the city, around the walls of which the Mahrattas and Mysoreans were distributed in detachments, making feints before the ditch to divert the attention of the guards and inlying pickets from a French battalion, which was to make the real attack at a point called Dalton's Battery. At three p.m. this battalion, 600 strong, was to commence the escalade, supported by 200 more and a body of sepoys. The battery was guarded against them by only fifty sepoys and a few European matrosses. All were on the alert when the rounds passed at midnight, but the event proved that, worn out with fatigue, all were asleep when, without an alarm being heard, the escalade began to cross the ditch and plant their ladders against the wall. The bayonet soon disposed of the sleepers, and the assailants began to move along the wall in strict silence; but within the battery was a pit thirty feet deep, into which many of them fell, and then their screams of pain and the explosion of their muskets broke the silence of the early morning.

Finding all concealment at an end now, the French on the wall turned the battery guns and fired upon the town, with a random volley of musketry, while shouting "Vive le Roi!" with all their drummers beating the *pas-de-charge*, to strike terror, as they hoped. Unable to leave his bed, Captain Kilpatrick gave the necessary instructions to Lieutenant Harrison, the next officer in seniority, and a fire was kept up on the passage leading to a gate in the inner wall, but two men who were attempting to blow it open by a petard were killed. Those who had got into the narrow way between the two walls rushed back to the battery to escape; many missed the ladders and took a leap of eighteen feet into the wet ditch and perished miserably. "By daybreak," says the report, "those who did not choose to venture their necks by jumping off the battery to save themselves, called out for quarter, which was given them. There were taken on the battery 297 European prisoners, besides sixty-five wounded, forty-two killed in the ditch, and nine officers. The rest of their loss was not known, but it was believed that it must have been pretty considerable. In this action the garrison had scarcely any loss."

We are told that the noise of the firing was heard at Coilady, on which Major Lawrence reinforced the garrison, and soon after marched in with all his forces.

On the 13th of February, 1754, after much fighting, and after the country had been so devastated around Trichinopoly that no firewood could be procured within six miles of it, one of our convoys was attacked and severely cut up by 12,000 of the enemy's horse, led by Morari Rao, and another whose name was to become famous in the annals of the future—Hyder Ali. Besides the whole of the provisions and military stores, £7,000 fell into the hands of the enemy, who would have made a massacre of all the prisoners, but for the timely arrival and honourable intervention of the French.

To detail all the various events connected with the siege of Trichinopoly would be foreign to our work; suffice it that, soon after the last-mentioned encounter, there was a complete suspension of arms in this part of the Carnatic; but while the war there drained the exchequer of Pondicherry, Dupleix and his compatriot, Bussy, took care, by their interest at the court of the Deccan, to acquire territory, and receive far more than sufficient to compensate any such drain; while the Carnatic itself was, in the prospective policy of the former, soon to belong to France, and Britain, utterly vanquished, would be compelled to withdraw from Madras and the coast of Coromandel.

While these events which we have been narrating were in progress, the Marquis de Bussy had taken his departure for Hyderabad, more than a year before, to establish Salabut Jung on the throne of the Deccan. With his troops he penetrated further into the country than any European had ever done before, and, to all appearance, had consolidated the authority of his ally; when Uddeen, a prince of the Mogul's choice, suddenly came against Salabut, at the head of 100,000 horse, but, just as he was entering Golconda, he was carried off by poison. Upon this, many of his vast host returned to their homes; but not so the Mahrattas. Eager for the spoil of a rich and hitherto unwasted province, they continued to advance, and encountered the troops of Salabut and Bussy in several places. "Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice, with so much slaughter, that the

Mahrattas were anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat, by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Berhampore, and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery."

Taking advantage of a temporary absence of the marquis, the ungrateful Salabut withheld the pay of the French troops who had saved him from destruction, and he sought to attain their ruin by separating them into small and remote detachments, which were influenced by his courtiers, who expressed their disgust to see a handful of white men swaying the whole affairs of the Deccan. So, on discovering this state of affairs, the restless and warlike Mahrattas began to sharpen their sabres, and prepare for a new strife in the Deccan.

Then Salabut Jung implored Bussy to save him again, and he did save him, but at an enormous price; for, before the end of 1753, he had obtained the cession of five important provinces. These were Ellore, renowned for its sugar-canes, and then also for a diamond mine; Rajahmundry, a province consisting of 4,690 square miles, prized for its fertility and the excellence of its tobacco; Cicacole, through which the Gundwana flows to the sea; Kondapilla and Guntoor, having an area of 4,690 square miles, well adapted for growing rice in the plains. This acquisition, called the Northern Circars, made France mistress of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles, affording her thus a vast revenue, and every means for pouring provisions, men, and money into Pondicherry and the Mauritius.

But the grandeur of the projects of Bussy and Dupleix was as yet unseen alike by the court of Versailles and the French India Company; and intrigues against the governor procured his recall to France, where he found himself "obliged to dispute the miserable remains of his once splendid fortune with the French East India Company, to dance humble attendance on ministers and their satellites, and solicit audiences in the ante-chambers of his judges."

He sunk into indigence, and was soon forgotten in France, though he was long remembered in India.

His successor was M. A. M. Godlieu, who proceeded at once to negociate peace between the the French and the British and their allies in India, and on the 26th December, 1754, the provisional treaty was signed at Madras by him, and Mr. Sanders, our president there. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic, and to intrigue no more with the native princes there, thus leaving Mohammed Ali, the ally or puppet of Britain, nominally undisputed nabob of the province. They also agreed that the territorial acquisitions of the French and British should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy.

Meanwhile, the adventurous marquis was left unmolested in Golconda, where he lived in the pomp and splendour of an emperor, and controlled the whole of the Deccan; but the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them "by their paper agreements," which they failed to comprehend, seemed disposed still to block up Trichinopoly, and hovered in its neighbourhood, till scared away by a rumour that the Mahrattas were on the march to attack them.

Their departure finally closed that siege which had lasted so long, and certainly developed in our troops no small amount of skill, valour, and steadiness.

Scarcely, however, was peace made in the remote East, when Britain and France became involved in fresh disputes: the French complaining that we kept our troops with Mohammed Ali, to aid him in the collection of his revenue and the reduction of subjects who were refractory; while we justified our conduct by pointing to Bussy and his troops in the Deccan. Hence the old bitterness grew, and it soon became evident that neither peace nor truce would endure long on the shores of Coromandel, and an expedition for the East began to be prepared at home.

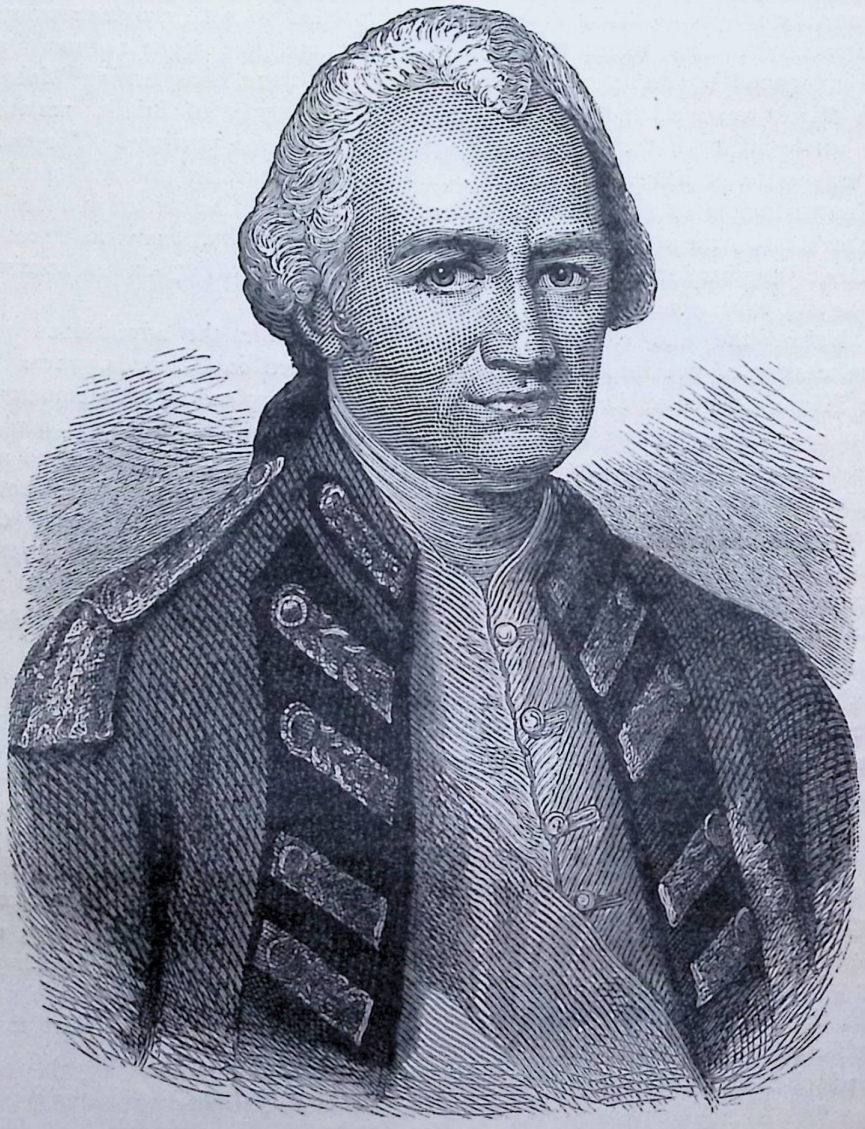
CHAPTER VIII.

GHERIAH REDUCED.—CALCUTTA TAKEN.—THE BLACK HOLE.

Reinforcements were now sent out to the French at Pondicherry, chiefly Irishmen, under the Count de Lally, son of Captain Lally, of Tullach-na-Daly, one of those who left Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick. He had with him his own regiment of the Irish Brigade, 109th of the French line, and 600 hussars under the command of Fitscher, a partisan officer of high reputation. Like the rest

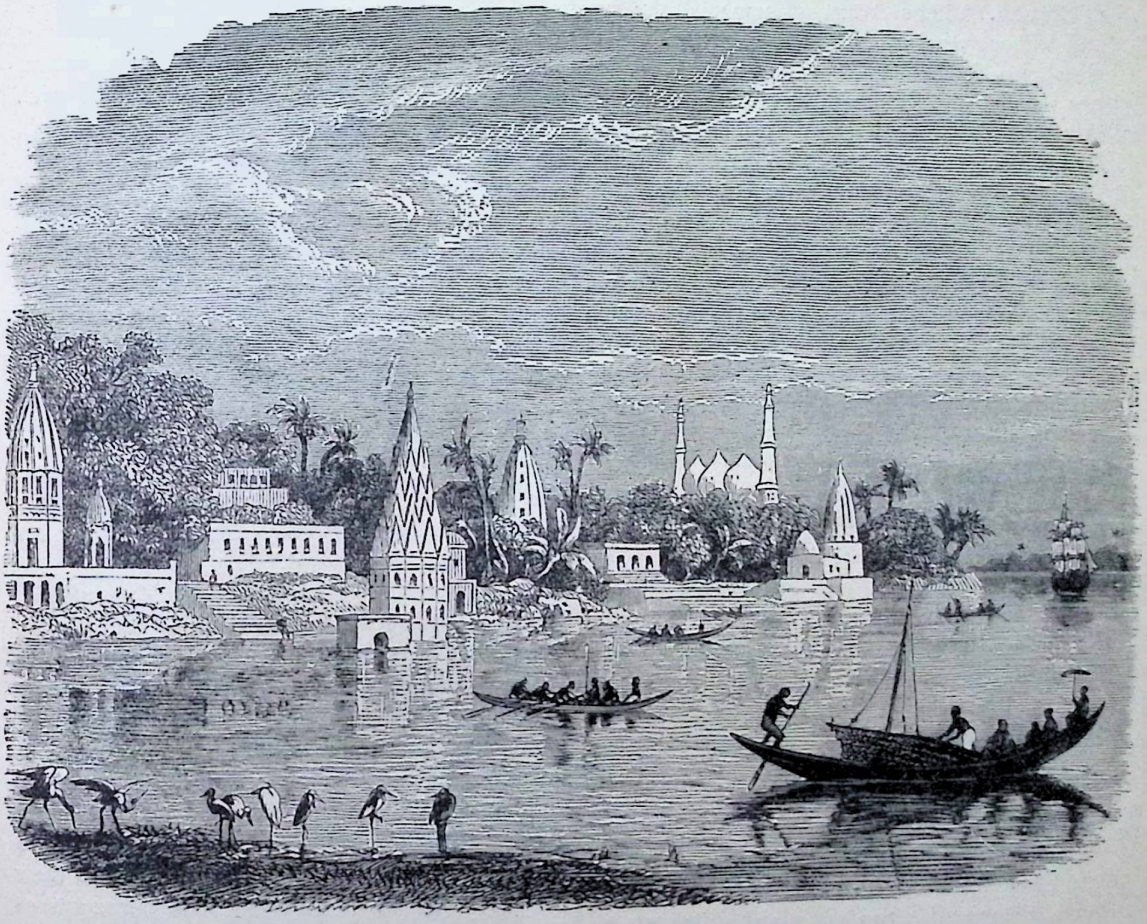
of the Irish Brigade, the uniform of Count de Lally's Regiment is thus described in the "Liste Historique des Troupes de France" (1753):—"Son uniforme est: Habit rouge, paremens d'un vert clair doublure blanche, boutons jaunes, poches en travers garnies de trois boutons, culotte blanche, douze boutons sur le devant de l'habit et trois sur la manche, veste verte garnie de chacque côté de douze boutons, chapeau bordé d'or" (vol. iii.).

On the other hand, we were not slow in sending succours to the East. On the 12th of March, 1754, a squadron sailed, having on board a company of artillery, several cannon, and warlike stores. In going round by Cork for more troops, the *Eagle* and *Bristol* were driven ashore, so the *Tiger* and *Cumberland* sailed in their place. On the 24th, the rest of the squadron, consisting of the *Kent* and *Salisbury* (each of seventy guns), the *Bridgewater* (fifty), and the *Kingfisher* (sloop), under the command of Rear-Admiral Charles Watson (to whose memory a monument was afterwards erected in Westminster), sailed from Ireland, having on board Colonel J. Aldercron's regiment, the 39th (now called "The Dorsetshire"), which, as the first British regiment that ever unfurled its colours in Hindostan, bears the proud motto: "Primus in Indis." A squadron of the Company's ships, with other troops, artillery and stores, sailed about the same time from Plymouth; and Aldercron, who had a long interview with the Duke of Cumberland before leaving London, was appointed "Commander-in-chief of His Britannic Majesty's forces, and those of the British East India Company in that quarter."



LORD CLIVE.

As there was no immediate work for the squadron to do on its arrival in Indian waters, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the haunts of certain pirates who, for more than fifty years, had been committing the most horrid depredations and outrages along the coast of Malabar, and against whom several somewhat futile expeditions had been fitted out from time to time. Clive, who had arrived with the troops, and, with the rank of colonel, was now commandant of Fort St. David, urged that no time should be lost in carrying the attack into effect, with a united British and Mahratta force. The chief nest of the pirates, the harbour and fort of Gheriah, was the point selected for attack. This place was 160 miles distant from Bombay, and was reported by the admiral, in his survey made in 1755, to be, "though undoubtedly strong, very far from being impregnable. Its site was a rocky promontory (on the Malabar coast), connected with the mainland by a narrow belt of sand, stretching south-east, about a mile in length by a quarter in breadth. The face of the promontory was round where washed by the sea, and formed a continuous precipice about fifty feet high. Above this rose the fortifications, consisting of a double wall, flanked with towers. The sandy isthmus contained the docks where the grabs were built and repaired; and immediately beyond, on the north, was the harbour, partly formed by the mouth of a stream which descended from the Ghauts."



SCENE ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES.

The naval portion of the expedition, under Admiral Watson, consisted of sixteen sail, carrying, irrespective of the five bomb-ketches, 242 guns, with 2,885 seamen, a battalion of 800 Europeans, and 1,000 sepoys on board. All the preparations having been completed, the fleet sailed on the 7th of February, 1756, from Bombay, after some unpleasant disputes concerning the distribution of prize-money had been adjusted. The Mahratta army, under Ramajee Punt, had previously advanced from Choal, a seaport twenty-three miles south of Bombay. On the appearance of the fleet as it ran along the palm-covered coast of Malabar, Toolajee Angria, the chief of the pirates, in high

alarm, left the defence of the fort to his brother, and, hastening to the camp of the Mahrattas, endeavoured to avert his coming fate by effecting an accommodation; and had he succeeded, the Mahrattas, on gaining possession, would have compensated themselves for that share of the plunder of which the British commanders had secretly resolved to deprive them.

On the 11th, our squadron was within gunshot of Gheriah. Admiral Watson summoned the fort, and without receiving any answer, gave orders to clear away for action. The fleet was formed in two parallel divisions, with the admiral's flag on board the *Kent* (seventy), and that of Rear-Admiral Pococke on board the *Cumberland* (sixty-six). The guns opened on the fort at only fifty yards, while the lighter portion of the squadron, under Captain H. Smith, of the *Kingfisher* (sixteen-gun brig), attacked the fleet and dockyard. In ten minutes one of the three-masted grabs which crowded the harbour was set on fire by a shell, and in a few minutes more the entire piratical fleet, which for so many years had been the terror of the Malabar coast—and, indeed, of the Indian Sea—including eight fine grabs and three ships of forty guns each, was one mass of devouring flame.

Long after the last of the shipping in the docks and harbour had perished, the cannonade against the batteries continued, and by half-past six the fire of the enemy was totally silenced. Clive—though no surrender had been intimated—now landed at the head of the troops, and took post between the walls of the pirate town and the Mahratta army, who, if they had entered, would have left nothing but bare walls behind them. The pirates, in whom savage ferocity had too long been mistaken for courage, made but a feeble resistance. Angria fled from the fort soon after the attack began, taking with him part of his treasure, but abandoning his two wives and children, who were made prisoners by the admiral, and treated with the greatest humanity.*

There were found in the fort 250 pieces of cannon with six brass mortars, and four elephants, together with a great quantity of ammunition and stores. About £100,000 sterling in rupees, and £30,000 more in valuable plunder, were taken; and Admiral Watson (who had only twenty killed and wounded) after leaving a sufficient number of troops and a naval force to keep the place, anchored in the roads of Fort St. David on the 14th of May.

Prior to this, after excluding the Mahrattas from all share in the plunder taken, our officers disagreed as to their own. Those of the navy, as bearing the king's commission, claimed a greater portion than those of the Company; and they decreed that Clive, though he commanded the entire land force, should only share with a post-captain. On this delicate and unpleasant subject some warm correspondence ensued; but it was productive of no evil consequence, and failed to interrupt the mutual esteem that subsisted between Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, who, after being for a time at Bombay with the artillery, entered upon his duties at Fort St. David, by somewhat of a coincidence, on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which Calcutta fell into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, an event which must now engage our attention.

That branch of the Company which had been settled at Calcutta had risen rapidly under the quiet rule of Aliverdy Khan, a prince alike wise, liberal, and humane; hence our factors and their numerous native agents travelled through every part of his dominions in perfect safety and without molestation. In April, 1756, Aliverdy died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a cruel and rapacious, weak and effeminate youth, who, from infancy, had hated the British. "It was his whim to do so," says Macaulay, "and his whims were never opposed."

He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled, directly or indirectly, by the trade of the British, and he had been led to imagine that the wealth and treasures of these intruders and unbelievers amassed within the walls of Calcutta were fabulous in amount, and were tangible. Pretexts for a quarrel were never wanting in India, and the result of several disputes was, that the passionate and imperious young nabob ordered the British to destroy their fortifications at Calcutta, and on their refusing to do so, he gave way to a paroxysm of rage, and threatened to behead, or impale, Mr. Watts, our resident at his court of Moorshedabad.

At the latter place he collected his whole army, and sent a detachment of 3,000 men to invest the factory and petty fort which we possessed at Cossimbazar, in the sandy tract formed by certain branches of the Ganges. In four days the crumbling old gates of the fort were thrown open to the besiegers, who exulted over and shamefully insulted the little garrison, which consisted of only twenty-two Europeans and twenty Topasses, under an ensign named Elliott, who, to escape their brutal indignities, put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains.

Striking his tents, Surajah Dowlah now began his hostile march upon Calcutta, which, at this crisis,

* Schomberg, "Naval Chron."

had a garrison of only 264 regulars, with a militia force of 250 raised among the inhabitants, and 1,500 Bucksaries, or native matchlockmen, on whose arms, discipline, or faith there was no relying. Of the garrison only 170 were British; the rest being Portuguese, Topasses, and Armenians, and, to make the case more hopeless, says Orme, not ten of them had ever seen any actual military service, while but small engineering skill had been displayed upon Fort William.

It stood near the Hooghly, and formed nearly a parallelogram, of which the longest sides, the east and west, were two hundred yards in length; the breadth on the south was one hundred and thirty yards; on the north only one hundred. The walls were four feet thick, and, forming the outer side of apartments, were perforated for windows; and the roofs of these formed the platform of the ramparts. At each of the four angles was a bastion mounted with ten guns; but two of those on the south were rendered ineffective by the erection of a line of warehouses, on the roofs of which were several three-pounders.

The east gateway was armed with five guns, and a battery of heavy pieces, run through embrasures of solid masonry, was outside on the brink of the Hooghly, near the western wall.

On the 15th of June the terrible nabob, after coming on with such haste that his troops perished daily of fatigue and sunstroke, reached the river, and transported his great army to the Calcutta side by means of an immense flotilla of boats. The drums beat; the regulars and militia got under arms; the natives fled with bales of rice on their heads, and 2,000 Portuguese, as Christians, were received into the fort, the outworks of which required a great force to defend, more than the garrison could spare.

At noon the van of the nabob's army was within the bounds of the Company, and in a few minutes the firing commenced, and was continued till night-fall, when a young English ensign, who had served under Clive in the Carnatic, made a sortie, at the head of a mere platoon, drove the Bengalees like chaff before him, and spiked four pieces of cannon. On the following day the attack from the north was relinquished, and a mighty force of the besiegers poured into the town on the east side, where no defences existed.

Conceiving that the fort could not be defended, but rather the approaches thereto, the garrison now, with equal haste and precipitation, threw up three successive batteries, armed with two eighteen-pounders and field-pieces, at about 300 yards from the gates.

Elsewhere trenches were dug and breastworks thrown up, but on the 19th of June all these works were stormed in succession by the yelling hordes that attacked them. Without hope of aid or succour, the little handful of Britons defended them with stern valour, if without skill, and in the general consternation that followed their sudden capture, the Indian matchlockmen vanished, together with all the timid Armenians and Topasses, who worked the guns, and then our people gave themselves up to despair.

As soon as darkness fell, nearly the whole of the European women were safely conveyed out of the fort, and embarked in certain craft that lay in the river to convey away persons and property. At midnight the besiegers advanced to the assault, but the mere roll of our drums scared them back. On the 20th, they rushed again to the attack, aided by artillery, and then it was resolved to abandon the place, as incapable of defence; but the greater part of the native boatmen had gone off, and the matter of embarkation, which would have been easy before, became a task of peril and difficulty now.

The madness of great fear and total want of order prevailed. Men, women, and children, we are told, rushed with piteous cries to the water's edge, imploring to be embarked. The boats became crowded by more than they could carry. Many were overset or swamped, and their occupants drowned. If any reached the shore, they perished under the matchlock-balls and fire-arrows of the nabob's people. Among those who rushed from the fort to the river, were Mr. Drake, the governor, Minchin, the captain-commandant, and a Captain Grant, who escaped in the last boat, and thus were left, Mr. Holwell, one Englishwoman, and 190 men, chiefly British soldiers, to shift for themselves.

Seeing two or three boats, after a time, returning, Mr. Holwell, whom those now remaining elected governor, in place of him who had deserted them, locked the water-gate of the fort, and carried off the keys to prevent further flight: a ship was still seen lying off the creek, where a work called Perring's Redoubt stood, and an officer went to her, in a boat, with orders to bring her down instantly to the fort, with a view that, at a proper moment, the whole garrison might embark and escape at once; but she struck upon a sandbank, and was abandoned by her crew.

So, as this last hope departed, the wretched remnant of the toil-worn garrison found themselves attacked with greater vigour; but such is the valour that is sometimes born of the most desperate circumstances, that they resisted successfully all that

day, and all the subsequent night. By order of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly made by day with flags, and by night with fires, to recall the shipping from Govindpore back to the fort; but no other attention was paid to them, save when a native boatman was sent down the river to observe what was occurring. Nothing but imbecility on the part of commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. "Never," says Orme, with reference to the subsequent horrors, "was such an opportunity of performing a heroic action so ignominiously neglected! for a single sloop with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon." On the following day, the attack was pressed with still greater vigour.

Then, some of our soldiers, perceiving how the effect of one well-directed dose of grape scattered the Indians by thousands, began to take heart anew, and urged a steady perseverance in the defence, but others, less sanguine, recommended an instant surrender to Surajah Dowlah, forgetting how little likely *he* was to yield them mercy. By letter, Mr. Holwell made an attempt to obtain a capitulation; but the attack still went furiously on. Covered by a fire of matchlocks that blazed from the walls of the adjacent houses, a strong column of the enemy began to escalade the northern curtain of the fort; but were hurled back with terrible loss, though twenty-five of the little garrison were killed, and fully fifty, more or less, wounded in the effort.

It was at this time, when under the blazing sun of an Indian summer, the whole place was filled with dust, gunpowder smoke, and ringing with moans, groans, and shrieks of anguish from those who writhed under undressed wounds in which the flies were battening, that some of the survivors broke open the arrack store-room, and swallowing the ardent spirit as if it were water, became fatuously stupid or raving mad. At two in the afternoon, a flag of truce came towards the fort, and, while Mr. Holwell was conferring with the bearer, the nabob's troops came storming and swarming against it on every side, over the palisades and weaker points by ladders, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman fell wounded by the side of Mr. Holwell, who endeavoured to collect the men on the ramparts to sell their lives as dearly as possible. But those who were sober could not be got up in time, and those who were drunk burst open the water-gate, hoping to escape by the river. As they opened it, a mass of Indians who were lurking close beneath the walls, rushed in like a living flood, while thousands poured in over the undefended curtain, and advancing into the heart of the fort, met those who had come in by the gate.

About twenty of the garrison threw themselves in despair over the walls, to escape death by mutilation and torture; while the miserable remnant piled the arms they had wielded so well, and surrendered, with prayers for mercy.

At five in the evening, the cowardly tyrant, Surajah Dowlah, who had kept at a comfortable distance, so long as there was the least chance of peril to his precious person, now entered the fort with all the air of a conqueror, and seating himself in the principal hall of the factory, summoned Mr. Holwell before him. In all the copiousness which the native language afforded for abuse, he reviled that unfortunate gentleman for daring to oppose his will and defend the fort, and fiercely and bitterly complained of the small amount of treasure, only £5,000 sterling, when his avaricious imagination had fancied there must be millions.

Dismissing Mr. Holwell, he recalled him to ask "if there was no more money," and then dismissed him again. About seven in the evening he summoned the sturdy Briton to his presence once more, and gave him his word as "a soldier that he should suffer no harm." Perhaps the nabob was beginning to consider that he had gone a little too far, and Mr. Holwell seems to have thought that the tyrant did not mean to violate his promise, but merely gave general instructions that the prisoners "should, for the night, be secured."

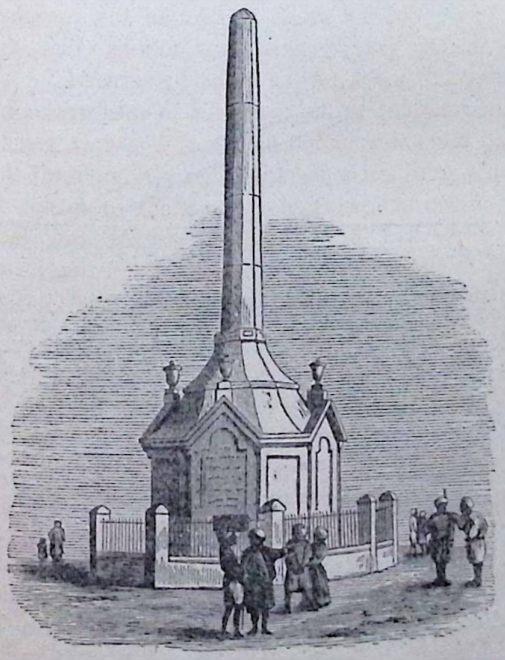
On returning to his comrades in misfortune, he found them surrounded by a strong escort, gazing upon a terrible conflagration that reddened all the sky, and which, whether by accident or design is unknown, had been kindled outside the fort. Without having the least suspicion of the awful fate that was impending over them, they asked where they were to be lodged for the night; and then they were marched to a verandah, or open gallery, near the eastern gate of the fort, and, about eight o'clock, the principal officer who had charge commanded them all to go into a room in rear of the gallery. This room, says Mr. Holwell, in his Personal Narrative, was "at the southern end of the barracks, commonly called *the Black Hole* Prison; whilst others from the Court of Guard, with clubs and drawn scimitars pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us, that next the door of the Black Hole Prison, there was no resisting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, the rest followed us like a torrent;" in short, to avoid being cut to pieces.

The door was then instantly shut and locked upon them.

Even for a single European prisoner the chamber in which these unfortunate creatures now found themselves would have been by far too small, in such a climate, at the height of the Indian summer. The dungeon was only twenty feet square. "It was the summer solstice, when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was 146."

The chamber had only two small windows, and these were deprived or obstructed from air, by two projecting verandahs.

"Nothing in history or fiction," says the eloquent Macaulay, "not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, when he wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors that were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the nabob's orders; that the nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if any one awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad



OBELISK ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE SUFFERERS AT THE BLACK HOLE.

with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, and implored the guards to fire on them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The nabob slept off his debauch and permitted the door to be opened; but it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up, on each side, the heaps of corpses, on which the burning climate had already begun its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was dug. The dead bodies, 123 in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up."

The details of this event, as given by Mr. Holwell, are most harrowing. One officer saved his life by sucking the perspiration from his shirt, as several others strove to do; while the steam that rose alike from the living and the dead was appalling; "it was," he says, "as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn until suffocated. . . . . I felt a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Rev. Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, near the southernmost wall of the prison."

Many died on their feet, and remained so standing, the press around not permitting the corpses to fall.

"But these things," continues Macaulay, "which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart, but those from whom it was thought anything could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night.

She was placed in the harem of the prince at Moorshedabad."

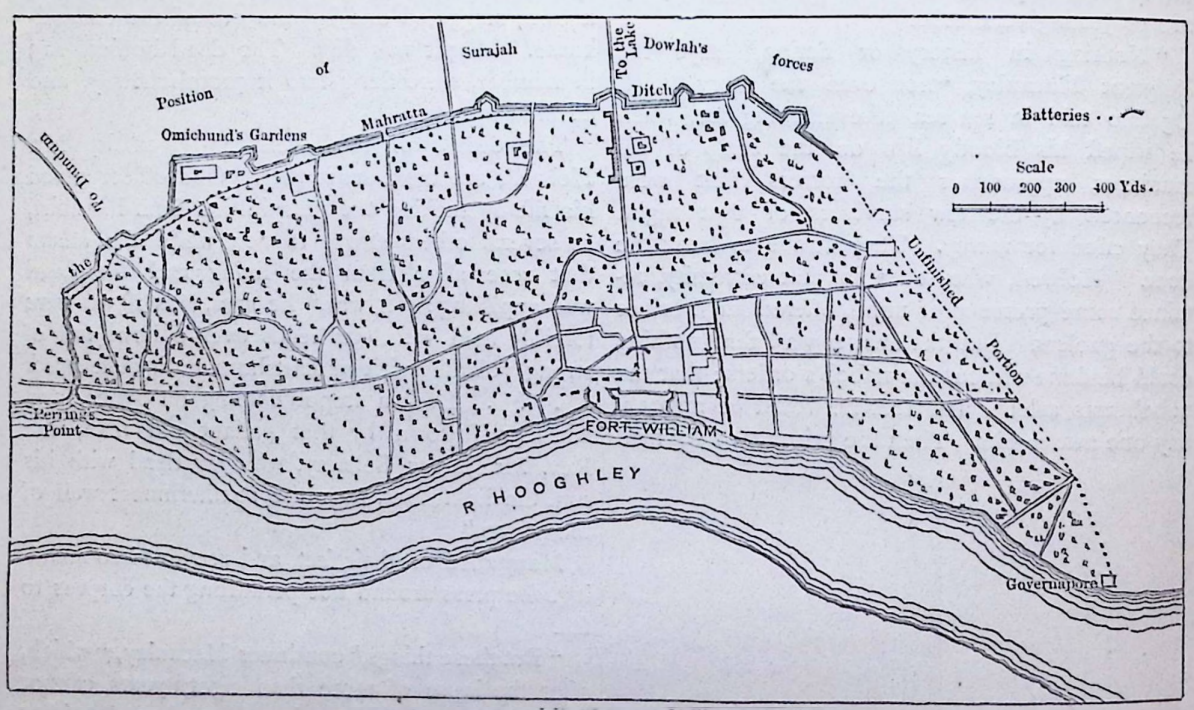
This lady, who was possessed of considerable attractions, was the wife of Captain Carey, an officer of the Company's sea service, who perished in that awful night. The following is the "List of persons smothered in the Black Hole Prison," as given by Mr. Holwell (exclusive of sixty-nine non-commissioned officers and soldiers, whose names he did not know), "making on the whole 123 persons."

Of the Council: E. Eyre and Wm. Baillie, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Bellamy.

Stephenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker, Bendall, Atkinson, and Leech.

Mr. Holwell—whom the nabob frequently threatened to blow from a gun unless he would reveal where treasures that had no existence, save in his own imagination, lay—erected at Calcutta an obelisk to the memory of those who perished in that catastrophe, which he survived for more than forty years. He died in 1798 at the age of eighty-seven.

The brutal nabob informed his nominal master, then seated on his crumbling throne at Delhi, that he had utterly expelled the British from Bengal, and forbidden them for ever to dwell within its



TERRITORY OF CALCUTTA WHEN ATTACKED BY SURAJAH DOWLAH, 1756.

Of the Civil Service: Messrs. Revely, Law, Jenks, Coles, Valicourt, Jebb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Harod, Streat, P. Johnston, Ballard, N. Drake, Casse, Knapton, Gosling, Byng, Dod, and Dalrymple.

Army Captains: Clayton, Buchanan, and Witherington.

Lieutenants: Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simson, and Bellamy.

Ensigns: Paccard, Scott, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, and Dumbleton.

Sea Captains: Hunt, Osburne, Purnell, Carey,

precincts; and that, having completely purged Calcutta of the infidels, to commemorate the great event, he had ordered that, in all future time, it should be called by a new name—Alinagore, or "the Port of God." On the 2nd of July he collected his army, and, after leaving behind him 3,000 men in Fort William, made a triumphant departure from the place. His barges were decorated with banners and streamers, and the air was filled with the clangour of Indian drums and barbaric music, as he proceeded to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman, the ruler of Purneah.

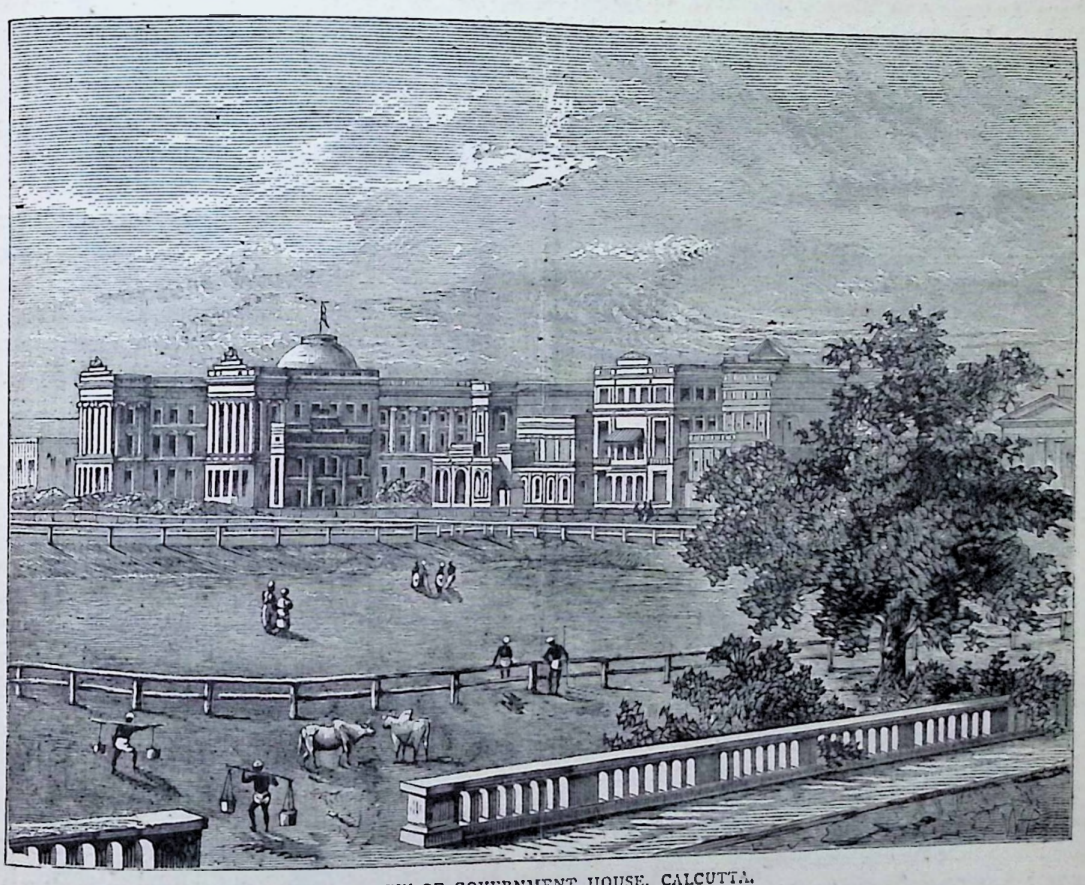
CHAPTER IX.

"CLIVE THE AVENGER."—CALCUTTA RETAKEN.—HOOGHLEY AND CHANDERNAGORE REDUCED.

THE dreadful news of the event at Calcutta reached Madras early in August, and excited the keenest resentment.

From the whole settlement there rose one universal cry for vengeance. If ever Britain had a cause for war, she had it now against the monstrous Surajah Dowlah, and her people would have been unworthy of an empire had they failed to punish the author of crimes so terrible. So great was the ardour in Madras, that within forty-eight hours an expedition up the Hooghley was determined upon, and it was the universal desire of the Council that the command of the troops, only 2,400 in all, should be given to Clive, "to punish a prince" who, as Macaulay says in his Essay, "had more subjects than Louis XV., or the Empress Maria Theresa."

On the 11th of October, 1756, Clive wrote to the directors, expressing the great horror, grief, and resentment he felt at the recent events at Calcutta, and the pleasure and satisfaction with which he accepted that command which — though he knew it not—was destined to crown him with fame and glory, and to win him the name of "Clive the Avenger"—"Clive the Daring in War."



VIEW OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Five days subsequently, the expedition sailed from Madras Roads. The squadron consisted of the *Kent* (sixty-four guns), bearing the flag of Admiral Watson; the *Cumberland* (seventy), with that of Rear-Admiral Pococke; the *Tiger* (sixty); *Salisbury* (fifty); the *Bridgewater* (sloop, twenty); the Company's ships, and two transports. The land force consisted of 900 Europeans, 250 of whom belonged to H.M. 39th Regiment, and 1,500 sepoys. "The weather proved so extremely tempestuous," says Captain Schomberg, "attended with other disasters, that the admiral did not reach Balasore Roads before the 5th of December.

The *Cumberland*, *Salisbury*, and *Blaze* (fireship) parted company in great distress." The first was under the necessity of putting into Vizagapatam; the second rejoined the admiral some days after his arrival in the river; but the *Blaze* never reached Bengal. All this caused a loss of 250 bayonets from the original strength, together with the heavy artillery on board of the *Cumberland*.

As the river pilots refused to take charge of large ships over the shoals, Captain Speke, who had been frequently in Bengal, undertook to do so, having no doubt of its being practicable; and by his skill and judgment they were all brought to anchor in safety, on the 15th of December, off Fulta, a town on the eastern bank of the swampy and jungly Hooghley, where the anchorage is quiet and protected from the sea, and lies twenty-five miles below Calcutta.

Here the admiral made the necessary arrangements for an attack on the enemy's batteries. A vessel was procured, converted into a bomb-ketch, and the command of her given to Lieutenant Thomas Warwick, first, of the *Kent*.

At Madras, letters had been procured from Mr. Pigot, the governor, Mohammed Ali, Nabob of Arcot, and Salabut Jung, Soubahdar of the Deccan, exhorting Surajah Dowlah to redress the wrongs he had done at Calcutta; and these missives, with others written by Admiral Watson and Lieutenant-Colonel Clive, were sent open to Monichund, now governor of Calcutta, who replied that he dared not send such menacing documents to his imperious master; and on this, it was resolved to bring matters to the issue of the cannon at once.

On the 27th, the squadron moved up the river, and two days after was brought abreast of Fort Buz-Buzia, otherwise Budge-budge, on which a heavy cannonade was opened, and maintained till evening, by which time the enemy's guns were silenced; but there was no indication of a surrender, as when darkness fell they kept up a smart fusillade, and volleys of fire arrows, which streaked the gloom with arcs of red light. On board the *Kent* a council of war was held, and it was resolved to carry the fort by storm next morning; and in order to strengthen the troops, a detachment of seamen was landed, under Captain King, R.N., while Clive took on shore 500 bayonets, and proceeded, under the direction of Indian guides, to make a *détour* across a country full of swamps and intersected by numerous rivulets, for the purpose of taking the garrison prisoners if attempting to escape.

As there were no draught bullocks, his infantry had to sling their firelocks, and drag two field-pieces and a limber. "The men suffered hardships not to be described," says Clive in his despatch. On reaching a point in rear of the redoubt, the detachment, now weary, halted, some in a deep hollow, others apart in a grove, and the artillerymen beside their guns, which were pointed to command the road by which any fugitives from the fort might be expected to come.

"It is difficult," says his biographer, "to account for the absence of common vigilance which both Clive and his brother-officers displayed on this occasion. Not a picket nor a sentry appears to have been planted; while the men, weary with their march, were permitted to go to sleep without orders, and at a distance from their arms."

Monichund, the nabob's governor, if not a hero, but rather the reverse, was both wary and cautious. His spies had tracked Clive throughout the whole of this movement, and beheld its rather unsoldier-like conclusion; and he at once took his plans. Issuing out of Buz-Buzia, to which he had come the day before, at the head of 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse, he came upon the slumbering bivouac, into which he poured a volley of matchlock-balls and arrows.

Clive amply redeemed his error by the coolness and promptitude with which he repelled the danger. Not a soldier was permitted to quit his ground, and though the line was formed without much order, it stood firm under the fire, which it was not permitted to return. Two parties from the flanks were thrown forward in double-quick time, to take in reverse the assailants, who had now crowded into a village, where they were attacked with that unfailing British argument, the bayonet, which gave the artillerymen time to rush into the hollow and bring up the guns, with which they opened a fire that soon quelled the enemy; and on Monichund receiving a musket-ball through his turban, he thought only of flight; and Orme is correct in surmising that, "had the cavalry advanced and charged the troops in the hollow at the same time that the infantry began to fire upon the village, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities."

The instant that Monichund fled, the troops marched to the village adjoining the fort, and found the *Kent*, which had outsailed them, anchored abreast of it. The assault was deferred until next day, when to assist in it, 250 seamen were landed. One of these, a Scotsman named Strachan, "having just received his allowance of grog, found his spirits too much elated to think of sleeping," and straggling close to the fort, scrambled over the rampart, and seeing no one there, hallooed to the advanced guard that he had "taken the fort!" It

was found to be evacuated. On being reprimanded by Admiral Watson, Strachan swore that he would never take *another* fort as long as he lived. He was afterwards wounded in one of the actions under Admiral Pococke, and became a pensioner of the Chest at Chatham.

Clive now marched along by land, while Admiral Watson sailed up the river. On the 2nd January, 1757, the armament was off Calcutta, and a few broadsides from the fleet expelled the garrison, and sent them flying after their fugitive general, Monichund, while, without the loss of a life, the place was retaken, the somewhat unworthy Mr. Drake was reinstated in his office of governor, and all the merchandise was found in the condition in which it had been left when the Council fled, as the viceroy had ordered it to be reserved for himself; but every private dwelling had been sacked and wrecked.

Within a week and a day after, Clive, impetuous and rapid in all his movements, was before the important fortress and town of Hooghley, the batteries of which bristled with heavy guns, and were manned by 3,000 of Surajah Dowlah's Bengalese, who fled almost at the first cannon-shot, and so complete now was the panic existing among the forces of the nabob, that Major Coote, with 150 Europeans and sepoys, was able, with ease, to scour the country for miles, and destroy or capture, as suited him, vast stores of rice and other provisions, including £15,000 taken at Hooghley.

The sepoys were left to garrison Hooghley, while the Europeans returned to Calcutta, with spoil to the value of a lac and a half of rupees. This was on the 19th January.

Surajah Dowlah, having by this time massed another enormous host at Moorshedabad, and believing Clive's army—if it deserved the name—to be smaller than it was, began his march for Calcutta full of vengeance and ferocity, and uttering the most terrible menaces.

Clive was prepared for him, and, resolved not to be hemmed up in the miserable fortress, he erected a fortified camp northward of the town, and at the distance of a mile and a half from the Hooghley, thus effectually providing that no enemy from the northward should be able to violate the Company's territory, without at least developing his designs. This done, and a garrison being thrown into a redoubt or castle at Perring's Point, Clive established his outposts, and waited with all patience the turn events might take.*

Luckily Clive was furnished with artillery and stores from the *Marlborough*, before the 30th of January, when the nabob crossed the river about ten miles above Hooghley, and as he continued his march, the country people who had supplied the "Unbelievers" with provisions, concealed their property and fled. On many occasions Clive felt severely the want of that most necessary arm in war—cavalry.

Thus, on the 30th he wrote to the nabob a conciliatory letter, proposing peace; Surajah Dowlah, it is said, returned a courteous answer; but continued the march of his swarthy hordes, whom he knew Clive could only confront by a literal "handful." Lord Macaulay alleges that the overtures were made by Surajah Dowlah, and that he offered to restore to the British their settlements with compensation for the injuries done; while Admiral Watson was opposed to peace or truce being either made or accepted by Great Britain. His idea was simply this: that as to places previously in our possession, we had captured them; as to compensation, we could take it with cold steel.

On the whole, the sturdy admiral felt that till Surajah Dowlah found his viceroyalty over Bengal in danger, and, after losses and defeats, was compelled to sue for peace, he would ever remain a treacherous, though flexible enemy, and one ever ready for war, if it could be made with the hope of success; and, by striking a bold and decisive blow, Admiral Watson believed that a permanent peace might be secured.

The French at Chandernagore—a station which they had obtained on the west bank of the Hooghley, sixteen miles distant from Calcutta, so far back as 1676—declined joining the Indian army, and disgusted, perhaps as Europeans, by recent events at Calcutta, made proposals to the British for a constant truce between them and Bengal, notwithstanding any war between the two crowns in Europe, or any other part of the world.

By the 3rd February, all the villages north-eastward of Calcutta were seen in flames, indicating thus, by rapine, the march of the nabob's army. Reluctant to take any step which might render the pacification to which he looked forward impracticable, Clive beheld, without opposition, this swarm of semi-barbarous warriors take possession of a great road which, stretching north and south, conducted to a stone bridge; and about noon some of their pillagers penetrated into a suburb of Calcutta occupied by the humbler natives; but a sally from Perring's Redoubt repulsed them with loss, after which the nabob's army intrenched itself in a large garden, a mile south-eastward of the British camp.

About an hour before night came on—there is no twilight in India—Colonel Clive, with the

* Gleig.

greatest part of his forces and six field-guns, issued from his camp, and attempted to drive them from their post; but they threw out cavalry who pressed upon his flanks, and replied to his fire by nine guns of heavier calibre, and after a small loss, he was compelled to fall back.

Meanwhile the cowardly nabob still remained some miles distant, and, pretending to negociate, requested the attendance of certain deputies at a village near Calcutta, to arrange the terms of peace. After some trouble, two who went—Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton—found him close to the city, in a house actually within the Mahratta Ditch; and, after an angry altercation about delivering up their swords, which they resolutely refused to do, they were admitted to an audience. Surajah Dowlah, stern and stately, surrounded by all the terrors of utter despotism, was seated on the musnud, and had about him "the principal of his officers, and the tallest and grimmest of his attendants, who, to impress them, and to look more stout and truculent, had dressed themselves in wadded garments, and put enormous turbans on their heads. During the conference these fellows sat scowling at the two Englishmen, as if they only waited the nabob's nod to murder them."

Uninfluenced by this, they stoutly remonstrated with the nabob for thus violating the territory of the Company, and delivered to him a paper containing the terms on which Clive alone would make peace. Without deigning to reply, the haughty nabob abruptly broke up the meeting, and as Walsh and Scrafton left the apartment, Omichund, a Hindoo to whom the house belonged, whispered them in the ear, to "have a care for their lives!" Thus, instead of going to the tent of the nabob's minister, as they had intended to do, the deputies carefully ordered their attendants to extinguish their torches, and through the darkness and confusion, fled back to the camp of Clive, who resolved to bring matters to a stern issue next morning.

Having ascertained that the greater portion of the Indian artillery was still in the rear, on being strengthened by 600 seamen from the fleet, armed with firelocks, about an hour before daybreak he moved from his camp in silence, and formed his forces, consisting of 650 Europeans of the line, 100 artillerymen, 600 seamen under Captain Warwick, R.N., and 800 sepoys, "in a single column of threes in front, facing towards the south."

The 39th Regiment took post in rear of a wing of sepoys, the other wing succeeding them; in continuation of these came the six field-pieces, drawn partly by seamen and partly by lascars, who carried the spare ammunition. Clive, like all the rest of the officers, was on foot, and, at a given signal, the whole advanced, covered by a few patrols.

"About three in the morning," he reports in his letter to the secret committee, "I marched out nearly my whole force, leaving only a few Europeans with 200 new-raised Bucksarees to guard our camp. About six, we entered the enemy's camp in a thick fog, and crossed it in about two hours with considerable exertion. Had the fog cleared up, as it usually does, about eight o'clock, when we were entire masters of the camp without the ditch, the action must have been decisive, instead of which it thickened, and occasioned our mistaking the way."*

While it was yet dark, the head of the column would seem to have fallen upon an outpost of the enemy, which, after the discharge of a few matchlocks and rockets, retreated, though not until one of their missiles made a sepoy's cartridge-box to explode, thus causing some disorder in our ranks; but the columns still pressed on, till they came near the quarters of the nabob, and then for the first time since their advance did they become aware of an impending attack. The clank of hoofs was heard coming rapidly from the direction of the Mahratta Ditch. The fog parted like a curtain for an instant, and a well-mounted line of glittering Persian cavalry was seen within twenty yards of their flank. The troops halted, and poured in a volley with such terrible effect, that the enemy was swept away before it, "as dust is swept aside by the breath of the whirlwind."

Once more the onward march was resumed over the dead and dying Persians, but slowly, the infantry firing random platoons into the fog, and the artillery discharging balls obliquely to clear the direction of the column, and yet protect its progress. After surmounting a causeway which was raised several feet above the adjacent district, the troops became entangled in deep and muddy fields, over which, though intersected by innumerable ditches and watercourses, it was necessary to drag the guns.

By nine o'clock the fog rose, and the awkward position of our troops became distinctly visible. Then the enemy's horse made repeated attempts to charge them both in front and rear, but were repulsed on every occasion by the well-directed fire of this handful of brave fellows, who were outnumbered beyond all calculation. The enemy's guns bore on them severely, while they had to abandon two of their own, which were hope-

* Malcolm.

lessly sunk in the mud. Nevertheless, with the dogged obstinacy of genuine Britons, the column wheeled again to its right, and, bearing down all opposition, passed the Mahratta Ditch in triumph.

Ere Clive drew off, he lost in this affair twenty-seven Europeans of the line, twelve seamen, and eighteen sepoys, in all fifty-seven, while his total wounded amounted to 117 of all ranks. But the carnage committed by his soldiers, who were mad for revenge on the perpetrators of the Black Hole massacre, caused a universal panic in the Indian army, the losses of which were twenty-two officers of distinction, 600 men, 500 horses, four elephants, and a vast number of camels and bullocks. Smollett says the nabob's loss was 1,000 men—killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Clive was not disappointed as to the effect to be produced on the feeble mind of the nabob by that morning's work; for next day Surajah Dowlah quitted Calcutta, and encamped on a plain six miles distant, where Clive was preparing to give him battle again, when he received a humble note, in which the nabob prayed for peace. He was not only to restore the Company's factories, and all plunder, but to permit the complete fortification of Calcutta, and to confirm all privileges granted to the British on their first coming to the country, including the presidency over thirty-eight adjacent villages, conformable to a disputed grant from the Great Mogul.* Only three days after this treaty was concluded, he proposed an alliance offensive and defensive against all enemies, and this Clive ratified.

This treaty gave but slender satisfaction to parties at Calcutta, and Admiral Watson, with sailor-like bluntness, said while it was pending,—

"Till he is well thrashed, don't flatter yourself he will be inclined to peace. Let us, therefore, not be over-reached by his politics, but make use of our arms, which will be much more persuasive than any treaties or negociations."

Many openly expressed extreme anger at the terms of this sudden treaty, as they had suffered keenly by bereavement and loss at the hands of Surajah Dowlah, whose name inspired every Briton with hate and horror, as did that of the terrible Nana of later times; but Clive fully justified himself to Mr. Payne, in a long letter printed in Sir John Malcolm's work.

The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the faithless nabob began to intrigue against the British.

War having broken out between Britain and France at home, it was apparent to all that there could be no permanent security for Calcutta while the French were in possession of Chandernagore, which Clive and Admiral Watson at once made preparations to attack, the former previously instructing our agent, Mr. Watts, at the court of Moorshedabad, that he was extremely reluctant to march without the consent and assistance of the nabob; but all diplomacy failed to get him to act.

Admiral Watson ordered the captains of the *Kent*, *Tiger*, and *Salisbury*, to land all heavy and superfluous stores at Calcutta, while the *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher* were to escort the military stores up the river, in order to accelerate the march of the troops under Clive, and on the 19th of March, the three first-named vessels came to anchor off the fort which commands the neat little town of Chandernagore, the territory of which extends two miles along the Hooghley, and one mile inland.

The garrison, under M. Renault, was 900 strong, 600 being Frenchmen of the line and militia, the rest seamen and sepoys. Smollett says there were 1,200 sepoys in the place, and that it was armed with 123 guns, and three mortars.

Clive had been before the fort by the 15th, and in one short day's work, drove in the French outposts, and forced them to spike and abandon all the guns on one of their outworks. On the 16th he got his heavy guns into position, and for three subsequent days threw in shells from a cohorn and mortar; but it was not until the 23rd, that, after removing certain obstructions in the bed of the stream, our three large men-of-war opened their broadsides on the fort, when a dreadful battering by land and water ensued.

The French fought with their usual valour, and seemed likely to have the best of the conflict, till the guns of the *Tiger* blew one of their ravelins literally to atoms. Admiral Watson's ship, the *Kent*, fought closer to the works than was intended, and as she was allowed to pay out her cable, and fall into a disadvantageous position, she suffered severely in shifting her ground. On both sides every shot told, while the land batteries delivered a cross fire. By nine o'clock next morning the enemy's guns were silenced, and a flag of truce was flying on their works. Then Captain Coote went on shore to arrange the terms, and found that the works presented a dreadful sight, one of their batteries had been twice cleared, and forty men lay dead within another.

While terms were pending, many men with their officers stole out of the fort and escaped. By three o'clock the rest capitulated. In the last decisive attack Clive had only one man killed, and ten wounded; but before the ships came into action, he had fifty casualties. The *Kent* had nineteen

* Orme; *London Gazette*, 20th Sept., 1757, &c.

men killed, and forty-nine wounded; the *Tiger* thirteen killed, and fifty wounded. Mr. Perrean, the first lieutenant, and Mr. Rawlins Hay, third of the *Kent*, were among the slain. Mr. Staunton, fourth, was wounded, as were also Captain Speke and his son, by the same shot. The master of the *Tiger* was killed, and the Rear-Admiral (Pococke) slightly wounded. The ships suffered great damage in their masts, hulls, and rigging; the *Kent* alone had six guns dismounted, and 138 shot in her hull."*

his advance was useless, as Chandernagore must fall ere he could reach it. The nabob was unstable as water, and Macaulay thus sums up his character:—

"The nabob had feared and hated the English even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. One day, he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the



VIEW IN MOORSHEDABAD.

Young Speke, a genuine hero, died soon after having his leg amputated; but his father, who mourned him deeply, survived, to distinguish himself under Sir Edward Hawke, at Belleisle, though he never perfectly recovered from his wound.

The keys were delivered to Captain Latham of the *Tiger*. The Jesuits were permitted to retain all their church vessels, and the natives full possession of their civil rights.†

During the siege, our new ally, the nabob, sent several imperious letters ordering our commanders to desist, and even sent a division of his army, under Roydullab, to attack Clive, but the latter was luckily met by a messenger, who assured him that

compensation due for the wrongs he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to protect Bengal 'against Clive the Daring in War, on whom' says his highness, 'may all bad fortune attend.' He ordered his army to march against the British. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the meantime, his wretched maladministration, his dissolute manners and love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the ostentatious Mohammedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A

* "Naval Chron." † Smollett.



CLIVE AT PLASSEY.

formidable conspiracy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullab, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta."

While this conspiracy was maturing in his capital, camp, and court, he was again collecting a great army for the purpose of falling upon Clive, under the chief conspirator, Meer Jaffier Khan, a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, who had been raised to the highest dignity by the late Nabob Aliverdy Khan, who had given him his daughter in marriage.

CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF PLASSEY.—DEFEAT, FLIGHT, AND DETHRONEMENT OF THE NABOB OF BENGAL BY COLONEL CLIVE.

On the 16th of August, the service suffered a severe loss by the death of Admiral Charles Watson, who fell a victim to the Indian climate, to the great regret of all. A monument in Westminster Abbey was erected to his memory by the East India Company, and the king was pleased to create his son a baronet of the United Kingdom.

Exactly two months prior to this event, Clive began to move his little army towards Plassey, where Meer Jaffier was assembling an army, and it was calculated that half of the force would implicitly obey his orders.

Clive sent before him a letter full of reproaches to Surajah Dowlah, for his duplicity and numerous breaches of faith, and calling upon him to choose between submission to the demands of Britain, or instant war. On the 16th of June, he halted at Patlee, and sent Major Coote to reduce the mud fort of Cutwah, near the junction of the Hadjee and Bhagaruttee rivers. A letter now came, but of a most unsatisfactory nature, from Meer Jaffier, for instead of announcing an approach to form a junction, it spoke in somewhat ambiguous terms of the reconciliation with the nabob, and an oath by which he had bound himself not to take part against him. "Meer Jaffier, of course, declared that the whole was, on his part, a trick by which he hoped to lure the nabob to his ruin; but when, on the 19th, another letter arrived, in which he gave only the vague intelligence that his tent would be either on the right or the left of the army, and excused himself for not being more explicit, because guards were stationed on all the roads to intercept messages, Clive's suspicions became thoroughly roused. Meer Jaffier meant to deceive him, or had miscalculated his strength. On either supposition, further advance was perilous in the extreme."

The situation of Clive was now one of painful anxiety, as he could confide neither in the courage nor the sincerity of his confederate; and whatever confidence he had in his own skill and the valour of his troops, he could not fail to see the rashness of attempting to engage an army outnumbering his force by twenty to one. Before him rolled a river, over which to advance was easy; but if defeat followed, not a man of his little band would ever return alive; and now for the first, perhaps the *last* time, he shrunk from the deep responsibility of private decision.

He summoned a council of war, at which the majority pronounced against fighting, and he almost instantly concurred with them. "Long afterwards," we are told, "he said he had never called but one council of war, and that if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal." After they separated, he retired into a grove of mango-trees, and passed nearly an hour there in deep thought.

He then came forth, resolved to put all to the issue of the sword, and gave orders for the passage of the river on the morrow.

The morrow saw the river—the Cossimbazar—in his rear, and, at the close of a weary day's march, long after the sun had set, the toil-worn army halted in a mango tope near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy, who had reached that place twelve hours before them. During the whole night Clive was unable to sleep; throughout the stillness and the darkness, he heard the incessant sound of drums and cymbals from the mighty camp of the nabob; and his heart quailed at times, as he thought of the vast prize for which he was, in a few hours, to contend against odds so mighty.

"Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more

peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole."

On the other hand, our soldiers, "few but undismayed," if not confident of victory, were resolute to deserve it; and wistfully on that morning must they have watched the reddening east, as the dawn of the battle-day of Plassey—the day that was to decide the fate of India—came quickly in!

The nabob was at the head of 50,000 infantry and 20,000 horse, with fifty pieces of cannon, directed chiefly by forty French officers and deserters.

Clive had only 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, and eight pieces of cannon. Among the former were the small remains of three regiments, H.M. 39th, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, now numbered respectively as the 101st and 103rd of the British line. He had also 150 gunners and seamen.

The grove in which this little force lay at Plassey was 800 yards long by 300 deep, and consisted entirely of mango-trees, planted in regular rows. Around it were a slight embankment and a ditch choked up with weeds. Its northern angle was within fifty yards of the river. A hunting-seat belonging to the nabob, which stood upon the bank of the latter, with its walled garden and other enclosures, covered one of Clive's flanks, and soon became useful as a hospital. Meanwhile the enemy occupied an intrenched camp about a mile distant in his front, which, commencing at the neck of a peninsula formed by an acute bend of the stream, ran directly inland for 200 yards, after which it formed an obtuse angle, and ran away for nearly three miles in a north-easterly direction.

A redoubt armed with cannon stood in the acute angle. Three hundred yards beyond it was an eminence covered with beautiful trees, while a couple of large water-tanks, surrounded by mounds of green sward, offered peculiar advantages, either in advancing or retreating; and all these features of the position were seen by Clive, who, when day dawned, climbed to the roof of the hunting-seat, and with his telescope began to examine the camp of the nabob.

Suddenly there was a great stir within it; and ere long the heads of the glittering columns, attired in costumes of many brilliant colours, began to move into the green plain, where the vast multitude began to form in order of battle, in aspect most striking and picturesque.

There came the 50,000 infantry of Surajah Dowlah, variously armed with spears, swords, daggers, and rockets; others had the matchlocks of the Cromwellian days, but beautifully inlaid. "The bowmen formed their lines as those of Cressy or Poitiers; but the turbaned heads and flowing drapery of these Eastern archers were far more picturesque. The musketeers carried their dusky weapons with less propriety and grace, and as men less skilful with their arms."

There were the 20,000 cavalry, and from amid them many a line of crooked tulwars, of brass-orbed shields, and tasselled lances displayed alike the pomp and reality of war, as they flashed in the morning sun.

The mode in which the fifty cannon were moved formed not the least remarkable feature in this vast army, which came in the shape of a semicircle, as if to enclose the little force that seemed to lurk, rather than defiantly form, in the grove of mango-trees. They were all of heavy metal, and drawn by beautiful white oxen, whose movements were far more active and graceful than Europeans would think likely in such animals, traced to field artillery. Each gun was placed on a large wooden stage, six feet above the ground; and, to aid in the advance of these cumbrous platforms, which bore also the gunners and ammunition, behind each was an elephant pushing with his head.

Apart from all these were four pestilent light field-pieces, worked alone by Frenchmen, who posted them in one of the tanks near the edge of the grove.

Clive, whose whole artillery, as we have said, consisted of only eight field-pieces, with two mortars, drew up his slender force in one line, the three European regiments, each with a front of only about 150 files, in the centre, and just beyond the skirts of the grove. He posted three cannon on each flank, and the remaining two, with the howitzers, under cover of two brick-kilns, to protect his left. He then passed the order along the line to keep steady, and neither advance nor retire without being commanded to do so, after which he again took himself to his post of observation on the housetop.

The enemy, instead of continuing to advance, halted, and at eight in the morning commenced a general cannonade, the signal for which was a shot from the French artillerists at the tank. Clive's guns promptly responded, and with excellent

effect, disabling many of the enemy's cannon, by killing or alarming the oxen and elephants, and throwing the native *gholandazees* into confusion; but it was to silence the efficiently-handled pieces of the French that the fire was chiefly directed.

By nine o'clock, Clive, finding that several of his men were falling under those dreadful wounds inflicted by cannon-shot, ordered the whole line to take shelter within the *tope*. Upon this movement taking place, the enemy, conceiving it was a sudden flight, with fierce, exultant, and tumultuous yells, pushed on their artillery, all thirty-two and twenty-four-pounders, and fired with increased ardour; but as the Europeans and sepoys crouched behind the trees, they received no damage from the storm of iron that swept over their heads and tore the mango grove to splinters; while their lighter field-guns made dreadful lanes through the dense masses of horse and foot that covered the open plain, piling, in torn and dismembered heaps, the corpses over each other.

The day passed thus till noon came, when a heavy shower of rain fell, and, by wetting their ammunition, caused the fire of the enemy to slacken. Amid this long cannonade, Meer Meden, a general upon whom the nabob placed the greatest reliance, received a mortal wound from a cannon-ball. He was borne to the tent of his highness, and while the faithful officer was in the act of explaining certain arrangements which might ensure victory, he expired.

Surajah Dowlah, frantic with rage and despair, now summoned Meer Jaffier, whose great column of troops had hitherto remained inactive, or in a species of armed neutrality, on one flank of the line. The nabob, taking off his turban—the most abject act of humility to which a Mussulman can stoop—implored him to avenge the fall of the loyal Meer Meden, "and to rescue from the perils that beset him, the grandson of that Aliverdy by whose royal favour he—Jaffier—had grown so great."

Jaffier bowed, quitted the tent, and sent a secret letter to Clive, who never received it till the battle was over. It was a request to push on to victory. Unmoved by the agony of spirit in which he left his master, the traitor suggested a retreat to their entrenchments. Another officer high in rank, named Mohun Lall, pointed out the certain destruction which must ensue if such advice were taken; but the helpless nabob gave the fatal order.

Accordingly, while to the astonishment and joy of Clive and his troops, one portion of the Indian army, with all its lumbering platforms, elephants, and teams of oxen, some forty or so to a gun, began a retrograde movement, that wing commanded by Meer Jaffier remained stationary. Clive now saw the precise state of matters, and ordered the whole line—led by the 39th Regiment—to advance. Dull though he was, the nabob now understood the inaction of Jaffier, and, mounting a swift dromedary, at the head of 2,000 of his best cavalry, forsook the field, while his traitor general drew off his troops from the line of battle. The rest flung away their arms, and betook them to instant flight.

With a bravery worthy of a better cause, the few Frenchmen in the field strove in vain to rally and reform the panic-sticken horde; "but, as the alarm and the rout of their allies increased they were swept from the plain, as the mountain rock borne down by the avalanche; and these brave men were merged in the crowd whose mad flight bore everything before it."

Meer Jaffier's column was the last to give way, though it scarcely fired a shot.

"Push on—push on—forward!" were now the shouts of our advancing line, and at the point of the bayonet, the camp was entered without any other opposition than that occasioned by the abandoned cannon, the overturned platforms, the herds of oxen, killed and wounded men, and elephants, pyramids of baggage, the same débris that covered all the plain.

"Being liberally promised prize-money, the troops remained steady in their ranks, though surrounded by the gorgeous plunder of an Oriental camp. After a brief halt, which enabled the commissaries to collect as many bullocks and horses as were requisite for the transport of the cannon, the troops advanced in the highest spirits as far as Daudpoor, towards which the advanced guard had been pushed for the purpose of observing the enemy's rear, and then the lists of the day's losses were made up."

Clive's casualties were singularly few. Only sixteen sepoys and eight Europeans lost their lives; the wounded were forty-eight in all; of these twelve were British. Of the enemy 500 were slain alone. The future results of this great victory were not less remarkable than the victory itself. At eight o'clock in the evening, Clive halted in Daudpoor, and next morning he saluted the intriguing traitor, Jaffier, as Subah or Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

No battle won by Clive gained him so much glory and emolument, and in no battle in which he was engaged did the issue, in reality, result less from any act of his. Jaffier's treason was the chief cause of the nabob's hordes being defeated; and, but for that, not a man of Clive's little band could have escaped a miserable death.

Clive urged Jaffier at once to march on Moorshedabad, where Surajah Dowlah arrived in twenty-four hours after the battle, and called around him his counsellors.

The wisest of these advised him to place himself in the hands of Clive, from whom he had nothing to fear but confinement. He viewed this as the suggestion of treason. Others urged him again to try the fortune of war, and approving of this advice, he gave orders accordingly, but lacked the manly spirit to adhere even for one day to his resolution; and when he learned that, acting on Clive's suggestion, Meer Jaffier and his troops were coming on, his terror became too great for control.

Instead of rushing forward, sword in hand, at the head of all who adhered to him, and yielding up his throne only with his life, he disguised himself in a mean habit, and with a casket of jewels in his hand, let himself down in the night from a window of his palace, and, with only two attendants, in the hope of finding protection from Law de Lauriston, embarked on the river for Patna, on the southern bank of the Ganges.

CHAPTER XI.

ASSASSINATION OF SURAJAH DOWLAH.—COOTE'S EXPEDITION.—TRICHINOPOLY ATTACKED AGAIN.

Escorted by 200 British soldiers and 300 sepoys, a few days after the battle, Clive marched into Moorshedabad, where a palace was assigned him for his residence, surrounded by a garden so spacious, that within it he encamped his troops, and the ceremony of installing Meer Jaffier was instantly performed.

The soldier of fortune who was now Nabob of Bengal was led by Clive to the seat of honour, who placing him upon it, according to a custom immemorial in the East, made him an offering in gold, and turning to the assembled natives, congratulated them on the good fortune that had freed them from the worst of tyrants; after which, the new sovereign was called upon to fulfil certain engagements into which he had entered with his new allies.

Meer Jaffier now, however, declared that there was not money enough in the treasury of Surajah Dowlah to pay what the British demanded according to the treaty with them. On this the nabob-maker suggested that they should repair together to the residence of the great Hindoo banker who had been concerned in the conspiracy against their late ruler. Jaffier consented, on which they went forthwith, followed by Omichund, of Calcutta, who had been much mixed up in all their intrigues, and thought the time was at hand when he too should be paid.

On arriving at the *seit's* or banker's, however, Omichund was not invited to seat himself on the carpet with the other Hindoo capitalists; and, dismayed by this unexpected slight, he seated himself among his servants in the outer part of the hall; and on finding that he was to receive nothing, fell almost immediately into a state of imbecility, and died in that condition eighteen months after. The treaty between Clive and Jaffier, as written in Persian and English, was then read, and after much consultation it was agreed that one-half the sum promised the British troops should be paid immediately in coin, plate, and jewels taken out of the treasury, and the other half should be discharged in three years by equal instalments.

Two days after this, came tidings of the capture of Surajah Dowlah, who had been taken at Rajahmahal, where his boatmen, worn out by excessive exertions, were permitted to pass the night in their craft, while the disguised nabob and his two attendants sought shelter ashore in a deserted garden. Now it chanced that at break of day he was recognised there by one who had but too good reason to remember him, the tyrant having shorn him of his ears about thirteen months before. The person whom he thus maltreated was either a dervish or a fakir, and by a strange coincidence the fallen nabob sought the cell of this devotee, who received him with apparent hospitality, but, inspired at once by revenge and the hope of reward, he made the circumstance known to Meer Cossim, Jaffier's son-in-law, who then commanded in Rajahmahal.

Surajah Dowlah was instantly captured, and after being subjected to every possible indignity, was brought back, as a felon, to his own palace, and dragged before his supplanter at midnight. He crawled in the dust to the new nabob's feet, weeping, and praying for mercy. It is said that Meer Jaffier, moved alike by pity and contempt, was inclined to spare his miserable life; but that

Meeran, his son, a wretch as vile and ferocious as even Surajah Dowlah, urged that the latter should be put to death, to render the throne of Bengal and his own succession thereto more perfectly secure.

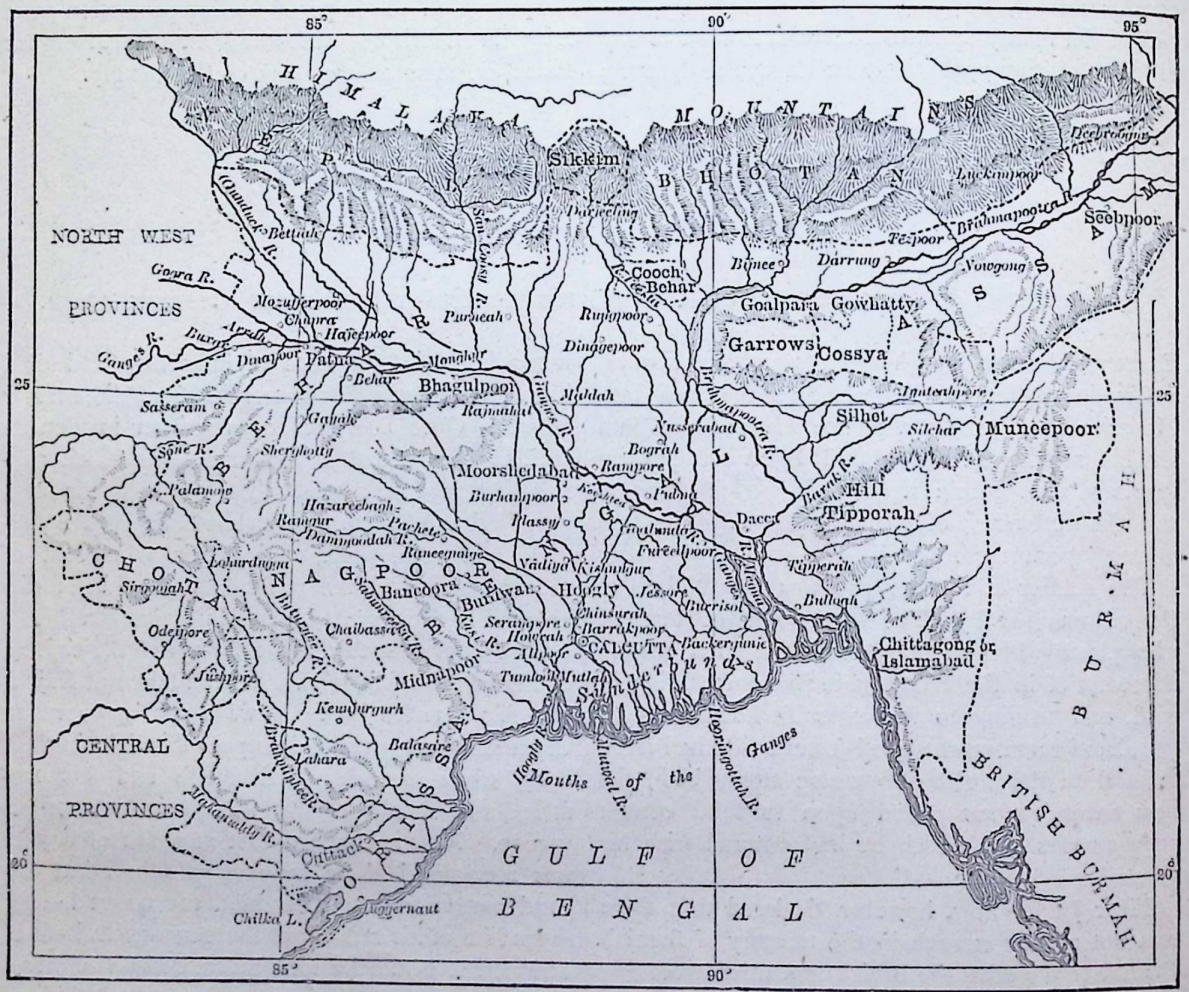
To await his fate he was removed to a remote chamber in the palace of Moorshedabad, where he did not remain long in suspense. As soon as his slayer entered, he saw his dreadful purpose in his eyes, and begged for a few minutes' respite for ablution and prayer; but this was denied him. A few home stabs of the poniard soon dispatched him; and in the morning his bloody remains were exposed through the city on an elephant, after which they were thrown into the grave of his maternal grandfather, Aliverdy Khan. He was only in the twentieth year of his age.

"In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings that he thought it necessary to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy." *

Meeran, his murderer, was only in his seventeenth year.

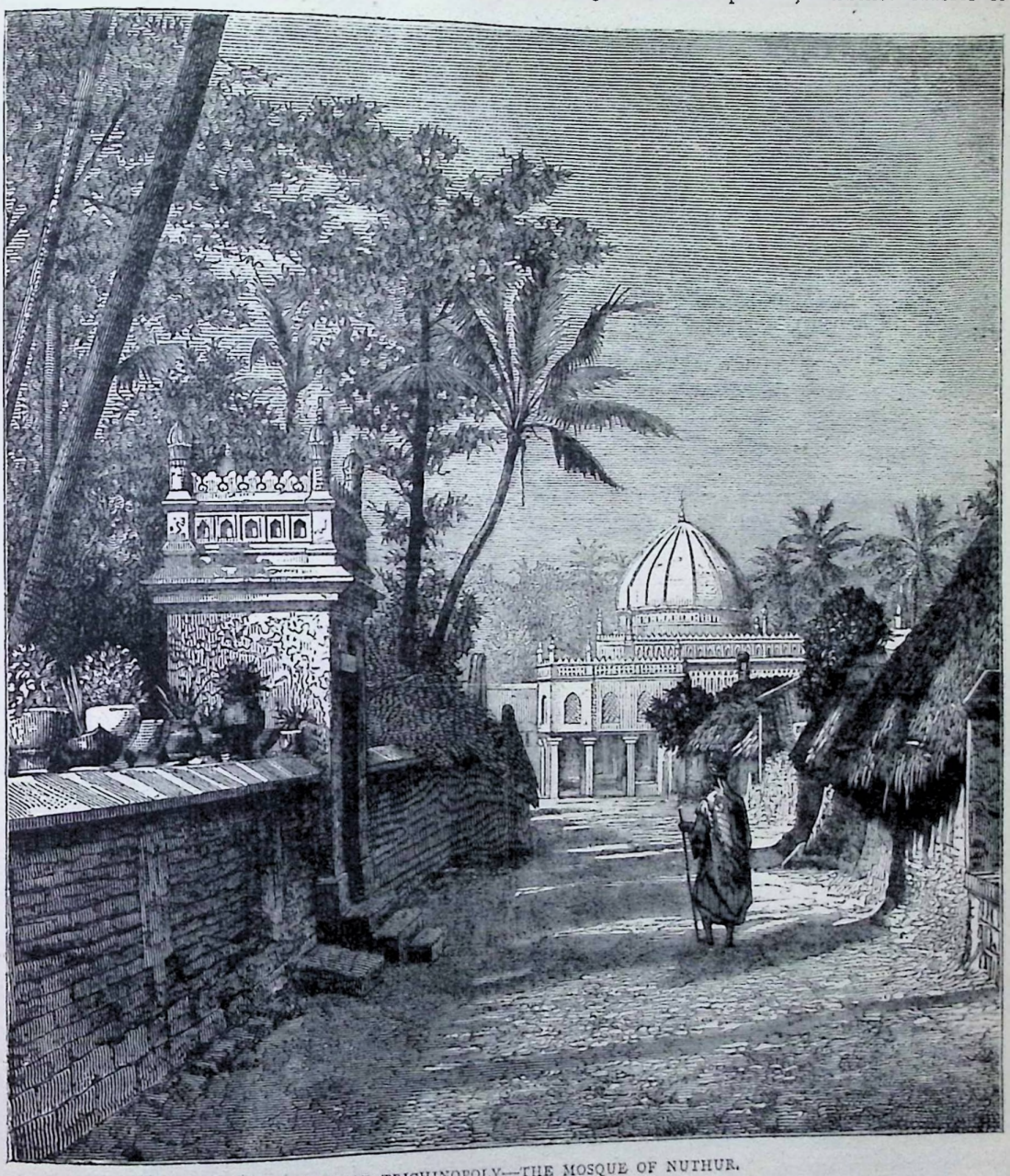
Clive and the committee of the Company on the 6th of July obtained payment of 7,271,666 rupees (equal to £800,000 sterling), in addition to which the former obtained from Jaffier as his own reward £160,000, out of which he granted an annuity of £300 to his old brother-officer, Lawrence, who had grown old in the service, and was poor. This treasure altogether filled 700 chests, and was embarked in 100 boats, which, escorted by soldiers and all the boats of the British squadron, proceeded along the river to Fort William, with banners flying and music playing—"a scene of triumph and joy, and a remarkable contrast to the scene of the preceding year, when Surajah Dowlah had ascended the same stream from the conquest and plunder of Calcutta."

* Macaulay.



MAP OF BENGAL, BEHAR, AND ORISSA.

In August the Company received in cash and treasure 3,255,095 rupees, with a right to establish a mint of their own at Calcutta, achieved the expulsion for ever of the French, and obtained the entire



VIEW NEAR TRICHINOPOLY—THE MOSQUE OF NUTHUR.

right of all property within the Mahratta Ditch, with 600 yards round it, and all the land in the neighbourhood of Calcutta between the river, the lake, and Culpee, in rental from the nabob, with a right of free trade throughout the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, save in salt and betel. "Trade revived, and signs of affluence appeared in every English house," says the great Essayist. "As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself."

The new nabob lived and moved under British

control; the Council at Calcutta reigned, and he administered; and in London the India Company purchased for him, as presents, a fine musical clock, some rich watches and rings, to be taken to Moorshedabad by Clive or some other official.

James Francis Law was now in the field, at the head of a French force, said by some accounts to have been 2,000 strong, including those troops which escaped from Chandernagore. He had been hastening to the aid of Surajah Dowlah, who had requested his presence for the defence of Bengal; but when tidings reached him of the battle of Plassey, where he might have turned the fortune of the field, he wisely halted. "Had he proceeded twenty miles further," says Orme, "he would have met and saved Surajah Dowlah, and an order of events very different from those we have to relate would have ensued."

From other sources he soon learned how completely all was lost, with the death of the wretched nabob; so he began his retreat with all speed into Behar, intending to offer his military services to Ramnarrain, the governor of that province, who was inclined to assume independence. Clive, therefore, resolved to make the French prisoners, if possible, before they reached Patna.

For this purpose he sent in pursuit of Law a detachment of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and fifty lascars, with two field-guns, under Major Coote, of the 39th Regiment, while the baggage and stores, in forty boats, went up the river; but so many were the unavoidable delays, that by the 6th of July, when the little column began its march, Law was half-way to Patna.

On the 10th of July, Coote was at Rajahmahal, and on the following day the baggage boats came in. Meer Jaffier's kinsman, who, as we have said, commanded in that district, would not yield the least assistance; thus it was the 18th before Coote reached Boglipur, on the Ganges, in a district then covered with forests and thickets, amid the remains of which the wild elephants roam to this day. Continuing to advance, with slender hope of overtaking his Scottish antagonist, who was already reported to be beyond Patna, Coote, an indefatigable soldier, on the 21st reached Monghyr, a group of villages and market-places covering a great extent of ground.

Here our troops, who expected to be received as friends, found the whole native garrison—who occupied the strong fortress on a peninsula, which is also a precipitous rock—standing to their guns with port-fires lit, so they had to make a détour and avoid the place, which was long famous as a source of contention between the ancient kings of Behar and Bengal, and which, in 1580, had been the headquarters of Todermall, the general of the great Ackbar.

On the 23rd, Coote was at Burhai, where his European troops, worn out and harassed, broke into open mutiny. To shame them, he ordered them all into the boats, and, at head of the sepoys alone, pushed on to Behar, the boats being towed by natives. On the 1st of August, Coote reached a small town at the confluence of the Sona with the Ganges. Three days were spent in crossing the stream, and when Coote reached Chupra, a long narrow town in a marshy district by the Ganges, he found that the ubiquitous Law had reached Benares, and was 140 miles off!

Further pursuit was hopeless. He was now on the frontier of Oude with a small force, utterly exhausted, and by the sinking of several boats, almost destitute of the material of war. If he failed to overtake Law, he succeeded, however, in striking terror into Ramnarrain and other native princes, and compelled them by such oaths as they held sacred—on the Koran, the waters of the Ganges, and so forth—to be true and obedient to the puppet of the Company, the new nabob, Meer Jaffier.

Coote's detachment on returning, was quartered at Cossimbazar; the rest of the victors of Plassey were sent down the river, and cantoned at Chandernagore, then considered a more healthy place than Calcutta, where Clive was received with every acclamation and honour.

While these stirring events had been occurring in Bengal, our people had been idle in Coromandel, and endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French in Pondicherry. Though weakened by absence of the troops and ships they had sent to act upon the Ganges, the presidency of Madras dispatched Captain Caillaud to make an attempt upon Madura, a town on the right bank of the Vighey. Its fortifications were then very extensive though now much dilapidated; but its narrow, dirty, and irregular streets are still surrounded by a ditch and wall. Of old, it was chiefly celebrated for its temple dedicated to the divinity Killayadah. The captain proceeded against this place from Trichinopoly, while sending a detachment against Vellore, a town 100 miles westward of Madras. On reaching Madura, though greatly distressed by want of money to pay his men, he made an unsuccessful assault, and ere he could repeat it, had to fall back on Trichinopoly, where the French were beginning to show themselves.

Abandoning tents, baggage, and artillery, he hurried back to defend Trichinopoly, which he had left garrisoned by only 165 Europeans, 700 sepoys,

and 1,000 other natives, furnished chiefly by Mohammed Ali, and a Hindoo chief of Tanjore. Within the walls were no less than 500 French prisoners, and these had found means to communicate with their countrymen outside. Before Caillaud received the letter which desired his return, the latter had commenced operations with 1,000 European infantry, 150 European horse, and 3,000 sepoys, supported by guns, the whole being led by M. d'Auteuil, who threw shot and shell into the town for four days, and summoned it to surrender; but the officer in command was resolved to defend it to the last.

Ere M. d'Auteuil could attempt to take the place by storm, Caillaud, with splendid rapidity and skill, though so exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone that he could neither stand nor walk, marched his whole force *between* the besiegers and Trichinopoly, which they entered under a salute of twenty-one guns. This turn of affairs so startled and disgusted M. d'Auteuil, that he withdrew finally to Pondicherry, and in the Carnatic the war now languished till the French suddenly captured the great British factory at Vizagapatam.

In the month of September, there suddenly appeared off Fort St. David, a squadron of twelve French ships, commanded by an officer of great reputation, M. Bouvet. He had on board the old Regiment of Lorraine, 30th of the line. They were 1,000 strong, with fifty artillerymen, and sixty volunteers, the whole under Major-General the Marquis de Soupires. They passed on to Pondicherry, and landed there, and the British commanders became much perplexed as to what the object of this expedition was.

Bouvet, as soon as he was rid of the troops, fearing that our admiral would bring against him a heavier force than his own, quitted the coast, but in such haste, that he took away with him most of the heavy artillery, and all the ammunition he had brought.

"Crowding all his canvas, he bore away for the Mauritius—flying from Admiral Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghley."

By a new expedition from Trichinopoly, about the time of Bouvet's departure, Captain Caillaud took Madura; 170,000 rupees was the sum paid by him to the chief of that place for its surrender, and its possession became of the greatest importance to the British now, on the Coromandel coast. But a stronger expedition than France had yet sent out, and under an officer second only to Clive in energy, though not quite in military talent, was coming to the shores of Hindostan.

CHAPTER XII.

COUNT DE LALLY.—HIS "INSTRUCTIONS."—SEA BATTLE.—SURRENDER OF FORT ST. DAVID.—COUNT D'ACHÉ'S INSTRUCTIONS.—TANJORE ATTACKED.

As soon as the war had fairly commenced in Europe, the ministry of Louis XV. prepared a formidable expedition to the East, and the arrival of it was daily looked forward to at Pondicherry. It was not, however, until the 28th April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached the coast. This squadron was commanded by Count d'Aché, and had on board two regiments of infantry 1,100 strong, a corps of artillery, and a great many officers of the highest distinction, the whole under the command of Count de Lally, an officer who had been since his boyhood in the service of France, and had fought at Fontenoy, where he had taken several English officers prisoners with his own hand. A very accurate account of this leader, whose name was soon to become so famous in the East, is to be found among the papers of Baron Grant, Governor of the Mauritius, privately printed in 1801.

"The Count de Lally," says the baron, "was the son of a captain in the Regiment of Dillon (in the Irish Brigade) who passed into France after the capitulation of Limerick, and a French lady of distinction. Soon after his birth, which was in 1697, he was entered, as was the custom in the French army, a private soldier in his company. He made a considerable progress in those sciences which formed a principal part of the education of the French nobility. Being the son of an officer of distinguished merit, it was natural for him to make military acquaintances; and being, by his mother's side, allied to some of the first families of France, he had more favourable opportunities than the generality of his companions, to form connections of the first rank. These advantages, added to a fine person, advanced young Lally, at the age of nineteen years, to a company in the Irish Brigade."

At the age of twenty-five, the young soldier of fortune was sent by the court of France to negociate affairs in Russia, where his handsome face, address, and manner won him the favour of the czarina, and soon after his return he was promoted to the colonelcy of a regiment in the brigade.

In 1745, when Prince Charles Edward landed in Scotland, Colonel Lally came to England on pretence of looking after some Irish property, but in reality to serve the Jacobite cause. His presence was discovered by the Duke of Cumberland, who ordered his arrest; but by the interposition of one in power—said to have been the Prince of Wales—he was preserved from a prison, and permitted to return to France; and from that time, till the appointment of Lally to the rank of lieutenant-general in the East, his life offers little that merits attention.

At this time, so high did he stand with the court of Versailles, that he received the most extraordinary powers over all the French possessions and establishments in India; and it was confidently anticipated, that when his troops were added to those of the Marquis de Soupires, the French supremacy in the Carnatic would be completely restored.

Lally had with him a chest containing two millions of livres, when he landed at Pondicherry on the 28th April, and the following were the "instructions" issued to him by the French East India Company:—

"The Sieur de Lally is authorised to destroy the fortifications of all maritime settlements which may be taken from the English; it may, however, be proper to except Vizagapatam, in consequence of its being so nearly situated to Bimlipatam (a Dutch factory), which in that case would be enriched by the ruin of Vizagapatam, but, as to that, as well as the demolishing *of all places whatsoever*, the Sieur de Lally is to consult the governor and superior council of Pondicherry, and to have their opinion in writing; but, notwithstanding, he is to destroy such places as he shall think proper, unless strong and sufficient arguments are made use of to the contrary, such, for example, as the Company's being apprehensive for some of their settlements, and that it would then be thought prudent and necessary to reserve the power of exchange in case any of them should be lost.

"Nevertheless, if the Sieur de Lally should think it too hazardous to keep a place, or that he thought he could not do it without too much dividing or weakening his army, His Majesty then leaves it in his power to act as he may think proper for the good of the service.

"The Sieur de Lally is to allow of no English settlement being ransomed; as we may well remember, that after the taking of Madras, last war, the English Company in their Council of the 14th July, 1747, determined that all ransoms made in India should be annulled. In regard to the British troops, the officers and writers belonging to the Company, and to the inhabitants of that nation, the Sieur de Lally is to permit *none of them* to remain on the coast of Coromandel; he may, if he pleases, permit the inhabitants to go to England, and order them to be conducted in armed vessels to the island of St. Helena. But as to the officers and writers belonging to the East India Company, as well as soldiers and sailors, he is to order them to be conducted, as soon as possible, to the island of Bourbon, to work for the inhabitants of that place, according to mutual agreement; though the sending of them to the French islands is to be avoided as much as possible, to prevent them becoming acquainted with the coast, as well as the interior part of the islands.

"If the exchange of prisoners should be by chance settled at home, between the two nations, of which proper notice will be given to the Sieur de Lally, and that the islands of France and Bourbon should have more prisoners than it would be convenient to provide for; in that case it will be permitted to send a certain number to England, in a vessel armed for that purpose.

"No British officers, soldiers, &c., are to be permitted to remain in a place after it is taken; neither are they to be suffered to retire to any other part of the settlements. The Sieur de Lally is not in the least to deviate from the above instructions, unless there should be a capitulation which stipulates the contrary; in which case the Sieur de Lally is faithfully and honestly to adhere to the capitulation.

"The whole of what has before been said, concerns only the natives of Britain; but as they have in their settlements merchants from all nations, such as Moors, Armenians, Jews, Pattaners, &c., the Sieur de Lally is ordered to treat them with humanity, and to endeavour, by fair means, to engage them to retire to Pondicherry, or any other of the Company's acquisitions, assuring them at the same time that they will be protected, and that the same liberty and privileges which they possessed before among the English will be granted them.

"Among the regiments furnished to complete the Regiments of Lorraine and Berry (71st of the French line) there are 300 men from Fitscher's recruits, lately raised, and, as it is feared there will be considerable desertions among these new

recruits, the Sieur de Lally may, if he pleases, leave them on the Isle of France, where they will be safe from desertion, and replace them from the troops of the island."

Such were the instructions given to the count, and their whole tenor fully displays the high and perfect confidence of conquest entertained by the ministry and East India Company of France. But Lally, says Nolan, was not destined to be so fortunate as when at Fontenoy, and he writes of him with perhaps too great severity when he adds, that "England, whom in his remorseless bigotry he hated, was destined to triumph over him on a distant field, and cause the sun of his glory to set soon and for ever. Lally was not so skilful as he was brave, although he possessed many of the finest intellectual qualities of a good soldier. He was rash, vehement, impatient, and tyrannical; he chafed at obstacles which might have been patiently surmounted had he preserved his temper. A furious religious animosity towards the English, as the chief Protestant nation, blinded his judgment as to present means and probable results, and threw him into acts of precipitancy, from which even his great valour and resources in danger could not extricate him."

His orders had reference, in the first place, to the immediate reduction of Fort St. David, and great was his indignation when he found that no preparations had been made for the transport of provisions, stores, or cannon. In this state of affairs, prudence would have suggested some delay; but his resolution was formed, and obstacles only made him more obstinate to proceed. On the very evening of his arrival in Pondicherry Roads, he learned that the Count d'Estaing, with 2,000 Europeans and sepoys, was on the march for Fort St. David already, without even ascertaining the correct route, or bringing with him provisions. The result was, the troops lost their way, and arrived in the morning worn out by fatigue and hunger; and next day, when other troops were dispatched, with cannon, stores, and baggage, still greater errors occurred, for Lally, in utter violation of the religious prejudices of the natives with regard to caste and rank, compelled them, without distinction, to supply the place of bullocks, and to become hewers of wood and drawers of water.

He was thus regarded by them with such abhorrence that they deserted from him on every available occasion; and while he was erring thus in policy, the fate of his whole armament was trembling in the balance.

On the appearance of D'Aché's squadron off Fort St. David, two of our frigates there, the only ships on the station, the *Triton* and *Bridgewater*, commanded respectively by Captains Townly and Smith, were run on shore, and, to save them from the enemy, were burned by their crews, who retired, with their arms, into the fort.

On the 24th of March, Admiral Pococke had been joined by a reinforcement from home under Commodore Stevens. On the 17th of April he was cruising to windward of Fort St. David in order to intercept D'Aché, and on the 29th he got sight of the enemy at anchor in the roads, and our two frigates, still smoking where they had been beached the night before. Immediately on our fleet coming in sight, that of France weighed and put to sea, on which Pococke threw out the welcome signal for a "general chase;" but, soon after, perceiving that the Count d'Aché formed line with a disposition to engage, he signalled to draw into line of battle ahead.

The captains of the *Cumberland* (fifty-six guns), *Newcastle* (fifty guns), and *Weymouth* (sixty guns), mistook the signal, and delayed the admiral from coming to close quarters till four in the afternoon, when the battle began.

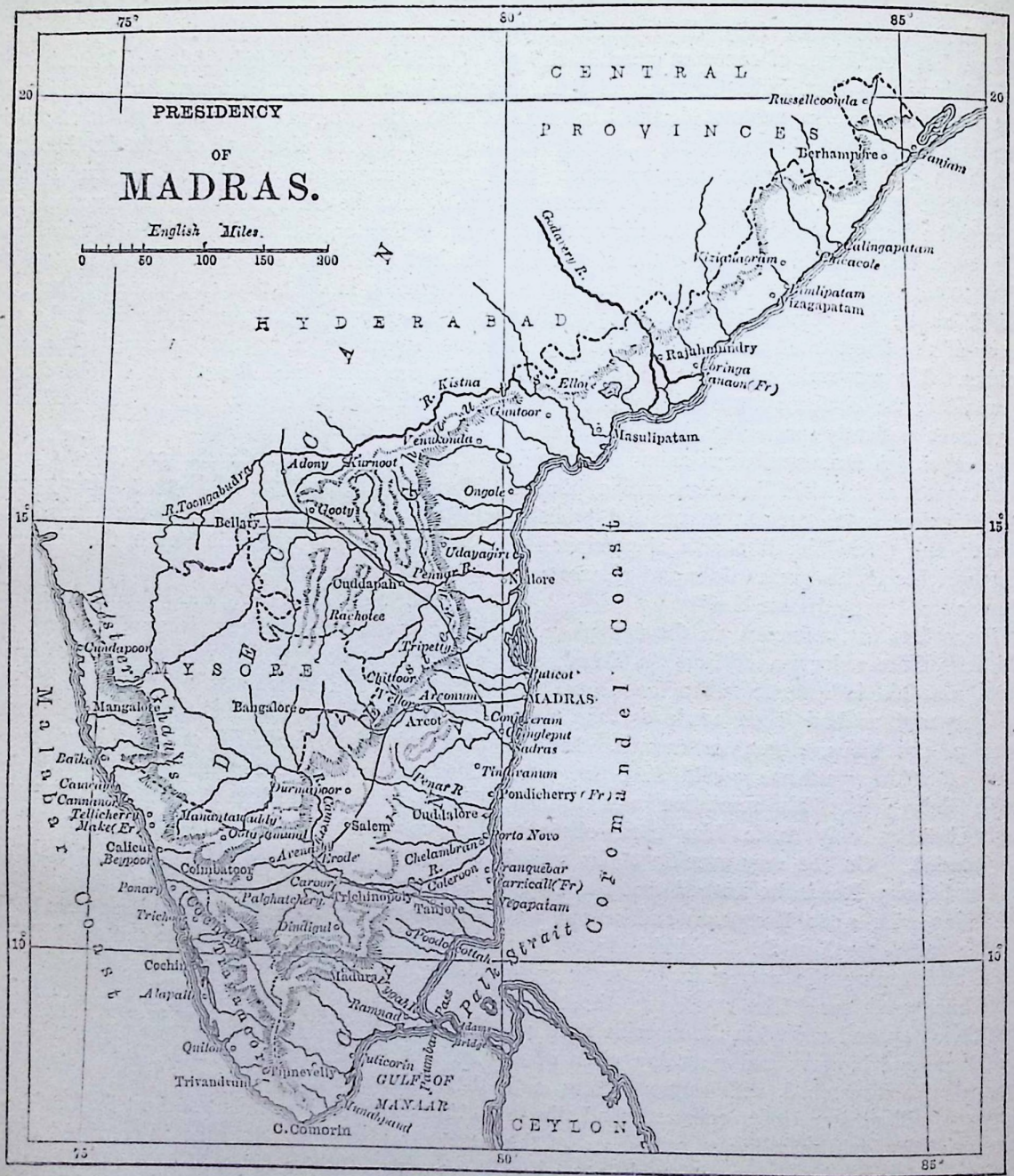
Our fleet consisted of eight sail, four of them being of the line, armed with 424 pieces of cannon; that of the enemy consisted of nine sail, four of which were of the line, armed with 492 pieces of cannon. The conflict was maintained with great spirit until after dark, when M. d'Aché, on being joined by the *Comte de Provence* (seventy-four guns), Captain de la Chaire, and a frigate from Pondicherry, and finding his ships much shattered and disabled, hauled his wind and bore away. At night he came to anchor off Alamparva, where the *Bien Aimée* (fifty-eight guns) was totally lost. As was frequently the case in battles with the French, our fleet was too crippled aloft to follow, so the admiral contented himself with keeping the weather-gauge of them. Our total losses in this indecisive action were 118 killed and wounded; those of the enemy were 562, so crowded were their ships with men.

And now the investment of Fort St. David was pressed with vigour. Its garrison consisted of 619 Europeans, of whom only 286 were effectives; 250 seamen from the two frigates, and 1,600 sepoys, topasses, and lascars. The officer commanding—after the siege operations were fairly commenced by the erection of a breaching battery—indulged in a reckless waste of ammunition, by permitting his garrison, according to Orme, to blaze away day and night "on everything they heard, saw, or suspected." In this useless process they disabled twenty of their own guns.

By the 30th May, the parallels were advanced to within 200 yards of the glacis, and an incessant fire was poured in from thirty-four guns and mortars. It was now evident to Major Polier, the officer commanding, that if not relieved, the place must soon have to be surrendered. He was not without hope of relief, as he knew that Pococke was off the coast, and he knew that officer would not permit Fort St. David to fall, if he could help it.

Orme states Lally's force before the place to have been 2,500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and the same number of sepoys.

Pococke saw the French fleet lying in Pondicherry Roads, safe under the batteries; but Count d'Aché's courage had been cooled by the recent encounter, and he only quitted the protection of the shore on getting from Lally a reinforcement of 400 Europeans, and as many sepoys, for small-arm service. On this he steered at once for Fort St. David, while Pococke was unable to pursue. One of his ships, the *Cumberland* (fifty-six), Captain



MAP OF THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS.



NAVAL ACTION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH IN PONDICHERRY ROADS.

Martin, sailed so slowly as to be a drag upon the others; hence the squadron got lee-way, lost ground, and came to anchor at Alamparva.

This decided the fate of Fort St. David. Seeing the futility of further resistance, on the 2nd June, Major Polier replaced the Union Jack by a white flag of truce. In the evening a company of French grenadiers was admitted into the fort; with drums beating and colours flying, the garrison marched to the foot of the glacis, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the French, who were drawn up in line to receive them, and they were transmitted with all speed to Pondicherry, to await exchange with an equal number of French, while Lally, who rejected the proposal that Fort St. David should not be demolished, immediately ordered the fortifications—in obedience to instructions from France—to be razed to the ground.*

The fall of Devi-Cottah followed. That little place was held by only thirty British soldiers, and 600 sepoys, who retired to Trichinopoly on hearing that D'Estaing was dispatched against them with a considerable force, while Lally marched back to Pondicherry, and a *Te Deum* was sung for his successes.

The instructions given in France to the Count d'Aché supplemented those given to the Count de Lally.

In the fourth article of these, it was ordered "that should the operations on the Bengal river be attended with success, the conquered places may either be kept, or the fortifications, civil buildings, and warehouses utterly destroyed. Should the latter plan be resolved on, not a factory ought to remain, nor an English inhabitant (even those born in the country) suffered to reside in the province. This resolution, they observe, is the most effectual means to establish their [the French] reputation on the Ganges. But they seem to recommend only the destruction of the new fort, and the preservation of old Calcutta, on condition of a ransom, and the observance of a strict neutrality in Bengal for the future.

"This the French seem most desirous of, but insist on ready money for the ransom, and hostages for the payment of agreements, since the English have publicly declared they will abide by no treaty of ransom. His Most Christian Majesty, in a letter of the 25th January, 1757, to Count d'Aché, instructs him *not to leave an Englishman* in any place that shall be taken, but to send in cartel ships to St. Helena, or suffer to pass to England all free merchants and inhabitants not in the Company's service; but to *keep prisoners* all civil servants, officers, and soldiers, and not set any at liberty, unless exchanged against those of equal rank. As to the prisoners, they are all to be sent to the island of Bourbon, and there kept in deposit, till it may be thought proper to send them to France."*

The weakness of Polier's defence at Fort St. David had inspired Lally with a contemptuous opinion of British troops, and this somewhat strengthened his recollections of their rout before the Irish bayonets at Fontenoy, and led him to anticipate easy and brilliant conquests over them in India; and now it chanced that there was discovered about this time, in the nearly empty treasury of Pondicherry, a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which had been given by the Rajah of Tanjore to Chunda Sahib, and by the latter to the French, in satisfaction for various claims they had upon him. Lally wanted money sorely, and here was a means of pressure whereby to obtain it.

"The French had found in Fort St. David a prisoner of greater importance than they expected," says Orme; "his name was Gatica, uncle to the deposed King of Tanjore, whose pretensions the English asserted in 1749, when they entered that country and took Devi-Cottah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded that place to them in proprietary, stipulated by a secret article that they should prevent this pretender from giving any molestation in future, to insure which it was necessary to secure his person; . . . . and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much ostentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehensions of the king that the pretender himself would appear and accompany the French army."

Taking with him this personage, who had pretensions to the throne of Tanjore, Lally at the head of his horse and foot, began the long march towards that kingdom, leaving 600 Irishmen of his own regiment and 200 sepoys, as a corps of observation, between Pondicherry at Alamparva. His short Indian experiences had as yet taught Lally nothing. On this suddenly conceived expedition, his troops were without transport for stores, were destitute consequently of food, and subjected to the greatest privations, in traversing a country full of local difficulties.

Before reaching Carical, to which the baggage and heavy guns had been sent by sea, the troops crossed no less than sixteen rivers, many of which they had to ford girdle-deep, after wading to them through extensive flats of mud or soft sand. He next proceeded to Nagpore (everywhere the wildest

* Orme.

* Baron Grant.

excitement being produced by the insults offered by the French to women and Brahmins), where he hoped to levy a contribution; but, being warned in time, the native merchants, having carried off all their money and jewels, offered so little for the redemption of their houses, that Lally let his hussars loose in the place, which was given up to pillage.

A somewhat peremptory application procured him from the Dutch at Negapatam 20,000 pounds of powder; and, under the same influence, from the little Danish settlement on the coast, 10,000 pounds more, with six field-pieces.

In his line of march, he found the great Pagoda of Kivalore, which stands five miles westward of Negapatam. Halting there, he ransacked the houses of the Brahmins, and, by dragging the tanks, got possession of a number of hideous and useless idols, which, instead of being gold, were base metal, hence he incurred the most horrible odium, without the smallest profit. At the next pagoda he passed, Lally acted still more rashly; for, on the accusation of being spies, he blew six Brahmin priests from the mouths of his guns.

And now Tanjore was before him. The king had little confidence in the army he had mustered to oppose the invader; and the British, who should have been his principal supporters, only tantalised him, by sending 500 sepoys, under Captain (afterwards Colonel) Caillaud, from Trichinopoly, together with ten European gunners and 300 peons. Unable to cope with Lally in the open field, the king in his desperation had recourse to diplomacy, and opened negociations which had no issue, though they procured a respite.

Lally sent into the city a Jesuit father, named Esteban, and a French captain, who demanded payment of the old bond in full. The king offered 300,000 rupees. Lally then said he would take £1,000,000 in money, with 600 bullocks and 10,000 pounds of gunpowder, but Monajee, who was still the king's general, scouted the proposals, and was quite disposed to fight. Lally's guns were now opened on the gilded roofs of the temples and tall pagodas that towered above the walls of Tanjore, while his horse swept the country and sent drove after drove of oxen to Carical and Pondicherry. The king now made overtures to gain time, and even sent 50,000 rupees to Lally as an earnest of his good intentions; but the latter, on hearing of Caillaud's approach, broke off all negociations, and pocketing the rupees, swore that he would send the king and all his family slaves to the Mauritius.

By the 2nd of August two breaching batteries were opened within 400 yards of the south wall, but so slight was their effect, that a five days' cannonade made only a six-foot breach, and by that time only 150 rounds remained in the magazine. The country people, now thoroughly infuriated, everywhere destroyed his stragglers, and great bodies of Tanjore cavalry threw themselves between Lally and those places from whence he could alone procure supplies.

Rumours then came of a naval engagement in which the squadron under Count d'Aché had been discomfited by the fleet of Admiral Pococke. Somewhat disheartened now, Lally summoned a council of war, at which ten of his officers urged a retreat, and two an immediate assault and storm at the point of the bayonet.

Under an escort of 150 Europeans, he now sent all his sick and wounded to the rear, and in the course of that night, Caillaud's sepoys entered the city, and joined the Tanjoreans in a sortie made by dawn next day on the French camp, while the savage coolies from the hills, and hordes of armed country people assailed the rear. Lally's Irish soldiers fought with all the inherent valour of their race, and he, in the conflict, had more than one hair-breadth escape.

In one instance he was nearly blown up by the explosion of a limber; in another, he was so nearly cut down and sabred, that he was trampled under the hoofs of the king's cavalry. Then three of his guns were taken, and many of his soldiers perished in the first onslaught; but when the French—we should rather say Irish, as being the most numerous—recovered their presence of mind, they began their retreat in good order, and retook the guns after nightfall; but they had previously spiked their heavy ordnance, thrown the shot into wells, and burned most of their baggage.

Galled on every hand by the armed peasantry and swarms of Tanjore horse, half famished, and perishing with thirst, the unfortunate soldiers of Lally continued a most disastrous retreat until they reached Trivitore, and ultimately Carical, on the Coromandel coast, where the first and most unwelcome sight that greeted them was the British fleet under Admiral Pococke, riding at anchor near the mouth of the Cauvery.

In the two naval encounters that had taken place, Pococke's force had been inferior, yet D'Aché, after his recent experiences, had no desire even to wait for reinforcements which might have given him superiority in a third encounter. Hearing that he was about to leave the coast, Lally rode with all speed to Pondicherry, summoned a council on the 28th August, with a view of stopping the

count, but the latter declared that his ships required great refitting, that sickness and battle had reduced his crews, and, in defiance of all Lally's wishes, he weighed, and, under a press of sail, bore away for the Mauritius.

This was on the 2nd September, 1758.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH CAMPAIGN IN INDIA.—SIEGE OF MADRAS AND CAPTURE OF CONJEVERAM.

To procure the sinews of war, the Count de Lally now projected the reduction of Madras and the invasion of Arcot, which was held only by a few of our sepoys and the cavalry of Mohammed Ali. To make assurance doubly sure, by means of a son of the late Chunda Sahib, he made a secret bargain with the commander of these cavalry to deliver up the place for 13,000 rupees, and certain military employment under the King of France; and hoping now to relieve the pressure of those pecuniary wants which the disastrous expedition to Tanjore had occasioned, he began his march for Arcot.

This expedition he conducted with great energy, dispatch, and success. En route he captured several forts. His Irish soldiers performed prodigies of valour, and Lally himself was always seen sword in hand where danger was greatest; yet military strategists affirm that he failed to cut off our supplies in Madras, which should have been part of his scheme. Be this as it may, the 4th of October, 1758, saw Lally, as Mill has it, "on the terms of a pretended capitulation, amid the thunder of cannon, make his entrance into Arcot," the capital of an extensive maritime district, surrounding a large fort.

He entered amid great pomp, and that parade of which he was so fond, and wasted much of that which he could ill spare—gunpowder; but the wealthy bankers and merchants had all departed at his approach, and the poorer people concealed all their most valuable possessions. "His late acquisitions had not hitherto reimbursed the expenses of the field," says Orme, "nor established his credit to borrow; so that his treasury could barely supply the pay of the soldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting his army in motion, and all the government of Pondicherry could immediately furnish was 10,000 rupees."

The chief error of Lally's campaign was his omitting to take—as he might have done by a *coup de main*—the important British fort at Chingleput or Singhalapetta, situated in a pleasant valley on a small tributary of the Palar. As this stronghold covered the conveyance of supplies to Madras, he ought at once to have seized it; but as soon as the British recovered from the temporary panic caused by the rapid progress of Lally, they strengthened the place by every means in their power; and "while the French, or Irish commander, as he may with more strict propriety be called, spread like a fiery meteor over the country," there came from Britain a naval reinforcement, having on board the old 79th Regiment, 850 strong, under Colonel Sir William Draper, the same officer who is mentioned by "Junius." At the same time the wise and gallant Caillaud, with his Europeans, was recalled from Trichinopoly, and thus Chingleput was powerfully strengthened.

While declaring that he had never lost sight of that place, but fully comprised its reduction among his general plans, Lally wrote from Arcot to Pondicherry for money to pay the troops, and to find transport for conveying them against it; but as the council had none to send, he was compelled to put his men in cantonments, and proceed to Pondicherry in person.

Lally's ambitious spirit had led him to desire that he should be the sole hero for France in India; thus, the instant he had reduced Fort St. David, he recalled from the Deccan M. de Bussy, of whose exploits he openly spoke in slighting terms, though he gave him the *Cordon Rouge* by order of the king. "Bussy," says a writer, "had hitherto been left by the French court with the mere rank of lieutenant-colonel, so that not only Lally and Soupires, but also six or seven other officers recently arrived from France, ignorant of India and its concerns, and in other essentials his inferiors, were above him in rank, and he was liable to be put under the orders of any one of them."

But these French officers were not animated by the rivalry of the Count de Lally.

"The colonels, sensible of the advantages that might be derived from his abilities," says Orme, "and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much these opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration requesting, on these considerations, that he might be appointed a brigadier-general, in supercession to themselves, which would place him next in command to M. de Soupires. The public zeal which dictated this request, conferred as much honour on those who made it, as their testimony on M. de Bussy."

The names of the officers who signed this chivalrous and remarkable paper were among the noblest in France, and included those of the Count d'Estaing, De la Faire, Breteuil, Verdière, and Crillon. Lally somewhat resentfully and rashly attributed this interest in Bussy to the wealth of that officer, who was too much of a Frenchman not to retort with scorn; and so this ill-matched pair were to co-operate in the reduction of Madras, to which lack of money was the chief obstacle. An officer of reputed ability, M. Morasin, whom Lally had appointed governor of Masulipatam, now joined them in conference. Lally, who believed that Bussy had realised a mighty fortune in Golconda, now desired him and Morasin to raise funds on their personal credit, which his own conduct had rendered impossible.

Bussy urged that "the consolidation of conquest, and the exercise of French power at the court of the Deccan, was much more important than the influence of the British at the inferior and subsidiary court of the Carnatic." Reasons the most convincing were offered in vain; Lally had but one object in life—the removal of the English, whom he detested with hereditary hate, from all India, and his views were most popular with his Irish soldiers.

In a letter to Bussy, written after the capture of Fort St. David, he wrote thus:—"It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having (once?) taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately, by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me."

The council at Pondicherry declared themselves unable to support the army. The military men urged the instant capture of Madras, while Lally pled the total want of means to attempt it. Then the Count d'Estaing, undoubtedly one of the most gallant officers in the French army, exclaimed at the council of war,—

"Better to die under the walls of Madras, than of hunger in Pondicherry!"

Thus, as there were but two prospects—starvation or fighting, it was resolved to adopt the latter, as Lally hoped to pillage the Black Town, and coop up the British in Fort St. George. Prior to marching, there are two accounts of how some money was procured. Orme says, "The arrival of a ship at Pondicherry on the 18th from Mauritius, which brought treasure, together with 100,000 rupees, brought by M. Morasin from Tripetta, enabled Lally to put the French troops in motion again." Elsewhere we are told that he advanced his own money, 60,000 rupees, and prevailed upon various Frenchmen in Pondicherry to advance more, which barely exceeded half of his own contributions.

He was thus enabled to equip a little force of 7,000 men, of whom 2,700 were Irish and French, to proceed against Madras. He was ready to march in the first week of November, but the weather detained him longer, and his resources were being so rapidly consumed, that he had barely a week's subsistence left when he began, as Smollett states, to cross the plain of Choultry, on the 12th December, in three divisions, intent on fulfilling the boast he had made on taking Fort St. David, "that he would yet dine in Madras and sup in Calcutta."

Our people in Madras had made a good use of their time in preparing for his reception. Admiral Pococke, who had stood off to sea to avoid the monsoon, sent 100 marines to join the garrison, which was commanded by Colonel Lawrence, Clive's old superior, who had in the service a large force of native cavalry, under a brave and active partisan officer, who patrolled and scoured the country, kept open the road to Trichinopoly, and rendered insecure every avenue by which the French could hope for supplies or reinforcements. The total force under Lawrence within the walls amounted to 1,758 Europeans, 2,220 sepoys, and "200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry—these last being scarcely worth their rations."

"On the 12th of December," says the *London Gazette*, "the French army moved from the Mount and Mamalon towards Madras; ours cannonaded them for about an hour as they crossed Choultry Plain, and killed forty without any loss on our side, as the French had little artillery, and ill-served. They marched in three divisions, one directly towards our people, one towards Egmore, and the other down St. Thomé Road."

On that day the outposts of Lawrence were

driven in, as Lally, with M. de Crillon at the head of his regiment, pressed upon them with impetuosity, and they retired into the fort. All day on the 13th the count reconnoitred the place, and on the 14th he entered the Black Town, which was open and defenceless; and then a scene of reckless pillage began, while his Irish soldiers became intoxicated. On this being known in the fort, Colonel Draper and Major Brereton, at the head of 600 men, with two field-pieces, rushed out and made a sortie upon them.

Unfortunately, the drummer-boys struck up "the Grenadiers' March" too soon. This gave a warning to the French, and the Regiment of Lorraine, more orderly than its Irish comrades, got under arms; yet they were somewhat taken by surprise, and a furious struggle ensued. They took post at a point where the narrow streets crossed each other at right angles. Had the Marquis de Bussy, who was near, made one of his usual bold and decisive movements, such as he was wont to do when acting on his own responsibility, he might have taken our troops in the rear, and cut them off to a man. But he remained inactive, and afterwards pled that he had no orders to move, and was without cannon. It has been suggested that the want of cordiality been him and Lally occasioned this coolness; but it may be that the feeling extended to Bussy's comrades; for at Aughrim, Fontenoy, and other fields where they fought side by side, the French evinced considerable jealousy of their daring Irish comrades. There is something grotesque in the account of this affair, as given by the *London Gazette*, which says: "Colonel Draper made such a push as would astonish all who do not know him; and if he had been briskly followed by his two platoons of grenadiers, he would have brought in eleven officers and fifty men; but they did not do justice to their leader, who received the whole force of two platoons *to himself*. He had several balls through his coat, but was not touched. So had Captain Beaver."

At the head of a few Irish, Lally came on to support the Regiment of Lorraine, and Draper's sortie was driven into the fort, with the loss of his field-pieces, and 200 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the slain were Captains Billhook and Hume. On the side of the enemy, according to Lally's own account, there were seven officers with 400 men killed and wounded; and the Count d'Estaing was taken prisoner. Here fell the unfortunate Major Polier, who, unable to bear the severe reflections which had been cast upon him for his unsoldierlike defence of St. David, threw away his life, to prove that he was a man of courage. The close contest was maintained for a time with terrible rancour. From the streets, it had extended into the interior of some of the houses. In one, about twenty British soldiers were found lying dead, covered with bayonet wounds, with their French or Irish antagonists beside them in the same condition.

An Armenian merchant, residing in the Black Town, gave Lally 80,000 livres to save his house from pillage; a Hindoo partisan gave him 12,000 more, and on procuring certain provisions and stores with this money, he began to throw up his batteries. His heavy artillery were still at sea, and his only thirteen-inch mortar was captured, *en route*, by some of our sepoys.

On the 6th of January, 1759, he opened against Madras with his field-pieces, and kept up a continual shower of shot and shell till the 26th, by which time twenty-nine cannon and mortars were disabled on the works, though the latter remained uninjured. By the accounts given by deserters, their loss in officers and men in the advanced batteries was very severe, and after they were compelled to quit them, their fire gradually decreased to six pieces of cannon. However, they pushed their sap along the seaside so far as to embrace the north-east angle of the covered way, from whence their musketry compelled the besieged to retire, and in this situation matters remained for several days, till Lally sprung a mine; but so injudiciously that he could make no use of it.*

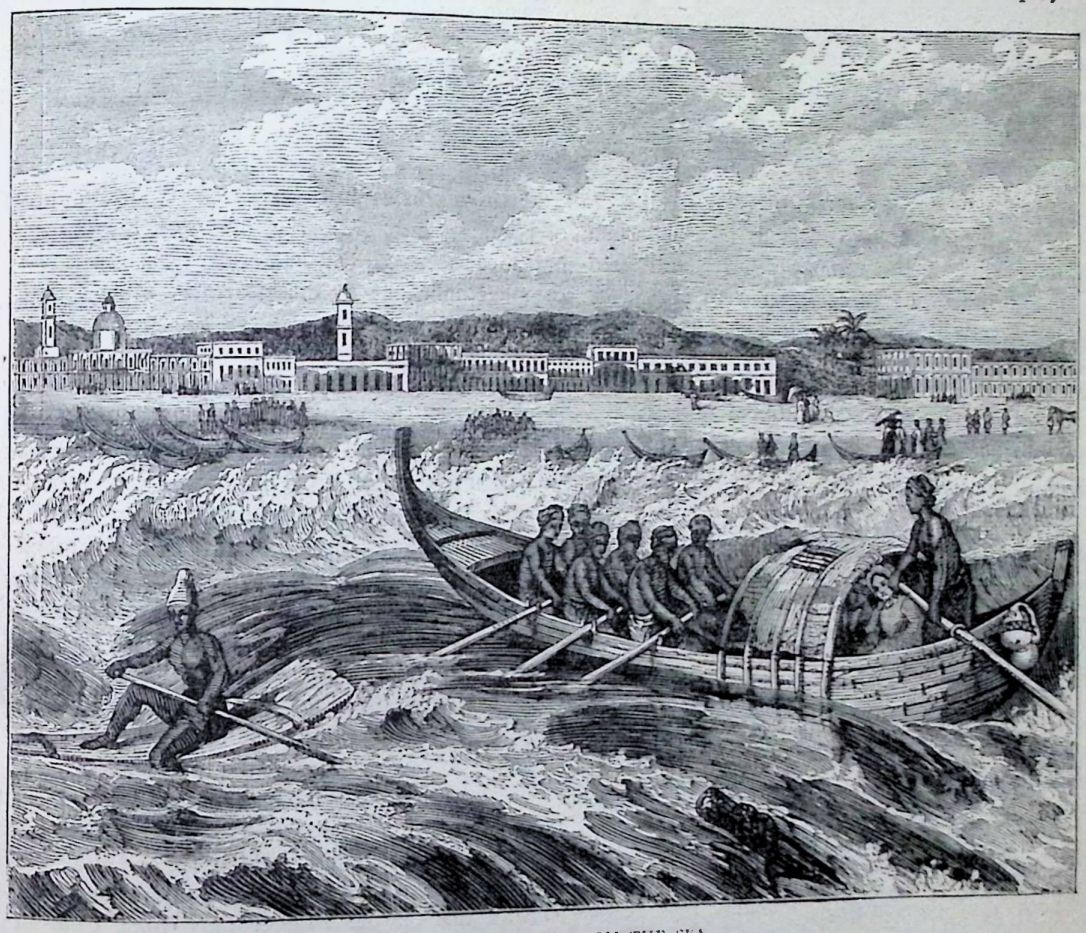
Dissensions were daily increasing in his camp and councils, and when he had been two months and four days before Madras, his condition became almost desperate, when, on the 16th February, Admiral Pococke returned to the coast, with two frigates, having on board 600 more men of Colonel Draper's regiment. These were nearly all landed at once from the *Revenge* and H.M.S. *Queenborough*, commanded by Captain (afterwards the unfortunate Admiral) Kempenfeldt. By this time, all Lally's money, including 1,000,000 livres from Pondicherry, and all his provisions, were utterly exhausted. Three weeks before, his last bomb had been exploded, and nearly all his gunpowder expended; and, pouring out invectives, and blaming every one but himself, he raised the siege, and on the night of the 17th, silently and expeditiously, after abandoning his stores, began his retreat towards Arcot.

In making this movement, "he was greatly distressed by the want of money and provisions; the natives, knowing his habits, removed or concealed as much of their rice and cattle as was possible; and occasionally he had to feel in van

* *Gazette Extraordinary.*

and rear, and in straggling or foraging parties, the sharp execution of the flying columns of native horse, and the deadly animosity of the coolies and Colleries, who glided like ghosts round his camp, and stabbed in the dark."

The bitter chagrin and mortification of Lally are well depicted in the following letter, written to M. de Leyrit (and intercepted) some days before the night on which he left his camp at Madras :—



VIEW OF MADRAS FROM THE SEA.

"A good blow might be struck here : there is a ship of twenty guns in the roads, laden with all the riches of Madras, which, it is said, will remain there until the 20th. The *Expedition* is just arrived ; but M. Gerlin is not a man to attack her, as she has made him run away once before. The *Bristol*, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas, and on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright, and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough to take on board twelve of her own guns which she had lent us for the siege !

"If I were the judge of the point of honour of the company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

"I reckon we shall, on our return to Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much patience.

"Of 1,700 sepoys which attended our army, I reckon nearly 800 are employed on the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods, and as for the coolies, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

"I am taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black Town, and blow up the powder-mills. You will never imagine that fifty French deserters and 100 Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of 2,000 men of the king's and company's troops, which are still here existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts, that every one makes here according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them ; and you will be still more surprised when I tell you, that were it not for the combats and four battles we sustained—and for the batteries which failed, or, to speak more

properly, were improperly made—we should not have lost fifty men, from the commencement of the siege to this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money on the Polygars for me, I will not do it. And I renounce, as I told you a month ago, meddling directly or indirectly with anything whatever that may have to do with your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom, which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that from heaven should not.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.,

"LALLY.

"P.S.—I think it necessary to apprise you that, as M. de Soupires has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcotte or Sadroste. Send, therefore, your orders, or come yourself to command it, for I shall quit it on my arrival there."

So great was the discontent prior to the retreat to Arcot, that it is supposed that but for the strong attachment his Irish soldiers had to his person, the French would have seized him and given the command to Bussy.

The tidings of his misfortunes, many of which were due to his own faults of temper, preceded his arrival at Pondicherry, and were hailed with undisguised satisfaction by French and natives alike, notwithstanding his undoubted talent and bravery as a soldier. The remonstrances sent by Lally to France, at this time, says Baron Grant, evince the horror and distraction of his mind, and the kind of intelligence that prevailed between him and those he commanded, while the British gained every advantage over him.

The Madras treasury was almost empty by this time, in consequence of the heavy drains made upon it during the last six months, and as several of the chiefs at Madras and elsewhere were discovering symptoms of dissatisfaction, so far from following Lally's retreat, our troops did not take the field till the 6th of March. The nominal Nabob of the Carnatic, and *protégé* of Britain, Mohammed Ali, had proved a rather costly auxiliary. His two brothers, who had been instigated by the French, and had so often sought French aid, now, in the time of Lally's adversity, betrayed them. One savagely murdered all the French officers in his service, except one. The native princes and chiefs were destitute alike of principle, faith, or honour, of mercy, hospitality, or justice; so, as our officers were anxious to recover complete influence in the province, at the date given, a force consisting of 1,156 Europeans, 1,520 sepoys, and 1,120 Colleries (regularly drilled troops also), were equipped for a campaign under Colonel Lawrence.

He commenced his march for Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, and was searching in vain for those unfortunates whom he had entrusted to the treacherous brother of Mohammed Ali, who was anxious now—as the star of France seemed on the wane—to renew his allegiance with the nabob, and his friendship with us; but for twenty-two days the troops remained within sight of each other without firing a shot, or nearly so; when suddenly ours wheeled off to Wandiwash, and began to break ground before the town and fortress.

On the French hastening to defend that place, our troops under Major Brereton evaded them, and by a skilful détour hurried back, and took the much more important fortress of Conjeveram.

After this, on the 28th of May, both Colonel Lawrence and the Count de Lally put their troops into cantonments, as the rainy season was at hand.

CHAPTER XIV.

SEA-FIGHT OFF FORT ST. DAVID.—AFFAIR OFF WANDIWASH.—DEFEAT OF CONFLANS BY COLONEL FORDE.—MASULIPATAM STORMED.—SURAT TAKEN.

DURING the occurrence of these events on shore, the fleets were not idle. Admiral Pococke arrived from the western coast of India, and cruised about in search of French ships in April. A little later, three of the Company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and tidings that the gallant Coote was coming with 1,000 of the king's troops; but, at the same time, it was announced that no treasure

could arrive till 1760, dispiriting tidings which the Council did not permit to transpire beyond their chamber. At the end of July, the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam, where Pococke's squadron lay, and on the 20th of August he bore away for Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, where he came in sight of the enemy's fleet, which had been reinforced by three new ships from France.

On the 10th of September the weather allowed the ships to operate, and the British squadron having, as usual in those old days of genuine seamanship, the weather-gauge, came down abreast, while the French lay to in line of battle off Fort St. David on the main land.

Admiral Pococke had nine sail all of the line, carrying 638 guns, and 3,025 men; the French admiral, Count d'Aché, had eleven sail of the line and two frigates, carrying 896 guns, and 4,980 men. As our ships came on, the *Elizabeth* (sixty-four guns), Captain Richard Tiddiman, had orders to lead with the starboard, and the *Weymouth* (sixty guns), Captain Sir William Baird, Bart., of Saughton Hall, with the larboard tacks on board; the *Queenborough* (twenty guns), Captain Kirk, to repeat signals. At eleven o'clock Rear-Admiral Stevens, who led in the *Grafton* (seventy guns), began the battle, which was maintained on both sides with undoubted bravery till four in the afternoon, when some of the French ships began to give way, and the British, much crippled aloft, were unable to follow them quickly.

M. d'Aché having received a wound which rendered him insensible, and Captain Gotho being killed, and the Chevalier de Monteuil, his second captain on board *Le Zodiaque* (seventy-four guns), having wore the ship to join those which had run to leeward, the rest mistook the manœuvre for flight, and bore away under all the sail they could crowd.

Admiral Pococke pursued them as well as he could till darkness closed on the sea, when, ordering the *Revenge* to keep them in sight, he hove to for the repair of damages. Our losses in this battle were 118 killed and 451 wounded, sixty-eight of whom were mortally injured. Among the former were five officers of various ranks, and among the latter two captains.

Count d'Aché, who had all his topmasts standing, got safely into Pondicherry, which was his real object, when the Council of the French India Company were on the verge of despair. He brought them only 180 soldiers, but he brought them that which they required much more, money to the amount of £16,000, and a quantity of diamonds worth £17,000 more, which had been taken out of a British East Indiaman some time before.

As soon as Pococke had our fleet in fighting order, he came off Pondicherry on the 27th of September; but while his fleet was still hull down, Count d'Aché got under weigh, and with a press of sail bore away for Mauritius; so Pococke returned to the roads of Madras. The whole inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, signed a protest against this measure of D'Aché, but he was deaf to remonstrance, and pleading that his orders were to save his ships, he would do nothing more for the settlement than leave behind him 500 Europeans and 400 Caffirs, whom he had serving on board. He had with him General Lally, and several other officers; "thus leaving," says Smollett, "the British masters of the Indian coast, a superiority still more confirmed by the arrival from England of Rear-Admiral, afterwards Sir Samuel, Cornish (who subsequently served at the conquest of Manilla) with four ships of the line, with which he joined Admiral Pococke at Madras on the 18th of October.

Prior to these naval matters, and to the departure of Count de Lally, occurrences of great importance took place on land.

Before the arrival at Pondicherry of the treasure and diamonds, the troops of Lally had been reduced to the direst distress. Even his faithful Irish Regiment mutinied, and he had to erect gibbets round the city to deter deserters from leaving it. When the Irish mutinied, the whole French force became demoralised. The Regiment de Lally had been regarded in India with the prestige of glory it had won in France and Flanders; but they simply mutinied under the pressure of hunger, thus their disobedience shook the loyalty of the Regiments of Lorraine, Berry, and all the other troops.

The British, who had taken by surprise the Fort of Cauverypauk in July, were now tempted by the disorder that reigned among the troops of Lally, to make an attempt upon Wandiwash. Accordingly, on the 26th of September, our entire force, under Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose, on being joined by 300 men of Colonel Coote's battalion under Major Gordon. This made up his whole strength to 400 Europeans, 7,000 sepoys, seventy European and 300 black horse, with fourteen guns.

On the march he invested and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he proceeded to Wandiwash, where the French were posted 1,000 strong under the walls of the fort, which was commanded by a rajah, and armed with twenty guns, under a French cannoneer, with a company of native *gholandazees*. On the 30th, at two in the morning,

Colonel Brereton attacked the town on three points, and after a very obstinate conflict, drove them from it; but was unable to retain the advantage he had won.

During the attack his native pioneers deserted, so that proper traverses or barricades could not be made in the streets, along which, as soon as day broke, there swept a dreadful discharge of grape from the fort. Meanwhile the French infantry had retired into a dry ditch, which served them as a species of entrenchment, from whence they made furious sallies with the bayonet, though the troop of European horse were already in motion to attack them.

In this emergency, the fire from the fort compelled our people to draw off, and their retreat might have become a flight, had not their reserve ably covered it; yet it was not effected without the loss of several officers and more than 300 men killed and wounded. After this mortifying result, Colonel Brereton, loth to abandon hope, lingered in sight of the fort for a few days, till the rains compelled him to return to Conjeveram. The defeat sustained here by our troops, at the hands chiefly of their own brother-islanders, seems greatly to have injured the *morale* of our slender forces, and, as illustrative of this, Mill tells us the following anecdote:—

"A detachment of grenadiers were very expeditiously quitting the vicinity of danger, when their officer, instead of calling after them—an imprudence which would, in all probability, have converted their retreat into a flight—ran till he got before them, and then suddenly turning round, cried, 'Halt!' as if giving the ordinary word of command. The *habit of discipline* prevailed; the men stopped, formed according to orders, and marched back into the scene of action."

But this success of the French, however brilliant, neither clothed the men, nor supplied them with provisions.

The fort was afterwards garrisoned by French and sepoys, while other forces of the enemy, under Bussy, were assembled at Arcot.

On the recall of that officer by Lally from the Deccan, the British had taken advantage of his absence to begin secret negociations with the native chiefs, and even with Salabut Jung; while Clive from Bengal had dispatched Colonel Forde towards the Northern Circars—those valuable provinces which, as we have already stated, had been ceded to Bussy. The colonel, who had with him 500 British troops, 2,100 native infantry, according to one account (but only 300 Europeans, 800 sepoys, and 150 sowars, according to another), with thirty field-guns, a howitzer, and mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam, out of which the French troops had been driven by Anunderauz, the Rajah of Vizanapore, who had hoisted British colours on that place; and the Marquis de Conflans was already in motion to avenge the insult. On landing, the colonel joined the army of Anunderauz, who engaged to co-operate against the French, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the Deccan. Thus, before marching, a treaty was drawn up between the colonel and the rajah.

In the first place, all plunder was to be equally divided; every province conquered was to be left to the rajah, who was to collect all its revenues, with the exception of those of the seaport towns, which, with the revenue of the districts adjacent, were to belong to the English East India Company, and no treaty for their restitution or disposal to any one else could be made without the consent of both. Finally, it was stipulated that the rajah was to supply 50,000 rupees per month for the support of our troops, and 6,000 for the expense of their officers.

On the 1st of November, the colonel began his march, and on the 3rd was joined by the forces of the rajah, nearly 4,000 strong, armed with pikes and lances, and having four guns, worked by Europeans; but it was not until the third of the following month, that they came in sight of the enemy, under the Marquis de Conflans, whom Bussy had left in charge of the Deccan, "near the village of Jallapool," says Smollett, "but the French declining battle, the colonel determined to draw them from their advantageous situation, or march round, and get between them and Rajahmundry."

The force of Conflans consisted of 500 Europeans, with more cannon than they could handle, and a large body of native troops, including 500 cavalry, and 6,000 sepoys—a force sufficient to overawe hordes of effeminate Hindoos, but too weak to stand against the troops of Forde, whose first care was to get rid of those of the rajah, as he feared they would not fight. On the 7th, before dawn, that officer began his march, leaving all the sable pikemen and archers on their ground; but, at the request of the rajah, he took them under his orders, and the whole force marched to Jallapool, where he halted on a little, but cultivated, plain, and formed in order of battle at nine a.m.

Conflans, believing that Forde meant to retire, had quitted his strong ground on the road that led to Vizagapatam, and opened the affair by a cannonade, which was followed by forty minutes of musketry. The French, who had come on in considerable haste and disorder, came suddenly upon

our troops, who had been concealed by a tall crop of Indian corn, and who routed them with considerable loss, by eleven o'clock. Under Captain Knox, the conduct of our sepoys was most resolute. Conflans fell back upon his camp under a fire of heavy artillery; but he was soon hurled from it by Colonel Forde. Some of the French threw down their arms and cried for quarter; but the greater portion took wildly to flight.

Conflans had the precaution to send off, early in the day, his treasure on two camels; but the spoil captured by Forde was considerable, and included thirty guns, mostly brass, fifty tumbrils laden with ammunition, seven mortars, 1,000 draught bullocks, and all the tents and military stores. This victory cost him only forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, including five officers, while the French lost thrice that number, but a great many sepoys perished on both sides. Mounted on a fine horse, the marquis rode from the field and never drew bridle till night, when he reached the town of Rajahmundry, forty miles distant.

When the rout of the French began, Colonel Forde naturally ordered the rajah's horse to advance in pursuit, but ordered in vain, for these dusky warriors, as well as their infantry, with Anunderauz in the very heart of them, had all taken shelter, comfortably and conveniently, in a deep dry tank, where they cowered during the whole action, and refused to move while balls were flying about.*

If Anunderauz was reluctant to fight, according to stipulation, he was still more reluctant to pay; already Forde had spent all that was in his military chest, and his situation became critical, though the French were still retreating. Rajahmundry, which they abandoned, was seized by Captain Knox with a detachment, that he placed in the fort, which was on the north side of the Godavery, and was alike the key and barrier to the whole country of Vizagapatam. It was, however, given up to the rajah on his paying the expenses of our expedition; but soon after, the French retook it, and found therein a considerable quantity of prize-money, baggage, and effects belonging to Forde's officers.

The marquis had now established his head-quarters in Masulipatam, from whence he urged Salabut Jung to send him instant assistance, lest the British, if unopposed, should make themselves masters of the entire Deccan. Collecting troops from Hyderabad and Golconda, the puppet nabob put his force in motion; but Colonel Forde, by marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, on the 6th of March, 1759—the day on which he had the gratifying intelligence that Lally had been compelled to raise the siege of Madras—he appeared in front of Conflans' abiding-place, Masulipatam, one of the most considerable seaport towns in Hindostan, and the strongest and most important place possessed by the French upon the coast. It occupied a rising ground between two morasses, and was separated from the sea by some narrow sand-hills. It was at once invested, and much adverse cannonading took place.

By the 7th of April, the ammunition of the besiegers, who were much fewer in number than the besieged, was nearly expended; but as two breaches had been made, Forde resolved on an immediate assault, as his situation was again critical. He had only two days' powder left for the guns in battery; Salabut Jung was at hand with the army of the Deccan, and Conflans was hourly expecting succours from Pondicherry. The assault was made on three points, at night. Captain Yorke led the chief forlorn hope.

Under cover of the starless gloom, the storming parties arrived softly and unseen to the very edge of the ditch, before they were discovered. Then over the walls, flashing redly through the dark, there came a terrible discharge of musketry and grape; but at the point of the bayonet the breaches were entered, and with shouts and cheers, our troops carried bastion after bastion, driving the foe like sheep before them. At last an officer came from the marquis to obtain quarter for the fast-perishing garrison, and it was granted as soon as he ordered his soldiers to cease firing.

Thus, with only 340 Europeans, a few British seamen, said to be thirty men from the *Hardwicke*, and 700 sepoys, did Colonel Forde capture by assault the strong city of Masulipatam, though garrisoned by 522 Europeans, 2,039 Caffirs, Topasses, and sepoys; and therein he found 150 pieces of cannon, and vast munition of war. Salabut Jung, perceiving the success of our forces here, as at Madras, being well nigh sick of his French alliance, and dreading the ambition of his brother, who had set up a separate interest against him, after marching to relieve Conflans, halted, and after waiting for a little time to see which side won, made advances to the Company, with which he concluded a treaty to the following effect:—

"The whole of the Circar of Masulipatam shall be given to the English Company. Salabut Jung will not suffer the French to have a settlement in this country, nor keep them in his service, nor give them any assistance. The English, on their part, will not give any assistance to the enemies of the soubah."

* Orme.

In addition to Masulipatam, eight districts, as well as jurisdiction over the district of Nizampatam, with the districts of Codover and Wacalcannar, were granted to the Company, without the reserve fine or military service. The whole of the territory thus ceded extended to eighty miles along the coast, and twenty inland, with a revenue of 400,000 rupees yearly.

Thus rapidly and surely, by dividing, conquering, and availing ourselves of the quarrels, jealousies, and wretched ambitions of the native rulers, were we gaining the vast empire, district by district, and province after province.

Seven days after the Union Jack had been hoisted on the ramparts of Masulipatam, two French ships with 300 soldiers on board, appeared in the offing, but understanding the fate of the place, bore away for Ganjam; and Colonel Forde was received with all honours, in the camp of our new friend and ally, Salabut Jung, who offered him for his own private property, a large district, if he would march against his rebellious brother, the Nizam Ali; but the colonel declined, and urged the nabob to join him in driving the French out of Rajahmundry, a movement which the latter anticipated by crossing the Kistna and marching westward, to join Bassaulet Jung, who took them into his pay, while Colonel Forde remained on the coast to re-establish our factories, which had been destroyed by Bussy.

Our merchants at Surat, finding themselves much oppressed, and exposed to many perils by the Sidee, who commanded the castle on the one hand, by the governor of the city, and by the Mahrattas who claimed a share in the revenue of that place on the other, applied to the presidency of Bombay, begging the equipment of an expedition to capture the fortress, and settle the government of the city upon a personage named Pharass Khan, who had been Naib, or deputy governor, under Meah Atchund, and as such had regulated all to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. The proposal was at once embraced, and Admiral Pococke sent two of his ships on this service, while 850 infantry and gunners, under Captain Richard Maitland, of the Royal Artillery (a regiment raised only nine years before), were embarked on board the Company's armed vessels, commanded by Captain Watson, on the 9th February, 1759; the whole under a civil servant named Mr. Spencer.

A landing was effected at a place called Dentilsorie, about nine miles from Surat, on the 15th, and there a camp for refreshment was formed on the pleasant shore of the Gulf of Cambay. In two days Captain Maitland advanced against the French Garden, in which a considerable number of the Sidee's men were posted; but were driven out after a sharp contest. He then threw up a battery to breach the walls; but as that process seemed tedious, a council of war, composed of naval and military officers, proposed a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. An officer who was present details the operations thus:—

"The large ships were of no use. The *Bombay*, grab of twenty guns, and four bomb-ketches, being the only ships that had water enough to go into the river, and it was with difficulty that those got up to the town. The place was first attempted by the troops, but they were twice repulsed with considerable loss, which with desertion greatly reduced them. As the last game we had to play, it was determined to break the chain and attack the place with our shipping. Accordingly, upon the 1st of March, the *Bombay*, grab, and *Success*, ketch, of twelve six-pounders and an eight-inch mortar, commanded by Captains John Cleugh and James Lindsay, ran against the chain together and broke it. The town was defended by four batteries and 5,000 men, who made a gallant defence. The dispute lasted four hours, in which time we fired 500 shot and forty-two shells, the distance from their batteries being only forty yards. Next day the castle surrendered. Our ships lost a fourth of their complement in killed and wounded."*

We took possession of the fortress in the name of the Emperor of Delhi, from whom the Company shortly after obtained the commissions of Governor of Surat, and Admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an assignment of £25,000 yearly, out of the customs, to support the marine and citadel. but our success against the Mahrattas in 1803 compelled that people to relinquish finally and for ever, all claim on Surat, the commerce of which, at the time we conquered it, included diamonds, pearls, gold, musk, ambergris, spices, indigo, silk, and cotton; but since the rise of Bombay, the value of its traffic has declined.

We were fairly established as legal possessors of the fortress. The conquest cost us only 200 men, after which Captain Watson came to anchor off Bombay, on the 9th of April.

Colonel Forde—an officer then little known, but in whom Clive detected military talents of a very high order—with his slender force remained in Masulipatam, awaiting further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or from Colonel Clive, who had taken upon himself the responsibility of every great measure, and for months had acted as if he were Governor-General of all Hindostan, though his real

* *Edint. Chron.*, 1759.



CAPTAIN YORKE LEADING THE FORLORN HOPE AT MASULIPATAM.

post was merely Governor of Fort St. David, on the coast of Coromandel. The directors in London, after the catastrophe at Calcutta, and the cowardice of Mr. Drake there, had unwisely appointed a government by rotation; but the members of this government themselves made Clive their president, and after hearing the particulars of Plassey, the Court of Directors named him Governor of Bengal.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DUTCH IN BENGAL.—BATTLE OF WANDIWASH.—THE COUNTRY RAVAGED.—CHITAPETT REDUCED.

THE French were not the only European enemies with whom we had to cope at this time in Hindostan. The envy and avarice of the Dutch had become excited by the extent of our trade there, and more particularly in Bengal, and as they possessed a strong fort at Chinsurah, on the western bank of the Hooghley, about twenty miles from Calcutta, where permission had been given them to erect it in 1656, by the Sultan Mohammed Choudjah, they resolved at least to engross the whole trade in saltpetre; and with this view are supposed to have tampered with the new nabob, or soubah, and secured his connivance, notwithstanding that he lay under such obligations to the Company.

Their plans met with the complete approval of the Governor of Batavia, who chose the time to enforce it when the British squadron had gone to the coast of Malabar. On the pretext of strengthening the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, he equipped a squadron of seven vessels, having on board 500 Dutch troops and 600 Malays, under the command of a colonel who bore the very English name of Russell. After touching at Negapatam, these forces entered the river of Bengal early in October.

Clive, who was then at Calcutta, on hearing of their designs, which he was determined to defeat, complained to the nabob, "who, upon such application, could not decently refuse an order to the Director and Court at Hooghley, implying that this armament should not proceed up the river." Colonel Clive, at the same time, wrote to the Dutch commodore, intimating "that, as he had received information of their design, he could not allow them to land forces and march to Chinsurah." The commodore replied that he had no intention of sending troops to Chinsurah, but begged that he might land some for refreshment, a request which was granted, on condition that they should not proceed inland.

In defiance of this arrangement, and the order of the nabob, as soon as all the ships were in, the commodore sailed up the river to Tannah Fort, only two miles below Calcutta—a stronghold which we had taken in 1756—and *there* disembarked the whole of the Dutch troops, who at once began their march, with drums beating, for Chinsurah. In the meantime, by way of retaliation for the affront he had sustained in being refused access to the Dutch factory, he seized several vessels belonging to the East India Company, and on the *Calcutta*, Indiaman, commanded by Captain Wilson, dropping down the river homeward bound, he gave that officer to understand, that if he dared to pass, he should be sunk without delay. As if to leave no doubt of this, he triced up his ports, and ran out his shotted guns.

On this the captain put about, and stood back to Calcutta, where two other Indiamen lay, and made his report to Colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to clear away for action, and attack the *seven* Dutchmen. Their weight was thus:—

The *Calcutta* (twenty-six guns), Captain Wilson; *Duke of Dorset* (twenty-six guns), Captain Forrester; *Hardwicke* (twenty-six guns), Captain Sampson.

The Dutch armament was armed with 302 guns, so the contest seemed most unequal. The decks of our ships were "lined with saltpetre bags to screen the men from shot, and each took on board two additional twelve-pounders." *

On dropping down the river, the three Indiamen found the enemy in order of battle, and ready to give them a hot reception. The *Duke of Dorset* being the first within range, began the conflict by a broadside of thirteen guns, which was promptly returned; and as a dead calm unluckily intervened, this single ship was, for a time, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's squadron. On a little breeze springing up, the *Calcutta* and *Hardwicke* came down to her assistance, and a heavy fire was

* *Royal Mag.*, 1760.

now maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships cut their cables and bore away, and a third was driven on shore. Finding his force thus reduced to four, the commodore, after a few more broadsides, struck his colours to Captain Wilson, and the other two captains followed his example. Singularly enough, this victory was won without the loss of even one British seaman, while the decks of the Dutch presented a dreadful scene of carnage. Out of one ship no less than thirty corpses were flung to the alligators in the river. The prisoners were sent to Calcutta. The seventh ship attempting to make her escape, was captured by the *Orford* and *Royal George*, which had just come from Europe.

The 1,100 troops were not more fortunate in their progress. Clive no sooner learned that they were actually in full march to Chinsurah, than he dispatched Forde after them, with only 500 men from Calcutta, with orders to stop them at the French Gardens. Proceeding northward, that officer entered the town of Chandernagore, where he was fired upon by a party of Dutch sent out from Chinsurah to meet the coming reinforcement, but were routed and dispersed. Colonel Forde pushing on, in the morning of the 25th November found the enemy prepared to face him on a plain near Chinsurah, where, after a brief but bitter contest, he totally defeated them, and slew many. All who survived were taken prisoners.

During this contest, the nabob's son, Meeran, at the head of a strong army, maintained a suspicious neutrality, and there is little doubt that he would have declared for the Dutch had they been victorious. As the event proved, he now offered to reduce Chinsurah; but the affair was soon after adjusted. The Dutch on the payment of £100,000 for damages, received back their ships and all the prisoners, save 300 who took service under the Company. The articles of agreement between them and the Dutch were ratified on the 5th day of December, 1759, and "the affixing of his signature to that deed was the last act of authority which Clive performed, for his health having again given way to the ravages of the climate, he set sail early in February for England." *

There he remained five years, and in December, 1761, as a reward for his many brilliant services in India, was raised to the peerage as Lord Clive of Plassey, K.B., a title now merged in the Earldom of Powis.

He left behind him in India many brave and experienced officers, inspired by his own genius, and trained to war under his own eye; and among these the most conspicuous was Colonel (afterwards Sir Eyre) Coote, of the old Irish family of Castle Cuffe in Queen's County. While the French forces were cantoned in the vicinity of Wandiwash, and Lally and Bussy were engaged as usual in bitter quarrels, Coote on the 21st November, 1759, proceeded with some reinforcements against Wandiwash, which, with a rapidity like Clive's, he carried by storm on the 29th, at the head of his own regiment, the 84th, which he had under his orders with other Europeans, 1,700 in all, with 3,000 sepoys, and fourteen pieces of cannon. At Wandiwash he took prisoners 900 men, with forty-nine guns. From thence he marched to Carougoly, and took that place also, on the 10th of December, though defended by the Irish Colonel O'Kennely with 600 men. On the other hand Lally, having obtained the assistance of some Mahratta horse, by some skilful movements, surprised Conjeveram, where, to his disappointment, his starving troops found the magazines empty.

As the breaches made by our artillery at Wandiwash were still open, Lally hoped to recover that place. Assembling all his forces at Arcot, on the 10th of February, 1760, he began his march and came in sight of the battered fortress; but while he and his engineers were considering the mode of assault, Coote suddenly came upon them from the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, and compelled them to fall back. The military pride of Lally forbade him to retreat, for he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandiwash, which was a rectangular fort with fourteen redoubts, and, nothing loth, Coote prepared to meet him.

Our troops on this day consisted of 1,900 Europeans, including eighty troopers, 1,250 sowars, or native cavalry, and 2,100 sepoys, formed in three lines. In the first, the old 84th Regiment was on the right flank, the old 79th on the left, with two battalions of the Company in the centre—all without their grenadier companies. On the wings of this line were 1,800 sepoys. In the second line were all the grenadiers, 300 strong, with 100 sepoys on each flank. The third line was formed by the black horse, with eighty Europeans in their centre. A little in advance, and on the left of this line, were two field-guns, covered by two companies of sepoys. Coote had twenty-six pieces of cannon in all.

The enemy's force consisted of 2,250 Europeans, of whom 300 were hussars, and 1,300 were sepoys —450 French and natives being left at the batteries against the fort. The Mahratta horse numbered 3,000 sabres; but instead of taking any part in the contest, they contented themselves with guarding their own camp, and waiting to loot the

* Gleig.

baggage of whoever might be defeated. On the right were posted the European horse, on the left was Lally's Irish Regiment, now reduced to 400 men, protected by a tank. The centre was formed by the Regiment of Lorraine, 400 strong, and the Bataillon d'Inde, 730 strong. In the tank, to strengthen the left, were 300 men, chiefly marines from the ships of Count d'Aché. In rear was another tank held by 400 sepoys, whom Bussy had brought from Kurpa; and the rest, 900 in number, were posted in rear of a ridge that lay along the front of the camp. Each flank of this ridge was held by fifty Europeans. Lally had in the field sixteen field-pieces; four were placed in the front tank, and the rest by threes, between the different bodies of troops forming the general line.

Lally began the battle in person. While the British were advancing in the order we have given, before they had halted, or were even within cannon-shot, the fiery Irishman, at the head of his European horse, by sweeping round the plain made a dash at Coote's third line; but the moment his intentions were perceived, the two companies of sepoys, posted apart with the two field-guns, were ordered to form *en potence*, that is, at an acute angle from the line, to enfilade the approaching cavalry. At the same time the black horse went threes-about to the rear, as if to face the enemy, but purposely threw themselves into confusion, that they might have a pretext for flight, and thus left the eighty Europeans alone to receive the coming charge, before which they must inevitably have given way.

The two sepoy companies with the two guns, which were well handled by Captain Barker, poured in such a flanking fire, that the French cavalry fled, and left Lally no choice but to follow them with a heart swollen by rage. By this time we had halted, the cannonade had opened on both sides, and the superiority was decidedly with the guns of Coote, while Lally, on returning, found his infantry full of bitter impatience under the loss they were sustaining by not being brought to closer quarters. This he fully seconded by his own hot impetuosity, for he ordered the whole line to advance, and then the roar of musketry and clouds of smoke became general from flank to flank.

The Regiment of Lorraine formed in a column of twelve files frontage, advanced at a rush against our 84th, thinking to burst through it by sheer weight; but Coote ordered the battalion to "reserve its fire until their assailants were within fifty yards," and then it went crashing into their front ranks, nearly every bullet killing double deep. The oblong column staggered, reeled, and swayed to and fro for a moment; it then pushed on over the fallen, and mingled with the 84th in a wild, dreadful mêlée with the bayonet; but, unable to withstand that resolute regiment, it gave way in utter disorder. At that moment a French tumbril exploded in the front tank, killing and wounding eighty men, and all in its neighbourhood abandoned the place.

Of this disorder Coote took instant advantage, and ordered Major Brereton to advance with the whole of the 79th Regiment and seize the tank. Bravely he executed the order, and had just carried the point, when a bullet slew him. He was a gallant and accomplished officer, whose fall was a loss to the army and his country. The capture of the tank uncovered the left of the Regiment de Lally, which, as soon as the field-guns there were brought to play upon it, began to waver, and then the day was lost to France, while Bussy, making a gallant effort to retrieve its fortune by a bayonet charge, was taken prisoner.

The centre and other flank of the enemy's line made little or no resistance, while the sepoys, posted in rear of the covering ridge, when ordered to advance, flatly refused to obey; and, convinced now that further fighting was useless, Lally abandoned his camp to the British, who instantly entered it. In this battle, a writer says truly: "The handful of heroes of Lally's own corps was left to do battle with the whole British army. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery fell upon their unprotected flanks: yet still they fought until the field was soaked with their blood, and the tired remnant were swept before the repeated charges of overwhelming numbers as the monsoon rolls over the surges of the sea. The Irish suffered dreadfully, and were left alone to combat and to die, winning for themselves an honour scarcely inferior to that of Fontenoy, even in defeat."

But for the manner, moreover, in which these brave exiles covered the retreat, the French army must have been utterly annihilated. The French loss was 800 men killed and wounded, and fifty taken prisoners, among whom were Brigadier-General de Bussy, Quartermaster-General the Chevalier de Godeville, Colonel Murphy, and several other officers. There were also taken twenty-four pieces of cannon, eleven tumbrils, the tents, and all the baggage.

The British losses were 262 killed and wounded. Coote's native cavalry did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for France; they kept safely out of reach of shot and shell, and would not follow up the enemy even when routed. On being joined by the detachment which he had

left on the batteries before Wandiwash, Lally continued his retreat without reinforcing his garrison in the small hill-fort of Chitapett; and Coote, on whom no chance of advantage was ever thrown away, resolved to capture it, while Captain Wood, with his garrison, was ordered to advance from Cauvery-pauk and invest the fortress of Arcot; and 1,000 native cavalry, and 300 sepoys under the Baron de Vanerst, were dispatched south to ravage all the country between Pondicherry and Alamparva, in retaliation for the outrages committed by the French and the Mahrattas in the districts of what was now becoming British India; and these orders they executed with such genial fidelity, that they gave to the flames eighty-four villages, and captured 8,000 head of cattle, entailing terrible sufferings on the poor peasantry, who had no interest whatever in this war which those Europeans had come to wage among them.

On the 26th of January, 1760, Chitapett was invested, and made but a small show of resistance; for in three days Coote and his entire force halted within cannon-shot of it; two eighteen-pounders guns were placed in battery, and soon made a practicable breach. On this, the Chevalier de Tilly surrendered with his garrison of fifty-six Europeans and 300 sepoys. On the same day the Khan, with all his pestilent Mahrattas, evacuated the Carnatic.

Almost immediately after, the town and fortress of Timmerycottah surrendered. This place is chiefly remarkable for a great cataract near it, which has a fall of sixty feet in height into a basin 120 feet in breadth.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAPTURE OF ARCOT AND REDUCTION OF PONDICHERRY.—FATE OF THE COUNT DE LALLY.—FALL OF THE FRENCH POWER IN INDIA.

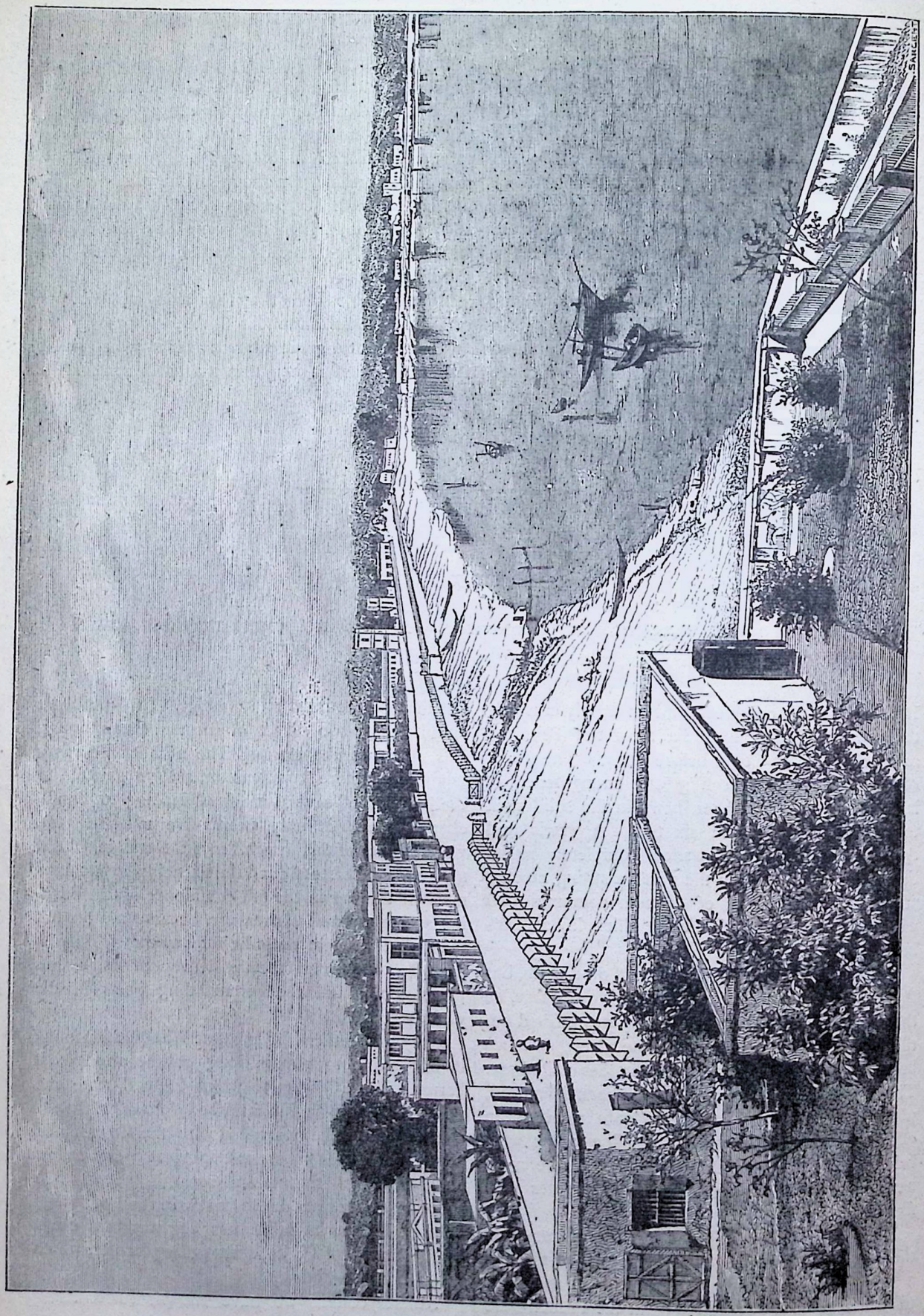
INTENT on fresh conquests and on utterly crushing the power of France in India, the 1st of February saw Colonel Eyre Coote before Arcot. The works of the fortress had been greatly strengthened of late. The ditch had been hewn in the solid rock to a uniform depth of six feet. A glacis and covered way had been carried completely round the inside of it, and on the north a strong ravelin, armed with six pieces of cannon, communicated with the fort by a gate, before which lay a drawbridge.

The three British batteries opened on the 5th, but the artillery was light, and ammunition scarce, so their progress was slow; yet the sap was pushed on, till by the 9th it was very near the glacis, and two breaches had been made within six feet of its base. The means of defence were by no means exhausted, when, to his natural surprise, Coote received an offer of voluntary capitulation. The terms were briefly arranged, and the grenadiers of the army next morning took possession of the gates with fixed bayonets.

The garrison, consisting of 247 Frenchmen, and the same number of sepoys, had not as yet suffered a single casualty, and might have held the place till it was regularly assaulted; but the French were fast losing alike heart and prestige. In Arcot were found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars, and much warlike stores. The 29th of February saw Coote before Tyndivanum, a town situated at the junction of several roads all leading to Pondicherry, which is only twenty-five miles distant. "The object of this march," says Beveridge, "could not be misunderstood; and the French, who had commenced the war in the full confidence of establishing an undisputed supremacy, became aware that their next struggle must be for *existence*. To prepare for the worst they endeavoured to obtain possession of all the commanding posts in the vicinity."

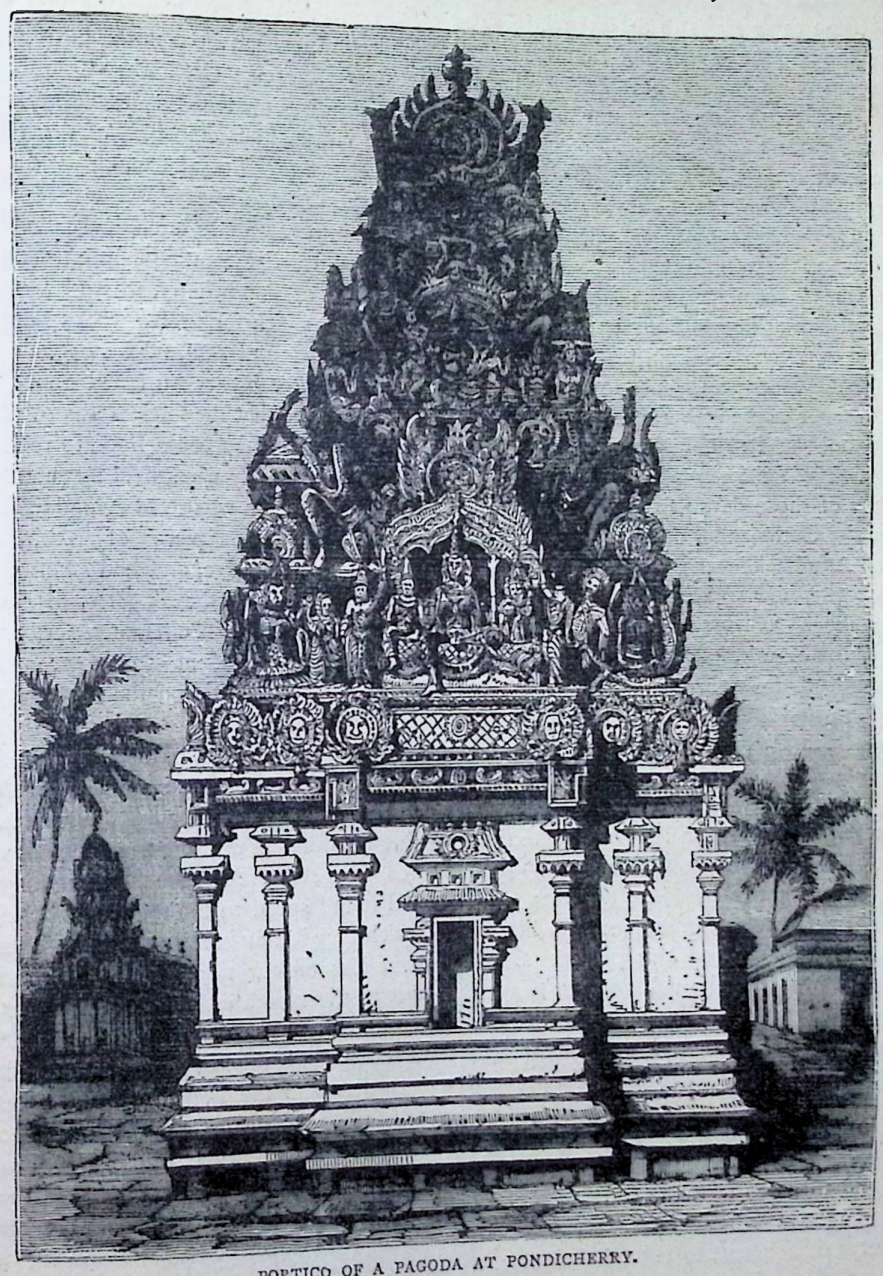
Lally, who, after his defeat at Wandiwash, found it impossible to remain long on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, to which he had retreated, now fell back with his famished forces to Pondicherry. There he quarrelled with the Council and all the civil authorities, calling them "embezzlers and peculators—traitors and cowards." And while these unseemly squabbles went on in the last stronghold of France in India, her flag was torn down by the troops of Coote, from every place on which it had been hoisted.

Timmerycottah, we have shown, surrendered,



VIEW OF CHANDERNAGORE.

and Trinomalee also; Devi-Cottah was evacuated; Alamparva and Permacoil were taken by storm, and the country wasted by fire and sword. Carical, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was blocked up by an armament from Madras; the garrison made a wretched defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April ere Lally could attempt to relieve it; and the captures of Chillambaram, Valdore, and Cuddalore, rapidly followed. All the petty forts round Pondicherry were speedily reduced; the whole surrounding country fell into the hands of the British, who, by the 1st of May, 1760, triumphantly encamped within four miles of that place, which was to witness the last scene in the unsuccessful and brilliant, but stormy, career of the famous Count de Lally.



PORTICO OF A PAGODA AT PONDICHERRY.

The approach of the rainy season, together with his well-known skill and resolute character, caused a regular siege to be deemed impracticable for a time; but ultimately it was resolved to block up the fortress by sea and land. Lally had with him only 1,500 French troops (100 of them being horse), the remnants of nine battalions of the king's and company's service. The cavalry, artillery, and Invalides

of the latter; the Creole volunteers of the Isle of Bourbon; the Artillerie du Roi; the Regiments de Marine, de Lorraine, d'Inde, and his own, the 119th of the line. He had 900 sepoys. There were at this time three corps in the French service named from the ancient province of Lorraine—Les Gardes Lorraines, or 30th Foot; 69th Regiment de Lorraine, and 104th Royal Lorraine.

It was long since the French had received the slightest succour from their impoverished mother country, against which we were now waging a desperate war in America, the West Indies—in every quarter of the globe where she had possessions, ships, or colonies. Hemmed up in the strong town with faint and fading hopes, Lally could but long for the arrival of some squadron, that would bring him men, money, or provisions, from Bourbon, the Mauritius, or some other quarter. But he would be a bold and skilful French seaman who could now escape the keen-eyed vigilance of the British sailors of those days; for Admiral Cornish blocked up the Coromandel coast with six sail of the line, and Admiral Stevens, who had succeeded Admiral Pococke, now appeared with five ships of the line, on board of one of which came three companies of the Royal Artillery.

The entire fleet of Cornish was a very powerful one, and consisted of nineteen sail, twelve of which were of the line, armed with 668 pieces of cannon.

In his dire extremity Lally turned his eyes towards Mysore, where Hyder Ali—whose terrible name was to find an echo in future history—had established his authority by force of arms. To bring Hyder on Coote's rear, and compel him to raise the siege, Lally offered him present possession of what it was scarcely in his power to give, the fortress of Thiagur, on a mountain which was fifty-two miles from Pondicherry, and commanded two passes into the Carnatic, with the future possession of Tinevelly and Madura—*after* dispossessing the British, no easy task for even Hyder. A treaty, however, was concluded, and that personage agreed to send cattle to feed the starving French, and troops to fight their besiegers.

Coote sent a detachment to cut off their march. This was done effectually; the Mysorean force was small, and on meeting a repulse, and discovering fully the deplorable state to which Lally was reduced, they fell back with the cattle to their own country. Shortly before this, six of the Company's ships arrived at Madras and there landed 600 men. More and more troops continued to pour in, but still not a ship, not a man, or a barrel of beef for Lally; "and in October a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak Highlands of Scotland were disembarked to try their mettle, and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindostan."

The corps thus referred to was the 89th Highland Regiment, which had been raised in the preceding year among the clan Gordon by Colonel S. Long Morris, who had married the Duchess Dowager of Gordon, and the men almost all of them bore the Gordon surname. But at first only a detachment of it served at Pondicherry.

Lally, on the 17th of March, had fallen back on the fortress, bravely disputing every foot of ground, until in front of Pondicherry, where he formed his famous lines, which for twelve weeks he defended with such valour and skill, till he began still more to lose heart after Hyder Ali failed him. Colonel Coote was aware that the fortress was so strong by art and nature, that he could hope to reduce it by famine only, especially when held by such a soldier as Lally, who had a vast store of ammunition and cannon, including 700 pieces of all kinds, many millions of ball-cartridge, and had planted on the thirteen great bastions, the six gates, and the walls, which were five miles in circumference, 508 brass and iron guns, independent of mortars.

Lally led a fierce sortie on the night of the 2nd of September against Coote's advanced posts, but was repulsed with the loss of many men and seventeen guns. Of this affair an officer of the 89th wrote thus: "After a volley from our pieces, these we threw down—off with our bonnets, out with our swords, gave them [the French] three huzzas, and rushed in full speed to the muzzles of their guns, of which they left us in full possession, though not without loss on our side, for the guns were filled almost to the mouth with bars of iron six inches long, and lesser pieces of jagged iron," &c.* Eight days subsequently the last work of the fortified lines was carried, and the French were completely enclosed in Pondicherry. Coote had 110 men killed, including Major Monson, whose leg was carried away by a cannon-ball. In this affair the Highlanders, who were only fifty in number, and commanded by Captain George Morrison, in their fierce eagerness to get at the enemy burst from the rear through the grenadiers of the 79th Regiment.

Count d'Aché, the naval comander, having by his sailing elsewhere, completely abandoned Lally to his fate, a fifty-four gun ship, a frigate of thirty-six, and four French Indiamen, were hopelessly shut up in the roadstead. In the month of October, only five sail of the line, under Captain Robert Haldane, were required to block up Pondicherry from the

* Letter in *Edinburgh Courant*, 1761.

seaward, while Coote pushed on the investment by land, and on the 16th November, after the arrival of a ship from Madras, with the necessary stores, it was resolved to turn the investment into a close siege.

Scarcity of provisions compelled Lally to expel a vast number of natives from the town; but as Coote drove them back, many perished under the fire of the guns, which were in full operation. Many of our people died of fatigue in the trenches. Among these was Sir Charles Chalmers, of Cults, a Scottish baronet who served in the artillery, though his estates had been forfeited after Culloden.

On the 26th of October, Coote's forces were 3,500 Europeans and 7,000 sepoys.

The rains abated on the 26th, and Colonel Coote directed the engineers to select proper places for the erection of the batteries, and they all opened together on the 8th December, at midnight. Though formed at a considerable distance, they had a serious effect, but the besieged returned the fire with great vigour. This mutual cannonading continued until Christmas Day, when the engineers formed a new battery, and effected a breach in the north-west counterguard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded for some days by a violent storm, which almost ruined our works, the damage was soon repaired, and a considerable post, the Redoubt of San Thomé, was taken from the enemy in assault, by the 89th Highlanders, but was afterwards recaptured by 300 French grenadiers from the sepoys who occupied it.

By this time the scarcity of provisions in the city was so great, that the soldiers had to subsist on the flesh of elephants, camels, horses, and dogs. The latter sold, says Baron Grant, for twenty-four rupees each.

By the 15th of January, 1761, another battery, armed with ten guns and three mortars, was opened against the skirt of the Bleaching Town, and another was formed at only 150 yards from the walls. It proved unnecessary, as on the evening of the 15th, just as the red sunshine was fading on the great bastions of Pondicherry, a white flag was seen coming from thence to the trenches.

The bearers of it were Father Lavacer, "supérieur général des Jesuites Français dans les Indes," Colonel Durré, of the Artillerie du Roi, and MM. Moracin and Courtin, members of the council. They bore also two memorials, one signed by Lally, and the other by the governor and council. The former was very characteristic of the count, from its proud and petulant style. As if he had been about to dictate terms, instead of receiving them, he began by an irrelevant preamble, that "the British had taken Chandernagore, against the faith of the treaties of neutrality which had always subsisted between the European nations in Bengal, and especially between the British and French;" also, "that the government of Madras had refused to fulfil the conditions of a cartel between the two crowns."

In consequence of this, it was impossible for him to propose a capitulation for the city of Pondicherry; but, that "the troops of the king and company surrender themselves, for want of provisions, prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, conformably to the terms of the cartel;" adding that Colonel Coote might take possession of the Villenore Gate on the morrow.

"I demand," wrote Lally, "from a principle of justice and humanity, that the mother and sisters of Raza Sahib (then in the city) may be permitted to seek an asylum where they please, or that they may remain prisoners among the English, and not be delivered into the hands of Mohammed Ali Khan, which are red with the blood of the husband and father, to the shame of those who gave up Chunda Sahib to him."*

To all this, Colonel Coote replied thus:—

"The particulars of the capture of Chandernagore having been long since transmitted to His Britannic Majesty by the officer to whom the place surrendered, Colonel Coote cannot take cognisance of what passed on that occasion, nor can he admit the same as in any way relative to the surrender of Pondicherry.

"The disputes which have arisen concerning the cartel concluded between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties being as yet undecided, Colonel Coote has it not in his power to admit that the troops of His Most Christian Majesty, and of the French East India Company, shall be deemed prisoners of war to His Britannic Majesty; but requires that they shall surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be used as he shall think consistent with the interest of the king, his master; and Colonel Coote will show all such indulgences as are consistent with humanity.

"Colonel Coote will send the grenadiers of his regiment, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock to-morrow morning, to take possession of the Villenore Gate; and the next morning, between the same hours, he will take possession of the gate of Fort St. Lewis.

"The mother and sisters of Raza Sahib shall be escorted to Madras, where proper care shall be taken for their safety, and they shall not on any

* *London Gazette*, 1761.

account be delivered into the hands of the Nabob Mohammed Ally Cawn (*sic*).

"Given at the headquarters, in the camp before Pondicherry, the 15th day of January, 1761.

(Signed) "EYRE COOTE.

"To Arthur Lally, Esq., Lieut.-General of H.M.C. Majesty's forces in India, &c. &c."

Coote declined any reply to the question of respecting the churches and permitting the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. According to stipulation, at the hours named, the grenadiers of the 84th took over the Villenore Gate from the Irish soldiers of Lally, mutually presenting arms; and the 79th Regiment took possession of the citadel.

So fell the capital of the French Indies, after a siege which the skill of Lally, together with his obstinate valour, had protracted, amid innumerable difficulties, against forces far exceeding his famished garrison in numbers. On the 17th, he marched out at their head, exposed to many insults, as his long resistance had maddened his soldiers. On that day, there came forth with him, officers included:—Artillerie du Roi, 83; the Regiment de Lorraine, 237; the Regiment de Lally, 230; the Regiment du Marine, 295; Artillery of the French East India Company, 94; Cavalry and Volontaires de Bourbon, 55; Bataillon d'Inde and Invalides, 316 of all ranks. To cut to pieces their commissary was one of the first acts of these prisoners of war, and Lally would have shared the same fate had he not taken shelter in the British camp.

The munition of war found in Pondicherry was enormous, and the mere list thereof would fill many pages. There were taken 671 guns and mortars, 14,400 muskets and pistols, 4,895 swords, 1,200 poleaxes, 84,041 cannon-balls, with gunpowder in proportion, 22,500 shells and hand-grenades, 12,000 iron ramrods, 20 hogsheads of flints, and so forth. The whole plunder was valued at £2,000,000 sterling.

The fortifications were ordered to be blown up, and the Gordon Highlanders formed the new garrison, and on the same day that Lally surrendered, his Scottish comrade, Law de Lauriston, on whose assistance he had long relied, was totally defeated by Major Carnac, and taken prisoner, together with sixty French officers, and the young Mogul, whom he had persuaded to advance against Coote with a vast host.

On the 3rd of February, the nabob made his entry into Pondicherry, accompanied by his brother; both were seated in a magnificent howdah, on the back of a gigantic elephant; six more elephants followed, two and two, bearing chiefs; next came his twelve wives in a covered wagon drawn by buffaloes, and then followed his troops, armed with bows and arrows, shields and tulwars, matchlocks, lances, and daggers.

Miserable indeed was the fate that befell Lally after all his wounds, services, and exertions in the cause of France. By the contemptible court of Louis he was made a special victim to popular clamour. After being detained for nearly four years in a close prison, and being most barbarously and infamously tortured again and again, he was condemned to be executed, according to the following Report among the papers printed in the scarce "History of the Mauritius," by the Vicomte de Vaux.

"In consequence of the very weighty conclusions which the procureur-général had given against the Count de Lally, he was removed during the night of Sunday, 4th May (1763), from the Bastille to the prison of the Conciergerie, which communicates by several staircases with the different apartments belonging to the Court of Parliament. Though it was but one o'clock in the morning when he arrived at the Conciergerie, he refused to go to bed, and about seven he appeared before the judges. They ordered him to be divested of his red riband and cross, to which he submitted with the most perfect indifference; and he was then placed on the stool to undergo a course of interrogation. At this moment, clasping his hands and lifting up his eyes, he exclaimed, 'Is this the reward of forty years' faithful service?' The inquiry lasted six hours. At three in the afternoon it recommenced, and the Marquis de Bussy and Count d'Aché were successively confronted with him. . . . The sitting lasted till ten at night, when the count was taken back to the Bastille, surrounded by guards and several companies of the city watch.

"The following day, at six in the morning, the judges began to give their opinions, and they were not concluded till four in the afternoon, when they pronounced an *arrêt* which contained only a simple recital of the proceedings against him and other persons accused of abuses and crimes in the East Indies, with their acquittal or condemnation, but without stating the facts or reasons on which they were respectively founded. The sentence stated that he had been accused and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the king and the East India Company; of abusing his authority, and of exactions, &c., from the subjects of His Majesty, as well as the foreigners resident in Pondicherry; for the reparation of which, and other crimes, it was declared that he should be deprived of all his titles, honours,

and dignities, and have his head separated from his body in the Place de Grève."

Sacrificed to the mob, as La Bourdonnais and Dupleix had been, this brave Irish soldier of fortune was accordingly drawn on a hurdle to the Place de Grève, on the 9th of May, with a gag in his mouth to prevent him addressing the people, and there he was hurriedly, almost privately, beheaded in the dusk of the morning—"a murder," says Orme, "committed with the sword of justice," —and almost in sight of his son, the famous Count Lally de Tollendal of a future era.

At the reduction of Pondicherry, no regiment suffered so much as that of Sir William Draper, who raised a beautiful cenotaph near his own house on Clifton Downs, surmounted by an urn, and inscribed as, "Sacred to those departed warriors of the 79th Regiment, by whose valour, discipline, and perseverance, the French land forces were first withstood and repulsed, the commerce of Britain preserved, and her settlements rescued from impending destruction."

It also bore the names of two majors, ten captains, and twenty-one subalterns, who fell in the war in Asia.

The white banner of France still waved on the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior—the same place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali, and over the triple stronghold on the hill of Gingee, about thirty-five miles westward of Pondicherry; but both places were totally isolated, and destitute of all hope of relief, and they, with the little settlement of Mahé on the coast of Malabar, were yet to be reduced, ere the conquest of French India could be quite complete—yet we had only four battalions of the line, at that time, in the country.

In January, 1761, some shipping from England had landed troops at Tellicherry to be employed in the reduction of Mahé; but, as it lay within the boundaries of the Bombay Presidency, authority to attack it did not arrive till the beginning of the subsequent month, and an alliance with some of the neighbouring chiefs was diligently formed meanwhile by the French governor, who had only with him 100 Europeans, while the attacking force under Major Hector Munro of the old Gordon Highlanders (who died a general in 1806), consisted of 900 British, and 700 native troops. Though the chiefs promised liberally, when the major and Admiral Cornish appeared off the coast on the 10th February, not a man of them was forthcoming; and the governor deemed himself fortunate, when, instead of being compelled to surrender at discretion, he was permitted to march out with the honours of war, and was sent under cartel to the isle of Bourbon. Thus was this district, so rich in pepper, cardamom, cacao, arak, sandal, and other odoriferous woods, added to our possessions, till it was given back in 1783.

Prior to this, Gingee had been invested by Captain Stephen Smith, with eight companies of sepoys. It was commanded by a Scotsman, in the French service, named MacGregor, whose garrison consisted of only 150 Europeans, 600 sepoys, and 1,000 Colleries, or hill-men. Conceiving the hill-forts to be impregnable, he was somewhat surprised to find that one was taken by storm. The two most powerful yet remained, and a deadly climate added to their strength, so on being summoned, MacGregor stoutly replied that he could defend himself for three years against 100,000 men. Ultimately he demanded terms, which, though somewhat extravagant, were acceded to, and on the 5th of April, he marched out with the honours of war.

Thiagur, which had been returned to the French, after their treaty with the Rajah of Mysore was broken up, shared the fate of Gingee. After being blockaded and bombarded by Major Preston for sixty-five days, the governor, though he had still two months' provisions in store, surrendered on the same terms as those which were accorded to Lally, and then the French had not so much as a single military post in all India.

Some castles or forts, named Motally, Nelleasaroon, and Veremala, which were subordinate to Mahé, after being suddenly evacuated by the French, on the fall of that place, were promptly occupied by some Nairs, under a chief with the lofty title of "Kapoo, King of Cherical and nephew of Badenkalamkur, King Regent of Colastry." Without delaying an hour on hearing of the movements of this mysterious personage, Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro, with 380 Gordon Highlanders—who but a year before had been shepherds, ploughmen, and gillies in Scotland—some of the Company's troops, a twelve and nine-pounder, marched against him. Captain Nelson, lately engineer of the French garrison at Mahé, and several French officers, burning for revenge on their faithless black allies, accompanied him as volunteers; the forts were taken, and with them fell the last fragments of the French power in India. "It was on the Malabar coast," says a writer, "that the first contentions began; and when the rumble of warlike preparations was hushed, and the tap of the French drum was silent along the shores of Coromandel and in the Deccan, the din of battle was heard, and the mournful parade of

vanquished and disarmed captains was seen on the coast of Malabar."

The smallness of the British forces in India in these wars seems strange, when we find by Millan's Lists in 1762 that the number of men employed in that year for the service amounted to 328,127.



HINDOOS OF THE DECCAN.

CHAPTER XVII.

CLIVE RETURNS TO INDIA FOR THE LAST TIME.

We have already related how Clive had been honoured in England, and raised to an Irish peerage; but serious changes took place in the British government on the death of George II., the accession of George III., and the formation of a cabinet under the Earl of Bute, in place of Clive's friend and patron, the great Chatham. The fortune Clive had accumulated by his thrift, and the chances of successful warfare in the East, without reckoning the jaghire that had been conferred on him, amounted to £300,000, and the latter was valued at about £30,000 more. He was deemed to be far richer than he really was, and Macaulay rates his fortune very high.

"The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England," says the great Essayist. "There remains proof that he remitted more than £880,000 through the Dutch East India Company, and more than £40,000 through the English Company. The amount which he also sent home through private houses was considerable. He invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds at Madras alone amounted to £25,000. Besides a great mass of money, he had an Indian estate valued by himself at £27,000 a year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded £40,000; and incomes of £40,000, at the accession of George III., were at least as rare as incomes of £100,000 now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four."

On his own friends and relations he spent the sum of £50,000.

All parties courted him, for his wealth could command many votes in the House. His admiration for Pitt was great, and he steadily adhered to him, till the Great Commoner lost office



THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS COMING TO TREAT FOR THE SURRENDER OF PONDICHERRY.

by the preponderating influence of Lord Bute; thus when the latter made overturos to him, Clive rejected them; and when the unpopular minister —unpopular chiefly through the provincial spirit of the age—carried on his negociations for a peace with France, he most naturally avoided Clive on all questions touching the condition and affairs of India. Though he had drawn this neglect upon himself, the fiery conqueror of Bengal became incensed, all the more that he knew that the French ministry were in constant communication with the Marquis de Bussy on the same matters.

After his capture at the battle of Wandiwash, Bussy had instantly been liberated on his parole by Colonel Coote, who sincerely respected him as a man and a soldier; and when the hero of Golconda arrived in Paris he experienced a reception very different from those accorded to Lally or Dupleix. Some time before he left India he had remitted from the Circars and the Deccan a vast fortune to France, where he married a niece of the Duc de Choiseul, and was shown the highest favour and consideration at the court of Louis XV.

As the negociations for the treaty of peace went on, Clive joined Pitt and the Opposition in condemning and denouncing it. He foresaw what would follow—the restoration of Pondicherry and other places to France—and warmly urged that the French should be limited as to the number of men they were to maintain on the coast of Coromandel, and that—save as merchants—they should never be admitted into Bengal.

The Earl of Bute thanked him for his memorial on these matters, and though impatient to carry out the treaty, which was far indeed from satisfying Clive, the terms of it proved less unfavourable to our interests in India than they might have been; but the eleventh article nearly undid all that Clive, Coote, and others had done. It ran thus:—

"In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra (given to the Dutch by the Count d'Estaing) to be restored: he engages further not to erect fortifications, or keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Soubah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mohammed Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung for lawful Soubah of the Deccan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other or their Indian allies for the depredations or pillage committed on either side during the war." *

Finding themselves quite unable to win over Clive to their interests, the Bute ministry began to league themselves with a Mr. Sullivan, and certain other directors of the Company, who openly hated him, and were forming plans to diminish alike his wealth and reputation. Nothing was said as yet about his conduct towards Surajah Dowlah, or against his acceptance of treasure from Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassey; but that which Sullivan, and those who leagued in jealousy and hate, called criminal, "was Clive's acceptance of the jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the Company."

The best lawyers of the day maintained that the grant of rent which Clive had obtained was valid, and made exactly on the same terms as those by which the Company held their possessions in Bengal; they had acquiesced in the grant for two years, and in making any attempt to prove that Meer Jaffier was without the power to confer on Clive the estate in dispute, they must equally show that the nabob had no right to confer what he had done on the Company.

It was alike unwise and indelicate to scrutinise too closely any of those rights acquired in India; yet the directors, in their hostility and their avaricious desire to appropriate £30,000 per annum, which they were bound to pay to the nabob before his transfer of rent, and in their narrow-minded hatred of Clive, persevered in their plans, and actually confiscated the estate by stopping payment of the rents, which they put in their own pockets.

Lord Clive, equally impetuous and indignant, without the delay of a day, filed a bill in Chancery against the Court of Directors, who, under the guidance and influence of Sullivan, endeavoured to protract the judgment of Chancery by those stratagems or delays which the chicanery of the law so readily permits; but it is alleged that, damped by the firm opinions delivered by Mr. Philip Yorke, who died Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in 1770, and of Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards first Lord Grantly, who died in 1789, and of other equally eminent lawyers, they became hopeless of obtaining a decision in their favour.

Clive, determined to carry war into the enemy's

* Cormick's History, vol. i.

camp, had ordered his agents in Calcutta to institute proceedings against the Company there, and to transmit an exact account of them, that the same course might be adopted in Britain. But while this internal strife was going on, and the Company were seeking to crush the man who had buttressed up their crumbling power, and won for them provinces equal to empires, came the startling tidings that the garrison and all the British residents at Patna had been destroyed by the sword; that political movements undertaken by the feeble Council at Calcutta had proved wretched failures; and that all in Bengal was going to confusion, and worse than confusion.

Even the most bitter of the enemies of the hero of Plassey, of "Clive the Daring in War," saw that he, and he alone, could remedy these fatal evils, and overtures were made for his speedy return to India; and a meeting was summoned by the proprietors of stock, who were resolved that their present prosperity and hope of future profit should not suffer through the piques and party spirit of those directors whom they elected; and at a very full and general Court of the East India Company, Lord Clive was earnestly solicited to return and resume the management of affairs. At the same time the immediate restitution of the jaghire was proposed.

On this, Clive, who was present, not conceiving it right to take advantage of the present burst of feeling and sense of emergency, requested that this motion should not be put to the vote, adding, however, "that from a sense of the impropriety of going to India while so valuable a part of his property remained in dispute, he would make certain proposals for a compromise to the Court of Directors, which would, he trusted, lead to an amicable adjustment of the affair."

He also declared emphatically that he must decline to undertake the management of Indian affairs until the removal of Mr. Sullivan from his influential post of chairman, as he could never act as governor and commander-in-chief while his movements and measures in India were liable to be cavilled at, and condemned by, officials at home, especially by one who was ignorant of all Indian affairs, and was, moreover, his avowed and inveterate enemy. A tumult so loud followed this announcement that Mr. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing; but as an overwhelming majority of those who were present declared that Clive, and Clive alone, could save Bengal, after Sullivan had wished to try the matter by ballot Clive was ultimately nominated "Governor and Commander-in-chief in India, with the express understanding that no officer, of whatever rank, should have the power of interfering with his command there."

Still he declined to accept the nomination until the next annual election of directors should become known. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, 1764, an obstinate contest ended in the triumph of Clive, while Sullivan's election as a director was carried by only one vote; and in his subsequent contest for the chair he was totally defeated, and two staunch friends of Clive, Messrs. Rous and Boulton, were elected respectively chairman and deputy-chairman. The affair of the jaghire was next taken into consideration, and the court agreed to the proposals made by Clive. "They confirmed his right to the full amount of the jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the Company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents."

So ended this unseemly dispute; and for the third and last time Clive sailed again for India, taking—as usual then and until recently—the long way round the Cape to Calcutta, which he reached on the 3rd of May, 1765. He found the confusion and disorganisation more fearful than he could have anticipated, and that Warren Hastings had been correct when surmising that the excesses and follies of the Europeans were as mischievous as the intrigues and crimes of the native rulers. Though the functionaries in India had long since received orders from Leadenhall Street that they were not to accept those presents which the native princes were so prone to give, eager for gain, and respecting but little the orders of negligent and far-distant masters, they had again set up for sale the wretched and thorny throne of Bengal. The sum of £140,000 sterling had been distributed among nine of the most powerful—perhaps the most corrupt—servants of the Company, and in consideration of this bribe an infant son of the deceased nabob had been placed on the musnud of his father; and the news of this degrading bargain was the first thing that Clive heard on his landing at Calcutta.

"Alas!" he wrote to a friend, "how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare by that great Being who is the Searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt!"

He summoned the Council, and told them his resolution to have a thorough reform, and to use to the fullest extent the civil and military powers

with which he had been vested. Then Mr. Johnstone, one of the boldest and most corrupt men present, made some show of opposition, until Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded, with knitted brow and raised voice, whether "he meant to question the authority of the new government;" and Johnstone quailed before him, saying that he never had the least intention of doing such a thing; "upon which," wrote Clive, on the 6th of May, to his friend Major Carnac, "there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, but not one of the Council uttered another syllable."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REVOLUTION IN BENGAL.—MEER JAFFIER DEPOSED.—MEER COSSIM MADE NABOB.—HIS QUARREL WITH THE COMPANY.

CLIVE fully redeemed his pledge; but ere we proceed to show how he did so, we must go back some five years in our narrative of Indian affairs.

Before Clive left India in February, 1760, he had secured the appointment of Mr. Henry Vansittart (who ten years after was drowned in the *Aurora* frigate) as his successor in the government, and of Colonel Caillaud as commander of the forces. The latter appointment took immediate effect, but the former, as Mr. Vansittart had been previously attached to the Madras Presidency, for a time was deferred, and, by virtue of seniority, the office was temporarily conferred on Mr. Holwell, the survivor of the Black Hole catastrophe, the son of Zephaniah Holwell, a timber merchant and citizen of London. During the brief tenure of his office, Mr. Holwell, by hard labour, had succeeded in convincing his colleagues that another revolution in Bengal was necessary, and when Mr. Vansittart arrived to assume office in July, the whole scheme was laid before him. The Nabob Meer Jaffier was to be cajoled or coerced into a resignation, and to rest satisfied with a merely nominal sovereignty, while the reality would be vested in Meer Cossim, his son-in-law. As a stranger to the local politics, Mr. Vansittart was naturally disposed to be guided by what he deemed the experience of the Council, and on their representations rather than on convictions of his own, he concurred in the proposed revolution; but prior to relating its results, it will be necessary to mention some important military operations.

About the time that Clive took his departure from India, it had been rumoured that Shah Zada had reappeared on the frontier, had collected an army, and was advancing upon Patna and Moorshedabad. The vizier, Ghazi-ud-Deen, at Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada alleged in the first instance he had taken up arms, murdered the imbecile Mogul Emperor, Alumgeer II., in a fit of desperation, and consequently the Shah Zada was said to have become the legal claimant of the vacant throne. Accordingly he took upon him the state and title of emperor, calling himself Shah Alum, or "King of the World," and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown but scanty interest in his fortunes when, in the year before, he was flying before the sword of Clive. With the assistance of this Oude nabob, Shah Alum collected a greater army, and appeared before Patna, where the native governor, Ramnarrain, had only in garrison seventy European soldiers and a slender battalion of our sepoys, and was, moreover, suspected in his fidelity to Meer Jaffier.

Patna must have fallen, had not Colonel Caillaud come suddenly on it at the head of 350 Europeans, 1,000 sepoys, under Colonel Cochrane, and six guns, together with 15,000 horse and twenty-six guns, with which he had been joined, when *en route*, under Meeran, the son of the Nabob Meer Jaffier. With these troops the colonel completely routed the "King of the World," and compelled him to retire from before Patna; but as Meeran, thinking, perhaps, that enough had been done, declined to pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong Mahratta force had joined the enemy, the new emperor, instead of retiring to Benares, suddenly took the route to Moorshedabad, and at the same time was joined by the erratic Scottish adventurer, James Francis Law, and a small body of Frenchmen who followed his fortunes, and, like him, had previously fought against Clive and Lawrence in the Carnatic.

On being followed up, Shah Alum left his camp in flames, and fled to Oude; but he was encouraged on

being joined with some fresh forces, under the sub-governor of Purneah, Khadem-Hussein, who, after many intrigues, threw off the mask of loyalty, and joined the invader's army. Shah Alum, doubling on his pursuers, got back to Patna, which had been left almost without troops, but a Scottish surgeon named Fullarton undertook to defend the place with all who would adhere to him, while to Law was assigned the task of attacking it.

Two assaults were gallantly repulsed by Fullarton and a few stout-hearted Britons belonging to the factory; part of the wall was breached and the rampart scaled by Law and his Frenchmen, who were hurled back; but a renewed attack, with greater numbers, was expected, and hope was abandoning Fullarton and his followers, when suddenly Captain Knox, who, in the hottest season of the year, had marched with singular rapidity from Moorshedabad, at the head of 200 Europeans, a battalion of sepoys, 300 horse, and five guns, broke through the besiegers, and leading the light troops of his force, drove them from their works.

During these conflicts, on the issue of which their lives depended, the people of Patna crowded the walls, with their minds full of alternate hope and fear; and while watching the ebb and flow of battle, were equally ready to welcome any one who could save their goods and existence.

This gallant officer (Captain Knox) had hoped to surprise the enemy's camp by night, but missed his way, and when day dawned, he found himself face to face with 12,000 men. To escape was impossible; there was nothing for it but to fight the enemy under Khadem-Hussein, whom he completely routed, and drove with all speed towards the north, whither he was followed by Colonel Caillaud and Meeran, who crossed the Ganges with his sable cavalry, and moved all the more actively and rapidly, from a belief that the traitor naib had with him all the treasure of Purneah.

The latter, finding himself hotly pressed, put the treasure of that extensive province upon camels and elephants, and, to give these animals some miles' start, he faced about and opened fire on his pursuers. After skirmishing for some time, he quitted the field with all speed, abandoning his baggage and cannon to the enemy.

On the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, during which a thunder-bolt struck the gilded tent of Meeran, killing him on the instant, and at the same time a professional story-teller, and a slave who was chafing his feet. Six round holes were found in the back of his head, the blade of the scimitar that lay on his pillow was partially melted, and the tent-pole was charred. The French raised a rumour that he had been assassinated, and Edmund Burke alluded to it in his speech, when opening his charge against Warren Hastings. Meeran, who by his dreadful crimes merited this awful end, left none to regret him, and after this evil omen his troops became totally unmanageable, and Colonel Caillaud had to fall back on Patna.

Meanwhile, the troops of Meeran marched to Moorshedabad, where the treasury was totally empty, and where they threatened to slay their ruler, Meer Jaffier, if they did not receive their arrears of pay. Other bodies of malcontents now rose in arms against him, and the irruption of successive hordes of predatory Mahrattas seemed about to consummate the ruin of the old and weak nabob.

Henry Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, on the other hand, found his exchequer empty, and all the troops, European and native alike, half mutinous for want of pay. In desperation, he was thus compelled to join in a plot for dethroning Meer Jaffier, and crowning a new Nabob of Bengal. Thus, on the 27th September, 1760, Meer Cossim Ali, his son-in-law, and general of his army (which he had attached to himself by settling the arrears of pay), engaged, by secret treaty, that when placed on the throne, he should make over to the half-bankrupt Company the fruitful provinces of Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore, for the maintenance of an efficient force in Bengal, and that five lacs of rupees should be given as *deuceur* for the war in the Carnatic.

That pretexts for this remarkable treaty might not be wanting, they alleged the detestation and contempt which Meer Jaffier had evoked by his misgovernment, his inability to contend with surrounding difficulties, and that the desperate state of the Company's exchequer made it an absolute necessity that their claims existing against him should be liquidated, and that those which were certain to be contracted in the future should be secured by some certain guarantee; but notwithstanding all these vague allegations, the gross injustice of the new revolution was but too apparent.

A gentle and somewhat formal man, Mr. Vansittart, in a somewhat conventional spirit, went personally to Moorshedabad, with the rather odd intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was equally unfitted for, and unworthy of, the throne, which he ought to resign, or abdicate, in favour of his son-in-law. On hearing this, the old nabob, we are told, stared with bewilderment, and chafed with natural wrath; "but the quiet and peace-loving

governor had brought 180 British soldiers, 600 sepoys, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions; his own [that is, Meer Jaffier's] army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him."

A message was then sent to the effect that if he did not comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified by this menace, he ordered the gates to be opened to the troops, exclaiming that he was betrayed. Most, if not all, of the documents connected with these affairs appear in Vansittart's "Transactions in Bengal from 1760 to 1764," and the letters of the unfortunate nabob disclose a dignity mingled with despair, that won alike the sympathy of the governor and of Warren Hastings, who received orders to arrange the new government with the ministers and functionaries at Moorshedabad, while Colonel Caillaud was directed to environ the palace with his troops. When a meeting took place between the last-named officer and the nabob, the latter said,—

"You English placed me on the throne, so you may depose me if you please. You have thought proper to break your engagements, I would not break mine! My dead son, Meeran, forewarned me of all this. I desire that you will either send me to Sabut Jung (Lord Clive), for he will do me justice, or let me go on a pilgrimage to Mecca; and if not, permit me to retire to Calcutta. You will, I suppose, let me have my women and children, therefore give me budgerows (river-boats) immediately."



BAS-RELIEF FROM AN INDIAN TEMPLE.

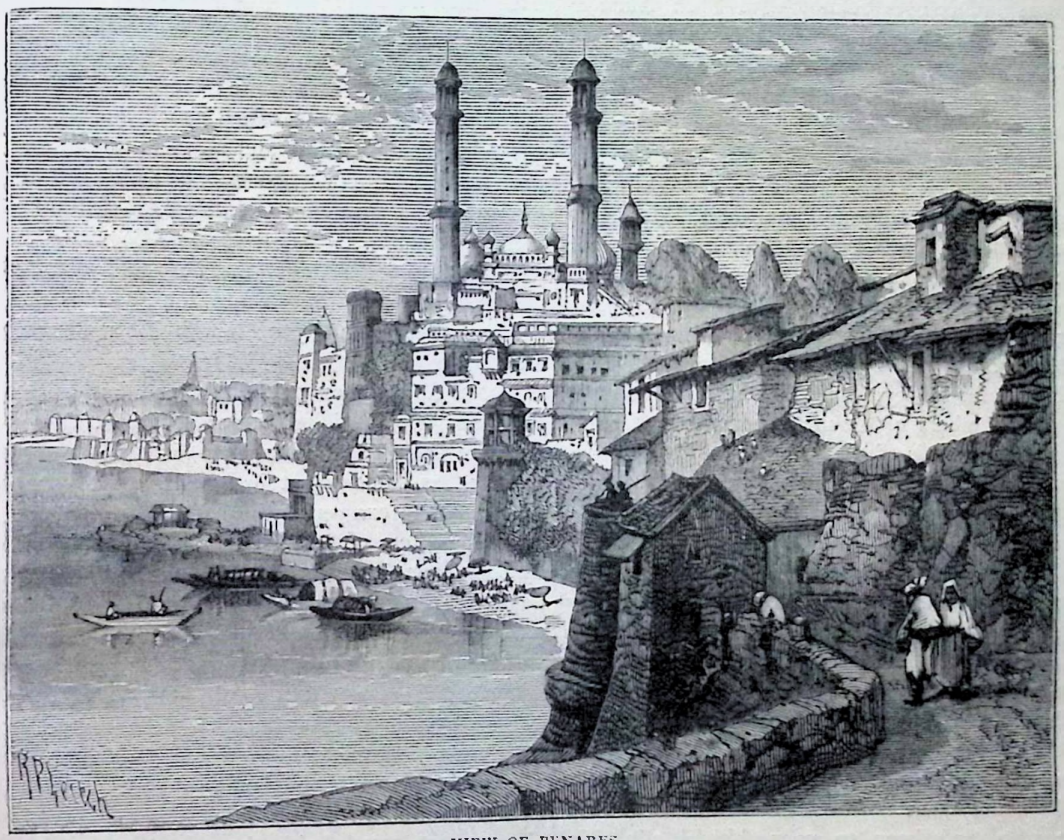


IDOL FROM AN INDIAN TEMPLE.

This last request of the nabob's was immediately laid hold of, though the effect of fear and despair, and construed into a voluntary resignation. "Accordingly," says the letter of an officer in the *Universal Magazine* for 1764, our troops took possession of the palace, Meer Cossim was raised to the musnud, and the old nabob was hurried into a boat, with a few of his women and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had so lately held, as is also the scanty subsistence allowed him here by his successor." The latter was proclaimed nabob amid salutes of cannon and the thundering of gongs, drums, and tomtoms, while Mr. Vansittart,

Mr. Holwell, and others of the Council, who had for their own purposes effected this revolution, fondly assumed that the new prince would suit their purpose better than the deposed one; but Meer Cossim soon let them perceive that he had a will of his own, with a courage that would have been heroic but for his ferocious cruelty.

His subtle professions of gratitude seemed at first sincere, all the more that, having procured some money, he paid the arrears due to our troops at Patna, and sent about seven lacs of rupees to Calcutta. Yet the administration which Meer Cossim had installed in his new capacity of nabob at Moorshedabad, and was about to continue, seemed rather an uncertain one. The "King of the World" was again hovering on his frontier, and causing the alarm of another war. Accordingly Major John Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Caillaud in command of the Company's Indian troops in Behar, fixed his headquarters at Patna, the celebrated capital of that province, early in January, 1761, and as soon as the rains—which in some seasons deepen the Ganges there sufficiently to float a man-of-war—ceased, he commenced operations against Shah Alum, whom he overtook ere the enemy had mustered in sufficient force. Meer Cossim had placed some of the troops that had belonged to Meeran under Carnac, who, on being joined by others under Ramnarrain, won an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this conflict, Law, who had been so long restlessly flitting from place to place, on being abandoned by his French companions, who were sick of the aimless life he led, seated himself astride one of his guns, and in that eccentric position surrendered himself to Major Carnac, who paid him many high encomiums on his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, and sent him into camp in his own palanquin.



VIEW OF BENARES.

The defeated emperor retired towards Delhi, from the neighbourhood of which he sent Meer Cossim his investiture as Soubahdar of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, in consideration of a yearly tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees. And now the time had come when Mr. Vansittart seemed to think it important to form such a connection with the Emperor Shah Alum as might secure the sanction of his name to whatever measures it might be necessary to adopt. Consequently Major Carnac, instead of following up his victory, requested an

interview, and after some delay, was permitted to visit the humbled potentate in his camp, and after a friendly understanding had been formed, they returned together to Patna.

This was but the beginning of those fresh complications which Clive had to unravel on his third return to India, for now Meer Cossim not unnaturally betrayed great jealousy of this new and remarkable connection which the Company had formed; yet, in return for the investiture he had received, he was induced to acknowledge Shah Alum as emperor. The latter then took his departure for the west, with the intention of gaining possession of his capital, and Major Carnac, after escorting him to the frontiers of Behar, received a new offer of the dewannee for the Company—namely, the receivership of all Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—if they would send an army into Central India, to secure him the possession of Delhi, and of a throne that was tottering to its fall,—a project fully entertained by the Council at Calcutta, though, for pecuniary reasons, it was temporarily abandoned.

Meer Cossim now found himself pressed again and again for money, though he had paid to eight of the members of Council, personally, for his elevation, upwards of £200,000, of which Mr. Vansittart alone pocketed 500,000 rupees, or £58,333 sterling; while in ceding to the Company the provinces of Midnapore, Chittagong, and Burdwan, he had given away the third of his revenues. Accordingly, finding that he was being continually applied to for money, he in turn looked about him for some one to plunder, and his eye soon fell upon Ramnarrain, the Hindoo governor of Patna, whose coffers had long been an object of greedy solicitude to the dethroned Meer Jaffier, but had always been preserved by the influence of Clive.

On being warned of Meer Cossim's designs upon one who had been to us a faithful ally, Mr. Vansittart at first ordered Major Carnac to afford every protection to the doomed Ramnarrain; but being a man of a wavering mind, while he listened to the peaceful promises of the nabob on one hand, he took offence at some high-spirited remarks of the major, to supersede whom he now sent Colonel Coote to command in Patna; but, like Carnac, that officer, seeing the part he was expected to play in the coming tragedy, bluntly declined either to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of, the destruction of the unfortunate Hindoo. Consequently he was recalled, and Ramnarrain was shamefully left to the mercy of Meer Cossim.

The latter now pretending that he simply meant to call him to a reckoning on account of some arrears, which he said he and his father had never obtained, threw him into prison, while his house was broken open and ruthlessly plundered; his relations and servants were cruelly tortured by the most devilish devices to compel confession of where his supposed hidden treasures lay; yet the baffled tyrant found but very little to reward the risk he ran. Fearing the just indignation of such Englishmen as Coote and Carnac, he did not murder the man he had ruined; but two years later, when he came to blows with the Company, he deliberately slew in cold blood Ramnarrain and several other Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs.

The outrage at Patna caused the native nobles to lose all confidence in the Council and entire government at Calcutta; and all sects thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to foreigners who were equally faithless, offered alike their money and their swords to Meer Cossim, who thus began to flatter himself that he would soon be in a position to defy British intrusion; so thus the evil grew apace, and quarrels with Meer Cossim readily began.

A Mr. Ellis, a man of haughty and hot spirit, had been appointed head-factor at Patna, where, from the first day he entered on his official work, he acted as if his object had been, not to conciliate, but to exasperate the native government; and this system of folly soon produced its bitter fruit, for Meer Cossim, stung by petty insults which degraded him in the eyes of his people, began to scheme out vengeance.

"He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the *dustuks*, or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenues, and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the dustuks, and he even stopped and searched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the dustuks, but with the Company's flag flying. In nearly every instance he found salt, betel, tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the Company had sold the dustuks to natives—to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Frequent acts of violence accompanied these measures, for the British, and the natives in their service, would not easily submit to any search, and it was not in the nature of men like the officers and troops of the nabob to exercise the right of search with gentleness and moderation. To remedy these evils, Mr. Vansittart negociated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the Company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had

not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful and rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other British factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side."

Thus, finding that in every way his revenue suffered, Meer Cossim resolved, after the insults of Mr. Ellis, to tolerate this state of affairs no longer, and doubtless, tyrannical and rapacious though he was, he had justice on his side in this instance; and in writing to Vansittart in March, 1762, he said: "From the factory in Calcutta to Cossimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their *gomastaks*, officers, and agents, in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and, setting up the Company's colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastaks and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's dustuk regards himself as not less than the Company."

In the end, finding that the grievances of which he complained were not likely to be remedied, and that the Company, backed by their Council, ultimately insisted on trading free, he declared the whole inland trade to be *free*.

This dictum caused the greatest consternation at Calcutta, for it cut up by the roots that system of private trade monopoly by which so many princely fortunes were made; so the quarrel progressed, till it became too evident that cold steel alone could decide it. Though two deputies of the Company, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, were in his territory, vainly seeking to bring about an accommodation, Meer Cossim resolved to write no more, and calling the boldest of his soubahdars around him, he deliberately seized two of the Company's boats that were proceeding on the river with arms to Patna, while he made preparations for getting that place into his possession, and destroying all our troops that were there.

According to a quarto volume published by a member of the Mayor's Court, Calcutta, the then revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, collected by the Company, were worth £3,600,000 sterling yearly, and might, he adds, with management have been by this time (1762) increased to £6,000,000.*

CHAPTER XIX.

MEER COSSIM DEPOSED.—DEFEATED BY MAJOR ADAMS.—MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS AT PATNA.—BATTLES OF BUXAR AND KORAH.

BEING secretly apprised of the nabob's intentions, a majority of the Council sent orders to Mr. Ellis, their chief at Patna, to anticipate his design by taking possession of the citadel, if he had reason for believing that the secret information was true. Aware of the bad feeling existing between Meer Cossim and Mr. Ellis, Mr. Vansittart and Warren Hastings voted against giving Ellis so much discretionary power; but he acted upon it the instant he received it, and accordingly, on the night of the 24th June, 1763, took by surprise the citadel of Patna.

Prior to Mr. Ellis thus bearding the lion in his den, blood had been shed in the vicinity of Patna. He had perceived that discontent and desertion were becoming dangerously prevalent among our sepoys there, and probably was correct in attributing this to the influence of Meer Cossim, whose people sometimes defended the deserters by having recourse to arms. Some of these fugitives took refuge in the fort of Monghir, and Ellis, as resolute as he was violent, sent a party of troops with orders to search the place. The *killedar* in command refused them admission, on the plea that Monghir was both a fortress and royal residence of the nabob, and could not be searched. Shots were exchanged, and Ellis, in hot anger, ordered the officer to hold his ground within a mile and a half of the place.†

On receiving news that his personal enemy had captured the citadel of Patna, the nabob was transported with a fury that knew no bounds. As soon as the citadel, which is small, was taken, an indiscriminate plunder of the city followed, and so great was the disorder that reigned everywhere, that a small party of the soubahdars entered the city at

* "Consideration of Indian Affairs," by Alderman Bolt.

† Gleig's "Life of Warren Hastings."

noon next day and retook it, putting the pillagers to the sword. The clerks and other gentlemen of the factory, with the slender remains of the troops, fled across the Ganges to Chuprah, but were all destroyed or captured—those who had the latter fate were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found, as companions in their misery, their countrymen from the factory at Cossimbazar, which had been attacked and plundered at the same time. When Ellis attacked Patna, Mr. Amyatt had begun his homeward journey, but a party sent after him by order of the nabob seized him, and in the scuffle he was murdered, as were also two Hindoo bankers, who were supposed to be attached to British interests; and now, while plunging thus into war, we had but four line regiments in all India, the 39th, 79th, 84th, and 89th, or old Gordon Highlanders, of which the first alone is now in existence.

Four days after these events, a letter was written by the Nabob Cossim to Mr. Vansittart, which displays the sarcastic bitterness of his heart, and in which he alleges the rout of a band of robbers who managed British affairs in Patna, a ground for demanding the restitution of all the lands of the soubahdaree surrendered by him on his accession to power.

"To the Governor, &c., June 28th, 1763.

"In my heart I believed Mr. Ellis to be my inveterate foe, but from his actions I now find he was inwardly my friend, as appears by this step which he has added to the others. Like a night-robber, he assaulted the Petta of Patna, robbed and plundered the bazaar and all the merchants of the city, ravaging and slaying from the morning to the third *pahr* (afternoon).

"When I requested of you 200 or 300 muskets laden in boats, you would not consent to it. This unhappy man, in consequence of his inward friendship, favoured me, in this fray and slaughter, with all the cannon and muskets of his army, and is himself relieved and eased from his burden. Since it was never my desire to injure the affairs of the Company, whatever loss may have been occasioned by this unhappy man to myself, in this tumult, I pass over; but you, gentlemen, must answer for any injury which the Company's affairs have suffered; and since you have unjustly and cruelly ravaged the city, destroyed the people, and plundered effects to the value of many lacs of rupees, it becomes the justice of the Company to make restitution to the poor, as was formerly done for Calcutta.

"You, gentlemen, are *wonderful friends;* having made a treaty to which you pledged the name of Jesus Christ, you took from me a country to pay the expenses of your army, with the conditions that your troops should always attend me, and promote my affairs. In effect, you keep up a force for my destruction, since from their hands such events have proceeded. I am entirely of opinion that the Company should favour me, in causing to be delivered to me the rents for three years of my country.

"Besides this, for the violence and oppression exercised for several years past in the territories of the Nizamat, and the large sums extorted, and the losses occasioned by them, it is proper and just that the Company should make restitution at this time. This is all the trouble you need take; in the same manner as you took Burdwan and other lands, you must favour me in resigning them."

Mr. Warren Hastings, of whom we shall have much more to record at a future time, had become so disgusted with the selfishness, trickery, and gross injustice of the Council, that he had resolved to resign his place among them; but his patriotism, as a Briton, became inflamed by what he called "the unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery" with which the new war was opened on the part of the nabob.

The Council at Calcutta now entered into new arrangements with the very man they had deposed, old Meer Jaffier; and, as the best mode of curbing the new career of his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, resolved to replace him on his throne. Completely passive in their hands, this Indian Baliol granted an exemption to the Company's servants from all duties save upon salt; he engaged to pay the Company thirty lacs of rupees, and to maintain, at his own charge, an army of 24,000 horse and foot.

To the cities of his three great provinces, Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, he issued his mandates as their lawful and indisputable nabob, and joined the British, who had taken the field, and were now marching on Moorshedabad. The forces were under the command of Major Thomas Adams, of the 84th Regiment, who had with him only 750 Europeans, with some native cavalry and infantry. Starting from the vicinity of Chandernagore on the 24th July, he came to blows with Meer Cossim, who had taken up an entrenched position in front of Moorshedabad.

Cossim's army was formidable, not only from its numbers, but from having with it a great body of sepoys, who had been well trained in the European manner by a Swiss adventurer named Sumroo, who had been a sergeant in the French service. His troops, however, gave way, and after a brief

opposition, the entrenchments were stormed, and the British entered Moorshedabad, while Cossim retreated, leaving behind him all his guns. Adams, after a short halt, continued his march up the Hooghly, and reaching Sooty on the 2nd of August, found the enemy encamped on the Gheriah. Two days before this, Major Adams had been joined, from Burdwan, by Major Carnac, with 100 Europeans, a battalion of sepoys, a rissala of black horse, and two pieces of cannon.

Major Adams reports in his despatch to Charles, Earl of Egremont, that he came in sight of the enemy between seven and eight in the morning, drawn up in order of battle, and much more numerous than he expected. There were 8,000 sepoys, 20,000 horse, twenty pieces of cannon, besides matchlockmen and rocketmen, armed with that terrible species of missile termed by the French the *fougette à feu*, in the use of which the Indians excelled. "The artillery were all mounted in the English manner, and served by 200 Europeans taken at Patna, of which one company were artillerymen, and their sepoys were armed, clothed, and accoutred like our own. The whole was divided into brigades, and posted in a very advantageous manner."

The troops formed line to the front without receiving a shot till they began the attack, after which the conflict was maintained with great resolution for about four hours, when the enemy gave way, abandoning sixteen pieces of cannon, two of which were four-pounders. Their cavalry charged the 84th Regiment, when partially separated from the rest of the line, with great spirit, in front and rear three different times, coming within a few yards of the bayonets. Of the enemy 2,000 lay dead on the field, and eighty Europeans, all foreigners, deserted to Major Adams, with 150 boats laden with military stores. The Britons captured at Patna refused to join the service of the nabob, so he kept them prisoners at Monghir.*

During the battle, Meer Cossim kept safely within the fort at Monghir, where he vented his fury by committing several atrocious murders, and among others who perished was the unfortunate Ramnarrain, whom he had kept in captivity ever since he had been so shamefully abandoned by Mr. Vansittart. As if he gathered courage from the blood he had shed, he now joined his army, which had taken up a strong position near Oudanullah, a fort on the right bank of the Ganges, eight miles south of Rajahmahal. There he is said to have had 60,000 men in trenches armed by 100 pieces of cannon.

Our strength was barely 3,000 men, who for some days made regular approaches under cover, by the shovel, till three in the morning of the 4th September, when the vast works of the enemy, including a ditch fifty-four feet wide, were attacked bravely by two companies of British grenadiers and one of French volunteers, together with five companies of sepoy grenadiers, the whole led by Captain Irwin, of H.M. 84th Regiment; 1,000 sepoys with two guns formed the supports. The whole line of works was carried; "the number of slain," reported Adams, "is incredible, and the number drowned exceeded the slain."

Cossim fled back to Monghir, for the rout was complete; of his cavalry 1,500 were taken prisoners, but were dismounted, disarmed, and dismissed, "the first instance of the kind ever known in this country." The whole district was strewed with dead bodies, and on our troops approaching the Pass of Tillia Gheriah, which had been armed with cannon, the fort was instantly abandoned, and on this we took, including swivels and cannon of all kinds, 265 pieces.

Major Adams now attacked and took Monghir, but Cossim had escaped to Patna, where he meditated a horrid massacre, for while before the fort, Major Adams received from him a letter, which after containing an ominous allusion to his prisoners, concludes thus:—

"Exult not upon the success which you have gained, merely by treachery and night assaults, in two or three places over a few jemidars sent by me. *By the will of God*, you shall see in what manner this shall be revenged and retaliated."

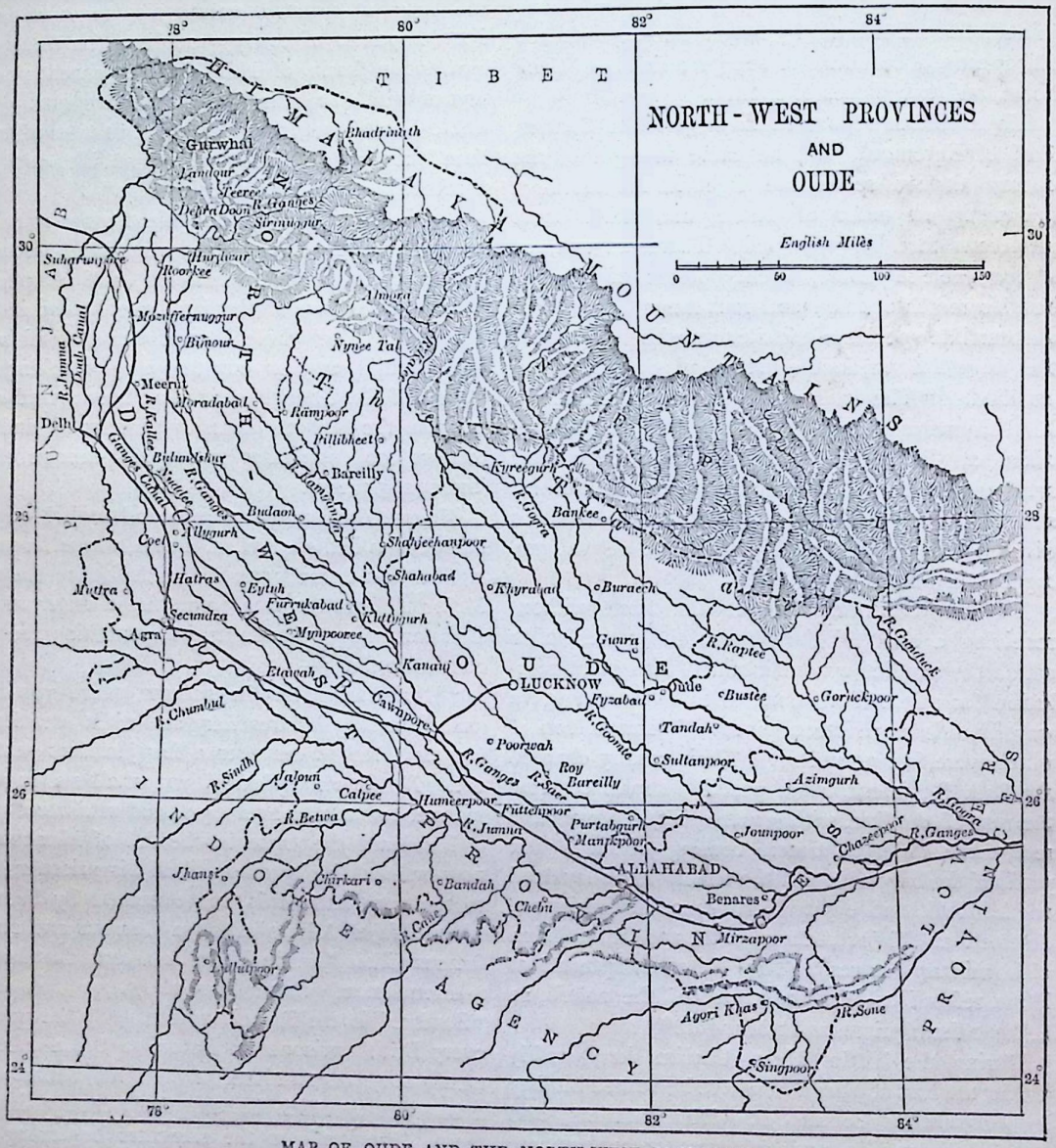
Rendered desperate by the fall of Monghir, he now ordered the butchery of all his prisoners, and to the very letter this was executed by Sumroo, whom Major Adams calls "a German and an infamous villain," while Malcolm asserts that he was a Frenchman, whose *nom de guerre* had been "Sombre" in the French service. By this wretch, every British prisoner in Patna, to the number of nearly 200, was murdered, except Dr. Fullarton, at a banquet to which he, singularly enough, invited them. Previously to the slaughter beginning, the knives and forks were all removed, and the unhappy men defended themselves as well as they could with plates, bottles, and furniture, till the last of them was shot or cut down. "These barbarous soldiers," says Cormick, "revolted at the savage order: they refused at first to obey, desiring that arms might be given to the British, and that they would then engage them. Sumroo, fixed in his purpose, compelled them by threats and blows to the accomplishment of that odious service."

* Despatches.

Even a little child of Mr. Ellis was put to death, as was also a Captain Jochier who was found alive three days after.

Aware that he was now completely beyond the pale of mercy, Meer Cossim fled from Patna, which Adams stormed on the 6th of November, taking

late to catch the fugitive, who, with Sumroo, sought the protection of the Nabob of Oude, Sujah Dowlah, who had just been nominated vizier to the young emperor, at Allahabad, and with him was Shah Alum. Having previously concluded a treaty with the fugitive nabob, he affected to



MAP OF OUDE AND THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

there, and at Monghir, 212 guns and seventeen tumbrils, and though there were but slender hopes of overtaking the blood-stained fugitive, our troops, inspired with fresh fury, continued the pursuit.*

Early in December, the major was at Caramnassa, a river of Hindostan whose waters are supposed to have so evil an effect that its name implies "The Destroyer of Pious Deed," but he was too

* *London Gazette*, June 16th, 1764.

attempt his restoration, and marched his army to Benares, where he encamped within a few miles of the British troops. He was still accompanied by the young Mogul, who had some forces under his orders, and as a portion of the sepoys trained by Sumroo still followed that scoundrel, the entire mass at Benares was formidable.

It was at this most critical time that a very alarming mutiny broke out in the camp of Major



THE SEPOYS AT BUXAR.

Adams; many of the sepoys deserted to the enemy, and whole platoons of French, Germans, and Swiss, who had taken service under our colours, marched off to Benares, with their arms and accoutrements. Thus Major Carnac, who arrived to take command, deemed it prudent to fall back on Patna, where the mutinous spirit was fostered by the scarcity of provisions, and where his camp outside the walls was suddenly attacked, on the 3rd May, by an overwhelming force of the enemy's best disciplined infantry, led "by the devil Sumroo." But the spirit of disaffection had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in steadiness the native British troops; attack after attack was repulsed, and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants. Almost immediately after this reverse, the Nabob of Oude opened up a correspondence with Meer Jaffier, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, "if he would cede to Oude the whole country of Behar."

In the true Indian spirit of falsehood and intrigue, the Emperor Shah Alum sent a message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the Nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim, in barter for our alliance and protection. These proposals came to nothing for the present, for Major Carnac, as a preliminary, demanded the surrender of the murderers, Cossim and Sumroo, so the two nabobs and the emperor retreated from Behar into Oude.

In May, Major Hector Munro reached Patna at the head of his Gordon Highlanders, just as the spirit of mutiny was appearing again, and he took sterner and prompter measures than his predecessors to crush it, and in this, says General Stewart, he was well supported by his own regiment. In front of the line, he blew twenty-five of the discontented from the mouths of his cannon, and from that day forward every clamour ceased. These twenty-five—one account says fifty—were selected by lot out of a whole battalion of sepoys who, after threatening to murder their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy, but were surrounded and taken in their bivouac. They were tried by a drum-head court-martial, and found guilty by their native officers. When four had been blown to atoms, the sepoys tumultuously declared the executions should stop there; but the resolute Highland officer ordered the artillery to load with grape, and turn their guns upon them, while he drew up the Gordons and the English corps between the wheels, and ordered the sepoys to ground their arms. They obeyed, and these terrible executions went on to the end.

As soon as the rainy season was over, Major Munro, now in command of the whole, led his reformed army once more against the enemy. On the 15th September, his entire strength was 857 Europeans, 5,279 sepoys, 918 black cavalry—in all 7,054 men, with twenty guns.

On that day he crossed the Sone, where some earthworks had been thrown up; these he captured, and after suffering considerable annoyance from the native cavalry who hung upon his flanks, on the 22nd October he reached the town and fort of Buxar, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, in the province of Behar. The fort is small and square, having a high rampart, cased with smooth green turf, with a lower fort extending to the river. The town is large, with several handsome mosques and bazaars, and there before it ensued a battle by which Hector Munro confirmed the British in possession of Bengal and Behar.

The Vizier Sujah Dowlah and Meer Cossim occupied an entrenched camp, with their combined forces, amounting to 40,000, some say 60,000 men. The details of the battle are given with the brevity that is characteristic of a soldier, by Major Munro, in his letter of the 26th October, to John, Earl of Sandwich, then Secretary of State.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship that His Majesty's troops and the India Company's, which I have the honour to command, have gained a complete victory over the King and the Vizier of Hindostan, the 23rd of this month. Their army consisted of 50,000 men at least. Enclosed I have the honour to send your lordship a return of ours. They had 6,000 men killed on the field of battle, and we took 130 pieces of cannon from them, besides several stores of different kinds.

"On the 22nd I encamped so near the enemy's camp, as to be just out of range of their shot. On the morning of the action, at daylight, I went out with some of the principal officers to reconnoitre their situation, intending to attack them the following day; but finding the whole army under arms, returned to camp, ordered in our advance posts and grand-guards (*i.e.*, guards commanded by a field-officer), the drums beat to arms, and in less than twenty minutes after, the line of battle was formed, having made my disposition for it the day before. They began to cannonade us at nine in the morning, and in half an hour after, the action became general. We had a morass in our front which prevented our moving forward for some time, by which means—as the number of cannon they had well-levelled, and equally well-disciplined, galled us very much—I was forced to order a battalion of sepoys from the right of the first line, to move forward to silence one of their batteries which

played upon our flank, and was obliged to support it by another battalion from the second line, which had the desired effect. I then ordered both lines to face to the right and keep marching in order to clear the left wing of the morass, and when done to face our former front, the right wing wheeling up to the left, to clear a tope or small wood, that was upon our right. Then the first line moved forward, keeping up a very brisk cannonade.

"I sent orders to Major Pemble, who commanded the second line, to face it to the right-about and follow the first; but that officer saw the propriety of that movement so soon, that he began to put it in execution before he received my order. Immediately after, both lines pushed forward with so much ardour and resolution, at which time the small arms began, that the enemy began to give way, and at five minutes before twelve, their whole army was put to flight.

"Give me leave, my lord, to intreat your lordship may be pleased to acquaint His Majesty with the gallant and brave behaviour of the troops in general, and I beg particularly to recommend Captain Charles Gordon of the 89th (Highland) Regiment, my aide-de-camp, for his brave and spirited behaviour. . . . I wish Major Pemble might be recommended to the Chairman and Court of Directors for his bravery and good conduct. Both these officers had their horses shot under them. I have the honour to be, &c.,

"HECTOR MUNRO."

The lists of casualties gave of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing of all ranks, 70; of natives, 746; and 112 horses killed.*

For this victory, which was so important in its results, Munro was immediately made a lieutenant-colonel, and received the thanks of the Council at Calcutta; while Sujah Dowlah, execrating his allies, fled on the spur to Lucknow. Shah Alum repeated to Munro the overtures he had made to Carnac, complaining that Sujah Dowlah treated him more like a state prisoner than a monarch. The major applied to the Council for orders, and he was at once authorised to treat with the emperor, who, in the meanwhile, with such troops as adhered to him, kept close to our camp.

When Munro halted in Benares, Sujah Dowlah offered him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the Company, twenty-five more to distribute among his soldiers, and eight for himself, if he would quit the kingdom of Oude; but the Highlander, like his English comrade, sternly declined to treat with the nabob in any matter until Meer Cossim and Sumroo were given over to him for due punishment. Sujah Dowlah, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nabob, and seized all the treasure that personage had with him, urged "that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to abandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to some distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the Company or Meer Jaffier."

Concerning Sumroo he was less scrupulous, and proposed to invite him to a feast, as he had invited the British at Patna, and there have him "publicly murdered, in presence of any English gentleman Munro might choose to send to witness the punishment." Such proposals met with little sympathy in the British camp, so the negotiations came to an end, while those with the emperor were hurried to a close. The latter, as Mogul and lord of all the land, granted to Britain the country of Gazipore, or Ghazipur, with an area of 2,300 square miles, ever regarded as one of the most fertile districts of Hindostan, and famous for its breed of cavalry horses, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwunt Sing, Zemindar of Benares; the British, in return, agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Sujah Dowlah. As a last and desperate expedient, the latter applied to Ghazi-ud-Deen, vizier and assassin of the late emperor, father of Shah Alum, for aid; and this chief, on being joined by Mulhar Rao Holkar, burst into Oude at the head of his Mahratta horse. With these allies, Sujah Dowlah once more measured swords with us, as we had taken possession of Lucknow, his capital, and Allahabad, the greatest fortress in the country. On the 3rd of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Korah, in the province of Allahabad, by our troops, under the command of Carnac, now a general. Our artillery cut the Mahrattas to pieces, and the whole of the confederate army was driven across the Jumna.

About this time the aged Meer Jaffier died. The Council at Calcutta had recalled him from the army in order to wring money out of him; but having none to give, and being fretted, harassed, and fevered by importunities on one hand and threats on the other, the unhappy old man was allowed to retire to his palace at Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last on the 31st of January, 1765, four months before the battle of Korah. Sujah Dowlah took refuge in Rohilcund; Meer Cossim escaped, and went in quest of his jewels. Sumroo abandoned the vizier when his cause ceased to be prosperous or his service profitable, and fled to far-off regions beyond the Indus. The Council,

* *London Gazette*, 1765.

incompetent and unsteady, and occupied to the full by their usual occupations of plunder and oppression, knew not what course to take now, for Bengal was nearly ruined. The minds of all men there had been unsettled by successive revolutions; trade and industry had disappeared. "The Council and the native rulers had, by their unprincipled ambition, turned it into a vast Aceldama. The directors in London knew all this, and sought and found a remedy."

This remedy was Lord Clive, whose landing in India we have already related, and the effect that his presence and menaces had upon Mr. Johnstone and other members of the Council.

CHAPTER XX.

CLIVE DICTATOR IN INDIA.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—DISCONTENTS IN THE BENGAL ARMY.—REFORMS CONTINUED.

AFTER his arrival, Clive found that old Meer Jaffier was dead, and that there had been appointed a new nabob in the person of Nujeem-ud-Dowlah, his son, but that the Council had placed the whole management of his affairs under the control of an agent appointed by themselves.

Covenants which interdicted all the servants of the Company from accepting presents had reached India in the preceding January, a short time before the death of Meer Jaffier, and consequently were in possession of the Council, when those remarkable individuals openly set them at defiance by accepting bribes on the accession of Nujeem-ud-Dowlah, on the shallow pretext of leaving the said covenants unsigned, and that they could not think of settling anything finally until the arrival of Lord Clive.

After that, one of the first resolutions of the select committee was, that the covenants should be signed instantly. Delay was still urged; but the Council were told that they must sign at once or quit the service. It was but too evident that Oriental luxury, corruption, and the desire for amassing large fortunes in a little time, had so universally infected the Company's servants, that nothing less than a total reform could avert impending ruin.

"Fortunes of £100,000," said Lord Clive, "have been acquired in the space of *two years;* and individuals very young in the service are returning home with a million and a half."

It has been thought worthy of notice that when the covenants were transmitted to the officers of the army for signature, General Carnac, though commander-in-chief, and a member of the select committee, declined to sign; but this was on special grounds. He had received a gift of 80,000 rupees, from Bulwunt Sing, the chief of Benares. The covenants bore a date antecedent to that of the gift, but as he had not been aware of their existence, he refused to sign till the date was altered, so that he might not lie under the charge of having violated them.

Soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Clive, on the 24th of June, 1765, proceeded to the north-west, to negotiate in person with the emperor and the Nabob of Oude, who, having lost all hope of successful contention with us, had come to the camp of General Carnac, and thrown himself upon the generosity of Britain. On the 16th of August, a treaty was signed at Allahabad. By this it was agreed that Shah Alum, the Mogul, was to be satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Korah, and that all the rest of Oude should be restored to Sujah Dowlah, who was to continue vizier to the emperor; never, on any occasion, were they to consort with, or give shelter to, Meer Cossim or Sumroo; and they were to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontier of Bengal; while the British bound themselves to assist the Mogul in all cases of invasion. In right of his imperial authority, which would have been but a name without the presence of our troops, the Mogul ceded to Britain the dewannee, or collection of the revenues in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Korah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum.

In short, along with this dewannee, which in effect constituted the Company lords and masters over the vast and fertile regions named in the grant, the young Mogul confirmed the right of the Company to every other acre they possessed in India.

Though this treaty was a master-stroke of Clive, it was the beginning of a connection with Oude

which, to the present hour, has been a fruitful source of trouble to Britain, and the end of which we cannot yet foresee.

On the accession of Nujeem-ud-Dowlah, a spiritless youth (who desired us to take the whole military defence of the country into our own hands), to the nominal musnud of Bengal, the Council had named Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman, a man of honour and ability, to the post of naib, which the new nabob wished to be held by Nuncomar, one of the worst of the Hindoo chiefs; but Clive on his arrival concluded that Nujeem was as unfit to be nabob as Nuncomar was to be naib, and compelled the young man to retire from the occupation of royalty on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

Lord Clive had always disapproved, even when at home in England, of the first revolution effected by the Company, in the deposition of old Meer Jaffier; and he considered that the violence and rashness of most of the Council, and the excessive licence permitted to the junior servants of the Company, and to their still more rapacious native agents, "had precipitated the revolution against Meer Cossim, who," in his opinion, "having been once elevated to the musnud, and made to pay for that elevation, ought to have been maintained upon it, and kept in the right way by a mixture of conciliatory and restrictive measures."

Though he was totally without confidence in the faith or honour of the native chiefs and princes, he conceived the possibility of managing them, and deemed it most injurious to Britain that the Company should be perpetually making and breaking treaties with them, and keeping the whole of Bengal in a state of change and uncertainty. Before his departure from Europe he had assured the Court of Directors that by this kind of conduct we had lost the confidence of the people of India.

"To restore this ought to be our principal object," he continued, "and the best means, in my opinion, will be by establishing a moderation in the advantages which may be reserved for the Company, or allotted to individuals in this service. During Mr. Vansittart's government all your servants thought themselves entitled to take large shares in the monopolies of salt, betel, and tobacco (reserved by treaty to the nabob), the three articles, next to grain, of greatest consumption in the empire. The odium of seeing such monopolies in the hands of foreigners need not be insisted on. But this is not the only inconvenience; it is equally productive of another, quite as prejudicial to the Company's interests—it enables many of your servants to obtain, very suddenly, fortunes greater than those which, in former times, were thought a sufficient reward for a long continuance in your service."

In one passage of singular brilliance in his "Essay on the Life of Clive," Macaulay thus sums up or describes the then state of Bengal:—

"At every one of these revolutions the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together in the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his (Meer Cossim's) dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and could unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted, with impunity, the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource—when the evil became insupportable the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil genii rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed—the hereditary nobility of mankind—whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate. The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers; and to all, the haughty race presented a dauntless front."

This was the state of affairs to which Clive had

come, as he hoped, to make an end, and when he returned to Calcutta in September, most irksome were the duties that lay before him. He had enforced the signature of the covenants interdicting presents, but as large bribes had been given and received after these documents arrived, and they were therefore, though unsigned, or unexecuted, legally binding, it was deemed necessary to make strict inquiries regarding them; and in the sequel, Mr. Spencer, the governor, and nine other leading officials, were dismissed from the Company's service.

Every member of Council had more or less shared in the profit system, and the most rapacious and oppressive of their civil servants were those who had the highest patronage at home—for in Leadenhall Street kinsmen and friends, or near connections, were influential directors and shareholders; and the general task of reform that Clive had before him was a harder battle than Plassey to fight.

One of his first proceedings after his arrival in the country was to reorganise the army of Bengal, by telling off the corps of which it was composed into three divisions or brigades. These, which consisted respectively of one European regiment of infantry, now in the British service, one company of artillery, one squadron of native cavalry, and six battalions of sepoys, were stationed, the first brigade at Monghir, the second at Bankpore, near Patna, 100 miles beyond Monghir, and the third at Allahabad, 100 miles beyond Patna, as a corps of observation on the Mahrattas. Though there existed a perfect understanding among the officers attached to these brigades, the whole of them regarded a threatened diminution of their allowance of double *batta* with disgust. It was even agreed, so early as December, 1765, says Gleig, that the meditated act should be resisted, and that the publication of any edict requiring them to dispense with that field allowance should be a signal for a general resignation of their commissions, and, in effect, a dissolution of the entire army. We are somewhat at a loss, says his biographer, to account for the extraordinary deficiency of intelligence which kept Clive in ignorance of this conspiracy up to the very moment of its completion; yet that the case was so, the event completely proved.

On the 1st of January, 1766, an order was issued that the double batta should cease, and that the troops in Bengal should be placed on a footing similar to those upon the coast of Coromandel, that is to say, single batta when in the field, and when in garrison none at all. In a very short period the spirit of discontent spread throughout the subaltern officers, to such an extent that 200 commissions were collected for resignation, at a time when 60,000 Mahrattas were on the frontiers, within 150 miles of Allahabad.

Early in April, Clive hurried to Moorshedabad, where a congress of native chiefs was held, when a letter of Sir Robert Fletcher, who had succeeded to the command of the army at Monghir, on the departure of Colonel Hector Munro, made him aware that the army was in a state of mutiny. Though Sir Robert wrote in strong terms, Lord Clive could scarcely persuade himself that the danger was so imminent, till a brief inquiry satisfied him that it was so.*

From Colonel Smith, the officer commanding at Allahabad, he learned that his officers, like those of Fletcher, were also in a state of mutiny; that the Mahrattas were in motion, that they were collecting boats, and that the European troops of the Company could no longer be relied on—that, in fact, ruin seemed at hand. Clive instructed Smith to keep a resolute front, and only yield when there could be no alternative between concession to the discontented and destruction at the hands of the enemy.

Urging the Council at Calcutta to lose no time in procuring a fresh number of officers, pointing out that among the merchants, whose all was at stake, some might be found fit for service, he hastened towards Monghir, and hurried to the chief seat of the conspiracy, relying on the steadiness of the sepoys, whom he knew to be devoted to himself. Without the hesitation of an hour, he placed the ringleaders under arrest, accepted the resignations of all, and sent the more eminent defaulters as prisoners to Calcutta. A few courts-martial followed, many were cashiered, some were permitted to retire on pensions, and some were reinstated; but Sir Robert Fletcher, who was tried on a charge of concealment of mutiny, was found guilty and dismissed the service.

Though H.M. (old) 96th Foot had come to India, two out of the first four British regiments in India had returned home—the 84th and 89th Highlanders—in the year before this time of peril, and both deserve at least a brief notice for their bravery in the field.

Of the war-worn 84th, but little more than a company in number landed with the colours from the *Boscawen*, Indiaman, under Major Richard Sherlock. In October, 1759, the regiment had landed at Madras, where it served till the fall of Pondicherry, in 1761, after which it was ordered to Bengal, and *en route* a detachment of twenty-one officers and 244 men were on board the *Pattasalam*,

* Gleig.

which was lost forty-eight hours after she sailed. All perished except seven officers (including Major Sherlock), a sergeant, and a captain's wife, who got away in the long-boat, in which they were five days without water or provisions. They were cast on the coast of Orissa, made prisoners, and remained so, fed only on rice and water, till December following, when they were sent to Fort William, in the last stages of misery. It appears that this regiment, between the time it left England in April, 1759, and January, 1764, buried thirty-eight commissioned officers and upwards of 1,300 men.

The 89th Gordon Highlanders served in all the operations we have recorded, with this very remarkable circumstance, that during their five years' fighting in India, there was neither death, promotion, nor change among the officers, save in one instance, when Lord William Gordon was promoted to the 67th Regiment.

"There is another circumstance," says General Stewart, "in itself highly honourable to this respectable corps, that out of eight companies raised by the Duke of Gordon, Major Munro, Captains M'Gillivray, Grant, M'Pherson, and others, in all 780 men, not a man was brought to the halberts or deserted during these five years."

Both regiments were disbanded soon after their return home, an order having been issued in 1763 to reduce the army to the present 70th Foot.

Clive still continued actively the work of reform at Calcutta, where many, confident in their powerful patronage at home, protested, and refused to act under him, upon which he resolved to procure support elsewhere, and got some civil servants from Madras. "Then recourse was had to the gentler ways of flattery and entreaty, arguments, persuasions, and prayers; but they would have been as profitably employed in bidding the monsoons to forget to blow at their fixed seasons, or in commanding the Ganges to roll back its waters to their sources among the eternal snows of the Himalayas. Nothing could turn Clive from his purpose."



CLIVE DEPARTING FROM INDIA.

The private trade and dangerous privileges assumed by the servants of the Company, he as rigidly prohibited as the extortion or reception of presents from the natives. From papers laid before Parliament in 1766, it appears that the latter were frequently imprisoned in order to obtain from them

large sums for the remission of crimes which never had existence; and that those who collected the revenue in the provinces ceded by Meer Cossim constantly extorted presents for themselves.

In strong contrast to the selfish conduct of others, there was no finer example of Clive's disinterestedness than the use to which he applied a legacy of 100,000 secca rupees, or £70,000, left to him by old Meer Jaffier. He paid it into the Company's treasury at Fort William, to lie at interest for the support of European officers and soldiers, disabled or decayed in the Company's service in Bengal, and for the widows of those who might die on service there. The Company afterwards extended this provision, but the original fund still bears the name of Clive. From this fund a colonel originally received £300 per annum, and the scale descended according to rank, so that a private obtained £10 per annum in addition to his pension; but alterations have been made subsequently, from time to time.

Fully satisfied with the fortune he had amassed, he had declared, on accepting his duties as a reformer, that he renounced all claim to the monetary advantages attached to the post of governor—that he wanted only a reform, complete and thorough, which, in the end, should prove equally a benefit to the oppressor and the oppressed, to the poor natives and to the British nation. Seldom has a man so scrupulously adhered to the purity of his plans amid temptations such as those that beset Clive; for in India the princes would have paid any price for his open or secret alliance. According to Sir John Malcolm and others, the Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of the greatest value; the Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but peremptorily refused, and he always boasted with truth that his last administration, instead of increasing his fortune, had greatly lessened it. After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health made it necessary that he should return home, and on the 16th of January, 1767, he met the Select Committee at Calcutta for the last time. After a long address, full of sound advice, he concluded thus:—

"I leave the country in peace: I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination: it is incumbent on you to keep them so." *

A few days afterwards he left India for ever, with General Caillaud, on board the *Britannia*, Captain Rous, and in July reached London, where he was received with universal acclaim, and welcomed by the king and queen, to whom he brought princely presents from the Nabob of Oude.

It is worth recording that he gave twenty guineas to the seaman who first sighted the white cliffs of his beloved old England.

The name of Clive must for ever remain connected with the glory and the greatness of British India. "All the qualities of a soldier were combined in him, and each so admirably proportioned to the rest, that none predominated to the detriment of the other. His personal courage," continues Edward Thornton, in his "British Empire in India," "enabled him to acquire a degree of influence over his troops which has rarely been equalled, and which, in India, was before his time unknown; and this, united with the cool and consummate judgment by which his daring energy was controlled and regulated, enabled him to effect conquests which, if they had taken place in remote times, would be regarded as incredible. Out of materials the most unpromising, he had to create the instruments for effecting these conquests, and he achieved his object where all men but himself might have despaired. No one can dwell on the more exciting portions of his history without catching some of the ardour which led him through those stirring scenes; no one who loves the country for which he fought can recall them to memory without breathing, mentally, honour to the name of Clive.

"In India his fame is even greater than at home, and that fame is not his merely, it is his country's. As a statesman, Clive's vision was clear, but not extensive. He could promptly and adroitly adapt his policy to the state of things which he found existing; but none of his acts display any extraordinary political sagacity. Turning from his claims in a field where his talents command but a moderate degree of respect, and where the means by which he sometimes sought to serve the state and sometimes to promote his own interests, give rise to a different feeling, it is due to one to whom his country is so deeply indebted, to close the narrative of his career by recurring once more to that part of his character which may be contemplated with unmixed satisfaction. As a soldier, he was pre-eminently great. With the name of Clive commences the flood of glory, which has rolled on till it has covered the wide face of India with memorials of British valour. By Clive was formed the base of the column, which a succession of heroes, well worthy to follow his footsteps, have carried upward to a towering height, and surrounded with trophies of honour, rich, brilliant, and countless."

* Malcolm's Life; "History of India," &c

Before sailing from Calcutta his last act was to name, as his successor in the office of governor, Mr. Harry Verelst, who five years afterwards published a work on the government of Bengal. His assistants in office were, Messrs. Cartier, Smith, Sykes, and Beecher, and, according to Mill, Clive had barely departed ere the old system of corruption and insubordination began to prevail.

The Afghans, in 1767, created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but, after laying waste a few provinces, they retired by the passes to their native mountains.

But in describing the wars and troubles in Bengal, we have somewhat anticipated the progress of events in the Carnatic, to which we shall therefore now devote our attention.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLES.—AFFAIRS OF THE CARNATIC.—HYDER ALI, ETC.

By our capture of Pondicherry, that ascendency which the French had hoped to establish in the East was so completely overthrown, that the government of Madras thought the time had now come to humble the Spaniards by depriving them of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Isles, but as this then important affair, though an East Indian expedition, is somewhat apart from general Indian history, our notice of it must be brief.

These isles, which form an extensive archipelago in the Indian seas, and are sometimes called the Manilas, were originally named after Philip II. of Spain by the Spaniards, who first settled there in 1565, though they had been discovered by Magellan in 1520, and isle by isle they gradually became masters of the whole group, which have now a population that borders on 3,000,000 of whites, Chinese, and natives.

This reduction was planned by Colonel Draper, who prevailed upon the Madras Government, in 1762, to send the *Seahorse* frigate, Captain Grant, to cruise near the archipelago, with orders to intercept all vessels bound for Manila, the capital; and on the 21st of July the first division of the fleet sailed from Madras Roads under Commodore Teddinson. The second followed on the first of the next month, under Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish, when the whole armament consisted of fourteen sail, led by the flagship *Norfolk* (seventy-four guns), having on board the 79th Regiment, under Colonel Draper, a local force furnished by the inhabitants of Madras, consisting of 600 sepoys, a company of artillery, another of Caffirs, and two of pioneers and Topasses, two of French mercenaries, and a party of lascars as labourers.

On the 27th, the armament rendezvoused off the lofty and palm-covered isle of Timoan, and on the 23rd of September appeared off Manila, the capital of the archipelago, which occupies a kind of spit of sand at the mouth of a tolerably navigable river. The Spanish force in garrison consisted of the governor's guards, a battalion of the *Regimiento del Rey*, under Don Pedro Valdez, some marines and artillery, a company of Pampangos, and another of cadets, the whole being commanded by Lieutenant-General Don Felix de Eguilux, and his second, Brigadier the Marquis de Villa Medina.

A place for landing was selected two miles south of the city, and three frigates, warped close in shore, covered the descent with their broadsides. The 79th, with 274 marines, and some gunners and matrosses, with one mortar and three field-guns, in the long-boats and launches of the squadron, were formed in three divisions. Colonel Draper leading the centre, Colonel Monson the left, and Major More the right, they pulled rapidly in shore, through a dreadful surf, which, by dashing the boats against each other, stove several, by which much munition of war, but no lives, were lost. The guns of the shipping drove back the enemy, who were in force to oppose the landing, which was successfully achieved, and next day 632 seamen, under Captains Collins of the *Weymouth* (sixty), Ourry of the *Elizabeth* (sixty-four), and Pritchford of the *America* (sixty), landed to reinforce the troops.

A few days were now unavoidably spent in reconnoitring, seizing advantageous posts, and erecting batteries, and in securing the communication with our shipping; but during these days there were dreadful storms of thunder, lightning, and blinding rain; yet the invaders soon discovered that the fortifications of the town, though regular, were incomplete. The ditch had never been

finished; the covered way was out of repair; the glacis was too low, and many places were without guns. The garrison under Don Felix mustered 800 Spaniards, who were reinforced by many half-castes, and 10,000 Pampangos, or men of the country, all Indians remarkable for their fearlessness and intense ferocity, who murdered every one that fell into their hands, even one of our officers when bearing a flag of truce, thus provoking the most terrible acts of retaliation. The governor of the Philippines was also the archbishop who predicted that the British would be destroyed like the host of Sennacherib. Draper's force was too small to invest a place of such extent as Manila; he could but attack it on one side, while the others were open for the reception of supplies, and of those terrible Pampango archers, of whose aid the commandant availed himself to the utmost.

On the morning of the 4th October, 1,000 of these attacked the cantonment of the naval brigade, by stealing softly forward under cover of some brushwood, encouraged by a hope that the fire-arms might have been rendered unserviceable by the recent rains. Their united yells pierced the still morning air, as they fell suddenly upon a picket of the 79th, whose flank fire, ere they fairly reached the seamen, shot down three hundred of them. Armed only with spears and bows, they rushed upon the bayonets that pierced their naked bodies, and died gnawing them with their teeth like wild beasts. In this affair Captain Porter, R.N., and many seamen were slain.

While the savages made this sortie, another body of them made a sally from a different point, and with tumultuous yells drove our sepoys from a church which they occupied, and this post Don Felix instantly filled with men of the *Regimiento del Rey*, till Draper's field-guns dislodged them, with the loss of seventy men. But this cost him an officer and forty men of the 79th. After this, the courage of the Pampangos cooled, and by them the city was nearly left to its fate, which was soon sealed.

A practicable breach was made, and sixty volunteers of different corps, under Lieutenant Russel of the 49th, supported by the grenadiers of that regiment, led the forlorn hope. "Colonel Monson and Major More were at the head of two grand divisions of the 79th; the battalion of seamen advanced next, sustained by other two divisions of the 79th; the Company's troops closing the rear." In this order the forces made a furious rush, with the bayonet, at the breach, which was carried in spite of all opposition, and the troops forced their way into the Plaza, where the Spaniards fired on them from the houses, and Major More was shot by the arrow of a Pampango. In the guardhouse above the Royal Gate 100 defenders, who refused all quarter, were bayoneted to the last man; three hundred more, who attempted to escape over the river Passig, were drowned; the archbishop and staff capitulated in the *Casa del Ayuntamiento*, to Captain Dupont of Draper's regiment, and the capital of the Philippines was won. It was ransomed from pillage on the payment of four millions of dollars, and in it were taken 556 pieces of brass and iron cannon and mortars, and with it fell the whole archipelago under our dominion.*

The flames of war were now kindled in the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, whom we last saw in brief alliance with James Francis Law and his band of roving Frenchmen. This remarkable adventurer, who became one of our most formidable antagonists in India, had since his expedition towards Pondicherry, in his vain attempt to succour the Count de Lally, greatly added to his forces, which were chiefly recruited from the wild and military freebooting tribes of Western India; but instead of paying them, Hyder made the singular arrangement that they should pay *him*, by according him half the booty they might win under his banner; thus, by degrees, he won more horses, elephants, camels, arms, and treasure than his nominal master, the Rajah of Mysore, upon whom he ultimately made war; and, as the court of the latter had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors, he defeated and made him prisoner, and as his name and habits attached all marauders to his standard, out of the fragments of old principalities he formed for himself the great, compact, warlike, and vigorous empire of Mysore. Therein he became the founder of Mohammedanism, and our most dreaded and strongest enemy in India. By the end of 1761, the authority of this singular marauder was firmly established in Mysore, a country enclosed by the Eastern and Western Ghauts, 210 miles in length, by 140 in breadth, having a fertile table-land 3,000 feet above the level of the sea.

His origin was a most humble one. His grandfather had been a wandering dervish; Macaulay says his father was a petty collector of revenue; but another account has it that he was a naik or subaltern, for, in the very scarce papers of Baron Grant, we are told, that "about the year 1728, Cuttalich Khan, Soubah or Governor-General of the Deccan, sent Termamoud Khan, an officer of reputation, and a Patan by birth, to deprive the Nabob Abdoul Ressoul Khan of his

* Draper's Despatches.

government of Sirpi, which is a province of the kingdom of Maissour (Mysore). That prince determined to try the fortune of arms, went forth to meet his competitor, and after a very bloody battle the Nabob of Sirpi was defeated and slain. Among the dead was Fatty (Futteh) Naick, the father of Hyder Ali, an excellent warrior in the service of the nabob."

Futteh Naik, he continues, left two sons and a daughter; the eldest was named Saber Naik, and the younger, who was then ten years old, was named Hyder Naik or Ali. He was born at Divanelli, a fort situated between Oscota and Colar. They had an uncle with whom the eldest entered the service of the King of Mysore; but Hyder only remained in the vicinity of the districts where they served. At an early age he was bold, intractable, and overbearing; he could neither read nor write, nor would he receive instruction from any one. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1769, states he was first a sepoy in the Dutch service at Negapatam, where he rose to be a sergeant; at all events, when Nunderause, brother-in-law of the King of Mysore, as well as the vizier and general of his army, assembled the troops to join the Soubah Nazir Jung, and entered with him into the Carnatic in 1750, against Mustapha Jung, who was intending to seize the soubahship of that province, Hyder Ali, now a strong and hardy young warrior, collected sixty matchlockmen and five or six horsemen, with whom he repaired to the camp of Nunderause (then besieging the fort of Deonhully, twenty-four miles north-east of Bangalore), by whom he was well received, and appointed within four years commander of 500 infantry clothed and disciplined in the European manner, with 200 cavalry and a couple of field-pieces.

Hyder took part in the expedition when the Mysore troops marched from the plains of Arcot to join Nazir Jung, who had succeeded his father, Nizam-ul-Mulk, as Soubahdar of the Deccan, and when Nazir, through the intrigues of Dupleix, was treacherously abandoned by so many of his troops, Hyder Ali distinguished himself by a furious attack on the flanks of the French. When the day was lost, and Nazir had fallen into the hands of the Nabob of Kurpa, who destroyed him, Hyder lost not a moment in turning the event to his own advantage. On the first alarm he selected 300 Beder Peons, who plundered friend and foe without scruple, and when the officer in charge of Nazir's treasure began to load the camels, two of them, laden entirely with gold coins, were adroitly separated from the rest of the caravan, by the peons, and conveyed to Deonhully. This spoil, with horses and arms picked up in every direction, laid the foundation of Hyder's fortune, and he proceeded forthwith to augment the number of his forces by the strange mode of pay we have stated.

"Movable property of every description was their object," says Colonel Wilkes* "and, as already noticed, they did not hesitate to acquire it from friends, when that could be done without suspicion, and with more convenience than from enemies. Nothing was unseasonable, or unacceptable, from convoys of grain down to the clothes, turbans, and ear-rings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Cattle and sheep were among the most profitable heads of plunder; muskets and horses were sometimes obtained in booty, and sometimes by plunder."

So many kindred spirits joined him, that by the year 1755, he was at the head of 1,500 cavalry and 3,000 regular infantry, with four guns; but when he set out to occupy the position of Foujedar of Dindigul, a fort engirdling a stupendous rock in a valley bounded on the west by the mountains of Malabar, he marched at the head of 2,500 horse, 5,000 infantry, and 2,000 peons, with six guns, leaving Kundee Rao behind him to attend to his interests; and ere long Hyder began to aim at greater power, for now he strove by means of skilful artificers at Pondicherry, Seringham, and Trichinopoly, directed by French overseers, to organise a regular artillery, arsenal, and laboratory, and the wretched state of the government of Mysore greatly favoured his growing ambition. With all his skill and ability, which were undoubted, he still remained an Oriental barbarian, and the praises bestowed upon him by some European writers are alike uncalled for and ridiculous.

"That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or, at least, that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears a fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty, should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted, the establishment of the British empire in India, that great result—not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was—conferring more happiness upon millions of people, than they ever had enjoyed, or could hope to enjoy under their native Mohammedan or Hindoo rulers."†

* "Historical Sketches of India."

† Knight's "England."

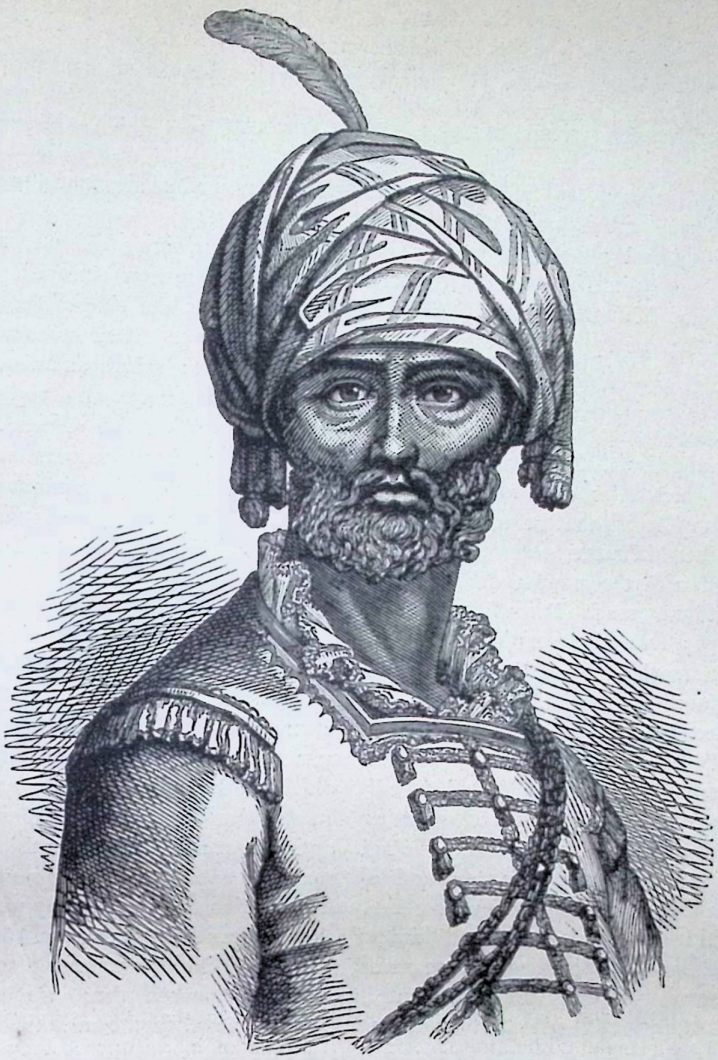
The power of his predecessor on the throne of Mysore having been set at defiance by the Rajahs and Polygars of Chitteldroog, Gooty, Harponelly, Balapoor, and Lera, they were soon reduced to obedience by Hyder, who, cunning as he was fiery, thereupon affecting to take the cause of a young impostor—a kind of Indian Perkin Warbeck—marched to the city of Bednore, which then consisted of a place eight miles in extent, and where he took plunder to the value of twelve millions sterling, and changed its name to Hydernagur; keeping that rich and prosperous country for himself—for it was all the more rich and prosperous, that being girdled by lofty mountains, it had long escaped the ravages of Indian war. Sundy, on the northern frontier of Bednore, was next captured by him, and its ramparts were destroyed, nor did his freebooting army halt till it reached the banks of the Kistna, where he was assailed by Madhoo Rao, Peishwa of the Mahrattas, with an immense cavalry force, who rent from him some of his recent conquests, and, according to Colonel Wilkes, compelled him to disgorge thirty-two lacs of rupees.

Notwithstanding this mortification, he soon after acquired by conquest the whole province of Malabar, and, to keep the country quiet, put all the nairs, or Hindoo chiefs, to the sword without distinction; but he had barely achieved this, when he found it necessary to repair to Seringapatam, which he had made his capital city, and had strongly fortified, as a necessary precaution against probable events, having heard that the British, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan had formed an armed alliance against him. Though he could neither read nor write, the memory and acuteness of Hyder were remarkable; his agents were everywhere, and his spies overran the whole country. Thus, he had a knowledge as full, and a clearer view of the tangled web of Indian politics, than any one of his time, save Clive or Warren Hastings.



VIEW OF MANILA.

The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salabut Jung, the old ally of the Marquis de Bussy. In Golconda and Hyderabad, fresh revolutions had



HYDER ALI.

rent the state, and Salabut was the captive of his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his musnud, until the arrival of the Treaty of Paris, which recognised the deposed prince as the lawful Nizam or Soubahdar of the Deccan, on which Ali, to prevent further trouble, put him immediately to death. At first the Nizam indulged in hostility against Britain; he invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mohammed Ali, in a manner singularly barbarous and destructive, till he was checked by Colonel Charles Campbell, at the head of a small force.

After that, he concluded a treaty with the East India Company, confirming to them all the acquisitions made by Colonel Forde in the Northern Circars, on the payment of a small feudal tribute, and holding in readiness a portion of their troops to aid him if at war. By the latter clause, it became necessary for the Company to stop the astonishing career of Hyder Ali, and thus they joined the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, with the double view of curbing him and ensuring their own safety.

In this new and important movement, the first to take the field was the Peishwa, who covered the rich table-lands of Mysore with clouds of his predatory Mahratta horse, when everything was as usual ruthlessly given over to fire and sword, while Colonel Joseph Smith, with a British force followed him.

CHAPTER XXII.

WAR WITH HYDER ALI.—THE CHINGAMA PASS.—BATTLE OF EROOR.

WHILE Hyder Ali's officers, by his orders, were everywhere cutting the embankments of the tanks, poisoning the wells, burying the grain, and driving cattle and the peasantry into the woods, to check the progress of the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali was marching against Mysore by the eastern route, at the head of a great but ill-disciplined host, and Colonel Smith at the head of our troops, moved by the northern frontier to effect a junction with him.

It had been arranged with Madhoo Rao that the districts through which Nizam Ali was to march, were to be left unpillaged, that he might procure sustenance, but the Mahrattas swept them bare; thus he advanced with the utmost difficulty and privation, and did not reach Toombudra till the 9th of March, 1767, and on the 24th of the same month intelligence reached Colonel Smith, that the retreat from Mysore of our faithless allies, the Mahrattas, had been purchased. That officer, says a writer on India, "had suspected from the first that the presidency had engaged in a disjointed expedition, and urged on them the necessity of adjusting some reasonable plan of action. Nizam Ali had already begun to talk of retracing his steps and returning in the ensuing year. It is believed, indeed, that the only thing which now induced him to advance was the hope of concluding an agreement, by which Hyder was to give him a present of twenty lacs of rupees, and pay him an annual tribute of six lacs, for making common cause with him against the Company. Since his purchase of the Mahrattas, Hyder had continued to urge the treachery, but said nothing of the bribe, and the Nizam had some hopes of being able to extort it, by going forward and working on Hyder's fears."

The stupid Council at Madras paid but little attention to Colonel Smith's reiterated suspicions of a secret collusion between our remaining ally and the enemy. Their conceit and impertinence disgusted the troops, and nearly brought ruin upon everything. His suspicions became a certainty when he found the troops of Nizam Ali, after entering Mysore, treating it as a friendly country, and when Smith's forces came up to a point where it was stipulated that the two armies should form a junction, great was the astonishment of our soldiers, when, as they marched into an encampment on one quarter, they saw those of the Nizam departing by another, for he had now openly joined Hyder, and their combined armies made preparations to press upon ours.

In this war, into which we had been partly deluded and were now betrayed, great was the preponderance on the side of the new allies, Hyder and the Nizam. Their combined cavalry made a total of 42,860 sabres and lances; their infantry were 28,000 strong, with 109 pieces of cannon; and to oppose all this, Colonel Smith had 1,000 natives and thirty European cavalry, with 5,000 sepoys and 800 European infantry, and sixteen guns.

Colonel Smith was a brave and intelligent officer, but perfectly ignorant of the land in which he was warring. Thus, having gained but imperfect knowledge, he threw up a redoubt in the eastern gorge of a mountain pass, through which he supposed the enemy must come to reach the lower ground; and while waiting under arms to receive them, his cattle, which had been left grazing quietly in the rear, were suddenly driven off, and the cavalry which he dispatched to their rescue were attacked on all sides by superior numbers, and did not rein up in the camp till nearly a third of them were destroyed. Most perilous was now the situation of our force, which was so painfully weak as contrasted to the masses it had to oppose.

Colonel Smith was unable to move till the 28th of August, when thus crippled by the loss of supplies; and in the meantime Hyder, taking advantage of his inactivity, assailed and captured the fort of Cauverypatam. At first the colonel's movements were involved in error; he guarded passes that were unlikely to be penetrated, and left unguarded those that were so; and thus in one special instance, he left entirely free a pass, through which the troops of Hyder poured like a torrent or living cataract, sweeping away outposts, baggage, cattle, and all the supplies of our army, to reinforce which, Colonel Wood was dispatched with some more troops from Trichinopoly.

Hyder was aware of their approach from the direction of Trinomalee, and might have intercepted them by occupying the Pass of Singarpetta or Chingama, through which alone a junction with Smith's force could be made; but by some error on the part of Hyder, the colonel was allowed to take possession of it unopposed. The Nizam Ali was so enraged by this affair, that he openly upbraided Hyder with it, and hinted that if the

war was to be conducted thus, he would make peace with the Company in his own fashion.

Hyder now became more than ever active to prevent the junction, and with many rissalas of predatory horse, pressed the flanks and rear of Smith's force, and whenever it halted for the night it was harassed by flaming and roaring flights of the terrible Indian rockets. Once, when he thought the British were in an unfavourable position, he ventured to attack them, but was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men. Though Colonel Smith lost only 170, he was unable to follow up the advantage, as once more the enemy had carried off the baggage, and with it his scanty store of rice. Famine now pressed him sorely, and he was compelled to push on for Trinomalee, which he reached on the 4th of September.

When Colonel Smith made his rapid and fatiguing march to Trinomalee, a Hindoo town of great holiness among the Brahmins, and situated on a mountain fifty-two miles north-west of Pondicherry, he trusted to an assurance from Mohammed Ali, that he would there find an abundance of food stored up. But, to the terrible disappointment of him and his soldiers, there was no rice, and no more paddy—unprepared grain—could be procured than sufficed for a day's rations. So great were their past sufferings, and so great seemed those yet to come, that there occurred an event unexampled in British military annals—a Lieutenant Hitchcock *deserted;* but only to be captured and thrown into prison, where he died in dreadful misery of mind.

In search of food, Colonel Smith was compelled to quit Trinomalee, leaving in it, though a place of little strength, his sick, wounded, and military stores. We are told that Hyder's Mysoreans came on with their hordes of cavalry, eddying like a flood, sweeping away, in every case, bullocks, rice-carts, and footsore stragglers. Colonel Smith, after his men had marched, fought, and starved, for twenty-seven consecutive hours, at last formed the longed-for junction with Wood's corps, and returned to find Trinomalee safe, though a battery had been thrown up against it, and 10,000 horse were covering the operations; but on Smith's arrival, the whole Mysore force hurried to the west, and encamped six miles distant, yet within view of that magnificent Pagoda of Trinomalee, which is eleven storeys in height, and has forty stately windows.

Still no stores or food came, and the misery of the troops deepened, for in the fanciful grandeur of their own policy, the Council made no preparations to support their forces in the presence of a powerful and barbarous enemy, thus our small army was reduced to a system of marching and foraging at the same time, while 40,000 fleet and active horsemen, with lance and tulwar, flew around them, crossing every rice-swamp or paddy-field, occupying the wretched tracks that served as roads, destroying the villages, devouring the hidden stores, and ravaging everything and everywhere. As vultures gathered on a field of carrion, the Mysorean troopers found nothing too mean for their prey.

Yet the undying reputation of British bravery checked the hordes of Hyder, who could only hope to conquer our troops by famine and fatigue; and in this terrible emergency some hidden stores of buried grain were found; the soldiers were fed, and again could fight. Hyder knew of their dire distress, but not of the discovered supplies or the recruited strength they brought; but, having scarcely any cavalry, Smith's efforts at defence were seldom very effective. Grasping at a favourable moment, Hyder detached his son, then only seventeen, the ferocious Tippoo Sahib of wars to come, to the neighbourhood of Madras with 5,000 Mysore cavalry. His advance was so swift and secret, that he nearly caught the members of the presidency and the wealthiest of the Europeans in their country villas; but the city, the Black Town, the warehouses, mansions, gardens, villages, and all things in its vicinity were ravaged and destroyed. It is of these affairs that a powerful pen thus wrote:—

"On a sudden, an army of 90,000 men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by 100 pieces of cannon, and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools in Europe. Hyder was everywhere triumphant. The sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The British inhabitants of Madras could see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semi-circle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government or trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees and near the gay verandahs. Even the town was not thought secure, and the

British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George."

Tippoo, however, retired as rapidly as he had advanced, with great booty; but his father and his ally hovered in the open country near Trinomalee.

Still marching eastward in search of food, Colonels Smith and Wood evacuated Trinomalee, and resolved to place their wounded in the fort of Chittapet, and canton their troops in Arcot and Vellore; and it became now apparent to the supine presidency, that if young Tippoo menaced the gates of Madras, it was of the utmost importance that the army should canton itself wherever food was to be had; so they ordered Smith to keep the field at all hazards.

Matters were come to this terrible crisis, when they were brought to an issue on the 26th of September, 1767.

The British under the two colonels amounted now to 10,400 infantry, and thirty European and 1,500 indifferent native cavalry, with thirty-four guns, while the strength of the allied enemy was nearly the same overwhelming multitude as before.

At noon on the 26th, our people came in sight of the enemy at Eroor, or Errour, a fortified town in the province of Mysore. There the Hoggree river runs close to the fortifications, and there is a stately flight of steps to the water's edge, built by some pious Hindoo. Sixteen of the enemy's heaviest cannon opened on Colonel Smith's left flank, while a morass, which could not be discovered without a close reconnoissance, intervened between the opposing lines. Colonel Smith, ignorant of its existence, took ground to the left, and then discovered it, while Hyder, whose plan was to entangle him in it, was ready to fall upon his right, even should he succeed in passing it with the redoubts still in front. On the right the swamp seemed to be terminated by a hill, behind which the greater portion of the enemy's force was posted unseen, and Colonel Smith naturally conceived that by making a circuitous movement in that direction, he would find himself in contact with the enemy's left.

No sooner had he begun this movement than Hyder, still under the impression that the British were in a state of starvation, and only too anxious to escape in the direction of Arcot, put his troops in motion instantly to cut off what he conceived to be a retreat. Thus the two armies, each taking ground to its right, made a circular movement round the base of the hill—each unseen by the other—Smith to the south-east, and Hyder from the south-west, till, to the astonishment of both, after encircling the hill, in the sequel they found themselves face to face, and a battle became inevitable.*

In the haste of forming a new alignment, the European discipline of Smith's troops gave them a vast superiority over the hordes of Hyder and the Nizam. and thus, in forming up to the front, they gained advantageous ground, while the confusion of the enemy, whose masses, recoiling on each other, got huddled together, and unable to execute any formation, increased, and only thirty of their 100 pieces of cannon could be brought into action, as many had been left in the redoubts thrown up before the morass; and those, being less ably handled than the European artillery, were soon put to silence, while the latter, left free to act, made such dreadful havoc with round shot and grape among the enemy's cavalry, that they soon became a mere plunging mob of shouting men and swerving horses; and on seeing this, Colonel Smith ordered a general advance of the whole line.

The moment the lines confronted each other on changing their ground, Hyder suspected the day was lost, and requested the Nizam to get the guns into the redoubts and defend the fortified position; but the Nizam, furious with rage and mortification, refused the advice, and declined to quit the field till he saw the steady British line coming on, firing as it advanced, ere the bayonets would come flashing down to the charge. According to his general wont, he had all his favourite wives in the field, or near it, in gilded and cumbersome howdahs on the backs of elephants, and with the order that the artillery should retire, he added that the zenana should also fall back; but from one of the howdahs, a dark-skinned damsel called aloud, "This elephant has not been taught to turn—it follows only the standard of the empire!" The odalisque made good her wish, nor did her unwieldy bearer turn his tail to the foe till the standard had passed to the rear. By that time our bullets were flying among the gorgeous howdahs, and many were stricken for whom they never were intended. Our troops advanced to the charge, and then the whole gave way before them, and, abandoning everything, the cowardly Nizam, at the head of a body of chosen horse, fled towards the west, nor halted till he had left the gorges of the Chingama Pass behind him.

After recording this, the *London Gazette* adds: "We followed them till the strength and spirits of our army were quite exhausted, and obliged us to halt on the spot where we are now encamped, which is about eight miles on the road to Chingama

* *London Gazette*, 1768.

from Trinomalee. Last night we seized nine of their guns, and are now in possession of about fifty pieces, which they could not carry off in their precipitate retreat. The enemy's loss must be great, but cannot be ascertained, as the moment a man is killed or wounded his companions carry him off. The prisoners inform us that our cannon made great havoc among them. We have learnt since, that fourteen more pieces of the enemy's cannon have been found among the bushes."

When day broke next morning, the whole of the enemy's force could be seen, scattered in flight along the road as far as the eye could reach. Hyder had behaved like a resolute soldier, as he was. After providing for the safety of the Mysoreans, and dispatching his field-pieces by the best road to the rear, he was now seen covering it, attended by a troop of European cavalry and 3,000 select horsemen of Mysore, together with his state retinue, which consisted of 300 carefully-chosen men on foot, clothed in scarlet and armed with lances of light bamboo, eighteen feet long, twisted round from top to bottom with their spiral plates of silver; the equal intervals of polished silver, and the dark brown of the seasoned bamboo, giving an elegant appearance to these formidable, yet ornamental weapons.*

Want of food prevented Colonel Smith from following up the enemy, whose losses were supposed to be above 4,000 men, while his casualties were only 150 killed and wounded. Such was the battle of Eroor, a victory won, like all our others in India, over the most overwhelming odds, and one which cleared the Company's territory of further incursions by young Tippoo and his flying cavalry force; but, as the rainy season was at hand, Colonel Smith put his troops into cantonments at Conjeveram, Trichinopoly, and Wandiwash, and repaired to Madras to arrange for a regular commissariat when again he took the field.

At Baramahal, the Nizam and Hyder remained for nearly a month without an interview, each sulking and thoroughly dissatisfied with the other. "The former," says a print of the period, "is now in a most embarrassing situation, and must feel severely the effects of his unsteady conduct. He is encamped with an ally who will neither supply him with money, suffer him to retire, nor let him throw himself upon our mercy."

Hyder, seeing the necessity for some line of action, made the first overtures, as he had more sense and more at stake than the Nizam, and to smooth matters over, a series of splendid festivals and ostentatious visits mutually ensued, and at one of the feasts given by Hyder, he placed the Nizam on a throne formed entirely of bags of silver coin to the value of a lac of rupees, covered with cushions of embroidered silver; and all the treasure, with many more valuables, were carried off by the Mysorean attendants as presents; thus the reconciliation between the allies, if a hollow one, was public enough to suit the purpose of Hyder Ali.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEFENCE OF AMBOOR.—OUR TREATY WITH THE NIZAM.—HYDER ALI AND THE ZEMINDARS OF BEDNORE, ETC.

THE tyrant of Mysore, ever indefatigable, even in defeat, was the first to move. The three places in which Colonel Smith had cantoned his troops of necessity, were somewhat objectionable, on account of their being so far apart; but it was supposed that the last three months of the year, being a period of prodigious rain, would necessarily cause a species of truce; but early in November, 1768, Hyder was in the field, and moving northward of Baramahal, retook the town of Tripatore, a well-peopled place in a district covered with fruit-trees; and then Veniambaddy, from whence he pushed on for ten miles, till he came to Amboor, where a regiment, now called the 10th Madras Native Infantry, was in garrison.

The town, the inhabitants of which then, as now, lived chiefly by the export of castor oil, is built with great regularity, and the fort, though now gone to decay, was then of great strength, on the summit of a smooth granite mountain that terminates the beautiful valley of Baramahal on the north, and overlooks the fertile vale through which the Palar winds away towards Arcot and

* Colonel Wilkes' "Sketches."

Vellore. On one side only was the fort accessible, and had for its additional defences two outworks or redoubts. On the 10th of November, Hyder was before it, but was stoutly met by the sepoys, 500 strong, with a sergeant, and fifteen other Europeans, the whole commanded by Captain Calvert, a very brave officer, who had been wounded at the battle of Eroor. The lower works were assaulted and taken, and Calvert had to retire into the citadel, where he threw into prison Mucklis Khan, the service—in fact, the command of half his army—if he would surrender the place. The captain's scornful reply was, that the next messenger who came with proposals so insulting would be hanged in the breach; so, from the 10th of November till the 7th of December, all Hyder's efforts were in vain.

On that day the glitter of arms in the valley below announced the approach of a force under Colonel Smith, who, as he pushed on to raise the



THE ROUT AT EROOR.

native killedar, whom he discovered intriguing with Hyder; but, from the nature of the post, the siege made little progress.

Hyder's success in gaining the lower works had been chiefly attained through the perfidy of the killedar, and on being deprived of his aid, he scarcely knew how to proceed. His guns effected a breach in an inaccessible place, by which he attempted again and again to storm; but his troops were hurled back under a withering and concentrated fire, which piled the killed and wounded up in heaps before the stony gap. Hyder sent a flag of truce with eulogistic praises of the bravery of Captain Calvert; and then dispatched another, offering him the highest military honours in his siege, beheld with joy the British flag still flying on the fort of Amboor, from which Hyder at once began his retreat. Government directed that the sepoy regiment which so valiantly defended the place, should have the name and rock of Amboor embroidered on its colours; but an Indian historian records that Hyder "had not mistaken his man. Calvert was not the blunt and honourable soldier for which his conduct on this occasion entitled him to credit; for it is painful to state, that, at a later period he was brought to a court-martial, and found guilty of defrauding the Company by false returns;" but the spirit of corruption was strong among the Anglo-Indians then.

Smith pursued Hyder, but was compelled to

abandon the pursuit from the deficiency of his commissariat, the "penny-wise and pound-foolish" impediment and disgrace of every British military enterprise, down to the landing of our army at Eupatoria in the Crimea; so true it is that "England learns nothing by war." Though, in this instance, the defeat was caused by the new campaign being commenced sooner than was anticipated by the fiery Hyder, no real progress had been made for supplying the army in the field.

the Company's forces to bring him to a close engagement; but after the 26th of September, he, with all his fire and rashness, became exceedingly cautious.

The Company being supine, or simple enough to depend on promises of Mohammed Ali, whose duplicity and want of faith were but too patent, neglected to form a proper commissariat system, and thus the movements of their troops were somewhat hampered in the field. Amboor had been relieved by the



DEFEAT OF HYDER ALI IN THE PASS OF SINGARPETTA.

But the truth is, that Hyder's devastations in the Carnatic had been attended with correspondingly distressing effects. That staunch friend and ally of the Company, the Nabob of Arcot, was nearly ruined. The income of the Madras establishment being inadequate for its present exigencies, heavy remittances from Bengal became necessary, and as these were unavoidably made in a base kind of gold coin, the loss in the difference of exchange was said to amount to fully £40,000. A stop was put to the usual investments from Madras to China, no silver being now floating in the country, and manufactures being almost at a standstill from terror of the enemy; while Hyder, till the battle of Eroor stopped his career, baffled every effort of main body which Colonel Smith had assembled at Vellore, while Colonel Wood's column, which had been in cantonments at Trichinopoly, had orders to enter the district of the Baramahal, by the Pass of Singarpetta, while the former officer, on the 8th December, came on Hyder at Veniambaddy, from whence he had sent off what remained of his heavy artillery prior to joining Nizam Ali. To cover his real intention he took up a position as if to give battle, and after exchanging a few shots with Smith's column, moved off; but prior to that movement, he had the serious mortification of seeing his troop of mixed European horse, under the French Captain Aumont, ride over to the enemy.

In his retreat, he was closely followed by Colonel Smith, till the latter had, as usual, to halt for provisions; but the advance-column under Colonel Tod fortunately found some grain and cattle in Tripatore. At Cauverypatam on the river Panaur, the whole forces were united; but as Hyder, on his capture of the place in 1767, had greatly strengthened the works by the engineering skill of the French officers, Colonel Smith did not as yet feel himself in a position to attempt its reduction.

By sending out detachments of lightly-armed and fleetly-mounted horsemen to sweep the country, Hyder made it almost impossible for Smith to procure food for his forces. Everywhere his convoys, unless protected by stronger guards than he could well spare, were cut off. Hyder's spies having informed him that one of these would on a certain day, come through the Pass of Singarpetta, guarded by a single regiment, Hyder with 6,000 horse and foot, and five field-pieces, set out to intercept it, confident of success. But the colonel had also his spies, and on hearing of Hyder's movements, reinforced the convoy by a battalion of sepoys, two companies of European grenadiers, and two field-pieces, and when Hyder came thundering down the pass at the head of his cavalry, he was received with such a concentrated fire of grape and musketry, that his people were routed with slaughter, his favourite horse was shot under him, and he was compelled to return, defeated and infuriated, to his head-quarters at Cauverypatam.

Fearing that his position there could not long be maintained, on the 14th December, he sent his sons Tippoo and Ghazee Khan, with his baggage and train of heavy guns, to the westward, and on the 18th, Nizam Ali moved northward with the main body of his army, as now he began to tremble for the safety of his own capital; a Bengal expedition under the command of Colonel Peach having landed on the coast of the Northern Circars, was reported to be menacing Hyderabad.

This movement so alarmed him that he entirely forsook the confederacy with Hyder, and entered into secret communications with Colonel Smith, and made overtures for peace, leaving Hyder to his fate, a measure quite consonant with Mussulman faith on the part of one prince to another, throughout all Indian annals.

His separate treaty with the British was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1768. By it the Company recognised his rights and titles as Soubahdar or Nizam, and agreed to assist him whenever required, with two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of cannon, properly manned and served; he agreeing on his part to reconfirm the Company's right in the Northern Circars, and to reduce the tribute for these five provinces, in perpetuity, to seven lacs per annum, for the space of six years; and also to grant them the dewannee of Balaghaut, the central plateau of the Mysore country, with an area of 25,000 square miles (then, however, in possession of Hyder), subject to the payment of seven lacs of rupees to himself, and to the tribute of *chout*, *i.e.*, one-fourth of the revenue to the Mahrattas.

Yet in this game of diplomacy, the Company acted with some folly. The Nizam granted them everything on condition that they should pay him tribute, thus leaving the position of both pretty much the same as it was before, and he granted them the dewannee of a district which they would have to conquer ere they could obtain a rupee of it; and thus he, though beaten in battle, reaped, through the vain and dull Council at Madras, all the fruits of a victory.

The chiefs on the Malabar coast, who had been reduced by Hyder, now revolted against him, while at the same time the Bombay Government took the field, and a naval expedition made its appearance off the Honawar coast, where Hyder had previously begun to prepare a fleet and had appointed as admiral of it, Lutif Bey, an officer of his cavalry! This man, though brave, was of course utterly inefficient as a naval officer, and soon disgusted all the practical seamen under his command. Hence, when our expedition appeared off the port, Hyder's squadron, consisting of two ships, two double-masted grabs, and a few gallivats, came out and joined it. By this defection Honawar, Fortified Island, and Mangalore, fell an easy prey to us, while Hyder entrusting the defence of Bangalore to Fuzzil Oolla Khan, on the 20th January, 1768, accompanied by Tippoo, brought on his whole force by quick marches, breathing defiance and revenge. Our troops in Mangalore, by the active operations of young Tippoo and his cavalry, had been kept in perfect ignorance of his approach, and when in May, he suddenly appeared before the place, they were filled with genuine and somewhat disgraceful consternation. Thus, after a defence that was almost a mockery, the garrison, consisting of 200 European infantry, 1,200 sepoys and forty-one gunners, made a hurried embarkation in boats and fled, leaving all their artillery and stores, and what proved more painful still, eighty Europeans and 180 sepoys, all sick or wounded, to the mercy of the enemy, while Honawar and Fortified Island fell without resistance, and the victorious Hyder, recovering all that had been rent from him, was able to reascend the Ghauts before the rainy season set in.

His main body, with the heavy guns and stores, he ordered to proceed by easy marches to Bangalore, while with a chosen force he hurried northward to Bednore, where he summoned before him all those whom he knew to be disgusted by his exactions, and hence favourable to their British invaders. He quietly told them that he knew their treasons; death was the penalty for these, but he resolved to inflict a punishment more profitable to himself.

"A list of criminals was then produced, and against the name of each, an enormous fine appeared. The conduct of Hyder Ali's affairs was marked by great precision; for every purpose there was a distinct provision. Among other establishments, nicely contrived, so as to contribute to the great machine of his government, was a department of torture. To this the offenders present were immediately consigned, till their guilt should be expiated by payment of the sums in which they were respectively mulcted, and orders were issued for taking similar proceedings against those whose fears kept them away." *

He resorted to a still more perfidious measure to punish the disaffected Nairs of Malabar. The author just quoted says, "It was intimated to them that their Mysorean lord was tired of his conquests in Malabar, which he had hitherto found a source of charge rather than profit; and if he were reimbursed the expenses incurred in their attainment, he was ready to abandon them, and that it was his intention, that the territories of those who refused to contribute to that purpose should be transferred to those who acceded to the proposal."

The consequence of this artful threat was, that no one risked forfeiture, and the officers of Hyder returned from Malabar laden with spoil.

It was now the August of 1768, and Hyder's absence in Malabar had not been turned to due account by the Company, whose government at Madras had organised no efficient mode of gaining intelligence, and were unable to apprise their officers of where Hyder actually was. Thus the rumour went about, that he was playing a double game; one of his plans was to lure our troops into his territory, and starve them all to death by enclosing them in a desert; the other that he would burst into the Carnatic and give all to fire and sword in their absence; and these stories made Smith, who could not march fifty miles in any direction without supplies, loth to advance.

The Madras Council urged a concentrated effort in the direction of Bangalore, but Smith, who was not in the best of humours, urged that in the barren territory around it he could by no means provision his army, and that the better mode of proceeding would be, to occupy, in the first instance, the fertile districts on the frontiers of Mysore. Obstinate in their new functions, the Council would not surrender their own ideas; but, to seem to defer to Smith's opinion as a soldier, they resolved to adopt his plan in a certain sense. They ordered him to advance on Bangalore, and to detach a force under Colonel Wood to occupy the frontier. This was making matters worse than ever, by dividing in two an army already too small for the first enterprise, and, to complete their folly, they sent to the army two members of Council, as *field deputies*, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and control the movements and plans of the commander-in-chief.

The presence of functionaries such as these, disgusted alike the officers and soldiers, and we are told that "from the moment of their arrival in camp, the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate." In a letter to Colonel Smith, Lord Clive expressed in strong terms his views of the weak conduct of the officials, who, at Madras, seemed disposed to ruin everything.

"Whoever may have been to blame, no impeachment can be laid against you," wrote Clive; "I need not enter into reflections upon the fundamental errors of the war. For the honour of the nation and of the Company, I wish they could be for ever buried in oblivion, or at least, remembered only by ourselves, to warn us upon any future occasion. The measure of sending field deputies has been justly condemned by everybody. Gentlemen in the civil service may be very properly employed out of the presidency in the collection of the revenues; but nothing can be more absurd and pernicious than sending them to a camp, where they can only embarrass and obstruct plans and operations they do not understand."

Nevertheless, though thus trammelled, Colonel Smith's forces took the field, and a body of the Bombay troops came to strengthen his operations, by falling upon Malabar and the principality of Carnara (Hyder's recent conquests). They then marched down to the western coast, and captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, thus drawing Hyder in their direction. This enabled Colonel Smith to reach the vicinity of Bangalore, and overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. He then moved north to intimidate Nizam Ali, and quicken his negociations for peace; and after accomplishing that end, he turned his steps southward to Kistnagherry.

This town and fortress are in the district of the

* Thornton.

Baramahal, situated on a perpendicular rock seven hundred feet high, and thus inaccessible to escalade; but Colonel Smith reduced it, after a four months' blockade, on the 2nd of May. Under Colonel Wood, the other division of the army, by an incredible career of rapid service, reduced all the other forts in and about the Baramahal, including Salam-below-the-Ghauts, Tingrecotta, Darampoory, 120 miles westward of Pondicherry, Ahtoor, Namcul, Errouad, an ancient fortress of the Naiks of Madura, Devicotta, Satimangulum, with its great temple dedicated to Vishnu, Coimbatoor, a well-built town on the Cauvery, Aravacourchy, Darampooram, and Dindigul, a fortress on an enormous granite rock, 400 feet in height, and on two sides completely unscalable. On its highest summit is a Hindoo temple, and in its northern side a deep cavern inhabited by Mohammedan dervishes. But unfortunately the retention of these captures, from the slenderness of our forces, and poverty of the material of war, proved an impossibility.

Colonel Wood, under the belief that there were only three practicable passes into Mysore, guarded these, but the enemy eluded him by penetrating others, for he and his officers were alike ignorant of the country, and the duty and precaution of procuring trustworthy guides, which the nabob should have done, occurred to none. Thus Colonel Wood lost, to Hyder, all the conquests he had made, and the latter having at his command large bodies of active cavalry, contrived so to bewilder that officer, as to leave him no chance of a well-concerted plan, while the natives were always betraying or surrendering even the strongest of our captures without firing a shot.

On the 8th of June, Colonel Donald Campbell, commanding the advanced column of the British army, laid siege to Mulwagul, a strong place, where he expected great resistance; but it was betrayed to him by the native governor. A brother of Mohammed Ali had married the sister of this official, and the former being Foujedar of Arcot, had appointed his brother-in-law to exercise under him the fiscal administration of Trinomalee. The principal was removed from office, and the dependant, to avoid giving up his accounts to Mohammed Ali, went over to Hyder. Desirous of a change, he now offered to betray the fortress, on condition that his accounts should be deemed as closed. To this Mohammed agreed, but though the killedar was thus false to his trust, it chanced that the soldiers of the garrison were not.

To obviate the difficulty, the killedar informed his chief officers that he had succeeded in obtaining 200 men who had been disciplined in the European manner—two complete companies, in fact—and that on a certain night they would arrive under their own native officers. At the given time, they were seen ascending the steep winding way to the fortress, led by Captain Mathews, an Englishman, who was not only attired, but painted like a native, and thus they were admitted into the heart of the place. By daybreak, says Thornton, the mask was thrown off, and the fortress was in our possession.

Campbell's next movement was on Colar, a Mysorean town enclosed by a mud wall, and defended by a stone fortress, amid gardens in the highest state of cultivation. Against this place he was compelled to make regular approaches, and it was surrendered at discretion, after he had carried his troops close to the glacis. Meanwhile our main body, advancing in the same direction, reached the town of Arlier in time to hear of the fall of the former place, from which Campbell was ordered to march back to headquarters.

A few other operations succeeded, and the army moved to Oosoor, which, after a brief siege, fell on the 11th of July. Still Colonel Smith was destitute of cavalry, he was hampered by the field deputies, and, worse than all, they were accompanied by a Chevalier St. Lubin, as privy councillor and guide. "He ultimately proved to be a mere impostor, but was, in the meantime, believed, on his own assertion, to have lived with distinction at Hyder's court, to be intimately acquainted with his plans and resources, and to have extensive influence among his officers, native and European." *

An agreement was now made for Morari Rao to join us with a select body of his own troops, and, preceded by an advanced guard, on the 4th of August he joined the army at Oosasta with about 3,000 Mahratta horse and 2,000 foot; but on the same day Hyder entered Bangalore with the light troops of his advanced column. He heard of the junction of the Mahrattas with Colonel Smith, and knew well the locality of their camp, for his spies were everywhere. Morari had been urged by the colonel to encamp within the advanced pickets of our army; but replied, with a confident smile, that he knew how to manage Hyder, and pitched his tents a mile to the right.

The Mysorean leader formed a plan to penetrate into the Mahratta camp, and on the night of the 22nd of August, two infantry columns, with 6,000 horse and some elephants, set out with this intent, and with special orders to bring the head of Morari

* Beveridge.

Rao to Hyder, who was to remain in reserve with the main body, to support the attack or counteract any movement on the part of Smith. But Morari had his corps of spies as well as Hyder, and was quite aware of the coming event. He gave strict orders that none of his cavalry were to mount, but that each man should remain stationed at his horse's head. His further orders were, that they were to be on the alert, and attack all mounted men, without waiting for any password or countersign. This had a fatal result for Captain Gee, Smith's aide-de-camp, who, on riding into the Mahratta lines, was instantly cut down.

The cavalry of Hyder were followed so closely by his infantry, that the Mahratta camp would have been assailed in force, but for a curious episode. The battle-elephant of Morari Rao, irritated by receiving an accidental wound, tore up the chain by which he was picketed, and seizing it with his trunk, he swung it madly aloft and around him, and while rushing wildly through the camp, he dashed with it at the advancing cavalry of Hyder. These, supposing that the Mahrattas were charging them, recoiled and rushed over their approaching infantry supports. All then became confusion and dismay, which the sudden breaking of dawn, and the flashing of the British bayonets as they got under arms, completed. The Mysoreans fled, after losing 300 men, while the Mahrattas lost only eighteen.

The London papers of the time state that Hyder had more than 400 French officers in his army, who were incessantly instructing his troops in the European system of discipline.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NARROW ESCAPE OF COLONEL WOOD'S ARMY AT MULWAGUL.—ANNIHILATION OF NIXON'S DETACHMENT.—HYDER BEFORE MADRAS, ETC.

HYDER, probably weary of this profitless war, made overtures for peace. He actually proposed to cede the Baramahal and pay ten lacs of rupees; but these overtures were rejected by the field deputies, who had no limits to the extravagance of their demands. The negotiations were finally broken off about the end of September, 1768, and the strife, which had never been entirely suspended, was renewed with more bitterness than ever. About this time, too, as if to make make matters worse, the presidency, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith, because he had dared to treat their deputies' opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that brave and able officer to Madras, entrusting the entire command—always, however, subject to the absurd and benumbing influence of the deputies—to Colonel Wood; and soon after, the fatal effect of this change became painfully apparent.

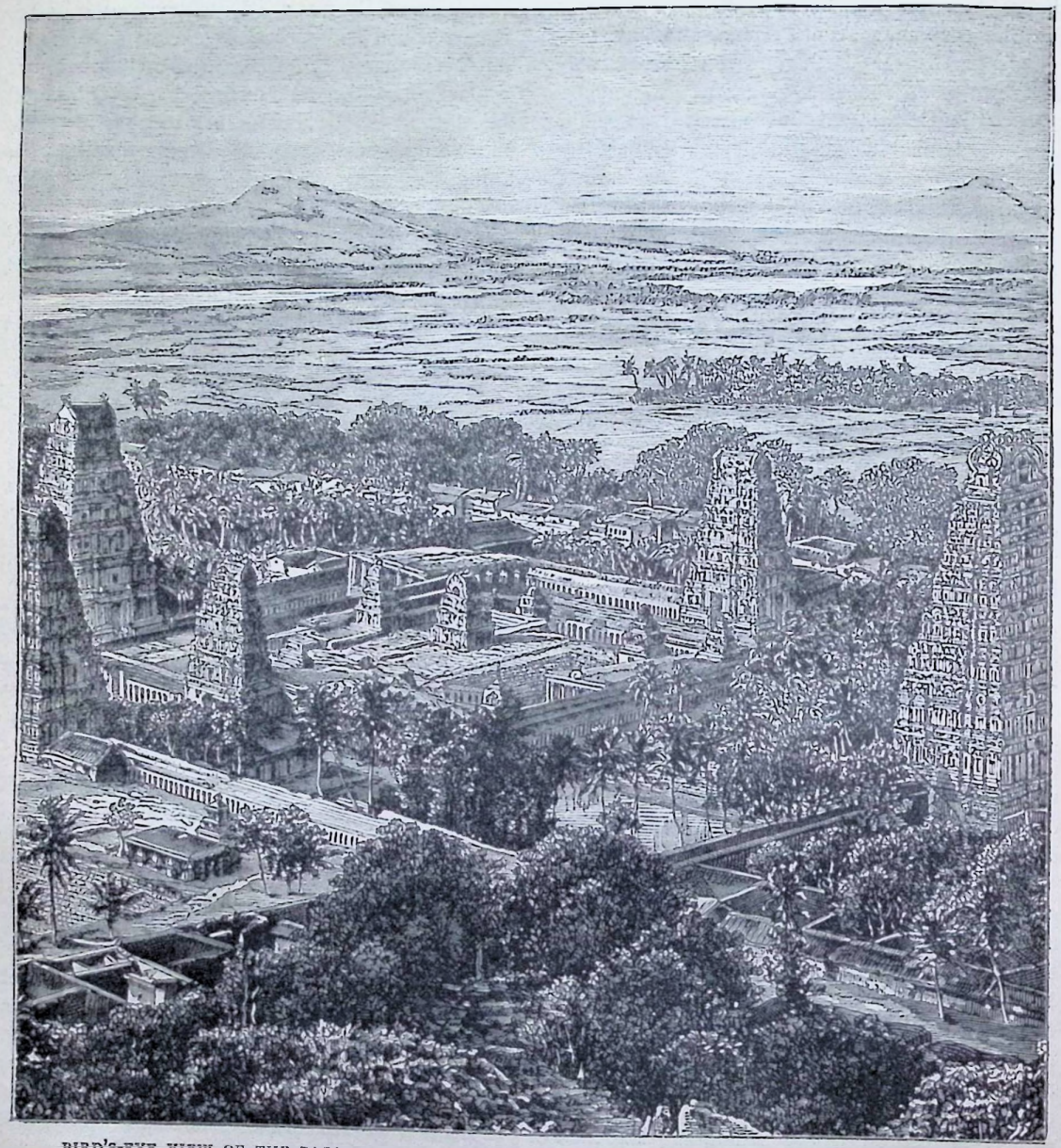
These deputies from the Council, arrogant, ignorant, self-sufficient, and over-ruling, took it upon them to draw forth the British garrison which occupied the fortress of Mulwagul, and placed therein a company of the people of Mohammed Ali, who sold the place to Hyder, precisely as the previous Mohammedan killedar in his service had sold it to the nabob. "Colonel Wood's strategy proved very deficient, and Smith's superior military talent was by this means, and the pompous interference of the field deputies, rendered nugatory."

On finding the place betrayed, Wood resolved on its recapture, as he had been too late to attempt its relief on first hearing of its danger. He easily won the lower fort, but an attempt to gain the upper by a night escalade failed,—though it was very nearly successful through the bravery and presence of mind displayed by an English officer named Brooke. On the 4th of October, the following day, Colonel Wood perceived a body of light troops in motion, as if about to throw a convoy into the place, and he set out with two companies with a field-piece to reconnoitre. He had not the least idea that Hyder's army was in his immediate vicinity, and allowed himself to be lured two miles from his camp, when he suddenly saw a body of at least 3,000 horse, and a column of infantry, with a powerful artillery, taking up ground to cut him off.

Flight alone remained to Colonel Wood, who now exhibited more presence of mind and skill than was his wont. He abandoned his gun, formed his two companies into a grand-division square, and fell back, firing from every face of it, till he was joined by a battalion under Captain

Mathews, who had been detached to succour him. The united corps made a succession of stands, and were able to retreat in order till the main body gave them more support.

rather stones of unequal heights and dimensions, and every varied form, from six to sixteen feet in diameter, scattered like the fragments of an earlier world, over the whole surface of the plain.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PAGODA OF THE EAGLE'S NEST, NEAR CHINGLEPUT (MADRAS PRESIDENCY).

Desperate was the struggle that now ensued, for Hyder's force, increased by fresh columns, made a hot and fierce pursuit, while his well-handled artillery came rapidly up to the front, and every step made the ground, over which our people had to retreat and fight, more and more rough and severe.

It "consisted of a congeries of granite rocks, or

Obliquely to the right, and in rear of the situation in which the advanced troops were engaged, was a small oblong hill, skirted at its two extremities with an impenetrable mass of such stones, but flat, and covered with earth at the top to a sufficient extent to admit of being occupied by more than one battalion; the rocky skirts of this hill extended in a ridge of about 300 yards towards the plain of



ESCAPE OF LIEUTENANT GOREHAM.

stones, and under its cover the Europeans had been placed in reserve till the action should assume a settled form. Hitherto, amid a mass of cover and impediment, which bade defiance to a regular formation, the intervals between the rocks, and sometimes their summits, were occupied with troops; the smaller openings were converted into embrasures for guns; and supports successively arrived from each army to those who were engaged. It was a series of contests for the possession of rocks, or the positions formed by their union, without any possibility of the regular extension of a line on either side, so that a rock was sometimes seen possessed by Mysoreans within the general scope of the British defence, and by the British among the Mysoreans."*

Fighting with all the energy of valour and despair, our soldiers disputed every stone and fragment of rock with the enemy, and often by the bayonet, but, overborne by numbers, confusion at last began to spread among their thinning and straggling ranks. It was at this moment that a happy thought occurred to Captain Brooke, who having been wounded in the escalade on the preceding day, was left with four companies in charge of the baggage, sick, and wounded. Observing a flat rock unoccupied, by a circuitous route and concealed by crags and foliage, he took possession of it and had two pieces of cannon drawn into position thereon by such of his wounded men as could work. With these and the four companies, he opened a sudden and biting fire of grape and musketry on the left flank of Hyder's force—the point from which if any aid from Smith was coming, it must have appeared. To give force and colour to this conviction, Brooke and all his party shouted from time to time, "Hurrah! Hurrah! Smith! Smith! Smith!" and Wood struggling, unaware of the stratagem, responded with the same cry, on which Hyder at once ordered a retreat.

Through his cavalry probably, Hyder was not long in learning that he had been deceived, and returned full of rage to the attack, and was attempting with his horse a charge up hill, to where the British—taking advantage of the lull procured for them by Brooke—were in a strong position, but he failed to achieve anything, and as night closed in, our people were left in possession of the field, on which lay, *hors de combat*, eight officers and 229 rank and file, with more than 1,000 of the enemy. By this time the ammunition on both sides was completely expended, and Wood lost two of his guns.

The great game of manœuvring troops in the field began next day, between Wood and Hyder, who could handle his unwieldy masses with decided genius. Avoiding a general action, for the first defeat he had sustained from Colonel Smith made him cautious, he began a species of predatory operations, laid aside the heavy cannon so much used by Indian princes, reduced his baggage, and came swooping down on our garrisons in succession, capturing forts and making many prisoners.

Having by a skilful stratagem turned Wood's attention to a different quarter, he fell suddenly on Bangalore, in the Pettah of which, the colonel had left all his baggage and train of heavy guns, which were at once seized by Hyder, while the misled colonel, with 700 Europeans, 4,000 sepoys, and two brass eighteen-pounders, was hastening to meet him, where he was *not*. In Bangalore much merchandise and treasure were taken. The inhabitants fled in terror to the fort, and now a dreadful scene ensued. The garrison closed the gates to prevent the confusion consequent on overcrowding, and a multitude of terrified creatures pressed like a human surge against them, seeking to secure themselves and some of their valuables from the ravages of Hyder's Mysoreans, till more than two thousand men, women, and children were crushed or trampled to death.

Returning from Oosoor, whither he had been lured, Wood reached Bangalore, only to see in the distance, the dust of Hyder's retiring force—but retiring with everything of value in the place. His troops were now compelled to wander about for the merest supplies, neglected by the Councils of Madras and Bombay, who thought only of making secure the chief city of each presidency.

The fleet and active horse of Hyder cut off Wood's foraging parties, beat up and drove in his outposts at the most unexpected times, carried off all supplies, and by day and night harassed his toil-worn troops. In one of those flying attacks, after a running fight of several days and nights, when Hyder was making incredible exertions to utterly cut off the division of Wood, the latter was, to his great surprise, suddenly relieved by the retreat of the enemy. This was about ten o'clock at night on the 22nd of November, after he had lost seven officers and 220 men.

When day broke, a great column of dust explained the cause of the sudden deliverance. Major Fitzgerald, the second officer in command of Colonel Smith's division (the colonel being then at Madras), halted at Venicatigherry, and on hearing of how Wood was pressed, hastened to his succour. In another hour he would have been too late, and

* Colonel Wilkes.

Wood's field-guns had only five rounds left in the limber-boxes.

Major Fitzgerald found Wood extremely depressed, and without hope of further successful contention. The major reported this to Colonel Smith, who laid his letter before the Council, which, long ere this, had begun to see that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore. He was summoned to Madras, put under arrest and tried by a court-martial, but escaped dismissal, as incapacity is not a crime. But his treatment was hard, for he was a brave and good soldier, though not adapted to a command so important, and, more than all, so ill supported by the members of the Council themselves. Yet he had done his utmost to discharge his duties faithfully.

Colonel Lang succeeded him in the field, but by the end of the year 1768, Hyder recovered every acre of territory he had lost, and to open a new campaign on the offensive, after mustering under Fuzzul Oolla Khan, 7,000 regular troops and a great body of irregulars, with ten guns, he ordered that officer to descend into the low country. After sweeping away the isolated posts left by Colonel Wood, and carrying many forts by attack or treachery, Fuzzul Oolla Khan announced to Hyder that by the 4th December, he would complete his descent by the Guljehatty Pass.

The 6th saw Hyder in person descending eastward into the Baramahal, and giving out everywhere, by the voice of emissaries, that he had destroyed the British army, and was preparing for the final conquest of Madras. Early in January, 1769, by carefully eluding a battle and marching rapidly through some of the most unfrequented ghauts or passes, he burst into the Carnatic, and laid waste the British provinces of Tinnevelly and Madura, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where again the standard of France was flying, and where many Frenchmen were beginning to indulge in the hope that our fall in India was, perhaps, at hand.

Amid these rapid operations, few affairs created more interest at the time than the total annihilation of a detachment of 250 British troops under Captain Nixon, whom Hyder attacked with two divisions of infantry, numbering some 10,000 men, and a cavalry force still more numerous. Undaunted, Nixon drew up his little band in a good position, and quietly waited the onslaught of this sea of armed Indians. Pouring in a volley so close that every shot told, he then charged with the bayonet, and Hyder's infantry reeling under the volley, actually broke, and turned to leave the field.

But Hyder's cavalry now fell upon the rear of Nixon's detachment, and the most horrible carnage ensued. Under the sabre every man perished, save a Lieutenant Goreham, who, by his knowledge of the native language, prevailed upon an officer of rank to save his life, by giving him a seat on the crupper of his saddle.

The Frenchmen at Pondicherry, many of whom joined him, confirmed Hyder in the plan he had already adopted, of avoiding pitched battles with us, and making use of his great cavalry force to cut off all detached parties, and to plunder, burn, and destroy the country from whence we, and our ally, Mohammed Ali, drew supplies. In pursuance of this scheme, Hyder surprised many isolated posts and took many prisoners, whom he sent to Seringapatam, where they were most barbarously and infamously treated.

Meanwhile the French had been sedulously engaged in strengthening Pondicherry, where M. Law, who had so often appeared prominently in these wars, looked forward hopefully to restore the French ascendency in India, and he doubted not but that the time had come, when he received a letter from Hyder with the following passage:—

"Considering the friendship and regard which the French Company and the sirdars (*i.e.*, generals) of their king in Europe bear to me, I am very glad to hear of their happiness and power, also of your health. You have doubtless heard from them the repeated victories which, by the blessing of God, have attended the Circars troops; also the defeat of the English, and my laying waste Trichinopoly, Arcot, and other countries. My victorious armies are now gone towards Madras, near to which they will proceed, when you will certainly send to me a person of distinction, to inform me of certain affairs of your country in Europe as (of) these parts; and till then, be constant in writing me very particular letters advising of the above matters, the situation of affairs in Europe, the English seaports and their sirdars, all of which will be the means of increasing our friendship and regard."

Being destitute of cavalry, the British commanders could neither come up with Hyder, nor intercept him. Worn out by futile and forced marches, while they toiled after him, his fleet horsemen flitted from place to place, and were seldom seen or heard of till they had given some town to the flames. In the course of his operations, Hyder had proceeded to Cauverypooram, where he summoned our garrison to surrender, offering to release all on parole. Seeing the futility of resistance, this was accepted; but Hyder, with the usual perfidy which made him so hateful, violated the capitulation, and the garrison, with Captain Frassain, their com-

mander, were flung into the dreadful dungeons of Seringapatam, where already several prisoners, including Captain Robertson, had succumbed to their sufferings.

"We have lost," wrote an officer in March, 1769, "since I joined the army, twenty-nine officers, and 800 European soldiers. Hyder has many of our best men prisoners." The writer adds, that he was three months a prisoner at "Bingaloor," but procured his liberty by curing one of Hyder's wives of a nervous disorder.*

Seeing the perils thickening around them fast, the inept Council at Madras became sensible of their folly, restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled those field deputies, whose presence with the army had caused so much mischief. They could not, however, raise a corps of cavalry, and for want of that most necessary arm, Smith, though an able and most energetic officer, could do little more than cover and protect several rich districts, and check some of the flying squadrons; but he was unable to prevent Hyder paying a second visit to Pondicherry to concert measures with his French friends; though Hyder manœuvred, advancing as if retreating, for Smith was following till both armies were 140 miles to the south of Madras, when the Council, in their terror, besought a forty days' truce (which Hyder cut down to twelve) prior to having a treaty of peace, which Captain Brooke and a Mr. Andrews were empowered to negotiate.†

Hyder now suddenly sent off his infantry, guns, and baggage of every description, with orders to retire by the Pass of Ahtoor, and pushing on at the head of 6,000 horse and 200 foot, on the 29th of March "he appeared sudden, and unexpected as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras."

Though Fort St. George was strong as ever, the Black Town, the warehouses, the beautiful villas, and little villages around it, were as open and defenceless as in the time of young Tippoo's recent visit, and a great amount of valuable property lay quite at Hyder's mercy, if Colonel Smith's weary infantry failed to arrive in time.

Thoroughly dispirited by the unexpected turn the war had taken, the Council, on receiving a characteristic letter from Hyder, who felt himself in a position to dictate terms, did not assume more than they were ready to concede.

His first demand was for an alliance, offensive and defensive; but this seemed so objectionable, that Mr. Dupré, member of the Council and next in succession to the chair, declared it would be necessary to break off all negociations if it were persisted in; yet in the end it was substantially conceded.

Hyder sent for Mr. Dupré, and his character, the demand, and the pressing circumstances under which it was made, rendered instant compliance necessary. The councillor went to the Mysorean camp on St. Thomas, and, after a series of conferences, the terms of a treaty were adjusted; and on the 3rd and 4th of April it was signed respectively by the governor, the Council, and Hyder Ali.

"A mutual restoration of captured places was provided for, and Caroor, an ancient dependency of Mysore, which had been for some time retained by Mohammed Ali, was to be rendered back. After the conclusion of the treaty, difficulties arose from a demand of Hyder for the liberation of some persons kept prisoners by Mohammed Ali, and of the surrender of some stores at Colar. With much persuasion the nabob was induced to comply with the former demand, and the latter was yielded by the British Government, probably because it was felt to be in vain to refuse."

And thus ingloriously ended our needless, improvident, and most ill-conducted war with Mysore, a war which showed to the fullest extent the vanity and weakness of the then government of Madras.

CHAPTER XXV.

FAMINE IN BENGAL.—DEATH OF LORD CLIVE.—INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

THE Treaty of Madras had not been long signed when in the beginning of the following year, 1770, the financial difficulties of the Company were doubled by calamities that were frightful. Small-pox raged throughout the land with all the rancour of a plague; the crops of rice and paddy-wheat failed; the tanks were empty, and the rivers shrank; disease and starvation stalked grimly together throughout the most populous and fertile

* *Scots Magazine*, 1769. † Thornton.

districts, where the people perished unnumbered, by thousands and tens of thousands, in the fields, in the topes and thickets, in the streets, by the wayside, and in ruined and deserted forts and temples, the dying and the dead lay so thickly that the hot, breathless air became tainted; and though the statistics of death were never correctly known, it is supposed that nearly a third of the entire population perished. "Tender and delicate women whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from those inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, and threw themselves before the passers-by, imploring a handful of rice for their children. The Hooghly every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors, and the very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead."

"At this time," says a writer in the London papers, "we could not touch fish, the river was so full of carcases, and of those who did, many died suddenly. . . . We had a hundred people employed upon the Cutcherry list (at Calcutta) with dhoolies, sledges, and bearers to carry the dead and throw them into the Ganges. I have counted from my bed-chamber window in the morning when I got up, forty dead bodies lying within twenty yards of the wall, besides many hundreds lying in the agonies of death for want, bending double, with their stomachs quite contracted to their backbones. I have sent my servant to desire those who were able, to remove further off, whilst the poor creatures looking up with arms extended, have cried out, '*Baba! Baba!*' (My Father! my Father!) . . . One could not pass along the streets without seeing multitudes in their last agonies crying out as ye passed them, 'My God! my God! I am starving —have mercy on me!' whilst on other sides, numbers of dead were seen with dogs, jackals, hogs, and vultures feeding on their carcases."*

For these calamities the government could not be entirely blamed, yet some measures ought to have been taken to lessen the evil which was certainly foreseen. There had been long an excessive drought; hence, as the rice crop was sure to perish, means should have been taken, if possible, to store the granaries and magazines from other quarters. Instead of doing this, the members of the government certainly stored up grain, but they speculated in it as individual merchants, realising enormous profits on a calamity that was certain to ensue. "One cormorant," we are told, amassed of rice "to the value of fourscore thousand pounds." Ere the dreadful famine had reached its height, the entire rice in Bengal had been bought up by the servants of the Company, and when the dire pressure came, it was by them sold at a tariff of ten times beyond its actual, or at least original, value.

Prints of the time state in round numbers, that in the province of Bengal two millions of persons perished in two months, including 30,000 Europeans; another account reduces this to 450,000 souls. Such were the statements brought by the *Lapwing* packet on the 16th September, 1770.

Among those who perished of small-pox—dying in his garden—was the actual Nabob of Bengal, who was succeeded by a younger brother named Mobarek-ud-Dowlah, a boy in his tenth year, an event of which the directors at once hastened to take a mercenary advantage, by ordering that during his nonage, his annual allowance should be reduced to sixteen lacs of rupees, thus saving to their own coffers the annual £100,000 "which they were under a formal obligation to pay, and to which the nabob's title was at least as good as theirs was to the grant of the dewannee."

The great increase of the Company's power and wealth generally, about this time began to attract the attention of the home government, and the directors received a significant notice from Augustus, Duke of Grafton, K.G., then premier, that the progress of their affairs would be brought before Parliament. Hence, in November, 1766, a committee of the whole House was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Company, and copies were demanded of all treaties with native princes for the ten preceding years.

By this application, which could not be misunderstood, it was evident that the ministry desired that the nation should share in the profits; and hints were thrown out that these might legitimately be employed in relieving the people of some of their heavy taxations, an idea, which, very strangely, seems to have been originally suggested by Lord Clive, then serving in Parliament as member for Shrewsbury.

While collecting evidence on which to base their proposed measures, the House subjected Lord Clive and several other civil and military officials of the Company to a severe and somewhat offensive scrutiny, out of which sprang a report, which was in due time brought forward by the chairman, containing the grave charges of cruelty, treachery, and rapacity, against all who were concerned in the famous Bengal Revolution of 1756.

Lord Clive found himself the chief object of this attack, which was pressed forward with a degree of rancour, hostility, and party bias that were remark-

* *Scots Magazine*, Sept., 1771.

able in their degree. Had these proceedings not been tempered by a little magnanimity, it is not improbable that the hero of Plassey would have been one more in the long list of great men whose services have been repaid by the ingratitude of their cotemporaries. But after a fiery debate it was carried, "That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the state."

To this was added the additional and most offensive clause, that, in acquiring his wealth, "Lord Clive had abused the powers with which he had been entrusted." It failed by a small majority; but the sting remained; and though Clive was little of an orator, and seldom addressed the House, he spoke now with equal dignity and force.

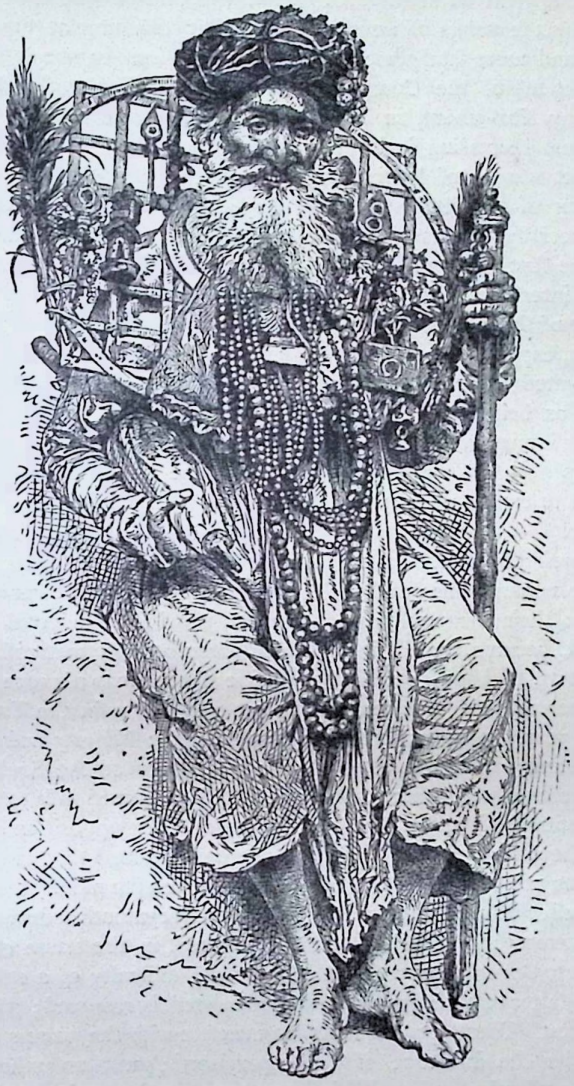
"If the resolution proposed should receive the assent of this House, then I shall have nothing left that I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of five hundred a year, which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live; and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune. But to be called, after sixteen years, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to be questioned, and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed, and a treatment of which I should not consider the British Senate capable. Yet if this should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me, that tells me my conduct is irreproachable —*Frangas non flectes.* They may take from me what



HINDOO GIRL.

I have; they may, as they think, make me poor; but I will be happy. Before I sit down, I have one request to make to the House, that when they come to decide on my honour, they will not forget their *own*."

He then left the House, in which, after a long and warm debate, on which the sun arose, it was declared—but by a slender majority—that Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country. One of Clive's most inveterate enemies was a Scottish naval officer, Captain George Johnstone (son of Sir J. Johnstone, Bart., of Westerhall), who fought a duel with Viscount Sackville, and was author of two little pamphlets, one entitled "A Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock," in 1771, and the other, "Thoughts on our Acquisitions in the East Indies." Clive now declined to take command of the forces destined to act against the American colonists, as his constitution had never recovered the shock given to it by the climate of India, and his once strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. The depression on his spirits deepened fast; he retired to the seclusion of the country, where he sunk into a melancholy and desponding state; and ultimately, on returning to his town house in Berkeley Square, died by his own hand on November 22nd, 1774. He was buried at Moretown-sea, the parish in which he was born.



RELIGIOUS MENDICANT.

Such was the end of Clive the Daring in War. "In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory the vulgar saw only a confirmation of their

own prejudices, and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings," adds Macaulay, "that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases and more fatal remedies."

In May, 1767, the amount of the Company's dividend was restricted by Parliament, in a Bill which restrained them from increasing it beyond ten per cent. till the next session of Parliament, and prohibited the voting of dividends save by ballot, in general courts specially summoned for that purpose. As this was the first instance in which Government had directly interfered with the Company in the management of their own revenue, it met with much opposition, especially in the Upper House, where the celebrated Earl of Mansfield stigmatised the measure as being, what it really was, an unjustifiable interference with the vested rights of private property. It was fully carried, however, and when about to expire was continued in force for one year more.

Defeated thus, the proprietors of Indian stock were compelled to listen to a compromise, and while the claims of the Crown to their territorial acquisitions remained undecided, became bound, in the terms of two successive Acts, to hand over to the Lords of the Treasury the sum of £400,000 per annum for two successive years, and afterwards for five years more, commencing in February, 1769. "They agreed, moreover, annually to export British merchandise to the amount of £380,837; not to augment their dividends beyond twelve and a half per cent., by augmentations not exceeding one per cent. in one year; and after paying their simple contract debts, bearing interest, and reducing their bonded debt to the sum lent to Government, to furnish an additional loan to the latter of their surplus receipts at two per cent. interest. These arrangements were obviously made under the influence of the golden dreams which were at this time universally indulged in. The only thing in the Act which indicates some degree of distrust is a proviso that, if the dividend should fall below ten per cent., the payment into the exchequer should be proportionately reduced, and that, if the dividend should fall to six per cent., the payment should entirely cease. A still more unequivocal expression of distrust was given by the directors when, mainly on the ground of the unsatisfactory state of their finances, they adopted the extraordinary measure of sending out to India a commission of supervisors, with complete powers to suspend, if necessary, even the presidents and councils, to investigate every department of affairs on the spot, and frame regulations adapted to the exigency of the circumstances."

These officials were Colonel Forde, Mr. Henry Vansittart, and Mr. Scrafton. They sailed from Spithead, 2nd of October, 1769, in H.M.S. *Aurora*; but, after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, 27th of December, she is supposed to have foundered at sea, in the Gulf of Sofala—at least she was heard of no more. William Falconer, her purser, author of "The Shipwreck," perished with her, as did also the Rev. William Hirst, M.A., chaplain to the commission, an excellent astronomer, who observed the transit of Venus at Madras in 1761, and in the Greenwich Observatory in 1769.

Now that they had begun the work of interference, Government knew not where to stop, and next sought to claim a share in Indian politics, and, as a prelude thereto, received with favour a request from the Company to have the use of two ships of the line and some frigates; but while the directors were congratulating themselves upon this welcome addition to their resources by sea, they were nonplussed by a message from ministers to the effect, that the naval commanding officer of these vessels should be invested with full powers as a plenipotentiary, to treat with native princes, and to decide all questions of peace or war, as the necessary result of a clause in the Treaty of Paris, by which His Britannic Majesty had agreed to acknowledge the legal titles of the Soubahdar of the Deccan, and of Mohammed Ali to the Nabobship of the Carnatic. The opposition of the Company was so strong and decided that, in the same year, 1767, the Cabinet agreed to modify their object; and Thomas, Viscount Weymouth (afterwards Marquis of Bath), volunteered, in the name of the latter, to explain "that the difficulty of a sole plenipotentiary, if it ever existed, is removed; the Crown does not wish to interfere with the powers of the commission (the supervisors); wants no authority over your servants, nor any direction or inspection of your commercial affairs; disclaims even a recommendation of any person to be employed in it; in short, only wishes to be enabled to assist you effectually; and, in order to that, finds it necessary to have a share in the resolutions and deliberations of the Company, merely with regard to the two objects of peace and war, when His Majesty's forces are to be employed."

Eventually, after much more debating, in 1770 the ministry sent out Admiral Sir John Lindsay, K.B., with some frigates, "to give countenance

and protection to the Company's settlements and affairs." The Company themselves had put all their own vessels of war in the Indian seas under the command of Sir John, who had been knighted for his gallant behaviour at the capture of the *Havannah*, and who was now appointed, by commission under the Great Seal, His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, with powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements with the sovereigns of India generally. Armed with such powers, Sir John Lindsay assumed an authority to which the presidency very imperfectly and most unwillingly submitted. Hence "quarrels arose, and each party determined to see as black what the other saw as white."

In truth, the appointment of Sir John Lindsay proceeded from a conviction existing in the mind of George III. and his cabinet, that a mere company of merchants ought not to be vested with the important right of having diplomatic relations with the reigning monarchs of India, and in part from the intrigues of the Nabob Mohammed Ali, who, for a considerable time, had actually a party and species of agency in London—where his enormous debts to the Company and also to private individuals, were a matter for much discussion before Parliament began to interfere in our Indian affairs—and where he was generally known, by the name of his capital, as the Nabob of Arcot.

While all these vexed discussions were in progress, and before the year preceding Lindsay's appointment closed, the Treaty of Madras had barely been signed, when the Mahrattas invaded Mysore.

The Peishwa Madhoo Rao led his army in person, and with cavalry as swift and active as those of Hyder, and much more numerous, swept all before him, capturing strong fortresses, and large towns, burning villages, and slashing off ears, noses, and lips, till this savage prince seemed to threaten Mysore with greater ruin than Hyder had brought upon the Carnatic.

In virtue of the Treaty of Madras, Hyder Ali now called upon the Council there to aid him with their troops; but the Council affirmed, and apparently with truth, that Hyder had brought the war upon himself, by intending to begin an offensive war against the Peishwa, who had merely anticipated him, and by leaguing with certain discontented Mahratta chiefs. He was not engaged in a purely defensive war, therefore, they said, they were not bound to yield him succour.

Hyder's difficulties grew daily greater. He and Tippoo were defeated in many encounters, till the enemy were at last in possession of all Mysore, save Seringapatam, and some other strong fortresses. He offered treasure, and endeavoured to excite the alarm of the Council at Madras, by showing what turbulent and dangerous neighbours the Mahrattas would prove, if they succeeded in conquering and occupying Mysore; but every application remained unheeded, and to his rage they declined to aid him by a single field-piece, or sepoy, though when the Mahrattas began to menace the Carnatic, our troops were sent to the front and compelled them to fall back.

Madhoo Rao was forced to quit the field in consequence of ill health, and return to Poonah; but he left at the head of his army Trimbuck Rao, a great warrior, who was so successful that Hyder was eventually obliged to purchase peace, by the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees, or £150,000, with the promise of an equal sum at a future period.

By this he well understood that if he would preserve his territories from the most dreadful ravages, he must again pay the Mahrattas a great sum for their forbearance; but soon after the treaty of peace, the Peishwa Madhoo Rao died in his twenty-eighth year, and his widow burned herself on his funeral pile. He had been highly respected, and much beloved as a sovereign, having been—notwithstanding his savage warfare in Mysore—mild and equitable in his government, which was especially formed for the protection of the poor from oppression, and the equal maintenance of the rights of all classes.

And now, all immediate danger being removed for a time, Hyder Ali remained humble and quiet.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MOHAMMED ALI.—THE COMPANY AND THE MINISTRY.—WAR WITH TANJORE.

By the acknowledgment of Mohammed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic, in the Treaty of Paris, an ample field for his ambition, in aspiring to be monarch of all Southern India, seemed to open up before that now little more than nominal potentate, who, while cherishing the most extravagant hopes in secret, felt galled and maddened by the control which the Company exercised over all his plans and movements; and he was ready to embrace any scheme which he conceived might give him those sovereign rights which not unnaturally he deemed his own. We have already said that he had a party and agency in London. Among his advisers was a Scotchman named Macpherson, son of the minister of Sleat, in Skye, who, in the year 1767, had come to Madras, as purser of the Company's ship *Mansfield*, commanded by his uncle, Captain Macleod. Having by some means been introduced to the nabob, Macpherson soon won so much of his confidence, that he sent him back to London, as his chief agent, with orders to prosecute his interests, and with letters direct to the premier, the Duke of Grafton, his object being, as he stated, to obtain relief from the oppressions under which he (the nabob) laboured. After having an interview with the duke, who proved remarkably suave and subservient to his visitor, the agent expatiated at great length on the high merits of the nabob, and was bold enough, in his name, to offer valuable presents to the minister and his secretary.

Instead of being offended, the duke accepted them, and spoke with great feeling of the stern oppression "which the princes of India laboured under, from the usurped authority of the commercial subjects of the state;" adding, finally, that it was his determination to use all his influence, as premier, in support of the interests of Mohammed Ali. While thus pledging himself to the nabob, says Beveridge, the Duke of Grafton was generous enough not to overlook the merits of his agent, and rewarded him for his attempt to undermine the Company by sending him back to India, early in 1770, with the appointment of a writer in their service; and to this contemptible intrigue, the conduct of the ministry in stealthily carrying out the scheme which they professedly abandoned—interference with the Company, and the appointment of Lindsay as their plenipotentiary—must be ascribed; and it is extremely probable that it is to the pen of Macpherson, or certainly one of his "party," we owe the following flowery description of the nabob, which appears in several London and Scottish prints of the time, as "by one who has a personal knowledge of the original," and is amusing from its bombast.

"Mohammed Ali Kawn, the reigning Nabob of the Carnatic, is the son of Anwar-ud-Deen Kawn, who, at eighty years of age, crowned a life of honour by a death of glory: he died in arms while he was defending a frontier of his country against his own and the natural enemy of Great Britain. His son, who succeeded to his station and virtues, is about five feet five inches in height; his mould and figure presenting an admirable union of manliness, ease, and elegance. His interior portrait is eminently legible to every intelligent beholder, as the benign emanations of a soul where justice, humanity, fortitude, and discernment are virtually enthroned and exerted. Dignity and condescension are seldom so happily combined as in this prince's whole manner and aspect. Noble, polite, and affable in his general address, whenever he unbends in the hours of innocent and sprightly relaxation, his deportment becomes inexpressibly engaging. He has been equalled by some, but has been surpassed by none, in the filial, conjugal, and parental virtues. Repeated vicissitudes have left the visible traces of solicitude and retrospection on his countenance; but his spirit is too sublime and active to languish under the influence of melancholy. . . . To these numerous virtues he has added the embellishments of his local, indeed, his Oriental literature, being well versed in the Persian and Arabian historians and poets, and possessed of a natural fund for the mental entertainments of others, in his good understanding, genuine wit, and a general taste and ingenuity. His genius, though uncommonly active, is by no means desultory, though he will indulge in *bon mots* with a visitor while dispatching letters of real business. In a word, if the interior perfection of a politician consists in a clear head and penetrating spirit, if his external advantages are comprehended in an engaging person, and an almost bewitching address, few princes have merited the character in a higher degree than Mohammed Ali Kawn."

This panegyric will be found at fuller length in the *Scots Magazine* for 1770, yet it is passed on

one who behaved like a coward when co-operating with our slender force under Captain Cope during the war in 1750; but his virtues are equally lauded in a contemporary work, translated from the Persian.*

This much belauded personage was yet to play a considerable part in our affairs in the East.

On anchoring at Madras, Sir John Lindsay lost little time in acquainting the Company, or the Council rather, with the great powers vested in him, as the plenipotentiary of the Crown, and as such, having full right to treat with the native princes, and also to inquire into the entire conduct of the late war; and that hence, they who had hitherto deemed themselves supreme within their own presidency, were to hold, for the future, but a very subaltern position.

Sir John added, that the Crown had entrusted him with royal letters and presents to Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic; and, as in delivering them he was to act as the representative of His Majesty George III., it was plainly the duty of the Council to follow in his train. The latter were struck with indescribable surprise on hearing all this, and, after a time, plainly told Admiral Lindsay that they were resolved not to submit to this degradation.

Equally great were the astonishment and anger of the Court of Directors at Leadenhall Street, when, on the 22nd of March, 1771, they received from the Council the first intimation of the commission so surreptitiously given to the admiral, or, as he was generally called, Commodore Lindsay. "We must either have delivered to him our papers or not," ran the report; "we must either have rendered him an account of our transactions or not; we must have admitted him to have shared in our deliberations or not. There appeared to be no room for hesitation. We were charged with the Company's affairs—we had no instructions from our constituents. Their rights were attacked. We must either have supported them, or basely surrendered them. Our fortunes may be at stake in the issue; but were our lives at equal hazard, we should, without a moment's hesitation, have taken the part we have done. The die is cast; we must stand the issue."

Though this letter was somewhat rebellious in tone, on the 8th of April the directors addressed a letter to the Earl of Rochford, one of the principal secretaries of state, urging that Sir John Lindsay's singular appointment was a direct violation of the ministerial promise given to the Company, painting a disastrous view of its probable results, and predicting, unless his powers were withdrawn, the ruin of the consequence, influence, and credit of the East India Company.

But the earl's reply was far from satisfactory, as the ministry insisted upon their right to appoint a plenipotentiary. In a quibbling way, the Court were told that Sir John Lindsay had been recalled, but that his commission would remain in force, as Sir Robert Harland, Bart. (another naval officer), had been appointed to succeed to it, and "beside the particular orders given him to promote, as far as possible, a strict union between the nabob and the servants of the Company, and to remove every suspicion of the Company lying under the king's displeasure, he had received instructions to make the support of their importance and honour in the eyes of all the powers in India, a principal point of his attention."

After these vague assurances had been given at Leadenhall Street, Sir Robert Harland, Rear-Admiral of the Red (the only son of a distinguished naval officer of the same name), arrived at Madras on the 2nd of September, 1771, with a squadron of His Majesty's fleet, and, having doubtless secret orders, at once showed his resolution to endorse every measure sanctioned by Sir John Lindsay, who, in defiance of all existing obligations, had declared himself on the side of Mohammed Ali.

The details of all the correspondence that ensued between the Court of Directors, the Council, and Sir Robert Harland, would but weary the reader. Sir Robert is described as having been a very violent and headstrong man, who performed his duties often with more zeal and energy than wisdom. As in the month subsequent to his arrival, in the war we have already recorded, the Mahrattas were in possession of all Mysore, save Seringapatam and a few of the stronger forts, and were already menacing the Carnatic, he represented the state of neutrality as highly perilous, and in defiance of the Treaty of Madras, hotly urged the presidency to conclude an alliance with the conquering Peishwa, and leave Hyder to his fate.

Supported in their views by the other presidencies, the Council of Madras rigidly declined to have any part in the war against Hyder, or to form a new treaty with the Peishwa. The land forces of the Company, they urged, were not at the disposal even of the king's plenipotentiary; and they were only sent, as we have said, towards the frontiers to protect the Carnatic.

While the war was being waged between Hyder and the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Tanjore had attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or

* A. Dow's "History of Hindostan."

claimed by, Mohammed Ali, who called upon his allies, the Company, for assistance, while the rajah courted, by turns, Hyder and the Peishwa to aid him in his invasion. Though the Council at Madras declined being dragged into a new war with Hyder to further the nabob's dreams of conquest, they could not refuse him assistance in a case where justice seemed on his side, and more especially where their own means of revenue were concerned.

During the progress of their late war with Hyder, the Rajah of Tanjore had manifested the greatest reluctance to assist the Company with that arm which they required so much, cavalry, a contingent of which he was bound to furnish, and he made no suitable return for the tranquillity which his territories enjoyed under the protection of the Company, who hence deemed him somewhat of a masked enemy. Thus, when the nabob complained that the rajah had marched into the Marawar country, a division of Ajmeer (one portion of which is desert, the other abounding with grain, tobacco, cotton, and wheat), and moreover that he had attacked some Polygars, who were dependants of the Carnatic, the Council instantly remonstrated with him in high terms; but he replied scoffingly:—

"If I suffer Moravee to take possession of my country, Nalcooty to take my elephants, and Tondemar to injure me, it will be a dishonour to me among the people, to see such compulsions used by the Polygars. You are a protector of my government; notwithstanding you have not settled a single affair. I have finished the matter relating to Moravee, and confirmed him in his business; the affair with Nalcooty remains to be finished; but that I shall finish also."

While our troops, ready to march, assembled at Trichinopoly, it was resolved to attempt to negotiate with the rajah through Omdut-ul-Omrah, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali; but this proved a failure. Indeed, the latter personage, after inducing the Company to take up his quarrel with Tanjore, began to be apprehensive that they might conquer the whole district for themselves, instead of doing so for him. Accordingly, he offered to give the Company a good round sum for the dominion, and thereupon an agreement was signed, by which Tanjore was to be formally annexed to the Carnatic, to which naturally, it certainly belonged.

On the 12th of September, 1771, when our troops, under General Smith, were about to commence their march, it was discovered, upon inspection, that the nabob's younger son, who had been entrusted with the provision department, had, with genuine Indian rascality, betrayed his trust, and that there was not food in the camp for a single day.*

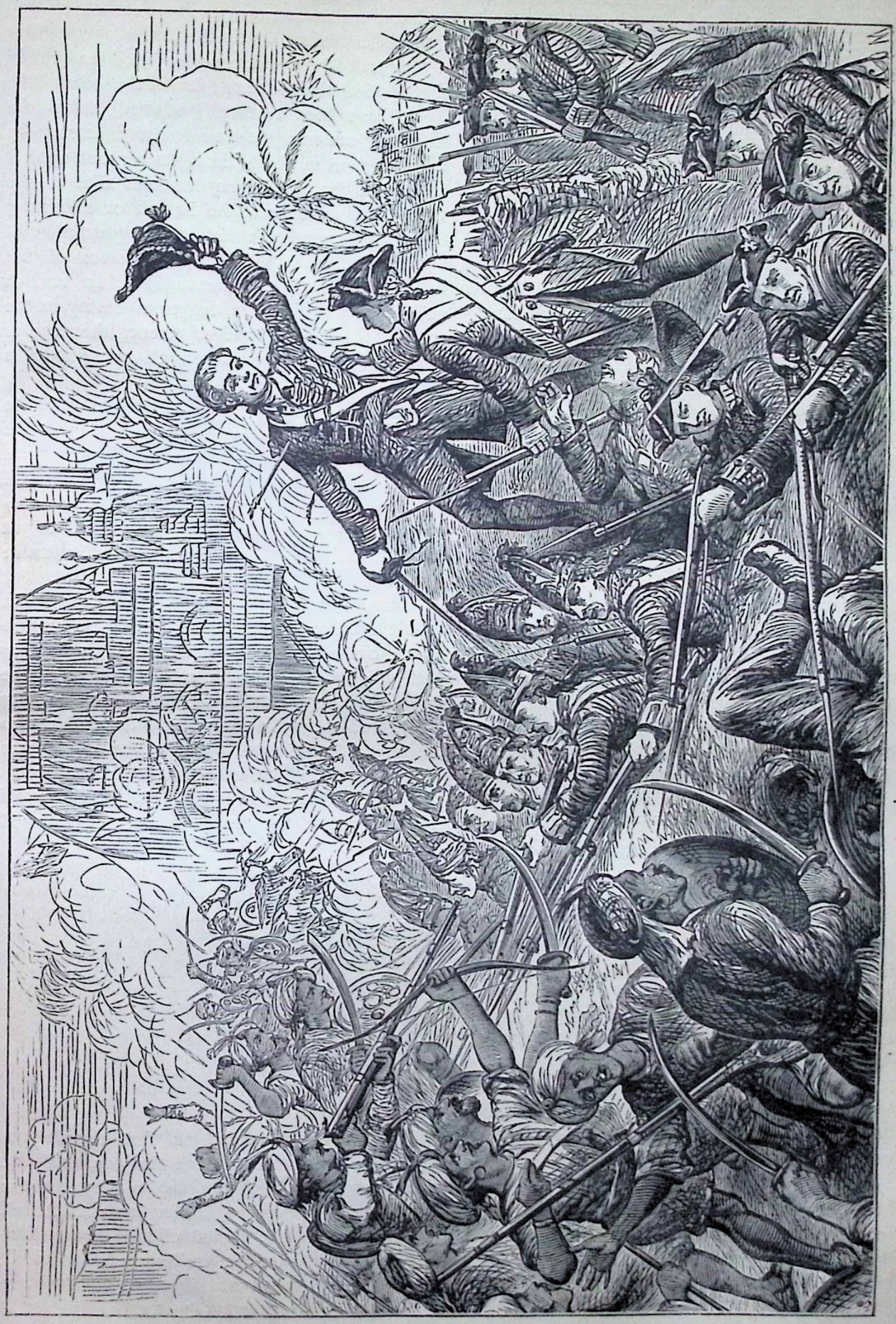
By great exertions, General Joseph Smith procured the necessary supplies, and the army crossed the frontiers of Tanjore. The latter is a populous and well-cultivated district of Southern Hindostan, bounded on the north by the Coleroon, on the south by the zemindaries of Ramnad and Shevagunga, and on the west by Trichinopoly. In January the whole face of the country, a dead flat level, is one continuous sheet of paddy-ground, interspersed with villages, of which there are now nearly 5,000 in number.

On the 16th of September our troops were before Vellum, a fort situated eight miles south-west of the city of Tanjore—one of the chief bulwarks of the country. A battery against it was thrown up, and armed to breach it, and a practicable gap in the walls was soon effected; but at midnight on the 20th, the garrison silently evacuated the place.

Marching on Tanjore, the capital, a city some six miles in circumference, containing two forts, and one of the finest Hindoo temples in Southern India, the general invested it, forming his camp on the same ground where Lally had been so unfortunate, and he had effected a breach which was reported practicable on the 27th October, when further operations were arrested by an intimation from Omdut-ul-Omrah, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali, called by the British, the "Young Nabob," that the rajah had come to terms, that he had signed a treaty of peace with him. He had accompanied the expedition, and in some way had arranged that the rajah was to pay a princely sum of money, to surrender the districts which the nabob claimed, and which were asserted to be the original cause of the quarrel; that he was to defray all the expenses of the expedition, to become the ally of the Nabob of the Carnatic in all future wars, and to demolish, if required to do so, the strong fortress of Vellum. But, "before putting an end to hostilities in this way, Omdut-ul-Omrah had just had a serious quarrel with his British allies. He was informed that, by the usages of war, the plunder of places taken by storm belonged to the captors, and it was the prospect of this very plunder that had allured him to Tanjore. He offered a fixed sum of money to the troops in lieu of it; but it was considered a Jew's bargain; the offer was rejected, and violent altercations took place."

Incensed by these measures, which were quite beyond their calculations—and in which the nabob fully acted on the new ideas of independent

* Mill, "History of British India."



FLETCHER'S DEFENCE OF THE REDOUBT AT TANJORE.

sovereignty for which he was indebted to the impressions given him by our ministry, chiefly through his agent, Mr. Macpherson—the Council at Madras sent General Smith orders not to evacuate Vellum or withdraw his batteries from Tanjore, until the rajah should have made good one of his promised payments in gold or jewels.

As they seem to have well known beforehand, the rajah was not punctual in his time of payment, and when it was past, they declared that he had violated the treaty. To prevent a renewal of hostilities, the rajah consented to leave the fortress of Vellum in our hands, and to cede to us two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura. Thus, year by year, went steadily on the great system of gradual absorption and acquisition.

The rajah's concessions, by admitting weakness, only tempted the Company to attack him once more; thus in the summer of 1773, General Smith had orders to advance again from Trichinopoly. In June of that year, the Nabob had complained to the governor, Mr. Dupré, that the luckless Rajah of Tanjore was not only ten lacs of rupees in arrear of the sum which he had engaged to pay him, but had applied for a body of troops, both to Hyder and the Mahrattas, to aid him in his quarrel; and, moreover, that he had instigated certain marauders to ravage the borders of the Carnatic.

A few days after, at another conference, he not only urged the conquest of Tanjore, but offered the Company, in the event of their proving victorious, ten lacs of pagodas, or about £350,000, the pagoda being a gold coin, used principally in the south of India, and worth about 6s. 8d. It was called a *hoon* by the Mohammedans, and a *varaha* by the Hindoos. After giving it as their candid opinion that the rajah was perhaps not to blame, with curious inconsistency, they went on to say, that "it is evident that in the present system, it is dangerous to have such a power (*i.e.*, the rajah) in the heart of the province; for as the honourable Court have been repeatedly advised, unless the Company can engage the rajah in their interest by a firm support in all his just rights, we look upon it as certain that should any troubles arise in the Carnatic, whether from the French or a country enemy, and present a favourable opportunity of freeing himself from his apprehensions of the nabob, he would take part against him, and at such a time might be a dangerous enemy in the south. The propriety and expediency, therefore, of reducing him entirely before such an event takes place, is evident."

Put into fewer words, says Beveridge justly, the argument is merely this:—our relations with the nabob will not allow us to do the rajah justice. It is therefore reasonable to presume that he will seek justice elsewhere. As in this way he may become a formidable enemy, our true policy is to put it out of his power, by taking the first favourable chance of destroying him.*

Accordingly, on the 31st July, General Smith took the field at Trichinopoly, while the nabob bound himself to make payment in advance, by cash or good bills, for the whole expense of the expedition, to provide all necessaries, save military stores, and to pay in future for a force of 10,000 sepoys; and on the 3rd of August, the entire forces under Smith and the nabob's second son, Modul-ul-Moolk, began their march from the Sugar-loaf Rock, towards the territories of the doomed rajah.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CONQUEST OF TANJORE.

In the year before the Tanjore expedition, the troops for Trichinopoly, consisting of 520 British infantry and artillery, and three battalions of the Company's sepoys, with six siege-guns, had marched into the Marawars, over the Polygars of which, the rajah held a doubtful rule, as they had formerly paid tribute and allegiance to the Nabobs of the Carnatic.

These troops were led on that occasion by General Smith and a Colonel Bonjour, and with these were some of the nabob's cavalry, and two battalions of his sepoys, under Omdut-ul-Omrah. Ramdampooram, the capital of the Greater Marawar, was stormed early in April; and by the middle of June the troops of our ally were in full posses-

* "Hist. India," vol. ii.

sion of all the forts of that country. The conquest of the Lesser Marawar was much more difficult, and is said to have been accompanied with such cruelties even on the part of the British, that this new expedition spread terror through Tanjore as it advanced.

The troops destined, as a print of the time has it, for the destruction of "the ill-fated Rajah Toolajee, for having dared to assert the rights which had descended to him from a long line of martial ancestors," on the 6th of August were before the city of Tanjore; and a week later there came from the rajah a letter, in which, after declaring that he had submitted to the hard terms imposed by the nabob, he added this:—

"Some offence should surely be proved upon me before an expedition be taken against me. Without any show of equity, to wage an unjust war against me, is not consistent with reason. This charitable country is the support of multitudes of people; if you will preserve it from destruction, you will be the most great, glorious, and honoured of mankind. I am full of confidence that you will neither do injustice yourself, nor listen to the tale of the oppressor. I only desire a continuance of that support which this country has formerly experienced from the English, and you will reap the fame so good an action deserves."

But the unfortunate prince appealed to English clemency in vain, and after a smart skirmish between the nabob's two regiments of regular cavalry and the Tanjore horse, in which the latter were broken and routed, the army encamped to the westward of the city, at the distance of two and a half miles, establishing a post at a village halfway between them and the principal fort.

Regarding Indian tactics, it has been remarked that the Asiatics have a dread of fire-arms, the true cause of which lay in the inexperience of their leaders, who never knew the advantages of discipline, and kept their infantry on a low footing. Their cavalry, though ready enough to engage with the sabre, were extremely unwilling to come within gunshot, through fear, not of themselves, but of their fine horses, on which all their fortunes were expended. And nothing is so ruinous, continues this writer, to the military affairs of Hindostan, as their false notions of artillery; they are scared by that of the enemy, and have a foolish confidence in their own, placing their chief dependence on the largest pieces, which they neither know how to move nor manage. They give them pompous and sounding names, as the Italians do their guns, and have some that carry a ball of seventy pounds. "When we march round them with our light field-pieces, and make it necessary to move those enormous weights, their bullocks, which at best are very untractable, if a shot comes among them are quite ungovernable; and, at the same time, are so ill-harnessed, that it occasions no small delay to free the rest from one that shall happen to be unruly or slain."

The attention of General Smith was first directed to the fortification of his camp, which work was complete by the 20th of August, on the evening of which all the rajah's outposts were attacked and driven in. Colonel Fletcher, at the head of a chosen party, broke into the very centre of his cavalry camp, while Colonel Vaughan attacked and stormed two pagodas, within five hundred yards of the fort; yet the garrison of the rajah, 20,000 strong, were resolved to make a stout resistance. The same night an entrenchment, 300 yards in length, was dug between these two pagodas, and the temples formed an excellent shelter for our troops when, next morning, the garrison opened a heavy fire upon them.

Redoubts were thrown up, and trenches run out to the right and left; but on the 24th, the rajah made a sortie, with horse and foot, sepoys and Colleries, to scour these works. Fletcher, who commanded, was wounded by two barbed arrows, and must have given way, had not Vaughan advanced to his support; after which the nabob's horse and our grenadiers came up, when the enemy were driven in, and the trenches held.

About six the same evening the grenadiers took possession of five pagodas, about 400 yards from the chief post. At the right extremity of the parallel a six-gun battery was erected, and a four-gun battery on the left, with two others between them, armed with sixteen guns, all of which opened on the city on the 27th; and two nights later the sap was advanced 300 yards. More batteries were thrown up and more trenches dug, till the 6th of September, when our men were within a few yards of the crest of the glacis, and next day the infantry effected a lodgment on the face of it.

The sap battery was next constructed, and from thence a gallery was sunk for a passage into the ditch, and a practicable breach was made before daybreak on the 16th. On both sides the guns were worked furiously, but the breach was made wider, and orders came to carry the place by storm on the morning of the 27th. There was, however, no attempt made to defend the breach; they advanced straight into the town, and met with so little opposition in the end, that only three grenadiers were wounded.*

* "Authentic Journal of the Siege of Tanjour."

A letter from an officer present to a friend in Scotland, dated Trichinopoly, 18th October, 1773, states that he was one of those who had the honour to be detailed for the storming party under Colonel Vaughan. After entering, he adds, "the two European companies of the 1st Brigade, after making a short halt, to cool the men, marched, without shedding a drop of blood, to the rajah's palace, who, upon getting proper assurances of his life, surrendered with his attendants. Old Monajee, his general, who was so much in the interest of the nabob during his troubles, was taken with all his family. During the siege we had seven officers killed and fifteen wounded. Our loss in non-commissioned officers and privates was equally moderate."

The plunder of the place amounted to £800 sterling for every captain, £400 for each subaltern, and the rest in proportion; while the Company were to obtain 100 lacs of rupees from the princes of the Carnatic for the conquest of Tanjore; but, from future proceedings at Leadenhall Street, on the 28th of April, 1774, it would appear that the unhappy rajah was imprisoned, and his daughters forcibly placed in the seraglio of the nabob. And yet the Company, by a treaty signed in 1762, had given him security for his throne.*

The details of all this disgraceful affair did not reach London till the 26th of March, 1774. The Council felt somewhat ashamed of themselves, and detained the despatches as long as possible, and, on receipt of them, stormy indeed was the meeting that took place at the India House, when General Richard Smith moved, and Mr. Orme seconded him, that the Court of Directors should return thanks to General Joseph Smith, for his gallantry in the conquest of Tanjore. This was opposed, and we are told that when Sir Robert Fletcher narrated some of the features of the event, with those attending the previous conquest of the Marawars, "several proprietors quitted the court, and the strongest marks of horror, pity, and amazement were visible in the countenances of those who stayed to hear the shocking narrative."

It was ultimately carried, however, that General Smith had only obeyed his orders, and done nothing deserving of censure; and so the original motion was carried. The plundering of Tanjore, it was agreed, had occurred in mistake, the order to abstain from it not having been properly communicated to the several officers, while "for the murder of the rajah, and the outrages committed on his daughters by the nabob, no excuse was alleged but the Asiatic custom."

* Mill, Colonel Wilkes, &c.

The rumour of the rajah's murder proved to be a mistake, or exaggeration, as he was merely thrown into prison.

A prevailing suspicion that the Dutch had been assisting the rajah was confirmed after the capture of Tanjore, when they took possession of its seaport, Nagpore, and some other ports, on the plea that they had become theirs by purchase. But neither the Council nor the nabob recognised this alleged purchase, and the former justified their refusal to do so, on the plea that the rajah held his lands of the nabob in fee, according to the feudal system which prevailed all over India. "The assertion that the feudal system prevailed all over India," says Beveridge, "and the argument founded upon it, are ludicrous in the extreme, and only prove into what incompetent hands the interests of the Company, in the Madras Presidency, were at the time committed."

After long delays on the part of the directors, pressure at home was brought to bear upon the Council. They were condemned for all they had done; the president was deprived of office, and his successor had orders to restore the rajah to his throne—events to be noticed in our next chapter.

By this time the Company and their servants could readily obtain money of the inhabitants of India, by the various means of rents, revenues, and trade; and the use they made of these means, and their talents as statesmen and soldiers, will best appear from the following statement, published in 1776, as an account of the sums proved and acknowledged to have been received for the use of the East India Company, from May, 1761, to April, 1771:—

	£
From the net revenues arising from the customs in Bengal	235,882
From the territorial revenue, clear of all charges	15,763,828
Gained by Indian goods	451,651
Gained by European goods	299,062
	£16,750,423

Restitution for expenses incurred in war:—	£
By Meer Jaffier, in 1757	1,200,000
By Cossim, in 1760	62,500
By Meer Jaffier, on his restoration to the musnud, in 1763	373,000
By Sujah Dowlah, for peace, in 1765	583,333
	£2,218,833

To these sums received for the use of the Company are to be added those distributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal, to the Company's servants, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both inclusive, as follow:—

	£
On deposing Surajah Dowlah, and placing Meer Jaffier on the musnud in 1757 . . .	1,238,575
On deposing Meer Jaffier in favour of Meer Cossim, in 1760	200,269
On restoring Meer Jaffier, in 1763 . . .	437,499
Received of the king, queen-mother, and one of the princes, in 1765 and 1766 . . .	90,999
Received of Meer Jaffier, in 1763 . . .	600,000
Received of Meer Jaffier again, in 1763 . .	600,000
	£3,167,342

To these sums are to be added £300,000 for Lord Clive's jaghire for ten years; and what was made by private trade was in addition to the enormous sums given. Lord Clive calculated the duty on salt, betel-nut, and tobacco at £100,000 per annum to the Company. This he supposed equal to half the profits of the trade itself; and if he was as near in this, as he was in his calculation of the *dewannee*, which is a reasonable supposition, the sum thus received from the inland trade in ten years would be two millions, which, added to the sum proved to be received, makes the whole sum to be £24,640,621 sterling.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JUDGES APPOINTED IN BENGAL.—BALAMBANGAN.—INTERNAL DISSENSION AT MADRAS.

To preserve coherency in our narrative of the unjust conquest of Tanjore, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events elsewhere.

For the better exercise of justice in India, in March, 1774, "the king was pleased to grant, direct, and appoint," that there should be, within the factory of Fort William, at Calcutta, a court of record, which should be called "The Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal"—the said court to consist of one principal judge, who shall be called the "Chief Justice," and three other judges, who should be called "Puisne Justices;" and he was pleased to appoint Elijah Impey, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, to be Chief Justice; Robert Chambers, of the Middle Temple, Steven C. Le Maistre, of the Inner Temple, and John Temple of Lincoln's Inn, Esqs., to be Puisne Justices of this court, "with power to perform all civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

In the midsummer of the same year the Company had a dispute with the Governor of the Manilas concerning their settlement at Balambangan, a rich and fertile island, fifteen miles distant from the northern extremity of Borneo, and to the west of Banguey Island. It is about fourteen miles long, by about four broad, and had been ceded by the King of Sulu to the Company, who built a factory upon it in 1773 under a Mr. Harboard.

To the latter the Spanish governor of the Manilas sent a most peremptory message, that if he "did not, immediately on receipt of the notice, retire with all the English who were with him on the island, he would send a sufficient force to bring him away, and destroy all such works and fortifications as he had erected."

The petty King of Sulu had granted the Company this island as an act of gratitude. He had been at war with the Spaniards, and having been taken prisoner by them in a sea-fight, had been detained for thirteen years a captive at Manila, till our capture of that place; and the idea of a settlement on the island of Balambangan was warmly encouraged by the Governor and Council of Madras. Mr. Harboard declined to accede to the peremptory orders of the Spaniard, and it was urged, that by the Treaty of Munster in 1648 (the only treaty existing between the English and the Spaniards, which explains and regulates the rights and limits of the latter in the East Indies), the Spaniards had no right to extend their Asian navigation further than they had at that time carried it; and consequently they could have no claim to the island of Balambangan.† Nevertheless it was seized by the Sulu people at the instigation of the Spaniards, our people escaped with difficulty, and their property, to the value of £200,000, was destroyed or captured.

The island remained uninhabited and desolate until 1803, when a new settlement was made upon it; but proving expensive, without promising to be of any real advantage, it was withdrawn, and once more the isle became a wilderness.

In the year 1776 the Company's ships were ordered to complete their complement of men,

* "Hist. Transactions in the Indies," London, 1776.

† Dalrymple's "Clear Proof," &c., 1774

and have all their guns on board, as a protection against the privateers during the war with America, and in that year one of the Company's vessels had to fight a battle with a whole Mahratta fleet.

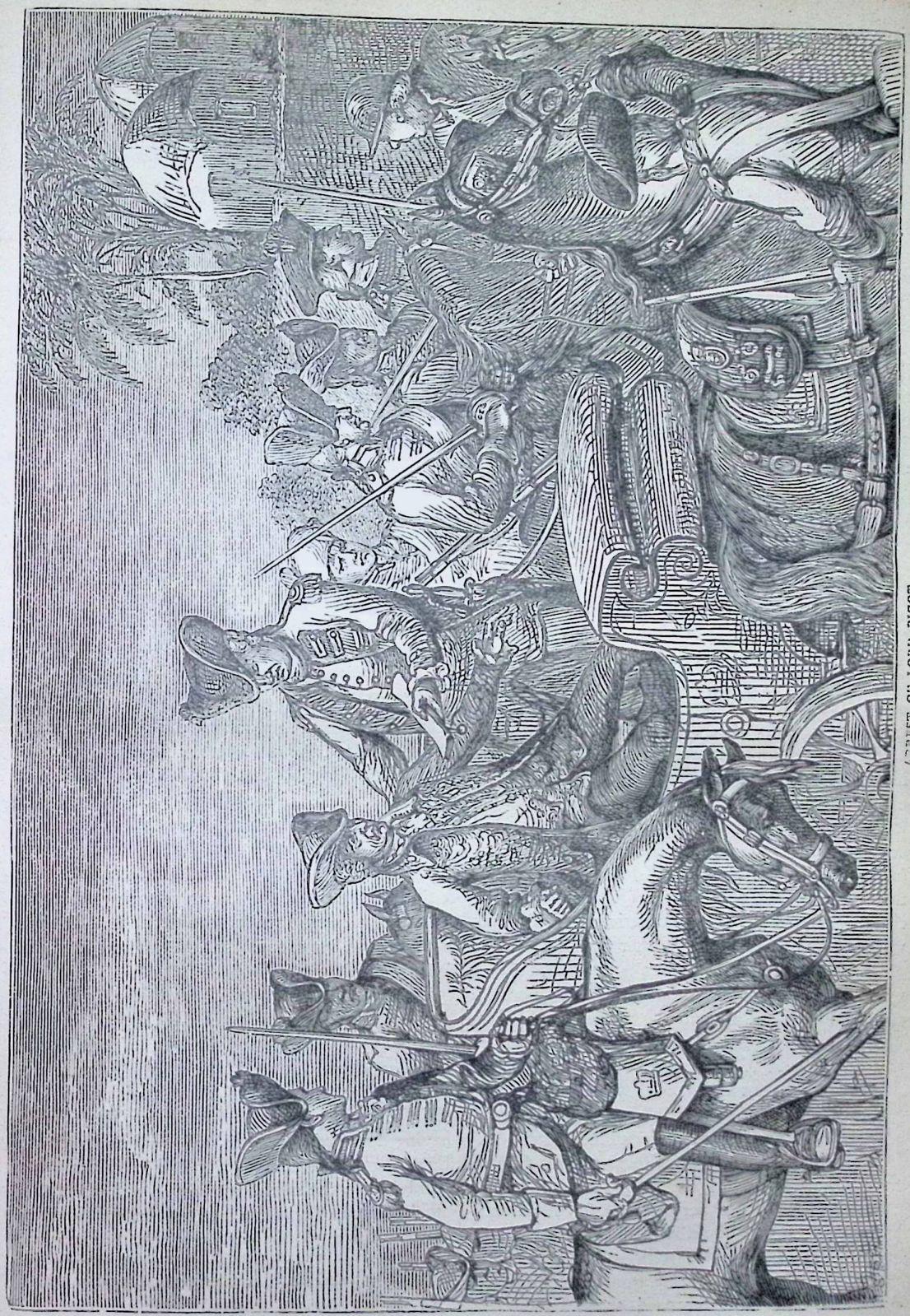
It chanced that the *Gertrude*, from Surat, Captain William Bruelle, then in latitude 18° 29′ fell in with this hostile squadron, and the largest of the ships fired two guns at her. Though the enemy consisted of three grabs, having three masts each, with two bow-guns, and twelve on each side; six two-masted grabs, with two guns forward and eight on each side, and fifteen armed gallivats, the gallant Bruelle ran up the British colours in defiance, and somewhat doubtful of the Mahratta chief's intention, thought perhaps that personage would send a boat on board. But on two more shots, which wounded two of his men, being received, he piped all hands on deck, and thus addressed them :—

"My lads, the time is come when, if you would remain free, you must be brave. Remember who you are—Britons and free men, while the enemy are only Mahrattas, a parcel of niggers and pirates, to whose rascally fleet, however numerous it may be, our ship is as much superior as an elephant to a herd of deer. Look at your bleeding messmates, who demand revenge at *your* hands; and let us show our employers, the Honourable Company, that we deserve the favour we receive at their hands."

The drum beat to quarters, and a heavy fire



THE PALACE OF TANJORE.



ARREST OF LORD PIGOT.

was opened, both broadsides being engaged till night fell. By sunrise the conflict was renewed, and, sword in hand, Bruelle beat off many attempts to board him; but though the enemy, many of whose craft he had disabled, strove hard to cripple him by carrying away a mast, with both tiers of his guns spouting shot and fire, he bore under a press of sail right through them, and bearing on his course, reached Batavia safely on the 25th of January.

When he left the Mahratta fleet astern, blood was dripping from all their scuppers, and amid the cries he heard were the voices of many he affirmed to be Europeans.

In electing a new governor for Madras in 1775, the Court of Directors, whose attention had been so pointedly called by Sir Robert Fletcher and others, to the unjust and iniquitous affair of Tanjore, by a small majority carried the nomination of Mr. Rumbold; but it was afterwards voted at a Court of Proprietors, also by a small majority, that the directors should appoint Lord Pigot, who had signed the treaty of 1762, and had ever disapproved of all that had been done in infraction of it.

The friend and correspondent of Clive, he had held the post of governor till 1763, when he returned to England a man of wealth, influence, and of the highest consideration, which had raised him first to a baronetcy, and then to an Irish peerage, as Baron Pigot of Patshul. He wished to reform the presidency of Madras, as his friend Clive had reformed that of Bengal. His election was secured; but before his departure from England, the Court of Directors "passed sentence of condemnation on the policy which had been pursued by the presidency, and declared their opinion that, on account of oppressions exercised by the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Tanjoreans would submit to any power rather than his."

On the 11th of December, 1775, Lord Pigot took his seat as Governor of Madras at Fort St. George, and found, that in the matter confided to him, he was obstructed by all kinds of difficulties and intrigues, but the restoration of the Rajah Toolajee to his territories, as they existed in 1762, was keenly taken in hand by him. Yet some additions of importance were added to the old treaty of that year. The rajah was to bind himself to permit Tanjore to remain garrisoned by the Company's troops; to assign lands for their maintenance; to pay the tribute of the nabob, and assist that prince in war with such forces as he might require, with the concurrence of the Company. It was also arranged that, without the sanction of the latter, he should form no treaty with any foreign power.

The luckless rajah, now a helpless prisoner, was only too glad—though by these terms reduced to vassalage—to submit to almost any stipulation that restored him to freedom and his territories; but the nabob took a very different view of the affair, though Lord Pigot held several interviews with him, and with delicacy broke the subject gradually.

Tanjore, the nabob urged, belonged to him by right, and his claim thereto had been recognised by the King of Great Britain, who, in a letter delivered by his plenipotentiary, had congratulated him on the rapid success of his expedition against that place. Moreover, the rajah had forfeited all right to Tanjore by daring to alienate any portion of its territory, and by entering into treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the Company, of which he (the nabob) had ever been a faithful ally, and he begged the continuance of their friendship, with their favour and their pity upon his grey hairs. Yet this plausible Asiatic but a few months before, had been entertaining in secret the ambassadors of our foeman, Hyder Ali, with a glowing picture of the mutual delight to be experienced by them, when they should behold from his mansion in Madras, and "from the terrace on which they were then seated, the expulsion of the last infidel Englishman over the surf which foamed at their feet." *

On finding that his hypocritical appeals were made in vain to Lord Pigot, the nabob urged his inability to pay his English creditors, to whom he was largely indebted, if the revenues of Tanjore, the chief source of this security, were taken from him. His next plea was delay; but, obviating every difficulty, Lord Pigot, after the subject had been fairly broached, lost no time in restoring the rajah, for the crops were then on the ground, and it was of the utmost importance that they should be reaped for his benefit.

Under Colonel Harper, a body of the Company's troops, as a preliminary, entered the city of Tanjore, and, much to the disappointment of Sir Robert Fletcher, who had resumed the office of commander-in-chief at Madras, Lord Pigot took upon himself the honour of the re-instalment, the Council having invested him with full powers to do so. Lord Pigot entered the capital city on the 8th of April, 1776; the rajah's restoration was proclaimed amid salutes of artillery, and in the depth of his emotion in a glowing address that teemed with words of joy, he exclaimed, "Had I a thousand tongues, I could not express my gratitude."

* Auber.

He was but too thankful to agree to the somewhat humiliating stipulations by which his throne was restored to him. He placed his whole territory under the protection of the Company's troops, and instead of assigning a grant of land for the maintenance of the garrison at Tanjore, he undertook to defray it by an annual payment of £160,000 sterling.

Returning to Madras, Lord Pigot on the 5th of May reported to the Council his proceedings at Tanjore, and though approbation was expressed of them generally, it soon became obvious that much difference of opinion existed regarding the details, and "in this new shuffling of the cards, each party began to accuse the other of foul play, and of personal, and the most interested motives. Fierce quarrels ensued, and some of the revolutionary tricks which they had been playing in the divans of nabobs and rajahs came to be repeated in their own council chamber."

A civil servant of the Company named Mr. Paul Benfield, whose salary was so small as to be inadequate for his ordinary expenses, now asserted that he held assignments of the revenues of Tanjore to the amount of £160,000 for money lent to Toolajee, and on the growing crops, to the value of £72,000, for cash lent to individuals. Lord Pigot on receiving this statement—a somewhat startling one to be made by an underpaid junior civilian—simply replied that he would lay it before the Council. The latter body requested Benfield's vouchers for this debt, but he had none to produce, and referred them to the records of the *kutcherry*, or office, for the obligations, and also to the nabob, who said he would acknowledge the debt; but when the £72,000 came to be scrutinised, it sank down to £12,000, and it was also found that Benfield was not the principal creditor, but the agent or representative of those creditors by whom the £12,000 had been lent; and then it became but too apparent that the whole claim was a gigantic attempt to swindle, got up too probably by a collusion with the nabob, to cheat the rajah. Upon this view, without asserting it, the Council acted, by deciding to decline compliance with Benfield's request, as the claims brought forward were totally unconnected with the government.

This was on the 29th of May, and four days after, the inconsistent Council voted by a majority that the decision should be reconsidered, on the quibbling pretext that they thought Mr. Benfield had *demanded* payment, whereas it appeared that he merely requested it; and to make matters worse, they insulted Lord Pigot by deciding in opposition to him, that the nabob was entitled to make assignments on Tanjore; that such documents were public claims, and that Toolajee be instructed to recognise the validity of all pledges in corn held by Benfield.

Most violent were the dissensions which now ensued between Lord Pigot and the Council; and others followed fast. Colonel Harper had been left in command at Tanjore, but a Colonel Stuart chose to assert that the post, as the most important held by the Company's troops, was his in right of seniority; and in this matter, which a reference to the dates of their respective commissions would have set at rest, he was vigorously supported by Sir Robert Fletcher, who still cherished his grudge against Lord Pigot, and "who, having found himself once more in his proper element, in the midst of strife, had leagued with the majority."

The necessity for a European resident at Tanjore was generally admitted; but the nomination caused violent discussion. Mr. Russell was proposed by Lord Pigot, who thought that gentleman would carry out his own proper plans; and because he did so, others in a spirit of opposition proposed that Colonel Stuart should hold the joint offices of civil, or resident, and military commandant; and consequently he was at once appointed. More violent and unseemly disputes occurred for several days, before Colonel Stuart's instructions were approved of, and an order was issued to Colonel Harper desiring him to hand over his command at Tanjore to that officer. The president refused to sign either the instructions or the order, and until he did so the two documents were valueless.

On the 22nd of August the Council met again, when the old majority produced a minute containing a series of proposals to the effect "that the vote of the majority constitutes an act of government, without the concurrence of the president by signature or otherwise, and that it was unconstitutional for the president to refuse either to put the question or to execute the decisions of the majority."

Lord Pigot proposed on all the petty matters in dispute, to refer to the Court of Directors; but this idea was not accepted, and the majority resolved that if his lordship still persisted in declining to sign the required papers, that the secretary should do so in the name of the Council; and on this, the most extraordinary proceedings took place. After the order empowering the secretary to act thus was fully written out, and two of the Council had appended their signatures thereto, Lord Pigot seized the document, and drawing forth another, said that he had a charge to present.

This, just prepared by himself, was to the effect that "Messrs. Brooke and Stratton, two of the majority, had, by signing the order to the secretary, been guilty of an act subversive of the authority of the government." It would seem that by the standing orders of the Company, no member of Council, when under an accusation, could vote on any question referring thereto, and hence the effect of this move, by reducing the two factions to an equality, gave the casting vote to Lord Pigot, who, instantly availing himself of the privilege, carried a motion suspending Messrs. Brooke and Stratton.

On the 23rd of August the majority, instead of attending the Council, sent a formal protest by a notary, wherein they denounced the proceedings of the previous day, and declaring themselves the governing body, claimed the loyal obedience of the presidency; nor was the claim long permitted to remain unacted on, for copies of the protest were instantly served on the commanders of the troops, and on all vested with authority. Inflamed by anger at all this, Lord Pigot summoned the Council, but none attended save his own party, who passed a vote suspending all the rest, and ordered Sir Robert Fletcher to appear before a court-martial.

On the evening of the same day, the majority of the Council met elsewhere, and appointed Colonel James Stuart temporarily commander-in-chief, as Sir Robert Fletcher was on the sick list, with orders to arrest the president. This obnoxious task the colonel executed in a manner that showed a singular want of delicacy and good taste. His appointment to the command having been approved of by the unsuspicious president, he spent the greater part of the 24th with him over business matters. They breakfasted, dined together, and the colonel had an invitation to sup with him, and during all this time the arrangements for the arrest were in progress, and it was put in execution thus: Lord Pigot, in his carriage, with his intended guest by his side, returning from an evening drive, found himself suddenly surrounded by a guard of soldiers, who seized his horses, and ere he could speak, the colonel drew a warrant from his pocket, and told him that he must consider himself a prisoner. In this capacity he was conveyed to his residence at Mount St. Thomas, and detained in custody, while all who adhered to him were suspended by the violent and dominant party.

He now claimed the protection of the king's flag, on which our admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, demanded the immediate surrender "of George, Lord Pigot," with a safe conduct on board the flagship, in the name of His Majesty; but this application was first ignored, and finally resisted by the Council. These strange proceedings in Madras raised at home a storm in both Houses, which was heard in long echoes throughout every part of the country; and Admiral Pigot declared in the Commons that his brother had been offered a bribe equal to £600,000, if he would only defer the full restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore.

After various proceedings, which a writer has justly characterised as "difficult to describe with brevity, and as difficult to be understood if given in the fullest detail," on the 26th of March, 1777, the Court of Directors, by a majority, took a favourable view of Lord Pigot's administration, and ultimately they recalled the members of Council who had deposed and arrested him; they restored him to office, but ordered his instant return to Britain, and that he should deliver over the government to his successor and opponent, Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart. (of Farrand, in Yorkshire). But ere these orders reached Madras, poor Lord Pigot was in his grave. The imprisonment and affront had preyed so deeply on his health and spirits, that he died about eight months after his arrest.

In April, 1779, his brother, Admiral Pigot, moved and carried a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, among which was an address to George III., praying for the prosecution of four of the members of the Madras Council who were then in England—Messrs. George Stratton, Henry Brooke, George Player, and J. Megin. They were accordingly tried in a court of law, but merely for a misdemeanour, and the verdict of a special jury was obtained against them. "When brought up for judgment, their only punishment was a fine of £1,000 each, which to men so wealthy was scarcely a punishment at all, and was not so severe as taking five shillings from a poor man for being drunk and disorderly."

Sir Thomas Rumbold had reached Madras in February, 1778, and took upon himself the civil government, while the command of the forces was assigned to General Sir Hector Munro. The Carnatic now began to be menaced again, by Hyder Ali and his irrepressible allies, the French; but ere treating of his advance through the Ghauts, it will be necessary to narrate some proceedings elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WARREN HASTINGS.—THE FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—AFFAIRS IN BENGAL, ETC.

AFTER the departure and loss of the three supervisors, Vansittart, Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, in the *Aurora* frigate, the government of Bengal had been left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but within two years it was notified by the Court at Leadenhall Street to Mr. Warren Hastings that "he was nominated to the second place in Council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon him the charge of government till further orders."

The course of all events in India—then so remote from Europe, so far as rapid communication went—had long been regarded in England with total indifference, save by the relatives of the few who were then in the service of the Company, or the holders of stock; and there was long the feeling that it was impossible for people in Britain to understand the transactions in Hindostan; but now these were beginning daily to attract more and more attention, though few men, not holders of India stock, could comprehend the strange anomaly, presented in Leadenhall Street, of a dozen or so plain, business-like citizens of London, calling themselves directors, and a few hundred holders of shares, called proprietors, managing the affairs of about 100,000,000 souls, at the distance of so many thousand miles.

Warren Hastings reached Calcutta on the 17th of February, 1772, and on the 13th of the subsequent April, on the resignation of Mr. Cartier, he assumed the actual government of the presidency; and from that time began the brilliant and startling career by which his name, like that of Clive, is inseparably woven up with the history of British India.

In pursuance of the "Regulating Act," and in choosing him who was to be the first Governor-General, there was no difference of opinion as to the person most worthy of that important post. All pointed to Warren Hastings, from his long experience of India, his wonderful industry, and many other merits. Clive had considered him the best man for the appointment, and had been the first to congratulate him upon it. But the four members of Council appointed with him, and, unfortunately, each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Philip Francis, and Mr. Barwell.

"Warren Hastings," says Lord Macaulay, in his Essay, "sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which, after long dispossession, was regained, in our time, by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance. The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the Civil War. The Hastings of that time was a zealous Cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthall. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up, and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London. Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood."

The living was poor, and lawsuits soon ruined the holder of it. His eldest son, Howard, obtained a place in the Customs; his second, Pynaston, a reckless lad, married before he was sixteen, and died in the Antilles, leaving to the care of his penniless father an orphan boy, before whom lay a strange and ever memorable destiny—Warren Hastings, who was born on the 6th of December, 1732.

"The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench

with the sons of the peasantry; nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind that which, through all the turns of his adventurous career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. *He would be Hastings of Daylesford!* This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded, and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled 50,000,000 of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford; and when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die." *

A writership for him was obtained in the Company's service, and after perfecting himself in arithmetic and book-keeping, young Warren—so called from the family name of his mother—still remembering his inflexible resolution to recover Daylesford, in his eighteenth year sailed for India, then regarded as the sure high-road to fortune; that India which (out of Leadenhall Street) was still a land but little known in England, save as a shore, the bottom of whose sea "was rich with pearls and ambergris; whose mountains of the coast were stored with precious stones; whose gulfs breed creatures that yield rich ivory; and among the plants of whose shores are ebony, redwood, and the wood of Hairzan, aloes, camphor, cloves, sandal-wood, and all other spices and aromatics; where parrots and peacocks are birds of the forest, and musk and civet are collected upon the lands." †

Full of such ideas, Warren Hastings landed in Bengal in the October of 1750, and began his career in the factory of Cossimbazar, where he was made prisoner, when, as already related in its place, it was surprised by Surajah Dowlah, and Ensign Elliot shot himself. Under Clive he served at Plassey as a private volunteer; and having early attracted his attention, Hastings was, by him, appointed agent for the Company at Moorshedabad in 1758, and there he continued till 1761, and in those three years must have had ample opportunity to make a fortune, had he chosen to imitate the reckless cupidity of those around him; and after becoming a member of the Bengal Council, at a period when his colleagues were heedlessly following their insatiable thirst for gain by grinding oppression of the natives, and after vehement protestations against their conduct, he returned to England in 1764, by which time he had acquired a moderate degree of wealth, for he was enabled to present £1,000 to a sister, and settle £200 yearly on an aunt.

As Clive, at this time, was somewhat averse to employing Hastings in Bengal, from the circumstance of his having been a member of Vansittart's obnoxious Council in Bengal, he was appointed second member of Council at Madras, for which he sailed, in the *Duke of Grafton*, in the spring of 1769; and it was on this voyage that the only eccentric event of his life took place. Among the passengers was a German named Imhoff—who called himself a baron, yet worked as a portrait-painter—with his wife, a native of Archangel, a witty, agreeable, and attractive woman, with whom Hastings fell in love, all the more readily that she seemed heartily to despise her husband; and long ere the protracted voyage round the Cape was over, it had been finally arranged that, for the payment of a sum of money, "the baron" was to apply for a divorce in some German court, where the marriage tie could be most easily dissolved, and that Hastings, when the lady should thus be set free, was not only to marry her, but to adopt her children. The baron, by this speculation, pocketed far more money than he could hope to gain by painting portraits in India; while "the young woman who was born under the Arctic Circle was destined to play the part of a queen under the tropic of Cancer."

The Imhoffs continued to live in Madras as man and wife, Hastings defraying the expense of their splendid establishment, till about a year after, when he became President of Bengal, and "the decree of divorce permitted the baron to depart with a well-filled purse, the wages of dishonour; and the baroness now became Mrs. Hastings, to hold her levees, as the wife of the first Governor-

* Macaulay. † "Travels of Two Mohammedans."



JAUT ZEMINDARS AND PEASANTS.

General of India. The children also seem not to have been forgotten, for one of them is afterwards met with, bearing the rank and title of Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Imhoff." *

Hastings began his administration at Calcutta under many disadvantages. The famine, to which we have alluded, had occurred under the government of Cartier, and only a few months before the accession of Hastings to the chair took place.

"The situation of affairs," wrote Clive to him at this juncture, "requires that you should be very circumspect and active. You are appointed Governor at a very critical time, when things are suspected to be almost at the worst, and when a general misapprehension prevails of the mismanagement of the Company's affairs. The last parliamentary inquiry has thrown the whole state of India before the public; and every man sees clearly that, as matters are now conducted abroad, the Company will not be long able to pay the £400,000 to Government. The late dreadful famine, or a war either with Sujah Dowlah or the Mahrattas, will plunge us into still deeper distress. A discontented nation and disappointed minister will then call to account a weak and pusillanimous Court of Directors, who will turn the blow from themselves upon their agents abroad, and the consequences will be ruinous both to the Company and their servants. In this situation, you see the necessity of exerting yourself in time, provided the Court give you proper powers, without which, I confess, you can do nothing; for self-interest or ignorance will obstruct every plan you can form for the public."

And now, it may not be out of place to note the relations of Britain to the adjacent Indian powers, and of those powers to one another at this period, when the government of all our three possessions in the peninsula of Hindostan devolved upon Warren Hastings.

The government of the emperor at Delhi, who for years had been dependent upon the British, the Nabob of Oude, or the Mahrattas, was feeble in the extreme—so feeble, that even the Nizam of the Deccan, or the Soubahdar of Bengal, could affront his authority, which the major portion of the princes of India had completely shaken off. Thus now many vassals took advantage of the general decay of the Mogul power to raise their own, by any means, while Afghans, Sikhs, and Mahrattas, and the more powerful nabobs, were insulting the territories of those adjacent to them, and over many of which they usurped that authority which belonged, by legitimate right, to the Mogul emperor. With a state of affairs so perilous around him, it required, on the part of Warren Hastings, the most steady vigilance to maintain the balance of power in India, where our wars, in general, hitherto had arisen from the necessity of preventing the French, Portuguese or Dutch, from being too strong for our safety.

At this time, all the states and tribes around us were intent on incessant warfare, plunder, and the acquisition of territory; while many of their chiefs had higher ambitions still. The Court at Leadenhall Street deemed Allahabad, 450 miles up-country from Calcutta, as the leading centre, from which, "as from a watch tower, the English could look around upon the greedy and restless powers that prowled about them." From thence, so long as it suited their policy, they respected the nominal power of the Mogul, but under its prestige exercised themselves the reality thereof.

From that point of vantage, with its powerful fort, could be watched the territories of the Rohillas, Mahrattas, and Jauts, and of Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude; and, indeed, previous to the arrival of Hastings, the Council at Calcutta had ordered a strong brigade to occupy Allahabad, as being the key to Central India.

Northward of the mighty Ganges reigned the Nabob of Oude, who, by his position and great resources, could always prove a troublesome enemy; and who, if in alliance with the Company, could make them, and himself, the umpires of power in Hindostan. The numerous chiefs of the Rohillas ruled their warlike tribes in detached bands near the frontiers of the Mogul and those of Sujah Dowlah, but yet were unable to make any great movement without the instant knowledge of the former or his vizier; yet they could, at any time, launch 80,000 soldiers, chiefly well-mounted cavalry, on any point they chose. These Rohillas were among the best warriors in India, and regarded the Nabob of Oude as having some traditional authority over Rohilcund, the land wherein they dwelt. They were also deemed the best swordsmen in India, and were famous for the use of those terrible rockets, then so often handled in war, and which, under the name of a *fougette*, a French writer describes thus:—

"In shape it resembles a sky-rocket, whose flight is gradually brought to take a horizontal direction. It forces itself immediately forward, cuts as it penetrates, by the formation of its sides, which are filled with small spikes; it becomes on fire at all its points, and possesses within itself a thousand means by which it can adhere, set in flames, and destroy. It is more effectual," he continues, "for

* Beveridge.

the defence of harbours than red-hot shot: by means of its natural velocity it does more execution, and in a less space of time, than the most active field-gun could achieve, and requires but one horse; and as a defensible weapon, it must be admitted that, where a small body of men is attacked, the *fougette* may be adopted with the greatest advantage."

The tribe of the Jauts extended over the land, from Agra to within a few miles of Delhi, and they held three forts, which, like many others in India, enjoyed the reputation of being impregnable. Their artillery enjoyed, moreover, the highest reputation for skill and efficiency. South-west of Delhi lay the country of the Maharajah Madhoo, a ruler over many tribes; but the mass of his people were Rajipoots, or Rajpoots.

"These were deemed the proudest and bravest warriors in Hindostan. They were vain of their lineage, that they were universally descended from kings, and hence their name of *Raj*-poots. They could not patrol or forage like the Mahrattas, nor fling their rockets like the Rohillas, nor handle their cannon like the Jauts, neither had they the stature of the men of Oude; but they surpassed even the Rohillas in the use of the sword, and had the prestige of never having given way in battle. In a war with the Jauts," he continues, "their cavalry charged through the fire of ninety pieces of cannon, were thrice repulsed, each time only retiring to re-form, and at the fourth charge they won the victory. In stature they were rather below the middle size; but their persons were well-proportioned, their countenances handsome, and expressive of dignity and courage." *

The Sikhs, originally a Hindoo sect, whose chief doctrine was universal toleration, held all the territory from Sirhind, a barren and sandy district, in many places destitute of water, to the banks of the "Forbidden River," as the Nilab is named; for Ackbar, on his way to conquest, ordered a fort to be built upon the stream, which he named *Attock*, which means, in the Hindoo language, "forbidden;" hence by their superstition it was unlawful to cross that river.† They were now rapidly rising into importance in war and politics; but they were, as yet, too remote to be considered by the British in their Indian complications, however brave, energetic, and industrious they might be. Of all the tribes, from their power, policy, and position, the Mahrattas were the most likely to give Warren Hastings trouble—except, perhaps, the people of Mysore, whose importance depended on the skill and genius of their rajah. A kindred race with the Mahrattas, occupying contiguous territory, the Mysoreans were nearly similar in their social and military habits.

The general instructions given by the Court of Directors to the governors and councils in this remote land to which they sent them, were to the effect that they were to be—if possible—on friendly terms with *all* these nations, but to avoid, at the same time, alliances with them, offensive or defensive, as such would be certain to lead to wars; but also, not to allow any one to attain sufficient preponderance of power to attempt the conquest of the rest, and thus, by welding India into one vast people, become too formidable for us.

And generally and intelligently was the policy thus inculcated, carried out by the Councils of Presidencies, prior to the appointment of Hastings as first Governor-General.

* Nolan.

† See Dow's "Hindostan."

CHAPTER XXX.

MOHAMMED REZA KHAN AND THE RAJAH NUNCOMAR.

WARREN HASTINGS, it has been remarked by a recent writer, guided his government by an intimate knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people. At a time when their tongue was simply deemed a medium of trade and business, Hastings, skilled in the languages of India, was versed in native customs, and familiar with native feelings; so we can scarcely wonder that his popularity with the Bengalees was such that, a century after the great events we are about to narrate, the Indian mother hushed her babe to sleep with the name of Warren Hastings; and with him began, consciously and deliberately, the great purpose of subjecting all that vast peninsula to the crown of Great Britain.

The first duty of public importance that devolved

upon Hastings was in connection with the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors in 1771, and which arrived only ten days after he succeeded to the chair—relative to the curtailment of the allowance of the boy-nabob, Mubarek-ud-Dowlah, whose father had perished of small-pox during the dreadful famine. After this, Nuncomar (or Nundcomar), an infamous Hindoo Brahmin, to whom we have referred in relating the events of Mr. Vansittart's government, was competitor for the post of chief minister, with Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, a man of active, able, and religious habits, after the manner of his race. In England he would have been deemed a corrupt politician; but, judged by the Asiatic standard, he was a man of perfect honour.

Nuncomar, the Brahmin, whose name, by a melancholy fatality, has been inseparably connected with that of Warren Hastings, was a man who had played many important parts in the revolutions which had taken place in Bengal since the time of Surajah Dowlah, the perpetrator of the Black Hole atrocity; and in Nuncomar the national character of the Hindoo—if nationality he has—was strongly personified; and what that character is, is thus strongly summed up by Macaulay:—

"What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organisation of the Bengalee is feeble, even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour-bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled on by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, and veracity are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak, even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climes to admiration, not unmingled with contempt. . . . What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities, or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purpose yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage, which is often wanting in his masters. . . . The European warrior, who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah, will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death; but the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sydney."

Mohammed Reza Khan, on being appointed Naib-Dewan and Naib-Nizam, had complete control of the Bengal revenues, for the behoof of the Company, through the former office, while the latter enabled him to wield executive authority during the nonage of the orphan nabob. He had enjoyed the government of the province for about seven years; and in addition to the annual salary of nine lacs (£90,000) paid to himself, he had the uncontrolled disposal of about £320,000, entrusted to him for the use of the nabob; and when the order came to reduce that stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees, it fell to Hastings to put it in execution—and for this he was afterwards censured and condemned, as if the act had originated in himself.

However much the saving made may have lessened corruption, or purified the atmosphere of the young nabob's court, no corresponding increase was visible in the exchequer at Calcutta; and Hastings, in perplexity, was left to struggle through all the cares consequent on an almost empty treasury, while every ship and every despatch from Leadenhall Street brought clamorous demands for money—ever and always money.

Great were the power and influence which were placed in the hands of Mohammed Reza Khan; but, though his character stood high, and the belief was general that he had displayed equal fidelity and ability in the discharge of his trusts, nevertheless, rumours to the contrary began to be circulated, mysteriously and insidiously, whenever it was found that the revenues were falling short of what the Council of Bengal had sanguinely anticipated would be the means of exculpating themselves; and ultimately they did not scruple to insinuate that the fault lay with the management of Mohammed Reza Khan—thus it was resolved to deprive him of his important and profitable employments.

The general opinion now got rapidly abroad that he must have acquired enormous wealth during

those years in which the little nabob's thirty-two lacs, and all the money raised by taxes, duties, and privileges in Bengal, had passed through his hands. These rumours were industriously propagated by certain Hindoos, who had considered that a Mohammedan minister of finance was a great encroachment upon that monopoly which the greedy race thought they should have in all money matters; and the chief of those grumblers was the Maharajah Nuncomar, who had resolved to destroy the Mohammedan administration, and rise upon its ruins, although the Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues, and once in a case of forgery. On another occasion, while professing the strongest attachment openly to the British, it was discovered that he was the medium of a secret correspondence between the Mogul emperor at Delhi and the French in the Carnatic, with a view to undermine us.

As no Indian minister who ever held such a post as his had proved honest, it became an easy matter to accuse him of duplicity and rapacity, as there were few habits so ancient in the East, or for which there were so many precedents; and now Nuncomar began openly to urge that Mohammed Reza Khan, who had always been far too popular, was becoming a great deal too powerful, and was nursing in secret a plan to overturn the Company. The alarm thus sounded, it became an easy matter to dissipate the esteem in which he had been held, especially by the poor, when there were laid to his charge every vague or true story of oppression and calamity, but chief of all, the recent plague and famine, with the spread of the small-pox.

These charges, with all the others, and hints as suspicious concerning them, had been duly transmitted to the directors in London by a crafty Hindoo named Huzzernaul, a well-paid creature of Nuncomar, who had an extensive acquaintance with the servants of the Company; while his master made himself popular in Calcutta by a judicious distribution of presents, and thus formed a party sufficient to influence the votes and opinions of the members of the Court of Directors, whose embarrassments and cupidity made them readily take the worst view of the unsubstantiated charges brought against the luckless Mohammed Reza Khan, whose downfall was at once resolved on.

And with this view, on the 28th of August, 1771, the Secret Committee wrote thus to Hastings:—

"By our general orders you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as the Naib-Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But, though we have declared our resolution in this respect to our president and council, yet, as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof might be defeated by that minister, and all inquiry into his conduct rendered ineffectual, were he to have *any previous intimation* of our design, we, the Secret Committee, having the most perfect confidence in your judgment, prudence, and integrity, have thought proper to entrust to your special care the execution of those measures which can render the naib's conduct subject to the effects of a full inquiry, and secure that retribution which may be due."

The unconscious naib was not the only person to be arrested, as the governor was also enjoined to take measures for securing the whole family of Mohammed, together with the persons of all his known partisans and adherents, and, by such means as prudence might suggest, to convey them all instantly to Calcutta.

Though Hastings had not the least feeling of hostility to the naib, he was compelled to enforce these obnoxious orders, and took his measures with his usual zeal and dexterity. At midnight a battalion of sepoys surrounded the palace of the doomed minister at Moorshedabad. He was roused from sleep, and told that he was a prisoner. With Mussulman gravity, he simply bent his head in submission to the will of God, and went forth. But he went not forth alone, as, among others, there was arrested with him a chief, named Schitab Roy, whom he had made governor of Behar, and whose valour was only equalled by his attachment to the British; and this loyalty was never so much evinced as on that day when Captain Knox's little band of British bayonets scattered the whole host of the Mogul like chaff before the walls of Patna.

After being conducted to Calcutta, the inquiry into the conduct of the fallen minister was postponed for many months; and in the meantime, his office at the court of Bengal was entirely abolished. It was ordered by the Secret Committee, that none of those persons who were arrested with him should be liberated until he had exculpated himself, and made full restitution of all those sums which he was alleged to have appropriated to his own use; and yet further, they vaguely instructed the governor "to endeavour to penetrate into the most hidden parts of his administration, and to discover the reality of the several facts with which he was charged, or the justness of the suspicions they (the Secret Committee) had of his conduct."

Such instructions were more worthy of the ferocious Vehmgericht of the Middle Ages than of

persons deriving their authority from a court of quiet old gentlemen, sitting in Leadenhall Street, when George III. was king; but they were imperative, and left Hastings no alternative but to obey, or be dismissed in disgrace. In the same tenor the committee continued thus :—

"The Secret Committee knew Nuncomar to be a liar and a scoundrel, and therefore it was that they expected scoundrel's work from him. They gave Hastings no hint to be on his guard against his lies and malice—that was not their cue, for they wanted evidence, and cared not of *what* kind



WARREN HASTINGS.

"We cannot forbear recommending to you to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nuncomar may be able to give respecting the naib's administration; and, while the envy which Nuncomar may bear this minister, may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded *that nothing scrutable of the naib's conduct can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival.*"

Concerning these singular instructions, a writer says most justly :—

—but they warned Hastings not to give the villain too much for his services, and not to promise him the office of Naib-Dewan." *

The office of minister at Moorshedabad, we have said, was abolished, and the government was transferred from thence to Calcutta—from native to European hands; and a system of civil and criminal justice, under British superintendence was established, and the nabob was no longer, even

* Knight.



MUSSULMAN SCHOOL AT ALLAHABAD.

when of age, to have an ostensible share in the government, though he was still to receive his diminished annual allowance, and to be surrounded by a mock state of sovereignty. As he was still an infant, the guardianship of his person and property was entrusted to a lady of his father's harem, known as the Minnee, or Munny Begum; while the office of treasurer of the household was bestowed upon Goordass, a son of Nuncomar. The services of the latter were wanted—or his silence, perhaps—and it was deemed a master-stroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled spy and traitor by the promotion of his unoffending son.

The double government was now dissolved, and every way the Company were lords and masters of Bengal. Still the trial of the accused was delayed from time to time, till they were brought before a committee, over which Hastings presided in person. The gallant Schitab Roy was fully acquitted of all charge or suspicion, and a formal apology was tendered for the unmerited affront put upon him, and every Eastern mark of honour was accorded him. Presented with jewels, clothed in a shining robe of state, he was sent back to the seat of his government at Patna; but his health had suffered in captivity, and his high spirit had been so wounded by the degradation he had endured, that he died soon after of a broken heart; his appointments were given to his son, Kallian Sing.

The charges against Mohammed Reza Khan were not so quickly disposed of, as the inquiry, instead of being confined to the time he was Naib-Dewan of Bengal, was taken back to his earlier years, when he had been collector of the revenues at Dacca; and equally numerous and confident were the charges of his accusers, who were certain of his conviction, and of the distribution of his defalcations among them. One blunder with regard to the Dacca charges was soon proved. The name of Mohammed Reza Khan had been *substituted* for that of his predecessor in office, Mohammed Ali Khan; and he had, in consequence, been charged, during the two years he had held

the collectorate, with an annual payment of thirty-eight lacs of rupees, instead of twenty-seven lacs, the sum for which he had actually agreed. A sum of eleven lacs per annum, or twenty-two lacs for the two years, was at once cut off from the balance supposed to be due by him; and in the end, though the perfect innocence of the naib was not quite clearly established, Hastings was indisposed to deal harshly with him; and after a long hearing, in which the vindictive Nuncomar appeared as accuser, and in which he displayed but too plainly the rancorous hate that inspired him, Hastings declared that the charges had not been made out, and that the fallen man was at liberty. "The rival, the enemy so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt; the situation so long and so ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be, from that time, an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to repress such feelings; but the time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle."

While the position of affairs was thus, the Rajah Nuncomar began a new series of subtle villanies. Cruel, heartless, and infamous though he was, he was not without a zeal for the promotion of the Brahmin faith, and the uprootal of Mohammedanism in Bengal. With this view, or to this end, he sent to his son Goordass, the treasurer to the nabob under our auspices, certain letters, which he desired to have copied by the Munny Begum, then regent to the infant prince; and these were to pass as if addressed from herself to the Council at Calcutta. In these specially-designed letters were complaints of infractions of treaties by the British, of curtailments of the royal rights of her little charge, and bluntly demanding the restoration of those rights.

By this scheme, Nuncomar thought to kindle such a quarrel as should rouse the British to subvert the Mussulman influence in Bengal; and by humiliating a rival creed, in the confusion and fighting that must ensue, to gratify his hatred of Moslem and Christian alike, while, at the same time, power and plunder might accrue to himself. Hastings soon discovered where the evil spirit was at work; but aware how great and dangerous was the influence that this artful and malevolent son of Menou possessed at the India House, he deemed it prudent to take no step until he had put the Court of Directors in possession of the facts.

Instead of ordering his instant arrest, they delayed to reply distinctly for some time, affecting to deem him no worse than other natives; and there would seem to be little doubt that Nuncomar, by the money at his disposal, had won over, in London, some very high partisans, who dreaded the discovery of their having accepted such bribes. One of the objects contemplated by Nuncomar, both in India and England, was the destruction of Warren Hastings, who had foiled his plans before.

Foreseeing all this, the latter urged upon the directors that there could be no hope of peace or quiet in Bengal if this dangerous man was listened to; but while this last despatch was on its way, events transpired that were of more immediate importance than punishing the intrigues or contradicting the malevolent representations of the Maharajah Nuncomar.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TREATY OF BENARES.—ROHILLA WAR.—BATTLE OF BABUL-NULLAH, AND CONQUEST OF ROHILCUND.

For some time prior to these events, Warren Hastings had been busily devising means for placing the internal trade of Bengal, and the external traffic of the Company, upon a better footing, and in the reformation of all ranks and classes of the Company's servants; and in making these changes—which were deemed innovations, and most unwelcome ones—he became antagonistic to all, and found all antagonistic to him, as he was entrusted with the execution of these necessary reforms and alterations. As Clive had done before him, he was thus unconsciously, while in the fulfilment of his trust, sowing the seeds of hatred and vengeance, the effect of which he was to feel in time to come; and, in addition to these thankless and laborious tasks, were added the constant anxieties that arose

from the Company's peculiar connections with the Nabob of Oude, with Shah Alum, and the encroaching Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who at uncertain times burst into the heart of India, carrying war and terror from Delhi to the frontiers of Oude, and from the Ghauts of the Carnatic to those behind Bombay. In addition to these he had cause of trouble by murderous hordes of all descriptions—Jauts, Dacoits, Afghans, Bheels, Khonds, and Thugs, "and others of that long array of monstrosity which give to the history of Hindostan the appearance of fable, or of a hideous dream."

In his treaty with the Mogul emperor, Shah Alum, Lord Clive had guaranteed that weak and forlorn monarch the quiet possession of Allahabad and Korah, with twenty-six lacs of rupees annually as a stipend from the Company, who, amid their many embarrassments, had long grudged this money, which would appear to have been, at no time, too punctually paid, and for fully two years had been withheld altogether. Hastings had ample reasons to plead for withholding the stipend, though it happened, unluckily for him, that these reasons were not specified as probabilities in the Treaty of Allahabad; and hence, in natural anger, Shah Alum, quitting Korah and Allahabad—the only territories he had, and the possession of which he owed entirely to the Company—early in 1771, courted the alliance of the Mahrattas, and took the field with a mixed and numerous army. In this, it is said, that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowlah, of Oude, who longed to be rid of his presence, that he might seize upon both Korah and Allahabad, which had belonged of old to the kingdom of Oude, and which he hoped might fall under his rule, with the aid of the British, if he could make a pecuniary bargain with them.

In making* this junction with the Mahrattas, Hastings taxed the Mogul with equal treachery and ingratitude to the Company, and in a letter to Sir George Colebrooke, of Gatton, M.P., and long chairman of the Court of Directors, he said, that "of all the powers of Hindostan, the English here alone have really acknowledged his authority. They invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory."*

By the end of 1771, the Mahratta chiefs bore the forlorn and foolish Mogul triumphantly into Delhi; but though in the gorgeous palace of Aurungzebe, he was but a state prisoner in the hands of those hordes of warlike horsemen, who compelled him to do whatever they pleased; and he was soon hurried into the field, as they were eager for plunder, for the conquest and permanent possession of the land of the Rohillas, Rohilcund, or Kuttahir, an extensive district, which belonged of old to the province of Delhi, lying between the Ganges and the Gogra, and between the 28th and 30th parallels of north latitude. Its climate is temperate, and its soil most fertile. Long had the eyes of the vizier nabob, Sujah Dowlah, coveted this tempting district, in the hope of obtaining it by British aid and the Company's sepoys.

On learning that the Mogul had weakly ceded Korah and Allahabad to the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who declared his intention of taking immediate possession, the nabob claimed our assistance to prevent these perilous marauders from obtaining a footing in provinces that lay in the heart of his own territory—a settlement that would bring them close upon our own frontier. Thus, to anticipate their movements, Hastings threw into Allahabad a British garrison, under Sir Robert Barker, who was warmly welcomed by the deputy of Shah Alum, that official declaring that his master was no longer a free agent, but a captive of the Mahratta chiefs, who were actually in the habit of subjecting him to blows, and other degradations, when he refused to sign such decrees and firmans as they demanded.

Anxious to preserve peace, as the best means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal after the scourge of the famine, the Governor would gladly have contented himself with the demonstration of posting a brigade in Allahabad; and for some time he paid no attention to the representations of Sujah Dowlah, who persistently urged that the Mahrattas, after subduing Rohilcund, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, bursting down by the Ganges, would spread death and havoc through Bengal and Behar, as they could bring 80,000 men into the field—men before the flash of whose spears the effeminate Hindoos and timid Bengalees would grovel in the dust.

About this time, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bhotanese, a fierce and resolute mountain race, out of Cutch-Behar, a fertile and healthy province, lying between the Choncosh and the Ghoraghat rivers and the stupendous mountains of Bhotan, and to annex it to the Company's dominions, to which geographically it belonged. Jones followed the Bhotanese into their own remote country, and took their strongest fortress—Dhalimacotta—by storm, compelling them to send a *bonze*, or friend of the

* Gleig, "Memoirs of Warren Hastings."

Bogdo-Lama, as ambassador to Calcutta. At this same time, the attention of Hastings was fully occupied by the sudden inroads and devastations of the Senessee Fakirs, a vast multitude of variously armed men, who united in themselves the several characters of living martyrs, saints and jugglers, robbers and assassins, although such a combination was not reconcilable to Indian ideas and superstition.

Hordes of these wretches, almost naked, smeared with ochre, ashes, and ghee, had been for ages prowling over all India, pretending to live by alms and prayer, while stealing, murdering, and committing every species of abomination. An army of them, led by an old woman, calling herself an enchantress, had at one time defeated that of the Emperor Aurungzebe, and made him tremble on his peacock throne at Delhi. Silently, swiftly, the present horde, in bands of about three thousand each, rushed through Bengal, burning, destroying the villages, and committing unnumbered horrors wherever they went. Five battalions were sent in pursuit of them, but they swept from place to place with a celerity that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry. To save the Company's exchequer, Hastings had reduced the native cavalry, and, save a troop or so of horse, we had none in that part of India. When it was weakly supposed that this filthy swarm of fakirs had crossed the Brahmaputra river, they suddenly reappeared in various places in the interior of Bengal.

In a letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated March, 1773, Hastings says, that though "the severest penalties were threatened to the inhabitants in case they failed to give notice of the approach of the Senessees, they are so infatuated by superstition as to be backward in giving the information, so that the banditti are sometimes advanced into the very heart of our provinces before we know anything of their motions, as if they dropped from heaven to punish the inhabitants for their folly."

One of their detached bands fell in with a small party of our troops, under Captain Edwards, and threw them into confusion; after which, that officer, in attempting to rally his men, was slain and mutilated.

Excited by this petty victory, the savage fakirs rushed into fresh excesses, and actually put to the rout an entire battalion of sepoys, led by an officer who had been most vigilant in their pursuit, but who, until this occasion, always found them gone before he reached the place to which he had been directed. With one detachment, the Governor hastened to pursue and to punish, ordering another to follow a different track, which the fakirs usually took on their return. Yet, after great exertions by these and other corps, nothing was achieved, and those terrible marauders, covered with the blood of many assassinations, and laden with valuable plunder, crossing steep mountains and deep rivers in safety, reached their fastnesses in those wild and distant districts that lie between Hindostan, Thibet, and China; but the results of their ravages had a serious effect upon the revenues of the Company, quite as much from real as from pretended losses.

The nabob was now told that the operations of the Company would be purely defensive; and that, though troops had been placed in Allahabad, nothing should tempt them to overstep the strict line of defence, or allow our arms to pass beyond the frontier of Oude. But the wily nabob knew well the financial difficulties of the Company, and did not lose courage. He therefore proposed a personal interview at Benares. He reached that magnificent city on the 19th of August, 1773, and on the 7th of September there was concluded between him and the Company what has been named the Treaty of Benares, the leading articles of which were:—

"That the districts of Korah and Allahabad, which, less than three months before, had been formally taken possession of by one of the members of the Calcutta Council, 'in the name of the Company, acting as allies of the king, Shah Alum,' should be ceded to the nabob for fifty lacs of rupees, payable to the Company, twenty in ready money, and the remainder in two years, by equal instalments; and that for whatever of the Company's forces the nabob might require, he would pay at the fixed rate of 210,000 rupees per month for a brigade."

This treaty was very severely commented upon at home, and doubtless it bore injustice on the face of it, inasmuch as it engaged the Company to sell, for their own behoof, districts which were held by them in trust. Notwithstanding this, the biographer of Hastings maintains that he really cannot see "upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatised as infamous." But though that clause of the treaty looked harmless enough, the understanding which bound the Company to accept money as the price of blood, and to hire out its troops as mercenaries, bore an unpleasant construction.

"If we understand the meaning of words," comments Macaulay, "it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage

in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this: to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans."

Be all this as it may, the war went on, though the Government were not without misgivings; and Hastings, in a singularly blundering and somewhat sophistical way, compared the relation of Rohilcund to Oude, with that of Scotland to England, before the union of their crowns; but he forgot that Scotland was an independent kingdom, while the Rohillas were scattered over a country peopled by different races, who regarded them as intruders and severe task-masters; so, in that sense, the simile was absurd.

"The Rohilla country," he wrote, "is bounded on the west by the Ganges, and the north and east by the mountains of Tartary. It is to the province of Oude, in respect both to its geographical and political relation, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It lies open on the south where it touches Oude. The reduction of this territory would complete the defensive line of the vizier's dominions, and, of course, leave us less to defend, as he subsists on our strength entirely. It would add much to his income, *in which we should have our share.*"

And with these incentives, it was resolved to make war on the first opportunity.

Hastings was not deceived in his anticipation that the Vizier-Nabob of Oude would soon want his assistance. As the year 1773 was closing, the nabob was somewhat scared by a rumour that the Abdallees, a fierce and warlike Afghan tribe, were about to invade him, and actually applied for some place of shelter within our territories for the women and children of his family, and also for those of the principal chiefs of Oude. Hastings immediately granted this request, considering that it sounded well in favour of humanity, and to the honour of Britain; while, at the same time, he shrewdly supposed that the families of these great zemindars would be accompanied by a host of retainers and servants, many of whom might settle within the safe and certain frontier of our territory; but he was disappointed in this. The Abdallees did not come down from their native mountains, so the nabob and his zemindars kept their zenanas and children at Lucknow and Fyzabad.

But soon after, the Nabob of Oude made an application of another kind. Encouraged by some successes which he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new alliance made with the Mogul, who had escaped from these invaders, and had actually offered to assist in the reduction of Rohilcund, he applied for the promised brigade of the Company's troops, which, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to begin its march from Patna.

There was no longer any disguise as to the kind of service in which these troops were to be engaged, for the colonel was distinctly told "that the object of the campaign was the reduction of the Rohilla country lying between the Ganges and the mountains. On entering the vizier's country, he was to acquaint his excellency that he was at his service, and seek a personal interview, for the purpose of concerting the intended operations in which the Company's troops were to be employed."

In making these hostile arrangements, the claims of humanity were completely omitted, as nothing was remembered about mitigating the evils of war to the unfortunate people about to be attacked and sacrificed; but the money question—the 210,000 rupees per month—was kept prominently in view, and Champion had orders to fall back on Benares if it was permitted to be a day beyond the month in arrear.

The colonel commenced his march at a time when the Governor did not think that the vizier-nabob, who was conferring with the Mogul in the vicinity of Delhi, could be ready to take the field. However, "the brigade," he wrote, "will gain in its discipline by being on actual service, and its expense will be *saved.*" On the 21st of February, 1774, Colonel Champion took the field; and on the 24th of March he crossed the Caramnassa, a small river which falls into the Ganges near Buxar, and was in full march towards the country of the Rohillas, when he received a letter from their leader, a famous warrior, named Hafiz Rahmet, proposing an accommodation.

This could not be listened to, as the nabob, who had formerly made the non-payment of forty lacs of rupees a pretext for the war, now demanded two *crores*, equal to two millions sterling—more than the whole country contained in specie. The luckless Rohillas, aware now that nothing but their destruction would satisfy a cruel enemy, to whom the Company, in whose equity they had hitherto placed some reliance, had completely abandoned them, prepared to put the whole affair to the issue

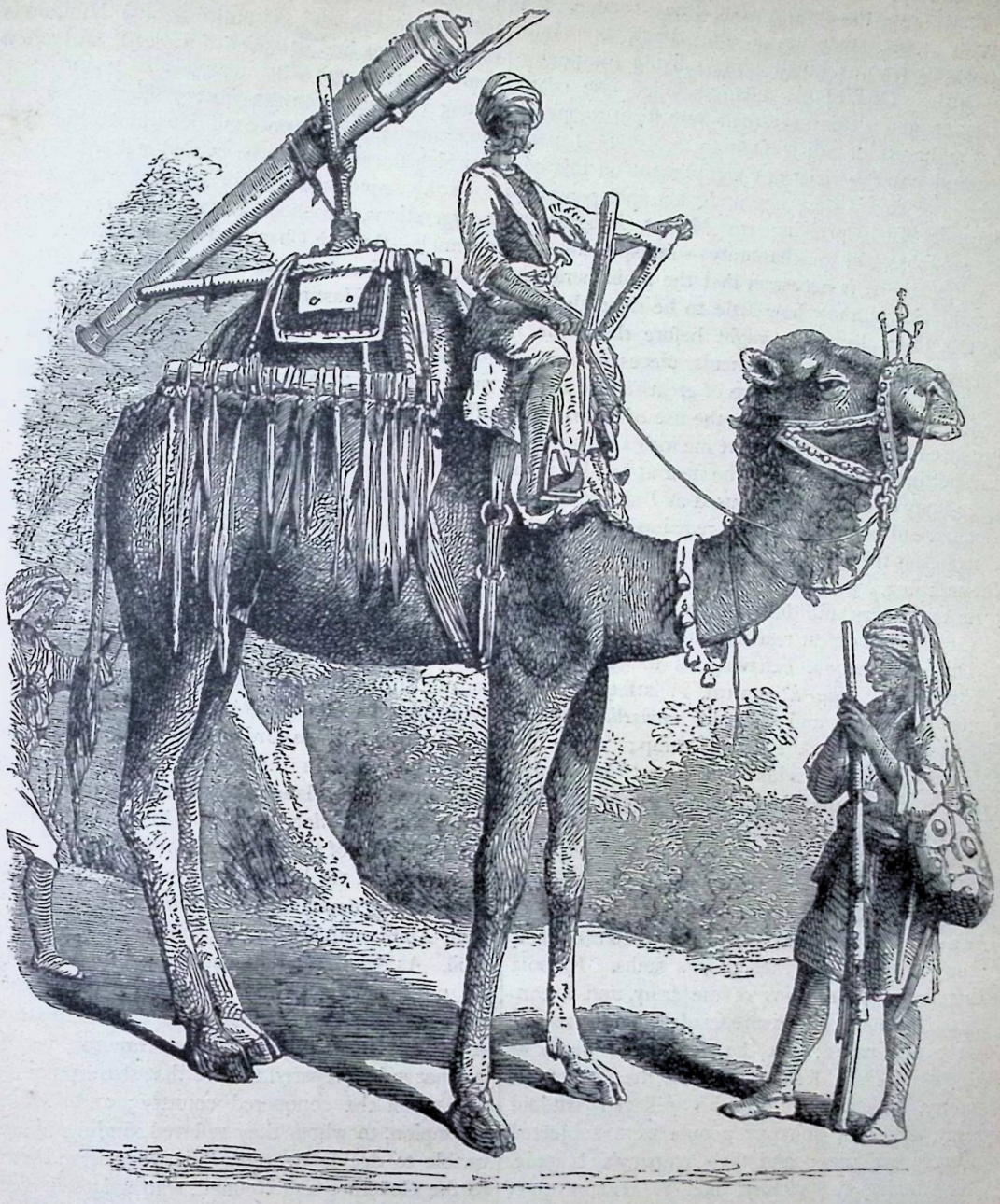
of the sword, and, in hot haste, mustered 40,000 men—infantry, horse, and rocketeers.

With these, Hafiz Rahmet took up a strong position at Babul Nullah. There, on the morning of the 23rd April, they were seen under arms as Champion's brigade advanced in line against them, and they did not decline the encounter; so the battle began on both sides with equal spirit. Champion had, save a few field-guns, musketry only; the enemy, in addition to their matchlocks, had their heavy artillery and terrible rockets.

"It is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness than the enemy displayed," reported Colonel Champion to Hastings. "Numerous were their gallant men who advanced, and often pitched their colours between both armies in order to encourage their men to follow them; and it was not till they saw our whole army advancing briskly to charge them, after a severe cannonade of two hours and twenty minutes, and a smart fire of musketry for some minutes on both flanks, that they fairly turned their backs. Of the enemy,



INDIAN FAKIR.



CAMEL JINGALL.*

* Jingalls, small brass cannon mounted upon camels, have been long used in the native armies of India. Though almost useless when opposed to the means and appliances of modern warfare, they possess the advantage of easy transport across country, or over bad roads. In India especially this quality is a very valuable one, the camel being able to carry his burden across nullahs and over portions of road torn away by mountain torrents in the rainy season, where no carriage of any description could venture.

The rider, who is also the artilleryman, works the gun from his seat on the shoulder of the camel, for which purpose he shifts his position, facing round towards the gun, and leaving the management of the camel to the *tenkendauze* on foot, who turns the animal about as opportunities present themselves, to enable the gunner to point his weapon, which works upon pivots giving it a vertical and horizontal movement, and, if necessary, sweeping the whole of the surrounding country within the limits of its range.

above 2,000 fell on the field, and among them many sirdars (leaders). But what renders the victory most decisive is the death of Hafiz Rahmet, who was killed while rallying his people to battle. One of his sons was killed, one taken prisoner, and a third, returned from flight to-day, is in the hands of Sujah Dowlah. . . . I wish I could pay the vizier any compliment on this occasion, or that I were not under the indispensable necessity of expressing my highest indignation at his shameful pusillanimity — indispensable, I say, because it is necessary that the administration should clearly know how little to be depended on is this their ally. The night before the battle I applied to him for some particular pieces of cannon, which I thought might prove of great service in the action, but he *declined* giving the use of them. He promised solemnly to support me with all his force, and particularly engaged to be near at hand, with a large body of cavalry, to be used as I should direct. But, instead of being nigh, he remained beyond the Gurrah, on the ground on which I had left him in the morning, surrounded by his cavalry and a large train of artillery, and did not move thence till news of the enemy's defeat reached him."

Thus the nabob, behaving as nabobs usually do, remained, like a coward, in safety till the victory was won, and then his unwarlike rabble rushed on to pillage the Rohilla camp; "while the Company's troops," adds Champion, "in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed: 'We have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit.'"

Both the nabob and the colonel (who was not indifferent to a little prize-money) complained of each other to Hastings, and in the rancour of their feelings, exaggerated each other's faults. Fyzoola Khan, with the remains of the army, and a considerable amount of treasure, made good his retreat to the mountains; but the defeat and death of the gallant Hafiz Rahmet decided the fate of his country, which was forthwith pillaged without mercy, while its unhappy people were subjected to every barbarity; and the Company's brigade, after winning the victory, had to remain quiet spectators of the awful use made of it, and "were," says Champion, "witnesses of scenes that cannot be described."

This affords a sufficient key-note for one of Macaulay's eloquent passages, thus:—

"Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than 100,000 people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the nabob-vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the *mode* in which the war was to be carried on."

In the sequel, many reports of the war, perhaps exaggerations, reached Europe through British channels—through Champion and his officers, who were alike incensed at, and disgusted with, the nabob; and Hastings soon felt, to his cost, the consequences of this over-colouring in the many pamphlets put forth by his enemies about this time. One narrative, published at London in 1781, affirms that 500,000 souls had been driven from Rohilcund across the Jumna; another account reduces this to 18,000 men, found with arms in their hands; but the Hindoos of the country, about 700,000 in number, experienced by the conquest nothing more than what they were always accustomed to—change of masters.*

Champion described the misery of the people generally as "unparalleled," and the country as overspread with the flames of rapine; and the feeling became strong that the Bengal Presidency had no right to participate in this war, and sell their troops for money to a dastardly tyrant, by whom the finest population in India were subjected to every evil. Agriculture languished, commerce died, and under Sujah Dowlah, Rohilcund became the most miserable part of his wretched dominions.

Before the Rohilla war was finished, Nujeef Khan, who commanded the army of the Mogul, Shah Alum, marched in to claim his share of the spoil. As Sujah Dowlah, who piqued himself upon his position as vizier, or prime minister, at the court of Delhi, felt it proper to act, in all matters, as if with the sanction of the emperor, yet he was not quite prepared to give that sham potentate a share of the conquered country; and Colonel Champion, to whom they referred, finding himself unable to decide between the two, referred them to the Governor and Council, who wriggled themselves out of the matter by a decision in the following terms:—

"It is our intention to persevere in pursuit of the object which originally engaged us in the present enterprise, and to adhere strictly to our engagements with the vizier, without suffering our attention to be diverted by foreign incidents or occurrences." In other words, says a writer, their treaty with Sujah Dowlah was of a nature

* Hamilton's "History of the Rohilla Afghans."

that did not permit them to be over-fastidious; and, without inquiring whether it was consistent with his other obligations to yield a portion of his conquest, they were determined to perform their part to the very letter, and thereby establish an indefeasible right to all they had stipulated in return.

After the defeat at Babul Nullah, Fyzoola Khan, a valiant Rohilla chief, took up a strong post near the frontiers, at the head of all the fugitives and dispossessed, expecting that he would be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, and also that the Mahrattas would betake them to horse and spear, a contingency, the fear of which induced the nabob to open secret negotiations with him, an unexpected turn of affairs, which disgusted Colonel Champion and his brigade. The latter were becoming worn out by long and forced marches, short rations, and the total absence of all prize-money, and now did not feel themselves over-anxious, in such a despicable cause, to attack a bold and hardy enemy in a formidable position, amid rocky mountains, defended by trenches, stockades, and redoubts.

A hurried treaty was concluded with Fyzoola Khan; he surrendered one-half of all he possessed to the Nabob of Oude, who condescendingly presented him with a *jaghire*, or estate, in Rohilcund. A few chiefs remained with him on the frontiers, but the majority, with their followers, quitted the land for ever, and went forth, with sword and lance, to seek elsewhere another home. Thus the Afghan race were nearly rooted out of Rohilcund. "Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day, valour and self-respect, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race."

The war being nearly over, the vizier intimated to Colonel Champion, in the month of May, that he had no further occasion for the services of the troops in the field before the rains, so preparations were made for cantoning them at Bareilly; the nabob having now acquired the whole territory lately possessed by Hafiz Rahmet, with Ouly and Bessauly.*

All this had barely been adjusted, according to the writer just quoted, when the brigade was called again into the field by intelligence that matters had been accommodated between the Mahratta chiefs. The nabob was, therefore, anxious to complete the total subjugation of the whole country, by which any designs of the Mahrattas and the Mogul —who had taken into his service the infamous Sumroo, the assassin of Patna—might be frustrated.

* Auber's "British Power in India."

Under these circumstances, Colonel Champion again advanced, a demonstration which quelled all disturbances, and finally established the authority of the nabob. The latter had been punctual in his monthly subsidies to the brigade, and had given an assignment on his treasury for fifteen lacs, due by the treaty of 1773, for the second payment on account of the cession of Korah and Allahabad.

After this, he and the Mogul having entered into negotiations by which they satisfied, or, more likely, pretended to satisfy each other, Colonel Champion was directed by the Council to be present to watch all proceedings generally, but to abstain from committing the British to any new engagements. This he did with equal faith and suspicion; for having been disposed to attribute too much importance to the despicable intrigues of Indian courts, he considered the allies of the Company to be just as dangerous, if not more so, than their enemies.

Peace was now established, and whatever may be said of the political morality of the Governor, the financial results did him honour. In less than two years after he took the chair, he had, without adding to the burdens of the people, given £450,000 to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring a million in ready money. He had also relieved Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to a quarter of a million a year, by throwing that charge on the Nabob of Oude; and "there can be no doubt, that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country; and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration."

On the 11th of May, 1774, a measure, abolishing the right to buy and sell slaves who had not been previously known as such, was carried into effect. The object was to prevent child-stealing for the purposes of slavery—a practice which the Dutch and French, but more particularly the latter, had greatly encouraged.

The suppression of those savage robbers, known as Dacoits, offered many difficulties; but the Governor, by his skill and perseverance, achieved it, greatly to the relief of the people and Government.

In the year 1774, Mr. Halkhead, of the civil service, made an English translation of the Mohammedan and Hindoo Codes of Law. It was published in March the following year, and dedicated to Governor Hastings, to whom the translator attributed the original plan, result, and the ultimate execution of this most useful work.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DISSENSIONS AT CALCUTTA.—AFFAIRS OF OUDE.—REVOLT OF THE MATCHLOCKMEN.

THE Rohilla war had barely come to conclusion, when the new constitution, as formed by Parliament, came into full operation. Hitherto, Warren Hastings, as simple Governor, had exercised an undivided authority; but now that he became Governor-General of India, his unity of power was to cease. The members of his Council, General Clavering (aide-de-camp to the king, and colonel of the 52nd Regiment), Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, arrived at Calcutta on the 19th of October, 1774. Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before. On the following day, the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and Hastings, with the rank of Governor-General, took possession of all powers of office.

A commission was issued to him, constituting him Governor and Commander-in-chief of the fortress and garrison of Fort William and the town of Calcutta, the object of this conjunction being to obviate all chance dispute with the senior officer in command, who, without his sanction, was not to leave Bengal; and Lieutenant-General Clavering (afterwards Sir John Clavering, K.B., Bart., of Axwell, in the county of Durham) was appointed Commander-in-chief of all the Company's forces in India.

The Company reposed great confidence in the integrity, propriety, and co-operative disposition of Mr. Barwell, who had been long in the country; but Clavering they did not know. It has been said that he was a man of strong prejudices, and that, as a king's officer, he disdained the military service of the Company, although, more than once, he was constrained to compliment the talents and bravery displayed by its officers. Unfortunately, he and Colonel Monson arrived in Bengal with a determination to thwart and oppose the civil servants of the Company, and, more especially, the Governor-General, believing that by so doing, they were sustaining the public prejudice that existed in England, particularly in the House of Commons; for at home there was a large circle of short-sighted politicians, who were desirous of seeing the Company destroyed, and the territories they had acquired handed over to the Government.

These were the leading party men, who were anxious to secure to themselves the power and patronage which would thereby accrue to their parties respectively, if the three presidencies were governed by, and under the immediate control of, the home ministry. Mr. Philip Francis—supposed by some (Macaulay among others) to have been "Junius"—was a man by nature haughty and turbulent, tyrannical and malignant; and the Court of Directors, though they knew neither his temper nor his talent, knew enough of his antecedents to be certain that no position would satisfy his ambition, no courtesy soften his arrogant temper, and that his combative spirit would inspire him to carry out any quarrel to the bitter end. In short, he has been described as a man whose disposition "alone was enough to produce discord in Paradise;" and of his four colleagues in the new system of government, not one was acceptable to Hastings.

Francis, we are told, hated him, from the beginning, with an intensity of which few English natures are capable; but among the judges who had arrived with the new members of Council, was Sir Elijah Impey, an old and dear friend of Hastings. They had been schoolfellows together at Westminster, and Hastings, in his delight at the appointment, had written thus to Impey:—

"The news of your appointment to preside over the High Court of Justice affords me every cause of satisfaction, without a circumstance of regret to alloy it. In truth, my friend, nothing else could have reconciled me to that part of the act which, if any latitude is left to you, may, and I am sure will, be a source of the most valuable benefits to this country."

The members of the new Council soon began their open war with Hastings, by references to the affairs of Oude and the recent conquest of Rohilcund; and asserted, by implication, that he embarked in that strife from private and sordid motives, and that fraud and selfishness inspired his whole transactions with Sujah Dowlah. Hastings, conscious of his own superior knowledge of Indian affairs, and the character of the natives, and of the system which worked best with the princes, had, in conformity with his own ideas and line of action, appointed his friend, Mr. Middleton, to be president and agent at the Court of Oude, with instructions that on all secret and important matters he was to correspond with himself alone, without communicating with the Calcutta Council, the members of which did not preserve that judicious secrecy which

he considered so necessary for the success of diplomatic schemes everywhere, but nowhere so much as in India.

Hastings maintained that the immemorial usage of the civil service left the whole correspondence with the native powers and princes in the hands of the Governor, and that, in this light, Mr. Middleton could alone correspond with, and receive orders from, himself; but this was precisely the point to which the arrogant Francis, and his two unheeding military coadjutors, now addressed themselves.

They demanded that the whole of Middleton's correspondence, from the date of his arrival at the nabob's court, should be laid before them; but Hastings refused to produce more than a portion, and hence their suspicion that he had been actuated by sordid motives and self-aggrandisement; though Hastings was now actually a poorer man than when he had quitted his more subaltern post at Madras in 1771. Constitutionally, he was indifferent to money for himself, and was far above the base motives so readily imputed to him.

He had made, as we have stated, great reductions in expenditure, and gathered, for the benefit of the Company, enormous contributions, though perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had been carried on with the strictest principles of political justice. But Philip Francis (afterwards Sir Philip, and K.B.), from the ungovernable nature of his temper, and activity of his disposition, backed by Clavering and Monson, constituted a majority of the Council; they assumed the whole powers of governance, and Hastings, with his solitary adherent, the conscientious Barwell, was reduced to a cipher, and, naturally, a species of anarchy ensued.

They voted and passed a motion that Mr. Middleton should be instantly recalled from Oude, although Hastings passionately urged upon them that "such a measure would be attended with the very worst effects, as proclaiming to the natives that the British authorities were no longer agreed among themselves, and that the government of Calcutta was falling into a state of revolution."

The nabob, who had no conception of a divided power, or of the nature or use of a Council, and who had always been used to look, in all matters, direct to Hastings in person, was utterly confounded by this sudden state of affairs; and when Middleton showed him the letter of recall, he burst into tears, in his timid nature regarding it but as the precursor of hostilities against himself. Other differences arose daily in the Supreme Council, which, by ignorant intermeddling, soon contrived to throw the affairs of Bombay and Madras into confusion; and the imperious commands of Francis, endorsed by Clavering and Monson, were let loose as a curse on British India; and Lord Macaulay records the result of their mal-administration to have been, "that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers (Dacoitee?) slaughtered and plundered with impunity, in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government House, and draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the Council Board in the transactions of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, that which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him."

He began to complain bitterly of the precipitancy, rashness, and ignorance of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and, in a letter to Sullivan the director, written in the December of 1774, he wrote thus:—

"I am afraid you will see too close a resemblance in the disputes in which I am engaged to those between our late friend (Mr. Vansittart) and his Council; but I trust that, by the benefit of his example and my own experience, and by a temper which, in spite of nature, I have brought under proper subjection, I shall be able to prevent the same dreadful extremities which attended the former quarrels. . . . Without friends, without any kind of personal interest, I have but a discouraging prospect; yet I am prepared for the worst, and shall return quietly and contentedly to England the moment I hear of my recall, for there is no room for palliatives. I hope that my reputation may be spared; but if it is to be blackened for the sake of giving a fair colour to the severity which is to be exercised towards me, I will most certainly defend myself, and I am sure that I shall be able to do it, to the shame of my calumniators."

In a letter written on the same day to Frederick, Lord North, then premier of Great Britain, and afterwards second Earl of Guildford, he said, with reference to the quarrels in the Indian Council—

"I do not mean in this letter to enter into a detail of its rise and progress, but will beg leave to refer to those despatches for the particulars, and for the defence both of my measures

and opinions. I shall here assure your lordship that this unhappy difference did not spring from me, and that, had General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis brought with them the same conciliatory spirit which I have adopted, your lordship would not have been embarrassed with the appeals of a disjointed administration, nor the public business here retarded by discordant quarrels." *

The Rohilla war was a never-ending source of dispute. One party described the natives who had been dispossessed as all that Macaulay paints them; the other averred that they had all the craft and treachery peculiar to the worst class of the Indians, to which was added the blood-thirstiness of the jungle tigers, and that the real objects of pity in Rohilcund were the meek and oppressed Hindoos. Champion's brigade was to be withdrawn; but the price of the war was to be paid into the treasury, and the nabob was to be compelled to pay to the last anna all he had promised, and to be terrified into making earlier payments than had been agreed upon. "Thus," says a writer pithily, "if they considered the Rohilla war as diabolical work, they would still have the devil's money;" and these resolutions were carried into execution forthwith, despite the most earnest remonstrances of Hastings and of Barwell.

Their proceedings so harassed and terrified Sujah Dowlah, that it is supposed they shortened his life, for he died soon after, early in January, 1775, in his last moments dictating a letter to Warren Hastings, in which he implored protection and friendship for his eldest legitimate son and successor.

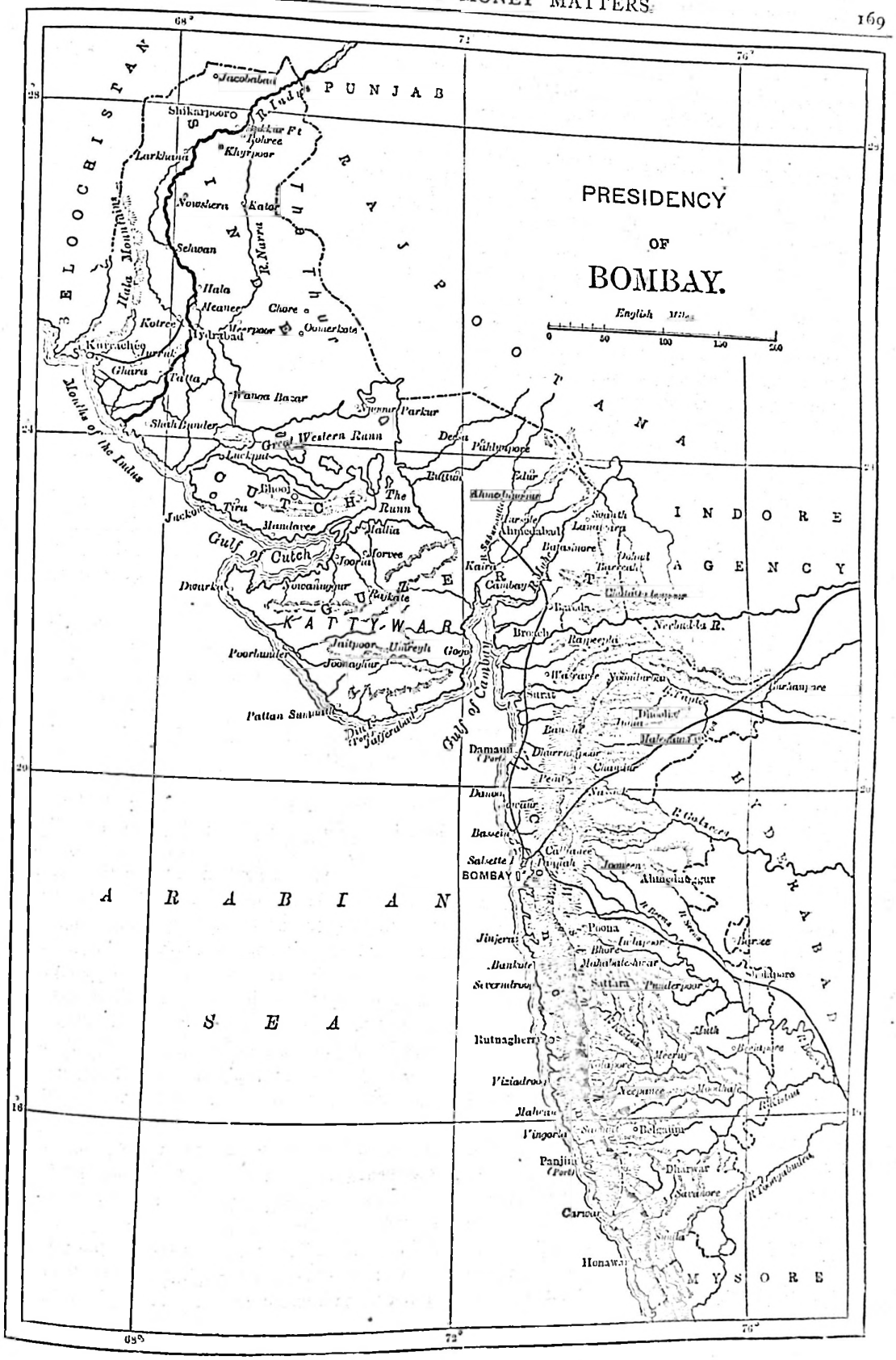
The latter, by name Asoff-ud-Dowlah, now succeeded to the nabobship of Oude, with all its dependencies, including Rohilcund; but the petty majority of the Council were now as harsh to the son as they had been to the father, and started a very strange doctrine. They maintained that the treaty made with the late nabob expired with himself, and that they were therefore entitled to negotiate with his successor, on the principle that all former arrangements had ceased to be binding. From whence these pundits drew their ideas of international law does not appear, but the profits to accrue therefrom confirmed them strongly in a sense of their own wisdom. In one sense, as a very heavy debt was owing the Company, it appeared that an application of their doctrine to the new nabob would be very efficacious, so, through their agent at Oude, Mr. Bristow, who had succeeded Mr. Middleton, and who took his orders from, and acted entirely in the spirit of, Messrs. Francis, Clavering, and Monson, the luckless Asoff-ud-Dowlah was peremptorily commanded to accede to a treaty which contained one essential article that was, undoubtedly, far more questionable than Hastings' arrangements for the conquest of Rohilcund.

Their terms were, that all the sums of money due to the Company by the late Sujah Dowlah were to be fully and rapidly discharged; that the purchase of Korah and Allahabad, for which fifty lacs of rupees had been paid (or promised) should be ratified, but only on condition that over and above the purchase-money the Company should receive a free grant of the territory of Benares, held under Oude, by the Rajah Cheyte Sing, as zemindar, and yielding a revenue of 2,210,000 rupees (or £221,000), which territory it was not in the nabob's power to cede, as it had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings.

There is little wonder that, in such hands, Asoff-ud-Dowlah displayed what the author of the "British Power in India," terms "the most fluctuating disposition," and delayed to sign the new treaty till he found that delay and resistance availed him not. Moreover, the monthly pay of the Company's brigade, if it was to remain in Oude, was to be increased by 50,000 rupees. Hastings, with just indignation, refused to sanction this treaty, which, nevertheless, met with the warmest approbation of the Court of Directors at home; for these gentlemen, inspired only by the spirit of acquisitiveness, looked smilingly at the money clauses, heedless of the gross injustice of the conditions, or the young prince's ability or inability to fulfil them.

Great importance had been all along attached to the alliance with Oude, as a barrier against the Mahrattas; but matters were not improved by the accession of Asoff-ud-Dowlah. Suspecting the fidelity of Busheer Khan, who commanded in Rohilcund, he took the true Oriental way to get rid of him, by ordering his assassination; but the latter escaped to Agra, where Nujeef Khan, the general of the Mogul army, took him into his service. Shortly after, two chiefs, to whom he had entrusted his conquests in the Doab, threw off their allegiance, and declared themselves independent. These events, with other disturbances fermented by the ambitious spirit of Murteza Khan, the prime minister of Asoff-ud-Dowlah, induced the Council to interfere, more especially as the subsidy had fallen heavily into arrear. In his desperation he applied to his mother, Baboo Begum, who had

* Gleig's "Life of Hastings."



MAP OF THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

possession of all his father's treasure, and she gave him the sum of thirty lacs, and a release for a sum of twenty-six lacs previously advanced, on his binding himself to trouble her for money no more.

To provide for defence abroad and tranquillity at home, he placed European officers over his troops; but having disbanded a body of match-lockmen, while their pay was five months in arrear, a dangerous mutiny broke out, and 4,000 of them set out to attack his camp at Etawah, on the banks of the Jumna. There the banks of the river are prodigiously high, and are rent or perforated into enormous holes and ravines by the action of the rains, while the soil is a hard conglomerated earth. The town, which overhangs these ravines, has a curious aspect, many of the houses being perched on crags which have been cut off from the main body; but ruin and desolation are everywhere apparent.* Yet in no part of India, save the hill-districts, are more beautiful flowers, birds, and insects to be seen. There the oleanders, spreading into large shrubs, send forth their delicious perfume from clusters of pink and white blossom; the baubool also breathes from its bells of gold, while the white jasmine and other flowers that are full of fragrance abound; and amid the bushes may be seen the lovely little tailor-bird, sewing leaves together in his sweetly-scented nest; the bright green fly-catcher; the ring-necked parroquet; and the *byaks*, or crested sparrows, whose breasts are of the brightest yellow, and look like gold as they float along; and numbers of gaily-plumaged water-birds feed there along the banks of the Jumna.

Here, then, in this romantic spot, Asoff-ud-Dowlah came to meet his mutineers, if disbanded men can be called so. He went forth in person, but having failed to pacify them, resolved to put them down by force, and for this purpose drew up 15,000 sepoys in line. Mr. Bristow, as resident, remonstrated against this proceeding, but in vain, and a regular battle ensued. Some of the match-lockmen, appalled by the force opposed to them, gave way; but of 2,500, who bravely held their ground, 600 were killed and many wounded, while 300 sepoys fell—altogether a new way of settling arrears of pay, that seems rather costly. After this disturbance was quelled, Asoff-ud-Dowlah spent many days sunk in dissipation, in drinking to excess, and amusing himself by the intoxication of all about him. "Such was the ally from whom the Company had been taught to expect so much!"

The nabob, while lingering at Etawah, obtained from the emperor, Shah Alum, the office of Vizier of the Mogul Empire, which had been held by his father—an empty title, for which he had to pay by a handsome present. But intrigues began to prevail at his court and everywhere around him. His favourite minister, Murteza Khan, behaved to all with insulting arrogance, and, in return, was cordially hated as an upstart; and at the head of the malcontents was Kojah Bussunt, an eunuch, who had frequently distinguished himself in battle, and now commanded the army of Oude. So bitter was the hatred between Kojah and Murteza Khan, that one night, after an apparent reconciliation, when they had both drunk to excess, the latter was murdered by some assassins.

Affecting to be innocent of this atrocity, Kojah Bussunt waited on the nabob to explain, but was ordered at once to be beheaded. Saadut Ali, the nabob's brother, and real instigator of the murder, fearing that he was in danger, mounted a swift horse, and fled to Nujeef Khan; so thus, in one day, did the nabob lose his general, his minister, and his brother. From Etawah he went to Lucknow; but his army being left without a head, and in arrears of pay, became ready for mutiny; and, as jealousy of their European officers afforded a ready pretext for disturbance, on a given day, several battalions, though distant from each other, concerted to set them totally at defiance. Some of the officers effected an escape with great difficulty; and, at last, by stern measures, to which two of the Company's regiments lent their aid, the mutineers were reduced or scattered.

The Oudean officer commanding at Korah, by name Mahboob Ali Khan, was an object of suspicion to the nabob, who requested that two of the Company's battalions might occupy that district; and they were readily sent under Colonel Parker, an officer whose mode of procedure was both unwise and eccentric. The first step he took, was to disarm all the officers of Mahboob, whose troops at his approach had received him by a royal salute of twenty-one guns in his honour. Most singularly, Parker chose to deem this an act of defiance, and demanded the surrender of the guns. This was of course refused, on which the colonel, at the head of his troops, fell on with the bayonet, and in ten minutes had captured the whole brigade of field-pieces. All this looked so much like the commencement of a war that the nabob, in his sober moments, was sorely perplexed, and at one time denounced Mahboob as a traitor, and at another thanked the blundering Parker for his services, at the same time permitting the former to appear at court, and to receive new marks of the highest favour.

This state of matters also perplexed the Council

* Archer.

at Calcutta, who found that, now, Oude was more likely to prove an encumbrance than an ally, and Hastings began to have many misgivings. He had removed the brave Rohillas, whose love of war and freedom would have made them valuable allies in repelling the Mahrattas; and for them he had substituted a government whose head was a drunkard, and which was so torn by internal dissension, as to be quite incapable of making a resistance to any foreign aggressor or invader.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SALSETTE CONQUERED.—TREATY WITH RAGOBAH.—THE BATTLE OF ARASS.—FALL OF RAGOBAH THE MAHRATTA.

THE Supreme Council, as provided by the Regulating Act, asserted their authority over the other two presidencies, and required from each a complete periodical report of its actual condition, commercially, politically, and financially. The political state of Bombay, which had been so long quiet and undisturbed by war, now became grievously troubled, "for the Council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics."

The first temptation to intrigue had been the island of Salsette, which lay in their neighbourhood, and which the British had coveted for more than a hundred years. It lies on the western coast of Hindostan, separated from that of Bombay by a strait or channel only two hundred yards wide. It is eighteen miles long by twelve broad, and has now a population of more than 50,000, of whom one-fifth are of Portuguese origin. For the supply of Bombay in wood, charcoal, and sea-salt, its acquisition seemed a necessity, and, moreover, it was rich in crops of sugar, cotton, hemp, flax, and indigo. Its most remarkable objects are the colossal cave temples at Kenhari, containing giant statues of Buddha, and one of which the Portuguese converted into a church. The Christian annals of Salsette go back to the 14th century.

The directors at home had long wished to deprive the Mahrattas of it, and in 1769 had much applauded an attempt to obtain it by negotiation, if other means failed. In 1773, advantage was taken of the confusion and domestic dissension consequent on the assassination of Narrain Rao, and the election of a new peishwa, and it was resolved to occupy the island; but nothing was done until the next year, when the startling tidings came from Goa that the Portuguese Government were about to dispatch from the Tagus, a strong force, with the avowed intention of recovering their lost possessions from the Mahrattas, and among these, Salsette and Bassein were included. The Company had no right whatever to the places for which they were then negotiating with Ragobah, Peishwa of the Mahrattas, but the possession of them would afford many important advantages, and Salsette, at least, they were resolved to secure.

The Portuguese Government, though driven out by violence, had never recognised the legal right of the captors, and they were resolved now to re-assert their own by the sword; and there cannot be a doubt that when the matter stood thus, it lay between them and the Mahrattas, and the Company had no plea for interference, and ought to have stood aloof. But the Bombay Council thought differently, and even while negotiating with Ragobah, and affecting friendship for the Mahrattas, a mean advantage was taken of their dissensions, and an attempt was made to obtain possession of the fort of Tannah, situated at the head of Bombay harbour, and on the east side of the island of Salsette. It is yet of great strength, and by its guns commands the channel between the island and the coast.

They tampered with the Mahratta killedar, or governor, who opened a communication with President Hornby, and offered to give up his important trust for two lacs and 60,000 rupees. Ultimately he agreed to do so for one lac and 20,000 rupees; but ere this treacherous bargain was concluded, the peishwa, hearing of the Portuguese armament, reinforced the Mahratta garrison; so, as corruption proved unavailing, the Bombay Government resolved to draw the sword, and anticipate the Portuguese, while they were yet at sea. Accordingly, on the evening of the 12th of December, 1774, an expedition consisting of 620 Europeans, including artillery, 1,000 sepoys, and

200 gun-lascars, under General Robert Gordon, conducting the military, and Commodore Watson the naval, portion of the armament, was dispatched against Tannah, though, both while negotiating with Ragobah and deliberating on the intended capture, the Bombay Council were doubtful of the extent of their powers, as the Regulating Act made them subordinate to the Council and Governor-General at Calcutta. But there was no time to be lost, for the very day after the expedition departed, the Portuguese fleet came to anchor off Bombay harbour, and lodged a formal protest against it.

The Council were not to be moved from their purpose now, and by December the 20th, Gordon's batteries opened against Tannah, which is still a straggling, though not a large town, and in seven days he had achieved a practicable breach. Before advancing to the assault, it was necessary to fill up the ditch, after which the stormers advanced, but were repulsed, with the loss of one hundred Europeans killed and wounded. Among the former was Commodore Watson, whose mode of death was remarkable, as a cannon-shot struck the sand close to him and drove the fine particles into his body.*

On the following day the attempt to storm was successful. Tannah was captured, and, in revenge for the previous day's repulse, our people most barbarously put the whole garrison to the sword. After the fall of the fort, and of another at Versovah, on the northern extremity of the isle, the whole place, so long coveted by the Company, was in their hands on New Year's Day, 1775, and it has since remained in our possession. At the present day the Great Indian Railway, from Bombay to Callianee, after sweeping across Scin-marsh, enters the island of Salsette, and has a station at Bhondup. On approaching Tannah the line is embowered among beautiful trees. The viaduct across the channel is 1,000 feet in length, the ferry way forty feet broad. On the other side the traveller finds himself passing for about a mile along the margin of the Callianee river, surrounded by scenery that is among the most magnificent in the world.

"It will be seen," says a writer on India, "that the Regulating Act did not come into operation under very favourable circumstances. In each of the three presidencies a conquest had been made on grounds which it is impossible to justify. The Council of Bengal had lent themselves to a dastardly tyrant, and sent their troops to execute his cruel and wicked behests, for no better reason than because they were in want of money, and he had agreed to give it to them. The Council of Madras had in like manner become the tools of Mohammed Ali, and put him in possession of the kingdom of Tanjore, not because the rajah had done them any injury, but, on the contrary, because they had, by their own confession, injured him; and having thus reason to fear that he might become their enemy, deemed it necessary, for their own security, to aggravate the injury tenfold, by robbing him of his personal liberty and depriving him of his kingdom. The Council of Bombay had done iniquity on a less extensive scale, but in a still more flagrant manner. In their conquest they could not even pretend the entanglements of allies whose importunities they found it impossible to resist, but unblushingly seized upon property belonging to one ally, and claimed by another, simply because they had long coveted it, and had ceased to have any hope of obtaining it except by violence!"

Though the capture of Salsette had been effected on the pretext of excluding the Portuguese, it placed the Company in a new position with regard to the Mahrattas, to whom, of ancient right, the isle belonged, and on the possession of which they had always piqued themselves; and though the nation was then rent in two by a contention for the office of peishwa, the attention of both parties was drawn to the aggression of the Bombay Government. The latter, having now begun a double game, were compelled to continue it, and thus, while offering friendly explanations to the ministerial party at the capital of the Deccan, they were actively negotiating a secret treaty with Ragobah, the Mahratta chief who claimed and assumed the post of peishwa.

He had sought their assistance, but declined it on finding that the cession of Salsette was to be the price of their alliance. In the September of 1774, his cause was strengthened by the adhesion of Holkar and Scindia, two powerful and warlike Mahratta chiefs; but the party at the capital induced them to secede, and hence Ragobah, unable to keep the field, was compelled to retire to Goojerat, a movement made with a double view. The first was to obtain the aid of the Guicowar Govind Rao, and the second to renew negotiations with the Council of Bombay.

Accordingly, on reaching Baroda (which Sir John Malcolm describes as one of the richest of Indian cities in his time), on the 3rd of January, 1775, Ragobah wrote to Mr. Gambier, the Company's factor at Surat; and through him a treaty was concluded between the Bombay Government and Ragobah, on the 6th of March. By this document, the former recognised the latter "as the true peishwa, and agreed to furnish him immediately with 500 Europeans, and 1,000 sepoys, with a due

* Duff's "History of the Mahrattas."

proportion of artillery. This force was ultimately raised to 3,000 men in all, of whom 700 or 800 were to be Europeans."

In return for this assistance, Ragobah was to cede to them for ever the seaport of Bassein, which gave them command of the extensive teak forests that now supply the dockyards of Bombay, and, among other islands, Salsette (over which our flag was already flying), and other districts, yielding in all 25,000 rupees of revenue. He further stipulated to pay at the rate of a lac and a half of rupees monthly, as the expense of 2,500 men; and as he had no money, he deposited with the Company, under promise of redemption, jewels and plate to the value of six lacs, in security of a stipulated advance.

The infantry of Ragobah at this time consisted of pikemen and matchlockmen. All wore turbans; the former had long robes that flowed to their feet, and, in addition to a tasselled pike, about seven feet long, carried a tulwar and round shield, both slung by a belt under the left arm. The latter were dressed in a similar manner, but had shorter jackets and drawers, made according to their own fancy, no uniformity of shape or colour being enforced.*

The treaty now formed was a flagrant violation of the Regulating Act, and made the whole Bombay Government liable to suspension from office. Yet they began, without fear or scruple, to make those warlike preparations which, under its tenor, become necessary. Indeed, some time before the 6th of March, when the treaty was signed, a little column, 1,500 strong—of whom eighty gunners and 350 infantry were Europeans—under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Keating, had sailed from Bombay for Surat, and a reinforcement was to follow on the arrival of certain troops that were expected from Madras; but now the Bombay people found themselves in a dilemma.

On the 27th of February, when the colonel came to anchor off the bar of Surat, he received tidings of a terrible disaster which had befallen Ragobah, whom he had come to reinforce. The united forces of the Poonah government, Holkar and Scindia, 30,000 strong, under Hurry Punt Phurkay, had entered Goojerat and forced him to do battle. In this, the treachery and timidity of his own troops became so apparent, that he suddenly quitted the field, and, with 1,000 chosen horsemen, fled to Cambay, the nabob of which, though his friend, was afraid to give him shelter. Thus he had been compelled to ride to Surat, where he had been for four days when Colonel Keating arrived. Yet the latter found himself, by the orders he had received, impelled to take the field. Some remains of Ragobah's forces were still hovering in the vicinity of Cambay, which lies seventy-two miles north-west of Surat, and is a large town enclosed by a strong wall, the twelve gates of which were then shut every night; so, sailing along the coast, the colonel entered the gulf on which the city stands, and disembarked his troops, which, before advancing inland, were joined by two companies of grenadiers and a battalion of sepoys, thus making his strength up to 2,500 men.

On the 17th of April, these formed a junction with what remained of Ragobah's troops, now reduced to little better than a disorderly rabble. 20,000 strong, clamouring for food and pay. Under the command of Hurry Punt Phurkay, the enemy mustered 20,000 horse and 5,000 foot. The allies began their advance against him on the 23rd of April, by moving northward, but, for some reasons unknown now, after ten days they were only thirty miles from Cambay. Ragobah, it is said, wished to move towards Ahmedabad, but as the orders of the Bombay Council to proceed against Poonah were imperative, an advance in that direction was made at last.

Yet the marches were made with singular tardiness towards the river Mhye, which flows from the Vindhya Mountains through the province of Goojerat. On its banks a decisive battle was expected, as it was known that Hurry Punt had express orders to attack Ragobah if he should venture to cross the stream. Thus, on the morning of the 18th of May, when Colonel Keating, with the allies, had reached the jungly plain of Arass, a smart cannonade from six field-guns, which opened suddenly from a thicket in their rear, announced the enemy, a large column of whom were seen advancing from another point.

Keating's guns soon silenced the battery in the tope, but as it was remarked that two of the cannon had not been withdrawn, it was resolved to capture them by the bayonet. For this purpose the two grenadier companies, with the rear-guard, faced about, and were just forming to make a dash at the thicket, when they were furiously charged by several rissalas of the enemy's horse. The latter were repulsed with slaughter; but they made a second charge, more resolute and desperate than the first. It was also repelled, but with heavy loss to us, many of our bravest grenadiers and two captains being cut down by the keen-edged sabres of the enemy. Colonel Keating handled his artillery well; but he omitted to bring on his supports in a proper manner, and of this the Mahrattas hastened to take advantage.

* Forbes's "Oriental Memoirs."

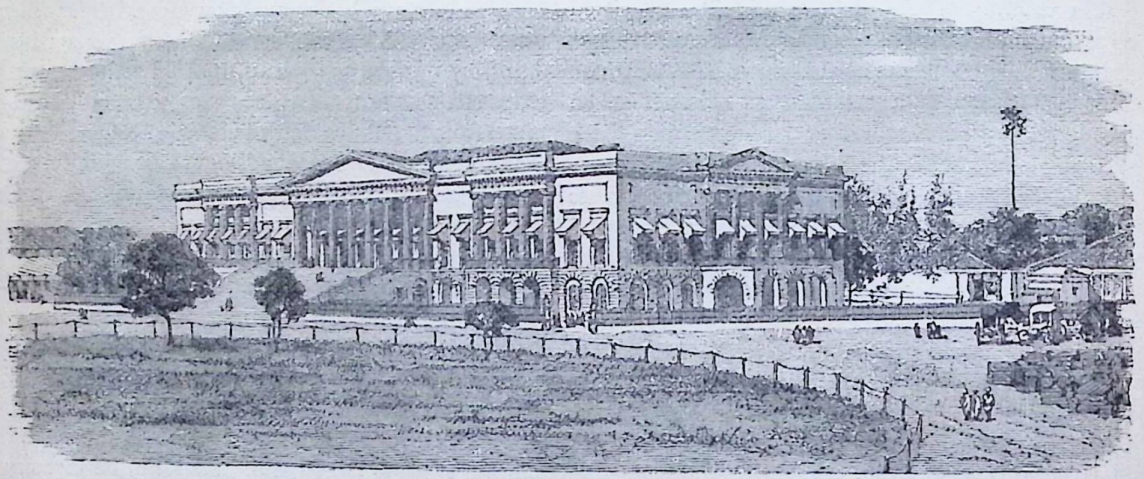
On one hand, they blocked up the narrow way with two elephants, and on the other, by charging the luckless grenadiers in the rear, contrived to cut them off from the main body. Undismayed by all this, the hardy Britons faced about, rear rank in front, and drove all before them with lead and steel; but the undisciplined rabble horse of Ragobah, by careering wildly about the field, interposed between them and the advancing line, thus causing the greatest confusion. Wishing to get clear of these people, and make a flank movement, Colonel Keating gave the words, "To the right face;" but unfortunately, amid the din and medley of sounds, the sepoys mistook the command for "right-*about* face," and, supposing they were defeated, began at once to retire, followed by the Europeans, who shared in the mistake.

In the end, the ranks were everywhere broken; yet the remains of the grenadiers and rear-guard, by one most desperate rush, achieved a junction with the line, which had once more faced to the front; but, profiting by the confusion, the enemy mingled with them, sword in hand, and a great loss of life ensued. Notwithstanding all this, by the exertions of Keating, the line was restored to perfect order, and this, with the excellent artillery service, redeemed the fortune of the day, and the Mahrattas were totally routed; but there lay dead on the plain of Arass 222 of ours, of these eighty-six, including eleven officers, were Europeans.

At Baroach, a town on the Nerbudda, Colonel Keating deposited his wounded on the 29th May, and there he remained till the 8th of June, his intention being to cross the Nerbudda, but the only ford proved impracticable; moreover, he found all his movements, after the affair at Arass, impeded by the discontents of the peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the stream until their arrears were paid.

On the 10th, the colonel began his march up the river, and, after proceeding twenty miles, on learning Hurry Punt was also on the same side only four *coss* (*i.e.*, eight miles) distant, he resolved to take him by surprise; but this attempt was baffled through an alarm spread by some of Ragobah's unruly plunderers. Hitherto the campaign had been rather successful. Not only had the foe been defeated at Arass, but Ragobah obtained, in July, that of which he stood so much in need, a considerable sum of money, and moreover he weakened the hostile confederacy against him, by obtaining the submission of Futteh Sing, in Goojerat, who became bound to furnish, at his own expense, 3,000 horse for Ragobah, and 2,000 more whom the latter was to pay. Futteh Sing was also to pay twenty-six lacs of rupees in sixty-one days, while the Company were to receive the Guicowar's share of the Baroach revenue, and several villages valued at 13,000 rupees. Nor was this all; for Ragobah, in his gratitude, permanently ceded to them territories, the annual value of which was estimated at 77,000 rupees. Adding all together, by taking advantage of this civil war, the Company obtained an accession of revenue valued at £240,000 sterling.

After escaping the surprise intended for him, Hurry Punt Phurkay had crossed the Nerbudda, and returned to the Deccan, while one of his officers, named Gunesh Punt Beeray, who had been left in command of a column for the protection of Ahmedabad, had suffered a defeat



THE TOWN HALL OF BOMBAY.



THE BATTLE OF ARASS; THE GRENADIERS AT BAY.

from Ameer Khan, one of Ragobah's captains, who forthwith commenced the siege of Ahmedabad.

This city, the name of which signifies "the abode of (Shah) Ahmed," its founder, once the capital of the kingdom of Goojerat, stands on the right bank of the Saburmuttee river, and is still surrounded by a high wall, with towers at every fifty yards, and twelve great gates. And now the leading ministers at Poonah began to fear, by this general success of Ragobah, that the worst disasters were in store for them. The Mahratta Rajah of Berar, who had been his enemy while he was a fugitive, was now suspected of an inclination to join him, while Nizam Ali, ever on the look-out for his own interests, under the threat of joining Ragobah had succeeded in extorting from the Poonah ministry, treasure equal in value to nearly eighteen lacs yearly. "The most encouraging circumstance to the Poonah ministers, was the dislike generally entertained to Ragobah. He habitually thwarted and even attempted to undermine, the wise and virtuous Madhoo Rao, whose memory was held in veneration; if not an instigator to the murder, he was certainly in league with the murderers of Narrain Rao; he was now claiming the office of peishwa to the prejudice of the legitimate heir, Narrain Rao's posthumous son; and he made himself the special abomination of the Brahmins, by his present connection with usurping and impure Europeans. On all these grounds they had some reason to hope that he could not finally triumph. Still it was impossible to deny that Ragobah's success had sufficed to modify the opinions of many, and that a new campaign, as successful as that which had just been concluded, would have enabled him either to dictate terms to his enemies, or made them glad to come to an accommodation with him. Fortune, however, was about to give him another turn of her wheel."

At this crisis, when the road to Poonah, which was a kind of Mahratta capital, seemed open to him, the Bengal Government, having been fully invested with the powers of peace or war, condemned the proceedings of the Bombay Council, whom they rated in very high terms; ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and recall their resident from Poonah, after which they sent one of their own, to frame treaties and undertake a line of policy very different from that which had led Colonel Keating to fight a battle on the plain of Arass.

In the end of 1775, Colonel Upton, the new agent, reached Poonah. His instructions were, to treat with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the Supreme Council deemed most likely to prevail in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter to Ragobah, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed, the letter might be destroyed; but, if they were defeated, he was at once to open negotiations with Ragobah; but he had only been a few days at Poonah, when he found that the Mahratta chiefs were in a state of extreme uncertainty. They were at a loss what to do, until they saw what side the British would probably take.

The pertinacity of those chiefs in insisting on the instant restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by force or treaty from Ragobah, soon removed the doubt and vacillation of the Supreme Council of Bengal, who finally determined "that the peishwa recognised by the presidency of Bombay was to be recognised by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the cause of Ragobah was to be supported with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the British arms in India."

But Ragobah gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution, for he was jockeyed alike by both parties. To gain their own end the confederated chiefs agreed to relinquish all claim to Salsette, Bassein, and other disputed places, on which the majority of the Council decided to abandon the cause of Ragobah, "and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory, which the then lawful, but now unlawful, peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance."

A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton, and then Ragobah, knowing that his life was in danger, was fain to pray for an asylum in Bombay. His request was granted; but the Supreme Council, who so lately were about to support him "with the whole power of the British arms in India," actually sent orders from Calcutta that he was not to be received, lest such shelter might give umbrage to the confederated chiefs at Poonah, with whom the treaty had been finally concluded, and the fallen Ragobah was condemned to a wandering, and almost vagabond life.

"Verily," says a writer, "Francis, Clavering, and Monson were proper men to moralise on the political conduct of Clive and Hastings!"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SCOTTISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.—ITS RISE, PROGRESS AND DESTRUCTION.

In tracing the progress of the British power in India it is impossible to omit some notice of the now forgotten Scottish East India Company, which was formed at a period when the northern kingdom was sorely impoverished by the effects of the Revolution, when her energies were cramped by the perfidy of its promoters, and when, as even Macaulay has it, "the blood of the murdered Macdonalds continued to cry for vengeance in vain."

Though their crowns were worn by one monarch, Scotland and England, in 1695, were still separate and independent kingdoms, and there was nothing to prevent the former from having its East India Company as well as the latter, more especially as, in addition to a most numerous militia force at home, she had plenty of men to spare for service abroad; thus we find that in the old Dutch war, subsequent to the Revolution, Scotland contributed to the English fleet 8,000 seamen, to the Dutch fleet, 3,000 men, and to the allied army twenty battalions of infantry and six squadrons of horse; and in his place in the Scottish Parliament, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun adds, "I am credibly informed that every fifth man in the English forces was either of this nation or Scots-Irish, who are people of the same blood with us."

So early as 1617, James VI. had given his sanction to the formation of such a company, by granting letters patent, under the Great Seal of Scotland, to Sir James Cunningham, of Glengarnock, appointing him, his heirs and assignees, to be its governors and directors, "with authority to trade to and from the East Indies, and the countries or parts of Asia, Africa and America, beyond the Cape of Bona Sperantia to the Straits of Magellan, and to the Levant Sea and territories under the government of the Great Turk, and to and from the countries of Greenland, and all the countries and islands in the north, north-west, and north-east seas, and all other parts of America and Muscovy."

This somewhat extensive grant degenerated into a mere nothing, so far as the public were concerned, as the grantee sold it, with all his rights, for a certain consideration, to the English East India Company, "who thus escaped the danger of a competition which in honest and skilful hands might have proved formidable." So in Scotland the idea of such a company was forgotten until after the Revolution of 1688.

On the 14th June, 1695, the Parliament at Edinburgh passed an Act for the encouragement of foreign trade, in which "our soveraigne Lord and Lady (William and Mary II.) the King's and Queen's Majesties, considering how much the improvement of trade concerns the wealth and welfare of the kingdom, and that nothing hath been found more effectual for the improving and enlarging thereof than the erecting and encouraging of companies, whereby the same may be carryed on by undertakings to the remotest parts, which it is not possible for single persons to undergo, doe therefore, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, statute and declare, that merchants, more or fewer, may contract and enter into societies and companies for carrying on of trade, as to any subject and sort of goodes and merchandise, to whatsoever kingdoms, countreyes, or parts of the world not being in warr with their Majesties, where trade is in use to be or may be followed, and particularly beside the kingdoms and countreyes of Europe, to the East and West Indies, to the straits and trade of the Mediterranean, or upon the coast of Affrica, or northern parts or elsewhere, as above."

By an Act passed subsequently, on the 26th June, 1695, John, Lord Belhaven, who had command of a troop of horse at the battle of Killiecrankie, and was Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, with various other individuals specially named, were constituted "a Free Incorporation, with perpetual succession, by the name of *the Company of Scotland trading to Affrica and the Indies*." Half the capital was to be allotted to subjects within the kingdom of Scotland, but Scotsmen abroad and foreigners, were allowed to subscribe, the smallest sum being £100, and greatest £3,000. This company the Scottish Parliament empowered to equip, for the space of ten years, such ships as they thought fit, and to "plant colonies, build cities, towns, and forts," on uninhabited places in Asia, Africa or America, to defend themselves by force of arms, and to seek reparation for all damage that might be done them by sea or land. Special and most ample were the privileges conferred on this new company, and the liberality of the Parliament was fully seconded by the kingdom at large, and though Macaulay rather exaggerates, when he says that, "from the Pentland Firth to the Solway every man who had a hundred pounds was impatient to put down his name," in a

short time the subscription list was well filled. The amount subscribed was £400,000, and the list contained the names of 1,219 shareholders, among whom were the leading nobles, public bodies, clergy, lawyers, merchants, officers of the army, and individuals of all classes, thus showing, beyond all doubt, that this new Indian Company was a great national movement by a people eminently intelligent, wary, and resolute in action.

Liberal subscriptions were anticipated from other countries, and the managers, among whom was the famous William Paterson, a native of Dumfries, founder of the Bank of England, and also of the Bank of Scotland, dispatched commissioners to London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg with authority to open new lists, and confer the privileges on all who might apply for them. But now the English Parliament took the alarm, and their attention was specially drawn to the subject by a petition from their own company in the December of 1695, complaining bitterly that all Scotland, by an Act of her Parliament, had been made a vast free port for East India commodities, which, the petitioners added, "will unavoidably be brought by the Scots into England by stealth, both by sea and land, to the vast prejudice of the English trade and navigation," and to the detriment of the revenue.

William of Orange, though he hated the Scots, and knew that their crown had been given him by an illegal convention of the Estates, found himself in a dilemma. He dared not question the competency of the Scottish Parliament to grant the Act complained of, without attacking the national independence of the kingdom, and he dared not sanction it without placing himself in opposition to the English Legislature.

"*I have been ill served* in Scotland," he answered vaguely, "but I hope to find *some remedy* to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from this Act." He thought to achieve this by dismissing most of the Scottish Ministry and choosing others, while the English Parliament took a more decided and more absurd step, by resolving that the directors of the Scottish East India Company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and that Lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and others whom they named, should be impeached for the same.

Though the English Parliament were powerless, and legally incompetent to pass such a resolution, it only had the effect of rousing indignation in Scotland. The commissioners sent from Edinburgh to Hamburg had every prospect of having their subscription list well filled by the traders of that opulent city, when their hopes were frustrated in a very unexpected manner.

On the 7th of April, 1697, a memorial was presented to the Senate of Hamburg, signed by William's envoy at the court of Lüneburg, setting forth that for the merchants of that city to enter "into conventions with private men, his subjects, who have neither credential letters, nor are any other ways authorised by His Majesty," would be an affront which he would not fail to resent. This document, which was not of a satisfactory description, contained what appeared to many to be a deliberate falsehood, and a gross misrepresentation of what the Scottish commissioners actually were. It was considered to amount to an unwarranted interference with the independent rights of Scotland and Hamburg, and drew forth the following reply from the senate and general body of the merchants:—

"We look upon it as a very strange thing that the King of Britain should hinder us, who are a free people, to trade with whom we please; but are amazed to think he would hinder us from joining his own subjects in Scotland, to whom he has lately given such large privileges by so solemn an Act of Parliament." The tenor of the envoy's document, however, had the effect of spreading such doubts in the Bourse, that, though the merchants signed for large sums, they appended conditions which virtually made their subscriptions void, unless some protection were offered them against the intimations of King William's memorial.

To afford them this protection, on the 28th of June in the same year, the Council-General of the Scottish Company presented an address to the king, remonstrating with him on the iniquity of his proceedings in threatening the city of Hamburg, by persons acting in his name. William now found the awkwardness of his position, and feared that to justify the memorial of his envoy might throw all Scotland in a flame, no difficult matter in those days; so after the delay of a month he promised, on his return to England from the Continent, to take into consideration the complaint of the Scottish East India Company, and in the meantime his envoy would cease, by the use of his name, to obstruct their trade with the merchants of Hamburg.

This answer, which was probably interpreted as an evasion, promised more than William ever performed, and matters were drawing to a crisis, when the proceedings of the Scottish Company paved the way for their own extinction. Finding themselves baffled in attempting to settle on any territory in amity with Britain, they selected the Isthmus of Darien, situated between the Atlantic and Pacific, which seemed so advantageous that all other con-

siderations were forgotten, and the first expedition, consisting of five large vessels, laden with merchandise, military stores, and 1,200 men, sailed from Leith to found on that distant neck of land the colony of New Caledonia, and a city to be called New Edinburgh. Other ships and other colonists, full of enthusiasm, sailed from Scotland; but Spain claimed the land on which they settled, and sent an overwhelming force against them. In vain, amid starvation and pestilence, did they defend a fort patriotically named by them, St. Andrew, and engage single-handed in war with the powerful monarchy of Spain, while all resource and succour were cut off from them by every sea and shore, till of the 3,000 Scotsmen who landed on Darien, only a remnant ever returned home, being permitted to embark in the Company's ships.

"The voyage was horrible!" says Macaulay, "scarcely any Guinea slave-ship ever had such a middle passage. Of 250 persons who were on board of the *St. Andrew*, 150 fed the sharks of the Atlantic before Sandy Hook was in sight; the *Unicorn* lost all its officers, and about 140 men. The *Caledonia*, the healthiest ship of the three, threw overboard 100 corpses. The squalid survivors, as if they were not sufficiently miserable, raged fiercely against one another. Charges of incapacity, cruelty, and insolence, were hurled backward and forward. The rigid Presbyterians attributed the calamities of the colony to the wickedness of Jacobites, prelatists, and atheists, who hated in others that image of God which was wanting in themselves. . . . Paterson was cruelly reviled, and was unable to defend himself. He had been completely prostrated by bodily and mental suffering. He looked like a skeleton. His heart was broken. His invention and his plausible eloquence were no more, and he seemed to have sunk into second childhood."

And thus, in the year 1698, passed away the Scottish East India Company, ending in what was named the Darien Expedition, which, like other projects, formed without due knowledge of actual facts, and carried into execution without the necessary preparations and proper precautions, was an entire and miserable failure.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CONSPIRACY OF NUNCOMAR.—HIS ARREST, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION.

WHILE the capture of Salsette and other events in Western India had been in progress, other bands of Mahrattas, descending into the valley of the Ganges from Delhi and Agra in 1775, plundered severely the northern portions of the dominions held by Asoff-ud-Dowlah, the young Nabob of Oude, who was as great a coward as his father had been, and, moreover, was totally destitute of the ability the old man possessed.

These devastations caused a serious decrease in the current of supply to a treasury which the Supreme Council had emptied; and they were accompanied by alarming rumours of a new league between the Mogul Emperor, the Sikhs, Mahrattas, Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, with a view to the general conquest of the whole kingdom of Oude. As the plans adopted by the Supreme Council at Calcutta, to break up or repel this league—if it really existed—were neither good nor consistent, the nabob owed his safety, as yet, to quarrels which broke out among the chiefs of these warlike tribes, and the poverty and indecision of the Court of Delhi; for at Calcutta, in every meeting of Council, the voice that was least heeded, was that of the Governor-General Hastings.

The latter, full of indignation, and hopeless of achieving any change, sent to London, for the perusal of the premier, Lord North, papers which he averred were perfect and literal copies of his correspondence with Mr. Middleton, our former resident at the court of Oude. This he did to vindicate his own character, and announced to his friends at home that he should, without fail, return to Britain by the first ship, unless he received a vote of approbation from the Court of Directors on his past conduct, for the petty, yet most hostile, majority, continued to heap up accusations against him.

In a letter to Mr. Sullivan, dated 25th February, 1775, he wrote thus:—"These men (Clavering, Monson, and Francis) began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of

it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they could have read any part of the proceedings; and all the study of the public records since, all the information they have raked out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the sole purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character, and undo all the labours of my government." *

It would appear that, on the 2nd May, 1775, Mr. Charles Grant, a well-known philanthropist and statesman, whose father fell in the Pretender's army at Culloden, who was then one of the members of the Provincial Council at Moorshedabad, forwarded to Calcutta a set of accounts which he had received from a native, who was now in his service, but had formerly been a clerk in the treasury of the nabob. According to these papers the guardian of the latter, the Munny Begum, had received nine lacs of rupees more than she accounted for; and when questioned on this matter, the clerk asserted that the begum's head eunuch had endeavoured to bribe him, before he parted with the accounts, to deliver them up and return to the nabob's service, while Mr. Grant asserted that similar offers had been made to himself. The majority of the Supreme Council were thus satisfied that the accounts were correct, and resolved to suspend the begum from her office, which was, for the time, united with that of the nabob's dewan, then held by the son of Nuncomar, Rajah Gourdass; and Mr. Goring was dispatched to Moorshedabad to investigate the matter without delay.

As Goring received his appointment from the majority, he was fully influenced by their spirit, and the orders given him were, to require from the begum the whole of the public and private accounts for the preceding eight years, and to hand them over to the Provincial Council, Messrs. Grant, Maxwell, and Anderson, who were to examine them minutely. Goring, a few days after his arrival, dispatched to Calcutta memoranda of disbursements amounting to £15,000 to Hastings, and the same amount to Middleton.

Hastings, when these accounts were read, wished Goring to be asked, "in what manner he came by the accounts he now sent, and for what reason this partial selection was made by him?" This question, which they declined to put, would, it is averred by some, have elicited the fact that he had extorted the account by intimidation, and selected these particular items to inculpate Hastings. "But though Mr. Goring's bias might thus have been made manifest," says a writer, "it does not follow that his account was inaccurate, and the important question therefore is, Were these disbursements really made? Did Mr. Hastings, when he went to Moorshedabad, in 1772, and the begum was formally installed as the nabob's guardian, receive £15,000 from her under the name of entertainment money? It is admitted on all hands that he did. In his answer, so far from denying the receipt, he justifies it on various grounds. The Act of Parliament prohibiting presents was not then passed, the allowance made was in accordance with the custom of the country; it put nothing into his own pocket, and had he not received it, he must have charged an equal amount against the Company."

Hastings, by other arguments, fully defended himself, but now another charge was brought forward by "Francis, Clavering, and Monson, who had got hold of the great informer or *arch-devil* of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomar, and were inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings, as Hastings had encouraged him, by command of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to produce charges against Mohammed Reza Khan."

Nuncomar put into the hands of Francis a letter addressed to the Governor-General and Council, requesting him, in his official capacity, to lay it before the board, and Francis, nothing loth, accordingly did so, on the day he received it. This document entered into various details respecting the case of Mohammed Reza Khan, insinuating that he had obtained his release by bribery and corruption, and concluded with "the specific charge against Mr. Hastings of having received three lacs and a half (354,105 rupees) for the appointments of Munny Begum and Gourdass."

In presenting this formidable letter, Mr. Francis, of course, professed to be totally unacquainted with the contents thereof, but Hastings, knowing as he did the deep craft and malignity of the Hindoo character, was not without reason to feel disquieted, A violent altercation ensued, and Hastings spoke bitterly of the manner in which he was treated, and with supreme contempt of Nuncomar and his accusation, and at the same time denying the right of the Council to sit in judgment upon the Governor-General.

On Colonel Monson very improperly suggesting that Nuncomar should be called before them, Hastings resolved to shield himself from the intended insult.

"Before the question is put," said he, "I declare that I will not suffer Nuncomar to appear before the board as my accuser. I know what belongs to

* Gleig's "Warren Hastings."

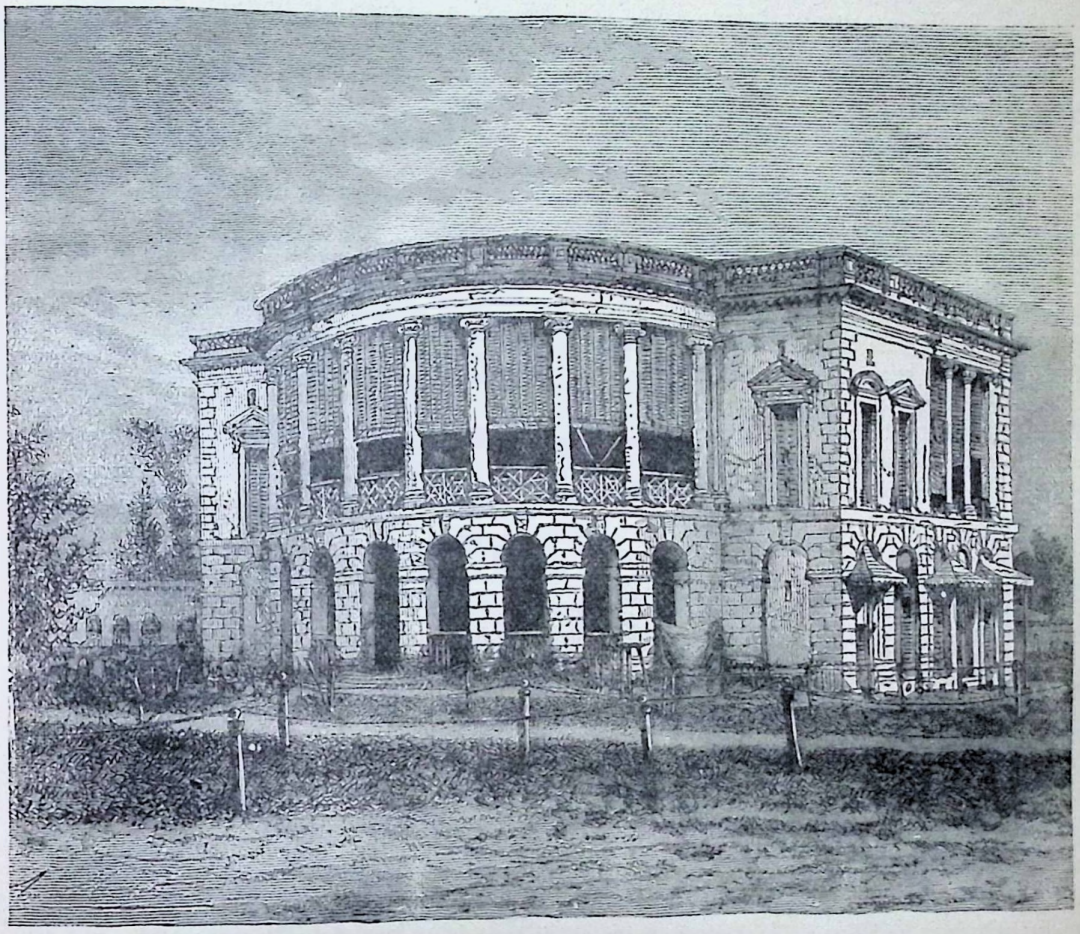
the dignity and character of the first member of this administration. I will not sit at this board in the character of a criminal, nor do I acknowledge the members of this board to be my judges. I am reduced on this occasion, to make the declaration that I consider General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis as my accusers."

In the course of his speech, Hastings stated that he had expected such an attack to be made upon him, as he had seen a paper containing many accusations against him, and had been told it was taken to Colonel Monson by Nuncomar, who, for some hours was employed in explaining the nature of the charges to the colonel. He then produced a translation of the paper and desired it to be recorded.

Monson, thus suddenly put on his defence, denied that he had seen any paper whatever, though he admitted the fact that he had been visited by Nuncomar.

At this crisis, Hastings wrote thus to Sullivan :— "Nuncomar, whom I have thus long protected and supported, whom against my nature I have cherished, till like a serpent he has stung me, is now in close connection with my adversaries and the prime mover of all their intrigues; but he will sting *them*, too, or I am mistaken, before he quits them. I have expelled him from my gates, and while I live will never re-admit him." *

At the next Council meeting, a letter from Nuncomar was laid on the table, requesting that he might be permitted to attend and substantiate his allegations. Tempestuous was the debate that ensued, till Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a Council, put Clavering in the chair and requested Nuncomar to appear. He accordingly did so, and not only adhered to his former charges, but, in true Oriental fashion, produced a large supplement. He boldly stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Gourdass treasurer to the



EUROPEAN RESIDENCE IN CALCUTTA.

* Gleig's "Warren Hastings."

nabob's household, and committing the care of his person to the Munny Begum; and he put in a letter, bearing her seal, to establish the truth of his story.

This seal Hastings alleged to be forged; but if genuine, it proved nothing, "as everybody who knows India had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge had been made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds, and that he ought to be compelled to refund." *

The Council did yet more than all this. At the prompting of Nuncomar, the trio called to their aid a Hindoo woman, the Ranee of Burdwan, whom Hastings had expelled from Calcutta in consequence of her violent and intriguing character; and she, after being duly instructed, sent in most circumstantial charges, accusing Hastings of extortion to the amount of 1,500,000 rupees, and his *banyan*, or native secretary, with extorting a great deal more; the fabulous total being set down at considerably above nine millions of rupees.

She produced witnesses in support of all this, but, as natives, they were deemed totally unworthy of credit. The next great charge entertained by this trio was, that Hastings had appropriated to himself two-thirds of the salary of the *Phousdar*, or governor of the fort and town of Hooghly, a post once held by the irrepressible Nuncomar. Hastings was willing to refer all these matters to the English judges, but denied the competency of the Council to take them up. Moreover, however innocent, he was certain to be misjudged by them; so the trio continued their sitting, though Hastings and Barwell were absent.

This last charge was worse supported even than that made by the ranee in her revenge. Two *Indian* witnesses and two dubious letters, were all the evidence produced. But thick and fast other charges came pouring in. "The trumpet has been sounded," wrote Hastings in a letter given by Gleig, "and the whole host of informers will soon crowd to Calcutta with their complaints and ready depositions. Nuncomar holds his durbar in complete state, sends for zemindars and their vakeels, coaxing and threatening them for complaints, which, no doubt, he will get in abundance, besides what he forges himself. The system which they have laid down for conducting their affairs is, I am told, after this manner: The General rummages the consultations for disreputable matter with the aid of old Fowke. Colonel Monson receives, and, I have been assured, descends even to solicit, accusations. Francis writes. Goring is employed as their agent with Mohammed Reza Khan, and Fowke with Nuncomar."

In Bengal, the general feeling among the British residents, at this most painful crisis, was strongly in favour of the unfortunate Governor-General; while the Company's servants were all in his favour, as one who had attained his high position from being a civilian and a volunteer, serving with a musket on his shoulder. Despite the general sympathy accorded him, Hastings felt his position painfully; and, knowing that if the authorities in England took part with his pitiless and unwearying enemies, nothing would be left for him but to send in his resignation: to be prepared for the worst, he placed it in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel MacLean, with instructions not to produce it until the feeling in the India House should prove completely adverse to him.

Now indeed the vengeance and triumph of Nuncomar seemed complete. His daily levees were crowded by his exulting countrymen, and thither resorted the triumphant trio of the Council. His house became literally an office for the reception of charges against the Governor-General; and, it is said, that by alternate threats and wheedling, this villanous Hindoo induced some of the wealthiest men in Bengal to lodge complaints. But he was playing a perilous game with institutions of which he knew not the nature; neither did he know the danger of driving to despair a man possessed of the acuteness and resolution that characterised Warren Hastings. Neither did it occur to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council—one which could protect him whom the Council meant to disgrace and destroy. Yet such was the fact. Within the sphere of its own duties, the Supreme Court was entirely independent of the Council; and, with his usual sagacity, Hastings had seen the advantage to be derived from possessing himself of this stronghold, and he acted accordingly. The judges—especially the Chief Justice—were quite hostile to the obnoxious trio, and the time had now come to put the formidable machinery of the law in action, and Nuncomar was soon to be rudely awakened from his pleasing day-dreams.

On the 11th of April, he was accused, before the judges of the Supreme Court, of being party to a conspiracy against the honour of the Governor-General and others, by compelling a certain person to write a petition, in tenor injurious to their character, and sign a statement of bribes having been accepted by his Excellency and his officials.

* Macaulay's Essay.

On the 12th an examination was instituted before the judges, and a charge on oath made against Nuncomar, a native named Radoreham, and a Mr. Joseph Fowke; and the three accused were bound over for trial at the next assizes. Meanwhile Clavering, Monson, and Francis left nothing undone to influence public opinion, both in Calcutta and London, by descanting largely on the political vices of Hastings. In the former city, where they (the four) were well known, those malignant efforts utterly failed; but it was not so in England, where prejudice found great sway in the Court of Directors and in the Houses of Parliament. Aware of all this, the Governor-General exerted himself to uphold the justice of his own cause; and, in a letter written to the Court at Leadenhall Street about this crisis, he there referred to the rectitude of his conduct, and the perfidy of his enemies.

"There are many men in England, of unquestioned honour and integrity, who have been eye-witnesses of all the transactions of this government in the short interval in which I had the chief direction of it. There are many hundreds in England who have correspondents in Bengal, from whom they have received successive advices of those transactions, and opinions of the authors of them. I solemnly make my appeal to these concurring testimonies, and if, in justice to your honourable court, by whom I was chosen for the high station which I lately filled, by whom my conduct has been applauded, and through whom I have attained the distinguished honour assigned me by the legislature itself, in my nomination to fill the first place in the administration of India, I may be allowed the liberty of making so uncommon a request, I do most earnestly entreat that you will be pleased to call upon those who, from their own knowledge, or the communications of others, can contribute such information, to declare severally the opinions which they have entertained of the measures of my administration, the tenor of my conduct in every department of this government, and the effects which it has produced, both in conciliating the minds of the natives to the British Government, in confirming your authority over the country, and in advancing your interest in it. From these, and from the testimony of your own records, let me be judged; not from the malevolent declamations of those who, having no services of their own to plead, can only found their reputation upon the destruction of mine."

But, while he was writing thus, the petty majority of the Bengal Council, and the malevolent Nuncomar, were openly and shamelessly making every effort to blacken Hastings and blast his reputation, till the morning of the 6th of May, 1775, when all Calcutta was astounded by the sudden tidings that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and flung into the common gaol.

The crime with which he was charged was the forgery of a bond, six years before, and the ostensible prosecutor was a native, "but," says Macaulay, "it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody that Hastings was the real mover in the business." Be that as it may, the judges were resolved to proceed in the matter according to the law of England, by which forgery—a mere trifle in India—was then a capital crime. The rage of the majority rose to boiling heat. They protested—but in vain—against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and demanded that their ally should be admitted to bail. But to such messages the judges returned haughty and resolute answers; so all the baffled Council could do was to heap honours on the family of Nuncomar. On the 9th May they dismissed the begum from her office, and bestowed it on the prisoner's son, Rajah Gourdass, who had hitherto been acting under her orders. In a letter addressed nine days after this to Colonel MacLean, Hastings wrote:—"The visit (by the trio) to Nuncomar, when he was to be prosecuted for conspiracy, and the elevation of his son when the old gentleman was in gaol and in a fair way to be hanged, were bold expedients. I doubt if the people in England will approve of such barefaced declarations of their connections with such a scoundrel, or such attempts to injure and impede the course of justice."

On this letter a writer remarks with truth, that however well grounded such reproaches were, and however indefensible, gross, and indecent, was the conduct of the trio, while the dark suspicion cleaved to Hastings that old Nuncomar was in prison through his means, or through the means of information afforded to his adherents, it was bad taste in him, considering the position in which he stood relatively to the prisoner, and his own rank and station in India, to hint at the gibbet before the man was tried; but then we must remember that the letter was a private one, and that the provocation he had received was great. On the same day that he wrote this letter, he revoked the discretionary power given to Colonel MacLean in London, of tendering his resignation, as he was now resolved to remain where he was, and see the affair to its end.

Messrs. Clavering, Monson, and Francis made a great and noisy display of virtuous indignation at the arrest and imprisonment of their friend, the

great informer, a degradation very awful in the eyes of a Brahmin; but the dark day of the trial drew inexorably near, and when it came, Nuncomar —after a true bill had been found against him— was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen; and a native Calcutta merchant deposed to facts, while there was an accumulation of evidence to prove that six years before, the prisoner had committed forgery on or in a private bond—a matter that had before become the subject of judicial proceedings in the Court of the *Dewannee Adawlut*, and for which he had been sent to prison, from which, singularly enough, he had been indebted for his release to the kindness, or interest, of Warren Hastings.

This act of forgery had taken place six years before the Regulating Act had been passed, and before Calcutta was under English law. There was a vast amount of contradictory swearing, and the necessity for having every word of the evidence carefully interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. Nuncomar had witnesses to swear against almost every allegation that those for the prosecution swore to, so the jury had a mass of probabilities to weigh as to the side on which most perjury lay; but that Nuncomar was guilty of the crime laid to his charge cannot be doubted, and the many notorious villanies of his previous life gave further presumptive evidence of his guilt. Yet it was universally believed that Sir Elijah Impey conducted the trial more in the spirit of a partisan than a judge. He had deemed that his dear friend Hastings was very ill-used, and was now but too glad to come to his rescue.

The great informer's tactics for defence did not extend beyond the production of witnesses, who are always to be bought with facility in India by any party in possession of money or power, "and he could not be made to comprehend how the life of a great man like himself could possibly be put in jeopardy by a few crooked characters drawn by a reed or pen years ago." However, the jury—respectable men, whose sense and regard for their oaths would not allow them to be guided in their decision by anything but the evidence that was laid before them—thought differently from Nuncomar, whom they found guilty of the imputed felony.

Sir Elijah Impey assumed the black cap, and according to the genuine Old Bailey formula—most difficult to render into Persian or Hindostani—pronounced sentence of death with due solemnity. Even when the startled Nuncomar was made fully to comprehend that the matter was no jest or idle ceremony to strike terror for a time, he hourly expected to be reprieved; but he was left for immediate execution, an event to which two great classes in Calcutta looked forward with very different feelings. The Moslems hated him for the active part he had taken in the proceedings against Mohammed Reza Khan, and deemed that he was only enduring a most just retribution; but the Hindoos were bewildered by amazement, grief, and horror. That a Brahmin, the head of his caste in Bengal, should suffer death—and such a death—by a legal sentence and for a crime so trivial, seemed altogether a new and most unnatural thing; and they clung to the hope that the punishment dared not be inflicted. They had but one satisfaction—that his sacred blood was not to be shed.

Their views of this matter are thus given in the writings of Lieutenant-Colonel Tone, who in 1798 commanded a regiment of infantry in the service of the Peishwa of the Mahrattas:—"It is a generally received opinion that the Brahmins possess an unbounded influence over the minds of the people. This supposition I have every reason to believe erroneous; I can declare I could never discover any ascendency of that kind. I have known them frequently punished very severely as delinquents, some even put to death by order of the Prince. 'Tis true the blood of a Brahmin is never shed, but they are dispatched by other means. The late Tuckojee Holkar, who was a Mahratta, put his minister (a Brahmin) to death, by wrapping him in clothes steeped in oil, and setting fire to them. The most common mode is to keep the limbs immersed in cold water until they swell, which carries the party off in a few days. Inferior persons are punished in various manners. Cutting off the nose and ears is commonly practised; but when death is inflicted, the criminal is sometimes dragged at an elephant's foot till he expires. Another mode is, to put the prisoner's head into a large bag, and pound it with a mallet used for driving home the tent-pegs; but the most universal way is to cut off the arms and legs of the delinquent, and leave him to languish in the woods until he dies. Executioners are low-caste people, who are employed in carrying the large camp ensigns; the operation is generally performed with a common country razor, which must produce the most excruciating pain."*

Rascal though he was, Nuncomar died with the courage and indifference of a Greek Stoic. When the sheriff had waited upon him, the evening before his execution, offering such services as were in his power:

"I am grateful for all your favours," replied Nuncomar, "and hope they will be continued to my family, but fate is not to be resisted. The

* *Asiatic Annual*, 1798.

will of the Almighty must be done," he added, placing a finger on his forehead. He then requested the sheriff to give his respects to General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, begging them to protect his son, and "consider him henceforward as the real head of the Brahmins." He busied himself overnight with writing notes and looking over accounts in his old way. The sheriff never doubted but that he would take some secret poison, and expected to find him dead next morning. On alighting from his palanquin he walked more erect than usual, and placed his hands behind him to be tied with a silk handkerchief, while looking about with perfect unconcern; but he told the English that the cloth with which they wished to cover his face must not be tied by any of *them;* so it was done by a household servant of Brahmin caste. "He gave the signal by a motion of his foot, and he hung on the rope as motionless as if he had been a statue of wood or bronze taken out of a Hindoo pagoda."

On the 5th of August, Nuncomar was hanged on the common gibbet till he was dead, and his death made a terrible impression on the vast multitude of natives who beheld it; and we are told that those who were near enough to witness all the details of the event—a ghastly and revolting novelty—filled the hot and breathless air with howling and frantic shrieks. Those uttered by the Hindoos, who were taking their last leave of him, were beyond description appalling. "With a sort of superstitious incredulity, they could not believe that it was really intended to put him to death, and when they saw him tied up and the scaffold drop from under him, they set up a universal yell, and with piercing cries of horror and dismay, betook themselves to flight, running many of them as far as the Ganges, and plunging into that holy stream (which they believe to be the eldest daughter of the mountain Himavata, issuing from the root of the Bujputra tree and flowing direct from heaven), as if to wash away the pollution they had contracted in viewing such a dreadful spectacle. After hanging for the usual time, the body was cut down, and delivered to the Brahmins for burning. It was the novelty and unsightliness of the execution, that made this deep impression upon a people who consider everything new as horrible."

While all this excitement prevailed among the natives in the city, and the people were flying from the place of execution, till the ghastly corpse was left there almost alone, so calm was the mind of Hastings, that from a comparison of dates, it appears that but a few hours after, he was seated at his desk penning a letter to Dr. Johnson, about his tour in the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

Hastings, however, was not much of a gainer by the death of his arch enemy—a tragedy which, certainly, he might have prevented by a word. It had one result; the exulting herd of native informers vanished. This was, no doubt, a great relief, but it was, perhaps, purchased at a dear rate. The majority of the Council, says a historian who is not too favourable to Hastings, had by their bitter language and violent measures, taken decidedly a wrong position; and had the trio been permitted to continue their reckless course, in their ignorance of India, their rashness, and malevolence, it is impossible to foresee what mischief they might have caused there and at home. "But when it came to be known," says this writer, "or at least generally believed that for the purpose of stifling inquiry he [Hastings] had allowed a judicial murder to be committed, it was no longer possible for him to attract any public sympathy. Everything he said or did was construed into the worst possible sense; and when at last the whole of his Indian administration was brought under review, even those on whose aid he had most confidently calculated, chose to desert him, rather than risk the loss of popularity by making common cause with him. In calculating the gain and loss of Mr. Hastings, through Nuncomar's execution, if we place on the former side the silence which it imposed on herds of native informers, we must place on the latter side, the general suspicion which it brought on all his proceedings, and which ultimately subjected him to all the anxiety and ruinous expense of a public impeachment."

Thus ended the conspiracy of Nuncomar.



SIR EYRE COOTE.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS IN BENGAL.—DUEL BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MR. FRANCIS.

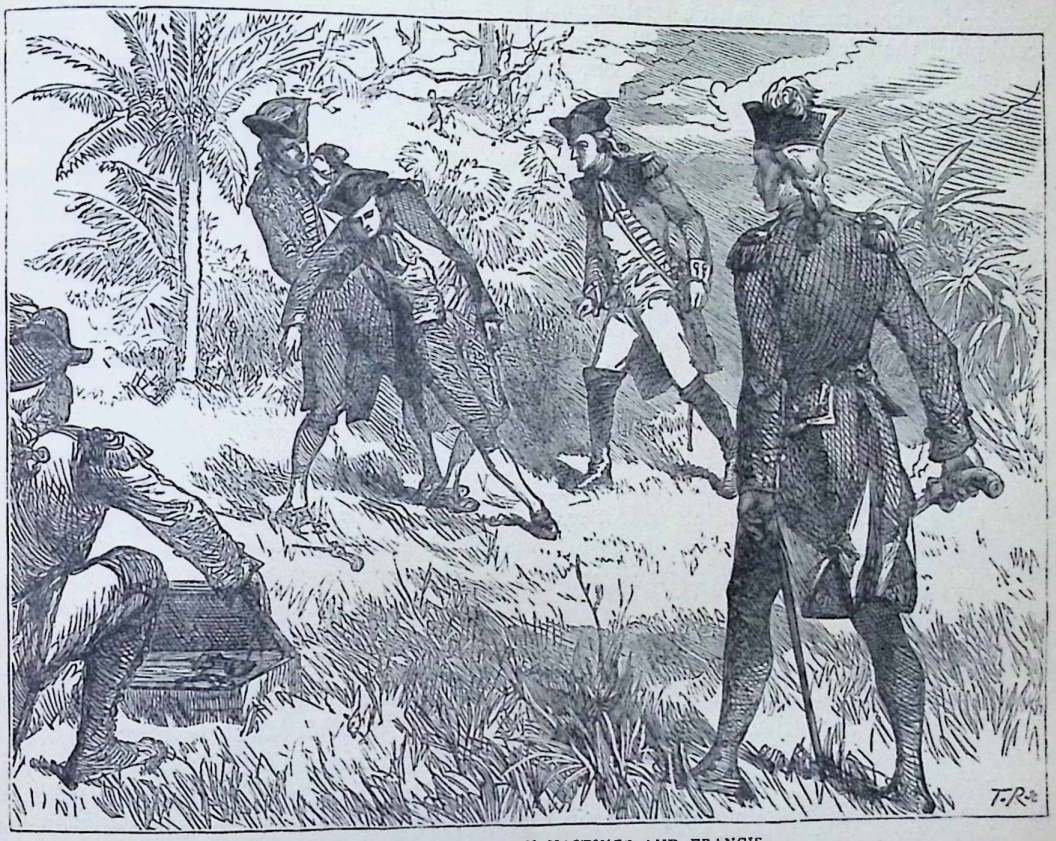
THE old Hindoo, Nuncomar, had paid the last penalty of all his crimes; but the excitement caused by his death did not end with that catastrophe. The majority of the baffled Council knew well what had been the part played by Nuncomar towards Mohammed Reza Khan, even while, for their own purposes, courting the wily Hindoo; but now that the latter was gone, they did not hesitate to urge that his rival, as the most trustworthy man in Bengal, should have the charge, not only of the household of the young Nabob Asoff-ud-Dowlah, instead of Gourdass, whom they had so recently promoted, but also of the higher office of dewan, which he had held previous to his arrest and downfall in 1772.

They further suggested that Mohammed should have the superintendence of the native criminal courts, as the Naibs had before, and that the *Nizamut Adawlut* should be removed from Calcutta back to Moorshedabad.

In their anxiety to reverse, alter, or suppress anything that Hastings had done, they resolved on this measure simply to destroy one upon which he prided himself, and considered his greatest achievement, and which he deemed indispensable to the existence of our authority in Bengal; but in contempt of his opinion and of all his remonstrances, the obnoxious trio carried out their own plans.

In the same spirit of antagonism they condemned and destroyed the system of revenue and finance which he had so recently introduced—a system, though not without faults, infinitely more free from them than that which was anterior to it, and less tyrannical than the old form of collection used by the native princes. The strong representations and bitter complaints on these measures sent home by Hastings, were now more frequently addressed to Lord North than the Court in Leadenhall Street, of whose approbation he was long uncertain, as he might well be, on finding the grotesque facility with which they condemned in one despatch, the plan or order of which they had highly approved in another. He urged in vain that his hands were fettered; that the public business, by the manner in which he was thwarted, stood still; that the judges of the Supreme Court were insulted by the three members of Council, who obstructed everything.

On the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced by the death of Colonel Monson. His health had given way, and obliged him frequently to be absent from the council board. Latterly he had been unable to attend at all, and Hastings, by his casting vote, was able to establish an ascendency as complete as that which the majority had previously possessed, as there remained only two on either side. This death "has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote, on the 26th of the same month, to Lord North, "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect I should give it, were I sure of support from home."



DUEL BETWEEN WARREN HASTINGS AND FRANCIS.

Nevertheless he did use it, voting always with boldness and effect, and leaving the general and Francis to declaim and protest, as he, before, had done in vain; yet they possessed influence enough at Leadenhall Street to obtain a strong reproof.

"To our concern," wrote the directors on the 4th of July, "we find that no sooner was our

Council reduced by the death of Colonel Monson to a number which rendered the president's casting vote of consequence to him, than he exercised it with an improper degree of power in the business of the revenue, which he never could have expected from any other authority."

We have already related how Hastings, in the time of his mortification and absolute despair, had announced to his agent in London his intention of resigning. It would appear that Colonel MacLean, after keeping the letter by him for several months, actually did show it to the chairman, his deputy, and another director, and upon their report, the intended resignation was formally accepted, and a successor to Hastings was chosen in the person of a Mr. Wheler, who, as the new Governor-General of India, was presented to George III., while General Clavering was ordered to occupy the chair until that gentleman's arrival in Bengal.

Tidings of these proceedings reached Calcutta, after the lapse of months, as usual in those days, and threw everything into confusion. Hastings declared that the Court of Directors had no power to accept that which he had never given; that his letter about resigning had been revoked by one sent subsequently; that Colonel MacLean had no authority to show it; that nothing in that letter amounted to a tender of resignation, and that even if it had, the subsequent missive annulled it. Finally he declared his resolution to remain at his post.

Greater grew the rancour and confusion now. He refused to permit General Clavering to take the chair, and summoned the meetings of Council as he had hitherto done; while, on the other hand, Clavering stormed and insisted on his rights as Governor-General temporarily, and, as such, summoned the Council in his name. Had Hastings still been in a minority, he might have left the chair without a contest; but he was now the real master of British India, and was resolved not to quit his high place; so there were now two Councils and two parties claiming supreme power, as Barwell attended the summons of Hastings, and Francis that of the irate general. The two latter met at the usual Council table; the two former at the Board of Revenue. Clavering now proceeded to take the oaths of Governor-General, *ad interim*, and to preside and deliberate; while Hastings required Sir Elijah Impey, and the other judges of the Supreme Court, to attend the Revenue Board and give him their opinion.

They met, but to no purpose, as the general had got possession of all the home despatches, and refused to deliver them up. Hastings assured the judges that if in them they could find one word from which his resignation could be deduced, he would instantly give over his office. The general and Francis enclosed copies of some—but only some—of the despatches, upon which they averred their claims were indisputably based; they did not, however, offer to abide by the decision of the judges, but agreed to suspend the execution of their orders, as a Council, until the opinion of the Supreme Court was delivered.

Meanwhile Clavering demanded the keys of the fort and treasury, and wrote to the bewildered commandant of the former, requiring his obedience at once; but Hastings, clenching the keys with a firmer grasp, wrote opposite orders to the commandant, and evinced the fullest determination of sternly meeting force with force. Civil war seemed about to break forth in the streets of Calcutta, when the judges luckily came to the conclusion that it would be illegal, as yet, for General Clavering to assume the chair, and otherwise persevere in his present course. So, for the present, he and his adherent, Francis, gave place to Hastings, and wrote to the judges acquiescing in their decision. Clavering, however, was uncourteous enough, when the Council next met, to absent himself without sending an apology for doing so. Yet he was a man who (while the Governor-General was spending in the public service the moderate private competence he had accumulated), though new to India, and "who had never known toil or danger, was hoarding and scraping, jobbing, speculating, trading, and resorting to all those means which enabled him to return to Europe with a very large fortune."

Hastings, with his decided majority, that is to say, his casting vote and Barwell's against General Clavering, now carried the bold resolution, "that the general, by taking the oaths as Governor-General, &c., had actually vacated his seat as senior councillor, and could no longer sit at the Board in any capacity." But in this he failed to carry the judges with him, and he was compelled to accept a compromise, the terms of which they dictated.

Eventually the two hostile parties agreed to refer their disputes to Leadenhall Street for a decision, and to leave matters at Calcutta as they stood before the arrival of those despatches which embroiled everyone. Meantime, however, many changes were made in favour of the friends of Hastings. Among others, Mr. Middleton was sent back as resident to the court of Oude, and Mr. Bristow, an adherent of the old majority, was recalled; and Mr. Francis Fowke, son of the Mr. Joseph Fowke, who was implicated with Nuncomar, was recalled from Benares. The health of Clavering

had long been giving way, and, after an illness of fourteen days, he died on the 30th of August, 1777, and on the 22nd of the following month we find Hastings writing thus to a friend:—"The death of Sir John Clavering has produced a state of quiet in our councils, which I shall endeavour to preserve during the remainder of the time which may be allotted to me. The interests of the Company will benefit by it; that is to say, they will not suffer as they have done by the effects of a divided administration."

Shortly after this event, Mr. Wheler arrived at Calcutta, and took his seat in the Council. Before encountering the long voyage round the Cape, he had naturally conceived that he was to take the chair rendered vacant by the alleged resignation of Warren Hastings; but ere he sailed he had heard of Monson's death, and preferring certainty to the hope of a problematical vacancy, he had wisely landed, hastened to London, and had himself appointed in the colonel's place.

The re-appointment of Middleton, the recall of Fowke, and some other measures, produced much angry discussion among the directors, who censured Hastings severely in the beginning of 1778, and sent him peremptory orders "that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately reinstated in his office of resident and postmaster of Benares;" but, peremptory as these orders were, Hastings chose to disregard them.

The offices of General Clavering as Member of Council and as Commander-in-Chief, were conferred on Sir Eyre Coote—the same officer who had distinguished himself so much in Indian warfare, from the battle of Plassey to that of Wandiwash and the capture of Pondicherry. By nature he was somewhat obstinate, haughty, and self-willed; so he frequently disputed the authority of Hastings, and voted with Wheler and Francis. Thus, when this occurred, the views of the Governor-General were over-ruled. The vigilance of Francis never slept; his bitterness was only equalled by his vigilance, and there were but too many occasions in which, by duly managing Sir Eyre, he succeeded in putting Hastings into a minority.

The latter, however, could also practice the art of judicious management, and by gratifying Coote's love of "allowances," in most instances secured his vote. Besides, Coote more generally agreed with Hastings than with Francis, who was ignorant of India, which the veteran soldier knew well. The latter was often in the field, and then Hastings had everything his own way; but these contingencies in the constitution of the Council gave great uncertainty to its decisions, and frustrated some of the best administrative measures of the Governor-General.

It seems now very remarkable that while the directors at home were alternately menacing and censuring Warren Hastings, they utterly omitted to avail themselves of the expiry of the period fixed for the tenure of his office by the Regulating Act, to insist on a new appointment; and thus by the Act 19 George III., chapter 61, he was continued in his office of Governor-General for another year. Soon after this renewal of the tenure of office, mutual friends made an attempt to effect a reconciliation between Hastings and Francis, and it was less difficult than might have been supposed, for the former was now threatened with the loss of Mr. Barwell, who was about to return to Europe, thus leaving his friend in a minority, while Mr. Francis, who had been so long in that unpleasant position by the deaths of Monson and Clavering, was not unwilling to escape from it, even at the sacrifice of his apparent consistency.

A kind of truce was accordingly made, the terms of which seem to be but little known, as ere long they became involved in an acrimonious dispute, of which each gave his own version, while seeking to charge deceitful dealing on his adversary. Hastings had too probably the best reason for complaint; but he lost his temper, and used language provocation could scarcely justify. And afterwards, not in a moment of excitement, but a time of calmness, he penned these words:—

"I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour."

This language led to the result which Hastings—long since weary of his contumacy—evidently contemplated, according to the usages of society at that time, and for more than sixty years afterwards.

A duel was fought, in which Mr. Francis was so severely wounded, that he narrowly escaped with his life. The conduct of Hastings throughout this painful affair was most honourable, for he not only made repeated inquiries after the health of his adversary, but offered him a visit, which Francis—malignant to the last—coldly declined. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. Henceforth they would only meet at the council board.

They did meet there occasionally after, yet only to be found, as of old, antagonists on opposite sides; but Francis profited so little by this bootless strife that he lost heart in it, and sailed for Europe.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

A QUARREL WITH THE MAHRATTAS.—THE MARCH OF COLONEL LESLIE.

It was high time now that some unanimity should prevail at that long-divided council board, and it soon became powerfully apparent to what peril the able Governor-General had exposed his country and British interests in India by risking his life in a duel with Mr. Francis; for a crisis had come, with which he alone was competent to deal; and, according to Macaulay, it is not too much to say, that had he been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Treaty of Poorundhur, concluded with the Poonah Ministry by Colonel Upton, failed to satisfy either the Company or the predatory Mahrattas, each party having striven to elude their obligations under it, and to lay the blame thereof upon the other, a state of matters that very readily produced a rupture, the more immediate cause of which occurred in March, 1777, when a French ship, laden with all the munition of war and many articles of European export, arrived at Chowal, a Mahratta port some twenty-three miles southward of Bombay, and landed several Frenchmen, who proceeded at once to Poonah. One of them bore the character of an ambassador to the Mahrattas, and was the Chevalier St. Lubin, whom the Council of Madras, during the former war with Hyder, had the folly to send, as one of the meddling field deputies, to watch their own general, and control the movements of his army.

This chevalier was a mere adventurer, credit to whose false statements, that he had lived long among the Mahrattas, and knew them well, had been given in France, where much mortification was beginning to be felt at the ascendency which we had established in India. It was then thought that amid the combinations now forming, and the war which we seemed to be about to wage with the Mahrattas, a locality might be obtained, to form the basis of future operations against us.

The bare retention of her possessions on the east coast was the utmost France could look for on that side; the west, then, presented a more favourable prospect, and was nearer the seat of the coming war than the Mauritius. After listening to much of such arguments as these, the French Ministry sent the chevalier to Poonah, where he soon began to exercise great influence. In the strife then raging between us and our American colonies, Frenchmen of great name and high rank were taking an active part, without any declaration of war between the courts of St. James's and Versailles; hence it was reasonably supposed that Frenchmen would not be very scrupulous in India, where they had never ceased their intrigues, since—despite the advice of those who knew Indian politics best—Pondicherry and Chandernagore had been restored to them.

The reception accorded to St. Lubin at Poonah caused considerable alarm at Bombay, the presidency of which, being nearest the scene of the Mahratta intrigues, was most likely to be affected by them, and, but for the restrictions involved by the Regulating Act, the Bombay Council would at once have begun to prepare for war. But their old freedom of action could not be exerted now with the same strength as before, though it had been in a measure restored to them by the directors disapproving of the manner in which they had been interfered with by the Governor-General, and giving it as their opinion that an alliance originally with the now fugitive Ragobah would have been more for the honour and advantage of the Company, for his "pretensions to the supreme authority," added the directors, "appear to us better founded than those of his competitors. Therefore, if the conditions of the Treaty of Poonah have not been strictly fulfilled on the part of the Mahrattas, and if, from any circumstance, our Governor-General and Council shall deem it expedient, we have no objection to an alliance with Ragobah on the terms agreed upon between him and you."

This was exactly what the presidency wished, as they were eager to anticipate any fresh designs of the French and Mahratta chiefs, and to recover Bassein and other territory which had been surrendered under the unpopular treaty concluded by Colonel Upton. Hastings heartily disapproved of the treaty—all the more so, perhaps, that it was the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented had he been able.

Indeed, by the time that St. Lubin arrived with presents for them from the unfortunate Louis XVI., the Mahratta chiefs had scarcely performed one article of it; and Hastings, who had long reflected on the best means of securing our Indian empire, and those possessed by the French for recovering their lost ascendency, soon came to the conclusion

that our chief peril would lie in an alliance between the French and Mahrattas, and that their attempt to form one should be prevented at once, by the sword, by diplomacy, and all other means.

At this crisis, tidings reached Calcutta that there was a quarrel among the chiefs at Poonah, where a kind of regency had been constituted, and a powerful faction, headed by Baboo, had resolved to draw the sword for Ragobah, and had actually applied to the Council at Bombay for assistance, and to this party it appeared that the latter had committed itself by promises and encouragements; and moreover, it was plain that the territory of Bombay would be imperilled if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragobah should prove victorious. To aid Bombay in the coming strife seemed only in accordance with true policy, since it would not only frustrate the ambitious schemes of our great European rival, but secure our future ascendency in the Mahratta councils, beside giving accessions of territory, which would more than compensate for the expense of the war. This opinion, by means of Warren Hastings' casting vote, prevailed, and it was resolved to assist the Bombay Presidency in the war with the Mahrattas.

It is a strange thing that very shortly before the time of which we are writing, the name of this people was almost unknown in Europe; and Guthrie, in his Grammar, in 1764, describes them as mercenaries, inhabiting the mountains between India and China; whereas they are a southern people, whose original home was in the land of Candeish and Baglana, in the Deccan, extending north-west as far as Goojerat and the Nerbudda river. According to Colonel Tone, the three great tribes that compose them are the *Koonby*, or farmer, the *Dungar*, or shepherd, and the *Cowla*, or cowherd.*

Poonah was their kind of metropolis, he adds, and the seat of Brahminical authority, yet it contained then one Christian church and many mosques. They have no titled nobility, and no peishwa could be appointed without first receiving the *khelat*, a certain quantity of cloths, delivered from the hands of the rajah, which virtually constituted him in his office. When he took the field in person, the *jerryput* was always displayed, this being a small swallow-tailed pennon, formed of cloth of gold. "The Mahrattas are straight, and clean-limbed men," says Gordon, "with complexions of various shades, from black to light brown, but darker near the sea; and they are bred alike to agriculture and to arms."†

* *Asiatic Annual Register* (1798).

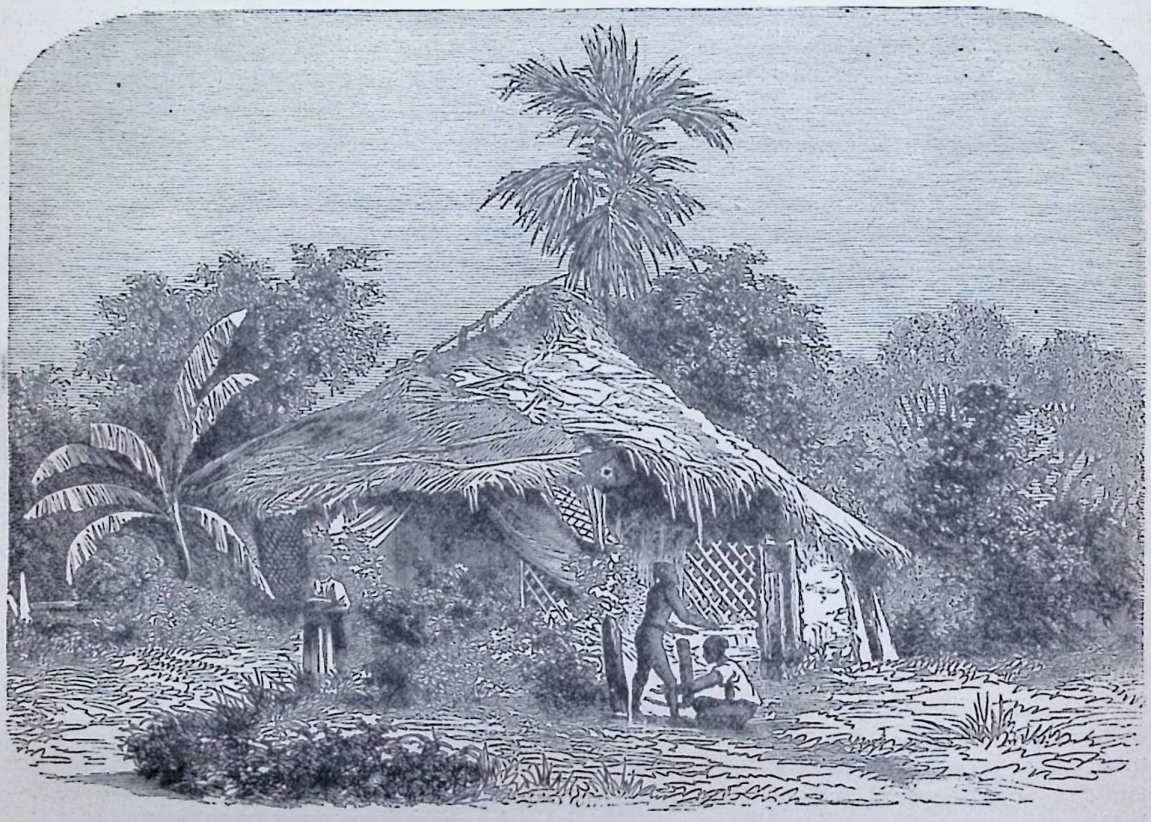
† "Geographical Grammar" (1789).

It was thus carried at Calcutta that Bombay should be assisted with money and troops. Ten lacs of rupees were to be sent there by bills, but the conveyance of troops presented obstacles of no ordinary nature; so, of course, in Council there arose a fresh dispute as to the most proper mode of sending the Bengal troops on so long a journey, but Hastings boldly suggested the new idea of a march over land. At this time the brigades of the Company were stationed far to the north and west, near the frontiers of Oude, and not only would much time be lost in bringing a sufficient force down to Calcutta, but a long and tedious voyage round the mighty peninsula of Hindostan at an unfavourable season would inevitably intervene, ere they could reach the scene of operations. Hence the new suggestion of Hastings—new, at least, in India; but he had studied well the capabilities of the native troops, and had a perfect reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and he had long wished for an opportunity to show the might and military power of the Company to some of the ranas and rajahs of the interior, princes who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto been in ignorance of both, and many of whom could scarcely comprehend whether this mysterious "Company" consisted of only one man or many. Thus, after a due consultation with certain officers, on whose skill and talent he could rely, though the Council proved averse to this march over land, he ordered it on his own responsibility.

At Calpee, on the right bank of the Jumna, where a hill-fort in a strong position defends the picturesque passage of the river, at a small distance from which stands a town, of old the capital of a petty state, there assembled, in the summer of 1778, that force which was expected to penetrate through the hostile and then unknown regions which lay between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay—the point being nearly equidistant, in a direct line, from Calcutta and Bombay, 600 miles W.N.W. of the former, and 680 miles N.N.E. of the latter. In the last given direction, the distance by any practicable route cannot be less than 1,000 miles, and this was the march about to be taken through a country barely known, if known at all, some parts of which might be friendly and others hostile, by a force mustering 103 European officers, 6,624 native troops, with 31,000 camp-followers, including the bazaar, carriers of baggage, officers' servants, and families of the sepoys. The command of the whole was entrusted to Colonel Leslie, who, though he had all the personal courage, lacked the dogged perseverance attributed to his countrymen,

and eventually did not prove equal to the execution of a conception so brilliant and daring.

He began his march on the 12th of June; but he had not proceeded far, when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, our consul at Grand Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared at London and Paris; news which so much alarmed the Council lest Calcutta should be attacked, that they insisted on the recall of the Bombay expedition; but Hastings, still resolute in purpose, insisted



NATIVE HUT AT BOMBAY.

that it should proceed, as the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be defended without it; and the energetic Clive himself could not have overborne obstacles more resolutely than the Governor-General did on this trying occasion.

He seized Chandernagore, which the French had omitted to fortify, and sent orders to the presidency of Madras instantly to occupy Pondicherry, the walls and works of which had been repaired and so strengthened (an infraction of the former treaty of peace) that it could not be taken without a desperate siege.

He then ordered the formation of some strong lines of works to defend the approaches to Calcutta; and collecting shipping of all sorts and sizes, he improvised a regular marine establishment, raised nine new battalions of sepoys, and a strong force of native artillery; and, being thus confident and at ease in his own quarter, he turned all his attention to the march of the army westward, and to the progress of affairs at Poonah and in Bombay.

Before the march of Leslie began, Hastings, with great and wise forethought, had sent letters and presents to those native princes through whose territories the colonel would have to pass. Moreover, he had nearly settled the preliminaries of an alliance with Moodajee Bhonsla, the Mahratta Rajah of Berar, whose states were most extensive, situated about midway between the Bay of Bengal and the western coast, and whose power and influence were fully equal to those of any Mahratta prince of the period.

Colonel Leslie's orders were to push on with all rapidity, so that he might leave the Nerbudda in his rear before the rainy season set in; but, instead of doing this, he permitted himself to be retarded by some petty Rajpoot chiefs, whom the Poonah Mahrattas had instigated to obstruct him; and in a desultory warfare with them, he wasted the time he should have spent in advancing, according to

one account. According to another, as he marched through Bundelcund, his troops were frequently harassed by the young rajah of that district—so celebrated for its scorching heat, called "the death-blast of Bundelcund,"—and also by a young Mahratta chief, called Ballarjee. Leslie's supplies were frequently cut off; but a spirited and successful attack upon a position the rajah and the chief had taken up not far from Chatterpore, amid the most beautiful and romantic scenery of the

"The rest of the march will be easy and creditable, if Colonel Leslie does not entangle himself in the domestic discontents of the two brothers, to which his inducements are strong and his provocations great. He was, on the 30th of July, at Chatterpore, where he had for some time been detained for the repair of his carriages. He writes that he was then on the point of leaving it. I wish he had."

Leslie, however, was not in such haste as his leader desired; for, on reaching Rajahghur, in



VIEW OF THE CITADEL OF POONAH.

Bundelcund, completely disconcerted them both, and compelled them to keep at a more respectful distance.

After this affair, the colonel was joined by the elder brother of the rajah, who laid claim to his throne, and by several other chiefs of Bundelcund; "for, go where they would, the British found factions, disputed successions, and other mad contentions to tempt their ambition, and furnish means for its gratification." But Hastings' whole desire was, that the expedition should reach the great point for action, without becoming involved in petty wars by the way. Thus he wrote on the 18th of August, 1778, to Sullivan:—

"the Country of Diamonds," on the 17th of August, he made a long halt to negotiate with the pretender, and other lords of the district; but this delay was in part attributable to the indecision of the Bombay Council, under whose orders he had been desired to place himself the moment he left the Jumna in his rear.

Incidents that were undoubtedly somewhat embarrassing, had occurred in the meanwhile at Poonah, where the treaty with Ragobah, and his cause generally, were not proving so successful as the Council at Bombay had anticipated, and their conduct became what has justly been termed the nearest approach to absurdity.

To Colonel Leslie they sent an order to halt *en route*, alleging as a reason, their dread of the expense and risk, and the dissent of two members of Council from the original scheme, a plea which excited the profound contempt of Hastings. Three days after the first order, the Bombay politicians sent Leslie a second order rescinding the first, and desiring him to press on with all speed. Leslie, though brave, was by nature irresolute, perhaps inactive, so he remained where he was; and justified himself for doing so, by showing that an army which he expected from Bombay to make a junction with him had not yet begun its march; and that the presidency had failed to avail themselves properly of the dissensions at Poonah, or to pave the way for his progress through districts that were dangerous.

On the other hand, the Council at Bombay excused their apathy, by alleging that the members of their secret party in Poonah, from whom they expected active and armed assistance, had been cast into dungeons, and that it was vain now to prognosticate what might be the chances of Ragobah becoming either peishwa or regent. As matters stood, Hastings thought it necessary to recall Colonel Leslie, and confide the command of the expeditionary army to an officer of more activity and enterprise.

He accordingly ordered him to be superseded by the second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard. By the same courier, he wrote to the Rajah of Bundelcund and the competitors there, disavowing all the tactics and transactions of Colonel Leslie, and declaring all that officer's treaties and agreements invalid.

It has been thought not improbable that the loitering commander might have been made to answer at Calcutta, for the mode in which he had handled his army, before a court-martial or court of inquiry; but he was summoned before a higher tribunal.

Before the order of supercession reached him, he died of fever at Rajahghur (or Rajeghur), on the 3rd of October, 1778. Goddard was raised to the rank of full colonel; and, freed from all the trammels that beset his predecessor—especially the authority of the wavering magnates at Bombay—forthwith quitted the land of Bundelcund, and taking the route to Malwa, continued his march for a long time in ease, peace, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the many impediments which had beset the less fortunate Leslie.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PONDICHERRY REDUCED AGAIN.—THE MARCH OF COLONEL GODDARD.

We have said that Pondicherry could not be reduced without some obstinate work. The task of recapturing that place, which the French had no right to fortify again, was assigned to Major-General Sir Hector Munro, who, on the 17th of October, 1778, took the town and fort by capitulation, after a siege of two months and ten days, at the head of the East India Company's forces, and those of the nabob.*

On the 8th of August, part of the troops intended for the siege encamped on the Redhill, four miles distant from Pondicherry, the French troops in which were commanded by Major-General de Bellecombe and Brigadier Law, of Lauriston. On the 21st, our troops took possession of the remarkable boundary hedge described in an earlier chapter. On the 6th and 7th of September we broke ground before it on the north and south sides, Sir Hector being resolved to push on two attacks at once. On the 18th, the batteries, armed with twenty-eight battering guns and twenty-seven mortars, opened with a terrible fury, to which those of the enemy responded from day-dawn till evening, when their fire began to slacken, while ours was redoubled.

"The approaches," says Sir Hector, in his despatch to Viscount Weymouth, the Secretary of State, "were continued with the utmost expedition; but the obstinate defence of the garrison made it necessary to act with caution, and the violent rains that fell retarded the works. A gallery being carried into the ditch to the southward, a breach made in the bastion called L'Hospital, and the faces of the adjacent bastions being also destroyed, it was resolved to pass the ditch by a bridge of

* *London Gazette*, 1778.

boats made for the purpose, and to assault the place; while, on the north attack, our batteries had ruined the whole face of the north-west bastion, and a float was prepared to pass the troops over the ditch, where they had stockades running into the water. This was intended to have been put in execution on the 15th of October, before daylight; but in the forenoon of the 14th the water of the ditch to the southward was so raised by the rains for two or three days before, that it forced itself into the gallery, broke it down, and damaged the boats intended for the bridge.

"It required two days to repair the damage done, and everything being ready for the assault, it would have taken place on the 17th; but on the 16th, M. Bellecombe sent in a letter by his aide-de-camp, M. de Villette, relative to a capitulation, which was signed by both parties next day. The gallant defence made by M. Bellecombe will ever do him honour; and I beg leave, in justice to the troops I had the honour to command, to assure your lordship that they acted with the most determined resolution on every occasion."

Thus Bellecombe had no better fortune in Pondicherry than the Count de Lally a few years before. Admiral Sir Edward Vernon, who gave great assistance during the siege, landed the marines of his squadron, with 200 seamen, to act as a naval brigade, if required, in the assault.

The lists, terms of the capitulation, and the colours taken at Pondicherry, Sir Hector sent home in charge of his aide-de-camp, Ensign Rumbold, of the 6th Regiment (son of the Governor of Madras), then serving as a volunteer in the war in India.

The terms of the capitulation demanded by the French included that the garrison, after giving over the old Villenore Gate, should "retire by the sea-port, with arms and baggage, colours flying, drums beating, lighted matches, with six cannon, two mortars—each piece to have six charges, and each soldier fifteen cartouches;" but it was *answered* that, in consequence of their bravery, "the garrison are to march out of the Villenore Gate with the honours of war; they will, on the glacis, pile their arms by order of their own officers, where they will leave them with their drums, the cannon, and mortars. The officers to keep their arms, and the Regiment of Pondicherry, at General Bellecombe's particular request, to keep their colours."

The colonel of this corps, M. Auvergne, Brigadier Law de Lauriston, Colonel Russell, and other officers of rank, were permitted to take away their baggage unsearched; and there fell into our hands 391 guns unsearched; and there fell into our hands 391 guns and mortars, thirty-two of which were unserviceable, 6,295 stand of various arms, 1,000 swords and pistols, and great stores of everything. The garrison consisted of about 3,000 men, 900 of whom were Europeans; the total loss in killed and wounded was 680. The besieging force was 10,500, of whom 1,500 were Europeans. Our losses were 224 killed, and 693 wounded.*

So thus fell Pondicherry into our hands for the third time.

During the time of the investment, a sharp engagement took place at sea between our squadron, under Sir Edward Vernon, and the French, under M. Tranjollie. On the same day our troops broke ground before the town of Pondicherry. Vernon, when (with five sail, one of which was the *Rippon*, 60) chasing a frigate into the roadstead, descried six sail of the enemy to the south-westward; but the wind was so light that it was impossible to come within range of them till the morning of the 10th of August, when they bore down on our fleet in a steady line abreast. After some manœuvring, Vernon won the weather gauge, and signalled to bear down on the enemy, who had formed on the starboard tack.

"I intended," reported Sir Edward, "forming our line on the larboard tack, till the leading ship had stretched abreast of their rear, then to have tacked and formed opposite the enemy's ships; but having so little wind, and the uncertainty of a continuance, I thought it necessary to bring them to action, which, at three-quarters past two, became general."

After close fighting for two hours, the enemy stood away to the south-west, leaving our vessels sorely crippled aloft; but the admiral hoped to encounter them again next day, so the whole night was spent "in reeving, splicing, and knotting the rigging, getting up a maintopsail yard, and foretop mast, the others being destroyed." But the enemy bore away out of sight, which enabled Vernon to steer into the roads of Pondicherry, and take part with Munro in the reduction of that place. His total loss in the engagement was eleven killed, and fifty-three wounded.

Colonel Goddard, as we have related, continuing his march, crossed the Nerbudda and reached the city of Nagpore, which Hastings, with a prospective glance, declared should be the proper centre for all our possessions and connections in India, though it is situated in a low, swampy plain, watered by a river called the Nag, or serpent, from its numerous windings. It was but a small place, and was but a village when, in 1740, Ragoji Bhonsla fixed there the seat of the Mahratta Government, and made it the capital of Berar.

* *London Gazette*, 1778.

By the 1st of December, Colonel Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of that state; and there he received despatches from Bombay, acquainting him that, at last, an army had been put in motion for Poonah, and it was expected that he would form a junction with it in the vicinity of that city. This Bombay force, 4,500 strong, was under Colonel Charles Egerton, who, on quitting the coast, boldly marched through the Ghauts, reached Khandala, and by the 4th of January, 1779, was in full advance upon Poonah, with twenty-five days' provisions in store.

Flying squadrons of Mahratta horse hovered about him, skirmishing and retreating; but Egerton could nowhere hear aught of a friendly Mahratta army, which Ragobah had given assurances would repair to his standard. Ragobah, who accompanied the colonel with a very few followers, and who had obtained a considerable loan from the Bombay treasury, was now questioned sharply, on which he represented that the undecided Mahratta chiefs would not join the British until some formidable blow had been struck.

By the 9th of January, Egerton was within sixteen miles of Poonah, at the point where he expected to meet and form a junction with Goddard's column; but now he was compelled to halt, as a great body of Mahratta horse was seen in front, and their aspect greatly excited the fears of two civil commissioners, whom, unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay Government had ordered to accompany it. On the unmanly pretext that subsistence would become precarious if they continued to advance — though eighteen days' rations were still in store—they ordered a retreat. It was begun at night, on the 11th of January, the heavy guns having been thrown into a tank, and a quantity of stores buried.*

The army of Mahratta horse, 50,000 strong, came thundering after them, and eventually surrounded them completely, cut down or slew by rockets about 400 men, and carried off nearly all the baggage and provisions. The two helpless commissioners were overwhelmed by terror and despair, and even Egerton declared that it was impossible to carry back the column to Bombay; so Mr. Farmer, the secretary of the committee or commissioners, was sent to negotiate. The first demand was that Ragobah should be delivered up, and this degrading request would actually have been complied with, had he not previously made a better arrangement, by agreeing to surrender to Scindia. The next demand was, that the Bombay Government should, by treaty, surrender all the territory they had acquired since 1756 and the death of Madhoo Rao, together with the revenues drawn from Broach and Surat. Also, that orders should be sent to Colonel Goddard to retire peaceably back to Bengal. The terrified commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty at Wurgaon to the effect of all this, and Lieutenant Charles Stewart and Mr. Farmer were left as hostages in the hands of the enemy; but on descending the Ghauts, the first act of the commissioners was to commit a dangerous breach of faith —dangerous so far as the lives of the hostages were concerned — by countermanding the order they had sent to Colonel Goddard, when, under the dictation of the Mahrattas, they forbade him to advance; these instructions no doubt explain the contradictory messages which so greatly puzzled that officer.

This dishonoured army now continued its march without molestation to Bombay, where two colonels, Egerton and Cockburn, were dismissed the service, and a Captain Hartley, who had distinguished himself, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In the meanwhile Colonel Goddard had continued his march towards Poonah, confident in the formation of a junction with Egerton at the appointed time; but when he reached the great city of Berhampore, the ancient capital of Candeish, on the northern bank of the Tapti, 980 miles from Calcutta by the route he had taken, he had to halt again, in perplexity by the nature of his orders and advices. "By one letter from the field commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he was told to retrace his steps; by another from the same field commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army."

Full of strange doubts, the colonel continued to halt at Berhampore, till the 5th of February, 1779, when he became cognisant of the real state of affairs. In great indignation he resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right or authority over him, as he had already orders which absolved him from the command of the Bombay Government; but fearing there might be more at stake than he knew of, he bravely resolved to continue his march towards the western coast, and avoiding Poonah, from whence a body of horse had been sent out to intercept him, to push on for Surat, where he would find himself in a British settlement, with the open sea to Bombay, and where he would be in readiness to act as his orders from Bengal or occasion might require.

* Duff's "Hindostan."

From Berhampore the route to Surat was 250 miles; the disposition of the intervening country was very dubious, and the Mahratta horse were hanging on his rear; but his decision, and rapidity of movement, together with the splendid discipline and conduct of his Bengal native infantry, saved him alike from all danger and dishonour. Wherever he and they went the fame of a good name preceded them. The march was a long one, and accompanied by many toils and perils; but there were no pillaging, no insult or wrong offered to the people, hence they flocked on all hands to supply his men with provisions, and to accord all the service and information in their power.

The march lay through one of the most fertile and best cultivated tracts of Hindostan, thickly dotted with defenceless villages and open towns, with much valuable property in them, and luxuries most tempting to the sepoys; "but nothing was touched, nothing taken without being paid for; and thus the inhabitants, instead of flying and concealing their provisions and property, as they had ever done at the approach of an army, quietly pursued their occupations, or thronged to relieve his wants by a traffic beneficial to both parties."

In nineteen days after quitting Berhampore, Goddard entered Surat amid the acclamations of the people, thus achieving a triumph more valuable than any victory could prove. "Be assured," wrote Hastings, in one of his letters to Sullivan, "that the successful and steady progress of a part—and that known to be but a small part—of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat, has contributed more, perhaps, than our more splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindostan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting!" *

Colonel Goddard was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and soon received the commands of the Supreme Council at Calcutta to take upon himself all future wars and negotiations with the Mahrattas. On being made aware of the disgraceful treaty between the Bombay commissioners and the chiefs of that people, the Supreme Council first provided for their own safety by ordering a brigade to the banks of the Jumna, and sending their commander-in-chief to inspect and put upon a war footing their military resources on the north-west frontier, where an attack was expected. After this they gave their attention to the Bombay Presidency, and manifested a spirit worthy of all praise, while Hastings urged the Council there to exert themselves for the retrieval of their misfortunes, and arm themselves with means adequate to that end.

But the Bombay Council chose to deem themselves slighted when Goddard was appointed brigadier, with powers to negotiate for the Governor-General, as our plenipotentiary at the court of Poonah, and objected particularly to the cantoning of a military force within their limits, and independent of their authority, as being unconstitutional. The Governor-General, heedless of their petty spirit, on the 15th of April, 1779, directed Brigadier Goddard to endeavour to negotiate a peace on the terms of the Treaty of Poorundhur, with an additional clause excluding all French from any portion of the Mahratta territories. By the end of May he received more detailed instructions, directing him, if peace could not be obtained on the above terms, to form an alliance with Futteh Sing, the acknowledged head of the Baroda or Guicowar dominions. There was another alliance from which great things were expected.

This was one with Scindia, whose rivalry with Nana Furnavese, the Mahratta minister, was well known; these two chiefs, while acting together with apparent cordiality, only hid thereby their secret and mutual animosity, and of this a marked instance occurred. By the Treaty of Wurgaon, Ragobah had been committed to his care, and on his prisoner, Scindia had settled an estate in Bundelcund worth twelve lacs of rupees. Ragobah thus believed that Scindia was his friend, and Nana was also satisfied, because Scindia became security that Ragobah would molest his government no more; so the latter was sent to take possession of his new property, but having received a hint that he would probably be confined in the castle of Jhansi, and being slenderly guarded, he watched his opportunity, and when his escort was about to ford the Nerbudda, he escaped, and fled with all speed to Broach, and put himself under the protection of the British. This was all believed to be a scheme of Scindia's, who thus widened the breach between the Nana and the Company, and led the minister to fear that there was a plan on foot for establishing Ragobah at Poonah.

Thus, after Goddard had been negotiating with him for some months, all hope of a treaty came to an end when the Nana demanded the immediate surrender of the Isle of Salsette and the person of Ragobah, as preliminaries thereto. Previous to this, Ragobah, with his two sons, Amrut Rao and Bajee Rao, a child of four years, had visited the camp of General Goddard, who gave him an allowance of 50,000 rupees per month, which was

* Gleig, "Life of Warren Hastings."

censured by the Bengal Government, who intended to make no more use of him politically. Too late, the discovery had at last been made that it was impolitic to attempt to thrust upon the warlike Mahrattas, a person whom the whole nation, instead of flocking to his banner, as expected during the recent expedition, viewed with general indifference and aversion.

But now, therefore, that the declaration and double demands of Nana Furnavese made war inevitable, it was resolved that it should be carried on, not in the name of Ragobah, but in that of the East India Company alone; so General Goddard, on receiving his final answer from the Nana, set out for Bombay, where he arrived on the 1st of November, 1779.

The object of the general's visit was two-fold—to arrange the plan of future warlike operations, to urge the preparation and march of a reinforcement, and also to adjust the proposed allowance with Futteh Sing, the Guicowar of Baroda. The Council would have preferred delay, but they could not resist the urgency of the energetic Goddard.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS.—GODDARD TAKES THE FIELD.—DUBHOY AND AHMEDABAD CAPTURED.—FIRST COMMUNICATION OVERLAND ESTABLISHED BY WARREN HASTINGS.

ACCORDINGLY, a detachment of the Bombay troops, consisting of 100 European artillery, 200 European infantry, and two battalions of sepoys, under Colonel Hartley, were immediately embarked for Goojerat. From Madras, 100 artillery, 500 Europeans, and one battalion of sepoys were expected, under Colonel Brown; from Bengal, 2,000 sepoys were expected by the route overland, but failed to appear; and on returning to Surat, where the main body of his army was cantoned, General Goddard dismissed the envoys of Nana Furnavese, and opened a negotiation with Futteh Sing, of Baroda; but finding that prince loth to entangle himself by any definite treaty, on the New Year's Day of 1780 he put his army in motion, and crossed the river Tapti.

Progressing slowly northward, till overtaken by his siege-train and stores from Broach, he then moved to attack the fort of Dubhoy, which was held for the peishwa by an officer with a garrison of 2,000 Mahrattas. This place—including the remains of an ancient Hindoo city, of which there is no history extant, but which was probably abandoned because of its low and unhealthy situation—had once fortifications three miles in extent, with the remains of many elegant temples. In 1779, it was little more than a mass of magnificent ruins, amid which dwelt a squalid population of 40,000 souls.*

The fort formed a quadrangle of two miles in circuit, the rampart being of large hewn stones, strengthened by fifty-six towers. Between two of these was a kind of Moorish archway of great beauty, named "the Gate of Diamonds." On the 18th of January, 1780, General Goddard was before it, and by the 20th he had thrown up a battery of three eighteen-pounders within 200 yards of the walls; but the garrison was found to have evacuated the place in the night. He garrisoned it by a company of sepoys, and some irregular troops, under James Forbes, author of the "Oriental Memoirs," and pushed on in the direction of Baroda. *En route* he was met by the Guicowar Futteh Sing, who had been so greatly impressed by the sudden fall of Dubhoy—which was believed by the natives to be a place of great strength—that he entered into an alliance with us, offensive and defensive. By this, in addition to other advantages given to the Company, he agreed to furnish them with a body of 3,000 horse; one of the stipulations in his favour being the possession of Ahmedabad, towards which our troops at once advanced.

This strong and stately city, which has been already described, had then a population of 100,000 persons, and a garrison consisting of 6,000 Arab and Scindia infantry, with 2,000 Mahratta horse, the whole being under a Brahmin officer in the service of the peishwa. Goddard arrived before its lofty and turreted walls on the 10th of February; by the 12th this active officer had his batteries armed and in operation. Thus a practicable breach was effected by the evening of the 13th. Two days after, the city was won by storm;

* Forbes.



GENERAL GODDARD ENTERING SURAT.

but few details of the event are given. Our total loss was only 105 killed and wounded. Among the latter were twelve European officers; two of them, who were volunteers, died of their wounds. Not the least honourable part of this gallant assault was the subsequent steadiness and good conduct of the troops, as only two men not belonging to the garrison were killed.*

The standard of the Guicowar had barely been displayed upon the towers of Ahmedabad, when tidings came of the approach of Mahadajee Scindia and Tookajee Holkar, with 20,000 horse, at the head of which they had forded the Nerbudda, and were now on the march to Baroda.

On the 6th of March, General Goddard crossed the Mhye to do battle with them, an offer which they declined by retiring at his approach; and as a proof of his wish to stand well with us, Scindia set at liberty—to their great relief of mind, no doubt—Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart, who had been given up as hostages at Wurgaon, and who arrived in the British camp; and the reports they gave of Scindia's professions of friendship for the Company, and his hatred of Nana Furnavese, afforded some ground for a belief that he would prefer our alliance. But Goddard, suspicious that Scindia merely meant to amuse himself till the rainy season came on, broke off all negotiations, and gave him only three days to consider. On the 16th of March, the envoy returned with certain terms, the substance of which were "that Ragobah should retire to Jhansi, and live on his jaghire of twelve lacs; that the government should continue in the name of Madhoo Rao Narrain as peishwa; and Bajee Rao, Ragobah's son, be appointed the peishwa's *dewan*."

Though mentioned last, this was the most essential part of the proposed terms; Bajee Rao, a child of four years, could not act as dewan, thus Scindia would take him to Poonah and manage for him. So General Goddard replied:—

"That, as these proposals amounted to nothing less than that the Company should assist Scindia in acquiring the entire power of the state, it was necessary that he should, on his part, consent in the name of the peishwa to certain concessions in favour of British interests."

Scindia, finding himself baffled in spinning out the negotiations for months, as he had hoped, now entered into secret communication with Govind Rao, the brother of Futteh Sing, and his rival claimant for the office of Guicowar, with a view of putting him in possession of Goojerat; but on discovering this new intrigue, Goddard resolved on immediate battle. This was no easy matter to attain, as, by the rapid movements of their cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to avoid an attack. The former having placed his baggage under the protection of the hill fort of Pamonghur, threw out many patrols of fleet horsemen to alarm him in case of danger, and to obviate a surprise.

Nevertheless Goddard, with a small but select portion of his forces, after being encamped quietly for six weeks near Scindia, on the morning of the 3rd of April resolved to give him an *alerte*. Heading his troops in person, and marching silently ere day dawned, he passed the Mahratta patrols, and even their grand-guard, or in-lying picket of some thousand men, and was pushing on for the camp, which lay a mile beyond, when dawn came in with its usual Indian rapidity; the glitter of steel was seen, and an alarm was given by the Mahratta drums.

The main body of the enemy were soon in their saddles and advancing to the attack, when a heavy musketry fire from our people sent them scampering to the right-about; but General Goddard, who had been under the impression that he had won a complete victory, was rather mortified when, after encamping, he perceived the enemy still, as before, in his front. On the 14th of April, he was joined by the welcome Madras contingent, under Colonel Browne. A week subsequently, he made another attempt on the camp of the Mahrattas, who retired under a shower of rockets.

Retreating in confusion to the Ghauts, the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of the country between the mountains and the sea; but as the rainy season was at hand, he moved to the Nerbudda, and put his troops in cantonments.

In the meanwhile, many transactions had been taking place which were of interest, and of which but little notice has been taken in history. Among these was the alliance formed by Warren Hastings with the Rana of Gohud, a mountainous territory full of strong military positions, particularly the famous fortress of Gwalior. The rana, then described as "a chief south of Agra," by a treaty signed on the 2nd of December, 1779, was to furnish 10,000 horse for service against the Mahrattas; whenever peace took place between the Company and the latter, the rana was to be included therein, and his present possessions, with the fort of Gwalior, were guaranteed to him. On the other hand, the Company were to furnish a force for the defence of his country, on his paying 20,000 Muchildar rupees for each battalion of sepoys: nine-sixteenths of any acquisitions were to go to the Company.

* Duff.

"Mr. Hastings, in the midst of his other varied and important avocations," says a well-known writer, "did not lose sight of the interests of science and literature.

"A copy of the Mohammedan laws had been translated by Mr. Anderson, under the sanction and patronage of the Government, and sent home to the Court, together with the Bengal Grammar prepared by Messrs. Halked and Wilkins, 500 copies being taken by Government at thirty rupees a copy, as an encouragement of their labours. Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins was also supported in erecting and working a press for the purpose of printing official papers, &c. The *Madrissa*, or Mohammedan college for the education of the natives, was established by the Government. In order to open a communication by the Red Sea with Europe, the Government built a vessel at Mocha, having been assured that every endeavour would be made to secure the privilege of despatches with the Company's seal being forwarded with facility; the trade with Suez having been prohibited to all British subjects on a complaint to the King's ministers by the Ottoman Porte." *

CHAPTER XL.

EXPLOITS OF CAPTAIN POPHAM.—CAPTURE OF GWALIOR.—SIEGE OF BASSEIN.—BATTLE OF DOOGAUR.—GODDARD'S DISASTROUS RETREAT.—THE TREATY OF SALBYE.

THE Bombay Government now urged General Goddard to seize Parneira, a hill fort fifteen miles north of Dumaun, which had been built in the time of Sevajee, about 150 years before. But ere this could be attempted their wishes were gratified. Gunnesh Punt, a Mahratta warrior, having set out on a plundering expedition, and ravaged the districts on the south of the Tapti river, carried his devastations to the vicinity of Surat. On this, Lieutenant Walsh, of the Bengal Cavalry, was sent out at the head of the Candahar Horse (as some of the Nabob of Oude's cavalry were designated); and this active young officer succeeded not only in surprising the camp of Gunnesh Punt, and routing his people, but in further capturing three forts in the district of Dumaun, one of them being that of Parneira. About the same time, a party of our troops under Major Forbes routed one of Scindia's detachments near Sinnore, on the Nerbudda, and cut it to pieces.

The Bengal contingent which was to have followed Goddard in his rapid march to Surat having been countermanded, was employed in a different direction. In consequence of our alliance with the Rana of Gohud, it was deemed advisable to make a diversion, by operating against the Mahrattas in Malwa, by marching through his territories. Sir Eyre Coote was greatly in favour of this measure; but wished that a larger force should be employed than the detachment originally intended to reinforce Colonel Goddard.

This body, under Captain William Popham, was 2,400 strong, formed into three battalions of 800 bayonets each, with a small force of native cavalry, and some European gunners with a howitzer and a few field-guns. In the beginning of February, 1780, Captain Popham crossed the Jumna, and attacked and put to flight the Mahrattas who were ravaging the country about Gohud. At the request of the rana, he then marched against Lahar, a fortress fifty miles west of Calpee, which proved a place of greater strength than he expected, for his guns failed to effect a practicable breach, thus he ordered an escalade without one.

With resolute gallantry, his stormers fought their way in, and Lahar was ours, but at the loss of 120 rank and file. Sir Eyre Coote, who did not anticipate this success, in consequence, obtained some battering guns, and held them, with four more battalions under Major John Carnac, in readiness to cross the Jumna.

These operations preluded a more brilliant affair, for after leaving Lahar, Captain Popham found himself near the famous fortress of Gwalior, before which he encamped during the rains. Few places in India were more celebrated than this Gwalior, in the province of Agra—"the Gibraltar of the East." It is situated on a hill a mile and a half in length, but in few places more than 300 yards in breadth. The sides are steep, and 340 feet in height. It is, in fact, an isolated rock of ochreous sandstone,

* Auber.

partially capped with basalt. The lower portion of the rock is sloping; but immediately above this the sandstone starts up precipitously, and in some places is impending. Along the edge of this precipice rise the ramparts, with Saracenic battlements and towers. The entrance is from the north, and consists of a steep road, succeeded by an enormous staircase, hewn out of the living rock, but so wide and gentle in acclivity that laden elephants can ascend it.

A strong and lofty wall protects this staircase, and in it are seven gates of great strength. Should all these difficulties be surmounted, an enemy would find his work but half begun, as within them stands a citadel consisting of six lofty round towers, connected by curtain walls of great height and thickness. Along the eastern base of the rock lies the town of Gwalior, which is still greatly benefited by those pilgrims who come to pray at the tomb of Ghase-al-Alum, a famous Sufi, who died there in 1560; but the fortress had a fame so far back as 1023, when it was summoned by Mahmoud of Ghizni. During the Mogul government it was used as a state prison, and within its gloomy walls several princes have terminated their existence by opium or the dagger.

Though the capture of such a rock-built fortress might have seemed hopeless to some men, Captain Popham was not one of them, and he resolved to attempt it. He had a good coadjutor in the rana, and a better still "in Captain Bruce, one of a family insensible to danger," for he was the younger brother of James Bruce, of Kinnaird, the great Abyssinian traveller. Fortunately, the rana was thoroughly acquainted with the interior of this fortress (which Scindia had made a grand depôt for artillery and military stores), and he kept spies within it, who could act as guides.

After every preparation had been made with the utmost secrecy, the night of the 3rd of August was chosen for the attempt. The command of the stormers and escalading party was assigned to Captain Bruce, and it consisted of two companies of chosen sepoys, with four lieutenants. It was an old story in the Indian army that one of these subalterns, named Douglas, was the first to volunteer for the forlorn hope, but gave place to his senior, saying, with reference to their historic names, that "where a Bruce led, a Douglas should be proud to follow."

Be that as it may, supported by European bayonets and two battalions of sepoys, the escalade crept close to a point where the scarped rock was only sixteen feet in height, and this was easily surmounted by the scaling ladders. Beyond this, a steep ascent led to the base of the second wall, which was thirty feet high. But this also was surmounted, by the aid of the rana's spies, who, by ropes, made the ladders fast. As each soldier reached the crest of the wall and got inside, he squatted down. At the head of twenty sepoys Captain Bruce had barely entered thus, when some of the former began in a reckless way to shoot the garrison as they lay asleep within the walls. A useless alarm was thus given; but the sepoys stood firm till their supports came pouring in; and the garrison, thus surprised and intimidated, made scarcely any resistance, for Gwalior was taken without the loss of a man.

With the results of Popham's brilliant little campaign the Bombay Government had every reason to be satisfied; but some formidable difficulties had arisen. Their exchequer was empty, and they knew not how it was to be replenished. Before the close of the preceding year the Carnatic had been seriously disturbed, and as a ruinous war had begun to rage there, the money which the Bengal Government had intended to send to Bombay was required to supply the still more urgent necessities of Madras; and the expedients to which the Bombay Council were compelled to resort, evince the extent of their monetary necessity. Loans for their own credit were proposed for negotiation in Bengal; a quantity of copper lying in the Company's warehouses, valued at twelve lacs of rupees, was sold to the highest bidder; and a plan was formed to seize the resources of the enemy, by anticipating them in the collection of the revenue.

With a view that the new campaign should be opened with the siege of Bassein, the European troops under General Goddard were conveyed by sea to Salsette. The battering train was prepared at Bombay, from whence the sepoys were to proceed by land; but meanwhile the wretched state of the local finances compelled the occupation of all the disposable troops at Bombay in work of a different nature. Thus, early in October, 1780, five battalions were placed under Colonel Hartley, with orders to cover as much as possible of that extensive maritime district named the Concan, which is 220 miles in length by forty in breadth, and peopled by Brahmins of a peculiar race, not acknowledged by the rest in India. This occupation was to enable the Bombay agents to collect part of the enemy's revenues, and secure the rich rice harvest ere the rains fell.

Before the colonel could fully achieve this object, his services were required for the relief of Captain Abington, who had made an attempt to surprise the strong fortress of Bhow Mullan, which stands eastward of the Isle of Bombay. He gained possession

of the outer wall, but the garrison retired into a species of citadel where they set him at defiance; and while attempting its reduction, his retreat was cut off by more than 3,000 Mahrattas, who completely surrounded him till Hartley came to his relief. Soon after this, the colonel drove the enemy completely out of the Concan; he took possession of the rocky Bhore Ghaut, thus enabling the Bombay treasury to be quietly replenished at the expense of the enemy's crops and rupees, after which, on the 13th of November, General Goddard formally inaugurated the siege of Bassein.

Situated at the distance of twenty-eight miles northward of Bombay, this place stands on an island separated by a narrow channel from the mainland of the Northern Concan. Its fortifications —originally the work of the Portuguese in 1531— were strong and extensive, though they are ruinous now; hence regular approaches were necessary, and several batteries armed with twenty-four-pounders were thrown up between the distances of 500 and 900 yards. One, of twenty mortars, at the former distance, did great execution, while Hartley's column covered the operations, by preventing the Mahrattas from raising the siege, for which purpose they poured troops through the Concan as fast as they could be mustered.

These forces, 20,000 strong, led by a warlike and able Mahratta officer named Rumchunder Gunnesh, now turned all their fury against the slender covering army of Hartley, now by many casualties reduced to barely 2,000 bayonets. On the 10th of December, while the colonel was in position at Doogaur, he was suddenly assailed by horse and foot in front and rear, but completely repulsed the enemy. On the 11th, the attack was resumed, with a similar result, though the well-handled cannon of Gunnesh did considerable execution; and that officer, perceiving that Hartley's flanks were powerfully secured by two eminences, without the capture of which he could not force the position, was resolved at every hazard to make himself master of at least one of them.

Thus, on the morning of the 12th, while other Mahratta leaders attacked Hartley again in front and rear, Gunnesh, at the head of his Arab infantry, accompanied by 1,000 other regular infantry led by Senhor Noronha, a Portuguese officer in the service of the peishwa, made a detour for the purpose of capturing the eminence. For this movement the keen foresight of Colonel Hartley had prepared him, by the erection of breastworks, and the planting of a gun upon each height. Under cover of a dense fog, the attacking force came on, but suddenly it cleared away, and the opposing parties were literally face to face. There was a momentary pause, and then the work of havoc began; and it was terribly increased by the arrival of more guns from Hartley's right flank.

The Mahrattas came gallantly on again and again, till Rumchunder Gunnesh fell, and the bearing of his dead body rearward through the ranks, caused the whole of his troops to give way with precipitation and after a terrible loss of life. On the day before this, Bassein had surrendered to General Goddard. For his bravery here, Colonel Hartley was afterwards appointed to the command of H.M. 73rd Foot, and at a later period won fresh honours in India as a general officer.

Though negotiations for a probable peace were again opened, it was resolved to press the Mahratta war with vigour. Thus General Goddard, after spending some time in front of Arnaul, a fort ten miles north of Bassein, determined to menace Poonah, thinking thereby to hasten the treaty of peace—a menace which he had not quite the force to put in effect.

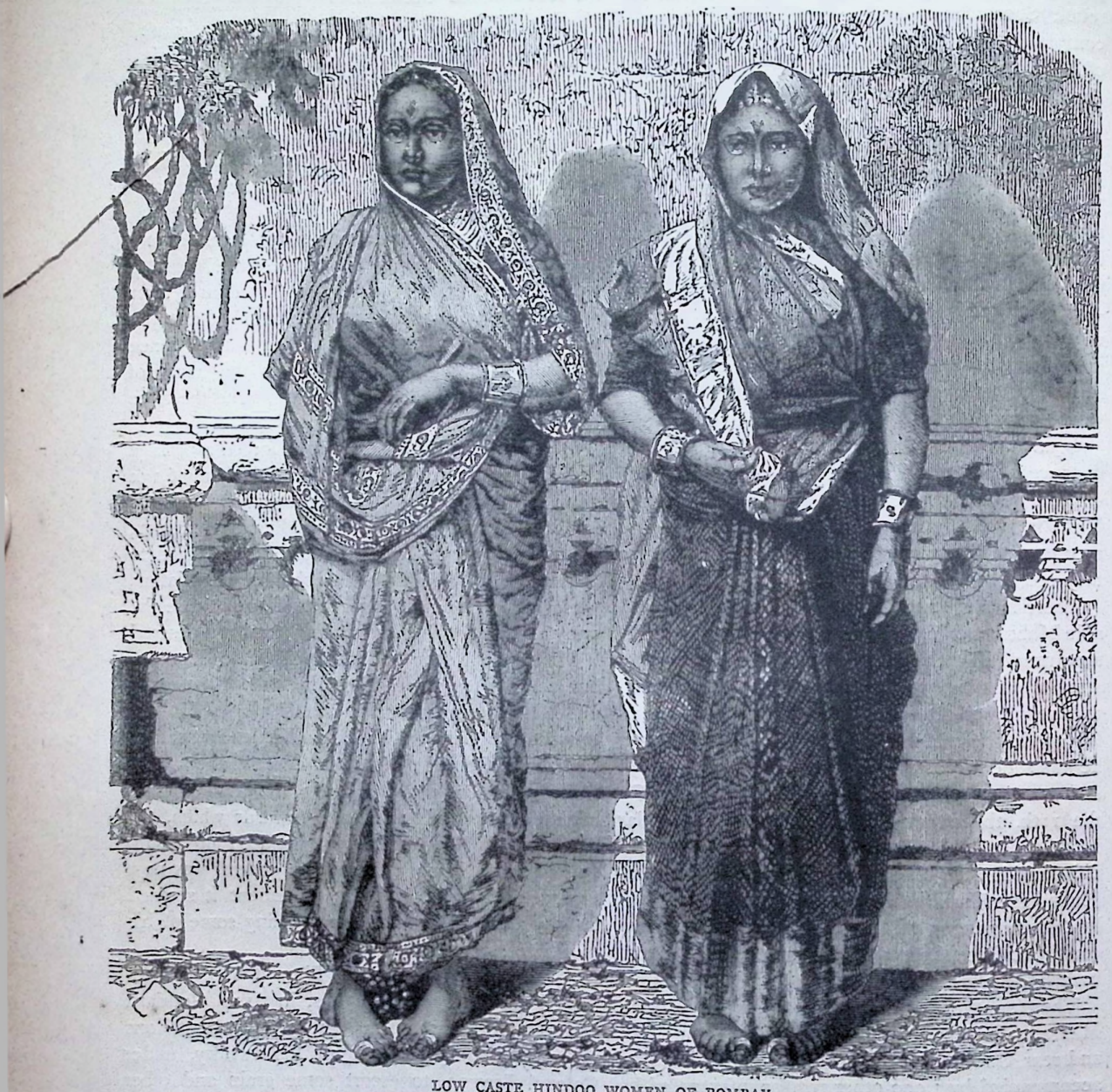
In the end of January, 1781, he forced a passage through the Bhore Ghaut, at the head of only 6,152 men, of whom 640 were Europeans; and the minister, Nana Furnavese, "though under no alarm, thought it good policy to pretend it, and tried to amuse General Goddard with a show of negotiation, while he was straining every nerve to increase the army and render the surrounding country a desert."

For safety he sent the infant peishwa to Poorundhur, and advanced with the main body of the army, under Hurry Punt Phurkay and Tookajee Holkar, towards the Ghauts; while another leader, named Pureshram Bhow Putmordhan, descended into the Concan, to cut off Goddard's foragers and his communication with Bombay, towards which, the menacing of Poonah having produced no result, and the rains being at hand, the general was now anxious to return; but that movement it seemed impossible to effect without sacrificing some of his most necessary material of war.

So active was Pureshram Bhow that every detached party was cut off; thus, in April, Goddard had to send to Panwell no less than three battalions of sepoys, ten guns, and all his cavalry, under Colonel Browne, to escort some grain and other stores. *En route* to that place the escort was attacked by Pureshram Bhow, who would have been beaten off had he not been reinforced by Holkar. Browne, on finding this large combined force in his front, could not venture to proceed to Panwell without an accession of strength. Goddard was aware of the necessity for this, but unluckily the greater part of his cattle had gone down to bring up the supplies; thus he could not march

with the whole of his troops without risking the sacrifice of a large amount of public property, neither could he march with a portion but in the certainty of being cut off.

prepared at once to retreat, by sending, on the 19th, his guns and baggage to the bottom of the Ghauts; but though he deemed himself unobserved, the Mahrattas were cognisant of all his movements.



LOW CASTE HINDOO WOMEN OF BOMBAY.

Colonel Browne eventually was succoured from Bombay, and though exposed, during a three days' toilsome and devious march, to the incessant attacks of 25,000 horse, besides great bodies of rocket-men and infantry, he succeeded with no little difficulty in bringing in the convoy in safety on the 15th of April.

On this junction being effected, General Goddard

Thus Tookajee Holkar, with 15,000 men, took post below the Ghauts, while Hurry Punt Phurkay, with 25,000 horse, 4,000 foot, and a brigade of guns was in position above them; and the moment Goddard began to move on the 20th, the latter marched with all speed down into the Concan and captured a great quantity of the baggage and military stores.

The whole retreat was a species of flying battle—a succession of furious attacks and firm repulses; but in three days the troops, jaded, worn, and harassed, reached Panwell, after leaving 460 killed and wounded by the way. Goddard then dispatched a reinforcement to Tellicherry, which was in considerable danger; the Madras troops were sent back to their own presidency, while the remainder of the army was cantoned at Kallian during the monsoon.



GWALIOR.

While this most luckless campaign had been in progress, the Government of Bengal had attempted a diversion by carrying the war into the country of Scindia. Under Major Carnac a body of troops had been detailed to assist Captain Popham, at a time when he was supposed to be in danger; but as its services were not required thus, Carnac employed them in the invasion of the fertile province of Malwa, where he reduced Tipparu, and advanced against Seronge, a large open town, so celebrated for its manufacture of chintzes that it has often been plundered by contending parties. He reached it on the 16th of February, 1781, and there, unfortunately, he permitted himself to be surrounded by Scindia with a large force, and was soon reduced to the greatest distress, by the want of provisions and forage.

He contrived to report his situation to Colonel Morgan, who commanded our troops in Oude, and that officer dispatched to his assistance three

regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and a brigade of guns. Meantime, Carnac, now a colonel, had no respite from Scindia, and after he had endured for seven consecutive days an unremitting cannonade, he resolved to retire and cut his way out at all risks. Amid the darkness of midnight, on the 7th of March, his troops began their route in the strictest silence; but by daybreak they were discovered, pursued and galled by clouds of hostile horsemen for two successive days, till they reached Mahantpoor, where they obtained a supply of provisions, after which they halted and prepared to make a resistance.

Scindia also halted at a distance of five miles, as if awaiting an attack, and finding none made, his guards became less on the alert; this apparent apathy was the result of a suggestion made by Bruce, the hero of Gwalior; and on the night of the 24th, when Scindia was least expecting such a thing, Carnac broke, sword in hand, into his camp, and put him completely to rout, with the loss of thirteen pieces of cannon, three elephants, twenty-one camels, many horses, and his principal standard—a result that rendered him somewhat more disposed to think of measures for peace. On the 4th of April, Colonel Muir came in with his little division, and as senior took command of the whole. While the troops remained encamped where they were, attempts were made to attach some of the Rajpoot chiefs to our cause, but in vain; and now, in the true spirit of Indian gratitude, the Rana of Gohud having gained all he wanted, in the possession of Gwalior, thought to make terms with Scindia for himself.

The latter, seeing he had nothing more to hope for, and considerably cooled by his late defeat, made overtures of peace to Colonel Muir, and as his demands were moderate, they were accepted. Colonel Muir was to recross the Jumna, and Scindia was to retire to Oujin (or Ujjain) in Malwa, an ancient city, once the capital of Bickermajit, a rajah who reigned over Hindostan 57 years before the birth of our Saviour; Scindia's possessions west of the Jumna were all to be restored to him, with the exception of Gwalior, which was to be retained by the rana "so long as he behaved himself." At Salbye (in the province of Agra), a town on a mountain twenty-seven miles south-eastward of Gwalior, on the 17th of May, 1782, a treaty was eventually concluded, by which we were certainly not much the gainers.

"By the Treaty of Salbye, which consisted of seventeen articles," says Beveridge, in summarising it, "the Company resigned everything for which they had engaged in a long, bloody, and expensive war, and returned to the same state of possession as at the date of the Treaty of Poorundhur. Salsette and a few small islands in the vicinity of Bombay were confirmed to them, but they lost Bassein, on which their hearts had long been set, and all the districts and revenues which had been ceded to them in the Guicowar territory, and other parts of Goojerat. Ahmedabad, too, which had been guaranteed to Futteh Sing, returned to the peishwa, and all the territory acquired west of the Jumna was restored to Scindia. In this last cession Gwalior was not excepted, because the Rana of Gohud, by attempting to make separate terms for himself, was held to have forfeited the privileges of an ally. Ragobah, entirely abandoned by the Company, was to receive 25,000 rupees a month from the peishwa, and have the choice of his place of residence. The only articles which might be considered favourable to the Company were a very vague agreement, that Hyder should restore his recent conquests from them and the Nabob of Arcot, and an exclusion of all European establishments except their own and those of the Portuguese, from the Mahratta dominions. Though no part of the treaty, Broach and its valuable district were made over to Scindia, in testimony of the service rendered by him to the Bombay army at Wurgaon, and of his humane treatment of the two English gentlemen left as hostages on that occasion. These were the ostensible grounds of this extraordinary gift, though different grounds were taken by the Governor-General and Council in justifying it to the directors. It would have the important effect, they said, of attaching so distinguished a chief to the Company's interests; while the expediency of retaining what was given was doubtful, inasmuch as the expenses were nearly equal to the revenues, disputes about boundaries might arise, and the price of cotton, the staple of the district, had risen in Bombay, after the Company had obtained possession of it. This last fact, of which more charitable explanations might have been given, was characterised by the Governor-General and Council as 'the natural consequence of a commercial place (being) possessed by men who are dealers in the specific article of trade it produces.'"*

The Bombay Government did not view this treaty with favour, and openly insinuated that they could have made better terms; but, great though the advantages were on the side of the Mahrattas, the tortuous policy of their minister, Nana Furnavese, made him affect to be not fully satisfied with it. Hence the ratifications were not finally exchanged till the 24th of February, 1783—a delay owing to

* "Comp. Hist. India," vol. ii.

the pride and jealousy of Scindia, who thought to make terms still more advantageous to himself by working alternately on the fears of Hyder and the Company.

In the hope of receiving some tempting offer from each, he continued to play one off against the other, nor did he actually decide in favour of the Treaty of Salbye, until compelled to do so by the death of Hyder Ali, an event to be recorded in its own place.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE LAND AND SEA FORCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE military establishment of Bombay had its origin when the Company were first put in possession of that island; but the forces there deteriorated gradually from the first body of royal troops who garrisoned it under old Sir Abraham Shipman, in the time of Charles II., until the close of the first half of the eighteenth century. The local strength grew necessarily greater as the possessions and interests of the Company expanded.

In 1741, the Bombay troops consisted of one European regiment, having a captain, twenty-four subalterns, a surgeon, two sergeant-majors, 162 non-commissioned officers, twenty-six drummers, and 319 privates, the famous old "First Europeans." To these were added thirty-one Indo-Europeans, 900 Topasses, two native paymasters, a linguist, and an armourer—in all 1,470 men, divided into seven companies.*

Besides this corps, was a native militia of 700 men, having native officers, whose appearance must have been very remarkable, as they were all differently appareled, some being dressed as soldiers, some as sailors, while rude native costumes were worn by others.

"A few made themselves like South-sea Islanders, by bedizening themselves in the most fantastic manner; many wore scarcely any apparel at all, the usual piece of calico (the *cummerbund*) wound round the body, serving as raiment and uniform. Their arms were as various as their costumes—muskets, matchlocks, swords, spears, bows and arrows."

Of the latter weapons, the most remarkable were the fire-arrows, then, and for ages before, freely used by all the tribes of Hindostan—supposed to be identical with the same Greek fire which "was either launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil."†

Naphtha was well known to the ancient Indians, and volcanoes of it, still in a high state of activity, exist at Baku, where the perpetual fire is worshipped on the western coast of the Caspian.‡ And naphtha for fire-arrows was also known to the Persians, while something like gunpowder is distinctly referred to at the sieges of Abulualid, in the year of the Hegira 712.‖

Save in war, the singularly-armed militia force we have mentioned were seldom mustered, but were used as peons, servants, and runners; and as such were badly paid, kicked, flogged, and smitten at the tyranny or caprice of the civilians, whose retainers they were; and it was not until 1750 that the military services of these unfortunate creatures were dispensed with.

In Madras and Bengal, the sepoys were of higher caste and better disciplined. Some of these were brought to Bombay, but they declined to serve there unless paid at a higher rate. The transfer of sepoy troops between the three presidencies ere long became an affair of custom; but among the directors at Leadenhall Street there existed a strong disposition to under-pay their troops, and they were for ever impressing upon their Indian officials the necessity of retrenchment. In this spirit a European regiment was removed from the island fortress of Sion, which commands the channel of Salsette, and replaced therein by a corps of Topasses, half Portuguese and half Indians, who were also half Christians and half idolaters. By this a saving of 14,364 rupees was effected, and the safety of the whole place endangered by a garrison of troops on whom so little reliance could be placed.

The officers of the Company's service were both

* *Bombay Quarterly*, 1857.

† Gibbon. ‡ See Hanway's "Account."

‖ Berrington's "Hist. Middle Ages."

European and native; but the latter, always more or less hostile in secret to the former, sometimes proved unfaithful; and we are told what seems incredible, that at this period, about 1740, some European officers attained the rank of captain without being able to write. Their pay was small, and hence, in war, it was frequently increased by plunder.

The menaces of the French and Mahrattas causing an augmentation of the forces at Bombay and Surat, distinguished officers of the king's army took service in India, and young men of good birth and education were appointed as cadets. In imitation of the French East India Company, sepoy battalions were gradually formed, while a few regiments of the line and regular companies of artillery came from Britain. These changes were effected with more spirit when war broke out, in 1744, between the rival commercial Companies.

While the strife was in progress, two years later, the Council raised at Surat a native force of 1,000 men, and it was considered politic to recruit them from various castes and nations, and thus were seen Arabs and Abyssinians, Hindoos and Mussulmans, Jews, Topasses, and Guebers marching under the Union Jack; and this was the force which, as British troops, came to the assistance of Fort St. David.

It was about this time that, to obtain an efficient artillery force, the Bombay Council engaged Major Goodyear, an officer who had served on board the fleet of Admiral Boscawen, and appointed him their commandant, and a member of Council, with a palanquin and £250 per annum. He then raised the local company of artillery, and the old system of *gholandazees*, with assistant lascars, was abolished. Ten infantry companies, of seventy rank and file each, were next embodied, making, with officers of all ranks, a total of 841; and promotion went by seniority. From the service, in the spirit of the times, all Catholics were by order excluded; yet, in spite of this, they secretly enlisted in such numbers, that the most of the soldiers were, ere long, men of that persuasion. The difficulty of finding Englishmen to serve at first was very great; and most of the officers who served in India in those days were Scotsmen.

In 1752, we find a Captain Alexander De Ziegle, with a company of Swiss under his command, serving at Bombay; but they were so ill-treated by the English, that the most of them deserted to Dupleix. In the August of the subsequent year, we find a Scottish baronet, Major Sir James Foulis, of Ravelston and Colinton, in the county of Edinburgh, in command of the troops, among whom he introduced many useful reforms. He conciliated the affections of all ranks, save the civil officials, by whom at last, he was so grossly insulted, that he resigned his post and returned home.

Strict discipline was first introduced among the Company's land force when the Mutiny Act was made applicable to it, by a Bill which passed Parliament in 1754. In October it was proclaimed at the gate of the Fort of Bombay, and received the unanimous assent of the troops upon the parade; and from that day many date the genuine formation of the Bombay army. Towards the close of 1755, Major Chalmers arrived in command of three companies of the Royal Artillery, and this enabled the local company to improve upon their model. The number of regulars then on the island was only 1,571, and these comprised many European nationalities.*

In addition to this there were 3,000 trained sepoys; while, at Surat and Cambay, Arabs were always preferred for garrison service, notwithstanding their wayward bursts of wild fanaticism. In 1759, a special corps of 500 sepoys was first disciplined strictly according to the rules of the British army; and it was calculated that, on an emergency, the presidency could muster 15,750 men, including 450 for the marine service. The covenanted servants, captains of merchantmen, and other Europeans, who formed one company, mustered about 100. The native population capable of bearing arms amounted to 3,017, and that of Mahim, a town and fort seventeen miles north of Bombay, to 1,865; but, says a writer, "so silent are the historians of British India regarding the rise of the European and native army, that their readers might suppose it to have been without any rudimental germs, never to have passed through the slow process of growth, but to have sprung at once into vigorous existence. We read of no mortifications, no blunders, no failures to which men must ordinarily submit before their institutions attain to full strength. Such, however, there certainly were. Even when soldiers had been found, and the living material provided for the ranks abundantly, there was continual perplexity when attempting to make the proper arrangements for clothing, arming, paying, provisioning the troops, and other similar matters."

At first the clothing issued was so indifferent and so irregularly supplied, that the men had to supply defects themselves, thus their appearance was often tattered and always motley. The first genuine reform in the attire of the sepoys was

* "Bombay Diary."

when they were supplied with scarlet jackets of broadcloth and white linen turbans to distinguish them from native enemies; and in 1760, the uniform of the troops in the three presidencies, was assimilated; but all had to complain bitterly of the deductions made from their pay for these necessaries; while sometimes the Europeans were paid daily, and sometimes kept for months in arrears.

The year mentioned was remarkable for the bitter hostility that existed between the Bombay army and the civil authorities, defiance of whom seemed to have become a principle among the troops. "The new code of military law," says a local periodical, "the importation of regular troops from Britain, the organisation of an army with European discipline and admirable appointments, had produced no better fruit than this. The spirit which animated the officers was active also in the ranks. Desertions were frequent, and Sir James Foulis estimated the annual loss from this cause and death, at ten per cent. So many men deserted from the factory in Scinde that sufficient were not left for its defence in case of a sudden surprise, and it became necessary to release some prisoners for want of a guard. Punishments were of frightful severity. At Surat, eight Europeans deserted during the military operations; all were retaken; one was shot, and the others received 1,000 lashes each. Of seven Topasses who deserted a little later, under extenuating circumstances, five were sentenced to be shot; but, as an act of mercy, were permitted to escape, with 800 or 1,000 lashes. Even the king's troops were contaminated; and at Tellicherry, when called into active service, loudly and insubordinately uttered the old complaint of want of beef, protesting against the fish rations supplied to them on four days of the week." *

As the native army increased, its form changed. In 1766, we find ten battalions of 1,000 each, with three European officers to each corps. In 1770, there were eighteen battalions of a similar kind; and in 1784, this army had increased to 2,000 native cavalry and 28,000 infantry.

For recruiting their forces at home, in 1771, it would seem to have been arranged that the India Company were to pay to Government £60,000 for permission to build barracks in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for 2,500 men, where a regiment of recruits was to be formed for service in India, consisting of three battalions of 700 men each; one of Irish Roman Catholics, one of Germans, and one of Swiss Protestants, and hence, from the mixed nature of their forces in those days, originated the general term *European* for all whites. A battalion of artillery 400 strong was also to be formed of drafts from Woolwich, for which the Company were to pay £10,000 annually. The three battalions were to be constituted thus, as a brigade:—one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major of brigade, for the whole. Then, for each battalion:—one major, seven captains, eight lieutenants, seven ensigns, one adjutant, one quartermaster, twenty-eight cadets, three surgeons, twenty-one sergeants, twenty-one corporals, thirty drums and fifes, 700 privates. The king's Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Guernsey was to command all these troops prior to their embarking for India.†

In Madras, the military system progressed very slowly, as there was a strong prejudice against the enlistment of natives, from a fear that the power thus created might be turned against ourselves; while among the Europeans the want of military spirit is said to have been remarkable. The factors were unwilling to carry arms, and for the young men who served under them, soldiering seemed to have but few attractions; for in those days the highest ambition of a Briton in India was to accumulate a fortune and return home; but, by the close of the half-century, when the French were off its coast, the military preparations at Madras were somewhat considerable; only a few hundreds of the troops were Europeans, while several thousands were sepoys and Topasses.

In Bengal, the process of raising a native army was similar to that in the other two provinces; but the natives were there sworn in—the Hindoo by the waters of the Ganges, and the Mussulman by the Koran—and organised as regular soldiers; but this took place at a later period than at Bombay or Madras, as, in 1707, when Calcutta became the seat of a presidency, the garrison consisted of about 300 sepoys only; but in 1739, the Mahratta incursions necessitated the enrolment of whole companies of natives, and in later years the discipline of the sepoys there was more complete, thoroughly organised on the European system, and the ranks were filled by men chiefly from the upper provinces, but often natives of Burmah, Assam, Malabar, and other places were found among them.

Of the three presidencies, Bombay alone arrived at the dignity of possessing a regular navy, for although Bengal had a marine service, in most respects it was more like a mercantile marine, each Indiaman being a species of armed letter of marque. Madras was without any naval establishment; but that of Bombay guarded the Malabar coast, and protected the interests of Britain and India in the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia.

* *Bombay Quarterly Review.*

† *Scots Magazine*, 1771.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century the condition of the Company's marine was at a somewhat low ebb; for as good officers and seamen were then invariably paid off in time of peace, it became difficult to procure either in time of war; but after the reductions consequent on a time of peace, in 1742, the Bombay navy was thus organised:—

There was a superintendent, under whom were eight commanders (one being styled the commodore), three first-lieutenants, four third officers, and six masters of gallivats. In the first rank of fighting vessels were two grabs, the *Restoration* and *Neptune's Prize*, the former manned by eighty Europeans and fifty-one lascars; the latter by fifty Europeans and thirty-one lascars. On board of the praams were thirty Europeans and twenty lascars. Complaints of favouritism being common in those days, it was at last ordered that all promotions should be regulated by the dates of commissions.

After war broke out between France and Britain, the appearance of French men-of-war and privateers in Indian waters, in 1744, compelled Bombay to augment her marine, which was now ordered to consist of three ships of twenty guns each, a grab of twenty guns (6 to 12-pounders), five ketches carrying from eight to fourteen guns (4 to 6-pounders), eight gallivats, and one praam. The officers were increased in number, by two commanders, ten more lieutenants; and, to improve the *morale* of the whole, divine service was now first performed on board, and all gambling, swearing, &c., strictly forbidden; and in 1761, a regular uniform was adopted by the officers, who, by the Governor in Council, were "ordered to wear blue frock coats, turned up with yellow, dress-coats and waistcoats of the same colour, and according to regulated pattern. Large boot-sleeves and facings of gold lace were the fashion for the superior grades, while the midshipmen and masters of gallivats were to rest contented with small round cuffs and no facings."



SEPOYS, 1757.

In 1824, the Honourable Company's marine consisted of fifteen sail, ships and brigs. Two of the former were named the *Hastings* and the *Teignmouth*. The total numbers of the crews were only 558 Europeans and 888 lascars, with 110 officers. The command of the whole was vested in a superintendent, who had the rank of rear-admiral. The internal economy was regulated by him also, with the aid of a Marine Board, which was

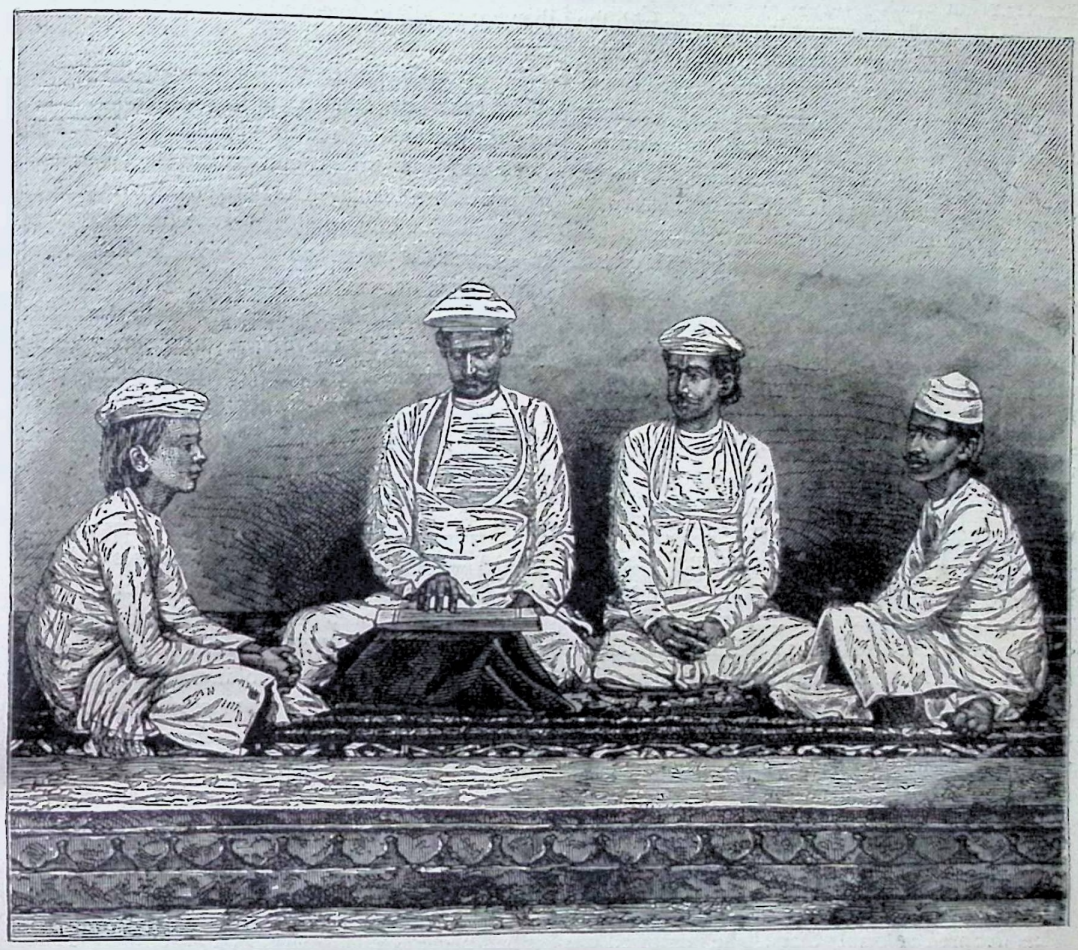
composed of himself, the master-attendant, and boat-master, till it was dissolved in 1830. At the commencement of the Burmese war, several vessels of the marine joined H.M. fleet, and acted in concert with it, and their fitness for warlike purposes is well described by Captain Marryat, who served in the same squadron.

In 1828, Captain Sir Charles Malcolm, of the Royal Navy, arrived in Bombay to act as superintendent; in the following year martial law was extended to the service, and the officers took rank with those of the king's fleet.

The natives employed as soldiers on board these vessels were drafted from the Bombay Marine battalion, a corps 700 strong, and well disciplined.

These vessels were, in time of peace, chiefly employed in the conveyance of treasure from the Malabar coast to Bombay, and of important packets from one port to another; and also for the suppression of piracy to the eastward, particularly in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore, till that duty was undertaken by H.M. ships.

In 1830, Sir Charles Malcolm estimated that not less than ten sail were necessary to repress piracy in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and Gulf of Cutch.*



GROUP OF BRAHMINS.

Thus, in time, the marine of Bombay, with improved discipline, increased numbers, and a handsome uniform, became quite a little navy, though it did not call itself so; for it was thrown into the shade by the occasional presence of our stately first-rates, and dashing frigates; but its deeds in war, like those of many other Indiamen who fought their way at sea, were second to those of no navy in the world.

* *E. I. U. S. Mag.*, 1837.

CHAPTER XLII.

HYDER ALI AND SWARTZ THE MISSIONARY.—INVASION OF THE CARNATIC.—DESTRUCTION OF COLONEL BAILLIE'S TROOPS.

SILENTLY but actively Hyder Ali, for the space of seven years, had been concocting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, increasing and disciplining his forces, and preparing and perfecting the sinews of war by a system of finance, that, curiously enough, has been applauded by some writers, though it consisted chiefly in extortion from his subjects, and the pillage of his neighbours. An illiterate man, Hyder could neither read nor write; yet he was a good mental arithmetician in a certain way, and he was assisted by learned Brahmins, who were great accountants and expert financiers; but his chief resource was the old Indian practice of pouncing upon any man of reputed wealth; and if he escaped Hyder by suicide, his family and servants were barbarously tortured till the secreted hoards were attained.

A Brahmin dewan sent a dying declaration, that the full amount of his fortune was 50,000 pagodas, and prayed him to receive the money into the treasury, and leave his family untouched and in peace. Hyder took the money, and though doubting not that a judicious application of torture might have led to the disgorging of more, he made a merit of leaving the family free; but his next dewan, also a Brahmin, was frightfully tortured till he gave up every farthing he had, on which he was permitted to crawl away, a beggared cripple.

His successor was a Mussulman, an able and honourable man; but he, too, was subjected to torture, and died under it, as he had no money to give up. Another dewan, on being dismissed from office, declared solemnly that all he possessed was 10,000 rupees, which he had when appointed, so he was flung into a dungeon, where he died, and the rupees were taken from his family, who were thus reduced to beggary.

The missionary Swartz, who lived some time in Mysore, wrote thus of Hyder:—

"He is served through fear; two hundred people with whips in their hands stand always ready for duty, for not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike—gentlemen and horse-keepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons. It will hardly be believed what punishments are inflicted on the collectors. One of them was tied up, and two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully; with sharp nails they tore his flesh asunder, and then scourged him afresh while his shrieks rent the air."

To extort money by torture was common then all over the East, from Pekin to the Golden Horn, and was not unknown in Europe during the Middle Ages, and even in England under the more barbarous of the Plantagenets, "when men buried in the earth what they could not secure in trade or in banks, and the possession of which they could not own without danger."

So by such means the treasury of Mysore was well filled, and all the weight that money could give, was on the side of Hyder when he began to prepare for war against us in 1780.

In the preceding year, the governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, endeavoured to ascertain his precise intentions, and for this purpose resorted to the Rev. Mr. Swartz, the eminent Danish missionary, whom Bishop Heber, in his Journal, characterises as being one of the most active and fearless, successful and able missionaries who had appeared since the days of the Apostles. While pursuing his labours in Tanjore, Sir Hector Munro invited him to visit Madras, when the governor pressed him to make a journey of inquiry to Seringapatam; as the object was to prevent the effusion of human blood, the good missionary undertook it, as he records, for three reasons: "First, because the mission to Hyder was not attended by political intrigues; second, because this would enable me to announce the Gospel of God my Saviour in many parts where it had never been known before; and third, as the honourable Company and the Government had shown me repeated kindness, I conceived that by this journey I might give them some marks of my gratitude."

Accordingly he wrote to Hyder, announcing his visit, and on the 25th of August, 1779, he entered Seringapatam; and in his first interview with the dreaded despot, he tells us that the latter desired him to take a seat beside him, on a carpet of exquisite tapestry. He listened to all Swartz had to advance with politeness and pleasure; but said, openly and unreservedly, that "the Europeans had broken all their solemn promises and engagements; yet that, nevertheless, he was willing to live in peace with them, provided——." But provided what,

Mr. Swartz omits to tell. In Hyder's army he found a body of European troops, French and Germans, together with some Malabar Christians, among all of whom he pushed his missionary work, and to whom he preached every Sunday. He had many interviews with Hyder, on whom he urged friendship and peace. On one occasion Swartz said that he deemed the subject of his visit "in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of Peace."

"Very well," replied Hyder—"very well. I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord I will not withdraw mine."

Swartz returned, very well satisfied with the success of his peaceful mission, early in October, to find that in the preceding month Sir Thomas Rumbold had strangely taken measures to render war with Mysore inevitable, by sending Colonel Harper with a force to aid Bassulet Jung at Adonī, in defiance of a remonstrance from Nizam Ali. The colonel began his march, pursuing a route which for 200 miles led through the most difficult passes in the territories of the Nizam and of Hyder, who had both avowed their resolution to bar the way; a fact which the Madras Government not only utterly ignored, but even omitted to ask permission to make the movement, on the singular plea that friendly states might always march their armies through each other's territories.

The consequence of all this folly was, that when Colonel Harper's force entered a narrow and tortuous valley between gloomy and precipitous hills, he found his further progress barred by a great abattis of felled trees, with their branches thrown outward, and lined with musketry, while along the heights on each flank, were troops moving collaterally with his line of march, and another force was closing up his rear.

Out of this terrible snare he had barely time to escape by a precipitous and rather ignominious retreat, on which he was immediately reinforced from Madras, while a remonstrance was sent to Hyder on his "unfriendly behaviour." He replied, by intimating his resolution not to allow any British force to reach Adoni, which was then a town of considerable strength in the Balaghaut territories; nor would he permit his inveterate enemy, Mohammed Ali, to obtain possession of Guntoor, the jaghire of Bassulet Jung, on any conditions whatever. And this intimation he enforced by sending troops who ravaged the country of Adoni up to its very walls.

Bassulet then found himself in an awkward predicament; he had drawn upon himself the vengeance of the terrible Hyder, and was threatened with that of his brother; and now Sir Thomas Rumbold, fearing the complication he had created, just before he quitted Madras in bad health, and conceiving that something might be effected by another peaceful mission, in February, 1780, dispatched Mr. Gray, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, on an errand that proved worse than useless; for now Hyder Ali, who had exhausted the whole of his small stock of patience upon the gentle Swartz, became filled with sudden fury, and confident in his strength, after prayers in all the mosques, and grotesque and uncouth ceremonies in all the Hindoo temples, quitted Seringapatam in the month of June at the head of a force "which had probably not been equalled, and certainly not surpassed, in strength and efficiency by any native army that had ever been assembled in the south of India." *

Its total strength was 90,000 men, of whom 28,000 alone were cavalry. In addition to his well-drilled infantry, he had 40,000 peons, 2,000 artillery and rocketeers, 400 Europeans, and a complete staff of French officers to direct everything on the best European plans. His train consisted of 100 pieces of cannon of all calibres.

With his fierce heart fired alike by pride and the promptings of revenge, Hyder beheld this great host, with its myriad camp-followers, pouring through the wild passes down upon the plains of the Carnatic from the high table-land of Mysore, that great kingdom of his own creation, and ere long, for a time, he was everywhere triumphant. Of Hyder's invasion one of the most eloquent men of the age spoke thus:—

"Having terminated his disputes with every enemy and rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation, he drew from every quarter whatever savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the art of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for awhile on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of war the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants

* Colonel Wilks.

fleeing from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank or sacredness of function—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives—enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amid the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in a hostile and unknown land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities; but in escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine." *

There is more of eloquence, perhaps, than of accuracy in this quotation; for the object of Hyder was to conquer not destroy the fertile Carnatic; but in too many instances he was incapable of repressing the ferocity and marauding propensities of his troops. To meet this immense force so carefully developed and carefully prepared by Hyder, the presidency of Madras had an empty treasury, a factious and divided Council, an army only some 6,000 strong, including their sepoys, all wholly unarranged for a campaign, and scattered over the wide tract of country around Trichinopoly, Pondicherry, Arcot, and Madras, some cantoned and some in forts, but all far apart, and ill supplied with provisions and all the munition of war.

No reliance whatever could be placed upon the troops of our ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, and this was soon proved by their taking to flight in masses, or deserting also in masses to Hyder Ali. It was difficult to collect the scattered forces of Madras, and nowhere were they strong enough to check the overwhelming columns and rapid advance of the Mysoreans, to whom some places were surrendered by treachery, and others through despair; but Sir Hector Munro was advancing at the head of one body of troops, and his countryman, Colonel Baillie at the head of another; but ere this, once again from Mount St. Thomas, near Madras, the flames of rapine could be seen by night, and the black columns of smoke towering skyward by day, before orders were given to get our troops in motion; and once more, as in the previous war, blacks and whites gathered in trembling crowds under the guns of Fort St. George, as being the only place where they could find safety.

Colonel Harper's little column at Guntoor, on the command being taken by Colonel Baillie, was the first that began to move southward, while a fast sailing-ship, flying with all her canvas spread before the south-west monsoon, brought the terrible tidings to Calcutta, imploring from Warren Hastings men and money, or Madras would be lost, and a death-blow struck to the British Empire in India.

* Edmund Burke.

So Hastings resolved to suspend the incapable Council of Madras, and to commit to Sir Eyre Coote the whole administration of the war.

Colonel Braithwaite, commanding in Pondicherry, was ordered to advance on Madras by the way of Chingleput. Colonel Cosby, commanding at Trichinopoly, was ordered to join the main army collecting under Sir Hector Munro. But meanwhile, many fortified places were falling as stated, into the hands of Hyder, and chiefly through the treachery or cowardice of the killedars of the Nabob Mohammed Ali. Lord Macleod (who had served under the Pretender at Culloden, and now, as a soldier of fortune, had become a Swedish lieutenant-general), arrived in Madras Roads on the 20th of January, 1780, at the head of his own regiment, the Macleod Highlanders (now the 71st of the Line), 1,000 strong, and the last act of the effete Council was to the effect that he should command in the field, and take post at Madras. But Sir Hector Munro, with less judgment, it is averred, insisted that the place for battle should be Conjeveram, and he carried his point in this movement, which was strongly condemned by Colonel Baillie, then pushing on from Guntoor.

On the 20th of July, 1780, Hyder, after issuing through the pass of Chingama, dispatched his second son, Kurreem Sahib, with 5,000 cavalry to plunder Porto Novo (called by the Hindoos Paranguipet), thirty-six miles from Pondicherry, off which a French armament was then hovering, while a large body of horse spread over the country to pillage and devastate it. On the 21st of August, Hyder was before Arcot, where he learned the British forces had begun their march for Conjeveram, forty-two miles distant, where Munro halted on the 29th, the same day that Hyder quitted Arcot.

By incredible exertions Munro had collected a force of 5,209 men, of whom the only Europeans were the Highlanders of Lord Macleod, and one battalion of the Company's service, with the European grenadiers of another corps. He had with him eight days' rice, and was anxiously waiting to form a junction with Colonel Baillie, who was coming on with a force stated by one authority to be 3,000 strong, by another 2,813.

This junction Hyder resolved to prevent, and sent his son, the terrible Tippoo Sahib, with fully 5,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, a large irregular force, and sixty heavy guns, with orders to destroy, if he could do so, every man of Baillie's little column. On the 25th of August the colonel, in ignorance of what was in store for him, reached the river Cortelaw, and as it was almost dry, encamped on its northern bank. That evening the stony nullah

became filled and swollen by the sudden mountain rains, and next morning it was utterly impassable. Six days did the unfortunate officer wait there anxiously for some indication that the fatal river was about to subside; but seeing none, he wrote to the Government, proposing to descend to its mouth at Enore, and there cross it by means of boats. This letter was never answered; but on the 4th of September he contrived, by a subsidence of the waters, to reach Perambaucam, within fifteen miles of Munro's camp, where he was compelled to halt and take up a position, on finding that Tippoo, who had been watching all his movements, had made certain dispositions to attack him.

Though the disparity between the strength of the forces was great, a three hours' contest ensued, during which the British troops, while weary by a long and forced march, and weakened by hunger, fought with matchless bravery, and the action was indecisive, though Tippoo would have given way but for the fiery energy of his French staff-officers. The result was, that Baillie wrote to Munro, stating that in the exhausted state of his troops he was unable to join him, and hoped to be succoured on his present ground. At the same time Tippoo wrote to his father Hyder, saying that without fresh troops success was impossible.

For some unaccountable reason the general failed to comply with the colonel's request at once, and meantime Hyder, whose camp was only six miles distant, made a movement which gave him command of the very road by which any succours must come. Munro, who was afraid to risk the loss of his chief stronghold, the great and stately pagoda of Conjeveram, wherein lay his provisions, baggage, and heavy guns, after a delay of three days—days of dreadful anxiety to Baillie's little force—reinforced him by the grenadier and light companies of the Macleod Highlanders, under Captains John Lindsay and Baird (afterwards Sir David Baird), and two companies of European grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Colonel Fletcher, an officer whose great sagacity enabled him to reach his destination by suddenly adopting a route of his own, and thus baffling his treacherous guides, who were in the pay of Hyder. By this dexterous movement he effected his junction with Baillie, whose force, thus augmented, mustered 3,720 men —but small as opposed to the army of Mysore.

Baillie, full of confidence that now he should be able to cut a path to Conjeveram, started for that place on the night of the 9th September. Hyder, on hearing of all this, gave way to one of his usual tempests of rage; but fearing that he might be attacked in front and rear, did not attempt to move till informed by his spies that Munro was apparently remaining quietly at Conjeveram, on which, as soon as darkness fell, he sent on the greater portion of his infantry and cannon to cut off the doomed column, which had not marched a mile from Perambaucam when it fell into a terrible ambuscade prepared for it in a dense jungly grove, through which Hyder knew it must pass, and where he had raised three great batteries—one in the front, and one on each flank—armed with fifty-seven pieces of cannon.

Hyder's masses, lurking amid the dark jungle, allowed our weary troops, toiling on in the dark, though kept on the alert by occasional shots from vedettes, and flights of rockets, to come almost within pistol-shot of the masked works, when a roar, as if the earth had been rent asunder, shook the place, and the gloomy grove became filled with flashes and smoke, as all the guns opened on every side with round shot and grape, while the rattle of musketry in a fourth quarter, announced that they had been attacked in rear. Baillie had with him ten guns, but as he was moving in a kind of hollow square, with his sick, wounded, baggage, and stores in the centre, there was great difficulty in using them.

In this attack were thirty battalions of sepoy infantry, with 400 Europeans under Colonel Lally and other French officers, who, we are told, when day dawned, were struck with admiration at the manner in which the Highlanders, led by Captain Baird, a man of great stature, "performed their evolutions, in the midst of all the tumult and peril, with as much coolness and steadiness as if on parade." So stern was the resistance, that by six a.m., victory was actually declaring for our little band, when, after many bloody repulses—no less than thirteen in succession—the flower of the Mysore horse gave way, and Colonel Lally, with his Europeans, was ordered to cover the retreat.

But a sudden change took place; two of our tumbrils blew up, destroying several lives and most of the ammunition at a time when the pouches of those who struggled and staggered onward over the dead and dying were almost empty; and now the whole, crowded into a helpless mass, were mowed down by sabre, or shot in hundreds. The whole of the sepoys were soon annihilated, and the Europeans, now reduced to four hundred men, fought in a kind of square, or mob, the men with their bayonets, and the officers with their swords. Waving a white handkerchief, Colonel Baillie sought quarter, and believing it was granted, gave the order to ground arms, and the moment this was done, the Mysoreans rushed on them to indulge in



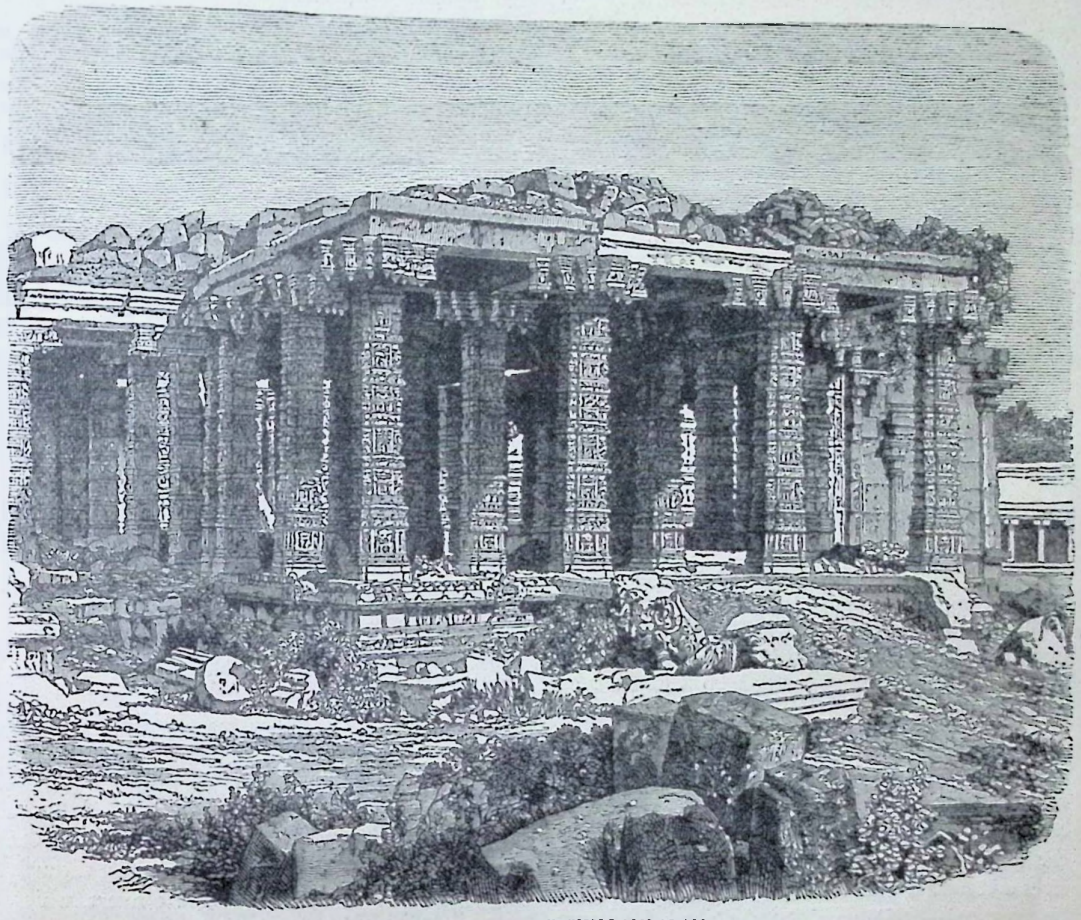
HYDER ALI AND THE MISSIONARY.

universal and unresisted slaughter, in which the young soldiers of Hyder "amused themselves with fleshing their swords and exhibiting their skill on men already most inhumanly mangled, on the sick and wounded in the dhoolies, and even on women and children."*

The very few who survived were saved by the merciful interposition of Colonel Lally and his Frenchmen; but no human language, and no pen, can describe the future sufferings of the few that fell into the hands of Hyder Ali. Sixty-eight officers fell, including Colonel Fletcher. Colonel Baillie was taken, and died of his wounds; Captain Baird had four, yet he was chained to another prisoner and thrown into a dungeon at Seringapatam, where he remained three, or nearly four, years.

The destruction — so complete — of Baillie's column, which Munro should have succoured with every bayonet under his orders, now compelled that officer to abandon Conjeveram. On the morning of the 11th September, he threw all his guns and heavy stores into a deep tank, and as he had only one day's rice remaining, began his retreat for Chingleput, where he found none of the provisions which should have been stored for him there by Mohammed Ali; but he had the satisfaction of being joined at that place by the detachment of Colonel Cosby.

After some hesitation, Sir Hector now marched north-eastward, for Mount St. Thomas, where he took up a position at Marmalong, with a river protecting his front, while Hyder remained forty miles distant, in his strongly-entrenched camp at Mooserwauke; and so for the time ended a twenty-one days' campaign, which was full of disaster but not dishonour to the British arms, though the result excited the greatest consternation at Madras, and scarcely less so in Calcutta, where, however, more vigorous counsels prevailed, and it was resolved to supply the former with all requisite forces and treasure. Hyder meanwhile remained in his camp, of which Colonel Wilks has given the following forcible picture:—



RUINED TEMPLE OF CHILLAMBARAM.

* Colonel Wilks.

"His camp, like that of most Indian armies, exhibited a motley collection of covers from the scorching sun and dews of the night, variegated according to the taste or means of each individual, by extensive enclosures of coloured calico surrounding superb suites of tents; by ragged cloths or blankets stretched over sticks or branches; palm-leaves hastily spread over similar supports; handsome tents and splendid canopies; horses, oxen, elephants, and camels; all intermixed without any exterior mark of order or design, except the flags of the chiefs, which usually mark the centres of a congeries of these masses; the only regular part of the encampment being the streets of shops, each of which is constructed in the manner of a booth at an English fair."*

CHAPTER XLIII.

SIR E. COOTE TAKES COMMAND IN THE CARNATIC.—DARING ACT OF LIEUTENANT FLINT.—HYDER'S SHIPS DESTROYED.—THE PAGODA OF CHILLAMBARAM ATTACKED.

On the 5th of November, 1780, Sir Eyre Coote arrived in Madras, bringing with him fifteen lacs of rupees, 500 British troops, 600 lascars, and about fifty gentlemen volunteers. A considerable body of native infantry were ordered to march through the country of Moodajee Bhonsla, whom Hastings had succeeded in withdrawing from Hyder's cause after he had actually sent 30,000 cavalry towards the maritime district of Cuttack for the purpose of invading Bengal. But for the energy of Hastings at this crisis, it is, perhaps, too probable that there would have been an end of our power in India—in the Carnatic and the Northern Circars most certainly.

He had to contend with an empty exchequer, and a Council that not even the pressure of danger could inspire with unanimity. The fifteen lacs committed to the care of Sir Eyre as a supply for the army, Hastings had gathered by sending missives and agents over the land to wherever it could be procured—at Patna, Moorshedabad, Lucknow, and Benares, "wherever he had a claim or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British Empire in the East. If he could have coined his body—his soul too—into lacs of rupees, he would have done it at this tremendous crisis." And now he turned with confidence to the veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, who had fought under Clive at Plassey, who had defeated Lally and Bussy at Wandiwash, and captured Pondicherry in the last war.

Peace was concluded with Scindia; amicable arrangements were made with other Mahratta chiefs, under the guarantee of the Rajah of Berar, and the gallant Popham was recalled from the Jumna. Sir Eyre, who had but recently returned from Europe, gave Hastings his entire support, and recognising the spirit, wisdom, and decision of his plans, though now somewhat infirm in health, he assumed the task confided to him cheerfully and with enthusiasm—the task of grappling with the dreaded Hyder.

Aware that more reinforcements would be required for that purpose, and knowing since Goddard's expedition to Surat, that the native troops might be trusted on long marches, Hastings resolved to prepare another column to move on Madras by land, and strained every nerve to procure the best officers and men; and thus, early in the year 1781, this force, under Colonel Pearse, the counterpart of Goddard, began its route through Cuttack, the Northern Circars, and more than half of the Carnatic, a distance of fully 1,100 miles, through a country intersected by many great rivers, which were all to be crossed nearest their mouths, and where, therefore, they were broadest. Pearse's column consisted of five small battalions of sepoys, a few native cavalry and artillery. These overcame every obstacle, reached Madras at a most critical time, and proved of great service in the war.

Prior to this, on the 19th September, 1780, Hyder again invested Arcot, which Mohammed Ali considered as his capital, and had consequently expended a great sum in having it regularly fortified by a European engineer, who environed it with a rampart having bastions, and a ditch; but omitting ravelins or lunettes, which are smaller works made beyond a ditch. Laid down by his French officers,

* "Historical Sketches of the South of India."

Hyder's batteries and approaches proved so successful, that after six weeks of open trenches, two breaches were reported practicable, and against these two columns—one led by Tippoo Sahib and Mha Mirza Khan—rushed to the assault. Both proved eventually successful, and the European troops, after retiring into the citadel, were compelled to surrender by the treachery of the native infantry whom Hyder's gold had corrupted.

Sir Eyre Coote was unable to take the field before the 17th of January, 1781, when he did so at the head of only 1,700 Europeans, and about 5,000 native troops, the movements of which were greatly impeded by the want of draught cattle, Hyder's fleet horse having swept the country of everything. Thus, small vessels laden with stores had to accompany the movements of the army, and keep close in shore. At that time Hyder was fully occupied by the investment of five different garrisons defended by British officers. Amboor, one of these, had capitulated on the 13th; but Chingleput, another, was relieved by the advance of Coote on the 19th. In the fort of Carangoly Hyder had placed a garrison of 700 Mysoreans; but as information came to Coote that they were about to leave it, he sent 1,000 bayonets in the night, under a Captain Davis, to take it by surprise. The garrison was found under arms; but the captain blew open the gates and took the fort by assault, and by doing so inspired the troops with confidence.

Wandiwash, the scene of so much fighting in these years, was preserved to us (when, by treachery, it was about to become the prey of Hyder) by a remarkable act of daring on the part of a young officer, Lieutenant Flint. On the approach of Hyder, the killedar, an officer of Mohammed Ali, became justly suspected, so Flint was dispatched with only 100 men to get possession of the place. Though threatened that the guns of the fort would be turned upon him if he dared to approach the walls, he nevertheless did so, saying that he had a letter from the nabob, which he was ordered to deliver into the hands of the killedar alone, and for this purpose begged admission with a few men. The killedar refused, but agreed to receive the letter in the space that lay between the outer and inner barrier. Attended by only four faithful sepoys, Lieutenant Flint entered, and found the killedar sitting on a carpet, surrounded by several officers, with thirty swordsmen as his personal guard, and a hundred sepoys drawn up for his protection, their white teeth and eyes gleaming malevolently out of their dark visages.

After a few prefatory remarks, Flint confessed that he had no letter, but offered, as an equivalent therefore, the order of Sir Eyre Coote, acting in concert with Mohammed Ali; but this the killedar treated with contempt—he desired the lieutenant to be gone instantly, and rose to depart. On this Flint seized him by the throat, and threatened him with instant death if he raised a hand for rescue, while the four sepoys levelled their weapons at his breast. At that moment the rest of the little detachment rushed in, and Wandiwash became ours on the very day it was to have been surrendered to Hyder. Overawed by the resolute courage of this hardy young Briton, the nabob's garrison agreed to serve under his orders, and he at once took every means to defend it.

As a stratagem to induce surrender, Hyder collected all the wives and children of the garrison whom he had captured at a neighbouring village, and, surrounded by guards, drove them in a screaming and clamouring crowd towards the walls, preceded by a flag of truce, on the bearer of which Flint with his own hand levelled a gun. He fired; the flag vanished and the crowd dispersed. This was on the 30th of December, 1780. By the 16th of January in the following year, when the enemy were working their way by galleries into the ditch, Flint repulsed them by a sortie; after which, and on hearing tidings of the fall of Carangoly, and the approach of Sir Eyre Coote, they abandoned the siege on the 24th, when Flint had expended his last cartridge.

After this, nearly six months elapsed before the army was enabled to act with brilliancy in the field, owing to the wretchedness of its equipment, and the defect of all commissariat.

After the affair of Wandiwash, Hyder had such a wholesome dread of the name of Coote, that it is said he was inclined to treat with him and retire by the Ghauts, when the sudden arrival of a French fleet gave him new courage, and compelled the British to change their line of march, and encamp on the heights above Pondicherry, from whence they could see the enemy's squadron at anchor in the roadstead. On the capture of Pondicherry the British commander had contented himself with the partial destruction of the fortifications, and putting into it a slender garrison, which had been withdrawn on this new invasion by Hyder. The French officers had given their parole, and the inhabitants had been permitted to continue their usual avocations; but now the temptation became too great, when they saw our people flying from the place in all directions, and ere the armament from France appeared, they had made our resident a prisoner, flown to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected a store of provisions at a convenient distance from

Porto Novo. Coote, upon this, disarmed the inhabitants, and then marched to destroy their depôt.

Encouraged by the arrival of the French shipping, Hyder now descended to the coast, with the intention of protecting that depôt, and for this purpose moved on our right flank, with the intention of keeping open his communication with the fleet. On one occasion the two armies were so close to each other that the veteran Coote, with the spirit and agility of his earlier years, left his palanquin, mounted his horse, and spurred along the lines, telling the troops that the day had come for beating Hyder; but the latter did not accept his challenge to fight, as he began a rearward movement into the interior, dispirited by the disappearance of the French squadron, which, with the old hereditary dread of ours, sailed for the Isle of France on the 17th of February, 1781, on hearing of the approach of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

Coote was now incapable of following Hyder, as a dangerous sickness had broken out in his army, and the country had been so wasted by war that it was impossible to find forage for his cattle. Thus Hyder and Tippoo were enabled to penetrate into the rich and beautiful province of Tanjore and give all to fire and sword; after which the latter ventured to menace Wandiwash again; but the Mysore shipping suffered much at the hands of ours.

Thus, in the November of 1780, H.M.S. *Sartine* (twenty-eight guns), in company with two armed Bombay snows, being off Mangalore, discovered two of Hyder's ships close under the lee of the land. The boats were manned and armed, and the Mysoreans attacked. One was cut out triumphantly, and the other driven on shore; but during this service the *Sartine* grounded on some rocks, was bilged, and had to be abandoned. Soon after, Sir Edward Hughes, K.B., being off the same port with the squadron, consisting of eleven sail (seven of which were of the line), discovered several of Hyder's ships at anchor in the roads. As the water shoaled too much for our shipping to attack them, the boats were piped away to do so, under the guns of the two Bombay snows. Amid a heavy fire from the enemy's cannon the boats were steadily and fleetly rowed in, and with hearty cheers the enemy's ships, to the number of five, were boarded and taken. Three, carrying respectively twenty-eight, twenty-six, and twelve guns, were burned; one, of ten, was taken; another, of ten, was driven on shore and destroyed; while a sixth escaped by throwing her artillery overboard. But in this service we had sixty-two of all ranks killed and wounded.*

The admiral, having thus destroyed the infant navy of Mysore, then bore away for Bombay to refit; but the middle of June saw him at Madras with reinforcements from the former presidency.

On the 16th of that month, Sir Eyre Coote began to move westward, and two days after he crossed the Velaur, a river which, after traversing the Carnatic, falls into the Bay of Bengal. His object was to attempt the capture of the fortified pagoda of Chillambaram, a magnificent edifice, a miracle of grotesque and elaborate carving, dedicated to the worship of Siva, one of the triad of the triple Hindu divinity. The details and carvings of this stately pagoda remind one of the lines of Dante in the "Inferno:"—

> "How strange the sculpture that adorns these towers!
> This crowd of statues, in whose folded sleeves
> Birds build their nests; while canopied with leaves
> Parvis and portal bloom like trellis'd bowers,
> And the vast minster seems a cross of flowers."

And amid its marvellous carvings, as in those of all similar edifices throughout the East, the pagoda thrush, esteemed among the finest choristers of India, has its home. "It sits perched on the sacred pagodas, and from thence delivers its melodious song."†

This edifice Hyder had greatly strengthened, thinking thereby to arrest the southward progress of the British, and keep it as a depôt for himself and the French. Sir Eyre Coote, on being falsely informed that its holders were only a small force of irregulars, thought to capture it by a sudden night attack; and for this purpose marched at dusk with four battalions of sepoys and eight guns. The town around the pagoda was speedily entered, and the assailants were pushing on with spirit into the heart of the place, when suddenly the garrison, which consisted in reality of 3,000 well-trained men, under a resolute officer, opened a dreadful fire upon them; and having, in addition to the usual means of defence, provided enormous bundles of straw saturated with oil and other combustible ingredients, on a sudden they converted the whole place through which the stormers would have to pass, into a mass of roaring flame, from which the sepoys recoiled in a panic, so the attempt was abandoned.

Recrossing the river, Coote now encamped at Porto Novo, near its confluence with the sea, when Hughes arrived to announce that Lord Macartney had been appointed Governor of Madras, and that he—the admiral—was under orders to attack the Dutch at Negapatam; but prior to doing so, Sir Eyre suggested another attack upon Chillambaram, by the united land and sea forces.

* Schomberg.

† Pennant's "Hindostan."

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE BATTLE OF PORTO NOVO.—ARRIVAL OF COLONEL PEARSE'S COLUMN.—BATTLES OF POLLILORE AND SHOLINGUR.—STATE OF VELLORE.

BEFORE steps could be taken for that purpose, Hyder took post but a few miles distant, with his whole army. In the south he had previously been amassing an enormous amount of plunder, in money, merchandise, men, women, and cattle. The people consisted of artisans and their families, whom he captured to occupy the isle of Seringapatam; boys were seized for forced conversion to Islam, and girls to fill zenanas and become the mothers of military slaves. After Hyder heard of the failure on the pagoda of Chillambaram, he actually marched 100 miles in two days and a half, and having placed himself between Sir Eyre Coote and Cuddalore, began to entrench with all the skill his French officers could exert.

By this means he baffled the intended movement on the pagoda, and covered his own designs upon Cuddalore, thus making matters so critical for Sir Eyre Coote that the latter summoned a council of war, being in doubt whether he could advance either to Trichinopoly or Tanjore. The resolutions of the council were, that the attack on the pagoda of Chillambaram be abandoned, and that an attempt be made to turn the enemy's flank, force his position, or to bring on a general engagement; and that for this purpose four days' rice, borne by a fatigue party, should be brought from the fleet into camp.

Hence ensued the conflict which was known as the battle of Porto Novo, where by seven o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July, the British quitted their encampment and got under arms, with their right flank towards the sea.

When we first became acquainted with the scene of this brilliant victory about to be narrated, it was in the possession of the Mahrattas, and in 1684 we obtained permission from Sambagi to carry on a free trade at Porto Novo, where the Dutch and French subsequently erected factories, near the mouth of the Velaur, which boats can enter without fear of the surf which rolls so heavily along the coast of Coromandel.

"As generally happens in Indian warfare," says General Stewart, "there was, at Porto Novo, a great disproportion between the force of the enemy and that of the British. Hyder, at the head of an army of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, from 40,000 to 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 match-lock men, peons and polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon, was attacked by General Coote, whose force did not exceed 8,000, of which the 73rd Highlanders was the only British regiment."

The road to Cuddalore, which was held by the army of Hyder, lay N.N.W. of the British position, and on its left was the termination of a lagoon. Great bodies of Mysore cavalry, with the latter in rear of their right and centre, covered the plain; while Hyder's more select horse, with a park of light guns, were drawn up beyond the lagoon.

With his baggage and camp-followers under a strong guard moving between his right and the sea, Sir Eyre Coote advanced in two lines, the first led by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and the second by Major-General James Stewart. A mile and a half of marching, in front of Porto Novo, across a level plain, brought them in sight of the enemy, whose position was clearly defined. It extended right across the Cuddalore road, on commanding ground that ran to some sand-hills near the shore, and was strengthened by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. When the lines halted, an hour was spent in careful reconnoitring, during which the enemy maintained an incessant cannonade; to this not a shot was returned; but at nine in the morning Sir Eyre gave orders to wheel, with "left shoulders forward," into open column of battalions, and take ground to the right, eastward of the sand-hills. The latter run parallel to the coast, and are about 1,100 yards from the sea; they thus completely covered the movement. On reaching a gap in the sand-hill range, the first line, still in columns, pushed through and rapidly deployed to the front in order of battle, with its face to the west and its rear to the sea, occupying a height in the movement. Under a heavy cannonade the troops waited with great impatience until the height was planted with artillery by the second line, now forming up to the front; Sir Eyre moved on with the first, his right under cover of a long and dense hedge, and his left protected by guns and a battalion in column.

In the meanwhile Hyder had removed the guns from his redoubts to a line at right angles with these works to enfilade the advancing lines by a furious cannonade, and then he made an attempt, by a general charge of his cavalry, to overwhelm them. This failed, and amid terrible carnage, in which fell Kurreem Sahib, the enemy's line was

broken, and a precipitate retreat began. The only European regiment—the 73rd Highlanders—was on the right of the first line, and led all the attacks, "to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by one of the pipers, who always blew his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the general that he cried aloud, 'Well done, my brave fellow! You shall have a silver set of pipes for this.' The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome set of pipes was presented to the regiment in testimony of the general's esteem for its conduct and character."*

Meanwhile a strong body of Mysorean infantry, with their guns, supported by a cloud of glittering cavalry in rich flowing dresses, with brilliant appointments, attempted to fall on Coote's rear. Facing about, the second line met this attack with the greatest bravery, and a close and severe contest ensued, in which the enemy were completely foiled, and by sheer dint of the bayonet, were driven—horse, foot, and guns—over all the heights, and were completely frustrated in an attempt to gain the position they had first occupied.

At the time the cavalry charge was made on our first line, a similar attack was to have been made on the second; but the horse detailed for this service lost heart, and gave way on the fall of their commander, who was killed by a cannon-ball from a Company's schooner, which opened an effective flank fire from the sea. Hyder viewed all these operations from a gentle eminence in rear of his position, where he sat cross-legged on a stool covered by a rich carpet; and though the near approach of our first line compelled him to withdraw his guns and then his columns, he seemed to have no thought of his own safety, till a favourite groom—an old and privileged servant—ventured a hint on the subject; but he received it with a torrent of obscene abuse, while a fit of madness seemed to seize him, and he raved, blasphemed, and rent his garments. Then he became stupefied with vexation, on which the old groom put on his slippers, saying, "We shall beat them to-morrow; meanwhile, mount your horse."

Once in his saddle, he was soon out of the field, and fled with all his cavalry—crestfallen, yet full of savage spirit—to Arcot, from whence he sent instructions to Tippoo to abandon the investment of Wandiwash, which he had resumed with thirteen siege guns, and where the gallant Flint, now a captain, had completely foiled him in an attempt at an escalade. Coote—who had not sufficient dragoon force wherewith to pursue, halted on the ground he had won—lost in this great victory only 306 in killed and wounded, while the total loss of Hyder was estimated at 1,000 men. In the unavailing bitterness of his heart he exclaimed, "The defeat of many Baillies will not destroy these accursed Feringhees. I may ruin their resources by land, *but I cannot dry up the sea.*"

The moral effect of this victory on our troops was great; before it they had been somewhat despondent; now they were full of confidence and ardour. But their resources were no way improved by it, as Coote could not follow it up at once, owing to the deficiency of food and equipage.

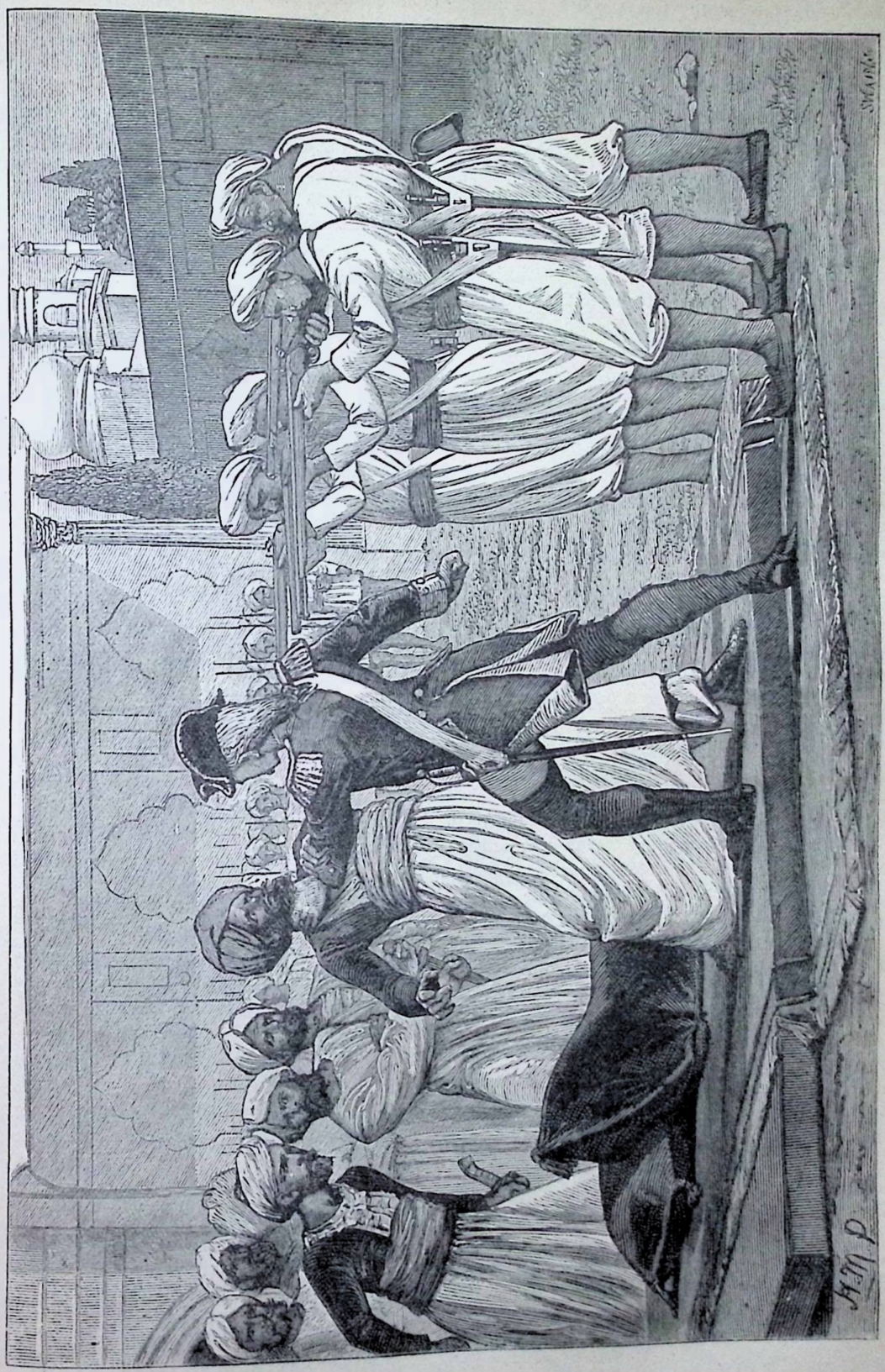
While these operations were in progress, the column from Bengal, pushing on through the territories of the Rajah of Berar, had reached the grain-growing district of Nellore, about 100 miles north of Madras, and for the purpose of facilitating a junction with it and covering Wandiwash, Sir Eyre Coote marched in a northerly direction, keeping near the coast to draw supplies from the shipping, and daily expecting another action; but Hyder now began to move to the westward. When Coote reached Carangoly, on the 21st of July, he first learned that the blockade of Wandiwash had been abandoned, and that Tippoo, in high hope to repeat the catastrophe that had befallen Colonel Baillie, was hastening to intercept Colonel Pearse's column from Bengal; and to frustrate this idea, Coote, with the experience of Munro's blunder before him, marched by Chingleput to Mount St. Thomas.

By this time Colonel Pearse had reached the town and large square fortress of Pulicat, which we had recently, without loss of blood, taken from the Dutch, who established a factory there in 1609. Tippoo had beset the ordinary road to Madras by an ambush and other obstructions, but forgot that there was another route between Lake Pulicat and the sea, towards which it runs northward of the town for forty-eight miles; and by this way Colonel Pearse marched unmolested. But twenty-four more miles remained to St. Thomas, and by making two marches north, Sir Eyre effected a junction with Pearse, thus adding nearly a third to his numerical strength.

The colonel was greatly commended for the mode in which he had brought his men on their long march; and in one of the last general orders Hastings issued to the army of Bengal, when five years afterwards Goddard's corps returned, he said truly, "There are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting."

Thus reinforced, Sir Eyre turned his attention

* General Stewart, vol. ii.



LIEUTENANT FLINT'S DEED OF DARING.

to Tripassore, a strong fort which stands about thirty miles westward of Madras, covering one of the roads to Arcot, and this place, in view of Hyder's army, he took by unconditional capitulation on the 22nd of August. Hyder now drew off to his old camp at Mooserwauke, where—while cursing French counsels and interests—he began to gather heart enough to risk a battle in defence of Arcot, the siege of which he knew would be one of the chief objects of the campaign.

So, near his camp he chose his own battle-ground—the scene of Baillie's disaster—which he deemed fortunate, and resolved to fight on the eleventh day of the Feast of Ramadan; and he selected his position, after ascertaining all its strategical advantages, and in his choice he was confirmed by his magicians and astrologers, "whose prognostics promised success on any day of the month; but more especially on the eleventh."

"Both armies," says the gallant historian of the Highland regiments, "were animated by very different motives; the Mysorean army by their superstitious anticipation of success, and the British by a desire to revenge the death of their friends, of whom they found many melancholy relics and marks of remembrance on the ground where they now stood." These were the unburied bones of Colonel Baillie's unfortunate men.

Among these grim remains our advanced guard halted at nine o'clock in the morning of the 27th August. South-westward of this fatal spot large columns of the Mysore horse had been seen hovering for some time, but now the whole army of Hyder was found in full force in front and on both flanks, drawn up on strong ground intersected by rough ravines and deep watercourses.

Sir Eyre's troops formed in line of battle under a dreadful cannonade, endured with coolness and courage; and now began an action, which lasted for eight hours, yet the details of which are amazingly meagre, though our troops in the field mustered 11,000 men, and those of Mysore 80,000 of all arms. Hyder knew every foot of the ground, and left nothing undone to strengthen it. By a vigorous flank movement Sir Eyre succeeded in seizing and holding the village of Pollilore, (which gave its name to the conflict), and thus hurled back the enemy's left by his first line, and his right by the second, compelled him to retreat, just as the sun was setting, and to encamp on the ground he had quitted, at Mooserwauke, a fact which renders our victory somewhat dubious, and certainly nugatory. The rough nature of the ground, and the great cover it afforded to skirmishers, caused our loss to be only 421 in killed, wounded, and missing; while that of Hyder was about 2,000. General Stewart and Colonel Brown lost each a leg by the same cannon-ball. Our losses, it has been said, would have been less, but for some jealousies exhibited by certain officers.

The British troops now became greatly distressed by the want of provisions—they possessed nothing but their arms and ammunition. Disgusted with a state of matters that bade fair to injure their reputation, General Munro and Sir Eyre went to Madras with the resolution to resign; but the latter was persuaded by Lord Macartney to resume the command, and try the result of one more battle.

In the fort of Poloor he deposited his siege guns and everything that might impede swift and active movements. This was on the night of the 26th of September, and Hyder feeling confident, from the wild and tempestuous state of the weather, that the drenched camp and starved cattle of the British would prevent them moving, sent his own cattle some miles away to pasture, and allowed the drivers and many of his troops to scatter in search of food.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Sir Eyre rode out to reconnoitre the camp of Hyder near the hill of Sholingur, which he was fortifying for the purpose of preventing any attempt to relieve Vellore, which Colonel Lang, whose garrison was starving, was on the verge of surrendering. On gaining the crest of an eminence, Sir Eyre perceived at a little distance a long ridge of rocks manned by the troops of Mysore, and he sent forward a brigade to dislodge them. In doing so and surmounting the ridge, the brigade saw the whole army of Hyder at the distance of only three miles. The bugles were sounded, the troops got under arms with all haste, and a very short time sufficed to bring them face to face with Hyder's main body, at the very time his camp-followers had begun to strike the tents.

The tyrant of Mysore was completely taken by surprise: his cattle were far in the rear, and many stragglers were absent from the colours; yet he gave all his orders with prudence and judgment, intending only to act on the defensive till his forces recovered their confusion, and the sound of the cannon should recall all absentees. On the other hand, Sir Eyre Coote was resolved that not a moment should be lost in coming to blows, and after a few rapidly-executed arrangements, ordered a general advance of the whole line.

Formed in two great columns, the Mysorean cavalry, by repeated charges, strove to impede the advance of our people, who poured into them biting and searching showers of grape and musketry. These charges availed Hyder only so far that they gave him time to get out of the field all his guns,

save one field-piece. After this, his whole troops gave way, and with the loss of 100 men the victory was ours. On the field lay 5,000 of the enemy killed and wounded, with three cavalry standards; but these and the glory of the battle, Sir Eyre Coote says in his despatch, he would gladly have exchanged for seven days' food for his famishing troops.

He now dispatched, under a Colonel Owen, five battalions with some guns, and two companies of Europeans, towards Vellore, with orders to intercept some of those convoys of grain which often came to Hyder down the Damaracherla Pass. The Mysoreans soon came in sight of this small force, to the support of which Sir Eyre was hastening, when by some of our irregular horse, whom he met in full flight, he was informed that Owen's column had been cut to pieces. He still pushed on, discrediting such a terrible result, and was soon relieved by a despatch from the colonel, intimating that he was quite safe and in a strong position, after repulsing Hyder in a sharp conflict.

The garrison of Vellore, a fortress on the right bank of the Palar, fifteen miles distant from Arcot, and deemed one of the keys of the Carnatic, was now in a state of desperation. Scarcely a meal of rice was in store, and the troops had been precariously subsisting on grain obtained in remote villages, and brought in by stealth, when the nights were dark and stormy. The season of bright moonlight that was approaching now, would render this resource impossible, and Colonel Lang and Sir Eyre were aware that but two alternatives remained—to throw in supplies, or enable the garrison to escape. Having obtained a little supply of rice from the Polygars of Calastry, Sir Eyre determined on the former plan, and made three forced marches from the hills, while Hyder, dreading another battle, retired beyond the Palar; thus Lang's garrison obtained supplies adequate to six weeks' provision, or thereabouts.

And now for his own bare subsistence, Sir Eyre fell back upon the Pollams, a district of which Chittore (or Chittoor) is the capital, twenty miles distant from Vellore. As this place was alleged to be the halting-place for convoys of provisions sent to Hyder through the Damaracherla Pass, Sir Eyre, at the head of his starving soldiers, resolved to capture it, in the hope to find food, though one of the most important forts in Hindostan—at least in the province of Rajpootana. The town is still "what would be called in England a tolerably large market town, with a good many pagodas, and a meanly built but busy bazaar."*

Above this rose the fortress on a high rock, scarped by art all round the summit to the height of 100 feet, and surmounted by a wall patched and strengthened at several periods, for the Mohammedans captured Chittoor in 1303; it was long besieged by Ackbar, and stormed by Aurungzebe in 1680; and now it was taken by Coote after a four days' siege; but bitter was the disappointment of his hungry soldiers.

No grain was found; the monsoon was at hand, and a retreat was unavoidable to Tripassore, where the troops arrived on the 22nd November, after forced marches through a literal inundation. It was a dreadful time for our poor soldiers. So scant was the food, that each day half the army went without it in succession; and the camp-followers perished in uncounted numbers amid the swamps through which the route lay, after the monsoon burst. Cattle perished too; stores were abandoned, and Mohammed Ali's horse, originally numbering 680 sabres, were decimated, like the rest, by famine or drowning. Southwards from Tripassore the shattered army continued its weary march, till it reached its cantonments near Madras; and thus ended the campaign of 1781 with Hyder—a campaign which, though full of triumph, was also full of misery and of death.

Lord Macartney, that truly great man, when he arrived at Madras on the 22nd of June of that year, brought the first intelligence of the war between Britain and Holland, and thus his first object now was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories and settlements along the coast. Sir Hector Munro who, after the battle of Pollilore had proceeded to Madras with the view of returning home to Scotland (offended, some say, by a blunt response made to a remark to Sir Eyre Coote), but who was still fit for duty, was now persuaded by Lord Macartney to undertake the direction of the siege of Negapatam.

On the 10th of April, 1782, *La Fine*, one of Suffren's squadron, took a Trincomalee vessel, on board of which was "the Sieur Boyd (a Scotsman), whom Lord Macartney was sending as ambassador to the King of Candy."†

* Heber. † *Gazette de France*, Jan., 1783.

CHAPTER XLV.

NEGAPATAM AND TRINCOMALEE CAPTURED.—VELLORE RELIEVED.—DESTRUCTION OF BRAITHWAITE'S TROOPS.—OPERATIONS IN MALABAR.

NEGAPATAM, which signifies the "city of the serpents," as the district abounds with those reptiles, which the natives deemed holy, and an inexpiable crime to destroy, is a considerable seaport town in Tanjore, and was the capital of the Dutch possessions in India. It was well fortified, with a regular citadel of a pentagonal form, having wet ditches. On the north of this lies the town, beyond which towers a gigantic pagoda, which, tradition asserts, was built by the devil in a single night; but thereon now flies the British flag, which may be discerned by the telescope, at the distance of seven leagues at sea. Negapatam was taken in 1660 from the Portuguese by the Dutch, in whose hands it soon became a flourishing city, and such it was when our armament appeared before it in 1781.

On the 20th of October Sir Edward Hughes arrived at Nagore, a few miles north of Negapatam, with the fleet consisting of eight sail, five being of the line, and carrying in all 392 guns; his own flag being on board the *Superb* (seventy-four).

Sir Hector Munro was already before it with 4,000 men, blocking up a garrison consisting of 8,000 men, about 500 of whom were Europeans, 700 were Malays, 4,500 sepoys, and 2,300 cavalry of Hyder Ali.

After driving the Dutch out of Nagore, the marines and troops, with a battalion of seamen, were landed to reinforce Sir Hector Munro, while the heavy artillery was brought on shore by Captain Ball, of the *Superb*, through a dreadful surf that was boiling snow-white along the beach, occasioning incredible fatigue to the seamen, who exhibited a spirit and perseverance equal to the occasion. On the night of the 29th some strong lines, flanked by redoubts, which had been thrown up to defend the approach to the town, were stormed brilliantly by the troops, seamen, and marines. On the 5th of November the admiral brought the squadron nearer to the citadel, on the flank of the captured lines, and a strong battery, armed with eighteen-pounders, was ready by the 7th, to open within 300 yards of the walls, when the admiral and Sir Hector summoned the governor to surrender; but he replied, "That, being obliged by his honour and oath to defend the place, he could not enter into any agreement for its capitulation; but should defend it to the last."

The siege was now pressed with greater vigour than ever; thus, by the 10th, the governor, seeing the futility of further defence, substituted a white flag for that of Holland; the terms asked were acceded to, and the city was delivered up to his Majesty's arms. Our precise loss is not exactly given; but that of the squadron was twenty seamen and marines killed, and fifty-eight wounded. Most of the latter died of fatigue. Immediately after this success, the setting in of the monsoon causing danger to the fleet, the naval brigade was re-embarked, and the squadron sailed for Ceylon, where it captured Trincomalee, on the 11th of January, 1782. Eventually, the appearance of five of the Company's ships, which had been at Bencoolen, off Penang, "alarmed the Dutch governor to such a degree, that he instantly surrendered that place, and gave directions for all the other Dutch settlements on the coast to be delivered up to the British."*

For more than a hundred years the Dutch had most jealously guarded all access to the island of Ceylon, for they highly valued Trincomalee, as one of the most important towns and ports in India, and the most secure place of refuge for ships when surprised by the storms and tempests peculiar to those seas. It was the great depôt, too, of the sugar-cane, of cinnamon, and of valuable pearls. The resistance it made to our arms was most feeble, and the value of the conquest was great.†

Though Sir Eyre Coote still persisted in his intention of resigning, and was suffering from delicate health, he determined to undertake the relief of Vellore, which was still besieged. Thus on the 2nd of January, 1782—the same day on which the fleet sailed from Negapatam—he rejoined the army then encamped near Tripassore. On the 6th he had a stroke of apoplexy, which rendered him senseless; yet on the following day this energetic and fine old soldier was so far recovered, as to admit of his being borne in a palanquin, and in that he went to the front, with the troops for Vellore. Three days after, when Hyder came in sight, he found that Coote had made such arrangements that an attack was hopeless, and he fell back; thus on the 11th, the day which the

* *Naval Chron.* † Barrow's "Life of Lord Macartney."

Commandant Lang declared was the last to which he could hold out—the fortress was victualled anew for three months more, and Coote, with the army, returned to Tripassore.

While these events were in progress, Colonel Braithwaite, a brave officer, who, to assist at the siege of Negapatam, had sent all his available troops, under Colonel Nixon, and then returned to his command at Tanjore, fell into a calamity singularly like that which overtook Colonel Baillie at Perambaucam. On reaching Tanjore, he had in view the recovery of some of the strengths of that province, which the subtle Hyder and the fiery Tippoo had obtained by bribery rather than the sword; and by the same art Braithwaite became a victim. In February he was encamped on the left bank of the Cauvery, in a plain, one of those pieces of flat alluvial soil in Tanjore, where rice, cocoanuts, and indigo abound, but which at that season are usually swamps. He had with him only 100 British bayonets, 1,500 sepoys, and 300 native horse, when—having been deceived and misled by his guides and spies—he was suddenly attacked by Tippoo at the head of 20,000 Mysoreans, and 400 Frenchmen, under Colonel Lally. Of the former 10,000 were cavalry, with twenty pieces of cannon. Long, mad, and desperate was the conflict that ensued, and notwithstanding the awful odds, it was the French who actually decided the matter by rushing on the exhausted sepoys with the bayonet, as the struggle had lasted from sunrise to sunset.

A general massacre of all the survivors was prevented alone by the humanity and generosity of the French officers, who, in many instances, risked their own lives by stabbing and cutting down the savages of Tippoo, to save the wounded and defenceless British soldiers. The few survivors of this disastrous surprise—including Colonel Braithwaite—were cast into the dungeons of Seringapatam, where Captain Baird and the Highland prisoners of Baillie's detachment were still lingering in misery. It was the fortune of Colonel Lally to be present on both these fatal occasions, to seek to arrest the carnage and give succour to the helpless.

The regular light cavalry of Madras, latterly clad in French grey, with pale buff facings, and consisting of eight regiments, to which we shall have to refer at a later period, and which were the first arm we had of the kind in India, were originally raised by Mohammed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic. The first of these corps, the *rissalas*, or troops, of which formed one regiment under British officers, had served in the Mysore campaign in 1768; but though augmented during the subsequent ten years, the force fell away, eventually, in numbers and efficiency, and hence, perhaps, the many advantages that occurred to Hyder and Tippoo, by escaping a cutting up after defeat. Towards the close of the war we have now to narrate, these light cavalry were improved and increased, and by 1784, when the strife was ended, they were formally transferred, with all their European officers, from the service of the nabob to the more permanent establishment of the East India Company.

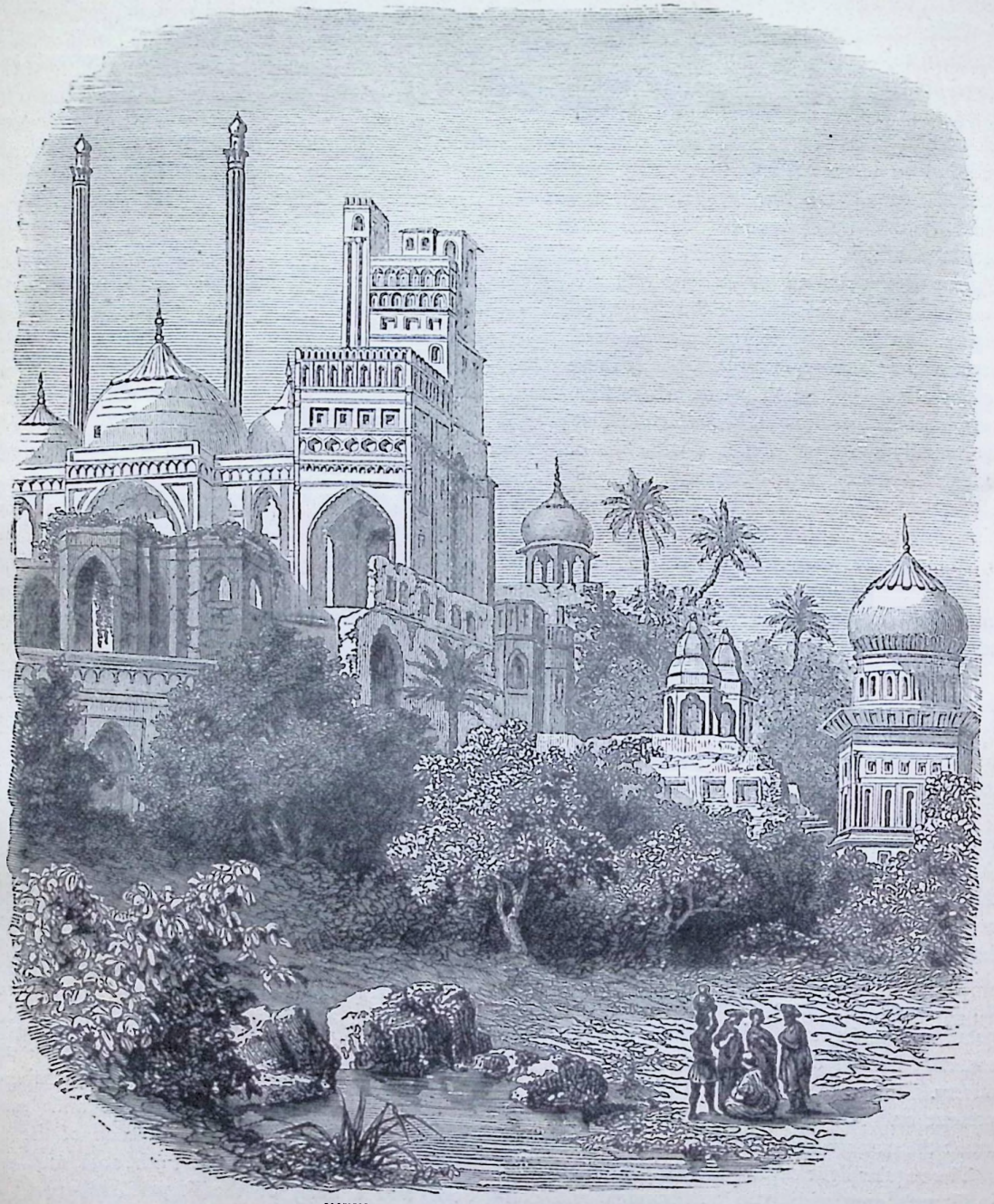
"From that moment all the mutinies among them, caused by the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments, ceased, and for a period of more than sixty years (says a writer in 1853) their career has been one of faithful service and brilliant achievements. Among their brave soubahdars who live in the tradition of our native armies, and whose name and fame are preserved in the history of British India, Secunder Beg, Cawder Beg, and Sheik Ibrahim, were the most remarkable."

In detailing the disaster which befell Braithwaite's troops, we have omitted to mention the success of the Company's forces on the coast of Malabar, from whence, in the year 1780, Hyder had detached a column for the reduction of Tellicherry, the commerce of which, in sandal-wood, pepper, and spices, was then great. Though very imperfectly fortified and garrisoned, that place was enabled to make a long defence, and, by the arrival of reinforcements under Major Abingdon, to raise the siege—a brilliant achievement, which resulted in the capture of all the enemy's guns and baggage, with 1,200 Mysorean prisoners, including Sirdar Khan, their general.

It chanced that in the early part of the preceding year, an expedition under Major-General William Medows and Commodore Johnstone had sailed from Portsmouth, intended to attack the Cape of Good Hope. It consisted of twenty-six sail (exclusive of the Company's ships), five of which were of the line. The troops on board were the 2nd Battalion of the Black Watch (afterwards numbered as the 73rd Highlanders), the 98th and 100th Regiments, with one company of each of the following corps—namely, the 8th, 9th, 20th, and 47th Foot, and a party of the Royal Artillery under Lieutenant Hislop. On the way out, when at anchor in Port Praya Bay, the expedition was suddenly attacked by the French fleet under M. de Suffren, *en route* to reinforce Hyder. He was repulsed, but with the loss of 166 killed and wounded, including eleven officers of both services. The attack on the Cape was abandoned, as M. de Suffren was there before Commodore Johnstone,

who contented himself with the capture of a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay.

We cannot give to our readers a better idea of the very heavy loss the Dutch brought upon themselves by their conduct, than by transcribing here their own statement of the matter. They therein express themselves in the following terms:—"By the taking of our settlements on the coast of Coromandel and other parts, our loss cannot be computed at less than 10,450,000 florins, exclusive of private property. To this, if we add the loss of our ships, viz., *Vrow Catherine Guillelmine*, taken by surprise and unawares by the enemy on the first news of the rupture, and valued at five tons and a half of gold, and above; the *Herod*, *Waltemade*, from Ceylon, captured at the Cape of Good Hope, worth about nine tons of gold; the *Concorde*, sunk on its way from India, and valued at eight tons of



VIEW OF THE PALACE OF VELLORE.



SINGHALESE OF THE COAST.

gold; the taking and destroying the ships in the Bay of Saldanha, estimated at sixty-three tons of gold; the *Dank Baerheid*, from Bengal, likewise captured in Saldanha Bay, worth, together with its cargo, at least fourteen tons and a half of gold; the *Croordbeck*, on its way to Europe, also taken, and valued at one ton of gold; finally, the ships *Groenendaal* and *Canaan*, captured in the Bay of Trincomalee, whose joint cargoes might be worth above five tons of gold; so that the loss in ships cannot be less than 103 tons of gold, or 10,300,000 florins; which, added to the loss sustained by the capture of our settlements, make together the excessive total of 20,750,000 florins!"*

Scurvy having attacked the troops, they were compelled to put into the Island of Joanna, one of the Comorro Group, on the east coast of Africa, where provisions were abundant; but on landing to refresh, the men caught a local fever, and many died of it; thus, by many delays, it was not until the 5th of March, 1782, that, after a twelve-month's voyage, the expedition reached Bombay, and on the following month sailed for Madras, after landing the troops, of whom 121 officers and men died at sea.

General Medows having remained on board, the actual command of the troops now devolved upon Colonel Mackenzie-Humberstone, of the 100th Regiment, who had raised that corps for the king's service, and belonged to the house of Seaforth, but assumed the name of Humberstone on succeeding to an estate so called in Lincolnshire. Under his orders, an expedition was now formed to attack the Malabar coast, but chiefly Palacatcherry, which was considered of importance to Hyder Ali. The troops consisted of 1,000 Europeans (formed of seven companies of the 42nd Highlanders, and some of the 100th Regiment), with 2,500 sepoys. Early in September, 1782, he took the field in the kingdom of Calicut, which had belonged to the Tamuri rajahs till it was invaded by Hyder in 1760. When Cheraman Permal resolved to end his days at Mecca, he divided the Malabar country among his nobles; but having nothing left to bestow on the ancestor of Tamuri, he gave that chief his sword, and all the territory in which the crow of a cock could be heard from a certain temple; and hence the name of the territory—*Calicuda*, or "the land of cock-crowing." Storming several forts in his march, Humberstone reached his destination on the 19th of October, when, on a full examination, the fort was found to be of greater strength than was supposed; at the same time intelligence came that Hyder's son, Tippoo, was marching with a large



WOMEN OF CEYLON.

* *Polit. Mag.*, 1783.

force to its relief. Under all these circumstances a regular siege could not be undertaken, and an assault was not deemed advisable; so Colonel Humberstone fell back on Mangaracota, one of the forts he had taken; but the tidings of Tippoo's advance being confirmed, he blew it up, with another stronghold named Ramgaree, and retired to Paniany, a seaport closely pressed by the enemy, who were in great strength.

Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod, of the Black Watch, having now arrived, assumed the command, but found himself surrounded by 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans under the French general, Lally. By this time many casualties had reduced the Highlanders and the party of the 100th Foot to 380 bayonets, and only 2,200 of our sepoys and those of Travancore (with the king of which Humberstone had concluded a treaty) were fit for duty. Colonel Macleod began to strengthen by field-works his position at Paniany, a small place consisting still of about 500 edifices, forty of which are mosques and Hindoo temples; but ere they were finished, Tippoo and Lally were upon him, and he was attacked with great fury, on the morning of the 29th November, by the latter. Lally advanced with great spirit at the head of his two French battalions; but after a sharp conflict the enemy was repulsed, with the loss of 100 killed and 1,000 wounded.

The whole weight of Lally's attack was directed against the post held by the Highlanders, whose repeated charges with the bayonet chiefly won the day. "This little force, attacked on ground not regularly fortified, by very superior numbers, were skilfully disposed and regularly led on. They had nothing to depend on but their native valour, their discipline, and the conduct of the officers. These were nobly exerted, and the event has been answerable. The intrepidity with which Major Campbell (who was wounded) repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character." * Our loss was eight officers, and eighty-eight soldiers, killed and wounded.

On the day after this victory, Sir Edward Hughes, on his voyage to Bombay, came in sight of Paniany, and on learning the state of affairs, offered to embark the whole troops, or leave Macleod a reinforcement of 450 Europeans. The colonel preferred the latter, and thus found himself able to muster 800 Europeans, 1,000 sepoys, and 1,200 peons of Travancore. Tippoo, after his defeat, retired a little way to await the arrival of his heavy equipments, and more troops from his father (whom these sudden operations in Malabar had filled with such alarm that he was forced to weaken his army in the Carnatic), that he might resume, with weight, his attack upon Paniany. But suddenly, on the morning of the 12th of December, the turbaned horsemen, armed with spear and shield, who had been daily watching the British position, had vanished from their posts; and then it became certain that the whole of Tippoo's troops were pushing eastward by forced marches towards Seringapatam.

Hyder Ali was dead, and Tippoo left Paniany and our troops unmolested, in his haste to ascend the musnud and secure the treasure.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SEA-FIGHTS OFF PONDICHERRY AND CEYLON.—COMBAT OF ARNEE.—TRINCOMALEE.—DEATH OF HYDER ALI.

After his attack on Commodore Johnstone in Port Praya Bay, M. de Suffren, usually called the Bailli de Suffren, arrived at Porto Novo on the 10th of March, 1782, and landed a French force, consisting of 3,000 troops, mostly veterans, including a regiment of Africans, under M. Cossigny, who informed Hyder, then failing in health and spirit, that a larger force, under the famous Marquis de Bussy, might be expected, and that certain operations were to be concerted in the interval, and among these was the proposed reduction of Cuddalore, as a depôt for the troops of France. Hyder and Tippoo were alike filled with joy by this intelligence; yet the strength of his friends somewhat alarmed the former, and he secretly resolved that he would never admit them in force into Mysore.

Suffren—André Pierre de Suffren de St. Tropez,

* General Orders, 1782.

whose portraits represent him to have been a stout and portly man, with queued hair and an amplitude of chin—had not left the Isle of France till about the time that Commodore Johnstone sailed from the Comorro Group (after which he was long becalmed, and carried by the changing monsoon to the coast of Arabia Felix); but more fortunate than his conqueror, he had reached the Coromandel coast early in January, 1782, having on his way made a capture of H.M.S. *Hannibal*, of fifty guns, Captain Alexander Christie. She had been cruising off the coast of Sumatra, and on the clearing up of a thick fog found herself in the very heart of Suffren's fleet; yet she was not taken without a desperate conflict. Her crew were given up as prisoners to Tippoo, who placed them among others of our sea service, some of whom he kept shut up in Chillambaram, where they were subjected to brutalities indescribable. Suffren's arrival at Madras was first made known by the grabs and gallivats of the coast flying before him; and some of these craft, laden with rice and other supplies for the famishing army of Sir Eyre Coote, were taken by his quick sailers.

Sir Edward Hughes, after leaving the small garrison in Trincomalee, was fortunate enough to reach Madras by the 8th of February, without encountering the superior squadron of Suffren; and, with equal good fortune, a part of Commodore Johnstone's squadron, which, on his long and protracted voyage, had been separated from the rest, ran past the French unseen, and joined Admiral Hughes on the 9th at Madras. This division, consisting of only three line-of-battle ships and some transports, must have been taken if discovered by Suffren; and the loss would have been most serious, as they had on board General Medows, the 98th Regiment, and the four companies of other corps already mentioned—about 1,200 men in all.

By this accession, Sir Edward Hughes found himself at the head of eleven sail, nine of which were of the line, his flag being on board the *Superb* (seventy-four). The squadron carried 620 guns, and 4,820 seamen and marines. To reinforce the latter, 300 men, duly officered, from the 98th Regiment, were put on board, and every possible exertion was made to get in all the requisite stores and provisions; but before these were complete, the enemy's fleet appeared on the 15th in the offing, about four miles outside the roads of Madras. The British ships were all foul and sorely damaged by long service, while those of France were newer and better found.

The fleet of M. de Suffren consisted of twenty-six sail, including eleven line-of-battle ships (of which the *Hannibal*, now commanded by Beaumont Le Maitre, was one), and six flutes and transports, one of which was named in honour of J. F. Law—*Le Lauriston*. There were on board 850 guns, and (irrespective of the transports) 6,681 seamen, together with 3,457 soldiers, drawn from the Regiments D'Austerie, L'Isle de France or 89th, La Légion de Lausanne, and other corps; thus the disparity in men and metal between the two squadrons was very great.

On the enemy coming in sight, Sir Edward Hughes immediately placed his ships, with springs upon their cables, in the position most suitable for the defence of the many transports and merchantmen that crowded the roadstead; but, instead of standing-in, Suffren bore away to the southward. Hughes now landed all his sick, weighed on the 16th, and put to sea, and the few British vessels that were clean and coppered came up with and captured six sail of the French convoy, including the *Lauriston*. She was deeply laden with all the munition of war, and had on board 300 men of the Regiment de Lausanne; she was taken by the Hon. Captain Lumley, of the *Isis* (fifty).

As Hughes had anticipated, Suffren bore round to protect his convoy; the two fleets were close to each other all night, and just as grey dawn on the 17th stole over the sea, and the lights in Pondicherry were dying out, the battle began. Suffren de St. Tropez had the double advantage of possessing the weather gage and a concentration of strength, for some of our ships had fallen away to leeward, though beating hard to come within range. Thus the brunt of the conflict was borne chiefly by five of our vessels, and two of these, the *Superb* (flag, seventy-four) and the *Exeter* (sixty-four), under Commodore King, were terribly mauled aloft, as the French fought their guns in the old fashion—to cripple and escape. The *Exeter* was reduced to a wreck, with all her top hamper hanging downward in a confused mass; thus, on two French ships bearing down upon her, the master inquired of the commodore what was to be done? "Done?" was the response; "fight her, till she sinks!" *

And sunk she must have been, but for the prompt assistance given to her by Captain Wood in the *Hero* (seventy-four). One account says, that during all this time "the van of the British lay almost becalmed, and could render no assistance to their friends, so the force of the action fell on five of the ships, the enemy got no further than the *Superb*." At six o'clock, a sudden squall gave us the advantage of the wind, and enabled Hughes to continue

* *Ann. Reg.*, Schomberg.

the engagement with such spirit and strength, that, despite the storm of musketry from the troops, so destructive at close quarters, in twenty-five minutes the enemy hauled their wind, housed their guns, and stood away to the north-east for Porto Novo, under all the sail they could crowd, having evidently suffered severely. Some of our ships were so damaged by shot-holes below water that it was dangerous to carry much sail on them, and as it was impossible to plug these efficiently while afloat, the admiral bore away for Trincomalee to refit. In the battle the king lost two brave captains—Stephens of the *Superb*, and Reynolds of the *Exeter*. The squadron had thirty-two men killed, and ninety-five wounded.

Before returning to the progress of events ashore, we shall here narrate briefly another engagement between the rival admirals, which ensued as soon as they had completed their repairs. On the 8th of April, Sir Edward Hughes, with eleven sail of the line, returning from Madras, found himself almost within gunshot of Suffren's fleet, but he pursued his course towards the coast of Ceylon, having orders to victual and reinforce Trincomalee, and the French followed him closely. On the 11th he was fifteen leagues to windward of his destination, for which he bore away in the night. The morning of the 12th came gloomily in, and saw our squadron off a dangerous lee shore, along which the white surf was boiling angrily, while the French, who by our change of course had gained the wind, were coming along in all their strength, under a cloud of canvas, and the admiral was compelled to engage them at the greatest disadvantage.

By noon the roar of battle began, and by three o'clock it became general in both fleets, and on both sides masts and yards came crashing down, but more especially on board the *Monmouth* (sixty-four), which was mauled till she was towed, like a mere log, out of the line, with 147 killed or wounded men lying between her decks. The battle lasted till darkness fell, and, after all, it was a drawn one, for both fleets had suffered severely, and neither could claim a victory. Our loss was 137 killed and 430 wounded; that of the French somewhere about 600. For a week the fleets remained in sight of each other repairing their damages, which were too severe to permit a renewal of the conflict; and, after some manœuvres which seemed to indicate an intention of doing so, Suffren bore away along the coast to the Dutch settlement of Baticolo, while Hughes ran into Trincomalee.

A few days after this event, the French troops, now under the Marquis de Bussy, united with the army of Hyder, and captured—in accordance with the plans announced by Colonel Cossigny—the seaport of Cuddalore, which, though important as to position, was a weak place, and garrisoned by only 400 sepoys, and five European gunners. Thus, in absence of both fleets, the French achieved that which they so much wished—a convenient depôt.

From thence the marquis and the Mysorean army advanced against Wandiwash, still held by Captain Flint; and Coote, though still suffering from his recent stroke of apoplexy, advancing rapidly to the relief of that place, encamped on the same ground whereon he had defeated Count Lally and the marquis twenty-two years before; but neither he nor Bussy were the men they had been in the wars of 1760. Yet the prestige of old Sir Eyre was still great, and instead of accepting the battle he offered, notwithstanding their vast numerical superiority, Bussy and Hyder drew off towards Pondicherry.

Sir Eyre Coote then threatened the town of Arnee (fourteen miles south-west of Arcot), in the strong fort of which Hyder had deposited a great store of general plunder and provisions, hence he lost no time in advancing to its relief. Thus, at eight o'clock a.m. on the 2nd of June, when Sir Eyre was preparing to encamp near it, a heavy but distant cannonade was suddenly opened on his front and rear. There now ensued a series of brilliant manœuvres, for the double purpose of grappling with the enemy and covering the baggage, (always an object of solicitude to the enemy's horse), and these produced a desultory combat (rather than a battle) which only ended a little before darkness fell, with a capture from the enemy of one piece of cannon, and eleven tumbrils. Had Coote possessed cavalry, he might have taken all the Mysorean guns; but as usual he had no means for following up the victory—not even food. To reduce Arnee by fraud or force seemed hopeless now, so Sir Eyre on the 4th moved again to the front; but Hyder, while declining an encounter, succeeded, by an ambuscade, in cutting off 166 British soldiers, and capturing fifty-four horses with two guns. After this, so much sickness prevailed among his troops, that Sir Eyre was compelled to fall back to the vicinity of Madras.

While Hyder's attention had been fully occupied by the affair of Arnee, Lord Macartney devised a scheme to succour Vellore, which was again in great straits. Accordingly he prepared a train of 500 bullocks, 24 carts, and 2,000 coolies laden with provisions, escorted by 100 sepoys under a young ensign. The latter was joined *en route* by 1,500 Polygars, and succeeded in achieving the duty

assigned to him. But in returning from Vellore he and his escort were attacked by Hyder, and compelled to surrender at discretion. So, by sea and land alike, the war was now to be waged in the Carnatic, for much of the success on shore depended upon the operations of the fleets by sea. The French admiral was most anxious to gain possession of Negapatam, which he deemed a better basis than Cuddalore on the Pennar for the future operations of his countrymen, and seized the first opportunity to appear before it, a movement which at once brought stout old Sir Edward Hughes out of Madras. In the battle that ensued the fleets were nearly of equal strength. It was fought on the 6th of July, 1782; the conflict, though most severe, was again indecisive, yet the losses were great. On our side were 77 killed, and 223 wounded. Among the former were Captains Maclellan of the *Superb*, and Jenkinson, of the 98th Regiment, two officers of remarkable bravery. Of the enemy there fell 779 killed and wounded. They relinquished all further designs against Negapatam, which the Madras Government, by a very singular policy, without consulting Sir Eyre on the subject, ordered to be demolished.

Sir Edward Hughes—a most indefatigable officer—now made preparations once more to revictual Trincomalee, a movement in which he was anticipated by Suffren. Appointing a rendezvous off the coast of Ceylon, where another squadron joined him with eight transports full of troops, the latter made a dash into the harbour, landed 2,400 men, and pushed the attack by sea and land with such vigour as to compel Captain Macdonald and some of the 42nd Highlanders to make a speedy surrender; thus, when Sir Edward Hughes came off the town soon after, he saw, to his astonishment and mortification, the white standard of Bourbon flying on the ramparts and in the roads.

While Hyder was hearing the bitter tidings that before Colonels Humberstone and Macleod's troops his affairs were going to wreck in Malabar, he was thrown into still greater dismay on hearing of Warren Hastings' successful policy in concluding a treaty between the British and the Mahrattas, so that now he expected to have upon him all the strength of that warlike race, who, on more than one bloody occasion, had proved more than a match even for him. He became filled with perplexity, and suspicion, even of his friends.

"I must march alone," said he, "against these faithless Mahrattas, who will be invading Mysore, into which I dare not admit the French in force."

Worn and shaken by anxiety, his health had long been declining now, and after the stirring, cruel, and sanguinary life he had led, it was natural that he should be haunted by constant dread of murder and conspiracy. Once, when asked by his best friend, Gholaum Ali, why he started and muttered so much in his sleep, "My friend," said he, bitterly, "the state of beggars is more delightful than my envied monarchy, for they see no conspirators when awake, and dream not of assassins when asleep."

He had begun to think seriously of returning into Mysore, but permitted himself to be persuaded by the marquis that the strife in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, and that means might yet be taken to baffle the policy of Hastings, and lure back the Mahrattas to a closer alliance, if not to neutrality; and, guided thus, while the wily old Mysorean amused Sir Eyre Coote and kept him inactive by the intimation that he might accede to the Governor-General's treaty with the Mahrattas, and even become a party to it, he was secretly preparing with all his strength to co-operate with the marquis in the capture of Negapatam. And now came tidings of another battle between the fleets of Suffren and Hughes, in which, though the former was defeated, he left the latter so crippled that little was won by the victory.

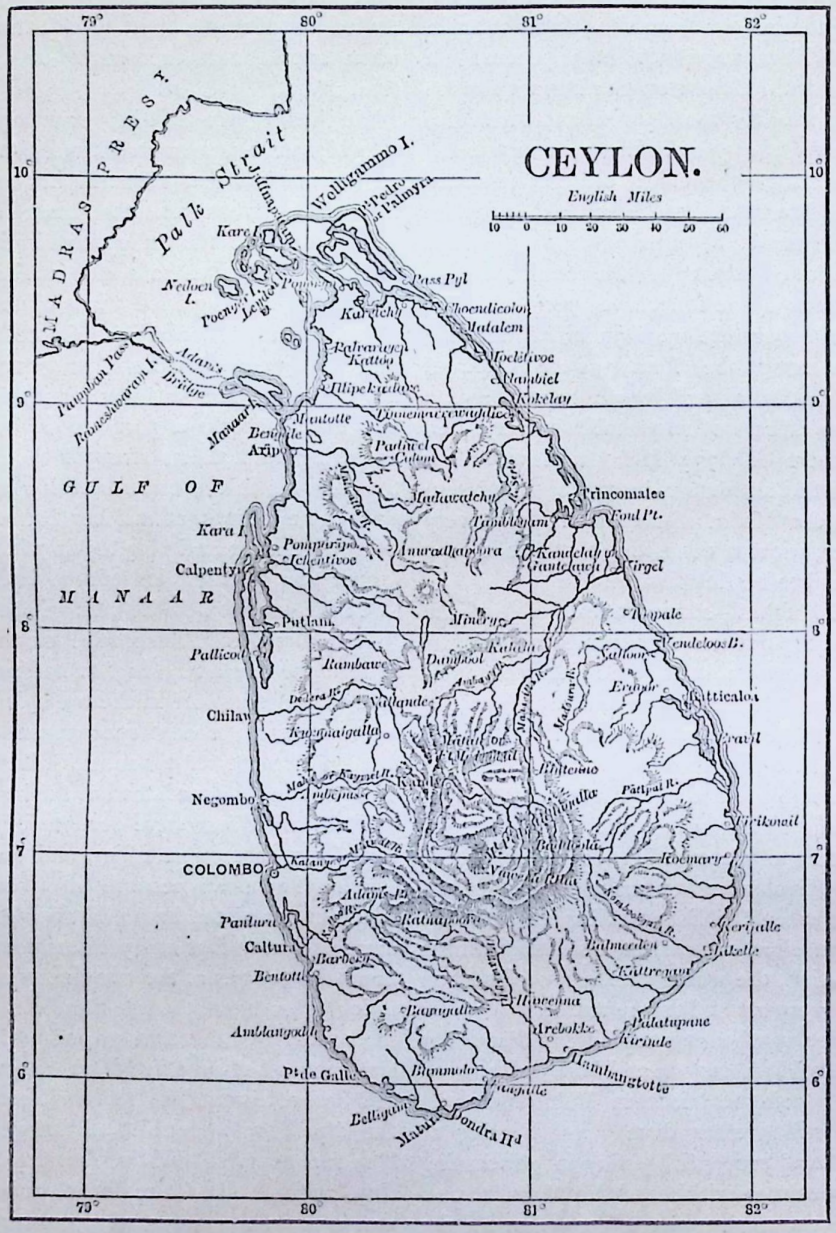
It occurred off Trincomalee, on the 3rd of September, the day after Hughes had arrived only in time to find the place in the enemy's hands.

Proud of his recent success, and preferring to fight with plenty of sea-room, Suffren came confidently out of the roadstead at the head of nineteen sail, of which four were seventy-fours, eight were sixty-fours, three were fifties, and the rest frigates. Hughes had seventeen sail, of which twelve were of the line, and the battle that now ensued was the most desperate that had yet been fought. For four hours the centres of the two lines were fiercely and furiously engaged, though there was a little lull in the booming of the cannon and rattle of the small arms about half-past five in the afternoon. Then Hughes wore round with all his fleet, and renewed the attack with double advantage and energy. The mainmast of *L'Héros* (seventy-four), Suffren's ship, and next his mizen-mast, with all the small-arm men in their tops, went crashing over by the board.

The *Worcester* (sixty-four), about the same time lost her maintop-mast, and at seven the main body of the French fleet hauled their wind, and for twenty minutes became exposed to a most severe fire of every kind from ours, when the battle ceased, and the enemy bore away. Our loss was 51 killed, and 283 wounded. Among the former were Captains Watt of the *Sultan* (seventy-four), Wood of the

Worcester, and Lumley of the *Isis;* and among the latter were some officers of the 78th Highlanders, and the 98th Regiment, which were serving on board as marines. The French squadron returned to Trincomalee on the night of the action, and so the wounded, 676.* *L'Héros*, the flag-ship, had on board at the commencement of the action 1,200 men, of whom 380 were killed and wounded.

The monsoon was fast approaching; thus Sir Edward Hughes, on his return to Madras, gave his



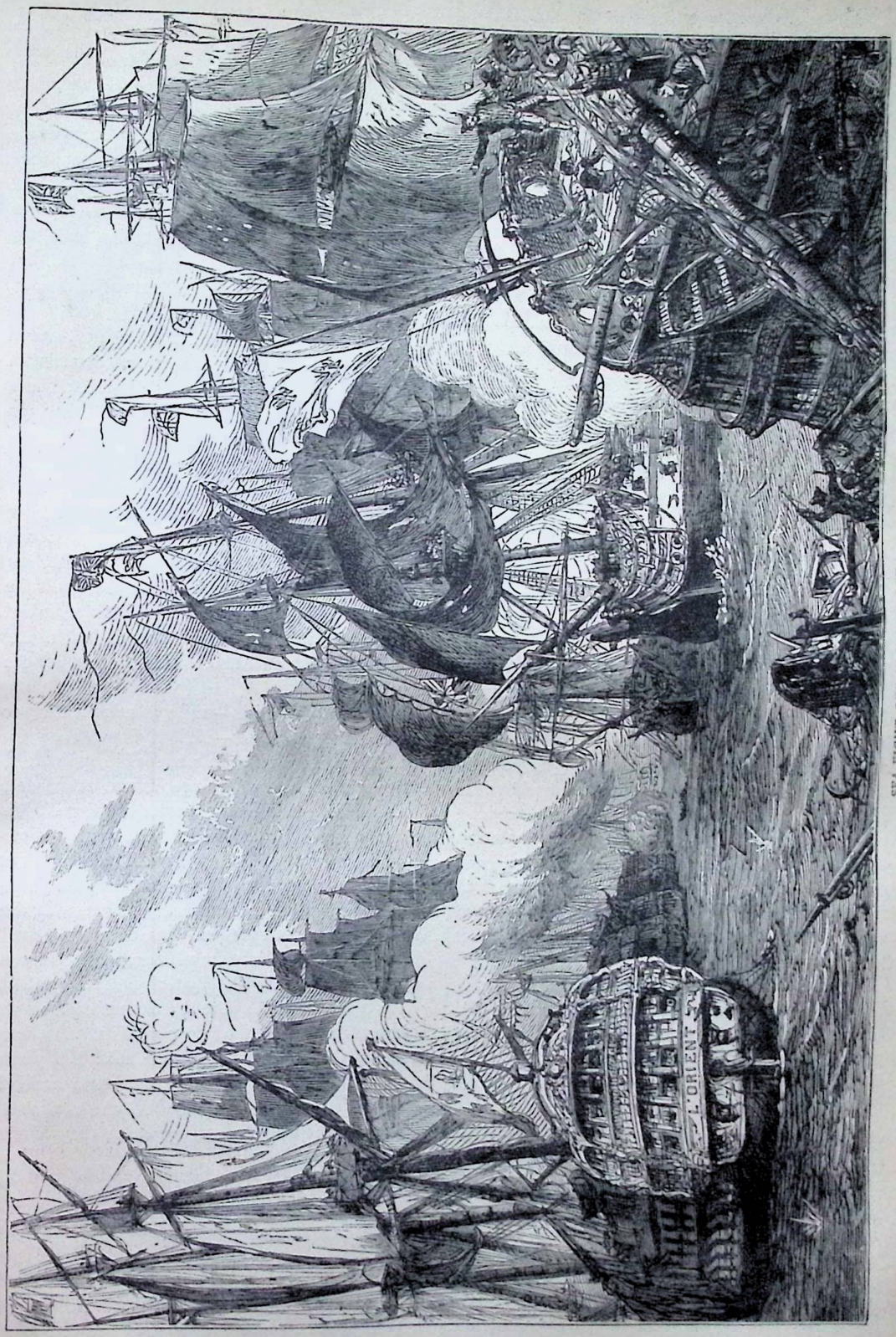
MAP OF CEYLON.

great was their haste, lest they should be pursued, that *L'Orient*, Captain Pallière, ran ashore in the dark, and was totally lost.

De Suffren was so dissatisfied with some of his captains that he sent six of them to the Mauritius under arrest, and the loss he sustained was never published, the slaughter having been unusually great. The slain are said to have been 412, and

line-of-battle ships such repairs as enabled them to proceed to Bombay, where it was his intention to have them all coppered. "It is said that shelter might have been found for him nearer at hand, on the Coromandel coast, but it is not so clear that Hughes could have found there the accommodation, materials, and workmen he wanted, though

* *Naval Chronicle.*



SEA-FIGHT OFF TRINCOMALEE.

Suffren had contrived to do wonders in this way at Cuddalore, improvising an arsenal or ship-yard, and, to encourage others, working himself in his shirt-sleeves, like a common shipwright."

Had the admiral not deemed himself in some way slighted by the general and Lord Macartney, it is supposed that he might have remained in Madras roads to co-operate in the proposed attack on the French lines at Cuddalore; but there was the probability that had he been a day longer in putting to sea the whole fleet might have perished. He sailed on the 15th of October, and had made a good offing before nightfall. By that time, we are told that the sound, so well known in Madras—the roar of the coming monsoon—was heard, and the rising surf began to shake the coast, as there came on one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in Indian waters. For miles, next day, the shore was covered with shattered wrecks, and the bodies of the drowned or the dying. Vessels of every kind were sunk at their anchors or dashed to pieces on the shore—among others, the *Earl of Hertford* (Indiaman). A few cut their cables, put to sea, and, to the astonishment of every one, outrode the tempest.

Some of those that perished were laden with rice for the garrison, the town, and the army; thus the food was gone without a possibility of supplying more, and a local famine ensued; and thousands of the natives of the Carnatic who had fled to Madras to escape the cruelty of Hyder Ali, were among the first to suffer. Every road that led to Madras, and the streets of the city itself, were strewed with the emaciated dead and dying; prayers, entreaties, and moans were heard on every side, addressed to the passers who had not a grain of rice to give, and who were soon to perish in their turn; for, before supplies came from Bengal and elsewhere, 10,000 persons perished of sheer hunger.

"For months together," says Burke in one of his eloquent speeches, "these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury in their most plenteous days had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras; every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India." The multitudes of dead and dying were so great as to raise fears of a new calamity—the plague. The dead bodies were collected daily in carts; and buried in large trenches without the town; and for several weeks not less than from twelve to fifteen hundred a week, says one authority, were thus disposed of.

Five days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Richard Bickerton came into the wreck-strewn roads of Madras, with a small squadron from Britain, having some troops on board; but with no provisions to spare, after his long voyage round the Cape, and deeming it to be his duty, when menaced by the still-blowing monsoon on one hand, and the great superiority of Suffren on the other, to join Sir Edward, he put to sea, and bore away for Bombay, about the same time that Sir Eyre Coote, now completely shattered in health, sailed for Calcutta.

As the command now devolved upon General Stewart, he sent 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay troops, who, under General Goddard, were about to assail Hyder from the west, 500 men to reinforce Negapatam, and 300 Europeans into the Northern Circars, where the French were expected, but never appeared; for now an unusual inactivity seemed to possess both Suffren and De Bussy. Negapatam, which was weakly garrisoned and open, was not attacked, neither was Madras, then alike stricken with fever and famine; and the small squadron of Sir Richard Bickerton, who had with him only five sail of the line and a frigate, passed and repassed almost within sight of the French fleet.

And now, at this crisis—while, as related, Tippoo was defending Malabar—died Hyder Ali, on the 7th of December, 1782, in what was supposed to be the eightieth year of his age, as the actual date of his birth was never accurately known. His disease was a singular one, named by Mohammedans the *sertan*, or "crab," a swelling behind the neck or upper portion of the back, and supposed in form to resemble the crustacean named. By the Hindoos it is named the *raj-poora*, or "royal sore"—a kind of Indian king's-evil, peculiar to persons of royal rank; and in old Hyder's case, the skill of Bussy's best physicians, like the charms of his own conjurers and magi, failed to cure him. Poornea and Kishen Rao, his two Brahmin ministers, when they found his death impending, agreed to conceal the event, when it took place, till the arrival of Tippoo, as the only means by which they could keep the army together.

Accordingly, they placed the body in a large chest filled with fragrant powder, and sent it from the camp at Vellore to Seringapatam, and from there it was secretly deposited in the somewhat obscure tomb of his family at Colar, a little town of Mysore; but Tippoo afterwards had it conveyed to Seringapatam, where it was laid in a superb

mausoleum, which, as a work of art, is still endowed and kept up by our Indian Government.

Though called the tyrant of Mysore, and in many ways a man without much scruple when he had an end to achieve, and though cruel and barbarous to his European prisoners, Hyder Ali, when judged of by the standard of his age, religion, and country, was not an indifferent sovereign, and as a warrior he ranks high under any test. Neither the troops he led, nor those who opposed him, allowed him to adopt a line of policy to display the qualities of a great general; thus to accomplish his ends he was compelled to adopt means that often seemed insignificant; his warfare being a series of skirmishes, rather than pitched battles, or regular campaigns. In Hyder, it was the skilful adaptation of his instruments to his purposes, neither allowing his confidence in vast numbers, nor the skill with which he could direct them, to lure him from the path he had marked out, that proves him to have been no common man. He knew, appreciated, and feared the prowess of the British troops, and turned his knowledge to the best advantage by assailing them only when and where they were weak. Hence his great success—a success which his great age and death alone prevented attaining a point that might have altered the future history of British India.

His barbarous treatment of our soldiers who fell into his hands, language can neither sufficiently describe nor reprehend, and from his Oriental nature he was totally incapable of appreciating such self-devotion as was shown by one of them—Lieutenant Lucas—one of his captives in the awful dungeons of Seringapatam. We are told that when Sir David Baird was one of these unfortunates, the wounds he had received when Baillie's detachment perished were unhealed, were all but mortifying, and that his health was sinking. When the *myar* made his appearance one morning, bearing with him fetters weighing nine pounds each, which were destined for these unhappy men who had survived the destruction of their comrades, resistance was futile, and they submitted to their fate. But when it came to Sir David Baird's turn, one of the officers—a noble Englishman named Lucas—sprang forward and urged the cruelty of fettering the limbs that were full of festering wounds. To this the *myar* replied, that there had been sent as many sets of fetters as there were prisoners, and that all must be put on.

"Then," said the gallant Lucas, "put a double pair on me, so that Captain Baird may be spared their use."

"Even the *myar*," says the narrator, "though used to scenes of human misery, was moved by this act of self-devotion, and consented to refer the case to the *kedadar*, who held the 'Book of Fate.' Fortunately for Sir David Baird, that book was propitious; the irons were (after a time) dispensed with, and thus was this man, then a captive in the dungeons of Seringapatam, spared to become one day a conqueror and its master!"

But in this we are somewhat anticipating the story and the fate of Tippoo Sahib.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CAPTURE OF BEDNORE IN CANARA.—SIEGES OF CUDDALORE AND MANGALORE.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.

"THE Tiger"—for such was the appropriate name, when translated, of Hyder's son, Tippoo, now in his thirtieth year—reached the camp in which Hyder died on the 2nd of January, 1783, and assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men, a treasury containing rupees to the amount of three millions sterling, together with jewels and valuables, the accumulated plunder of many provinces, during many years, to an extent that has been said to defy computation. On the evening of his arrival, he held a *durbar* of all his principal officers seated on a humble carpet, stating that his great grief would not permit him, as yet, to ascend the musnud; but all knew that this was mere affectation, and none who saw him, or knew him, were deceived by it.

With his great resources, a French alliance, a passion for war, power and aggrandisement, and more than all, a rooted antipathy to the British, Tippoo treated with scorn the overtures for peace with us, which, had he lived but a few weeks longer, old Hyder would have accepted. After paying his last

duties to the remains of his father, Tippoo hastened to join the main body of the army, amply provided with presents and treasure to secure the allegiance of the troops. He was now joined by a French force, mustering 900 Europeans, 250 Kaffirs and Topasses, and 2,000 sepoys, with a brigade of twenty-two guns, and the plan of future operations was at once discussed. The French urged the immediate capture of Madras; but, as the Marquis de Bussy was not yet present, Tippoo reminded the principal officers that before this they had often declared that the French were, by their orders, limited to defensive operations. His own plan, therefore, was to leave a strong column of his army under Seyd Sahib to co-operate with the marquis as soon as he arrived at head-quarters, and be ready to attack us, while he, with the rest of his troops, moved to the westward, where our rapid success had greatly alarmed him. The instant Hyder's death was rumoured, the Government of Madras had urged their new commander-in-chief, General Stewart, to take advantage of the confusion the event was likely to cause in the Mysore camp; but he strongly declined to march, on the plea that he "did not believe in the death of Hyder, and if he were dead, the army would be ready to march at the proper time."

General Stewart, like Sir Eyre Coote, was a king's officer, and viewing the Company as a mere trading corporation, though they were his paymasters, he was not disposed to be accountable to them, especially in the matter of handling the royal forces. The position he was inclined to adopt appeared so extravagant that Lord Macartney lodged a minute against it. However, the general did not put the troops in motion until the 15th of January, 1783, thirteen days after Tippoo's arrival in camp, and his peaceable proclamation as Sultan of Mysore. In his position as governor, Lord Macartney undertook to direct the operations of the campaign, as a prelude to which he somewhat unwisely ordered the demolition of some forts, and though contrary to the advice of Coote he had dismantled Negapatam, he now ordered the destruction of Wandiwash and Carangoly.

The greater portion of February was wasted in the work of demolition; but in the vicinity of Wandiwash General Stewart, who was now at the head of 14,000 men (3,000 of whom were British), offered battle to Tippoo, who declined it, and crossed the Arnee in some haste, recalling his garrisons from Arcot and other places so quickly, that it seemed evident that he was about to evacuate the whole Carnatic.

But Tippoo was not so much seeking to avoid Stewart as to defend his own dominions, for Colonel Mackenzie-Humberstone, as soon as Tippoo had left the coast of Malabar, marched his sepoys by land, and sent his Highlanders and other British troops by sea, northward to the coast of Canara (which is separated from Mysore by the Western Ghauts), to co-operate with a portion of the Bombay army, then occupied in the reduction of his richest provinces and dependencies. Long was the march for the sepoys, and stormy the voyage for the Royal Highlanders, but the junction was effected in the month of January at Cundapore, fifty-five miles northward of Mangalore; and on the 23rd General Mathews marched to attack Bednore, the capital of Canara, of old named the "bamboo village," but which had become a city of some wealth and magnitude, for when captured by Hyder, he found twelve millions sterling of plunder in it, and there he built a fort named Hydernaghur. It is strong in position, and was well fortified when Mathews advanced against it, considerably harassed in his march by flying parties of the enemy's horse; but his greatest impediments were a succession of field-works, erected on the face of a mountain which his troops had to ascend. But, "on the 26th of February, 1783, the 42nd, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of sepoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and, pushing on like Highlanders, were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it; four hundred men were bayoneted, and the rest pursued to the walls of the fort."

Here, Lieutenant Hislop, of the Royal Artillery, had the half of a leg torn away by an Indian rocket. Seven forts were thus stormed, each being captured at a rush. After this service the next object of attack was the great fort of Hydernaghur, which towered with a formidable aspect over all, and compelled the leaders to act with extreme caution. It occupied the summit of the loftiest ghaut or precipice, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, with a dry ditch in front, armed with twenty pieces of cannon, and on the face of the mountain were seven more batteries, placed on terraces above each other, with internal lines of communication. "The outward approaches," says General Stewart, "were obstructed by large trees, cut down and placed transversely, so as to prevent the ascent on any part, except that immediately exposed to the full effect of the guns. These obstructions, formidable if well defended, were, however, of no avail, for the spirit with which the lower defences were attacked and carried struck such terror into the enemy that they evacuated this strong position in the course of the night, and, making no further

resistance, Bednore was taken possession of on the 27th of January, 1783."

In it were found 8,000 stand of new arms, and every necessary supply for the immediate use of the troops. We thus got possession of the principal fort of a fertile province, from where Tippoo drew most of the provisions for his army. Many of the other forts of Canara surrendered on being summoned, but Mangalore and Annanpore held out. Against the latter Major Colin Campbell marched with the Highlanders and some other troops, and on the 15th of February he stormed it with great loss to the enemy. In thanking his column for the spirited conduct it displayed, Major Campbell said that "his particular acknowledgments were due to Captain Dalzell and the officers and men of the 42nd Regiment, who headed the storm; but strongly recommends that when the bayonet can be used, not a shot should be fired." Mangalore on the coast surrendered as soon as it had been breached.

The operations of our troops in Canara were greatly impeded by quarrels and complaints about the division of prize money. General Mathews refused to divide any with either officers or men, which was most illiberal, as at that time they had received no pay for several months. Colonels Macleod and Mackenzie-Humberstone left the army to lay their complaints against their leader before the Governor of Bombay. He was superseded, and Macleod was ordered back to Bednore with the rank of Brigadier-General. He was accompanied by Humberstone, Major Shaw, and others; but on their voyage down the coast they were attacked by a piratical Mahratta fleet that killed or wounded every man on board their vessel. Major Shaw was slain on the instant; Humberstone, one of the best officers that ever drew a sword on Indian soil, died of his wounds, and Macleod, sinking with three wounds, was taken prisoner into Gheriah. All the other officers perished—Lieutenant William Stewart, of the 100th Regiment, being literally hacked joint from joint.

Meanwhile Mathews was acting in a most unwise manner. He had scattered his army all over the country in wretched mud forts, and fixed his headquarters in Bednore without laying in a sufficient stock of ammunition or provisions, and placed the 42nd Highlanders at a distance on the coast.

When he fancied himself in a state of security, Tippoo advanced with a great force, secured the Ghauts, cut off all communication between the coast and Bednore—a protracted resistance in which was impossible without supplies. Tippoo advanced to the attack with two columns, and our troops, after attempting a defence, for which their strength was most inadequate, retired, after serious loss, into the citadel, where they continued to fight till it was beaten—by sheer dint of cannon-shot—to ruins around them. General Mathews then, in accordance with the opinion of a council of war, agreed to surrender on certain terms, to which Tippoo agreed. One of these guaranteed the safe conduct of the garrison to the coast; another provided for the security of private and surrender of public property. Unfortunately, in order to appropriate the money in the treasury, which now by right belonged to Tippoo, the officers of the garrison, then in long arrears of pay, were told to draw for whatever sums they pleased, these to be afterwards accounted for at Bombay; and in this way the treasury was emptied—innocently, we must suppose.

In the terms of their capitulation the garrison marched out on the 3rd of May, 1783. Tippoo, only too anxious to find a pretext for violating the capitulation, obtained one from the prisoners themselves. On being searched, the missing treasure was found to be divided among them. Thus, instead of being permitted to march to the coast, Tippoo bound them all with chains and ropes, and sent them to his horrible dungeons in Mysore.

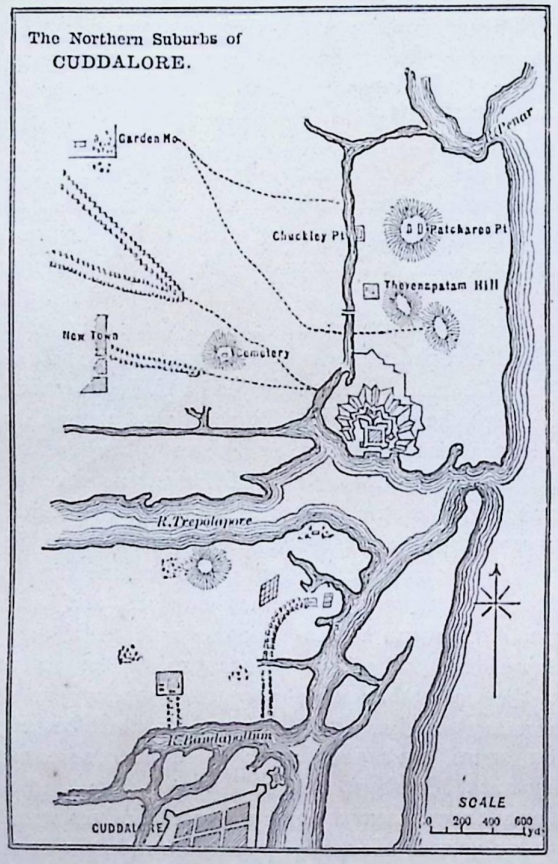
Mathews was taken in fetters to Seringapatam, and is said to have been murdered by having boiling lead poured down his throat, in presence of his wife, who became insane on beholding the outrage. Two hundred and ten soldiers were spared, to become artizans if they would embrace Mohammedanism. The rest were destroyed in many ways, too shocking to describe. Some were left chained to dead bodies; out of nineteen officers who were taken, seventeen were murdered by order of Tippoo. Some had their throats cut slowly and by degrees; others were pinioned, and had poison poured down their throats while their jaws were held forcibly open; and the tidings of these barbarities excited our troops to such an extent, that they resolved neither to take nor give quarter in battle with the troops of Tippoo "the Tiger."

Our whole forces in India at this time mustered only 17,800 men. These were Burgoyne's Light Dragoons, the Bengal Cavalry—700 sabres, and the European infantry, 9,000 strong; two battalions of Highlanders (viz., 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, afterwards the 73rd Foot, and the Rosshire Buffs), the 3rd, 36th, 52nd, 98th, 100th, 101st, and 102nd Regiments, with 436 of the Royal Artillery. The sepoys of the three presidencies made up 30,000 more, exclusive of De Bruygerse's Hanoverian corps of 1,000 strong.

Tippoo now, breathing only fury and destruction

—all unsated by that treatment of the prisoners, which all along had been the fixed mode both with him and his father—now went through the Ghauts to attack Mangalore, then occupied by the 42nd, and some fragments of Mathews' army. It was considered a most important point, as its harbour was one of the best on the coast of Canara; so the middle of May saw it invested by Tippoo and his French allies.

Prior to this, Lutif Ali Bey had taken up a position, with a considerable force, within twelve miles of the place; but he was suddenly attacked by Colin Campbell (now a lieutenant-colonel), who, on the 6th of May, routed him in an incredibly short time, with the loss of all his guns, while the now slender Black Watch had only seven privates killed, Captain Stewart, and sixteen privates wounded. By the 20th it was completely invested by Tippoo. Notwithstanding this, Colonel Campbell endeavoured to keep possession of an outpost about a mile from the town, because it commanded the principal avenue to it. At this crisis, Campbell's garrison consisted of only 243 Highlanders of all ranks, with 1,500 native troops fit for duty; and with these he had to oppose, says General Stewart, an overwhelming force, "that consisted of 90,000 men, exclusive of a corps of European infantry under Colonel Cossigny, Monsieur Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, the whole supported by ninety pieces of cannon."



PLAN OF THE NORTHERN SUBURBS OF CUDDALORE.

And now ensued a siege which lasted from the middle of May, 1784, till the 30th of January of the following year, to relate all the events of which would occupy too much space, but which, for the brilliance and bravery of the defence, is unequalled in the annals of war save by Heiden's defence of Colberg, in Pomerania.

The troops in the outpost were attacked, and reached the main body in Mangalore with the utmost difficulty, and confident now of early triumph, Tippoo sent a flag of truce, imperiously demanding an instant surrender. Colin Campbell dismissed the messenger without an answer, and, much to his astonishment and rage, Tippoo found himself compelled to begin a regular siege, in the details of which he was greatly assisted by the experience of Colonel Cossigny. Three separate attacks, embracing the faces of the fort accessible by land, instead of open breaches, produced only masses of barrier-like ruin, "while attempts at assault were repeated and repelled so often as to become almost an affair of daily routine."

Tippoo counted on easy conquest, but the siege detained him from more important operations, for months passed and yet Campbell defied him in Mangalore; and meanwhile preparations were made elsewhere for the reduction of Cuddalore, where Bussy commanded a garrison of French and African troops from the Isle of France. But old General Stewart, though minus a leg, found himself before the place, at the head of the 101st and 102nd Regiments, the 15th Hanoverians, 250 recruits from Scotland for the Highlanders, and the old 23rd Light Dragoons. Colonel Stewart, of the 78th, commanded that corps and the 73rd, which formed a Highland Brigade.

On the morning of the 13th of June, an attack was made from three points, but, by some mistake, not simultaneously; thus the marquis was enabled to direct his whole strength against each attack in succession. One of the assailing columns, on being repulsed, was pursued by the French for some distance, but Colonels Cathcart and Stewart, with a handful of the Macleod Highlanders, rushed to the front, and possessed themselves of those works.

which, in the eagerness of their pursuit, the enemy had left open and undefended. Thus the fate of the day was changed, for though the Highlanders were forced to retire from the more advanced works they had entered, they resolutely retained possession of the principal French redoubt. The conflict on this day lasted from four a.m. to five in the evening; yet only one of our officers fell—the Hon. John Lindsay, of the Macleod Highlanders.

distance, and never came to close quarters. Five of our ships were so unmanageable that they fell away to leeward, while many of Suffren's were so leaky that the crews had to work their guns and pumps alternately, till the squadrons parted in the dark, and thus ended the fifth and last indecisive battle between these rival admirals.

On the 25th of June the marquis, who had been reinforced by 2,400 men from the fleet of De



TIPPOO SAHIB.

On the 14th of June the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing; and that of Suffren did so much about the same time. The two admirals, often in sight of the hostile lines and of the British camp, tacked and manœuvred from that day till the 20th, each trying to gain the weather-gage of the other. On the 20th, Suffren fired a few shots at long range for twenty minutes, before a gun was fired by the British fleet. Then the broadsides of the latter opened, and the thunder of a heavy cannonade pealed over the sea and up the long salt-water nullah of Cuddalore; but Suffren, who had the advantage of the wind, chose his own

Suffren, made a gallant sortie from the beleaguered fort, but was repulsed with heavy loss. Among the captured was a handsome young sergeant of the French marines, whose appearance and manner attracted the notice of Colonel Wagenheim, of our 15th Hanoverian Regiment, who took him to his tent, had his wounds dressed, and treated him with much kindness, for though but a sergeant, he seemed much above his station, having been bred to the law, yet his parents were humble people of Pau.

Long years after, when the army of France in its great career of conquest entered Hanover under

Marshal Bernadotte, his *levée* was attended by Wagenheim, then an aged general officer. "You have served, I understand, in India?" said Bernadotte. "Yes." "At Cuddalore?" "Yes." "Do you remember taking a wounded French sergeant there under your protection?" After a time the veteran called the episode to memory, adding, "He was a fine young man, and I should be glad to hear of his welfare." "*I* was that young French sergeant," replied the marshal, "and now will omit no means of testifying my gratitude." And old Wagenheim lived to see the marine he had protected, Prince and Marshal of the Empire, Prince of Ponte Corvo, Crown Prince of Sweden, and finally Charles John XIV., King of Sweden and Norway.*

On the 1st of July the tidings came of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France, so hostilities at once ceased at Cuddalore as elsewhere between the troops of the two countries, though they were continued against Tippoo Sahib; and yet the cannon boomed against Campbell's little band in their isolated post at Mangalore.

On the 19th of July—nineteen days after the treaty of peace was known to the French authorities, and after fifty-six days of open trenches, Colin Campbell received a letter signed "Peveron de Morlay, envoy from France to the nabob, Tippoo Sultan," informing him then, that hostilities had ceased at Cuddalore, and that he was in possession of a letter which he was enjoined to deliver to him in person—a letter which is supposed to have been long in the Mangalore camp before its existence was acknowledged to Campbell; and during all that time the besiegers had been making the most vigorous efforts to obtain possession of the place, too probably with the intention of treating the garrison as that of Bednore had been treated.

The treaty of peace with France, and the consequent intimation from Colonel Cossigny that he and the rest of the French, including MM. Lally and Boudenot, could give him no further aid, filled the despot with transports of rage. By that treaty, which Tippoo would now be under the necessity of concluding, a general restitution of conquests would take place, and consequently Mangalore would return to him without an effort; but his rage and obstinacy at having been so long foiled by Colonel Campbell made him disregard these facts, and still press the siege. Under the cover of admitting Peveron de Morlay—who is said to have been quite capable of any deceit or dissimulation—to deliver his letter, a body of troops landed and won possession of an outwork that commanded the harbour; and though an armistice had been concluded with Tippoo on the 2nd of August, he continued every operation short of an actual assault, with greater vigour than ever. By the third clause of that armistice, a bazaar was to be established, from which the troops were to procure provisions. To the shame of Tippoo, this was evaded, and the result was that Campbell's soldiers were reduced to the verge of starvation.

On the 26th of the preceding April, Sir Eyre Coote had died at Madras, from whence his remains were sent home to Britain, and trophies were erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey and Leadenhall Street.

Brigadier-General Macleod, holding now the chief command in Malabar and Canara, a fortnight after the armistice, arrived with a detachment of Hanoverians to reinforce his comrades. He took up his residence in the town, but found that he had to send the Hanoverians to Tellicherry, while the garrison was still permitted to starve, and the wily Tippoo continued to amuse both Macleod and Campbell, by pretending that he was about to depart with all his troops for Seringapatam, which he had not the least intention of doing; for suddenly he threw off the mask, declared that not an ounce of food should reach the garrison, and proceeded to the repair of his old batteries and the erection of new; so Macleod, full of wrath, sailed for Tellicherry to collect the means of rescue.

Two fleets, one from the south and another from the north, were, on the 22nd of November, seen standing into the roads. Relief was now at hand. "The signal was made that the troops would land to the southward," wrote Colonel Campbell; "they were discovered in the boats; any moment promised a speedy attack. Confidence and joy appeared in every countenance; even the poor, weak, emaciated convalescent, tottering under the weight of his firelock, boldly stood forth to offer what feeble aid his melancholy state admitted of." But again the cunning of Tippoo prevailed; he entangled Macleod in a correspondence; and the latter, after arranging that the garrison should have a month's food, sailed again on the 2nd of December, without seeing it sent in. Scurvy now began to afflict both officers and soldiers, who, on the 20th December, were put on the shortest allowance compatible with life.

"We now," says Colonel Fullarton, "arrive at the most interesting moment of the war. The garrison of Mangalore, under its inestimable commander, Colonel Campbell, had made a defence that has seldom been equalled and never surpassed. With a handful of men, worn out by famine, he

* Colonel Wilks.

resisted for many months a formidable force under Tippoo Sultan. The whole power of this prince, assisted by the science of the French auxiliaries, could not force a breach that had long been laid open, and he repulsed every attempt to take it by storm." *

A small quantity of food was sent in by General Macleod, but the scurvy continued to increase; two-thirds of the Highlanders were in hospital, and most of the sepoys were blind. Eventually, on the 26th of January, 1784, Colonel Campbell, seeing the utter hopelessness of further resistance, capitulated on honourable terms, and with all that remained there of the noble Black Watch and their sepoy comrades, sailed for Tellicherry, on the coast of Malabar.

"The only explanation that has ever been given of the shameful desertion of this brave garrison is," says Beveridge, "that the preliminary articles of peace stipulated a term of four months to be allowed to the native belligerent powers of India to decide; and that the hostilities necessary to give succour to Mangalore might have been, or seemed to be, an infringement of these articles. There could not be a lamer excuse. The preliminary articles never could have meant, that during the four months indulged to one belligerent for the purpose of making up his mind, he was to be at liberty to make war, while his European antagonist was not to be at liberty to resist him, or that, after concluding an armistice, the native power might violate its obligations, while the European power should be bound to observe them." But the capture of Mangalore cost Tippoo dear, as it so long locked up the entire resources of his army, prevented the collection of his revenue, and permitted the invasion of his richest provinces.

Colonel Colin Campbell (called John in some works) was the eldest of the seven sons of Lord Stonefield, by Lady Grace Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute. He had served in the old 74th, or Argyleshire Highlanders, and been a prisoner of war in America. He died on the 23rd of March, 1784, at Bombay, where a handsome monument was erected by the Company to his memory, and the memory of Captains Stewart, Dalyell, and all who fell at Mangalore, which was the last service in which the 2nd Battalion of the Black Watch was engaged under that name, as it was constituted the 73rd Regiment of Highlanders.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF COLONEL FULLARTON.

THE new Sultan of Mysore, deserted by France, was not without some alarm at the prospect of being left single-handed to contend with Britain, which now he hated all the more bitterly, that he had nearly ruined himself by the time wasted in attempting to take the half-ruined fort of Mangalore; yet the tone he adopted, when invited to be a party to the general pacific arrangements, was high, and his vakeels intimating that everything we had taken from him or his father should be restored, spoke plainly enough, though little was said about restitution on his part. Lord Macartney sent three commissioners to accompany his vakeels to Seringapatam to negotiate there, even while Tippoo had been beleaguering Campbell in Mangalore.

Colonel William Fullarton, of Fullarton, M.P., an excellent officer, whose work we have recently quoted, had arrived from Europe with some reinforcements at the end of the preceding year, and was about to aid Stewart in that intended attack, which the news of peace arrested; but prior to that his career had been a brilliant one.

On the 2nd of June, after making a rapid progress in the country beyond Tanjore, he had taken the important fortress of Darapooram, in the province of Coimbatore, thus opening one of the roads to Tippoo's capital of Seringapatam, and distant from it only 140 miles.

"This valuable place affords ample supplies for men and cattle," says the colonel, in his account of the campaigns, 1782–84; "is capable of considerable defence, and is far advanced in the enemy's country, being equally distant from the two coasts. Although the position of an army there would always be of eminent advantage, it was more particularly so when we reduced it, because Tippoo Sultan had recovered Bednore, captured General Mathews, and invested Mangalore. The southern army (Fullarton's own column) was not sufficient

* "View of English Interests in India."

in strength to justify a march on Seringapatam, and was so far from being able to oppose the whole power of Tippoo, that we could not afford to garrison even Darapooram, and were obliged to destroy the fortifications. Yet we might assuredly have reduced the rich tract that lies below the mountains of Mysore, which would have compelled Tippoo to raise the siege of Mangalore, and march his main body against us; or if Tippoo had persisted against Mangalore, we should have amply subsisted the army, have reduced a valuable territory, and prepared for more important conquests. But General Stewart's orders to march towards him at Cuddalore obliged me to relinquish these advantages."

In Dindigul, a formidable fortress we have already described, and which he had stormed with remarkable bravery, Fullarton left a garrison to keep his communications open, and facilitate a retreat to the heart of Mysore; and Colonel Forbes, whom he had left in his rear in the south, perfected all his arrangements with great ability, and established friendly relations on every hand; and now, to enable Fullarton to resume the prosperous campaign which Stewart's orders had interrupted, Lord Macartney, when our troops were withdrawn from Cuddalore, reinforced him with 1,000 Europeans, and four regiments of sepoys.

Advancing into Tinnevelly, an extensive district comprising 5,800 square miles, still displaying vast tracts of forest, waste, and jungle, the population of which are Hindoos of the most primitive kind, and whose chiefs are called Polygars, he reduced them to quiet and tribute, after destroying one of their chief fastnesses, a great forest. These Polygars, taking advantage of the war with Tippoo, had broken into rebellion against us, and been ranging the country from Madura to Cape Comorin. After subduing them, and also the hill Colleries, who had been committing the most dreadful excesses, Colonel Fullarton, at the head of 16,000 troops, and many more thousands of camp-followers, came marching by the stupendous rock of Dindigul, and by Darapooram, but without other supplies than such as he could extort from the natives. Money he had none; but he had in plenty, cannon and munition of war, collected from the captured places, while the Rajah of Travancore, who had befriended Colonel Humberstone, undertook to supply provisions, in case of his marching into the possessions of Tippoo on the southern coast.

With the Zamorin of Calicut (the lineal representative of that ancient Hindoo sovereign who received Vasco de Gama), and with several other rajahs who had been dispossessed by the conquering Hyder in times past, and who by him had been most barbarously treated, a successful correspondence was now opened up. Eager for repossession and sanguinary revenge, these petty potentates agreed to contribute all the aid they could to overthrow the second tyrant of Mysore. But the prudent Fullarton took other means to ensure their goodwill and adhesion, by surrendering some petty duties which his predecessors had been in the habit of levying upon all articles sold to the troops in camp or cantonments; by checking all pillaging with a strong hand; by paying all respect to the superstitions or deep-rooted religious prejudices of the castes and races among whom he found himself. He also made a great alteration in the mode of marching his troops by sections. The old way had been the "Indian file," following each other in succession (vulgarly called by the soldiers "goose-file"), by which means a large army was often miles apart from van to rear, and this led to many disasters. He established an intelligence department, and so complete and effective was it, that he was kept constantly informed of the strength and whereabouts of the enemy, and also where grain was to be found anywhere within 200 miles of his front or flanks. "Several hundred people, cunning natives, who have a natural genius for the occupation of scouts and spies, and who after inspection can model you a fortress in clay, and show to a nicety its weak points, were constantly employed on these services, and confidential intelligences were thus established at every considerable town in Mysore, in the durbars of the rajahs and the very camp of Tippoo."

Colonel Fullarton, in the midst of his triumphant career, halted near Darapooram, to await intelligence of the commissioners, whom he knew Lord Macartney had sent to Tippoo; but on the 16th of October, when, by an official letter from Tellicherry he was informed that Tippoo was playing "fast and loose" with General Macleod, and, despite the armistice, had commenced active measures against Campbell's famished band in Mangalore, his mind became inspired with soldierly indignation, and he resolved to resent the state of affairs sharply.

He had conceived two plans of operation. 1. To march right across the peninsula of Hindostan, through a hostile country 500 miles in extent, to Campbell's assistance. 2. To make a dash at Seringapatam, and hurl the dynasty of Hyder from the musnud, or compel Tippoo to abandon Mangalore in order to save his capital.

Upon the latter and boldest movement he resolved, though not by the regular route, which offered no secure retreat in case of disaster, but by another, which was more circuitous, and possessed

several military advantages. Palicaud, or Palaghautcherry, sixty-eight miles south-east of Calicut, and near the coast, had been completely rebuilt by Hyder. It possessed all the approved features of European fortification; it was deemed one of the strongest places in India, and commanded a pass amid mountains covered by thick forests of teak-wood. No passage lay through these, and the plains and deep rice-grounds—cut and intersected in every direction by the Paniany river—especially during the rainy season, might be defended, by a few companies of resolute infantry, against all the cavalry of Mysore.

Fullarton saw that by the possession of this fort he commanded the avenues to Malabar and Coromandel, to Calicut, Cochin, and Travancore, and the hoisting of our colours on its ramparts would give fresh confidence to the Zamorin, and all who were anxious to effect the downfall of Tippoo. The colonel also saw that it would leave him free to veil his movements and to advance against Seringapatam either by the way of Coimbatore and the Gujelhetty Pass, or by Calicut and through that of Dumalcherry.

Fullarton, for all these weighty reasons, resolved that Palaghautcherry should be his, and on the 18th of October, 1783, he began his march against it, at the head of 13,636 men, confidently believing that he should halt finally under the walls of Seringapatam. Storming several petty forts in his way, he marched through a rich country abounding in all supplies, till he reached a district where the streams run east and west to the seas of Malabar and Coromandel. From thence he had to cut his way through a dense forest, twenty miles in length, filling up nullahs, cuts, and watercourses as he went, for the transmission of his cannon and cattle. Trees were cut down, roads actually made, and fourteen days of indescribable toil were spent by the army in their passage through this forest alone.

To add to the sufferings and misery of the troops, the rain began to fall in such torrents as are alone known in India, and never ceased till they were clear of it.

In the leafy waste amid which the torrents poured, no tents could be pitched; the nullahs became gorged with water, the oxen lost their footing, and the soldiers had to take the drag-ropes to get the guns and baggage on. After toils that no pen could describe, the indefatigable Fullarton found himself before the great fortress of Palaghautcherry, and after the battering train was in position against it, on the 15th of November, the garrison surrendered, timidly delivering up a place capable of the most protracted resistance.

Fullarton found in it 50,000 pagodas in money, together with a great supply of grain, cannon, and all the munition of war; and the son of the old Zamorin of Calicut, who rode on the colonel's staff during the siege, now begged to have restored to him the dominion of which Hyder had divested his father; but the colonel averred the restoration would be more completely effected if he moved on Calicut, yet as a pledge of his good faith he gave him the territory of Palaghaut, which had been an ancient appanage of his family.

During these varied operations, Fullarton maintained a constant communication with General Macleod, who had been liberated by the Mahratta pirates after a short captivity at Gheriah; and he also contrived to do so with Campbell at Mangalore, to whom he intimated his intention of approaching their coast, and his anxious desire for a combined movement of all their commands upon Seringapatam, and thus, perhaps, to end the war by one vigorous stroke.

For some reason not known now, the British residency at Tellicherry either could not, or would not, furnish the artillery and stores requisite for such an expedition; and Sir Edward Hughes, who was there with his fleet, was unwilling to detach a vessel with them to the river Paniany. On the other hand, General Macleod urged that, though he fully concurred in the views of Fullarton, being without bullocks, and other equipage, he could not get his troops on the line of march in less than two months. The enterprising colonel was forced, therefore, to relinquish the idea of marching by the sea-coast to Calicut, and took the route that led to Coimbatore by the Pass of Gujelhetty, which is commanded by a fort on the left bank of the Mayar.

In his march he was harassed by the cavalry and rocket-men of Tippoo, till the 26th November, when he broke ground before Coimbatore (or Kogmatura), a fort and town on high ground on the declivity of the Eastern Ghauts. Near it is the granite temple of Iswara, covered with a profusion of Hindoo carving, which was plundered of all its gold and jewels by Tippoo. In the fort, which surrendered to him before his batteries opened, he found great stores of grain and ammunition. Encouraged by the presence of Fullarton's force, every rajah now rose in arms, or promised to do so, for by the acquisition of Coimbatore he won great prestige, as it was a place sacred to the Hindoos, who loathed Tippoo for his desecration of their temples; and there the ancient gods of India had never been disturbed till the death of Hyder. So, between the Eastern Ghauts and the sea the whole

population were ready for revolt, and in the country beyond these Ghauts—the heart of Mysore. Nothing could surpass the brilliance of this campaign and its future prospects, especially when Macleod got in motion.

"A recent conspiracy," relates the colonel, "had occurred in Seringapatam, menacing the releasement of the English prisoners, the exclusion of Tippoo's family, and the re-establishment of the ancient Rana, or Gentoo sovereign of Mysore. In addition to this enumeration of advantages, we had every reason to rely on the Gentoo, or Canara, race, forming the great mass of the inhabitants in Mysore, who had unequivocal proofs of my earnest zeal to support their interests; while every circumstance of present situation or of future prospect seemed to mark this interesting moment as the crisis of the war." *

The Rajah of Coorg, whose territories are mountainous, covered with forest and jungle, and whose people are a bold and active race, was actively asserting his independence, and invited the Bombay division to pass through Coorg. Thus General Macleod, who was strong in Europeans, native troops, and artillery, moving steadily onward, kept up the flames of war and revolt wherever he went; and now another enemy threatened Mysore in the person of General Jones, who was advancing through Cuddapah, a district usually governed by a nabob under the court of Delhi, but then forming a portion of the inland possessions of Tippoo, whose power seemed now on the point of crumbling away, for the army under Fullarton alone was the strongest belonging to Europeans that had ever been employed in India.

"The countries we had reduced," says the colonel, "extended 200 miles in length, afforded provisions for 100,000 men, and yielded an annual revenue of £600,000, while every necessary arrangement had been made for the regular collection of these resources. The fort and pass of Palaghautcherry secured our western flank, and the intermediate position of General Macleod's army between Palaghautcherry and Tippoo's main army at Mangalore, together with the singular combination of ravines, rivers, and embankments that intersect the Malabar countries, and the mountains that divide them from Mysore (the passes through which were occupied by our friends, the discontented rajahs), rendered it almost impracticable for Tippoo to move in that direction against our new acquisitions."

The Rajah of Coorg, whose frontier lay only thirty miles distant from Seringapatam, promised abundant supplies, and the young Zamorin of Calicut faithfully kept all his engagements. He also promised that all the western Hindoo chiefs should not only provide for our troops during the projected siege of Seringapatam, but that ample magazines would be formed on the mountains, and that we should be reinforced by at least 30,000 Nairs of Malabar, fired by hatred and the deep longing for a revenge for the cruelties perpetrated upon them by the Mohammedan conquerors.

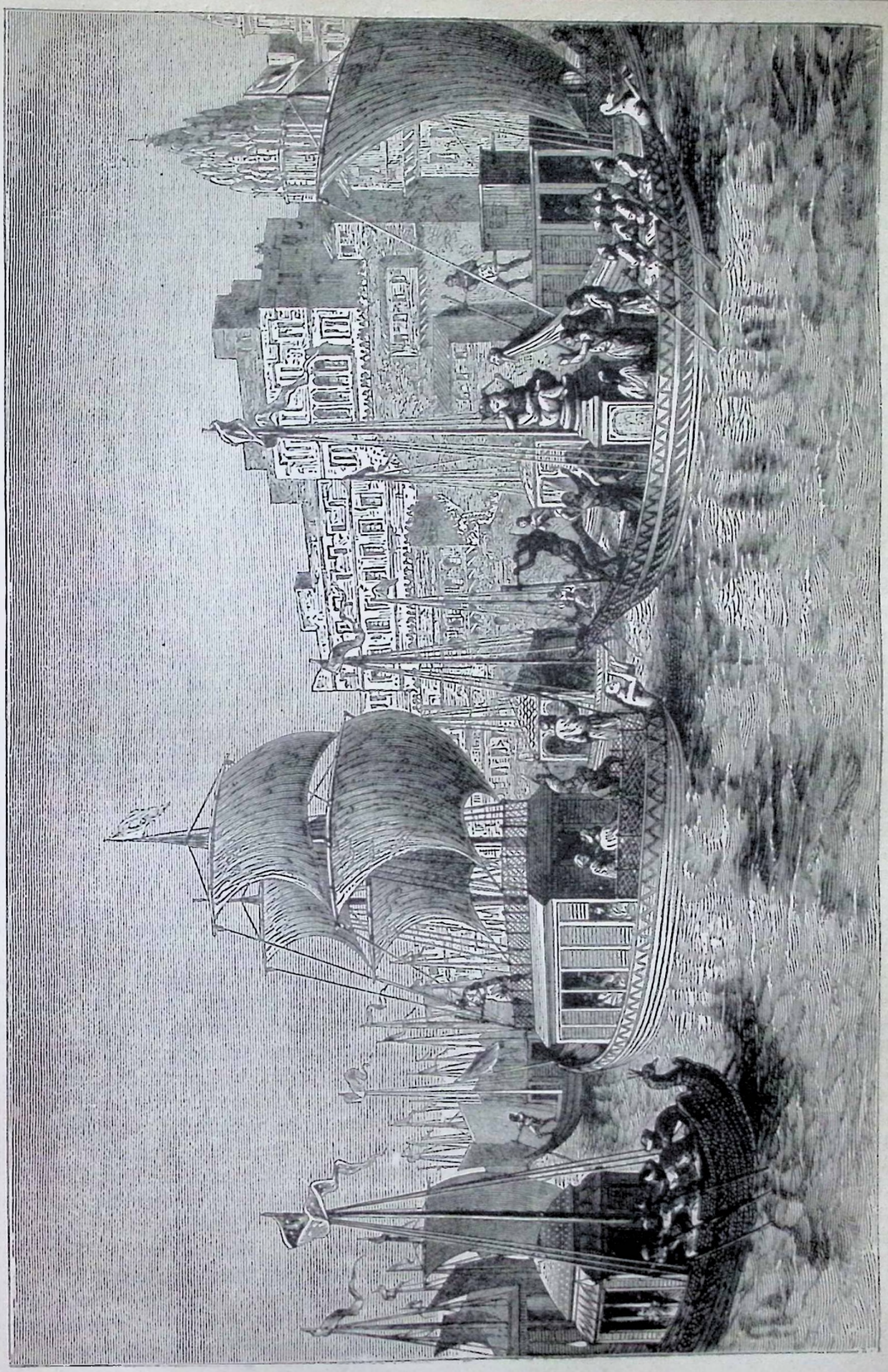
The gallant Fullarton, now full of enthusiasm at the prospect of the grand event, had provided his army with ten days' food, repaired his carriages, and was ready to advance, when, on the 28th of November, he received a startling letter from Messrs. Staunton and Sadlier, the British commissioners, who were treating for peace at Tippoo's durbar in the Mysorean camp at Arnee, and who, from the pusillanimous Council at Madras, had full power over the army, commanding him not only to suspend all operations, but to abandon his conquests, and retire within the limits originally occupied by the British on the 26th of July.

When this remarkable document reached him, he was in full possession of information that Tippoo had violated the armistice of Mangalore, and was still intent on the destruction of Campbell's garrison; and thus he knew that the commissioners must have issued their order under a complete misapprehension. He resolved, therefore, to take a middle course, as he did not feel himself at liberty either to violate or obey it.

Thus, instead of advancing on Seringapatam, he halted at Coimbatore, and sent an officer to Madras, explaining his situation, and the continued investment of Mangalore; but, in the meanwhile, he employed every hour in the perfecting of his equipments, in amassing supplies in Dindigul, in procuring money from Tinnevelly, and getting arrack from Paniany. "No soldier," says a writer, "could abandon such a scheme as he had formed, at the very moment when the prospect of success was brightest, without a bitter pang. Ten days of march, with little or no fighting—for there was no Mysorean army in the neighbourhood, except a few irregular cavalry — would have brought Fullarton under the walls of Seringapatam; at that time, ten days more would have sufficed for the reduction of that capital. The events of twenty-five years might have been anticipated; an inestimable amount of money and of blood might have been saved; the power of the British in the whole of the south of India might have been established; and a quarter of a century might have been won to the cause of order and tranquillity." †

* "View of the English Interests in India," &c.

† Knight.



RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL AT BENARES.

The Council at Madras, with their finances ruined, their credit broken, "and the Supreme Council not only withholding confidence, but supposed to be meditating suspension," for the desperate state of the Company's finances had fully occupied Parliament in May of the same year, when Sir Henry Fletcher brought forward his bill "for suspending the payments of the Company now due to the Royal Exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the sum of £300,000 for their further relief" *—the Madras Government, we say, did not think it worth while to continue the war for the sake of a few Highlanders beleaguered in Mangalore, and on the 8th of December, 1783, they ordered Fullarton to make unqualified restitution of everything, and to fall back; and thus, to the terror of the poor Zamorin, and all the Hindoo chiefs who had committed themselves, at our instigation, with Tippoo, the Army of the South began its retrograde movement; but on the 26th of January, 1784, when Fullarton had quite reached his old boundaries, and got his weary troops into cantonments, he received another despatch from Madras, ordering him "not only to retain possession of Palaghaut, should that fort not have been delivered, but likewise to hold fast every inch of ground of which he was in possession," till he should receive further accounts of the result of the negotiations with Tippoo.

By this time the garrison of Palaghaut (or Palaghautcherry), which had been left in possession of the young Zamorin, had been attacked and driven out by the troops of the infuriated Tippoo, who sacrificed a number of venerable Brahmins, and placed their heads on poles; thus the place could only be regained by another siege, at a time when Tippoo was openly insulting alike the commissioners and the wavering Council of Madras.

While Fullarton, full of anger and bitterness, was collecting troops for this purpose, and was receiving reinforcements and heavy guns from Fort St. George and Tanjore, he received another letter from the commissioners, dated some days after Mangalore had fallen, which detailed the steady enmity of Tippoo, thus convincing him that a continuance of the war was unavoidable, an opinion in which he was confirmed by a letter from General Macleod, an officer who, in his hatred of Tippoo, had, in the old Highland fashion, challenged the sultan to mortal combat with a hundred of their bravest men on each side. Fullarton again began his march, not without hopes that it might eventually end at Seringapatam.

Fullarton had not proceeded far, when he received intelligence that the preliminaries of a treaty of peace had actually been exchanged between Tippoo Sahib and the commissioners, and accordingly it was fully signed on the 7th of March, 1784.

With the first intelligence came orders to restore to Tippoo the fortresses and territories of Darapooram and Carroor, but to retain Dindigul with a strong garrison, until all the British prisoners in Seringapatam should be released from their loathsome and dreadful captivity.

At this crisis, every European in India knew the bloodshed, the devastation, and revenge that awaited the miserable Hindoos of Mysore, Coorg, and Canara; but peace had become a necessity, owing to the impoverished state of the Company's territories; and the negotiations for it were justified and enforced, by the tenor of instructions from the Ministry, from Leadenhall Street, and by the situation of political affairs in Europe.

With all that, even at this date, it is impossible not to regret that Colonel Fullarton's brilliant plan for capturing Seringapatam had not been carried out to the full. The tyrant would then have been crushed in his own blood-stained stronghold; uncounted murders would have been avenged, and others uncounted have been prevented. The reduction of Mysore would have enriched the Company, and the retention of the lands which Fullarton had conquered would, by their revenues, have paid the expenses of the next and inevitable campaign; for Tippoo, the scourge of his dusky race, when again made a tool of by France, was fated once more, and for the last time, to wage a destructive war with us in the years to come.

By the treaty of peace, both parties were to make a full restitution of all they had taken in war. But Tippoo could not restore our hapless officers and soldiers, the helpless prisoners who had died in fetters and torture in the damp dungeons of Seringapatam, who had been carried to Cabal Droog and poisoned, or taken into the woods and hacked to pieces. Of the wretched survivors, he surrendered 180 British officers, and 900 soldiers, with 1,600 sepoys; and the tales these men had to tell of all they had been compelled to endure, made the blood of the listeners boil, and excited such horror and indignation, that our soldiers alone, in the temper they were then in, rendered the duration of peace a great problem.

The following extract affords a sample of Tippoo's character. Four years after these events he paid a visit to Calicut, where the country people were dwelling in peace. "He compelled them to quit their habitations, and reside in villages of forty

* T. A. Lloyd.

houses each; he issued proclamations, stating that they were a turbulent and rebellious people, that their women went shamelessly abroad with their faces uncovered, and committed other obscene offences; and finally, that if they did not forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of his subjects, he would march them all off to Mysore and make Mussulmans of them, whether they would or not. The very next year he returned to the country with his whole army, destroying pagodas and idols, and threatening to exterminate 'the infidels of Malabar.' Having surprised about 2,000 Nairs with their families, he gave them the alternative of a voluntary, or a forcible conversion to his faith, with immediate deportation from their native land. The poor prisoners chose the latter; the rite of circumcision was forthwith performed on all the males, and the capricious tyrant finished the ceremony by compelling both sexes to eat beef, a monstrous act of impiety in Hindoo faith."

CHAPTER XLIX.

REBELLION AND MASSACRE AT BENARES—ROUT, FLIGHT, AND DETHRONEMENT OF CHEYTE SING.

THE wars we have narrated had greatly extended our dominion in India, and India itself had been saved to us; but the expense of those wars was now enormous. The difficulties of faction within the Supreme Council troubled Warren Hastings no more, but the financial embarrassments of the Company were great in the extreme, at home and abroad. The means had to be found by Hastings alike for the maintenance of the government in Bengal, and of making remittances to the shareholders in Leadenhall Street. No more could be done with the Mogul or the now enslaved Rohillas; yet Hastings found that, imperatively, money must be got wherever it could be decently obtained; so he now turned his eyes on Benares, the holy city of the Hindoos—the very soil of which is sacred to them, as that of Mecca is to the Mohammedans. To die there, is for a follower of Menou to conquer the pang of death; and thither are brought the urns of those who have breathed their last at vast distances from the waters of "Holy Mother Ganga." At Benares, "it was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines and minarets, balconies, and carved cornices, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants, and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps which descended from these swarming haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges, were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came hither every month to die: for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise."

Many of the neighbouring princes owed their political existence solely to the arms of Britain, and were known to possess treasure to a great amount; and if they would not contribute voluntarily, it was resolved to put a judicious pressure upon them, and the first to whom this was to be applied was Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of wealthy Benares, who held his musnud entirely through Hastings. The three opponents of the latter had transferred Cheyte's dominions to the Nabob of Oude; but Hastings had secured him in possession, on condition of his paying a fixed tribute to the Company.

This tribute, though Cheyte's life and throne must have perished had our enemies succeeded in the late war, he paid most grudgingly, and more than once pleaded poverty, particularly in 1779, to evade it entirely, though Macaulay asserts that it was paid "with strict punctuality." About £60,000 only had been obtained from him. In 1780, a demand was made upon him, not for money, but for troops—as many cavalry as could be spared from his service. This vague demand our resident at Benares fixed at 2,000 men; but on the rajah asserting that he had but 1,300 troopers, who were

necessary for the collection of his revenue, the demand was limited to 1,000. To comply with this request, Cheyte Sing collected the men from among the *budmashes* and other street vagabonds, 500 of whom he mounted on horses, and 500 more of whom he armed with old matchlocks, and sent Hastings word that they awaited his orders. At this time, so critical to himself, the traitor prince and false friend was discovered to be maintaining an insidious and dangerous correspondence with those who were then in arms against us, and an air of insolence and independence was observed in all he did and said. No answer was returned in the matter of the 1,000 men, for coercion had been resolved on, and the Governor-General said, "I am resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." *

On the 14th of August, 1781, Hastings arrived at Benares, and so little did he apprehend danger, that Mrs. Hastings accompanied him as far as Monghir, and he took with him only his usual body-guard and staff. The cunning Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar "to meet the Governor-General, and lay his turban upon his lap in token of entire submission," and they entered the holy city together; and then Cheyte, who in the narrative of this affair is styled "Rajah Cheit Sing, Zemindar or Renter of the Circars of Benares, Gauzipore, and Chunar," was taken to task, but replied evasively and insolently. Hastings then gave our resident, Mr. Markham (son of the Rev. Dr. William Markham, Archbishop of York, and formerly Bishop of Chester), orders to arrest him early on the following morning. Accordingly, that very evening, Cheyte found himself a prisoner in his own stately palace under two grenadier companies of Major Popham's native regiment, under Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Symes. The disgust of the rajah at this sudden proceeding was lost in his amazement at its boldness. Benares was fully 420 miles distant from Calcutta, and contained, as we have said, a population of about half a million. To these might be added all that were casual and migratory—pilgrims and holy mendicants—well-nigh insane with fanaticism, and many of them ferocious desperadoes, all provided with arms. Among all these, and the people generally, Cheyte was popular. Tidings of his arrest spread through the great city like wildfire, and a universal rush was made to the palace, led by fakirs and fanatics of all kinds.

This took place, not in the city, but at the present palace of its now nominal rajah, Ramnuggur, four miles distant on the opposite bank of the Ganges. Rumour went, that the two grenadier companies had come on their perilous duty without ammunition in their pouches, so a third was dispatched with it to support them. The sepoys who guarded the rajah were under arms in an enclosed square, which surrounded the apartment in which Cheyte was confined. When the third company approached, they found every avenue blocked up by yelling hordes of armed men, excited with rage, religious rancour, and too probably maddened by *bhang*. The fierce multitudes soon became inflamed to a dangerous pitch. A fire of all kinds, of pistols and matchlocks, opened on the sepoys within the square, who, having no ammunition, could make but a feeble resistance to the human surge that rolled in upon them armed with weapons of many sorts, and every man of the detachment was cut to pieces. "The officers were, it is supposed, the first victims; but they did not fall till they had made astonishing efforts of bravery, and involved a much superior number of assailants in their fate. Eighty-two men fell in this massacre, and ninety-two were wounded." †

During the *mêlée*, Cheyte effected his escape through a wicket, tied several turbans together, lowered himself down into a boat, and reached the other side of the river, followed by the rabble. The third company of sepoys, under Lieutenant Birrel, now came on, took possession of the palace, and with the bayonet ferreted out all the people of the rajah, but not without casualties—making a total loss of 205 killed and wounded. Had Cheyte's rescuers, instead of flying after him, suddenly fallen upon Warren Hastings, he says, "my blood and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party would have been added to the recent carnage." On learning that Ramnuggur was deserted, Hastings did not deem its occupation prudent, as originally his whole force at hand consisted of only six companies of Popham's regiment from Buxar, and three of these had suffered as related.

Cheyte Sing, now that the first fury of the populace had evaporated, and though his early flight showed his fear of Hastings, knew that the situation of the latter and his handful of Britons in Benares was most critical. They were surrounded on all sides, and were without money or provisions for a single day. Thus Cheyte on one hand sent humble apologies for the slaughter committed, while on the other he began to arm all the men he could muster; and on the 18th of August, having recovered from his consternation, he sent 2,000 men, under one of

* Hastings' "Narrative."

† "Narrative" (London, 1783).

his captains, to re-occupy Ramnuggur. The courage and decision of Hastings never deserted him for a moment. He disdained sending any replies to the apologies. He ordered Major Popham's detachment to march against Ramnuggur, and halt within a mile of it, for further orders. It consisted of four companies of sepoys (including Birrel's), one of artillery, and one of the French Rangers, under Captain Mayaffre. Colonel Blair's battalion of sepoys from Chunar was ordered to the same place, and when it came up the attack was to be made.

Meantime, Hastings took measures to obtain succour from down country. "In order," says Macfarlane, "that his fleet messengers might get through the blockading rabble without losing their despatches, he wrote in the smallest hand, on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into quills. When Indians travel they are accustomed to lay aside their enormous gold earrings, and put quills into the orifices of the ears to prevent their closing up; thus no notice would be taken of the pieces of quills containing the Governor-General's earnest calls for immediate succour: for, so little had this storm been apprehended, that Mrs. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, and Lady Impey, were travelling up the country to join the Governor-General at Benares. . . . Upon receiving his quill, Impey made every exertion to send sepoys and friends to the rescue."

Ere they came, a rashness was committed at the palace of Ramnuggur. It is, says the "Narrative," "a vast pile of irregular massy buildings, constructed of stone, on the river-side. To its original strength, Cheyte Sing had added some bastions of stone and earth. The town round it was large, which rendered the approach to it suspicious; and the intricacy of the passages and apartments of the palace was such, that a cautious officer would hesitate, under almost any encouragement, to enter it." Though no orders had been issued to attack the place, Captain Mayaffre, anxious to distinguish himself, marched too close to it by some narrow and tortuous lanes, where, on the 20th of August, his party were attacked, defeated, and nearly annihilated. Captain Doxat and twenty-three Rangers were killed, and ten wounded. The battalion of the 6th Sepoys now came on, but was driven back with the loss of ninety-eight killed and wounded. Captain Blair covered the retreat with great bravery, and orders were sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair to push on the rest of the regiment from Chunar.

The result of this repulse was, that Hastings had to quit Benares with all his followers, as the fanatical multitude had gathered fresh courage; and before daybreak, he had reached the strong fortress of Chunar, which occupies the summit and sides of a rock, thirteen miles from the holy city. It is surrounded by precipices on all sides, and the face, towards the Ganges, abuts boldly into the stream. On the very apex of the rock is a ruined Hindoo temple, and a slab overshadowed by a pepul-tree, on which the natives believe "the Almighty is seated personally, though invisibly, for nine hours every day, removing during the other three to Benares."*

The flight of Hastings gave great courage to the revolters; and we are told that hideous fakirs, smeared with ashes and ghee, spread the tidings everywhere. In the temples the bearded Brahmins harangued, the holy monkeys swung by their tails in the gilded pagodas, with grimaces prophetic of the downfall of the Unbeliever. The whole country rose in arms, and from Oude and Behar people came flocking, with vows to protect the rajah and his holy city. They spoke with confidence of driving the Feringhees out of that part of Hindostan at least, and soon an immense native force assembled between the rock of Chunar and Benares.

In an address he issued to neighbouring rajahs, he wrote, and with much show of truth, as comparing the state of the Company's territories with his own:—

"My fields are cultivated, my villages full of inhabitants, my country is a garden, and my subjects are happy. My capital is the resort of the principal merchants of India, from the security I have given to property. The treasures from the Mahrattas, the Jauts, the Sikhs, and the most distant parts of India, are deposited here. The widows and orphans convey here their property, and reside without fear of rapacity or avarice. The traveller from one end of my country to the other, lays down his burden and sleeps in security; but look at the provinces of the Company. There famine and misery stalk hand in hand through uncultivated fields and deserted villages. There you meet with nothing but aged men, who are unable to transport themselves away, or robbers watching to waylay the helpless. . . . Not contented with my treasures, they have thirsted after my honour also. They have demanded a sum of me which it is out of my power to pay. They want the plunder of my country; they demand my fort, the deposit of my honour and my family, whom they would turn helpless into the world. Arm yourselves, my friends; let us join to repel these rapacious strangers. It is the cause of all. When your honour

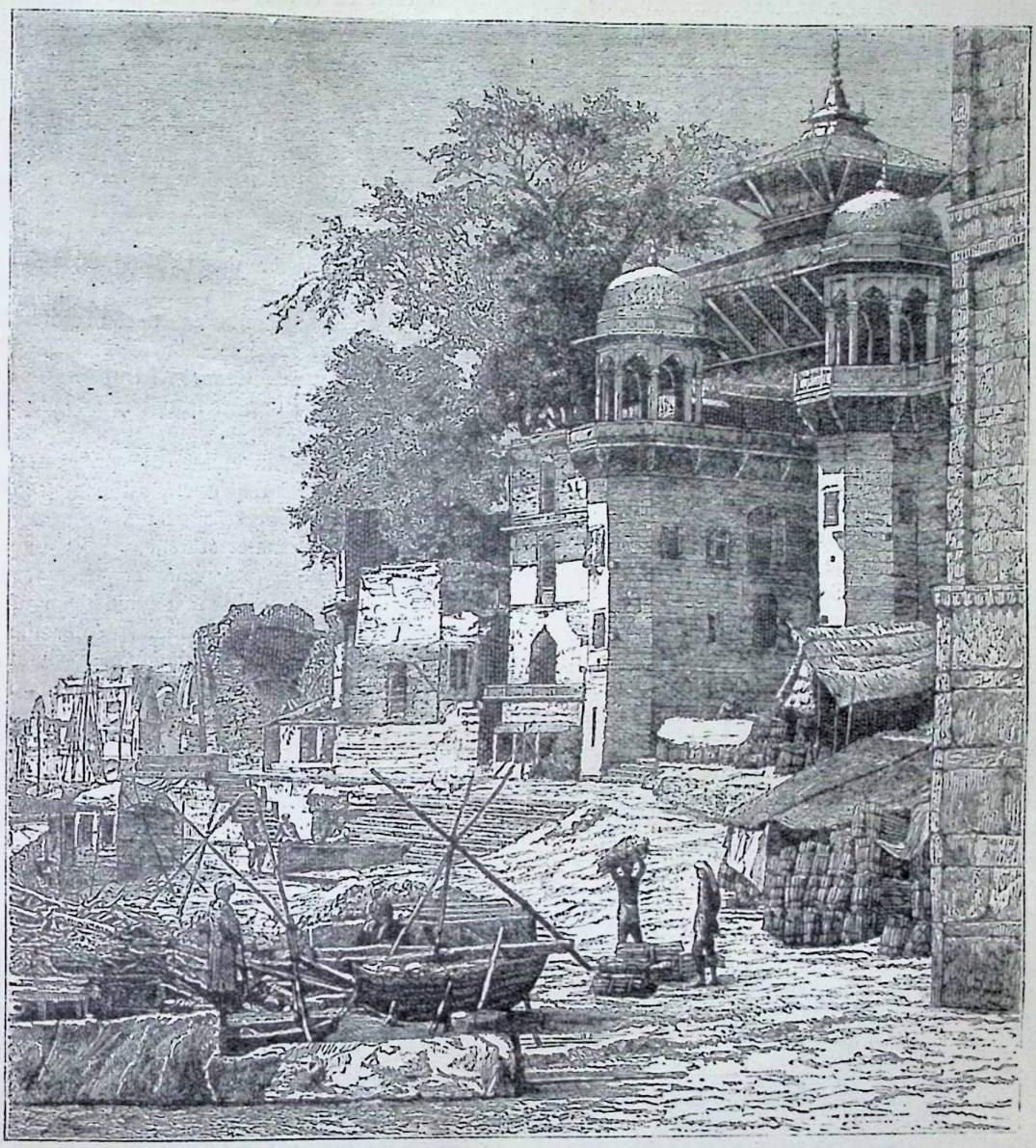
* Heber.



RESCUE OF CHEYTE SING: ATTACK ON THE SEPOYS.

is lost, of what value is life? Come, my friends, and join me! These plunderers have not yet so reduced me but I have support and provision for your troops."

had never been shown on any other occasion;" and, ere long, Hastings was at the head of a force that rendered resistance hopeless on the part of Cheyte, 30,000 of whose followers deserted him in



NEPAULESE PAGODA AT BENARES.

But the event proved that though Cheyte Sing could bluster and negotiate, he was no hero; and his courage fell as he heard of the rapid mustering of British troops, and how even the privates—who regarded Hastings with enthusiastic attachment, for had he not himself shouldered a musket?—"flew to his aid with an alacrity which, he boasted,

one day. By the 16th of September there were ready to cross the river two European companies under Captains Grant and Harrison; the European artillery under Captain Hill; the 7th, 19th, 30th, 35th, and 1st Battalions of the 6th Sepoys, respectively under Majors Crabb, Balfour, Roberts, Popham, and Captain Blair, with six

companies of the nabob's guards under Lieutenant Polhill.

Cheyte, after the river was crossed, fled at the first sound of our cannon, and in a few hours nothing could be seen of the great hordes he had mustered, and all his forts were taken with singular rapidity. He fled to Bidjeerghur, the chief fortress of the princes of Benares, fifty miles distant from that city, and there he deposited the most of his treasures, while Major Popham came on in hot pursuit. Poor Sing (*i.e.*, "lion"—but lion in name only) had not the courage to await his approach, but fled in the night to find an exile, from which he never returned, among the fastnesses of Bundelcund. In his haste he left behind him his wife, his mother, and all the women of his seraglio, who became the prisoners of Popham when, on the 10th November, he captured the castle, which was surrendered when about to be mined and stormed.

Hastings stated that the rajah carried off with him an immense sum in money, besides jewels; but £250,000 sterling in rupees were found in the old castle, and were appropriated by the troops, who, as usual, had been months in arrears of pay.

The following is the official despatch announcing to General Stibbert, Commander-in-chief in Bengal, the fall of the castle of Bidjeerghur:—

"Nov. 11th, 1781.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you of the surrender of this place, which was taken possession of last night by the European and native grenadiers, and light infantry, under Major Crawford.

"The Rhanny is allowed to reside in this province, or to follow her son, as she may choose; and if the last, will be escorted to our frontiers by a proper safeguard. She is allowed to have fifteen per cent. on the effects in the fort.

"The behaviour of the officers and troops has been such, upon the whole of the service, since the breaking out of the war, that I hope it will, in some measure, be rewarded by the prizes from the effects within the fort. Had not the besieged surrendered, a mine would have been sprung immediately on their refusal, which would probably have given a practicable breach for the storm. I have the honour, &c., "W. POPHAM."

In the distribution of prize-money, Popham's share was £36,750 0 0
Each major 5,619 0 0
„ captain 3,970 15 0
„ subaltern 1,404 17 6

The soldiers shared in proportion, and of this distribution Hastings wrote thus to Major Scott:—

"Judge of my astonishment when I tell you that the distribution of the plunder was begun before I knew the place was in possession, and finished before I knew that it was begun." Refunding was found impossible; the unpaid troops rightly kept what they had got.

When 300 women, including the princesses, came out of the fort, they were all subjected to a rather degrading process of search for money or jewels—by four female searchers, says one authority; by the soldiers, says another—as it was feared that the old ranee might defraud them of their "loot" if this were not done. After the capitulation, she affirmed that the money found was not Cheyte's, but her own; that made no difference to the soldiers, and perhaps less to Hastings, after recent events; and he, considering some species of puppet rajah necessary in Benares, set up in Cheyte's place his nephew, a lad of eighteen, raising at the same time a tribute of forty lacs of rupees, and taking into his own hands the entire jurisdiction of the city and country.

Even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from the boy rajah, and placed under the control of our resident at Benares.

CHAPTER L.

THE BEGUMS OF OUDE—THE GIFT TO HASTINGS.

By this—for the Company eventually—lucky revolution in Benares, though an addition of £200,000 per annum was made to the exchequer, yet ready money there was none; and to Hastings, and all concerned, it was but too evident that, unless it were procured somehow or somewhere, the French, ever ready to take advantage of our necessities, would triumph in the Carnatic, and India might be lost after all.

The Governor-General therefore thought that

the screw could not be better applied than on Asoph-ud-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude and Lord of Rohilcund, deemed then one of the most contemptible, debauched, and extravagant of Indian princes. He had been kept on his throne solely by the presence of a brigade of British troops quartered in his dominions; but as he squandered his treasure on favourites and pleasure, he soon complained of his inability to pay for this brigade, "the price of whose services had certainly been raised upon him year by year with little delicacy or justice."

Two years before this crisis, he alleged that he was without money to pay his cavalry, and that without the latter he could not collect his revenue; that he was without money for the payment of the debts of his father, or for the harem and all the children that his father had left behind him; still less had he money to pay for his own. The Governor-General admitted his alleged poverty; but urged that it was the result of his own excesses, adding that he could not defend himself for a day against the Rohillas and Mahrattas, and far less his own malcontents, were the brigade withdrawn; and he gave the luckless nabob to understand plainly that, whatever might have been the terms of the original treaty between them, the said brigade, and a considerable cavalry force, called the "Temporary Brigade," which somehow had been added thereto, should be kept in Oude so long as the Company chose; and that so long as these horse and foot remained there, he (the nabob) must find the means of paying them.

He pleaded the impossibility of doing so on one hand, while on the other it is alleged that the officers in command of these troops frequently received large sums from him in secret, by working on his nervous fears, while he indulged in every luxury peculiar to India, in a taste for the erection of costly palaces, till the cultivators of the soil and the traders, maddened by over-taxation, fled from Oude; and his arrears were so far accumulated that, at the time Hastings went to Benares, the nabob's debts to the Company, as charged in their books, amounted to a million sterling. It has been said that one of the chief objects of Warren Hastings, in making his journey up-country, was to obtain the liquidation of this heavy debt; and also, that had it never existed, a pressure of some kind would, at that time, have been put upon the nabob in some fashion: for though his exchequer might be empty of treasure, there were others in Oude who had it, and concealed it after the manner of the East.

On the adjustment of affairs at Benares, Hastings would at once have set out for Lucknow, the capital of Oude; but this was unnecessary, as Asoph-ud-Dowlah, in his eagerness or anxiety to come to an understanding with the Company, presented himself at Chunar, where, shortly after his arrival, a treaty, taking its name from that castled rock, was concluded between Hastings and the nabob. The latter urged that if his payments for the two brigades had fallen into arrear, some of the forces might be dispensed with; so it was arranged that all who were deemed superfluous should be withdrawn, as it was evident that the Company gained nothing by keeping troops in Oude, to be paid for by themselves. A single regiment was to remain, as the body-guard of the resident.

In return for these concessions, the nabob was to rob (there is no other word for it) his mother and grandmother, and give the produce of that robbery to the East India Company; and the Governor-General knew that these ladies were the possessors of hoards of hidden treasure, "vast enough to achieve the salvation of the British empire in India." These hoards were estimated at £3,000,000 sterling, partially collected by the late Sujah Dowlah, who, as "a mark of affection to his mother, and the most beloved of his wives," bequeathed them also certain jaghires, which enabled them to live in great state and splendour. As the proceedings at Benares had resulted in the production of no ready money, and had, for the time, increased the financial difficulties of the Company, Hastings, in his desperation, agreed to the spoliation of the two Begums of Oude; thus the second article of the Treaty of Chunar provided for the resumption by the Company of the jaghires. It was said that doubts were entertained as to the validity of the testamentary bequests of Sujah Dowlah; that his will had never been produced, and that he could not alienate the jaghires from the state. It was proved, moreover, that the begums had promoted insurrectionary movements in Oude, had favoured the partizans of Cheyte Sing, after the massacre in the palace of Ramnuggur, and that their retainers had attacked small parties of the British troops. From the history of Hastings' trial, and the Memoirs of his friend Impey, it appears that these last-named facts were sworn to by British officers and other Europeans at the time, though they were denied in after years, when the names of the begums resounded in Westminster Hall.

On the 19th September, 1781, the Treaty of Chunar was signed, and therein it was definitely agreed between the Governor General and the nabob, that the two old begums should be dispossessed of a portion of their great property; that

the nabob should retain their jaghires; that their hidden treasures should be seized and handed over to the Company, in partial discharge of the debt of the nabob, who undertook to execute the process by which the treasure was to be got at.

He returned to Lucknow, from whence he went to Fyzabad, the ancient capital of Oude, in which the princesses resided. This was on the 8th of January, 1782. He was accompanied by a detachment of British troops, who, after three days' parley, got possession of the town quietly. With these the nabob then proceeded to the abode of the begums —"the Beautiful Residence"—a palace delightfully situated among hills and woods, through which flow pleasant streams. The troops took possession of the palace, on which the startled and shrieking begums shut themselves up in an inner apartment. But all negotiation with them proved unavailing; so the nabob's next step was to operate on their feelings, through those of their confidential agents, two aged eunuchs, named Behar Ali Khan, and Jewar Ali Khan. They were seized, heavily ironed, and the usual processes, so common in the East for the discovery of money or any secret, were at once resorted to, "and the mind of Mr. Middleton, Englishman and English gentleman as he claimed to be, does not appear to have shrunk from their adoption." Hastings, we are glad to say, was not on the spot, when this "mode was found, of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow."

As it has always been held in the East that these unfortunate beings—who are estranged from all sympathy with their kind—are those whom princes may with safety trust, there was little doubt that they knew where the treasure was concealed, or, if they did not, that their sufferings would act upon the hearts of the begums and extract the secret. The sufferings of the old men, or perhaps their own, for they too were kept prisoners and almost starved, so far overcame the avarice of the Bhow Begum and younger widow, that before the 23rd of February, 1782, upwards of £500,000 had been paid by bond to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton. To raise the balance of what was demanded, they requested leave to go abroad, and seek the assistance of their friends; but this was absolutely refused. After the two old eunuchs had been in confinement, their health gave way, and they "implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison." This the officer in charge of them wished they should have, and stated that if they desired to escape there was not the least chance of their being able to do so—heavily ironed and guarded as they were.

But the officer, says Macaulay, "did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security, but torture; and all mitigation was refused; yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English Government, that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For this purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon witnessed can only be guessed."

They were now put in the English prison—at least, their guards there were British troops in the service of the Honourable Company; but in deference to the superior skill of the nabob's people in the modes of torture, that portion of the horrible work was left to the officials of Asoph-ud-Dowlah. That scourging was a portion of their torture there can be little doubt, as the following letter, written by the assistant-resident to the officer in command, is among the records of the House of Commons:—

"Sir,—The nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper."

Every severity proving unavailing, a suspicion arose that the work of pillage was complete, or, if it was to be continued, lenient measures might attain it. The begums and their attendants, who had often been in danger of perishing from hunger (after, Macaulay says, £1,200,000 had been wrung out of them), were set free from restraint, and the eunuchs recovered their freedom. But the kind of treatment to which they had been subjected may be learned from the delight they expressed at their deliverance, as described by the officer commanding the sepoy guard at the time of their release. "In tears of joy Behar and Jewar Ali Khan expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the Governor-General, his Excellency the Nabob-Vizier, and to you, sir, for restoring them to that inestimable blessing—liberty; for which they would ever retain the most grateful remembrance; and, at their request, I transmit you the enclosed letters. I wish you had been present at the enlargement of the prisoners; the quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."

The officer who wrote thus must have been either a very simple or a very servile man. Although the two begums and their eunuchs had but small

claim to public sympathy, from their alliance with Cheyte Sing, and other acts, the mode in which they were despoiled can by no means be justified; but, by the enemies of Warren Hastings, the whole proceedings were vividly exaggerated, for, twenty years after all the imprisonments and alleged tortures, in the year 1803, Arthur, Viscount Valentia, found at Lucknow the identical Ali Khan over whose sufferings the brilliant Burke had expended a torrent of eloquence. After all the cruelties he had undergone at the behest of the nabob, he was said to be worth half a million sterling. In his eightieth year he was still six feet in height, and stout in proportion, but then in his dotage, and the nabob still eyeing his property covetously. Bhow Begum had gone to her grave; but the mother of Asoph-ud-Dowlah was in excellent health, and in possession of abundance of riches, notwithstanding all the lamentations that had been expressed over her fate in St. Stephen's and Westminster Hall.*

But for the money obtained in Oude, India would have been perilled; and every rupee of it went to defray the wars in the Carnatic, the operations on the Bombay side, and to keep quiet the ever-restless Mahrattas. During his visit to Chunar, the nabob had offered, and Hastings accepted, a present of ten lacs (or £100,000) not in specie, for he had none, but in bills on the great Souicars, or bankers of Oude. On the part of the Governor-General, the acceptance of these bills has been declared by some to have been altogether illegal, as by the Regulating Act, the servants of the Company were expressly prohibited from taking from the princes or powers of India, "any present, gift, donation, gratuity, or reward, pecuniary or otherwise;" though no such laws existed at the time of Clive's dealings with Meer Jaffier. Hastings and his friends seem to have maintained that he accepted the gift of the nabob, in order to have something in hand to apply to the public service. Thus, a good many months after, Hastings acknowledged the transaction to the Court of Directors; but an historian says, "the intention of concealing it should not be imputed to Mr. Hastings, unless so far as evidence appears; so in this case the disclosure cannot be imputed to him as a virtue, since no prudent man would have risked the chance of discovery which the publicity of a banker's transactions implied."†

In a letter to the directors on the 20th December, 1782, Hastings begged their permission to retain the money, as he had saved but little, thus:—

"I accepted it (the gift) without hesitation, and gladly, being entirely destitute of means and credit, whether for your service or the relief of my own necessities. It was made, not in specie, but in bills. What I have received has been laid out in the public service; the rest shall be applied to the same account. The nominal sum is ten lacs, Oude currency. As soon as the whole is completed, I shall send you a faithful account of it, resigning the disposal of it to the pleasure of your honourable court. If you shall adjudge the disposal to me, I shall consider it as the most honourable appointment and reward of my labours, and I wish to owe my fortune to your bounty. I am now in my fiftieth year; I have passed thirty-one years in your service. My conscience allows me boldly to claim the merit of zeal and integrity, nor has fortune been unpropitious to their exertions. To these qualities I bound my pretensions. I shall not repine, if you shall deem otherwise of my services; nor ought your decision, however it may disappoint my hope of a retreat adequate to the consequence and elevation of the office which I now possess, to lessen my gratitude for having so long been permitted to hold it, since it has at least permitted me to lay up a provision with which I can be contented in a more humble station."

The £100,000 would not have been a bad sum to retire upon; but unfortunately Hastings asked it at a time when he was in extreme disfavour with the directors, and when the following resolution was moved in the House of Commons, on the 30th May, 1782:—

"Resolved that Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and William Hornby, Esq., President of the Council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India and enormous expenses on the Company, it is the duty of the directors to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor-General and President from their respective offices, and recall them to Great Britain."

* Valentia's "Travels," &c.

† Mill.

CHAPTER LI.

FYZOOLA KHAN—RESIGNATION OF WARREN HASTINGS, ETC.

In the conferences at Chunar between Hastings and the nabob, the affairs of the last of the great Rohilla chiefs, who remained in Rohilcund, Fyzoola Khan, who had so nobly done battle for his country, and possessed the most extensive of all the jaghires there, came under discussion. By the treaty between Fyzoola and the Nabob of Oude—a document which the Company had guaranteed—he was to have quiet possession of a certain district near the Rohilla frontier, engaging to maintain 5,000 troops, with at least two-thirds of whom he was to assist the nabob in war. Whether true or false is doubtful now, but complaints had been made at the court of Oude, that the khan disregarded his military engagements, and was making himself dangerous in Rohilcund, though, among other sacrifices, he had bound himself to abandon all connection with the exiled chiefs of his country; yet, in the war with France, the khan, as bound by his treaty, sent some troops to join our ally, the nabob, and promised more.

Hastings and the Council—on the plea that "in the hurry of business, he and the other members of the board were deceived," by some letter, "into the belief that 5,000 was the quota defined, and horse, though not expressed in the treaty, was distinctly understood"—proceeded now to put the usual screw upon the khan.

The latter urged, with truth, that the treaty stipulated no such thing; but that he should retain in his service never more than 5,000 men, and that whenever the nabob required aid, 3,000 of these should be at his disposal; he added, that all the cavalry he ever had did not exceed 2,000. On this, Hastings ordered that a deputation consisting partly of British officers and Oude officials, should wait upon the luckless khan, and instantly demand 3,000 horse, and if they were not forthcoming, to declare the treaty null and the guarantees also. Urging again and again the exact terms of that document, Fyzoola offered, if a little time were given him, to raise 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry, and to pay down money in advance, enough to maintain these troops for a year. But the inexorable deputation, well aware that the greedy nabob was coveting the last fragment of Rohilcund, made a protest to the effect that the treaty was worth only so much waste paper.

Matters remained thus till the conferences took place at Chunar, and in the new treaty made there with the nabob, Hastings, with singular harshness, inserted and signed an article which affirmed that Fyzoola Khan, by his breach of faith had forfeited the protection of the Honourable Company, and that, as his independent state was a source of political alarm to the nabob, the latter should be at liberty to resume possession of the jaghire, or territory of the khan.

Whether Hastings, under pressure of the moment, was sacrificing honour and justice, it is impossible to say; but he soon after informed the Council that he looked upon the whole affair as a mere blind to gratify the nabob for the present, and that no active measures would be taken for depriving Fyzoola Khan of his inheritance, and moreover, that our Government could always interfere to prevent it—words which mean nothing, if not very tortuous policy. Eventually Hastings induced Asoph-ud-Dowlah to give up the idea of invading the khan, or dispossessing him, for a handsome payment in bullion, and a British officer was actually sent to Fyzoola to demand from him fifteen lacs of rupees, promising that for that sum he was to be secured anew in his jaghire, which was to become perpetual and hereditary in his family. Fyzoola declared there was not so much money in all his country, and as none could be procured, Hastings, who felt that he was greatly to blame in the whole affair, firmly forbade all hostilities on the part of the nabob; thus Fyzoola Khan retained possession of the jaghire—the last remnant of his country held by a Rohilla—till his death in 1795, when he had attained to the age of a patriarch, and he left that corner of Rohilcund one of the most peaceful, prosperous, and thriving parts of Hindostan.

It is impossible to dismiss the ugly story of the two begums and the Treaty of Chunar, without some mention of the part played at this time by the Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Elijah Impey, who certainly intruded himself into a business quite alien to his official duties. But some weeks after it had been agreed to punish the begums and arrest the old eunuchs, Sir Elijah, who happened to be on a tour of inspection among the minor courts of his province, Bengal, suddenly travelled to Lucknow, as fast as his palanquin-bearers could trot—at his own suggestion, according to Hastings—and

announced his intention to take the depositions of witnesses concerning the political offences of the ladies, their intrigues with Cheyte Sing, and so forth. It has been truly said by Macaulay that "under the charter of justice he had no more right to inquire into crimes committed by Asiatics in Oude, than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter." But now a host of witnesses—like those whom

He had evidently undertaken this long journey to countenance, in an irregular manner, legal proceedings in a place over which he had no jurisdiction whatever. He had so long and diligently studied the language of the country, and was so completely master of the Persian and Arabic tongues, that it has been averred that he would have been able both to question witnesses and master the affidavits, which he received in shoals,



HINDOO BANKERS OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Nuncomar had collected at Calcutta to swear away the life of Hastings—came pouring before Impey with affidavits in their hands, some of which he did not read, and some of which he was scarcely able to, as, says Macaulay, "they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath to the deponents," continues the essayist, "with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin, and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of the term."

while the former mustered in jabbering hundreds, but "the evidence was collected in a hurry," wrote Hastings, "and on the suggestion of Sir Elijah Impey, who told me that facts of the most stamped notoriety here would be doubted at home, unless such means were taken to establish their reality." It is also said that even the depositions made in English, by a few of our officers who had taken service under the Nabob of Oude, were of the most vague and unsatisfactory nature, and their motives were not above suspicion; for one of them —Colonel Hannay, a Scotsman—was poor, and deeply in debt when he entered the service of

Asoph, and when he left it, five years later, he had realised—not without resorting at times to rough means—a fortune of £300,000. But the evidence the Chief Justice collected was all woven into the appendix of Hastings' narrative of the transactions concerning Cheyte Sing and the begums. Though why, or for what practical purpose the collection of verbose matter was made, is not very clear, after its transmission to the Court at Leadenhall Street.

"What applicability could it have to the guilt or punishment of the begums," asks a writer, "when the forfeiture of their jaghires and treasure had been decreed at Chunar weeks before any witness or affidavit had been seen; weeks before the Chief Justice reached Benares? Sir Elijah Impey, who retained the friendship and esteem of some of the best men in England, was assuredly not the man that Burke represented him to be; but his memory, like that of his friend and schoolfellow, must, in these matters, remain subjected to some dark imputations, lightened only by lame excuses, or the extreme difficulty and urgency of the cases, and the anomalous and undefined nature of the Company's relations with the native princes. And in reality, though Oude was nominally an independent kingdom, and not included in the Act or Acts which prescribed the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, it was to all intents and purposes a conquered and dependent country. Even Sujah Dowlah, who wanted neither pride nor understanding, and who had kept together an army and a government far stronger than those of his contemptible son and successor, would have thought it an honour to have been called the Vizier of the King of England, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name, and with the effigy of George III. If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted; if the Company or nation had frankly declared themselves—what they were *de facto*—the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares, the mission of Sir Elijah Impey might have borne a somewhat different aspect."

On three years' notice, given at any time after the 25th of March, 1780, the great and exclusive privileges of the Company were to expire, and with a view to future arrangements, many communications passed between the Ministry and the directors. The chief points in debate were the claim of the Crown to the territories acquired by the Company, or the amount of payment which the latter should make to the public for their exclusive privileges. Lord North's Ministry, at this crisis, was in a somewhat precarious position, and thus gave the directors advantages of which they availed themselves to the full, and the Act was passed, leaving the most important of these questions still open. Thus the Company were left in possession of all their former privileges, till three years' notice after the 1st of March, 1791, and a sum of £400,000 was accepted as full payment of the arrears due to the public under former arrangements; providing also, that in future, after payment of a dividend of eight per cent. out of the clear profits, the public should receive three-fourths of any surplus that might be found. And now two important boards were appointed; one was a select committee, for the examination of all proceedings relative to the administration of justice in Bengal; the other was a secret committee to inquire into the causes of the Carnatic war, and the state of the Company's coast possessions. Mr. Burke took the lead in one, and Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and afterwards Viscount Melville, was chairman of the other. From two to eighteen reports—twelve from the select and six from the secret committee—were received, containing a vast amount of important matter, still affording the best materials for a history of our Asiatic dominions during the interesting period referred to.

The last two years of his administration in India are said to have formed by far the happiest of the long and stirring public life of Warren Hastings. Our being at peace with France, enabled him to paralyse the power of the native princes, and get the whole country into a state of tranquillity such as it had never known before.

This interval of peace enabled Hastings to extend British influence in several new quarters, and to confirm it in others, at the very time when it was declining in the western hemisphere, where disasters attended our arms, and we were losing the American colonies. Though opposition against him had ceased in the Supreme Council publicly, in private, Francis and other vindictive enemies were preparing in London the means of his ruin and impeachment. On the reception of a letter from the directors, condemning his conduct at Benares, and declaring his treatment of Cheyte Sing alike impolitic and unwarrantable, he made a proposal of resigning, and while in a state of suspense as to whether this proposal would be accepted, and when a successor might arrive, he undertook a journey to Lucknow, though he must have foreseen that it would occupy several months.

For that city he set out on the 17th February, 1784, and reached it on the 27th of March; and as he passed through to Benares he had a good opportunity of beholding the result of the revolution effected there. Thither, from the confines of Buxar, he was followed by a multitude of clamorous

and discontented people, on whom a long-continued drought had brought distress and want. "Yet," he wrote, "I have reason to fear that the cause existed principally in a defective, if not corrupt, and oppressive administration." Devastation was apparent in every village, trade was discouraged, the revenue in danger from a violent appropriation of its means. When at Lucknow, he withdrew a detachment of our troops from the frontier of Oude, because the nabob complained that it ate up his revenues, and yielded by its services no equivalent return. While at Lucknow he was not indisposed to enter into some kind of treaty with the Mogul at Delhi, but as the idea was not encouraged by his colleagues, it was abandoned. Before undertaking this journey to Lucknow, he had sent Mrs. Hastings home, as her health was declining, and none who knew his affection for her could doubt that in this separation he had resolved to resign and follow her as soon as he possibly could. Thus he wrote to the directors informing them of his intended return home, and that, no successor having been appointed by them, his duties would be undertaken temporarily by Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of the Council.

Among his last duties was to further the erection of a monument to Mr. Augustus Cleveland, long a collector of revenue and administrator of justice in Bengal, who died a few days after embarking for England, in January, 1784; and on whose death his cousin, Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, wrote a long monody, a few copies of which were printed in London in 1786, and again in his Memoirs in 1843.

As soon as it was known he was about to depart, he received complimentary addresses from all classes at Calcutta, to which he returned on the 4th of November, after an absence of nine months. As a benefactor to the people of Bengal, he had been, by them, ever regarded with affection and respect. The natives viewed him as a generous sovereign, and the civilians with respect and esteem; but among the troops this was blended with enthusiastic admiration, as he had ever treated them with honour, and reposed in them the most perfect confidence.

When about this time, Colonel Pearse's column, which performed the memorable march to Madras, returned, after four years' absence, to Calcutta, reduced from 5,000 to 2,000 bayonets, he heaped every distinction upon the survivors. He visited their cantonments, and conversed with the officers and soldiers, and made a lasting impression on the minds of them all, every favour being doubled by the manner in which it was conferred.

An officer of rank and distinction (Major-General Sir Henry Worsley) who, when a young subaltern, was an eyewitness of this scene, in a letter written years after to Sir John Malcolm, says: "Mr. Hastings, dressed in a plain blue coat, with his head uncovered, rode along the ranks. The troops had the most striking appearance of hardy veterans; they were all as black as ink, contrasted with the sleek, olive skins of our home corps. The sight of that day, and the feeling it excited, have never been absent from my mind; to it and to the affecting orders which Mr. Hastings issued, I am satisfied, I in a great degree owe whatever professional pride and emulation I have since possessed."* Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse died in 1789, at Dum-Dum, where a column was erected to his memory.

One of the last acts of Hastings in Calcutta, was to issue a general order to the Bengal army, expressing in the strongest terms his sense of its high military services, and thanking it for them. "The dark faces of the sepoys looked darker at his departure. Veterans, scarred with wounds, were seen weeping, and voices which meant to shout, broke down into a feeble note and wailing." Within three weeks of his return to Calcutta, he had written to the directors thus: "If the next regular advices should contain either the express acceptance of my resignation of the service, or your tacit acquiescence, I shall relinquish my office to the gentleman who stands next to me in the prescribed order of succession, and return to England as soon as the ship *Berrington* can be made ready to sail."

On the 1st of February, 1785, he formally delivered the keys of Fort William, and of the treasury, to Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of Council, and on the 8th he walked, a plain private gentleman, unostentatiously to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers forming a long lane, down which he passed from the palace. Many boats and barges escorted him far down the Hooghly, and some sorrowful friends there were, who did not leave him till the dismal, black, and swampy Kedgeree was left behind, till the ship had rounded the Sand-heads, the pilot had left her, and she was ploughing the Bay of that Bengal which he was now quitting for ever.

On the homeward voyage he was accompanied by his friends, Anderson and Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), who says he found him "a delightful companion, pouring forth the stores of his cultivated mind."†

* *E. I. U. S. Mag.*, 1834.

† "Life of Lord Teignmouth."

Though he might, it is said, have brought home a personal fortune, amounting to three millions sterling, he was content with less than £130,000—less than had been made by Mr. Barwell, and other councillors; much less than the amassings of many minor civilians, and greatly less than Sir Philip Francis had gleaned in six years, while Hastings had spent more than thirty years in India, and of these, thirteen as Governor-General. In June, he landed at Plymouth, and travelled post to London, confident of a warm reception by the king and people. Nor was he disappointed at first, at least; for it was acknowledged, says Macaulay, that our influence in the East had been extended, "nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings. His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government; he transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organisation by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Lewis the Sixteenth, or the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. . . . The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a counting-house; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society. Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education."

He and Mrs. Hastings were most graciously received by the king and queen, and in Leadenhall Street, the Court of Directors received him at a solemn sitting, when the chairman read a vote of thanks for his great services—a vote which had not one dissentient voice; but he knew that for years his old enemy, Francis, had been plotting and writing against him; and he knew that in the last session of Parliament, Edmund Burke, whom that gentleman had won completely over, had given notice of a motion that might prove fatal to his honour and future peace; yet, when Lord North, after scores of sounding speeches from Fox and Burke, had *not* been impeached for the loss of America, it did seem hard to Hastings that he should be impeached for saving India.

Though connected with the history of India, all that follows in this matter is somewhat apart from it, and thus we shall glance at it briefly.

In the next session of Parliament, the Commons resolved to impeach both Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, who had now been about a year in England. Francis, who was now in Parliament, had ever since his return from India devoted his whole energy, talent, and certainly extraordinary abilities, to attacking the administration of that country. "The ex-member of Council at Calcutta was impelled by ambition and revenge, two of the strongest of human passions, and both of them more violent and intense in the heart of Francis, than they are often found to be in English human nature. Francis's ambition was to become Governor-General of India, and to add to the great wealth which he had accumulated there."

He was spurred to hatred by the result of his duel with Hastings, and he cherished vengeance against Impey for having pronounced upon him, while resident in Calcutta, a sentence mulcting him in heavy damages, when once he became amenable to a civil prosecution. Impey defended himself at the bar of the House of Commons on the 4th of February, 1788, and fully exculpated himself in the matter of the trial and execution of Nuncomar, the first of six specific charges brought against him; but in spite of his acquittal, and that the other five charges were abandoned, the affair of Nuncomar (like the Rohilla war, the story of Cheyte Sing, and the oppression of the Begums of Oude) was pressed against Hastings.

His impeachment, and the votes for it, the examination of witnesses, the masses of documentary evidence, collected at a vast distance and at great expense, and the grand trial itself in Westminster Hall, were drawn out to the weary period of nine long years, till on the 17th of April, 1795, the great Warren Hastings was declared not guilty upon every charge; but so enormous were the expenses brought upon him by these vicious and most protracted proceedings, that for some time there seemed a chance of him ending his days in a debtor's prison. He was reduced to such distress that he could scarcely pay his weekly bills; but eventually an annuity of £4,000 per annum was settled upon him, and the Company for whom he had done so much, was allowed to lend him £50,000, to be repaid by instalments.

He survived his acquittal twenty-three years—time which he spent in that place which it had ever been the dearest wish of his heart to regain—Daylesford, which his forefathers had lost in the great Civil War. In 1813, he appeared for the last

time in public, when examined as a witness on some Indian affairs before Parliament, when the Commons received him with universal acclamations. A chair was set for the old man, and all rose and uncovered when he withdrew. The Lords received him with equal respect. The University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates welcomed him with the most tumultuous cheering. "These marks of public esteem, were soon followed by others of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and admitted to a long audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederick William; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours yet higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due and would soon be paid to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage, but from some unexplained cause, he was disappointed."

Peacefully and tranquilly he passed away on the 22nd of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, after so many troubles and so much unmerited obloquy. He was buried behind the chancel of Daylesford Church, in the grave of his forefathers, where "on that very spot probably, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen."

CHAPTER LII.

MR. PITT'S BILL FOR INDIA—ACQUISITION OF PENANG, ETC.

BEFORE the return of Warren Hastings to England, and even while he was sailing on the sea, various parliamentary proceedings, of which India was the subject, took place. Within the space of nine months, three statesmen of distinction aspired to legislate for that distant region. The first Bill had been proposed by Mr. Dundas so early as 1783; the second by Fox, but the third was brought forward by Mr. Pitt, who had now reached the summit of his popularity.

It was in the summer of 1784 that he again introduced that which was known as his great Bill for the future government of India. By this measure a Board of Control, composed of a certain number of commissioners, of the rank of Privy Councillors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removable at his pleasure. This board was to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government, and the revenue of the Company. All despatches transmitted to the Court of Directors were previously to be submitted to the inspection of the board, to which the directors were to pay due obedience in all matters pertaining to the government and revenue of India.

In the case of orders not connected with these points, the directors were to appeal to his Majesty in Council, whose decision would be final. The Bill also enacted that the appointment by the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-General, President, or Councillor to the different provinces, shall be subject to the approbation and recall of his Majesty. As to the zemindars, or great hereditary landholders of India, who had been violently dispossessed of their property, and who, according to a clause in Fox's Bill, were to have been instantly reinstated in their zemindaries, the Bill provided only, that an inquiry should be instituted for the restoration of those who had been unjustly deprived of their property.

Lastly, a high tribunal was created, for the trial of Indian delinquents. It was to consist of three judges, one from each court, four peers, and six members of the Lower House, who were authorised to judge without appeal; to award, in case of conviction, the punishment of fine or imprisonment, and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East India Company in any capacity.

These were the leading features of Mr. Pitt's Bill. His perpetual opponent, Fox, drew attention to its supposed weak points in one of his forcible speeches. "It established a weak government,



WARREN HASTINGS REVIEWING PEARSE'S COLUMN.

by dividing its powers," he observed. "To the one board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving measures; to the other, that of carrying them into execution. It was a system of dark intrigue and delusive art. Theories which did not connect men with measures were not theories of this world; they were chimeras with which a recluse could such a government be other than the constant victim of internal distraction? The appeal allowed from the Board of Control to the Privy Council, was only an appeal from the aggressor transformed into the character of a judge, and was therefore in the highest degree nugatory and ridiculous. The bill he had introduced exhibited,



LORD CORNWALLIS.

might divert his fancy, but they were not the principles on which a statesman would found his system. By the negative power vested in the commissioners, the chartered rights of the Company, on which such stress had been laid, were insidiously undermined and virtually annihilated. If it were right to vest such powers in a board of Privy Councillors, let it be done explicitly and openly, and show the Company and the world that what they dared to do, they dared to justify.

"Founded on principles so heterogeneous, how at the first blush, the features of openness, fairness, and responsibility. The present plan was full of darkness and disguise. In a covert and concealed mode, an immense patronage was transferred to the Crown, which, already possessing a dangerous and formidable ascendency over the other branches of the legislature, could not but open a new door to every species of collusion, and in an alarming degree accelerate the progress of corruption. It was calculated to establish an Indian Government of the island of Great Britain. Against the clauses

of the Bill respecting the zemindars, he entered his strongest protest; the zemindars ought, in his opinion, to be rated by a fixed rule of past periods, and not of a vague and indefinite future inquiry. The new tribunal he stigmatised as a screen for delinquents; as a palpable and unconstitutional violation of the sacred right of a trial by jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accusation of the Company or the Attorney-General, he had only to conciliate Government in order to his remaining in perfect security. It was a part of a general system of deception and delusion, and he would venture to pronounce it a bed of justice, where justice would for ever sleep."

Eventually so many amendments were made to the bill, that Sheridan remarked humorously, "that twenty-one new clauses were added to it, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet; and he begged some gentleman to suggest three more, in order to complete the hornbook of the present Ministry." On the motion of commitment the numbers were, Ayes, 276; Noes, 61; and it was carried in triumph to the House of Peers, where, after an opposition, vigorous in point of exertion, but feeble in regard of numbers, the bill passed into law on the 9th of August, 1784; it received the royal assent on the 13th, and now ranks in the statute book as 24 Geo. III., c. 25. Thus the new bill for the government of India had become an accomplished fact ten months before Warren Hastings again trod English soil.

On the latter quitting Bengal, without waiting for a regularly appointed successor, Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, the same gentleman who in times past had been intriguing with the Ministry for the "Nabob of Arcot," as he was named, acted as Governor-General until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis; and in the interval the Mahrattas, under Mahadajee Scindia captured Agra, which remained in their possession until 1803.

About the same time the Bombay Government sent 200 European troops and 500 sepoys to take possession of the little isle of Diego Garcia, one of the Chagos Archipelago, in the Indian Ocean, an immense chain known to the Arabs as "the Eleven Thousand Islands." This islet lies about 200 leagues north-east of the Isle of Bourbon, and the Marquis de Bussy had permitted some French and negroes to settle there, merely to ascertain to whom it belonged. The British alleged that they required it as a watering place; but the French Ministry protested against this, supposing we might make it a lodgment for troops to attack the Isles of France and Bourbon. Eventually, it was used as a place of exile for the lepers of the Mauritius.

It was during the short administration of Macpherson that we obtained, in a somewhat singular manner, possession of Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, having an area of about 155 square miles, and now deemed one of the loveliest places in the eastern world. Yet a portion of the island is sterile and covered with a forest of tall trees. It consists chiefly of a central mountain range, exquisitely diversified with plains, valleys, and rivers, and having a delightful climate. "The mountainous cone which commands the island," says Doctor Yran, "is divided into climatic zones, with as much regularity as the scale of a thermometer. At the foot of this volcanic elevation you find the warm temperature of the oceanic regions; at its summit, the tonic freshness of Laguna or Salassy; a bracing climate which invigorates without the painful contractions occasioned by our sharp winter cold. This paradise came into possession of the British by having been given by the King of Keddah as a wedding dower to his daughter, who married an Englishman. The happy husband, with the consent of his consort, named it Prince of Wales Island, and presented it to his country; and since then it has become a place of resurrection for the bold conquerors of India. . . . The operation of the climate is infallible. The organisation, debilitated by the humid heat of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, recovers here, as well as at Cape Town or Teneriffe, the energy which has been lost for years."

The Englishman referred to was Captain Francis Light, of the Company's service. The Bengal Government, seeing that the isle—which also bears the name of Betel-nut Island—was peculiarly adapted as a mercantile station for vessels from all the Malay ports, Borneo, Celebes, and the Philippines, did not hesitate to accept the offer made by Captain Light, with permission of the King of Keddah, a small state on the coast of Malacca, and tributary to the Kings of Siam (to whom he yearly sends a little tree of gold) and on the 12th of August, 1786, the captain landed at the head of a body of the Company's troops, and formally took possession of the island in the name of his Majesty, and immediately commenced to clear the country, cut down the wood, and construct a fort for the protection of his soldiers against any attempts of the Malay chiefs, who might be instigated by the Dutch to cut them off. This he named, in honour of the coming Governor-General, Fort Cornwallis. It is at the north-east point of the island; and was originally badly constructed, and though large sums have been spent on it since, it is still almost incapable of defence.

The ships bound to China generally touch here, and load large quantities of canes, sago, pepper, and the betel-nut, which grows in abundance, and which is extensively used over all the East, as a stimulant, all other intoxicating things being deemed immoral, unclean, or irreligious; it has been for ages the delight and solace of many dusky millions of the human race; and it is reckoned by the Hindoos as the fifth amongst "the eight delights," which are, women, *adai* (said to be garments), jewels, food, *betel*, fragrance, singing, and flower-beds. A piece of the nut is folded up in the betel-leaf, on which a little plaster is spread like butter, and the whole is chewed together, thus producing a hot and red saliva; accordingly, says Bruce, a great many of the poorer classes in India, whom one meets there, seem to be squirting blood from their mouths; and to this plant the Hindoos assign a divine origin.

The myth tells us that one of the nymphs of heaven, having fallen in love with a handsome young man, invited him to meet her in her celestial abode. There, while visiting her, he saw and tasted of the betel, and felt all its alleged joy-giving virtues, for it was then a fruit peculiar to the soil of heaven; and before bidding his immortal mistress adieu, he secretly took a plant with him, and brought it to this lower world, where it has been abundantly propagated and enjoyed.*

It was also during Macpherson's government that two remarkable contributions were made to our then limited information concerning the mighty peninsula of which we were gradually becoming masters, country by country, and district after district, and these discoveries are mentioned by Auber. It would seem that in 1785, Mr. Malet (afterwards Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart., of Wilbury, in Wiltshire), then of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed resident at Poonah, and received orders to repair first to Calcutta, to acquaint himself with the politics of the Mahrattas. On this duty he proceeded by the way of Oojeen (or Oojain), a tract then almost unknown to Europeans, a distance of 479 miles. "After giving an account of the fort of Bheroodghur, about two miles distant from Oojeen, he proceeded a mile and a half further, when he discovered a very large and gloomy edifice of peculiar strength, and still in very good repair, erected on an artificial island, formed for the purpose by the stream of Sessera, and connected with the western bank by a bridge of sixteen arches. In the western stream, which he considered to be an artificial one, were a surprising multitude of various apartments, constructed on a level with the water, and in the midst of it, the water being conveyed round them in various channels into reservoirs contrived for its reception, whence it was conveyed by proper inlets from the bed of the river, into which it was again discharged by little artificial cascades. It was stated to have been built by Sultan Nasic-ul-deen-Gighee, who ascended the throne of Malwa in the year of the Hegira 905, and reigned eleven years. He was represented as cruel and oppressive; he had contracted an intolerable heat by his habit of eating fixed quicksilver, and found so much relief within these watery abodes, from their coolness, that he spent the whole of his time there, where he also carried on the business of his government."†

The other discovery, which the author just quoted records, is the canal cut from the Jumna, which includes the city and fort of Allahabad, and which Sujah Dowlah caused to be excavated.

Undoubtedly, much good was done in India during the short administration of Macpherson, to whom the Court of Directors awarded an unanimous vote of thanks, when he resigned his functions on the arrival of his successor, in whose diplomatic and military career many stirring events were fated to take place.

Credit was due to Macpherson for financial ability, the exertions he made to meet the pressure on the treasury, and his economy in effecting reductions wherever they were practicable. As a reward for these services, and partly, no doubt, for political services rendered at various times, this humble person, who had come from Skye as purser of a Company's ship, was, on the 10th of June, 1786, rewarded by a baronetcy, which is now extinct. His great stature and remarkable softness of manner, won him in India the sobriquet of "the Gentle Giant."

The Bengal Council was now ordered to consist of Earl Cornwallis, Messrs. Macpherson, Stables, and Stuart; and Mr. John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) was to succeed to the first vacancy in the Supreme Council.

Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief at Madras, with Messrs. Daniel, Davidson, and Casamajor, as Councillors; and by the Court of Directors, an annuity of £1,500 per annum was granted to Lord Macartney, "as a consideration for the unexampled integrity displayed by that nobleman during his administration at Fort St. George."

In this year there was circulated a strange

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

† P. Auber, "Rise, &c., of the British Power in India."

rumour, which originated in Paris, that there was a plan for the partition of India between Britain and France, as the basis of a perpetual alliance between the two countries. "This is intended to be at the expense of the Dutch; and France supposes that England will accede to the proposal, from a resentment of the conduct of Holland in the late war." *

CHAPTER LIII.

CORNWALLIS AND HIS MEASURES—THE KING'S AND COMPANY'S SERVICES, ETC.

CHARLES, VISCOUNT BROME, first Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Cornwallis, was the second Governor-General of India, and the first who united his office with that of Commander-in-chief. He had been educated at Eton and the military school of Turin; and after first joining the Guards, became a captain in the old 85th Regiment, which was disbanded in 1763, prior to which he had served under the Marquis of Granby, and became colonel of the 12th Foot, and afterwards of the 33rd. He was twice M.P. for the borough of Eye, in Suffolk; and when he took his seat in the House of Lords, became a supporter of Whig, or what would now be termed Liberal, principles; and he was ever opposed to the then fatal measures by which we lost our American colonies.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate manner in which the war in the United States ended in his hands, he was deemed so able an officer, that the Government thought themselves fully justified in trusting him with the supreme power in India; and he landed at Calcutta on the 12th of September, 1786, and after taking the requisite oaths, assumed the office of Governor-General in the land where he was fated to die. "Lord Cornwallis," says a writer, "was high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equitable in temper, anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business, and particularly distinguished by his sincere desire to maintain peace, and promote the welfare of our Indian subjects. Both the Parliament and the Company had recommended that no more wars should be undertaken for the extension of territory, and that leagues and alliances with the restless native powers should be avoided. His lordship himself certainly went to the Ganges with the hope of avoiding wars of conquest, and of keeping the whole of British India, and the states dependent upon it, in a happy condition of undisturbed peace. It was a pleasant vision; but it soon vanished, and he found himself constrained to act in politics and war, and with reference to the native princes, in much the same manner as Mr. Hastings acted." The refusal of Lord Macartney to act as Governor-General of Bengal, except on such terms as the ministry deemed it inexpedient to grant, had kept that responsible office vacant till the earl accepted it, which he did with the full sanction of all interested in the welfare of India.

Pitt's India Bill of 1784 was now in full operation, and had been further aided and improved by other amending Acts passed in 1786. By these, several parts of the first bill were explained and improved, and the powers of the Governor-General were more enlarged and better defined than they were during the thirteen stormy years of Hastings' rule. He had the discretionary right of acting, in extraordinary cases, without reference to the Supreme Council; thus, the jealousies and incessant opposition that had been the bane of Hastings' existence, and of his official career, and which more than once had jeopardised our Indian dominions, were obviated or done away with. Moreover, the noble rank and general character of Earl Cornwallis, "while they placed him above the Ministers of the Crown, or the fear of the Court of Directors, commanded a respect from the civil and military servants of the Company, which, added to the increased powers with which he was vested, freed him from every shadow of opposition. He was enabled, from the same causes, to stimulate to exertion, by the distinction which his personal favour bestowed, the first talents in India."

Three years of peace followed his first landing at Calcutta; and during that time his government became consistent and consolidated before the coming of that fierce rupture, at the bottom of which was the old intriguing spirit of France. Promises of assistance which his predecessor, Sir

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786.

John Macpherson, had somewhat unwisely made to the Mahrattas, placed him in a dilemma, from which there was a difficulty in escaping, without offending them or Tippoo Sahib, who, if such assistance had been given, would have deemed it a violation of the treaty with him; and Tippoo was a personage to take, and make most of, an affront.

This was the first troublesome matter with which Lord Cornwallis had to grapple—the treaty by which Sir John Macpherson bound the Company to furnish the Peishwa of the Mahrattas with a body of troops, in direct violation of their treaty with Tippoo, who was then engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas—and this matter the earl had to take in hand within a fortnight after his arrival, with the express intention, as he wrote to Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, and afterwards Secretary of State for the Home Department, of getting out of the "foolish scrape" somehow, but without sending troops.* No less than three battalions of infantry had been promised to the Mahrattas; and to avoid the critical and dangerous situation, and avoid, alike, a quarrel either with Tippoo or the court of Poonah, advantage was taken of the change in the government to intimate to the latter, that a strict adherence to treaties then extant would not permit of the troops being supplied, as in all its future conduct, the new government of India resolved to act with a spirit of the strictest justice.

The Nana *Furnavese* (a term similar to Chancellor of the Exchequer), the Dewan, and other Mahratta ministers at Poonah, expressed bitter disappointment, and even advanced charges of double-dealing; but no rupture was the result, and, for the time, the storm blew over.

The financial affairs of the Company next engaged the attention of the earl, who took a rather gloomy view of them, and he expressed his fear that through monetary difficulties all might go to ruin in his hands; and, as the other presidencies were absorbing the produce of the revenues, he urged upon the directors fresh issues of paper. Many of the native princes, and other persons of exalted rank, now expressed a desire to visit Calcutta. Among others was the Nabob of Oude, who, though the pressure of his money affairs was greater than ever, proposed to come in person, but sent Hyder Bey Khan, his minister, instead; and with this official the earl had many interviews concerning the affairs of his master.

"The total mismanagement of Oude," wrote the earl to Henry Dundas, "the confused manner of stating accounts between the vizier and the Company, and the constant practice on one part of trumping up charges to extort every rupee that it is possible to get; and on the other, of making use of every art and evasion to defer payment, have rendered it very difficult to establish a fair open line between us."

It was arranged, after many interviews of Hyder Bey with Cornwallis, that the Company should keep two brigades in Oude, and that, instead of seventy-four lacs which the Company had previously exacted, the nabob should pay in future, and in full of all demands against him, only fifty lacs. As the revenue of that province then exceeded two millions sterling yearly, the sum demanded—a fourth of the whole—was deemed a reasonable tribute, in return for the complete protection we afforded it. There were doubts, however, whether, having regard to the then condition of Oude, the money would ever be forthcoming. The nabob was spending every coin he could get in elephants, horses, cock-fighting, and every species of debauchery. In his stables alone were 1,000 horses, yet he never rode one. His ministers were as rapacious as himself; they cheated him, and then cheated each other. They charged seventy lacs per annum for troops to enforce the collections; but half the troops were "men of straw," whose pay went into the purses of Hyder Bey Khan and Almass Ali Khan, a favoured and trusted eunuch.

But even in Calcutta, society must have been somewhat loose and strange at this time, if we are to judge from a letter addressed to the publisher of a Bengal paper of this same year, 1788. Entering an auction-room of Calcutta, "to my infinite astonishment, I heard announced for sale a creditable, well-looking young woman, apparently seventeen or eighteen years of age. It would be vain for me to attempt to describe the situation which this poor creature was reduced to, on perceiving herself thus publicly offered to the highest bidder, and held so low in estimation, as to render it necessary for the auctioneer to propose five rupees as a sum to commence the advances from. The pitiable object, exposed in this open manner for a purchaser, gained considerably on the susceptible minds of the people who were present, and was actually sold for the fourth of what is given for a well-bred English greyhound. But the anguish of her mind was strikingly evident from that true index, her countenance." †

This must have been done in defiance of the law, passed in May, 1774, which we have already mentioned; and yet it is about this time that

* "Cornwallis Correspondence."

† *Calcutta Chronicle*, 1788.

we find the celebrated Charles Grant, afterwards Chairman of the Board of Directors, repairing, at the personal expense of 10,000 rupees, the Protestant Church of Calcutta, named the Beth-Tepillah, or House of Prayer, which had become ruinous, and also rebuilding St. John's Church there, or, at least, largely contributing thereto.

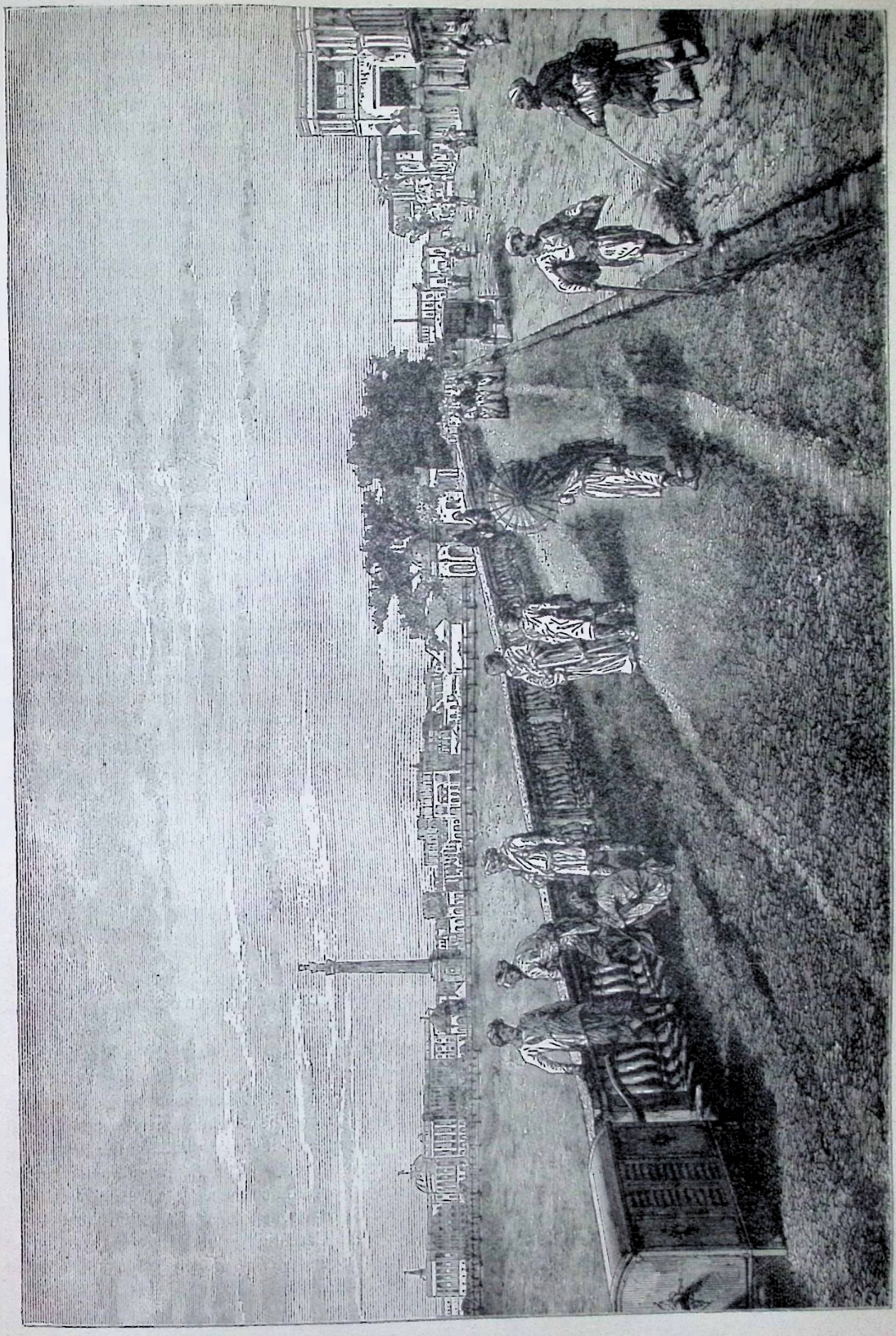
A visit which was offered from Jewan Bukt Bahadur Shah, the heir apparent of Shah Alum, was declined by Cornwallis, as it was impossible for him to countenance certain schemes which he had in view to better himself. His aged father had never been his own master since he quitted the Company's protection; but had become a passive tool, that passed from hand to hand, as each revolution succeeded the other at Delhi; until he fell into the clutches of Gholam Kadir Khan (son of the Rohilla Nabob of Taharunpore), who had rebelled against him, and who now put out one of his eyes with his own dagger; and with this terrible exception, his person had been constantly in the possession of the Mahrattas. Some time before his death by fever at Benares, his son, Jewan the Shazada, had the interview he had besought with Lord Cornwallis, who was then making a tour in the north. His urgent application for troops and money for the purpose of re-establishing the throne of his forefathers, was met with a firm refusal. As a last favour, the humbled and fallen heir of the Great Mogul then begged that he might have an asylum within the British territories, in the event of his having to fly from his enemies. Cornwallis granted the request, which was reduced to writing, and signed by himself and the Council.

In the summer of 1789, Mr. John Shore, who had been acting chief of the Revenue Board till his return to Europe, in 1785, completed an arduous task which he had undertaken, and to which he had given every hour that he could spare from illness and official duty. This was the preparation of the Decennial, or, as it proved in the end, the Permanent Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa: "a measure affecting the property, and involving the multifarious and conflicting privileges of a population then amounting to nearly forty millions, including the inhabitants of the comparatively small portion of the territories in the Madras Presidency, to which it was subsequently extended. The extreme difficulty of effecting the proposed arrangement may be inferred from the failure of previous attempts to accomplish it, during the twenty-four years in which the revenues of the three provinces had been possessed by the East India Company; whilst it required practical knowledge, which was wanting to the Company's servants, in consequence of their having been withdrawn by Mr. Hastings from the immediate collection of the revenues. The execution of it rested chiefly on Mr. Shore's abilities and experience; to which honourable testimony has been borne by Lord Cornwallis, and by the fifth Parliamentary Report on East Indian Affairs, which distinctly states that his 'ability and experience, in supplying the deficiency of the servants of the Company in the knowledge of the rights and usages of the different orders of the people connected with the revenues, enabled the Government to carry its measures into effect.'" *

The state of the Company's troops at this time—so different from its state in latter years—occupied much the attention of Cornwallis. He found their artillery what it has ever been, in splendid condition, but the European infantry had attained, in his estimation, but a low standard. At this time he wrote that "the Company's officers have no regiments or governments to look forward to (*i.e.*, neither high military commands nor good civil appointments). Few constitutions can stand this climate many years; if they cannot save some money, they must go home without rank or pay, condemned to disease and beggary." Then he found the material from whence their European recruits were drawn was bad. The battalions were under their proper strength, and that, such as it was, made up chiefly of foreigners, sailors, invalids, and men of unfitting stature. Among them, too, were some broken-down gentlemen, and even half-pay officers of the royal service, who enrolled to get a passage free to India, where, on landing, they always strove to procure a substitute. These substitutes were almost invariably sailors, who deserted on the first opportunity, and shipped for some other land; and to the redress of these abuses, and alteration of this state of things, he steadily applied himself; and it was well he did so, for war with the terrible Tippoo was at hand.

Another object he had in view—but in 1786—was an amalgamation of all the European troops in India, and to have them named and styled "the King's troops." By this means he thought to put an end to the jealousies and disputes about precedence then, and for several years after, the fruitful cause of many a quarrel and duel. But after long consideration, he had serious doubts of achieving this object; and he did not venture further than to urge that the East India Company should have the most ample means afforded them for securing good recruits at home, and that their officers should

* "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. i.



THE ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA.

rank with those of our service, according to the dates of their commissions. Though fully conceded in the end, these two simple and just points were disapproved at home; and it was urged by Mr. Dundas, that the king would never "be brought to yield up the notion of his commission having a pre-eminence over one flowing from a commercial body of his own subjects."

In 1786, before these plans had been mooted, the Government had been resolving to send out to India four new European regiments belonging to the line, as there was rumour of a war with France, and the directors were quite pleased with the idea; but when the war proved a rumour only, they changed their views, objected to these regiments being sent out, and ungraciously refused to admit them on board of any of their Indiamen, or to furnish pay for them from their exchequer. This caused a direct collision between the directors and the Board of Control, with whom the Ministry were identified, and with whom they took part. At this time, part of the troops were already prepared for embarkation.* Thus was brought in and passed the Declaratory Bill of 1786, explaining the powers vested in the Board by the Act of 1784, and which ranks as 28 Geo. III., c. 8, and which met with bitter opposition from Colonel Barré (Barré, the friend of Wolfe) and others.

The Act asserts in the preamble "that doubts had arisen whether the board of Commissioners, under Act 24 Geo. III., c. 25, were empowered to direct that the expense of troops necessary for the security of the British territories in India shall be defrayed out of the revenues of these territories, 'unless such troops are sent out at the express requisition of the East India Company;' and removes the doubts by enacting and declaring that the board 'was and is, by the said Act, fully authorised and empowered to order and direct, that all the expenses incurred for raising, transporting, and maintaining such forces as shall be sent to India, for the security of the said territories and possessions, shall be paid, defrayed, and borne out of the revenues of the said possessions; and that nothing in the said Act contained, extended, or extends, or shall be construed to extend, to restrain, or to have restrained, the said commissioners from giving such orders or directions as aforesaid, with respect to the expense of raising, transporting, and maintaining any forces which may be sent to India for the security of the said possessions, in addition to the forces now there.' So far the victory remained with the board; but the directors also could boast of a victory, since the above power, instead of remaining absolute, is restricted by subsequent sections, limiting the number of royal troops that might be paid by the commissioners as above to 8,045, and of the Company's troops to 12,200 men, and prohibiting them from increasing salaries or bestowing gratuities beyond amounts proposed and specified in despatches from the directors."

And now, from this matter, which reads with all the dreary circumlocution of a legal document, we turn to the more stirring events of the war with Tippoo Sahib, or Sultan.

CHAPTER LIV.

SCHEMES OF TIPPOO—THE LINES OF TRAVANCORE—THEIR DEFENCE BY THE NAIRS.

By the year 1788—indeed, long before it—the Sultan Tippoo was aware that he was an object of jealousy and suspicion to the British, whose agents he insulted in his peevish and resentful fits. He could neither forget nor forgive the humiliations to which he had been subjected in the late war: thus he hated the British almost to the verge of madness; and to this rancour he had superadded religious fanaticism as insane as the hatred; for he imagined himself "the chosen servant of the prophet Mohammed, predestined, in the Eternal Book of Fate, to root out the Nazarenes from India, and cast them into the bottomless pits of Gehenna."

For this great end he sent a numerous embassy to Constantinople, to invite the aid of the Sultan, but his envoys all perished of the plague or on the long journey; and about the same time he invited the French Government to send 6,000 of their best troops into the Carnatic; and with these, and his Mysoreans, he undertook to crush for ever the power of Britain in Hindostan. His envoy to

* Lloyd, vol. i.

Paris—M. Leger, who was by birth a Frenchman—met with a favourable reception, as any scheme that would cripple or ruin Britain was always a welcome idea in France; especially then, when every man, woman, and child in that kingdom or republic—it was becoming both about that time—loathed the name of England. Even some of the ministers of the luckless Louis XVI. were delighted with the prospect—all the more that Tippoo was ready to pay for the transport, equipment, and maintenance of any troops they might send, and promised to France greater advantages than Britain had ever enjoyed in India at any time.

As the coloured population of the French West Indies had become too suddenly and too savagely indoctrinated by ideas of the rights of man, and that gospel of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, over which all France was soon to go mad, rendering it necessary to send thither a considerable force, it was supposed that, without exciting the suspicions of the British Cabinet, under cover of this armament, a strong expedition might be sent to the coast of Coromandel, or that of Malabar. But against this movement King Louis had both fears and scruples; for he said to his ministers,—

"This resembles the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. At that time my youth was taken advantage of, and we are suffering for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten." *

It would seem that Tippoo had, in great secrecy, negotiated with M. de Fresne, governor of Pondicherry, who was living under the very shadow of our flag, and to whom we had restored that settlement, on conditions which France had never observed. These negotiations he had conducted through the means of M. Leger, civil administrator of France in India, who understood the Persian language, wrote the despatches dictated by Tippoo, and brought them to Paris himself; having, in order to conceal the real object of his journey, given out, some time before, that he was compelled by private affairs to return to France. He had with him presents for the king and queen; but the generosity of Tippoo had, in this instance, been meagre. King Louis' portion consisted of some gold gauze, some crimson silk stuffs flowered with gold, some Persian linen, partly plain and partly printed, an aigrette of bad diamonds, flat, yellow, and ill-set, with a clasp of the same kind. The queen's consisted of only three bottles, partially filled with essences, a box of perfumed powder-balls, some scented matches, and nothing more!

When Bertrand de Molleville presented these shabby Eastern offerings, King Louis said to him, laughing:—

"What can I do with all this trumpery? It seems only fit to dress dolls! But you have little girls who may be pleased with such; give it all to them."

"But the diamonds, sire?" urged Bertrand.

"Oh, they are mighty fine!" replied Louis, in the tone of mockery. "Perhaps you would like them placed among the jewels of the crown? But you may take them too, and wear them in your hat, if you like."

Eventually the queen would accept from the baffled minister of state only a bottle of otto of roses, and some of the fine linen which had been sent for King Louis.†

In his fierce impatience, Tippoo did not wait for the result of his French embassy, but resolved to begin immediate operations by attacking our ally, the Rajah of Travancore. The latter district is a long and rather narrow tract of country, which forms the south-west corner of the peninsula of Hindostan, and terminates a little to the eastward of Cape Comorin. The government of this country would seem to have been always in the hands of a female till the early part of the eighteenth century, when one of these ladies not only resigned the power to her son, but enacted that, in future, the sovereignty should descend to the son of the senior Tamburetti, as in Malabar. The rajah thus chosen proved an ambitious and able chief. He employed a European officer to discipline his troops; he conquered six petty rajahs, and annexed their territories to his own. He conquered part of Cochin, and compelled the queen of that country to name him her successor; and though this growing kingdom was without fortresses, it was defended from Mysore to Tinnevelly by a double line of works which had been formed. These consisted of a thick plantation, supported by a rampart with bastions; and these barriers were known as the Lines of Travancore. They were more formidable in aspect than in reality, yet the natives had a high opinion of their strength. Tippoo alleged that they had been formed on part of the territory of Cochin, whose rajah was his acknowledged tributary; and that the effect of them was to cut Cochin in two, and bar him from access to one part of it.

At first, this seemed plausible enough; but, after a careful investigation on the part of the Company, the assertion was found to be untrue; and it was plainly intimated to him that any attempt to force these lines would be deemed a declaration of war. But prior to the sword being unsheathed, Earl

* "Mémoires de Bertrand de Molleville."

† Ibid., as quoted in Knight.

Cornwallis had an opportunity to devote some time to the adjustment of what was called "the Permanent Settlement," in conjunction with the distinguished Sir John Shore (in after years his successor); but the measures of these two eminent men required a long space of time to mature. The arrangements for civil judicature, magistracy, and police, which ultimately gave a great historical interest to the administration of Cornwallis, were fully discussed by him and the future Lord Teignmouth, and the foundation was laid for their development in the interval of peace which ensued, between the first symptoms of another contest with Tippoo and the war in which he was finally crushed.

Earl Cornwallis, though hopeful that the tyrant might not break the peace, did not close his eyes to the precautions necessary with a despot so faithless; and had he not been restrained by the legislature, this veteran of the days of Minden might have taken the initiative, and compelled him to declare himself. As it was, he could but wait in suspense; and Tippoo did not detain him long. The latter was but too anxious for war; and conceived he had such vast powers that he could arrest the career of a monsoon that once interfered with the march of his army. On his royal seal was inscribed, in Arabic, "I am the messenger of the true faith," and around this motto was inscribed in Persian :—

"From conquest, and the protection of the royal Hyder, came my title of Sultan; and the world, as under the sun and moon, is subject to my signet."

Moreover, Tippoo was the first Mohammedan prince in Hindostan who had dared to openly disclaim the hereditary authority of the Great Mogul.*

On the 24th of December, 1789, Tippoo encamped his army about six miles to the northward of the principal gate of the Lines of Travancore, at a time when Cornwallis was but indifferently provided with the means for protracted hostilities. On the other hand, Tippoo had been long preparing for them, and by the assistance of French and Italian engineer officers had been strengthening all the towns and forts in Mysore, but more particularly his capital, Seringapatam. Besides these officers, he had a great number of Europeans to train his native troops and artillery. These wretches, for the most part, were deserters from the Company's service, and thus, as the phrase is, "fought with halters round their necks." They had, in many instances, fled to escape punishment; and as the bigoted Tippoo was fond of conversion, by force or conviction, they were all circumcised, and had become renegadoes.

A portion of his regulars were clothed in uniforms like those of our sepoys, and were armed with French muskets. They were about 4,000 strong; but their discipline was far from perfect. The rest of his infantry, though brave and fierce, was a partially organised rabble, armed with very old firelocks, matchlocks, spears, and tulwars: but the undoubted flower of his force was his brilliantly-accoutred and splendidly-mounted cavalry, who more than once had poured, like a living tide, through the mountain ghauts to lay waste the fertile Carnatic. In this force was a *corps d'élite*, 6,000 strong, who found their own horses and arms, and were all picked men and matchless riders. His artillery was sufficiently formidable; many of his guns were French, and of metal heavier than any we had in India at that time. Hence his boast, that in this arm he had left his masters, "the accursed Nazarenes," far behind him; but this was chiefly by the aid of Christian renegadoes. The heaviest of his guns and mortars were drawn by trained elephants, 400 in number; and in addition to these, he had immense teams of the finest bullocks that India could furnish.

It was after a tedious march through narrow, tortuous, and rugged ways, among jungles and woods, where the elephant, buffalo, tiger, and cheetah are still abounding, that Tippoo's army, consisting of only 14,000 infantry and 500 pioneers, but picked troops, pitched their tents, on the morning of the day stated, at Sharapootamally, a steep and rugged hill near the Lines of Travancore; and at this crisis we take from the pen of an officer (the Deputy-Adjutant-General) then present, the state of our troops at the time.

"There were in India, in 1788, a regiment of British dragoons (old 19th), nine regiments of British and two of Hanoverian infantry—in all, about 8,000 European troops, in addition to the Company's establishments. Several of the first officers in the British service were in command in that country, and a system was established which, by joining the powers of Governor to those of Commander-in-chief, united every advantage which could give efficiency to the operations of war. The discipline which had been ordered by the king for establishing uniformity in his army was now equally practised by his Majesty's and the Company's forces in India. The field equipment was refitted and enlarged at the several presidencies, and every preparation made to act with the promptitude and effect which unforeseen exigencies might require. Public credit, increasing with the security afforded

* Renuell's "Memoir of Tippoo."

to the country, and also in consequence of the like able arrangements in the conduct of the civil line of the government, the Company's funds rose daily in their value; and their affairs, as stated to Parliament by the minister at the head of the India Department, were not only retrieved from supposed ruin, but soon appeared to be in a state of decided and increasing prosperity." *

Much information concerning our troops then in India is given by Major Rennell, in a work published in 1792, entitled "The Marches of the British Armies in the Peninsula of Hindostan during the Campaigns of 1791–92."

On the night of the 28th of December, Tippoo issued his orders to force the lines, which were chiefly held by the Nairs, who, believing that the short distance between their post and Tippoo's camp was impenetrable, in consequence of natural obstacles, were lulled into a security most fatal to themselves. By daybreak on the 30th of December, the Mysorean infantry, unencumbered by cannon, had clambered over the brow of the rugged Sharapootamally mountain, and taking the lines which it terminated in flank, advanced from within them with terrible rapidity against the rear and centre of the enemy, among whom they bayoneted all who were opposed to them.

With a view to admit his whole army with ease, Tippoo now ordered his pioneers to hurl a portion of the rampart into the ditch, which was sixteen feet wide and twenty deep, and thus by filling it up to afford ample entrance. At the same time, some more of his troops advanced from the flanking mountain along the rampart to force the great gate, for the admission of certain columns of horse and foot that had been manœuvring in front of it. The pioneers, who, worn out with exertion, were doing their work very slowly, had made but little progress, when all the troops were seen rushing towards the half-formed gap, into which suddenly 800 Nairs, all resolute and gallant men, suddenly flung themselves to bar the way, and with their musketry and a six-pounder, well armed with grape, completely staggered and enraged the attacking Mysoreans.

In the van of the latter was a Chela battalion, which had become exhausted by fatigue and want of water, and so gave way. Another battalion took its place; but the Nairs, who by this time had been reinforced from Remissaram, stood shoulder to shoulder, and four deep, poured a storm of shot through the breach. At the head of some chosen troops, the infuriated sultan pressed on, while the fierce Gentoos, on hearing the din of the battle, came rushing to the aid of their friends, and in the narrow space a dreadful combat ensued. Inflamed by patriotism and the memory of past wrongs, with Hindoo fanaticism and a just longing for vengeance, they fought with the most splendid courage. The Mysoreans gave way after 2,000 of them had fallen, and a dreadful slaughter was made in the pursuit, for the Nairs were merciless, and now betook them to their terrible war-hatchets. Mounted on a white horse, Tippoo, after witnessing the rout and disgrace of his troops, and after exerting every energy for the recovery of the field, had so to fly from it, that on his horse being shot, he had a narrow escape from being chopped to pieces.

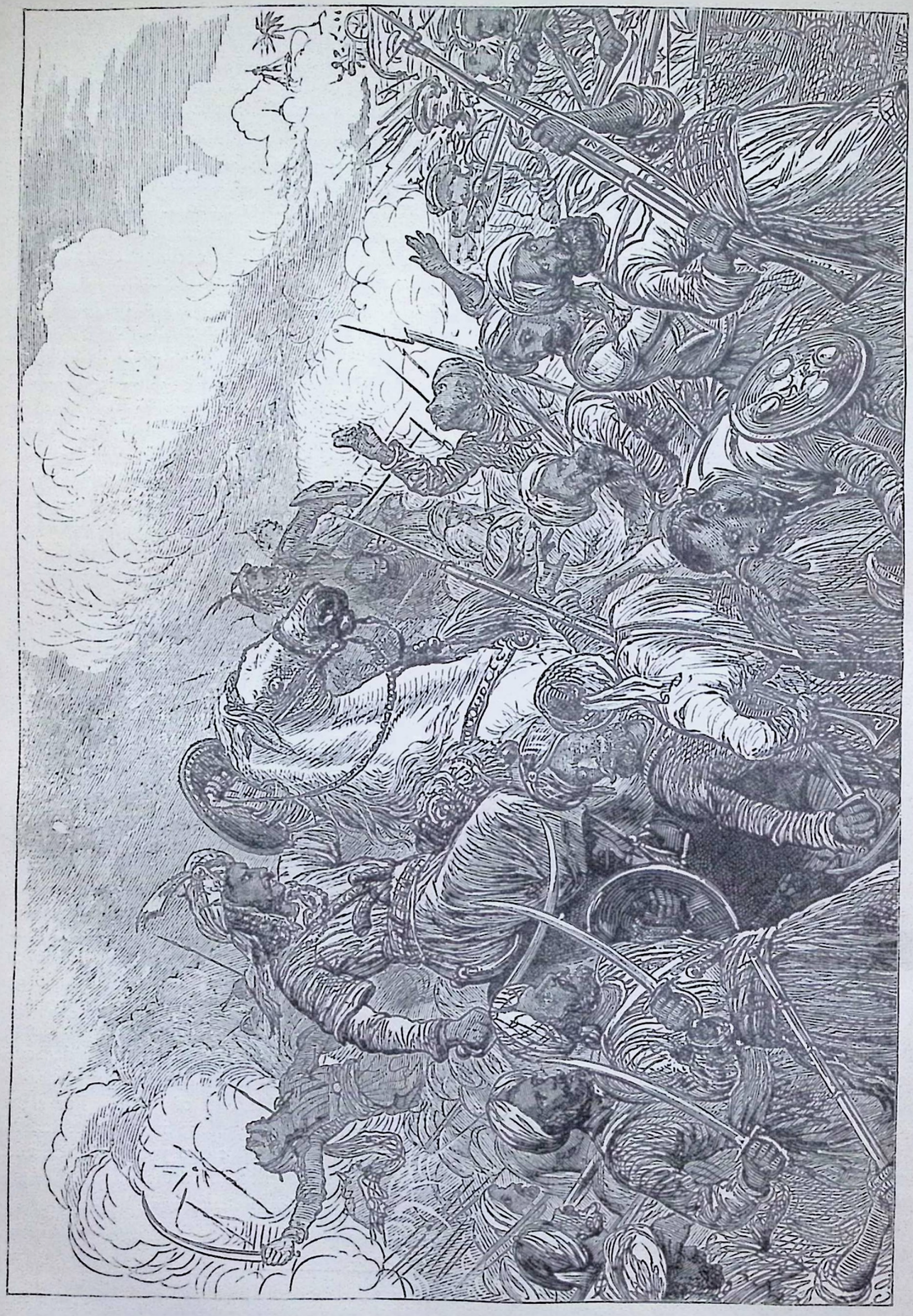
Two gaps, each about twenty feet wide, that had been cut through the lines on the advance of the main body, to admit their cannon, now served to some purpose in covering their retreat; but they had another fatal enemy to encounter. The cotton bales with which the pioneers had filled the ditch now took fire, and they had to fall back through the flames. This compelled many to fight to the last. Only forty of them were taken prisoners. Three men of noble rank were among the disfigured dead; and Tippoo did not escape scatheless. To avoid the flames, probably, he had been obliged to leap the rampart, and was severely bruised, losing his turban and the gold bangles off his wrists. His state palanquin was found at the edge of the ditch, and in it were several rare diamond rings, and other jewels, in a silver casket, his great seal, his fusil and pistols, with a diamond-hilted sword.

During these encounters, a body of British sepoys, led by Captain Knox, remained under arms; but simply looking on, as that officer had no power to act.

On reaching his camp, Tippoo, in a paroxysm of rage, swore by a terrible oath that he would never quit it till he had forced the Lines of Travancore; and thus he was thereby compelled to remain before them three months, during which he threw away the only chance he had of striking a decisive blow before we could make effectual preparations to oppose him in the field of battle. For eight whole days he shut himself up in his tent, and in one gust of rage, seized 2,000 young women, and gave them as a present to his army.†

* "Narrative of the Campaign, &c.," by Major Alexander Dirom, 52nd Foot.

† *London Gazette*, 1791.



TIPPOO SAHIB AT THE LINES OF TRAVANCORE.



MADRAS SEPOYS, 1791.

CHAPTER LV.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIPPOO, INCLUDING THE SUCCESSES OF COLONELS STUART AND FLOYD—BATTLE OF SHOWROOR—CONQUEST OF MALABAR, ETC.

EARL CORNWALLIS, as soon as intelligence of this attempt to force the Lines of Travancore reached him, resolved to act on his already avowed intention, to hold it as a declaration of war. The intended system of neutrality was no longer tenable; he was left to his own dictates, and putting himself in communication with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, formed a triple league against Tippoo. It was settled on the 4th of July, 1790; and for the purpose of effectually humbling the Sultan of Mysore, these powers agreed to furnish each a corps of 10,000 horse, to act in concert with our troops, to be paid by the Company; they also agreed that a British corps should act in concert with each of their armies, and that, at the conclusion of the war, there was to be an equal division of all conquered territory; the British, however, were to have exclusive possession of all forts and territories they might have the good fortune to reduce before the other allies took actual part in the war.

While he was making these arrangements, the Governor-General was not seconded at Madras. Instead of obeying the orders of the Supreme Council issued in conformity with the Regulating Act, Governor Holland acted as if he had a discretionary power, and ignoring instructions on one hand, was contumacious on the other. He certainly ordered a large body of troops to hold themselves ready for instant service; but he rendered the order nugatory by omitting to provide the necessary equipments of draught and carriage bullocks for their artillery and baggage. The consequence was that he was displaced, and succeeded by Colonel William Medows, of the 73rd Highlanders, formerly Governor of Bombay, and having the

local rank of major-general in India, an officer of high character and great ability, whose first business was, in a soldier-like way, to prepare all that was required for the field.

Meanwhile the Governor-General was busy in Bengal, from whence he quickly dispatched a large amount of specie, munition of war, and a battalion of foot artillery, chiefly gun-lascars, by sea. 'The high caste Brahmins had certain prejudices against conveyance by water, thus six battalions of sepoys marched under Colonel Cockerell, while, to make the resources of the Carnatic and Tanjore available, application was made to the nabob and the rajah for certain arrears from their revenues, which the Company were to collect during the war, and pay them and their families a sufficient subsistence out of them.

Meanwhile Tippoo was remaining idly before the lines which he had sworn to pass, waiting for heavier cannon and more forces, and the following somewhat prophetic letter was written from Amboor by Major-General Sir Thomas Munro (who must not be confounded with his clansman, Sir Hector, the Colonel of the Black Watch), concerning the Lines of Travancore, while war was pending :—

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

While Tippoo held his ground, he drew up, and meanly antedated by fifteen days, a letter which he sent to Madras, purporting that while searching for fugitives, some of his Mysoreans had been fired upon by the Nairs, and that he was compelled to retaliate and attack the lines. He further made hypocritical professions of a desire for peace, while working hard at regular approaches towards the lines, in which, after filling up the ditch, he made a clear breach of three-quarters of a mile in length, and bursting into Travancore with his whole army, the most dreadful devastations ensued. That fertile land, the cultivated districts of which abound in grain, sago, and sugar, plantains, coffee, and many aromatic drugs, was rapidly reduced to a desert; the people were hunted down like wild animals by the Mysorean horse, and immense numbers of them were carried off to a captivity worse than death. When Tippoo, after forcing the lines, laid siege to Cranganore—the seaport which the rajah had purchased from the Dutch—Colonel James Hartley, of the 75th Highlanders, had arrived from Bombay with one European (his own) and two sepoy regiments. These were joined by two other battalions—those referred to in the letter of Sir Thomas Munro—but the whole force being too small to act on the offensive, remained cooped up in Ayacotta, opposite Cranganore, but on the northern extremity of the island of Vipeen.

Major-General (afterwards Sir William) Medows, after forming a small encampment at Conjeveram, marched from thence on the 24th of May, to assume the command of the main army, which had been assembling on the plain of Trichinopoly, and which was formed in two European, and four native brigades. The 36th and 52nd Foot composed the first of these, under the command of Major Skelly of the 74th Highlanders, which, along with the 1st and 3rd Native Brigades, formed the left wing of the army under Colonel James Stuart of the 72nd Highlanders; the second brigade consisted of the 71st and 72nd Highland Regiments, and the 1st European Battalion of the Company. The horse were the 2nd and 5th Native Cavalry, with some companies of Bengal Artillery under Colonel Deare. †

This was called the great Southern Army, and mustered 16,700 men. By the 9th of the same month, Cranganore and another small fort had been stormed by Tippoo with little resistance.

On the same evening when Medows took the command, the line was drawn out, all his final arrangements made, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 26th, the army began its march, by Caroor, in the Coimbatore district, for Dindigul in the country of the enemy. ‡

Tippoo was now falling back, but before quitting

* "Rise, &c., of the British Power in India."

† "Hist. Rec. 52nd Regiment."

‡ *London Gazette*, 1791.

Travancore, he gratified his vanity by converting the destruction of the famous lines into a public ceremony. Parading without arms, the whole army of Mysore marched by divisions to their appointed stations. Tippoo, with a pickaxe, struck the first blow; the sirdars and courtiers followed his example, and then the entire forces; all kinds of camp-followers took part in the work of destruction, which, in six days, was complete.

On the 15th of June our troops were before Caroor, a town forty-two miles distant from Trichinopoly, having a large temple and fort. The latter was taken, repaired, and strengthened, to render it a place for leaving stores and the sick; and about this task the engineers at once set to work, while Captain Parr was appointed commandant.*

The plan of the intended campaign, as adopted by General Medows, was simple enough. His main body, after reducing Palaghaut and all the forts in the Coimbatore district, was to ascend to the table-land of Mysore by the Pass of Gujelhetty, while another force, composed chiefly of troops expected from Bengal, was to penetrate from the centre of Coromandel straight into the Baramahal. But so sickly and unfavourable was the season, that more than 1,200 men were sent back unfit for duty to the luckily-established hospital at Caroor, before a shot was fired by the main army.

On the 21st the latter had an *alerte* for the first time, when 300 of Tippoo's irregular horse fell suddenly upon some of our camp-followers, maiming and barbarously mutilating all whom they failed to slay. At nine a.m. the trumpets sounded; the cavalry pickets turned out, and advanced beyond the grand-guard, led by Colonel John Floyd of the (old) 19th Light Dragoons, an officer who had distinguished himself at the battle of Emsdorff, and died in 1816, a baronet and Governor of Tilbury Fort. He advanced with such spirit, that the enemy gave way; but he did not deem pursuit then prudent. These irregulars, distinguished by the name of Looties (from *loot*, the Indian word for military plunder), continued their sudden attacks for two or three days, till they were attacked and utterly dispersed by our cavalry, while, steel ringing on steel, cheers on Mohammedan yells, were heard to echo in the leafy tope; and their leader was taken, after a gallant hand-to-hand combat, by Cornet Forbes of the 3rd Native Horse: "Mr. Forbes received the first cut, in the hand, but soon brought down his antagonist, by two severe wounds in his face and arm. The swords of these people are long and of fine temper; but their horses are by no means good."†

* *London Gazette*, 1791. † Ibid.

On the 10th July, the forces were at Darapooram near the Amaravati river. There they found the fort abandoned, but abundance of grain left, enough, indeed, to serve the army six weeks; so a garrison was put therein under Captain Swain, with the iron eighteen-pounders, and all the tents and heavy baggage. It had been expected to overtake Tippoo at Coimbatore, but he was already above the Ghauts.

On the 23rd of July, Colonel Stuart was detached to reduce Palaghaut, or Palaghautcherry, as it bears both names; but, unfortunately, in making this movement, the nature of the climate had not been considered. The south-west monsoon had set in, and when Colonel Stuart was only twenty miles to the west of his destination, he became so entangled between two mountain torrents, that he was compelled, with the utmost difficulty, to make his way back to headquarters; yet he had with him a fine force, the flower of whom were the 72nd Highlanders, "upwards of 1,000 of the men being healthy, seasoned to the climate, well-disciplined, and highly respectable in their moral conduct."‡

The colonel's destination was therefore changed, and he was dispatched above 100 miles south-west to Dindigul, while a column under Colonel Oldham, of the Company's service, was selected for the capture of Erode, on the Cauvery, northward of Caroor, and on the best route from it to the Gujelhetty Pass. In the meantime, Colonel John Floyd, with all the cavalry of the army, including his own corps, H.M. 19th Light Dragoons, and a brigade of light infantry, had come in contact with a great force of Mysore cavalry, whom Tippoo, on leaving Coimbatore, had left under Seyed Sahib, with orders to harass the British troops.

It chanced that on the evening of the 16th August, the colonel, attended by four officers, and sixteen dragoons, when riding forward to reconnoitre, came suddenly upon a great body of Seyed Sahib's cavalry, who instantly formed to receive him. Without a moment's hesitation, the gallant Floyd, at the head of only twenty sabres, cut a passage right through them, killing twenty-five, taking nine horses, and three men prisoners. The colonel had but one man killed.‖ By a series of brilliant movements, Seyed Sahib was driven pell-mell, northward to the Bhowani, a river which flows eastwards from the Neilgherry Hills, and ultimately was pressed so closely, that for safety, he ascended the Ghauts, by this retreat leaving the whole country open to Colonel Stuart, who was enabled to reach Dindigul without firing a shot.

On the 17th of August, his troops were before

‡ General Stewart, vol. ii. ‖ *London Gazette*, 1791.

this place, which has been already described; but within the preceding six years it had been strongly rebuilt on an improved plan, with fourteen additional guns and a mortar; and as these improvements were unknown to the colonel, he had neither a requisite siege train nor ammunition, yet by the 21st he effected a species of breach. The storming party, consisting of the flank companies of the 52nd, and some native troops, led by Major Francis Skelly, 74th Highlanders, advanced to the attack in the dark; but the attempt failed, the troops fell back, with the loss of thirty men killed and one officer mortally wounded.

Next morning, to the astonishment of all, the killedar held out a white flag and surrendered; on this, the fortress was garrisoned by Colonel Stuart, who at once advanced against Palaghautcherry, which he invested on the 10th of September, 1791, and threw up two batteries within 500 yards of the walls, and on the same day a practicable breach was made. The *Gazette* states, that prior to this, General Medows, by a flag of truce, had informed "the killedar, that if he obliges us to open one gun against it, no terms would be given to him or his garrison, but that every one of them should be put to death." Whether or not this stern announcement influenced the Mysorean, it is impossible to say, but the assault was spared by a capitulation, and by his kind treatment of the natives, Colonel Stuart so won their affections, that his bazaar assumed the aspect of a provincial granary, and he was able to leave the new garrison provisions for six months, and take back with him a month's grain for the whole army, which he rejoined on the 15th of October near Coimbatore.

During these operations, Colonels Oldham and Floyd had not been idle. On the 6th of August, the former had effected the complete reduction of Erode (or Errouad), a fortified town (which had of old belonged to the Naiks of Madura) on the Coleroon river. The garrison, 200 strong, fired briskly on his force, till they were silenced by the fine practice with a brass eighteen-pounder, and capitulated.

The latter officer had made himself master of Satimangalam, a strong fortress and town with a temple of Vishnu; and thus a line of forts was established from Caroor to the Gujelhetty Pass, through which General Medows hoped to march before the end of October, and the last of these was held by Colonel Floyd with a force of 2,000 men.*

Early in September, however, Tippoo, leaving his stores and baggage on the summit of the Ghaut, began to descend the Gujelhetty Pass at the head of his cavalry chiefly. Of this movement the active Floyd had early intelligence, and wrote instantly to General Medows announcing it, and suggesting a junction of all our forces, as these were considerably dispersed, a third being under the general at Coimbatore, another column under Colonel Stuart thirty miles in the rear, and the rest being with Floyd sixty miles in advance, he requested leave to fall back; but as the descent of Tippoo was not believed, he was ordered to hold his ground.

"My corps," says the colonel, in his report to headquarters early in September, 1790, "was augmented after the forcing of Satimangalam, so that it consisted of the King's Regiment (19th Light Dragoons), and sixteen squadrons of native cavalry, H.M. 36th Regiment, and four battalions of native infantry, with eleven pieces of cannon served by the Bengal Artillery. One battalion garrisoned Satimangalam, and the rest of my corps was encamped near it, on the south side of the Bhowani."

Hearing that the enemy were certainly coming on, Colonel Floyd, as the country in front was intersected by almost impenetrable enclosures of prickly shrubs, early on the morning of the 13th September, sent forward three squadrons of our 19th, under Captain-Lieutenant W. G. Child, of that corps, with Major Darby's cavalry in support, to reconnoitre the fort of Poongur on the Bhowani. To this there were two roads—one winding by the stream, and the other more direct, at some distance from it. Child's troopers, after meeting a body of Tippoo's horse at the ford, beating and forcing them into the river, where many were slain or drowned, returned by the former road; but Darby's cavalry took the latter, and had ridden along it but a few miles, when they were suddenly attacked by a strong force, and saw large bodies of the sultan's horse hovering, with lance and shield, in every direction. Nevertheless, Major Darby made a brave resistance, till Floyd came on with all the cavalry to his relief, on which the whole fell back, after killing 400 of the enemy.

This was but the prelude to tougher work.

A large column of Tippoo's troops began to descend the northern bank of the stream, while another came rapidly on from the west. Floyd had only time to change his front, and post his infantry where their flank could not be turned, when Tippoo opened a distant cannonade from fifteen (deserters said nineteen) of his light galloper guns, the fire of which was continued during the whole day, and caused many casualties. Among the killed were Colonel Deare, of the Bengal Artillery, and Lieutenant Kelly Armstrong, of the

* Hugh Murray's "India."

36th Regiment. Two other officers were wounded, one of these, Dr. Morris, mortally. Floyd's artillery returned the fire, but "the axle-trees of two of my twelve-pounders soon gave way," he reported, "and a six-pounder was disabled; the rest were fired with excellent aim, but sparingly, as my stock of ammunition was not great. Our line stood on the shoulder of a rising ground to the right; on the summit it was stony, but free from bushes. The enemy was on strong ground among enclosures and villages, and at a considerable distance, so that most of the shot struck the ground short of our line, though some went an incredible distance beyond it. The cannonade was kept up until perfect dark; nothing on earth could exceed the bravery and firmness of every man in our whole line. When it was dark, I determined to join the commander-in-chief, and take the shortest route to Coimbatore." *

The sepoy loss was so severe that Colonel Floyd frequently rode along the line, expressing his regret to the native officers, and cheering them with the hope of revenge.

"We have eaten the Company's salt," replied these brave fellows, "and God forbid that we should mind a few casualties!" †

The moment night was fairly in, the retreat began. Captain Dallas, with some timber, repaired the disabled guns; the battalion was withdrawn from the fort, and the whole fell back in three columns, one of cavalry, one of infantry, and one of baggage; but the slaughter among the bullocks was so great that three guns were abandoned. The country became so jungly and woody about Owcara that the three columns had to take one line of march—the cavalry, oddly enough, leading, without covering the rear.

Tippoo came on in hot pursuit. By two p.m. his infantry were close enough up to be within range; but it was five before he could make a combined attack upon the troops of Floyd, at a time when they were greatly exhausted, and had been compelled to abandon all their guns but five six-pounders. Those of the enemy bore heavily on the line of march: their infantry poured in musketry and rockets, while their daring cavalry often dashed so close that they had to be hurled back by the bayonet. In this conflict, Captain William Hartley, of the Hertfordshire Regiment, when making a gallant attempt to capture one of Tippoo's guns, was slain.

As the troops, galled thus on every hand, with night before them, were struggling on to reach a village named Showroor, a cry was raised that General Medows was at hand; for a troop that Floyd had sent out to feel the way had been mistaken for Medows' personal guard. Three hearty British cheers now rung upon the air; and, forming with their front to the rear, our troops rushed on with their bayonets at the charge. Then Tippoo, conceiving that Medows, with his whole force, was at hand, drew off, and Floyd's corps, without further molestation, after three days of fighting without food, reached Showroor at about seven p.m., and fired three signal guns towards Coimbatore. Next day they marched again before dawn, after having heard and returned three signal guns, and at Vellady were joined by General Medows, who had been vigorously pushing on to support them.

Floyd's total losses were 156 men and twenty-three horses killed, 227 men and eleven horses wounded.

In this conflict—called the battle of Showroor—a brother-in-law of Tippoo was killed, and a chief named Morai Rao was drawn, with his camel, into a rapid of the Bhowani and drowned. Shortly afterwards, by the arrival of Colonel Stuart's force from Palaghautcherry, the whole army, by the end of September, 1790, was united under the baton of General Medows at Coimbatore.

On the 1st of the preceding month, after a 1,200 miles' march, the troops sent overland by Earl Cornwallis from Calcutta halted at Conjeveram. They consisted of three regiments of European infantry, one of native cavalry, and a fine artillery train, mustering in all 9,500 men, under Colonel Hamilton Maxwell, of the 74th Highlanders, who had succeeded to the command by the death of Colonel Kelly on the 24th of September. The former was the second son of Sir William Maxwell, Bart., of Monreith, and was fated to find his last home in India.

In pursuance of the original plan of the campaign, he entered the Baramahal on the day Colonel Kelly died. The instant he heard of this movement, Tippoo set out at the head of three-fourths of his army to repel it, leaving the remainder, under Kummer-ud-Deen, to watch General Medows. Colonel Maxwell first menaced the rock-built fortress of Kistnagherry, of which he made a minute examination, with a view to its future reduction, and then established his head-quarters at Cauverypatam.

On the 12th of the next month, the army of Tippoo appeared; but finding himself foiled in every attempt to make an advantageous attack, he resolved to draw off three days after, and in such a mood that he would have made short work with

* Despatches. † Colonel Wilks' "Historical Sketches."

any prisoners who fell into his merciless hands. General Medows, meanwhile, had been advancing from the south, and on the 15th—the day fixed by Tippoo for falling back—he encamped on the mountain range that overlooks the valley of the Baramahal, about twenty-five miles distant from Maxwell's post at Cauverypatam. When the advanced guard halted, they perceived some bodies of troops taking up their ground about six miles distant; and as nothing had been heard of Maxwell for three weeks, it was naturally concluded that these troops must be his column; so three signal guns were fired from an eminence to announce the fortunate junction. In a few minutes after this, every tent was struck in the distance, and heavy columns were seen pressing westward, when it became evident that this was not the force of Colonel Maxwell, but of Tippoo.

The junction with the former was effected by the 17th of November, and the whole army now encamped at Cauverypatam, about midway between the head and the southern extremity of the Pass of Tapoor, which is forty-six miles in length. Unwilling to be compelled to ascend the Ghaut, Tippoo had determined to fall back through this identical pass. On the 18th, Medows and he were in motion, and, all unconscious of each other's movements, were marching towards the same point. It has been said that General Medows, who in single actions fought with great skill, was unequal to the complications of a campaign in a country so great; and thus that by improper management, Tippoo, who ought to have been entangled and attacked in the pass, was permitted to escape without any serious loss.

Delighted with his good fortune, the sultan marched along the banks of the Cauvery, nor did he halt till he came in sight of Trichinopoly. Against that place his demonstrations proved of no avail; but he was able, before the arrival of Medows, who had been following him up quickly, to pillage and devastate the Isle of Seringham, so famous for its pagoda and temple with the thousand pillars.

The generally unsatisfactory character of the whole campaign—or rather, the result of it—made Lord Cornwallis resolve to assume the command in person.

Finding that nothing was to be effected at Trichinopoly, Tippoo hastened towards Coromandel, everywhere levying heavy contributions, and rapine and destruction everywhere marking his line of march. In six attempts to storm the fortress of Thiagur, wherein he expected to find great booty, he was six times repulsed by Captain Flint, who in the past time so gallantly defended Wandiwash. After capturing Trinomalee, and treating the inhabitants with singular barbarity, he turned east, took Permacoil near Pondicherry, where he was fated to find that all his intrigues with Louis XVII., through Bertrand de Molleville and M. Leger, were likely to prove failures; while at the same time there came to him discouraging news from Malabar, where he had left Hossein Ali, at the head of 9,000 disciplined soldiers and 4,000 Moplas, in a strong position near Calicut. Hartley, of the 75th Highlanders, at the head of his own regiment and other troops, on the 10th of December, 1790, had utterly routed the enemy, with the loss of 1,900 men, killed, wounded, and taken; among the latter was Hossein himself. Hartley had only four Highlanders killed and forty-four native infantry wounded. In this and other successes were captured thirty-four stand of colours, sixty-eight pieces of cannon, and 5,000 stand of arms. Soon after, General Abercromby effected the entire conquest of Malabar.

The Polygars, Nairs, and Hindoos of the coast now took, upon the Mysoreans, the most bloody and awful reprisals for all that they had suffered at the hands of Tippoo's Mohammedan troops. The destruction and pollution of their ancient temples in particular drove them mad with fury. In one place, an officer of Tippoo's who wanted some iron, determined to supply himself from what he could find in a *Rut*—a holy shrine upon wheels, nearly all of carved wood, and so heavy as to require thousands to drag it; and concerning this sacrilege the widow of a chief whom, with his son, Tippoo had destroyed, told this tale, says Colonel Wilks, to one of our officers with savage glee.

As it had been too much trouble to extract the iron from the *Rut*, he had burned it in the square of the great temple. "On hearing of this abomination," said she, "I secretly collected my men; I entered the town by night, I seized and tied him to a stake, and (here the narrator burst into tears, and an agony of exultation), I burned the monster on the spot where he had wantonly insulted and consumed the sacred emblems of my religion." *

While amid such wild work the campaign of 1790 was closing, it is pleasant to read of a quiet meeting, held by Scotsmen in Calcutta, chiefly officers of the army, to collect subscriptions for the new University of Edinburgh; and at the head of the list appears the name of Earl Cornwallis for 3,000 secca rupees.†

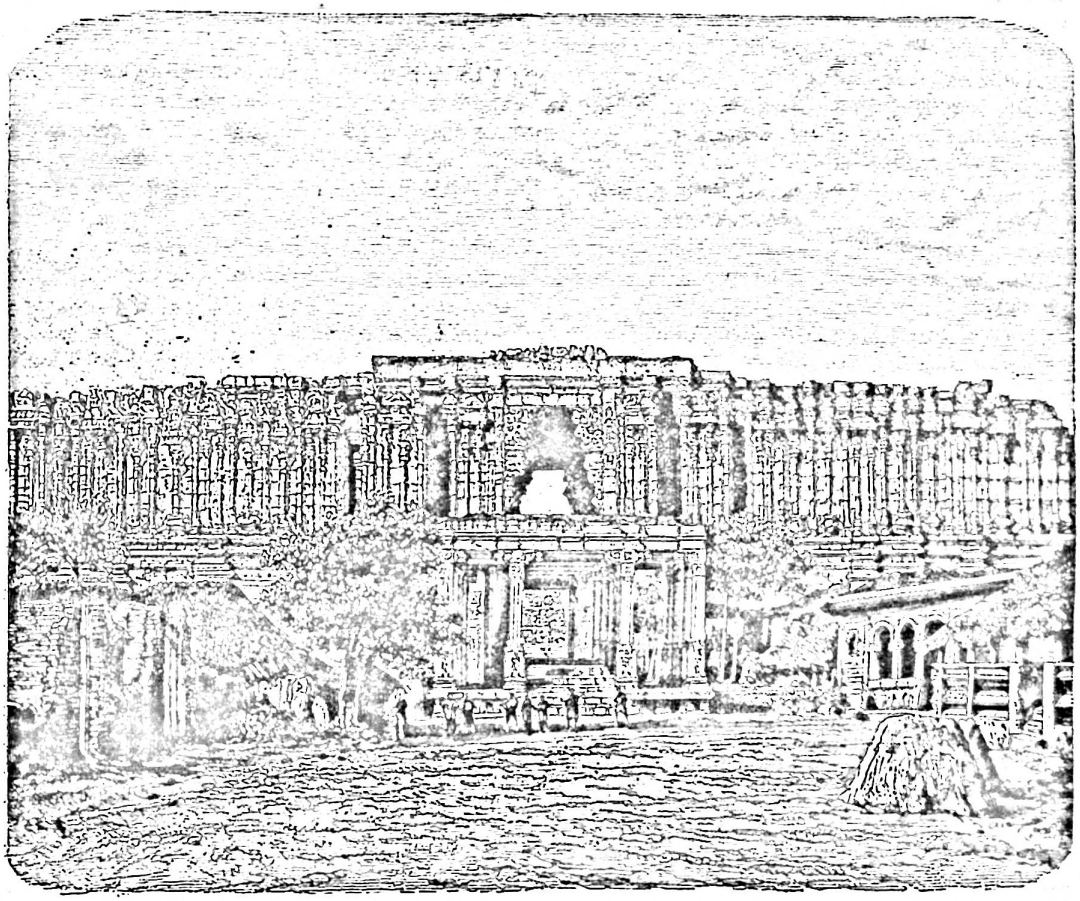
* "Sketches of Southern India."
† *Scots Magazine*, 1791.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIPPOO—BANGALORE STORMED—THE BATTLE OF CARIGAT.

EARL CORNWALLIS lost no time in assuming command of the army. In a letter to Mr. Grenville, dated Fort St. George, Madras, 28th of December, 1790, he says :—

"In pursuance of the intention which I notified to you in my letter of November 15th, I left Calcutta on the 6th, to embark in the *Vestal*, frigate, at Diamond Harbour; and, after a very prosperous voyage, landed here on the 13th instant. My time has been partly employed in attending to several important points of the civil business of this presidency; but principally in acquiring minute information respecting the condition of the troops, of the magazines, of provisions, and of the nature of the different passes that lead to the Mysore country; and, after the most deliberate reflection, I have resolved, instead of prosecuting the plan of the southern invasion, to penetrate by the passes that lead from the centre of the Carnatic, and to commence our operations with the sieges of Oussore and Bangalore, unless Tippoo should resolve to hazard an action, and its event shall render it expedient to take other measures."



ENTRANCE TO THE TEMPLE OF SERINGHAM.

In the mind of the native troops generally, there existed a strong religious prejudice against sea voyages. Hindoos of high caste were subject to great privations, especially in the ships of those days, when, from the necessities of caste, they were compelled to eat nothing but dried grain, and hence the serious mutiny of a battalion in 1780; but the wise and gentle conduct of Earl Cornwallis, together with his kindness and firmness,

surmounted these difficulties; and as other commanders in succession have imitated him, since the time referred to, sepoys have made long and arduous voyages without scruple.*

Thus Cornwallis brought with him a considerable reinforcement—six battalions of infantry, under Colonel Campbell—chiefly composed of Bengal grenadiers, who exceeded in appearance any sepoys that had ever taken the field. He also brought a considerable number of heavy guns, of horses, draught bullocks, and an ample military chest. At this period the Company's grenadiers wore a scarlet jacket and blue turban, having a gilt plate, and on the top a feather; epaulettes and cross-belts, with a plate in the centre, and short breeches, coming half way down the thigh, from whence the leg was bare to the sandal.†

On the 27th of January, 1791, Cornwallis joined the army, which he had instructed General Medows to concentrate near Velhaut, where the whole passed him in review order; the cannon, carriage and baggage animals were inspected. "The army being refreshed and equipped, commenced moving in a westerly direction, on the 5th of February, by Perambucam and Sholingur, arriving on the 11th in the vicinity of Vellore. The troops were ordered into the fort, and on the 14th they marched to Chitapett, turning suddenly to the right by Chittoor, towards the Mugler Pass, where they arrived on the 17th of February. On the 18th the advance, followed by the artillery, ascended the Ghauts, the entire army encamping on the following day at Palmahair, in the Mysore territory, without having come in sight of the enemy."‡

This ground was attained by Cornwallis before Tippoo could offer any effectual resistance. The advance referred to, a brigade, had encamped on the table-land of Mysore, and ere four days were over, the whole force, including the battering-train, sixty-seven Bengal elephants, with forty-five days' provisions, were within the camp, and Bangalore, the first intended point of attack, was only ninety miles distant. To retaliate for the fearful devastations of the Mysorean army, the troops, but more especially the camp-followers, now proceeded to pillage and burn in every direction, until Cornwallis executed nine for the determent of others, and issued the following:—

"GENERAL ORDERS.—Lord Cornwallis has too high an opinion of the zeal, honour, and public spirit of the officers of the army, to doubt for a moment that every individual among them felt the same concern and indignation that he did himself, at the shocking and disgraceful outrages that were committed on the last march. His lordship now calls, in the most serious manner, for the active assistance of every officer in the army, and particularly those commanding flanking parties, advance and rear guards, to put a stop to these scenes of horror, which, if they should be suffered to continue, must defeat our hopes of success, and blast the British name with infamy."

On the 24th, the army marched for Colar, which was abandoned at its approach; and from thence to Ooscotah, which was immediately occupied by a battalion of sepoys. Our troops were now within ten miles of Bangalore, in which Tippoo had lodged his harem, after the safety of which he was intently looking. It is said that 500 horse could have done so, but he preferred to escort it with his whole army, at a time when the safety of Mysore demanded its presence in the field. On the 4th of March, some of his cavalry, clad in the glittering caps and shirts of steel such as had been worn for ages, and made them look like ancient Moors of Granada, made a dash to break through our columns and reach the baggage, then unwieldy beyond all parallel, in consequence of the immense quantities of stores requisite for the siege; and in one of these attacks, three Mysorean troopers, having previously drugged themselves with *bhang*, made a rush at Lord Cornwallis, who was watching the movements of Tippoo from an eminence.

Two of them were cut down, the third, who seemed stupefied, was taken prisoner; and two days after, there occurred an encounter, in which the gallant Floyd nearly perished. While, with some of his cavalry, rashly pursuing a body of horse, in the hope of cutting off a mass of the enemy's baggage on camels and elephants, he fell from his saddle, a musket-shot having perforated both cheeks, passing between the jaws. For a time, he was left on the ground for dead; but was brought off by his Light Dragoons after the loss of 71 men and 271 horses.

On the 5th of March, Lord Cornwallis was in position before Bangalore, which is situated on an undulating plateau 3,000 feet above the sea's level, in a central position possessing great natural advantages. The fort, two miles distant from the modern town, and in ruins now, had been entirely rebuilt by Tippoo and his father; it was nearly oval in form, with round towers at intervals, and strong cavaliers, and was encompassed by a deep ditch cut in the solid rock, and by a broad

* "Rise of the Bengal Infantry."
† Gold's "Oriental Drawings," 1806.
‡ "Rec. 52nd Light Infantry."

esplanade. Within its area was the original village of Bangalore, the walls of which are still to be traced, and the sultan's *mahal* or palace, now officers' quarters. It was entered by two barriers, one named the Delhi, and the other the Mysore Gate. The besiegers rapidly gained possession of the more modern town, with all its tortuous red-tiled streets, pagodas, mosques, and lines of cocoa-trees, and Tippoo, who was encamped six miles distant, made many efforts for its recovery but in vain. Its capture was a brave act.

It was surrounded by a mud wall and ditch, and had a massive Egyptian-looking gate, covered by a close thicket of Indian thorns. The attack was made without the approaches being properly reconnoitred; thus, both when advancing and endeavouring to force an entrance, the troops were exposed to a galling musketry fire, especially from some turrets on the wall. Colonel Moorhouse, one of the most accomplished officers in India, fell with four mortal wounds. At length the pioneers beat the gate nearly to pieces, when Lieutenant Aire, an officer of diminutive stature, forced a passage through it, sword in hand; and then Medows, who was always gay when in action, called out, "Well done!" adding to the grenadiers, "Now, Whiskers, try if you can follow and support the little gentleman."

The soldiers burst in, and rushed along the streets. Tippoo threw in a strong corps; but when the troops betook themselves to the bayonet, the Mysoreans were hurled out of the pettah, with the loss of 2,000 men, while ours was only 131. Moorhouse, who belonged to the artillery, and had risen from the ranks, was universally regretted. His body was taken to Madras, and publicly interred in the church of Fort St. George, where a monument was erected to his memory.

As Bangalore was not completely invested, and its garrison, 8,000 strong, was regularly relieved by fresh troops (like that of Sebastopol in later times), the siege was carried on under great difficulty. Moreover, the engineers had awkwardly thrown up their first battery without ascertaining the exact distance, nor were they made aware of the circumstance until they saw their shot falling short. Good progress, however, was made soon after, and by the 20th of March an early assault was anticipated. To prevent this, Tippoo on the following morning drew up his army in order of battle on the heights to the south-west of Bangalore, to protect the advance of a column, 5,000 strong, with heavy guns, which he intended to place upon an old embankment in such a manner that, by a flank fire, they must have scoured the trenches and destroyed our sap, which was now pushed close to the crest of the glacis. Thus Lord Cornwallis felt himself compelled to attempt a storm that very night, as the breach was practicable.

At eleven o'clock the troops, with their supports, detailed for this arduous service, advanced in dead silence to the point of attack. The liquid brightness of a tropical moon shone over the towers and ramparts, the quaint pagodas and domed mosques of Bangalore, and on the yawning breach in the walls, which could be seen distinctly from our lines; and the Mysorean sentinels, who had not the least idea of what was coming, were visible as they paced to and fro upon their posts.

The attacking force was composed of all the European flank companies, and the 36th and 76th Regiments, with the 72nd Highlanders, led by Colonel Maxwell, and the flankers by Major Skelly, of the 74th Highlanders. The words of command were passed in whispers. Stealing along the covered way to the end of the works, the troops suddenly emerged at a rush, and with ringing cheers, to the assault; and the ladders of the forlorn hope were reared against the wall before the enemy knew their danger. The Mysorean drums beat to arms in the camp and fort alike. The killedar, with all the troops he could collect, rushed, sword in hand, to the point of danger; but the troops were already in possession of the rough, rugged breach, and were spreading along the walls to the right and left of it. A close and fierce contest ensued; but our troops "had learned from their chief the advantage in war of promptitude and celerity, and poured in, charging with the bayonet, and strewing their way with slaughtered enemies." In a short time we were completely masters of Bangalore, in the face of the whole army of Tippoo, and by a storming party that barely amounted to one-fourth of the ordinary garrison.

The advantages won may be estimated from the disasters that must have attended a failure. "Short as the duration of the siege had been, the forage and grain found in the pettah were all consumed. No supply could be obtained from the neighbouring villages, which had been completely destroyed; and the miserable resource of digging up the roots of grass had been used, till not a fibre remained within the limits of the pickets. The draught and carriage cattle were daily dying by hundreds, and those intended for the shambles were so wasted and diseased as to be almost unfit for food. Every necessary, including ammunition, was at the lowest ebb, and a retreat, after raising the siege, must have been full of disaster. The knowledge of these circumstances was undoubtedly our main induce-

ment to risk the assault when the success of it was, to say the least, very problematical."

Colonel Duff was appointed commandant of the captured fortress, into which the earl placed H.M. 76th Foot and three battalions of sepoys. The quantity of military stores found there was astonishing: of gunpowder alone, it was said, that there was more than we were likely to require during the war. There were taken 100 pieces of cannon, fifty of which were brass.

The unexpected loss of Bangalore, when, with his superior numbers, he was taking such means to relieve it, filled Tippoo with rage and despair, and for some time he was in a species of stupor; for the suddenness of Lord Cornwallis's movements disconcerted all his plans.

After seeing the breaches repaired, and the fort made secure under Colonel Duff against any sudden attack, Earl Cornwallis, on the 28th of March, began to move in a northerly direction, taking the route to Deonhully. Tippoo, who on the same day had struck his tents, moved in the direction of Great Balipoor, in a line diagonal to that pursued by the British; and the two armies meeting, crossed each other, not without a sharp skirmish; but the enemy, as if feeling their weakness, only manœuvred to avoid a general action. They defiled rapidly across our front, and wheeling into a road which ran parallel to that pursued by our troops, observed, without troubling themselves, our further movements. They were sometimes only three miles apart, and each army could see the glitter of the other's arms, and the clouds of dust that whirled around the marching columns.

Cornwallis had determined to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's country, and the strongest place which the brutal tyrant held; but, instead of advancing thither at that juncture, he was obliged to move northward to effect a junction with a corps of cavalry which Nizam Ali had agreed to furnish. This being accomplished on the 13th of April, the united forces moved south-east to meet a convoy which, escorted by 4,000 men, was moving by the passes near the castled rock of Amboor; and on its coming in, the whole army returned to Bangalore.

This march occupied fifteen days, and during that time Cornwallis had ample means to judge the value of Ali's cavalry. Nominally 15,000, they were only 10,000 all told, and tolerably mounted, but without discipline; and their appearance in our camp excited astonishment, disappointment, and sometimes laughter. No two men among them were accoutred exactly alike.

"It is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour contains any arms or articles of personal equipment, which might not be traced to this motley crowd. The Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, matchlocks of every form, and metallic helmets of every pattern. The total absence of every symptom of order or obedience, except groups collected round their respective flags, every individual an independent warrior, affecting to be the champion whose single arm was to achieve victory."* And yet in an artistic sense these wild horsemen must have seemed somewhat picturesque; but they had neither provender nor provisions of any kind: thus Cornwallis made them relieve the 19th and other light cavalry in outpost duty; yet this they neglected, and took to pillaging friends and foes with perfect impartiality, heedless alike of the orders of their leader, Tewant Sing, a Hindoo, and of his second in command, Asseid Ali.

For many reasons the Governor-General was now anxious to end the war as briefly as possible. In Europe the French Revolution was raging in all its fury, and none could foresee where or how its results were to end. The debts of the Company were rapidly accumulating on one hand, while the drain on their resources was enormous on the other. This, and the state of affairs in his own camp, made him resolve to advance without delay upon Seringapatam. Being without proper equipage, the march of his army, when it began on the 3rd of May, assumed a most singular aspect, for so many bullocks had perished before Bangalore that even a reinforcement of 10,000 was insufficient for the conveyance of the baggage, artillery, and stores. Thus soldiers, sutlers, and camp-followers were seen carrying cannon-balls and other ammunition; while at night the officers had to share their tents together. The troops of the Nizam alone conveyed on this painful march 5,800 lbs. of shot.†

The terror and despair of Tippoo now assumed a savage and despicable form. Though he had often affirmed on oath that every British prisoner in his hands had been released, he still retained among his victims twenty English boys, the survivors of a much larger number, whom he had barbarously mutilated, and educated as singers and dancers. They were now, when tidings came of the advance of Cornwallis, handed over to the Abyssinian slaves, and horribly murdered by the slow dislocation of the vertebræ—the head being twisted one way, and the body another.

Tippoo now covered the walls of Seringapatam

* Wilks. † Sir Thomas Munro.

with caricatures of the British, and, to bar the approach of the latter, demolished the bridge over the northern branch of the Cauvery. As a preparation for the abandonment of his capital, he removed his harem and his treasures to Chittledroog, a fortress situated on a rock, and girt by many walls in a rough and unhealthy district. There, his mother—the widow of the fierce Hyder—and several of his wives, upbraided him with his lack of spirit; and eventually, stung by their taunts, and hoping by sheer dint of numbers, to overwhelm the British in the field, he selected a strong position with good military judgment—guided perhaps by Lally and his European renegadoes—and drew up his army on a range of heights above the Cauvery, and in the species of island on which stood Seringapatam, and thus placing himself between his capital and his able opponent, prepared for the stern issue. "The British army marched over the barren heights above the valley of Millgotah, and then commanded a view of the mighty fortress of Seringapatam —the nest of hewn stone, formidable even in the eyes of the British soldier, where Tippoo had brooded over his ambitious designs, and his dreams of hatred, in visionary triumphs over the strangers who had so lately imposed a yoke on Asia. Nature and art combined to render its defences strong. An immense extended camp without the walls, held the flower of the sultan's troops."*

This was on the 13th of May, and three days after, it was resolved to attack him. Our troops were encamped with their front towards Seringapatam, their right resting on a ridge of small hills, and their left towards the Cauvery. Before the Mysorean army lay some swampy ground, which Tippoo had taken care to strengthen by redoubts mounted with cannon, while the approach of the British was somewhat hemmed in between the river and the ridge of hills, thus diminishing their frontage to not much more than a mile, or, at the utmost, a mile and a half.

Cornwallis having ascertained that it was possible, by crossing the ridge, to turn the Mysorean left wing, and by wheeling round, to get into its rear, determined to make the attempt, and with the greatest silence and secrecy, ordered six European regiments, and twelve of sepoys, to begin their march for this purpose, at eleven at night. The Nizam's rabble horsemen moving at daylight, were to be the supports, while the rest of the troops remained to guard the camp.

Torrents of rain which fell, impeded the march, and the bullocks were so much exhausted by dragging the artillery, that day broke before the appointed place was reached; but the intention of making an attack was by no means abandoned; though every corps had become bewildered. About half-past six a.m. our troops were in sight of the enemy, and, as the left flank and rear of the latter appeared to be commanded by a height—the hill of Carigat, which gave its name to the battle—and which abutted abruptly on the Cauvery, it was resolved to gain possession of it, although one of Tippoo's redoubts crowned its summit. This hill had two spurs, one of which was occupied by the main body of Tippoo; the other—a strong ridge of rocks extending for nearly three miles to his left, opposite to this ridge, and separated from it by a ravine—was the post occupied by the army of Cornwallis.

So the hill of Carigat was the point on which the fate of the battle was to hang. A British column, composed of infantry and cavalry, with eight guns in front, moved rapidly to seize it at the time when a strong force sent by Tippoo anticipated the movement, and from the ridge its cannon opened by a plunging and searching fire, just as our people cleared the ravine, and thus they were enfiladed till shelter was found among some rocks, and a frontage was formed. While Tippoo's detached column was occupied in seizing the point of attack, his main body had changed its front, and was advancing against us in line.

To meet these double movements, Cornwallis had to form his troops in two fronts of unequal length, but united at right angles. This strange, but necessary formation, had barely been achieved, when the enemy's Stable Horse, or select cavalry, which had been concealed by the peculiar nature of the ground, dashed out on the spur, and made a spirited charge, in which many of them perished by bullet and bayonet. Then the smaller of our two fronts, which consisted of five battalions, including the 52nd Foot, the 71st Highlanders, and Major Langley's brigade, the whole under Hamilton Maxwell of the 74th Highlanders, were ordered to carry the ridge from whence the obnoxious fire came.

With splendid intrepidity, Maxwell's division advanced for 500 yards, under a heavy cannonade and a biting fire of musketry. The Mysoreans stood firm till our troops were within a few yards of them; but ere the bayonets could be levelled for a charge, they broke, fled, and rushed down the back of the ridge, at the foot of which three of their guns were taken, many of the gunners being shot down in the drag-ropes, while striving to get them away. By this time, Cornwallis had advanced with his other front, under Medows, against the

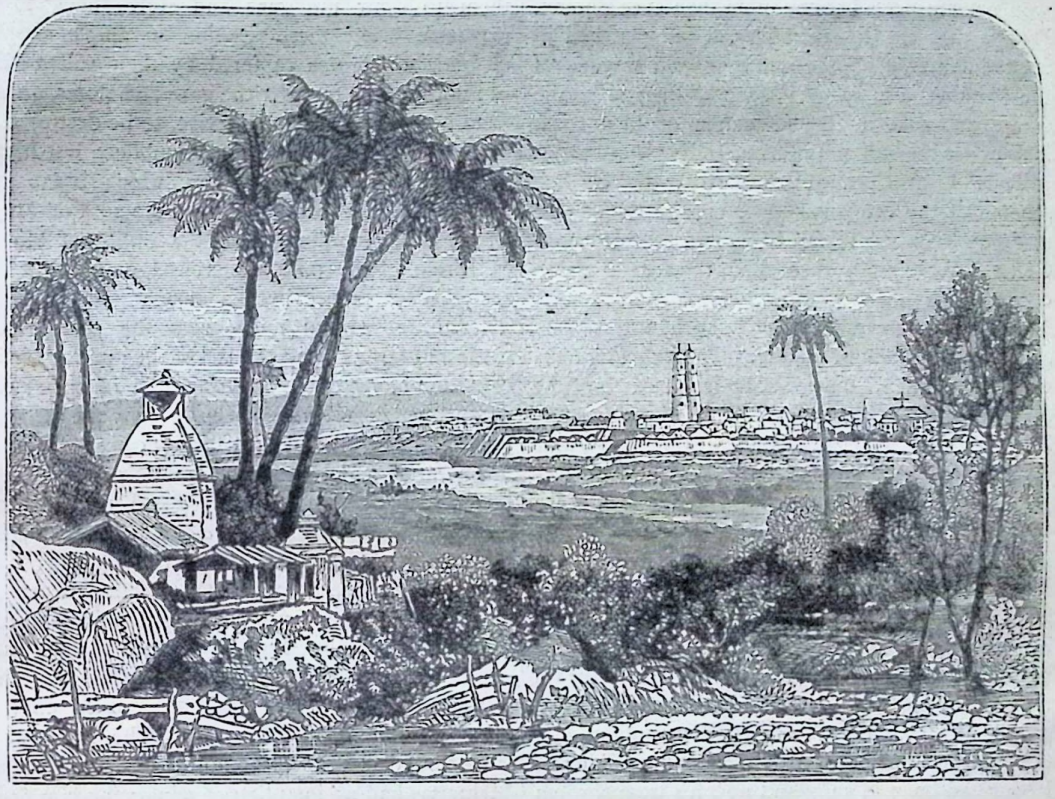
* "Hist. Brit. Conquests in India," vol. i.



AIRE LEADING THE ATTACK AT BANGALORE.

enemy's line, and the battle had become general; both ridges resounding with a roar of musketry, for Tippoo, now beginning to fear the issue, had given orders to retire his guns, and leave the battle to be contested by infantry only. While Medows was advancing, the 52nd and the Macleod Highlanders took ground to the left, so as to keep up a line of communication between that officer and Maxwell's division, which was driving the enemy from rock to rock as they advanced.

There seems to be no doubt that the main body of Tippoo's army stood its ground remarkably well, but was compelled, at last, to fall back on every hand, and to retreat for shelter under the guns of Seringapatam. In the afternoon, a detached fort was taken, and, on the summit of a hill, another was seen, which was manned by Tippoo's Europeans. Our losses in the battle of Carigat were about 530 killed and wounded; among these were twenty-three officers and 109 Europeans.



VIEW OF SERINGAPATAM.

The ground was so broken and rugged, that, at times, the battle became a series of combats for the capture or retention of every rocky elevation; but, amid showers of rockets of a very superior kind, and concentrated discharges of matchlocks and musketry, cheering each other with hearty hurrahs, our people pressed on, driving the enemy steadily back, and preserving every advantage they won.

Captain-Lieutenant Clark, of the 74th Highlanders, was struck on the breast by a spent ball, the force of which was so gone that he caught it in his hand.

Tippoo now retreated into the island of Seringapatam, into which he had previously conveyed his camp equipage and heavy baggage, our victorious troops encamping on the ground he had been compelled to abandon.

CHAPTER LVII.

JUNCTION WITH THE MAHRATTAS, AND THE RETREAT TO BANGALORE.

HAD the cavalry of the Nizam—these motley troops whom Colonel Wilks has described—followed up the retreating Mysoreans with proper vigour, the battle of Carigat would have been even more decisive than it was; but now that the fight was won, our prospects became more than ever gloomy. By this time the draught bullocks had perished in such numbers, that the tumbrils and wagons of the army were, in many instances, dragged by the troops, and such a state of matters could not last long under the sun and rains of India.

Thus Lord Cornwallis saw that the original scheme of the campaign must be abandoned; he made up his mind to fall back, and sent orders to General Abercromby, then within three days' march of Seringapatam, to retire with his column towards Malabar, and, meanwhile, made such preparations as the case seemed to require. The battering-train which, with such infinite labour, had been brought to the front, was destroyed. Thus three twenty-four and eight eighteen-pounders were burst, and the ammunition of them cast into wells; the twelve-pounders alone were reserved; the stores were committed to the flames, only a slender stock being retained.

General Abercromby obeyed his orders with great reluctance. He had, with some difficulty, brought his column, 8,000 strong, including the 77th Foot, a Highland brigade of the 73rd and 75th Regiments, with his battering-train, and a great supply of stores, over the rugged mountains and through the dense forests of the Ghauts. All this labour had been in vain, and now his troops, when hoping to make a dash at Seringapatam, had to retrace their steps amid the blinding rains of the monsoon. So, to march as light as possible, he too burst or spiked his guns, and left to the mercy of Tippoo his stores, including 1,000 bags of rice, for the starving troops of Cornwallis. After this, the Bombay column reached the coast in a sickly state, and destitute of cattle.

Before his tents were struck, Lord Cornwallis issued the following general order, thanking the soldiers:—

"So long as there were any hopes of reducing Seringapatam before the commencement of the heavy rain, the Commander-in-chief thought himself happy in availing himself of their willing services; but the unexpected bad weather for some time experienced, having rendered the attack of the enemy's capital impracticable until the conclusion of the ensuing monsoons, Lord Cornwallis thought he should make an ill return for the zeal and alacrity exhibited by the soldiers, if he desired them to draw the guns and stores back to a magazine where there remains an ample supply of both, which was captured by their valour; he did not hesitate to order the guns and stores, which were not wanted for field service, to be destroyed."

This explanation was given, doubtless, lest heart should be lost by the army, which began its laborious retreat to Bangalore on the 26th of May, 1791; and, according to the description of Major E. Dirom, of the 52nd, the ground, on which "the army had encamped but six days, was covered, in a circuit of several miles, with the carcases of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-carriages, carts, and stores of the battering-train left in flames, was a melancholy spectacle, which the troops passed as they quitted their deadly camp."

The army had barely proceeded six miles, when the bugles of the advanced guard sounded an alarm, and a body of some 2,000 horse suddenly appeared, as if about to menace the baggage; and preparations were at once made for a resistance. A solitary horseman now came galloping forward, and, hailing a staff officer, announced that he was a Mahratta, and that those in sight were the advanced guard of two Mahratta armies, on the march to join Lord Cornwallis. The latter, who suspected that, notwithstanding treaties made, the Mahrattas had no intention of reinforcing him, had no idea that so near him now was the Poonah army under Hurry Punt, and another much more efficient one under Purseram Bhow, mustering in all 32,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. Of the approach of this large force he had been kept in total ignorance, by the active manner in which the regular communications had been interrupted by Tippoo's flying horsemen. This junction was a most fortunate event at that crisis, and some pedantic officer, in a letter to a print of the time, likens it to the appearance of Masinissa, the son of Gala, at the battle of Zama, in which Hannibal was defeated.

The wants of the British army were now supplied by the Mahrattas, but at extravagant prices; and great was the joy of our troops, when they saw

rissala after rissala of these wild and hardy horsemen, come drifting up like clouds against the horizon, brandishing their swords, shaking their long lances, and caracoling their well-fed chargers. "The chiefs themselves, and, indeed, all the Mahrattas in their suite," says the deputy adjutant-general, "were remarkably plain, but neat in their appearance. Mild in their aspect, humane in their disposition, polite and unaffected in their address, they are distinguished by obedience to their chiefs, and attachment to their country. There were not to be seen among them those fantastic figures in armour, so common among the Mohammedans in the Nizam's, or, as they style themselves, the Mogul army; adventurers, collected from every quarter of the East, who, priding themselves on individual valour, think it beneath them to be useful but on the day of battle, and when that comes, prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected with any general principle of union or discipline."*

For a description of the bazaar which they set up in the camp of our famished soldiers, we cannot do better than quote the words of another officer, Colonel Mark Wilks, who says that there were exhibited for sale the spoils of the East and the industry of the West—"from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife—from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of a Hindoo—from diamonds of the first water to the silver ear-ring of a poor, plundered village maiden—from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt fish of Concan—almost everything was to be seen, that could be presented by the best bazaars of the richest towns; but, above all, the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, in the open air and public street of the camp, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity, utterly inconceivable in any camp, except that of systematic plunderers, by wholesale and retail. Every variety of trade appeared to be exercised, with a large competition and considerable diligence; and, among them, one, apparently the least adapted to a wandering life—the trade of a tanner—was practised with eminent success. A circular hole dug in the earth, a raw hide adapted to it at the bottom and sides, and secured above by a series of skewers, run through its edges into the earth, formed the tan-pit; on marching days the tan-pit, with its contents in the shape of a bag, formed one side of a load for a horse or bullock, and the liquid preparation was either emptied or preserved, according to the length or expected repetition of the march: the best tanning material (catechu) is equally accessible and portable; and the English officers obtained from these ambulatory tan-pits what their own Indian capitals could not then produce except as European imports—excellent sword-belts." †

On the 27th, the day after the junction with the Mahrattas, Tippoo, who had now become anxious to negotiate, sent in a flag of truce accompanied by numerous officials, a bushel of fruit, and a letter in Persian; both of which were sent back next day, with a missive to the effect that the British would agree to no treaty of peace that did not include their allies; that if Tippoo meant to treat, he must first deliver up all British subjects who were prisoners in his hands; that the fruit was returned, not as an insult, but as a sign that all friendly intercourse was declined. ‡

A few days after this, at ten at night, a sudden fire of cannon and musketry in the camp of the Mahrattas, caused the whole British army to get under arms, in the supposition that an attack had been made by Tippoo; but it proved to be only the celebration of one of their festivals, in which they salute the new moon, on its first appearance. After an eight days' halt, they refused to march on the ninth, as they deemed it unlucky; thus Lord Cornwallis had to defer to another day his retrograde movement, which was made slowly towards Bangalore, which he reached on the 11th of July.

En route, plans of operation were arranged; a loan of £144,000 was requested, and this Cornwallis was enabled to advance on the part of the Company, by arresting in its transit an investment of money destined for China. Aided by a column of Bombay troops, Purseram Bhow was to march by Sera, then a town of Mysore, but now a mere collection of huts with a citadel, for the purpose of operating in the north-west. Hurry Punt, Meer Alum, and Tejewunt, were to remain with the Governor-General, the former as commander of the Mahrattas, and the two latter as the civic representatives of the Nizam. Each was to be attended by a body of cavalry, who were to take part in all operations against Tippoo.

The army of our ally, the Nizam, had begun to assemble at Hyderabad, fully twelve months before this time, and had been joined by two sepoy battalions, under a Major Montgomery. The cavalry were rather indifferent; but the infantry, disciplined and commanded by a French soldier of fortune named Raymond, were infinitely better, though imperfectly armed and accoutred. These forces had begun their southern march, and after many delays had arrived at Rachore—a town in

* Dirom's "Narrative of the Campaign."

† "Historical Sketches of Southern India."

‡ Dirom's "Rev. of the Second Campaign."

the province of Bejapoor, pleasantly situated on the Kistna; and having no fear of interruption, on learning that Tippoo was occupied about Coimbatore, on the 28th of October, they had invested Capool, about 100 miles distant from him. The infantry of Raymond and our artillery did good service here, but the blunders of the Nizam's general, or his ignorance of attacking a fortified place, caused the siege to be protracted till April, 1791, when the place fell by capitulation.

Now that he was accompanied by the plenipotentiaries, Meer Alum and Tejewunt, and the Mahratta chief, Lord Cornwallis, provided the wounded and other prisoners were released, was by no means disinclined to treat with Tippoo, and even intimated—should that formidable personage desire it—that he would consent to a cessation of hostilities, as a preliminary; but, in proportion as the allies became conciliatory, the sultan waxed bold and more exacting; thus, after the Governor-General had actually conceded the point of written proposals and a conference of deputies at Bangalore, the former declined all terms, unless the British army was marched to the frontier. Tippoo, meanwhile, had secretly been making similar advances to the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in hopes, by stirring up jealousy, to dissolve the alliance; so Lord Cornwallis saw that there was nothing to be done but to take the field at the earliest suitable season. He strained every nerve, says Mr. Gleig, to recruit the losses of his army, and to supply those deficiencies under which it had hitherto laboured; and was thus compelled to exercise an unusual but necessary control over the revenues of the Company. Through the agency of Captain Read, he opened a negotiation with the Brinjarries, a caste of ambulatory merchants, who supply the armies of the native princes with grain. He also directed that the China ships should be stripped of their treasures, elephants, cattle, and carriage, and that all should be forwarded to Madras. Nor were minor military operations forgotten; for he captured several forts, chiefly important in consequence of their situation as commanding the passes through the Ghauts, which had been previously closed; these were thus opened up; while the troops of the Mahrattas and Nizam, to straiten Tippoo, over-ran all the districts hitherto spared, cutting off such garrisons as they found themselves able to reduce.*

And in these operations, and preparations for a fresh attack on Tippoo, the summer of 1791 passed away.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THIRD CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIPPOO—STORMING OF NUNDYDROOG, SAVANDROOG, ETC.—MR. FRANCIS'S MOTION IN PARLIAMENT LOST.

It was on the 15th of July, 1791, that Lord Cornwallis again took the field, after placing in the fort of Bangalore all his sick and one half the tumbrils belonging to his field-pieces. By this time he had got from the Brinjarries about 10,000 bullock-loads of rice and grain; half a million sterling had been voted for the military chest by the Company, and large reinforcements of troops and artillery were on their way out, round the Cape. The troops were in the highest spirits, and Cornwallis was so confident of victory that his enthusiasm spread through all ranks, as the troops began their march to Ossoor—a fortified place, which commanded the Pass of Palicode. "This part of the country," we are told, "had not as yet been made the theatre of war, and the inhabitants were engaged in attention to their fields. The landscape was beautiful in its variety of aspect, fertility, and careful cultivation. Rich foliage crowned the knolls and hill tops, as the ground undulated or rose in bolder eminences. The elevation of the region gave coolness, yet it basked in all the glorious light of the Indian sun."

Detached from the main army, the 7th Brigade of Infantry, under Major Gowdie, H.E.I.C.S., advanced to Ossoor, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after unsuccessfully attempting to blow up the works; thus a large store of grain and powder rewarded the march of the major, prior to whose arrival, the whole of the British prisoners in the place had been murdered in cold blood, by the express order of Tippoo, notwithstanding that mercy for them was solicited by the killedar and inhabitants.

By the end of September, 28,000 bullocks were

* "British Military Commanders."

supplied in the Carnatic for the use of our army; and this fact, with other indications that we were in earnest, though greatly alarming Tippoo, only added fear to his hate, and made him resolve to put all to the issue of the sword. During the autumn, our troops were employed in several directions, north-east of Bangalore, reducing various hill-forts, and thus destroying Tippoo's communications between the country and Seringapatam. The country of Mysore has many isolated rocks or hills, which, when fortified, are styled *droogs* (a term synonymous with the Celtic *dun*), and those are the natural bulwarks of the land. Of those, one of the chief was Nundydroog, thirty-one miles eastward of Bangalore.

It consisted of several lines of defence, occupying the summit of a granite mountain, 1,700 feet in height, overlooking a vast extent of almost level country, and fortified with such care as to make regular approaches necessary. Inaccessible on every point, except one, the rock was crowned by a double line of ramparts; a third had been recently commenced, and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. The general aspect of the whole place was most formidable. Yet Nundydroog, however high and steep, was still approachable; but not without immense fatigue in dragging up guns, and the construction of batteries, on the face of the rocky mass. The command of this place had been entrusted to Lutif Ali Bey, a Mysorean officer of great merit and courage.

Major Gowdie, with his brigade and some battering-guns, after capturing the little town, attempted the reduction of the fort on the 27th of September; while, to intimidate the garrison, Cornwallis encamped his whole army within four miles of the place. After fourteen days of incessant labour, batteries were got into operation. and in twenty-one days two practicable breaches were effected—one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and another in the curtain of the outer wall. The inner was beyond reach of shot.

On the 19th of October the assault was ordered to take place that night, when both breaches were to be stormed. "The attack was to be led by Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, with twenty grenadiers of the 36th Regiment and 71st Highlanders, on the right; and on the left by Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light company-men, and the Highland flank companies—the whole under Captain James Robertson (son of the Scottish historian), supported by Captain Robert (afterwards General) Burns, with the grenadiers, and Captain W. Hartley, with the light company of the 36th Regiment; while General Medows by his presence and example encouraged all. It is related that while the stormers were all waiting in anxious silence for the signal to advance, a soldier whispered something about "a mine." "To be sure there is," said the ready-witted Medows; "but, my lads, it is a mine of gold!" an answer which produced its proper effect.*

On this night the moonlight was soft, clear, and brilliant; thus every object was discernible as at noon. Hence, silently as the escalade crept on and upward, the gleam of their arms was distinctly seen by the Mysoreans, who, having beforehand carefully loosened enormous masses of granite, while uttering shrill yells, that rent the air, by the aid of levers sent these masses crashing, with the sound of thunder, down the mountain-side; and by these huge boulders and musketry, as the stormers came swarming up, ninety men were swept away ere the breaches were won, and the enemy driven from the outer rocks, so pushed and wedged together as to be unable to barricade the gate of the inner rampart, and thirty more men were killed. The Europeans came on with such speed and fury, that the loss fell almost entirely on the native troops who were in support. Our wounded were 101 of all ranks. So thus fell into our hands that formidable Nundydroog, which the Mahrattas had defended for three years against all the power of Hyder Ali.

The next attempt was made on Kistnagherry—a fortress situated on a rock 700 feet in perpendicular height, 114 miles eastward of Seringapatam. On the 7th of November, Colonel H. Maxwell, of the 74th Highlanders, with a detachment, attempted its reduction. Sword in hand, he carried the lower fort by escalade, and attempted to reach the upper, by entering it along with the fugitives. So nearly were his soldiers succeeding that they tore down a standard that was flying on the gateway; yet enormous masses of granite, showered down by a garrison that far out-numbered them, compelled a speedy retreat; but in the following year, the place, with all the province, was ceded to Britain, when the fortifications were destroyed.

Lord Cornwallis, keeping steadily in view the ultimate capture of the sultan's capital, had resolved on the complete reduction of every intermediate stronghold that might intercept his own line of communications; and by far the most formidable of these in Mysore was Savandroog, which is situated on the summit of an immense and almost inaccessible rock, and is surrounded by a thick jungly bamboo wood, which renders its locality very unhealthy.

* General Stewart, vol. ii.

On the 9th of December, Colonel James Stuart, of the 72nd Highlanders, with that regiment, the gallant 52nd, the 71st Highlanders, and the 14th and 26th Bengal Infantry, marched from Bangalore to capture the place. He had with him eight guns and two howitzers, under Major Montague. Some guns had to be dragged, lifted, or slung up precipices almost perpendicular, ere they could be got into battery. So confident were the garrison in the strength of the place, that they looked disdainfully on, and scarcely interfered with him. By the 17th two batteries opened, one at 700 yards,



GROUP OF BRINJARRIES.

accounts say that Colonel Nisbett, of the 52nd, commanded; but the historical records of that corps distinctly say it was "Colonel Stuart who commanded the right wing of the army."

He pitched his camp within three miles of the rock, while Cornwallis took up a position five miles distant in his rear. Stuart's first operation was to cut a path for his guns through the bamboo wood to the foot of the rocky mountain; and then these the other at 1,000, but owing to the enormous thickness of the walls, with little effect; yet two days later, a third was in operation at 250 yards. In two days more an open breach was effected, and on the 21st an assault was ordered in the early morning.

The nature of the work in hand may be gathered from the following extract from Captain Moorsom.

We are told that the soldiers "climbed a steep

hill, descended into a valley by so rugged and steep a path, that they had to let themselves down in many places by the branches of trees growing on the side of the rocks, and then to ascend a rock nearly 300 feet high, crawling on their hands and feet, and helping themselves up by tufts of grass, until they reached the summit, when they established themselves on a spot which overlooked the whole of the fortress, about 300 yards from the wall. . . . .

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the band of the latter regiment played, "Britons Strike Home!" and the pipes of the two Highland corps struck up; while, with cheers, the stormers, led by Nisbett, rushed to the assault up rocks so steep, that, says General Stewart, "after the service was over, the men were afraid to descend them." A strenuous resistance was anticipated, as a large body of the enemy had been seen closing in to defend



THE INDIAN BISON (*Bos gaurus*).

The right attack was made by the light companies of the 71st and 72nd (Highlanders), supported by a battalion company of the latter corps; the left attack, by the flank companies of the 76th and the grenadiers of the 52nd; the centre attack, under Major Hugh Fraser, of the 72nd, by the grenadiers and two battalion companies of that regiment, two companies of the 52nd, the grenadiers of the 71st, and four companies of sepoys, supported by the 6th Battalion of Sepoys; the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrook Nisbett, of the 52nd Regiment."*

* "Hist. Rec. Oxford Light Infantry."

the breach, but the fury with which the stormers came on appalled them; they gave way, and Nisbett, with the loss of only five men, fought his way into the heart of the place.

In the same bold and rapid manner our troops captured Savangherry, Rahgaherry, Ootradroog, and other places, leaving the way open to Seringapatam; and, in the meantime, had no other enemy to contend with but the deadly climate.

Tippoo, who began to perceive the moral effect these rapid conquests were having among his people, thought to counteract them by an expedition southward, and made a sudden attack on Coim-

batore, compelling our garrison there to capitulate on honourable terms, which respected their liberty. These terms the brutal tyrant, as usual, violated, and sent the whole garrison prisoners to Seringapatam, subjecting them to every conceivable indignity and cruelty. Tippoo, it is supposed, "probably considered that, even if ultimately defeated, he might execute vengeance on such men as he could get into his power—the English, in the former war, having shown such indifference to the fate of the prisoners he had murdered when they came to terms of peace."

Before the preceding October had far advanced, supplies of men and money had come from Britain, including two companies of Royal Artillery, under Major David Scott, and 300 soldiers from St. Helena, who could endure the Indian climate better than those who came direct from Europe; while from Madras and Bengal the reinforcements and stores poured into Mysore from one side, those which came from home and Bombay were organised to ascend the Ghauts on the other.

Nothing now delayed our advance upon Seringapatam but the detention of the army of Nizam Ali before Goorumconda, the siege of which had been begun in September, and where little progress had been made until the breaching-guns from Nundydroog were sent thither. Still more would this siege have been protracted, had not Captain Andrew Reade, H.E.I.C.S., who commanded the British detachment, been permitted to take his own way, and storm the lower fort, by which access to the upper could alone be gained. In this he succeeded. The garrison were hemmed in, and the siege became a blockade. As a detachment sufficed for this, the main body of the Nizam's army was marched to join the Governor-General. It had not proceeded far, when tidings came that, in consequence of the rashness of Hafiz Jee, the officer left in command of the lower fort, that place had been recaptured. In a sally he had been suddenly overwhelmed by 12,000 cavalry and infantry, led by Tippoo's eldest son, Hyder Sahib; thus the army of the Nizam had again to retrace its steps, and resume the blockade of Goorumconda.

The monsoon was over now; the troops and their cattle had regained strength amid the full supplies of every kind brought in by the Brinjarries, and ultimately, the three armies of the confederates, or allies, united in the end of January, 1792, near Savandroog, to make the grand advance upon Seringapatam; but prior to detailing that movement, we must glance at events that were occurring elsewhere.

In the October of 1791, Commodore William Cornwallis, brother of the earl—an officer who had distinguished himself as captain of the *Zion* in the battle off Grenada in 1779, in the following year at Monte Christo, and elsewhere—having received intelligence that some neutral ships, under French colours, were expected to arrive on the coast of Malabar, laden with guns and stores for Tippoo's army, dispatched the *Thomas*, *Vestal*, and *Minerva* frigates, with orders to examine strictly all vessels they might fall in with. The commodore joined them shortly after with the *Crown* (sixty-four), and the *Phœnix* (thirty-six), whose Captain, G. Anson Byron, was of the same family as the poet.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 23rd, when cruising northward of Tellicherry, while the *Phœnix* and *Atalanta* were at anchor in the roads, two French ships and a brig were discovered in the offing; and it being the *Atalanta's* guard, she got under weigh to overhaul them, followed by her consort; there was, however, little wind, and the Frenchman crept into Mahé Roads.

Captain Foot, of the former vessel, sent an officer on board; but they would not permit an examination, until our marines tore off the hatches, and the vessels were found to be laden only with merchandise. The next affair, however, proved more serious.

Early in November, the *Résolue*, French frigate, of thirty-two guns and 200 men, came into Mahé Roads, and at two a.m., on the 19th, sailed in company with two merchantmen. At daylight, the commodore, who was at anchor off Tellicherry, discovered them in the offing, and signalled to the *Phœnix* and *Perseverance* to weigh and pursue them. The *Phœnix* came up with them off Mangalore, where the French captain hailed them to know what was wanted. Sir Richard Strachan immediately replied that he had orders to board the two merchant ships, and that he would send an officer on board, in courtesy, to explain the reason.

While the boats were being hoisted out for this purpose, and also to board the two vessels, they were fired into by the *Résolue*, which next poured a broadside into the *Phœnix*. This, Sir Richard was not slow in returning, and a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted twenty-five minutes, when the enemy struck, after twenty-five of her men had been killed and forty wounded. Among the latter, was her captain, dangerously. The *Phœnix* had seventeen killed and wounded. Among the latter Lieutenant Finlay, of the marines, mortally. The commodore ordered the *Perseverance* to conduct the conquered ship into the Mahé Roads, and leave her there, as her officers refused to have anything

more to do with her, saying she had struck to the *Phœnix*.*

As we were not yet at war with France, this encounter caused some excitement at home, all the more so that the two merchantmen, on being closely searched, were found not to have any contraband of war on board.

And now, shortly after the Christmas recess, in 1791, Mr. Philip Francis, to the great delight of all demagogues, and those "Friends of the People," who were the bitterest enemies of their native country, took an opportunity to assail, with all his powers of venom and invective, the war in India; and had the effrontery to eulogise as an excellent, ill-used, and most amiable prince, Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore. "It was as impolitic as it was unjust," he asserted, "to think of extending our territories in Hindostan; that it was equally impolitic to embarrass ourselves with alliances among the native princes, who were eternally quarrelling among themselves, and attempting to destroy one another; that if such alliances were to be formed, Tippoo would be a much better ally for us than the Rajah of Travancore, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam of the Deccan, for Tippoo had an army of 150,000 men, an admirable train of artillery, and a well-filled treasury."

Mr. Francis then proceeded to move thirteen resolutions for the purpose of censuring the cause, and precluding a continuance of the war, which he asserted to have been declared without cause, conducted without skill, ruinous in its expenditure, and would never prove of the least advantage. To this view of matters, and these assertions, Pitt and Henry Dundas replied at length, and with vigour. They urged "that the Rajah of Travancore had an indisputable right to the territories which Tippoo had invaded; that the war had originated in the restless ambition of the Mysorean sultan, his hostility to the British, and his long premeditated design of subduing Travancore, which would open to him an easy passage into the Carnatic, and thus enable him to attack Madras, and all our possessions in that part of India; that, under the circumstances, with Tippoo occupying and ravaging the territories of our ally, a war on our part was unavoidable, unless we wished to sacrifice all respect among the native powers of India."

The application which Tippoo had made to Louis XVI., through MM. Leger and de Molleville, could not then have been known to Parliament; but his past actions had proved him a barbarous and faithless monster in human form, whose mere name excited our troops to fury; so the great majority of the House of Commons had ample faith in the justice and moderation of Earl Cornwallis. Thus Philip Francis was compelled to abandon alike "his envenomed paradoxes," and let his thirteen resolutions drop without a division. A few days after this, Henry Dundas, doubtless with Pitt's approbation, moved three counter-resolutions. These were:—

"1. That it appeared to this House that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultan upon the Lines of Travancore, were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the Treaty of Mangalore, concluded with the British in 1784.

"2. That the conduct of the Governor-General, in determining to prosecute with vigour the war against Tippoo, in consequence of his attacks on the territories of the Rajah of Travancore, was highly meritorious.

"3. That the treaties entered into with the Nizam, and with the Mahrattas, were wisely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India; and that the faith of the British nation was pledged for the due performance of the engagements contained in the said treaties."

After some debate, but without a division, Dundas's three important resolutions were adopted by the House.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE RAJAH OF COORG—THE BAD FEELING IN BRITAIN—REVIEW OF THE ARMY, AND FINAL ADVANCE UPON SERINGAPATAM.

WHILE the three allied armies lay at Savandroog, a fourth was preparing to join them under General Abercromby, whose duties, as Governor of Bombay, requiring his presence there, had returned to Tellicherry early in November, and, having mustered his forces, amounting to 8,400 men, at the town of Cannanore, on the coast of Malabar, marched five miles northward to Iliacore.

The river on which this town is situated having

* Schomberg, "Nav. Chron."

been flooded, he crossed it by boats, and marched for twenty-five miles through a wild district, to the western end of the Pass of Pudicherrim, on the borders of Coorg, on the friendly aid of whose rajah full dependence was placed. The Rajahs of Coorg were independent princes during the sixteenth century, and the present family had reigned since 1632. They were of the Nair caste of Hindoos, and retained their independence, till domestic dissension gave Hyder an opportunity of subduing them, and the rajah died, a captive in the castle of Cudoor. His eldest son, the then rajah, having been forcibly circumcised, was burning for freedom and revenge; and having made his escape from his prison at Periapatam, succeeded in driving the troops of Tippoo out of his dominions, till Merkara was the only place then possessed by the sultan. When our war with Tippoo commenced, the value of having so gallant and resolute an ally, whose frontier lay within forty miles of Seringapatam, became at once apparent; and the Bombay Government gladly made a treaty with him for the mutual invasion of Mysore. He nobly performed all his engagements, though in one instance he certainly excited suspicion in the mind of General Abercromby.

When the latter entered Coorg, on his route to Periapatam, the rajah was blockading the fortified town of Merkara, some sixty miles distant from Seringapatam. The garrison was starving, and an early surrender expected. It was known that Tippoo had sent a great convoy for its relief, but the troops escorting the train had been surrounded, and could not escape; thus, great was the surprise of Abercromby, when the rajah rode to his camp in person, with tidings that he had permitted the convoy to enter Merkara, and its escort to get off free.

His somewhat singular explanation was, that Kadir Khan, commanding the escort, had in former times laid him under such obligations, that he had not the heart to treat him as an enemy. It would seem that when the rajah had been a captive in Periapatam, two of his sisters had been forcibly placed in Tippoo's harem, but Kadir had saved the honour of a third, the youngest, by enabling her to escape unharmed.

It was in return for this service that the rajah, after the convoy and its escort had been entirely surrounded by his troops, caused information to be given to Kadir Khan, that he wished to spare him disgrace or death. A conference between them actually took place, and with singular gratitude, the rajah, in the face of his whole army, allowed Merkara to be revictualled, and the convoy to return unmolested. By this, however, the rajah lost nothing, for the food was soon consumed, and the garrison capitulated, after which Abercromby pushed on to Periapatam.

In one of Lord Teignmouth's letters, dated Bath, 31st December, 1791, we find the view taken at home of our Eastern affairs at this time.

"Hope and fear are now standing on the tip-toe of expectation for intelligence from India. Before the arrival of the late news, with an account of Lord Cornwallis's return to Bangalore, a general opinion prevailed that we should hear of the capture of Seringapatam. The unexpected success of his lordship's first operations against Tippoo excited hopes that were rather unreasonable; but the despondence of his return is still more so. In England, everything is a party concern, rather than a national one; and I firmly believe there are many public men who would hear tnat Lord Cornwallis had been compelled to return to the Carnatic, with more satisfaction than that he was in possession of Seringapatam, and master of Tippoo's fate. In the public papers, which are all under party influence, you will trace the sentiments of the parties they serve; and, if I am not mistaken, you will perceive an exultation at Lord Cornwallis's return which will disgust you. He has, and ever will have, my respect, esteem, and regard, to which I can only add my most sanguine wishes that his success may be speedy and decisive, and proportioned to his zeal and virtue. He appears already in caricature, 'upon an elephant, taking a peep at Seringapatam, with a dreadful monsoon blowing in his teeth.'" *

On the 31st of January, 1792, the whole army got under arms, to be finally reviewed by Cornwallis, General Medows, the Nizam, the Mahratta chiefs, and the princes and sirdars of our allies—all the latter of whom were received with due honours, on the right of the line. Many of these dignitaries were on magnificently-accoutred elephants, and were preceded by *chobdars*, calling their titles aloud. "They had passed the sepoys at rather a quick pace," wrote an officer who was present, "but went very slow opposite to the European corps. The troops were all in new clothing, their arms and accoutrements bright and glittering in the sun, and themselves as well dressed as they could have been for a review in time of peace: all order and silence, nothing heard or seen but the uniform sound and motion in presenting their arms, accompanied by the drums and music of the corps, chequered and separated by the parties of artillery extended at the drag-ropes of their guns. The sight was beautiful, even to those accustomed to military parade; while the contrast was no less

* Teignmouth's Memoirs, vol. i.

striking between the good sense of our generals on horseback, and the absurd state of the chiefs looking down from their elephants, than between the silence and order of the troops, and the noise and irregularity of the mob that accompanied the Eastern potentates. After passing the right wing, the road leading through some wood and broken ground, the chiefs on ascending a height, were not a little astonished to discover a still longer line than the two they had passed, and which, in this situation, they could see at once through its whole extent. But for the battering-train, which occupied a mile in the centre of this division, at which they looked with wonder; but for the difference of the dress and music of the Highland regiments, in the second European brigade, and the striking difference of size and dress of the Bengal sepoys in the right, and the Coast sepoys which they now saw in the left wing; but for these distinctions, which they remarked, such was the extent of ground which the army covered, and the apparent magnitude of its numbers, that the chiefs might have imagined a part of the same troops were only shown again upon another ground—an expedient not unusual among themselves."

On the 1st of February, the tents were struck, and the allies moved off, the British army marching in three columns. The battering-guns, tumbrils, and heavy carriages, advancing by the great road, formed the centre column; secondly, a line of infantry, with field-pieces, marched by a parallel road, about 100 yards distant; thirdly, the smaller store carts and baggage proceeded by another road; and beyond these were the camels, elephants, bullocks, coolies, and camp-followers of every description; the whole flanked by cavalry, which also formed the advanced and rear guards.

Through a country where every human dwelling, if not already consumed, was still in flames, our troops steadily continued their march upon the capital of Tippoo, whose horse were, but at a distance, hovering on their flanks, and who appeared disposed to dispute the passage of the river Muddoor. On this, Lord Cornwallis reinforced his advanced guard by a brigade of infantry, on which the Mysoreans, after a little show of resistance, fell back, laying waste the country as they retired. On ascending the high ground, above the Muddoor, the army had a magnificent view of a vast landscape, rich, fertile, and varied, but in many places sheeted with fire, or shrouded in the smoke of blazing villages and homesteads. Collaterally with our troops came on those hordes of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, who scarcely deserved the name of armies.

The last day's march was made on the 5th of February, along a route different from that which the army had before taken against the capital, over the barren hills that lie to the north-east of it, and from whence the valley beneath was often exposed to view, and beyond it, the proud city of Seringapatam, wherein so many British soldiers had languished in chains, and expired in torture and misery—the famous city of Hyder and of Tippoo, with all its far extent of embattled walls, above which rose the domes of its mosques, the cupolas of its palaces, and high over all, the lofty façades of three great square pagodas. Its ramparts were then bristling with cannon, and garrisoned by not less than 45,000 men.

Beneath the walls were seen ranged, in many lines, the tents of the sultan's troops. His irregular cavalry now harassed the advanced guard of Cornwallis at every step. It had frequently to halt, under fiery showers of rockets; but the army pushed steadily on, and reached their place of encampment, at the French Rocks,* where the quartermaster-general, his assistants and guards, were placed in the greatest peril while marking off the ground. The Mahratta and Nizam's forces were encamped in our rear, at such a distance as not to interfere with us. The first night the troops lay before Seringapatam they had hourly *alertes*, by the activity of Tippoo's cavalry; and the Deccan troops were much alarmed by flights of rockets, that came roaring and bursting among their tents. Our soldiers, however, often stole out in the dark, and from behind crags and stones, took quiet and steady shots at such of the foe as came within range.

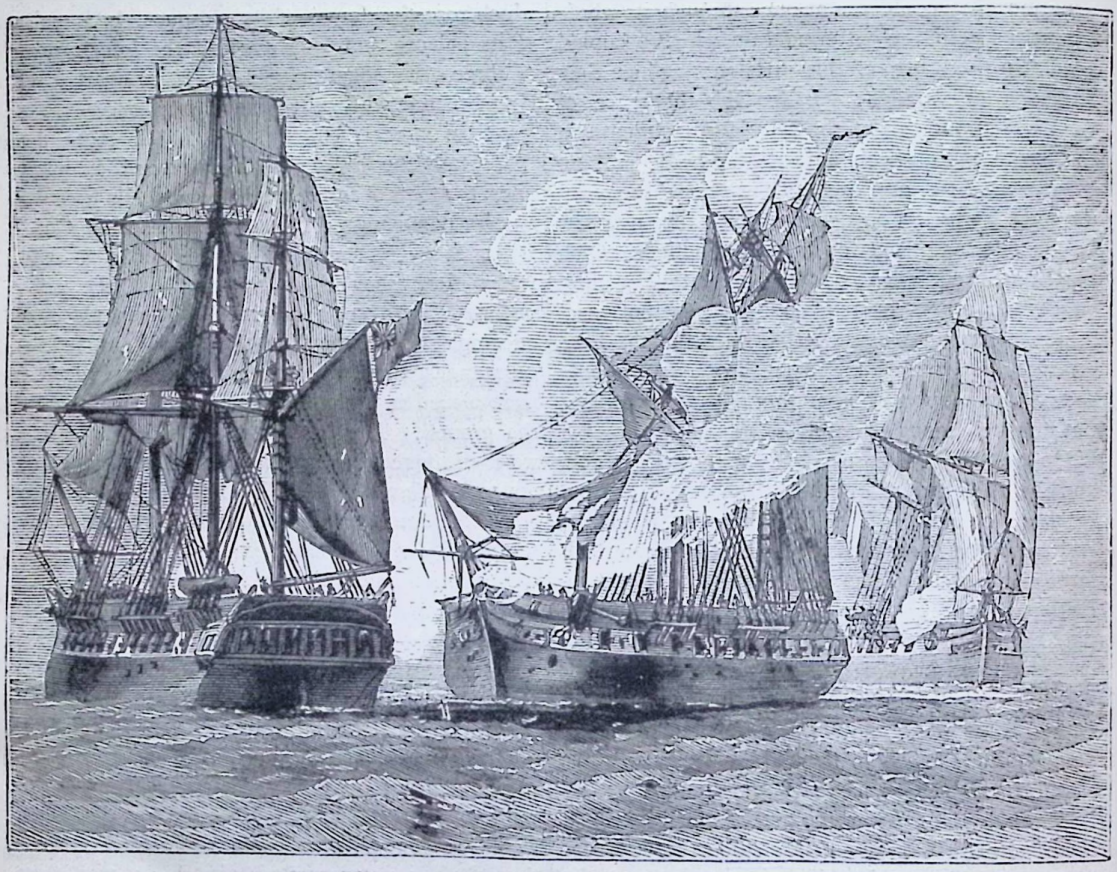
Great indeed was the stake that was now to be played for by those two hostile armies, beneath the walls of Seringapatam. If defeated, the allies would be compelled to begin a disastrous retreat, through a country wasted already by war, thus further ensuring their being cut to pieces in detail. At best, the British could but hope to reach Madras greatly diminished in numbers, and leaving in the hands of the enemy many wounded and other helpless ones, to undergo those tortures, with the stories of which our camps were ever ringing. On the other hand, if Tippoo lost the day, he lost all. He calculated, however, on having two chances in his favour—the great strength of his fortified camp, and the greater strength of the capital and fortress in its rear. Even if we stormed the former, our loss might be so severe as to incapacitate us from attempting the second, and he might then defeat us in the open field. His

* "Rec. 52nd Foot."

highest hope was, that after he had decimated us by his artillery, while his fine cavalry wore out and cut up the Mahrattas and the troops of the Nizam, the campaign, if sufficiently protracted, would end in his favour. Since the day of Plassey, the struggle and the issue were the most important that had taken place in India, and to the end all looked forward with anxiety and suspense.

Tippoo's fortified camp, though to all appearances under the walls of the city, was in reality six miles to the northward of it. His front line of defence was situated on the north side of the Cauvery, in rear of a strong bound-hedge, or wide belt of thorny plants, about 1,000 yards above the isle on which the city stands. This was defended by redoubts, armed with heavy cannon, and by his field-train, and troops posted to the best advantage. Altogether, there appeared on the works about 1,000 pieces of ordnance.*

Within the enclosure, at its north-western extremity, says another account, was an eminence with a well-constructed redoubt, and at different parts also, within the boundary, were seven formidable redoubts, constructed so as to support each other's fire; but a work commenced to the Carigat or Carighaut Hill was left unfinished. Lord Cornwallis, who feared that Tippoo would keep in the open field, and operate seriously on the communications of the besiegers, thought that a decisive blow should be struck by an immediate attack at eight o'clock on the evening of the 6th of February, in three columns.



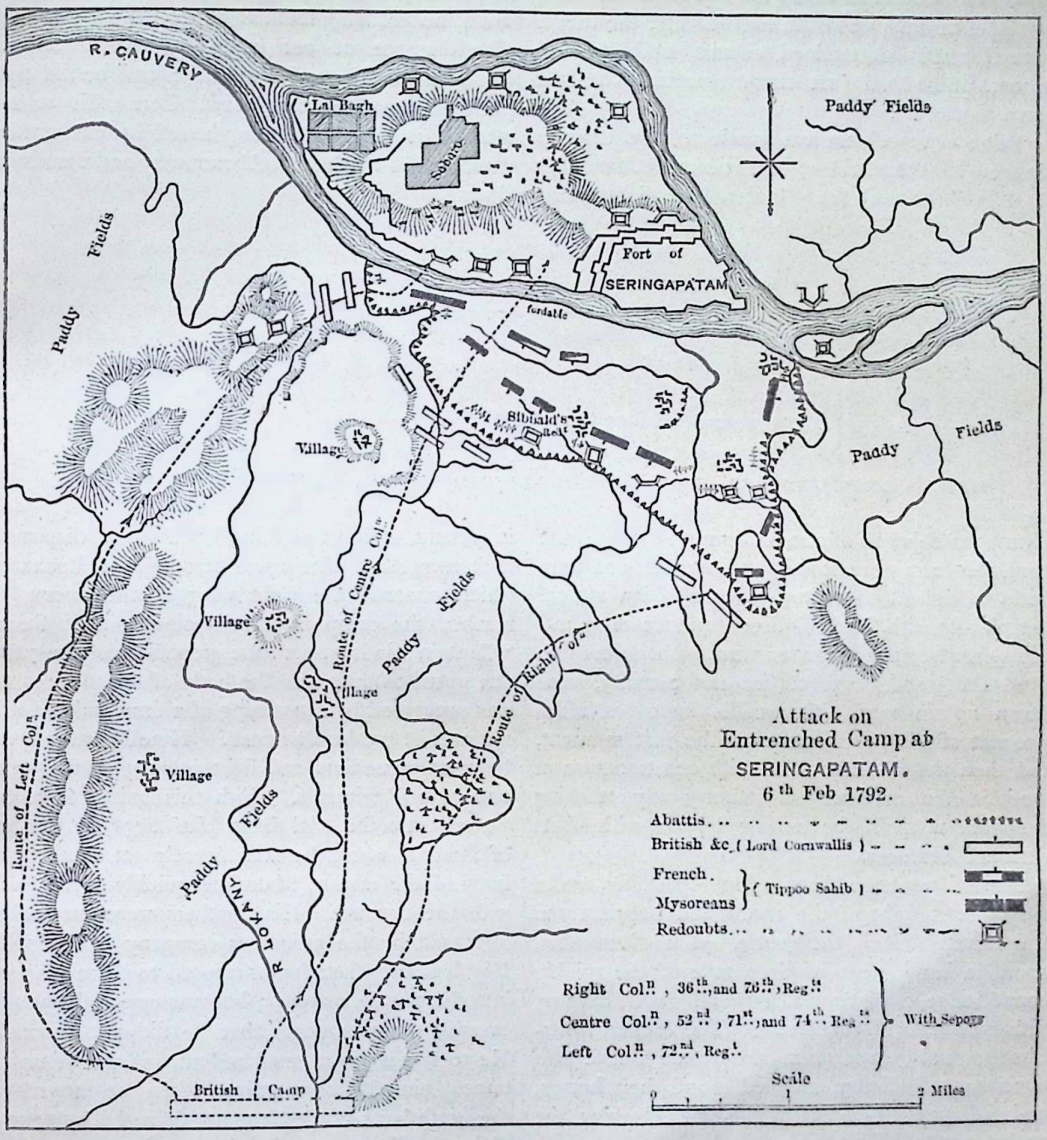
ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH CRUISERS.

The right column he assigned to General Medows; the left to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Maxwell; the centre he led in person, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart and the Hon. John Knox (son of Lord Ranfurly), afterwards drowned near Jamaica when a major-general. Medows was to penetrate the enemy's left, and, while directing every effort towards the centre, was to endeavour to open and to preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division. A part of the latter, under Colonel Stuart, was to hew a passage through the centre of the enemy's camp, and from thence to menace the works on the island, while Colonel Maxwell, with the left wing, was to force the works

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1792.

on the Carigat Hill, from which he was to descend, turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. If executed with success, it was confidently anticipated that these movements would completely overthrow the enemy. The corps composing the centre were the 52nd, with two Highland regiments; the right consisted of the 36th and 76th; the left was composed of the 72nd Highlanders. The native troops were divided in equal proportions to each column.

"In addition to the troops detailed in the orders," wrote Cornwallis, in his *Report and General Orders of the Day*, "Major Montague, of the Bengal, and Captain Ross, of the Royal Artillery, with a detachment of two subalterns and fifty European artillerymen, with spikes and hammers from the park, accompanied the centre and smaller parties—the two other columns.



PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON SERINGAPATAM.

"The troops had just been dismissed from the evening parade at six o'clock, when the above orders were communicated, upon which they were directed to fall in again with their arms and ammunition.

"By eight, the divisions were formed, and marched out in front of the camp, each in a column by half companies, with intervals in the order directed for their march.

"The number of fighting men was, at the utmost, 2,800 Europeans and 5,900 natives. The officers commanding divisions, on finding that their guides and scaling-ladders had arrived, and that every corps was in its proper place, proceeded, as appointed, at half an hour past eight o'clock.

"The evening was calm and serene; the troops moved on in determined silence, and the full moon, which had just risen, promised to light them to success.

"The right column was conducted by Captain Beatson of the Guides; the centre column by Captain Allen of the Guides, and Lieutenant Macleod of the Intelligence Department; and *harcarrahs* (native spies), who had been within the enemy's lines, were sent both to these and the left column.

"Tippoo's pickets, having made no attempt to interrupt the reconnoitring parties in the forenoon, he probably did not expect so early a visit. The distance of our camp seemed a circumstance favourable to his security; and he did not, perhaps, imagine that Lord Cornwallis would attack his lines till strengthened by the armies commanded by General Abercromby and Purseram Bhow."

CHAPTER LX.

TIPPOO'S CAMP ATTACKED—SERINGAPATAM BLOCKED UP—TIPPOO ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE.

WHEN the columns of attack began to move to the front, the tents were struck, and preparations were made to defend the camp in case of an attack. Our pickets, with the field-pieces, quarter, rear, and camp guards, were all under arms, with orders "to stand fast," and, prepared for any casualty, were drawn up in rear. Cornwallis kept his allies ignorant of his intentions until the last moment, and then they became filled with consternation at the idea of a small body of infantry only attacking the great camp of the terrible Tippoo, with all its guns and defences.

Onward went the three columns steadily, under the brilliant light of the moon, and between ten and eleven o'clock, the centre, led by Cornwallis, sword in hand, when within a mile of the prickly bound hedge, came upon a body of Tippoo's cavalry, with a brigade of rocketeers. The former, astonished to find themselves suddenly face to face with a column of infantry, wheeled round their horses, and galloped off to alarm the lines, leaving the rocket-men to defend themselves as they best could. They showered their fiery missiles, but they flashed high overhead like meteors, and fell in the rear of the column, which pressed steadily on, with the grenadiers of the 71st Highlanders, under Captain Lindsay, in the van.

At this time, our left column was seen ascending the Carigat Hill, which instantly became topped with a circle of flashing musketry. Inspired by this, the centre passed on with such extraordinary vigour in pursuit of the retreating cavalry and dispersed rocketeers, that after twice crossing the Lockany, which covered the right wing of the enemy, it reached the camp in fifteen minutes after them. "Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place; but was prevented by the raising of a drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. Here he was joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52nd and 76th Regiments. With this united force he pushed into the Llal Baug (*Lal Bagh*, or Garden of Pearls), where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, whom he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon after increased by the grenadier company of the 74th Highlanders, when he attempted to force his way into the pettah, or town; but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers, that he did not succeed. He took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, and the troops who formed the left attack."*

The right column, from the nature of the ground over which it had to advance, had been compelled to make a great circuit; thus it was unable to reach the hedge till long after eleven o'clock; nevertheless, it ultimately forced its way so much farther to the right than the plan of Cornwallis had contemplated, that the triple attack was far from

* General Stewart, vol. ii.

being simultaneous. Led by the resolute General Medows, it burst through the dense and prickly hedge, near where the centre column had entered, and, taking ground to the right, hurled its strength against the chief redoubt, on which the left of the Mysoreans relied greatly for their defence. The moon, at this juncture, seemed to shine out with greater brilliance, and the great marble dome of a white mosque that crowned a hill became, as it were, a kind of central beacon to our troops. The conflict was raging now from the left to the centre, and from thence to the right, where the Mysoreans, in the White Mosque Redoubt, were quite prepared for us, and threw into Medows' column a heavy fire of grape and musketry, which made it reel and stagger, for the dead and wounded were falling fast on every hand; and this steady fire revealed, with terrible distinctness, the outlines of the works to be attacked.

Some of our troops fought at a great disadvantage, having wetted their ammunition when fording the Cauvery. These were particularly some companies of H.M. 52nd and 14th Bengal Infantry.* General Martin Hunter, in his Journal, omits all mention of the brilliance of the moonlight, and says that the night was so dark, that the first intimation the 52nd had of being near the enemy "was the tom-toms, followed by cheering and a volley."

By daybreak, General Medows, with the right column, found himself master of the field; but being ignorant of the operations of the other two columns, he was unable to proceed. The main object of Cornwallis, with the centre, was to gain possession of the island, into which he intended to pass with the fugitives. After entering the lines, the van of this column soon dispersed the enemy, and passed the sultan's tent, which was empty, having been hastily abandoned. The 52nd and the two Highland regiments then pressed forward to the river in two great masses, and crossed, overpowering all who opposed them. At this moment, Captain Archdeacon, who commanded a battalion of Bengal sepoys, was killed. As he was greatly beloved by his men, they fell into disorder, and recoiled on the 71st Highlanders, at the very time when Major Stair Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's Redoubt, and thus impeded the movement. The redoubt, however, was attacked and carried, and the command of it given to Captain Hugh Sibbald, of the Macleod Highlanders, whose company led the attack. During the whole of that day's hard fighting he held it with only 100 Highlanders and fifty sepoys, "repulsing thousands after thousands." He was killed in the work, the name of which, by order of Lord Cornwallis, was changed from the Sultan's to Sibbald's Redoubt. In the obstinate defence of it, his men consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded bullocks of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply of cartridges.

The command of this important post was now assumed by Major Francis Skelly, of the 74th Highlanders. The sultan seemed determined to recover the redoubt, because it bore his own name, and sent his French corps, 350 strong, under M. Vigie, to attack it; but they met with no better success than their predecessors, and, notwithstanding their superior discipline, were signally repulsed. From that time, Tippoo, who connected possession of the post with the fate of the day, began to lose heart.

A strong body of the centre column, led by Colonel Monson, failing to force an entrance at the eastern gate of Seringapatam, proceeded through the island, to an extensive bazaar, where they made a slaughter of all they found. This party was speedily followed by another, of three companies, under Colonel Knox of the 36th Foot, who, instead of approaching the city, led it through the rajah's garden, and from thence proceeded to the capture of the Shah Ganjaum suburb, taking, as he went along, several batteries in reverse; he thus enabled Colonel Baird, with a few of the 71st Highlanders, who had discovered a practicable ford, to effect a solid lodgment on the enemy's side of the Cauvery. Another body of men, under Captain Morton Hunter of the 52nd, crossed the river and took post in the rajah's garden; but as soon as their position was discovered, they were attacked by the enemy in such force, that they were compelled to recross the river with precipitation, and rejoin Lord Cornwallis, who, by this time had headed more than one bayonet charge, and been wounded in the hand. By this time, General Medows, with his division, was seen in full possession of the Carigat Hill, to which his lordship at once repaired, and took up a position, where his small corps could not be surrounded.

As was anticipated, the attack over night had taken Tippoo completely by surprise. His gorgeous tent had been pitched in the rear of the centre of his position, and very near the path by which the head of the centre column entered, and he had just left the place, after taking his evening meal in the Sultan's Redoubt. On the

* Dirom's Narrative.

first alarm he leaped into his saddle, and by a mass of fugitives careering past, was first made aware that his centre was penetrated, and that by the advance of a column to the great ford, his retreat was about to be cut off. There was not a moment to be lost, and he had barely passed the ford when already the column was close upon it.

On reaching the shelter of the fort, he seated himself in a lozenge-shaped work at its north-east angle, where, while the fight went on around him, and the din of cannon and musketry rang on every side, he remained quietly issuing his orders till daylight. Then, on reckoning his losses in the morning, it was found that they amounted to the startling number of 23,000 men, killed, wounded, and missing. The latter was the heaviest item, for no less than 10,000 Chelas, or native Hindoos, whom he had forced to become military slaves, abandoned him in the confusion, and with their arms and accoutrements, fled to the wild forests of Coorg.

As yet, the only positions we actually possessed were the unfinished work on the Carigat Hill, the redoubt in the north-west corner of the bound hedge, Sibbald's Redoubt (midway between the mosque and the Carigat Hill), and a post held by Colonel Stuart, at the eastern extremity of the island. Tippoo, after the failure of several attempts to recover the last two, abandoned all the other redoubts within the enclosure, as if in a fit of sullen despair; and by this movement allowed the preliminary preparations for the siege to be begun forthwith.

Our losses during the whole of this hard day's fighting, amounted to only 535 killed, wounded, and missing. Tippoo's, as roughly stated, we have already given; but to these must be added eighty pieces of cannon, which fell into our hands;* thirty-six of these were brass. We also captured many standards, and a vast quantity of arms of every description.

The island on which the city and fortress stand, remained now to be the only theatre of contest. All else that belonged to Tippoo, even his magnificent gardens, were in our possession, and he was now shut up in the narrow limits of the citadel. Within the bound hedge, our troops found great stores of forage, with grain and pulse for the cattle; the *Lal Bagh*, or "Garden of Pearls," supplied all the timber necessary for the works of the siege; while the palace connected with it—a magnificent edifice, with all its colonnades and curiously carved arches—with the buildings of the fakirs, erected round the tomb of Hyder, were used by Lord Cornwallis for the reception of his sick and wounded.

On its two principal sides, the city of Seringapatam was now fully invested; and from our camp, more especially the posts of the outlying pickets, its bold defences and stately edifices were distinctly seen in all their details. On all hands, the pioneers and working parties were busy; the tall, shady cypresses and rich fruit trees of the Lal Bagh were all hewn down, and sawn into gabions or twisted into fascines, and the once wonderful garden soon became a scene of desolation. Many of Tippoo's soldiers came into the camp of Cornwallis. "His sepoys threw down their arms in great numbers, and, taking advantage of the night, went off in every direction to the various countries where they had been impressed or enlisted; many came into our camp, and that continued to be the case during the siege. . . . Fifty-seven of the foreigners in Tippoo's service took advantage of the battle of the 6th and 7th of February, to quit his service and come over to our army. Among them were Monsieur Blevette, an old man, who was his chief artificer, or engineer, and Monsieur Lafolie, his French interpreter, both of whom had been long in his father's service. Monsieur Heron, who was taken at Bangalore, and released on his parole, to enable him to bring away his family, also took this opportunity to fulfil his promises: several other people of some note were likewise of the number; some of them were the artificers sent to Tippoo from France, when his ambassadors returned in 1789. Thirty of the foreigners, headed by Joseph Pedro, a Portuguese, who held the rank of captain in Tippoo's service, engaged immediately with the Mahrattas. The remains of the sultan's army, which had withdrawn in the course of the day and night of the 7th, were collected on the morning of the 8th, his infantry on the glacis, and within the outworks of the fort; his baggage and cavalry on the south side of the river towards Mysore. The crowd in and about the fort (? citadel) was very great; but his army never again encamped in order, or made any formidable appearance." †

Immediate preparations for the siege were made. Three European regiments and seven battalions of sepoys, with a great artillery force, at once environed the place, preventing alike ingress and egress; and on the 9th of February, couriers announced the arrival of the Bombay column (which Floyd's cavalry went out to meet), under Sir Robert Abercromby, with the 73rd and 75th Highland Regiments, the 77th, and some native troops—in all about 6,000 men—so that now there

* "Hist. Rec. 52nd Foot."

† Major Dymock.

were no less than five battalions in the kilt before Seringapatam. Some accounts, which seem to be erroneous, date the arrival of this column some days later in the month.

Tippoo, seeing the desperation of his position, once more attempted to negotiate, and, as a preliminary step, he determined to release Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who, with a handful of men, had surrendered to him at Coimbatore, on the express condition that they were to march to Palaghaut, a condition which Tippoo, as usual, shamelessly violated by casting them into his dungeons at Seringapatam. On the evening of the 8th of February, these officers were introduced to the sultan, whom they found in a small tent on the south glacis of the citadel, plainly attired, and with but few attendants. After acquainting them with the fact of their release, he asked Mr. Chalmers (whom he conceived to be a relative of Cornwallis, or at least an officer of higher than subaltern rank) if he would see the Governor-General on returning to the camp. On being answered in the affirmative, he put a letter into that officer's hands, saying it was on the subject of peace, and even begging Chalmers to assist him in obtaining it. The hypocrite affirmed solemnly that it had never been his wish to break with the British, and that, from the commencement of hostilities, he had been extremely anxious for the restoration of peace. He expressed a wish that Mr. Chalmers would return with the answer, and concluded by presenting him with two shawls and 500 rupees.*

The letter attempted to justify the capture of the little garrison of Coimbatore, on the plea that Kummer-ud-Deen, the officer who took that place, "had not engaged to liberate them, but only promised to recommend their liberation." Earl Cornwallis asserted this to be a falsehood, and, while he upbraided Tippoo with the stern fact that the garrison were kept in chains, he agreed, with the concurrence of the Nizam and Mahrattas, to receive the envoy.

"By the Treaty of Mangalore, every European prisoner then in Mysore ought to have been delivered up, and yet it was perfectly well known that numbers of prisoners, whose release was thus stipulated for, were pining in its dungeons. Some, indeed, had been freed from misery by the atrocious assassinations already described; but others, including several whom Suffren, the French admiral, had infamously consigned to the tender mercies of Hyder, were still alive. The fact was indisputable; for not only had some, who had recently escaped from Chittledroog, revealed the horrors of the prison-house in which their companions were still detained, but in Shah Ganjaum, on its capture only two days before, besides a considerable portion of the garrison of Coimbatore, twenty-seven European captives, some of them Suffren's victims, had been discovered and set at liberty. Antecedent, therefore, to the least concession to such a faithless barbarian as Tippoo, he ought to have been made to understand that nothing but the instant release of every prisoner unlawfully detained, could avert or delay the ruin now impending over him."

One of Tippoo's most barbarous murders, was that of Dr. Alexander Home, of the 36th Regiment, whom he put to death in Nundydroog in January, 1792.†

CHAPTER LXI.

TIPPOO HUMBLED—SUES FOR PEACE—SURRENDER OF THE HOSTAGES—CLOSE OF THE WAR WITH MYSORE.

WHILE Tippoo was thus openly seeking to negotiate with Lord Cornwallis, he thought, by a masterstroke in policy, to end the war in another fashion, by compassing the destruction of that personage. On the very morning on which he had released Lieutenants Nash and Chalmers, he summoned the chief officers of his Stable Horse, or guards, and harangued them on the expediency of the meditated assassination, by which they might have the glory of ending the war by a single stroke; and his hearers pledged themselves never to return till they had done the deed, and they retired in succession, after receiving each some betel from Tippoo's hand. On the same day and the following, small parties of his

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1792.

† *Scots Magazine*, 1793.

horsemen, after being duly drugged and maddened by *bhang*, to the requisite pitch of recklessness and daring, were observed to cross the Cauvery at the ford near Arikera, and by the morning of the 10th, a considerable body of them got round our left wing undiscovered, their destination being the tent of Lord Cornwallis, which was in rear of the Carigat Hill, and known by its distinguishing flag. The situation was so exposed, that it seemed quite possible to make a dash at it, and gain the head of the Governor-General to lay at the feet of Tippoo. These detached parties of horse did not, at first, attract much attention, as they were supposed to belong to the Nizam's army.

After riding about for some time, they drew near our park of artillery, and, with an affected, casual air, inquired of some gun-lascars which was the tent of the *Burra Sahib*. Supposing that they meant Colonel Duff, who commanded the artillery, the lascars indicated his tent; then they unsheathed their tulwars, put spurs to their horses, and dashed, with shouts, towards it. These actions excited the suspicions of some sepoy recruits, who were encamped in rear of the guns. They at once rushed to their muskets, and poured in a volley which prostrated many of Tippoo's cavalry, and compelled the rest to take to immediate and ignominious flight.* After this, Lord Cornwallis, who had hitherto contented himself with two sentries, native troopers of the body-guard, was compelled to have a captain's guard mounted over his tent every night.

On the 18th of February, Major Stair Dalrymple, with the 71st Highlanders and the 13th Bengal Infantry, crossed the Cauvery at nine p.m., and, to draw attention from our working parties who were about to break ground, fell suddenly upon Tippoo's cavalry camp. Captain James Robertson, with his company of the 71st, entered it "undiscovered, and with the bayonet killed upwards of 100 troopers and double that number of horses, and retired without molestation, and without the loss of a man."† The enemy rushed to arms, but Robertson fired into them several random volleys to increase their confusion. The effect of this in the citadel was instantaneous. Showers of red rockets soared high in the air; blue lights were burned, and all the bastions seemed ablaze, as a general assault was expected. Dalrymple returned to camp by four o'clock next morning. By this time the first trench was being opened within 800 yards of the walls, and by the 21st the traverses were finished, and the advances carried on with spirit and energy. Meanwhile the anger of Tippoo was expressed by a continued discharge of cannon from the citadel, directed to the island, the redoubts, and every post and party of ours within range. Some of his shot reached the camp, and seemed as if aimed at the tent of Cornwallis; but, in most instances, the distance rendered his cannonade almost ineffectual.

On the 22nd, General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, conceiving it necessary to take possession of an evacuated redoubt and grove situated between his camp and the citadel, proceeded to capture them, but their possession was hotly disputed by a body of Mysoreans, consisting chiefly of dismounted cavalry; and though the British were in the end victorious, it was not until they had 104 men killed and wounded.

During the nights of the 22nd and 23rd February, new works were erected, and two breaching-batteries (one of twenty and the other of twelve guns), would have been ready to open by the 1st of March. Purseram Bhow's Mahratta force of 20,000 cavalry, several thousand infantry, and thirty guns, was expected daily, together with that of Major Cuppage from the neighbourhood of Coimbatore, consisting of 400 Europeans and three battalions of sepoys; and all this at a time when Tippoo had been compelled to send off to Mysore his cavalry, all his artificers and camp-followers. So now the British army was nobly supplied and in great strength, while the humbled Tippoo was in want of everything.

On the night of the 23rd, General Abercromby moved into a ravine, between the citadel and the grove so lately contested, and made a lodgment there. Near that point there was commenced a battery for throwing shells and red-hot shot into Seringapatam. By the following night, our batteries were armed with sixty guns and mortars. The weight of metal was sufficient for breaching, and the means for setting the whole place in flames were ample and certain.

The 24th of February was a day full of deep interest to the besieged and besiegers alike. The former crushed, drooping, and despondent, expected at an early period to hear the thunder of the breaching batteries, the crash of salvoes and falling masonry, and to see mosque and temple speedily sheeted with flame. The latter were full of hope, and eager to avenge the sufferings and murders of their countrymen, for many there were in the army, who, like Colonel Baird, had endured the horrors of captivity in Seringapatam. Many of the soldiers, too, were looking forward to enrichment by the pillage of the stormed city. Orders were now suddenly issued to cease working in the

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1792. † *Ibid.*



CHARGE OF THE HIGHLANDERS AT SERINGAPATAM.

trenches, and to abstain from all acts of hostility. But at the same moment, "Tippoo, ever treacherous, even when treachery brought little advantage and much peril to himself," levelled every possible gun to bear upon the trenches; and this fire, with that of musketry from every available point, killed and wounded many of our officers and men.

This act was a direct contravention of the articles of armistice signed the night before. Cornwallis sent repeated flags of truce and angry remonstrances, but Tippoo continued to fire in this reckless manner till noon, his aim being to make his people believe that he had dictated the terms of peace. On the same day, Cornwallis, by a proclamation, announced the cessation of hostilities; but ordered that the same vigilance as heretofore was to be everywhere observed, so strong a suspicion had he of Tippoo's treachery.

On the night of the 23rd, the sultan had signed the preliminaries, accepting the terms dictated by the victor; and though severe, they were not more so than the character of the vanquished deserved. The contest between us and Tippoo was, at a later period, to be renewed on several disputes, of which the present treaty laid the foundation. Its terms were these :—

"1. One half of the dominions of which Tippoo Sultan was in possession before the war, to be ceded to the allies from the countries adjacent, according to their situation.

"2. Three crores and thirty lacs of rupees (£3,300,000) to be paid by Tippoo Sultan, either in gold mohurs, pagodas, or bullion.

"3. All prisoners of the four powers, from the time of Hyder Ali, to be unequivocally restored.

"4. Two of Tippoo Sultan's eldest sons to be given as hostages for a due performance of the treaty.

"5. When they shall arrive in camp with the articles of this treaty under the seal of the sultan, a counterpart shall be sent from the allies, hostilities shall cease, and terms of a treaty of alliance and perpetual friendship shall be adjusted."

On the 23rd, Tippoo had assembled the chief sirdars and officers of his army, and sworn them on the Koran to afford him their undisguised advice as to whether there should be peace or war. Their voices were almost unanimously for "peace;" but the tidings of it excited the greatest indignation in the breasts of our soldiers, who loathed Tippoo with a hate and desire for vengeance which they longed to gratify. So strong was this feeling, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained from continuing their work in the trenches, though Cornwallis sought to soothe it by praising, in general orders, the firmness and valour all ranks had exhibited. He also announced his intention "to take upon himself to order a handsome gratuity to be distributed to them in the same proportions as prize money, from the sum that Tippoo had bound himself to pay to the Company."

On the 26th, the young hostages left the fort, each mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, and Indian history never before recorded a scene more touching and striking. The ramparts were crowded with soldiers and citizens, whose sympathies were deeply excited; while the grim Tippoo himself was on the bastion above the great entrance, when even he found a difficulty in concealing his profound emotion. As the elephants issued from the archway, the cannon of Seringapatam thundered forth a salute, and, as they approached the British lines, Duff's artillery fired twenty-one rounds. By our negotiator, Captain Sir John Kennaway, Bart., and the vakeels of the Nizam and Mahrattas, and by a guard of honour, they were met near our outposts, and with all respect conveyed within the lines. Each was seated in a howdah of chased silver. *Harcarrahs*, or Brahmin messengers of trust, headed the procession, and seven standard-bearers, each carrying a small green bannerole displayed on a rocket-pole. After these marched 100 pikemen, whose weapons were inlaid with silver. Their escort was a squadron of horse, with 200 sepoys. They were received by the troops in line, with presented arms, drums beating, and officers in front saluting.

Attended by his staff and the colonels of regiments, Earl Cornwallis received them at the entrance of his tent, where, after they had descended from their howdahs, he embraced them, and led them in, taking each by the hand. Abdul Kalik, the eldest, was only ten years of age; the younger, Mooza-ud-Deen, was only two; but, having been educated with care, the spectators were surprised to find in these children all the reserve, the politeness, and attention of maturer years.*

When Cornwallis had placed one on each side of him as he sat, Gholaum Ali, the principal vakeel of Tippoo, surrendered them formally, saying :—

"These children were this morning the sons of my master, the sultan; their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your lordship as their father."

Cornwallis then assured the vakeel that his protection should be amply extended to his interesting hostages; and he spoke so kindly and cheerfully to the two little boys, that he at once won their confidence. They wore flowing robes of white muslin,

* Major Dirom, &c.

with red turbans, in which each had a spray of the richest pearls. Round their necks were strings of the same jewels, to which was suspended a pendant, consisting of an emerald and ruby of great size, surrounded by diamonds. To each prince, Lord Cornwallis gave a gold watch. In return, he was presented with a fine Persian sword; then betel-nut and otto of roses were distributed; a fuzee and pair of pistols were given to the elder child, after which they were conducted to their own tents, under a guard of honour.

Thus ended a war during which the British, with their allies, had wrested from the enemy seventy fortresses, 800 pieces of cannon, placed *hors de combat*, or dispersed at least 50,000 men, and obtained the cession of half of the sultan's dominions.

On the morning of the 28th, the cannon of Seringapatam again thundered from the walls, as Tippoo fired a salute to announce his satisfaction at the treatment his sons received, though there was a strong suspicion that he had actually murdered many of his British prisoners, after the preliminary treaty of peace had been signed; and that others were still retained in secret dungeons. Ten sepoy prisoners, each with his right hand struck off, were sent back to our camp.

On the 19th of March, the young princes, at ten in the morning, delivered the definitive treaty to Lord Cornwallis; but the vakeels of the Nizam and Mahrattas, as if to show discourtesy to the fallen, were late in their attendance. "At length, on their coming, the eldest prince receiving two of the copies of the treaty, returned to him by Lord Cornwallis, delivered a copy to each of the vakeels of the other powers, which he did with great manliness; but evidently with more constraint and dissatisfaction than he had performed the first part of the ceremony. One of the vakeels (the Mahratta) afterwards muttering something on the subject, the boy asked him at what he grumbled, and without giving him time to answer, said, 'they might well be silent, as certainly their masters had no reason to be displeased.' These may not be the precise words, but something passed to that effect, which did great honour to the boy's manliness and spirit. The princes having completed the ceremony and delivered this final testimony of their father's submission, took their leave and returned to their tents; and thus ended the last scene of this important war." *

Nothing remained now but for the allied armies to begin each their homeward march, and leave Tippoo to brood over his disasters, and scheme out future vengeance. On the 26th of March, the British troops, having with them the hostage princes, who were not to be given up till Tippoo's obligations under the treaty were performed, commenced moving towards Bangalore, from whence they proceeded to the Pednaigdurgum Pass, where the Bengal troops were ordered to their own presidency. In the beginning of May, the army descended the Ghauts (a word applied indiscriminately in India, to a ford, a ferry, or a defile), arriving soon after at Vellore, where the commander-in-chief arranged the cantonments of the troops, and proceeded to Madras, for the purpose of destroying, by one bold stroke, the remains of French influence in the Carnatic—war having been declared against France at home.

On his arrival there, he found, however, that the result he meditated had already been achieved; and that, throughout the whole of the vast peninsula of Hindostan, Britain alone, of all European nations, maintained an attitude of power. By the 11th of June, tidings had come of that war which was eventually to wrap all Europe in the flames of strife; and, already orders had been issued to take possession of Chandernagore, and all the French factories in the presidency of Bengal. These orders were obeyed with ease; but more trouble was anticipated at Madras, where Pondicherry had again been put in a state of complete defence; but before Cornwallis could reach the scene of operations, they were over.

On the 11th of July, 1793, Colonel Floyd arrived before the fortress, and, to blockade it on the land side, encamped in a thick wood, where the tigers were so numerous, that the natives were afraid to venture into it; while Admiral Cornwallis environed the place by sea. Eventually the command of the troops devolved upon Colonel John Braithwaite, who had only opened fire from his first batteries for a few hours, when the insubordination and licentiousness of the garrison, already corrupted by the vilest principles of democracy and irreligion, compelled the governor, General Charmont, to hoist the white flag on the 22nd of August. Even after it was hoisted, they fired some shells and killed several of our soldiers.

During the night they were guilty of every species of outrage. On the following morning, a number of them environed the house of General Charmont, and threatened to hang him before the door, when he made application to Colonel Braithwaite to save him from the Republicans.

Rushing in, our soldiers bayoneted them on every hand, rescued the governor, and preserved the inhabitants from further outrage; so thus, once

* Major Dirom's Narrative.

more was the British flag displayed on the walls of Pondicherry.*

The Nabob of the Carnatic, whose dominions were held by our troops, had proved very irregular in his subsidies during the war with Mysore; and hence Cornwallis, acting precisely as Hastings would have done, appointed his own officers to collect the revenue, and paid it into the treasury of the Company, who, but for this measure, could not have carried on the war to its termination. "The course of events, and absolute necessity, had forced the pacifically disposed Lord Cornwallis into the war with Tippoo Sultan, and into a series of measures very contrary to the wishes, the policy, and the system of non-interference and non-aggrandisement, of the British Legislature and Government. But it had been well remarked, that this self-evident necessity was not followed by the conclusion, that the same causes might again produce the same effects; and that a general impression was made in England, that his lordship had placed the affairs of the Company on the true footing of security and strength, which had been so long desired—that, for the future, nothing would be requisite, but mild, moderate, and conciliatory counsels in the Governor-General and the local authorities to secure the lasting tranquillity and prosperity of the British Empire in India."

All the really great efforts of Cornwallis, says Sir John Malcolm, had ever been made with extraordinary success. Though some of the smaller reforms which he essayed were perhaps failures, he left behind him among the native population a good and honourable name. In the military and civil establishments he effected many radical reforms; but then he had that unity of power, and that literal control over all the presidencies alike—that absolute authority, which the less fortunate Hastings had never possessed.

He devoted a few months to the settlement of certain civil affairs, in which the Nabob of the Carnatic and his creditors were concerned, after which, finding it necessary to return to Bengal, where Mr. (then Sir John) Shore had succeeded him as Governor-General, he set sail early in October, 1793, for England, quitting the shores of India, amid the regret of all ranks and classes of men. The reception that awaited him was fully commensurate with the great services he had performed to the Company and his country. He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, though the Opposition were never weary of extolling the virtues and deploring the misfortunes of the Tiger of Mysore. The king created him a marquis of Great Britain, and he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance.

CHAPTER LXII.

SIR JOHN SHORE, AFTERWARDS LORD TEIGNMOUTH—SEA-FIGHT WITH FRENCH CRUISERS—MAHADAJEE SCINDIA DIES—INVASION OF THE DECCAN BY THE MAHRATTAS—BATTLE OF BEDER—REBELLIONS IN THE DECCAN, ETC.

SIR JOHN SHORE, Bart. (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the old friend of Warren Hastings, also the warm friend and future biographer of Sir William Jones, the learned and upright judge at Calcutta, was worthily chosen successor to the Marquis of Cornwallis as Governor-General of India. The appointment of the latter to that high office was the first in which a previous connection with the Company had been deemed unnecessary, and its success had gone far to confirm the idea, that all such appointments in future should be made upon the same principle: yet the king, in a letter to Mr. Henry Dundas on the 5th of September, 1792, expressed his opinion that no more proper person to fill the office of Governor-General, or more likely to follow the policy of Cornwallis, could be found than Sir John Shore.

He possessed abundant local knowledge of India, and was particularly skilled in the revenue of that country. He was by nature industrious, pacific, and conciliatory, and inspired by a very high sense of religion. "It was laid down to him as a rule, that the dictates of justice, no less than those of economy, prescribed to the Company a system of non-interference with the internal affairs, or mutual differences of the native states; unless when interference should be required by the paramount duty

* "Rec. 52nd Foot."

of preserving the tranquillity and integrity of the Company's own dominions."

Like his friend, Warren Hastings, Sir John Shore had sprung from an old family of Cavalier principles, and, like Daylesford, their lands had been lost in the great civil war. The name of Shore, which is of considerable antiquity in Derby, appears among the gentry of that shire in the reign of Henry VI., and one represented Derby in Parliament so early as the time of Richard II.; but the immediate predecessor of the new Governor-General was John Shore of Snitterton, in the parish of Darley, near Matlock. "John Shore purchased of the Sacheverells, in the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, 'the Manor of Snitterton, and several premises and lands in Snitterton, Wensley, and Darley,' and probably resided at Snitterton Hall, a venerable and moat-girt mansion at the foot of Oker." *

His son, Sir John Shore, who was knighted by Charles II., entered his pedigree and arms at the time of Dugdale's visitation, and died in 1680. His great-grandson John, son of Thomas Shore of Melton in Suffolk, was born in 1751 in London, and educated at Harrow, where, among his class-fellows were Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Nathaniel Halked, destined, like himself, for future fame; and with the latter he renewed his intercourse in after years, both at home and in India. We are told that his diligence and keen perception of the beauties of the classics soon recommended him to Dr. Sumner at Harrow, where he mastered Virgil and Homer, Cicero, Horace, and Sophocles. He also acquired with success the French and Portuguese languages; and, being early destined for the Indian Civil Service, after being placed in an academy at Hoxton, where he became versed in book-keeping and merchants' accounts, he sailed for the land of his labours at the age of seventeen, and reached Madras on the 18th of May, 1769, from whence he proceeded to Bengal, and was soon appointed assistant to the Council at Moorshedabad. To his other acquirements he now proceeded to add a knowledge of the Oriental languages, and he gained that of Hindostan by colloquial intercourse. After having acted as Persian translator and secretary to the Provincial Board at Moorshedabad, he was appointed fifth member of the Board at Calcutta in 1773, "and he at once exchanged the stillness and seclusion, in which his days had hitherto flowed peacefully along, for the angry contentions of the seat of unsettled and divided government." What these contentions were, we have already detailed in the history of the career of Warren Hastings; but amid the distracted state of the presidency, Mr. Shore pursued an independent course, yet he was the firm friend of Hastings, was appointed second member of the Grand Council, and held the important post of acting chief of the Board of Revenue till his return to England in 1785.

The critical state of India having, as we have elsewhere told, attracted the attention of Parliament, and produced Pitt's famous Bill for the Regulation of Affairs in that country, Mr. Shore, after suggesting, at home, many valuable reforms in the administration, was appointed member of the Supreme Council at Fort William, and, though but recently married, in his zeal for the service, he once more sailed for India in company with Lord Cornwallis; and there, amid all the bustle incident to the reforms made by the latter, and the warlike measures against Tippoo, he arranged the permanent settlement of the revenues, and "soothed the weary hours of sickness by commencing and completing a poem, entitled, 'The Wanderer;' the plan of which was suggested by the painful circumstances of his separation from his country and kindred." †

The year 1789 saw him once more in England, when he was examined at the trial of Warren Hastings; a baronetcy was offered him, but he declined it, until 1792, when he received his diploma, and was presented to the king on his appointment as Governor-General, in succession to the victorious Cornwallis. From a paragraph in Wilberforce's correspondence, it appears that, having retired with a fortune of £25,000, he was "with difficulty compelled to accept the splendid and lucrative post of Governor-General; which Government, so creditably to themselves, absolutely forced upon him. He was living in retirement, not even keeping a carriage, in Somersetshire, with a sweet wife and two children."

On the 10th of March, 1793, Sir John Shore reached Calcutta, where he was welcomed by all classes, and found himself surrounded by his old friends and former domestics. He was not installed in his office till the 28th of October, 1793, as Lord Cornwallis retained the reins of government till that time. Major-General Sir Robert Abercromby received the appointment of commander-in-chief, for, as Sir John was not a military man, the severance of the two offices became a matter of necessity.

Though the successes of Cornwallis in war had been great, and great, too, the moral impression they made on all the native princes, the treachery and selfishness of the latter were such, that Britain could rely on no treaty with them, or on the personal

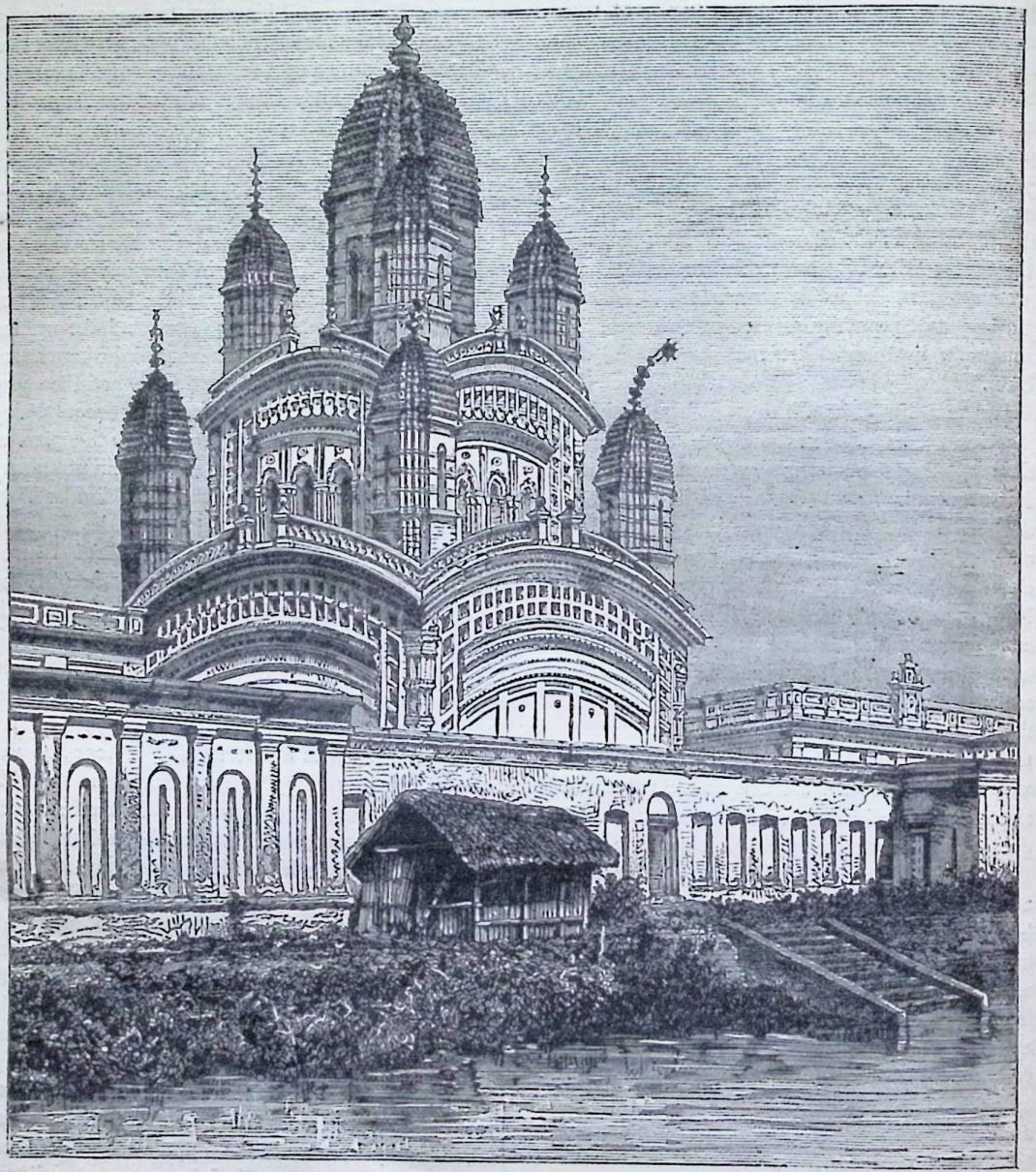
* "Life of Lord Teignmouth."

† Ibid.

disposition of any of them. French influence was again beginning to be felt. They formed a treaty with the Nizam of the Deccan, and by diplomatic means, gained such a power over him, that he took two French brigades, under M. Raymond, into his army; and this at a time when the disturbances in Europe, consequent to the French Revolution, threatened seriously to affect our interests in India. About six months after Sir John Shore arrived in Calcutta, the Nabob of Bengal—its nominal sovereign—Mobarek-ud-Dowlah, died, leaving behind him twelve sons and thirteen daughters, and was succeeded by the eldest of the former, who was solemnly proclaimed at Calcutta, on the 28th of September, 1793.

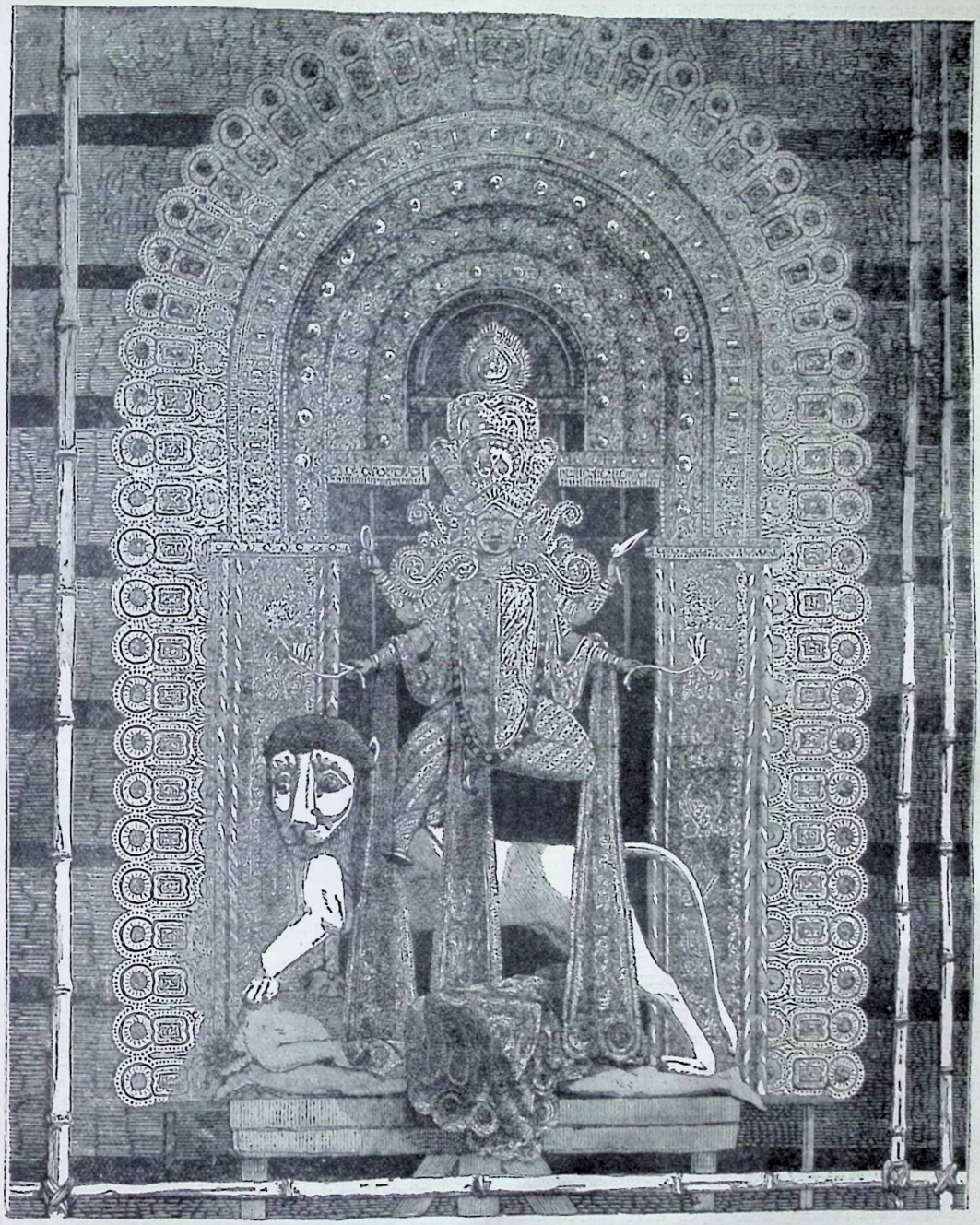
In the following year died Sir William Jones, the eminent and learned judge at Calcutta, who was deemed a loss alike to India and to England, and to no one more than the Governor-General, who, in a letter to Lady Shore, of date the 27th April, wrote in touching terms of the death of his bosom friend.

The Indian coast trade was now beginning to be seriously impeded by French cruisers, and no



THE GREAT MOSQUE ON THE HOOGHLY, NEAR CALCUTTA.

effectual means were taken against them until considerable loss of life and property ensued; commanded by Captains Edward Pakenham and Samuel Osborne, when cruising off the Mauritius,



THE GODDESS KALI, THE FAVOURITE DIVINITY OF THE PEOPLE OF CALCUTTA.

Admiral Cornwallis taking to sea for that purpose. On the 5th of May, 1793, H.M.S. *Orpheus*, thirty-two guns (Captain Newcome), in company with the *Centurion* (fifty), and *Resistance* (forty-four), fell in with *La Guay Trouin*, a French ship of thirty-four guns and 400 men, which was taken by the *Orpheus*, after a sharp conflict, in which the enemy had eighty-one killed and wounded, while

we had only one midshipman killed, a mate, and eight seamen wounded.

On the 22nd of October, in the same year, the *Centurion* and *Diomede*, when cruising off the same coast, discovered and gave chase to three ships and a brig; and at half-past three in the afternoon, they were within musket-shot of them. The relative strength was thus—British: *Centurion*, fifty guns, 300 men; *Diomede*, forty-four guns, 200 men. French: *La Sybille*, forty guns, 400 men; *La Prudente*, thirty-six guns, 300 men; ship of twenty-six guns; brig of twelve.

The French commodore ran up the tricolour and opened fire, on which the battle began. At four o'clock he made sail, seeking to escape, and was followed by all his vessels except *La Sybille*, which fell away to leeward under a heavy fire, as a calm prevented her getting ahead. The whole of the enemy's fire was directed at the *Centurion*, whose masts, rigging, and sails were reduced to useless wreckage, which rendered her unable to keep her place in the action. At a quarter to six, the foretopmast of the ship to leeward was shot away; but she bore up before the wind, and the ships ahead took her in tow. The *Centurion* and *Diomede* wore after them, but the former had received so much damage aloft, that it was necessary to abandon the pursuit and put her head to the sea, to prevent what remained of her masts from going overboard. Thus, the enemy being close in on the coast of Mauritius, escaped into Port Louis, where the *Sybille*, being a complete wreck, was run on shore to prevent her from sinking.

Tippoo of Mysore, having performed all his obligations under the treaty made at Seringapatam, had his two sons restored to him on the 28th of March, 1794, though some objections were made thereto by the Nizam, on the ground that Tippoo was making claims upon him inconsistent with that treaty in respect to the district of Kurnoul. Strong suspicions were already entertained that Tippoo was preparing for fresh mischief, as he was already in correspondence with the blood-stained revolutionary government of France; and by a rigid economy and a skilful attention to all the resources of his diminished kingdom, was supposed to be preparing for another trial of strength for the restoration of his prestige in Southern India, the moment the two royal hostages were surrendered to him.

Notwithstanding all this, the two princes were sent from Madras, under the care of Captain Doveton to Deonhully, in a plain near which Tippoo had pitched his tent and awaited them. On entering it with Captain Doveton, the boys approached their father as if quite overawed, and placed their heads at his feet. The stern Tippoo was, to all appearance, quite unmoved, and in silence touched their necks, on which they arose; and then he pointed to their seats. He then engaged in an animated conversation with Captain Doveton, and talked with singular ease and fluency on the marvels of the French Revolution, of Lord Macartney's embassy to China, and other events of the time. Whatever the wily Tippoo was plotting or scheming in secret, at all subsequent interviews with Doveton, he declared often that Cornwallis had been his best friend—that he would ever be governed by his advice, forget the bitter past, and cultivate the friendship of the British nation, as the primary objects of his policy.

Though no dependence could be placed upon the promises of Tippoo, and though Europe was rapidly becoming everywhere convulsed by sedition and war, there was, as yet, a prospect of peace in India, where the sovereignty was exercised conjointly, by ourselves, the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and Tippoo Sultan.

The Mahratta powers comprehended the Peishwa, Holkar, Scindia, and the Rajah of Berar, who had less interest than the others in their general politics, and carried on his administration independently of them, although he had received the confirmation of his succession, and the insignia of his investiture from the Peishwa as head elect of all the Mahratta powers. However, the Poonah government, with the two French brigades in their service, under a general named De Boigne, deemed itself sufficiently formidable now, without the adherence of the Rajah of Berar; and it was the nature of that government to be ambitious, grasping, and covetous, and never to omit, when occasion offered, an opportunity of increasing its wealth and power, without caring much whether the means were justifiable or not; and even at this time, after having completely humbled Tippoo, according to Auber, it was felt, that with regard to the different princes of Hindostan, our chief security was in our military strength.*

By all who knew the general temper of the fiery Mahrattas, whose strength years long afterwards was repressed, but not extinguished, and whose boast it was that they were the *Maha-rashtra* or "great people;" by all who knew the Mahrattas, we say, a long term of peace with them could never be expected, as they were essentially a nation of warriors, chiefly lightly-armed horsemen, who could march fifty miles a day, and feed their hardy steeds on the growing grain or the thatch of houses, if

* "Rise and Progress of British Power in India."

nothing better came in their way. At the time of Sir John Shore's arrival we were undoubtedly strong in India. The din of our cannon at Seringapatam was fresh in the memory of all, and our chief ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, seemed true to his promises. But jealousies which broke out between him and the Mahrattas, even before the departure of Cornwallis, now seemed to threaten strife. On finding that they seemed about to invade him, the Nizam, in virtue of alliance, applied for aid to Sir John Shore.

This the latter was obliged to refuse, in accordance with the neutrality or non-interference system he had been advised to adopt, while, at the same time, he was loth to give offence to the Mahrattas, who viewed our growing strength and our successes in war with jealousy and alarm; yet, on the other hand, the Nizam was—so far as appearances went—a firm friend, who had rejoiced at the triumph of Cornwallis and the downfall of Tippoo. Now, the Poonah government began to perceive that the new Governor-General, in his desire for peace, would yield the Nizam no more aid than mediation and diplomacy, both of which they viewed with contempt, and thus they betook them to beating their war-drums, mustering their horsemen, and putting their lances and swords to the grindstone.

It was at this crisis that Mahadajee Scindia died—a chief who, to a certain extent, was the actual sovereign of Hindostan from the Sutlej to Agra. "He was," says Sir John Malcolm, "the nominal slave but the rigid master of the unfortunate Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi; the pretended friend, but the designing rival of Holkar; the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppressor of the Rajpoot princes of Central India; the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer of the family of the Peishwa."*

Scindia was the possessor of some of the finest provinces of the Deccan, and a great portion of Malwa, and had a regular army that mustered, at one time, sixteen regiments of sepoys, whom General de Boigne had disciplined for him, with 100,000 cavalry, and 500 brass and iron guns; but he who had given such an increase to the Mahratta power, died at this crisis, as we have said, without leaving any male issue. He had a brother, named Tookajee Scindia, who fell at the battle of Paniput, and left three sons. The elder of these had no sons, but the other two had; yet Scindia, without regard to the legal order of succession, had, prior to his death, repeatedly avowed his intention of adopting Dowlut Rao, the son of his youngest nephew, a youth of fifteen. Thus effect was given to old Scindia's intention, and Dowlut entered peaceably into possession of the vast power to which he had fallen heir.

Young and daring, and anxious to distinguish himself in war, Dowlut Rao Scindia now hastened to assemble his army even from the most remote parts of Hindostan, with the double intention of obtaining an ascendency in the alliance forming against the Nizam, and of giving additional strength to his own authority.

The people inhabiting the Deccan, or "Country of the South," remembered how Cornwallis had behaved when an ally of the Company had been assailed, and they could not believe that now the latter would abandon the cause of a friend so faithful; while it was the general belief of all who took an interest in Indian affairs, that we could not leave him to his fate, "without weakening that force of opinion which, more than arms, had made us what we were in India," when our stern defence of the Rajah of Travancore had won us a reputation for faith and firmness.

But Sir John Shore was trammelled by his pacific instructions from London. He felt himself compelled to decide that the British had no right to interfere, and supported this decision by a very ably-worded minute, to the effect "That, as the union of the three allies was the basis of the treaty, the continuance of that union or friendship is essential to the performance of the obligations imposed by it, and a war between two of the parties totally changes the relative situation of all."

Thus, as a necessary conclusion, he held that we were not called upon to interfere; yet Sir John Malcolm seems to have been of opinion that without going to war, a more decided or higher tone might have had a better effect, for so fresh were the victories of Cornwallis in the minds of all, that our influence might have intimidated the Mahrattas from their intended attack on the Nizam. †

In less than three weeks from the date of the minute we have just quoted, the Mahrattas had poured their army into the territories of the Nizam. In February, 1795, Dowlut Rao Scindia began his march with the advanced corps, and on the 11th of the following month a battle was fought at Beder, a frontier town of the Deccan, the walls and temples of which still retain some traces of ancient splendour.

M. Raymond, who had begun his military career in India at an early age under the Count de Lally, and who, ever since the new "peace-at-any-price" policy of the British had been suspected, had lent all his energies to perfecting the discipline of Nizam

* Malcolm's "Central India."

† "Political History of India."

Ali's infantry, was so successful that he had not the slightest doubt or hesitation in leading them to encounter the brigades of Scindia, which had been in an equal manner perfected by De Boigne. The battle was stoutly contested, and had every appearance of terminating in favour of Nizam Ali, when Raymond was bewildered on receiving from him, amid the hottest fire, an order to retreat. He had, as was usual with him, brought all the ladies of his zenana into the field, and one, who was for the time his chief favourite, became so terrified by the carnage around her, that she infected her seldom very courageous lord, and on her threatening, if he did not quit the field, to disgrace him by exposing herself to his soldiers, he sent the fatal order to Raymond, and fled by night to the little fort of Kurdlah, where he was immediately blocked up, till starved into a shameful capitulation at the end of some weeks, and agreed to cede to the enemy territory worth thirty-five lacs yearly, including Dowlutabad, or the "abode of prosperity," the key of the whole Deccan, supposed by Major Wilford to be the ancient *Tagara*, and also to deliver, as a hostage, Azeem-ul-Omrah, otherwise Meer Alum.

At this time two battalions of our troops were in the Deccan, and had they fought at Beder the rout of the Mahrattas had been sure. They might even have raised the investment of Kurdlah; but the officer commanding them had the express orders of the Governor-General not to stir a step. Thus, naturally, the Nizam on his return to Hyderabad, intimated pretty plainly that the Company had better recall their two useless battalions, as to pay and maintain troops who did not serve him was a profitless task; and accordingly they were soon after withdrawn. "The Nizam has dismissed our battalions," says Sir John Shore, in a letter to Henry Dundas, May 12, 1795; "they were employed in a disgraceful and delicate service; and I should have seen their removal with satisfaction if I had not been obliged to attribute it to the Mahrattas."*

The destruction of the power of Nizam Ali now seemed inevitable; yet there came to pass two events by which he was saved. One of these was the rebellion of Ali Jah, his son, in June, 1795, and the other was the death of the Peishwa Madhoo Rao, in October of the same year. General Raymond's troops at the battle of Beder amounted to twenty-three battalions of considerable strength; their value under fire had been fully proved, hence the Nizam resolved to add to their number, and for this purpose the revenues of Kurpa, an extensive district around the town and fortress of Cuddapah, in the Balaghaut territory, were assigned for their subsistence. By its vicinity to the sea-coast, this locality afforded the Nizam many facilities for recruiting, for getting additional officers, and for forming a junction with certain European forces, which the French republicans were alleged to be preparing for the recovery of some of their old conquests in India.

But now Sir John Shore, who by his home instructions had left the Nizam no resource but to form this French alliance—complained of it, and threatened, if the corps of General Raymond were not withdrawn from Kurpa, to send a body of British troops to that quarter, though, since the days of the Marquis de Bussy, the Deccan had never been without some French officers and soldiers. The discussion respecting Raymond's post was ended by the rebellion of Ali Jah, against whom he was immediately dispatched, and whom he made prisoner, just as two battalions of our troops, under Captain James Dalrymple—the very troops that had been previously withdrawn—arrived for the same purpose. As these had been earnestly requested by the Nizam, the ready compliance of Sir John Shore served to make our relations with Nizam Ali of a more friendly nature in future, as our troops remained in the Deccan to assist in the restoration of order.

The death of Madhoo Rao led to fierce discontent among the Mahratta chiefs, who had hitherto been leagued. The Nana Furnavese was resolved to place upon the throne of the dead Peishwa an infant prince, in whose name he might rule as regent; but Dowlut Rao Scindia, animated by a spirit of opposition, asserted the claims of Bajee Rao, the son of Ragobah, who, according to that which was not recognised in the East—the law of primogeniture—would have been the proper heir to the *musnud*. The Nana being then at Poonah, the capital of the confederated Mahrattas, took the initiative in this affair. He liberated Azeem-ul-Omrah, the captive minister of Nizam Ali, rescinded the Treaty of Kurdlah, and surrendered all claim to territory and treasure which the Nizam, under that treaty, had been bound to give up. He concluded a new treaty with the latter; but ere it could take effect, young Scindia advanced upon Poonah with an army that Nana Furnavese was unable to oppose, and the son of the wanderer Ragobah was placed upon the throne.

This occasioned fresh negotiations with the chiefs, and Scindia, in order to prevent the Nizam from furthering the schemes of Nana Furnavese, agreed to be satisfied with a fourth of

* "Lord Teignmouth's Life and Letters."

the demands made upon the former under the Treaty of Kurdlah.

Soon after his capture by Raymond, Ali Jah died, or was murdered, on which a new rebellion broke out, led by Durah Jah, a nephew of the Nizam. He collected some scattered forces, who were attacked with great spirit and utterly routed by Dalrymple's two battalions. The strong fortress of Rochore, which the insurgents had garrisoned, was next carried by storm. Nizam Ali expressed great gratitude to Sir John Shore for the aid thus rendered him by these troops; but he still dreaded, that if he were attacked again by Mahrattas, Sir John might not send him a sufficient force, and thus he still relied most on the battalions of General Raymond.

Aware how greatly he was respected and honoured by the Nizam, the Frenchman left nothing undone to bring the army to a state of perfection in order and discipline, and during this task was at no pains to conceal his animosity to Britain, and his plans of a future that even De Bussy had never imagined. The least of these, was our total expulsion from Hindostan, and its transference to the incompetent government of republican France. All his battalions now carried—not the flag of Nizam Ali, but the new tricolour of France; and the cap of liberty was borne on all their buttons and appointments; and, in the exuberance of their political fervour, his officers almost nightly sang the *Ça Ira*, and danced the Carmagnole in the marble palaces of Hyderabad. All this was harmless enough; but General Raymond went further. He, by secret agents, encouraged our sepoys to desert, and excited a partial mutiny in a battalion of the Madras army.

To counteract this French influence, Sir John Shore encouraged some British subjects to enter the service of the Nizam; but none of them had either the military or political address of their rivals, whose growing battalions at length became so formidable, that Nizam Ali was alarmed lest they might deprive him altogether of the Deccan, and he solicited Sir John Shore to make such military arrangements with him as would preclude the necessity for having such perilous friends to aid him against the Mahrattas, offering even to dismiss them all, the moment that British troops in sufficient strength were sent into his territories.

Though fully alive to the danger of French influence, Sir John Shore seems to have thought there was more danger incurred by giving offence to the great Mahratta confederacy, and chiefly the powerful Scindia—conceiving naturally, that if he marched an army into the Deccan, the act would be certain to provoke a Mahratta war, and would also be a departure from the system of strict neutrality which his orders from home desired him to maintain—and hence he took no decided steps in the matter.

Amid these turmoils, Sir John, who felt a deep interest in all matters connected with religion, took measures for supplying the military stations with churches and chaplains, of which they had been destitute before, and had a place set apart for the celebration of Divine service in the fort at Calcutta, where none would seem to have existed hitherto. In his letters home, he complained much of the irreligion and infidelity prevalent among our people in Bengal, and seemed to have taken a lively interest in the apparently hopeless task of converting the vast population to Christianity.*

CHAPTER LXIII.

DEFEAT OF GHOLAUM MOHAMMED KHAN—MARRIAGE OF VIZIER ALI—THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS REDUCED—DISCONTENT IN THE ARMY, ETC.—END OF LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sir John Shore, towards the end of the year 1794, "was engaged," as his son records, "in a brief but bloody sequel to that memorable Rohilla war, in the conduct of which Hastings had borne a principal and much censured part."

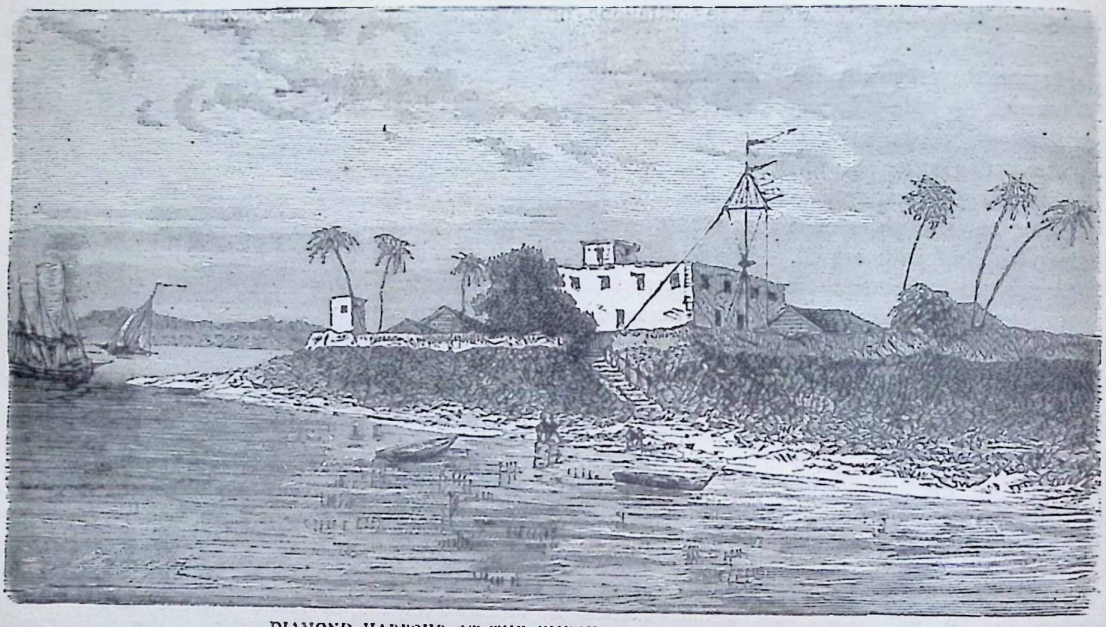
The circumstances were these:—The famous Rohilla (to whom we have more than once referred) Fyzoola Khan, who held the jaghire of Rampoor, under the Nabob of Oude, in virtue of a treaty which the Company guaranteed, died in 1794, and then one of those tragedies so common in India occurred. He was barely succeeded by his eldest son, when the latter was basely

* "Life and Letters of Lord Teignmouth," by his son.

assassinated by his brother, Gholaum Mohammed Khan, who took possession of the jaghire. Without delay, the murderer coolly applied to the nabob-vizier of Oude, who, when influenced by a handsome present, would no doubt have sanctioned the usurpation; but Sir Robert Abercromby, ere Sir John Shore could communicate with him on the subject, marched towards Rampoor, and defeated the usurper in a battle in which the Rohillas—inspired, no doubt, by a longing for vengeance upon us—fought so well, that our line nearly gave way. Immediately after obtaining this victory, Sir Robert, on his own responsibility, to join with you in regretting the loss of so many valuable and respectable lives. I shall be happy to learn that the submission of the Rohillas renders unnecessary any further exertion of that bravery which has ever distinguished the officers and troops of our armies in India. By some accident, a sheet of your letter was omitted. You will receive a public answer without delay. The valour of the Rohillas seems to have exceeded everything but that of our own troops;—this is, indeed, beyond all commendation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"General Sir Robert Abercromby, K.B."



DIAMOND HARBOUR AT THE EMBOUCHURE OF THE HOOGHLY.

with the consent of the nabob-vizier, restored the jaghire to Ahmed Ali Khan, the infant son of the murdered Mohammed.

Though for some reason the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, was not quite satisfied with Sir Robert Abercromby's rapid measures in this matter, he complimented him in the following reply to his official report:—

"Calcutta, Nov. 6th, 1794.

"My dear Sir,—I have this moment received your express, announcing your victory over the infatuated Rohillas, and their desperate chief, Gholaum Mohammed Khan; I lose not a moment in offering you my sincere congratulation on your brilliant success. The moderation and humanity of your conduct preceding the action, add greatly to the honour which you have acquired by it, and I have only

Though Asoff-ud-Dowlah, the nabob-vizier, was complaining about this time that his finances and administration were both going to wreck, he was then proprietor of 20 palaces, 100 gardens, 1,200 elephants, 3,000 fine saddle-horses, 1,500 double-barreled guns, hundreds of costly mirrors, lustres, girandoles, and clocks set with jewels; and the account of the splendour displayed on the marriage of his son, Vizier Ali, at Lucknow, in 1795, surpasses anything of which we read in the "Arabian Nights."

He had his tents pitched, says Forbes, on a plain near the city. Among these were two of great size, made of strong cotton, lined with different coloured stripes of the finest English broadcloth, with silken cords. Each of these pavilions cost about £60,000 sterling. Their walls were ten feet high, and latticed in part,

for the ladies of the seraglio to see through. On the marriage day, Asoff wore jewels to the value of two millions sterling. The *Shumceana* was illuminated by 200 magnificent European girandoles, 200 glass shades, and many hundreds of flambeaux. Then 100 dancing girls, richly-dressed, danced and sang in Hindoo-Persic. The bridegroom, then in his thirteenth year, so loaded



LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

with jewels that he could scarcely move, and the bride, in her tenth year, were conveyed, at seven p.m., on elephants to a wonderful garden, a mile distant. The procession included 1,200 richly-caparisoned elephants; of these, 100 bore silver castles, or howdahs. In the centre was the nabob, in a jewelled howdah of gold, on one of uncommon size, caparisoned in cloth of gold. On his right, sat our resident, Mr. George Johnstone; and on his left, the bridegroom.

"The ground from the tents to the garden, forming the road on which we moved," continues Forbes, "was inlaid with fireworks; at every step of the elephants, the earth burst before us, and threw up artificial stars, besides innumerable rockets, and many hundred wooden shells that burst in the air, and shot forth a thousand fiery serpents; these, winding through the atmosphere, illuminated the sky, and, aided by the light of the bamboo scenery, gave the dark night the appearance of a bright day. The whole of this grand scene was also lighted by 3,000 flambeaux carried by men. In this manner we moved in stately pomp to the garden, which we entered, after alighting from the elephants. It was illuminated by innumerable transparent paper lanterns of various colours, suspended from the branches of the trees. In the centre was a large edifice, to which we ascended, and were introtroduced into a grand saloon, adorned with girandoles and pendent lustres of English manufacture, lighted with wax candles. Here we had an elegant

collation of European and Indian dishes; at the same time, about a hundred dancing girls sang their lively airs and performed their native dances. Thus passed the time until dawn, when we returned to our respective homes. . . . The whole expense of this marriage feast, which was repeated for three successive nights, cost upwards of £300,000."*

The effects of the great war now raging in Europe, began to be felt in India. The conquest of Holland by the French, and their treaty of alliance formed with that country on the 18th May, 1795, produced an entire change in the relations of the Dutch with Britain, the cabinet of which deemed itself justified in declaring war against Holland, and a portion of the operations consequent to this measure included the reduction of all the Dutch settlements in the East Indies.

For this purpose, an expedition was fitted out against Ceylon. The royal squadron in Indian waters at this time, was commanded by Commodore Peter Rainier. It consisted of nine sail (four being of the line), carrying 430 guns, and these were at once disposed in such a manner as to cut up the Dutch trade. The commodore, in conjunction with the presidency of Madras, resolved to secure the port of Trincomalee; and for this purpose, a body of troops, including portions of the 52nd Foot and Macleod Highlanders, under Major-General James Stewart, embarked on board the ships at Madras with ammunition and stores. They sailed on the 21st July, and, at the same time, the commodore detached Captain Edward Pakenham, in the *Resistance* (forty-four guns), and the *Suffolk* (tender), with some troops for the reduction of Malacca.

On the 1st of August the squadron came to anchor in Back Bay. On the preceding day, Rainier had been joined by the *Heroine* (thirty-two guns), from Colombo, having on board Major Agnew, D.-A.-General, who had been sent to that place by Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, to explain to the Governor of Ceylon the purpose of the expedition. In return, the major brought with him an order for the commandant of Trincomalee to admit peaceably 300 of his Britannic Majesty's troops into Fort Ostenburg; which, on the plea that the order was informal, he refused to do.

After two days' delay, it was resolved to land the troops, and for this purpose, the vessels drew nearer the shore; but, in doing so, the *Diomede* (forty-four guns), with a transport in tow, struck upon a sunken rock with such violence, that there was barely time to save her crew ere she went down with all her stores on board.

* "Oriental Memoirs."

Ten days elapsed before the whole of the troops, with their stores and equipage, disembarked, four miles north of the port of Trincomalee, in consequence of the dangerous surf, occasioned by a strong land wind. The ships of war were then disposed so as to cover the march of the troops, who had their batteries completed by the 18th of August, and these, by the 26th, had effected a practicable breach. The garrison was then summoned; but the commandant required terms which were inadmissible, so hostilities were recommenced, and 300 seamen and marines, under Captain Smith, late of the *Diomede*, with four lieutenants, joined the storming party, whose approach the Dutch commander anticipated by displaying a white flag, in token of surrender. Fort Ostenburg also capitulated on the 31st. Our total losses were, of all ranks, 16 killed and 58 wounded; among the latter, Captain Gorrie, of the Macleod Highlanders, most severely. The fort of Batticola surrendered on the 18th of the following month, and the fort and island of Manaar, so famous for its breed of black cattle, off the north-west coast of Ceylon, likewise surrendered on the 5th of October.†

By February, next year, the reduction of the whole of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon was effected; and as the people in the interior of the island had not been deprived of their independence by the Dutch, so long as they preserved a peaceful demeanour, they were not interfered with by the British.

The other Dutch settlements at Amboyna, in the Molucca group, and the mountainous isles of Banda, in the Eastern Archipelago, were also reduced; and another armament, for a second conquest of Manila, was prepared under Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, the future Wellington, when the extraordinary victories of the French in Italy caused it to be countermanded, under the belief that the troops composing it would be required for the defence of the British Isles.

The year 1795 saw serious discontents in the army of the East India Company, and in one of his letters, Sir John Shore says: "If you were to judge of its temper, from the conversation of individuals, you would conclude that the officers were in an actual state of mutiny." Some new regulations, forming part of a plan originally conceived by Lord Cornwallis, to transfer the Company's army to the king's service, were partly the cause of this. The whole organisation of the Indian army was changed. Instead of single battalions of 1,000 men, commanded by a captain, who was selected from the European regiments in

† "Naval Chron.," "Rec. 52nd Foot," &c.

the Company's service, with a subaltern to each company, they were formed into corps of two battalions, to which officers were appointed of the same rank and number as in the king's regiments; and "the good effects of this change, so far as related to the temper and attachment of the native army of Fort St. George, have been questioned," says Sir John Malcolm.*

Matters relating to promotion, pay, and allowances, added to the ferment. "Towards the close of 1795, the military discontents reached their crisis, and Government received accurate information of the proceedings of the disaffected. At one station in the upper provinces, the officers had determined upon treasonable measures if not satisfied with the regulations expected from England; contemplating the compulsory enlistment of the reluctant in their service, throwing off their allegiance to the Government, and seizing both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief. So great had been, at one time, the alarm excited by their desperate projects, that Sir John Murray, the commandant at Fort William, without communicating his precautionary proceeding to the Governor-General, placed that fortress in a state of defence, relying on the unshaken steadiness of the artillery."†

Sir John Shore ably succeeded in allaying these discontents, or at least avoiding the terrible consequences of a collision, till the promulgation of the long-delayed regulations from England restored discipline and good humour. Among the amendments were: increased allowance to the senior officers of the army; an addition to the staff of the native cavalry and infantry, as regarded their military and medical branches; an increase of furlough-pay to medical officers; and of passage-money to subalterns compelled to return home by ill-health, with addition to the pensions of European non-commissioned officers after certain periods of service.

The revision of the military system in British India was carried out by the directors in 1796, at an increased cost of £308,000 per annum; and two years afterwards, all their modifications and amendments were incorporated into the original plan, which has since been usually named, "The Company's Military Charter."

In 1797, the affairs of Oude occupied the attention of Sir John Shore. He had long been of opinion that while the administration of the extravagant and luxurious nabob remained on its present footing, we should never derive effective assistance from his troops, but might expect to find enemies rather than allies in his dominions. Thus, in March, he paid a visit to Lucknow, where he found that one of the chief amusements of the nabob was to witness old women racing in sacks, a diversion suggested to him by an Englishman. It delighted beyond measure the nabob, "who declared that, although he spent a crore of rupees, or a million sterling, in procuring entertainment, he had never found one so pleasing to him."‡

In addition to other improvements, Sir John succeeded in obtaining the office of minister for Tuffuzel Hussein Khan, who was believed to be a man of talent and probity. Soon after this, Asoff-ud-Dowlah departed this life, and was succeeded by his heir presumptive, that Vizier Ali whose marriage we have related. Though generally known to be of spurious birth—the son of a *ferraush* (or household servant)—and that there were other claimants, who pleaded their legitimacy, Vizier Ali had a strong faction in Lucknow; and though his claim was formally acknowledged by our government in Calcutta, Sir John Shore's sense of justice had never been satisfied with the decision given in his favour; and therefore, after a second journey to Lucknow, on finding how miserably the government was conducted, he ordered Vizier Ali to be deposed, and the line of succession to be changed to that of Sujah-ud-Dowlah, whose surviving brother, Sadut Ali, resided at Benares.

On this second visit, Sir John had been met near Lucknow by the prime minister, who had assured him that Vizier Ali and all the other reputed sons of Asoff were spurious, and that the city was a scene of intrigue, perplexity, and profligacy. Sir John also found the cunning old begum, from whom Warren Hastings had obtained some of her treasure, recommending another claimant to the musnud. Hence it was that on the 21st of January, 1798, Sadut Ali was proclaimed sovereign of Oude, and Sir John sent Vizier Ali down to Benares, where he was to be kept under strict surveillance, and where he had a pension of about £25,000 yearly assigned him.

At Benares our resident, Mr. Cherry, was to make all the final arrangements for him, and invited him to breakfast. To this meal he came attended by a large armed retinue, intent on mischief. After complaining bitterly of his treatment by the Company, on a given signal his attendants drew their swords and hacked Mr. Cherry and Mr. Graham to pieces. They then proceeded to the house of a Mr. Davis, who, having heard of their approach and purpose, got his whole family on the roof, and

* "Rise, &c., of the Indian Army."
† "Life of Lord Teignmouth."
‡ Ibid.

posting himself at the summit of a narrow, circular stone staircase with a hog-spear, he slew several, and bravely defended himself till he was rescued by a party of troops. Vizier Ali then fled to the Rajah of Berar, who, aware of his own power, refused to give him up, unless under a promise that his life should be spared. This the Governor-General acceded to. He was brought to Calcutta, and placed in a room made to resemble an iron cage, in Fort William, where he died after an imprisonment of seventeen years.

When his successor, Sadut Ali, was raised to the throne, he was not in a position to resist any terms that were made with him. By treaty, the Company were vested with the entire defence of Oude, and the annual subsidy he had to pay was increased to seventy-six lacs of rupees. The number of the Company's troops was rated at 10,000 men; but, in the event of their exceeding 13,000, or falling under 8,000, the amount was to be proportionally increased or reduced; but the native force maintained in Oude was not to exceed 35,000 men. The nabob was to hold no communication with any foreign state, or admit any Europeans to serve in his army, but with the express consent of the Company. He was also to pay the pension of Vizier Ali, and to maintain all the reputed children of his brother. Every way, the pecuniary gain to the Company was considerable; and by the way in which he managed the whole change in the government of Oude, Sir John Shore received the full thanks of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control.

By the general terms of this treaty, Sir John virtually extinguished the independence of Oude, reducing it to vassalage. One of the reasons assigned for the severe nature of his demands is alleged to have been the apprehension of an invasion of Hindostan from Cabul, by Zemaun Shah, grandson of the famous Ahmed Shah Abdalla. In 1796 he had marched with little opposition to Lahore, and seemed about to push his army on to Delhi, when the rebellion of a brother compelled him to return to his own dominions. His approach excited the wildest hopes among the Mohammedans of the restoration of the house of Timour, and no small consternation among the Mahratta chiefs, who were so weakened by their own feuds as to be unprepared for war, and were compelled to solicit our alliance against Zemaun, as a common enemy. In the upper provinces Sir John Shore mustered 15,000 troops to oppose him, when he fell back; but, as a repetition of his visit was expected, he deemed it thus necessary to bring Oude into such a state as would make all its resources fully available. So, happily for British India, at this time Zemaun Shah and the other Afghan chiefs continued to find occupation at home, or in other quarters far removed from the frontiers of Hindostan.

It was early in the next year that, at the express request of Sir John Shore, Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, a learned Scottish officer, afterwards Professor of Arabic and Persian at Fort William, translated from the former language a copious digest of Mohammedan law, so as to comprise the whole of the Imanea code as applicable to secular matters.*

Sir John Shore, whose eminent services were rewarded on the 24th of October, 1797, by an Irish peerage, as Lord Teignmouth of Teignmouth, resigned the office of Governor-General, to which Lord Cornwallis had been reappointed, at a time when the services of the latter were required for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland; and thus, on the 18th of May, 1798, the Earl of Mornington accepted the vacant post.

On the 7th of March, 1798, Lord Teignmouth with his family sailed from Calcutta for Europe. Prior to his departure, the inhabitants of Calcutta, on the termination of his long and arduous services, delivered him an address conceived in affectionate and eulogistic terms; and on the morning of his embarkation he wrote a lengthy letter to his successor, stating the rules he had prescribed to himself during his official career, the principles which had guided his administration, and detailing the qualifications of the functionaries in the various departments of government, with the political relations of the British power in India.†

His Indian administration may be considered as having fully tested the system of strict neutrality laid down by the Legislature; but the manner in which the Government had thus crippled the powers of the Governor-General proved this: that while during six years of peace our power remained nearly stationary, the powers of our enemies had been steadily and perilously on the increase. This was the result of the neutral system, for which Lord Teignmouth was in no sense blamable.

"It was proved, from the events of this administration," says Sir John Malcolm, "that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned without being instantly occupied by an enemy; and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to the British Government."‡

* *Asiatic Journal.*
† "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. i.
‡ "Polit. Hist. India."

Some there were at home who alleged that Lord Teignmouth's bold and able arrangement of the affairs of Oude, by deposing Vizier Ali, was as bad as anything that had been done by Warren Hastings; but he was supported by the Government, by Mr. Wilberforce, who had arrayed himself against Hastings, and by the whole strength of the religious world; and thus the general wisdom of his Indian administration was endorsed to the fullest extent.

The directors had previously borne testimony to the merits of Lord Teignmouth's administration in the following resolution:—

"That the thanks of the Court be given to the Right. Hon. Lord Teignmouth, for his long, able, and faithful services in India; and particularly for his distinguished merit and attention in the administration of every branch of the Company's affairs during the period in which he held the office of Governor-General."

Of this his son says with justice, "The Directors of the East India Company might well be satisfied with their late Governor-General, who, having devoted twenty-six years of his life, involving the sacrifice of his health, to their employment, never applied to them for that compensation to which he was justly entitled, and to which the moderate amount of his income afforded an additional claim; and they were only too ready to avail themselves of his well-known moderation to originate any other recognition of his eminent services than a recorded formal acknowledgment."

Lord Teignmouth died at the age of eighty-two, in the year 1834; and on his tomb in Marylebone Church, in that spirit of humility and piety which seems to have characterised his whole life, according to his request, he was to be designated alone as "First President of the Bible Society;" but afterwards he gave permission that it might be added, he had held the office of "Governor-General of India;" and to the interest taken by himself and his family, in years after he had quitted it, we shall have occasion to refer in future portions of this work.

CHAPTER LXIV.

EARL OF MORNINGTON IN OFFICE—INTRIGUES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND TIPPOO SULTAN.

Lord Teignmouth's successor in the high and arduous post of Governor-General, was Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, elder brother of the illustrious Wellington, who at that time had attained the rank of Colonel of the 33rd Regiment, which in the September of the same year, was placed upon the Madras establishment. The new governor, who was to achieve the capture of Seringapatam, the downfall of Tippoo, and the restoration of that Hindoo dynasty which Hyder Ali had displaced, had been educated at Eton, where he had been kindly superintended by Archbishop Cornwallis, with whom he usually passed his holidays, between 1771 and 1779, and thus became intimate with the Marquis of Cornwallis.

Lord Mornington, then in his thirty-eighth year, had early evinced a decided taste for the study of Asiatic history, and thus he applied himself with ardour to acquire all the knowledge necessary of the past government of India, and of those matters which, through the long trial of Warren Hastings, had so greatly occupied the attention of both Houses of Parliament and the entire nation. In 1796, he was appointed Lord of the Treasury, and a member of the Board of Control, and in these official capacities, had excellent opportunities for adding to the practical knowledge he had already acquired. His manners were captivating and conciliating; his mind was energetic and active, and he possessed a facility for imparting much of his own activity and energy to his colleagues; and generally, all the Europeans in India hailed his appointment with extreme satisfaction. It is more probable that the idea of his succeeding Lord Teignmouth, may have been originally suggested by his intimacy with the Cornwallis family.

He arrived in Madras Roads, in the month of April, 1798; he landed on the 26th under a salute of nineteen guns, and remained for some time in that city, in order that he might acquaint himself with the internal condition of that presidency, and the affairs of the Carnatic generally, for the epoch was indeed a critical one. Consulting together, the Sikhs and Mahrattas were supposed to be

inimical to us; while, under French influence, with Tippoo of Mysore, all India seemed ripe for a combined attack upon the British settlements.

At Madras, Lord Mornington's official duties may be said to have commenced with the adjustment of a disputed succession in Tanjore; but the final decision was not at that time pronounced. On the 18th of May he arrived at Calcutta, after leaving behind him full preparations for any hostile movements on the part of Tippoo. Our Madras forces had been considerably reduced by the conquest and occupation of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Banda, Malacca, and Amboyna, and they were scattered in cantonments far apart, without bullocks for the conveyance of stores, and it was not till Lord Mornington had frequent consultations with General (afterwards Lord) Harris, then Colonel of the 76th Foot, and commander-in-chief at Madras, that the army was put in a condition to take the field at the shortest notice. Before we come to narrate the events in which this gallant old soldier, the hero of Seringapatam, won his peerage, a short notice of him may be desirable.



LOW-CASTE BENGAL NATIVES.

The son of a Kentish clergyman, who held the incumbency of Brasted, Harris was born in 1744; and after being an artillery cadet, he was gazetted to the 5th Foot, and in 1765, purchased a lieutenancy. He joined his regiment in Ireland, "where many adventures befell him, trying to his courage and prudence, but confirming those virtues in him." By the most severe self-denial on the part of his mother, he purchased a company, and, at its head, was severely wounded in the battle of Bunker's Hill. Soon after, he was again wounded, and was entrusted by Lord Cornwallis with a letter to Washington, and was gazetted Major of the 5th, in October, 1779. At this time, another soldier to be famed in Indian wars, William Medows, was its lieutenant-colonel, and the full colonel was Hugh, Earl Piercy. While covering the embarkation of our troops at Philadelphia, he made the friendship of the famous Admiral Lord Howe, and in October, 1778, he served under General Medows, on the secret expedition to St. Lucia, when 1,700 British troops attacked and routed 5,000 French.

After this, he embarked in a Dutch ship for England, but was captured by a French privateer. After being released, he married, in England, Miss Dixon, of Bath, and rejoined his regiment at Barbadoes. In 1780, he was persuaded by his old comrade, General Medows, to accompany him to Bombay as military secretary, and as such he served in the campaigns against Tippoo Sahib, in 1790; thus Lord Mornington found in him an able coadjutor, who knew well the resources, the country, and the sovereign of Mysore. General Harris returned to England after the campaigns of Cornwallis, but, in October, 1794, was again in India, when he was appointed commander-in-chief at Madras.

The Earl of Mornington was determined to grapple with all the dangers and difficulties that were likely to menace his government. With this view he laid down a plan of action, and sent it as a secret despatch to Lieutenant-General Harris, and recommended his brother to devote his skill and energy to the task of bringing the troops in the various cantonments to a state of efficiency.

At this time, the strength of the Mysore army was never less than 70,000 men; while that of Madras mustered only 14,000, of whom about 4,000 were Europeans.

To strengthen the ties of alliance, and extend our political influence, the Indian Government endeavoured to negotiate with some of the native powers. Raymond, the French general, who commanded the army of the Nizam, had become every day a greater favourite, since the rebellion of Ali Jah was crushed. In the style of his domestic life, he collected around him every luxury and elegance within the reach of a European in the heart of India, and affected, particularly in all that related to military parade, the magnificence of a prince. Raymond had now increased his drilled

troops to 15,000, including a complete train of artillery, possessing in his own right all the guns and military equipage belonging to it, with 600 horses and 6,000 bullocks, besides elephants and camels.*

Fortunately for us, the pride and insolence of Raymond and his Frenchmen eventually estranged the army, or the great men of the Deccan. Thus Lord Mornington soon concluded with the prince an arrangement by which four more of our battalions were to enter the Deccan; that he was to pay annually 2,417,100 rupees for all our sepoys in his employment; that he was to disband all the French corps, and to deliver up all their



NATIVES OF HYDERABAD.

the Nizam, who found that they disposed of nearly all the resources of his country; and thus his minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, declaring that this French preponderance was intolerable, assented to negotiations for disbanding the French corps, and increasing our subsidiary forces in the Nizamat; while these were pending, the active Raymond died at Hyderabad, and M. Perron (or Piron), who succeeded him, was very inferior to him in talent, and destitute of influence either over the Nizam, officers to the British Government; for most necessary it was, at this time, that French influence should be destroyed in the East, as Bonaparte had already landed an army in Egypt, and had put himself in open communication with Tippoo—circumstances menacing enough to give great disquiet to our Indian Government.

By the 1st of September, the treaty was concluded, but the Nizam lacked strength or courage to put it in force, though it provided that a contingent of 6,000 British troops, with cannon in

* *Asiatic Reg.*, 1799.

proportion, were to serve in the army of the Deccan. In pursuance of this arrangement, Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, with the contingent, reached Hyderabad on the 10th of October. In silence and secrecy all the arrangements were made, and Colonel Roberts, on being joined by some of the Nizam's cavalry, surrounded the French cantonments, into which a proclamation was sent in the name of the Nizam, "to inform the troops under the French officers, that their lawful sovereign had dismissed those officers from his service; that they were released from obedience to them, and all who attempted to support them would be punished as traitors."

Though the force under Colonel Roberts was greatly inferior in strength to that which occupied the cantonments, in number and in guns, so little had the French adventurers conciliated the men of their various battalions, that they were under apprehension of being massacred by them. They therefore promptly surrendered to Colonel Roberts, who brought off all the Frenchmen without shedding a drop of blood, for which, and for the humanity he displayed, he was publicly thanked by the Governor-General in Orders.*

The French officers had barely found shelter in the British camp, when the troops of the Nizam mutinied about their arrears of pay; but they were promptly surrounded and disarmed by Colonel Roberts' infantry, aided by some of the Nizam's horse, under Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, who narrowly escaped death among the mutineers, but was saved by some men who four years before had belonged to his company of the 29th Native Infantry, and had deserted.

Negotiations with the Mahrattas were carried on at the same time as with the Nizam, as M. Perron was at the head of a disciplined force in their territories, and his officers formed the nucleus of another French power in India, and the Peishwa, or rather Scindia, who acted for him, would neither disband these troops, nor permit us to mediate between the Mahrattas and the sovereign of the Deccan. To make matters look darker still, the Peishwa was receiving ambassadors from Tippoo, and it soon became apparent that we would have to proceed against that troublesome potentate single-handed. Scindia seemed inclined to draw his sword for the enemy, and it was but too certain that M. Perron, with his French officers and well-disciplined battalions, would endeavour to form a junction with their countrymen who were in the service of Tippoo, more especially if a French armament from the Mauritius, or by the way of the Red Sea, from Egypt (for the conquest of which the republican flag was already unfurled), should effect a landing on the shores of India.

Then, indeed, from Tippoo's position and power, his savage temper, religious rancour, and ambitious views, we should have the worst to fear. A great variety of important documents relative to the war against him, together with authentic copies of his correspondence with Zemaun Shah, the governor of the Mauritius, and others, all of which were laid before the India House in May, 1799, develop the design which Tippoo had fully planned, so far back as the year 1792, for the complete extirpation of the British in India, for the total destruction of the Mahratta States, and the Hindoo governments, and, finally, for establishing a vast Mohammedan empire, of which he should be the head, and which should extend from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tartary and Thibet, and from the wall of China to the bank of the Indus—a vast scheme of ambition which the diplomacy of Mornington and the soldiers of Harris were to destroy and defeat.

Tippoo had evinced—ever since the Treaty of Seringapatam had humbled his pride and dismembered the empire Hyder's sword had won—a temper more than usually sullen and vindictive, and he only waited an opportunity for renewing the war with some prospect of victory. Wherever Britain had an enemy, there were his envoys to be found; in Persia; among the mountains of Cabul; at the court of Abdul Hamet IV., of Turkey; in Paris; and, lastly, the Isle of France; but much of this became known to Lord Mornington before he had been a month in India.

By 1790, the 107th and 108th Regiments of the French line, forming the garrison in the Isle of France, had, in common with the rabble, embraced the sentiments of the revolutionists, adopted the tricoloured cockade, and betaken them to every outrage in the name of Liberty and Equality, even to the barbarous murder of M. de Macnamara, commandant of the French marine in the Indian seas; but in June, 1792, M. de Malartie arrived as governor-general from Paris, while Colonel de Cossigny commanded in the Isle of Bourbon. Through these officials Tippoo was informed of the successes achieved by France in the revolutionary war, and was assured of direct assistance in any struggle with Britain. While his hopes were rising with these promises, it chanced that a French privateer, in want of repairs, put into Mangalore, when her captain, who was named Ripaud, in a conversation with Gholaum Ali, the *Meer-e-Zem*, or High Admiral, said that he was high in office at the Mauritius, and had by special order touched at

* *Asiatic Annual*, 1799.

Mangalore to learn the wishes of Tippoo with regard to certain forces now ready to sail and co-operate with him against the British—their common enemy. After this, Ripaud had several interviews with the sultan at Seringapatam, and though the latter suspected his visitor to be an impostor, nevertheless he thought it possible to turn him to good account by purchasing his ship and sending it laden with merchandise to the Isle of France, with messengers on board to ascertain the truth of his statements. Tippoo's councillors openly distrusted Ripaud, but replying to them with his invariable remark, "Whatever is the will of God, *that* will be accomplished," he took his own course.

Ripaud he retained at Seringapatam as French ambassador at his court. The privateer was purchased for 17,000 rupees, and under a French captain, named Pernore (or Pernaud), she was to sail for her destination, with certain persons as ambassadors on board, but in the character of Eastern merchants. Two of these were to return with the expected land and sea forces; the others were to proceed to the Executive Directory at Paris, as the envoys of the sultan. The night after they reached Mangalore to embark, Pernore, who had the 17,000 rupees, absconded with three of the envoys in a boat, and was never more heard of. The vessel was now put in charge of Ripaud, and with two envoys—Hussein Ali and Sheikh-Ibrahim—he sailed in October, 1797, and the instant he was fairly at sea he mustered the Europeans of his crew, and compelled the envoys to open the *kerectahs*, or silken cases which held their letters addressed to the authorities at the Mauritius; and on learning that he had nothing to fear from their contents, though he treated the envoys with great barbarity, by placing them among the lascars, robbing them, and threatening to take them a six months' cruise, he landed them safely at Port Louis on the 19th of January, 1798; and there—"the Refuge of the World," according to their own report—they were received with great honour by General Malartie, and conducted to his house under the salute of 150 pieces of cannon.

Their despatches contained the terms of a treaty between Tippoo and the government of Mauritius. They seemed to assume that an army of some 10,000 Europeans, and perhaps 30,000 Africans, was ready to sail, and proposed to join it with 60,000 Mysoreans. Goa was to be taken from the Portuguese, Bombay from the British and given to France, Madras was to be razed to the ground, and then Bengal, the Mahrattas, and the Deccan were to be conquered. The envoys, after unfolding this brilliant scheme, were somewhat disconcerted to find that the representations of Ripaud were false—that *no* such armament existed, or was even expected, in Indian waters. However, Count de Malartie resolved to dispatch two frigates with duplicates of the letter to the Directory, requesting succour, and meantime to beat up for volunteers. Against this the luckless envoys remonstrated, declaring that, when expected to return with a large force, they dared not do so with a small one. In spite of this, he issued the following proclamation, which occurs in French in the *Asiatic Register* for 1799, and of which a translation is printed among the papers of his predecessor, Baron Grant, who died there in 1784, in the service of Louis XVI.:—

"Liberty! The French Republic, one and indivisible. Equality!

"*Proclamation* by Anne Joseph Hippolyte Malartie, Commander-in-chief and Governor-General of the Isles of France and Réunion (Bourbon), and of all the French settlements eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

"Citizens! Having for several years known your zeal and attachment to the interest and glory of our Republic, we are very anxious, and feel it a duty, to make you acquainted with the propositions which have been made to us by Tippoo Sultaun, who has sent two ambassadors to us. This prince has written letters to the Colonial Assembly, as well as to all generals employed under this government, and has addressed a packet to us for the Executive Directory.

"He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and proposes to maintain, at his charge, as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him. He promises to furnish every necessary for carrying on the war, wine and brandy excepted, with which he is wholly unprovided. He declares that he has made every preparation to receive the succours which may be sent him, and that, on the arrival of the troops, the commanders will find everything necessary for engaging in a war to which Europeans are but little accustomed.

"In a word, he waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance, to declare war against the British, whom he ardently desires to expel from India. As it is impossible for us to reduce the number of the 107th and 108th Regiments and of the regular guard of the port of *Fraternité*, on account of the succours we have furnished to our allies the Dutch, we invite the citizens who may be disposed to enter as volun-

teers, to enrol themselves in their respective municipalities, and to serve under the banners of Tippoo. This prince desires also to be assisted by free citizens of colour: we therefore invite all such who are willing to serve under his flag to enrol themselves.

"We ensure all citizens who shall enrol, that Tippoo will allow them an advantageous rate of pay, the terms of which will be fixed with his ambassadors, who will further engage, in the name of their sovereign, that all Frenchmen who may enter into his armies shall never be detained after they have expressed a wish to return to their own country.

"Done at Port North-west, the 30th January, 1798. "MALARTIE."

After resisting the publication of this document, the envoys acquiesced in it, and personally encouraged all to accompany them, and flatteringly assured them that the standard of the Republic had been set up in Lally's camp at Seringapatam, and saluted by three thousand guns.* Soon after this, H.M.S. *Brave* captured *La Surprise*, national corvette, bound for Europe, having on board General de Brie and two envoys of Tippoo from the Isle of France.

In all this affair the conduct of the Count de Malartie was full of absurdity. He was aware that Tippoo's envoys had visited him through false information; that for this reason secrecy was necessary, but his measures rendered it impossible. Then, as if he supposed our Indian Government could be kept ignorant of his proclamation, he wrote Tippoo announcing that he had laid an embargo on all vessels in Port Louis, until the departure of the two envoys with the forces, the entire strength of which amounted to ninety-nine, officers included; and with these Hussein Ali and Sheikh-Ibrahim landed from a French frigate at Mangalore on the 27th of April, 1798, one day after the Earl of Mornington landed at Madras.

Had Tippoo possessed the cunning or wisdom of old Hyder, he might have postponed his rupture with Britain, by disavowing the proceedings of the count, the envoys, and their "forces;" but, instead of this, he committed himself more hopelessly. The moment the French rabble reached Seringapatam they proceeded to organise a Jacobin club, the members of which swore "hatred to tyranny, love of liberty, and the destruction of all kings and sovereigns, except the good and faithful ally of the French republic, Citizen Sultaun Tippoo."

The standard of this absurd community—"the national colours of the sister republic"—on being hoisted was saluted by every gun in Seringapatam, and a tree of liberty was planted. "Of any comprehension of the purport or tendency of these proceedings, the sultan was so entirely innocent that he fancied himself to be consolidating one of those associations devoted to his own aggrandisement, by which his imagination had lately been captivated in the history of the Arabian Wahabees."† Of the grotesque situation into which he had been lured, he became conscious, when some time after, a French naval captain, named Dubuc, who claimed to be commander of the sea forces, went with two of his envoys as joint representatives to the Executive Directory in Paris, and with reference to the promised aid, Tippoo received the following letter from Napoleon, forwarded through the Sheriff of Mecca:—

"Liberty! Equality!—Bonaparte, member of the National Convention, General-in-chief, to the most magnificent Sultaun, our greatest friend, Tippoo Saib. Head-quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluviôse, 7th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

"You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

"I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I might confer.

"BONAPARTE."‡

One account says this letter was intercepted; but another states that a translation only of it, and that to the Sheriff of Mecca, was communicated to Captain Wilson, at Mocha, and that translations were by him transmitted to the Governor and Council at Bombay.‖

The Earl of Mornington received intelligence, about the end of October, of the glorious battle of the Nile and the total destruction of the French fleet by Nelson. But there was no Suez Canal then, and it was not upon that fleet the French could have depended for their passage down the Red Sea and through the Indian Ocean; so, notwithstanding the victory, the earl did not relax any of the preparations he had begun to make for war. He was uncertain as to the strength and movements of the French army in Egypt, where it held its ground

* "History of Mauritius," p. 536, but surely a mistake.

† Colonel Wilks. ‡ Grant's "Mauritius."

‖ Ibid.

for three consecutive years, despite the loss of the fleet and all the efforts made by Britain, the Turks, and the Mamelukes to drive it out. The earl knew, however, that though the French could not proceed from Egypt to India, or reach the latter round the Cape, they would still derive every advantage from entangling us in a war with Tippoo. Moreover, it could not be known what number of men Malartie, by exerting himself, might send from Mauritius to Seringapatam. The facts which were perfectly well known to the earl were these :—

"The Mahrattas were faithless, and eager for conquest or plunder. M. Perron, with his numerous disciplined troops, was every day gaining strength in the Mahratta country, and was looking forward for those chances and combinations which might enable him to re-establish French supremacy in India. Every one felt that with, or without, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, the implacable Mysorean had ample means for making himself dangerous, and would never cease caballing and agitating the country against the British."

CHAPTER LXV.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FINAL WAR WITH TIPPOO —THE BATTLE OF MALAVELLY.

HAVING due regard to our position with Tippoo, the Earl of Mornington, in a minute lodged on the 12th of August, 1798, within three months from the commencement of his administration, after giving a full detail of all the proceedings we have narrated, came to the conclusion that the soundest maxims of policy and justice required immediate war, to frustrate the unprovoked and frantic schemes of Tippoo for ambition and revenge.

The proposed operations were thus enumerated in his own words :—

"1. To seize the whole maritime territory remaining in his possession below the Ghauts on the coast of Malabar, in order to preclude him from all future communication by sea with his French allies. 2. By marching the army from the coast directly upon his capital, to compel him to purchase peace by a formal cession of the territory seized on the coast of Malabar. 3. To compel him to defray our whole expense in the war, and thus to secure the double advantage of indemnifying us for the expense occasioned by his aggression, and of reducing his resources with a view to our future security. 4. To compel him to admit permanent residents at his court from us and our allies; a measure which would enable us at all times to check his operations and treachery. 5. That the expulsion of all the natives of France now in his service, and the perpetual exclusion of all Frenchmen, both from his army and dominions, should be made conditions of any treaty of peace with him."

With the intention of carrying all this into effect, on the 20th of June, 1798, he gave orders for the army upon the coasts of Coromandel, Bombay, and Malabar, to assemble, as he expected that one campaign would suffice for the crushing of Tippoo; but as it was found that several radical defects existed among our garrisons along the coast of Coromandel, that, in the opinion of Colonel Close, its adjutant-general, the Madras army was scarcely capable of even defending the Company's territory—and for any purpose would be unable to move before the spring of the following year, an opinion in which General Harris fully concurred—the mode intended in the minute of the earl was entirely changed. The plan he had first proposed, was simply a military expedition of brief duration, with a resolution to throw the whole expense thereof on the enemy who had caused it. But now it appeared that he could not hope to achieve any of his desired objects without the expense and tedium of a long war; and hence negotiations with the native powers, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

It was not until the beginning of November that the army was concentrated; and till it was ready for the field, it would have been impolitic to threaten Tippoo, or attempt to remonstrate with him. When all was in readiness, explanations were sought of him, as to his purposes; but these he declined to give. Quitting Calcutta, the Governor-General now came to Madras, in order to be nearer the scene of the forthcoming operations. But then came messengers from Tippoo, asserting that he was anxious for peace, and that he had never entertained intentions hostile to Britain; but he positively declined to receive Major Doveton as an

envoy from the earl, who wrote to him, recapitulating all the proceedings of the embassy to the Mauritius, the proclamation of the Count de Malartie, and the other causes for hostility which the sultan had given to Britain; adding, that by his conduct for years past, he had now compelled her and her allies to seek relief from anxiety in open war; that they would no longer permit his constant preparations for it, or those intrigues and hostile negotiations with their enemies; and, in conclusion, the earl again besought the sultan to receive Major Doveton. This letter was dispatched on the 9th of January, 1799, and on the 24th of that month it was put into the hands of Tippoo. No reply came from him—as probably he was only seeking to gain time and to prepare—till the 13th of February, when there arrived a short and somewhat insolent letter from him, acknowledging the receipt of his lordship's two friendly letters, and one from the Sultan of Turkey, dissuading him from further connection with France. Tippoo stated that he fully understood their contents. "The letter of the prince, in station like Jeemsheid, with angels as his guards," he wrote, "with troops numerous as the sun illuminating the world, the heaven of empire and dominion, the luminary giving splendour to the universe, the firmament of glory and power, the sultan of the sea and the land, the King of Roum (be his empire perpetual!) addressed to me, which reached you through the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding on a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written) slightly attended."



THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

Ten days before this sneering epistle reached him, the Earl of Mornington had put his troops in motion, as it became but too obvious that Tippoo's design had been to procrastinate, till the favourable season for attacking Seringapatam was past; and in the interval, it was ascertained beyond a doubt that he had dispatched envoys to the French, announcing that he was ready for war, and urging them to hasten the promised armament by sea and land. But misfortune again attended them, as they were captured in *La Preneuse*, French frigate, on board of which were found the articles ratified between him and the Count de Malartie, and M. de Sercey, commander of the French naval forces, wherein it was agreed that France should send to his assistance officers of the land and sea

services. The monthly pay of the latter to be, for a captain, 2,000 rupees monthly; each lieutenant, 500; each naval ensign, 200.

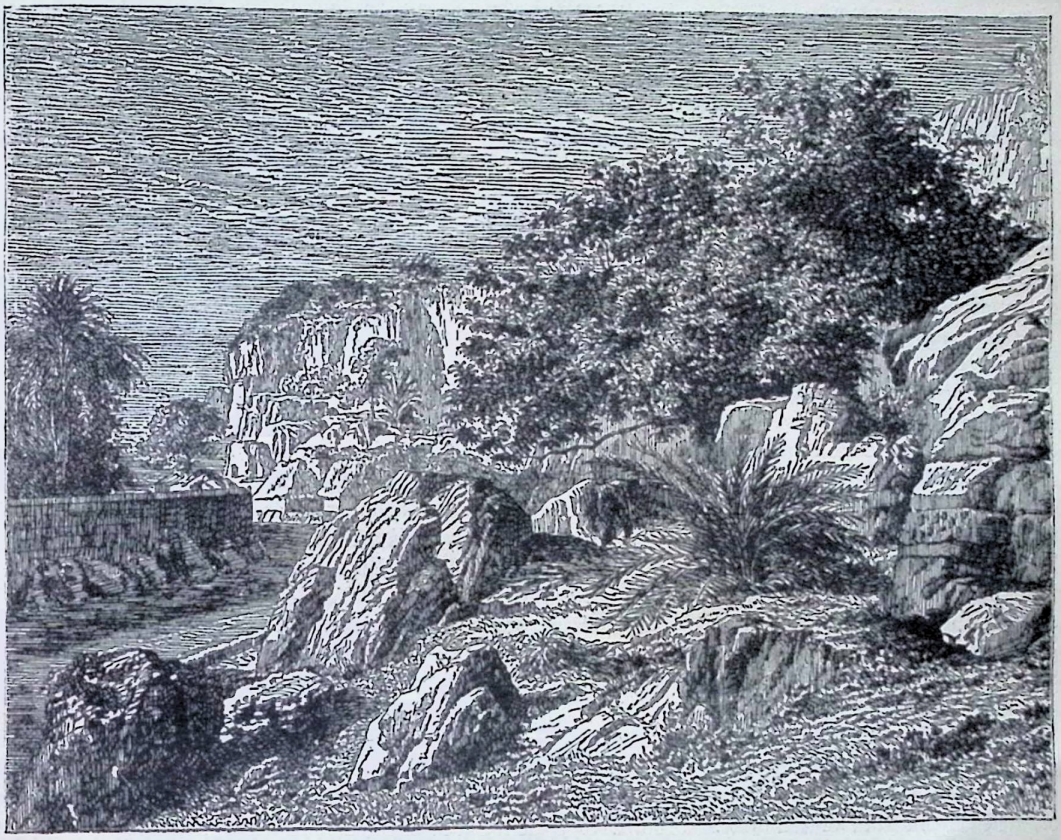
On the 3rd of February, the earl had directed the British army under General Harris, and that of the Nizam, under Meer Alum, to advance into Mysore.

According to the field-state of the former, drawn up by Major-General John Braithwaite, for the Adjutant-General's Office, the strength of our troops was as follows:—

Cavalry: including H.M. 19th and 25th Light Dragoons; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Native Cavalry—total, 2,635 sabres. Artillery: Two companies of the Bengal Artillery; 1st and 2nd Battalions of Artillery, 608. European Infantry: H.M. 12th Foot; 33rd, ditto; 73rd and 74th Highland Regiments; Scots Brigade, 1st Battalion; the Swiss Regiment, 4,381. Native Infantry: Eight battalions, with three regiments of Bengal Volunteers, 10,695. Gun Lascars and Pioneers, 2,483. Grand total, 20,802.

The army of the Nizam consisted of about 10,000 infantry, lately the corps of General Perron, now commanded by British officers, and about 20,000 horse; the whole under Meer Alum. He was accompanied by Colonel Roberts' column, which consisted of six battalions of native infantry, and twenty-four field-pieces (twenty-four pounders), making a force of 6,536 men.

General Harris's field-train consisted of sixty pieces, with forty heavy siege guns. In addition to these forces, which were assembled in the vicinity of Vellore, General James Stuart was advancing from the Malabar coast with 6,100 fighting men; another force under Colonels Read and Brown was gathering in the pleasant valley of the Baramahal to menace Tippoo's flank, and to push on supplies for the grand army through the Pass of Cauvery-pooram, while our fleet, under Admiral Rainier, swept the sea-coast.



VIEW AT MALABAR HILL, NEAR BOMBAY.

Many officers destined to attain the highest distinction in future wars were at this period serving in the army of Lord Harris. Among these, at the head of the 33rd Regiment, was Arthur Wellesley; Floyd led the 19th Light Dragoons, and at the

head of the 25th rode Stapleton Cotton, the future Lord Combermere, one of the splendid soldiers of the Peninsular war. Alexander Campbell, afterwards a general, and commander-in-chief at Madras, led the 74th Highlanders; and David Baird, the comrade and successor of Moore at Corunna, the old Macleod Highlanders; nor should the brilliant Sir John Malcolm, the conqueror of Holkar, and the victor of Maheidpore, be forgotten.

The army of the Nizam was commanded but nominally by Meer Alum; its real leader was Colonel Wellesley, whose regiment was attached to it. Though drilled by the French, this force is described by an officer as being a horde of barbarians, clothed in stuffed cotton jackets, covered with chain armour, capable of resisting a musket-ball. The horse pranced over the country in every direction, brandishing their long lances, and managing their steeds with dexterity and ease—sometimes casting their lances, and then, at full gallop, bending so low under the horse as to recover them when lying flat on the sand. They strengthened our numerical force, but in a military point of view, the advantage was dubious; as they frequently disconcerted the movements of the regulars, by dashing between the columns on the line of march, and, being mistaken for Tippoo's horse, were fired on pretty freely at times. Many brave fellows among them perished in this profitless manner; and it was really to protect them from destruction, that Wellesley's 33rd, the famous old 1st Yorkshire, now called "The Duke of Wellington's Own," were attached to them by order of Lord Harris, during the advance upon Seringapatam.

The whole of the combined forces began their march south-west of Carimangulum, which was reached on the 28th of February. From thence, they proceeded up the Pass of Palicode, and on the 4th of March were at Rayacottah on the Mysore frontier, which they crossed without opposition, and on the 9th encamped, about eighty miles east of the capital at Kelamungulam.

The nearest road to the stronghold of Tippoo lay through a pass that had not yet been examined, so General Harris advanced northwards, past the town of Anicul, which stands about eighteen miles southward of Bangalore.

Parties of the Mysorean horse were now seen hovering in all directions, setting the villages in flames, and destroying forage. On the 14th, the main body of our army was encamped at the village of Cullagnapettah within sight of Bangalore. Tippoo was hourly expected to appear in force; but he was employed elsewhere. It chanced that on the 6th of March, when the right brigade of the Bombay army, composed of three sepoy battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montressor, of the 77th Regiment, had reached Sedaseer, the remaining brigades being distant eight and twelve miles respectively, Tippoo suddenly made his appearance, in high hope to destroy the whole Bombay force in detail, and so far as Montressor's column was concerned, he very nearly did so. Moving secretly and expeditiously through the jungles, he attacked the isolated brigade, in front and rear, almost at the same moment, with his infantry. These were clad in a dress of purple woollen stuff, lozenged with white, called a *tiger-jacket;* with a red muslin turban, and waist-cloth, sandal slippers, with black leather cross-belts. They had French firelocks, with a leather cover for the lock, known then, in our service, as "a hammer-stall."

Montressor was, in fact, completely surrounded, and his men were only saved from annihilation by the bravery with which they maintained an unequal struggle, until reinforced by the rest of the division, under the leader of the whole, General James Stuart, who first came on with all the speed he could make, with the flank companies of the 74th Highlanders, and the whole of the 77th Regiment, with whom he opened fire upon the enemy, who had possessed themselves of the great road leading to Sedaseer. In this direction a column, 5,000 strong, under Baber Jung, completely barred the way of Montressor. Ultimately the Mysoreans were driven off with the loss of 1,500 men. Thus were 11,800 of Tippoo's best troops defeated by only 2,000 British soldiers, whose loss, as the "field-state" shows, amounted to, of all ranks, killed, wounded, and missing, 143. Among the first and last, were two officers, Captains Thomson and Shott, of the 2nd Native Infantry.*

Quitting Periapatam, Tippoo arrived at Seringapatam on the 14th of March, and at once moved to encounter General Harris, who had continued steadily to advance, and on the 26th had halted five miles east of Malavelly, about thirty from the capital; and Harris's spies reported that he was to be attacked as soon as his troops began to debouch from the jungles, information which was supposed to be correct, for his advanced patrols, with some elephants and fifteen pieces of cannon, could be distinctly discerned on a distant ridge.

Despite these arrangements, at three p.m. on the 27th of March, the right wing of our invading army began to move from the camp along a heavy, sandy

* General Stuart's despatch, 8th March.

road, the nature of which seriously impeded the ponderous siege train, each forty-two pounder being drawn by from thirty to fifty bullocks; but so deep was the sand, that in some places the carriages sank to their axles, and then the aid of the elephants became necessary; and we are told, by one who was present, that "these sagacious animals would twine their trunks, or probosces, round the nave, and between the spokes of the wheel, and thus lift gun and carriage from the difficulty, while the bullocks were being goaded and whipped with leather thongs." Clouds of *looties*, or predatory horsemen, were hovering on the right flank of our line of march, and these incessantly fired as we advanced, and when a stoppage occurred to extricate the guns, they would come swooping down to slay the artillerymen, maim the cattle, and slash through the harness; and all this went on beneath a fierce sun, under which many Europeans fell dead from *coups-de-soleil*.

The advanced guard was formed of five cavalry regiments under General Floyd, who, on nearing the mud-walled fort and village of Malavelly, discovered a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry on their right flank, and the infantry on the heights beyond. This was evidently the army of Tippoo; but as it was at too great a distance to be brought to action, the quartermaster-general was ordered to mark out a new encampment; and some heavy cavalry skirmishing went on the while.

In this work, the famous native soldier, Cawder Beg, of the 4th Regiment, and then but the orderly soubahdar of General Floyd, who presented him with a sword, greatly distinguished himself, and was the hero of the following episode. "Cawder Beg," says Sir John Malcolm, "with two or three of his relations from the native cavalry, and a select body of infantry, were placed under my orders. I was then political representative with the army of the Soubah of the Deccan, and commanded a considerable body of the troops of that prince. I had applied for Cawder Beg on account of his reputation, and prevailed upon Meer Alum to place a corps of 2,000 of his best regular horse under the soubahdar's orders. Two days after the corps was formed, an orderly came to tell me that Cawder Beg was engaged with some of the enemy's horsemen. I hastened to the spot with some alarm for the result, determined, if Cawder Beg was victor, to reprove him severely for conduct unsuited to the station in which he was placed. The fears I entertained for his safety were soon dispelled, as I saw him advancing on foot with two swords in his hand, which he hastened to present to me, begging me at the same time to restrain my indignation till I heard his reasons; then speaking to me aside, he said, 'Though the general of the Nizam's army was convinced by your statement of my competence for the high command you have entrusted me with, I observed that the high-born and high-titled leaders of the horse he placed under my orders, looked with contempt at my close jacket, straight pantaloons, and European boots, and thought themselves disgraced by being told to obey me. I was therefore tempted, on seeing a well-mounted horseman of Tippoo's, to challenge their whole line to accept a combat, which they declined. I promised not to use firearms, and succeeded in cutting him down. A relation came to avenge his death; I wounded him, and have brought him prisoner. You will,' he added, 'hear a good account of me at the durbar of Meer Alum; the service will go on the better for what has passed, and I promise most sacredly to fight no more single combats.'" *

The new camp was scarcely marked off, when fourteen pieces of cannon opened upon our troops at the distance of nearly 2,000 yards; these were answered by such of our field-guns as could be got up, and, ere long, the action became general along the whole line, and the lascars, who had been pitching the tents for the weary troops, on finding the cannon-balls bounding among them, fled to the rear. A British detachment, led by Captain Macpherson, of the 12th Native Infantry, pushing on towards the enemy's left flank with two twelve-pound galloper guns, rendered the action brisk in that quarter, having ensconced themselves in a wood where they were secure from Tippoo's hordes of charging cavalry, whom they dosed repeatedly with showers of grape. In the meantime, the right wing of the British army—Baird's brigade, consisting of the 12th, 74th Highlanders, and the Scots Brigade—formed in contiguous close columns of regiments on the ground of the intended camp near the fort of Malavelly, was cautiously advancing towards an eminence in front, and as they drew near it, fearing nothing so much (from past experience) as the capture of his artillery, Tippoo began to withdraw it, till ultimately the guns disappeared. The moment the crest of the eminence was reached, the columns halted, deployed quickly into line, and then was seen the whole army of Tippoo, in order of battle, on the level ground beyond, with wood covering both flanks, and horsemen by tens of thousands. Some of these falling on our line of skirmishers, drove them back upon their respective regiments. "This body of horse," says an officer of the 12th,

* "Rise, &c., of the Native Army."

"of about 1,500, was formed in a compact, wedge-like shape, with the front angle headed by two enormous elephants (saddled with howdahs, filled with distinguished officers) having each a huge iron chain dangling from the proboscis, which they whirled about with great rapidity, and a blow from which would have destroyed half a company of infantry."

By a blunder, this body would seem at one time to have been mistaken for some of the Nizam's army, till the discharge of their pistols and carbines proved who they were, and they were driven off by a volley from the 12th, followed by rapid file-firing; and on the smoke clearing away, a literal rampart of men and horses was seen encumbering the earth, many of them rolling about in agony; while the elephants, maddened by their many bullet wounds, shuffled frantically to the rear, treading dead and dying under foot, and swinging their chains right and left among the flying cavalry. "The howdahs from which the leading chiefs had directed the charge were dashed to atoms, and several of these brave men's heads hung from the backs of the enraged animals; horses rearing and crushing their riders to death—other loose and wounded horses scouring the plain on all sides—the scene was terrific."

After several repulses, a column of the enemy, 2,000 strong, with shouts of *Feringhee bon chute* ("Rascally English"), now hurled all its strength against the 33rd Regiment, at another part of the line. The future hero of a hundred battles kept the line with the muskets at "the recover" (the fashion of those days, and for thirty years after) till the foe was within sixty yards, and then the deadly volley was poured in with dreadful effect. The regiment advanced, and the Mysoreans gave way. Darting forward then, at the head of his cavalry—the old 19th (whilome, in 1781, Burgoyne's Dragoons) leading the way — the flying foe were slashed and cut down on every hand, maddened though most of Tippoo's horsemen were by bhang and opium.

His loss was 1,000 killed and wounded, while ours was very trifling—only sixty-six in all. Such was the result of the battle of Malavelly, by which he thought to bar our way to Seringapatam, and which elicited the following brief order from General Harris, signed by Colonel Barry Close:—

"Camp, Malleville (*sic*), 27th March, 1799.

"G.O.—Parole, *Malleville.* The Commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the happy result of this day's action, during which he had various opportunities of witnessing their gallantry, coolness, and steady attention to orders.

"(Signed) B. CLOSE, Adjutant-General."

During the march to this point, little or no food or forage could be procured (as Tippoo had everywhere destroyed the villages), to add to the stock conveyed with the army on the backs of bullocks. According to one account, every tank and pool of water was impregnated with poison of the milk-hedge, large quantities of the branches of which the enemy had treacherously thrown in, so that many horses, bullocks, and in some instances soldiers and camp-followers, fell victims to the deleterious infusion.

The efficient state of Tippoo's Mysore gun-cattle on one hand, and the miserable condition of our Carnatic bullocks on the other, precluded all thought of an immediate and successful pursuit, beyond what our light cavalry could effect.

CHAPTER LXVI.

CHARACTER, ETC., OF TIPPOO.—LAST SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM, AND DEATH OF THE SULTAN.

As the "Tiger" fell back, about twenty British stragglers were captured by his troops: all of them were put to a cruel death, including even a little drummer-boy of the old 94th, or Scots Brigade. Even his French mercenaries were beginning to execrate his savage nature, and the useless hardships to which he subjected them.* According, chiefly, to an account of him taken from information given by one of his officers, written in 1790, and translated from the Persian by Captain James Kirkpatrick, this personage, who figured so prominently in the history of India, was from five feet eight to nine inches in height, rather inclined to obesity, his face round, with large, full eyes, and there was much of animation in his countenance. He was

* *Asiatic Ann. Reg.*

very active, and wont to take much exercise. He had eleven children, of whom only two were legitimate. That his disposition was cruel, his temper passionate and revengeful, has been amply shown. He was prone to obscene abuse, and to falsehood and hypocrisy when such suited the ends he had in view. He professed himself Naib to the Twelve Prophets, whom Mohammedans believe are yet to come, and he was a savage persecutor of all other creeds and castes. Hyder discriminated merit and punished guilt; but Tippoo gave neither encouragement nor reward, and punished with awful cruelty when inflamed by passion or prejudice. Hyder was liberal to his soldiers; but Tippoo often retained their pay for months, and spent it on his own wanton luxuries. Yet his revenue regulations were framed with great ability, and seemed well calculated to enrich both him and his people; but were frustrated in their operation by his shifting and shallow policy.*

On the conclusion of his first war with us, he took an inventory of all his property, which was then valued at twenty crores of pagodas, with five crores of Bahaudry pagodas in the treasury, and fifteen crores in jewels and rich clothes. He also possessed an incredible quantity of other property, including 700 elephants, 170,000 camels and horses, 500,000 buffaloes, bullocks, and cows, with 600,000 sheep; 600,000 firelocks and matchlocks; 200,000 swords and pistols, with 2,000 pieces of cannon, in his kingdom. For his troops the words of command were issued in Persian. Hitherto they had been given in English and in French, probably through the influence of Lally's party, which consisted in all of about 630 Europeans and half-breeds. He kept in his pay 300 *harcarrahs*, or spies, at three pagodas each monthly. His father despised, in some sense, the pageantry of Eastern courts; but Tippoo maintained a crowded zenana, amid all the pomp of voluptuous despotism. Tippoo was, though able in many ways, not wise as a general or statesman. He possessed some prudence, and was not without promptitude in action; but he was deficient in comprehension, and knew not in what true greatness consisted. Selfish, cunning, and rapacious in government as well as war, he ever acted on the narrowest principles. He constantly wore a ruby ring, the most valuable jewel in his treasury. His turban was always adorned with precious stones of great price, and a rosary of pearls was the constant ornament of his person. The pearls of which it consisted had been the collection of many years, and they were his chief pride. Whenever he could procure, by any means, a pearl of extraordinary size, he made it supply, on this famous rosary, the place of another inferior in form or beauty.

His amassed jewels were kept in large, dark rooms, strongly secured behind one of the durbars, and were deposited in coffers. In the same manner were preserved all his silver, gold, and filigree plate. He had several elephant-howdahs entirely of silver, and many enormous dishes of gold, studded with precious stones. These were all supposed to be the plunder of the hapless Mysore family, and other rajahs whom Tippoo or his father had conquered. His desire of hoarding was insatiable, and he passed the greater part of his leisure time in reviewing the varied assemblage of his riches. With all this avarice and tyranny of nature, it was singular to find that Tippoo possessed a very large and curious library. The volumes were kept in chests, each having a separate cover. Some were richly adorned and illuminated, after the manner of antique Roman missals.† But the British drums were echoing along the banks of the Cauvery, and—to Tippoo—the end of all things was coming now!

On the 28th of March our army advanced southwestward towards Sosilla, where the Cauvery was easily fordable. As Tippoo had not anticipated this, he had not ordered it to be devastated, and hence all the villages and open fields afforded large supplies of forage at a crisis when, according to the work just quoted, "the evil most to be dreaded was famine. . . . The whole of our draught and carriage bullocks and horses died, and rice had risen to three rupees a pound, on the day the city was stormed." Sosilla was found to contain a vast quantity of grain, and some 15,000 head of cattle, besides sheep and goats—the property of fugitives. Our right wing, with the cavalry and Colonel Wellesley's division, remained encamped on the north side of the Cauvery, while the rest of the army crossed it into a land untouched by war, and on the resources of which Tippoo relied for the use of his own army. This movement, moreover, facilitated a junction with the coming Bombay army, and rendered useless all those defensive operations made by the enemy under the very natural impression that the new attack would be made, like that of Cornwallis in 1792, from the northern side of the river. On the 30th the remainder of the army crossed, and the whole advanced without interruption, and on the 5th of April the scarlet columns once more took ground before the famous and far-stretching city of Seringapatam, at the distance of two miles from the walls.

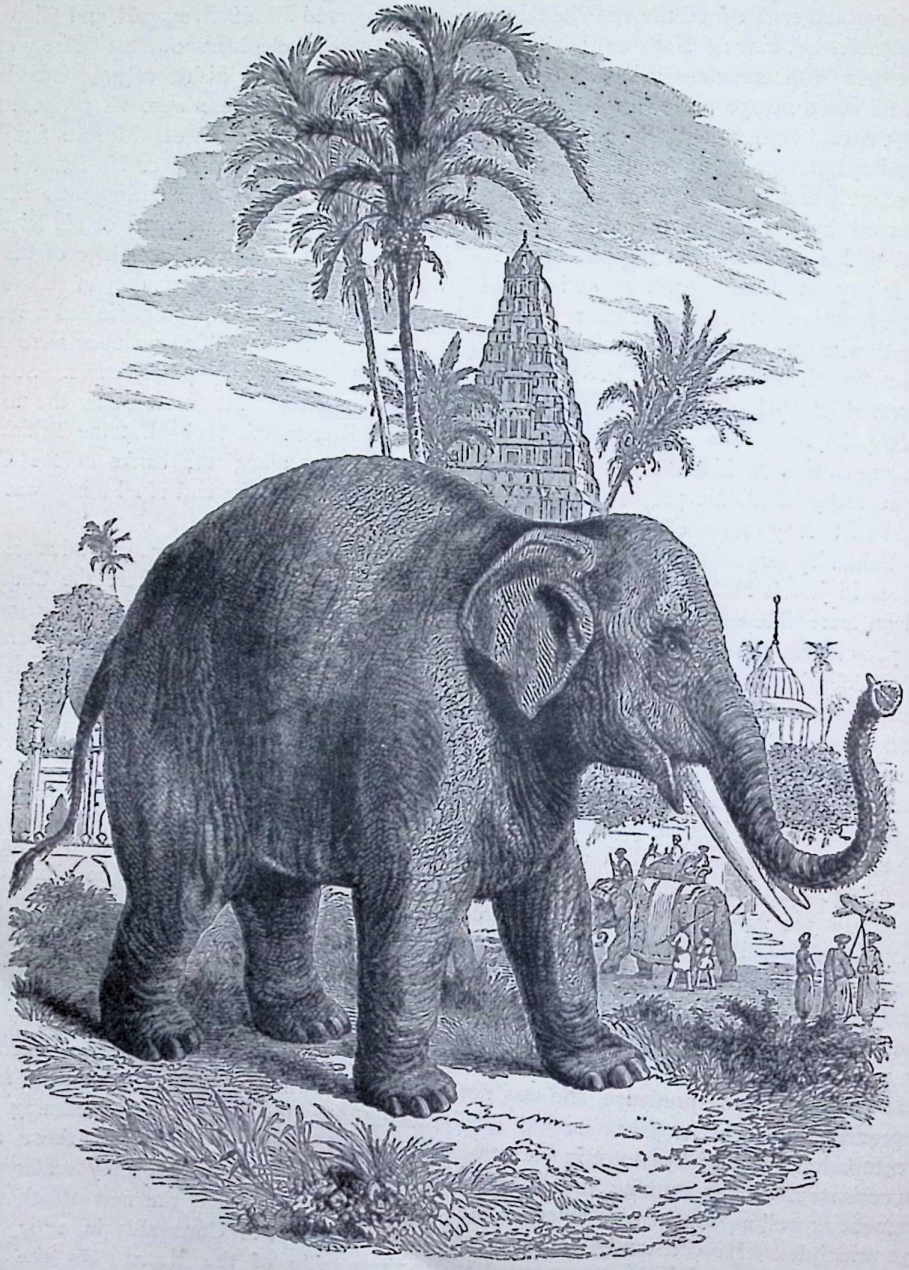
* "Reminiscences of Mysore, &c.," by James Grant, 1797.

† *Asiatic Ann. Reg.*

It is said that when Tippoo found that all his elaborate preparations to receive the foe on the old ground were foiled, he fell into an utter despondency, from which neither his wives nor astrologers could arouse him. Summoning his principal sirdars he said briefly, "We have arrived at our last stage—what is your determination?"

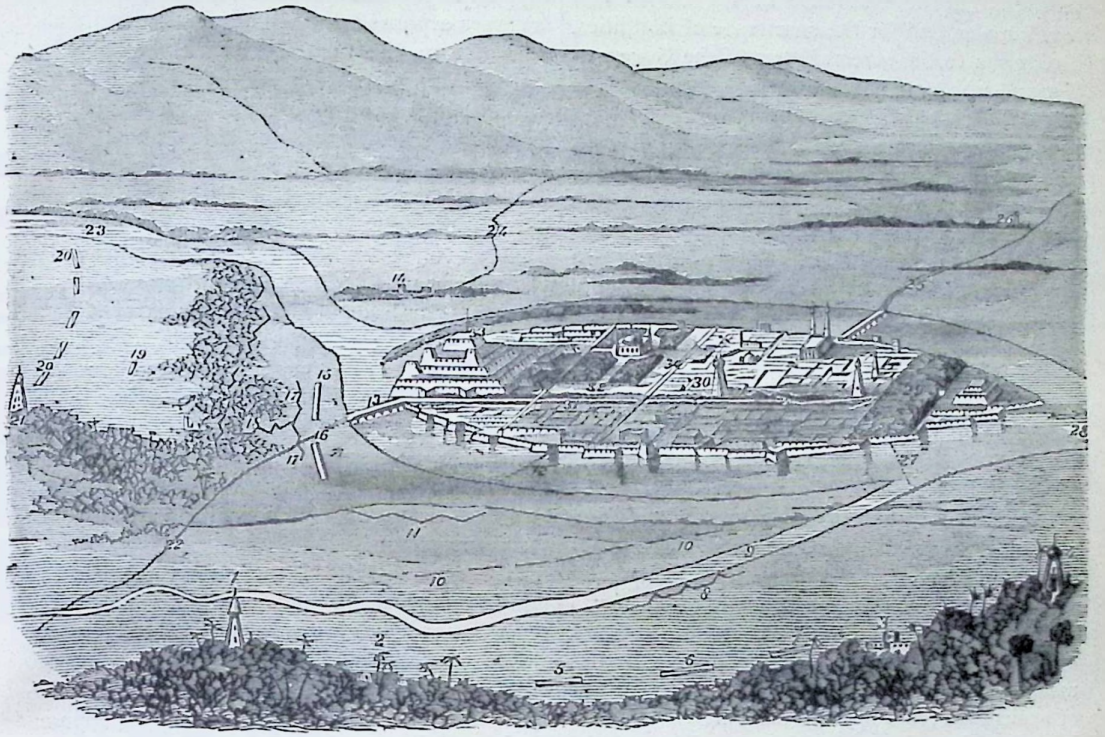
"To die along with you," was the response.

Gloomy was the council that ensued; but it was resolved, in the belief that Harris would cross into the island at the ford of Arikera, to give him battle there, and conquer or die. With this view, Tippoo posted his whole army on strong ground at Chendgal to await the British, but, to his bitter mortification, instead of taking ground to their right to reach the ford, he saw them defiling with bayonets gleaming and colours flying, wheeling to the left to avoid the low intermediate grounds, and passing on at a distance of three miles from him, while he was totally unable to prevent their movements.



THE ELEPHANT OF INDIA.

Between the camping-place of the besiegers and the walls of Seringapatam, stretched a considerable portion of broken ground, interspersed with jungly bushes, with granite rocks, and ruined hamlets, affording excellent cover to the enemy for annoying our lines with rockets and musketry. At the extremity of this, and distant one mile from the city, was a grove of betel trees, named "the Sultan Pettah Tope," from whence rockets were thrown among our tents, thus endangering the artillery stores. On the night of the 4th of May, General Baird had orders to scour this grove, which he did with success, but next morning Tippoo's troops were seen in possession of it again; then Harris, who was resolved that we should possess it, sent forward Colonel Wellesley with the 33rd, and the 10th Native Infantry, under Colonel Ludovic Grant, with a detachment under Colonel Shawe as a support. "With an ardour and impetuosity which were then marks of his professional character," says a Memoir of General Sir John W. Adams, "he dashed on so vehemently with the 33rd that the 10th Sepoys, who were laden with knapsacks—that stupid and annoying appendage to a native soldier—were left considerably in the rear; the consequence of which was that Colonel Wellesley found himself close upon the enemy, and his regiment unsupported. The moment was critical, but fortunately the sultan's troops neglected to take advantage of it, and allowed the 33rd to remain halted and unmolested, when the charge was more judiciously made and the object of it effected. When the 10th came up Colonel Wellesley laughed, and said, "This won't do—I was much to blame; we must be more careful another time."*



1. Caricatta Pagoda; 2. Tinnan Village; 3. Chargumaum Village; 4. Pagoda; 5. Maxwell; 6. Cornwallis; 7. Medows; 8. English Batteries; 9. River; 10. Tippoo's Camp (1792); 11. Eighteen Guns; 12. Ford; 13. Gate and Bridge; 14. Agra Village; 15, 16. Storming Parties; 17. Batteries; 18. Parallels; 19. Wellesley's Attack; 20. English Camp; 21. Nizam; 22. To Mysore; 23. River; 24. To Agra; 25. To Bangalore; 26. Pagoda; 27. Ford; 28. River; 29 Lal Bagh; 30. Temples; 31. Avenue; 32. Hyder Ali's Palace; 33. Citadel; 34. Canal.

PERSPECTIVE PLAN OF SERINGAPATAM, INDICATING SEVERALLY THE BRITISH POSITIONS IN 1792 AND 1799.

The flints were taken out and the tope cleared by the bayonet; and this was the famous affair of which so much has been said under various colourings, and which has been described as the first prominent military service of the Duke of Wellington. Of this affair no two accounts are alike. Some aver that Colonel Wellesley failed, though the tope was cleared, and in consequence a connected line of strong posts was established from thence to the river for nearly three miles, blocking up the city on its south-western quarter. The result so greatly

* *E.I.U.S. Journal*, 1837.

impressed Tippoo that, on the 9th he wrote thus to General Harris:—"The Governor-General, Lord Mornington Bahauder, sent me a letter, copy of which is enclosed; you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to my treaties; what then is the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me? What need I say more?"

"Your letter," replied the general, "enclosing copies of the Governor-General's letter, has been received. For the advance of the British and allied armies, and for the occurrence of hostilities, I refer you to the several letters of the Governor-General, which are sufficiently explanatory on the subject. What need I say more?"

Three days before this laconic correspondence, General Floyd, with four regiments of cavalry, six of infantry, and twenty guns, with some of the Nizam's horse, had left the lines for Periapatam, to assist the junction of Stuart's Bombay army. He was quickly followed by Kummer-ud-Deen, with the whole of the Mysorean cavalry and a great body of infantry, with orders to frustrate this movement; but the latter had no opportunity of making the least impression, and by the 14th of April both generals were in the lines before Seringapatam, the *final* siege of which was by that time in full progress.

The commanding engineer suggested two plans of attack; an assault at the south-west, and another at the north-west. In the former case it would be made by land, and in the latter from the north bank of the river, and as that was the point at which the attack was expected by Tippoo, he had many thousand men at work, throwing up a line of works there, and opening many new embrasures in the southern face of the fortress. But again he was deceived and mortified, for when, on the 15th of April, the Bombay army took post on the north bank of the Cauvery, so as to enfilade the face that was really to be attacked, he then saw that what he deemed at first was but a feint, was really a permanent occupation.

The siege had barely been inaugurated, when it was found there was grain in store for only thirty days, or perhaps even less, and in his journal, General Harris recorded his apprehensions at this condition of things. The ever defective commissariat of our service was, as usual, to blame. Harris, though evidently painstaking, and aware how much depended on the necessary supplies, was less able to provision than to handle his army. Colonel Wellesley surpassed every officer before the city in this valuable requisite for a leader, but the state of the stores was such that General Harris believed it necessary, against the usage of war, to push on the assault, and to run any risk rather than have to retreat with a famished army before the furious Tippoo. On the 19th, General Stewart reported that he had only two days' provisions for the Bombay army! The general's journal (published afterwards by his son-in-law, the Right Hon. S. Rumbold Lushington) betrays at this time by its entries, his intense anxiety and feverish fear lest the inadequacy of the supplies might cause utter failure; and yet this fear is always expressed collaterally with a trust in, and deference to, the will of God. Seeing that the siege works were making steady progress, Tippoo attempted again to negotiate, and somewhat humbly asked the general what was his pleasure. This was on the 20th of April.

General Harris sent him back a preliminary treaty, stating that if its demands were not complied with in four and twenty hours, the allies would demand, for security, the entire fortress of Seringapatam. The leading demands were that Tippoo should once more cede the half of his dominions, or what remained of them; pay two millions sterling, and deliver four of his sons, and four of his chief sirdars as hostages. On this, Tippoo burst into one of his usual fits of impotent raving, and vowed that he would die like a soldier, rather than live a dependant on the infidels in the list of their pensioned princes.

A fiery and well-led sortie from the garrison against our advanced works on the northern bank, on the 22nd, was vigorously repulsed, but not before we had lost 700 men. On the 23rd the batteries of the northern and southern attacks dismantled, or otherwise silenced, every gun opposed to them, and so perfectly raked the curtains by a flank fire as to render them no longer tenable, and on the 26th and 27th the Mysoreans were completely beaten out of their last external entrenchment, though it was only 380 yards distant from the walls, and under cover of their guns, musketry, and rockets. On this occasion Colonel Wellesley commanded in the trenches, with the Scots Brigade, the 73rd Highlanders, and a battalion of the 3rd Coast Sepoys. To hold this point was Tippoo's last effort of bravery, prior to the final, and for him fatal, assault. By capturing this ground we achieved the post for the breaching batteries, and the event is thus recorded by Mr. Lushington, the general's private secretary:—

"At the hour proposed, the guns from our batteries commenced a heavy fire of grape, which was the signal for attack. The Europeans then moved out, followed by the native troops. The enemy,

seeing this movement, began an active fire from behind the breastwork; guns from almost every part of the fort opened on our troops with great effect, and by the time they had quitted the trenches the fire of cannon and small arms was general. The companies from the 73rd Regiment and Scots Brigade then pushed on with great rapidity to the enemy's works, who seeing the determined spirit of the British troops, fled from their posts in confusion and great dismay; but many fell by the bayonet, while endeavouring to escape. The relief from the trenches, which was this evening commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, had by this time arrived; a part of the 74th (Highland) Regiment, and the Regiment de Meuron, composed the Europeans of that relief, and were ordered immediately to support the rest. These pushed on to the right of the attack. A heavy fire was continued from the ramparts, and by those of the enemy who had fled from the part of their entrenchment first attacked, and taken post behind the traverses more to the right; several made a desperate stand, and fell by the bayonet; the Europeans dashed in, forcing the traverses in succession, until they extended as far as the turn of the nullah towards the stone bridge. At this turn there is a redoubt, open to the south-east angle of the fort, but which flanked a watercourse running parallel and close to the entrenchment that was carried."

This redoubt was stormed and retained by the Highlanders, under Colonel Alexander Campbell, who, with a small party of that corps with the Swiss of Colonel Meuron Bayard, pushed forward along the entrenchments and the road till he came to the bridge leading over the Cauvery. Colonel Wallace, at the same time, was advancing more to the right, till, fearful of risking too much in the dark, he fell back and took possession of the enemy's post at the bridge. Campbell had, in the meanwhile, crossed it, and actually advanced some distance into the island; but it was necessary to fall back immediately from a situation so dangerous that nothing but the darkness of the night and the consternation of the enemy, could have given them the most slender chance of escape. "They returned under a heavy fire on all sides," continues Mr. Lushington, "and made their way back to the redoubt where Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace had taken post with the few of the 74th Regiment who had remained with him, and the rest of the troops whom he had placed to the left along the watercourse, and in this situation they remained all night, exposed to grape from the fort, and galled by musketry from the ground on the right flank, and from the post at the stone bridge, which took them in the rear. The enemy continued firing grape and musketry at intervals the whole night; at length the daylight appeared, and discovered to us and to them the critical state of our men. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell having been crippled the preceding night by being barefooted during his excursion across the bridge, was obliged to return to camp, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace being next in command (of the 74th Highlanders), he was sent to inform Colonel Sherbrooke of their situation, and request further support, as the enemy were collecting in great force on the right flank, and at the post they occupied near the stone bridge, from which they galled our people in the rear to a great degree. Colonel Sherbrooke, on receiving this report, instantly ordered all the Europeans who had remained in the trenches, to advance to Colonel Wallace's post, and each man to take with him a pickaxe and *momitie*,"—this latter being an Indian spade of peculiar form. Colonel W. Wallace, in the meanwhile, seeing the necessity of driving the enemy from the bridge, ordered Major Gordon Skelly to do so with some of the Scots Brigade, and a single company of the latter took possession of it. This secured the rear of all the rest, and when a company of the 74th Highlanders came in, it was impregnable. But our loss was great; two officers and sixty soldiers were killed; ten officers and 216 soldiers were wounded, and nineteen were missing. Sherbrooke was afterwards well known as General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, G.C.B., Colonel of the 33rd in 1813.

On the 28th, Tippoo, beginning to smother his hate, or rather disdain, made a last attempt to negotiate, and offered to send envoys, but General Harris replied that he had already made his demands in conformity with the orders of his superiors, and could not receive them. As the offered terms had not been accepted, the allies would be justified in making them still more severe; but an acceptance might still be received, if it came properly signed before three o'clock next afternoon. Ere this attempt at negotiation had been renewed, Tippoo had recourse to every means that fear, religion, and superstition could suggest to avert his coming doom. In the mosque his presence was frequent, and to all his prayers he entreated the fervent "Amen" of his courtiers. He even—in his now abject spirit—bribed the priests of the Hindoos, whose faith he had persecuted and whose caste he had defiled, to pray for him before the very idols he had so often mocked and defaced. Nor was astrology forgotten; planetary influences were consulted and omens

accepted. But meanwhile the booming of the British artillery came nearer and more near.

A dogged despair now settled on the tyrant's heart; to him further resistance began to seem useless: thus, when the progress of our works showed clearly that the salient angle of the north-west corner of the fortress was the point where the breach for the grand assault would certainly be made, he declined to have an inner entrenchment cut, when urged to do so by the most eminent of his sirdars; he became remiss in his inspections, and seemed to wish to close his eyes on the coming ruin. On the night of the 28th of April a breaching battery was thrown up, and on the morning of the 30th it poured its strength against the angle of the walls referred to; by the 1st of May the point was partly beaten down, and the whole rampart shaken; but concealing the true point of attack till the last possible moment, the besiegers on the 2nd began to effect a breach about sixty yards wide, immediately to the south of the bastion in the north-west angle. On that day Tippoo's garrison made some daring attempts to close the first breach, which in some degree they were enabled to do, because our working parties, who were preparing a way for the assault, were in such a position as to prevent our guns being turned upon the enemy. On the 3rd, the breach was reported practicable, and the subsequent day was decided for the attack, when the following troops composed the storming party:—

"Ten flank companies taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camp and outposts, followed by the 12th, 33rd, 73rd, and 74th Regiments, and three corps of grenadier sepoys taken from the troops of the three presidencies, with 200 of his Highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery and the corps of pioneers; supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the Regiment de Meuron and four battalions of Madras sepoys. Colonel Coape Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-Colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps, and Major-General Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service." *

Before daybreak all these men, 4,376 in number, were in the advanced trenches under Baird, who had volunteered for the honour of leading them; he had won a kind of prescriptive right to the post, as, for nearly four years after Baillie's detachment was destroyed at Perambaucam, he had been a fettered prisoner in Seringapatam, and there had often been compelled to turn the water-wheel of a well, for the amusement of the sultan and his ladies; and had, even when in fetters, been compelled to cut out and sew his own shirts, one of which he kept as a memento, till it was lost, with his baggage, on the retreat to Corunna.†

Formed in two columns, one under Sherbrooke and the other under Dunlop, all waited in silence and darkness the word to advance. Their orders were, after issuing together from the trenches, on surmounting the breach, to wheel respectively to the right and left and scour the ramparts, and after carrying such works as might be expedient, to meet on their eastern face. To elude all suspicion and observation, the men were placed early in the trenches, as it was resolved not to make the assault till one o'clock, at which time the garrison usually took refreshment or repose, and would be less prepared for resistance. Under Colonel Wellesley—he who in future years was to capture Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo—a powerful reserve was at hand to support Baird.

We are told that before the hour came, General Harris sat in his tent alone, full of deep thought and anxious suspense, amid which he was found by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, who came to him on duty. Seeing the mingled doubt and sternness in the face of the general, Malcolm rallied him playfully by asking, "Why, *my lord*, so thoughtful?" referring to his chief's chances of a peerage. "Malcolm," replied the latter, "this is no time for such compliments; we have serious work on hand. Don't you see that European sentry over my tent is so weak from want of food and from exhaustion, that a sepoy could push him down? We must take the fort, or perish in the attempt. I have ordered General Baird to persevere in his attack to the last extremity. If he is beaten off, Wellesley is to proceed with the troops from the trenches; and if he also should not succeed, I shall put myself at the head of the remainder of the army, for success is necessary to our existence." ‡

Precisely at one in the afternoon, the tall figure of David Baird was seen to issue from the trenches.

"Come, my brave fellows," he exclaimed, brandishing his sword, "follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!"

In an instant both columns rushed from the parallels with ringing cheers, and crossing the rocky bed of the Cauvery, rushed, under a fire of cannon, musketry, and wall-pieces, towards the breach, which at once became full of armed men. Many fell, but in six or seven minutes the stormers—like a scarlet cloud, half seen, half lost in smoke

* Despatch of General Harris.

† T. Hooke's "Life of Sir D. Baird."

‡ Lushington's "Life, &c., of Lord Harris."

and fire—were swarming on the summit of the breach. Half-way up the rough ascent of battered masonry, Colonel Dunlop engaged a Mysorean sirdar hand to hand, and mortally wounded him; but, with the last energies of life or instinct, the latter nearly hewed off the head of Dunlop, and falling back was instantly bayoneted. So many reliefs were shot under the colours in that brief time, that they were finally borne by a Scotch sergeant of the Bombay Europeans, named Graham, who planted them on the summit, and waved his hat, crying, "Success to Lieutenant Graham!" when at that moment a ball pierced his brain.

The stormers cleared the breach, wheeled off to the right and left, and the supports poured in. The garrison was taken by surprise. So little was Tippoo anticipating it, that he was quietly seated at his mid-day repast. After a feeble resistance, the Mysoreans abandoned their strongest posts, and thought only of safety and flight. Thus, in their mad terror, many flung themselves from the lofty ramparts, and were dashed to death in the rocky bed of the river below. The right column had anticipated a desperate struggle, as many formidable bastions were known to lie in its way; but in less than an hour the men of it had fought their way along the ramparts to the point of meeting on the eastern face. The north-west bastion was soon gained, but all along its northern face a great force of the enemy—led, it is averred, by the sultan in person—was posted behind the traverses, to which they retreated in succession, kept up a disastrous fire, and more than once compelled our troops to pause in their advance. Reinforcements came; on the traverses a flank fire was opened, and a rush made towards the north-east angle of the walls. Then the retiring enemy, on discovering the approach of the right column, fell into hopeless confusion, and perished in thousands under the bayonet in their frantic efforts to escape.

As soon as the ramparts were cleared of all but the dead and wounded, and the firing had ceased, the troops, on finding themselves before the palace, were keen to assault it, believing that Tippoo was there, and being eager to release some European prisoners who were alleged to be in it. Upon authority that seemed worthy of credence, a report had now been spread that Tippoo had murdered them; but before this could be verified, a dangerous thirst for vengeance filled the hearts of our soldiers. Within the beautiful palace—in the zenana of which alone were 650 women—the greatest confusion and consternation reigned; while its killedar was paralysed in his actions by a report that Tippoo, who had been shot, was lying dead under one of the gateways. General Baird now desired Major (afterwards Sir Alexander) Allan to proceed with a flag of truce to the palace—before which Major Shee was posted, with the 33rd, panting for bloodshed and revenge—to offer protection to Tippoo and all its inmates, but only on condition of immediate surrender; at the same time threatening to put to death every man in the place if the least resistance was made. Major Allan, who spoke Hindustani fluently, having gained admission with some difficulty, bearing a white handkerchief on a sergeant's pike, and even taking off his sword in token of peace, was received by two of Tippoo's younger sons, who, amid a crowd of scowling armed men, informed him solemnly that their father was not within. This General Baird utterly discredited, and threatened to search the inmost recesses of the palace.

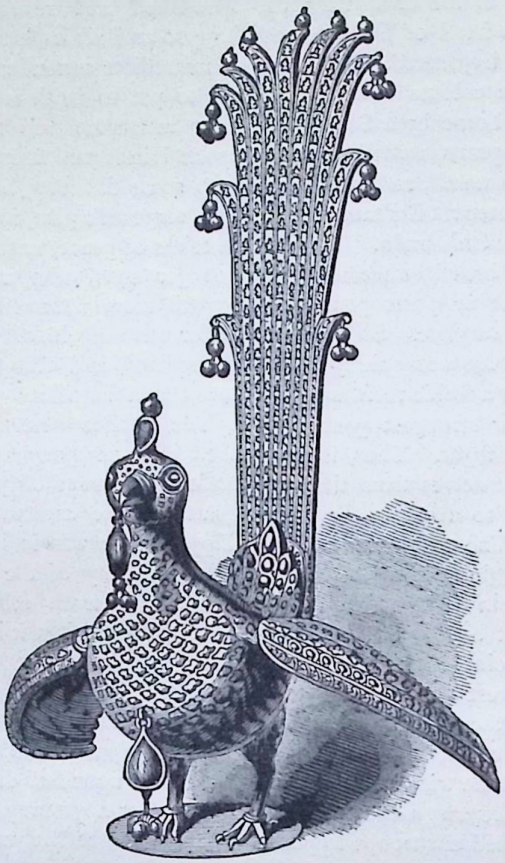
The princes were meanwhile brought away by the light company of the 33rd to the camp, under assurances of protection. Baird placed a guard on the zenana to prevent the escape of Tippoo if he was in it, and taking with him the light company of the 74th Highlanders, he proceeded to search other parts of the palace in person, threatening, it is said, if certain reports he heard were true, he would hand over Tippoo, if found alive, to the grenadiers of the 33rd, to be handled as they might think fit. The killedar, on being sternly menaced, informed Baird that Tippoo had been wounded during the assault, and was lying under a gateway in the northern face of the fort. As night had now closed in, torches were procured, and, accompanied by Colonel Wellesley, Major Allan, and the Highlanders, Baird went to the place, and the information of the killedar proved correct. There lay the terrible Tippoo, not merely wounded, but dead. As his horse was found shot near him, and also his palanquin, he had probably fallen in the act of escaping. The archway exhibited a dreadful spectacle. Suffocated, trod down, and trampled out of all shape, lay the dead in gory heaps; and amid these, the corpse of Tippoo was recognised by the killedar, put into the palanquin, and borne to the palace, after General Baird had taken off his right arm a magic amulet in Arabic and Persian characters.*

"The body was so warm," says Major Allan (as quoted in Muir's "Mohammed"), "that for some moments Colonel Wellesley and myself were doubtful whether he was not alive. On feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. He had four wounds—three in the body and one in the temple, the ball having entered a little above the right ear.

* *Asiatic Annual*, 1799.

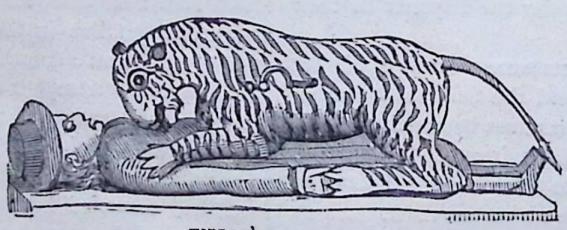
and lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist; a handsome pouch, with a red and green silk belt, hung across his shoulder; his head was uncovered, his turban having fallen off in the confusion of his fall; he had an amulet on his arm; but no ornament whatever."

The ball in the head was said to have been given him by a soldier, whom he had endeavoured to sabre while depriving him of his richly-ornamented sword-belt. His second son, who had commanded on the southern ramparts, escaped, but on surrendering next day, was sent to the palace with his two younger brothers. On beholding his father's remains, his bearing was very different from theirs: he looked on with brutal apathy, and with a smile heard their utterances of natural grief. Among those who fell into our hands was the sultana, who is thus described in the papers of Baron Grant, 1801:—



TIPPOO'S HUMMA, OR PEACOCK.

"This lady is delicately formed, and the lines of her face are so regular and placid, that a physiognomist would have little difficulty to pronounce her of a tranquil and amiable temper; her dress was generally a robe of white muslin, spotted with silver, and round her neck rows of beautiful pearls, from which hung a pastagon, consisting of an emerald and ruby of considerable size, surrounded with a profusion of brilliants. She is about twenty years of age, and for a complete form and captivating appearance, rivalled all Mysore. Among the poor prisoners who had suffered long confinement in a dark dungeon, was a descendant of the Hindoo King of Mysore, whom Hyder Ali had dethroned. . . . . The standard of Mysore was sent by General Harris to Fort William. It is a light green silk, with a red hand in the middle, and was never hoisted but on the palace of Seringapatam."*

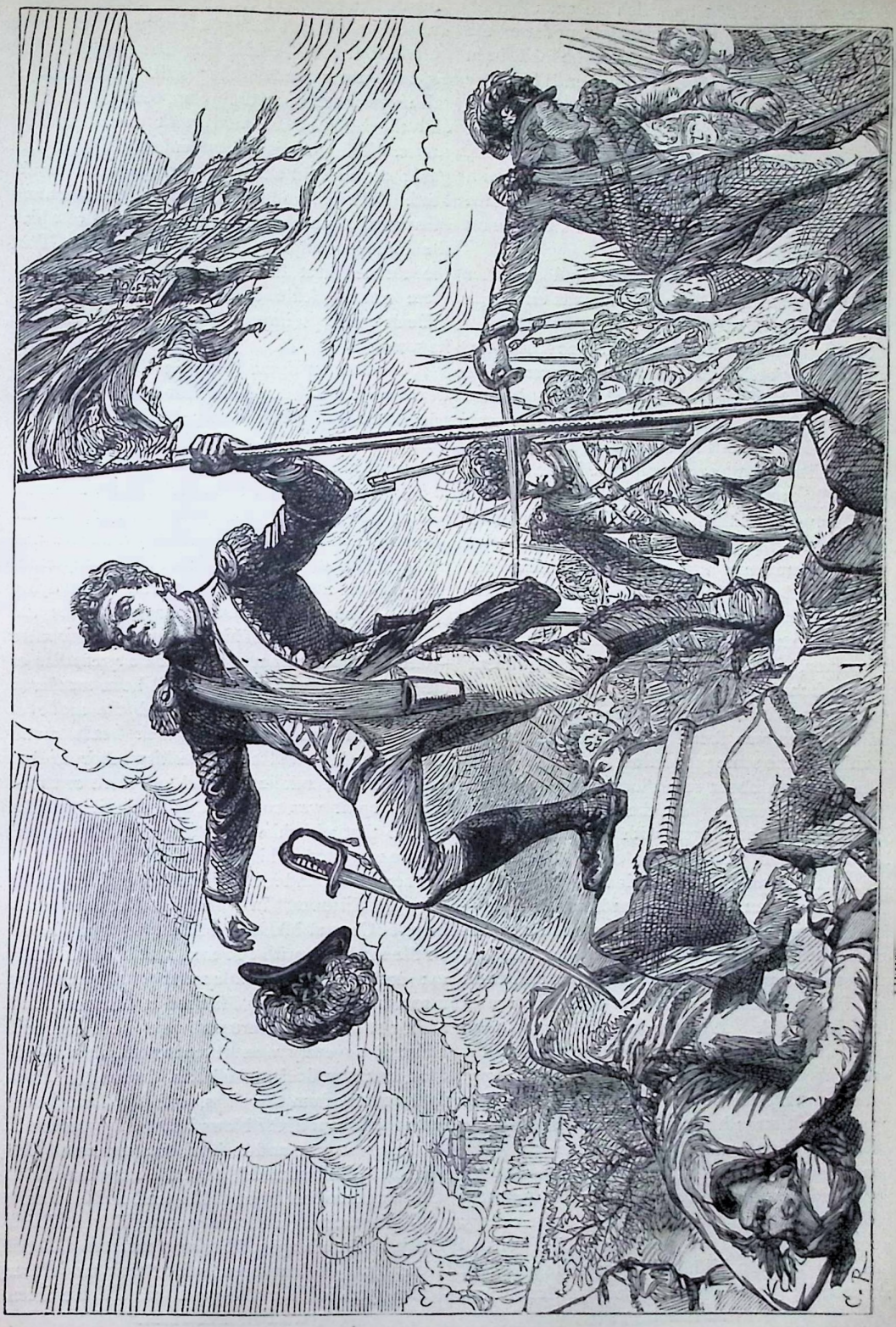


TIPPOO'S TOY TIGER.

Between long lines of British troops, the remains of Tippoo, with all royal and military honours, were conveyed to Hyder's grave, in the magnificent Lal Bagh, where their superb mausoleum still stands. The funeral was as splendid as Mohammedan rites and European military parade could make it. On this occasion, in that district so notorious for its storms, there burst one so terrific that the peals of thunder drowned even the salvoes of artillery, as if even the demons of air were rejoicing over the downfall of Tippoo, the Tiger of Mysore. By the lightning, on this occasion, many Europeans and natives were killed.

"Owing to the want of education," says Beveridge, "his faculties had never been improved nor his manners refined, and he remained to the end of his life a clever but heartless barbarian. Tippoo, less talented than his father, surpassed him only in his vices, and was even notorious for some which his father cannot be charged with. To a cruel and vindictive temper, he added a fierce and relentless bigotry, which was repeatedly displayed in the devastation of whole provinces, and the extermination of their inhabitants, merely because they resented his forcible conversions. In the eyes of Europeans, the deepest stain on his memory is the inhuman treatment of his prisoners, the horrid dungeons in which he confined them, the heavy chains with which he loaded them, and the lingering

* "History of the Mauritius."



LIEUTENANT GRAHAM PLANTING THE STANDARD ON THE WALLS OF SERINGAPATAM.

or excruciating deaths by which he cut them off when he felt them grow cumbersome, or feared the revelations they might make after he had been compelled to set them free. In this horrid butchery he had been engaged only a short time before his capital was stormed; and the knowledge of the fact, when first made known to the British soldiers, had so exasperated them, that they were with difficulty restrained from taking a fearful vengeance on all the members of his family and the inmates of his palace."

It was found that M. Chapuy, and all other French officers taken, bore commissions under the Republic; but we are told nothing of Lally.

The conquest of Seringapatam was complete, and the glory of Mysore was gone for ever. The whole number of troops engaged in the defence was 21,839. Of these, more than 8,000 were entrenched on the island formed by the Cauvery, and this shows that 13,000 only were in the fortress, where fully two-thirds of them fell. In the assault, the European killed, wounded, and missing amounted to only 337 of all ranks, while the native casualties were merely forty-nine. There were eight officers killed and fifteen wounded; but the entire casualties from the 4th of April to the 4th of May amounted to 1,164. There were taken 929 pieces of cannon, including mortars and howitzers, 424,000 iron balls, 520,000 lbs. of powder, and 99,000 stand of arms; while in the magazines and foundries was found all manner of warlike munition in the same proportion.

Jewels worth about seven lacs of pagodas were taken in the treasury (near the door of which was chained an enormous tiger), with muslin shawls and rich cloths enough to load 500 camels. The foot-stool of the throne of Tippoo is now preserved in Windsor Castle, and is the golden head of a tiger—the emblem of his empire. Though conventional in treatment, it is striking in detail; but the legs and paws are well modelled. The eyes and teeth are of crystal; the markings on the head are of burnished gold. A letter from Seringapatam* states that the throne itself, being too unwieldy, was broken up. It was a howdah upon a tiger, covered with cloth of gold: the ascent to it was by silver-gilt steps having silver nails, and all the other fastenings were of the same metal. The canopy was superb. Every inch of the howdah contained an Arabic sentence, chiefly from the Koran, and the pearl fringes alone of the canopy were valued at 10,000 pagodas. The apex of this canopy was a bird, said by some to represent a peacock; but Colonel Wilks says that it was intended to represent the *humma*, a fabulous bird, whose shadow will bring a crown to the head on which it falls—a bird that flies always in the air, and never touches the earth. The neck of this singular relic is entirely composed of emeralds, and the body of diamonds, with three bands of rubies. The beak is a large emerald tipped with gold; an emerald and pearl are the crest to the head. The tail and wings are rows of rubies and diamonds, all so closely set, that the gold of which the bird is composed is scarcely visible. That the throne must have been of enormous value there can be little doubt, though it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to exactly estimate its worth.

A number of tigers found in the palace yard were ordered to be shot, for fear of accidents. In one apartment was the large and singular toy, which was invented for the amusement of Tippoo, and is now in London. It is a rude automaton of a tiger, killing, and about to devour, a British soldier, who lies prostrate under its claws. In the interior is a kind of organ, turned by a handle, and producing notes which are intended to represent the growls of the tiger and the moans of the dying victim. There were found near the palace the recently buried bodies of his last European prisoners—one of whom was recognised as a grenadier of the 33rd Regiment. They had all been murdered at night, by twos and threes, and the mode of killing them was by twisting their heads round their shoulders, and thus breaking their necks; and when our soldiers looked on these remains, such a spirit was roused, that made it well for Tippoo that with him the game of life was over, and he was lying in his grave at the Lal Bagh.

There was found a book in M.S., entitled "The King of Histories," in which the Highland challenge of General Macleod, offering to fight Tippoo on the sea-shore, with 100 men a side, was alluded to; and the pretended answer of Tippoo was inserted. After calling Macleod a Nazarene, and adding that all Nazarenes were idolaters, and addicted to every vice, it continued thus:—"If thou hast any doubt of all this, descend, as thou hast written, from thy ships, with thy forces, and taste the flavour of the blows inflicted by the hands of holy warriors, and behold the terrors of the religion of Mohammed." And the story concludes with the immediate flight of Macleod and his men.†

On the morning after the capture, General Baird resigned the charge of Seringapatam to Colonel Wellesley. It has been said, "that no officer better qualified for the post could have been

* *Asiatic Ann. Reg.*, 1799.

† Wilks' "Southern India."

selected; but it may be suspected, without any great breach of charity, that when the appointment was made, his great merits did not weigh so much as his relationship to the Governor-General." Baird, who made no secret of his dissatisfaction, certainly had a prior claim, as the actual captor of the city, and the appointment gave rise to some discussion at the time; but when once installed in office, the good effects of his successor's management soon became visible. The disorders incident to a town taken by storm were vigorously suppressed; the fugitive inhabitants, who had sought refuge in adjacent fields, woods, and villages, returned on confidence being restored; business and life flowed into their usual channels; and in three days after Colonel Wellesley's appointment, the main street of Seringapatam had all the appearance of a vast fair, rather than that of a town that had undergone the horrors of an assault.*

Among those who had suffered most miserably in the dungeons of Tippoo was the famous native cavalry officer, Seyd Ibrahim, whose memory was so revered, that the Governor-General in Council, in 1801, passed a resolution, of which the following is a portion:—

"In order to manifest his respect for the long services, the exemplary virtue, and impregnable valour of Seyd Ibrahim, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to order and direct that the amount of his pay, being fifty-two pagodas and twenty-one fanams per month, shall be conferred as a pension for life on his sister, who left her home in the Carnatic to share his misfortune in captivity, and who was subsequently wounded in the storm of Seringapatam.

"In order, also, to perpetuate his lordship's sense of the Seyd's truth and attachment to the Company's service, the Governor in Council has ordered a tomb to be erected to his memory at Cowley Droog, with an establishment of two lamps and a fakir for the service of the tomb, according to the rites of his religion."†

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE FIGHT IN BALASORE ROADS—PARTITION OF MYSORE—RESTORATION OF THE ANCIENT HINDOO DYNASTY.

To give coherency to the narrative of Tippoo's downfall, we have omitted to mention in its place, chronologically, a spirited sea-fight that took place in Indian waters early in the same year.

Captain Edward Cooke, of H.M.S. *La Sybille*, of forty guns and 280 men (including a company of the Scots Brigade, who served as marines), while at Madras, having received intelligence that *La Forte*, a French fifty-four gun ship, with 700 men, was cruising in the Bay of Bengal, notwithstanding the vast disparity of force, put to sea in quest of her, and on the 28th of February, 1799, at nightfall, discovered four sail to windward, and by midnight had got the weather-gauge of them all. It was then perceived that one was a very large ship, with two stern lights; and for this ship, which proved to be *La Forte*, Captain de Serci (a pupil of Suffren), *La Sybille* at once bore down, when she was in the roads of Balasore, a sea-port of Orissa, where the Calcutta pilots usually wait the arrival of vessels. At a quarter past twelve, when the ships were about three cables' length (360 fathoms) apart, the enemy presented his broadside, fired, and bore up before the wind.

In ten minutes, *La Sybille*, having got within two cables' length, luffed to the wind on the starboard tack, raked her fore and aft, and after this discharge, edging down before the wind, came fairly alongside, and a furious contest, often within pistol-shot, went on in the dark. Captain Cooke soon discovered that, although *La Forte* seemed well disposed to the conflict, his own fire was so superior as to render it probable that the matter would soon be ended. By half-past one the enemy's fire was considerably diminished, while that of *La Sybille* had become more close and rapid. About twenty minutes to two, *La Forte* ceased firing; but upon being hailed to know whether she had struck, her guns opened again. About ten minutes to two her lights were put out, her men were seen swarming into the shrouds as if about to board, and again she ceased firing. *La Sybille* also ceased, and hailed, but received no answer. Puzzled by this conduct, Captain

* Col. Beatson's "View of the War with Tippoo," &c.

† *Madras Gazette*, June 28, 1800.

Cooke, who had been severely wounded, opened on her again, when her three masts and bowsprit went by the board. Three hearty cheers were given by the crew of *La Sybille*, and Captain Cooke, to prevent any separation, at once let go his anchor, and the moment day dawned, ordered out his boats and took possession of the prize. *La Sybille's* standing and running rigging were completely cut to pieces: not a rope was left standing on the mainmast, which, with the main and topsail yards, was splintered and shot in various places. She had three men killed and nineteen wounded; and Captain Davis, a staff-officer who served as a volunteer, was among the first who fell.

But the scene exhibited by the decks of *La Forte* was shocking: she had 150 men killed, and about 80 wounded. Her captain, and most of the officers, fell early in the action. She had thirty 24-pounders on her main deck, fourteen 12- and eight 36-pound carronades upon her quarter-deck and forecastle, besides brass swivels; while the metal of *La Sybille* was twenty-eight 18-pounders on the gun-deck, ten 12- and ten 32-pound carronades, fore and aft. Captain Cooke's wounds were severe: he was struck in the arm and ribs; but one, made by a swivel ball, was a dreadful one, and occasioned such symptoms that it was supposed to have penetrated the lungs. He expired on the 23rd of May. His body was preserved in spirits, and buried, with military honours, at Diamond Harbour, by H.M. 76th Regiment, and the Directors of the Company voted a monument to be erected to his memory at Calcutta.

The fall of Seringapatam was followed by the entire submission of all Mysore. On the 14th of May, Kummer-ud-Deen, Futteh Hyder, and Purneah, waited on General Harris, who received them with the honours due to their rank, and to whom they submitted, without any other condition than that they should be preserved in their lives, estates, and titles. The whole army under their command imitated their example, and peace and order were thus easily established everywhere throughout Mysore. The settlement of its future government on the principles of equity and good policy, became now the task of the Governor-General, who, with the concurrence of Nizam Ali, appointed General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, his brother, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, and Colonel Barry Close, "commissioners for the affairs of Mysore." Captains Malcolm and Monro were appointed their joint secretaries, and as such, had to take an oath binding them not to disclose the instructions they might receive, and not to accept gifts or presents, directly or indirectly.

In his secret instructions to this commission, the Earl of Mornington announced his intention of restoring the representative of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, accompanied with such a partition of territory between the allies as might also please the Mahrattas.

The empire which old Hyder had founded with his sword was now about to be finally rent asunder. Parliamentary restrictions, and orders from home, forbidding wars of conquest, so trammelled the earl, that he could not, as he might have done, have assumed immediate authority over the conquered kingdom; he therefore proposed to partition it; to retain those districts which lay along the coast, or interrupted communication between provinces already in our possession; to make over a certain district to the Nizam of the Deccan; to offer the Mahrattas another, on certain conditions; and to raise to the government of the fourth, or remaining portion, as stated, the heir of the ancient family which Hyder had dispossessed.

Thus the territory of Canara, with its fortresses and posts at the head of the different passes which lead into Mysore, together with the city of Seringapatam, was assigned to Britain, or the Company, "in full right and sovereignty for ever." The tract of country which bordered on the Deccan was given to the Nizam; and Harponelly (with its fortified town), a district bounded by the Tumbudra river, was made over to the Peishwa; but as that leading chief failed to comply with certain stipulations, it was left to form the basis of a new treaty, and in the meantime was to remain in the hands of the Company.

Maharajah Krishna Oudraver, a child, the lineal heir of the old rajahs, was raised to the throne of the fragment that remained, but which was, in reality, neither less nor more than his forefathers reigned over before the days of Hyder; and the entire superintendence of his affairs was committed to the Brahmin Purneah, who had been Tippoo's chief minister of finance, and was known to be a man of ability. Beatson gives the age of the infant rajah at five years; Sir John Malcolm at three. Various members of his family were still surviving, including his maternal grandfather and his paternal grandmother, who was in her ninety-sixth year, and consequently must have lived in the days of Queen Anne.

Summoned suddenly from obscurity to a throne, they were filled with gratitude and joy; and the old ranee, second wife of the old rajah, who lived at the time of Hyder's usurpation, and another

lady, who was maternal aunt of the new one, wrote thus to General Harris and the commissioners:—

"Your having conferred on our child the government of Mysore, Nuggur, and Chitteldroog, with their dependencies, and appointed Purneah to the dewan, has afforded us the greatest happiness. Forty years have elapsed since our government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the government of this country, and nominated Purneah to be his dewan, we shall, while the sun and moon continue, commit no offence against your government. We shall at all times consider ourselves as under your protection and orders. Your having established us, must for ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity from one generation to another."

The yearly revenues from the territory assigned to the little rajah were equal to £412,222 sterling; and it was to be held by tenure. He was to abstain from interference in the affairs of all foreign states, and not to permit the residence of Europeans without the consent of the Company—in whom, in short, the real government of his territories was entirely vested. As they had appropriated Seringapatam, a new residence for the rajah was selected, and Mysore, the ancient capital, was fixed upon. In 1787, Tippoo, wishing to obliterate all trace and memorial of the ancient Hindoo dynasty, ordered this town and fort, which crowned a lofty hill, nine miles from Seringapatam, to be levelled to the ground, and the materials to be used for the construction of a castle called Nuzerhar, while the people were driven away. All the materials were now brought back to construct a palace for the young rajah, and on the 30th of June the ceremony of placing him on the musnud was performed by General Harris, in presence of the commissioners, a great concourse of Hindoos, who rent the air with yells of acclamation, while volleys of musketry were given by H.M. 12th Foot, and the batteries of Seringapatam gave a royal salute in the distance.* Colonel Barry Close obtained the post of resident at the new court, for which he was every way qualified.

Under a strong military escort, the sons of Tippoo were sent to Vellore, where, though kept under necessary surveillance, they lived in ease and splendour, and were treated with every courtesy. Their income was four lacs of pagodas, or £160,000 yearly. Policy forbade the re-elevation, in any way, of the race of old Hyder. Educated, as they had been, in rancorous hatred of the British, they could not be expected to think with calmness now of those to whom they owed their downfall from mighty power and royal independence; and it was by no means unreasonable to suppose that, if an opportunity offered, the heir of Tippoo might, as the Earl of Mornington wrote, seek "the recovery of that vast and powerful empire which, for many years, had rendered his ancestors the scourge of the Carnatic, and the terror of this quarter of India."†

The territory now annexed by the Company exceeded 20,000 square miles in dimensions. The revenue obtained, therefore, was great, and drawn chiefly from vast and fertile districts, that only required peace and leisure to be able to liquidate with ease the demands now made upon them.

Consistency, as the Earl of Mornington had foreseen, was now given to our acquisitions in Southern India, together with a degree of military strength and security we had never possessed before. Colonel Alexander Beatson tells us that there were no less than sixty great passes through the mountains, most of which were practicable for armies, and two-thirds of which were open to the descent of cavalry.‡ By the possession of these Ghauts now, we were secure from those desolating invasions which had occurred during the wars with Hyder and Tippoo, and all the level country was equally safe along the coast of Malabar. Under good and wise government, the people of the new territory, from being our bitter enemies, became our firmest friends, and many of the bravest men of Mysore were to be found in the ranks of the Company's army.

The Earl of Mornington's proposed cession of some territory to the Peishwa of the Mahrattas was an act of considerable generosity. In 1798, when the treaty was concluded with the Nizam, the Governor-General offered to conclude one of a similar nature with the Peishwa; but after some diplomacy on the subject had been wasted, the latter dropped it, and said he "would faithfully execute subsisting engagements." One of these was to join us in arms against Tippoo, in the event of his making war on any of the parties to the triple alliance formed by Marquis Cornwallis; hence, when Tippoo's intrigues with the French Republic were naturally deemed by us equal to a declaration of hostilities, the Peishwa promised that he would send a contingent to the field under Purseram Bhow, and a body of our troops was held in readiness to join that leader. Nana Furnavese, who was again chief minister at Poonah, and favourable to our interests, urged Bajee Rao to fulfil his promise; but such was the influence of Dowlut Rao Scindia,

* Colonel Beatson.

† Wellesley's "India Despatches."

‡ "View of the War with Tippoo," &c.

who was averse to the alliance, that no Mahratta contingent ever appeared against Tippoo. The rapidity, success, and triumphant end of the war rather disconcerted the Peishwa, who, to keep matters pleasant, affected the utmost satisfaction on hearing of the fall of Seringapatam; and this was the state of matters when a considerable tract of the conquered country, lying contiguous to that of the Mahrattas, was offered them, conditionally, for annexation. A protracted discussion ensued. The conditions were declined; so the reserved territory was divided equally between the Nizam and the Company.

In July, 1799, General Harris left Seringapatam for Pondicherry, and, in accordance with orders received from the Governor-General, he surrendered to Colonel Wellesley the civil and military government of Mysore; and there are few instances which discover a more conscientious and competent performance of duty than his rule in the conquered kingdom. "He displayed a capacity for detail, for intricate accounts, for laborious public business, for judging of men in civil and military situations, for discerning the native character, for penetrating and unravelling native intrigue, such as has seldom in the world's history been seen in so young a man. His laborious toil for the public good, while his health was really delicate, showed a devotion to duty which became characteristic of the man, and enabled him to set an example to the people of the British Isles which has not been lost."

A letter from General Harris to a friend, after leaving Mysore, contains the following passage:—



COOLIE OF THE MATHERAN RANGE, WESTERN GHAUTS.

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

As a reward for his great services, the general, on the 11th of August, 1815, was raised to a British peerage, as Baron Harris, of Seringapatam and Mysore, and of Belmount, in the county of Kent.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

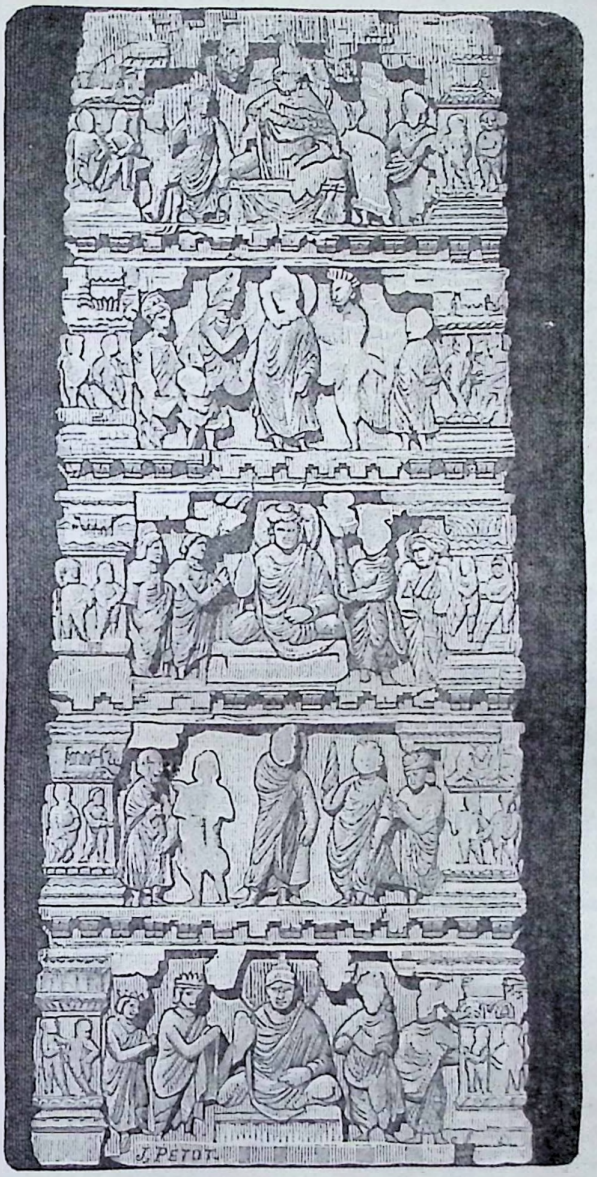
"THE KING OF THE TWO WORLDS" DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

THE Earl of Mornington, having handed over the management of Mysore to his able brother, now turned his attention to the affairs of the Deccan, the half imbecile ruler of which was, at any time, liable to become the dangerous instrument of the Peishwa, or any prince more subtle and ambitious than himself. Our forces within his territory had hitherto been paid by a monthly subsidy, the payments of which were extremely irregular, and always liable to stoppage by the treachery or waste of the Hyderabad court; and it now became the object

* "Life of General Lord Harris."

of the earl to have this subsidy commuted in the form of jaghires or districts—a mode which the Nizam had adopted with regard to those Frenchmen who had disciplined the troops of the Deccan; and without this system they never could have done so, as the payments otherwise would have been so unequal and irregular.

By a general revision of the terms of our alliance, the earl also wished to render the Nizamat of the Deccan more dependent upon the Company, and to check that spirit of rapacity and misgovernment which kept the ryots and artisans poor, when he knew they might be opulent and prosperous; and by his decision and address Lord Mornington effected a satisfactory change. The Nizam of the Deccan, by a treaty dated the 12th of October, 1800, ceded to the British all the territory he had acquired by the Marquis Cornwallis' pacification in 1792, and by arrangements subsequent to the fall of Seringapatam. In exchange he received a discharge from the monthly payments, with an increase to the horse and foot previously lent him, and assurances of protection from all enemies whatever.



BAS-RELIEF FROM AN INDIAN TEMPLE.

Soon after all was quiet at Seringapatam, the district of Bednore, in the north-western portion of Mysore, was disturbed by a desperate adventurer, named Dhoondia Waugh, who was in arms at the head of a great force. This man was a Patan or Mahratta by birth, who had deserted from the Mysore army during the war against Marquis Cornwallis, and placed himself at the head of a very ferocious and numerous body of freebooters, in the wild country near the river Tumbudra. He had plundered Tippoo and the Mahrattas alike, with perfect impartiality; and when opposed by either, he retired into his woody fastnesses, where his cunning or judicious conduct kept him safe till he could issue forth to maraud again. At length Tippoo, weary of the perpetual trouble this man gave him, had recourse to stratagem, and wrote him, expressing admiration of his courage and daring, adding his regret to behold a man, who seemed born to command large armies, acting like a petty robber; that he perfectly forgave him all he had done, and would, if he entered his service again, give him a considerable military appointment, with the title of "General of the Ten Thousand Horse." Thus cajoled, Dhoondia gave himself up; on which Tippoo, after having him, in his usual way, forcibly converted, immured him in one of the dungeons of Seringapatam, and chained him to the wall like a wild beast.

In this condition he was found, after the assault, by some of our Highlanders, who, in ignorance of his history, and pitying all the tyrant's prisoners,

set him free; and returning to his old haunts and practices, he was soon again at the head of a great force, variously stated as ranging from 5,000 to more than 20,000 men. On being joined by some of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry, he set up his standard in the vicinity of Bednore, and gave himself the strange title of "King of the World, and of the Two Worlds." By the treachery of the killedars, many of the strong places of the district fell into his hands; and had he had a weak enemy to contend with, as was the case with Hyder, he might eventually have become the founder of a royal dynasty. But his destruction became absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of Mysore. In the July of the preceding year, Colonel Dalrymple had found no small trouble in driving him out of the country and among the Mahrattas, where he could always find a temporary asylum. On the 21st of July, with a light corps of cavalry and some native infantry, he marched against him from Chitteldroog, and having overtaken a party of his banditti, nearly exterminated it, refusing quarter, for the purpose of making a strong example. Proceeding westward, Dhoondia crossed the Tumbudra, and was followed by Colonel Dalrymple, who, on the 30th of July, took Hurryhur, on the eastern bank of that stream. Meanwhile Colonel Stevenson, with a light corps, advancing from another direction, took Simoya by storm on the 8th of August. Both corps having now effected a junction, Colonel Stevenson assumed the command, as senior officer. Dhoondia, who had encamped in a strong position near the fort of Thikarpur, was routed, and driven with loss across the river; and after the fort was taken by assault, he retreated beyond the Mahratta frontier. He might have been overtaken and destroyed; but Stevenson's instructions expressly prohibited him from affronting the Mahrattas by entering their territories.

Soon after this, Dhoondia was attacked by the Rajah of Gokla, a Mahratta chief, who deprived him of his elephants, camels, bullocks, and cannon; but he was destined yet to give further trouble. He entered the service of the Rajah of Kolapore, who was then at war with the Peishwa; but soon became his own master, and resumed his old depredations. As "King of the Two Worlds," he once more re-appeared on the frontiers of Mysore; and the Madras Government instructed Colonel Wellesley to follow him "wherever he could be found, and hang him on the first tree." Though the service was not one in which laurels were to be gathered, it was not without its perils.

His brother, the Governor-General, authorised him to enter the Mahratta territory, as it was evident that the Peishwa was either unable or unwilling to put down this great freebooter, whose followers were now alleged to be 20,000 strong. Some of our troops in Mysore were already collected on the Tumbudra, and towards the end of June, 1800, Colonel Wellesley joined them, and crossing the river, advanced against the great army of thieves, most of whom were well mounted. Certain Mahratta chiefs, instead of resenting our appearance beyond their frontier, took up arms to co-operate with Wellesley; and one, being too eager in his pursuit, was defeated and slain by Dhoondia.

On the 29th of June the latter engaged and completely routed a body of the Peishwa's troops, under Punt Gokla, who was slain. Dhoondia had vowed vengeance against him, swearing that he would dye his moustache in the heart's blood of Punt Gokla; and this ferocious vow he is said to have literally fulfilled, by lying in ambush in a wood, and watching his opportunity. The routed Mahrattas fled for refuge under the walls of our fort of Hullyhull; and "the King of the Two Worlds" came so near in pursuit, that it was necessary to open the guns upon him. So rambling were the operations against him, that the petty campaign was said to resemble a hunting match, though the London papers of the date give the strength of Dhoondia's force at 29,000 men—doubtless an exaggeration. Colonel Wellesley followed them across the river Wurda, and many other streams, through wild woods and over rocky mountains. He drove them round every point of the compass. He took by surprise some of their camps, and by storm some of the forts in which they had deposited their plunder and prisoners; but weeks, and even months, elapsed before he could come up with these fleet marauders.

On the 9th of September, Dhoondia Waugh found himself in an awkward position, by permitting Colonel Wellesley, who had left the infantry, and was pursuing with the cavalry alone, to come too near him. As the horses were exhausted, the attack was deferred till next day; and the event is thus recorded in the colonel's despatch, dated from his camp at Yepulpurry, the 10th of September, 1800:—

"After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the 'King of the World,' with his army, about 5,000 horse, at a village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, and had thought that I was at Chinoor. He was marching to the westward, with the intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong

position, as soon as he perceived me; and the 'victorious army' stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th Dragoons and the 1st and 2nd Regiments of (Native) Cavalry, and drove them before me, till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of the elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the rebellious army. Thus has ended this warfare, and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest killedar of Chinoor had written to the 'King of the World,' by a regular tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Nowly on the 8th, and at Chinoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer to me than he expected. The honest killedar did all he could to detain me at Chinoor, but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop; and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place."* Dhoondia's body was brought into camp on one of the guns attached to the 19th Light Dragoons. Among the baggage was found Salabut Khan, the son of Dhoondia, an infant of about four years old. He was borne to Colonel Wellesley's tent, and was afterwards kindly and liberally taken care of by him. Sir Arthur, on his departure from India, left some hundred pounds, for the use of the orphan boy, in the hands of Colonel J. H. Symons, the collector at Seringapatam. When Symons retired from the service, the Hon. A. Cole, Resident at Mysore, placed him in the service of the rajah. He was a fine, handsome, and intelligent youth; but died of cholera in 1822.†

The remnants of Dhoondia's band were cut up and destroyed by Colonel Stevenson, and save an occasional murder and robbery by Thugs or Dacoits, tranquillity was restored to the whole Mysore and Malabar country; but there was, doubtless, truth in the jocular remark of Major (afterwards Sir Thomas) Monro to Wellesley, "Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Dhoondia would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince, and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous sultans."

During the last year of the eighteenth century several treaties were effected with the Rajah of Tanjore, and various other Indian princes, all having for their main object the removal from place and political power of those officials who were unlikely to act wisely, or likely to act against the interests of Britain. In these states the administration of the revenue and government became vested in the Company, and without causing the least discontent among the natives, who were rather happy, from the rapacity of their own princes. In a letter to Major Monro, dated from his camp at Hooblee, 20th August, 1800, Colonel Wellesley has the following pithy sentences:—

"Upon all questions of increase of territory, those considerations have much weight with me, and I am in general inclined to think that we have enough; as much, at least, if not more, than we can defend.

"As for the wishes of the people particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with, if indifference constitutes that character."‡

But the indifference referred to by the great captain sprang from that total want of nationality which is a point of the Indian character.

"The great soldier and administrator might have added," says a writer, "that in every instance the people were great gainers by the change, being no longer oppressed by irregular taxation—the worst taxation of all—no longer harassed by internal feuds and civil wars, and being seldom exposed even to the chance of foreign invasion. In many of these districts a few English civilians, unsupported by any military force, and often at a great distance from any fort or garrison town, ruled the tranquil natives, and were held in reverence by them."

It was the flourishing state of Mysore, under our rule, and the facility with which its great resources were procured for the use of our armies, that soon after enabled Lake and Wellesley to act with such spirit and success in the great war against Scindia. The province of Bullam, near the Western Ghauts, would not have been conquered, perhaps, by Wellesley had Tippoo still reigned in Mysore, and the presence of an army there for the collection of the revenue would have prevented its services being useful in the field elsewhere.

When the college of Fort William was founded in 1800 by the Governor-General, John Borthwick Gilchrist, LL.D., a native of Edinburgh, a most

* "Wellington Despatches."

† Note to Gurwood's "Selections from the Wellington Despatches."

‡ "Wellington Despatches."

eminent orientalist, was by him appointed Professor of the Hindostanee and Persian languages—the first that had ever been in India. In the following year he published his "Theory, &c., of Persian Verbs," which was succeeded by many other works on Eastern languages; and it was chiefly owing to his labours that such progress was afterwards made in the knowledge of the literary antiquities and philology of India, as his example and writings gave an impetus to the study of the Hindoo language and history that had not existed before.*

The following letter from the marquis to his predecessor in office, Lord Teignmouth, draws his attention to the institution of the college for the education of the civil servants of the East India Company:—

"Fort William, Aug. 18, 1800.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the copy of a regulation which I have lately passed in Council for the improvement of the Civil Service of the East India Company. The object of this law being of the utmost public importance, I feel a proportionate anxiety for the success of the Institution which I have deemed it to be my duty to found. I have requested the Chairman of the Court of Directors to communicate to your lordship my private notes, explanatory of the general plan of the Institution. If your lordship should concur with my opinion on this interesting subject, your support will be given to the Institution in England in the most effectual manner, by a public declaration of your sentiments, addressed to the Chairman or to the Court.

"No man can be better qualified to estimate the merits of an Institution calculated to remove the existing disadvantages and difficulties of the early stages of this service, than he who has surmounted them with eminent distinction and honour. Your lordship's judgment on the law, which I have taken the liberty to enclose, will therefore be most important in my consideration. I have the honour to be, &c."†

The events of 1800 closed with two spirited sea-fights in Eastern waters.

On the 9th of October, the *Kent*, East Indiaman, being off the Sand Heads of the Hooghly, fell in with and was attacked by *Le Confiance*, a French privateer of 26 guns and 250 men, commanded by Captain Surcoff. By Captain Rivington, the battle was maintained with great bravery for an hour and forty minutes, during which time the ships were frequently alongside each other. At length, by the great superiority which the enemy possessed in men and musketry, the *Kent* was carried by boarding. Captain Rivington, with twelve of the crew, fell, and forty-two were wounded. "So dreadful a carnage was attributed to Captain Surcoff having made most of his crew drunk, and a promise of one hour's plunder if they should succeed; the consequence was, that the savages gave no quarter, putting to death all who came in their way, with or without arms, and extended their brutal rage even to stab the sick in their beds."‡ In consequence of this capture, the Company's ships were, in the next year, ordered to be provided with boarding nettings, and it was also suggested that they should carry a few 42-pound carronades, to clear their decks with grape, if necessary.

The other affair was a spirited action, fought near Muscat, by the Company's dhow, *Intrepid*, commanded by Captain Hall, and a French privateer ship of greatly superior force. After a severe and bloody conflict, the latter was compelled to sheer off, leaving the *Intrepid* too much crippled to follow, and the captain lying on her deck mortally wounded. The other casualties were twenty-five, including two lieutenants, Best and Smee, who were severely injured.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ACQUISITIONS IN THE CARNATIC, OUDE, AND FERRUCKABAD—THE ARMY OF EGYPT—ANNEXATION OF SURAT.

On the 1st of August, 1800, Lieutenant-General Gerard Lake was appointed Commander-in-chief by the Court of Directors, in succession to Sir Alured Clarke, and Colonel Stevenson was appointed to command in Malabar and the Carnatic,

* "Scottish Biographical Dictionary," 1842.

† "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.

‡ Captain Schomberg.

under Colonel Wellesley, soon after made Major-General.

In the early part of 1801, letters patent were issued by the Crown, appointing the Earl of Mornington (who, in December, 1799, had been elevated to the Irish Marquisate of Wellesley) Captain-General in India; the differences of opinion, in rank and so forth, between the Royal and Company's officers having rendered this step most necessary. It would seem that officers who were commissioned by George III. often resented being called upon to serve under those who held their rank from the Company, and occasions there were when they were unwise enough to refuse obedience. The letters patent thus vested the Marquis of Wellesley with full power over all military forces employed within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade. They also required his lordship's exclusive obedience to all orders, directions, and instructions from the First Commissioners for the affairs of India, or from any of the principal Secretaries of State.

The affairs of the Nabob of the Carnatic now occupied the attention of the Marquis of Wellesley. By the information contained in eighteen documents, which were laid before the House of Commons in September, 1802, it would appear that Omdut-ul-Omrah had been violating his alliance with the Company, and had maintained a secret intercourse with the late Tippoo Sultan, our determined enemy, founded on principles, and directed to objects, utterly subversive of the alliance between the nabob and the Company. The appendix to these documents contained copies of the correspondence with Tippoo, and the key to a cypher found among the records of Seringapatam. These papers were laid before the House in explanation, or defence of, certain measures which, in the year before, the earl had deemed it necessary to take in the Carnatic.

On the early discovery of the intrigue that had been on foot, the Governor-General, instead of summarily deposing the nabob, as he might have done, rather compounded the matter with him, by negotiating for the purpose of obtaining a complete resignation of the civil and military government of the Carnatic into the hands of the Company. If the consent of the nabob could be got, no mention was to be made of the papers discovered, and he was to be handsomely pensioned off, as an old and trusty friend. It was only in the event of his declining these unexpected negotiations and proposals that the guilty correspondence was to be turned to profitable account; and the ultimate end of the whole proceedings was to secure the wished-for objects by means that were not very worthy.

Ere the earl's final instructions on this matter reached Madras, Omdut-ul-Omrah was on his death bed, and past all worldly negotiation. On the 15th July, 1801, he died; but before that event came to pass, his last moments were disturbed by such intrigues for the throne among the different members of his family, that military possession of his palace was taken by the Governor of Madras, the son of the hero of Plassey, Edward, Lord Clive, afterwards Earl of Powis. This was to prevent the treasury being pillaged.

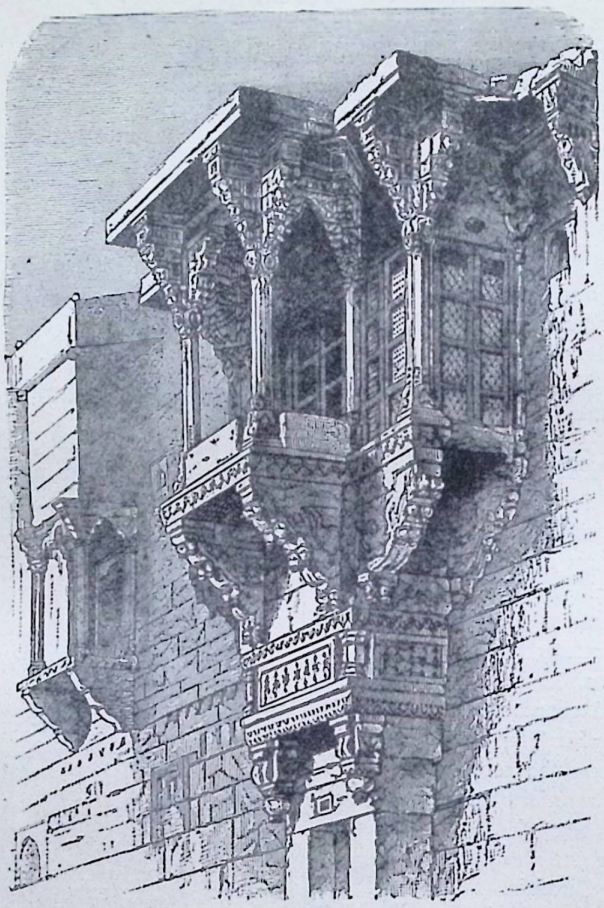
Among the claimants, the Governor-General selected two—one, Ali Hussein, reputed son of the nabob, and the other, Azeem-ud-Dowlah, his nephew. To the former, and in the event of refusal, to the latter, the throne was to be offered, on the condition of being pensioned, and holding only nominal royal rank. But the late nabob had, by will, declared that Ali Hussein, then in his eighteenth year, was to be his heir, with Mohammed Nijeeb Khan and Tookee Ali Khan as his guardians; and with these two, but a few hours after the death, Mr. Webbe and Colonel Barry Close, as commissioners, held a consultation, which was continued for days, and ended by the guardians indignantly declining the terms proposed. Messrs. Webbe and Close then referred to the heir himself; but he, in turn, referred them back to his guardians, saying that his counsels and theirs could never be separated.

As the matter could not end here, the commissioners stated that Lord Clive desired a personal interview with the guardians, in the tent of the officer commanding our troops which held possession of the palace. When they retired to get their equipages, Hussein Ali whispered to the commissioners that they had deceived him, and during an interview with Lord Clive, he made the same statement against the two khans, and declaring his wish to take the throne as offered by the Marquis of Wellesley. Lord Clive supposed the whole affair was now accomplished; but to his surprise, next day, Hussein retracted everything he had said, and eventually he asserted that he would brave every danger rather than subscribe to conditions so degrading.

Greatly irritated, Lord Clive withdrew, after informing the prince that he had forfeited all claim for consideration, and must await those measures which his conduct had rendered unavoidable. While sedulously secluding the other competitor, the guardians privately placed Ali Hussein on the throne, and prepared to do so publicly next day, when Lord Clive occupied the whole palace with British troops, turned out the

late nabob's guards, and released from prison Azeem-ud-Dowlah. The sudden change from enforced privacy to a throne proved too great a temptation to him; and, accepting all the terms, on the 25th July, 1801, he was proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic, with a pension of one-fifth of the annual revenues, while the Company became vested with the whole civil and military government of his kingdom.

On the 10th of November, in the same year, by skilful diplomacy, a treaty was signed in Oude, in which, by a stroke of the pen, one half of that great territory was handed over to the Company, and the other half so imperfectly guaranteed to the nabob, that the Company could never, at any time, be at a loss for a pretext to seize the whole. "It is not unworthy of notice," comments a writer on this, "that the cession made to the Company included nearly the whole of the territories which the Nabob's father, Sujah-ud-Dowlah, had acquired, partly from the Company, and partly by their aid, at the cost of about a million sterling. By a singular reverse of circumstances, the Company are able, after having pocketed the price, to seize the territories, and thus obtain possession both of price and subject."

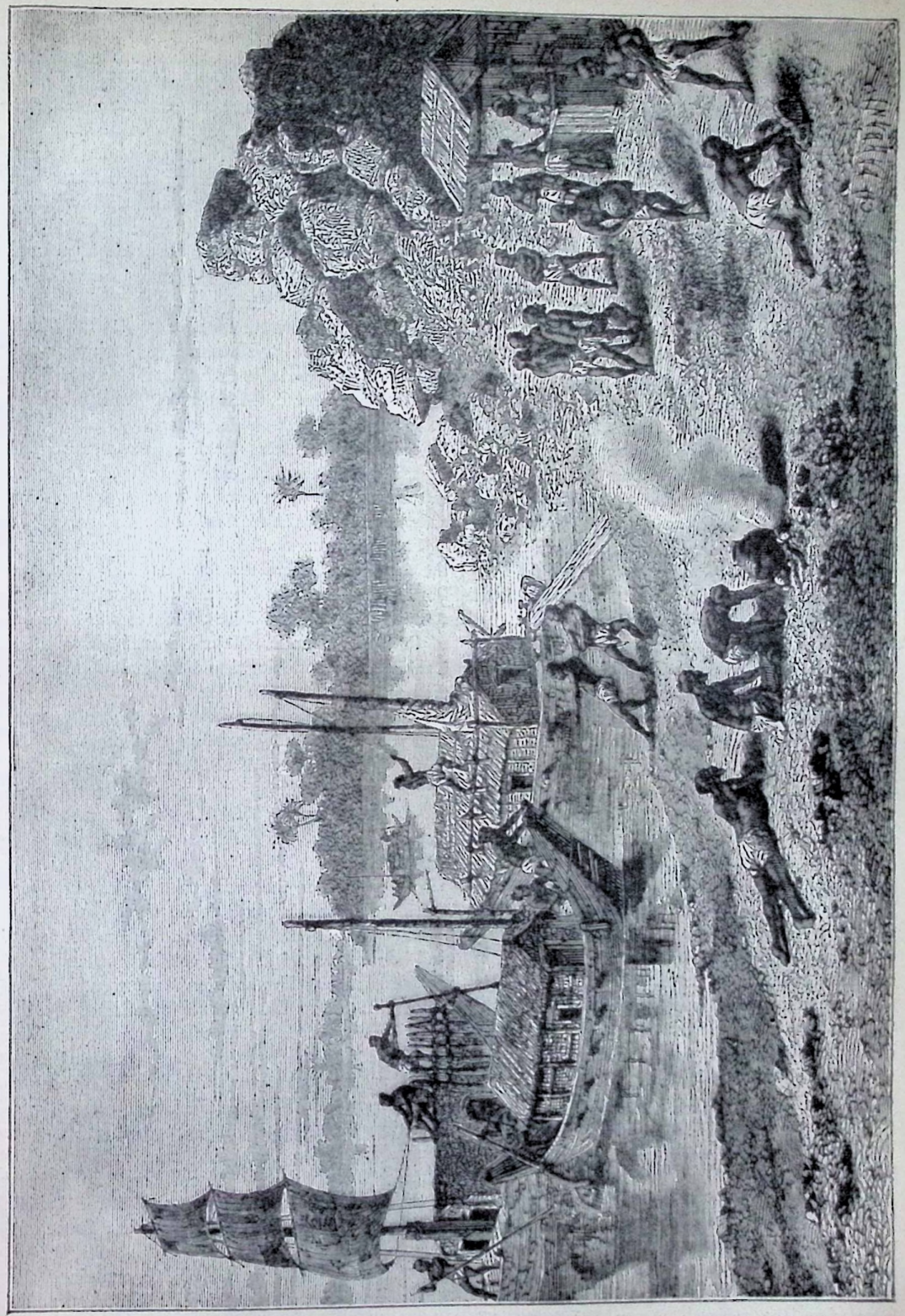


WINDOW OF THE MÂN MΘNDER, BENARES.

Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the marquis provided for the settlement of the new acquisition, by establishing a board of commissioners, composed of three servants of the Company, presided over by his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, as Lieutenant-Governor.

When the treaty was sent to him for ratification, the marquis was at Benares, on a tour to the north. In an early part of his journey, he had received a letter from Mr. Wellesley, to the effect that the nabob had expressed some thoughts of recruiting his exchequer by plundering the old begum, his grandmother. As Warren Hastings had countenanced a similar measure, and greatly enriched himself by it, the Nabob of Oude, who had not a vestige of scruple on the subject, never doubted obtaining the consent of the Governor-General. But the begum's suspicions of her grandson had been, by some means, aroused, and she thought to avert his undutiful schemes by soliciting the protection of the British Government, and by constituting the Company her heir. While quite admitting the legacy might be accepted, the earl desired his secretary to write to the nabob an indignant letter, declining all sanction to the proposed disgraceful and unwarranted plunder of the begum.

The Nabob of Ferruckabad, who was a tributary of Oude, had now, by our territorial acquisitions, become a tributary of the Company. His nabobship was a fertile tract of the Doab, a Sanscrit word, signifying any land that lies between two waters, and it extended for 150 miles along the right bank of the Ganges, yielding a revenue of £100,000 sterling. While under Oude, the nabob had enjoyed the protection of the Company, and now thought that under British rule his position would be improved and strengthened. He had succeeded in consequence of the murder of his father by his eldest son, and being too young to undertake the government, a regent had been appointed. Of this official the young nabob had an especial dislike, and hoped, as he was now approaching manhood, to have the administration in his own hands. With a view to have this brought about, he and the regent visited Mr. Henry Wellesley,



BOATS AND BOATMEN OF THE GANGES.

who had taken up his residence at Bareilly. As the regent arrived first, he made use of the opportunity to blacken the character of the young nabob, and in this villainy he was unfortunately aided, unconsciously, by the Governor-General, who had adopted a policy which he had resolved to follow whenever it was found practicable. This was to pension off the native ruler, and place his whole government, civil and military, in the hands of the Company.

This proposition was put in writing, and laid before the young nabob, who, not unnaturally, remonstrated in these terms:—"I am totally at a loss what to do. If I deliver over the country to the British government, all my relations, my neighbours, and all the nobility of Hindostan, will say that I have been found so unfit by the British government, that they did not think it proper to entrust me with the management of such a country, and I shall never escape for many generations from the sneers of the people. If, on the contrary, I say anything in disobedience to your orders, it will be against all the rules of submission and propriety."

In his helplessness, he suggested that the Company should make one of its servants superintend his revenue; but, acting under orders from Calcutta, Mr. Wellesley declined all half-measures, and compelled the poor young nabob to submit to the disgrace he deplored, by ceding all his territory in perpetuity to the Company, receiving no return. But before the settlement of all the territorial acquisitions in Oude was complete, it was found necessary to have recourse to arms for the reduction of a refractory and warlike zemindar, Bagwunt Sing, who had an army of 20,000 horse and foot, and held two strongholds round Bijighur and Sasni, the former a fort on a very lofty mountain, the first approach to which was by a high arched gate between two massive round towers. Both places are in the province of Agra. A premature assault upon Sasni was repulsed; but both were captured when the campaign against Bagwunt was opened by the Commander-in-chief in person; and in March, 1802, the whole settlement being complete, the board of commissioners was dissolved, and Mr. Henry Wellesley returned to England, and in 1828 was created Lord Cowley.

One of the new measures taken by the Marquis of Wellesley to give additional strength to the government of India, was the diplomatic mission undertaken by Captain John Malcolm to Persia, whither no such official, as an ambassador, had been since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The object was to enter into political and commercial treaties with the Shah, by which the general interests of Britain might be promoted, and at the same time lure him to make such a diversion in Cabul as would give Zemaun Shah sufficient occupation to relinquish his plans for conquest in India. This mission the distinguished soldier and diplomat conducted with his usual ability; and Malcolm has left to the literary world an account of his mission, which has acquired considerable celebrity. He returned to Bombay in 1801, and was appointed private secretary to the Governor-General, who stated to the Secret Committee that "he had succeeded in establishing a connection with the actual government of the Persian empire, which promised to British natives in India political advantages of the most important description." In January, 1802, Sir John Malcolm was promoted to the rank of major, and on the death of the Persian ambassador, who was accidentally shot at Bombay, he was again sent to Persia, to make the necessary arrangements for the removal of the embassy.*

The operations of the French in Egypt induced the Governor-General to form a treaty with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, and as a result of which 1,100 British infantry were added to the garrison of that place, under Major-General Sir William Clarke, Bart., a distinguished Indian officer, who died at Seringapatam in 1808.

One of the foreign measures projected by the Marquis of Wellesley, was an expedition against the Mauritius, where the French privateers had always found a safe asylum since the commencement of the war. With this view an armament was fitted out in 1800, and reached the harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, where the British troops were then under the command of General Macdowall, who was drowned at sea eight years afterwards when on his way home. There Wellesley had orders to await the coming of Admiral Rainier, commanding our squadron, twenty sail, in the Indian Seas; but a strange crotchet on the part of that officer frustrated the expedition. He conceived that without the express orders of the king, the Marquis of Wellesley had no right to engage in it. He refused all co-operation, and ere his scruples could be overcome, the troops designed for the Mauritius were required elsewhere. This was the famous expedition from Bombay to Egypt, to co-operate with the British army, then warring victoriously with the French in that country.

On reading the despatch which contained the orders for this movement, Arthur Wellesley, aware

* "Scottish Biographical Dictionary."

that his was the only disposable force in India, without orders or instructions, proceeded with his usual promptitude, to remove the troops under his command from Ceylon to Bombay, where they would be some thousand miles nearer Egypt and the Red Sea; but on arriving at Bombay he found that the expedition was to be entrusted to a senior officer, Major-General Sir David Baird, to whom he frankly gave a copy of certain suggestive memoranda on the operations to be pursued for the purpose of getting possession of the forts and ports possessed by the French on the shores of the Red Sea, and for the encouragement of the Arabs and Mamelukes, &c.*

The troops embarked were in a high state of discipline, and consisted of H.M. 10th and 61st Regiments, with strong detachments from the 80th, 86th, and 88th Regiments; the 1st Battalion of the 1st Bombay Europeans; and the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Native Infantry, with a portion of the Bengal Volunteers; in all, only 5,227 rank and file, exclusive of Lascars and camp-followers. The French were still at Cairo, and held Gaza, with other strong places. They had landed in Egypt, full of hope to push on and expel us from India, and thus little expected that British troops would come from that quarter of the world to aid in driving them back to Europe.

Some time prior to this event, an overland despatch had reached Admiral Rainier, informing him that the French, for the invasion of India, intended setting up the frames of ships of war at Suez, previously prepared in France; to investigate the truth of this, the *Centurion*, 50 guns, Captain J. S. Rainier, was sent to that point with the brig *Albatross*. These were the first British vessels of war that had ever visited the head of the Red Sea. On returning, Captain Rainier found Admiral Blanket at Mocha with the *Leopard* of 50 guns, the *Dædalus*, 32, and the *Orestes* of 18; and much local knowledge having been gained by this voyage, the admiral was sent to convey the Indian army under Sir David Baird, who arrived with it at Jedda, on the east coast of the Red Sea, on the 18th of May, 1801. The death of Admiral Blanket left the direction of the naval forces to the able management of Sir Home Popham, but the squadron was no less than three months in working up to Suez.† At Jedda, Sir David was joined by about 2,000 men from the Cape, and the united force proceeded northwards to Cosseir, in Upper Egypt, a town almost destitute of water. Intelligence had been received that hostilities were still raging, and that Sir Ralph Abercromby had been victorious, but at the loss of his own life. Baird now commenced his march across the desert (that lies between the Red Sea and the Nile), the surface of which is covered with fine sand, composed of quartz and limestone, agate and flint. The Connaught Rangers "formed the van of Sir David Baird's army, preceding the rest of the troops a day's march, and were thus the first British regiment to tread this dangerous route."‡ Captain Brenton says that many soldiers perished of thirst in the desert; but without serious loss the march was accomplished to Kenna, where the whole force, after being taken down the Nile in boats, assembled, on the 27th of August, at the Isle of Rhoda, in full expectation to participate in the capture of Alexandria.

We are told that our Hindoo sepoys, on beholding the ancient temples and sculptures of Egypt, were forcibly struck by the many traits of resemblance the effigies thereon bore to themselves; for, after an interval of 3,000 years, they fancied that they were in some respects like the Egyptians had been.

On reaching Rosetta, intelligence came that General Menou, who, on Bonaparte's departure assumed the chief command of the French army, had capitulated to Lord Hutchinson. Hostilities consequently ceased in Egypt, and shortly afterwards the brief Peace of Amiens was proclaimed. The Indian army had thus no opportunity of gaining any laurels in the field; but the expedition itself, and the march across the desert, are well entitled to commemoration in Indian history. The troops returned under the command of Sir David Baird, all save the 88th Regiment, which was sent, with a view to its reduction, to Portsmouth.‖

In 1801, the Body Guard of the Governor of Madras, a very select corps of men, led by Captain James Grant, was actively employed against the Polygars, a warlike race, who inhabit the southern part of the Madras territory. "There are, indeed," says Sir John Malcolm, "few examples of a more desperate and successful charge than was made during that service by this small corps, upon a phalanx of resolute pikemen more than double its own numbers." Captain Grant, when the service was over, erected tombs over some of his bravest men who had fallen. "A constant lamp is kept in them, which is supported by a trifling monthly donation from every man in the Body Guard, and

* "Wellington Despatches," 9th April, 1801.

† Brenton's "Naval History."

‡ "Rec. 88th Regiment."

‖ Wilson and Walsh: "Histories of the Expedition to Egypt;" "Mémoires," &c., of L. A. Comte de Noe, then a Lieutenant in H.M. 10th Foot.

the noble spirit of the corps is perpetuated by the contemplation of these regimental shrines—for such they may be termed—of heroic valour."*

Though the Red Sea expedition had cost considerable exertion and expense, the Marquis of Wellesley found means for sending other troops to Ceylon, where their presence was very much wanted, as the Cingalese, in the heart of the island, the Kandyans, and a race among them called the Vedahs, who live in the inaccessible forests of Bintan, behind Batticola, were in fact, masters of the country, save some strips along the sea-coast, and frequently proved desperate and dangerous enemies to all British settlers. For a time those settlements which the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese, and we, in turn, from the Dutch, were allowed to form an appendage of the Madras Presidency, and the Company had resolved that they were to exert the same right of sovereignty over Ceylon as they did in India; but the government of Mr. Pitt placed the island under the direct administration of the Crown. Great discontent was felt at this by the Anglo-Indians, as Ceylon is only separated from the Coromandel coast by a narrow strip of sea, as a close intercourse, of necessity, existed between the island and Madras, and as the troops of the Company had been chiefly occupied in the reduction of it. While the government of the peninsula of Hindostan was left to the Company, the annexation of Ceylon to the Crown seemed to the Marquis of Wellesley to be dividing and confusing powers that were already confused and divided enough; and on this subject he wrote thus to Henry Dundas, on the 10th of May, 1801:—

"Whatever may be the nature of the government which the wisdom of Parliament may permanently establish for India, I hold two principles to be indispensable for its permanent efficiency and vigour: First, that every part of the empire in India, insular as well as continental, shall be subject to the general control of our undivided authority, which shall possess energy in peace to maintain order, connection, and harmony between all the dispersed branches of our numerous and various subjects; and in war to direct every spring of action to similar and corresponding movements, to concentrate every resource in an united effort, and, by systematic subordination, to diffuse such a spirit of alacrity and promptitude to the remotest extremities of the empire, as shall secure the co-operation of every part in any exigency, which may demand the collective strength of the whole. Secondly, the constitution of every branch of the empire should be similar and uniform, and, above all, that no subordinate part be so constituted as in any respect to hold a rivalry of dignity, even in form, with the supreme power."†

Maintaining that Ceylon—the ancient name of which means the "Country of Lions," though none have ever been seen there in modern times—was manifestly a dependency on our Indian empire, the marquis vehemently urged, that as Parliament had vested in him and the Council, subject to the Board of Control, the sole power of making war against any of the native powers, he should possess the same privilege with regard to Ceylon; that Parliament had undoubtedly contemplated a unity of government in India for the purposes of peace or war; and that under this new constitution for that island, the system established for the general government of India had been interfered with, as the Royal governor of Ceylon had the power of signing treaties and conducting all the military organisation of Ceylon, without having that requisite for furnishing either men or money, beyond the fixed establishment of the island.

But all the representations of the marquis to the home government were made in vain, and that island, one of the most beautiful in the Indian seas, famed alike for its pearl fishery and its wonderful fertility, continued to be separated, and to be often very indifferently governed. The wars against the Cingalese were ill-conducted; and more than once severe reverses were sustained by our troops, on occasions to be related in their place.

The Nabob of Surat—that large and populous city in Goojerat, from whence the Mohammedan pilgrims were often conveyed to Mecca at the expense of our government—had long owed his political existence to the presidency of Bombay, which had garrisoned his castle of Surat, and had, by men and money, sustained and defended him. Even before Wellesley assumed the government of India, the arrears of the debt of this personage, Nazim-ud-Deen, had assumed such a magnitude that the Court of Directors angrily demanded that he should disband his mutinous and undisciplined troops, and assign to the Company a subsidy to maintain their battalions of regular sepoys. Before any settlement was made, Nazim died, leaving an infant son, Nazir-ud-Deen, who died a few weeks after. On this, there arose a fierce dispute among many claimants for the succession, and, but for our troops in the castle, a civil war would have ensued. Under the mixed rule of the nabob and the

* "Narrative of the Native Army."

† "Wellesley's Indian Despatches."

Company, the country had been kept in a poor and helpless condition, and the people had often called loudly for the protection of the latter against their native rulers, for the security of trade and property. Though sunk from its ancient magnificence, and the strength it possessed in the days of the Mogul Emperor Ackbar, Surat was still one of the most populous of Indian cities. It was inhabited by Mussulmans, Hindoos, Jews, Armenians, and Parsees, who had settled there in great numbers when driven from Persia in the seventh century. There they intermarry only with each other, and retain all their ancient customs and prejudices—the repugnance to extinguish fire, and the exposure of their dead in the Towers of Silence, to be eaten by the birds.

To check the fanatical ebullitions of creeds and castes so varied, had far exceeded the power of the nabob, and for years Surat had been the centre of religious hates, anarchy, and assassination. In 1795, the Mohammedans and Hindoos waged a bloody strife with each other in the streets, committing the while every possible atrocity upon their more peaceful fellow-citizens, on whose trade the prosperity of Surat mainly depended. There were neither taxes levied nor port duties collected; there was neither police nor law; so, to finally end this state of matters, on the 10th of March, 1800, the best of the claimants was set aside, with an annual pension of £12,500, the revenues of Surat were assumed by the Company, and the change was felt to be universally a blessing to the people. Under judicious management the adjacent country, which had been overrun by a ferocious banditti, was cleared and quieted; and although the city, owing to the rivalry of Bombay, can never attain its former splendour, still it is a rich place, and of great political consequence. Law and police were fully established, "and now the Hindoo performs his religious rites, and kneels in his pagoda; the Mussulman calls to prayers from the minaret, and prays in his mosque; the Parsee—the disciple of Zoroaster—worships the Almighty power in the rising and the setting sun, without shedding each other's blood. The Borus—a mysterious sect, supposed by some to be a remnant of the old tribe of Assassins, of whom, and its chief, the Old Man of the Mountain, so much was heard in Europe during the Crusades—and the Parsees, who had been the most obnoxious of all other sects, and most frequently persecuted, are now the most thriving people in the country, and possess between them the proprietorship of most of the houses in Surat."

The last shots in the war that was ended by the Treaty of Amiens, were fired in the Indian Archipelago.

Ignorant of that event, Captain (afterwards Sir G. R.) Collier, in the *Victor* sloop of war, when cruising off the Isle of Diego Garcia, in September, 1801, fell in with the French corvette, *La Flèche*, and, like a true British sailor, brought her at once to close action. The enemy sailed better than the *Victor* on a wind, but not so well when going large, and having disabled the rigging of the latter, obtained a favourable position and escaped. Captain Collier determined not to quit his foe; judging that she must be bound for the Mahé Islands, he steered for them, and there came in sight of her, as she lay in a secure and intricate anchorage. The officers of the *Victor* sounded the channel, even under the fire of the French corvette, and Captain Collier, having ascertained the true depth of water, worked his ship in under a raking fire, until he came near enough to anchor with springs upon his cable, by which he brought his whole broadside to bear; and in two hours and a half he sunk *La Flèche* at her anchors, without having a single man killed or wounded, a result which could hardly have been anticipated. The corvette carried 20 guns, with 172 men; but the *Victor* was a vessel of very inferior form.*

CHAPTER LXX.

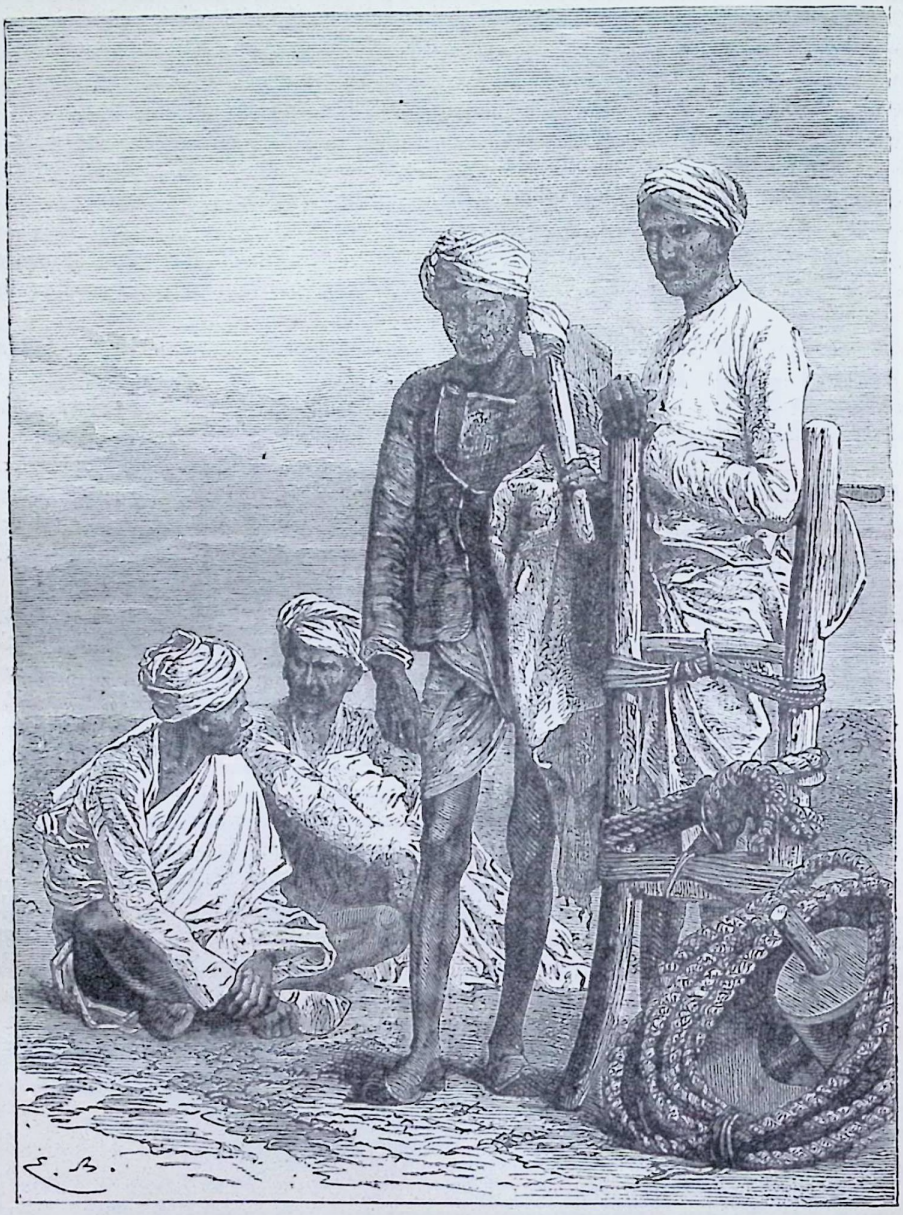
A NEW MAHRATTA WAR—THE BATTLE OF ASSAYE—TRUCE WITH SCINDIA.

THE troubles with the Polygars, in the districts ceded to us by the Nizam, extended into 1802. They were serious in Adoni, in that portion of the Balaghaut territories on the southern side of the Tumbudra river.

A strong garrison of these occupied the fort of Kurnal, capital of a district of the same name southward of the river. In December, 1801, it was attacked by our troops, under Major-General Dugald

* Brenton.

Campbell, who brought from Gooty in addition to his light field-guns, only three pieces of cannon, 12- and 9-pounders, which the garrison of that place brought down for him, with incredible exertion, from the summit of the steep rock which it crowns—a rock encircled by fourteen gradations of walls, and reducible only by force or treachery. The Polygars in Kurnal had murdered some Brahmin collectors—a crime of additional magnitude, from the circumstance that the latter were sacred characters. The guns were all in battery, and opened against the place on the last day of December, and a practicable breach was effected in the lower wall by those with the 73rd Highlanders, worked under a Lieutenant Fitcher. Another was effected by Captain Crosdill of the Artillery, wide enough for the admission of a whole company, so, about three in the afternoon, the stormers were ordered out. Those for the north-west breach, under Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, seconded by Major Strachan, consisted of four companies of the 73rd Highlanders, a company of the 4th Regiment, and four of the 12th Native



PEASANTS OF THE DOAB.

Infantry, supported by forty dismounted Volunteers of H.M. 25th Dragoons, under Lieutenant Maclean. Those for the eastern breach were under Captain Robert Munro, and consisted of three companies of the 73rd Highlanders, the flank companies of the 4th, and two of the 15th Native Infantry.

At a quarter before four o'clock the troops were ordered to advance, and did so with such rapidity, that in thirty minutes they were masters of the place. wounded. There were sixty-five casualties in the 73rd Highlanders, exclusive of Major Macdonald and Lieutenant Thomson, wounded.*

On January 1, 1802, the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, intimating an intention of resigning at the close of the year. He gave no reasons; but it has been supposed that he was chiefly influenced by some secret misunderstanding between the Directors and



HINDOO TEMPLES IN POONAH.

"The rebels," reported General Campbell, "have quitted the works and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves; most of them, however, were killed, and of those who fled, but very few, if any, escaped the cavalry who surrounded the fort. To the honour of the troops, I must beg leave to add that every woman and child was spared; only two of the former, and none of the latter, having fallen, even from accidental shot."

The killedar of the fort was hanged, and Adoni rendered tranquil; but in the attack on this place, and on Bellary, many were killed and himself, though all the earlier acts of his administration, especially the conquest of Mysore, had met with their utmost applause. The marquis did not state openly his reasons for wishing to resign; but in a letter to Mr. Henry Addington (afterwards Viscount Sidmouth), then Secretary of State, he privately gave a list of some of his grievances. It would seem that some of his appointments to office had been commented on and even rescinded; that of his brother Henry to be commissioner at Mysore, had been considered inconsistent with the parliamentary Act, which reserved all such offices to the

* *London Gazette*, 1802.

covenanted servants of the Company; while the emoluments allowed to his other brother, Colonel Wellesley, as governor of the conquered province, were cut down as extravagant; and even his erection of the college at Fort William—a project on which he had long set his heart—failed to meet with perfect approval. Though differing from him on some material points, the Court of Directors were well aware how difficult it might be to supply his place. They eventually expressed their high sense of all he had done for their interests, of the talents which he had displayed, and concluded by begging him to remain in office for at least another year; and with this request he complied, influenced, not so much by the flattering nature of it, as by the menacing aspect our affairs were fast assuming in India.

By their spies and agents, the French ministry were well aware of all the Governor-General did in India, and with what suspicions he viewed them. They knew of the Persian embassy, the treaty with the Viceroy of Goa, of the good understanding with the Pasha of Bagdad; and the great delay manifested by the French in signing the definitive treaty of peace (which was not done until the 27th of March, 1802), confirmed the British in India, as well as at home, in the conviction, that the terms of that famous document of Amiens would come to nothing ere long; and their suspicions were but too well grounded. In October, Bonaparte, then elected First Consul for life, addressed the Helvetic Republic in terms there could be no mistaking, and which were sufficiently alarming to us. "The First Consul plainly desired to control the Swiss nation in the exercise of its independent rights, and indicated that the system of propagandism and aggression, which the French had professed to give up, was still their policy. Lord Hawkesbury wrote to the French ambassador, M. Otto, that the British Government would not surrender such conquests as might have passed to France and Holland under the articles of the late treaty of peace, of which the conduct of the First Consul to the Helvetic Republic was considered a violation. Lord Hawkesbury also sent instructions to the Marquis of Wellesley, in accordance with his communication to M. Otto; and on receipt of this intelligence, the Governor-General regulated all his proceedings upon the assumed certainty of a war with France and Holland."

Moreover, ever since his arrival in India, the imminence of a Mahratta war had been but too apparent to him. By the aid of France they had attained a degree of efficiency in arms, and a height of military power, incompatible with the tranquil existence of other states, and which we would soon have found fraught with peril to ourselves, could Bonaparte, by any means, have sent an armament to India; and that did not seem an impossible event, until the memorable day when Nelson destroyed the fleets of France and Spain off Trafalgar.

Having marked the Nizam for their prey, the Mahratta chiefs were alike disappointed and offended by the treaty, which dissolved all his relations with their French friends, and placed him entirely under the protection of the Company; and still more were they offended, when they found that treaty followed by another, in October, 1800, which established an absolute identity of interest between the contracting parties, and made the Nizam less the ally, than the positive vassal of the Company.

Scindia, the great Mahratta chief, rejecting all our offers of friendship, kept his sovereign, the Peishwa, in a state of almost bondage, through the power he possessed in the military force disciplined by General Perron. Not satisfied with the vast local power he had attained, Scindia made war upon the Peishwa, and aided by Perron's battalions and a great park of artillery, drove him out of Poonah. Escaping to the coast, the dethroned sovereign applied to the British for assistance, and placed himself under their protection; and the Governor-General found that now the time had come for breaking the great military confederation of the Mahratta chiefs.

In view he had three chief objects: to restore to his throne the peacefully-disposed and somewhat friendly Peishwa; to disperse or drive out of India Perron's battalions, with all their French officers; and to dissipate Scindia's high hopes and great plans of future power and aggrandisement, which bade fair to disturb all Hindostan. From Malwa and elsewhere great bodies of robbers, and all kinds of broken and lawless men, had been pouring into Poonah, for enrolment under Scindia's banners, and to them he was liberal in his promises of pay and plunder. As it was certain that these mustering hordes would not limit their operations to the circuit of the Mahratta States, but would soon, by want on the one hand and ambition on the other, be lured or impelled to invade British territories, or those of our allies, policy required a perfect readiness for the coming war. The Rajah of Berar, to add to the future peril, united his numerous forces to those of Scindia, with whom the other Hindoo chiefs prepared to make common cause, and all this conduced to bring French intrigue upon the scene, and invite the hostile

influence of Bonaparte, as the Peace of Amiens permitted the French to visit India, and renew their old connections with our enemies.

Aware that the hollow peace would be of brief duration, and would but serve to mature French plans for giving trouble in India, the Marquis of Wellesley resolved to be ready for the worst. "If Scindia were allowed to establish a complete ascendency over the Mahratta empire, from the banks of the Ganges to the Sea of Malabar—and this he would have done, had he been left unmolested—there could be little doubt in the mind of any man acquainted with the constitution of the army of that chief, and the influence and authority of the French officers by whom it was commanded, that the French nation might in a very few years aid him in the consolidation of a military power which would have struck at the very existence of the British government in India. Scindia, and his father before him, had owed their power to French officers, to French arms, and to French counsels. The present ruler was so familiarised to their systems, manners, and feelings, as to be almost half a Frenchman himself."

The Marquis of Wellesley lost no time in making the preparations necessary to re-establish the Peishwa at Poonah. When entreating our assistance, the latter had engaged to receive a subsidiary British force, and to assign for its subsistence, territories that yielded an annual value of twenty-six lacs of rupees. At the same time, he engaged to identify all his interests with ours, and to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, on the basis of the Treaty of Hyderabad, concluded between the Governor-General and the Nizam of the Deccan.

On the 31st of December, 1802, the Treaty of Bassein was finally concluded with the Peishwa, who, after his flight from Poonah to Rewadunda, had been landed there by a British ship. By that document, he renounced all claims to Surat and to other districts in Goojerat, which had been annexed by the Company; he agreed to abide by the arbitration of the latter, in all its, as yet, unsettled disputes with the Nizam; he agreed to dismiss from his service all Europeans who were hostile to British interests, or who were discovered carrying on political intrigues. In return for all this, he was to be furnished, as stipulated with Colonel Barry Close, with six battalions of native infantry, and the necessary complement of field-pieces, to be served by European gunners. These troops were "to be at all times ready for such services as the due correction of his Highness's subjects and dependants, and the overawing and chastising of rebels, or exciters of disturbance;" but the Company were "to have no concern with any of his Highness's children, relatives, subjects, or servants; with respect to whom his Highness is absolute." This treaty was confirmed by the marquis on the 11th February, 1803.

As, by the Treaty of Amiens, Pondicherry had been again most unwisely restored to the French, the officers of that nation soon made it the centre and hot-bed of political intrigue, and in their vanity they betrayed alike their own wishes and the intentions of the ruler. These were fully developed in a work published by M. Lefebre, an officer on the staff at Pondicherry, who indicated the possibility of a French army reaching India by the way of Egypt and the Red Sea; and his scheme is not without interest, even at the present day. "While the British would be directing all their attention to defeat the advance of this armament from the west, one secret expedition could be prepared to proceed from Spain, by the way of Mexico, to Manila; and another secret expedition, to be provided by the Dutch, could proceed, by the Cape of Good Hope, to the Spanish islands in the Indian Ocean, and from thence to Trincomalee in Ceylon, a port of the greatest importance to the British navy. It was calculated that these three joint expeditions, aided by the Mahrattas and other native powers inimical to us, must inflict an irreparable blow on the interests of Great Britain in India; and that, if these interests were once destroyed, the invasion and conquest of England would be easy achievements. According to M. Lefebre's project, the French and their auxiliaries, on arriving in Hindostan, were to declare that they came to give liberty and independence to the native princes, to liberate the Great Mogul from thraldom, and reconstruct the once magnificent empire of Timour." A copy of M. Lefebre's work was placed in the hands of the Marquis of Wellesley.

As the first movement towards dissipating all these grand visions, immediately after the ratification of the Treaty of Bassein, on the 25th of March, 1803, Colonel Stevenson, at the head of the Nizam's subsidiary force and two regiments of native cavalry—in all only 8,000 men—accompanied by 15,000 of the troops of the Deccan, took up a position at Parinda, on the Peishwa's frontier, about a hundred miles eastward of Poonah, while, at the same time, Arthur Wellesley, now a Major-General, arrived on the northern frontier of Mysore, at the head of 8,000 infantry and 1,700 horse.

On reaching the Kistnah he was joined by several

Mahratta jaghiredars, who were in the interest of the Mahrattas, and began his march for Poonah; from which the troops of Jeswunt Rao Holkar fell back quickly at his approach. But learning that the latter had left a detachment there with orders to burn the city, Wellesley dashed forward at the head of the cavalry on the 20th of April, and took it without opposition, thus initiating the new Mahratta war. The rapid mode in which "the Great Duke" of future fields moved his troops from place to place, was a new feature in Indian campaigns.

"We marched to Poonah from Seringapatam," he wrote, "the distance being nearly 600 miles, in the worst season of the year, through a country which had been destroyed by Holkar's army, with heavy guns, at the rate, upon an average, of 13½ miles a day; and, if the twelve days which we halted on the Tumbudra for orders be excluded, we arrived at Poonah in two months from the time we marched. On this march we lost no draught-cattle. I remained in the neighbourhood of Poonah, in a country which deserves the name of a desert, for six weeks, and then marched again, with the train in the same state, as to numbers, as when it left Seringapatam, and the troops and cattle were in the field during the monsoon."*

Colonel Stevenson, whose co-operation was no longer required, now moved towards the Godavery to protect the country from Holkar's marauding parties; and on the 13th of May, the Peishwa entered Poonah, and was again seated on the throne, amid general rejoicings. Though the professions of Scindia, who was then encamped on the Nizam's frontier at Boorhanpoor, were still friendly, he protested, through his ministers, on the advance of the British to Poonah, and was busily engaged with Ragojee Bhonsla, of Berar, in preparing for war against us. It was now distinctly understood that he had made overtures to Holkar, with a view to strengthening the general Mahratta confederacy. He was, therefore, requested to retire from the menacing position he had assumed on the Nizam's frontier, or give some proof of friendly intentions; but, as the most effectual means of solving all this, General Wellesley marched to the northward of Poonah, so as to have daily communication with him, and, if necessary, to form a junction with the column of Colonel Stevenson. The terms of the Treaty of Bassein were laid before Scindia, by our Resident at his court, on the 27th of May, and when pressed as to his intentions, he declined all explanation, and closed the conference by saying, haughtily, "After my interview with the Rajah of Berar you shall be informed whether it shall be peace or war."

As the latter seemed inevitable now, the Governor-General vested General Wellesley and General Lord Lake, the commanders of the armies of the Deccan and of Hindostan, with ample military, political, and civil powers. The former was, if possible, to negotiate with Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, with a view to breaking up or weakening the confederation. Should they decline, he was to draw the sword at once, and never sheathe it till the hostile chiefs were rendered incapable of further mischief. The instructions for Lord Lake were, that if war ensued, he was to complete the destruction of the power which the French were establishing in Hindostan by means of Scindia's brigades under General Perron, and to occupy the whole of the Doab and of Bundelcund, capturing Delhi and Agra, and establishing a chain of fortified posts on the right bank of the Jumna. As in the past days of Warren Hastings, vast tracts of country were to be traversed by our troops; but combined movements were to be executed with greater precision and rapidity, while their leaders, untrammelled, could fight, or use diplomacy, as they chose.

On the 14th of July, General Wellesley wrote to Scindia, drawing the attention of that chief to the friendly tenor of the Treaty of Bassein, and to the hostile intentions displayed openly by the Mahratta leaders. He concluded by requesting him to withdraw his forces from those of the Rajah of Berar, and re-cross the Nerbudda. On this being done, the British troops would fall back to their former posts; but, on the 18th, Wellesley was made aware of the powers conferred on himself and Lord Lake by the marquis. These he communicated at once to Scindia, who seemed at first disposed to yield, but, after a final conference with the rajah, he wrote to say, that they were within their own territories, and would promise neither to pass the Adjunta Hills nor march to Bonah; adding, that they had no intention of interfering with the arrangements made under the Treaty of Bassein.

Dissatisfied with all this, General Wellesley prepared to commence hostilities by an attack on Ahmednuggur, a city and fortress in the province of Aurungabad, situated in an extensive plain watered by the Soona, and which had been seized by the Mahrattas, after the death of Aurungzebe. The pettah, which had a lofty wall flanked with towers, but without battlements, was garrisoned by a body of Arabs, supported by one of Scindia's regular battalions of infantry, while a column of horse lay between it and the fortress. "It is, in fact," wrote General Wellesley, "the strongest fort I have

* "Wellington Despatches."

seen, excepting Vellore in the Carnatic, has an excellent ditch, and cannot be surprised. It covers Poonah and the Nizam's frontier south of the Godavery; the possession of it gives us an excellent depôt, cuts Scindia off from all connection with the southern chiefs, and has given us possession of all his territories south of the Godavery." *

On the night of the 9th of June, he broke ground before it; a vigorous resistance was offered by the enemy, who, after the wall was forced, retired into the houses, from whence they kept up a destructive fire. However, it was taken in a few hours. On the following day a four-gun battery was formed at 400 yards' distance from the fort. At daylight in the morning, it was opened with such sharp effect, that the killedar offered to capitulate, on the garrison being permitted to march off with all their property; which was acceded to. The possession of this place proved of great importance, from its position, and the facilities it afforded as a basis for future operations. Scindia, when writing of this exploit, remarked:—"The English are, truly, a wonderful people, and their general is a wonderful general. They came, looked at the pettah, walked over it, slew the garrison, and returned to breakfast. Who can withstand them?"

Scindia, who had an immense force of irregular cavalry, and whose infantry were very lightly equipped, carried no magazines with him, as these troops lived only by plunder. Dreading alike the name of Wellesley and the high discipline of his small army, he thought only of maintaining a predatory warfare, and wearing out ours by incessant marches and desultory attacks.

General Wellesley now crossed the Godavery on the 24th of August, while Colonel Stevenson moved in the direction of Aurungabad. Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were also in motion. Issuing through the Adjunta Pass, they marched eastward and seized Jaulna in the Deccan; but finding that Wellesley had reached Aurungabad, within forty miles of them, on the 29th, they wheeled suddenly to the south-east, as if intending to make a dash at the city of Hyderabad, when the death of Nizam Ali, on the 6th of September, and the succession of his son, Secunder Jah, were supposed to favour the expedition. To prevent this, to bring them to a general action, or force them to retreat, Wellesley followed closely, and compelled them to take up a position at Jaulna, the fortress of which had been reduced on the 2nd by Colonel Stevenson.

On the 21st, the whole Mahratta army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Jafferabad, twenty-two miles south of Jaulna, while Wellesley and Stevenson had formed a junction ten miles to the westward at Budnapore: thus a decisive battle was confidently anticipated. Wellesley's plan was to move in two divisions, and to make a united attack upon the enemy on the morning of the 24th. Two days before this they separated, Wellesley taking the eastern route, and the colonel the western. On the 23rd, when about to encamp at Naulnye, the former learned from his *harcarrahs*, or spies, that the Mahrattas were within six miles of him, on the banks of the Kaitna, a river in the province of Berar. The resolution of Wellesley was instantly taken. He feared that in another day they might send off their infantry, and leave their cavalry to protract the usual desultory warfare; and as he was anxious to avoid this, he pushed on, at the head of his own division, to force them to battle, without waiting for Colonel Stevenson, though the disparity in numbers was rendered greater by the necessity for leaving a strong baggage guard at Naulnye.

At the head of the advanced pickets, Wellesley rode out to reconnoitre, and, on ascending an eminence, he saw the army of the Mahrattas extended along the north bank of the Kaitna (or Kailna), in rear of the rapid, and, as it was supposed to be, unfordable stream, within the delta formed by its junction with the Juah. Their right, posted westward, near the village of Bokerdun, consisted entirely of cavalry, and was protected by the lofty and rocky bank of the river, which, save in one or two places, was impassable for guns; their left, consisting of the infantry and artillery, was placed more immediately within the delta, and close to the fortified village of Assaye, the name of which was given to the battle that ensued. The keen Wellesley saw, that, though the position was admirably calculated for resistance, it left, if forced, no means of retreat, and hence his confident exclamation, after his reconnoissance, "They cannot escape me!" As his troops had previously marched fourteen miles to Naulnye, and when they were still six miles distant from the enemy, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before they could get into position.

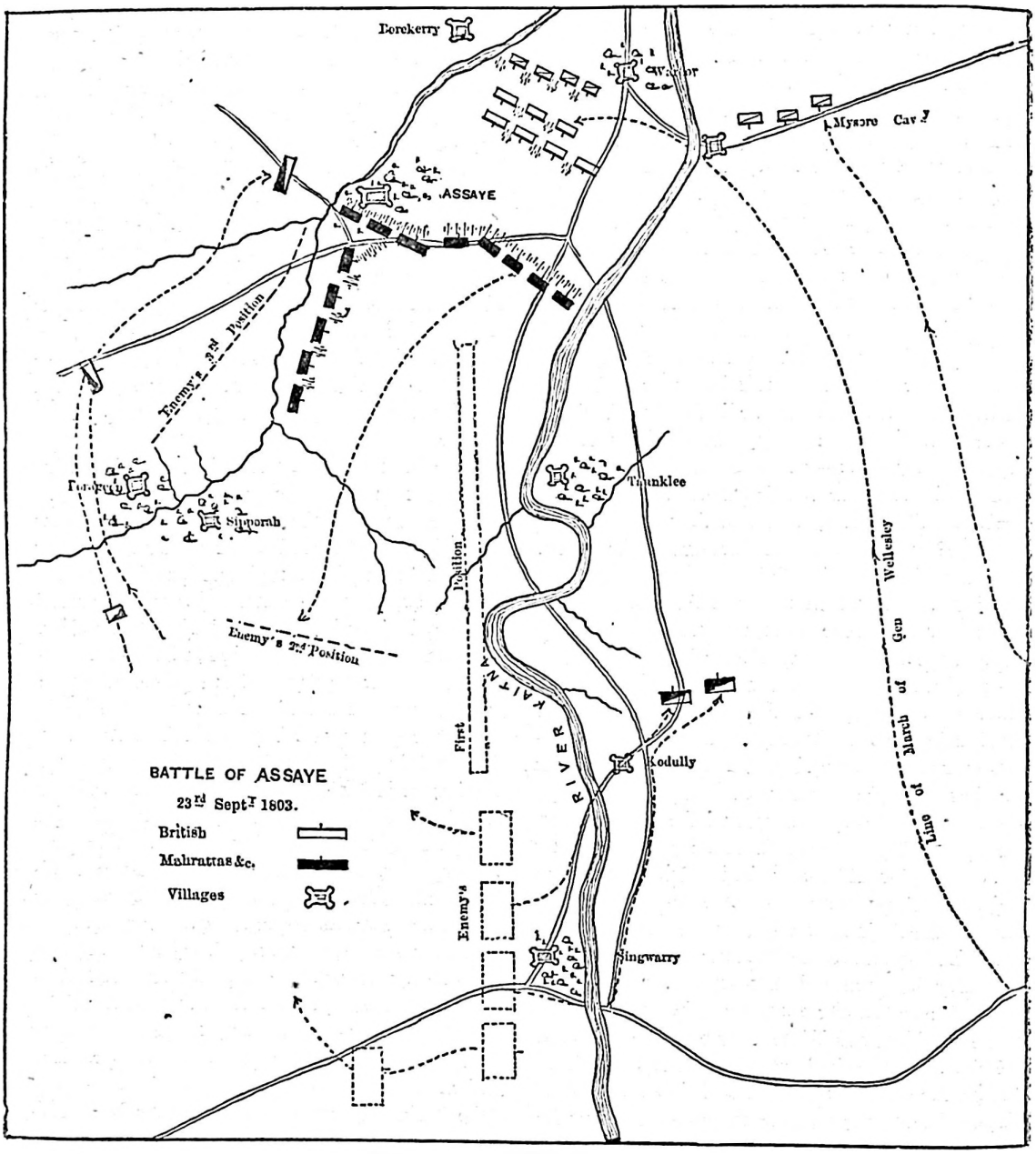
The Mahratta forces at Assaye have been estimated variously. Thorn states them thus:—Pohlman's division of sixteen infantry battalions, 6,000 strong; the brigade of Dupont, 2,500; the four battalions of the Begum Sumroo (a dancing girl, who married the infamous perpetrator of the Patna massacre) amounting to 2,000. The irregular infantry of Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, are supposed to have been as many more. The cavalry were 30,000 strong, and there were 100

* "Wellington Despatches."

pieces of cannon, served by gunners disciplined on the French system.*

The force under Wellesley, as given by the same authority, was 1,200 cavalry, European and native;

The total strength of the enemy is supposed to have been 55,000 men. When the British arrived on the position, they were on the south side of the river, and on the enemy's right. To have attacked



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF ASSAYE.

2,000 sepoys, and 1,300 European infantry, consisting of the 74th and 78th Highland Regiments, with the artillery, constituting a force of only 4,500. The cavalry of the restored Peishwa and of the Rajah of Mysore were 3,000 strong.

* Thorn.

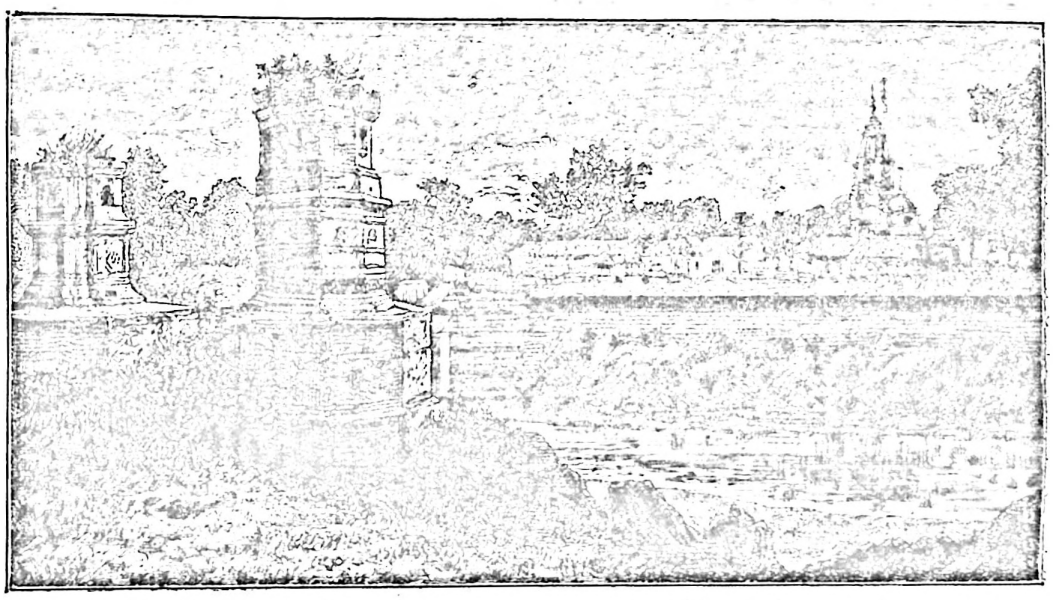
them from this point would have been to encounter their cavalry alone, while the great object of Wellesley was the capture or destruction of the infantry and guns. Moving eastward, till beyond the enemy's left, the general leading the way at the head of the two Highland regiments, boldly forded the Kaitna,

near the village of Pepalgaon, and thus possessing himself of the acute angle of the delta, drew up his troops in two lines, with the cavalry in rear as a reserve. Those of the Peishwa and Mysore were on the left, to check the movements of the Mahratta horse, who had followed the British while taking ground to the east. Wellesley had received secret intelligence that the Peishwa's cavalry intended to desert to Scindia: thus he placed them where they could do least mischief.

His first line consisted of the advanced pickets to the right, two battalions of sepoys, and the 78th Highlanders; the second consisted of the 74th Highlanders and two battalions of sepoys; in rear were H.M. 19th Light Dragoons, with three equally slender regiments of native cavalry. General Welsh states, that the Mahrattas had hoped to have attacked and defeated the divisions of Wellesley and Stevenson in succession; but when they saw only one coming to assail them, they thought the British mad.*

The battle began by the latter being cannonaded as they crossed the Kaitna. Previous to this movement, the guns and infantry of the Mahrattas had been posted along the river's northern bank; but as soon as it was found that their left was the point to be assailed they changed their front. One line was formed from south to north between the river, so as to face the advancing British, and another *en potence* to it, at right angles from Assaye westward, along the south bank of the Juah.†

Under cover of their artillery, only seventeen pieces, the troops pushed on, but owing to the tremendous cannonade of the enemy, who poured in grape and shell, the loss in men and bullocks was such that the guns were left behind, and, at the head of the first line, Wellesley led the way against the Mahrattas, who became appalled on beholding the resolute steadiness of the little band about to charge their masses. We are told that shame rather than courage made them hold their ground till the bayonets came flashing down for the charge; but the effect of that was irresistible. The enemy's first line gave way, and, closely pursued, fell back on the second line placed along the Juah. During the struggle, the 74th Highlanders had been so much thinned by the artillery fire from Assaye, that a great column of Mahratta horse ventured to charge, but paid dearly for their presumption. They were met by a counter charge of the 19th Dragoons, led by Colonel P. Maxwell, who drove them into the river with dreadful slaughter. Elsewhere the unfailing bayonets were at work, and the second line of the enemy gave way more rapidly than the first. Dashing through the Juah, our little force of cavalry was following the fugitives, slashing them down on every hand; the infantry were also in eager pursuit, when suddenly a cannonade was heard in their rear.



VIEW OF BARODA.

* "Mil. Reminiscences of Thirty Years."

† Hough's "Mil. Exploits."

Many of the artillerymen of the enemy's first line had flung themselves under their guns, feigning death, no unusual artifice in Asiatic war, and starting up, when passed, opened a fire upon the pursuing British, and with some of the British cannon also. Before this mistake could be retrieved, some of the enemy's battalions, which had been retreating in tolerable order, faced about, while several bodies of their cavalry kept hovering within less than musket-shot. It seemed as if the battle was about to be fought over again, till Wellesley, who, as General Welsh says, "was everywhere," put himself at the head of the Ross-shire Highlanders and 7th Native Cavalry, and cut off the Mahrattas, who had seized the guns. He succeeded, but not without a bloody contest. "At length we drove them off," he reported, "and have taken about sixty pieces of cannon, nearly all brass and of the largest calibre. Their infantry, of which there were three campoos, fought well, and stood by their guns to the last. Their execution, however, was principally by their cannon. Colonel Wallace, Colonel Harness, and I, had horses killed under us. I lost two horses, one piked and one shot, and the staff-officers have lost one or two each." *

In charging the infantry, Colonel Maxwell lost his life. On receiving a musket-ball, which inflicted a mortal wound, in his agony he threw up his arms, and his horse halted. The 19th supposing this to be a signal to fall back, wheeled to the right, and galloped along the line of the enemy's fire. On the mistake being discovered, the squadrons re-formed, and, anxious to redeem their honour, made one of the most desperate cavalry charges ever witnessed, and this ended the conflict; "although, about half-past five, a body of 10,000 cavalry came in sight, and made some demonstrations, but dared not charge, and at eight in the evening they entirely disappeared." †

The battle lasted upwards of three hours. Our total casualties were 1,566, more than a third of all the troops engaged; the enemy left 1,200 dead on the field, and the whole country was covered with their wounded. Though in his first hasty despatch the victor wrote of only sixty guns, we captured ninety-eight, with seven standards, the camp equipage, bullocks, camels, and a vast quantity of stores. In memory of this victory, the 74th and 78th Highland Regiments have the word "Assaye," with an elephant, on their colours.

On the evening of the next day, the 24th September, Colonel Stevenson came in with his division; he was at once dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had fled in the direction of the Adjunta Pass. On the 8th of the next month there came to General Wellesley a letter from Balajee Khoonjur, one of Scindia's ministers, purporting to be written by that chief's authority, requesting that their envoy might be sent to his camp for the negotiation of a peace. But though the writer had no authority to show for this communication, it was not left unanswered; and the general declared his readiness to receive, in his own camp, with every honour, any duly-authorised envoy who came there.

The confederate chiefs, with their defeated army, marched westward, along the bank of the Taptee, with the apparent intention of turning off towards Poonah, and Wellesley resolved to regulate his movements by theirs. The moral influence of the late victory was great. It enabled Colonel Stevenson to capture Boorhanpoor with ease, and also the strong fortress of Aseerghur, which yielded the moment his guns opened on it, on the 21st of October.

The latter was the last place possessed by Scindia in the Deccan. His prospects were becoming gloomy now; thus he was impelled to profess a desire for peace, and for that purpose sent vakeels to the British camp. It is said that General Wellesley was perfectly aware that Scindia only sought to gain time, and with it, strength. He received his envoys with honour, and on the 23rd November a truce was agreed to, of which the principal condition was—"that Scindia should occupy a position forty miles east of Ellichpoor, and that the British should not advance further into his dominions." As the Rajah of Berar was not included in this truce, it was equivalent to a dissolution of the confederacy.

* "Wellington Despatches—Selections."
† Gen. Welsh's "Reminiscences."

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE PROVINCES OF GOOJERAT AND CUTTACK REDUCED—ALLYGHUR STORMED—BATTLE OF DELHI—THE GREAT GUN OF AGRA—BATTLE OF LASWAREE.

As an event so important as this truce with the great Scindia, could scarcely have been produced alone by the short campaign in the Deccan, it will be necessary to account for it by a brief notice of certain military operations, which had been successfully carried on against the confederates elsewhere.

When a war with the Mahrattas had become inevitable, the Governor-General prepared for it on a very extensive scale, and had ready for the field a British force of about 55,000 men. To concentrate in one quarter all this force, so as to enable it to act as one army, was impossible; thus it was broken up, and had to act in separate corps in the Deccan, Hindostan, Goojerat, and Cuttack. We have detailed the operations carried on in the first-named quarter of India, by Wellesley and Stevenson, with about 18,500 men, against the Mahrattas, till the truce with Scindia; and now we shall turn to those which were a species of appendage to that campaign, as the chief command of the whole belonged to Arthur Wellesley.

In Goojerat, the army corps amounted to a few more than 7,000 men, under Colonel Murray, furnished by Bombay. After providing for the safety of Surat, the Guicowar's capital, Baroda, and some other places, its strength was reduced to 4,281, formed in two small brigades. One, consisting of 2,187 men, held its ground in front of Baroda; the other, 2,094 strong, was posted between Surat and Soneghur. Under Colonel Woodington, the former marched, on the 21st of August, against Barsach, a pergunnah of Goojerat, situated in a fertile district, and maintaining still a considerable commerce with Bombay and Surat by the Nerbudda, on which it is situated, some thirty miles above its mouth in the Gulf of Cambay.

The pettah was taken on the 24th; two days later a breaching battery was opened, and an aperture in the wall was declared practicable on the 29th. The assault was delayed till three in the afternoon, for the co-operation of a gun-boat, which, however, was unable, from the shallowness of the water, to approach; yet, after a vigorous resistance from an Arab garrison, the place was stormed, and fell into our possession, with all the district, which yielded a revenue of £110,000 per annum. Colonel Woodington next reduced Champanir, a town almost entirely composed of silk-weavers, and situated on the brow of a hill in Goojerat. He then summoned the adjacent fortress of Powanghur, which consisted of a lower and upper fort, crowning the summit of an immense hill of rugged rock, the north side of which is alone accessible. On the lower works being breached, the killedar lost courage, and capitulated; thus, before the end of September, Scindia had lost the whole province of Goojerat.

On the other side of India, in Orissa, our operations against the Rajah of Berar were equally successful. "Though the whole of Orissa had been included in the grant of the dewannee of it obtained by Clive, the Company had been obliged to rest satisfied with only a portion of it. The district of Cuttack was held by the Mahrattas, who, fully aware of its importance, refused to part with it. Had the Company possessed it, they would have had a continuous line of coast, stretching from the mouths of the Ganges to Madras. The value of such a communication had been long recognised, and negotiations had been repeatedly entered into for the purpose of acquiring it, either by exchange or purchase. The war into which the Rajah of Berar had rashly entered, seemed to afford an opportunity of acquiring it by conquest, and it was accordingly determined to wrest it from him. With this view, the Governor-General, in fixing the localities which were to be the seat of war, allotted an important detachment for Cuttack, which, when held by the enemy, not only enabled him to cut off the land communication with Madras, but brought him into dangerous proximity to Bengal."

The force for this service consisted of 573 Europeans of the Madras army, with a detachment of H.M. 22nd Regiment, together with the following native troops:—1st Battalion, 19th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, 950; 2nd Battalion, 17th Regiment, 378; 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment, 290; 1st Battalion, 9th Regiment, 665; amounting to about 2,383 men, together with some cavalry and artillery.

There were also 500 Bengal Volunteers, with a battering train of four 18-pounders, four 12-pounders, and two howitzers, all of which were landed at Ganjam, forty-five miles southward of Cuttack, in support of the main division, under

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 74th Highlanders. Under Captain Morgan, another detachment of the same strength took possession of the port of Balasore, twenty-five miles from the Subanreeka river, which then formed the boundary between British territory and Cuttack. In the town of Jelasore another detachment of 720 sepoys, with eighty-four of the Governor-General's Body-guard, were assembled, under the command of Colonel Fergusson, to form a junction with our troops in Balasore; and all these advanced corps were to be further supported by a reserve of 400 sepoys, 500 Native Bengal Volunteers, with artillery, assembled at Midnapore. The severe illness of Colonel Campbell caused him to resign the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, of the 12th Regiment, who, on the 14th September, took possession of Mannickpatam, and sent a letter to the principal Brahmins of Juggernaut, recommending them to place that famous sanctuary under the protection of his Majesty's forces, a proposal to which they at once assented, and received a guard of Hindoo sepoys.

The severity of the weather added much to the difficulties the troops had to encounter when on the march, while the enemy hovered in great force on their flanks and rear. Colonel Harcourt continued steadily to advance till the beginning of October, when he found himself before the fort of Barahuttee, and within a mile of Cuttack. The former, a heap of ruins now, was built of red stone, girt by a ditch, thirty feet deep, crossed by a narrow bridge before its only entrance. It was breached and stormed on the 14th by parties from the 22nd Regiment, the Madras Europeans, and native troops, and fully captured, with the loss of only six killed and forty-seven wounded. The reduction of this fort was followed by the entire submission of the province of Cuttack to the British Government. Troops were left to garrison the country, the zemindars of which gave every proof of their loyalty to the Company.

The military operations in Hindostan proper were, in some respects, the most important during the war. Under the command of General Lake, the main army assembled in the Doab, 10,500 strong, exclusive of 3,500 in Allahabad, intended for the invasion of Bundelcund; but the first, if not the chief, object of Lake was to break up General Perron's regularly disciplined battalions, which, though nominally in the service of Scindia, were yet apart and wholly devoted to the interests of France. They did not receive pay periodically from him, but had assigned to them a valuable territory for maintenance, "and, as if they had been absolute sovereigns, not only ruled it with despotic sway, but were extending their influence on every side, by means of treaties, offensive and defensive, with the neighbouring chiefs."

According to the account given by Mr. Stuart, a Scottish officer, who resigned Scindia's service at the commencement of the war, Perron's brigades mustered in all 43,650 men, with 464 guns. The portion of these with Scindia in the Deccan was given as 23,650, leaving somewhere about 20,000 to oppose Lake, exclusive of those in garrison.

General Lake, who was yet to win his peerage in these wars, advanced from Cawnpore on the 7th of August, 1803. General St. John led the infantry, and Colonel St. Leger the cavalry. Among the latter were the 8th Light Dragoons, all mounted on snow-white horses, given to them by the Nabob of Lucknow.* By the 12th, the troops had halted and encamped on the right bank of the Ganges, on the plains of Aroul. On the 26th, General Lake received despatches from the Marquis of Wellesley, when at Secundra, authorising him to attack Scindia, Perron, and all their allies. Reinforced by a detachment from Futtehpore, under General Ware, the army encamped on the Mahratta frontier, in sight of the great Mosque of Coel in Agra, where Perron's forces were seen in position near the fortress of Allyghur. At four o'clock on the morning of the 29th, the army moved forward in order of battle against the French soldier of fortune, who brought the whole of his horse, mustering 20,000 sabres, of whom 4,000 were regular cavalry, into the plain, where he took up a strong position.

On his right was the fortress of Allyghur, a place of great strength, having a morass in its front, flanked by two villages. One of these, on Perron's left, being evidently the weakest point, was chosen by Lake as the point of attack; and so, in exact proportion as our troops advanced, those of the enemy began and continued a retrograde movement, and ultimately quitted the field without hazarding a battle. Leaving a good force in Allyghur under M. Pedron, Perron retired towards Agra. The fort was quadrangular, with corner bastions and a wet ditch 25 feet wide. The walls were without embrasures, and the guns were fought *en barbette*.

On taking possession of the village of Coel, General Lake encamped on the north side of it, and summoned Pedron to surrender the fort, which that officer had orders to defend to the last extremity, and in these terms he replied. So the morning of the 4th of September was fixed upon for an attack, which was to be led by the Honourable

* "Records Royal Irish Hussars."

Colonel William Monson (son of the second peer of that name). Two batteries of four 18-pounders had been formed on the previous night, to cover the advance of the stormers, who left the camp in the dark, at three a.m., and after making a circuit, came within 400 yards of the gateway unseen. On the signal to advance being given, they rushed on under a heavy cannonade till within 100 yards of the gate, before which they found a recently-erected traverse armed with three guns, which were captured ere they could be discharged, and then Monson dashed on with the grenadiers and light company of the 76th, hoping to enter the gate with the fugitives from the traverse.

On coming close, he found the first gate closed, and its approaches swept by showers of grape from two guns. The scaling-ladders were planted, the stormers swarmed up, climbing with one hand and combating with the other; but a firm row of pikemen made it impossible to gain the crest of the wall. A 12-pounder was now brought up to blow open the gate, but twenty minutes elapsed ere this was done; and during that perilous time the almost helpless storming party stood in the narrow way under a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Monson fell wounded by a pike, and here was our heaviest loss. On the outer gate being blown to pieces, the now furious stormers rushed along a narrow circular road, defended by a round tower loopholed for musketry, while showers of grape came crashing down from an adjacent bastion. A second and a third gate were in succession blown in; but at length there appeared a fourth, which the 12-pounder, after some fatal delay in dragging it forward, over, or among the killed and wounded, failed to force; yet an entrance was achieved by a wicket. Our people, more infuriated than ever by the resistance encountered, passed in through it, and scoured the ramparts in every direction. Within an hour we were masters of Allyghur, with a total loss of 223, while that of the enemy, most of whom were killed, not in combat, but in seeking to escape, amounted to more than 2,000 men. Among the prisoners was M. Pedron. As this fortress had been the chief depôt of these French adventurers in the Doab, it contained nearly all their military stores. The number of guns taken amounted to 281. "Its site on an elevated plain surrounded by swamps made it perfectly inaccessible in the rainy season, and everything that the skill of French engineers could devise had been employed to add to its natural strength. One serious mistake they had made, in allowing the entrance by a causeway to remain. Had they joined the two sides of the ditch by cutting it across, it could never have been taken by assault without regular approaches."

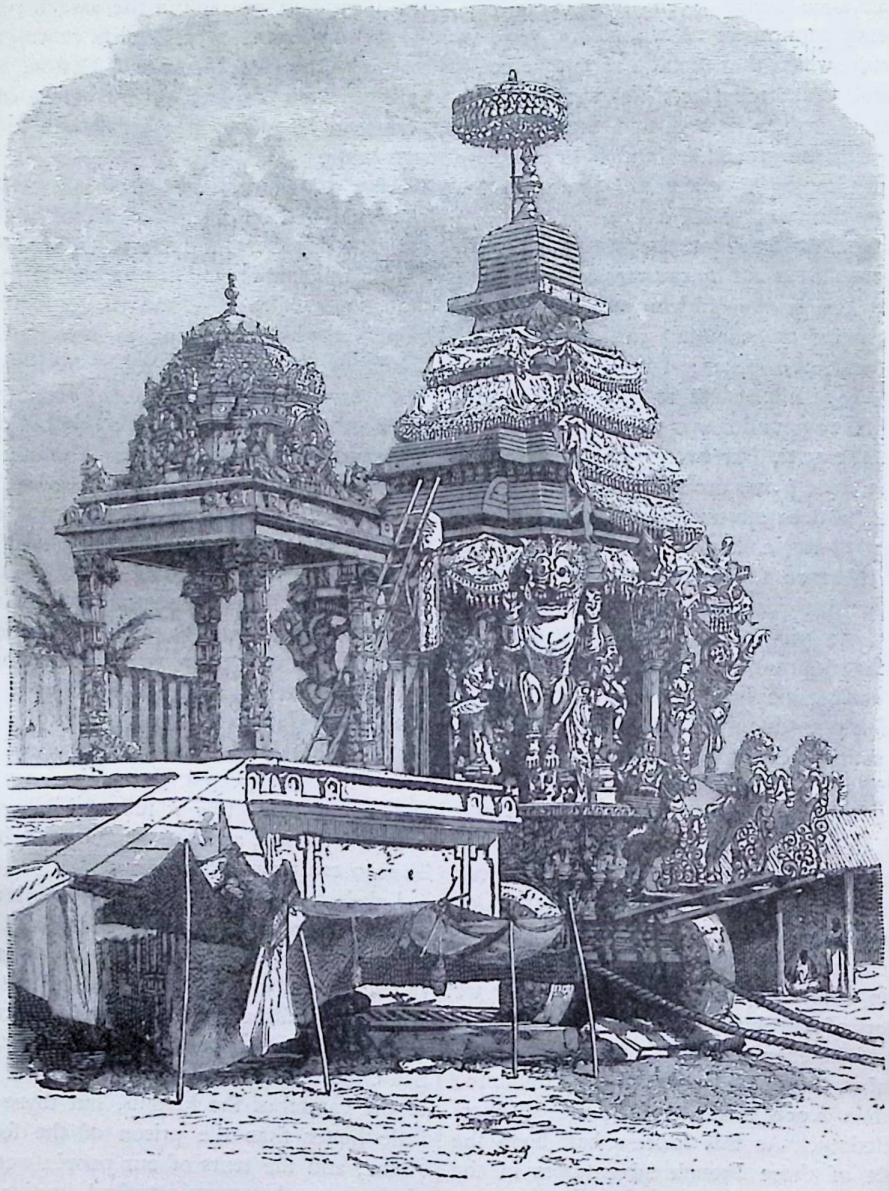
Some relics of that day's strife yet remain at Allyghur. Near the racecourse are the remains of a tomb erected to the memory of six officers of the 76th, Cameron, Fleming, Brown, St. Aubin, and Campbell, who fell in the assault; and within the cantonment burial-ground is, or was, an obelisk to the memory of Lieutenant Turton, 4th Native Infantry, who also fell—the erection of a friend, whose modesty does not permit him to record his own name.

After taking measures to secure Allyghur, the army marched on the 7th of September for Delhi. On that day General Lake received a letter from M. Perron, announcing that he had for ever quitted the service of Scindia, and requesting permission to travel with his family to Lucknow, escorted either by British troops or his own body-guard. Both escorts were courteously accorded to the fallen general, who ultimately resided in the French settlement of Chandernagore. Doubtless he had despaired of Scindia's eventual success. The effect produced by the fall of Allyghur was such, that many other places which might have made a resolute defence, were surrendered as our troops approached them; but in his movement upon Delhi, the general was informed that the mass of the troops which had belonged to Perron were now commanded by another Frenchman, Louis Bourquien, and had crossed the Jumna for the purpose of giving him battle in that lovely region, which is so beautifully wooded by the peepul, the neein, and the palm, and where every tree is full of birds, where the antelope springs, and the panther and hyena may be seen escaping to their dens.

Lake's troops were fatigued by a long march, and oppressed by the excessive heat of the weather, when they reached their camping-ground at the Jehna Nullah, within six miles of the stately city of Delhi, the walls of which are washed on one side by the broad waters of the Jumna, which the French had crossed in the night, to fight a battle in defence of the capital of the Moguls, but these were now little better than the prison of the feeble Shah Alum; and the tents of our people were scarcely pitched ere they were attacked by the enemy in great strength.

Bourquien had under his orders about 19,000 men (only 6,000 of whom were infantry). He had posted his main body on a rising ground, so flanked by swamps that it could only be attacked from the front, and that he defended by a line of entrenchments, armed with nearly 100 pieces of cannon. In rear was his cavalry.

Lake's force was only about 4,500 men. On making himself sufficiently acquainted with the strength and ground held by the enemy, whom he reconnoitred at the head of all his cavalry—three slender regiments—he ordered up the infantry and was made to lure the enemy from their trenches by a feint. The cavalry were ordered to retire into the plain, with the double object of drawing out the foe and covering the future advance of our infantry. The plan succeeded perfectly. Con-



THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT.

artillery. As these were two miles in the rear, an hour elapsed ere the junction was made, and in that time many men and horses perished under the enemy's cannonade. Lake had a horse shot under him, and later in the day his son, Major Lake (afterwards a distinguished officer) had his also killed. As an attack in front seemed doubtful, an attempt ceiving that the retrogression of the cavalry was the commencement of a retreat, they came rushing from their position with tumultuous shouts. Then suddenly our cavalry wheeled off at a gallop to the right and left, uncovering a solid and impenetrable line of British infantry.

"Forward!" was now the cry that rang along it,

and placing himself at the head of the 76th Regiment, General Lake led on the line, which advanced firing steadily. The ranks of the enemy broke, and they fled in rear of their guns. Our troops, under a dreadful fire of musketry, round, grape, and chain shot, continued to advance till within 100 yards; then the officers brandished their swords and colours aloft, the bayonets were brought to the charge, and the whole line of entrenchments was carried by one wild and triumphant rush. Seized by a general panic, the enemy fled in all directions, pursued by our cavalry and light galloper-guns, and many in their terror flung themselves into the Jumna. Our loss was 409 in killed and wounded; that of the enemy was about 3,000. We captured sixty-eight guns, two tumbrils laden with treasure, and thirty-seven laden with ammunition, while twenty-four were blown up. The battle—a short, sharp, and decisive one—was fought within sight of the magnificent marble palace of Delhi, and takes its name from it; and was immediately followed by our occupation of the city, from which the Frenchified garrison fled.

On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquien and four other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp, and two days later General Lake paid a visit to Shah Alum—the same monarch who had come upon the stormy stage of Indian politics, war, and intrigue, in the days of the great Robert Clive, and who was now aged, blind, and miserably poor. He received Lake as his deliverer, and gave him all that he could give, a series of sounding titles, such as "The Sword of the State; the Hero of the Lord; the Lord of the Age, and Victorious in War." *



SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY. (*From a Miniature.*)

* Major Thorn.

The descendant of the Moguls had no small reason to rejoice in finding himself under the general's protection, for Scindia had tyrannised over him barbarously, and before that chief obtained possession of his person, another named Gholaum Khadir had, as already related, pricked out one of his eyes with the point of his own dagger. He was now in his eighty-third year. In 1806 he died, and was succeeded by the heir apparent, Prince Mirza Akbar Shah, who ascended the throne without molestation, a circumstance almost without parallel in the history of Hindostan.*

Little could Mirza Akbar foresee where he, in old age, was to end his days, after deeds yet to be related.

Leaving Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony, one of the most famous officers in the Indian army, whose name is still borne by the 55th and 56th Bengal Infantry, in command at Delhi, with only one regiment and some recruits, on the 24th of September, 1803, General Lake began his march along the right bank of the Jumna, against Agra, which was held by some of Scindia's forces. By the 7th of October he had invested the place, and two days after concluded a friendly treaty with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who reinforced him by 5,000 cavalry. The garrison of Agra—a stately and fortified city, which is one of the keys of Western India—had, previous to the war, been commanded by British officers in Scindia's service; but these were all now prisoners, and retained in confinement. So completely was the garrison demoralised by the want of leaders, that when Lake's summons arrived, no answer was returned. A resolute defence had been resolved on.

Of Scindia's infantry, seven regular battalions were encamped on the glacis, and held the city and some deep sandy ravines on the south and western faces of the fort, and the dislodgment of these troops was necessary before approaches could be made. They were accordingly attacked on the morning of the 10th, and, after a fierce conflict, completely defeated, and the city, with twenty-six beautiful brass guns and as many tumbrils of ammunition, fell into our possession. The survivors of the troops outside the fort, 2,500 strong, surrendered, and after that event, the siege made rapid progress.

On the 17th, a battery of eight 18-pounders was brought into play, and a breach would soon have been practicable, but, on the 18th, under the influence of a British officer within, the garrison surrendered, asking only permission to retain their clothing. The Mahrattas, 5,500 strong, marched out prisoners of war. Treasure, equal to the value of £220,000, was found in the treasury, and this money General Perron had the coolness to claim as his personal property, a claim which was rejected by Colonel Hessing, the governor, who affirmed that the money was the property of the State.

There were taken 164 pieces of cannon. "Among these," says Major Thorn, "was one enormous brass gun, which, for magnitude and beauty, stands unrivalled. Its length was 14 feet 2 inches, its calibre 23 inches, the weight of its ball, when of cast iron, 1,500 lbs., its whole weight 96,600 lbs., or little above 38 tons."†

It was the intention of General Lake to have sent this gun to London, but proving too heavy for the raft on which it was to be transported to Calcutta, it, unfortunately, sank in the river.

Agra is now the provincial seat of a government. By the Hindoos it is called *Parasu Rama*, and is held by them in great veneration, as the place of the avatar, or incarnation of Vishnu. It is also famous as the birthplace of Abu Fayal, the prime minister of the Emperor Ackbar. By its capture the navigation of the Jumna was secured to us, and all obstacles to the alliance and co-operation of the independent chiefs in that quarter were removed. But, at an early stage of the campaign, it would seem that Scindia had detached seven of his disciplined battalions from the Deccan under Dudernaigue, a French officer, who was then joined by three of those of Louis Bourquien, which had not been engaged at Delhi. There was also another battalion made up of fugitives from the field and Agra. His whole force amounted to 9,000 infantry and 1,500 excellent cavalry, with a fine train of artillery. All these trained soldiers, with their officers, had their existence and pay to fight for, and were not likely to be dispersed without some trouble, as every hour increased their number.

Dudernaigue, however, lost heart, and surrendered to Lord Lake. He was succeeded by a Mahratta leader, under whom, during the siege of Agra, they had hovered about thirty miles distant from our outposts. On ascertaining that they intended to drive Ochterlony out of Delhi, and recapture that place, General Lake commenced his march against them on the 27th of September.

He advanced in a south-westerly direction to Futtehpore, a town once famous for the resort of Mohammedan pilgrims and for an amphitheatre, having high towers, constructed by Ackbar for elephant fights and the game of Chowgong, now all a heap of deserted ruins. There he left his heavy guns and baggage, under care of two battalions of

* Major Thorn.

† "Mem. of the War in India."

native infantry. On the 31st of October, after wheeling to the westward, he reached Cutumbo, from which the enemy had fallen back on the preceding evening; but, as he was close upon their track, he was determined not to permit them to escape, and pursued them with his cavalry, now consisting of eight regiments, three of which were Europeans—the 8th Royal Irish, 27th and 29th Light Dragoons.

Setting out at eleven at night, and leaving orders for the infantry to push on next morning at three, after riding twenty-five miles over rough ways, in about six hours, on the 1st of November, he came up with the enemy, now mustering 5,000 cavalry and 9,000 infantry, with 72 pieces of cannon. They appeared to be in order of retreat, thus, without waiting for the infantry, General Lake daringly resolved to attack them with the sabre alone. The enemy, by cutting a large tank, had so greatly impeded the progress of his troopers, that the former had time to halt, face about, and take up a position at the village of Laswaree, forty miles westward of Bhurtpore.

Their right flank lay in front of the place, and in their rear was a rivulet, having steep and rugged banks. Their left rested on the village of Mohulpore, and their centre, partly concealed by high grass, was defended by a formidable line of cannon, chained together, the more effectually to prevent the penetration of cavalry. In taking up this position, their movements had been somewhat concealed by the dense clouds of dust raised by the hoofs of Lake's approaching cavalry, till, suddenly, the latter came upon them and beheld the dark columns in their wild Mahratta costumes, their horses and cannon showing darkly in the grey morning and through the eddying dust. "Thus, moving somewhat in the dark, General Lake ordered the 1st brigade of cavalry to push upon a point where the enemy had previously been seen in motion, while the rest of the cavalry were ordered to follow up the attack in succession as fast as they could form after crossing the rivulet. The point thus attacked had, in consequence of their change of position, become their left, and the resistance proved so obstinate that the commander found it necessary, after a heavy loss, to wait the arrival of the infantry."

General Lake posted a portion of his cavalry to watch the movements of the enemy, while the rest were to support the columns of attack. What were wont to be named galloper-guns in those days (pieces of small calibre), were so planted as to cover the advance of the latter. Ere our lines were well in position, the Mahratta leader, already disconcerted, thought of retiring with the loss only of his chained ordnance, and actually made an offer to surrender them, on certain conditions, which were granted, on the proviso that he fulfilled them within an hour. Meanwhile our troops remained steadily on their ground as the morning came in. The 76th Regiment and six battalions of sepoys were close to the village of Laswaree in two brigades; the first formed the right wing, under General Ware; the second formed the left, under General St. John. The hour, which was full of fate to many, having expired, the infantry began to move along the bank of the rivulet nearly at right angles with the position of the enemy, with the object of turning their right flank.

Lake headed one column in person. The sepoys came up confusedly, slowly, and evinced much disposition to leave all the fighting to the Europeans, while the cannonade now opened upon them was coolly and rapidly poured in. "The effect of this fire, which was terrible in the extreme, was felt with peculiar severity by the 76th Regiment, which fine body, by heading the attack, as usual, became the object of direct destruction. So great, indeed, was the loss of this corps, and such was the furious fire of the enemy, that the commander-in-chief deemed it more advisable to hasten the attack with that regiment (and the Native Infantry, consisting of the 2nd Regiment, 12th and 6th Companies of the 2nd Battalion of the 16th Regiment, which had closed to the front), than to wait till the remainder of the column should be formed, whose advance had been delayed by unavoidable impediment."

At the head of the 76th, Lake led the way, sword in hand, through the tall feathery grass, which greatly hampered every movement, till the ranks began to waver under the showers of cannister-shot which tore through them, and the Mahratta horse attempted to charge, but were gallantly repulsed; and then Lake ordered ours to charge in turn. This service was splendidly performed by the 29th Light Dragoons, who cut a passage through both lines of the enemy's infantry, wheeled round upon their cavalry, drove them from the field in a confused herd, and then attacked the rear of their second line.

Meantime, the first had been hurled back upon the latter by Lake's steady advance. Both lines were thus huddled together and attacked in front and rear; but on this occasion, Scindia's trained brigades showed themselves worthy of the high reputation they had won under Perron and Bourquien, and, scorning to yield, continued the conflict with resolute valour, till—with the exception of about 2,000 who were broken up and captured—

all died where they stood, with their weapons in their hands.

The right attack—where the 76th, then a Scotch regiment, was—secured the victory; but Lake's loss was heavy. "In killed and wounded it amounted to 1,006," says Major Hough; "of these the cavalry lost 528, H.M. 76th Regiment 213, the 2nd Battalion, 12, and a company of the 16th lost 188, leaving the remainder—sixty-five—to be divided among all the other corps, and 553 horses killed, wounded, and missing. The guns captured were seventy-one in number." *

Of the enemy, 7,000 lay dead upon the field; their bazaars, equipage, elephants and camels were taken, together with 1,500 bullocks, 5,000 stand of arms, forty-four standards, three tumbrils laden with treasure, and sixty-four with ammunition, fifty-seven carts with stores; and the effect of this victory was to give us undisputed possession of all Scindia's territories north of the Chumbul.

Writing of the destroyed battalions—the famous "Deccan Invincibles," as they boasted themselves—General Lake affirmed that they were "uncommonly well appointed, had a most numerous artillery, as well served as they could possibly be, the gunners standing to their guns until killed by the bayonet; all the sepoys of the enemy behaved exceedingly well, and if they had (still) been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, and pray to God I may never be in such a situation again. Their army is better appointed than ours; no expense is spared whatever. They have three times the number of men to a gun that we have; their bullocks—of which they have many more than we have—are of a very superior sort; all their knapsacks and baggage are carried upon camels, by which means they can march double the distance." Lake took into the British service all Scindia's gunners who were willing to enlist, so greatly did he appreciate their conduct at Laswaree. Among the most distinguished officers who fell here, was Lieutenant-Colonel T. Pakenham Vandeleur, of the 8th Royal Irish. This field, called by the natives the battle of Putpurgunj, was long remembered with triumph, and is thus referred to in the spirited old "Song of the Soubahdar:"—

"But Agra, Delhi, Allyghur, and Coel's deeds were vain,
Without the crowning victory upon Laswaree's plain;
The flower of Scindia's chivalry—the Invincible Brigade—
To make one furious struggle yet, were for the strife arrayed.

"Upon our rear they hung, and watched our gallant chief's success,
In hope some chance of war might rise, their bold designs to bless;
The royal city we had won they hungered to retake,
But they little knew the prompt resolve—the active mind of Lake!

* * * * * *

"Of Holkar and his false allies—their treachery, intrigue,
How retribution reached them soon, before the walls of Deeg;
How, with every kindly wish, and prayer of every heart,
Our loved old leader, Lake, was doomed at last from us to part."

* "Hist. of Mil. Exploits and Pol. Events in India."

CHAPTER LXXII.

CONQUEST OF BUNDELCUND—BATTLE OF ARGAUM—STORMING OF GAWILGHUR, AND END OF THE WAR.

THE atmosphere about Laswaree having become tainted by the number of dead, the army, on the 8th of November, began to retrace its route eastward in the direction of Agra, to which city the sick, wounded, and captured guns were sent on the 14th, while the troops halted at Paiashur, where a fortnight was passed by General Lake in receiving various native princes, whom the event of the 1st of November had considerably impressed.

Among those with whom he formed treaties of alliance were the Rajah of Machery, in the principality of Alwar; the Rajah of Jeypore, a powerful Rajpoot; and the Rajah of Joudpore, in the district called the Marwar; and also with the widow, the Begum Sumroo. Among other ambassadors came one from the blind Emperor of Delhi, clad in a *khelat*, or gorgeous dress of honour, to congratulate the victor of Laswaree, who received him with the highest military honours.†

After this the army marched on the 27th, and

† Major Thorn, 25th Light Dragoons.

took up a position at Biana, a town situated at the base of a hill, fifty-four miles distant from Agra, whereon are the ruins of the former town of the same name, which was the capital of a province in the days of the Emperor Baber.

The conquest of Bundelcund was now the object in view. It is a mountainous, and was, then, an imperfectly-cultivated country, lying between the 24th and 26th degrees of northern latitude, and though frequently over-run by the Mohammedans, it is easily defended. It took its name from its inhabitants, the Bundela race, and though nominally belonging to the Peishwa, in virtue of a treaty made with him in August, 1803, he had ceded the greater part of his claim to it to the Company, receiving in lieu Savanore and Benkapore, in the South Mahratta country, and some lands in the neighbourhood of Surat. As usual, the Company were the gainers: the territories ceded yielded them upwards of thirty-six lacs of rupees; those given in exchange barely yielded nineteen lacs. The treaty was finally concluded on the 16th of December, 1803, and was deemed but a supplement to that of Bassein.

Now it came to pass that, not unnaturally, the Bundela chiefs resented this assignment of their lands and persons. Among these was Shamsheer Bahadur, who claimed—by lineal descent from Bajee Rao, the first Peishwa, and by grants made to his ancestors—the lands he owned, and resolved to defend them by the sword against all comers. The Marquis of Wellesley was equally determined to enforce the treaty; thus war became inevitable.

On the 6th of September, 1803, Colonel Powell, at the head of a body of troops, marched from Allahabad into Bundelcund, where his small force was joined by a Bundela chief, named Hemmat Bahadur, with 8,000 irregular foot, 4,000 horse, three sepoy battalions, and twenty-five guns. Hemmat was a *Gosain*, or a religious character, and was also a somewhat reckless military adventurer, who had deserted the cause of his own country and given his adhesion to the British Government.

On the 23rd of the month they reached the Ken or Cane, which comes from the Vindhya Mountains, and the bed of which teems with fine agates and jasper; and, at a point where it flows past Kallinger, a stone fortress which crowns the summit of a lofty mountain, and is so ancient that Mahmoud of Ghizni vainly besieged it in 1024, they found Shamsheer Bahadur strongly posted on the opposite bank. After capturing several fortlets in his vicinity, on the 10th of October they crossed the river, and after a toilsome six hours' march through a wild and mountainous country, they came upon the forces of Shamsheer drawn up in battle array. After showing a resolute front for a short space, they gave way, and Shamsheer's men being well mounted, escaped with little loss; and seeing, perhaps, the futility of resistance, he began to negotiate for peace, but after procrastinating for two months, he suddenly took the field again.

On this the colonel resumed the offensive, and laid siege to Calpee, on the right bank of the Jumna. The fort occupies a strong position, and commands the passage of the river; but Powell captured it on the 4th December. Then the luckless Shamsheer threw himself on the mercy of the colonel, to whom several other Bundela chiefs now gave their enforced adherence, and who treated them with generosity.

Among these, the most important was Ambajee Inglia, who had acted as Scindia's minister, and under him held vast territories, including those of the Rana of Gohud. In the October of 1803, he offered to renounce Scindia, and become a tributary of the Company, on certain conditions; and by the 16th December a treaty was concluded with him, by which he resigned to them the great fortress of Gwalior and all his territories north of it, and was recognised as independent sovereign of all the rest, save those of the Rana of Gohud, to whom a previous treaty had guaranteed them. But when Colonel White, on the 21st December, arrived at the head of a force, with General Lake's orders to take possession, the killedar of Gwalior declined to obey either him or Ambajee, until the place was breached, and about to be stormed, when the garrison capitulated.

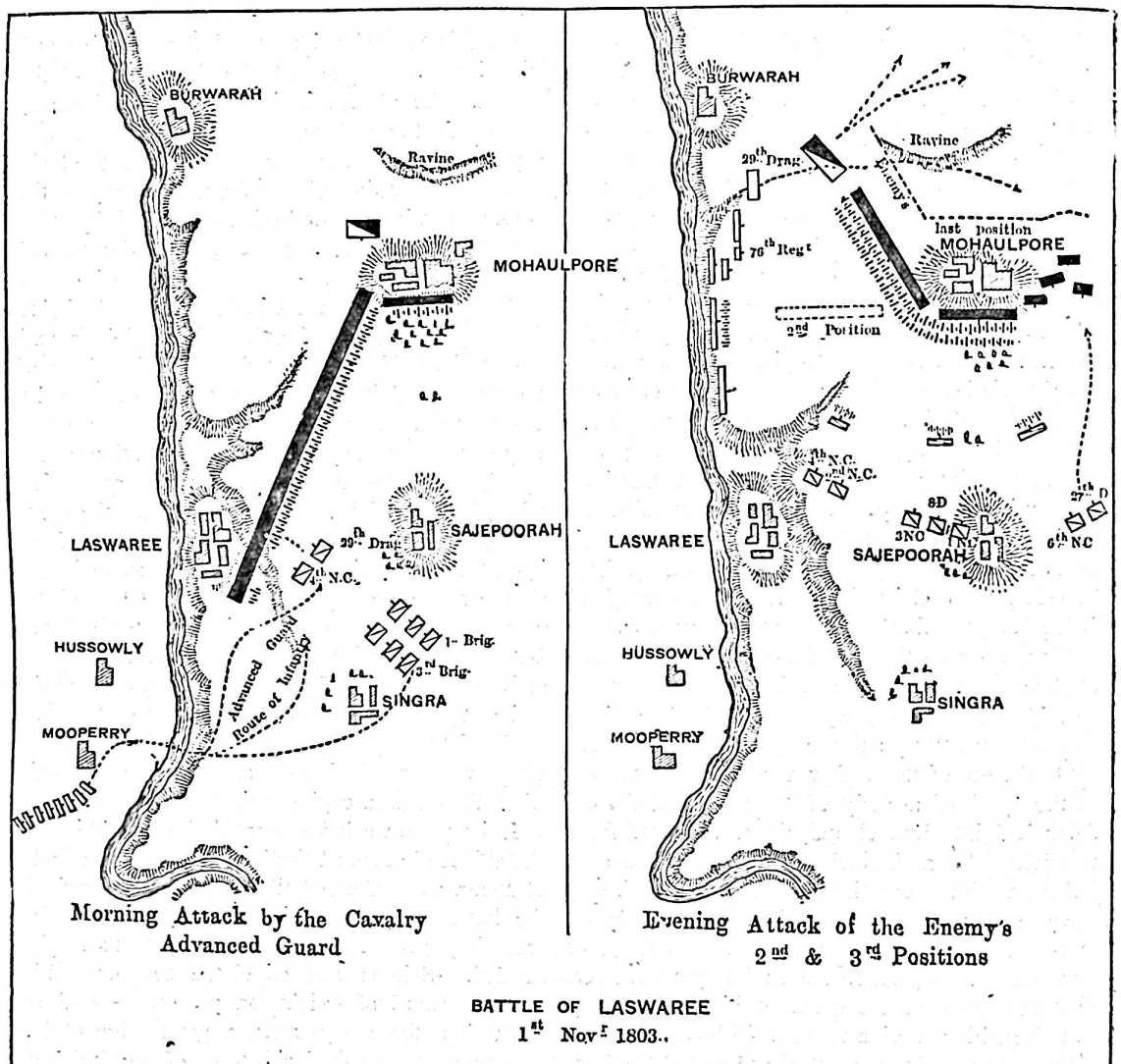
In its place we have narrated the dissolution of the alliance between Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla of Berar, when General Wellesley's truce deprived the latter of any participation or benefit in the armistice, and left him to contend with us single-handed. Scindia had stipulated to march his forces eastward of Ellichpoor, yet on the 28th of November, three days after, a great force of his cavalry was seen united with those of the Rajah of Berar, and acting in concert with the latter's infantry and artillery.

Viewing this as a direct violation of truce, General Wellesley was prompt in action, and despite the remonstrances of Scindia's vakeel, who was still in our camp, resolved to attack them all. He accordingly marched with his division of the army, and after pursuing a long and fatiguing route, came up with them near the little village of Argaum, in the province of Berar, thirty-five miles distant from Ellichpoor.

General Wellesley, in his report to the Governor-

General, states, that as the troops had marched a great distance in a very hot day, he did not think it proper to pursue some of the enemy who fled before him at Parterly; but during the 28th of November, our allies, the Mysore cavalry, skirmished

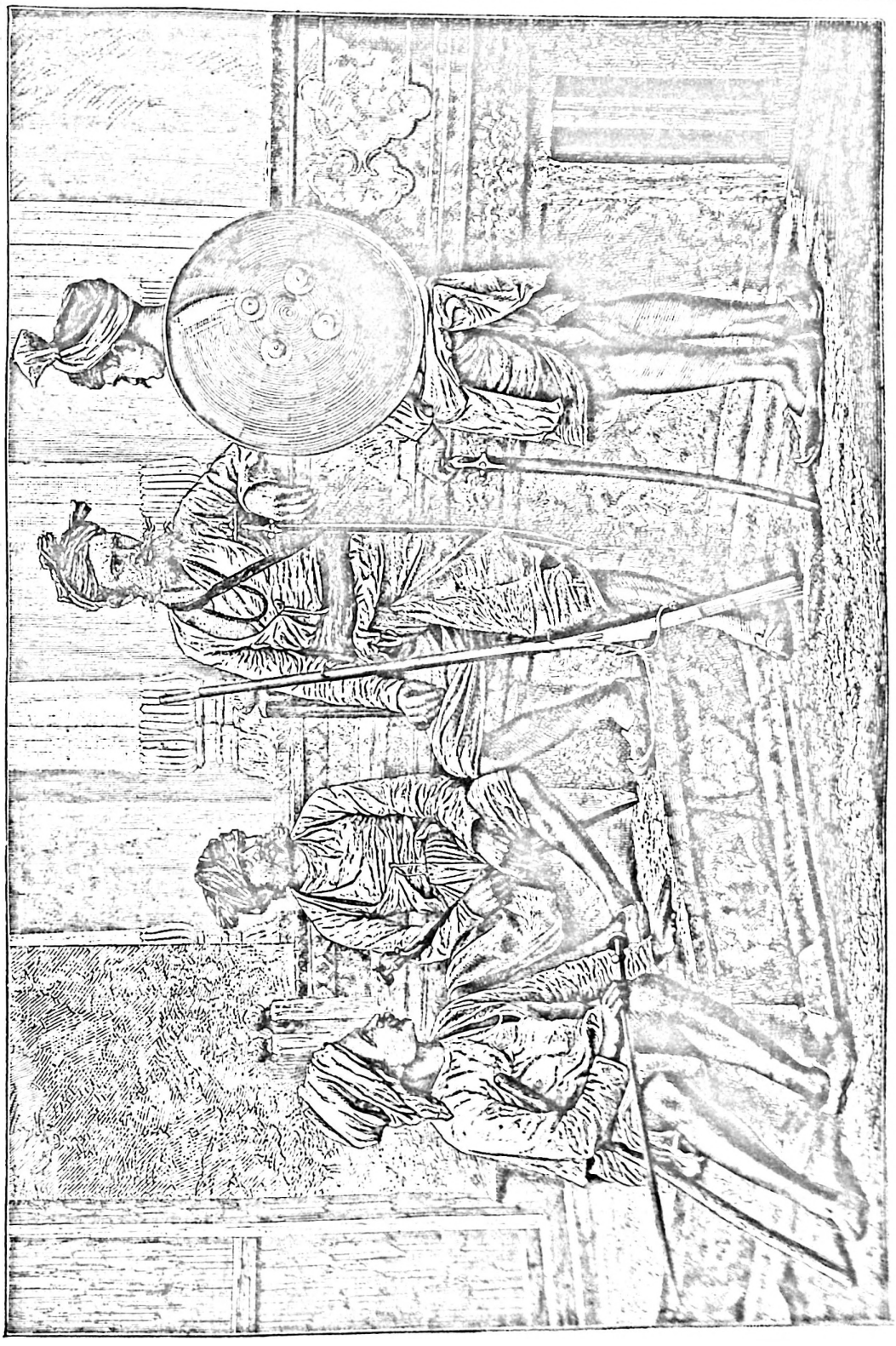
Although the day was far advanced, he immediately resolved to attack this army, towards which he marched in one great column; the British cavalry leading in a direction nearly parallel to that of the enemy's line, the rear and left covered by



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LASWAREE.

with bodies of horse which appeared in front, "and when I went out to push forward the pickets of the infantry, support the Mysore cavalry, and to take up the ground for our encampment, I could distinctly perceive a long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up, on the plains of Argaum, immediately in front of the village, and about six miles from this place (Parterly), at which I intended to encamp."

the Mogul and Mysore cavalry. The enemy's infantry and guns were posted on the left of their centre, with a body of cavalry on their left. Scindia's army, consisting of a great body of cavalry, was on the right, flanked by Pindarees and other light troops. The line was five miles in extent, and in its rear lay the village of Argaum, with many gardens, thickets, and enclosures. In front spread the green plain cut up by many watercourses.



GROUP OF RAJPOOTS.

Wellesley formed his army in two lines. The infantry were in the first; the cavalry in the second, and supporting the right; while those of Mysore and the Mogul were on the left, and parallel with that of the enemy, with their right advanced to press the left of the latter. The moment the lines were formed, the whole advanced into action with steadiness and ardour; and those heroes of Assaye, the 74th and Seaforth Highlanders, were among the first to distinguish themselves. The general writes thus:—"The 74th and 78th Regiments were attacked by a large body (supposed to be Persians), and all these were destroyed." *

Scindia's cavalry, some wearing steel skull-caps with plumes and cheek-plates, and chain-mail to the knees, charged the 1st Battalion of the 6th Regiment, which was on the left of our whole line, and which signally repulsed them. On this, the whole front of the enemy wavered, broke up, and gave way in disorder, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition, in our hands, together with elephants and baggage.

Our cavalry pursued them for several miles, and cut down great numbers. The Mogul and Mysore cavalry joined in the pursuit, and added greatly to the slaughter, under a brilliant moonlight. "The troops conducted themselves with their usual bravery," says General Wellesley; "the 74th and 78th Highland Regiments had a particular opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and they have deserved, and received, my thanks." On this day Major Campbell led the Scots Brigade (old 94th), Captain Beauman the artillery, and Captain Burke the guns of the subsidiary force.

Our loss in killed and wounded was only 346; but that of the enemy was great, and never fully ascertained. Vithel Punt, who led the cavalry of Berar, was killed; and Gopal Bhow, who led those of Scindia, was wounded. "If we had had daylight an hour more, not a man would have escaped." †

Wellesley now proposed to besiege the loftily-situated and grand-looking fortress of Gawilghur, in the hilly district of Berar, and from the high round tower of which, above the Putteah Gate, can be seen the vast extent of country traversed by the windings of the Purna and Taptee. It crowns a stupendous rock, and consists of a complete inner fort fronting the south, where the rock is most steep, and an outer fort covers this work to the north and westward. Its garrison now consisted of 5,000 hardy Rajpoots and Gosains. The ascent to the southern gate is steep and difficult; that to the northern gate was extremely narrow and everywhere exposed to musketry; yet it was preferred to the other. Colonel Stevenson, who had equipped his corps at Aseerghur for the purpose, was to push the siege, while Wellesley was to cover it. By the 12th of December, 1803, after having heavy ordnance and stores dragged laboriously over mountains and through ravines, the colonel had two batteries ready to divert the attention of the garrison, by breaching the wall near the southern gate. By the evening of the following day the breaches in the walls of the outer fort were reported practicable, and the escalade was then detailed for the next day, at ten o'clock a.m.

The 74th Highlanders, with five companies of the Seaforth, and the 1st Battalion of the 8th, under the orders of Colonel Wallace; five companies of the Seaforth, with the 1st Battalion of the 10th, under Colonel Chalmers, were told off for this service; and seventy pioneers, with crowbars, hatchets, and saws, were to accompany each detachment.

The stormers were to consist of the Scots Brigade in three divisions, under Colonels Kenny, Desse, and Major Campbell; while the advanced party was to consist of one sergeant and twelve select volunteers from that regiment so memorable in war since the days of James VI. of Scotland.

At the appointed hour, the stormers flowed upward, like a human surge, against the rugged breaches, and, under Captain Campbell, the light company of the Scots Brigade planted ladders against the wall at another point, fought their way, and burst open the gate to admit the supports, while the walls were being taken elsewhere. The garrison, which consisted of regular infantry that had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and were all armed with the Company's new muskets and bayonets, fought with vain but resolute valour, for the capture of the great mountain castle was completely effected, with the loss of only 126. In it were found seventy-two pieces of ordnance, 2,000 stand of British arms, and 150 wall-pieces, that threw balls varying in weight from eight to sixteen ounces.‡

Benny Sing, the killedar, was found dead under a heap of slain in one of the gateways, and everywhere were seen the corpses of women and girls, for the garrison had put all their wives and daughters to death before advancing to meet their own fate.

Some fine architectural remains are still within the walls, but all are overgrown now with jungle grass and rank weeds of gigantic growth; and the

* "Despatches—Gurwood's Selections."
† Ibid.
‡ "Wellington Despatches," &c.

hills around it have for ages been the favourite retreat of that extraordinary sect, the Thains, whose temples are situated upon the precipitous bank of a mountain torrent, a little to the north-west of the crumbling fortress.

Throughout the whole of this campaign, the operations of the British were eminently successful, and had the war continued, we must, eventually, have destroyed for ever the power of the Mahrattas; but now they began to sue for peace. Our truce made with Scindia, on the 23rd of November, was supposed to be still in existence: thus the Rajah of Berar, as the chief in more immediate danger, and sorely humbled by his successive reverses, was the first to make amicable overtures. On the fall of Gawilghur his vakeel arrived in the camp of Wellesley, who dictated his terms under the guns of the fallen fortress. The negotiation was commenced on the 16th of December, and so resolute was our general, that it was concluded on the following day; and Scindia was forthwith informed that the truce with him would expire in ten days more. As he had no desire to encounter fresh disasters single-handed, his ambassadors came speedily, and a general treaty of peace was concluded on the 23rd December. "This war, one of the shortest, was also one of the most decisive on record. In the short period of four months, four general battles had been fought, eight fortresses besieged and captured, and whole provinces subdued. The disparity of force added greatly to the lustre of these achievements. The whole British army never exceeded 55,000 men; that of the enemy averaged at least 250,000, exclusive of a corps of 40,000 formed into regular brigades, disciplined by French officers, and obviously intended, if this war had not prematurely destroyed them, to form the nucleus of a larger army, by which the French would have attempted once more to gain the ascendency in India."

Under the treaty concluded on the 17th of December, 1803, the Rajah of Berar ceded to us Cuttack, Balasore, and the whole of his territories west of the Wurda, and south of the hills where now stands the ruin of Gawilghur; while by the other treaty with him, Dowlut Rao Scindia ceded all his territories in the Doab, and all those north of the Rajpoot principalities of Joudpore, Jeypore, and Gohud, the forts of Ahmednuggur and Barsach, with these districts, and all his possessions between the Adjunta Ghaut and the Godavery River. Still further to humble and control him, six battalions of sepoys were to be stationed in his territories, or in a convenient frontier fort belonging to the Company. Of all this Arthur Wellesley wrote truly:—

"The British Government has been left by the late war in a most glorious situation. They are sovereigns of a great part of India, the protectors of the principal powers, the mediators, by treaty, of the disputes of all. The sovereignty they possess is greater, and their power is settled upon more permanent foundations, than any before known in India; all it wants is the popularity which, from the nature of the institutions, and the justice of the proceedings of government, it is likely to obtain, and which it must obtain, after a short period of tranquillity shall have given the people time and opportunity to feel the happiness and security which they now enjoy." *

For their great military services, General Wellesley received the ribbon of the Bath, and his commander was raised, on the 1st September, 1804, to the peerage of Britain, as Baron Lake, of Delhi, Laswaree, and of Ashton-Clinton, Bucks. He was made a viscount in 1807, and died in the following year.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

SEA-FIGHT OFF PULO AOR—THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR—MONSON'S DISASTROUS RETREAT.

THE year following the peace with Scindia, in the early part of 1804, some gallant exploits were done in Indian waters; but we shall only notice two.

The French Admiral Linois, having received official despatches from Europe, conveying news of the war and orders to commence hostilities, sailed from the Isle of France to the eastern seas, where he attacked our settlement at Bencoolen, took three valuable prizes, and burned all he found on sea or land with comparative impunity; but, when cruising near the Straits of Malacca, he fell in with

* "Wellington Despatches."

the homeward-bound fleet, consisting of sixteen East Indiamen, under Captain Dance of the *Camden*.

Together with this valuable squadron were eleven country ships, and the whole came close to the enemy when off Pulo Aor, a small island eastward of Malacca. It is high, covered with trees, and is the point of departure for ships bound to Canton, and for which vessels generally steer on the homeward voyage.

Captain Dance, a good seaman, put his ships' heads towards the squadron of Linois, which consisted of the *Marengo* and *Belle Poule* (seventy-fours), the *Suffisante* (forty-four), a corvette and brig, of twenty-eight and eighteen guns respectively. Four of our best Indiamen he sent on to reconnoitre, and then formed his line of battle in close order, under easy sail. As soon as Linois' squadron could fetch the wake of ours, they put about, and by sunset were close astern of the India fleet; but no attack was made, as when night fell Linois hauled his wind. Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, who was a passenger with Captain Dance, volunteered to go in a fast-sailing vessel and keep the country ships on the lee-bow of the fleet; which, by this judicious arrangement, remained between them and the enemy. Lieutenant Fowler, having executed this duty, returned, bringing with him a number of volunteers from the country ships to serve at the guns: "a noble proof," says Captain Brenton, "of the public spirit of our sailors."

The Indiamen lay to, in line of battle, all night, with cannon shotted and the crews at their quarters.

By daylight on the 15th, they hoisted their colours and offered battle, which the enemy did not accept; but by nine a.m., the former filled and stood towards them bravely. At one p.m., Captain Dance, perceiving that Linois intended to attack and cut off his rear, signalled for the whole to tack and engage in succession. The *Royal George*, Captain Timmins, led, followed by the *Ganges* and *Camden*, all under a press of sail. Formed in a very close line, the French opened their fire on the headmost ships, which did not return a shot till they were as near as they could get, for the French —even their two seventy-fours—had a great advantage in superior sailing. The *Royal George* bore the entire brunt of the action, but before the whole squadron could engage, Linois hauled his wind, and bore away eastward, under all the sail he could spread. Captain Dance threw out the signal for a general chase, which was continued for two hours, till finding that the foe was leaving him far astern, he desisted.

The conduct of the Company's officers and men on this occasion displayed an admirable instance of the British naval character. "To say that Linois was deceived by the warlike appearance of our Indiamen, and the blue swallow-tail flags, 'pavillon à queue bleu,' worn by the three largest ships, may save his courage at the expense of his judgment. 'An Indiaman,' says the Count de Dumas, 'has often been mistaken for a ship of the line;' but when did the Count de Dumas ever hear of three British ships of the line lying to, to await the attack of a force so much inferior?" *

Captain Nathaniel Dance was knighted, and received from the Bombay Insurance Society £5,000, with a sword valued at 100 guineas, and swords of similar value were given to Captains Timmins and Moffat.

Not long after this, Captain Henry Lambert, when in command of the *Wilhelmina*, an old Dutch-built frigate of thirty-two guns, and of a most unwarlike aspect, when off the east side of Ceylon, fell in with a large frigate-built French privateer, whom he engaged with equal fury and obstinacy for more than three hours, when both ships were so utterly disabled that they separated; nor was Lambert, a very young but brave officer, able to renew the conflict, as he was inferior to the privateer in point of sailing.

But greater events than these were, ere long, to be inaugurated on shore, for notwithstanding the decisive victories of Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake, a new war again broke out. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, during the late contest, had not only promised to join the confederacy against the British, but had concluded a treaty, through the Rajah of Berar, with Scindia; yet, though Holkar had promised everything, he performed nothing, for we are told that truth never abode in the palace or under the tent of a Mahratta chief. By the tide of recent events, Holkar had been violently expelled from Poonah, and, as yet, no friendly arrangements had been made with him.

There is reason to believe that he secretly rejoiced at the vicissitudes which had befallen the other two confederates, by whose weakness he thought now to augment his own power. He had greatly strengthened himself while they had been courting their own destruction, and now he suddenly assumed an attitude calculated to excite alike suspicion and alarm.

The rise and progress of his family were curious features in the Indian history of the eighteenth century. They were sudras of the Dungar (or Dhoongur) shepherd tribe, and took their name from their native village of Hohl, on the river Nura,

* "Naval History," vol. iii.

about fifty miles from Poonah. Mulhar Rao Holkar was the first of the race who rose to distinction. When at the age of five years he was left an orphan, and in 1698 was taken to Candeish, where he was employed by his maternal uncle as a shepherd, it is related that one day, as he lay asleep in a field, a cobra-da-capello was seen to interpose its crest between him and the sunshine; this was deemed such an omen of future greatness, that he was sent to serve as a horseman under Kuddeem Bandee, a noted Mahratta chief. He soon won notice, favour, and then wealth, by marriage with his cousin Golama Baee, and on entering the service of the Peishwa Bajee Rao, he received the command of 500 horse. Accompanying Chinnajee, the brother of the Peishwa, into the Concan, he aided in taking Bassein from the Portuguese; and before 1731 he had obtained a jaghire, containing eighty-two districts north of the Nerbudda.

After Malwa was conquered in 1750, though the ancient landholders, called Grassias, retained, and still retain, possession of some of the hill-forts, nearly the whole of it was divided between Holkar and Scindia, the former receiving a revenue of £745,009 yearly. Mulhar Rao Holkar now fixed his capital at Indore, which, thereafter, assumed the importance of a capital. Mulhar Rao was one of the few Mahratta chiefs who left the field of Paniput without a wound; and it has been alleged that he drew off all his horse and matchlock-men, because the Mahratta commander-in-chief, when urged by him to delay giving battle for a day or two, mockingly asked him—"Who wants advice from a goat-herd?" Renowned for courage as a soldier, and skill as a diplomat, he died at the age of seventy-six, and was succeeded by his grandson, Mallee Rao, a man of sensitive or weak intellect, who died in a paroxysm of madness for having unjustly put an innocent prisoner to death.

His mother, Ahalya Baee, a woman famous for her talents, now conducted the government for thirty years, and selected Tookajee Holkar, of the same tribe, as her commander-in-chief. To him she left the succession, but being older than herself, he could not be adopted as her son; thus by her command, he was, oddly enough, styled Tookajee, son of Mulhar Rao Holkar. He left two legitimate sons, Casee Rao and Mulhar Rao, and two who were illegitimate, Jeswunt Rao and Etojee. Casee being of weak intellect and deformed body, was incapable of reigning, while his brother Mulhar was brave and ambitious, and each brother soon began to plot against the life of the other. Casee Rao courted the protection of Dowlut Rao Scindia, and his brother that of Nana Furnavese, and hence internal dissension rent the dominions of the house of Holkar.

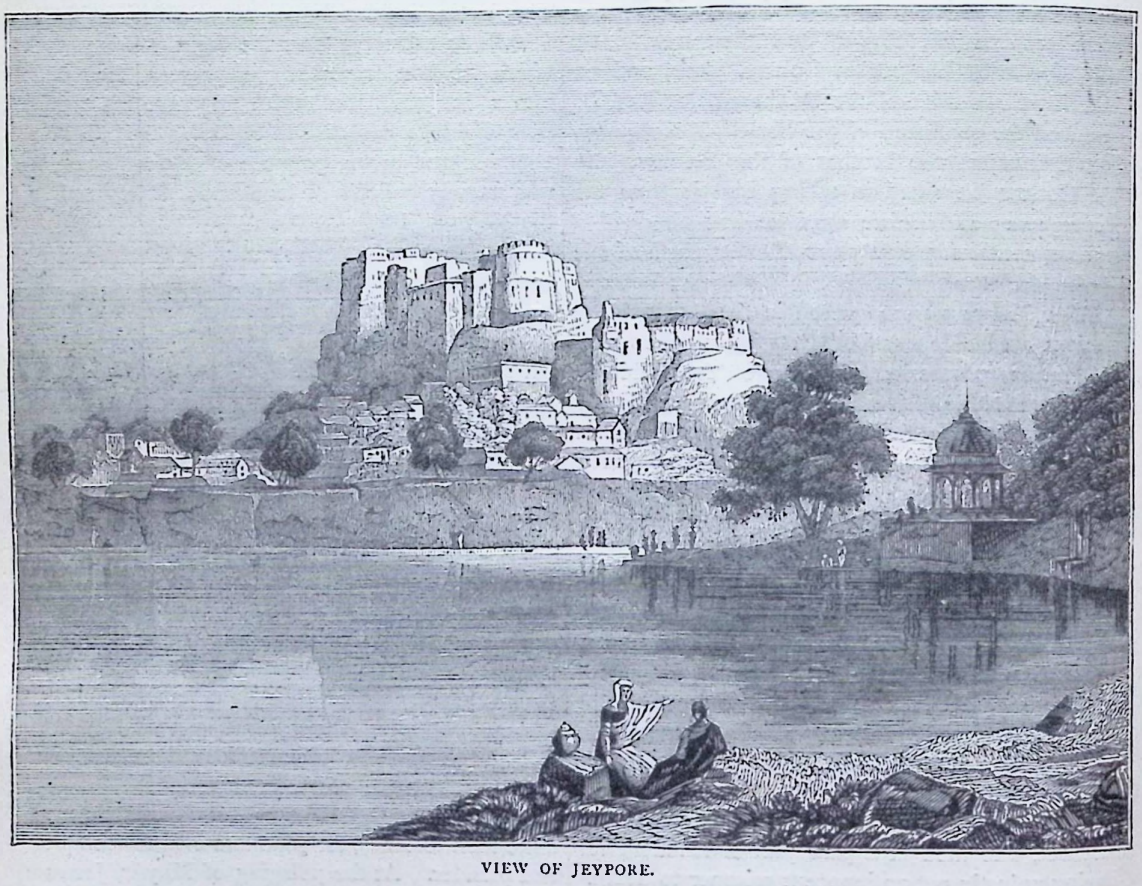
An insincere reconciliation took place between the brothers, and in the course of the subsequent evening, Scindia's disciplined brigades surrounded the camp of Mulhar Rao, and in the confusion he was slain; but among those who escaped was the illegitimate son of Jeswunt Rao, who found shelter at Nagpore, the capital of the Rajah of Berar. The latter, in the hope either of conciliating Scindia or extorting from the fugitive some jewels which he was reported to possess, threw him into a dungeon, from which he made his escape, after eighteen months of captivity, and reached Dharanuggur, in the province of Malwa, where he was warmly welcomed by Anund Rao, head of the Mahratta family of Puar.

The latter was now threatened by Scindia; so, to spare him, Jeswunt Rao Holkar set forth to push his fortunes with a small sum of money and 150 ill-armed men. At their head he surprised and cut to pieces a body of his half-brother Casee Rao's best troops. Other victories followed; but being well aware that if he made war in his own name, his illegitimacy would prevent the great mass of the Holkar adherents from joining him, he pretended to espouse the cause of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar, who, since Casee's incapacity made him a cypher in the grasp of Scindia, was, he proclaimed, the true heir.

To support the latter he now collected a great army of Mahrattas, Pindarees, Bheels, Afghans, Rajpoots, and all kinds of adventurers, and entered into a treaty with Ameer Khan, a predatory Mussulman chief, then encamped, with 1,500 men, at Bhopaul, on the northern slope of the Vindhya Mountains, the terms of which bound them to unite their fortunes, for good and evil, for conquest and plunder. At the pillaging of Mhysir, Jeswunt lost an eye by the explosion of a musket; and soon after at Saugor, in the highest part of the table-land of central Hindostan, they obtained enormous booty. With Scindia many well-contested battles were fought, and one near Oojein, in 1799, was won, but chiefly by the skill and valour of Jeswunt. He had bitter reverses after this; but adopted a system of predatory warfare, by which his coffers were always well filled, and he became so formidable, that Scindia would gladly have made peace with him, almost on his own terms; and the Peishwa would have used his great influence as a counterpoise to that of Scindia, had not an act of dreadful barbarity rendered this well-nigh impossible. During the distractions at Poonah, consequent on all

this fighting, Etojee, the only brother of Jeswunt, was taken prisoner, at the head of some insurgent horse. Considering the services his father had rendered, some mercy might have been shown him; but Bajee Rao was remorseless, and remembered only that the father, Tookajee, had leagued with Nana Furnavese against him. "Having seated himself, with his favourite wife, at a window of his palace, he ordered Etojee to be brought out and tied to the foot of an elephant. The unhappy victim cried for mercy, but the Peishwa, turning a deaf ear to his supplications, looked on with composure, while the elephant dragged him forth from the palace-yard to crush him to death in the public street. Besides glutting his revenge, he meant by this barbarous proceeding to please Scindia, who had him completely in his power. In this he may have succeeded, but he appears to have forgotten that he was at the same time provoking the just vengeance of a formidable enemy. Jeswunt loved his brother, and vowed not to rest till he had retaliated on those whom he held to be his murderers."

The Peishwa was a coward, who would gladly have averted the storm of wrath and hate he had raised; but Jeswunt was inexorable. He pillaged and burned the territories of Scindia and the Peishwa without mercy, spread consternation by marching on Poonah, and compelling the Peishwa to make overtures to the British; and finally, at a decisive battle near Poonah, he drove Scindia from the field, with the loss of all his guns, stores, and baggage; while the wretched Peishwa, who had left his palace to take part in the field, on hearing the noise of the cannon, turned and fled. Repairing to Savandroog, he finally embarked at Rewadunda, as related, in a British ship, which took him to Bassein, where that treaty, on which so much hinged, was concluded with Colonel Close in 1802.



VIEW OF JEYPORE.

Such was the warrior with whom we now had to deal, and whose attitude had become so threatening. He continued, in the early part of 1804, to declare that he only wished for peace, and even professed a great friendship for the British Government; but his conduct served strongly to indicate other designs, as he kept his large and predatory army in close proximity to our frontiers. Thus the Governor-General instructed Lord Lake to negotiate with him in any way that might lead to an early

elucidation of his intentions, and relieve the Company from the expense of watching the hordes of freebooters he had collected from all quarters.

With this object, on the 29th of January, 1804, Lake addressed Holkar, stating the terms on which the British Government would leave him in the unmolested exercise of his own authority; but demanding as a pledge of amicable intentions that he would withdraw into his own territories, and cease to menace the Rajah of Jeypore, now our ally.

After considerable delay, Holkar's vakeels brought to Lord Lake the following proposals, after more free-lances and flying troops had joined his standard: That he should be permitted to levy *choult* (black mail, like the Scottish clans on the Highland border), "agreeably to the custom of his ancestors;" that twelve of the finest districts in the Doab and the country of Hurriana, formerly in possession of Holkar, should be delivered up to him, and fully guaranteed to him. These demands were at once rejected as extravagant. He then



VIEW IN THE GARDENS OF THE MOGUL'S PALACE, DELHI.

strove to excite our tributaries to revolt against us, and wrote an arrogant and insulting letter to General Lake, which concluded by threatening, "that countries of many hundred *coss* (a measurement of two miles), shall be over-run and plundered. Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."*

Not satisfied with these threats, he openly solicited the alliance of Scindia, and to anticipate war, commenced to plunder the territories of the Rajah of Jeypore. Papers laid before the House of Commons, prior to our army taking the field, state that—

"The predatory course of proceedings adopted by Holkar, pending a negotiation, was such as to have imposed on the British Government in that quarter, the necessity of using force for the reduction of his usurped power. There appears to have been a great deal of treachery on the part of Holkar; and his hostile disposition before the open rupture took place was on some occasions marked with the most sanguinary and murderous traits.

"Captains Vickers, Todd, and Ryan, British officers in his service, were, in a moment of profound peace, cruelly murdered by him, because they had expressed their determination to return to the British service. The heads of these unfortunate gentlemen were severed from their bodies, exposed on pikes, and the bodies forbid to be buried, on pretence that Captain Todd had carried on a traitorous correspondence with General Lake, which the latter declares was never the case. The Marquis of Wellesley considers that, under all these circumstances, it would be creditable to the justice and honour of the British Government to restore the injured relative of Holkar to his hereditary rights; and, at all events, that the enterprising spirit and perfidious views of the usurper render the reduction of his power a desirable object, with reference to the complete establishment of tranquillity in India."

So far as numbers constituted strength, Holkar, at this time, could bring into the field nearly 50,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, with 100 pieces of cannon. His fortresses were numerous; and among them Gaulna and Chandore, amid high and barren hills, at the termination of the Western Ghauts, and ranked among the strongest places in India.

After the savage murders referred to, the ferocious Mahratta chief retired up the valley of the Jumna, and then a combined movement of our troops took place against him. Colonel Murray, commanding in Goojerat, was ordered to prosecute hostilities in the direction of Indore, the capital; our troops stationed above the Ghauts prepared to operate against his possessions in the Deccan; while Lake began his march westward through the pass of Ballakeera towards the borders of Jeypore.

On the 28th of April he was at Tonk, a town which stands in a triangular hollow, not far from the city of the former name, and which is overlooked by a steep and conical mountain of rock. On the 10th May a detachment, under Colonel Don, was dispatched against Tonk Rampoora, a fort held by Holkar's Rajpoots, about sixty miles southward of Jeypore, and, though strong, it was suddenly reduced five days afterwards. The garrison consisted of 1,100 men, of whom fifty were slain. In some places the walls were forty feet thick and twenty feet high.† On losing this, his only fortress north of the Chumbul, Holkar crossed the river, closely followed by three battalions of native infantry, which Lord Lake had sent forward, under Colonel Monson, together with the troops of the Jeypore Rajah, to press him on one flank, while Colonel Murray, from the direction of Goojerat, was to act upon another.

Deeming these two columns sufficient to keep Holkar in check, Lord Lake retired to Agra, as the troops were suffering fearfully from the hot winds, which destroyed all pasture, so that the cattle perished by scores daily. On halting at Hindown on the 28th of May, tidings reached him that a party of British troops had been cut up in Bundelcund, where Colonel Fawcett had detached seven companies to reduce a fort five miles distant from his position at Koonch. The killedar promised to surrender next day if the firing ceased. To these terms the officer in command agreed; but, meanwhile, the treacherous killedar invited the intervention of Ameer Khan, then in the vicinity at the head of 7,000 horse, who fell suddenly upon the trenches and cut down to a man two companies of sepoys and fifty gunners, and carried off five pieces of cannon. The remaining five companies effected their retreat with the utmost difficulty.

The disastrous march of Lake continued, and daily men perished under the dreadful hot wind—"the Devil's breath." We are told that young men who began the route in the morning full of spirits and in vigorous health, fell dead when they halted; "and many were smitten on the road by the overpowering force of the sun, especially when at meridian, the rays darting downwards like a torrent

* Malcolm's "Political History of India."

† *Calcutta Gazette.*

of fire;" while, to add to the misery of want of water, hordes of robbers hovered about, pillaging and murdering every straggler, till the troops reached Agra, on the 5th of June.*

Colonel Monson's force consisted of five battalions of infantry and 3,000 irregular cavalry, and with these, hoping to co-operate effectively with Murray, he penetrated into Holkar's territory by the Mokundra Pass, and sent forward a detachment, under Major James Sinclair, to redeem the hill fort of Hinglaisghur, which stands on a height, surrounded by walls and a deep ravine 200 yards in breadth, crossed by three artificial causeways, and deemed, of course, impregnable. On Sinclair's arrival within a mile of this place, he learned that Holkar, with the most of his forces and guns, was within a short distance; but as the rains were at hand, there was no time to be lost, and he at once led his troops to the attack, under a heavy cannonade, which the admirable fire of his artillery silenced in an hour. He then took by storm the fort, which was garrisoned by 800 foot and 300 horse. The killedar escaped, with many others, by a sally port, but they perished miserably in the adjacent jungles.

Colonel Monson had marched fifty miles beyond the pass in the direction of Chumbul, when he heard that Holkar was advancing with his whole army. This was on the 7th of July. The gallant Monson hastened to anticipate the meeting, but found it prudent to desist, as Sinclair's detachment had not yet rejoined him, and another was absent in search of grain. The startling intelligence also came that Colonel Murray was intending to fall back on the river Mhye. He was thus compelled to send off his baggage and stores to Sonara; and at four o'clock on the morning of the 8th of July, 1804, to begin a retreat towards the Mokundra Pass, leaving the irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Lucan, to cover the movement, and in half an hour after bring him intelligence of Holkar. But he had not proceeded twelve miles when he heard that the latter had cut off Lucan's force, and made him prisoner. On the 9th Monson was in the pass, and on the following day the Mahratta cavalry covered all the slopes of it, and Holkar demanded the surrender of our guns and small arms. This was, of course, refused, and both sides prepared for battle.

Dividing his cavalry into three columns, Holkar charged the detachment, in front and on both flanks, but was always repulsed with great loss, and drew off till his artillery and infantry came up.

* Major Thorn, &c.

Accordingly Colonel Monson, certain that he could not with success resist long in the field, retired upon Kotah, a fortified town on the east bank of the Chumbul; and after two marches, though dreadfully harassed by the enemy, by want of food, and the rains, he succeeded in reaching it, to find its gates closed upon him by the Rajpoot Rajah, and his toil-worn and desperate troops were compelled to turn their weary steps towards the Gaumuch ford on the river. It lay but seven miles distant, but so soft was the soil, and so much was the country now under water, that a whole day was spent ere the ford was reached, only to be found impassable — impassable, and a fierce enemy coming on!

After a brief halt to procure some food, the guns were abandoned amid the mud in which they sank hopelessly; so they were spiked, and the troops pushed on to the Chumbulee, a rivulet, now swollen by the rains to a red and roaring river. On the 17th, the troops began to cross on elephants and rafts, but ten days elapsed ere the whole of them were over, and, in the meantime, their privations nearly drove the men mad. Many of the wives and children of the soldiers, who had been unwisely left to the last on the opposite side, were murdered by the barbarous Bheels, under the eyes of their husbands and fathers, who were unable to yield them the slightest protection.

On reaching Rampoora, a succouring force of cavalry and infantry, with four field-pieces and two howitzers, sent by Lord Lake, now came up on the 29th July, and the retreat was continued towards Kooshalghur. Monson's force, now reduced to five battalions and six companies of sepoys, reached the Bunass on the 22nd of August, but that river was found so swollen as to be unfordable, yet some boats were procured, and in these the treasure was sent across, under six companies of the 21st Regiment, with orders to lodge it in Kooshalghur.

Early on the following morning, in great strength, the cavalry of Holkar appeared, and pitched their tents at the distance of four miles. On the 24th the waters subsided, and four regiments, most of the baggage, and a howitzer, were sent across by Colonel Monson; but Holkar's cavalry also crossed in great force on both flanks of our position, and at four in the afternoon, their infantry and guns opened a cannonade on the solitary battalion and pickets left on the south bank to protect the passage of the camp-followers, that necessary appendage, and yet curse to all Indian armies. The officer in command of this force, Lieutenant Jones, 2nd Infantry, in a letter dated Agra, September

the 24th, 1804, thus details what ensued to a brother-officer :—

"We were now completely cut off from communication with the army encamped on the other side. Our battalion had only four hundred able to bear arms, and the pickets of the 9th and 12th, and with this small force we had to combat the strength of Holkar's army—nearly 20,000 horse and twenty-eight guns, with four battalions of sepoys, called Alliads, extremely despicable, and without matchlocks. The enemy, perceiving the situation I have described, did not fail to take advantage of it, and immediately posted his guns in a commanding situation, very close to us. The action began by his attacking my picket, only eighty men strong, which was advanced closer to his posts than any other. He continued to bring guns to bear upon me, and with such effect that, in spite of my endeavours to secure myself, I lost upwards of fifty men out of the eighty in ten minutes—all by grape-shot. Monson, the brigadier, seeing that I could not stand, advanced to my support, when a terrible and destructive fire commenced, which unfortunately did too much execution, and the alternative was, either to perish on the spot or endeavour to take his guns. Accordingly our battalion, in the most brave manner, succeeded in securing seven; but the whole of our ammunition being expended, and no possibility of support or means of making use of the enemy's guns appearing —they having had the precaution to run away with the sponge staves—we were under the necessity of retreating. The moment the order was given, and our backs turned, the whole of the enemy rushed in, sword in hand, but for some time were checked by the powerful use of the bayonet. The troops, however, were able to effect their retreat to the river, spent with fatigue, and mostly all wounded—your son included. Everything now, of course, went to wreck, and the officers, as well as the men, consulted their own safety by throwing themselves into the river with the utmost precipitation; and here the final destruction of our battalion ensued.

"Such was the strength of the current, that those who could swim were carried down for miles before they could effect a landing, and in this sad place your unfortunate son was buried. He and his young chum, Walker, perished together—both wounded, and weak with loss of blood. Those who escaped the waves were instantly cut to pieces on their landing on the beach. The enemy showed no quarter to Europeans in particular. I escaped by being put by some faithful sepoys on an elephant, prior to the retreat of the battalion."*

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, vol. viii.

The attacking foe, led by Holkar in person, nearly annihilated this luckless rear-guard. Colonel Monson was obliged to abandon the baggage, to facilitate his retreat to Kooshalghur, which he reached on the night of the 25th of August, and where he discovered that Sedasheo Bhow Bhaskur, an officer of Scindia's, whom he had expected to join him with six battalions and twenty guns, had declared himself an enemy, and begun to levy contributions in the territory of Jeypore, demanding the surrender of the elephants, treasure, and baggage which had arrived there with the escort of the 12th, under Captain Nicholl, and had actually cannonaded the fort of Kooshalghur, but without effect.

Our loss of officers in this retreat was twenty-two, including Major James Sinclair, who was killed, and many drowned. The prisoners were treated with great inhumanity by Holkar, who cut off the right hand of most of them.

On the morning of the 26th, after his arrival at Kooshalghur, Colonel Monson found himself surrounded by the whole of Holkar's cavalry, between whom and some of his native officers he detected a secret and dangerous correspondence, in consequence of which two companies of sepoys, and many of the Hindostani Horse, went openly over to the enemy. At seven in the evening the colonel moved again, with his troops formed in an oblong square, into which the enemy's charging horsemen strove in vain to hew a passage; and on the following night he reached the ruined and deserted fort of Hindown, from whence, after a few hours' halt, he resumed his most disastrous retreat, at one o'clock in the morning; but was no sooner clear of some rugged ravines, than the yelling and charging hordes of steel-shirted Mahratta horse came thundering down in three divisions. Coolly and bravely the toil-worn infantry reserved their fire till the horses' breasts were almost at the bayonet's point, and then it was poured in with terrible effect.

By sunset on the 28th, sinking with starvation and fatigue, the troops reached the Biana Pass—fifty-four miles south-west of Agra—where it was Monson's intention to halt for the night. But now Holkar's artillery came up and opened fire; confusion ensued; the ranks were broken, and the troops taking fairly to flight, made their way, thinned, disordered, and demoralised, to Agra, pursued as far as Futtehpore by flying parties of the enemy's cavalry.† Of this disastrous affair, Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote thus to Colonel Wallace:—

"In the first place, it appears that Colonel Monson's corps was never so strong as to be able to

† Major Thorn.

engage Holkar's army, if that chief should collect it; at least, the colonel was of that opinion. Secondly, it appears it had not any stock of provisions. Thirdly, that it depended for provisions upon certain rajahs, who urged its advance. Fourthly, that no measures whatever were taken by British officers to collect provisions, either at Boondee or Kotah, or even at Rampoora, a fort belonging to us, in which we had a British garrison. Fifthly, that the detachment was advanced to such a distance, over so many almost impassable rivers and nullahs, without any boats collected, or posts upon those rivers; and, in fact, that the detachment owes its safety to the Rajah of Kotah, who supplied them with his boats. The result of these facts is an opinion, in my mind, that the detachment must have been lost, even if Holkar had not attacked them with his infantry and artillery." ‡

While all these horrors had been in progress, Colonel Murray, instead of retreating, as Monson was led to suppose, had been steadily, at the head of the Goojerat division, marching into the heart of Holkar's dominions; and on the 24th of August, the very day that Monson had in desperation abandoned his baggage, took possession of the capital city of Indore, almost without opposition.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE WAR WITH HOLKAR—OCHTERLONY'S DEFENCE OF DELHI—OUR VICTORIES AT FERRUCKABAD AND DEEG.

THOUGH the rain was pouring down in blinding torrents, and the river and paddy-fields were everywhere full of water, the topes and jungles emitting thick and pestiferous mists, Lord Lake resolved to take the field without delay against the daring Holkar. The cantonments were quitted, and our forces assembled, on the 27th of September, on the right bank of the Jumna, between Agra and Secundra. The army of the now exultant and triumphant Holkar amounted to 92,000 men, of whom 66,000 were cavalry, 19,000 were infantry, and 7,000 were gunners, with 192 pieces of cannon.* By general orders, issued on the 25th, commanding officers were to see that the bayonets and swords of their respective corps be well sharpened.†

Advancing to Muttra, which was only thirty-five miles distant from Agra, it was abandoned on the approach of this overwhelming force. It is a place venerated as the birth-place of Krishna, and hence the peacocks, parrots, and fish of the territory are regarded as sacred by the Hindoos. The population fled from Muttra, and consternation spread fast over the country.

The British army began its march northward on the 1st of October, and two days after encamped within a mile of Muttra, which Holkar abandoned. Monson's shattered force hailed Lake's appearance in the field with joy, and soon recovered their discipline; but rage inflamed the troops, as daily there came into camp Holkar's prisoners, mutilated, with their noses and right hands cut off, because they had refused to enter his service. Some of the Mahratta horse, when scouring the country, had fallen in with some convalescent sepoys, with a convoy of a hundred camels, laden with grain for the troops, and captured the whole. The camp of Holkar was at Aurung, on the Deeg road, westward of Muttra, and in that direction Lord Lake marched on the 7th, with the view of attacking him.

A surprise was intended; but though the troops reached the enemy's outposts before daylight, the Mahrattas were all in their saddles, and kept so far aloof, that a charge was impossible with due effect. A second attempt to bring on an action failed; and while Lord Lake was menacing thus before Aurung, Holkar, by a quick movement with his brigades and guns on Delhi, nearly secured the person of the Mogul; but his plan, though well conceived, was frustrated by the Resident, the gallant Colonel (afterward Sir David) Ochterlony, who, on the first tidings of his approach, had mustered all the troops on whom he could rely in the neighbourhood:—Two battalions of sepoys, a company of artillery, and a corps of Burkundazees of Scindia's. This famous Indian officer, who died a baronet, K.C.B., and general of the Bengal army, was a cadet of the family of Pitforthy, formerly styled of Ochterlony,

* Malcolm's "Central India."

† "Account of the 15th B. N. Infantry," 1834.

‡ "Wellington Despatches," 12th September, 1804.

which for two centuries held lands in the shires of Aberdeen and Forfar.*

To the colonel, the possibility of defending Delhi seemed extremely doubtful. On the morning of the 7th, when Holkar's glittering horsemen made their appearance, the infantry were ordered to the walls, which were ancient and ruinous; in some places the ramparts had fallen, in others the bastions were weak and small. Ochterlony intended to employ the irregular cavalry outside; but they were so few in number that they refused to act, and melted away. Next morning Holkar's foot and artillery appeared, and a heavy cannonade was opened against the south-west portion of the city wall. Forty feet of the parapet fell, and next morning partial breaches were made. Under the inspiriting influence of Ochterlony, the defenders repaired the damage, and making a sortie on the 10th, spiked the guns of a battery, and cut down those who manned it. Holkar now addressed his efforts to the southern face; and under cover of the beautiful gardens and great numbers of ruins of ancient temples and tombs which lie in that direction —the remains of ancient Delhi—his troops were able to approach and effect a breach in the curtain wall, between the Ajmere and Turcoman gates; but they failed to avail themselves of this success, as by the 12th Ochterlony contrived most effectually, by counter works, to cut off all communication, through the breach, with the city; and during the following day not a shot was fired. This silence was, as the wary colonel conjectured, only the prelude to the most serious attack, which was made at daybreak next morning, when a large column of infantry, moving parallel with the line of the Royal Canal, bearing scaling-ladders, attacked the Lahore Gate, about a mile to the left of the breach, where they were met with such a storm of cannon and musket shot, that they flung down their ladders and fled; and by the morning of the 15th, clouds of dust and the glitter of steel announced the approach of Lord Lake, while, at the same time, Holkar's army was seen retreating in the distance; so Delhi was saved by Ochterlony, whose name is still borne by one of the bastions, close by the Turcoman Gate.

On the same day that the army raised the siege



VIEW OF MUTTRA.

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1839.

of Delhi, Lord Lake passed through the town of Khoosee, where, a few days before, Holkar had celebrated a grand Nautch, during which the head of a European soldier—a straggler—was brought to him. He gave the bearer twelve rupees, placed the ghastly trophy on a spear, and made the nautch-



INDIAN DANCING GIRL: THE EGG DANCE.

girls dance around it. Entering Delhi on the 18th, Lake encamped in two lines, we are told, between it and the Jumna. This must have been on the ground, between the present bridge of boats and the Cashmere Gate. Meanwhile, Holkar, having crossed the river opposite to Paniput, began to devastate the Doab with fire and sword.

Leaving Fraser in command of the troops, with a reserve brigade of infantry under Colonel Don, and with all the cavalry, Lord Lake pushed on in pursuit. On the 31st of October, he forded the Jumna three miles from Delhi, advancing as swiftly as possible, without a single encumbrance, every fighting man receiving a supply of six pounds of flour, which was to last him for six days. Lake's force, thus lightly equipped, arrived on the 3rd of November at Shamlee (fifty-two miles north of Delhi), a town in which Colonel Burn had been shut up suddenly by some of Holkar's forces when marching to Saharunpore, and whose troops were now reduced to the direst distress, his Hindoo soldiers refusing to eat beef, and hence remaining without food for several days. As the scarcity of rice was alleged to be caused by the inhabitants

who favoured Holkar, Shamlee was given up to plunder; after which Lord Lake, on the 5th, pushed on to Suldanah, the residence of the Begum Sumroo (whom, in an excess of policy, Lord Lake kissed after the engagement at Delhi, in presence of a dinner party), in search of Holkar, who was suspected of seeking her alliance and the aid of her well-disciplined troops, consisting of five regiments, with forty guns, all led by European officers.

Though Holkar was far in advance of his pursuers, busy in the work of devastation, as flames by night and columns of smoke by day served to indicate, his cavalry hovered at times about Lake's line of march. On the 15th of November, he was at Ferruckabad, one of the richest cities of Upper India, where a number of European residents owed their lives on this day to Lord Lake's rapid movements, who, as he was spurring on, received the pleasant news of our victorious encounter at Deeg, to be detailed presently.

The dawn of the 17th was just brightening the minarets of Ferruckabad, when the head of our column reached the Mahratta camp in front of it. Their horses were picketed; and the troopers lay by them in sleep, till some plunging rounds of grape from our galloper guns, made it the last long sleep of many, and roused the rest to arms; then on dashed our cavalry, charging and cutting them down in all directions.

The 8th Royal Irish were the first among them, spreading terror and havoc. At the head of a body of horse, Holkar mounted a favourite charger and fled; while his troops scattered in all directions, leaving their horses tied to the picket-ropes. A few of Holkar's bands attempted to form and offer some resistance; but they were charged, broken, dispersed, and a fearful carnage took place, for our soldiers remembered their mutilated comrades. One small party of the Royal Irish plunged into the dense masses of the Allygole Musketeers, and soon covered the whole ground with their corpses. After continuing the pursuit for a considerable distance, the trumpets sounded the "retire," having, with six galloper guns, under Captain Clement Browne, traversed about seventy miles in twenty-four hours; the men and horses were so exhausted that they were allowed two days of rest.* Singular to say, the fiery Holkar had been among the first to fly, and, with all the cavalry he could mount, never drew bridle till he had crossed the Calin River, at a ford eighteen miles distant from the field.

The fury and distance of the pursuit, after a long and harassing march of 350 miles, extending over a fortnight, is, perhaps, says Major Thorn, "unparalleled in the annals of military history." † The smallness of our loss, only two killed and twenty wounded, seems incredible when contrasted to that of the enemy, which was estimated at 3,000 slain on the field; the cavalry of Holkar, 60,000 lances and sabres with which he had entered Hindostan, was now reduced to half that number.

On this same day, the 17th of November, three royal salutes, fired in succession, awoke the echoes of the walls of Ferruckabad: one for the victory there; a second for the capture of Chandore, the stronghold of Holkar's family in the Deccan, by Colonel Wallace; and a third for the victory of Deeg.

Shortly after Lord Lake marched in pursuit of Holkar's cavalry, Major-General Fraser set out in search of his other forces, which were known to be within the Bhurtpore territory, and on the 12th of November he came upon them in the neighbourhood of Deeg, a town and fortress, defended by extensive embankments from the hill torrents, and now containing the ruins of many handsome edifices. The enemy were seen encamped between a deep tank and an extensive morass, their left resting on the fort of Deeg, and their right covered by a fortified village; while their whole position was strengthened by ranges of redoubts, which they deemed impregnable. Their works were under the immediate protection of the fire from the ramparts of the same fort which had defied Nujeef Khan in 1776. "The most remarkable object it contained," wrote an officer who served under Fraser, "was an iron gun, mounted on the bastion which overlooked the field of the 13th November: it was large and heavy, its ball being upwards of seventy pounds in weight; and yet so accurately was it poised upon its carriage, or rather, pivot, that a child might have pointed it. Its range, too, was very great, for a day or two after the engagement it sent a shot over the quarter-guard of the European Regiment, through the tent of an officer, then lying desperately wounded. The distance, estimated by the engineer, was at least two and a half miles, or 4,400 yards. How often the piece could be loaded, and in a given time, I failed to ascertain." ‡

In spite of the strength of the place, Major-General Fraser, on the evening of the 12th November, resolved to attack the position on the following day. Two battalions of sepoys and the irregular cavalry having been left in charge of the baggage, the force that advanced into the field consisted of H.M. 76th Regiment, the Company's European Regiment, and four battalions of sepoys.

* "Records, 8th Hussars."

† "Memoir of the War." ‡ "Mil. Autobiog.," 1834.

General Fraser having selected the enemy's right as the point to be assailed, the column, after making a *détour* to avoid the marshes, arrived about dawn at the fortified village, and from marching order, wheeled into two lines: the 76th and two battalions forming the first; the rest of the troops the second.

In Deeg, the enemy are said to have had twenty-four battalions, a considerable body of horse, and 160 guns, including thirteen lost by Colonel Monson on his retreat, and thirty-two given to the Mahrattas by Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam. The 76th Regiment—a Scottish corps raised in 1787—carried the fortified village by the bayonet alone, and then rushing tumultuously down hill, charged the first line of guns under a literal tempest of round, grape, and chain shot; but the guns were abandoned, and their defenders fled to the next line of works, which were nearly two miles distant, and immediately under the walls of Deeg, from which our troops were compelled to fall back.

During their advance, the enemy's horse retook the first line of guns, and wheeled them round upon our troops; but Captain Henry Norfield, of the 76th, with only twenty-eight men of that gallant regiment, actually retook them and drove the enemy off, but fell in doing so. At the lower end of the morass was a dense column of Holkar's infantry, with many heavy guns; but during the whole action both were kept in check by Major Hammond, with two battalions and three six-pounders. In the furious advance, General Fraser had his leg smashed by a cannon-shot and was borne to the rear, when the command devolved upon Colonel Monson; but the valiant Fraser, says Lord Lake, in his despatch, continued to encourage the troops "long after he had fallen, and his voice impelled them, till a complete and glorious victory crowned and rewarded his exertions." Elsewhere he says, "his plan for attacking the enemy, in the glorious battle of Deeg, evinces the highest judgment and sagacity, and his conduct at the head of the army proves the most deliberate courage and determined resolution."

The second line of works yielded like the first; redoubt after redoubt was taken, till the enemy sought safety in flight. Many flung themselves wildly into the morass and perished miserably, while a few found shelter under the guns of the fort. Our loss was 643 killed and wounded, among whom were twenty-three British officers; but of the enemy more than 2,000 were killed or drowned; eighty-seven pieces of cannon, all of European make, were captured, and Holkar's twenty-four battalions were broken up and scattered.*

* Major Thorn, &c.

General Fraser expired after his leg had been amputated, and he was interred on the evening of the 25th at Muttra, with military honours. "In lamenting the loss of this brave officer," wrote Lord Lake, "I have the consoling reflection, that his memory will remain dear in the breast of every soldier; that his splendid example will animate to future deeds of heroism; and that his fame and glory will be consecrated and preserved by a grateful and admiring country." †

One of his seven sons was by his side when he received his death-wound. ‡

Holkar, after his rout at Ferruckabad, had hastened off to Deeg, where the remnants of his defeated cavalry and infantry had found shelter in the fort. This place belonged to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, with whom, in 1803, Lord Lake had made a treaty, offensive and defensive; but as he, like most of the native princes, proved false, Lake resolved to punish him; thus, his fort and citadel were stormed after an obstinate defence; and by the 25th of December, 1804, we were in possession of all the remaining artillery of Holkar's army and of the stores in Deeg, including two lacs of rupees found in the treasury. The attacking force was formed in three columns, the whole moving off so as to reach the different points of attack before midnight. The right column, under Captain Kelly, and the left, under Major Radcliffe, were destined to carry the batteries and trenches on the right and left of the town: a service which they performed with the most heroic gallantry. The centre column, under Colonel Macrae, composing the storming party, under an appalling fire of cannon and musketry on their flanks, and over very broken ground, rushed to the breach, and won the walls with a glorious spirit and ardour that must have ensured success, in spite of any opposition; fifty-nine pieces of cannon were taken in the town and fort.

In the capture, we had twenty-eight Europeans killed, and seventy-eight wounded; of natives, 101 killed, 106 wounded, and five missing. Among the casualties were fifteen European officers. §

Following up the track of Holkar, on the 28th, Lord Lake crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats at Muttra, and rejoined his infantry, which were then encamped about three miles to the westward. During the month's separation, one account says, his cavalry had ridden upwards of 500 miles.

The reduction of Chandore in Candeish, the strongest place held by Holkar on the side of the Deccan, had been schemed out by General

† Despatches, *Gazette*, &c. ‡ *Scots Magazine*, 1805.
§ Lake's Despatch.

Wellesley; and the troops detailed for that service consisted of some of the Company's subsidiary forces serving with the Nizam and the Peishwa, together with contingents furnished by these princes. The whole were commanded by Colonels Wallace and Haliburton, who, through General Wellesley's care were amply supplied with money and provisions. After a long march, early in October, Wallace succeeded in capturing the fort of Lassengong, twelve miles from the strong pass which Chandore commands. An easy march then brought him before the latter, and, from its past reputation in war, a resolute defence was expected; but the batteries of Wallace were no sooner ready to open, than Holkar's killedar displayed the white flag, and surrendered, upon condition that the garrison should be allowed to carry off all baggage, and that private property should be respected. The fall of Chandore led to the surrender of many small dependent forts, and thus Holkar lost all his possessions south of the Taptee River.

In the same month, an expedition to Khurda, the rajah of which, Muckund Deo, had rebelled, closed the military operations of the year 1804. Situated in Orissa, with the exception of a few isolated hills, this province is flat, and towards the south is still covered by an impervious forest, and the only avenues to the interior are through strongly-fortified defiles. The Khurda Rajah was always invested with sovereign authority, and was the sole fountain of honour in Cuttack. He was also hereditary high-priest of Juggernaut, and keeper of the idol's wardrobe.

Against this personage, who had taken up arms, Captain Hickland marched, on the 19th of October, with 120 of the 5th Native Infantry, and a six-pounder, and attacked him at Dillory, where he was posted with 1,000 infantry, besides horse, all of whom he put to flight. Detachments of five other Madras corps entered Khurda in three directions; and, driven from all his fortresses, the rajah took refuge in the jungles, where he was captured and shut up in the fort of Midnapore. Government kept the country; but in three years permitted him to proceed to Paoree, on a salary of 200 rupees monthly, to serve as high-priest in the celebrated temple of Juggernaut. His descendant has been acknowledged only as a landholder, his territory being under the entire management of British officials.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE FOUR FATAL ASSAULTS ON BHURTPORE—AMEER KHAN—END OF THE BLOCKADE.

THE next object to be undertaken by Lord Lake was the siege of Bhurtpore, situated about twenty miles S.S.E. of Deeg, on a plain amidst lakes and jungles. By the capture of the former place the war against Holkar would have been ended, had it not been for his alliance with Runjeet Sing, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, whose cavalry had served with those of Holkar at Deeg; and by whose artillery in that fortress we had suffered our greatest losses. Moreover, after the battle, his fortress had received as many of the fugitive Mahrattas as could escape into it; therefore, it was resolved to carry the war into the heart of Runjeet's territories, to reduce all his forts, and capture Bhurtpore, his capital.

On the 1st of January, 1805, Lord Lake began his march against this well-defended place, with his troops eager for battle, and all in the highest spirits. The country was clear of the enemy, and they pursued their march without trouble or precaution. Hunting parties were frequent, and as wild hogs and deer abounded, there was a good deal of sport, and game was a frequent dish at many of our camp tables. After a successful day's hunting or shooting (says an officer who was present), the etiquette was, particularly with those who knew how to make it subservient to their own private views, to send the head of a hog, or a haunch of venison, to head-quarters, and to make their appearance at the breakfast or dinner-table, where a large party assembled daily. *

Lord Lake was before Bhurtpore on the 2nd of January, and immediately began to break ground. Its condition he describes thus, in his despatch to the Governor-General. "A mud wall of great height and thickness, and a very wide and deep ditch everywhere around it. The fort is situated

* "Mil. Autobiog.," 1834.

at its eastern extremity, and is of a square figure. One side of that square overlooks the country; the remaining three sides are within the town. It occupies a situation which seems more elevated than the town, and its walls are said to be higher, and of greater width and deepness. The circumference of both the town and fort is upwards of eight miles, and their walls in all that extent are flanked with bastions at short distances, on which are mounted a very numerous artillery."

Encamping on the south side of the town, Lord Lake seized a grove in advance to facilitate his approaches; but this was not done without difficulty; and on the evening of the 5th a breaching battery, armed with only six eighteen-pounders, was erected, which opened fire next day, in unison with another battery, having eight mortars, throwing shells. The fire was continued, without intermission, till the morning of the 9th, when a breach in the western curtain, not far from the south-west angle, was reported to the general. Previous breaches had been made, but these were successfully stockaded by the enemy; and to prevent them doing so in this instance, it was resolved at once to assault.

At seven o'clock in the evening the stormers moved off in three columns: one to assault a gateway on the left of the breach, another to carry some advanced guns of the enemy on the right, while the third, or central column, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, of the 75th Highlanders, consisting of 500 Europeans and a battalion of sepoys, was to carry the breach.

By eight o'clock they issued from the head of the trenches, and immediately were assailed by a terrific fire of cannon and musketry, as they rushed furiously to the three points of attack. Lord Lake had hoped that Maitland's column would take the enemy by surprise; but in this it failed, owing to the darkness of the night, the irregularity of the intervening ground, which was broken up by swamps and pools, and, as the general reported, the great depth of water in the ditch. Surmounting this difficulty, the gallant Maitland, though losing men on every hand—some in the confusion following the right column, and some the left—led the stormers up the breach, which proved so imperfect, that all attempts to gain the summit were made in vain, and there was a horde of the enemy, clad in yellow garments, brandishing their glittering tulwars.

The booming of the great guns and the roar of the flashing musketry filled the whole air, together with hurrahs, and the somewhat unusual accompaniment of the drums and fifes, playing "The British Grenadiers," near the foot of the breach. Finding the latter impracticable, Colonel Maitland resolved to lead his column somewhat to the left, and sent an officer, Lieutenant J. L. Stuart, to order a company in the trenches to cease firing. "I shall never forget," says the writer already quoted, who commanded that company, "the martial appearance which Stuart's fine tall figure made, as he stood upon the parapet of the trenches, illumined by the blaze of cannon, and the musketry flashing in every direction. He wore an unsheathed sword—the scabbard had been dispensed with—hanging from a waist-belt, in which he had secured a pair of double-barrelled pistols; over one shoulder was slung a powder-horn, over the other a dirk, accompanied by a flask of Highland comfort; and to complete the equipment, he had a well-poised hog-spear, a weapon which, wielded by his powerful arm, was seldom known to miss the object against which it was directed."

The firing at this point consequently ceased. The flank companies of H.M. 22nd (Cheshire) had got far up into the breach, but being reduced to only twenty-three men, Lieutenant George Mansergh made them crouch down to avoid the dreadful fire from the guns they were unable to capture. By this time, Colonel Maitland, after receiving several severe wounds, fell, shot through the head. Every account of this affair is most confused.

"Although we unfortunately failed in gaining possession of the place, we were not wholly unsuccessful; a flanking column on the right, under the orders of Major Hawkes, gained possession of the enemy's battery, and succeeded in spiking and disabling their guns, and in destroying the greatest part of the enemy who were opposed to them." *

Eventually, the whole attempt proved a lamentable failure, and our troops retired with a loss of eighty-five killed, 371 wounded, and one missing—Ensign Hatfield, 75th Highlanders. Among those in the first, were thirty-two officers; the enemy butchered in cold blood all the wounded who fell in the ditch or beyond the other wall, and thus several of Lake's best officers perished.

The enemy stockaded the breach, so fresh batteries were thrown up. On the 18th of January, Major-General Smith arrived in camp, with three battalions of sepoys, belonging to the garrison of Agra, and 100 European convalescents, who, by a circuitous route, had performed a fifty miles' march in twenty-four hours. At the same time, Ismael Beg deserted from Holkar and joined the British, with 500 horse; but, lured by a present of six lacs of rupees and the tempting prospect of plunder,

* Despatch, 19th January, 1805.

Ameer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who was then pillaging in Bundelcund, marched with all his forces to Bhurtpore, to assist Runjeet, the rajah.

To breach the walls a little more to the right, two twenty-four, and four eighteen-pounders, with several twelve-pounders to sweep the parapets, opened with such admirable effect, that a new gap was effected, and though the enemy stockaded it, the palisades were knocked to pieces, and a breach left in their work; and for five days the battery rained its iron shower, till the assault was deemed practicable. The late rough lesson had inculcated caution; and, under an idea that the ditch was not fordable, three broad ladders, covered with laths, and easily raised or depressed by means of levers, were provided, and it was resolved to ascertain the exact features of the locality to be attacked.

"To learn the breadth and depth of the ditch, a havildar, and two troopers of the 3rd Native Cavalry, volunteered their services. Dressed like natives of the country, and pursued by men, as if deserters, they got to the ditch by the stratagem of pretending to be enemies of the British, and wishing to enter the fort, by which plan they passed along the ditch to a gateway, saw the breach, and then galloped back to the army." *

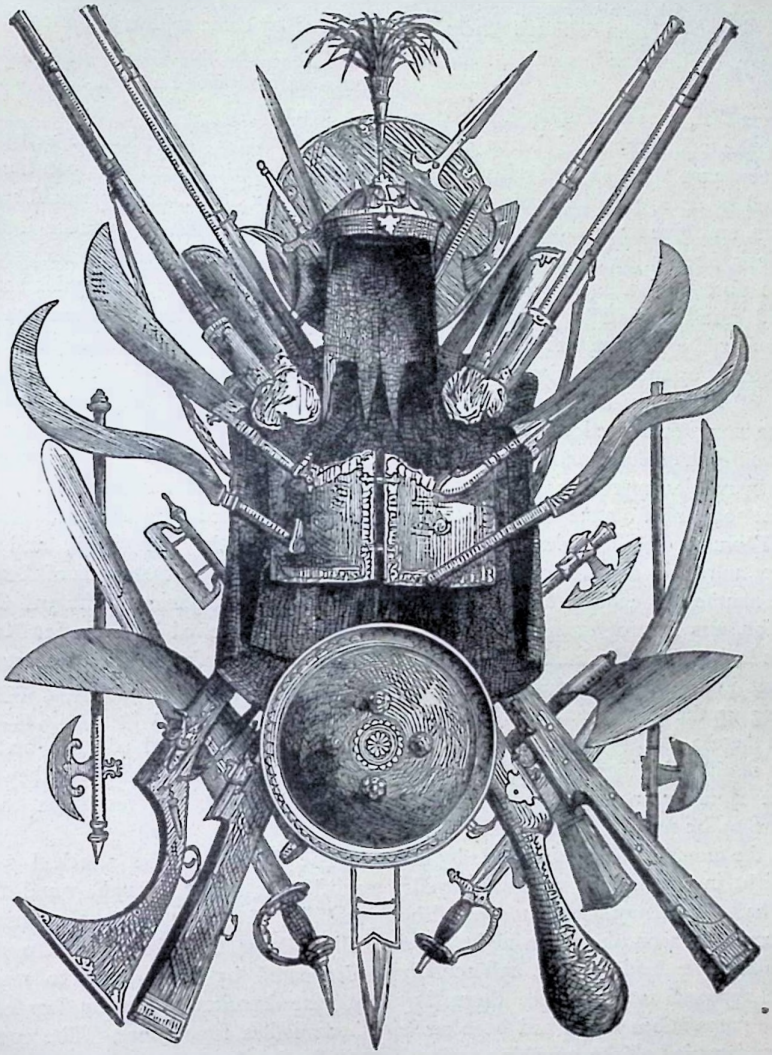
They were promoted, and rewarded by £50 each. Though the information they gave was but loose



COLONEL MAITLAND AT BHURTPORE.

* Major Thorn.

to be acted on, another assault was fixed for the following day, the 21st of January. The stormers consisted of 150 men of the 76th, 120 of the 75th Highlanders, 100 of the 1st Europeans, and fifty survivors of the 22nd Flankers, the last led by E. Lindsay, their senior captain.



GROUP OF INDIAN WEAPONS OF WAR.

Picked men bore the portable bridges, which they had been trained to handle. The advance was to be supported by the remainder of the regiments named, and by battalions of the 9th, 15th, and 22nd Native Infantry. The command of the whole escalade was entrusted to a veteran Highlander, Colonel Kenneth Macrae, of the 76th Regiment, who served at the storming of Deeg.

Covered by the fire of the batteries, the stormers issued from the trenches only to encounter a new and insurmountable obstacle. By damming up the ditch at a certain point, and sending in a large body of water from another, the depth and width of the ditch now rendered it impassable, and the portable bridges useless—though a few brave and reckless fellows plunged in and swam across, reaching the breach only to leave their corpses there. The enemy had, silently and grimly, allowed our people to advance, without a single matchlock-man showing himself upon the wall, till Macrae's escalade was within half musket-shot of the place. Then they rose by word of command, and opened a heavy rolling fire from the parapets, and this continued, without a moment's intermission, so long as our people were within range. The column was attended by a

number of camels, carrying fascines and sand-bags to assist in filling up the ditch; the first effect of the matchlock fire was to scare these animals away, and add to the confusion of this, our second futile attack. Colonel Macrae now ordered the column to retire, and in doing so it had to run a gauntlet of destructive fire, which killed and wounded 591. Among these were eighteen officers, including Captain Lindsay, of the 22nd, wounded for the third time.

It would seem that, notwithstanding his successful resistance, the rajah proposed terms of surrender; but they were such as met with refusal. He was required by us to pay the expenses of the war against him, and give three lacs to the troops. These conditions he declined; and, having collected in the fort the women, children, and treasure, vowed that he would bury them all, and himself, too, under the ruins, rather than consent either to these terms or an unconditional surrender.

The mode of attacking Bhurtpore was now changed. The army encamped on fresh ground to the north and east of the town, and operations were renewed by regular approaches and batteries, not as before, at 700 yards from the wall, but at 400. On the 11th February, two batteries, armed with six 18-pounders and eight mortars, opened at this distance, while another, to enfilade the defences of the right bastion, was in progress. By the 20th, the approaches had reached the brink of the ditch, and a mine was intended to be sunk, for the purpose of blowing up the counterscarp and giving a sloping access thereto.

For a third assault all things were now in readiness, and the stormers were ordered into the trenches, so as to be ready for the attack at an early hour, or the moment the repairs made by the enemy over-night in the breach were destroyed; but so much had the enemy been encouraged by their past success, that on the same night Lake issued these orders they made a sally, and actually crept into the approach unperceived; there they demolished the preparations which had been made for the mine, and carried off the trenching tools.

The storming party had just entered the parallels, when another sally, composed partly of those who were lurking in the approach and of men from the town, rushed upon them, and were not driven in without considerable loss. As a trench in the advanced breach was still held by the enemy, it was proposed to drive them out, and follow them into the body of the place; but frequent repulses had caused the troops to lose heart, and the 75th Highlanders and 76th Foot actually refused to advance.

The few survivors of the flank companies of the 22nd were rushing forward, but as they could achieve nothing alone, they were recalled; and now the 12th and 15th Native Infantry were ordered to head the column. The ditch near the breach proved again impassable; but a bastion near it, though of formidable aspect, was surmounted by some sepoys of the 12th, who planted their regimental colours on it; and eventually the troops were repulsed a third time, with the loss of 894 men.

Lord Lake, having seen the activity with which the men of the 12th had got upon the bastion, conceived that a little battering would render it easier of ascent, and resolved to make it the point of a new attack; and on parade addressed the men of the 75th and 76th, expressing his sorrow for their lost laurels, and invited volunteers to retrieve their reputation. On this, both regiments stepped to the front as one man. Meanwhile, the batteries had been breaching the bastion, in which an enormous gap soon yawned, and once again the stormers went forward when their pouches were nearly destitute of ammunition.

They embraced the whole of the European troops (the 65th, 75th, 76th, and 86th Royal County Down), two battalions of Bengal Infantry, and the flank companies of the 3rd Bombay Regiment: the whole led by Brigadier Monson, of the 76th. No plan of a proper assault seemed to have been formed, and in a blundering way, these brave men were sent again to fight their way up the wall, or what remained of it, as best they could; yet they cheered heartily as they rushed past Lord Lake, with the resolution to conquer or die.

"The bastion to be attacked was extremely steep," says Major Hough, "and there was no possibility of getting up to the summit. Several soldiers drove their bayonets into the wall, and endeavoured by these steps to reach the top; but were knocked down by logs of wood, and other missiles, from above. The enemy from the next bastion kept up a destructive fire. Several efforts were made against the curtain, and the enemy's grape told with fatal effect. The people on the walls threw down upon the heads of the troops ponderous pieces of timber, and flaming packs of cotton, previously dipped in oil, followed by pots filled with gunpowder and other terrible combustibles, the explosion of which had dreadful effect. The struggle was carried on with the most determined resolution on both sides. Brigadier Monson strained himself to the utmost in maintaining the unequal struggle; but after two hours' arduous exertion, he was

reluctantly compelled to relinquish the attempt, and return to the trenches."*

Major Thorn tells us that many of the stormers had striven to get up by the holes made by cannon-shot; "but as only two at most could advance in this dangerous way, they who ventured were easily killed, and when one man fell, he brought down with him those who were immediately beneath." Prodigies of valour were performed; Lieutenant Templeton fell, just as he planted the British colours near the summit of the fatal bastion, and Major Menzies who followed him, was also slain, in the act of cheering on his men. The enemy's guns were well served by some Frenchmen, and others, trained to war under M. Perron.

We fell back, with a loss of 987 killed and wounded, which, added to previous losses, gives an aggregate of 3,203 men. This number is irrespective of the many who died in camp of diseases incident to the climate and the campaign. Considering the reduction of the fortress by the sword as impracticable, the siege was turned into a blockade. The breaching guns had become unserviceable, and all were blown in the touch-hole; and as large foraging parties had to be sent out for the collection of supplies, the position of the whole army became critical, especially when Lord Lake, while taking up new camping ground, north-east of the city, met with severe interruptions from the enemy's cavalry, at a time when our own was on service elsewhere.

We have mentioned that the Rajah of Bhurtpore had sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with Ameer Khan, then ravaging in Bundelcund, and our cavalry, under Major-General Smith, were detached in quest of this famous marauder. Ameer had attempted to cut off a convoy of 12,000 bullocks, and had nearly succeeded in doing so, by attacking, with 8,000 men, the escort, which only amounted to 1,400 in all. A reinforcement from our camp fortunately arrived in time, and he was repulsed, with a loss of 600 men and forty stand of colours. His rout was so complete that he was compelled to change his showy costume and mingle with the fugitives; but during the conflict many laden bullocks strayed away and were never seen again.

On the 27th of January, Ameer Khan had the hardihood to make an attempt upon another convoy coming from Agra. It consisted of 50,000 bullocks laden with grain, and some 800 hackeries carrying ammunition and stores, including 8,000 rounds for the siege 18-pounders, and six lacs of rupees, escorted by H.M. 29th Light Dragoons, two corps of native cavalry, and three battalions of sepoys.

Hoping to make spoil of this valuable convoy, midway between Agra and Bhurtpore, the rajah and his allies, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and Bapoojee Scindia, united all their powers in the field; but they were again baffled, and handled more severely than before, while the whole convoy came in without the slightest loss.

The four confederates now began to quarrel and blame each other as being the cause of their reverses; and the rajah, in particular, came to regard his allies as expensive encumbrances, till Ameer Khan set out to other districts in search of plunder. With this view he sought Rohilcund, his native country, and was joined by a large body of the robber Pindarees, of whom we shall have much more to record at a future time.

Believing that our troops were fully occupied before Bhurtpore, he crossed the Jumna on the 7th of February, 1805, in full expectation of a large booty; but in this he was disappointed, as on the following day General Smith, with the 8th Royal Irish, the 27th and 29th Light Dragoons, the Horse Artillery, and three regiments of native cavalry, was following sharply on his track. Crossing the Jumna at Muttra by a pontoon bridge, they encamped three miles beyond the river; and after much marching and countermarching, in pursuit of Ameer Khan, whose rapid and erratic movements were little known, at Allyghur they were joined on the 11th by a strong force, under Colonel Grueber, who, on hearing of Ameer's arrival in the Doab, had abandoned the siege of Comona, a fort held by some rebels.

A hot pursuit was now made northward, as far as Comandanaghaut, on the Ganges, when it was learned, with certainty, that Ameer Khan had only the day before entered Rohilcund. On ascertaining that the river was only breast-high, our cavalry plunged in and swam across, at a point where it was a mile from bank to bank.† Passing Moradabad, and then Rampoor, in view of the stupendous ranges of the snow-capped Himalayas, they reached Sheerghur, only to learn that Ameer was further north among the mountains, where, for the present, he could not be easily followed.

On the 1st of March, when our cavalry were near Badalle, the still smoking ruins of several villages afforded proof that Ameer was not far off. General Smith had soon distinct tidings that he was only nine miles distant; and leaving his baggage with the rear guard and 3rd Cavalry, he hastened on the spur with his remaining troops, 1,400 regulars and

* Hough's "Exploits, &c., in India."

† "Records, 8th Hussars."

Skinner's Horse. At two in the afternoon he came upon the enemy, near Afzulghur, close under the Kumaon Hills, drawn up as if in expectation of an attack.

The 27th and 29th Dragoons formed line to the front; the Royal Irish and 6th Native Cavalry formed in support; but, as the squadrons advanced, their progress was suddenly arrested by a deep ravine, in which a body of Allygoles were concealed. These sprang up and attacked the first line in so daring a manner, that some confusion followed, till the rear squadron of the 8th, led by Captain George Dean, on hearing the sound of steel meeting steel behind him, gave the words, "Threes about—gallop!" At the head of his men, Skinner followed his example, and the two squadrons rushed to the rescue, at the moment when the Allygoles were sabreing the Bengal Horse Artillerymen, who had hardly time to unlimber ere the enemy were among the guns and wagons.*

This movement struck terror into Ameer Khan's cavalry, who fled in dismay; but his infantry, which consisted of newly-levied Patans and Pindarees, fought boldly, and perished to a man. We captured thirty stand of colours. Among these "were two golden standards which were carried by the *Yekus*, Ameer Khan's chosen body-guard."†

When entering Moradabad on the 5th, General Smith learned that Ameer Khan, with his cavalry, by taking a circuitous route, after his defeat, had passed near that place on the preceding day. As it was supposed that his object was still to plunder in Southern Rohilcund, it was resolved to anticipate his arrival, and this movement compelled him to double westward towards Sumbhul; and now an interesting incident occurred, with reference to Captain Skinner and his younger brother, who, at the head of 500 horse, had been detached across the Ganges, and when near Sumbhul, was suddenly attacked by a greater force, led by Ameer Khan, now breathing only revenge and slaughter. Young Skinner's troops "took shelter in a caravansary, which was gallantly defended for several days, though, from the vast superiority of the enemy's numbers, and still more from a want of provisions, an early surrender seemed inevitable. Captain Skinner, made aware of his brother's position, and of the impossibility of relieving him, had recourse to the following stratagem:—Having written a letter to his brother, desiring him to hold out, as the main body of the British cavalry would be with him in a few hours, he dispatched it with a messenger, with instructions to throw himself in Ameer Khan's way, and give up the letter to him. The moment it was read, Ameer Khan took flight and decamped, leaving young Skinner and his detachment overjoyed at a deliverance, for which, till the matter was explained, they were wholly unable to account."

On the dispersion of Ameer Khan's forces, the cavalry returned to Bhurtpore, where they arrived on the 23rd of March, after having traversed 700 miles in rather more than five weeks.‡

In the preceding month, Rampoor (or Rampurah), a large and populous town, the capital of the jaghire of the celebrated Fyzoola Khan, was captured, and thus the whole of Holkar's possessions on the left bank of the Chumbul fell into our hands. Colonel Murray commanded on this occasion, with the 2nd Battalion of the 2nd and the 86th Regiments. After firing a few shots, the garrison retired to a neighbouring hill, and the place was taken without loss on our side.§

Finding that he was left almost single-handed to contend with Lord Lake, and seeing the vast quantities of stores arriving to continue the blockade of Bhurtpore, the rajah began to lose heart, and wrote to the general, intimating a desire for peace. The overture was favourably received; his vakeels arrived in the British camp; the negotiations began, but proceeded slowly; and meanwhile some important events occurred elsewhere.

As Holkar had re-appeared with the remains of his forces, and was encamped about eight miles westward of Bhurtpore, the general resolved to attack him by surprise, as soon as the cavalry were rested and refreshed. Accordingly, at two in the morning of the 29th of March, without sound of trumpet, they moved silently out of the lines, accompanied by an infantry column, under Colonel Don. Holkar had timely information of what was intended, and was prepared for instant retreat. He suffered some loss from the firelocks of the infantry; 200 of his men were cut down by the cavalry in a single charge, and a great quantity of his baggage, with two elephants, 100 horses, and fifty camels, captured.‖

On the 1st of April, Lord Lake, learning that Holkar had again assembled the greater part of his troops in position sixteen miles from Bhurtpore, with his cavalry, the reserve and flying artillery, again moved silently off at midnight, and suddenly fell upon him, by an attack in front and on both flanks at once. Great numbers were slain on the spot, and many more in the pursuit, which was continued for eight miles. The whole of the bazaars were captured, and large bodies of troops,

* "Major Kennedy's (B.H.A.) Narrative."
† "Hist. Rec. 8th Hussars."
‡ "Hist. Rec. 8th Hussars." § *Calcutta Gaz.*, Feb. 21st, 1805.
‖ *London Gaz.*, Oct. 8th.

considering Holkar's cause as desperate, abandoned it. In this *alerte* 1,000 of his men perished, while we had only two killed and a few wounded.*

At the head of 8,000 cavalry and 5,000 foot, with about thirty guns, the miserable remains of his once vast army, he fled across the Chumbul River, while several of his chiefs with their followers came over to the British camp. Some who were advancing to his succour were cut to pieces by a British detachment from Agra; and then Holkar, disguised, it is said, as a fakir, fled to Scindia, who, undeterred by the rough chastisement he had received from General Wellesley, and the treaty he had concluded in 1803, was actually contemplating a renewal of the war with Britain.

On the 8th of April, our army before Bhurtpore took ground more to the south-east, and this indication of active operations compelled the rajah to think honestly and seriously of peace. Thus, on the 10th, the preliminaries were signed; and on the 11th his third son came into camp, as a hostage for the due fulfilment of the actual terms, which were these:—

1. The fortress of Deeg was to remain in British hands till we were assured of the rajah's fidelity, he pledging himself never to have connection more with any of our enemies, nor to employ, without the sanction of the Company, any Europeans in his service.

2. He was to pay the Company, by instalments, twenty lacs of Ferruckabad rupees, and to give up some territories which the Company had formerly annexed to his dominions.

3. He was to deliver up one of his sons as a hostage for the due execution of these terms, to reside with British officers, either at Delhi or Agra.

When happier times came, Lord Lake went to visit the humbled rajah, mounted on an elephant of immense size—the same venerable animal on which the Prince of Wales made his entry into Agra in 1876.

On receiving the first instalment of the money and the young hostage, our troops broke up from before Bhurtpore, where they had been for three months and twenty days in open trenches. They began their march on the 21st of April for Poonah, from whence the cavalry took up their quarters for the rainy season in the tomb of the great Emperor Akbar at Secundra, seven miles from Agra. During this campaign they had traversed, independently of their long march from Cawnpore to Delhi, 500 miles in pursuit of Holkar, and 700 in pursuit of Ameer Khan—thus undergoing an extent of toil and privation unknown in European warfare. †

"Two regiments of British Dragoons," says a writer, "found comfortable lodgings in the immense mausoleum of Akbar, sheltering their horses in the once magnificent garden, and eating, and sleeping, and pursuing their trooper sport among the white marble tombs of the potentate and his family, and of the Mogul Omrahs. The men were rough dragoons, without any of those pretensions to taste and reverence for works of art and antiquity, which were at this time set up by, or for, the armies of Bonaparte; but they had the English feeling of respect for the dead, and they offered no violence to the sanctity of the tombs, though they were rumoured to contain gold and jewels, and they left the marble slabs and the ornamented Saracenic arches, the sculptures, the carvings, and the mosaic pavements, in as good order as they found them. To the honour of our troops, let this conduct be contrasted with that of the French in the sepulchral abbey of Batalha, in Portugal, and the numerous other edifices devoted to the ashes of the illustrious dead and to the services of the Christian religion." ‡

CHAPTER LXXVI.

CORNWALLIS AGAIN GOVERNOR-GENERAL—HIS DEATH AND TOMB.

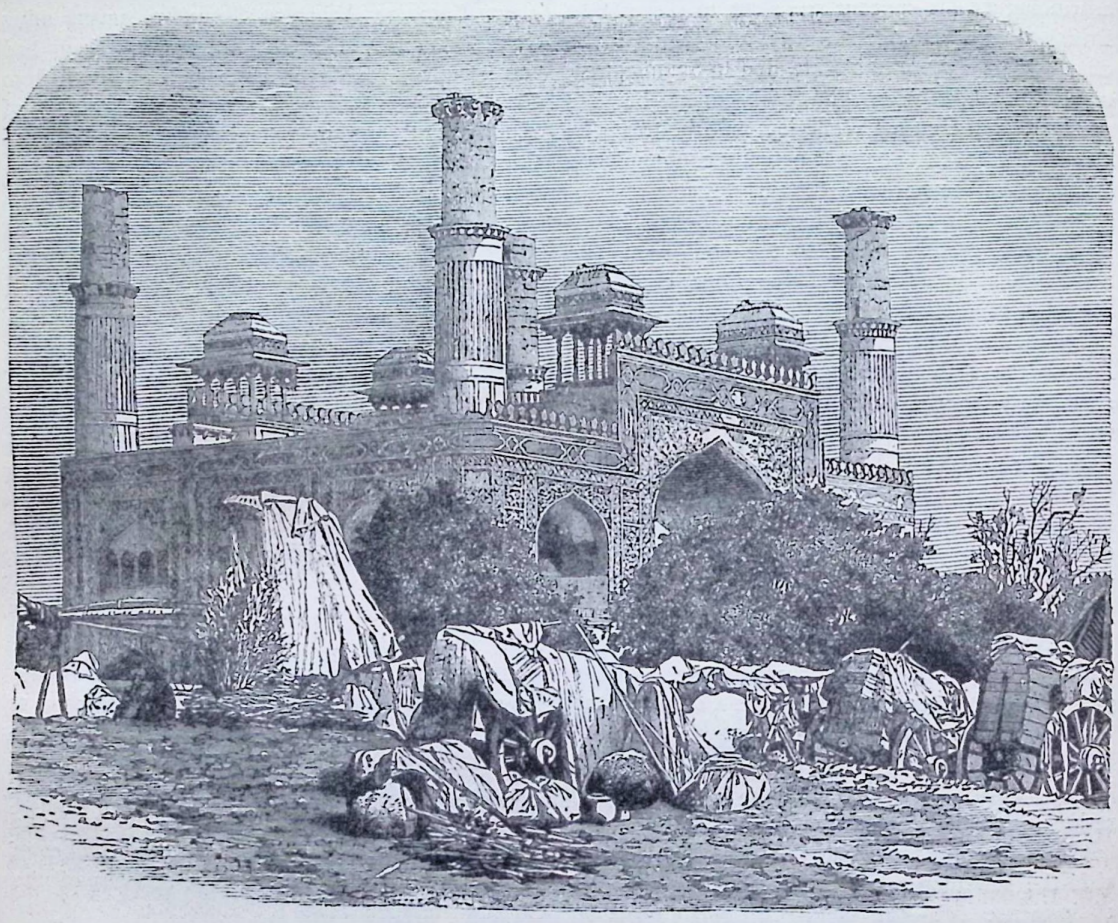
PEACE had barely been made at Bhurtpore, when some disputes with Scindia led to the fear that another Mahratta war might ensue. His sympathies had ever been with Holkar, and doubt alone of the final issue made him hesitate to cast his lot with him in arms. In March he

* *London Gazette*, Oct. 8th.

† "Rec. 8th Hussars." ‡ Macfarlane.

had intimated to Mr. Jenkins, our Resident, his intention of marching to Bhurtpore, with the pretended object of mediating between the British government and the rajah, and requested that officers in command of posts and detachments should receive him as a friend. But to this preposterous request the Governor-General declined to accede; and there was little doubt about Scindia's ultimate designs, as he soon showed leanings in favour of Holkar. He had begun a movement north-east, in the direction of Bundelcund, where Ameer Khan was at that time waging war as the ally of Holkar, and on his march made aggressions which were a violation of his treaty with us, first on the Nabob of Bhopal, and next on the Peishwa himself. In addition to these overt acts of hostility, he had entered into open communication with Ameer Khan, and other friends of Holkar, and gave such decided proofs of sympathy with his cause, that Mr. Jenkins applied for his passports, and with his suite and baggage, quitted the camp on the 23rd of January, 1805.

He was soon overtaken by a messenger, who prevailed upon him to return, and on doing so, he left his baggage in a grove near Scindia's regular brigade, and while detained by a durbar till evening, he learned that his escort had been attacked by a large force of Pindarees, who had wounded the officer in command, the surgeon, several soldiers, and carried off all his property. It is but too probable that this was done with the knowledge of Scindia, who, although he affected great indignation at the outrage, made no effort to punish it, as it perfectly suited his purpose in preventing the departure of Mr. Jenkins, who from thenceforward became a species of prisoner in the camp.



ENCAMPMENT AT SECUNDRA.

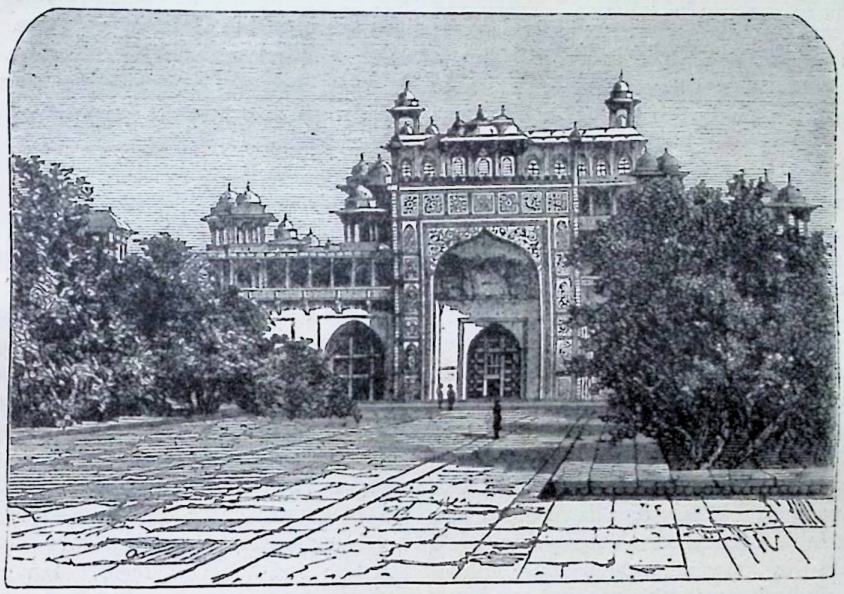
In addition to these, Scindia manifested many other hostile designs, which were frustrated in April by the peace at Bhurtpore; but as the Governor-General had no doubt concerning them, he proceeded with his usual vigour to crush

them. Colonel Close was invested with powers similar to those bestowed upon General Wellesley, now on the eve of quitting India to begin that glorious career of triumph which ended at the gates of Paris; and Lord Lake was instructed not to permit Scindia to violate a fraction of the treaty, and if he attempted to march on Bhurtpore, to repel him by force.

In consequence of the altered relations produced by the treaty of peace, Scindia became less arrogant in tone, and pacifically offered to atone for the outrage committed on the escort of Mr. Jenkins. The offer was accepted by the Marquis of Wellesley; but meanwhile the intercourse with Holkar was still maintained, and when at last the latter and Ameer Khan, with all the men they could keep together arrived, the three forces formed virtually one united camp, and the closeness of their union was soon evinced in the following characteristic manner:—

"Ambajee Inglia, now in the service of Scindia, was in possession of a large amount of treasure, while both his master and Holkar were very much in want of it. The two chiefs combined to enrich themselves by robbing the servant of one of them. Ameer Khan, who was employed by Holkar to do the robbery, states that the suggestion proceeded from Scindia, who observed, 'Ambajee Inglia, who professes to be my servant, and has lacs of rupees in ready money, will give no aid. If you can contrive any way of extorting the money from him, you have my permission; but the half must be given to me.' Such was the compact; and it was immediately executed by seizing Ambajee, and torturing him till he purchased his deliverance by giving up thirty-eight, or, according to some, fifty lacs. This was, in some respects, a fortunate robbery for the Company, as it made Ambajee the irreconcilable enemy of Holkar, and thus disposed him to use all his influence in preventing the new Mahratta confederacy, which was on the point of being formed, from acquiring any degree of stability."

When, as related, Lord Lake began his homeward march from Bhurtpore, on the 21st of April, he proceeded south, towards the Chumbul, on the banks of which Scindia and Holkar were encamped. Scared by the rumour of his approach, and not caring to risk the consequences of his arrival, the confederates broke up their confused camp, and hastened up the right bank of the river, in the direction of Sheopore, but the roughness of the road, the intensity of the heat, and the precipitation of the movement made it a disastrous one, and great numbers of their men perished by the wayside. After a brief halt, they pushed on to Kotah, thus placing fifty miles between them and Lord Lake, and compelled the unfortunate Mr. Jenkins to accompany them; though Lord Lake had distinctly ordered him to quit the Mahratta camp, and intimated to Scindia that he would hold him responsible, in his own person, for the safe conveyance of the Resident and all his attendants to the nearest British camp.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF AKBAR, AT SECUNDRA.

Week after week passed on, and there was no appearance of Mr. Jenkins being released. On the 17th of June Lord Lake sent a species of ultimatum to Scindia, declaring that "if in ten days the Resident was not allowed to quit the camp, it would be held equivalent to a dissolution of all friendly relations between the two governments."

Fresh evasions on the one hand, with hollow professions on the other, followed fast; but the Resident was still a prisoner in the Mahratta camp, when, on the 30th of July, 1805, the Marquis of Wellesley's powers, as Governor-General of India, ceased, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Cornwallis.

The alleged demerits of Wellesley's administration were that, from the day he landed in India he had been constantly engaged in the schemes of conquest and the extension of dominion. On the eastern and western coasts the latter had been achieved indirectly, by depriving independent princes of their royal rights, or by force wresting from them territories for annexation to the already vast possessions of the Company. On the other hand, it has been urged that Wellesley's policy was wiser than the line to which the legislature restricted him, for the system of neutrality had ever proved fallacious in India.

The marquis knew that to stand still was to recede, and he saw too, clearly, that British India had advanced too far for that. "The idea of becoming stationary was an absurdity. If they did not advance, they must lay their account with being driven back. If they repudiated the empire placed within their reach, some other power would certainly seize it. Marquis Wellesley saw this from the first, and having made his choice in favour of dominion, pursued it on system with consummate ability and brilliant success."

On the 28th of July, 1805, the Marquis of Cornwallis landed once more at Calcutta, and for the second time undertook the arduous and responsible task of governing British India. Though he had recently spent his years of peace at home, disease, the effect rather of hard service than of age, had begun to undermine his constitution. At the time the veteran was summoned once more to take the lead in Indian affairs, notwithstanding Wellesley's brilliant administration, the latter had given umbrage to a majority of the Court of Directors, who reprobated as unnecessary the wars waged for existence and the amount of territory acquired thereby; and a cry had been raised that the pacific policy, on the maintenance of which the prosperity of British India must ever depend, had been wantonly abandoned, and that the revenues of the country had been reduced to a state of depression, out of which it would be extremely difficult to raise them. But the veteran was now in his sixty-seventh year, and neither the condition of his body, or the state of his mind—lighted up though it was at times by flashes of his former vigour—were adequate to a charge so laborious; nor, indeed, did he long survive the harassing and incessant toil to which his new post subjected him in wielding the destinies of India.

On the 29th July, though his predecessor was still present, he was sworn into office at Calcutta, and holding as he did the united offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, he resolved to lose no time in carrying out his plans, or rather the instructions of the Court of Directors. To Lord Lake, who now became his second in command, he wrote instantly, expressing his desire that an end should be put to the present "most unprofitable and ruinous war," and this document was so unlike in tone the Cornwallis of other days, that Lake was surprised on receiving it; but it was speedily followed by another, acquainting him with the terms on which it was proposed to make peace with Scindia.

"I am aware of the disadvantage of immediately relinquishing, or even of compromising [the demand] which has been so repeatedly and so urgently made for the release of the British Resident; but I deem it proper to apprise your lordship that, as a mere point of honour, I am disposed to compromise, or even to abandon that demand, if it should ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with Dowlut Rao Scindia; and I have hitherto been induced to support it by the apprehension that the motives of such a concession might be misinterpreted, and that it might lead to demands on the part of Scindia with which we could not comply without a sacrifice of dignity and interest, incompatible with our security, and thereby render more difficult of attainment the desirable object of a general pacification."

To make concessions to the arrogant Scindia, who had violated a solemn treaty, and permitted an ambassador to be robbed, maltreated, and finally detained as a prisoner—the occupant of one shabby and meagre tent in his camp—was certainly pandering too much to the "peace-at-any-price" ideas of the home directors; they failed to see that security could not have been won by truckling to Scindia, who would assuredly mistake all the misplaced concessions, and, encouraged by them, would become more arrogant, and eventually hostile, the moment he felt himself strong enough to become aggressive.

Through the politic conduct of Lord Lake, we were spared the disgrace of making any concessions. He skilfully contrived to draw the first overtures from Scindia, and induced him to release Mr. Jenkins, by assuring him that, until this was done, his overtures could not be received.

Cornwallis was in very indifferent health when he landed at Calcutta, but plunged at once into his arduous duties; and a week afterwards he was on his way to the upper provinces, to put himself at the head of the army, and effect a final peace between the Company and the restless Mahrattas, for his old friend, Lake, was so averse to his pacific measures, that he threatened to resign.

Perplexities increased his indisposition, and when, on the 25th of September, he reached Buxar, he was deemed by his attendants beyond the hope of recovery. He still continued his voyage up the Ganges, till he reached Ghazipore, near Benares, when, after lying nine days in a state of insensibility, relieved by short and occasional intervals of consciousness, he expired on the 5th of October, 1805.

"However questionable the policy of some of the last acts of this nobleman may be to many," says Sir John Malcolm, "or whatever be their speculations upon the causes which produced such an apparent deviation from the high and unyielding spirit of his former administration, no man can doubt the exalted purity of the motives which led him to revisit that country. Loaded with years, as he was with honour, he desired that his life should terminate as it had commenced; and he died as he had lived—in the active service of his country."

At home, the House of Commons voted him a statue in St. Paul's; Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, which had each a statue in his honour, now gave him each a cenotaph, and the Court of Directors voted £40,000 to his family. Over his remains at Ghazipore, a mausoleum was erected by public subscription. It stands about 600 paces from the bank of the Ganges, a little to the rear of the right flank of the infantry barracks, and in the centre of a circular enclosure, about 130 paces in diameter, guarded by a handsome railing. Its chief features are twelve Doric pillars, supporting an elegant entablature, and it bears a long and elaborate inscription. On the reverse side is a shield, emblazoned with the Company's arms, and having, as supporters, a British Grenadier and a Sepoy, resting on their arms reversed. Below is another inscription, but in the Persian character.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

TREATY WITH SCINDIA—PURSUIT OF HOLKAR—TRAGIC END OF SIRJEE RAO—THE MUTINY AT VELLORE.

Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart., K.C.B., an old and distinguished civil servant of the Company, was now appointed Governor-General, and as such, seemed disposed to adopt the policy of his predecessor by abandoning all intriguing with the petty states, and generally with the territory westward of the Jumna; while Lord Lake, as senior officer, again became commander-in-chief. Sir George had been chief secretary to government during the whole of Lord Teignmouth's administration, and the earlier portion of that of the Marquis of Wellesley. His plans were to terminate the war as speedily as possible by concluding amicable treaties with Scindia and Holkar, and to bound the British territory by a line nowhere exceeding ten miles from the Jumna.

On the other hand, Lord Lake was decidedly of opinion that until both Holkar and Scindia were driven to some point far beyond the Indus, our possessions and those of our allies would never be secure from the Mahrattas; and that such was also the opinion of General Wellesley, we find in one of his letters, dated 29th January, 1805:—"I consider Holkar to be the chief of all the freebooters and vagrants scattered about all parts of India, every man of whom is the declared enemy of the British Government. So long as Holkar exists and is in any strength, we cannot consider the territories of our allies in security; and we must protect them with our troops, as they have no troops of their own to protect themselves." *

Despite the expression of opinions such as these, Sir George Barlow, taking up the negotiation with

* "Wellington Despatches."

Scindia on the basis which Cornwallis had adopted, concluded a treaty with that ally of Holkar on the 23rd of November, 1805. Its principal articles were, that a previous treaty of Surjee Ajengaom should remain in force, save in so far as altered: "That the Company, from mere considerations of friendship, would cede to Scindia the fortress of Gwalior and certain parts of Gohud; that Scindia would abandon all claim to the pensions payable by the Company to certain officers of his court, the Company, however, paying the arrears upon these pensions up to the 31st of December, 1805, and the balance due upon some territorial revenues, but only under deduction of certain claims, one of which was the plunder of the British Residency; that the Chumbul, between Kotah on the west and the eastern frontiers of Gohud, should form the boundary between the two states, Scindia having no claim to any territory between these two points to the north of the river, and the Company, in like manner, and within the same limits, having no claim to any territory south of the river; that the Company would pay to Scindia annually the sum of four lacs, besides granting two jaghires of their territories in Hindostan—one of two lacs to Scindia's wife, and the other of one lac to his daughter."

The Company further engaged, in the event of their making peace with Holkar, they would not restore to him any possessions of the Holkar family in Malwa, taken by Scindia, who was at liberty to arrange with that chief as he chose. Colonel Sir John Malcolm negotiated this treaty, which did not receive the entire approval of Sir George Barlow, who, in the spirit of his intended policy, was averse to fixing the Chumbul as a boundary which implied that the petty states north of the river were to be under British protection: thus he appended to the treaty declaratory articles, by which these states were left to defend themselves as they best could. Lord Lake was averse to this measure, and though Barlow failed to answer his arguments, he persisted in the course which he knew the Court of Directors expected of him; and in the February of the following year, 1806, our new Resident, Mr. Graeme Mercer (of Mavisbank, in Lothian), an eminent civilian, arrived at the court of Dowlut Rao Scindia, escorted by two companies of infantry, under Colonel J. D. Broughton, author of "The Mahratta Letters," &c.

While these negotiations with Scindia were pending, Lord Lake was in pursuit of Holkar, who had proceeded northward into the Punjaub, in the hope of winning aid from the Sikhs, and even from the King of Cabul. He had with him a horde of desperadoes from the country north-west of Delhi, now mustering several thousands, with horses, spears, and some light galloper guns. As he continued to elude both Major-General Jones and Colonel Ball, who had marched from different points to intercept him, Lord Lake was induced to pursue him in person to the last extremity the moment the season permitted him to take the field.

On the 10th of October, 1805, he set forth, with the 8th Royal Irish, the 24th and 25th Dragoons (late 27th and 29th), and 3rd Cavalry, under Brigadier Wood; H.M. 22nd Foot, a Company's European regiment, and two battalions of sepoys, under Brigadier Mercer; and a park of Horse Artillery, under Captains Pennington and Brown.

Driving Holkar before him, and compelling him to cross the Sutlej, Lord Lake with these two brigades advanced towards the country of the Sikhs, whose chiefs assured him their intentions were pacific; but they would not have been long so had Holkar obtained time or leisure. Our troops halted for a day at Paniput (on the right bank of the Jumna), a place celebrated as the scene of two of the greatest battles recorded in the history of Hindostan: one fought in 1525 by the Mogul Baber against the Afghans and Hindoos, under the Emperor Ibrahim Lodi, who was defeated and slain; and the second in the year 1761, between the Afghans, under Ahmed Shah of Cabul, and the combined Mahrattas, who were totally routed, with the loss of 200 guns and their field equipage. It is recorded that of 500,000 souls—men, women, and children, and camp-followers who came with the Mahrattas, very few escaped alive on that terrible day. The bigoted Afghans slew all their prisoners in cold blood, alleging that the women of their country had urged them, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, to kill a few for them on their account, that they also might gain favour in the sight of God and the Prophet. "As the Afghans cut off the heads of the Mahrattas, they piled them up before the doors of their tents. The son of the Peishwa of that day fell in the battle. His body was found, and carried to the tent of the King of Cabul. The Afghans cried out, 'This is the body of the King of the Unbelievers! We will have it dried and stuffed that it may be carried home with us to Cabul!' His Afghan Majesty was, however, induced to prevent this barbarity, and to order the body to be burned."

From Paniput, Lord Lake pushed on to Kurnaul, and from thence to Ameerghur, on the 27th of October, "pursuing nearly the same route which was taken by the celebrated Tamerlane, on the skirts of the great sandy desert which stretches from the Indus to within a hundred miles of Delhi; and

driving Holkar before them, the British forces arrived on the 9th of December, on the banks of the Hyphasis."*

Prior to reaching this point the army suffered great privations. When at Ameerghur, on their left flank, says Major Thorn, there appeared an endless waste of sandhills in vast succession, like the waves of the sea, desolate, dreary, and deceptive to the eye by the illusions of the mirage. These, he continues, "exhibited to us the representations of spacious lakes and rivers, with trees and other objects, in such a lively manner as almost to cheat the senses of persons familiarly acquainted with the phenomenon; while they who were oppressed by excessive heat and parched with thirst, cheered themselves with the hope of being soon refreshed with water from the friendly tank or cooling stream, of which they thought they had so clear a prospect. Often were we thus agitated between expectancy and disappointment, flattering our imagination with a speedy indulgence, when just as the delightful vision appeared on the point of being realised, like the cup of Tantalus, the whole vanished, and left us nothing but the arid plains of glittering and burning sands."

On the shore of that Hyphasis, where Alexander the Great raised his stately altars, the British colours were now waving in the wind, and the British drums waking the same echoes that, more than two thousand years before, had replied to the trumpets of the Macedonians. Thorn tells us that the scenery around our troops was as sublime as the memories it recalled. Far in the distance to the north and east was seen the mighty snow-clad ridge of the classic Imaus, a part of the Himalayan range. Nearer, in middle distance, were rugged rocks and pine-clad hills, covered with vegetation, and dotted by villages, temples, tombs, and tall pagodas; and amid these was the noble Indus, rolling on its way to the ocean. On its opposite bank vast numbers of the natives assembled peacefully to watch, with wonder, our troops on the march.

"During their progress," says Thorn, "the most scrupulous regard was paid to the property of the inhabitants, as well that which was exposed as that which they had in their dwellings; and when any injury happened unavoidably to be committed, a liberal compensation in money soon prevented complaint or restored confidence. Thus our route through this remote part of India, and amongst a people naturally fierce and jealous, was pursued not only without opposition, but with cordiality on both sides."†

* "Records, Royal Irish Hussars."

† "Memoir of the War."

Holkar at this time was encamped on the bank of the Ravi, the Hydaspes River of Alexander's days, which is fordable in most places during eight months of the year. In a few hours, by rapid marching, Lord Lake would have been upon him, sword in hand; but ere this could be done, Sir George Barlow, having concluded his peaceful treaty with Scindia, sent instructions to Lord Lake to treat with Holkar, and grant him the most favourable terms he could; and the chief of Lahore, and the heads of the Sikh confederacy, having agreed to withhold all succour from Holkar, and to interpose as mediators, as the most pleasant means of getting rid of him and his pursuers, sent a vakeel to Lord Lake on the 19th of December, 1805.

The terms were easily adjusted, as Holkar was in no position either to linger or to dictate. The conditions offered for his acceptance gave him back all his territories, with some small exceptions; he was, however, to renounce all claim to places situated north of the Chumbul, to Kooch and Bundelcund; and, generally, all claims whatever on the British and their allies. Chandore, Gaulna, and his other forts in the Deccan, were to be restored to him in eighteen months if his conduct proved peaceful. But in the treaty with him and that with Scindia, they were expressly prohibited from taking into their trust or service the father-in-law of the latter, Sirjee Rao Ghatka.

This man was cruel, worthless, unscrupulous, and had, in his hatred of the British, been the instigator of the plunder of the Residency; but Sir George Barlow carried his peaceful policy so far as to permit him to resume his place and malign influences at the court of Scindia, where, four years after, he came to a tragic end.

When pressing some request upon Scindia, who was impatient to attend an elephant fight, Sirjee Rao was rash enough to seize his dress and detain him forcibly on his seat in the open durbar. Scindia ordered his instant arrest; a scuffle ensued, and drawing his sabre, Sirjee cut a passage to his own tent. Scindia's attendants, not unwilling to rid themselves of an obnoxious minister, slashed through the ropes, disarmed Sirjee Rao, and dragged him into the public streets, where they hewed him to pieces.

There is no doubt that the article in the treaty with Holkar, which bound him to renounce certain territory north of the river Chumbul, was not in accordance with the "new policy," but was sanctioned by Sir George Barlow, who was not without hopes that Tonk Rampoora would be accepted by Scindia as an equivalent for the pension of four lacs which we had agreed to pay him; but

with some meanness of spirit, on finding that Tonk would not be accepted by Scindia, even as a gratuity, lest it should bring him into collision with his old friend Holkar, Sir George made a gift of it to the latter, and left our allies again at his mercy, though amply forewarned of what those luckless allies might expect.

And now, while engaged in making these vacil-



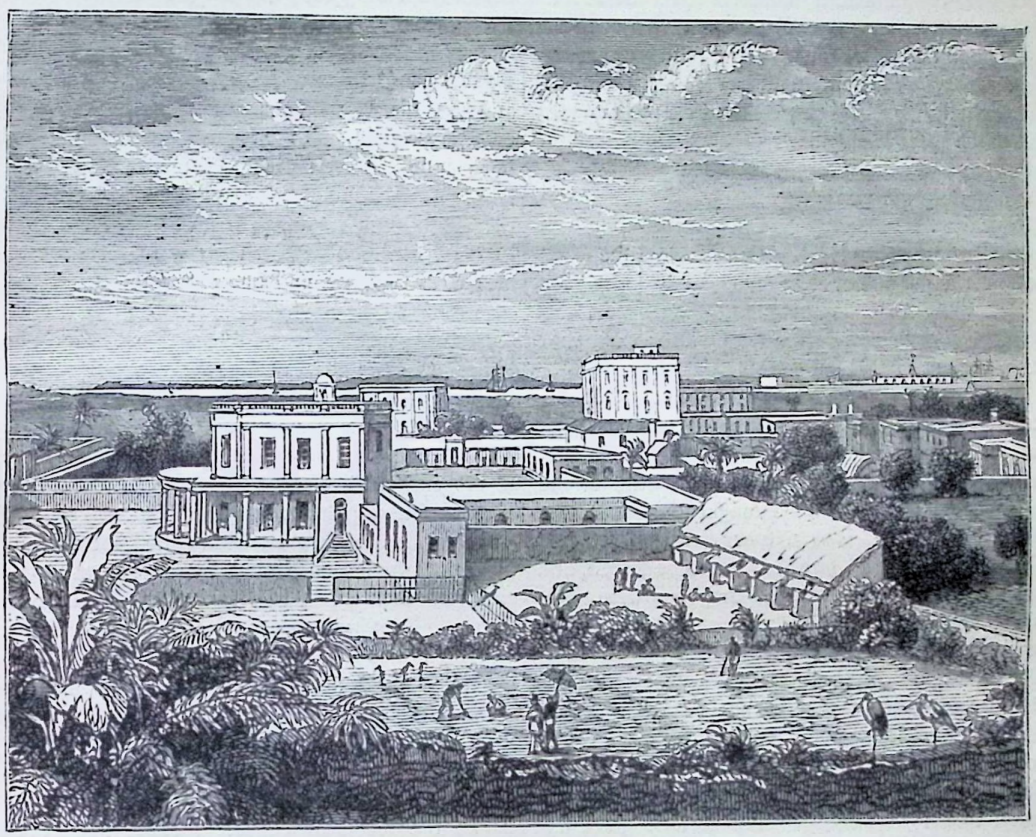
VIEW OF THE INDUS, NEAR ATTOCK.

lating arrangements, a furious outbreak occurred in a very unexpected quarter, on the 10th of July, 1806, in the fort of Vellore, the place to which the family of Tippoo had been removed, after the downfall of Seringapatam. A conspiracy among the Mohammedans of Southern India had been set on foot to overturn the British Government, on the plea, industriously urged by dervishes and fakirs, that a forcible conversion to Christianity was in contemplation, and as the first element of this, the sepoys were informed that the gun-screws which had been issued to them were, in reality, crosses. At three in the morning a loud discharge of musketry roused the whole garrison, and it speedily became known that the sepoys, headed by their native officers, were in open revolt against all European authority. Assembling in secret, they attacked the guards and sentinels on a concerted signal. The garrison consisted of only four companies of H.M. 69th (or South Lincolnshire Regiment), 370 strong, while the natives mustered 1,500 bayonets. A native soldier, named Mustapha Bey, had previously given the authorities information of what was likely to occur; but, though his statement was disbelieved as the result of a hallucination, it hastened the revolt.

Having set guards over the officers' quarters to prevent egress, and beset the European barracks, by planting a six-pounder under the gateway, pointed inwards, they commenced rapid file-firing through the windows, while the soldiers, roused thus from sleep, being without ammunition, could not return a shot, and had to shelter themselves as best they could under or behind beds and furniture. At an early hour, a few officers who had successfully

defended themselves in an adjacent dwelling, cut a passage sword in hand into the barracks, where they found that already eighty-two privates of the 69th had been killed, and ninety-one were wounded. Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of Vellore, had fallen, mortally wounded; Colonel McKerras was shot dead as he was hurrying to the parade-ground; thirteen officers were massacred, with every European they could lay hands on. "No quarter was given, no pity shown. Comrades in arms, who had fought by their sides, and perhaps rescued them from peril, were murdered in their sleep, or cut down, or shot, as they rushed forth, undressed, to seek the cause of alarm. There was a scorching eagerness for blood on the part of these men, as only Mussulmans can show. . . . All Europeans, civil and military, must have perished, had not some awoke in time, and made a most gallant and desperate defence. The soldiers fought with discipline and courage when all their officers were killed or wounded. They charged the revolters in line with the bayonet, and performed prodigies of valour."

These were the survivors, headed by the officers who had cut a passage into the barracks, and with them taken post in a cavalier of the works. They made their way to the magazine; but being unable to get any ammunition, were obliged to seek shelter above the mainguard gate, and as all these movements were made under incessant musketry, every officer was soon disabled, and many more men were killed.



VIEW IN CALCUTTA.

In his narrative of the mutiny, Captain J. Young, of H.M. 19th Dragoons, then stationed at Arcot, sixteen miles distant, states that the report of cannon at Vellore was heard at the former barracks all the morning. Instantly on learning what had taken place, Colonel Rollo Gillespie, who was then in command, went off on the spur with a squadron of the 19th, and a troop of native cavalry, leaving orders for the rest of the horse and the galloper-guns to follow with all speed, and by eight a.m., he was in front of Vellore.

"No time was lost in marshalling the squadron," says Captain Young, "after which Colonel Gillespie gave the word to charge, and away we went—'full

tear'—for the gates, Colonel Gillespie leading with one troop, and I supporting him with the other. In passing the north-east cavalier, we perceived a party of the 69th Regiment waving their caps to us, which we acknowledged by an enthusiastic cheer; at the same time urging our horses to the utmost, we soon cleared the first and second gates of the drawbridge which was situated between them and us, and thinking now that everything was in our favour, we were congratulating ourselves upon the success which had hitherto attended us, when, to our great disappointment, we found that the third gate was too strongly secured to admit of our forcing it; fortunately, however, we perceived on the ramparts over the gate, where they had taken up a position, Doctors Dean and Jones, of the Company's service, as also Sergeant Brady (Brodie?) and some men of H.M. 69th Regiment, who told us that they were most critically situated, having exhausted the whole of their ammunition. We immediately desired Sergeant Brady to open the gates, when he, without hesitation or demur, descended by a rope, unbarred the gate, and let us in." *

Sergeant Brodie, who had served under Gillespie at St. Domingo, when he recognised him galloping at the head of his troop, exclaimed, "If Colonel Gillespie be alive, here he is at the head of the 19th Dragoons, and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies to save our lives in the East."

A fourth, and last gate, had yet to be forced, and all this while our handful of dragoons were maddened by the din of musketry, and dying shrieks and yells within the fort, as some wretched European was dragged forth from concealment to be destroyed. In the defence of the ramparts, Captain C. J. Barrow, of the 69th, with sixty men of that regiment, greatly distinguished himself, till he fell, desperately wounded. The last gate was soon blown to pieces by the curricle guns, and Rollo Gillespie dashed in at the head of his dragoons, who charged close to the ramparts, and up to the steps of the cavalier, cutting down the miscreants on every side.

"The scene that presented itself," says Captain Young, "after all was over, no pen can depict—no language describe; it was one sheet of blood; and never do I wish to see the human form so mangled and mutilated. It was indeed a pitiable sight to see the European women and children who had fallen victims to the diabolical vengeance of the brutal Sipahees—who spared neither age nor sex—lying about in every direction; and so exasperated were the 19th Dragoons, that they became perfectly unmanageable, so that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be prevented from putting to death the Mysore princes, whom they knew full well to have been the root of all the evil that occurred. . . . The fact of our having been fired upon from the palace, while engaged in rescuing the fort, proves this; added to which, we discovered, in the princes' apartments, fifty Sipahees, armed and in full uniform."

These men were instantly shot—some being blown from the guns; 400 of the mutineers were slain, and the whole affair was over in ten minutes after Rollo Gillespie got through the fourth gate. By this time a flag, which once belonged to Tippoo and bore his arms—a central sun, with tiger stripes on a green field—was flying on the flagstaff; and but for the decisive measures taken here, at Wallajabad, Hyderabad, and some other places, the Mysore princes would, in a few days, have been joined by 50,000 men. They were therefore removed to Calcutta, and 600 sepoy prisoners were turned out of the service.

In his paper on the Indian Army, Sir John Malcolm boasts that, at Vellore, "the fidelity of the native cavalry did not shrink from the severe trial, and after the gates of the fortress were blown open, their sabres were as deeply stained as those of the British dragoons with the blood of their misguided and guilty countrymen." †

In addition to what has been stated, the alarm of the sepoys had been excited by some attempts to assimilate their appearance to that of the European troops. They were ordered to shave their chins, clip their moustaches to a certain pattern, relinquish ear-rings and the painted marks, which indicated the caste they belonged to. Their turbans were also made to give place to a head-dress resembling the hideous European hat, deemed the distinctive mark of a Christian. Indeed, two months before the revolt of Vellore, discontent had been manifested there by the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Madras Infantry, a regiment which had served at Assaye. The grenadier company flatly refused to wear the new head-dress, deeming it a disgrace; and for this nineteen of them were tried at Madras. Two received 900 lashes each, and the remainder, who were to have received 500, were pardoned on expressing contrition. These strong prejudices need not excite surprise, when we find that but a few years before, soldiers of the 42nd, and other Highland regiments, resented to the death some supposed alterations or innovations upon their national costume. "It was for some time believed," says a writer, "that the mutiny at Vellore had extensive ramifications, and was, in fact, only part of

* *Delhi Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1837.

† *E. I. U. S. Journal*, vol. iii.; "The Plain Englishman," &c.

a general conspiracy to massacre all the Europeans in India, and thereby for ever extinguish British rule. The events of our own day give to this hypothesis a degree of plausibility which it did not previously possess; but still it does not seem to be borne out by facts."

In short, it now began to be but too apparent that by too strictly and suddenly enforcing the home orders for retrenchment and economy, Sir George Barlow was spreading discontent throughout the whole Indian army, European and native, officers and men; and it has been alleged by one eminent writer, that our Eastern Empire was never in greater danger than during the "pacific" administration of Sir George Barlow; some of the evil influences of which were severely felt by his successor in office;* but many changes now took place about the end of 1806.

Sir George Barlow, having vacated the government at Bengal, was nominated to that of Madras. There Mr. Petrie had previously succeeded Lord William Bentinck in the chair, but had immediately to encounter the most extraordinary opposition from Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the puisne judges, whose language against him and the government, so shocked the British judicial mind, that he was recalled home, and, on Sir George's appointment, Mr. Petrie resumed his former place as member of council.

Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall succeeded General Cradock as the commander-in-chief at Madras; and in February, 1807, Lord Lake quitted his command in India, where he left behind him a high and well-merited reputation, as possessor of the best qualities which distinguish the gentleman and the British officer. He died in his 64th year, in February, 1808, a few months after he had heard of "the death of his beloved and affectionate son and brave companion in arms, Colonel George Lake, who, after sharing in the toils and dangers of his father's brilliant Indian campaigns, fell in Portugal, at the battle of Roliça."

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE EARL OF MINTO GOVERNOR-GENERAL—TRAGIC STORY OF LAKSHMAN THE ROBBER—COMONA EXPEDITION—AMEER KHAN AND OTHER ROBBER CHIEFS.

THE appointment of a successor to Sir George Barlow was preceded by a dispute in London, which ended in a singular kind of compromise. The Ministry gave up James, Earl of Lauderdale, whom they wished to force upon the Company, while the Court of Directors gave up Sir George, whom they wished to retain; and, by mutual consent, another Scottish noble, Gilbert, first Lord Minto, then President of the Board of Control, was named Governor-General of India, in July, 1806, though he did not reach the East for a year after.

The eldest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto—a Scotsman of high political and literary abilities—Lord Minto, after being educated at Oxford, was, in 1774, elected M.P. for Morpeth; and, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, he, with many of his friends, warmly supported the Government. In 1793, after being created a D.C.L. of Oxford, he acted as Commissioner for the Royalists at Toulon; and in the following year was appointed Governor of Corsica, the laws of which he assimilated to those of Great Britain. On the French party gaining strength, and the isle being abandoned to them, Sir Gilbert returned in 1797, and was raised to a British peerage, as Baron Minto, of Minto, in Roxburgh, with the power of quartering the arms of the Elliots and Murrays with those of Corsica.

In 1799, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Vienna, and in 1806, President of the Board of Control. He had been one of the bitterest political enemies of Warren Hastings, and had taken an active part in his impeachment and vexatious prosecution: thus, like some of his predecessors, he set sail for India fully impressed with the idea that our true policy was non-interference, that no attempt should be made to extend either our possessions or our connections with the native powers; and no man in Britain had inveighed more warmly than Lord Minto had done, on the wrongs of the Indian princes, the ambition and the encroaching and aggrandising spirit of Warren Hastings. Hence his leaning was decidedly in favour of the restrictive

* Prof. H. H. Wilson's "Continuation of Mill."

system of policy; and his desire to keep on good terms with the directors and proprietors, who had so strongly declared their approval of that policy, must have confirmed him in the resolution to adhere to it; but he could not be blind to some of its inconveniences, nor was he so obstinate as to be unable to relinquish it when it threatened to do mischief.

Thus we are told that "his lordship had not been many days on the banks of the Hooghly, ere he confessed that the security of our empire depended on the actual superiority of our power, upon the sense which the natives entertained of that power, and the submissiveness of our neighbours."

On the 3rd of July, 1807, he reached Calcutta, and one of the first objects he had to attend to was the condition of Bundelcund, which, on the principle of non-interference, was being permitted to fall into a state of anarchy. Our Resident there was Colonel John Baillie, a native of Inverness, one of the most learned and distinguished of Indian officers.* On the invasion of the province by Ameer Khan, the Governor-General in Council stated "that the British authority in Bundelcund was alone preserved by his fortitude, ability, and influence." †

Now the petty rajahs there, having been left to self-management, were involved in feuds with each other, while armed marauders roamed the province in every direction.

Thus Lord Minto, with all his pacific intentions, was resolved to put an end to this state of disorder, and announced that when mild measures failed force would be employed. Even by this firm announcement, many disputes were ended amicably. The marauders, who knew no law but that of the sword, would yield to nothing but stern compulsion: it was resolved, therefore, to expel them, and capture the principal strongholds of those chiefs who leagued with, or protected them.

Of these, the most formidable was one named Lakshman Dawa, who, himself originally a captain of robbers, had succeeded in possessing himself of the fort of Ajagehr, occupying the plateau of a great oblong mountain of rock, and celebrated for its strength. To this place he had no title, save what his sword and spear gave him; yet, when it became British territory, he had been permitted to retain it, with the adjacent district, on payment of tribute. He was, however, to give up the fort in 1808; but as he had never paid the tribute, a body of troops, under Colonel Martindale, was sent against him, and he made such preparations to defend himself that a regular siege had to be undertaken.

On the castle wall being breached, he capitulated, and was permitted, with his family, to whom he was tenderly attached, to repair upon his parole to Naoshehr, when, after finding all chance of getting back the stronghold was hopeless, he disappeared. No trace of him could be found till, some time after, he suddenly turned up in Calcutta, where, in a petition, he prayed to be restored to his former position or blown from a gun, as life without reputation was valueless. Proving unsuccessful with Lord Minto, he attempted to return to Bundelcund, but was overtaken, and brought back to Calcutta, where he remained in captivity till he died.

It would seem that on his disappearance at first, his family, as hostages, were all ordered back to the fort of Ajagehr by Mr. Richardson, our Resident, who promised them the kindest treatment; and the charge of them, in their old family residence, was to be committed to Bajee Rao, the father-in-law of Lakshman Dawa, who, on his first joining them, remained so long within their rooms that the officer in charge of the intended escort, went thither to ascertain the cause of the delay. At the door of an inner apartment he saw old Bajee Rao standing, with a drawn sword in his hand, and his visage sternly grim; and he abruptly closed the door as the officer approached.

The latter had it forced, and then a sorrowful spectacle was seen.

Dead on the floor, and drenched in blood, lay the mother, the wife, and infant son of the absent Lakshman Dawa, and four female attendants, murdered by Bajee Rao, and with their own consent, apparently, as no cry or sound had been heard; and the moment the door gave way, Bajee furiously inflicted a mortal wound upon himself, and ended this gory tragedy, which, with the reduction of Comona, inaugurated the Government of Lord Minto. All the chiefs of Bundelcund declared that, had the case been theirs, they would have done the same thing. The disturbances there were far from being quelled by the example made of Lakshman Dawa.

The fort of Comona was situated in the Allyghur district, and was the residence of Doondia Khan, a native chief, who had other strongholds in the

* In 1876, Mr. John B. Baillie, of Leys, presented to the University of Edinburgh a fine collection of Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit manuscripts, formed by his grandfather, Colonel John Baillie, who wished them made heirlooms of his estate of Leys. His representatives, however, being desirous that they should be placed in some public institution, handed them over to the University of Edinburgh, under certain conditions, one of which is that they are to be kept separate, as the "Leys Collection."

† Anderson's "Scot. Biog. Dict."

neighbourhood. This zemindar, presuming on the peaceful policy of the government, began to treat it with such contempt and menace, that a force of about 6,000 men was sent against him. Among these were five companies of H.M. 17th Regiment, a battalion of Grenadiers, five other native battalions, 220 pioneers, six squadrons of light cavalry, fifty European and 250 native gunners; the whole under the command of Major-General Dickens.

On the 12th of October, 1807, the fort was invested; a breach was reported practicable, and an assault ordered on the 18th of November. Lieutenant-Colonels F. Hardyman, of the 17th, and Duff, H.E.I.C.S., led the stormers, who were repulsed, and the last-named officer was slain. Though the assault was a failure, so resolute had it been that the defenders lost heart, and fled the fort in the night, to strengthen the garrison of another chief, named Gunourie. On the morning of the 19th, General Dickens took quiet possession of the place. Where the remains of Colonel Duff and others who fell with him were interred is unknown; but in the burial-ground of Allyghur there may still be seen the half-obliterated tombs of Captain Robertson, Lieutenants Livingstone and Jones, "who fell before Comona, November 14th, A.D. 1807."

Before he had been many months in India, Lord Minto found himself under the necessity of interfering in the internal affairs of our ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, whom he soon reduced to a species of cypher in his own capital. When the Nizam's minister, Meer Alum, died, he wished to appoint Moonir-ul-Mulk his successor, but the government of Bengal preferred a certain Rajah Chunda Loll, whom they knew to be favourably disposed to British interests, and was, moreover, an amicable Hindoo; so by virtue of our military force at Hyderabad, Chunda was appointed, and from that moment, in fretful indignation, the Nizam ceased to take active interest in public affairs.

Meanwhile, Chunda Loll, as dewan, acquiesced implicitly in all that our Resident proposed, as to appointment of officers and pay of the troops—for now a regular army had sprung up in the Deccan, disciplined by British officers and subordinate to British interests. Thus Chunda was amply protected in his office and uncontrolled in his government, which was not, however, productive of good. "The prosperity of the country," says Sir John Malcolm, "began to decline under a system which had no object but revenue, and under which, neither regard for rank nor desire for popularity existing, the nobles were degraded and the people oppressed. The prince (of whose sanity doubts had often been entertained) lapsed into a state of gloomy discontent; and while the dewan, his relations, a few favourites, and money-brokers flourished, the good name of the British nation suffered; for it was said, and with justice, that our support of the actual administration freed the minister and his executive officers from those salutary fears, which act as a restraint on the most despotic rulers." *

In another direction Lord Minto found the necessity of departing from the non-interference system; and though he declined more extensive engagements, he was compelled to assist the Peishwa, with whom our relations were not, just then, on a very satisfactory footing.

No sooner had Bajee Rao, by the Treaty of Bassein, bartered his independence for personal security, than he repented, and would gladly have availed himself of any confusion or course of events which might have led to his becoming again the real head of the Mahratta confederacy; but the general turn of affairs, after the late war, having made our alliance necessary for his existence, he had wisdom or cunning enough to conceal his aversion. In that war, many of his feudatories, named the Southern Jaghirdars, had done us good military service, and were thus deemed under British protection.

Jealous of this, Bajee Rao stretched over them his powers as lord paramount so strictly that he seemed to aim at their destruction; and when, to aid in this, and compel the recognition of his title, he applied for a subsidiary force, and that force was refused, he did not disguise his intense dissatisfaction. On the attention of Lord Minto being drawn to this troublesome matter, he lodged a minute, in which, "while admitting that the Treaty of Bassein entitled the Peishwa to the aid which he asked, provided the justice of his claims could not be impugned, he approved of a compromise, which the Resident at Poonah had suggested, and by which the Jaghirdars, while acknowledging themselves to be the Peishwa's feudatories, and relinquishing all acknowledged usurpations, were guaranteed in possession of their lands."

To these half measures the Peishwa was fain to submit, but he did so sullenly, and in a manner which evinced that, sooner or later, open hostility might display itself.

Holkar, of whom we have heard so much, had now become for some time past addicted to deep intoxication and every species of unrestrained indulgence; and by way of making himself more completely head of the house of Holkar, he

* "Memoir of Central India."

murdered a brother and poisoned his nephew. But conscience—an uncommon element in the mind of an Indian prince—stung him so deeply that reason fled, and eventually he sank into utter fatuity. After being for three years fed like an infant, he died in October, 1811.

Such was the wretched end of the once warlike and ambitious Jeswunt Rao Holkar. His affairs had been managed for some time by his favourite mistress, Toolasi Bhai, and her puppet minister, Balaram Seit, in whose feeble hands his country became the scene of anarchy, confusion, and murder, amid which, many leaders, all aiming at pillage and independence, took the field against each other. The most formidable of these was Mahipat Rao Holkar, first cousin of the deceased Jeswunt Rao, who was proclaimed his successor, and might have remained as such peacefully, had his adherents not ridden with horse and spear, fire and sword, into the territories of our allies, the Peishwa and Nizam, whose subsidiary forces—one advancing from Poonah, under Colonel Wallace, and the other from Jaulna, under Colonel Doveton—defeated him in two battles and utterly ruined his cause. But in this we are anticipating.

Ameer Khan, who had so long shared the varied fortunes of Holkar, and given so much trouble to Lord Lake and his cavalry, might have been expected to make profit, in some way, out of the insanity of his former chief, in whose service he had risen from being a private horseman to the rank of sirdar, or general. At first a handsome bribe from Balaram Seit, induced him to give his support to the Bhai; but as he had a large body of troops of his own, and no means of supporting them, he took his departure to invade some one's territory. His forces, amounting almost to an army, consisted of Patans, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Pindarees, at the head of whom he overran the whole of Berar, and began to press upon the Company's territories.

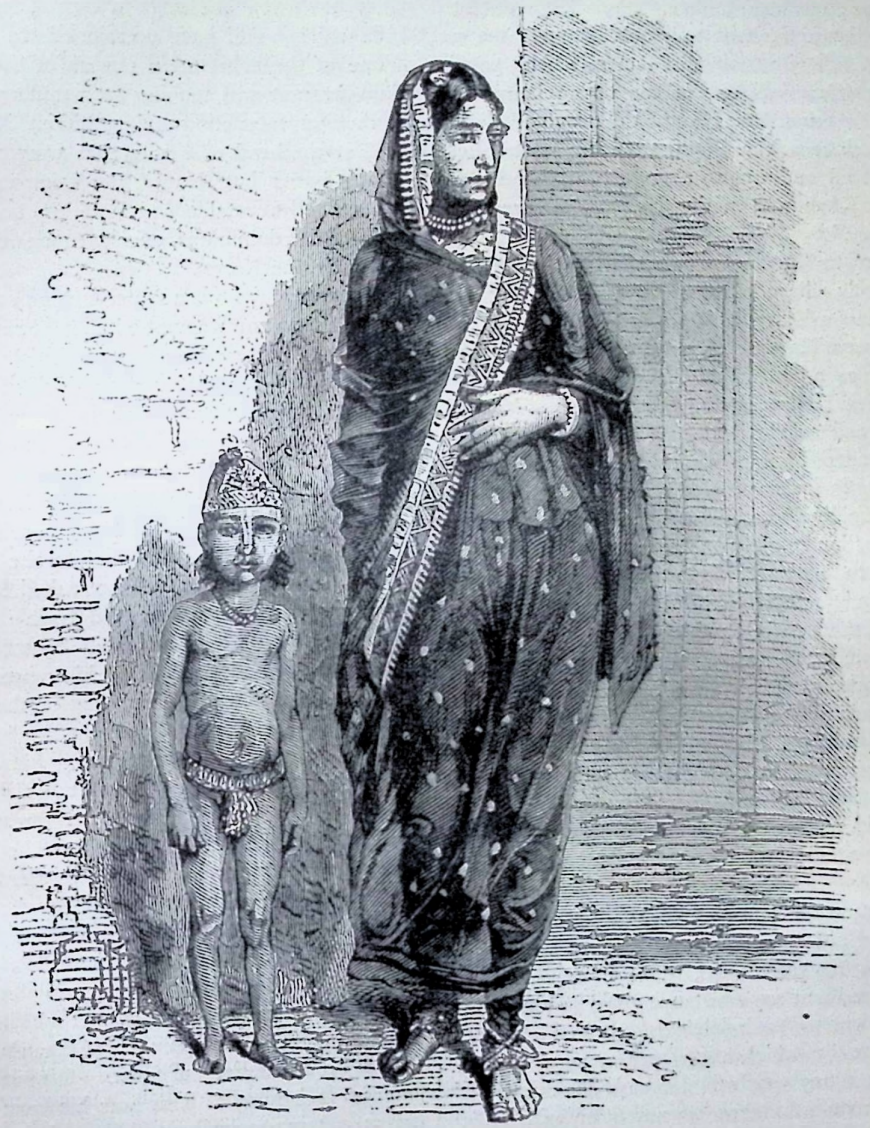


INDIAN TRAVELLING WAGONS.

One passage in the life of Ameer Khan, as given by Sir John Malcolm, will sufficiently serve to indicate his character. Having been hired to murder a rajah, named Sevace Sing, by Maun Sing, a potentate, who was his rival, he found the commission so suited to his temperament that he went about it in the following manner:—

"Sevace Sing had been persuaded to promise a visit to Ameer Khan, and when the hour came, the

Rajpoot chief, who probably had received some intelligence of the designs against his life, hesitated. Ameer Khan, when he learnt his irresolution, mounted, and proceeded with a few followers to the shrine of a Mohammedan saint, close to the walls of Nagore. He was here joined by Sevace Sing, whom he reproached for his fears, and asked him if he thought it possible that a man who cherished such evil designs could show such confidence as he had that day done, by placing himself in the power of the person he meant to betray. Sevace Sing confessed his error. Presents, dresses, and even turbans—a pledge of brotherhood—were exchanged, and Ameer Khan swore at the tomb of the saint to be faithful to his new ally, who was persuaded to go next day to his camp, where splendid preparations were made for his reception, and a number of chiefs appointed to meet him.



MUSSULMAN WOMAN OF BHOPAL.

"The troops were under arms, some under the pretext of doing honour to the visitor, others apparently at exercise. The guns were loaded with grape, and pointed at the quarters prepared for the rajah, who, with his principal

adherents, to the number of 200, were seated in a large tent, when it was let fall upon them at a concerted signal; and while the officers of Ameer Khan saved themselves, all the Rajpoots were inhumanly massacred by showers of grape and musketry from every direction. Of 700 horse that accompanied Sevace Sing, and continued mounted near the tent, only 200 escaped; the rest were slain, and a number of Ameer Khan's people, among whom was one of his own relations, fell under the promiscuous fire of the cannon. Sevace Sing had been killed by the grape; but his head was cut off and sent to Maun Sing, who rewarded Ameer Khan with a jaghire, and a large sum of money." *

Prior to breaking into Berar, Ameer had thoroughly pillaged the Rajpoots; and finding their territories exhausted, there was nothing for him but to serve Ragojee Bhonsla in the same fashion, making, as a pretext for doing so, the accusation, that when Holkar, during the disasters of his early career, had sought a shelter at Nagore, the rajah had plundered him of many valuable jewels.

Acting in the name of the then fatuous Holkar, Ameer boldly demanded their restoration in money, value, or kind; and, on the refusal of the rajah, burst into his territories, at the head of 40,000 horse and 24,000 robber Pindarees, armed in every fashion; and meeting with but slender opposition, made himself master of Jubbulpore, a strong fortress, and all the adjacent district.

Our relations with the invaded Rajah of Berar were peculiar. He had no subsidiary alliance with Britain, nor was there any treaty under which he could distinctly claim our friendship; and on the timid and selfish "peace at any price" principle, he should have been left to the tender mercy of Ameer Khan and his 64,000 robbers; but some technical abstracts had to be obviated before we could aid him. He artfully professed to be acting in Holkar's name, "and in this character could plead that any assistance given by the British Government to the rajah would be a violation of the treaty by which they had engaged not to interfere, in any way, with Holkar's affairs, nor with the exaction of claims on any state with which they themselves were not actually in alliance."

These statements were troublesome to answer.

The pretext of Ameer Khan being in the service of Holkar might have been thrown easily aside, but for the professed peaceful policy of the Indian Government, as inculcated at Leadenhall Street. Yet Lord Minto, aware of the gross inconsistency of the whole situation, had too much spirit and too much common sense to be thus fettered in action, and in a minute lodged by him, on the 10th of October, 1809, he wrote thus:—

"The question was not whether it was just and expedient to aid the rajah in the defence and recovery of his dominions (although, in point of policy, the essential change in the political state of India which would have occasioned the extinction of one of the substantive powers of the Deccan, might warrant and require our interference), but whether an interfering and ambitious Mussulman chief, at the head of a numerous army, irresistible by any power but that of the Company, should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the rajah's dominions, over territories contiguous to our ally, the Nizam."

Moreover, there was another moving cause. The trammelled Nizam was not without secret projects of his own for the subversion of British dominion in India; and it was therefore decided by Lord Minto to repel Ameer Khan by force of arms. With this view, a body of troops, under Colonel Barry Close, assembled on the eastern frontier of Berar, while another stationed in Bundelcund, under Colonel Martindale, prepared to support him; and their aid was thankfully accepted by the rajah, all the more readily that he had not asked for it, and that no recompense was expected for it.

When Colonel Close was ready to move, Lord Minto wrote to both Holkar, or his representative, and to Ameer Khan, demanding of the former whether the invasion of Berar was by his order; and to the latter, bluntly requiring him to withdraw. Ameer scornfully denied the right of the British to interfere with him, and threatened to invade them, if troubled more on the subject. Meanwhile, the rajah, encouraged by Lord Minto's countenance, had mustered troops, attacked Ameer Khan, and compelled him to seek refuge in the town of Bhopal, which is surrounded by a stone wall, and is in Malwa. On being reinforced there, he re-entered Berar, but met with a second repulse, and then the approach of Close's column left him no alternative but flight. He retreated to Seronge, in Malwa. This was his own capital, and is a large open town, situated in a fertile country, and has long been celebrated for its manufacture of chintzes.

On being followed up by Colonel Close—who deemed his destruction as necessary as that of Dhoondia Waugh by Sir Arthur Wellesley—and on being abandoned by his disorderly forces, he next fled to Indore, on which Lord Minto ordered the British troops to be recalled; and, to prevent a recurrence of such an invasion of Berar, it was

* "Central India."

agreed to furnish the rajah with a subsidiary force; but as the rajah dreaded to have any such arm, with its influences and necessities, within his territories, the negotiation came to nothing; and Lord Minto, with all his peaceful plans, next found himself embroiled in the district called Kotra.

The town and district of this name are in Bundelcund, and situated eighty-four miles distant from Gwalior, on the right bank of the Betwa, a river which rises in Gundwana, and after a course of 350 miles, falls into the Jumna.

A chief named Gopal Sing had usurped this place, though the legal heir, Rajah Bukht Sing, had been formally recognised by Sir George Barlow, "but more in mockery than in good faith, since on the principles of non-interference, he was denied the assistance necessary to make it effectual." Acting in a bolder spirit, Lord Minto sent a body of troops, to put him in possession, and Gopal Sing dared not resist them; yet he was too fearless a spirit to remain tranquil under dispossession, and retiring to the neighbouring hills began a predatory warfare on every hand, all the more successfully that the removal of Colonel Martindale's forces to menace Ameer Khan left him at liberty to lay the whole country in flames.

Several detachments of troops were marched against him; but after long eluding them and carrying off enormous quantities of plunder, he was suddenly surrounded in an entrenched post among the mountains. Cutting a way out, he escaped to renew his predatory strife, which he continued with such valour and success that, eventually, he was able to make terms with us; and instead of being hanged or blown from a gun, received a full pardon for four years of massacre and pillage, with a jaghire of eighteen villages as a reward!

Policy of this kind, in such a land, could but lead to further depredations and outrages by armed outlaws.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

NAVAL AFFAIRS IN THE INDIAN SEAS, 1807 TO 1809.

In 1806, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew having assumed the chief command in the Indian Ocean, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was directed to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope as commander-in-chief. His flagship was the *Blenheim* (seventy-four), a second-rate once, but cut down and utterly worn out. Early in 1806 she had gone ashore in the Straits of Malacca, where she received so much injury as to unfit her for crossing the Bay of Bengal; but having patched her up at Pulo Penang, Sir Thomas—a fine old seaman, and one of the heroes of the Nile—whose pride it was to conquer difficulties, rigged her with jury-masts, and took her safely to Madras.

Then the defects of the old *Blenheim* became alarmingly apparent: her back was broken in an extraordinary manner; she seemed to be literally falling to pieces, and the whole labour of the crew at the pumps barely sufficed to keep her from sinking at her anchors. Captain Austin Bissett, a gallant officer, who captured the *Lodi*, and fought some brilliant actions off Cuba and San Domingo, commanded the *Blenheim*. He represented her perilous state to Sir Thomas, who persisted in his purpose, and sailed for the Cape, taking with him several passengers. This was on the 12th January, 1807.

The *Java* (thirty-six), (an old Dutch prize), under Captain George Pigot, and the *Harrier* (eighteen-gun brig), Captain Finlay, accompanied him. On the 1st of February, when near the south-east end of Madagascar, the three ships were compelled to lay to in a tremendous gale of wind. In the evening, the *Java* bore up, to close with the *Blenheim*, both ships having signals of distress flying. The officers of the *Harrier* observed that the luckless old seventy-four had settled considerably down in the water, and the brig in attempting to give some succour, by running foul, is supposed to have accelerated her destruction. As night came on the brig bore away for the Cape, and from that hour nothing was ever heard either of the *Blenheim* or the *Java*.

On receiving Captain Finlay's alarming report, Sir Edward Pellew, hoping that Sir Thomas might have put into some port for repairs, ordered his son, Captain Edward Trowbridge, then commanding the *Greyhound* (thirty-two), to go in search of

the missing ships. His orders were to proceed first to the Isle of Rodriguez, then to the Mauritius, and to send in flags of truce for that information which, even in war time, would not be refused by a generous enemy.

The gallant and unhappy young officer, says Captain Brenton, commenced his melancholy search, pursuing the course marked out by his admiral. At the Isle of France, General de Caen sent him every information which it had been in his power to collect from the different French stations, together with the description of certain pieces of wreck; but nothing gave a clue to the lost ships.

Thus perished the famous and gallant old Trowbridge of the *Culloden*, so famed in naval annals; and among those who perished with him were Captain Charles Elphinstone, son of the Chairman of the East India Company, and George, Lord Rosehill, in his sixteenth year, son of the Scottish Earl of Northesk, who had been third in command at Trafalgar. In the two vessels exactly 1,000 men went down, and it is remarkable that the little brig, *Harrier*, which rode out the gale, foundered in the same place, in the following year.

In January, Captain Rainier, in the *Caroline* (thirty-six guns), when cruising in the Straits of St. Bernardine, captured the Spanish register-ship of sixteen guns and ninety-seven men, of whom twenty-seven were killed and wounded in her defence. She had on board a valuable cargo, including 1,700 quintals of copper and half a million of dollars in specie.

As singular and bloody a conflict as any in our naval annals occurred in the April of this year. H.M. sloop, *Victor*, Captain George Bell, captured four of the enemy's brigs in Batavia Roads, and when off Cheribon, a little to the eastward of that coast, brought-to three prows, under Dutch colours. Out of two of these were taken 120 prisoners, over whom a strong guard was placed, under Lieutenant Wemyss. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Parsons, R.N., found it impracticable to get the crew of the third prow up from below; on which Captain Bell fired a carronade into her, and also opened with musketry. To this they replied by throwing spears and firing pistols. As she was hauled close under the quarter of the *Victor*, he ran a gun out of one of the stern ports and fired again into her.

Some of the sparks reached some powder which had been carelessly taken out of the captured prows, and blew up the after part of the *Victor*. On this, the guard over the prisoners relinquished their arms and ran to extinguish the fire. The prisoners instantly seized these weapons, together with spears and daggers which had been hurled on board, and attacked the crew of the smoking *Victor*, on the deck of which a furious conflict now ensued while the fire was being got under, and the prows cut adrift.

For more than half an hour the close combat continued, till eighty of the enemy "lay dead and in a most mangled state," and all the rest—save those who had been blown up—were driven overboard into the sea; but, ere this was achieved, Captain Bell had thirty-one officers and men killed and wounded—among the latter, nine mortally. Nothing short of the most determined valour and perfect coolness could have saved the ship and crew from the complication of perils in which they were involved.

In May, Sir Edward Pellew sailed from Malacca with the *Culloden* (seventy-four), and eight other vessels, having on board a body of troops. With these he arrived off Griesse, where a Dutch naval force was assembled, and sent in a flag of truce to demand its instant surrender, which was granted; thus the *Resolute* and *Pluto* (seventy guns each), the *Rutkoff* (forty), with a sheer hulk, were given up and committed to the flames.

Captain George N. Hardinge, a gallant young officer (brother of the future Lord Hardinge), when cruising off the coast of Ceylon in the *St. Firenzo*, of forty-four guns, fell in with the *Piedmontaise*, a French ship of very superior qualities, both in construction and equipment. This was on the evening of the 7th of March. He showed his colours and threw out a private signal, which was unanswered. At twenty minutes to midnight, under a clear sky, Hardinge, running on the larboard tack, ranged alongside the *Piedmontaise*, and received her broadside. After only ten minutes' fighting she made off under a cloud of canvas; but Hardinge chased her so closely that, when day broke, the French captain, finding that battle was unavoidable, laid his mainsail to the wind, clewed up his courses, and lay to; and at twenty minutes past six the action began at the distance of half a mile, which Hardinge diminished till a quarter past eight, when the Frenchman let fall his courses, filled his canvas to the yard heads, and bore away, leaving the *St. Firenzo* sorely disabled aloft.

Captain Epron, of the *Piedmontaise*, had a crew of 566 Frenchmen and lascars. Hardinge had much fewer, yet he repaired his damages, resumed the chase, and on the morning of the 8th, when the *Piedmontaise* made no attempt to avoid him, he bore down upon her under a press of sail, and resumed the bloody contest. At the second broadside a grape-shot struck young Hardinge in the neck and killed him on the instant; and after an hour and a half of close fighting, the enemy

surrendered to Lieutenant George Dawson, whose losses were thirty-eight, while those of the enemy were 150. Dawson was posted, and a monument in St. Paul's Cathedral still commemorates the valour of Hardinge.

As a portion of the penalty for leaguing with France, the Dutch were now to receive one of the most severe blows experienced by their commerce in the Indian seas. Sir Edward Pellew having obtained information of a naval force being in some port of the Isle of Java, took with him a squadron, consisting of his flagship, the *Culloden* (seventy-four); the *Russell* and *Powerful* (also seventy-fours), commanded respectively by Captains William and Plampin; the *Bellequeux* (sixty-four), Captain Byng (afterwards Lord Torrington), the *Sir Francis Drake* (thirty-eight), *Psyche* (thirty-six), *Terpsichore* (thirty-two), under Captains Harris, Pellew, and Bathurst, with the *Seaflower* brig under Lieutenant Owen.

In sailing through the Straits of Sunda, they captured the armed Dutch ship, *Wilhelmina*, and on the following morning were off Java, then boasted by the Dutch as "the Queen of the East." Sending a frigate and the brig into the roadstead, Sir Edward took a more circuitous route between Java and the Isle of Ornust, to capture the enemy's squadron. The latter, on perceiving the coming attack, cut their cables and ran on shore, and our ships of the line were unable to approach them, as the water shoaled. The *Sir Francis Drake* and *Terpsichore* covered with their guns the boats of the fleet which ran in, and the men, led by Captain Fleetwood Pellew, boarded and set on flames every vessel in the roadstead, undeterred by the heavy fire of the great shore batteries.

The whole merchant shipping, to the number of twenty sail, perished there, and with them nine vessels of war, carrying 160 guns and 688 men; while we had only one man killed and four wounded. Similar destruction overtook another Dutch squadron off Samarang, when five sail of armed vessels were sunk, or taken, by Captain Pellew, in the month of September.*

During the year 1808, the naval operations of the enemy in the East were confined to predatory excursions of the frigates and privateers. Captain J. C. Woolcomb, with the *Laurel*, of twenty-two guns, when cruising off the Isle of France, fell in with *La Canonnière*, a fully-manned vessel of thirty-eight guns, and having no wish to engage at such disadvantage, he declined the action, but was compelled to fight for an hour and half, after which, the *Laurel*, being disabled, had to surrender.

* "Naval Hist.," vol. iv.

"Her damage was confined to her masts and rigging," says Captain Brenton; "to these the fire of the enemy had been chiefly directed, and in this he completely attained his object; while, on the other hand, the fire of the *Laurel* being directed to the hull, the French frigate had five men killed and nineteen wounded. The character of Captain Woolcomb received no blemish from this misfortune, a court-martial having honourably acquitted him. In his mode of fighting he appears to have adhered to the old English maxim of firing at the tier of guns. In a case of this sort, it might have been better to have directed the whole fire at the mainmast-head: that fallen, the ship might have become an easy prey to the *Laurel*."

In the following year, 1809, our naval squadron in the East was commanded by Rear-Admiral William O'Brien Drury, who dispatched two frigates and nine Company's cruisers, under Captain John Wainwright, of *La Chiffone* (thirty-six), into the Persian Gulf to punish the pirates there; and we are told, that "the manner in which that gallant officer executed his orders, and supported the interests of his country and the honour of her flag in that distant region, should render his memory dear to Britain."

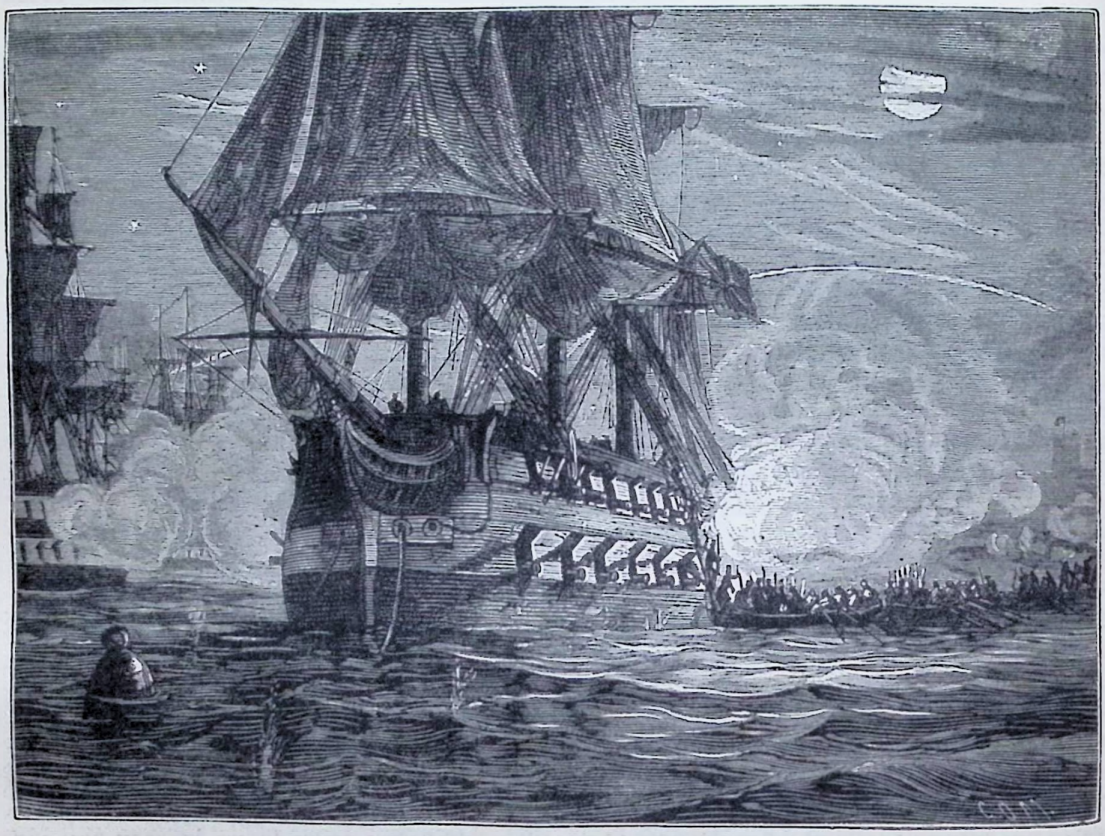
He had with him a detachment of troops, under Colonel Smith. On the afternoon of the 11th of November he was at Ras-el-Khyma, the stronghold of the pirates; but the water shoaled too much, and prevented even the smaller vessels approaching the town nearer than two miles; and to increase the impatience of all, a British ship, called the *Minerva*, which the pirates had captured, was seen helplessly in flames that evening.

On the following day our gun-boats and smaller craft crept inshore, and bombarded the town for three hours. This was continued on the 13th, while Lieutenant Leslie of the *Chiffone*, with two gun-boats and a party of soldiers, made a false attack on the north; but the principal attempt was to be essayed on the opposite side.

There Colonel Smith, with the rest of the troops, and Captain Wainwright, with all the seamen and marines that could be spared, landed, entered the town at the point of the bayonet, and drove out the enemy, whose rout was completed by a grape-shot fire from the gunboats. By four in the afternoon, every vessel in the harbour, and all the store-houses, were enveloped in sheets of flame. Captain Gordon, of the *Caroline* (thirty-six guns), aided Captain Wainwright in this service. All the towns of the pirates along the coast were destroyed, after which the squadron proceeded to Luft, near the island of Kishm (at the entrance of

the Persian Gulf), which is governed by a sheikh under the Imaum of Muscat, who pays 1,000 tomans yearly to the governor of Shiraz.

After assembling his whole forces, Captain Wainwright endeavoured for twenty-four hours to bring the inhabitants to terms in vain. He anchored off the town, within musket-shot, and landed the troops, seamen, and marines. In attempting to force the gate of the fort, they encountered a most destructive fire from the enemy; after which the sloops of war and gunboats bombarded it with such severity, that the governor agreed to surrender it to us next day, but in favour of the Imaum of Muscat.



THE ATTACK ON ST. PAUL, BOURBON.

Meanwhile, the seamen in the gun-boats burned eleven piratical vessels that lay in the harbour, and having thus completely chastised and crippled these ferocious freebooters, Captain Wainwright received from the admiral the highest marks of his approbation.

All that now remained to France, eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, were the Isles of France and Bourbon. The resources possessed by the first of these islands, and the shelter afforded by both to shipping and the repair of ships of war and privateers, had enabled several active French officers to do serious injury to our East Indian commerce; and the successes of De Sercy, Linois, Bergeret, and Du Perrée, were owing to the facilities these islands afforded them. The state of politics in India, and the almost perfect subjection of the native princes, enabled Lord Minto to spare such a body of troops as would, when properly seconded by our vessels of war, ensure us a footing on these islands, and thus deprive the French cruisers of their usual basis of operations; for by the year 1809, their depredations had exceeded all bounds, and our navy, though triumphant, failed to destroy the evil, either by blockade or bringing their ships to action.

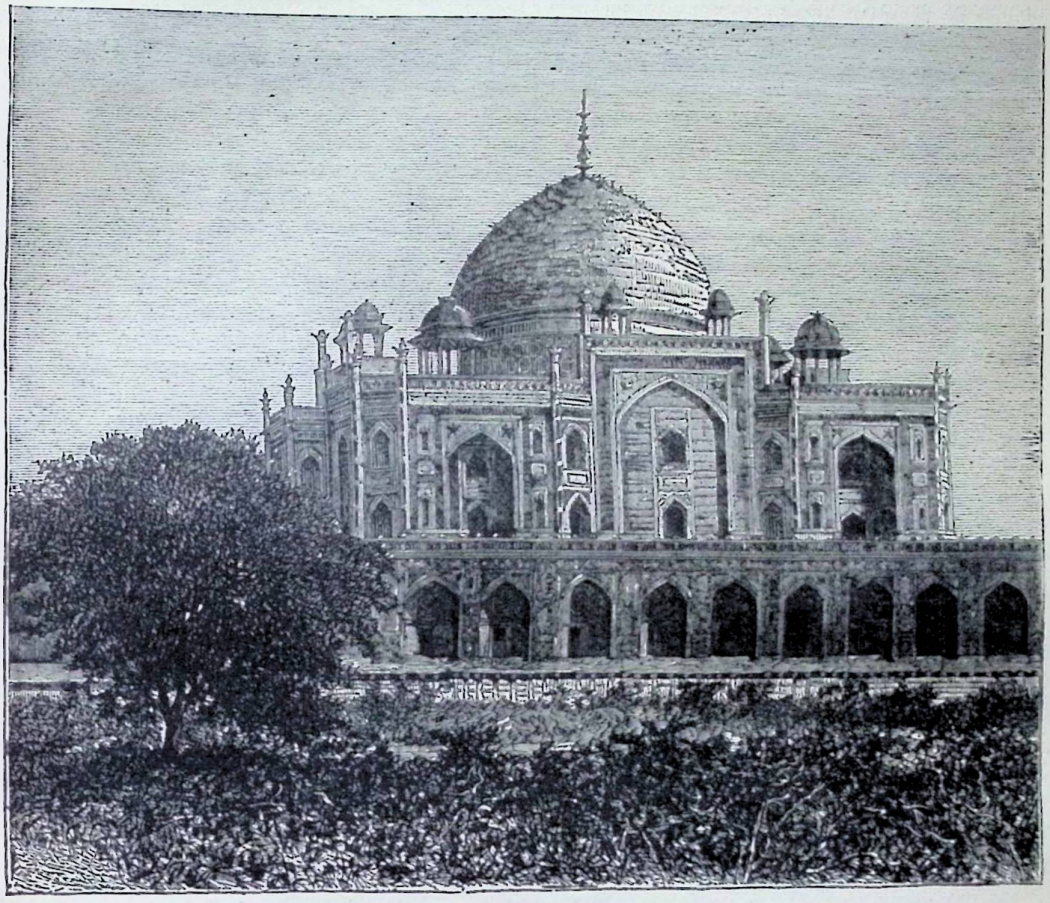
As a preparatory step to the intended measures, Vice-Admiral Bertie, commanding at the Cape of Good Hope, was ordered to enforce a vigorous blockade; and Captain (afterwards Sir Josias) Rowley was entrusted with the performance of this duty.

Colonel Keating, who commanded a strong body of troops on the Isle of Diego-Ruys, or Rodrigues,

having been informed that Bourbon might be captured if the troops combined with the navy, readily joined in the enterprise. The harbour of St. Paul, one of the chief towns in Bourbon, had long been the chief rendezvous of the French cruisers with their prizes; and Captain Corbett, of the *Sirius*, had made himself so well acquainted with the defences of that island, where Colonel Suzanne, a brave French officer, commanded, that Captain Rowley sent him, with the *Otter* and *Sapphire*, to bring the troops from Rodriguez. H.M.S. *Boadicea* blockaded Port Louis, in the Isle of France; and the commodore, in the *Raisonnable* (sixty-four guns), assembled the squadron to windward of the island.

As soon as the arrangements were complete, the troops under Colonel Keating, consisting of only 368 Europeans and sepoys, to whom were added a body of seamen and marines, making in all 604 small-arm men, with the squadron, joined by the *Sirius*, drew near the shore after dark.

The men were landed in the Bay of St. Paul; the batteries were stormed, and their guns turned on the French ships in the roadstead. Our squadron at the same time opened its fire, and by nine next morning the whole of the forts, the shipping, and the town were in our possession. In this service the naval brigade were under the command of Captains Willoughby and Corbett.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMPEROR HOUMAYOUN, IN THE PLAIN OF DELHI.

With her stern within pistol-shot of the beach, the *Sirius* came to anchor, and had bravely sustained the fire of the batteries, a frigate, two Indiamen, and a brig. Not a shot was returned till both her anchors were let go and her courses clewed up, and then she covered the advance of the troops, who rushed on with such fury, that in twenty minutes every French flag was struck.

In hissing showers, the grape of the *Sirius* reached the most distant ships of the enemy; and so severely and so well was her fire maintained, that even the enemy expressed their admiration.

Her gunners used no wads, which enabled them to load more quickly.

La Caroline, a French frigate, on seeing the *Sirius* taking a raking position ahead of her, surrendered. This vessel in May had captured, off the Nicobar Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, the *Streatham* and *Europe*, two richly-laden East Indiamen, in the face of other three, who were so ill-manned as to be unable to assist them. The French captain conducted his prizes to St. Paul, and they had not been long there when they were thus retaken, himself and his frigate at the same time falling into our hands—an event which overpowered his mind, and led him to commit suicide.

All the vessels in the place were brought away. Captain Willoughby spiked the guns and mortars, burned the carriages, blew up the magazine, and returned to the ships with trivial loss.

Under Colonel Suzanne, the French began to collect in force upon some heights above the town of St. Denis, on the 22nd of August, at a time when the surf was boiling with such fury as to preclude much intercourse between the squadron and the shore, and when the commanders had determined to destroy the government stores there, Captain Willoughby was again selected for this service, which he ably performed at the head of the naval brigade, and set a large magazine in flames.

On the following day, when he was about to land again, the enemy sent proposals to capitulate, which being accepted, the town of St. Paul was placed under British protection during an armistice of three weeks. The cargoes of the Indiamen were re-shipped, their captains and crews put on board, and they proceeded on their homeward voyage. The number lost on our side was only twenty-five killed and wounded. Among the latter were three lieutenants.

A small reverse occurred in November, when *La Bellone*, a French forty-four-gun frigate, commanded by Captain du Perrée, captured, off the Sandheads, near the mouth of the Ganges, our sloop the *Victor* (already mentioned), then commanded by Captain Stopford, who valiantly defended her for more than half an hour, and attempted to board the enemy; but failing in that, and being completely disabled by the overpowering fire of the *Bellone*, to which he could only oppose eight guns a side, he was compelled to strike his colours.*

CHAPTER LXXX.

CAPTURE OF KALLINGER—"THE IRISH RAJAH"—TREATY WITH RUNJEET SING—THE EMBASSY TO CABUL.

AFTER quieting Ameer Khan, Lord Minto had now to turn his attention to another chief, who remained sullenly and haughtily in his fort, which was deemed, as usual, by the Bundelas impregnable.

His name was Dariao Sing, and his stronghold was Kallinger, in Bundelcund, 112 miles distant from Allahabad. It figures much in the early history of India; in 1024, it was ineffectually besieged by Mahmoud of Ghizni, and in 1545, Shu Shah, the Afghan, lost his life in attempting to take it; and the Mahrattas had frequently striven in vain to capture it. The whole of its buildings bear the impress of vast antiquity, even for India, and its fabled sanctity still attracts numerous pilgrims. It crowns a long, flat, and isolated hill, which rises to the height of 900 feet above a marshy plain, and has a plateau four miles in circuit, on all sides deemed safe from escalade, as the lower base of the slope is covered by an impenetrable jungle, and the upper is naked precipice. In many parts now the walls are in ruins, from the foundations of the ramparts giving way. It is in the centre of a mountainous territory, which, however, produces iron, ebony, and cotton.

The whole area of the plateau was enclosed by an ancient wall, loopholed below and crenelated above; and the only ascent thereto was by a tortuous path, winding along its eastern face, and defended by seven successive fortified gates. Confident that this famous old stronghold could not be taken by force, Dariao Sing openly defied the British Government, and gave hearty protection to all marauders who sought it. Thus it became a focus or nucleus for disturbance, the existence of which had been tacitly ignored by Sir George

* Brenton's "Nav. Hist.," &c.

Barlow, till Colonel Martindale advanced against it with a considerable force from Banda, and came before it on the 26th of January, 1812.

After great toil in cutting a path through the primeval jungle, four eighteen-pounders and two mortars were, by main force, dragged to the summit of an opposing height, called Kallingari, which rises about 800 yards distant from the fort.

Lower down two other batteries were raised and armed. These opened fire on the 28th, and by the 1st of February the breach was reported practicable. With great difficulty, the stormers came within fifty yards of it, about sunrise; and after a brief pause, under shelter of a fragment of ruin, they rushed to the foot of the parapet, where a most unexpected obstacle met them. Ere the breach could be reached, it was necessary to surmount the face of a precipitous rock, which was crowned by the demolished rampart; and as fast as our men swarmed up the scaling-ladders they were shot down by dense ranks of matchlock-men, or hurled over the steep by ponderous stones.

The contest was most unequal, yet it was valiantly maintained by the stormers for more than half an hour, ere they were recalled by sound of bugle. The bravery shown, and the loss endured, were not without a due effect. Dariao Sing began to fear that his fort was not impregnable, and rather than endure a second assault he capitulated. After being used for a short time as a military post by a battalion of native infantry and some European artillery, it was dismantled and abandoned. The famous diamond mines of Punnah (supposed to be the *Panassa* of Ptolemy) lie among the mountains twenty miles south of Kallinger. After the reduction of the latter, Lord Minto completed the tranquillity of Bundelcund by compelling the Rajah of Rewah (now a protected state in the province of Allahabad) to enter into a treaty which, while it guaranteed his own territory, restrained him from disturbing the possessions of his neighbours.

Necessity compelled Lord Minto to interfere by force in another quarter to procure peace and rule. This was in that district of Hindostan named Hurriana, which lies north of Delhi, and the capital of which is Paniput. Its name signifies the "Green Country," though on the verge of the sandy desert of Ajmere. Its Jaut inhabitants, having thrown off their allegiance to the Mogul, became divided into a number of petty tribes, which, though at times uniting against any common foe, were incapable of a long, combined struggle for freedom, and they became the prey of any military adventurer.

The most enterprising of these was George Thomas, commonly known as the "Irish Rajah," whose marvellous adventures with the Begum Sumroo, form a singular episode in our Indian history. He was a native of Tipperary, who deserted our sea service at Madras in 1781; and after being among the Polygars, proceeded to Delhi, the heart of Central India, in 1787. He obtained a commission in the brigade of the Begum Sumroo, and by his plausibility rose high in her favour, till supplanted by another adventurer; on which, in 1792, he took service under one of Scindia's discarded officers, who had succeeded in establishing an independent state near Delhi. On his death, in 1797, it was on the point of falling to pieces, when George Thomas boldly declared himself the rajah thereof; and for four years he made Hansi his capital, and reigned over a territory 100 miles long by seventy-five miles broad, containing ten pergunnahs; but the canals had long been choked up, and the cultivation of the soil was entirely dependent on the monsoon.*

While pursuing his conquests in Hindostan, Scindia sent General Perron to blockade him in Hansi, when he surrendered, on condition of being conducted safely to the British territory. In January, 1802, he was on his way to Calcutta to embark for his native land, when an illness overtook him and he died at Berhampore.

During the war with Scindia, Hurriana passed to the British, and then into the possession of several chiefs; but remained in an unsettled and turbulent state, till Lord Minto, aware of its value, sent in troops, who, after a short contest with its people, reduced them to subjection. They became peaceful agriculturists.

The boldest step Lord Minto had taken was one on which he ventured now. The famous Sikh, Runjeet Sing, having gained an ascendency over all the Sikh territory on the left, or east bank of the Sutlej—the natives of which, at the end of the Mahratta war, had professed to us a submission which was never distinctly defined—now conceived the tempting idea of pushing his power beyond it, along the right bank of that celebrated river; but he did not venture to cross, until he had the plea of an invitation from some one. And this soon came to pass.

The Rajah of Naba quarrelled with the Rajah of Putteeala, a small Sikh principality, 130 miles north-west of Delhi, having a capital of the same name, surrounded by a ditch and mud wall; in the centre stands the citadel, containing the tombs of many Sikh saints. The former asked his aid against the latter. This Runjeet gladly granted;

* Captain Franklin (1803), &c.

and, in October, 1806, he marched across the Sutlej, at the head of a body of horse, and compelled both rajahs to submit to his dictation; and he was not long in turning to account the influence thus won, when, in the following year, a quarrel broke out in the household of the Rajah of Puttceala.

His wife being refused an assignment of revenue for her son, that lady was unwise enough to summon Runjeet to her aid; so once again he crossed the Sutlej, at the head of his forces, spreading consternation among those chiefs who considered themselves British subjects, and, as such, sought from our Resident at Delhi protection against him. Their request was forwarded to Lord Minto; but ere he could act, the quarrel of the Putteeala family was over, and Runjeet's departure purchased by several presents, including a famous brass cannon.

As a farewell warning to the chiefs, on his homeward way, he demolished their forts and ravaged their lands. This led to the muster of British troops on the banks of the Jumna. He wrote a remonstrance to Lord Minto, who, instead of replying, resolved to send an envoy to Lahore, of which Runjeet had long since declared himself king. Mr. Metcalfe (afterwards Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor-General of Jamaica) set out on the mission to Runjeet Sing, whom he found encamped at Kussoor. On learning that our government would not accept the Jumna as the boundary of their territories, Runjeet daringly crossed the Sutlej, and, with Metcalfe in his train, proceeded to exercise all regal rights within the intermediate lands which we claimed; and on being distinctly informed that he must resign all authority over the conquests he had made on the left bank of the Sutlej since the period when the Sikhs had been taken under British protection, he seemed so resolved to put all to the issue of the sword, that a column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, crossed the Jumna into Loodiana, while a greater force, under General St. Leger, prepared to support that officer.

Convinced now that Lord Minto would not be trifled with, the King of Lahore abandoned all ideas of war; and on the 25th of April, 1809, there was concluded with him a treaty, by which he "agreed not to maintain more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than were necessary for the internal management of the territories then acknowledged to belong to him, nor to make any encroachment on the protected Sikh rajahs; and the British agreed not to interfere in any way with his territories on the north of the river." The whole country of Lahore could at this time have sent 100,000 horse into the field; yet Runjeet was glad to conclude the treaty, and accept a European carriage and pair of horses "to cement harmony."

This matter had barely been adjusted in peace, when a serious disturbance occurred in Delhi.

When old Shah Alum died, in 1806, his eldest son took the title of Akbar II.; and not unnaturally, while repining at the fallen fortunes of his house, made several futile efforts to break the bonds his British masters had forged for him; yet only on one occasion did Lord Minto find a necessity for stringent interference.

Akbar II. had several sons; but ignoring the eldest born, the mother of his third son, Mirza Jehangir, intrigued so successfully in his behalf as to induce the weak monarch, who seemed a plaything in her hands, to take such steps as showed plainly his intention of altering the proper mode of succession. The moment the Governor-General interfered, Mirza Jehangir began to take his own measures, and by a body of armed men kept the palace of the Moguls in a state of ferment.

With the consent of Akbar, a company of our sepoys was now ordered to mount guard on the palace gates, within which the adherents of the prince took up a hostile position; and when Mr. Seton, our Resident, approached to expostulate, he was fired on, and narrowly escaped death. On this our officers resorted to the bayonet; the inner gates were forced, their holders expelled, and Mirza Jehangir was sent, a prisoner for life, to Allahabad. From that moment the Shah Akbar II. bowed to the fate imposed upon him; and his pension of 76,500 rupees per month, which had been promised only conditionally by the Marquis of Wellesley, was now confirmed by Lord Minto.

The renewed alarm about Bonaparte's designs upon our Eastern empire had doubtless facilitated the treaty concluded with Runjeet of Lahore, and forced Lord Minto into many embassies and a great extension of diplomatic relations; but now, for the first time, our Indian Government courted a close connection with the Afghans and the Ameers of Scinde. Before the end of 1807, it was confidently asserted that France had, for the time, destroyed our influence at the capitals of Russia, Turkey, and Persia, and, with the co-operation of those countries, conceived the design of invading India. Though a mere chimera this, the apprehensions it excited lasted long; and the idea that the French would enter India by the north-western route through Afghanistan was the bugbear of politicians at Calcutta.

Zemaun Shah, who had excited the apprehensions

of successive Governors-General, and twice invaded Upper India, had been betrayed by his own family, dethroned, and had his eyesight extinguished by Prince Mahmoud. Sujah-ul-Mulk, uncle of the latter barbarian, had made war upon him, driven him out of Cabul, and had placed himself upon the throne. His success in achieving this revolution was chiefly owing to the circumstance of his brother, Zemaun, having placed in his care all the jewels and other property of the crown.

Other civil wars and revolutions had taken place before 1809; but when our envoy, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (son of John, Lord Elphinstone), with his splendid suite, arrived, Sujah-ul-Mulk was in occupation of the throne, and then in the thirtieth year of his age. "The expression of his countenance," wrote Elphinstone, who was afterwards Governor of Bombay, "was dignified and pleasing, his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought that he had an armour of jewels; but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which were a large breastplate of diamonds shaped like two flattened fleurs-de-lis, an ornament of the same kind on each thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the *Koh-i-noor*, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world." *

The embassy was received at Peshawur, and not at Cabul, as a civil war was raging among the Afghan tribes (who in many respects resemble closely the clans of the Scottish Highlands), and all the country, from Cabul to Candahar, was in a state of convulsion. Notwithstanding the jewelled dress of Sujah-ul-Mulk, it was but too apparent to Mr. Elphinstone that the meanness of the crumbling monarchy was only equalled by the rapacity of the Afghan courtiers, of which he gives us some amusing instances. "Lord Minto," he mentions, "had sent many splendid presents to the king. The Afghan officers who received charge of the presents kept the camels on which some of these were sent, and even seized four riding-camels which had entered the palace by mistake. They stripped Mr. Elphinstone's elephant-drivers of their livery, and gravely insisted that two English footmen, who were sent to put up the chandeliers, were part of the Governor-General's present to their shah." † The latter took a strong fancy to the silk stockings worn by the suite, and begged that some might be given him by Elphinstone, who, by his skill and diplomacy, achieved the purpose for which he came, and in June, 1809, he concluded a treaty with the mountain potentate, in which the co-operation of his hardy and warlike Afghans was fully promised against the French, who were declared in the treaty to have entered into a confederacy against the kingdom of Cabul, with ulterior designs on Hindostan. Britain bound herself to pay for this co-operation, and to provide for any expense to which our new ally might be put in preventing the French (of whom and whose locality he must have been in perfect ignorance) from entering India.

As he was about to take the field against some rebels, with a large and disorderly army, Elphinstone thought it well to hasten his departure; and, on the 14th of June, he commenced the homeward journey towards the Indus, but had barely proceeded four miles from Peshawur, when he was attacked by robbers, and deprived of a mule, laden with rich shawls, and rupees to the value of £1,000 sterling. On the 20th of June he crossed the Indus at Attock, where, he says, the river in that month is 260 yards broad, and was violent in its current. As the embassy passed in boats, they saw many of the country people floating on the water, astride on the inflated skins of oxen. This mode is also in use on the Oxus, and was a practice of the natives of those regions as far back as the days of Alexander the Great, as described by Arrian, in his "Expeditio Alexandri."

Three marches from the far-famed river brought the embassy to the beautiful valley of Hussein Abdaul, in a district frequently the object of contention between the Sikhs and Afghans, and the favourite halting-place of the Moguls in their yearly journeys to the vale of Cashmere. There Mr. Elphinstone was disposed to linger, but received orders to return immediately to British territory. Ere he could do this, it was necessary to obtain from Sujah-ul-Mulk a letter, and also to adjust with the Sikhs a promise of a passage through their territories, which, at first, the Ameers flatly refused to accord. So the embassy had a ten days' halt in the valley, which nature has made so charming, with its rose-trees, its sheets of violets and lilies, its streams and cascades.

With the permission of the Ameers, Elphinstone was just about to resume his journey when the flying harem of the shah came close to his camp. The former had been defeated in a mountain pass, and compelled to fly before a partisan of Prince Mahmoud. Another battle, in which the latter was present, was fought soon after; the shah was again

* "Account of the Kingdom of Cabul," &c.
† Ibid.

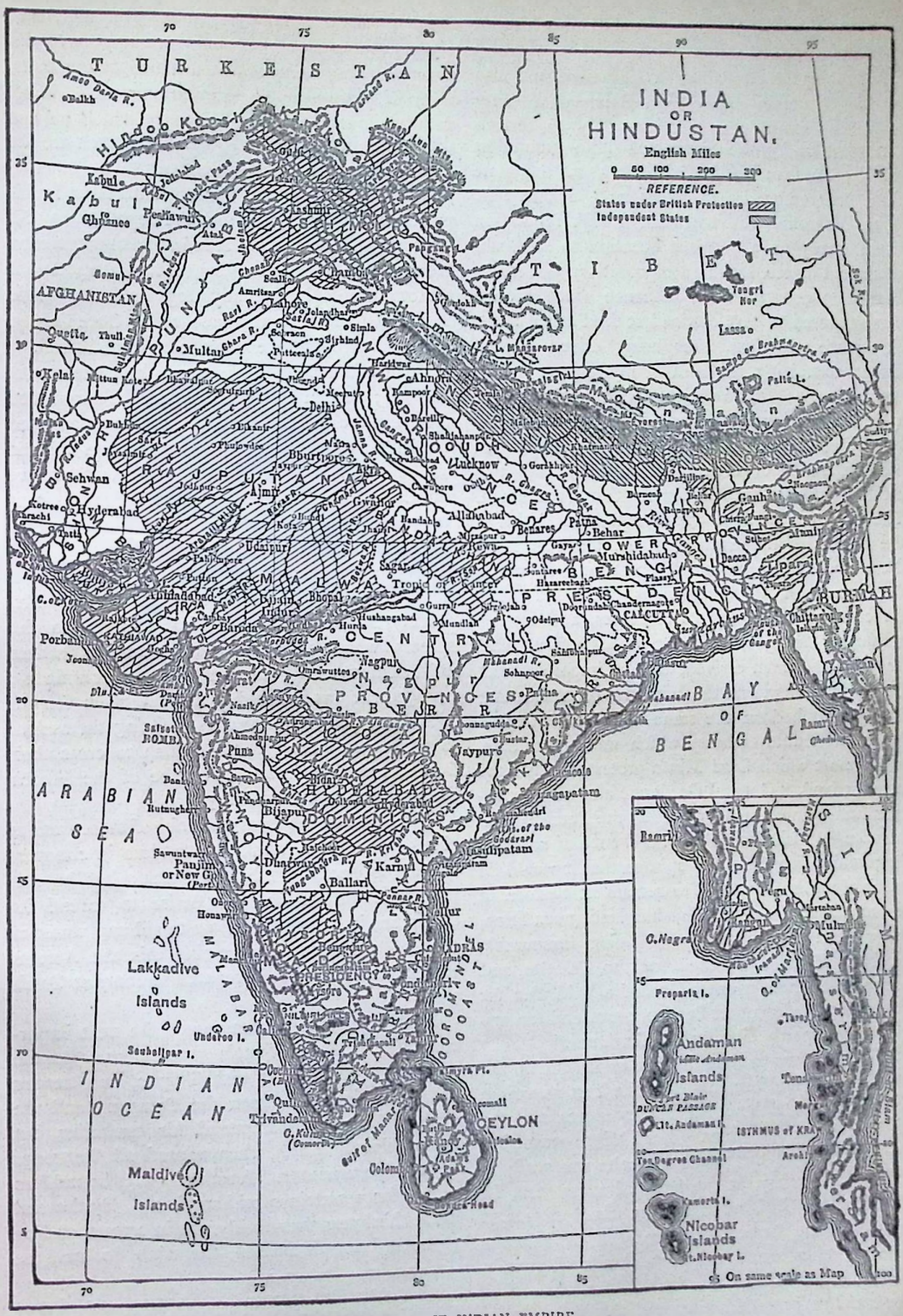
defeated, and fled to the mountains with only thirty horsemen; while Mahmoud seated himself again upon the throne at Cabul.

Aided by the Soubahdar of Cashmere, and also by the mountain clans, Shah Sujah once more advanced against his nephew, only to receive a third defeat, after which he shut himself up in the fortress of Attock; after this he returned to Peshawur, and re-established his authority over the western portion of those vast regions which are the heritage of the Afghan race. The treaty made was certainly valueless; but the embassy added greatly to our knowledge of that rugged land, and the wild clans who people it. When travelling through the Sikh country, Mr. Elphinstone again met the harem of Sujah-ul-Mulk, and in the train of its women was the aged, blind, and helpless Zemaun Shah. "Had he gone over all Asia," adds Elphinstone, "he could scarcely have discovered a more remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune than he himself presented: blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country which he had twice subdued."

A pecuniary grant, which Shah Sujah solicited in his need, and which Mr. Elphinstone strongly recommended, might have enabled him to regain the ascendency over all his enemies; but, by that time, the reverses of Napoleon, and the victories of Wellington, removed all fear of French influence in the East; the grant was refused, and alliances with the Afghan clans were courted no more.



MOUNTAINEERS OF AFGHANISTAN.



MAP OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE EMBASSIES TO PERSIA AND SCINDE, 1809—FIGHTING IN TRAVANCORE.

OCCASIONED by the same not quite groundless panic of an invasion, Lord Minto, about the same time, sent embassies to Persia and Scinde. Sir John Malcolm, who had won a high reputation when envoy on a previous occasion to the Shah, was again invested with plenipotentiary powers in Persia, to counteract the influence which France was supposed to have attained at the Persian court. Bonaparte was then, after being driven out of Egypt, conceiving the idea of injuring us by the way of Persia; for, on the 10th of September, 1807, a French mission for Teheran left Constantinople, consisting of Gardanne, as ambassador, his brother, a man of letters, six engineer and two artillery officers, with a dozen other Frenchmen. These men industriously represented the British as the tyrants of the earth and sea, the French as the friends of peace and liberty; and, in short, Gardanne and his companions, while surveying the country, examining its resources, and casting cannon for the Shah, were carrying all before them. Sir John Malcolm arrived, and so important was the object in view, that the Ministry, about the same time, dispatched on the same errand Sir Harford Jones—a double embassy which was unfortunate, and against which Lord Minto protested. Ere the latter arrived, "General Gardanne and his Frenchmen had gained such ground in the Persian court that the Scottish Elchee saw no chance of succeeding; and being wisely of opinion that it would do mischief rather than good to remain at Bushire, or to proceed to the capital in a humiliating condition, or without the certainty of being honourably received, Malcolm hastened back to Calcutta, and proposed to the Governor-General a bold plan for overawing the impotent Persian court, and for procuring the speedy dismissal of Gardanne."

This plan was to seize the Isle of Kishm, in the Persian Gulf, and immediately make it an emporium for commerce, a depôt for military stores, and the basis of future operations. Lord Minto grasped at the project, and the gallant Malcolm was ready to sail from Bombay, at the head of 2,000 men, for the Persian Gulf, when tidings came of Jones's arrival at the former place, *en route* to Teheran, with presents, worth many thousands of pounds, from George III. to the Shah. The fame of all these riches preceded him, and the khans, when beholding the presents, exclaimed, "Mashallah! the British are not ruined; but the French are the fathers of lies, and made us eat dirt!"

Malcolm also went to Persia a third time, by his presence and advice to perfect the negotiations—Sir Harford Jones having concluded a preliminary treaty. He reached Teheran in June, 1810, but quitted it without accomplishing anything, on being made acquainted with the approach of Sir Gore Ousely, Bart., as ambassador extraordinary from Britain.

Malcolm's reception, however, had been most gracious; and on his departure the Shah conferred upon him the order of the Lion and Sun, presented him with a valuable sword, and made him a Khan and Sepahdar of the empire.* He is said to have introduced the potato into Persia, where it is known as "Malcolm's plum."†

The embassy to Scinde was sent professedly with a view to commercial privileges, and to establish friendly relations with Hyderabad, its capital. Mr. Hankey Smith was Lord Minto's envoy to the Ameers, whose country was in a state as lawless and turbulent as Afghanistan. A treaty or amicable arrangement was concluded with them on the 9th of August, 1809, "the Ameers pledging themselves to permit no enemy of the British to cross their frontiers, and to exclude the tribe of the French from settling in their country."

Gholaum Ali, the most powerful of those warlike chiefs, wished the British to assist him in conquering the adjacent country of Cutch; but he was told that Britain had no desire to extend its dominions in any direction, or to aid any power in aims of conquest. On hearing this the Ameers scorned the treaty, and prepared to conquer Cutch alone.

A dispute with Travancore was the next important affair in Lord Minto's government. On the conclusion of the war with Tippoo, two treaties had been signed between the Company and the rajah. The first guaranteed his territories, but bound him to furnish, when wanted, all the troops he was able to muster. Another (1805) bound him to pay for a certain subsidiary force. By the end of the third year the subsidy was in arrears, and on payment being demanded, the rajah declared the

* "Scot. Biog. Dict.," 1842.

† It is interesting to note that his name—one of great antiquity in Scotland—is borne by Nazem Malcom (Malcolm) Khan, the ambassador of the Shah at the court of Queen Victoria (1886).

second treaty had been thrust upon him, and that the payment of four battalions, for which it stipulated, was more than his exchequer could stand. On the other hand, our Resident, Colonel Macaulay, urged that delay in paying the subsidy was owing to the money spent upon a useless body of troops called the Carnatic Brigade. Hence the dispute took this form—whether the subsidiary force or the brigade should be reduced.

The dewan, or premier, of Travancore, Vailoo Tambi, was blamed by Macaulay for permitting the subsidy to fall into arrear; and the colonel urged his removal. This was, to all appearance, acceded to; but the dewan, while pretending to hold office only till the nomination of a successor, organised in secret a conspiracy of the Nairs, induced the dewan of the Rajah of Cochin to join him, and gave encouragement to some French adventurers who landed on the coast. Moreover, he sought to inflame the neighbouring rajahs by rumours that their religion was in danger; thus Colonel Macaulay applied for reinforcements.

On the 28th of December, 1808, the dewan intimated his intention of resigning, and departing to Calicut. On that very night Macaulay's house was surrounded and broken into by armed men, intent on murdering him. Concealing himself, he contrived to escape in the morning, and reach a vessel, which proved to be a British transport, with part of the expected reinforcements on board. Under Colonel Chalmers, the subsidiary force was cantoned at Quilon, after advancing from which place he was compelled to return again, as 40,000 Nairs or Travancorians were alleged to be in arms.

Early in January, 1809, he was joined at Quilon by four companies of H.M. 12th Regiment, from Cannanore, on the Malabar coast, under Lieutenant-Colonel John Picton, uncle of the famous Sir Thomas, who fell at Waterloo. The disparity of force was very great, for Vailoo Tambi was now advancing, at the head of 30,000 men, led in many instances by French, Dutch, and German officers, and with a park of eighteen guns. He commenced the attack, but after a five hours' conflict he was defeated with very great loss. Colonel Picton died a general in 1811.

After this repulse at Quilon, breathing wrath and revenge, he hastened off to Cochin, known as "the morass" by the Portuguese, which was held by Major Hewitt, with only two companies of the 12th and six of native infantry. That officer was attacked by the Travancorians in three great masses, which he repulsed with signal bravery; but meanwhile succours were arriving. Colonel John Cuppage, who commanded in Malabar, entered the province of Cochin at the head of H.M. 80th, or Staffordshire Volunteers, and two battalions of sepoys; from Trichinopoly, Colonel the Hon. Arthur St. Leger (son of Lord Doneraile) was coming on with H.M. 69th Foot, a regiment of native cavalry, three of sepoys, and some of the Royal Artillery, while a Kaffre regiment was to join him from Ceylon. He directed his march through the province of Tinnevelly, across the great mountain range by the western Ghauts that end at Cape Comorin. As the most practicable passes are far to the south, he had to turn his march as much as possible in that direction.

The route he selected was through the pass of Arambuli, which leads westward across the mountains by the highway from Palamacottah, a town in the Tinnevelly district. This pass was defended by formidable works, a portion of the famous Lines of Travancore; and as Colonel St. Leger had no train of battering guns, to force them was a task of no small difficulty.

On the 8th of February the Lines were surveyed by Major Welsh and Lieutenant Gore, and on the following day an attack was made. According to St. Leger's despatch to the Madras Government, the escalade consisted of two companies of our 69th Regiment, commanded by Captain W. Syms, with some native companies, and it was eminently successful after Major Welsh won possession of a redoubt which enfiladed the whole line to be attacked. "In the lists of gallant fellows which accompany this despatch, I have to lament the fate of Captain Cunningham, whose wound, I fear, is mortal, which deprives his country of a brave and valuable officer. When Major Welsh had once effected his security in that commanding position, I dispatched to his assistance, by the same arduous route, a company of H.M. 69th Regiment, and three companies of the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 13th Regiment, under Captain Hodgson, to reinforce and add confidence to his party. As soon as this addition was perceived, a detachment from his party stormed the main lines, and by dint of persevering bravery carried them entirely, and the northern redoubt was abandoned by the panic-struck enemy, who fled in confusion in every direction, leaving me in possession of their strongest lines; and I am now encamped in a convenient position, two miles interior of the (*sic*) Arambooly Gate."

A great number of cannon, many of them brass, and of beautiful workmanship, fell into our hands.

On the 17th of February the troops began to move in the direction of Trivandapatam, an

extensive place, which contains the summer palace of the Rajah of Travancore, built in European fashion.

From an opposite point, Colonel Chalmers was also advancing upon it; while Colonel Cuppage, having crossed the northern frontier, was pushing on southward without opposition.

Our soldiers were filled with the blindest fury against the rajah, the dewan, and all their followers, in consequence of the brutal murder of Mr. Hume, a Scottish surgeon, to whose professional services the dewan had been more than once indebted; and in consequence also of what was known by them as the "Massacre of Aleppi," when he put to a horrible death Sergeant-Major Tilsby and thirty-four soldiers of the 12th whom he had entrapped. An officer of the 12th thus relates the diabolical deed:—"The soldiers had escaped the fury of the hurricane, and anchored off Aleppi, a sea-port about forty miles from Cochin, mistaking this place for Quilon; and, canoes pushing off from the shore, they landed without hesitation or suspicion, rejoiced to be so speedily relieved from their miserable and dangerous confinement. On reaching the bazaar, they were informed that the British force was only five miles distant. After depositing their arms in a large room pointed out as the temporary barracks for the Europeans, they afterwards strolled about the town, and the inhabitants supplying them with arrack free of all expense, the poor fellows soon became intoxicated, and extended in the streets in a completely inanimate state, incapable of the least resistance, and were thus easily secured by the Travancorians, who first cruelly broke both wrists of each soldier with a heavy iron bar, smashing the bones to atoms; then tightly tying their hands behind them, and neck and knees together, they barbarously precipitated them into a deep loathsome dungeon. In this choking condition they remained four days and nights, without water or food. The agonising groans of the miserable men were mimicked and derided by these barbarians. On the fifth morning they were taken out separately, in a state of extreme exhaustion, and conveyed to the Backwater, three miles distant, surrounded by the exulting populace. Heavy stones were then attached to the neck of each helpless wretch, and thus they were plunged into the water, amidst the barbarous shouts and mimics of the natives! The sergeant-major, who had been overpowered, was the last victim of this unprecedented tragedy: he repeatedly called for a sword, that he might die like a soldier, but all in vain; he was also precipitated, in spite of cries and struggles, into the watery grave already shared by his comrades in misfortune. These particulars were communicated by a cook-boy who had accompanied the detachment, and had been an eye-witness of the whole inhuman transaction. Aleppi is thirty miles from Quilon. This massacre was commanded by the collector of pepper, a man named Popinapilly." Moreover, Vailoo Tambi was accused of having put to death in cold blood 3,000 native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion.

As our troops marched on, intent on vengeance, all resistance seemed to have ceased, and it only remained for their leaders to dictate to the rajah such terms as would at least prevent a recurrence of an insurrection so savage in its features.

The guilty dewan had fled, and being abandoned by his master—who, to convince the conquerors of his zeal, was base enough to send several armed parties in search of him—took refuge, in his terror and despair, in the pagoda of Bhagwadi. Though this place was venerated as a holy sanctuary, his Hindoo pursuers had no hesitation in violating it, and Vailoo Tambi was found expiring with self-inflicted wounds. His brother, who was taken with him, was conveyed to Quilon and hanged.

His dead body was stripped, taken to Trivandapatam, and exposed upon a gibbet. "This proceeding, though said to have been the act of the rajah, was strongly censured by the Governor-General, who held that the Resident had made himself responsible, by neither preventing the exposure nor proclaiming his disapprobation. The ends of justice were served when the dewan ceased to exist; and the attempt to carry punishment further was, as his lordship remarked, repugnant to humanity and the principles of civilised government."

Long ere this retribution came to pass, Captain Foote, of H.M.S. *Piedmontaise* (a French prize), had destroyed indiscriminately every vessel, of whatever size or description, at Quilon, among which there were doubtless many belonging to the Arabs.

The pacification of Travancore seemed to be complete, yet scarcely two years elapsed ere the new dewan was suspected of following in the footsteps of the wretched Vailoo Tambi. The subsidy was not forthcoming, but indications of a new plot for war and bloodshed were found; hence, Lord Minto resolved to enforce a clause of the treaty of 1805, by which it was provided, that on the failure of any portion of the conditions by the Travancorians, the British Government had the right of assuming the

management of their country; and the necessity for this had become so apparent, that the rajah himself is supposed to have secretly requested it.

Similar treatment was applied to the Rajah of Cochin, whose government is still a sort of feudal despotism, such as prevailed in the other states into which the western coast of the peninsula was divided, before the invasion and conquest by Tippoo. The rajah had few privileges beyond those of the *Nāzirs*, or nobles, except the right of calling on them for military service in time of war, and collecting some trifling tolls and duties.

The Dewan of Cochin was undoubtedly implicated in the Travancore insurrection, and the same security against the recurrence of such conduct became necessary. The whole expenses of the late war were levied from the two rajahs, in the proportion of two-thirds from Travancore and one-third from Cochin. It has been supposed that the union of these two rajahs, or rather that of their dewans, in an insurrection, which both must have known to be, eventually, hopeless and desperate, must have had some secret and strong provocation, unknown now, and that the rigid extortion of payment for troops which these two princes held to be unnecessary, and which both alleged to be an intolerable burden, was equally a violation of justice and of good policy.

And now, during the fighting in Travancore, the troubles of Lord Minto were greatly increased by the remarkable quarrels which took place among the officials at Madras.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE DISSENSIONS AT MADRAS—MUTINY OF THE ARMY—ITS CAUSES AND CONCLUSION.

Sir George Barlow, who, as Governor-General, had carried his system of economy, with regard to the army, somewhat too far, was now, as Governor of Madras, still more intent upon mean and unwise saving and reduction among all classes of the Company's servants. Sir John Cradock, having been recalled after the mutiny at Vellore, was succeeded as commander-in-chief by General Hay Macdowall, a fiery and impetuous Celt, who, in 1776, had been a subaltern in the Fraser Highlanders, and, in 1779, a captain in the Black Watch, during the war in America. Sir John Cradock had held a seat at council. Both offices became vacant by his recall; but the Directors thought proper to confer only one on his successor; and Macdowall was the last man in India to submit tamely to what he deemed an insult and injustice; and having failed in his appeal to the Directors, he wrote to Sir George Barlow, asserting that their conduct had placed him in a position so extraordinary, so unexampled and degrading, that the most painful emotions had been excited; and now, embittered by his own grievance, when the officers under his command became loud in their complaints of the sordid retrenchments to which they were subjected, he encouraged, rather than repressed, them; so a mutinous spirit began fast to pervade all ranks.

Colonel John Munro, the quartermaster-general, had been directed to draw up a report (during the government of Lord William Bentinck) upon the eligibility of abolishing a monthly allowance, which had been granted to officers commanding native corps, known as "tentage," for the provision of camp equipage. In his report on this subject, the colonel expressed an opinion advocating the abolition of this allowance, which he described as a system that "placed the interest and duty of the officers in direct opposition to each other;" and after the transmission of this report to Calcutta, in obedience to instructions from the Supreme Court there, Sir George Barlow, to whom they were most congenial, abolished "the tent contract" by a general order, in May, 1808.

A copy of the quartermaster-general's memorial became in some way public, and all officers who had enjoyed this necessary perquisite were so indignant, that they presented a formal charge against him to General Macdowall, accusing him of "conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and gentleman, for having, in his proposed plan for the abolition of the tent contract, lately held by officers commanding native corps, made use of false and infamous insinuations, thereby (such were the words) tending to injure our characters as officers, and otherwise injurious to our reputations as gentlemen."

Twenty-four officers signed this charge, and upon these grounds, General Macdowall placed Colonel Munro under arrest. The latter addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary of Government, which, as in duty bound, he enclosed under cover to the commander-in-chief, who refused to forward the appeal, saying that it was a question purely military, and which rested on his own judgment, and that he would not compromise the position in which he was placed.

"The present attempt to make a reference to a civil governor was unexampled," he said, "and could not be sufficiently reprobated, as striking a blow at the root of military authority. He had the uncontrolled and inalienable right of judging of the conduct of every officer under his command, and could not but view the present application as extremely indelicate and disrespectful."

Upon this, Munro appealed to the government direct, saying that he should never have taken this step had the subject been purely military, as the commander-in-chief was pleased to state. He was, however, placed under arrest. The Madras Government ordered his release; and with all his rage and reluctance, the general did not venture to disobey; but in returning the colonel his sword, he did so under protest, and took the only revenge in his power, of issuing a general order, in which, on the 25th of January, 1809, he took leave of the Madras army, and appended thereto—on the very day he put to sea—a severe reprimand, which could only be read when he was far from the spot.*

This document stated that the conduct of Colonel Munro, in making a direct appeal to the civil power, "being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, Lieutenant-General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, felt it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considered it a solemn duty upon him to reprimand Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, in General Orders."

General Macdowall had not yet resigned the command—it is supposed for the purpose of discharging this Parthian shot; and it was generally understood that he meant to send his resignation from Negapatam or from Ceylon: but as soon as this act of defiance to the civil government was made known to Sir George Barlow, he caused signals to be made to recall the vessels, with the intention of instantly removing the angry general from command; but the signals were unseen, or unheeded, and the ships bore away into the Indian Sea, and Macdowall was doomed never to learn the censure that was intended him; for the *Lady Dundas*, Indiaman, in which he sailed, with several other officers, perished, with six ships in her company, in a violent hurricane off the Mauritius.†

The deputy-adjutant-general, Major Boles, in absence of his senior, was in duty bound to disseminate the order, and did so, for which he was, unjustly, suspended by the governor. On this Colonel Cuppage, the adjutant-general, honourably informed the latter that he, and not Major Boles, was the responsible person; whereupon Sir George Barlow, without removing the suspension of the major, immediately suspended the colonel—adding blunder to blunder. The pernicious effect of all this was, that Major Boles was regarded by his brother officers as a persecuted man, and from that time a struggle between the government and the army became inevitable, and could only be terminated by one or other giving way; though there is but little doubt that the troops, had they chosen, might have dictated their own terms.

A number of officers of the Madras army drew up and circulated for signatures a memorial to Lord Minto, repeating their grievances, and condemning the treatment which their commander-in-chief had received from the civil authorities. They also drew up a flattering address to the suspended adjutant-general. This was deemed downright mutiny by the Madras Government; and on the 1st of May, 1809, another general order was issued, censuring the circulators of the offensive documents, removing some from their particular commands, and suspending others altogether.

At the head of those suspended was Viscount Doneraile's son, the Hon. Colonel St. Leger, who had recently terminated the war in Travancore, but who died a major-general in 1823; Colonels Cuppage and Chalmers; Majors Thomas Boles and John De Morgan; Captains James Grant and Josiah Marshall; all—or most of them—to proceed to Britain.

Major Conway was appointed adjutant-general, *vice* Cuppage; Captain P. Vans Agnew to be his deputy, *vice* Boles; Lieutenant Patullo was to command the Body-guard, *vice* Captain Grant; Major Sir John Sinclair, Bart. (of Dunbeath), to have charge of the arsenal at Fort St. George; and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Couron, of his Majesty's Royal Regiment to command the garrison. These

* *Edinburgh Ann. Reg.*, 1810; "Disturbances at Madras," by Rob. Southey.

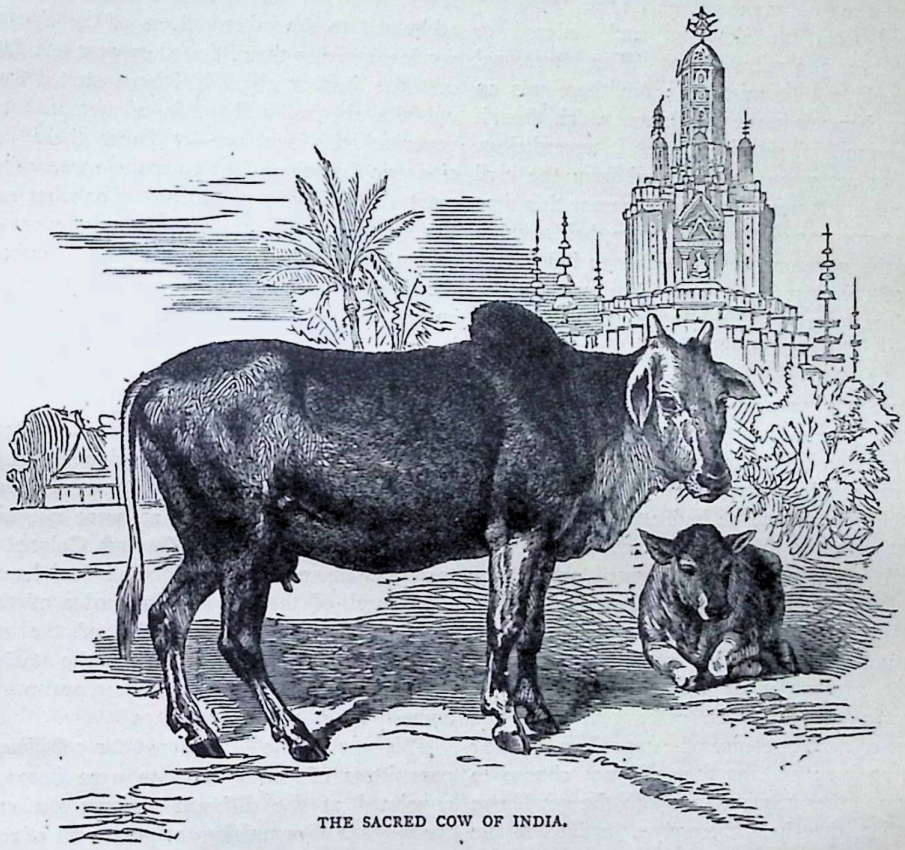
† *Scots Mag.*, 1809.

orders were signed by Major-General Gowdie, commanding the army.

What made all these measures more unjustifiable was, that the officers punished were made acquainted at the same moment with the charge and sentence; they were not brought to a court-martial, and those who maintained their innocence were not permitted to prove it.

In other ways the personal vindictiveness of Barlow was shown. Major Boles had never made his injuries a subject of reference to the army, or to any part of it; he had never provoked the addresses, nor asked the relief they offered; yet the alleged offence of the rest was unjustly visited on him. From Madras he was banished to Bengal, entailing upon him, as he alleged, great and inevitable expense, when all his allowances were taken from him. Though in Bengal he continued to live in the same retired and inoffensive manner as at Madras, he was removed, per order, to the Danish settlement of Serampore, on the western bank of the Hooghly, to prevent him having any intercourse with his brother-officers; and there he remained until finally ordered to Britain.

Towards Lieutenant-Colonel Martin the same malevolence was displayed. He came to Madras in December, and took his passage in a ship which was expected to sail on the 29th of January; but he was ordered not to leave India, as the Judge-Advocate-General requested Sir George Barlow to detain him, as his evidence was required against Colonel Munro. Barlow, in his vacillation, told him that if he would sign an apology he would be permitted to sail; but the officer received the message with contempt and scorn. Sir George Barlow withdrew the prohibition, and expressing regret for the inconvenience to which Colonel Martin had been subjected, ordered that he should be reimbursed for the loss of his passage; and that officer was got rid of for 1,000 star pagodas, paid out of the public treasury.



THE SACRED COW OF INDIA.

"In this instance," continues Southey,* "the Government showed a sense of justice in which it was wanting to Major Boles. But the vindictive disposition which it manifested every day received fresh provocations; for when the discontented officers perceived that in one instance the civil

* *Edin. Ann. Reg.*, 1810.

authority had been evidently in the wrong, they were enabled to deceive themselves, and give to the mutinous career in which they had embarked a semblance of just and honourable proceedings. Colonel Munro being the chief object of their dislike, they shunned his society with the most studied marks of contempt. Captain Marshall, the secretary of the military board, who had frequent occasion to meet him on duty, avoided him upon all other occasions, as a man with whom it was disgraceful to hold communion: he was, therefore, dismissed from his situation, and ordered to Nizagapatam, 500 miles distant. The intentional insult could not be mistaken; but there was an arbitrary character in the punishment which, though legal upon military principles, made it, nevertheless, an odious act when it proceeded from the civil government. It was, however, apparent this time that the army were determined to try their strength against the governor, hoping either to induce the Court of Directors to supersede him, or that they themselves, by repeated insults, should compel him to resign. Their hatred of Colonel Munro had now extended to Sir George Barlow, and they began, as the phrase is, to 'send him to Coventry' also. His invitations were uniformly refused; and an officer belonging to an institution formed for the instruction of young officers was expelled from the society of his fellows, because he had attended an entertainment given at the Government House. An outrage like this could not be passed over; they were informed that, if they did not immediately amend their conduct, they would be ordered to quit the institution and join their corps. They replied that the regulations of the service allowed to officers, in common with other gentlemen, the privilege of making choice of companions for their private society; and, as they did not choose to hold any further acquaintance with the gentleman in question, they held themselves justified in the measures they had taken. In consequence of this they were ordered to join their corps, because of their irregular conduct.

"One corps was ordered to Vellore, because Major Boles had dined at their mess, before he knew that his appearance there was offensive. Another, it was said, was threatened by General Gowdie, the new commander-in-chief, that they should be sent to one of the most distant stations, because the officers refused to dine with Sir George Barlow. These facts may have received their colouring from the heat or malice of party; but the impression which results from a dispassionate perusal of the statements of both parties is, that there was a mutinous disposition on one side, and an arbitrary one on the other."

Sir George Barlow committed a serious blunder. In ignorance of the exact nature of the disaffection, and the extent to which it had spread, the subsidiary force at Hyderabad was complimented at the expense of the rest of the army, for not taking any part in the movement against the civil authorities; but no sooner did this general order reach that garrison, than the compliment was resented as an insult, and a circular letter was addressed to the other officers of the Company's service, assuring them, that they were not divested of those feelings which had been excited throughout the service, adding, in a memorial to the governor, this sentence—"Under these impressions we feel compelled to make some efforts to avert the evil we see impending, or what may be the possible and probable consequences — the separation of the civil and military authorities, the destruction of all discipline and subordination among the native troops, the ultimate loss of so large a portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it will inflict on the mother country."

One hundred and fifty-eight officers of the Jaulna and Hyderabad forces, signed this document, and "the possible and probable consequences," so darkly hinted at, were not without having a startling effect. Through Colonel Montressor, commanding at Hyderabad, they demanded the repeal of the government order of the 1st May, the immediate restoration of the officers punished by it, the removal from the staff of all who had advised the late measures, and a general amnesty for all past proceedings.

This was deemed the signal for rebellion, and committees of correspondence were immediately appointed at the different military stations, for the purpose of organising one great plan of resolute resistance; while a deputation was actually sent from the Bombay army, offering co-operation "against the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Governor of Madras and his advisers."

At this alarming juncture, Lord Minto assured Sir George Barlow of his approval and firm support.

The first act of open mutiny was committed at the seaport of Masulipatam, in the Northern Circars. The Madras European Regiment stationed there had, for some time, evinced a very mutinous spirit; hence Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, an officer of a resolute character, was appointed to take charge of it and command of the garrison; and the conduct of some of the officers on the evening

of his arrival was so obnoxious, that he applied for their removal, a measure openly resented by the rest.

Three companies being ordered to do marine duty on board of our war ships in the Bay of Bengal, they refused to embark, the officers having persuaded their men that this was but a preliminary step to breaking up the regiment and turning it into the navy. Colonel Innes was seized, placed under arrest, and Major Storey assumed the command, on the plea that he did so to prevent worse consequences; and a managing committee of the officers, to communicate further with the disaffected elsewhere, was formed. Sir John Malcolm was dispatched to Masulipatam; after various attempts to restore subordination, he returned to report that "the only means of allaying the most dreadful calamities were to modify the orders of May 1st, restore all the officers who had been suspended, and inform the army that its claim to the Bengal allowance would be laid before the Court of Directors."

This advice, if acted on, would have destroyed the civil power in India. Matters fast grew darker, and it was evident that the officers were bent on armed rebellion. A battalion at Hyderabad, when under orders for Goa, refused to march, on the plea, as they plainly told Colonel Montressor, that their services might soon be wanted elsewhere. At this painful juncture the king's troops remained faithful and firm. In order to ascertain who among the Company's officers could be depended on, it was resolved to apply a test, in the form of a document, copies of which were sent to the commanders of stations, with instructions to require the signatures of all to it. Those who refused to sign were to be removed from their regiments to stations on the coast, there to remain till better times might allow of their being employed again; while the sepoys were to be instructed that the dispute was purely a personal and not a general affair. The royal troops were stationed so as to be a check upon those of the Company; but the test was not very successful, and was openly declined by many of whose loyalty there could be no doubt. Out of 1,300 officers, then on the strength of the Madras army, it was signed by only 150.

The officers commanding in Travancore, Malabar, and Canara, hesitated at first, from dread of the consequences, to offer it; and when Colonel Davis attempted to do so at Seringapatam, the European officers revolted at once. After driving the king's troops out of the fort, they seized the treasury, drew up the bridges, loaded the guns, formed a committee of safety, sent out a detachment, which captured the sum of 30,000 pagodas on its way to the paymaster, and summoned to their assistance two battalions from Chitteldroog.

There was nothing for it but fighting now.

A squadron of H.M. 25th Dragoons, a native regiment of cavalry, and another of infantry, under Colonel Gibbs, set out from Bangalore for Seringapatam, to which place the two Chitteldroog battalions, under the command of Captain Macintosh, were on the march, which they continued till they came in sight of the citadel, when, on beholding Gibbs' cavalry, they were seized with a panic, and breaking, dispersed. The revolters in the citadel having made a demonstration in their favour, they all got in, save 200 or more, who were sabred on the spot. During the night Gibbs' camp was cannonaded; and a sortie was made upon him, but repulsed; after which, Colonel Davis, though labouring under severe indisposition, took command of the loyal troops, and, aided by our Resident at the court of the Rajah, the Hon. Arthur Cole (son of Lord Enniskillen), acted fearlessly. This act of hostility at Seringapatam was almost the last on which the disaffected officers ventured, and doubting their chances of success, they made their submission; for the government, to crush the rebellion, had determined to form an army of 12,000 men, of whom more than one-third should be European, and place it under Colonel Barry Close. That officer arrived at Hyderabad on the 3rd August (before these troops were mustered), where an obstinate resistance was expected. With some difficulty he made his way into the cantonments, but becoming apprehensive of being made a prisoner, he withdrew to the residency.

As soon as he did so, the committee of officers sent for the divisions at Jaulna and for those in the Northern Circars. "The troops at the former place, at once obeying the summons, made two marches in advance, and those in the Circars were preparing to take the field, when the views of the officers at Hyderabad underwent a change, which they themselves, in a penitential letter to the Governor-General, attributed to a kind of sudden conversion, though there is much reason to suspect that they were influenced as much by fear as by genuine repentance. . . . They signed the test, and began to preach submission, by sending to the different stations of the army a circular, in which they entreated their brother-officers to lose no time in following their example."

When Lord Minto reached Madras, on the 11th September, 1809, he found the rebellion subdued,

and he had only to take measures for punishing those who had taken a prominent part in it. Lieutenant-Colonels Bell and Doveton, and Major Storey, were ordered for trial, with eighteen other officers, whose names were struck out of the amnesty. Colonel Bell was cashiered, and declared incapable of serving in any military capacity whatever. The same sentence was passed on Major Storey, and though he was recommended to mercy, it was confirmed.

Colonel Doveton, in defence, maintained that he had only marched with the mutinous troops for the purpose of preventing greater evils, and was, therefore, honourably acquitted. Major Boles was restored to the service, but, without special permission, was never more to set foot in India.

With reference to these startling affairs at Madras, papers were called for in the House of Commons; but no motion was founded on them. The conduct of Sir George Barlow in the Court of Directors, was generally approved of, with two important exceptions—the one was the unjust suspension of Major Boles for circulating the order of his superior officer, General Macdowall; and the other, the unwise suspension of a number of officers, in an arbitrary manner, upon secret information, to which he should never have listened. In appointing a new commander-in-chief, his exclusion from the council—the express grievance of the deceased Macdowall—was so strongly recognised, that one of the civil members was removed to make way for him.

A motion for the recall of Sir George Barlow—though negatived in July, 1811—was renewed and carried at the end of the following year.

The most clear, terse, and best of all comments on these remarkable disturbances will be found among the "Wellington Despatches," in a letter written to Sir John Malcolm by the Great Duke, dated from Badajoz, on the 3rd of December, 1809.

Notwithstanding the local disturbances which have been related, the general peace of British India was not interrupted during the administration of Lord Minto, though many stirring and brilliant achievements took place in relation thereto. These were chiefly naval exploits, and expeditions for the reduction of the enemy's settlements.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

CAPTURE OF GOA, MACAO, ISLE OF FRANCE (MAURITIUS)—THE MOLUCCAS.

When Portugal was occupied by the invading armies of France, in accordance with instructions received from the Ministry, Lord Minto ordered possession to be taken of her settlements in the East, a measure somewhat unnecessary with regard to Goa, where an arrangement, reserving the civil administration to the Portuguese, and assigning the military authority to Britain, had been previously made.

To effect a similar arrangement at Macao, an expedition sailed from Calcutta and Madras in the month of July, and arrived off that place on the 11th of September, 1809. The Governor of Macao saw it with astonishment, and as he was without instructions from Lisbon, refused to receive the sanction of the Viceroy of Goa for giving up the colony to Britain. Force was therefore employed, and our troops took possession, thus very nearly provoking a war with the Chinese, who thought they had some right to be consulted in this matter, which led to a complete stoppage of our trade with China.

The month of May, in the following year, 1810, found the Isle of France blockaded by Captain Pym in the *Sirius*, with the *Magicienne*, *Iphigenia*, and the *Nereide*, under his orders. The last was a forty-four gun ship, commanded by Captain Willoughby, who landed at Point du Diable, attacked Port Jacotel, where he stormed two strong batteries, followed by Lieutenant Deacon and a hundred blue-jackets from the *Nereide*, who burned the signal-post, spiked the guns, destroyed the carriages, and carried off the field-pieces and military stores. He distributed among the inhabitants certain proclamations, issued by Governor Farquhar, of the Isle of Rodriguez, which sought to undermine their loyalty to the Emperor of France, after which he embarked, having suffered small loss; but had he been taken with the proclamations on his person, he ran the risk of a death of ignominy.

It was now determined to make a conquest of the Isle of France, and the expedition, to which each of the three presidencies contributed, anchored

on the 29th of November, 1810, in Grand Baye, near the north-east extremity of the isle, and about fifteen miles from its capital, Port Louis.

The troops were commanded by Major-General Abercrombie, and the fleet by Admiral Bertie, whose squadron consisted of eighteen sail, armed with 604 guns; making up, with transports and other vessels, seventy sail in all. The troops, marines, seamen, and gunners, to the number of 11,000 men, were landed on the same day without loss or delay, and the advance at once began into the interior of that beautiful isle, with the description of which the delightful romance of Bernardin St. Pierre has made most readers so familiar.

The French governor was able only to muster about 2,000 Europeans, and some bands of undisciplined and half-armed creoles and slaves. The troops immediately commenced active operations, while the squadron watched their movements, and landed all supplies when necessary. General de Caen ventured to make a stand in an advantageous position from the capital, and was not driven from it till he had inflicted some loss. Preparations were then made to assault the town by land, while Admiral Bertie should bombard it by sea; but the governor offered to capitulate, and, owing to the advanced state of the season, obtained favourable terms.

The strength of the isle had been greatly overrated, and the conquest of it was made by a force so overpowering, that, if the honour was small the profit was great. It became a British colony, and as such has ever since remained.

With the island, there fell into our hands an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, six large frigates, and thirty-one sail of other vessels, with 200 pieces of ordnance in battery. The peculiarly favourable position of the Isle of France placed it, beyond all question, as a valuable acquisition to Britain. If properly defended, it is almost impregnable, save to such a combined force by land and sea as no power could bring against it in secret. It possesses the only harbour refuge within a vast extent of ocean, embracing the whole range of the African continent, Ceylon, and India, sweeping round by Borneo, the Eastern Archipelago and New Holland, and finishing the compass with the illimitable Southern Sea, situated in a direct line homeward from India and China, and with but a slight deviation from the colonies in New Holland. Thus its position must ever be deemed extremely valuable for the facilities which its harbourage offers for the repair of damages to shipping. It was confirmed to Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1814.*

* Grant's "Mauritius, "Pridham's "Colonial Empire," &c.

The settlements of the Dutch, who, by compulsion rather than desire, had become the allies of Napoleon in Europe, were the next objects of attack by Lord Minto.

Our naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies having been directed to put the island of Java and all the enemy's ports in the Moluccas under strict blockade, ordered Captain Edward Tucker, in the *Dover* (forty-four guns), to proceed to Amboyna, where he was joined by the *Cornwallis* (seventy-four) and the Dutch sloop-of-war, *Mandarine*, which she had taken in battle. With these ships, and a body of the Madras Europeans, he succeeded in taking the island by surprise. Having all his boats launched with the troops in them, he kept them at the sides of the ships most remote from the enemy, and getting under weigh, pretended to stand out to sea; but by skilfully keeping the sails lifting, he managed that the ships should drift into the very place where he intended to make the landing. On passing this, within two cables' length, he suddenly cast off the boats, which were crowded with soldiers, seamen, and marines, under Captains Court and Philips, who pulled steadily inshore, while the ships opened upon the batteries a cannonade, which lasted for two hours and a half.

Meanwhile, the small-arm men advancing, stormed the heights commanding Portuguese Bay, into which the squadron immediately proceeded and came to anchor. Next morning the guns of the batteries captured on the heights were turned upon the town, when the governor, intimidated by the bombardment on the one hand, and the vigour of the attack on the other, capitulated, with 1,300 Dutch and Malay soldiers. Thus, on the 17th of February, 1810, was Amboyna again under the British flag, and the massacre perpetrated there, as related in the earlier annals of the Company, in some measure was avenged. The Dutch soldiers were sent to Java—a very strange policy, as we were about to attack it—but the Governor of Amboyna was brought before a court-martial, and paid the penalty of his treason, or timidity, with his life. The Malays were enlisted into the Company's service. Amboyna was the residence of the Dutch governor of the Moluccas; and with the island, were taken or destroyed, seven vessels of war and forty-three sail of other kinds; while the boats of the *Dover*, up to the 22nd of January, captured no less than twenty Dutch gunboats, with from eight guns and sixty men on board to one gun and five men. The Bandas, Ternate and other isles of the group were speedily taken, till the only settlement that remained to the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago was Java.

Ternate was taken by Captain Tucker, with the Madras Europeans, his marines, and the newly-enlisted Amboyna corps.

On the 25th of August he arrived off the island of Ternate, which is only about ten miles in diameter, and contains a volcanic peak nearly 6,000 feet in height, which often discharges flames, and on the warm slopes of which cotton, rice, and tobacco are cultivated. The winds were light and baffling, and thus he was unable to land till the 28th, when 170 men were sent ashore in the night to surprise the forts which guarded a bay; but they were re-embarked, as the difficulties of the approach frustrated the scheme. "Early in the morning they were again put on shore, and while a frigate engrossed the attention of the enemy, they proceeded unobserved to an eminence supposed to command the fort of Kayomaira, the principal Dutch post. They arrived on the hill at noon, but, to their great vexation, they found the fort was screened from their view by an intervening forest. They then endeavoured to proceed by an inland route, but after incessant exertion throughout the day, it was found impossible to disencumber the path of the immense trees that had been cut down and piled across it. Turning to the right, they followed the course of a rivulet which led to the beach, and brought them, about ten o'clock, within 800 yards of the fort before they were discovered. Disregarding a smart fire of grape and musketry, they rushed forward, escaladed the walls, and carried the fort. On the following morning, the combined operations of the detachment and frigate overpowered the other defences of the bay, and by evening the town and island surrendered. Few casualties impaired the exultation of the victors." *



ATTACK OF THE BLUE-JACKETS ON PORT JACOTEL.

Captain W. A. Montague, in the *Cornwallis*, attacked, with success, the fort of Boolo Combo, in the fine isle of Celebes, the mountain ridges of which, when viewed from the sea, present, in many quarters, so bold an outline, as they tower above the rich grassy plains below. He spiked the guns, drove out the troops with pike and bayonet; after which three of his boats, under Lieutenant Vidal, boarded and cut out a brig from under the guns of the Dutch fort of Manippa, and she was found to be laden with turtle, fruit, and sago, all of which were greatly needed by his ship's company. On

* Mill.

the 2nd of March, 1810, Lieutenant Peachy (afterwards Viscount Selsey), of the same ship, captured with her boats a Dutch fourteen-gun brig, with the loss of only four men wounded, while that of the enemy was one officer killed and twenty men wounded.

In June, Captain Tucker approached the Dutch fort of Goronoletto, in the bay of Tommine, on the north side of Celebes, where coffee is extensively cultivated. The colours of Holland were flying on the ramparts, but no Dutch officer was present; and he found that the whole settlement was held by the native sultan, and his two sons, who bore commissions under the Dutch, with whom the former consented to dissolve all connection, and quietly acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Great Britain; the whole trade of the island, which is estimated at 75,000 square miles in extent, was thrown open to British shipping.

Menado (with Fort Amsterdam), the most northern settlement on the isle, where opium, Bengal stuffs, and steel were exchanged for gold, was given up in the same manner; and Captain (afterwards Sir Christopher) Cole, in the *Caroline* (thirty-six), with all the disposable men of the Madras European Infantry, was dispatched to assist Captain Tucker, whose operations in the Moluccas had now become so extensive as to require support. The *Piedmontaise*, frigate, Captain Foote, and the *Barracouta*, eighteen-gun brig, Captain Keenah, were under his orders; and with less than 250 men, he landed and reduced Bandaneira, the chief of the Spice Islands, "a conquest achieved under difficulties from which many might have retreated without dishonour," as the place was strongly fortified, defended by 700 men in commanding batteries, well armed with artillery.

Night was chosen for the attack, and at a time when the howling of the wind and the hiss of the falling rain united to conceal the sounds of an approach. The landing was effected within a hundred yards of a ten-gun battery, which was stormed in reverse by Captain Keenah and Lieutenant Carew, without once snapping a flint. The garrison being made prisoners and secured, the party, with the assistance of a guide, pushed on to capture the castle of Belgica, where, through the gloom, and on the gusty wind, a bugle was heard rousing the troops to arms.



TYPE OF JAVANESE.



TYPE OF MALAY.

The scaling-ladders were reared against the walls, and the outer pentagon was won. Then the Dutch, hurrying to the walls, opened fire; but unchecked and undaunted, our small-arm men captured the outworks in such rapid succession, that the enemy had not time given them to fire a single cannon. The darkness, the storm, and the suddenness of the assault, multiplied the force and number of the attacking foe; and the garrison of the castle fled through the gateway in terror and precipitation, leaving the commandant and ten dead men behind them, with two officers and thirty men prisoners.

When day dawned, the Union Jack was floating over Belgica, and other sea-defences were visible far down below, at the feet of the stormers. The Dutch tricolour fluttered out on Fort Nassau, and its guns opened on our shipping. Then, leaving a guard in Belgica, Captain Cole descended with his

ladders to storm it, on which the governor capitulated, giving up 700 troops, besides militia, as prisoners of war, with 120 pieces of cannon. The capture of this island was another heavy blow to the commerce of the enemy; and its reduction, under such circumstances, justly won for Captain Cole the Order of the Bath.*

Nothing in Lord Minto's career as Governor-General won him so much *éclat* as the conquest of the Moluccas and of Java, which became subject to France, when Holland was overrun by the French.

"An empire," says Auber, using the words of Lord Minto, "which for two centuries had contributed to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, was wrested from the short usurpation of the French crown, and converted, from a seat of hostile machinations and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity." †

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

CONQUEST OF JAVA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

WHILE the armament for Java was in preparation, some fighting took place at sea in the summer of 1811.

Three French frigates, well officered, manned, and equipped, and crowded with troops, had sailed from Brest, on the 2nd of February, with the view of supporting the French settlements in the Mauritius, off which they arrived on the 7th of May, only to find the British colours flying on all the forts. At this crisis, they were in great distress for want of water, after their long voyage, and in search of this necessary, the Commodore Roquefort bore away for Madagascar.

Off the high bold headland of Marofototro, the extreme southern point of that island, he was met, on the 20th, by Captain C. M. Schomberg, in the *Astrea* (thirty-six), having under his orders Captain Hillyer, with the *Phœbe* (thirty-six), Captain Losack, with the *Galatea* (thirty-two), and Captain de Rippe, with the *Racehorse*, eighteen-gun sloop.

The winds being so light and baffling as often to make the loose canvas flap against the masts, the ships could not come within range of each other till late in the afternoon; and in the action which ensued, the *Galatea* and *Phœbe* suffered greatly from their accidental position with regard to the enemy.

One of their ships lay on the larboard quarter of the former and abreast of the latter, which was astern of the *Phœbe*. The other two were on each quarter of the *Galatea;* and the fight was maintained thus, till the *Astrea* and *Racehorse* caught a breeze, which brought them into action. By this time the *Galatea* was so cut up as to be quite unmanageable, with her fore and mizen-topmasts hanging over her side; and with her the action ceased about eight in the evening. Schomberg, supported vigorously by the *Phœbe* and *Racehorse*, followed up their advantages, and soon compelled M. Roquefort to surrender; and a second frigate which came to his aid soon ceased firing, and as darkness had set in, hung out a light in token of submission; but perceiving that, from the disabled state of the *Galatea*, the other ships could not give immediate chase, she set all sail and escaped.

Till two in the morning she was chased by the *Astrea* and *Phœbe*, when Captain Schomberg, on considering that the *Galatea* had signalled for assistance and required it much, and that the captured flagship (having only two officers and five men as a prize crew on board) might escape, he returned to secure her. She proved to be *La Renommée*, of forty eighteen-pounders, having on board 470 men, 200 of whom were soldiers. Her losses were heavy, but never ascertained. The *Galatea* had seventy-eight shots in her hull, many of them under water; and though short of her complement, had more killed and wounded than all our other ships together. The total casualties were 110.

Captain Schomberg now dispatched Captain de Rippe, in the *Racehorse*, to summon the settlement of Tamatave, a town surrounded by palisades, on the east coast of Madagascar, which the French had recently taken from Britain. On arriving off the port, he found in it *La Nereide*, one of the ships with which the squadron had so recently fought

* Brenton's "Nav. Hist.," &c.

† "Rise and Progress of British Power in India."

Reporting this circumstance to Captain Schomberg, that officer came off the port on the 24th of May, and found the enemy prepared for resistance. The shoals with which the port is surrounded being numerous and intricate, and having no one on board who could act as pilot, he prudently summoned the ship and garrison to surrender, and by granting them liberal terms, the demand was complied with.

He also received over a detachment of H.M. 22nd Regiment, which had garrisoned the place previous to its sudden capture. Captain Schomberg, having thus captured two out of the three frigates with which his little squadron had been engaged, and retaken a British settlement, returned to his station at the Isle of France.

By this time the Java expedition was ready, and at sea; for Lord Minto, having resolved to superintend the operations in person, caused delay. The naval commanders found several difficulties to be overcome, and a considerable want of alertness was shown by them at Mauritius, Amboyna, Ternate, and elsewhere; thus it seemed not improbable that, but for the intelligence of Mr. (afterwards Sir Stamford) Raffles, and the determination of Lord Minto not to be impeded by the doubts of the admirals, the undertaking might have been deferred till the following year—perhaps for ever—as the French and Dutch would make the greatest efforts to pour in reinforcements and supplies for the garrisons already there.

In pursuance of his great object, Lord Minto had proceeded to Madras on the 9th of March, 1811.

The military forces destined for this service were placed under the command of Sir Samuel Achmuty; and the fleet, under Rear-Admiral the Hon. R. Stopford, assembled in Madras Roads. It consisted of four line-of-battle ships, fourteen frigates, seven sloops of war, eight Company's cruisers, with fifty-seven transports and some gunboats, making one hundred sail in all.

The first division of troops destined for this conquest (of which an elaborate account was written by Major William Thorn, the Deputy Quartermaster-General), under Colonel Rollo Gillespie, sailed on the 18th of April, with the convoy of Captain Cole, in the *Caroline*, thirty-six guns. The second division followed in a week after, under the command of Major-General Wetherall, conducted by the Hon. Captain Pellew, in the *Phaeton*, thirty-eight guns.

On the day after their departure, a hurricane drove on shore the *Dover*, and every other vessel that remained with her in Madras Roads. These two divisions suffered only from the skirts of the tempest, and on the 18th of May reached the harbour of Pulo-Penang, in Prince of Wales's Island.

Lieutenant-General Achmuty had arrived in the *Akbar* frigate on the 13th, and sailed for Molucca, to which place Lord Minto was conveyed in the *Modeste* frigate, commanded by his son, the Hon. Captain Elliot (afterwards Rear-Admiral, and General of the Scottish Mint), and on the 24th the whole fleet sailed for Molucca, where they found the Bengal troops already encamped on the shore.

One of the first acts of Lord Minto, after his arrival, was to cause the instruments of torture which had been used by the Dutch to be publicly burned. Among them were the rack, the wheel, and many other instruments of torture, but too well known to the unhappy people whom they governed.

The possession of Molucca has ever been found of the first importance to our Indian and China trade, the straits being only sixteen miles wide, and the best channel of intercourse between the Bay of Bengal, the Chinese seas, and the Eastern Archipelago.

The lateness of the period at which the expedition reached Molucca was the source of some anxiety, as the favourable monsoon was nearly over; and a question arose as to which of two passages should be followed in the voyage towards Java. Immediate determination was necessary. The choice lay between the northern course, round Borneo, which, from the little known of the navigation of those seas, was deemed the only practicable one for a fleet; but how the dangers of the Bartalore passage—where only one ship could pass at a time—were to be avoided, no one could suggest. Mr. Raffles strongly recommended the south-west passage, between Caramata and Borneo, staking his reputation on the success that must attend it.

To this the naval authorities were opposed; but Lord Minto had such perfect faith in the local knowledge and good judgment of Mr. Raffles, that he embarked again in his son's ship, the *Modeste*, and led the way on Raffles' sole responsibility, and the result was entirely successful, though once the fleet was in imminent danger, from a sudden squall of wind and rain, which drove many of the ships into shoal water, where some of them struck the ground in a heavy sea; but the bottom being soft and muddy, they escaped without damage, and at two p.m., on Sunday, the 4th of August, the expedition came to anchor in the Bay of Batavia. When at Molucca the military force was reported thus:—

	Officers.	Native officers.	N.C.O. & privates.	Total.
European forces ...	200	——	5,144	5,344
Native forces	124	123	5,530	5,777
	324	123	10,674	11,121
Pioneers and Lascars	...	...	... ...	839

The total strength was 11,960.* Of these 1,200 were left behind sick, and 1,500 more became ill on landing at Java, where the troops went ashore, on the evening of their arrival, at the village of Chillingching, a spot which the enemy had left unguarded, and which lies ten miles eastward of the city of Batavia.

The European troops were H.M. 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th (Highland), 89th Regiments, and the Madras Engineers.

Colonel Gillespie, with the advanced brigade, moved forward towards the enemy's cantonments at Weltevredin, from which they retired to a strong position two miles in front of Cornelis. Every hour the men were falling sick; the cause of this was not the climate of Java, but the disgusting quarters afforded to them on board the hired transports; and yet Java has been called "the storehouse of disease," and justly so, for Sir Stamford Raffles tells us that in twenty-two years the mortality was more than a million of souls.† Yet, as they marched on, our soldiers were struck by the wonderful luxuriance of nature in the land they had come to conquer. There innumerable flowers bloom in perpetual succession throughout the year, filling the air with delicious fragrance. The myrtle and the rose, and a great variety of flowering trees and shrubs, then unknown to botanists, were growing wild; and in the mountainous tracts the raspberry, peaches, and Chinese pears, were seen growing wild also. And in the groves were also observed clusters of the great bat of Java, hanging from the branches head downwards, or taking wing at times, with their young ones clinging to their breasts.

From where the troops halted, the eye could roam over an uninterrupted range of lofty mountains, varying in their elevation above the level of the sea, from five thousand to twelve thousand feet, and all more or less of volcanic origin, and in many places covered with magnificent forests of teak, and groves of cocoa palm.

On the 7th of August the advanced guard crossed the Augale river by a bridge of boats and halted. The pipes which supplied the city of Batavia with fresh water were cut, the bridge over the river was destroyed, and the store-houses, full of spices had been set on fire by the retreating enemy. Batavia was then summoned, and as such of the inhabitants as the French had not driven away were eager to surrender, there was no difficulty in taking quiet possession of the city.

As it was fully expected that the French and Dutch, under General Jansens—to whom Napoleon had specially entrusted the defence of Java—would make a resolute stand at Weltevredin, the army began its march against that place on the 10th, and from thence towards Cornelis, their second position, which was one of great strength, and covered by two villages. It was also defended by an abatis of felled trees, and manned by 3,000 of their best troops, with four horse artillery guns, under General Jumelle.

He received Gillespie's advance with showers of grape and musketry, and set the villages in flames when he found himself compelled to fall back, on our brigadier turning his left flank, a movement in which a detachment of the 89th, and the grenadiers of the Ross-shire Highlanders, greatly distinguished themselves. Charging with the bayonet through smoke and flame, they drove out the Dutch infantry and captured the cannon. The whole brigade then pushed on, and the enemy were compelled to fly for shelter under the cannon of Cornelis. Our loss was trifling; but that of the enemy was 500 men, including Brigadier Alberti, who was dangerously wounded.

In the arsenal at Weltevredin were found 300 pieces of cannon, and a vast amount of the munition of war.

The time between the 10th and 20th of August was occupied in the preparation of batteries against Cornelis. This work was a level parallelogram, of 1,600 yards in length and 900 in breadth, having a broad and deep river running on one side, with ditches dug round the other three. The older fort of Cornelis stood also on the bank of the river, and to it General Daendels, the predecessor of Jansens, had added six strong redoubts (mounted with guns), which commanded and supported each other. The space within was defended by traverses and parapets, intended as a cover for the musketry while the great guns fired over them. The whole was defended by 5,000 men. Besides the outward ditches, small canals had been cut in different directions, within this fortified position, which General Jansens confidently supposed would defy the whole strength of Lord Minto, till the rainy season would render it impossible to occupy either camps or trenches, and cause such sickness as to compel a retreat.

Jansens also held an entrenched camp, the flanks of which were protected by the Sloken and Batavia

* Thorn's "Conquest of Java." † "History of Java."

rivers. The former was fordable, but with difficulty, and was defended by powerful batteries and redoubts; and there was a strong work on the British side of that river to protect the only bridge left standing. Between the two rivers, the trenches were protected by strong redoubts, and the inequalities of the ground concealed their actual strength. In front and rear this camp was protected both by art and nature. The circumference of the lines was nearly five miles, and they were armed with 280 pieces of cannon. Seldom in the annals of their wars had the British found a more troublesome place to attack; and the season did not permit of regular approaches.

"To carry the works by assault was the alternative, and on that I decided," says Sir Samuel Achmuty, in his despatch to Lord Minto. "In aid of this measure, I erected some batteries to disable the principal redoubts, and for two days kept up a heavy fire from twenty eighteen-pounders, and eight mortars and howitzers. Their execution was great; and I had the pleasure to find that though answered at the commencement of each day by a far more numerous artillery, we daily silenced their nearest batteries, considerably disturbed every part of their position, and were evidently superior in our fire." *

At dawn, on the 26th, the assault was to be made, under the guidance of the gallant Rollo Gillespie. Late on the preceding night, he mustered the column of attack in silence. He had with him the infantry of the advance, the grenadier companies of all the line regiments, and was supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th, and the 4th Battalion of Bengal Volunteers. With these troops he was to surprise the redoubt beyond the Sloken, to cross the bridge over the stream with the fugitives, and then assault the redoubts within the lines; Gillespie attacking those on the right and Colonel Gibbs those on the left, while Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, with six companies of the 69th, was to possess himself of a redoubt on the enemy's extreme left, and Major Tule, with the flank corps of the reserve, four horse artillery guns, two companies of the 69th, and the grenadiers of the reserve, was to attack the enemy at Camporg Maylays. The remainder of the army, under Major-General Wetherall, was at the batteries, where a column, under Colonel Wood, consisting of the 78th Highlanders (then 1,000 strong), and the 5th Volunteer battalion, was to advance against the enemy in front, force a passage in, and, if practicable, "open the position for the line."

Such was Achmuty's plan of the attack, for which General Jansens was every way prepared, and was among the redoubts when it commenced. The promptitude and celerity of our troops gave full effect to their valour. Led by their colonel, William Campbell, who fell mortally wounded, the 78th Highlanders, without entering the redoubt, carried the bridge over the Sloken by their bayonets; Gillespie crossed with them, and without firing a shot to lose time, "with a rapidity never surpassed, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, possessed himself of redoubt No. 3." It stood within the lines, and commanded the passage of the bridge. These works were all armed with eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two-pounders.

Gibbs followed closely, and while Gillespie was storming to the right, led the 59th and other troops against the works to the left, and carried them by the bayonet. It was barely taken when a tremendous explosion took place within it.

In rage and fury, a Dutch officer fired the magazine, causing terrible havoc and loss of life. He perished, with many gallant officers and men, chiefly of the 14th Regiment. Many of the enemy were also blown up, as the event occurred before they were quite out of the redoubt.

Another was successfully carried by Colonel Macleod, who fell in the moment of victory. A passage was thus fought into the entrenched camp, and our troops poured along the bridge with wild impetuosity, and, spreading in every direction, Cornelis was entered and the foe hurled out. "The whole of this work was performed in the dim grey light of early dawn; but by the time it was accomplished the sun was above the horizon, and both armies were presented to one another in full view."

The enemy were dispersed, broken, or bayoneted in the trenches; the British mustering in order, and undisputed victors of the position. The enemy had strong reserves in rear of it. These were drawn up on a plain in front of the barracks and lesser fort, the guns of which protected them. They consisted of several battalions of infantry and a considerable body of cavalry, with heavy guns in position and twenty horse artillery guns in line. Thus there was every prospect of another engagement; but on the approach of our 59th Regiment alone, the masses broke shamefully and fled.

The 59th thus possessed themselves of the fort and barracks, while Rollo Gillespie, with the cavalry and flying artillery, pursued the fugitives for ten miles.

Passing between the different corps with the former, he cut them down on every hand, unless when their wild cries for quarter stayed the uplifted

* Despatches.

sabres. A regiment of Voltigeurs, fresh from France, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion.

"In the action of the 26th," says Sir Samuel Achmuty, "the numbers killed were immense; but it has been impossible to form any accurate statement of the amount. About 1,000 have been buried in the works, multitudes were cut down in the retreat, the rivers choked with dead, and the huts and woods filled with the wounded, who have since expired. We have taken nearly 5,000 prisoners, among whom are taree general officers, thirty-four field officers, seventy captains, and 150 subalterns. General Jansens made his escape with difficulty during the action, and reached Buitenzorg, a distance of thirty miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it." *

There were taken on the various works and in the field, between the 10th and 26th of August, not less than 209 brass guns, thirty-five brass mortars, nineteen brass howitzers, 504 iron guns, 145 brass and iron cannon and mortars.

* Despatches.

The British loss was eighty-five officers and 800 men killed; among these were seventy-three seamen and marines. On the 27th, after this bloody conflict, the learned and warm-hearted Scottish poet, Dr. John Leyden, the friend and companion of Sir Walter Scott, expired of fever in the arms of his bosom friend, Sir Stamford Raffles, and was buried at Weltevredin. He had caught his death by throwing himself into the surf, boasting that "the first Briton who trod the soil of Java should be a Scotsman!" Southey, in his account of the conquest, wished "that Java had remained in the hands of the enemy, so that Leyden were alive;" and Scott notes his death thus, in "The Lord of the Isles:"—



JAVANESE DANCING GIRLS—FETE DAY IN THE FOREST.

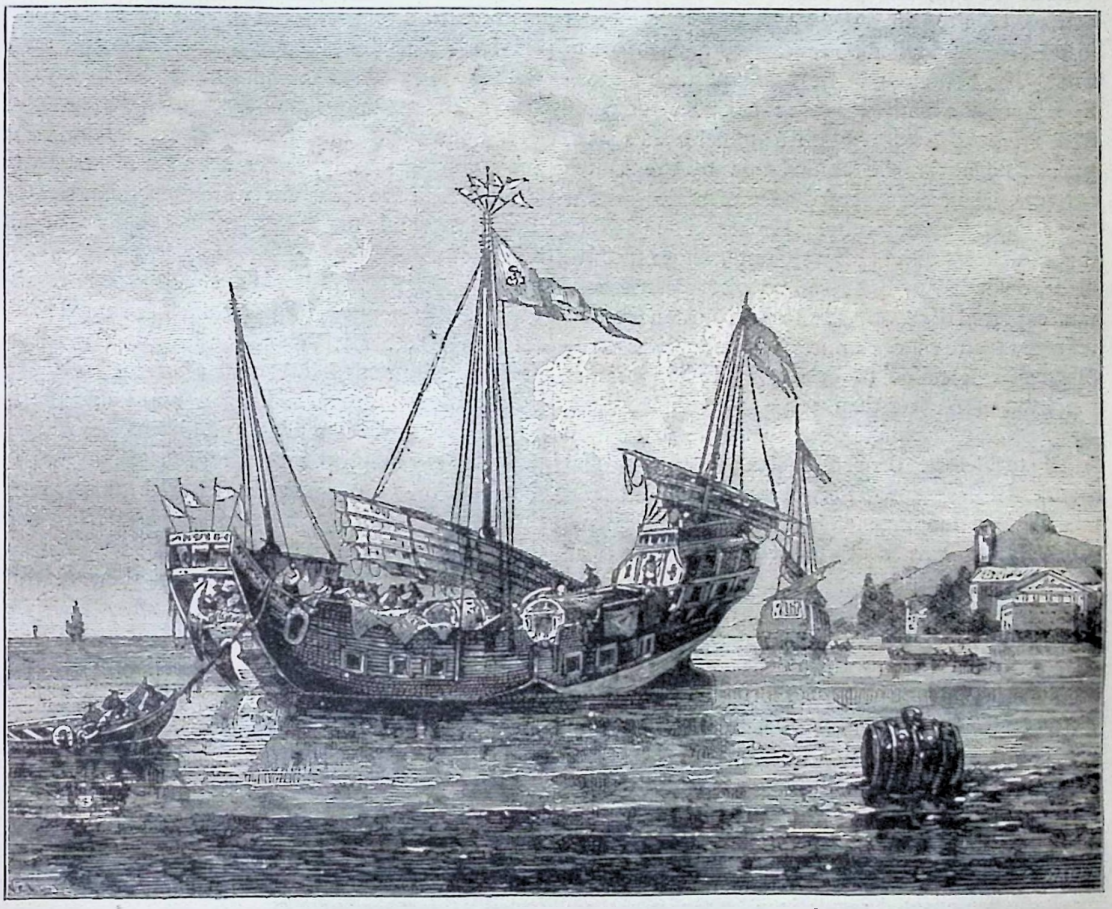
"Scenes sung by him who sings no more,
His brief and bright career is o'er,
And mute his tuneful strains.
Quenched is his lamp of varied lore,
That loved the light of song to pour.
A distant and a deadly shore
Has Leyden's cold remains."

While Sir Samuel Achmuty went in pursuit of Jansens, a naval expedition, consisting of the frigates

Sir Francis Drake and *Phaeton*, under Captain George Harris, a mere youth, captured the island of Madura, off the north-east coast of Java, and which is seventy miles long. A few French officers had landed there, and having hoisted the tricolour, deemed the island their own, till driven out of it by Harris.

Jansens now collected a force of native cavalry at Jater, six miles from the half Chinese town of Samarang, where Achmuty landed. On this the inhabitants fled, and he marched at once in quest of the enemy's camp, which was formed on a range of hills, difficult of access and covered by sharp and broken crags. The occupants of the place were chiefly natives, about 8,000 strong, with twenty pieces of cannon. Achmuty had with him only 1,000 bayonets, but all Europeans, with some pioneers and six light field-pieces. The summit of the range was level, grassy, and well adapted for the motions of cavalry, of which Jansens' force was almost wholly composed, and there were some slopes, by which they could ascend and descend with ease; thus, the moment the pioneers began to break ground, the Java troopers took to flight, and left their guns behind them; and seeing the futility of further resistance, General Jansens, by a treaty signed on the 18th of September, 1811, at Oonarang, surrendered the island to Great Britain, with all troops yet in arms as prisoners of war.*

The conquest of Java and the Moluccas led to the promotion of the Governor-General in the peerage: he was created Viscount Melgund and Earl of Minto in 1813; and Mr. Stamford Raffles was knighted, and made Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies; while Rollo Gillespie remained as commander of the forces, and in this capacity, though a gallant and highly distinguished officer, he manifested a strangely hostile feeling to Sir Stamford, with whom he could regard no subject in the same light. He was anxious to occupy Java with numerous forces; this the governor,



VIEW OFF SINGAPORE—CHINESE JUNK LYING AT ANCHOR.

* *London Gaz. Extraordinary*, 21st Jan., 1812.

urging motives of economy, declared to be unnecessary. Gillespie, resenting his views, brought so many and such serious charges against Sir Stamford, who was a philosopher, a statesman, and an erudite scholar, that it became necessary for the Governor-General to institute an official inquiry, which ended in the honourable acquittal of Raffles and the recall of Gillespie to Hindostan.

Prior to this, the colonel's services had been actively required in various ways to preserve order in the territory he had so valiantly done his part to win. The French and Dutch left nothing undone to stir up the natives against us. On returning from Sumatra, in 1812, whither he had been sent to punish them for the annihilation of the Dutch colonies, he found a confederacy of native princes menacing British authority. He proceeded against the refractory Sultan of Djokjokarta, whose fortified place, defended by one hundred pieces of cannon, was captured by storm, under circumstances that reflected lustre on our arms. The sultan was made prisoner, and exiled to Penang. He had been at the head of no less than 100,000 men; but their weapons and discipline were so inferior, that they failed to defend themselves even against a few thousand Europeans. For these services Gillespie was made a major-general, and after his quarrel with Raffles was sent to take command at Meerut.*

At this time, the slaves in Java amounted to about 30,000, and were procured from the slave dealers from the neighbouring islands, but chiefly from Celebes and Bali.

Upon our conquest of the island, says Sir Stamford Raffles, "the condition of this class of its subjects excited the attention of Government; and though we could not, consistently with the rights of property, which are admitted by the laws that we professed to administer, emancipate them from servitude, we enacted regulations, so far as we were authorised, to ameliorate their present lot, and lead to their ultimate freedom. Steps were immediately taken to check further importation; and as soon as it was known that the horrid traffic in slaves was declared a felony by the British Parliament, it was not permitted for an instant to disgrace a region to which British authority extended. The folly and perfect uselessness of slavery in Java have often been pointed out by Dutch commissioners and Dutch authors." †

Java remained in quiet possession of Britain until 1815, when the native officers and privates of a regiment of Bengal Light Infantry conspired to murder their European officers, and all other white men they could lay hands on; to desert, subvert the British authority, and join the Javanese in effecting a revolution. The real source of this dark combination lay in a breach of faith committed by the Government.

The conspirators were volunteers, who, contrary to the prejudices of caste, had joined the expedition under Sir Samuel Achmuty, on condition of being restored to their country at the end of three years' service. This bargain was tyrannically and scandalously violated. The regiment was left in Java by the Indian authorities; and the sepoys, despairing of ever again seeing their country and the temples of their gods, gave way, under a sense of wrong, to those vindictive passions which characterise the Bengalese, and the easily excited hatred of all Christians.

"It is remarkable," says a writer, "how the sepoy has ever proved himself the same sanguinary monster, whether at Vellore, or Java, or Cawnpore. It is equally remarkable, that after such decided proofs of their readiness, men and officers, to assassinate their comrades and defenceless Europeans upon any provocation from the Government, that both the Government and British officers continued to trust them, until the mutiny of 1857, and the horrid butcheries of Cawnpore."

The authorities were to blame for the intended revolt of the sepoys in Java; but when the plot was discovered, some of the criminals were executed, and the rest drafted into battalions returning home to India.

Sir Stamford Raffles, under whose government the island rose to great prosperity (its revenue having risen from 818,128 rupees yearly to 2,800,000), could not foresee how soon we were to restore to Holland our splendid conquests in the Eastern Archipelago, and with them Java, which he styled "the other India."

In 1816 it was given back to the Dutch. The overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo, led to a general re-arrangement among the European Governments, all of whom evinced much jealousy of Britain, on whom the brunt of the long war by land and sea had fallen. The subsequent abandonment of Borneo—though a most injurious step to our interests, and despite the expressed desire of bankers, merchants, and manufacturers at home, as well as those of Singapore and India—was not so purblind an act as the surrender of prosperous Java—the Queen of the Eastern Isles—a measure for which even the native authorities manifested the greatest reluctance.

* "Records, 8th Hussars."
† Raffles' "Hist. of Java."

The change once more effected in this island, from the *ryot* tenure of land, introduced under the British Government, to the old system of prescribed cultivation and forced deliveries, excited an insurrection, in which, according to the testimony of M. Van den Bosch, more than 30,000 men on the side of the Dutch, and 200,000 Javanese, were sacrificed.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE MUGHS—THE NEPAULESE AND GHOORKAS—DEATH OF THE EARL OF MINTO.

OUR disputes with the King of Ava, which had continued for many years, in consequence of the immigration of the Mughs to British India, broke out with considerable violence in 1811. Sixteen years before, three criminals having fled across the border, the Burmese did not hesitate to violate our territory in pursuit of them; but the invasion was promptly repelled; and now the protection we afforded the Mughs proved the next source of discord. The tyranny exercised by the Burmese governor of Arracan drove multitudes of these people to seek an asylum within our possessions; and so early as the year 1799, two-thirds of the Mughs of Arracan are supposed to have exchanged the habitations of their fathers for a home and settlement under British protection.

Jealous of these proceedings, a Burmese force of 4,000 men broke into the province of Chittagong, which had been ceded to us by the Soubahdar of Bengal in 1760; but they fell back across the frontier. It was now, somewhat imprudently, resolved to settle the refugees permanently in the district between the Ramoo river and the Nauf, in the immediate presence of their enemies. The situation seemed favourable to people of their habits; for they are a muscular and hardy race, and make good pedlars and mechanics, and the territory seemed to belong to no one. But the consequences were, that the Mughs formed themselves into bands of marauders, and kept up a system of incessant predatory incursions against their hereditary enemies in Arracan.

In the early part of 1811, a native of the latter province, named King Berring, whose ancestors, as well as himself, possessed extensive lands there, in consequence of having incurred the displeasure and being exposed to the resentment of the King of Ava, took refuge, with many followers, in our province of Chittagong. There he conceived the design of adding his adherents to the exiled Mughs; and in the month of May, great numbers of them joined his standard, inspired by vengeance against their conquerors, the Burmese, and probably with the hope to restore their ancient Buddhist kingdom—the history of which, according to native annals, begins in A.D. 701, and continues through a series of 120 native princes, to 1783.

Partly owing to the secrecy and caution with which King Berring carried it into effect, and partly to the negligence of the *darogas* (or native magistrates) of the Thannas, on the frontier, his proceedings were unknown to our magistrates at Chittagong until he had marched across the Nauf river, which forms the boundary of the two countries.

It would appear, from another authority, that King Berring's plan of an organised attack on Arracan was known to the local chief magistrate, but he displayed such culpable negligence, that he really seemed to connive at the intended inroad of the Mughs; and now a war with Ava became imminent, when two years before we had been on the point of establishing friendly relations with its court. In 1809, a French ship having wantonly attacked a small island of the Burmese, the king, not knowing any difference between French and British, sent an angry remonstrance to Calcutta, on which Lord Minto sent Lieutenant Canning as an ambassador; but now the diplomatic intercourse about to ensue was dissipated by the raid of King Berring, who our ambassador had promised should receive no shelter in British territory. This pledge was not fulfilled; and Captain W. White, in his account of the disputes with Burmah, actually alleges that the promise was made to delude, and that neither Lieutenant Canning nor the Government were sincere in this matter. *

The result of the Mugh invasion was, that King Berring was soon deserted by his followers and became a fugitive, with many more of the inhabitants

* "Political History of Burmese War," &c.

of Arracan, without our territory; and to prevent any incursions of the Burmese troops in pursuit, the magistrates instructed the officer commanding our troops at Chittagong to take post on the frontier.

Accordingly, early in 1812, the troops assembled at Ramoo, the head-quarters of Colonel Morgan, who seized all the passes, at the time that the Burmese forces, under the Rajah of Arracan, advanced to their boundary, the Nauf. The rajah demanded the surrender of the two principal leaders of the late invasion. The civil magistrate referred the matter to Calcutta; but, as a reply did not come soon enough, the rajah sent another demand, couched in imperious and very different language, requiring the surrender of all fugitives, and of a Scotsman, named Dr. McRae, whom he alleged to have assisted the invaders; while at the same time, "the King of the World and Lord of the White Elephant" was threatening to march, at the head of 40,000 soldier pilgrims, from Ava to Benares.

The magistrate replied that the ringleaders would be secured, and the Mughs prevented from doing further mischief. The matter, he added, would be settled by the King of Ava's Viceroy, at Rangoon, and he warned the rajah against the violation of our territory, to the frontier of which more troops were pushed up, while a sloop of twenty guns arrived to take away our envoy in case of shots being exchanged.

In spite of all this, the Burmese crossed the frontier early in 1812, and began to stockade themselves in British territory, while dispatching parties in different directions to seize the fugitives, or all who were supposed to be so. The Rajah of Arracan, at the same time, sent vakeels to our camp to negotiate; but our commander insisted that prior to any arrangement being made, the Burmese should fall back beyond their own borders.

As Lieutenant Canning had to confer, not with the King of Ava, but with his viceroy at Rangoon, the negotiations there were tedious and circuitous. Thus the difficulties deepened, and Canning's situation became painfully perilous. Plans were laid to kidnap him and destroy our shipping; but these, however, were frustrated by the vigilance of the British, and ere long matters were left pretty much as they were before. Canning withdrew; the Burmese troops departed; ours returned to their cantonments; and Lord Minto published a manifesto, to the effect that if the King of Ava had any redress to demand, he should send a vakeel to Calcutta.

This peaceful state of affairs became suddenly clouded by the abrupt re-appearance of King Berring, who, collecting a great force of Mughs, burst into Arracan on the 4th of June, 1812; but he was defeated and had once more to seek shelter in British territory. The troops of Ava did not pursue him; but the Viceroy at Rangoon treated with marked scorn the pacific allegations of Canning, whose recall was revoked by Lord Minto.

The month of October saw King Berring still in arms, and in full possession of all the frontier hills and jungles. Our troops were compelled to take the field against him to disperse his marauding parties, and this was not effected without considerable bloodshed.

By the end of the year, King Berring, for the third time, broke into Arracan, with the same luckless results as before; though his dauntless intrepidity and wonderful perseverance were fully equalled by the courage and hardihood of his adherents. The troubles along the frontier of Ansar continued during the whole remaining period of Lord Minto's government, and the relations between it and the court of Ava were far from satisfactory.

During the years 1812 and 1813, Goojerat was visited by a dreadful famine,* and, as usual, ignorance of the true art of agriculture, and that habit of yielding to fate on the least touch of misfortune common to Orientals, made matters worse; for the Indian believes that good or bad crops are born of destiny, and he is never likely to learn that "the gods help those who help themselves."

In the latter year, we had disputes along the frontier of Nepaul, somewhat similar to those in Arracan.

In 1806, about 1,600 of the subjects of the rajah fled from his oppressive and merciless despotism to the dominions of the Company, and two years after an angry dispute ensued between him and the latter, about their respective frontiers. Lord Minto being prevented from making war by the usual instructions from home, and believing that at any time he could soundly chastise the Nepaulese, did nothing for the present. But the rajah began to grow bolder, and in 1810, he ventured to seize upon some territories belonging to the Zemindar of Bimnughur, a subject of the Company. On this he was warned that arms would be resorted to unless he made immediate restitution; but nothing was done even then.

It happened that about this time the Ghoorkas were conquering some portions of Nepaul, and waging a destructive war among the mountain chiefs whose possessions lay near the Jumna and the Sutlej; after which they began to encroach upon the Sikh chieftains, who lived south of the latter river, and were under British protection.

* "Transactions, Bombay Lit. Soc.," 1819.

In 1811, these fierce and warlike Ghoorkas continued to advance, as they did so erecting forts, stockades, and strong lines of posts, to secure possession of the lands they won, till they overran the district of Kyndunughur, in the province of Berar, and, close to the great road to Benares, had the hardihood to erect a fortress on British territory.

As it was impossible to submit tamely to an encroachment so daring, Lord Minto informed the Court of Directors that it was hopeless to expect restitution from either the Nepaulese or the Ghoorkas, save by force of arms, and thus, by the end of the year, troops were sent to drive the invaders back; and in May, 1813, Major Bradshaw was directed by the Company to settle the dispute about the frontiers. But only a precarious arrangement was made, while the confidence and insolence of the Ghoorkas convinced Lord Minto that, sooner or later, our unwise pacific system would give place to a fierce and energetic war; and, even while Major Bradshaw was using all his diplomacy at Bootwul with the commissioners of the Nepaulese, fresh encroachments upon us were made by those bold and daring mountaineers.

Lord Minto resigned his office, and took his passage for Europe towards the close of 1813. He had expressed a wish to resign in January, 1814, but the Ministry had changed, and he anticipated the time of the Earl of Moira being appointed his successor. "It is said that when he returned from India, he frankly confessed that his notions about the first and greatest of our Governors-General were very different from what they had been a quarter of a century before, when he harangued in the House of Commons, or sat with the managers of Hastings' impeachment in Westminster Hall. More than this, his lordship recommended carrying out the system of aggrandisement, connection, and supremacy, which Hastings had been the first to adopt; and he confessed that without this supremacy, by conquest, or by connection, our empire in the East could not stand; and that the timid neutrality and non-interference system, which had now been so long cherished by the British Legislature and Government, and by the Court of Directors, was altogether inapplicable to our situation in India."

In financial arrangements the administration of the Earl of Minto was eminently successful. The surplus in his last year of office amounted to £1,500,000 sterling; and among the personal merits of his lordship, we must not forget the interest he took in Indian literature, and the liberal patronage he extended to all who cultivated it. So far as the narrow restrictions of the home government permitted him, he endeavoured to carry out the view of the Marquis of Wellesley with regard to the College of Fort William, and he proposed a plan for the foundation of native colleges at Tirhoot and Nadiya, which was to have been followed by the establishment of Mohammedan colleges in other parts of Hindostan.

The new honours bestowed upon him by the Crown he was not permitted long to enjoy. He landed in England in May, 1814; after receiving the thanks of Parliament for his eminent services, and after a short residence in London, alarming symptoms of a decline began to show themselves, and they increased so rapidly as to baffle medical skill. His chief anxiety was to get home to die in Scotland, but he expired on his way thither, at Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, on the 21st of June.*

He was in his sixty-third year. Lord Minto's manners were mild and pleasant; his conversation was naturally playful, but he could make it serious and instructive. Both in writing and speaking he displayed great purity of language, and an uncommon degree of perspicuity in his mode of relation and expression. He was an elegant scholar, a good linguist, and well versed in ancient and modern history. As usual with his countrymen, he was warmly attached to his family, and anxiety for their happiness, and a wish to promote their welfare, were great objects with him through life; and his amiable qualities were fully appreciated by all who enjoyed his friendship.†

* "Scottish Biog. Dict.," &c.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1814.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE EARL OF MOIRA GOVERNOR-GENERAL—THE NEPAULESE WAR.

G. A. FRANCIS, Lord Rawdon and Earl of Moira, K.G., a gallant officer, distinguished senator, and popular statesman, the representative of an ancient Irish baronial family, succeeded the Earl of Minto as Governor-General of India.



A BURMESE PADDY (RICE OR COUNTRY) CART. (*From an Original Sketch.*)

The earl was a trained soldier, having been a captain in the 63rd Foot, in 1775, during the war in America, and was long—as a general—a popular Commander-in-chief of the troops in Scotland, where, in 1804, he married Flora Campbell, Countess of Loudon, and where his daughter, an accomplished poetess, the famous and ill-fated Lady Flora Hastings, was born at Edinburgh, in 1806. Prior to his departure for India, he received the following letter from his distinguished predecessor in office, Lord Teignmouth, concerning that which the latter had never ceased to take a deep interest in—Christianity in India.

"Portman Square, Feb. 10th, 1812.

"My Lord,—At a period when endeavours were made to alarm the public, by representations of the dangers to be apprehended attending any attempts to impart to the natives of Hindostan the doctrines of Christianity, I deemed it my particular duty to publish the result of my own observation and experience on this important subject. The publication—though avowed by me (it was anonymous; as I conceived there might be an impropriety in its bearing the name of a Member of the Board of Control as its author)—I now submit to your lordship, with a request that you will honour me by the acceptance of it. The state of affairs on your lordship's arrival in India will enable you to judge how far my reasoning, in 1808, was well founded. Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity in expressing my cordial gratification that a country,

in the prosperity of which I must ever feel a deep interest, has been placed under your lordship's administration; and my sincere wish is that your voyage to it may be prosperous, and that the climate may prove propitious to your health." *

On the 4th of October, 1814, the Earl of Moira formally assumed office at Calcutta, and found the position of affairs by no means smooth or pleasant.

* "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.



VIEW IN THE HIMALAYAS.

The Company's commercial monopoly had long been a fruitful source of complaint and jealousy to many of the mercantile interests in Great Britain; and at every renewal of the East India Charter, vigorous efforts had been made to throw open some portions of the Eastern trade. Many merchants of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, and other great ports—without reflecting or caring that the trade in India had been won by the Company through conquest and dominion, without which the

trade would never have existed at all—had for years contended that they, and the three kingdoms at large, had a right to participate in trading openly with India and China; but the first great inroad on the Company's ancient privileges did not take place until 1813.

On the 22nd of February in that year, the Company, well aware that plans were in preparation for the destruction of their long monopoly, urged by petition to Parliament, that without their special commercial privileges they could neither maintain their political position nor their territorial possessions; and their commercial monopoly was but an instrument necessary for those ends.

The Ministry had, however, resolved on a modification of the system; and hence, before the session closed, a bill (Act of the 53rd George III., chapter 155) was carried through both houses; and the trade with India—but not with China—was thrown open to all ships of not less than 350 tons of registered measurement. The resort of individuals to India, for commercial or other purposes, was placed under certain regulations—European residents having to apply for permission from the Court of Directors, who should either grant permission for residence, or, in the event of refusal, transmit the application, within one month of the receipt of it, to the Board of Control. Hence there was introduced a divided authority in matters of commerce, as there had previously been in politics; and it was enacted, that the accounts of the East India Company should be kept under the two separate heads of "commerce" and "territory."

Through the Board of Control, a general authority was given to H.M. Government, over the appropriation of the territorial revenues, and those surplus commercial profits which might remain, after a strict examination of the appropriation clauses, and the claims of the Company's creditors; and from this time, in future, no Governor-General, local governor, or commander-in-chief, was to be appointed by the Company, without the express approval of the king; and no dismissed or suspended official of the Company was to be restored without the consent of the Board of Control.

The bounty of the Court of Directors was also restricted; and without the consent of the Board of Control they could not grant a gratuity of more than £600; and, moreover, the Board was to hold authority over the Company's college and seminary at Haileybury and Addiscombe, in England.

The Earl of Moira bade fair to become popular in his new office. "If not a consistent politician, he was a nobleman of the most honest intentions, sincerely attached to his sovereign, high-minded beyond most of his contemporaries, and liberal and generous in the extreme. He had also a grace and dignity in his manners, which will not be forgotten by those who ever saw him," says a writer, "and which could not be without their effect, in a country like India."

The expense of Lord Minto's foreign embassies, and foreign conquests in Java, the Moluccas, and elsewhere, had trenched deeply on the Company's exchequer, and the Earl of Moira found a considerable amount of financial embarrassment before him. To meet the calls for retrenchment, the army had been, as usual, most injudiciously reduced, and to a degree which the necessary requirements of the service did not warrant; and the consequent result was discontent among all ranks, and considerable laxity of discipline; and all this at a time when our relations with neighbouring states were far from satisfactory, while with Nepaul hostilities seemed all but inevitable.

Years had not chilled the Irish ardour of Lord Moira, who was still every inch a soldier; and quitting Calcutta, in June, to make a military tour of inspection, he began to concert measures for the coming campaign, and to make defensive arrangements against the marauding Pindarees, who were now menacing our northern frontiers.

According to the limits claimed for them at this crisis, the territories of Nepaul skirted the northern British border, together with that of Oude, for about 700 miles from north-west to south-east, and extended backwards, with an average breadth of 130 miles, across the ascending slopes of the Himalaya range, to the region of eternal snow. The lowest belt of the Nepaulese dominions is part of the great plain of Hindostan. In a few spots, the British districts reach now to the base of the Himalayas; but in most parts the Ghoorka possessions stretch about twenty miles into the plain. Bounding this low country on the north, is a region nearly of the same width, consisting of small hills, which rise gradually towards the north, and are watered by numerous streams. In several places these low hills are separated by fine *doons* (or what in Scotland would be called *straths*), many of which are well cultivated, and produce enormous bamboos, pine-apples, sugar-canes, oats, and barley. The mountains of the inhabited valleys are narrow, and in many instances 6,000 feet in height. Several rivers that rise in Thibet pass between the peaks of the snowy Alpine ranges, but amid such enormous precipices, that their openings are in general quite impracticable.*

* *Fullarton's Gaz.*, vol. x.

A more forbidding theatre in which to carry on offensive warfare could not well be imagined; and this, perhaps, was one of the reasons why so many Governors-General had submitted to the insults and encroachments of the inhabitants.

Nepaul Proper, though the ancient history of it is very obscure, was originally confined to a single valley among the mountains, but of no great extent, commencing on the edge of one of the lower ranges of the chain, and continued in length through the Ghauts—which were traversable only during a few of the summer months—to the table-land of Thibet. The primeval inhabitants spring from the old race of that district, but their origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, and complete ascendency was established among them when Hindoo colonists, led by Rajpoot chiefs, arrived, and absorbed or reduced them to subjection.

So lately as 1765, the valley of Nepaul was held by the Hindoo Rajahs of Khatmandoo, Bhatgaon, and Lalita-patan. They quarrelled among themselves, and this discord proved their destruction. Prithri Narrain, Rajah of the Mountain Ghoorkas, subdued them in detail in 1768, and in the following year they came into collision with the British, under Captain Kinloch, who had penetrated as far as Sederoly, but did not prosecute the enterprise. The sovereignty Prithri won was transmitted to his descendants, and the name of Ghoorkas was applied to all the people they ruled.



RUNJEET SING.
(*From a Portrait by a Native.*)

When next attempted by the Company, the intercourse with Nepaul was of a pacific nature; and when, in 1792, the Emperor of China marched 70,000 men against the Ghoorkas, in order to avenge some indignities they had offered to the Thibet Lama, and extort a nominal submission from them, their rajah applied to us for military aid, and, in consequence, Captain Kirkpatrick was sent on a mission to Khatmandoo, where he obtained much new and interesting information respecting a country then to us unknown. In 1795, Rana Bahadur assumed the government, on attaining his majority, and one of his first acts was to put to death his uncle, as a punishment for the state of subjection in which he had kept him while his guardian. His life was one of great dissipation; his cruelty was ferocious; his people revolted; and then he was induced, in 1800, from superstition, personal apprehension, or caprice, to resign in favour of an infant son, and retire to Benares.

While there, his debauchery and profusion involved him in pecuniary difficulties, from which he was relieved by the Company, and an arrangement was made for the repayment of the debt thus contracted—to facilitate the execution of which it was agreed that a British Resident should be established at Khatmandoo. Captain Knox accordingly proceeded thither in 1802, accompanied by another enterprising Scotsman, Dr. Francis Hamilton, author of a "History of Nepaul," and "The House of Gorkha." Their mission, however, proved abortive. The high-born and high-spirited wife of Rana Bahadur contrived to return to Nepaul, where she found means to supplant a low-born regent, to whom the affairs of their infant son were entrusted; and entertaining a shrewd jealousy, not altogether groundless, that the British mission was, as usual in India, "the thin end of the wedge," she treated her two visitors with coldness so marked that they were glad to return to the dominions of the Company.

The princess was soon followed by her husband, who assumed the government as regent for his son; but his old habits returned with him, and provoked a conspiracy of the principal Ghoorka chiefs, who assassinated him in open council, and placed his half-brother, Shir Bahadur, upon the throne. A civil war ensued, and the ascendency was won by a chief named Bisa Shah, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur upon the musnud, and conducted the government with such ability, that the Ghoorka territories were much extended, and reached so far to the west as to threaten a quarrel with Runjeet Sing, and their encroachments on British territory were such that forbearance was no longer possible, though the Ghoorkas alleged, and with considerable truth, that the tracts they were beginning to overrun belonged of old to them; but as some had never done so, there were right and wrong on both sides, and the dispute bade fair to be a bitter one.

The Ghoorkas were ignorant of Britain's real strength, and had a great confidence in their own, and believed that while in possession of a plant—unknown in Europe—named *Bish* or *Bikh*, they were secure from any enemy.

"This dreadful root," says Dr. Hamilton, "of which large quantities are annually imported, is equally fatal when taken into the stomach or applied to wounds, and is in universal use throughout India for poisoning arrows, and, there is too much reason to suspect, for the worst of purposes. . . . . The Ghoorkalese pretend that it is one of their principal securities against invasion from the low countries, and they could so infect all the waters on the route by which an enemy was advancing, as to occasion his certain destruction. In case of such an attempt, the invaders ought, no doubt, to be upon their guard; but the country abounds so in springs that might soon be cleared, so as to render such a means of defence totally ineffectual, were the enemy aware of the circumstance." *

At the time the Earl of Moira entered on his government, all hopes of an amicable arrangement with Nepaul had utterly failed. As a last effort, he addressed a letter to the rajah, in which he repeated all the arguments and remonstrances that had been employed by the Earl of Minto, and urged him to acquiesce in the peaceable occupation of the disputed territories by the British Government.

The mountain prince scornfully refused, so these were at once entered and taken possession of by our troops. The Ghoorkas, as if their final intentions were scarcely yet known, retired without offering resistance, though fully aware that the time had come when they must strike a final blow, or forfeit their honour.

In an assembly of the leading chiefs, the question of peace or war was fully discussed, and they concluded—but not unanimously—for the latter. The peace party urged procrastination, as they feared that some of the mountain chiefs might prove treacherous, and leave the passes undefended to an enemy whom they knew to be brave. "Hitherto," said they, "we have only hunted deer; but in this war we must prepare to fight with tigers!"

The war party appealed to the past glories of their arms; their mountains, which had never been conquered, though overrun by the Chinese; and they remembered that the British had been baffled before Bhurtpore. That fort was but the work of man, yet the British had failed there. "What likelihood, then, was there that they would be able to storm the mountain fastnesses, constructed by the hand of God?" The decision of the rajah to try the fortune of war was responded to without delay by the Governor-General, who was then on a tour in the northern provinces. On the 1st of November, 1814, he issued a manifesto from Lucknow, addressed to the friends and allies of the Company, detailing the causes which made war inevitable with the Ghoorkas.

The Earl of Moira ordered a division of the army, 6,000 strong, to march from Loodiana into Hindur, on the western extremity of the frontier. It was under the famous Sir David Ochterlony, who was thus to menace Ameer Sing, who was the Hannibal of Nepaul, and was viceroy and commander of all the Ghoorka forces between the Sutlej and the Gogra.

Major-General Morley, with 8,000 men, was to move from Dinapore against Khatmandoo, the Nepaulese capital. Major-General Wood, with 4,500 men, was to penetrate into the enemy's country by the way of Bootwul; Colonel Jasper Nicolls was to command the division which invaded Kumaon; and Major-General Rollo Gillespie, proceeding from Saharunpore, was to march his column into Sirmoor.†

Captain Latter was placed on the south-west frontier, with the local battalion of Rungpore and a regular battalion of native infantry, to act aggressively or defensively, as circumstances required; and altogether the force marching against Nepaul mustered about 30,000 men, with sixty pieces of cannon.

The Ghoorkas had at this time 12,000 fighting men, clad, armed, and disciplined in imitation of the Company's sepoys. They were active, robust, and courageous; and in addition to their muskets and bayonets, every man carried the national weapon, a *kookeree*, or heavy knife, curved outwards both back and front, ending in a point, and bent at the handle. The edge is so keen, and the blade thickens so much towards the back, which is about a quarter of an inch thick, that a single blow will cut the vertebræ of a buffalo. This weapon is fifteen inches long, three at the broadest part of the leaf-shaped blade, and is worn in the frog of a waist-belt.

The deadly plant described by Dr. Hamilton was now resorted to, and as our troops advanced, the Ghoorka officers ordered the wells and tanks to be poisoned. "But this is a threat which has often been used, and has never been carried extensively into practice."

On the 19th of October, 1814, the advanced guard of General Gillespie's division, under Colonel Carpenter, proceeding by the Timbee Pass, entered the valley of Dehra Doon.

Three days after, the main body came, under Colonel Mawbey, who occupied the town of Dehra, and continued to follow the Ghoorkas, who were

* "Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul," p. 99.

† "Life of Ochterlony," *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1839.

retiring before him in the direction of Kalunga or Nalapuni, about five miles further off to the north-east. It is a small but strong fort, situated on the extremity of the flat summit of a detached hill, the steep sides of which were covered with jungle.

The fort consisted of a quadrangular stone building, to which access had been rendered difficult by means of stockades. It was garrisoned by 600 men, under Balbhudra Sing, a Ghoorka captain of courage and ability. On halting before the place, Colonel Mawbey received a defiance in answer to his summons, so preparations for a siege began forthwith; and the battering guns were got into position on the summit of the hill, but their fire proving abortive, Mawbey waited for further orders.

Gillespie's column was at this time divided into three commands: Colonel Mawbey led the infantry, Colonel Westenra the cavalry, and Major Pennington the artillery.

Though no breach had been made, it was resolved to storm the fort on the 31st of October. There were four columns of attack, three of which had to make a considerable détour, and thus did not hear the signal gun which was to indicate the simultaneous assault. The enemy made a sortie, which was repulsed, and the general conceiving that, by a hot pursuit, the stormers might enter with them, ordered all at his disposal to the attempt, which failed, as the Ghoorkas closed the gates, which proved too strong to be forced.

As usual in too many British assaults, the scaling-ladders proved too short, and the fiery Gillespie furiously urged his soldiers to accomplish impossibilities; and in this wild attempt against stone walls, he was shot through the heart, when leading on his old regiment, the Royal Irish Dragoons, dismounted, with their swords and pistols.

The matchlock-balls flew thick as hail about the stormers, on whom an avalanche of stones, trunks of trees, and cannon balls were hurled down.

"Although it lasted but a few minutes," wrote a private of H.M. 53rd, who was present, "the sight was horrible; the masses of rock and heavy logs of timber came crashing down towards us, bounding from one uneven place to another, or tearing up or carrying before them, the low brushwood with which the hill was covered. These dreadful missiles were close upon us, ready, as it were, to crush us instantly to death, and sweeping all before them. Some of the men threw themselves flat upon their bellies, in the hope that the ponderous articles would bound over them. The plan was a wise one, for nearly all that did so escaped unscathed, while others were thrown down, bruised, mangled, and perhaps killed. The thought of throwing myself down had not struck me soon enough for me to avail myself of it, for in the instant I received a blow on the head, which stretched me senseless on the ground." *

Disheartened by the fall of Gillespie, the troops fell back, and their retreat was covered by one of the three stray columns which came up. On the 25th November, Kalunga was again attacked, and breaching batteries were opened. By noon on the 27th a gap was practicable, and the stormers advanced with unloaded muskets. The breach was found to be impassable, as it was defended by spearmen and matchlock-men intermingled.

The British, unable to return a shot, fell back, with the loss of 680 men; and it is said, that owing to the obvious incapacity of some of the officers, the troops had made that fatal attack with great unwillingness. Though it was known that the garrison obtained its supply of water from a well beyond the fort, it did not occur to any of our officers to have it cut off; so now a bombardment was resorted to. The bare stone walls of the fort gave no shelter to the gallant mountaineers who manned them, and they suffered so dreadfully, that in the course of three days there were surviving only seventy of the original 600. With such a feeble band, breathing an air that was rendered pestilential by the number of unburied dead, a longer defence would have been madness. The few survivors stole out in the night, but were overtaken and cut to pieces, with the loss of their standards; the Ghoorka chief, Balbhudra Sing, effected his escape.

The interior of the fort presented a shocking spectacle, when our troops entered it by daylight. It was everywhere strewed with the bodies of the dead, the dying, and the wounded.

"The latter were piteously crying, and entreating our sepoys to give them water wherewith to cool their parched lips. Many were dying of thirst, not a drop of water had they tasted for the three preceding days. Assistance was immediately afforded to the wretched creatures; those whose wounds were susceptible of cure were removed to our hospitals, and attended with as much care as if they had been our own people; eighty-five of the Ghoorkas recovered under the hands of our surgeons. In the evening immense funeral piles were erected by the sepoys, on which the dead bodies were burnt." †

Kalunga was destroyed, but the Ghoorkas were greatly encouraged by the slaughter of the British before its walls, and began to despise them as antagonists. The Earl of Moira was mortified and disappointed by such an untoward opening of the

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1837. † Ibid.



DEATH OF ROLLO GILLESPIE.

campaign, and feeling it necessary to augment the army of operation, as well as recruit extensively the whole of the Bengal forces, he ordered Colonel Mawbey, who had succeeded to the command on the fall of Rollo Gillespie, to form a junction with the division of Sir David Ochterlony.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

WAR WITH THE GHOORKAS—VALOUR AND SUCCESS OF OCHTERLONY—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL WOOD—CONQUEST OF KUMAON AND GURWHAL, ETC.

THE commencement of the war before the walls of Kalunga was ominous of evil. The position of the combatants was changed, our loss was great, and the prestige remained with the Ghoorkas. The invading troops, from their superiority in numbers and in discipline, had promised themselves an easy and early conquest; and now they began to doubt whether they should be able to grapple with these hardy mountaineers, or do aught but experience a series of disasters. On the other hand, the Ghoorkas were full of ardour and elation, and were daily joined by other mountain tribes, which had hitherto held aloof. Thus a new character was given to the war, and there was every prospect of its being a protracted one.

Colonel Mawbey detached Colonel Carpenter with a division, to a position on the Jumna, where, by taking possession of certain fords, the enemy's communications between the east and west would be cut off, and whereby the hill chiefs, who were disposed to throw off allegiance to Nepaul, would be encouraged to do so.

A revolt among the people of Isunsar, excited by this movement, so greatly alarmed the Ghoorka rajah that, without waiting to be attacked, he abandoned in haste the strong fort of Burat. After the fall of Kalunga, Colonel Mawbey marched westward into the valley of Kurda, with the intention of co-operating with the division of Sir David Ochterlony.

On the 20th of December, 1814, he was superseded in command by Major-General Sir Gabriel Martindale, K. C. B., who, after occupying Nahan, advanced to the foot of a mountain range, on the highest summit of which — perched among the clouds, to all appearance —stands the fortress of Jytak, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea.

In the pettah of Jytak, lower down, and to the southward of the stronghold, Ranjoor Sing Thapa, son of Ameer Sing, had his head-quarters, with a strong Ghoorka force. Jytak was very powerfully situated, in an angle where two mountain ridges met. The approach was rugged, and full of natural obstacles, including a steep ascent and several stony ravines. Sir Gabriel reconnoitred the position, and conceived that his first and best plan would be to cut off the supply of water received by the garrison from certain springs below the fort, and for this purpose the capture of a stockaded post, a mile to the westward, was necessary.



SIKH SOLDIER.

The troops advanced in two columns to the attack; the sepoys, in doing so, evincing much reluctance and want of spirit. The result was that we were beaten at every point, and Martindale fell back with the loss of 500 men and officers *hors de combat*, thus adding to the contempt with which the affair of Kalunga had inspired the Ghoorkas. Martindale now waited for reinforcements.

Meanwhile, the division of Ochterlony, whose sphere of action lay to the westward of General Martindale, encountered difficulties which were equally great, but were less disastrous, because he was a leader of skill and decision. He was well aware of the character of the Ghoorka warriors, and of the advantage they might take of their mountain fastnesses, and hence he proceeded with circumspection to open up his way in regions that were unknown. The small strongholds of Nillaghur and Tarraghur, which guarded the savage pass into Hindur, had been regularly invested in November, 1814. The former offered every possible resistance until it was breached, and only capitulated before being stormed. The other surrendered; the garrisons in both doing so on the singular enough conditions, that they should neither be compelled to return to Ameer Sing, nor forced to work in fetters on the Honourable Company's roads.

Preceded by the reserve, under Lieutenant-

Colonel W. A. Thompson, the army now plunged into the gloomy defiles leading to the first range of stockades and fortifications, with 1,100 Ghoorkas prowling on its flank, to fall upon any weary straggler, whom error or accident might expose to the blades of their deadly *kookerees;* and on the 8th of November, Thompson established his bivouac on a hill, opposite the centre of a long range of posts that ran from the fort of Ramghur (on a mountain summit 4,600 feet high) on the west, to that of Kot-Katiba on the east. These two places formed respectively the Ghoorka right and left. The intervening heights, varying in elevation and difficulty of access, stretching over three miles, bristled with stockades, manned by armed mountaineers—the flower of the men of Nepaul.

The position was too strong to be forced; and General Ochterlony, now face to face with the redoubted Ameer Sing, for a time disappointed, and even lost the confidence, of many officers of rank, because he did not hurl his strength against the enemy, as Gillespie did so fatally at Kalunga.

Ameer Sing, whose proper head-quarters were at Arkee, thirty miles eastward of Maloun, had hurried forward, at the head of 3,000 men, on hearing of the advance of Ochterlony, who now determined to turn the strong position, and assail it in rear. With this view, he took ground to the north-east, till he obtained possession of a hill seven miles distant from Ramghur, from whence he had a commanding view of the whole Ghoorka lines, and, finding a point from which to assail them, began to prepare a battery.

Notwithstanding the united efforts of the pioneers and elephants, the guns following the infantry took twenty days in being transported to the required point, so terrible was the nature of the ground to be traversed; and, after the cannonade opened, it was found to be so distant as to be useless. To repair this blunder, Lieutenant Peter Lawtie, of the Engineers, was detached with a small party to select nearer ground; and after doing so, he was returning to camp, when the Ghoorkas, who had been watching him, rushed in great strength from their heights, and drove him into a stone enclosure, where he and his soldiers defended themselves till their last cartridge was expended, after which they had to run for their lives along the whole range of the Ghoorka fire.

Some supports, sent out by Ochterlony, joined in their flight, and, as many fell, this affair was magnified by the Ghoorkas into another victory, and inspired more confidence and exultation among them; and, dreading a more universal rising of the whole country, the major-general deemed it prudent to relinquish the offensive until he was joined by more troops. Meanwhile, he carefully explored several localities, made roads for the conveyance of artillery and stores, disciplined the irregulars of the army, and, on the 26th of December, after a month had been devoted to these labours, the reinforcements came; but they consisted only of a battalion of the 7th Native Infantry and a levy of Sikhs.

The major-general now instantly resumed the offensive, by sending a detachment along the Ghoorka rear, threatening their communication with Arkee and Bilaspore. Alarmed by this, Ameer Sing hastened to frustrate it, and in the attempt sustained a severe repulse, which is thus described in the Memoir of General Ochterlony:—

"The reserve, strengthened by the new regiment, being pushed forward during the night of the 26th December, gained the summit unperceived, and returned, after sustaining an ineffectual fire. Colonel Thompson, an intrepid officer, who did not think discretion the better part of valour, though strictly enjoined, was said not to take every desirable precaution to guard against surprise in the post he had won. The Kadji, hearing with alarm of the success of this movement, and next of guns being taken up on the backs of elephants, being about to open on Mungukedar (a large stockade in the centre of the range), ordered the commandant of it to dislodge the British troops, whatever it might cost. Before dawn on the 28th, a loud uproar began, in which the sound of horns predominated, within the stockade, and when objects became visible, several thousand men were seen shouting and flourishing their swords, while rushing towards Colonel Thompson's post, like a pack of hounds in full cry. Two six-pounders raked their advance for a mile or more; but in a manner pronounced miraculous, ball after ball rebounded from the rocks amid the hurrying crowd, without injuring one of them. No out-pickets interrupting this onset, the enemy reached the foot of the acclivity leading to the camp, almost out of breath; and fortunately, the ascent, except on one narrow point, was steep. On this point, where the access was easy, a lucky accident, and an act of individual bravery, arrested them for an instant. Four courageous fellows, guiding their comrades along it, dashed through a file of sepoys getting under arms, and were moving onward, when the foremost was shot by Lieutenant Armstrong, of the Pioneers. The other three fell back, while Captain Charles Hamilton and Lieutenant Culley, bringing up their companies of the old 6th and 7th Regiments,

deterred the rest from renewing the attempt to enter by what was called 'the neck of land.' Meanwhile the opposite flank of the assailants received a fatal check. Colonel Thompson himself, having gone to a projecting eminence to survey the field, perceived the Ghoorkas struggling up the hill in dense masses under him. Dispatching orderlies, and using voice and gesture to summon his *babas*, as he styled the sepoys of the old 3rd Regiment, they, and part of the light infantry battalion, soon began an irregular fire, which told heavily on the mountaineers. Between thirty and forty rolled dead among their companions, and more than a hundred besides being wounded, the Ghoorkas slowly and sullenly retreated, under the discharge of both artillery and musketry."*

Ameer Sing now fell back on his post at Ramghur; Ochterlony, following out his own plans, left Colonel (afterwards Major-General Sir John) Arnold, his second in command, with a division to watch the movements of the army, while he proceeded with his main body towards a mountain ridge, the occupation of which would place him between the Sutlej and the Ghoorka fort of Maloun. At the same time he sent forward 2,000 men, belonging to the Rajah of Hindur, who had joined him early, and done good service. These irregulars, under Captain Robert Ross, took possession of some heights above Bilaspore, between the Rajah of which and that of Hindur there existed a bitter feud; and the success of Ochterlony's movements was soon apparent.

Ameer Sing conceiving that his position, thus turned, was no longer tenable, left a garrison in the fort of Ramghur, and with his disposable force fell back to the ridge on which Maloun stands. Meanwhile, the genius of Lawtie, of the Engineers, whose services in this campaign can never be over-rated, by breaching the forts of Ramghur, Jurjura, Tarraghur, and Chumba, dislodged, without having sufficient force to surround, the garrisons of these human eyries. They consequently retired to augment the numbers preparing to make a last stand on the ridge of Maloun.†

Thus, by a series of skilful movements, and without any very direct encounter with the enemy, he compelled them to fall back and abandon their posts, till only one place of strength remained to them. Brave, but prudent, he had the fire without the rashness of Gillespie, and yet both were men of the Scottish race. Even Maloun was held by a very precarious tenure, and by the 1st of April, 1815, it was completely invested; and pending the account of its reduction, we must attend to the operations of two other columns of our army in Nepaul.

The division under Major-General Sullivan Wood (formerly of the 8th Royal Irish Dragoons) was unable to take the field before the middle of December, 1814. Marching from Goruckpore, the capital of a district ceded to us by the Nabob of Oude, in 1801, he moved northwards in the direction of Palpah, a mountainous and unproductive principality, one of the many subject to Nepaul, and situated about 100 miles westward of the capital of the latter, Khatmandoo. To reach it by the direct route, Wood would have to traverse a deep and difficult pass, which he understood to be strongly stockaded; but, learning that it might be out-flanked by taking another path, he marched on the 3rd of January, 1815, to attack the stockade at Jetpore, at the base of the Majkati Hills, about a mile west of Bootwul, or Bhotwal, as it would be necessary to force it to proceed.

He accordingly advanced to attack it in front, with twenty-one companies of infantry, while Major Comyn, with seven companies, moved towards its left flank. His information having been erroneous, he encountered a resistance so resolute that he despaired of success too early in the attempt.

Hence, relinquishing all offensive operations, he ordered a retreat, and resolved to restrict himself to merely preventing the Ghoorkas from violating our frontier; but even in this he failed, for the enemy found many opportunities of eluding him, of breaking through and committing serious ravages. He endeavoured to retaliate, but it was chiefly on the unoffending people who dwelt on either side of the boundary line between Nepaul and British India; and this petty strife continued till the climate began seriously to affect the health of his harassed troops, and they were ordered back to their old cantonments at Goruckpore.

Of all the four divisions of the army, now led by Ochterlony, Wood, Nicolls, and Major-General Marley, the last was deemed the strongest and the one from which most was expected, as its destination was to be Khatmandoo, the capital of the Ghoorkas. On the 23rd of November he began his march from Dinapore, and moved towards Bettiah. Clearing the way for him was an advanced guard under Bradshaw, who, on the following day, surprised Parsuram Thapa, the native governor of the district, who, with 400 Ghoorka warriors, was encamped on the bank of the Bhagmate in Tirhoot. Thapa was among the

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1839, Calcutta.
† Ibid.

slain; his whole force was put to flight; all other frontier posts fell without opposition; and the whole of the low and swampy tract known as the Terai, which lies on the southern slopes of the Himalaya range, was formally annexed to the British empire.

Had Major-General Marley properly followed up this stroke of success in that wonderful region, where in many places the almost impenetrable forests teem with animal life, it would have led to others of more importance; but having been ordered to leave his guns in the rear, he had now to wait for them; and the first alarm caused by Thapa's death and discomfiture passed away, and the Ghoorkas were encouraged to attempt an enterprise, which at the very beginning impeded all the future operations of Brigadier Marley.

To secure the new annexation before any attempt could be made to reconquer it, Major Bradshaw posted three small detachments of troops, about twenty miles apart from each other; the central one at Baragheri, the right at Samanpore, and the left at Parsa; while Marley, encamping at Lautun, two miles in rear of the centre, took no care of supporting the flanking outposts. Hence, on the New Year's-Day, 1815, Samanpore was suddenly attacked, and the troops cut to pieces. Parsa was next menaced, and the detachment fell back on head-quarters, under cover of a supporting party.

In this affair no officer distinguished himself more than Lieutenant P. Grant Mathison, of the artillery, whom the major-general thanked in orders, for "his gallant conduct in defending his gun, until every man, European and native, fell around it, and all the ammunition was expended." On this occasion a gunner captured the Silver Spear of the Ghoorkas, a trophy that long remained with the Horse Artillery.*

A number of desertions which now occurred among the sepoys, so greatly alarmed this somewhat incompetent leader, that he began a retrograde movement upon Bettiah, to cover his depôt there; but, "his terrors preceded him, and nothing was talked of at Goruckpore and Tirhoot, but the approaching invasion of an overwhelming Ghoorka force; and nothing but the weakness of the enemy," says a writer, severely, "prevented the catastrophe which cowardice thus predicted."

Nearly the whole of the Terai was re-conquered; from thence the Ghoorkas were enabled to carry the war into British territory; and General Marley was superseded by the Earl of Moira. Before a successor, General Wood, could arrive, he took the unprecedented measure of suddenly disappearing from the camp of his army, without giving the troops, or the officer next in seniority, the least notification of a desertion so singular and imbecile. Such a leader was no loss; reinforcements came up, and the strength was estimated at 13,000 men.

Colonel Dick assumed the command for the time being, and while he held it, there occurred an encounter which threw the Ghoorkas into great alarm, and caused them considerable loss. A subaltern, named Pickersgill, with a small escort, was suddenly fallen upon by 400 Ghoorkas, who issued from the cover of a forest, and followed him with all speed towards the camp. On hearing the sound of musketry in front, Colonel Dick, suspecting the reason, sent forward one hundred irregular horse, and followed with all the inlying pickets. The Ghoorkas were thus surrounded, and fought only to escape. A hundred, including their leader, were shot down; many were drowned in a mountain stream, and the remainder were taken or put to flight.

The result of this petty affair caused such alarm among the Ghoorkas that the whole line of their posts fell back, and our troops again took possession, but peacefully, of the Terai.

General Wood, whose operations in the vicinity of the Majkati Hills were but a poor recommendation to a fresh command, reached the division in February, 1815; and, as the rainy season was a month distant, there was still time for a little fighting. Instead of that, Wood contented himself with marching and countermarching through the already abandoned Terai till the unhealthy season came on, and the troops were compelled to retire to cantonments; and Khatmandoo, the reduction of which was the object for which the division originally left Dinapore, was left unmolested.

Fortunately for the credit of the British arms, there were other places where more activity was displayed. With a small force, Captain Latter, stationed on the bank of the Coossy, drove the Ghoorkas from all their posts, gained possession of Moorang, and entered into an alliance with the Rajah of Sikkim, whose territory lies among those ranges of the Himalayas that start abruptly from the vast plains of Bengal, and which have been described as "the snowed spurs of far higher unsnowed land behind;" † and on the final conquest of Nepaul this state was taken under our protection.

When Latter advanced, the Rajah of Kumaon—Bam Sak Chautra by name—had been compelled to yield it to the Ghoorkas, under whose yoke the

* *Delhi Gazette*, 1835.

† Hooker.

people pined; and now he was ready to embrace any opportunity for freedom. The people of the state of Gurwhal, on the north-east, were in a similar condition, and it was resolved to turn this state of matters to the best account. Colonel Gardner, at the head of 3,000 irregulars, began to ascend the hills on the 15th of February, 1815. He marched in the direction of the capital of Kumaon, Almora. Under Captain Hearsay, another column of irregulars advanced to his support, and the Ghoorkas, driven back on every hand, were compelled to concentrate on the ridge where stands Almora—an elevation, 5,400 feet above the sea, and backed by an immense snowy range of mountains, higher than the Andes, one of which, Rance, is 26,000 feet in altitude.

It is a clean and well-built town; the shops, all of stone, are below, and the houses, all of wood, are above; and by Bishop Heber, in this respect, it has been likened to Chester. While Gardner was pushing on, Captain Hearsay, after beginning with every prospect of success, and having captured Chumpâwut, the original capital of Kumaon, and, like Almora, subject to yearly earthquakes, he was suddenly attacked and made prisoner while investing a hill fort.

The great importance of these operations in Kumaon being now fully recognised, Colonel Jasper Nicolls, of H.M. 14th Regiment, was dispatched thither, with 2,000 regular troops and some guns. On the 8th of April he assumed the command, and sent Captain Paton, with a detachment, against those who had defeated Captain Hearsay, and placed him in Almora. Spirited was the encounter that took place; but after a protracted conflict, and after losing their commander, the Ghoorkas were put to flight, and all their stockades in front of Almora were carried by storm.

Paton lost not a moment in getting his guns and mortars into action against the capital, with terrible effect, chiefly against the fort, which crowns the summit of a ridge, the gradual ascent of which is covered with gardens. Bam Sak, its commander, had rejected indignantly several secret attempts that were made to shake his fidelity; but the bombardment proved a heavy argument, for soon after the guns were opened a flag of truce was displayed, and deserters came pouring into our camp. The terms given were, that the Ghoorkas should be permitted to retire across the river Kalee, with their arms and baggage; and that the entire provinces of Kumaon and Gurwhal be ceded for ever to Great Britain—the most triumphant result the Ghoorka war had yielded us as yet.

Sir Gabriel Martindale was still before Jytak, in hopes to starve its garrison, under Runjoor Sing, into a capitulation; and Sir David Ochterlony was still actively in the field.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE HEIGHTS OF MALOUN CAPTURED—THE SECOND CAMPAIGN IN NEPAUL, UNDER OCHTERLONY—ITS VICTORIOUS CONCLUSION.

After capturing all the outposts of the enemy, and confining them to the heights of Maloun, Ochterlony determined to burst through that line of defences.

The grand object to be attained first was a lodgment upon these heights, from which Maloun might be breached or approached. A Ghoorka officer betrayed a position called Ryla, of which Major Innes, with a battalion of grenadiers, instantly took possession. It stood between the posts named Senj and Surajghur; and the presence of Innes there prevented the troops in those places from taking a part in the subsequent conflict.

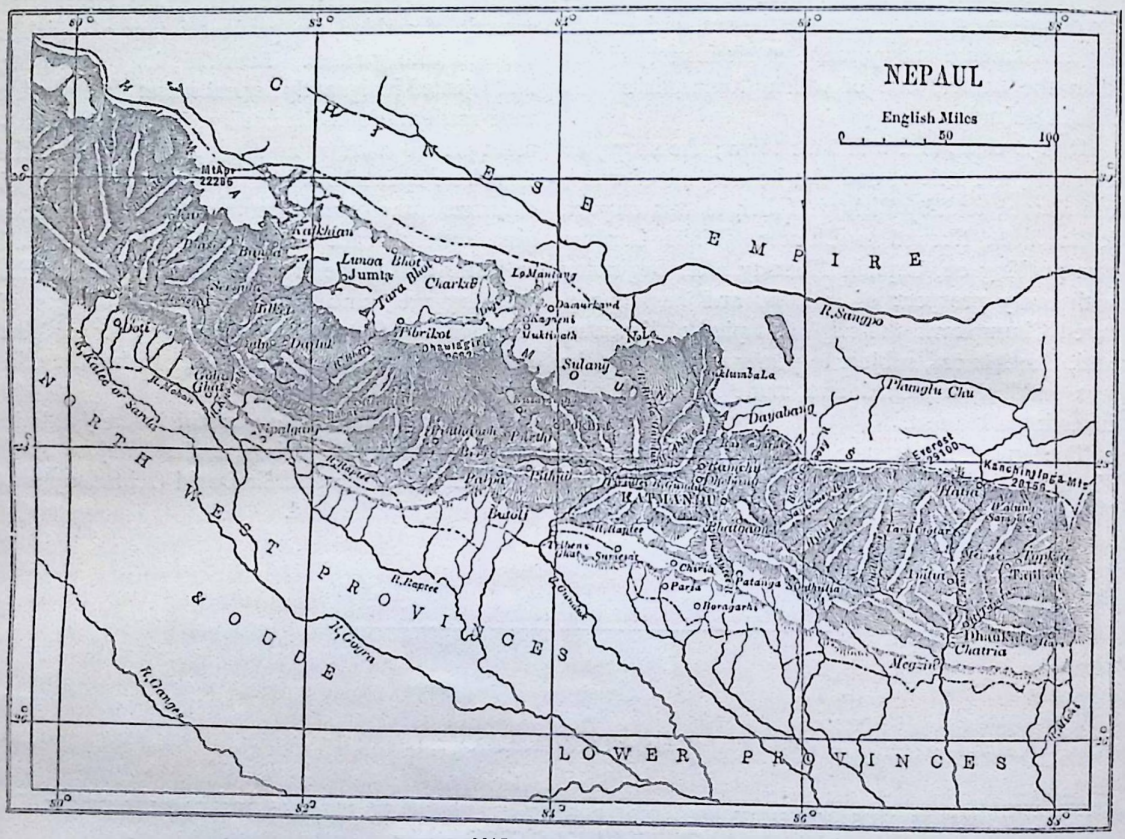
Before daybreak on the 14th of April, 1815, all the disposable force of Ochterlony was formed in columns for attacking the heights of Maloun. At the head of the reserve still, Colonel Thompson marched from Butto to the nearest part of the opposite ridge. Major Lowry, with his own corps, skirted the mountains along the Gamerora, and wheeling upward, joined Thompson above the village of Deothul, half a mile eastward of the fort of Maloun; while two other columns from Ratanghur menaced the enemy's cantonments, and had orders, while making a diversion in favour of the reserve, that their chief effort was to be the occupation of any outworks that circumstances might render easy of acquisition.

One of these parties, led by a Captain Showers, after crossing the hollow which separates the two forts, was about to pass a small redoubt to the south of the Ghoorka defences, when the men stationed there sallied furiously out, and brandished their swords, as if inviting the soldiers to meet them. Their leader advanced in front of them defiantly, and invited Captain Showers to single combat. He was not slow in accepting the challenge of the Ghoorka, whose sharp keen weapon, for all he knew, might be poisoned; and after a few passes he slew him midway between the hostile lines.

Captain Showers had scarcely achieved this act of chivalry, when he was shot dead; and his sepoys, without waiting to be charged, turned and fled, only to be overtaken by the merciless Ghoorkas, who did not desist from slaughter till the guns of Ratanghur were opened on them.

The other detachment, under Captain Boyer, made good its ground so far as to be able to remain on the defensive till evening. When the din of firing echoing among the hills to the westward, first gave intimation of the advance of Showers and Boyer, Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lowry to defend Deothul, which he strengthened with two field guns, and a company of pioneers to stockade it, advanced with a battalion of light infantry to seize a position within breaching distance of Maloun; and this desired spot was the last of three eminences that crowned the bare ridge of the mountain.

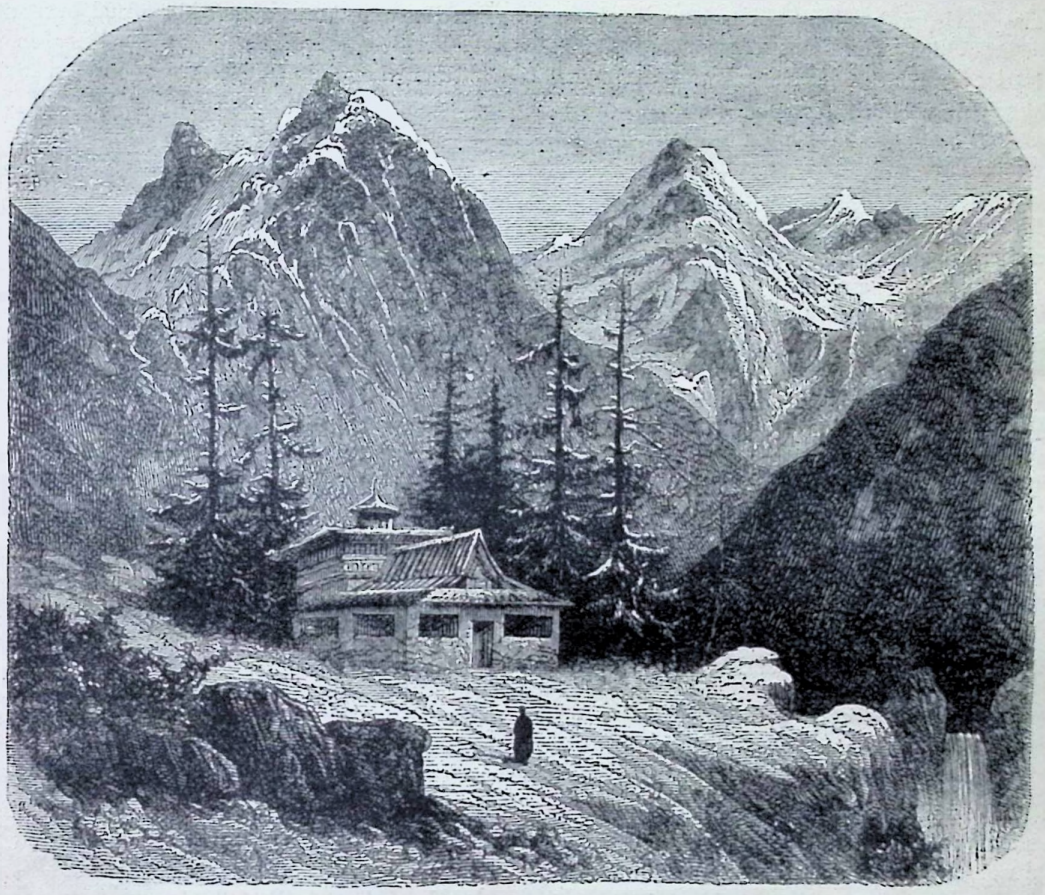
A corps of Hindurians, 800 strong, were now ordered to scour the jungle, and cover his flanks on the right and left. Thompson led the light infantry gallantly onward, under a heavy fire from



MAP OF NEPAUL.

foes that were concealed amid the matted greenery and interwoven jungle of years; but on nearing the place he meant to occupy, he experienced a rough check. The Ghoorkas, who had hitherto lurked in concealment, now grasped their matchlocks with the left hand, and drawing their deadly swords with the right, rushed like a herd of infuriated tigers on the panic-stricken sepoys. Pouring out of the underwood in unknown numbers, they came yelling on in a form "that might be fancied to resemble a wedge or triangle, the vertex of which far preceded the base. When about to be charged, an isolated group was seen standing round each officer, whilst the tide instantly began to roll back where there

were none. But retrogression—nay, unequivocal flight—soon became universal among the men, some of whom abandoned their arms so precipitately that the Hindurians, still watching on the flanks, had time to dash in, and make a prize of the brown-barrelled muskets, then used by light infantry (only), before the pursuers came up."*



VIEW OF A MONASTERY IN THE HIMALAYAS.

The sepoys, already much exhausted, got but slowly over the rough ground, and were overtaken by the keen weapons of the fleet and ferocious enemy, ere, in headlong disorder, they could plunge into the hollow that lay between the western ridge and Deothul; but at this crisis, when the Ghoorkas, yelling in wild triumph, and thirsting for blood, were rushing in closer pursuit, a sudden storm of musketry swept the bare hill side, as Major Lowry poured the concentrated fire of two battalions into the tumultuous mass with the most dreadful effect. Falling, reeling, rolling, they rushed away to cover, and left the hill clear of all but the prostrate, and then, from their hiding-places, continued a desultory firing that lasted till the action was seriously renewed next morning.

Till Ameer Sing saw Thompson's stockade rising on Deothul, he believed himself the victor of the day; and then he sent expresses to the posts at Surajghur and Senj, with orders to elude Captain Innes and join him after dark at every hazard; and to Bukhti Thapa, an officer famed for his valour, he promised to assign the honour of attacking the British troops. Bukhti made his own dispositions, and vowed to return victorious or die on the field. He took a tender farewell of his family, and begged that, if he fell, General Ochterlony should be asked to permit his two favourite wives to burn themselves alive with his dead body.

Daybreak was to be the signal for the re-commencement of the battle, which, as the reckless Ghoorka soldier told his comrades truly, must decide the fate of Nepaul.

Ameer Sing and his younger son, Ram Das, were at the scene of operations about midnight, while Bukhti was pushing forward his trained troops till they formed a kind of semi-circle in front, and

* "Life of Ochterlony."

partly on the flanks of Deothul. Access to it would have been comparatively easy from the side towards the Gamerora; but the bank of that Himalayan stream was defended by 1,000 Hindurians, in a redoubt thrown up for the purpose. The Ghoorkas seemed so crowded together, that when the firing began the whole mountain slope, until hidden by smoke, seemed one sheet of sputtering flame, with all its points spouting towards the stockade. Our guns commanded the only points by which swordsmen in any strength could attempt an assault. A strong body of these, with trumpets pealing above their hideous war cries, came rushing at one point, when a six-pounder, pouring grape in quick successive rounds, together with a storm of musketry, swept them down in such numbers, that the survivors fled.

A second and a third band came rushing on, only to perish or recoil in the same manner. Bukhti, full of valour, and undismayed by the dreadful slaughter, now proposed to attack Deothul on the opposite side, where there were no cannon; but, as he led the way, he fell dead by a musket-ball. The event cooled the ardour of the gallant Ghoorkas, and Colonel Thompson, burning to avenge the events of the past hours, ordered a sortie at the point of the bayonet. When he led the troops out at a rush, the enemy took to flight pursued by the raging Hindurians, who burst out of their redoubt to wreak vengeance on the violators of their women and the devastators of their country.

But ere the defeat was quite achieved, the walls of the stockade, having been hastily formed of stakes, earth, and stones, came down on each side of the embrasures, in consequence of the concussion produced by the cannon, burying killed and wounded in the débris; and then through the open breaches thus made, the Nepaulese matchlocks opened such a fire upon the European gunners, that only one escaped unhurt.

When the strife was over, and the foe had fallen back, Sir David Ochterlony ordered the body of Bukhti Thapa to be wrapped in a Cashmere shawl as a token of respect, and to be sent to Ameer Sing, with a message, granting him a truce for the removal of the dead, and their disposal after the manner of their race and religion; and for two days after, the heights of Maloun were all ablaze with vast funeral pyres. Among these the *suttee*, or self-immolation of Bukhti's widows amid the flames that consumed his remains, could be distinctly seen by the British troops.

The Kadji Ameer Sing was now so completely humbled, that he offered little opposition to the subsequent operations for crushing him. On the 8th of May a heavy gun battery opened on Maloun, and preparations for the assault were in progress, when the most of the garrison, finding that they could neither induce Ameer Sing to surrender nor attempt to bear a vigorous siege, left the fortress without arms, and capitulated as prisoners of war to the nearest British post. With the few that still adhered to him, Ameer Sing still resisted, but feebly, until the destructive effects of the battery on the 10th convinced him that further opposition to fate was useless, and he sent forth his son to make terms with Ochterlony.

At a convention it was stipulated that the fallen conqueror should surrender all the mountain territory which he had added to his country between the Gogra and the Sutlej, extending in its greatest breadth from the plains of Plassia to the frontier of Tartary. He ceded all on the single condition that he, with his family and the garrisons of Maloun and Jytak, should have safe escort back to Nepaul. His soldiers, however, preferred to enter the British service, and were formed into battalions for duty in the highland districts.

Of the provinces thus relinquished by the Kadji, Sirmoor, under the immediate government of his son Runjoor, had successfully resisted the British arms; and in Kumaon some places still held out, without having formally submitted, though Sir Jasper Nicolls had defeated the army of Hasti Dal, and all who opposed him in the field.

The government of Nepaul saw the necessity of suing for peace, and for this purpose Bam Sak Chautra communicated with our commissioner at Kumaon; and a Brahmin, Gaj Raj Misr, the *gooroo*, or spiritual adviser of the late Rajah Rana Bahadoor, was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and dispatched as envoy to Lieutenant-Colonel Paris Bradshaw, whom the Governor-General had empowered to conclude a peace on terms, taken thus verbatim from the extract of a despatch, dated Calcutta, 10th December, 1815:—

"The Ghoorkas cede to the British in perpetuity the whole of the country acquired during the late campaign, and likewise the whole of the lowlands, known by the name of Terrae (*sic*) situate to the westward of their range of frontier hills; a great portion of the latter territory to the Nabob Vizier (of Oude); and the British Government in India guarantee to pay the pensions of several whose stipends are on his Highness's treasury, in return for the two crores of rupees subscribed by him to the Government six per cent. loan of last year. This stroke of policy throws the burden of the expense of the late war on our ally.

"By the late treaty with Nepaul, not only the province of Kumaon, but the greater part of all the territory between the Rapti and Gunduch (*sic*) is ceded to Great Britain, as well as that part of the districts between the Gunduch and the Coossy, which has been occupied by the British forces. The fortress of Nagree is also put in our possession, and other important stipulations have been assented to by the Nepaulese Government." *

For his services in this campaign, Ochterlony was created a baronet, and the Court of Directors gave him a pension of £1,000 per annum for life.

The terms sounded very well when read on paper, but the affair was not yet ended, for the Nepaulese were adepts in the wiles of diplomacy. Every disputed point seemed to be arranged, and on the 2nd of December, 1815, the treaty was duly executed at Segoulee by our agents, the commissioners of Nepaul, who promised that the final ratification would arrive from Khatmandoo—the capital—in fifteen days; and the Earl of Moira, pleased that a war of which he was weary had ended, ratified the treaty on the 9th of December.

The Rajah of Nepaul was in no such haste, and instead of the signed treaty, wrote a letter to his commissioners, coolly stating that, under the influence of the Kadji Ameer Sing Thapa, the war party was again in the ascendant. Thus, the negotiation seemed at an end, and there was nothing left for Britain but to draw the sword again. Loth to do this, the Earl of Moira unwisely permitted his agent almost to solicit the ratification, by holding out a hope that, if it were signed, the terms of the treaty might not be too strictly enforced, and, perhaps, a present might be made to them of the Terai, which had been the whole cause of the war.

His moderation was mistaken for timidity or conscious weakness, and the court of Khatmandoo, which so recently had been suing for peace on any terms, now began to despise it, and to spin out the time till the proper season for stern operations had passed away; and this conviction having become impressed on the mind of the Earl of Moira, he ordered the field to be taken at once.

Sir David Ochterlony hastened from Dinapore, armed with full powers to assume the entire political and military authority in Nepaul in the first days of February, 1816, and took the field with an army 17,000 strong, which he formed in four brigades. The artillery was strong and under Major George Mason; Captain Watson was assistant adjutant-general, and Lieutenant Joshua Pickersgill was assistant quartermaster-general and head of the Intelligence Department. The forces consisted of 6,000 native infantry, and three regiments of the line. The brigadiers were Lieutenant-Colonels W. Kelly, Charles Nicoll, and Francis W. Miller, who had respectively each his own corps—H.M. 24th, 66th, and 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers—and Brigadier Dick, who commanded three battalions of sepoys.

Sir David soon settled his preliminary movements. Kelly, with the 1st Brigade, moved on Bugwanpore; Nicoll, with the 2nd, on Ramnuggur; while the 3rd and 4th Brigades, including the Irish Fusiliers, remained with the general, who, on the 10th of February marched from a place called Semulabassie (but in no two accounts of this campaign are the local names spelt alike). He penetrated into the great forest which the Nepaulese flattered themselves was an impassable boundary, and which the *Devas* had raised to protect their country from invasion by the lowlanders. It is a dreary, gloomy, and miasmatic wilderness, eleven miles in breadth; uninhabited by any living thing above an insect in the scale of existence; and the troops uttered cheers of joy when, on emerging from the monotony of the mighty dingles, and the noxious shadow of the tall, damp trees, they marched into the sunshine and breathed fresh air, near the bed of the Bichacore river. A brick mansion and a *serai* for travellers were immediately stockaded, and made one of the depôts between the head-quarters and Betrah in the Terai, where supplies for the whole force were collected.

Thus far no difficulties had occurred, and the work of Colonel Kirkpatrick gave a correct account of the frequented roads into Nepaul, over the Chiriaghati Pass, through the first range of hills; but the way was too strongly fortified and defended "to be carried," says a writer, "without a sacrifice of human life which Ochterlony would have shuddered at, and reckoned evidence of deficiency in military science. He accordingly sent forth his quartermaster-general to discover a way where none was known to exist, by which the Ghoorka posts might be turned, and an undefended passage found to the interior."

Lieutenant Pickersgill, an intelligent officer (and author of a now forgotten novel, entitled "The Three Brothers"), explored a succession of watercourses and the dry beds of ancient torrents; and, by the aid of some smugglers, he found a route across the mountains unknown to any servant of the state of Nepaul. It was a deep ravine, with rugged and precipitous sides, covered with overhanging trees that nearly excluded the light.

On the night of the 14th of February, 1816, Sir

* *London Gazette*, 11th May, 1816.

David Ochterlony, leaving the 4th Brigade at the mouth of the ravine, began to ascend with the 3rd, himself leading at the head of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, by a path so narrow as seldom to afford room for more than a single file. In some places the trees were interlaced over the long straggling column; in others, the clear moonlight gleamed coldly on the vast cliffs that towered above the zig-zag way. After proceeding for some distance, the ground became more open, till a water-course was entered, and found to lead to the base of an acclivity 300 feet in height.

This, at first, seemed insurmountable, especially as the brigade was accompanied by elephants, carrying two six-pounders and some small howitzers.

"The road," says an officer of the 50th Native Infantry, "lay through beds of rivulets and nullahs, and at times was so narrow and precipitous, that a single company would have been sufficient to have annihilated a whole brigade. Fortunately, no enemy appeared, and the only difficulties they had to contend with were those of nature; and these were so many and so great, that Sir David at one time, on reaching an almost perpendicular ledge of rock, which seemed to bar all further progress, is said to have angrily charged Lieutenant Pickersgill with having deceived him, and risked the destruction of his army. Sir David was hoisted up this rock by the sashes of the European and native officers, and soon became convinced of the injustice he had done Lieutenant Pickersgill, an officer to whom much praise is due for his intelligence and activity. The accurate information he procured regarding this unfrequented pass added greatly to the success of the expedition. The anxiety of mind suffered by the general could only be equalled by the patient exertions of his gallant troops. It having been found impossible to bring on the elephants, provisions were extremely scarce, and the privations, as well as fatigue, that all underwent, are described as having been excessive. The entire novelty of the service to the native troops entitles them to great praise. Accustomed only to the diminutive hills of their own country, it seemed to them (I have heard old sepoys say), in approaching these tremendous precipices, as if they had reached the entrance to *Patal*—the infernal regions of the Hindoo. But they went cheerfully and gaily on, with full confidence in their leader, and by the evening of the 15th the brigade reached the extremity of the pass; when pushing on a few miles, they bivouacked for the night near Bulwaks, Sir David sharing with his men in the general bivouac, neither tents nor baggage having arrived. The sepoys had been provided at the commencement of the last campaign with bill-hooks and hatchets (twenty per company), which they now found useful in cutting down branches of trees and erecting temporary shelter for themselves and officers. Tents and supplies were at length brought up; the pass by which the brigade advanced having, with great difficulty, been made practicable for elephants." *

Meanwhile, the Ghoorkas, defending the great pass of Chiriaghati at their stockades, on which the guns of Dick had opened, heard with astonishment and consternation that the British head-quarter column, having turned their flank by a route never heard of before, was about to fall on their defenceless rear and cut off their retreat to Mukwanpore; they abandoned all their formidable positions in the greatest dismay.

The direct road being thus open, Dick's brigade pushed on and joined the general, who had arrived on the 25th at Hetaunda, otherwise called Hethaura, eighteen miles distant from Khatmandoo, and situated close to the Rapti, one of the most beautiful rivers in India. Its northern bank, a mountainous descent, broken by the deep track of many foaming rivulets, is clothed from base to summit with luxuriant coppice, amid the greenery of which the red blossoms of the cotton-tree give variety to the masses of the verdure.

Its chief edifice there—a great store-house, elaborately ornamented with disgusting figures carved in wood—became at once one of our depôts. On the 27th, Ochterlony marched for Mukwanpore with the two brigades, and he who had reduced the fortified peaks of Ramghur and Maloun, could see but little to appal him now. In front of our camp rose a low range of hills, having the fort of Mukwanpore and a large stockade to the east, with a village on its western extremity. This village, which was named Seekur Khutree, seemed pretty strongly occupied at first, but was abandoned by its commander and proprietor, Kesuree Sing, and then taken possession of by the companies of the 50th Native Infantry, and forty men of the 87th Regiment; while Lieutenant Pickersgill, with an escort from both these corps, under Lieutenant Thomas Lee of the latter, proceeded to ascend the heights, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position.

"The Nepaulese general at Mukwanpore," says the writer before quoted, "could easily distinguish our movements through a telescope; and being at length aware of the importance of the village that had been so hastily abandoned the night before, he determined on driving back the reconnoitring party, and acquiring possession of it. The party sent to execute this order was led by Shumsher

* "Records of the 50th Reg. Native Infantry," 1836.

Rana, the same sirdar who commanded the attack on Parsa in the preceding year. He came down with such overwhelming numbers and impetuosity, that Lieutenants Pickersgill and Lee, being unable to resist the attack, were compelled, with their small detachment, to make a precipitate retreat; and, unfortunately, having gone considerably to the eastward of the village, they were obliged to retire to head-quarters, instead of joining Lieutenant Terral's party, upon which the enemy now advanced in great force." *

The attack was made with the greatest spirit. Lieutenant Terral and the soubahdar of his party were killed; but the village was gallantly defended by Lieutenant Kerr and Ensign Impey (son of Sir E. Impey), till the arrival of the light company of the 87th Fusiliers and the remainder of the 50th Native Infantry. Obstinately did the Ghoorkas continue the attack; but fresh troops were poured down from Mukwanpore, while Sir David Ochterlony successively detached to the defenders the second battalion of the 12th and the 22nd Native Infantry, two more companies of the Irish Fusiliers, and two six-pounders on elephants, under the commanding officer of the brigade, Colonel W. F. Miller.

Despite these reinforcements, the enemy kept up a galling fire from the ridges of the hills, particularly on the 12th Regiment; but, as evening was approaching, it was determined that they should be dislodged from these positions ere night fell; and about five o'clock the second battalion of the 8th Native Infantry having arrived, it was directed by Colonel Miller to clear the heights on the road leading to Mukwanpore. This order was promptly obeyed by Major Nation, its commander. After a gallant charge, the enemy were driven off in utter confusion, and abandoning a gun and some stores, fled to Mukwanpore, amid a storm of rain and thunder which came on about sunset. This decided the fate of Seekur Khutree, the proprietor of which, Kesuree Sing, was killed, with several sirdars of rank, whose bodies were found in the village. In this affair the Ghoorka loss was 800 killed and wounded; ours was 222 of all ranks.

Among the killed was Lieutenant Terral, of the 50th, whose soldiers made desperate attempts to rescue him after he fell mortally wounded. In this action, the light company of the 50th particularly distinguished themselves with their double-barrelled rifles, under Lieutenant Adoniah Smith, an officer reputed then as the best shot in India.

On the day after this encounter Nicoll's brigade arrived. It had ascended the valley by a pass northward of Ramnuggur, and then marched unopposed to the Rapti. The second brigade, under Colonel Kelly, was also advancing. By selecting a mountain pass, it had reached the fort of Harikarpore, which was not stockaded, and took up a commanding position, from which the Ghoorkas endeavoured in vain to dislodge Kelly. On this the garrison lost heart, and quitted the fort without a struggle.

The views of the Nepaulese changed now, and once more the peace party predominated; and just as Sir David Ochterlony was preparing to lay siege to Mukwanpore, its commandant, who was brother of the Regent of Nepaul, sent a messenger to intimate that he had received the ratified treaty, and now requested permission to send it to him by an envoy, to arrange a peace.

"Peace!" exclaimed Ochterlony, sternly; "has your master the effrontery to offer me peace, when he has nothing to give but what I choose to leave him?" After some more had passed, Sir David said, "Your master deserves to have Khatmandoo burned to the ground for his insolence; but fall down and ask mercy in his name, as the Ghoorka ambassador asks favours of the Emperor of China."

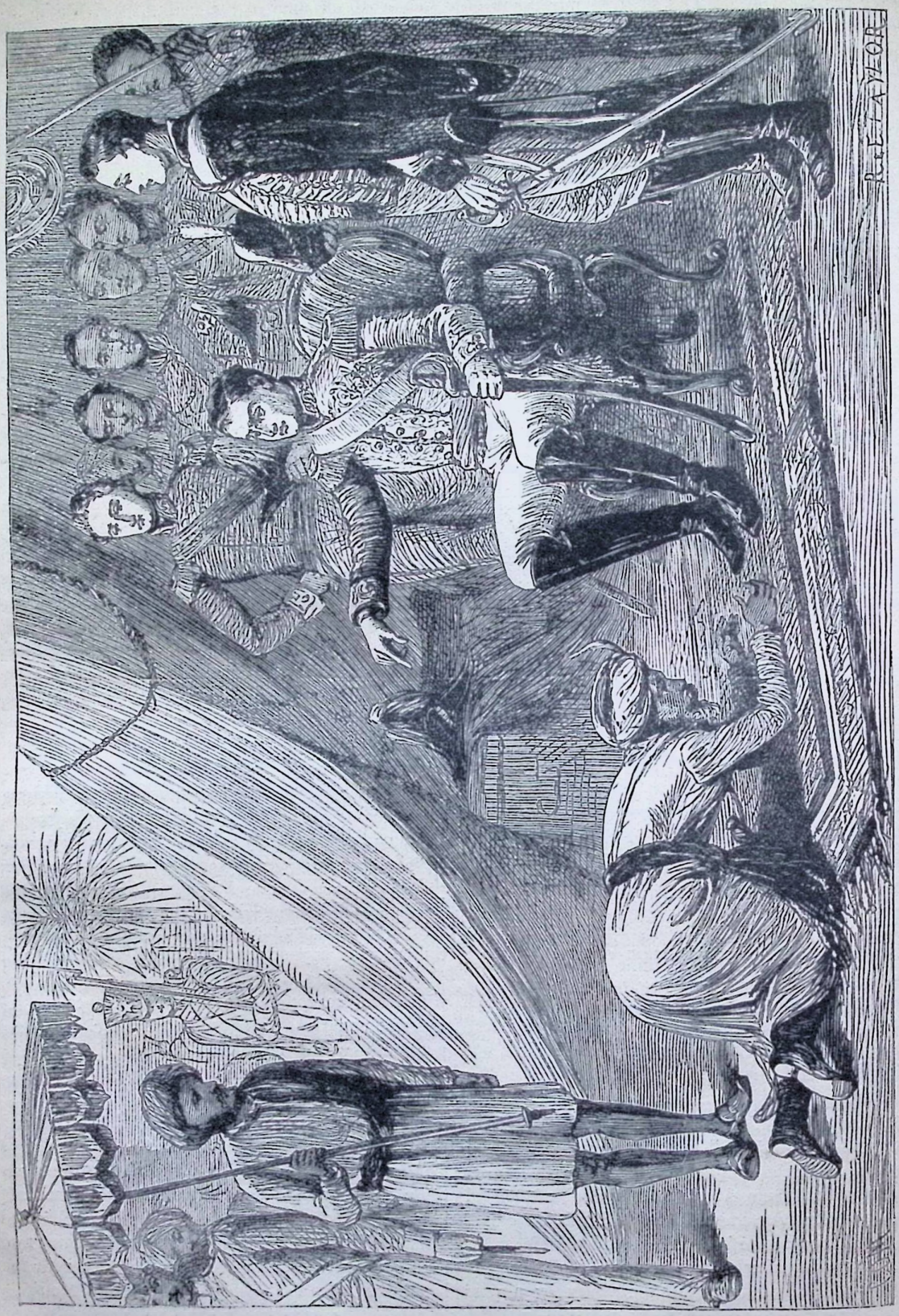
Then the representative of his Nepaulese Majesty knelt in abject prostration, repeating his sovereign's professions of penitence. It would seem that this scene had been arranged by Ochterlony to humble his visitor in true Oriental style. †

The final agent arrived on the 3rd of March, and as the document was duly signed, hostilities, of course, ceased; but not, however, till consent had been given to an additional article, which stipulated the ceded territory should include the valley of the Rapti, and all that had been conquered during the campaign. When the cession of the Terai had been first demanded by us, the objection that it would leave many of the jaghirdars without the means of support had been met by the Earl of Moira proposing to grant them pensions—an offer which was accepted with much reluctance, as it was not unnaturally supposed that the chiefs thus pensioned would be more likely to favour the interests of the Company than those of the Rajah of Nepaul.

Hence much satisfaction was experienced when the Hon. Mr. Gardner, our new Resident at Khatmandoo, was authorised by the earl to state that the pensions should be commuted for a grant of land. The arrangement was at once entered into, and the Nepaulese, who had previously been gratuitously reinstated in the Terai, could henceforth boast that, after all the disasters of the past strife,

* "Records of the 50th Reg. Native Infantry."

† "Life of Sir D. Ochterlony."



SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY AND THE GHOORKA MESSENGER.

they remained at the end of it in possession of a portion of those very lands which it was the avowed object of that strife to wrest from them.

By the seventh article of the treaty, the Rajah of Nepaul bound himself "never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British Government." *

The Governor-General, on the 7th December, 1816, was made Viscount Loudon, in Scotland, and Marquis of Hastings, assuming at the same time his maternal surname of "Hastings," in addition to, and after, that of Rawdon.

For his services in Nepaul, Sir David Ochterlony obtained the thanks of Parliament, and the first Cross of the Bath ever bestowed upon a Company's officer. In addition to the old armorial bearings borne by the Ochterlonys since the time of Robert III. of Scotland, the Prince Regent granted him an honourable augmentation, "containing two banners, inscribed 'Nepaul' and 'Delhi,' with the motto '*Prudentiâ et animo*,' suggested by Canning." †



VIEW OF THE "HOUSE OF FAKIRS," BARODA.

* *Gov. Gaz. Ex.*, March 15th, 1816.

† "Life of Ochterlony."

Nor did the troops go unrewarded, for they were granted a medal, on which was represented a stockaded fort among the mountains of Nepaul, with a Persian inscription, to the effect that it was given by "the Governor-General Bahadoor," for valour shown "during the victorious warfare among the hills of Nepaul, in the years of the Hegira, 1229 and 1230." *

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

INTRIGUES OF THE GHOORKAS—CUTCH SUBDUED—OPPOSITION OF THE HINDOOS TO TAXATION—THE SIEGE OF HATRAS, AND FLIGHT OF DYARAM.

THE result of Ochterlony's victories was the cession of great territories to the Company. The magnificent provinces of Gurwhal and Kumaon, the former comprehending 9,000 square miles, the most fertile portion of which is Dehra Doon, and having within it the principal scenes of Hindoo mythology; and the latter most important as commanding some of the best passes across the Himalaya range, and containing mines of copper, and probably other metals. Kumaon comprehends the whole tract of country between the Alakananda head-stream of the Ganges on the west, and the Kalee on the east, from the Terai or swampy plains, to the highest pinnacles of the Himalayas, attaining there an altitude of 26,000 feet above the level of the sea.

At the same time when these provinces were added to the growing empire, several mountain rajahs—though left nominally independent—were placed under certain restrictions, which rendered all their military resources available for British purposes. The treaty with the Rajah of Sikkim was another excellent measure, as it interposed a barrier between Nepaul and the Bhotanese, thus rendering it next to impossible for these two states to go to war, as they ceased to be contiguous, and could not meet each other in battle without violating territory which belonged to the Company or its ally; and it is supposed that, but for this, the Ghoorkas would have compensated themselves for the loss of Gurwhal and Kumaon by subjugating the Bhotanese.

The war had been confined to the mountains of Nepaul; but the Ghoorkas had never abandoned the hope, while it lasted, of being joined by some powerful auxiliary. A correspondence between them and Scindia had been intercepted. The wild and lawless Pindarees were also applied to, and they sought to tempt the alliance of Runjeet Sing, by offering him, as a gift, the fort of Maloun, with a large sum in treasure; and during the first petty reverses of our arms, owing to the incompetence of our leaders, the Ghoorkas were not without hopes of exciting a general rising of all Hindostan against Britain.

Their diplomatic ambition extended far beyond India, as they sent vakeels to the Emperor of China, and the Golden Foot at Ava, seeking to enlist them in the quarrel. They had, in a past time, been compelled to acknowledge themselves the vassals of the emperor; and on this ground, but still more on the false allegation that the British made war upon them because they had been refused a passage into the Chinese empire, did they seek assistance, either by money or arms.

The Chinese were, perhaps, better informed that we had no such intentions; but their suspicions were so far excited that they sent an army to the frontier, where it arrived to find that the fighting was over in Nepaul, and that the Ghoorkas had stated falsehoods. Had China actually taken up the Ghoorka quarrel, we might have had a longer war to record; for at this very time the Company was involved in a dispute with that vast country, or rather with the Viceroy at Canton and the Committee of Supercargoes, concerning an alleged violation of the neutral rights of the Chinese by H.M.S. *Doris*, and several other matters, which ultimately led to Lord Amherst's mission to China in the following year. But the Celestial army, after lying for some time on its own side of the Himalayas, marched back to Pekin.†

During our war with the Ghoorkas, the people of Cutch—an extensive district, bounded on the north and north-west by Scinde, on the east by the Guicowar's dominions, and on the south by the Gulf of Cutch and the Indian Ocean—had committed

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1837.

† H. T. Princep's "Narrative of British India."

depredations in the territories of our allies, the Peishwa and the Guicowar of Baroda. It was possessed by various independent chiefs, whose boast it was that they had never been conquered; for which, perhaps, they were more indebted to the sterility and strength of their woody country than native prowess, as the inhabitants were originally Hindoos; and those upon the sea-coast had long been addicted to piracy, and when they took a ship, generally massacred all on board.

Cutch, at this juncture, was nominally under a ruler who bore the title of Rao Raidhan; but had actually become the prey of two bold adventurers, the one named Hans Raj, a Hindoo merchant, the other, Futteh Mohammed, commander of a body of Arab mercenaries. In their contest for supremacy, they each sought the aid of the British Government, which interposed only so far as seemed requisite to protect the territories of the Guicowar from their raids and robberies.

The death of Hans Raj left his competitor in undisputed ascendency; but in 1813 the confusion in Cutch waxed greater. In that year, the Rao Raidhan and Futteh Mohammed both died, thus leaving behind them the usual curse of an Indian province—a disputed succession. The Rao had become Mohammedan, and, by a wife of that creed, left a son named Bharmalji, whose legitimacy the Jhaneja Rajpoots—of whom the deceased Rao was head—doubting, gave their allegiance to Lakpati, his nephew. The civil war which now ensued between the Hindoo and Moslem populations became of such a savage character that all order and government disappeared.

The chiefs of Cutch, being all in arms, were by no means disposed to limit their operations to the narrow space of their peninsula; and crossing, on foot, the extensive salt marsh known as the Runn of Cutch, and then the gulf in boats, they carried fire and sword into the territories of the Guicowar, burning the villages, murdering his people, and carrying off their cattle. As that prince was our ally, and under British protection, after remonstrances had failed, it became necessary to march a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital, which occupies rising ground about twenty-five miles distant from the seaport of Muddi, and where both the rivals for the throne resided. They had patched up their quarrel by a species of compromise, which left the sovereignty with Bharmalji; but the armed anarchy had become worse than ever, for he, so far from attempting to suppress the marauders, made common cause with them against every one, and even fomented disturbances in Goojerat, on the opposite side of the Gulf of Cutch. He ordered the British Resident at Bhooj to withdraw; and having lured some of our people in Kattywar into rebellion, was about to march a large body of Arabs to their assistance, when tidings came to him that the rising had been crushed. But this insolence and state of matters could no longer be tolerated.

Accordingly, Colonel East, with a body of troops, took the field in Cutch, and crossing the Runn in December, 1815, marched towards the fortress of Anjar, which was held by a son of the deceased Futteh Mohammed, who made friendly propositions to the colonel, while secretly ordering every well and tank along his route to be poisoned. To punish this act of genuine Oriental treachery, East got his guns into position against Anjar, and after breaching it, compelled the traitor to save his head by surrendering the fort, and ceding with it the port of Juner, on the Bay of Cutch, to Great Britain.

Deterred by this, the first event of the campaign which he had brought upon himself, the Rao agreed to give compensation for the damages done to our allies, and so far to yield to Britain, as to acknowledge himself a tributary prince, by the annual payment of a tribute of £7,000.

On the other hand, the British were solemnly bound not to outrage the religious feelings of his robber-subjects by killing bullocks, or eating the flesh of the sacred cow. The inevitable course of events, or the natural course of expansion, was gradually, yet quickly, pushing the Company's frontier towards the mouths of the mighty Indus. "In the year 1800, when Surat was assumed, it was stated and believed that the Tapti river would be our *ne plus ultra* in this direction; but now, in 1816, we got beyond the Gulf of Cutch, and close upon the Runn, by possessing ourselves of Anjar, which place was not more than two geographical degrees from the Koree, or most southern mouth of the Indus."

After making all quiet in Cutch, Colonel East returned to Kattywar, in Goojerat, and there took most effectual means for repressing the odious piracy for which the Gulf of Cutch had been so long infamous, by dispossessing the whole of the chiefs along its southern coast, and reducing their harbours and forts to British rule. Among the places he captured on this service was Dwarka, a town at the north-west extremity of the Kattywar peninsula, situated on a flat shore, and possessing a famous temple, fabled as the abode of Krishna, at whose shrine some 15,000 pilgrims pay their devotions yearly. This place had long been the greatest nest of pirates in the gulf.

Among the minor events of this year was a dreadful riot at Berhampore, between the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers and a great part of the Hon. Company's European Regiment. Much jealousy and ill-will had, by some means, been excited between the corps, and it had been arranged by the military authorities to separate them; but ere this could be done, a great force of the Royal Irish, armed with drawn bayonets, attacked their European comrades, and a deadly conflict ensued; and before the officers could separate them, sword in hand, many were dangerously wounded.

During the war with Nepaul there were some other matters which gave much trouble to the Government of the Marquis of Hastings; these were chiefly the opposition of the Hindoo population to a new species of taxation, and a revolt at Bareilly, which grew out of it.

The inhabitants of India dread nothing so much as innovation, and generally, wherever the Europeans went, they had plenty of it; but they resented nothing so much as taxation, especially when it came in a novel form; for the invariable extortions they had undergone from their native rulers made them sensitive and suspicious, as they knew, by old experience, how often a small assessment, imposed for some temporary purpose, had been converted into a permanent and grinding burden.

The land had usually been the chief source of revenue, and a share in the produce thereof, when demanded by the government, had rarely been opposed, as it was deemed a kind of tribute exacted by the law of nature and of nations; but with a new imposition the case was altogether different; and thus, when the Governor-General, in 1813, endeavoured to recruit the Company's exchequer by a house-tax, so resolute was the opposition, that nothing short of total repeal would allay the agitation. "At Benares, in particular, the inhabitants desisted from their ordinary employments, shut their shops, and encamping in the open fields at a short distance from the city, sent a petition to the magistrate, in which they declared that they would never return to their homes till the tax was removed. This passive resistance was more effectual than any outbreak could have been in convincing the government of the necessity of yielding, and the idea of increasing the revenue by a house-tax was abandoned."

Though defeated, the Marquis of Hastings shrunk from admitting it, and endeavoured to establish in the following year a tax upon the principle of the same house assessment, by confining it to police purposes, and giving it a kind of voluntary form by permitting the people of the different districts to assess themselves, by means of committees of their own selection.

The attempt was first made with Patna, Moorshedabad, and Dacca; and so soon as the precedent seemed to have taken root, its sphere of operation was extended to the Lower Provinces, embracing, in addition to these, Benares and Bareilly. The former, though expressing great dissatisfaction, consented to pay its quota; but in the latter city, where the people were Mohammedans, and Rohilla Afghans, with strong leanings to their original predatory habits, the opposition was not so easily overcome.

Situated nearly in the centre of the Rohilla country, and containing among its inhabitants—who are, and were, chiefly, manufacturers of carpets, brocade, gold and silver work, arrows, saddlery, and porcelain—not a few families who had sunk from rank and wealth into insignificance, and who bitterly deduced their reverse of fortune from Warren Hastings' treaty with the Nabob of Oude, they were but too ready to grasp at any grievance, real or fanciful, as a plea for anger and revenge. The mayor, or *kotwal*, was obnoxious to the Mussulmans because he was a Hindoo, and was detested for his overbearing conduct, which keenly offended the high-born native families; hence the materials for a local flame were all at hand.

It was no novelty in Bareilly, a small police assessment for the protection of property, but the increase to it was strongly resented, especially by the reduced families alluded to; all the more that they had still contrived, on shorn means, to keep about them a great number of armed and useless retainers, to dismiss whom was degradation, and to support whom, under the increased taxation, became well-nigh impossible; and an insurrection followed in this manner.

The attempt to enforce the tax entirely failed; the *kotwal* threatened the upper classes with chains, and the lower with the stocks; the ferment spread, and a police peon amidst it wounded a woman. The populace, though neither chivalrous nor humane by nature, resolved to make the most of this. They placed her on a *charpoy*, or bed, and bore her through the streets to the Mufti Mohammed Arwaz, whose sanctity was venerated throughout all Rohilcund, and he advised that she should be taken to the house of the magistrate. Mobs now assembled in the streets, and the appearance they assumed about the abode of the mufti was so alarming, that to disperse them became necessary; and when the magistrate appeared at the head of some horse and foot, it was supposed

that he meant to arrest the holy mufti. This the people were determined not to permit; blows and shots were exchanged, some lives were lost, and the mufti made his escape.

The sacred green banner of the Prophet was unfurled on the shrine in which the mufti had sought sanctuary as a signal to the faithful in Bareilly that their religion was in peril, and hordes of fanatics began to flock in from neighbouring towns. Of these, 6,000 men appeared in arms. On the other hand, the British officials were not idle; and with 450 bayonets and two guns were pushing on, by forced marches, from Mooradabad. A parley then ensued, and the luckless mufti would gladly have escaped from the storm he had conduced to raise; but all had gone too far now.

The people next declared that they would fight to the last if the tax were not abolished, the *kotwal* given up to their vengeance, and a general amnesty proclaimed. Finding that their terms would not be acceded to, the rioters at once proceeded to outrage by shooting down a harmless youth, son of a judge of the circuit court, as he was passing, unarmed, from one military post to another, and then making a sudden attack on the troops in Bareilly before reinforcements could arrive; but the issue soon came. After a brief resistance, the revolters gave way and fled, leaving behind 400 of their number shot or bayoneted. This defeat was deemed "most opportune, as there cannot be a doubt that a first success on the part of the populace would have been followed by a general rising. The mufti and other ringleaders, escaping beyond the Company's bounds, were not sought after, and the few trials which took place terminated without conviction, either from want of evidence, or because leniency seemed preferable to severity."

Another disturbance, resulting in an important siege, took place in the Doab, or "Land of the Two Waters." During the confusion which prevailed there, certain *talookdars* had contrived to possess themselves of large tracts of land, to which they had no legal claim, and exercised over the inhabitants a kind of jurisdiction, which converted themselves into petty monarchs. They proceeded still further by increasing their military retainers among those warlike adventurers of every caste and creed, then roving about India, and erected forts, which, in defiance of all authority, they held as their own; and thus the greatest anarchy and oppression ensued.

Against these new over-lords the people continued to appeal in vain, until it became evident that without the reduction of their strongholds the oppressors would never be put down.

As a forcible example was necessary, the Marquis of Hastings resolved to begin with one named Dyaram, the Talookdar of Hatras and other properties, who was both the most powerful and most refractory. His fort and town of Hatras stand in the province of Agra. The former is an oblong square, perched on an eminence of about 1,600 yards in extent, with twenty large bastions, and a dry ditch, eighty feet deep and 120 feet wide, with a good glacis. It contains a citadel, or inner fort, with a palace (which towers above the whole), and other great buildings. The town is about 800 yards distant, and is still surrounded by a mud rampart and dry ditch.

Here Dyaram reigned with a force consisting of 3,500 cavalry and 4,500 infantry, and plenty of guns. He made a profession of obedience to the British Government; but when called upon to disband these useless forces he intimated pretty plainly that nothing short of compulsion would make him do so. In consequence of this, Major-General Sir Dyson Marshall, K.C.B., was ordered to advance against him, with 10,000 men, formed in three columns. His own, composed of H.M. 24th, and three battalions of native infantry, with their battalion guns, marching from Mynpooree, encamped two miles eastward of the fort. Donkin's Brigade, consisting of two regiments of native cavalry, 1,500 of Roberts' and Cunningham's Irregular Horse, three battalions of sepoys, with four six-pounders, marching from Muttra, took ground about the same distance; while the Meerut column, consisting of two troops of Horse Artillery, H.M. 8th Royal Irish Dragoons, the 11th Native Infantry, and two six-pounders, halted one mile south of Hatras.

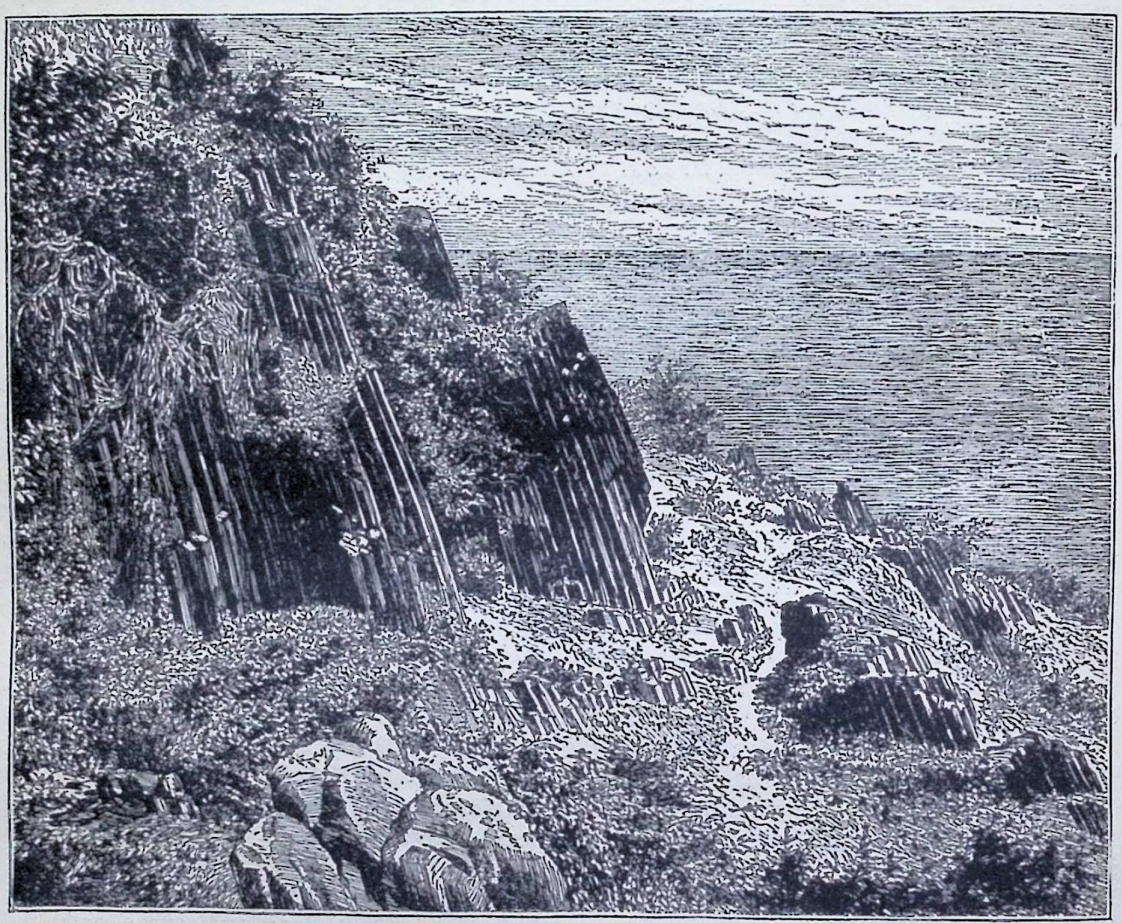
This was on the 12th of February, when the weather was foggy and wet. Dyaram pretended to negotiate for some days, merely to gain time, till on the 16th cannon-shots were fired at the fort as a declaration of hostilities; and on the 20th, the train from Cawnpore, under Major-General Sir John Horsford, came into camp. It consisted of five companies of European artillery, four of Golandazees, H.M. 14th, and the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, and two battalions of the 15th Native Infantry. By the 23rd, after 3,870 rounds of shot and shell, with 178 rockets, had been thrown into the town, and its walls were breached, Dyaram found himself compelled to retreat into the fort, against which powerful batteries were erected, and the siege was pressed with numerous mortars and heavy breaching-guns. So destructive was their effect, that Dyaram, with all his rashness and valour, began to see the folly of further resistance

—a conviction hastened by a tremendous explosion, caused by a shell blowing up his powder magazine.

On the night of the 2nd of March, with his two sons and fifty horsemen, all cased in chain armour, with back and breast-plates and long gauntlets of steel, he issued from the fort, cut his way through the squadrons of the Royal Irish, who pursued him for some distance, and whose swords proved useless on the panoply of his followers, who fled with him across the Jumna to Deeg, from whence they were compelled to seek refuge in the kingdom of Lahore. All the female part of his family had escaped in disguise at different periods. Prior to the bombardment of the fort and town, in which, altogether, 7,579 shot and shell were expended, an offer was made to allow them to pass unmolested, provided they carried no treasure or jewels; but to this he made no reply.

Of 1,450 men who were in the fort when our guns opened, 200, with eighty horses, perished in the explosion; 200 more were killed during the day and night; 700 were made prisoners, and the rest effected their escape.*

Near each other, in the burial-ground at Cawnpore, there are (or were) to be seen the tombstones of Sir Dyson Marshall and of Sir John Horsford, a gallant old soldier, who had raised himself from a humble rank in the Bengal Artillery, and died a month after these events, as the inscription bore, of all he had undergone amid severe weather, "at the siege and capture of Hatras."

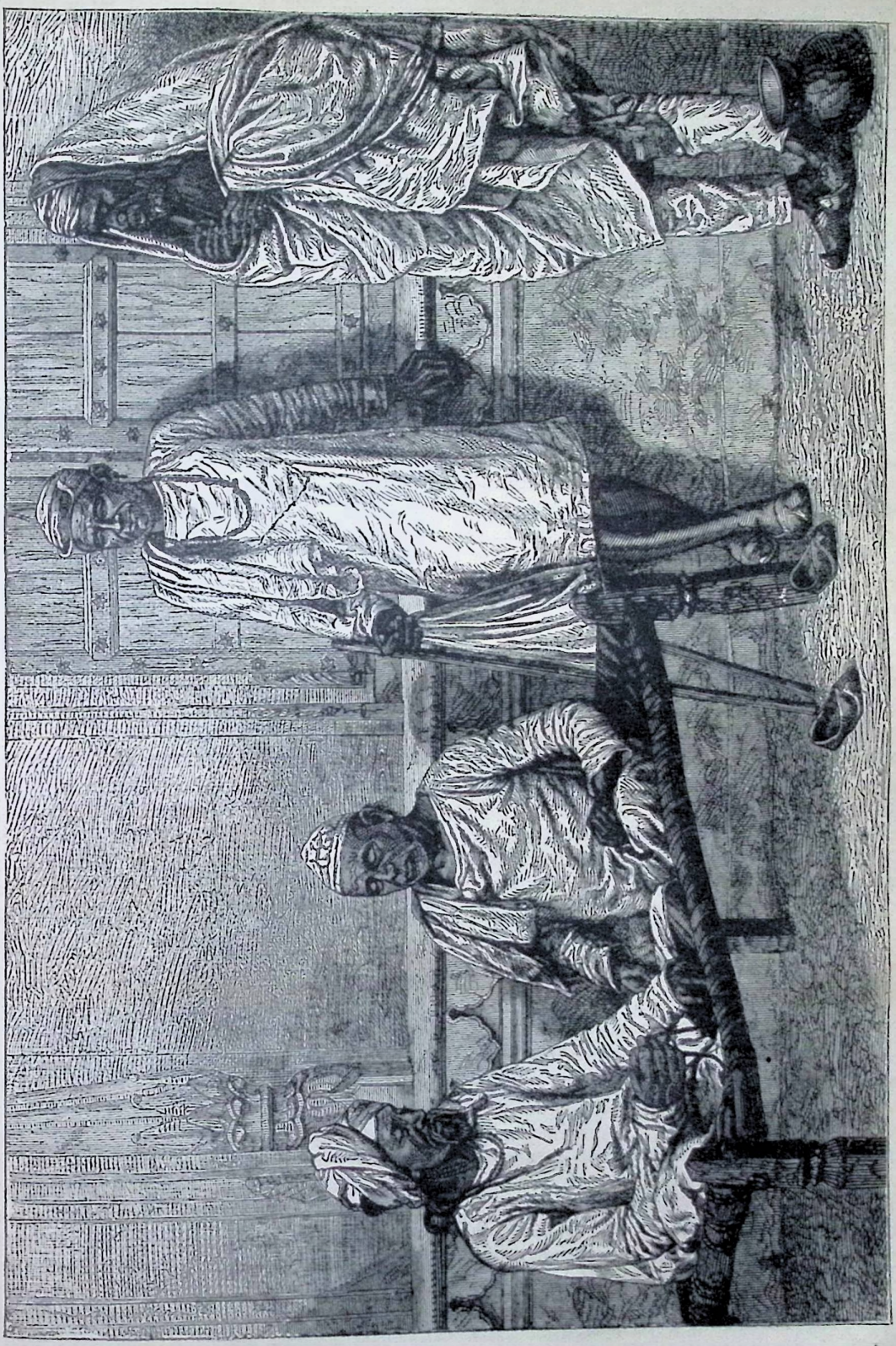


VIEW OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE ISLAND OF SALSETTE, BOMBAY.

After Dyaram's flight, his fortress was partly demolished, and this produced such an effect on the other talookdars, that they lost no time in making their submission to the Governor-General.

While all these events had been in progress, the Mahratta court at Poonah had been guilty of many violations of the Treaty of Bassein. The Peishwa had given his entire confidence to a man named Trimbukjee Danglia, who had commenced life as a

* "Journal of the Siege of the Kutterah and Fort of Hatras."



RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS AT BENARES.

courier and spy, and had risen rapidly in favour by ministering to the sensual pleasures of his master, who then began to neglect, or cease to consult, his minister, Munkaseir. Trimbukjee was a man of violent character, and a bitter hater of the British, who, no doubt, had laboured hard to introduce something like law and order in the country of the Peishwa.

To stir up mischief, Trimbukjee committed several outrages along the frontier of our ally, the Guicowar, who thereupon dispatched an ambassador or vakeel named Gungadhur, the Shastree (on account of his familiarity with the Shastras, or Sanscrit writings), to remonstrate with the Peishwa on the conduct of his favourite. The Peishwa referred the Shastree to Trimbukjee, who barbarously murdered him as he left a Hindoo temple. He was struck from behind with what seemed only a twisted cloth, but which, in reality, concealed a sword-blade. Others followed up the blow, and he was cut to pieces.

The people of the Shastree had literally to search for these "pieces;" and, as he was a Brahmin of the highest caste, and enjoyed a great reputation for pure sanctity and much learning, the assassination excited the horror of the Mahrattas, who, though lawless, were brave, and detested such a mode of death. Every way the crime seemed dreadful in their eyes, from the character of the victim and the sanctity of the place where he perished; and they loudly predicted that the vengeance of their gods would speedily fall upon Trimbukjee, and that the ruin of their Peishwa would date from the day of the deed.

The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, our Resident at Poonah, lost no time, after communicating with the Marquis of Hastings, in putting our subsidiary force at Seroor in motion. This intimidated the Peishwa, who found himself compelled to surrender Trimbukjee, who was thrown into the strong fortress of Thanna, on the island of Salsette, near Bombay.

There his captivity proved a brief one. It chanced that a Mahratta groom, having a good character to recommend him, offered his services to the British officer commanding in the fort. He was forthwith employed; and as the stable where he attended his master's horse was directly under the window of Trimbukjee's prison, it was remarked that when attending to the commandant's horse, and while currying and cleaning it, he was always singing snatches of wild Mahratta songs.

At length, one night in December, 1816, Trimbukjee was found to have vanished from his prison, together with the horse and groom from the stable below. It was generally believed that Trimbukjee fled straight to his infatuated prince at Poonah. If so, the latter concealed him, and assured the British authorities, with great solemnity, that he knew nothing about him.

The assassin's hate for the British had certainly not been lessened by the imprisonment he had undergone among them; and wherever he was lurking, there was little doubt that he urged the Peishwa to avenge himself for the humiliation of his surrender, by entering more keenly than ever into those intrigues by which he hoped to place himself at the head of a new and conquering Mahratta confederacy; to throw the whole Treaty of Bassein to the winds; and to begin that career which ended so fatally for himself and all his followers.

We shall have to return, in its place, to the intrigue of Trimbukjee; but, meanwhile, our armies had to take the field against a more lawless foe than even the Mahrattas.

CHAPTER XC.

THE PINDAREES, AND WHAT LED TO A WAR WITH THEM.

THE new contest has often been designated the second Mahratta war, as it began in hostilities with the Pindarees, but ended in a general war with the associated chiefs of the great Mahratta confederation.

The Pindarees were not a race apart from others in India, but a great community of people, who differed in blood, descent, religion, and habits, but who were all associated together in one common pursuit—robbery; and the most popular etymology of the name *Pindaree* is, that they derived it from their intemperate habits, which led them constantly to those shops where intoxicating liquors were sold; and Kureem Khan, the greatest of all their leaders

—who surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm —told him that he never heard any other origin assigned to it.

The name of Pindaree, says a writer,* may be found in Indian history at the commencement of the last century; several bands of these freebooters followed the Mahratta armies in their earlier wars in Hindostan; and they are mentioned by Ferishta as having fought against Zulfeccar Khan and the other generals of Aurungzebe. One of their most daring captains "was named Ponapah, who ravaged the Carnatic, and took Vellore early in the reign of Sahoojee. This chief is said to have been succeeded by Chingaly and Hool Sewar, who commanded 15,000 horse at the battle of Paniput."

Under him the Pindaree system began to assume an organised form. They were divided into *Durraks*, or tribes, led by chiefs, who enrolled any man—possession of a sharp sword and good horse being the only qualifications for admission. Common interest kept them united, and renown in the Mahratta wars was won by their chiefs, who seized upon lands, retained them by the sword, and transmitted them to their descendants.

Two, named Heeroo and Burran are subsequently mentioned as Pindaree leaders; and in order to distinguish the followers of Tookojee Holkar from those of Mohadajee Scindia, they were henceforward denominated the Scindia Shahee and the Holkar Shahee.

Dost Mohammed Khan and Ryan Khan, the sons of Heeroo, were both powerful chiefs in 1820; but, in an association which was daily augmented by the admittance of strangers, it may naturally be supposed that the influence of hereditary claims was lessened, and that men of superior genius or daring rose to the chief command. Thus, in time, Cheetoo, or Seetoo, became the most powerful of the Pindaree leaders, and his followers began to be looked upon, in the time of the Marquis of Hastings, as a kind of independent power, which, if properly combined under an able commander, could seriously disturb the peace and arrest the prosperity of India.

By 1814 their actual military strength amounted to no less than 40,000 horse. Their leaders were all men of reckless courage and tried valour, under whom they rode on distant expeditions for the purpose of plundering peaceful countries, moving in bodies of 2,000 or 3,000 strong, holding an undeviating course until they reached their destination, when they at once split into small parties, to collect plunder, and destroy all that they failed to remove. They were guilty of the most inhuman barbarities; their progress was marked by the ruins of burning towns and villages, the shrieks of wretched women, and the groans of their mutilated husbands were heard wherever the Pindarees went; and their horses, which were trained to undergo the same privations as their masters, often received, like them, a stimulus of opium, when impelled to uncommon exertion.

From many of their sudden expeditions they returned home laden with spoil, to the mountainous country which borders the Nerbudda to the north, where they found protection for themselves in those great forts which belonged to them, or to those with whom they were openly or secretly in league. The fame of these exploits drew to their ranks many deserters from the loose cavalry establishments of Scindia and Holkar. Plunder being the sole object of the Pindarees, they constituted their force for that purpose only; and, as light cavalry, trained themselves to hard marching and extreme celerity of movement. With this view, it was their custom, till the monsoon should close and the rivers be fordable, to exercise the horses, and prepare them for long marches and hard work.

When the time for marching came, they were carefully shod, and the expedition of many thousand hardened ruffians set forth. Out of every 1,000 about 400 were better mounted than the rest. Their favourite weapon was a bamboo spear, varying from twelve to eighteen feet in length; every fifteenth or twentieth man carried a matchlock. They were always accompanied by an irregular train of attendant slaves and camp-followers, poorly mounted on wild horses, and who kept up with the general mass as well as they could. Moving with a rapidity that defied all pursuit, they could spread their devastations over hundreds of miles without being interrupted or overtaken.

"As it was impossible for them to remain more than a few hours on the same spot," says Henry T. Princep,† "the utmost dispatch was necessary in rifling any towns or villages into which they could force an entrance; every one whose appearance indicated the probability of his possessing money, was immediately put to the most horrid torture, till he either pointed out his hoard or died under the infliction. Nothing was safe from the pursuit of Pindaree lust or avarice; it was their common practice to burn and destroy what could not be carried away, and in the wantonness of barbarity to outrage and murder women and children under the eyes of their husbands and parents."

"Their chief strength," says Sir John Malcolm, "lay in their being intangible. If pursued, they

* "Origin of the Pindarees."

† "Narrative of Pol. and Mil. Transactions in India, 1813-18."

frequently made extraordinary marches of sixty miles in length, by ways impracticable for regular troops. If overtaken, they dispersed, to re-assemble at an appointed rendezvous; and if followed to the country from whence they issued, they broke into small parties." *

The common mode of torture, when property was supposed to be concealed, was to tie a bag of hot ashes about the victim's head, and he was suffocated by being compelled to inhale the fumes. Others were thrown on their back, had a heavy beam placed across their chest, while a stout Pindaree sat at each end, pressing it down, at the same time inflicting blows on the helpless creature below.

Boiling oil and burning straw were also common, because convenient, materials for torture; and often children were torn from their mothers' arms, dashed on the ground, flung into wells, or tossed in the air, to be received, when falling, on the point of a spear.

In 1809 and 1812 they penetrated into British territory, and retreated with abundance of spoil. In 1815, they dared to make another invasion, when 8,000 of them crossed the Nerbudda, and moved northwards, after suffering a trifling loss from Major Fraser, with 400 horse and foot only, they reached the banks of the Kistnah, which luckily proved impassable; hence the Madras Presidency, which lay on the other side, was secure from devastation.

Marching eastward, these freebooters proceeded to plunder all the fertile and populous districts along the banks of the stream for many miles, committing their usual enormities. Returning northward, along the line of the Godavery and Wurda, they escaped, with immense booty and perfect impunity; and their complete success in this expedition encouraged them to attempt others.

Thus, in February, 1815, under different leaders, they crossed the Nerbudda, to the number of 10,000 horse; and on the 10th of March appeared on the western frontier of Masulipatam. On a march of only thirty-eight miles next day, they destroyed ninety-two villages, committing the most dreadful cruelties on the unarmed inhabitants. The next day's march was also thirty-eight miles, and in the course of it, fifty-four villages perished. The third day's march extended to fifty-two miles, and though pursued by our troops, under Colonel Doveton, the whole achieved the passage of the Nerbudda, with enormous booty and without loss; and it was soon after ascertained that, during the twelve days this horde had been in our territories, 182 persons had been put to the most cruel deaths, 505 were severely wounded, and 3,603 put to the most barbarous kinds of torture.†

The attention of Government was now seriously directed to this state of affairs, and to the prevention of further outrages. The Marquis of Hastings, who had brought the Nepaul war to a successful conclusion at the very time when the Pindarees and Mahrattas were confidently hoping for its protraction and to make profit out of it mutually, was now eager to employ all the strength of his unemployed troops in the task of extirpating this atrocious army of robbers.

For this purpose, as a temporary expedient, a chain of defensive outposts was established along the bank of the Nerbudda river. These extended across the country for about 150 miles, but were too meagrely supplied with troops to afford a very effectual defence, as, in one instance, two of the posts were ninety miles apart; and it soon became evident, that in a purely defensive war, a lightly-armed assailant has all the advantages, and may always, by judiciously choosing the point for attack, penetrate the line of defence where weakest. Thus our line of outposts was passed by the Pindarees, and the country ravaged as usual; and though, in this instance, some of them were overtaken and severely handled by the British troops, it was more owing to fortunate chances than any previously well-concerted scheme.

The Marquis of Hastings now resolved to commence offensive war, and, not resting satisfied with the mere line of posts, to pursue the Pindarees to their most remote haunts and fastnesses; yet, at this very time, despite the outrages committed, and the indignation they had excited in British India, the timid counsels of the home authorities tended greatly to hamper the Governor-General; and in his instructions from Mr. Canning, President of the Board of Control in 1816, he found the following remarks, with reference to the hostile aspect of the Mahrattas and the Pindaree invasions:—

"We are unwilling to incur a general war for the uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindarees. Extended political and military combinations we cannot sanction or approve. . . . We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which must, perhaps, always exist in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force; while, on the other hand, any attempt, at this moment, to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily

* "Memoir of Central India."

† Princep, &c.

interfere with those economical regulations which it is more than ever incumbent on us to recommend as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendency, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension."

To the pusillanimous policy thus suggested the Marquis wrote a very indignant reply concerning the Pindarees, and saying, "I am roused to the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home the brutal and atrocious qualities of those wretches. Had we not failed to describe sufficiently the horror and execration in which the Pindarees are justly held, I am satisfied that nothing could have been more repugnant to the feelings of the Honourable Committee, than the notion that this Government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of confidential intercourse—of a common cause with any of these gangs."

This outburst referred to a suggestion made by Mr. Canning, that the marquis should endeavour to split up the confederacy by taking advantage of some dissensions then existing among the Pindarees.

Ere long, the home Government became convinced that nothing but the sword would crush them, and counselled that which was necessary—a bolder policy—to the Marquis of Hastings, who lost no time in acting on their injunctions; and, preparatory to taking the field, he sought to strengthen himself by the co-operation of several of the native powers, while a large part of the Bengal army was kept in advanced cantonments, ready to act at an hour's notice.

Hastings had undoubted information that the Peishwa, Scindia, and other Mahratta princes, were in close and secret correspondence with the Pindaree leaders, and that some great and combined movement was in view; but, fortunately, at this crisis, the interests of Britain were greatly furthered by the death of two of her greatest enemies—the Nabob of Bhopal, and Ragojee Bhonsla, the Rajah of Nagpore, both of whom expired in the March of 1816.

As usual, the musnuds of these potentates became the subjects of dire dispute between selfish claimants; and the two who proved successful, feeling their seats insecure, were glad to purchase British aid by the conclusion of treaties favourable to our interests.

Apa Sahib, who was installed at Nagpore, accepted a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry and a corps of native cavalry, for which he was to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees per annum; while at the same time binding himself to keep on foot a contingent force of his own, consisting of 5,000 men, who were to co-operate with the British in putting down the Pindarees.

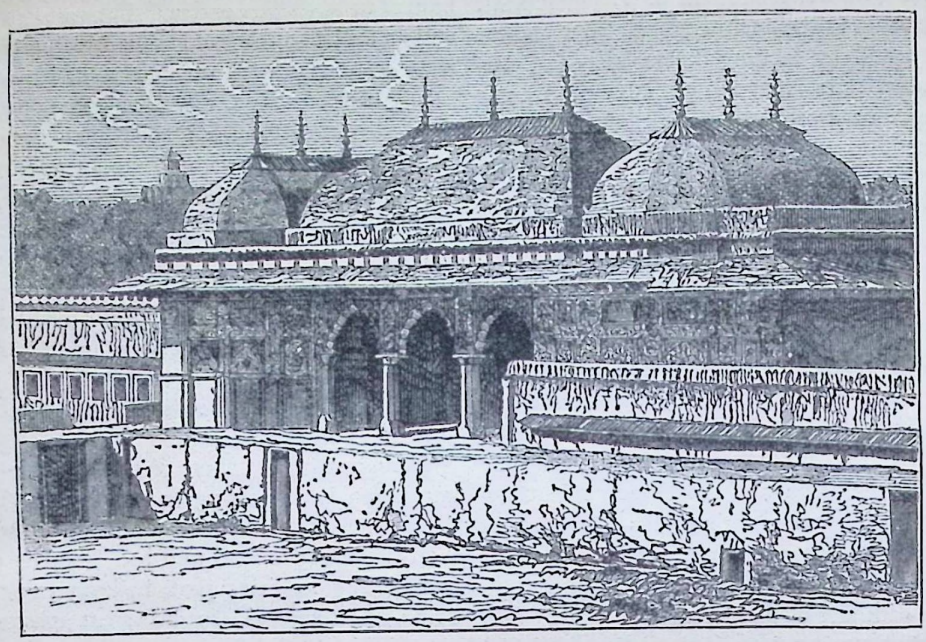
While these negotiations were in progress, others were carried on with the Rajah of Jeypore, a once powerful Rajpoot state, famous for the manufacture of its rich stuffs, swords, and matchlocks, whose alliance had been declined by Sir George Barlow in 1806. Since then, the rajah's territories had been desolated again and again by the Mahrattas and Patans; and, by the end of 1815, in his very despair, he implored the Governor-General to take him under his protection.

Though many members of the Supreme Council were strongly and strangely averse from this step, the marquis resolved to extend the protection of the British flag to one who had been its old and faithful ally in times past, believing that, by so doing, it would aid in his great plan for the suppression of the Pindarees; though, apart from that, the measure in itself was good, as it would reduce the resources of their predatory powers, and save a noble territory (with an area of 14,900 square miles) from ruin and devastation.*

Thus, a subsidiary treaty was offered to the rajah at the very time his capital was beleaguered by Meer Khan and the Patans. So long as the blockade lasted, the rajah seemed most willing to comply with all the terms of the proffered document, and with all the requisitions made by Mr. Metcalfe, our Resident at Delhi, to whom the negotiation had been confided; but when the siege was raised, and the Patans were bought off by a round sum in treasure, the rajah then gave ear to some of his haughty Rajpoot chiefs, who disdained the British alliance, as destructive of their national independence, and their own feudal, or rather, local power. After this, his vakeels at Delhi raised so many doubts and difficulties concerning the alliance, that Mr. Metcalfe dismissed them, and broke off all negotiations. But now the people of Jeypore, who preferred peace and security, under British protection, to plunder and war, under the ministers of the rajah, began to murmur so loudly, that he found himself under the unpleasant necessity of sending his vakeels back to Delhi to renew the negotiations.

The vakeels, however, were indignantly dismissed again by Mr. Metcalfe, as they made propositions to which Britain could never accede; asked large pensions for themselves, and for British aid to

* Princep's "Narrative."



VIEW OF A PAVILION IN THE PALACE OF JEYPORE.

enable the rajah to crush some of his enemies; and now the troops which had been collected to march to Nagpore in order to support the Rajah Apa Sahib, were dispatched to the Nerbudda, to be employed against the Pindarees; and, left to his fate, the Rajah of Jeypore, the slave to an infatuated attachment for a beautiful Mohammedan nautch girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions by the sufferance of Meer Khan.

We have said that the Pindarees pierced with ease the extended line of the British outposts on the southern bank of the Nerbudda. The first appearance of the red-coats in the valley of that great river spread such consternation among them, that Cheetoo quitted the northern bank, and prepared to cross mountainous Malwa. But on finding that our troops, who were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, did not pass the stream, he recovered confidence; and thus it was, that on the 4th of November, 1816, he resolved to push between his posts.

A party of Pindarees consequently crossed the river, and, dividing in two *luhbürs*, or bands, rode in different directions. Colonel Walker, while actively attempting to intercept one detachment of these robbers, fell suddenly, by accident, on the other, as it was bivouacking in a jungle. He inflicted some loss upon them; but the nimble marauders were soon in their saddles, and had left the Nerbudda far behind them.

On the 13th of the same month all their *Durras*, or commands, were in motion. By this time Cheetoo had discovered that Walker's cavalry were all posted on his extreme left; thus, he threw forward 5,000 of his bravest and best-mounted men to turn that officer's right flank. This column of thieves, which was followed by others, crossed the Nerbudda in sight of one of our posts on the right flank, and dashed on with a speed which left Walker's infantry not the slightest hope or chance of arresting their progress.

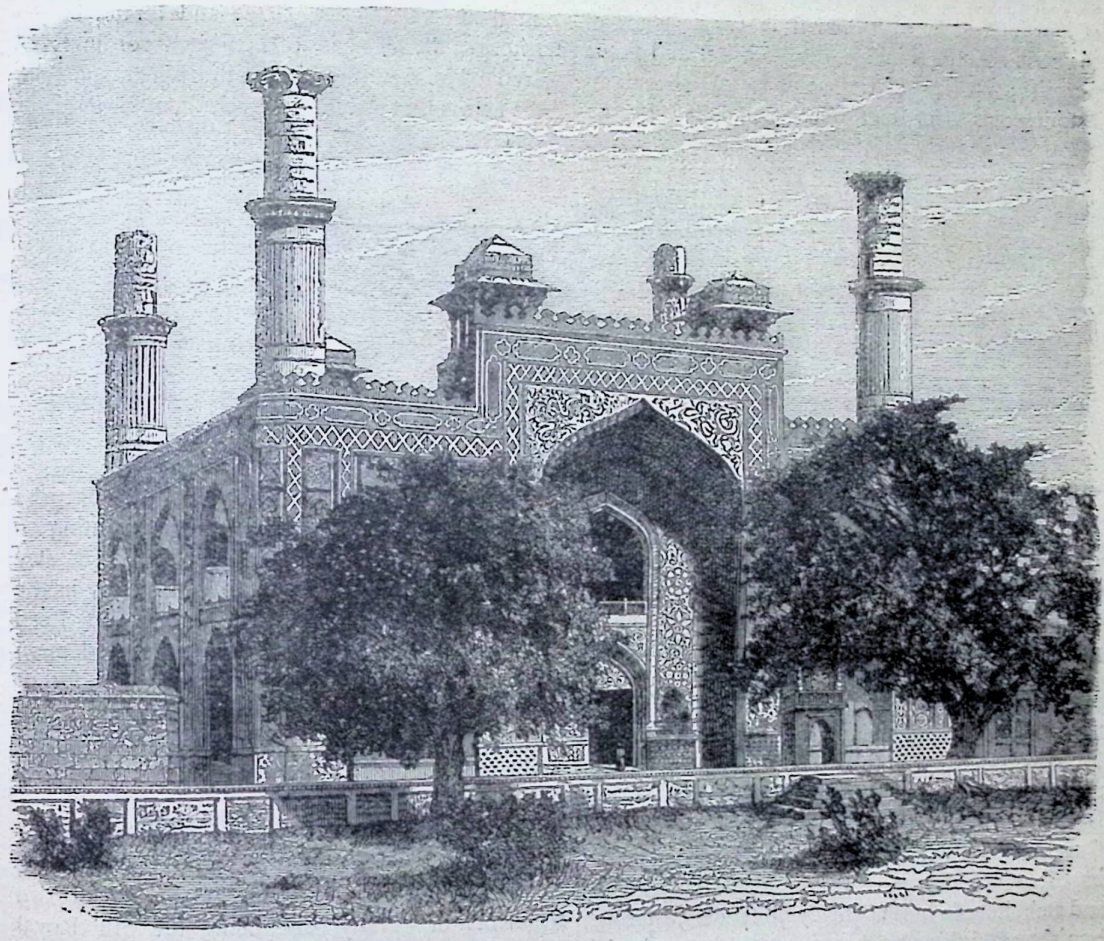
After rendezvousing on the southern bank of the river, the Pindarees, as usual, split into two great bodies. One rode due east, through forests and over mountains, and burst unexpectedly into the Company's district of Ganjam, the northern frontier of the five Circars, with the full intention of proceeding to Cuttack and Juggernaut, to plunder that great and rich temple of Hindoo superstition, and carry off all the precious idols, the votive offerings, and almost priceless donations of pilgrims and devotees.

This *luhbur*, however, was met by a body of the Company's troops almost as soon as it entered Ganjam, and was repulsed with loss. The other band, which had ridden into the Nizam's territory before Colonel Doveton could overtake it, then proceeded leisurely on its march, pillaging and destroying till it came to Beder, a town in the Deccan (seventy-three miles from Hyderabad), where the Pindarees halted, as they were divided in their counsels as to the route to be pursued.

While they were in this state of indecision, Major Macdowall, who had been detached from the capital, came suddenly upon them in the night with the advanced guard of his light troops; and though the band mustered 6,000 spears and matchlocks, and the attacking force but a handful of dragoons, the robbers abandoned nearly all their horses, the greater part of their ill-gotten plunder, in the Deccan, were the only band that met with any success at that season.

The only loss the band sustained from our troops was on its return to the Nerbudda in the subsequent March.

There, when Sheikh Dulloo found himself and his wild followers within but a few miles of safety and home, where the tents of Cheetoo



VIEW OF THE GATE OF THE GARDEN OF SECUNDRA.

and, thinking only of their personal safety, and of placing the Nerbudda between them and the foe, fled in every direction.

It chanced, however, that one of their leaders, named the Sheikh Dulloo, had abandoned this party some days before Macdowall's attack, and gone off, at the head of 500 Pindarees, to pillage on his own account. Spurring across the territories of the Peishwa, and rushing into the Concan, they actually ravaged the western coast of India between the 17th and 21st degrees of north latitude; and returning by the valley of the Tapti, and the way of Boorhanpoor (or Burranpur), capital of Candeish stood, they found the only ford by which they could hope to cross held by a small party of British soldiers; several, in attempting to pass, were shot down, but the sheikh himself, with the main body, who proved the best-mounted men, making a circuit, plunged into the river lower down, and boldly swam across, yet not without a considerable loss of men and horses.

Those who rode the worst animals, or possessed the least amount of courage, fled into the jungle on the British side of the stream, and were murdered in detail by the people of the country. About 150 of those who followed the Sheikh Dulloo perished;

but the rest, with a rich booty strapped to their horses, reached the cantonment of Cheetoo.*

Two or three smaller bands contrived to cross the Nerbudda, but only to encounter ruin. One was destroyed by the 4th Madras Light Cavalry, under Major Lushington, and another on its homeward march perished in the same fashion. However great their number, they were almost invariably beaten by our troops in every encounter; but many of our officers were invalided in consequence of the serious fatigues incident to such hot and fierce pursuits; yet few of our soldiers fell, though in Lushington's affair one officer was killed by the long bamboo lance of a Pindaree. As their operations, during the early part of 1817, had covered a greater extent of territory than they had hitherto invaded, extending actually, in some instances, to the seas on both sides of the Indian peninsula, including many provinces they had left untouched during the year 1816, it had become perfectly evident that the mere chain of outposts along the banks of the Nerbudda would never prevent them crossing for pillage and rapine in our territories; the Marquis of Hastings accordingly resolved to lose no further time in throwing a sufficient force across that stream, to crush them for ever.

CHAPTER XCI.

DETAIL OF THE ARMIES OF HINDOSTAN AND THE DECCAN—SCINDIA'S TREATY AND CONTINGENT—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE AND THE PEISHWA, ETC.

"THE whole of Central India," observes Princep, "was, at the present, the arena of a general scramble for dominion;" and among other movements and measures, the Governor-General saw the stern necessity of ending this scene of constant distraction and disturbance, by binding the whole elements into a league, or fixing a definitive basis, to end the rage for predatory adventure, which was corrupting the Indian population and ruining the peace of the country; "and nothing short of that inflexible rigour of control and irresistible power of enforcing obedience to its sword, which the British Government alone could exercise, could possibly impose a due degree of restraint on the passions and ambition of a host of greedy pretenders, aspiring, by right of birth or by the sword, to the territorial sovereignties of this wide expanse."†

And now, having obtained the tardy consent of the home Government to the necessity for crushing what was called the predatory system, the Marquis of Hastings lost no time in perfecting his general arrangements.

Two strong armies were organised to advance in concert from the north and south, so as not only to cover the usual haunts of the Pindarees, but to overawe all native chiefs who might seem to favour them, more especially the Mahrattas, of whose princes they held themselves to be, to a certain extent, the subjects. "Besides, the whole of the Mahratta chiefs were bitterly hostile to the British; and the abrogation, or modifications amounting to an abrogation, of the treaties with Lord Wellesley by Lord Cornwallis, followed up by a policy in the same direction by Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto, so elated them, that they calculated upon the instability of British treaties, whether for or against them, and presumed upon ultimate impunity."

But the time was at hand when they were to be taught a different lesson.

The army of Hindostan was formed into four divisions. The right division, mustered at Agra, under Major-General Donkin, consisted of two regiments of cavalry, one being the 8th Royal Irish Light Dragoons, H.M. 14th Foot, and three battalions of sepoys, with eighteen pieces of cannon.

The left division, assembled at Kalleenjur, in Bundelcund, under General Marshall, consisted of one corps of native cavalry, two of irregular horse, and five battalions of sepoys, with twenty-four pieces of cannon.

The centre division, stationed at Secundra, a once magnificent city on the left bank of the Jumna, thirty miles distant from Cawnpore, commanded by General Brown, consisted of three corps of cavalry, one being H.M. 24th Light Dragoons, the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, and eight battalions of sepoys, with fifty-four pieces of cannon. Long since disbanded, the 24th Dragoons bore on their standards

* Princep's "Narrative." † Henry T. Princep.

an elephant, with the motto "Hindostan," in commemoration of their bravery at Allyghur and Delhi, in 1803. With this division was the Governor-General as commander-in-chief. It was 12,500 strong.

The fourth, a reserve division, under Sir David Ochterlony, was stationed at Rewaree, fifty miles south-west of Delhi, and consisted of a regiment of native cavalry, two corps of Skinner's Horse, H.M. 67th (or Hampshire) Regiment, and five battalions of sepoys, with twenty-two pieces of cannon. To each of these four columns several irregular corps were attached, while many detachments were posted eastward and westward to support where required, and keep up the communication. The whole force mustered 63,000 bayonets and sabres.

Under Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., Commander-in-chief of Madras, the army of the Deccan was formed in five divisions. The first of these, the head-quarters, consisted of two troops of H.M. 22nd (now disbanded), two regiments of native cavalry, the grenadiers, and light infantry of the 1st Royal Scots, and six battalions of sepoys, with a field-train. The second division, under Colonel Doveton, intended to move on the Mahratta province of Berar, consisted of a regiment of native cavalry, the remainder of the Royal Scots (2nd battalion), six battalions of sepoys, and the brigades of Berar and Hyderabad.

Under Sir John Malcolm (who was also to act as political agent), the third division, which was to form the advanced corps, consisted of a regiment of native cavalry, five companies of sepoys, Russell's Brigade, the Ellichpore Brigade, and 5,000 auxiliary Mysorean Horse. The fourth division, under Colonel Smith, and intended to operate in Candeish, consisted of one regiment of native cavalry, H.M. 65th, or 2nd Yorkshire Regiment, six battalions of sepoys, and a body of Reformed Poonah Horse, under British officers.

The fifth division, comprising the Nagpore subsidiary force, under Colonel Adams, consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, a body of Rohilla Horse, the contingent of the Nabob of Bhopal, and six battalions of sepoys.

Under Lieutenant-Colonel Theophilus Pritzler, of H.M. 22nd Dragoons, the reserve division was formed of brigades left in Poonah, Nagpore, and Hyderabad. In addition, a formidable force was assembled in Goojerat, under Sir William Keir Grant, K.C.B. (afterwards Colonel of the Scots Greys), and the two armies together made up a strength of 113,000 men, with 300 pieces of cannon; so that the Pindarees might well tremble in their fastnesses beyond the Nerbudda river.

On the 8th of July, 1817, the Governor-General embarked at Calcutta, and sailed up the Ganges; and after a brief stay at Patna, to receive a complimentary deputation from Khatmandoo, on the 16th of October he arrived at Secundra, and took the field in person; and, after reviewing the troops there, crossed the Jumna at their head, ten days after. General Donkin advanced at the same time from Agra, and both columns began their march upon Gwalior; the centre one by the way of Jaloun and Sounda, on the river Sinde, and the other by the town of Dholpore, on the north bank of the Chumbul.

The reason of these movements was to menace the powerful Scindia.

"Residing at Gwalior," wrote the marquis, "the latter was in the heart of the richest part of his dominions; but, independently of this objection, that those territories were separated only from our territory by the Jumna, there was a military defect in the situation, to which it must be supposed the Maharajah had never adverted. About twenty miles south of Gwalior, a ridge of very abrupt hills, covered with tangled wood peculiar to India, extends from the Little Sinde to the Chumbul, which rivers form the flank boundaries of the Gwalior district and its dependencies. There are two long routes by which carriages, and perhaps cavalry, can pass that chain, one along the Little Sinde, and another not far from the Chumbul. By my seizing, with the centre, a position which would bar any movement along the Little Sinde, and placing Major-General Donkin's division at the back of the other pass, Scindia was reduced to the dilemma of subscribing the treaty which I offered him, or of crossing the hills through by-paths, attended by a few followers who might be able to accompany him, sacrificing his splendid train of artillery (above 100 brass guns), with all its appendages, and abandoning at once to us his most valuable possessions."

Scindia's repeated acts of perfidy fully justified the Marquis of Hastings in imposing upon him the new treaty in question; for while openly professing a readiness to co-operate with us in the reduction of the Pindarees, like other Mahratta chiefs, he had been promising them protection in secret, and was in hope of sharing their plunder. In secret, he had never ceased to labour for the formation of a great Mahratta league to root the British out of Hindostan; and his correspondence with the Nepaulese—which had been accidentally discovered — was deemed by the Governor-General the crowning act of all his late offences.

By the treaty concluded with him on the 5th of

November, 1817, Dowlut Rao Scindia agreed to admit British garrisons into his forts of Hindur and Aseerghur, and to co-operate with the British Government for the subversion of the Pindarees and all such freebooters; and for this purpose to place under British officers 5,000 cavalry, to be employed with the divisions of the British army. For the payment of these troops he agreed to relinquish for three years the sums which he himself, and the members of his family, received from the British Government, and for two years the sums which he was to levy from the Rajpoot states, any surplus of either amount, in excess of the pay of the troops, to be afterwards accounted for to his Highness.

Such was the origin of what was called "Scindia's Reformed Contingent."

Major Valentine Blacker and Captain Fielding were the officers appointed to organise these cavalry when transferred by the durbar. The former officer, who had the general superintendence, reported on the 1st of February, 1818, that though acting to the fullest extent of Lord Hastings' intentions of not being particular as to the quality of Scindia's troops, he found at the inspection at Autree, on the 4th of January, that so many of the worst description of foraging Tattoos, mounted by syces and grass-cutters, were brought forward for service, that he was obliged to reject them, and that those to whom they belonged refused to march with the remainder of their horse unless some arrangement was made for the rejected, since they were struck off Scindia's rolls without being admitted upon ours. It was not very well understood that an arrangement had been made with Scindia for these rejected men; but it was supposed they were paid out of the allowance of those retained, which was reported to be at the rate of eight annas for each trooper.

The measures taken, whatever they were, produced such satisfaction, that Major Blacker was able, on the 19th of February, to march from Autree to Kolarus, and make his first muster, which showed 3,302 horse. Captain Fielding reported, on the 2nd February, 1818, from Agra, that he had raised 1,900 horse, to form the second corps of the contingent, and they marched, about the end of the month, towards Desree, in the Kotah territory, a place possessing great advantages for grain, forage, and water.

With the exception of the contingent co-operating with our army, all others belonging to Scindia were to remain stationary at the posts assigned them by the British Government in this remarkable treaty. By the eighth article of the treaty, concluded in November, 1805, the British Government pledged itself to confine its alliances with other native states within certain limits. This article, as interfering with the alliances necessary to our strength in this sudden war, was superseded by a new article, giving full permission to form alliances with the Rajpoot states of Jeypore, Jodpore, and Oodeypore, or any others on the left bank of the Chumbul; always, however, subject to the tribute which those states were bound to pay Scindia, and the payment of which we guaranteed to him, on the condition that, for the future, he was not to interfere in their affairs. But prior to detailing the movements of "the Grand Army," under the Marquis of Hastings, and "the Army of the Deccan," under Hislop, we have to glance at certain diplomatic relations with different states.

Immediately upon the conclusion of this treaty with Scindia, it was followed by another with Meer, or Ameer Khan, who had now begun to see the ruin that hostilities with us would bring upon him, and therefore engaged, on our guaranteeing to him all the territories he then possessed under grants from Holkar, to disband his horde of Patans, and give up his artillery, on receiving five lacs of rupees as its estimated value; and, as a hostage for this treaty—which must have proved a source of relief to the Rajah of Jeypore—the son and heir of Ameer Khan was to reside at Delhi.

While all these matters were being negotiated, the British had a final rupture with the son of the dead Ragobah, Bajee Rao, the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and hostilities commenced.

Apa Sahib, whom—as stated in the preceding chapter—we had placed upon the throne at Nagpore, was neither a grateful nor a creditable ally, as he disgraced it by crime and bloodshed, and had the hardihood to send emissaries to Holkar, Scindia, and all the Mahratta chiefs, to solicit their assistance for the expulsion of the British. This, perhaps, it was which encouraged to a quarrel Bajee Rao, who, when he signed the Bassein treaty with us, had, with more courage than craft, declared that it was wrenched from him by compulsion; hence, there could be little doubt that, on the first opportunity, he would trample on it.

Affecting to be filled with shame at the degradation to which the event had subjected him, he secluded himself from his people, withdrew from Poonah, and, on various pretences, remained absent from it till the month of September, but during the whole of the subsequent month he was collecting troops in every direction, and urging his jaghirdars to prepare their armed followers; and the middle of October came before our Resident, Mountstuart Elphinstone, was merely and coolly informed "that

the Peishwa would take a part in the Pindaree war to the extent of his means."

The Resident, an able, energetic, and accomplished man, soon ascertained that, notwithstanding his solemn assurances to the contrary, the Peishwa was still under the secret guidance of the invisible villain, Trimbukjee; that troops were quietly collected among the hills south-eastward of Poonah; that others were being levied at a distance; that the forts were being placed on the war establishment; and that emissaries, with money, had been sent to Malwa to recruit all to do battle with us. Elphinstone demanded that this state of preparation should cease; that the Mahratta troops must not encamp so close to the British cantonments; that the members of Trimbukjee's family should be placed under restraint, and the murderer himself given up to justice. But the crafty Peishwa, in reply to all this—though he affected to put some of Trimbukjee's family under arrest—declared that the troops among the hills were only some desperadoes, armed at the expense of that person, whom he would put to death the moment he caught him.

These pretences were too shallow to deceive Mr. Elphinstone, and after bringing the subsidiary force to Poonah, and thus feeling his hand strengthened, he plainly told the Peishwa, who was preparing to join Trimbukjee, that he must not quit the city. He then detached a portion of the troops to the Mahadeo Hills, where they fell upon and dispersed the pretended insurgent army, though it was 20,000 strong. The other portion he cantoned near Poonah, in which the Peishwa had 7,000 infantry, a great body of cavalry, and a strongly-fortified palace.

Elphinstone's first ideas were to demand hostages for the surrender of Trimbukjee, and for the most ample fulfilment of the Treaty of Bassein, and, in case of refusal, to storm the palace at the point of the sword, and make prisoner the Peishwa; but he humanely shrank from a measure that would plunge in carnage and ruin the more peaceful of the inhabitants by a war in the streets; he, therefore, waited the course of events, in the hope "that the Peishwa would throw off the unaccountable spell which that low ruffian, Trimbukjee, had cast upon him, and would listen to the advice of better counsellors, and to the wishes of the majority of his subjects, for the continuance of peace with the Company."

But while Mr. Elphinstone waited, numerous attempts were made to tamper with the fidelity of the sepoys of his brigade; the Mahratta troops, as they crowded into the city, encamped so as to enclose our cantonments; and, finally, Trimbukjee took possession of all the Peishwa's forts, and stopped the post in Cuttack and other places, thus cutting off all communication with the Marquis of Hastings and the Supreme Council at Calcutta.

At this trying and perilous crisis, Mr. Elphinstone was destitute of instructions, and could rely on nothing but his own judgment; and his conduct at this time won him the greatest admiration. He knew that if the Peishwa should make a retreat to Ryeghur, among the mountains of the Concan, it would be impracticable to follow him till after the torrents of the rainy season were over; and once in those fastnesses, he might make them the basis of extensive and protracted operations, and there concentrate all the Mahratta chiefs who were bent on strife with Britain.

Resolving to wait no longer, he concentrated all the troops he could collect round Poonah, and demanded that within twenty-four hours the Peishwa should solemnly pledge himself to deliver up the mischievous Trimbukjee within one month, and place his strongholds of Singhur, Ryeghur, and Poorundhur in possession of the British troops till that promise was fulfilled. Bajee Rao lingered in doing this; but the aspect of our troops on the one hand, and of his people on the other, so alarmed him, that within the specified time he accepted the conditions, and placed the forts in our hands; but, steady to no line of action, save his faith to Trimbukjee, he instantly repented of what he had done, and sought evasion. Finding that too perilous with Elphinstone, whose Scottish patience was now utterly exhausted, he offered a reward for Trimbukjee, dead or alive; confiscated his property and that of twelve of his adherents openly; and, at the the same time, secretly took means to provide for his safety and concealment by a remittance of treasure.

On the 13th of June, as if to remove all further doubts and difficulties, Bajee Rao signed a treaty offered to him by Mr. Elphinstone. By this document he bound himself to relinquish all negotiations with powers hostile to British interests; to renounce his supremacy over our ally, the Guicowar, and all right and pretensions to Bundelcund, Goojerat, and every part and portion of Hindostan proper; to surrender to the Company, in perpetuity, the great fort of Ahmednuggur; to dissolve the great confederation of the Mahrattas, abandon all connection with them, and thus virtually to resign his position as their Peishwa, or head.

In addition to these bitter and humiliating terms, he was compelled to agree to an important alteration in the Treaty of Bassein. In that, he was bound to furnish the Company with 8,000 troops,



DANCING GIRLS OF BOMBAY.

and guns in proportion; this was now exchanged for an engagement to furnish them with the means of paying an equal force, thus ceding a revenue estimated at thirty-four lacs of rupees. This treaty was ratified by the Governor-General within a month, or on the 5th of July, 1817, three days before the latter embarked to put himself at the head of the army.

It has been alleged, with truth, that the perfidy of the Peishwa, and his preparations for joining the most bitter of our enemies when we were about to enter on a combined campaign against the Pindarees, deserved a more severe humiliation than that inflicted upon him by Elphinstone. In the Concan, to which district he would have retreated, if he could, some of his chiefs resisted the British troops, but were speedily crushed by Colonels Doveton and Scott. In Candeish, the former officer routed and dispersed the followers of Trimbukjee; and the latter, lashing his tent-poles together to make scaling-ladders, bravely carried by storm the strong fort of Dorana. After the loss of this place, the followers of Trimbukjee lost all heart, and the murderer fled to the wild jungles in the vale of Nerbudda, where he could put himself in communication with Cheetoo and the Pindarees.

Trimbukjee found means to do this also with the Peishwa, who, at the same time that our troops were about to cross the Nerbudda to attack the Pindarees, cast to the winds the treaty of June; ordered his great kettle-drum to be beaten at Poonah, and the Mahratta horse began to menace our cantonments there. The site of these, on the north-east side of the city, had been well chosen for the purpose of defence against any attack from without; but it now became very insecure when threatened by one from without and from within also. Thus it became necessary to remove to a stronger position, and Mr. Elphinstone, though still reluctant to precipitate an open rupture, saw that it was coming fast; hence, on the 31st of October (while the Marquis of Hastings was in Scinde), he gave orders that the stores of the brigade should be transported to Kirkee, and that the brigade should march there immediately after. The site of the old cantonments is described by a writer thus:—



THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

"The Moota, from the south-west, meeting the Moola from the north-east, forms with it the Moota-Moola, which takes an intermediate direction, and flows east. On the right bank, in the angle made by the Moota and the Moola, lies the town of Poonah, enclosed by the rivers towards the west and north, but quite open towards the south and east, in which latter direction the subsidiary force had its cantonments. On the opposite, or left, bank of the Moota, at the point of junction with the Moola, stood the British residency, which had thus the disadvantage of being entirely separated from the cantonments—a river, and the whole breadth of the city, intervening between them. It was to get rid of this disadvantage, and escape from the danger of being surrounded by the troops which were pouring into the city, that the British brigade removed, on the 1st of November, to the village of Kirkee, situated rather more than two miles to the north, in an angle formed by an abrupt bend of the Moola, and affording peculiar advantages for defence. The brigade, consisting of a Bombay European regiment, which had just arrived, and three native battalions, under Colonel Burr, seemed quite able to maintain its new position till succours should arrive; but it was deemed prudent to send to Seroor for a light battalion that had been left there to meet contingencies, and a corps of 1,000 auxiliary horse that had just been raised in the same quarter."

The stupid Peishwa now took it into his head that the British had confessed their fears of his power by quitting the city, though Mountstuart Elphinstone remained, as usual, at the residency.

The Seroor reinforcements started from Seroor on the 5th of November, and in the forenoon of that day, the over-confident Bajee Rao began to push forward his confused hordes, with a view to surrounding our new camp at Kirkee. Gokla, a Mahratta chief, who had always been at the head of the war party, pushed round a battalion till it took up a position between the village and the residency, evidently with the view of cutting off the communication between the two. On Mr. Elphinstone demanding the reason of this hostile movement, he was told by a Mahratta officer that the Peishwa had heard of the advance of troops from Seroor and elsewhere; that he had only anticipated the hostile measures of the British, and would no longer be the victim of his own irresolution.

He demanded that the newly-arrived Europeans should be sent back to Bombay; that the Poonah brigade should be reduced to its usual strength, and be cantoned wherever he should appoint. A direct answer being required, Mr. Elphinstone replied that if the Peishwa joined his army he would join the brigade, and that if the Mahratta forces moved towards the latter they would be attacked.

Bajee Rao seems to have been in such impatience for an answer, that the instant he dispatched his messenger he mounted his horse, and joined his army at the Parbutee Hill, a little to the south-west of his capital. He then advanced towards the residency with such speed, that Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had barely time to mount their horses and ford the Moola, when the Mahrattas took possession of the European houses, from which there had not been time to remove anything. All was plundered in a few minutes, and then the buildings were set in flames. While Mr. Elphinstone and his suite were hastening up the left bank of the river to cross it again by a bridge that led to Kirkee, he could see the smoke and flame amid which his property perished, the most irreparable loss being his valuable manuscripts and library.

The view from Kirkee is one of considerable beauty, and there could be seen the hill of Parbutee, with its temple; the walls of Poonah, with its temples and palace; the Moota, wandering among clumps of mango-trees, till it joined the Moola, amid fields of waving corn; the garden of the Heerah Bagh, and its beautiful lake, with lofty trees drooping in the waters, and surrounded by every description of fruit and gorgeous flowers.*

CHAPTER XCII.

THE BATTLE OF KIRKEE—REVOLT OF APA SAHIB—THE BATTLES OF THE SEETABULDEE HILLS AND NAGPORE—COMBAT OF JUBULPORE, ETC.

Mr. Elphinstone was received with all honour in the camp, and the moment he was safely there, it was resolved not to await the arrival of the troops who were coming on from Seroor, but to recross the river, and attack the Mahrattas without delay.

Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel Burr, leaving a

* "Recollections of the Deccan," 1836.

small party in Kirkee, advanced, and formed line, with the Europeans in the centre. The troops of the Peishwa were also formed in line, with the right flank towards Poonah, their left towards a branch of the river, and, as they faced Kirkee, the Bombay road lay along their rear. The *zurree pulkah*, the golden pennon or grand standard of the Mahrattas, which was borne by Mozo Dickshut, was unfurled on this occasion. Dickshut was a chief of tried valour, who fell in defence of it; and this circumstance being deemed ominous by the soldiers, they were thus deprived of confidence ere the battle was well begun.

Major Forde, who, with two battalions of the Poonah Contingent, was cantoned at Dhapoora, far on the British right, marched fast to take his share in the glory of the day, but was so much impeded by a body of horse sent to intercept him, that he was obliged to fight every foot of the way, and did not reach the field before the action had commenced with vigour.

Colonel Burr's brigade mustered only 2,800 bayonets, including the Bombay European Regiment. The Mahrattas were 25,000 men, with many guns; but the Peishwa was a noted coward, and the mass of his troops were an undisciplined rabble. They began the battle, or combat rather, in the afternoon by a distant but heavy cannonade in front, while attempting to push bodies of horse round the British flanks. In this they partly succeeded; but on being repulsed, with loss, did not again attempt to come to close quarters.

Before nightfall it was ended by the flight of the Mahrattas, who either threw themselves into Poonah, or a fortified camp near the city. They left 500 killed on the field, while our total loss was only eighteen killed and fifty-seven wounded. During the conflict, Mr. Elphinstone—as "generally the civil servants of the Company were ambidextrous, or capable of wielding with the same hand as well the sword as the pen"—remained on the field in order to give Colonel Burr the advantage of his very great local knowledge.*

On the following morning, the 6th of November, the light battalion and the irregular horse from Sirmoor joined Colonel Burr; the Mahrattas hastened to draw up in order of battle: but they did nothing save mutilate, in a ferocious and abominable manner, some poor women and dependents of the Company's Brigade, whom they had found in the cantonment; these unfortunate creatures were then turned loose to find their way to the new camp. In other instances, between the 5th and 6th of November, as if to make reconciliation impossible, and impart a savage character to the war, they committed other outrages. Two of our officers, Captain Vaughan and his brother, when travelling with a small escort, were surrounded, and induced to surrender on a promise of quarter, but were both hanged. Ensign Ennis, of the Bombay Engineers, who was found surveying some miles from Poonah, was shot; and Lieutenants Morison and Hunter, of the Madras Cavalry, were attacked when marching towards the city, all unconscious of the sudden rupture.

As the numbers of the enemy seemed to increase, and as the city, with the old cantonments facing the river, when occupied, presented a formidable line for defence, Mr. Elphinstone and Colonel Burr resolved to await the arrival of Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, of H.M. 65th Regiment, who, suspecting the state of affairs at Poonah, from the interruption of his communications, was hastening on from the Godavery. That officer, who had very few horse (and no regular cavalry) with him, was molested during every mile of his march by hordes of wild Mahrattas, all well mounted, who succeeded in cutting off much of his baggage.

On the 8th of November he was at Ahmednuggur, and after he passed Seroor, the enemy appeared in such numbers that he was surrounded on every side; but forcing his way on, he reached Poonah on the 13th, and then the time for retribution seemed to have come. In consequence of some unexpected difficulties, however, the British did not advance against the city till the 16th. A large Mahratta force, which endeavoured to dispute the attack, was routed; in this we lost one officer and sixty soldiers. In the course of the ensuing night the Peishwa fled; and when our troops marched up to his advanced camp at daylight on the 17th, it was found with all the tents standing, but deserted by the enemy. Smith now got his guns into position, and threatened to bombard Poonah; but the only troops in it now were a few Arabs, whom the people compelled to give way. The gates were flung open; our troops quietly took possession, and the standard of Britain was unfurled on the capital of the Mahrattas. In these changes the people of Poonah saw only the direct vengeance of heaven for the horrid and sacrilegious crime committed in the murder of Gungadhur Shastree within the precincts of one of their most holy temples; and

* When the Prince of Wales was at Poonah, in November, 1875, he ascended the steep hill of Parbutee (or Parivati), on the summit of which stands a famous temple; and he contemplated the view from the same window from which the cowardly Bajee Rao, the last Peishwa of the Mahrattas, overlooked the—to him—fatal conflict of Kirkee. A rough staircase leads to the temple, in which is a sacred shrine, attended still by priests.

on the 19th, Brigadier Smith, on being joined by the Madras Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, started in pursuit of the Peishwa; and in the course of the day, Captain Turner, of the light troops, succeeded in capturing eighteen guns, with their limbers and ammunition. But the fugitive Peishwa and his flying forces moved too rapidly to be overtaken.

He reached the wild and elevated district of the Western Ghauts, where the Krishna (or Kistnah) takes its rise, and he led a lurking and a wandering life, eluding all pursuit till the following year.

During our discussions and subsequent dissensions with the Peishwa, a great change had come over Apa Sahib, the Regent of Nagpore. He had become so conscious of his dependence upon us, as to leave his capital and take up his residence in the cantonments of the subsidiary force; but his naturally restless disposition did not permit him to remain quiet there long, and he soon began to intrigue with the very party which had most strenuously opposed his appointment to power.

The post of regent failed to satisfy his ambition: he was anxious not only to wield the power, but to bear the title of rajah; and, as there was no obstacle between him and the throne, save the half-imbecile Pursajee, the usual Indian means were taken to remove it: and on the 1st of February, 1817, Pursajee was found dead in his bed. Thus Apa Sahib was proclaimed Rajah of Nagpore; and when it was afterwards distinctly ascertained that his predecessor had been assassinated, the vague rumours of the fact passed unheeded at the time; and no sooner was he, as he thought, firmly seated on the musnud, than he lost no time in effecting the changes that were nearest his heart.

Nerayun Punt, who had been the chief channel of communication with the British Government, and by whose advice the subsidiary alliance was supposed to be effected, was dismissed from office, and Purseram Rao, a notorious enemy of Britain, was appointed in his place. On the remonstrance of Mr. Jenkins, our Resident (afterwards M.P. and a Director of the Company), he revoked this change, but gave the command of his private or Raj troops to Ramchunder Waugh, a personage more objectionable still, and all his official appointments in the state were made in the same spirit.

Matters at Nagpore remained very doubtful for some time; but no sooner was it known that the Peishwa had unfurled his standard, than Apa Sahib determined to cast in his lot with him. He did not, however, immediately declare himself, but his designs were only too apparent by the extent and activity of his warlike preparations; thus, by the middle of November, appearances became so menacing that, by request of the Resident, a brigade of the division of Colonel (afterwards General Sir John Whittington) Adams halted south of the Nerbudda, and he was ready to detach one battalion, with three troops of cavalry, to reinforce the Nagpore Brigade, the ranks of which were thinned by sickness. Burr's victory at Kirkee, the capture of Poonah, and flight of the Peishwa, certainly did disconcert Apa Sahib, but seemed to make no change in his purpose, as the levying of troops went on more briskly than ever.

On the night of the 24th November he made his first open declaration of defiance, when Ramchunder Waugh wrote to Mr. Jenkins, intimating that the rajah had received a *kelat*, or dress of honour, from Poonah, and intended next day to visit his camp in state, that he might be invested with it when formally assuming the post of *senaputee*, or commander-in-chief, and Mr. Jenkins was invited to assist at this ceremony.

The latter pointed out the absurdity of all this, as the Peishwa was our avowed enemy, while the rajah was our professed friend, and was yet about to declare allegiance to him. Apa Sahib was resolved on hostilities, and at once proceeded to extremes by planting his troops in menacing positions; and the force to oppose was small, consisting of only two battalions of native infantry, three troops of native cavalry, two companies forming the Resident's personal escort, and a detachment of artillery, with four six-pounders. Colonel Scott commanded the whole, and the chief point to defend was the residency, a large flat-roofed house, together with the bungalows of the officers attached to the suite and escort, which were situated within an oblong square compound, 600 yards in length by 300 yards in breadth.

Immediately in front of this compound, and contiguous to its eastern face, are the Seetabuldee heights, consisting of two distinct hills, 300 feet in height, connected by a low rocky ridge, 300 yards in length. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 25th November, Colonel Scott found it necessary to get his troops into position, the enemy being in motion in many directions. On the northern hill, which is conical in form, he posted 300 men, with two six-pounders, under Captain Sadleir. The remainder of this battalion and the whole of the other, with part of the escort and artillery, he posted on the southern hill, which formed his right, and was crowned by a Mohammedan burial-place, full of stone tombs. The residency, hastily fitted up for defence, was occupied by the rest of the

escort, while the three troops of cavalry and a few sharpshooters kept the ground in front of it.

The Mahratta army lay to the eastward of the city, stretching round from east to south, three miles distant from the Seetabuldee Hills. It was estimated at 12,000 horse and 8,000 foot, 3,000 of whom were Arabs. On the 26th of November, though the rajah's cavalry, under Gunpunt Rao, were seen moving in heavy squadrons towards the western plain before the residency, and his infantry and guns were taking up positions that menaced the Seetabuldee Hills, he kept artfully sending pacific messages to Mr. Jenkins, who knew their full value.

He got his guns advanced to enfilade the British position, masked behind the mud walls of the village of Seetabuldee, and numerous bodies of his matchlock men were seen crowding into the Huna Baie bazaar and contiguous huts; and these hostile indications continued for the whole day, almost within pistol-shot; so close, indeed, that when Colonel Scott, about sunset, was personally posting his line of advanced sentinels at the base of the position, the Mahrattas peremptorily ordered him to retire and withdraw them, and his natural refusal soon brought matters to an issue, for the enemy at once opened with cannon and musketry, and to these, the British—fighting for their lives against such vast odds—were not slow in responding, while the Bengal Cavalry, who could take no part in the strife, could only sit impatiently in their saddles, "distinctly hearing the noisy din of the battle; and, as the shades of night darkened, the flash of the guns and of the fusillade became more apparent, while the heavy fall of an occasional twelve-pound spent shot amongst the troopers—although sometimes fatal to a man or horse—tended, when innocuous, to create a laugh of derision among old soldiers."

The fighting on both sides continued with great spirit. Just as the moon rose at ten o'clock, according to the account of an officer,* an explosion took place on the larger hill. A tumbril of one of our guns had exploded, and set fire to a Fakir's hut. At that moment, a confused mass of Mahrattas and Arabs, thinking to profit by the confusion, rushed from the huts in front, and charged up-hill in a tumultuous manner, with loud cries. The British fire seemed then to become one continuous roll, garlanding the heights with fire; and the enemy were seen flying back to their defences, while the shouts of the sepoys announced that they were completely baffled.

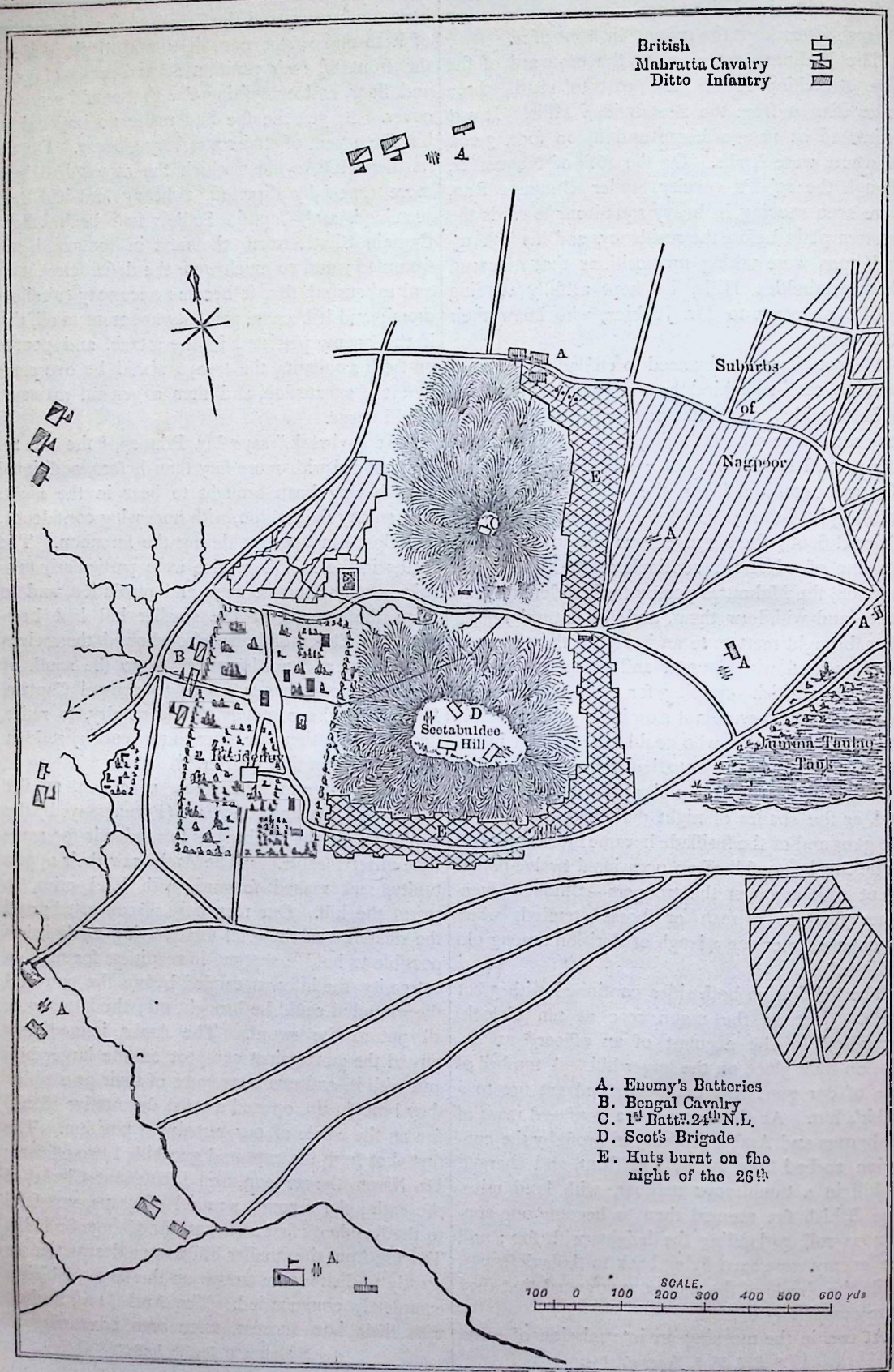
At two in the morning an intermission of some hours took place, and the British availed themselves of it to make fresh cartridges, and to place along the front of their position several sacks of grain and flour, and everything else that would serve for cover. As yet, the foe had made no impression; but the aspect of affairs was very gloomy. On the northern hill, against which the attack had been more especially directed, a heavy loss had been sustained, and Captain Sadleir had been killed; Captain Charlesworth, the next in command, was wounded; and so much were the defenders cut up and exhausted, that it became necessary to relieve them; and it became painfully apparent to all, that if the enemy persisted in the attack, and poured on fresh assailants, the troops would be overcome by mere exhaustion, and then a general massacre would ensue.

"At daybreak," says Mr. Princep, "the fire recommenced with more fury than before, additional guns having been brought to bear in the night. The enemy fought, too, with unceasing confidence, and closed in upon us during the forenoon. The Arabs in the rajah's service were particularly conspicuous for their courage and resolution, and to them the assault of the smaller hill had been allotted. Goles of horse also showed themselves to the west and north, as well as to the south of the residency grounds, so as to compel Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the cavalry, to retire further within them, in order to prevent any sudden *coup de main* in that quarter." †

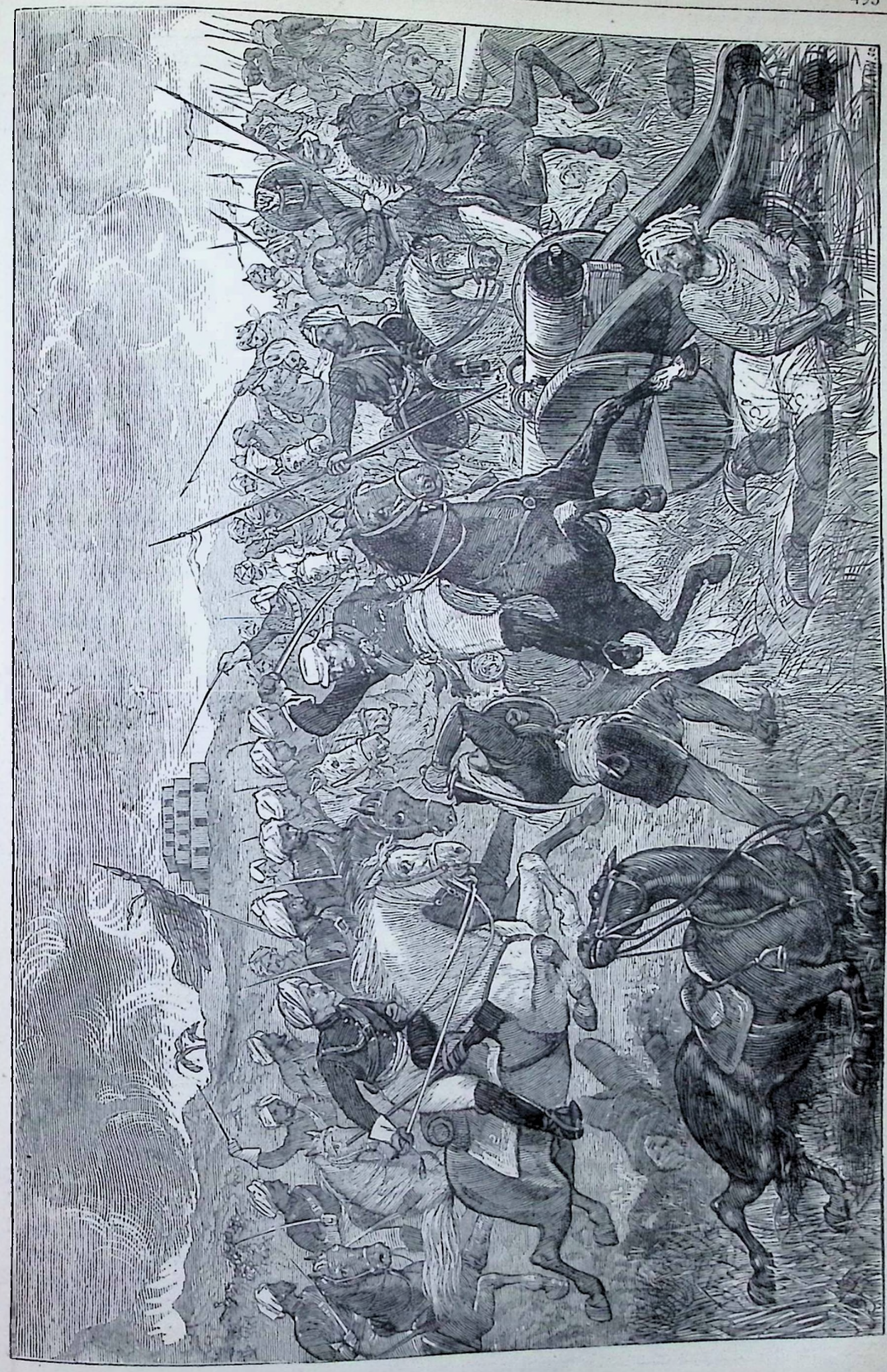
About ten a.m., the screw of a gun, on the smaller hill, became so injured (Princep says by the explosion of the tumbril) as to render it for some time unserviceable. "The Arabs saw their opportunity, and rushed forward, with loud cries, to storm the hill. Our men were disconcerted; and the smallness of the total force having made it impossible to hold a support in readiness for such an extremity, the hill was carried before the gun and the wounded could be brought off; the latter were all put to the sword. The Arabs immediately turned the gun against our post on the larger hill, and with it, and two more guns of their own which they brought up, opened a most destructive (flank) fire on the whole of our remaining position. The first shot from the captured gun killed two officers; Dr. Niven, the surgeon, and Lieutenant Clarke, of the 20th; the second, a round of grape, was fatal to the Resident's first assistant, Mr. George Sotheby. The fire from the smaller hill was so destructive as greatly to distress the troops on the larger, which it completely commanded. The Arabs, too, flushed with their late success, were seen advancing in

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1834.

† "Narrative of British India."



PLAN OF THE DEFENCE OF SEETABULDEE HILL.



FITZGERALD'S CHARGE.

great numbers along the ridge, as if with the design of attacking that remaining point, while the attention of our small party was divided between them on one side, and the main body of the enemy in the plain to the south, who were also closing in fast. The prospect was most discouraging; and, to add to the difficulty of the crisis, an alarm had been spread among the followers and families of the sepoys, whose lines were to the west of the smaller hill, now occupied by the Arabs; and the shrieks of the women and children contributed not a little to damp the courage of the native troops. They would scarcely have sustained a general assault, which the enemy seemed to meditate."

But now a gallant exploit saved the position. Captain Fitzgerald, with his three troops of Bengal Cavalry, had orders to keep off the enemy's horse, but not to advance into the plain against them. Thus he had remained at his post by the residency until they hemmed him in on every side, and at last brought two guns to bear on him; and he chose rather to forget his orders than submit to the havoc made among his troopers, who were clamouring to be led into the plain, that they might there die, sword in hand.

"We'll charge them, by Heaven!" exclaimed Fitzgerald, to his officers; and then the Hindoos, taking a handful of earth from the Syces, threw it over their heads, while the Mussulmans shouted "Deen! Deen!" thus indicating their intention to conquer or die. As the cavalry fronted to the rear, the word was given, "Threes right!" so that, by counter-marching to the left, the troops would advance right in front. Spurring on at their head, the gallant Irishman drove the masses of the Mahratta horse headlong before him, captured the two guns, and turned them on the enemy, whom he mowed down in heaps, and their leader was pistolled by Lieutenant Hearsey. This unexpected and most successful charge so animated the defenders on the ridge, that they attacked the Arabs, who had already planted their standards on it, and forced them to give way.

At this moment another tumbril blew up on the northern hill, and the sepoys rushing on, re-took the latter at the point of the bayonet, which the Arabs could not withstand. The guns they had brought up were all taken. In this charge, a desperate one, Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Grant greatly distinguished themselves. Grant was thrice wounded, and the third wound proved mortal. Around the guns the Arabs lay thick among the gashed and gory British and sepoys they had butchered.

The tide of battle was completely turned now, and on every hand the Mahrattas gave way. The Arabs, who still showed in some force, having been dispersed by another onslaught from Fitzgerald, the infantry moved down and cleared the houses and huts of the enemy, capturing all the guns not previously carried off. Apa Sahib, though well aware that the British troops were worn out, that themselves and their ammunition were exhausted, was too much intimidated to tempt the issue of another conflict; and Colonel Scott had good reason to congratulate himself on this cowardly conduct, as he had lost, in killed and wounded, nearly the fourth of his whole force.

As soon as the battle was decided, Apa Sahib, as if to play even unto the end his strange double game, sent vakeels to Mr. Jenkins, to express his grief for "the untoward event," and asserted that his troops acted without his sanction or knowledge, and that he was anxious to renew the former friendship. He also employed the women of his family as intercessors for pardon. Mr. Jenkins replied that the ultimatum lay with the Governor-General; but consented to a suspension of hostilities, on the withdrawal of the rajah's army to the eastern portion of Nagpore. To this temporary arrangement the Resident consented, all the more readily that he knew reinforcements would soon come pouring in. Indeed, on the 29th, two days after the conflict, Colonel Gahan arrived, with three additional troops of cavalry and a battalion of sepoys, with two galloper guns; another detachment, under Major Robert Pitman, arrived on the 5th of December; and on the 12th and 13th, Brigadier Doveton encamped at Seetabuldee, with the whole second division of the army of the Deccan.

The following terms were now proposed to the rajah:—"That he should acknowledge having, by his defection, placed his territories at the mercy of the British Government; that he should give up all his artillery; that he should disband the Arabs and other mercenary troops, sending them off in certain specified directions, so as to leave Nagpore and its fort in British occupation; that he himself should come to the British residency, and remain there as a hostage for performance."

He was further informed that, on the acceptance of these terms, the old friendship, if such it could be called, would be restored; but that we should require the cession of as much territory as would meet the expenses of the subsidiary force, and a provision for such a degree of internal control as would prevent any future bloodshed; and he was given till four a.m. next day to declare his acceptance. In the event of refusing, he would be instantly attacked.

He strove hard to obtain a respite, and urged that he was most willing to accept the terms, but could no longer control his troops, who prevented him from coming to the residency; so time passed on till nine in the morning, when Brigadier Doveton began to advance on the city, after putting his troops in the following order:—

Two regiments of native cavalry and six horse artillery guns were on the height; on its left was Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod's brigade, composed of a wing of his own regiment (the 1st Royal Scots), four battalions of native infantry, and the flank companies of another sepoy corps; Lieutenant Colonel Neil McKellar's brigade, consisting of a division of his regiment (1st Royal Scots), a battalion of sepoys, and four horse artillery guns; on its left, Colonel Scott's brigade, another division of the Royal Scots, a battalion of Sepoys, with foot artillery, sappers, miners, and two guns.

In rear of Macleod's brigade was the principal battery of artillery. On the left of the position was an enclosed garden; beyond it was the Nayah Nudder; a small river ran from thence past the enemy's right, and three parallel ravines terminating in the bed of the river crossed the space between the infantry and the enemy, but in front of the cavalry; and on their right the country was open. The enemy's position was masked by irregularities of the ground and clusters of houses and huts, by a thick plantation of trees, with ravines and a large reservoir.

On this ground the rajah had formed an army of 21,000 men, 14,000 of whom were horse, with seventy-five guns. Such was the locality on which the battle of Nagpore was fought. Beyond the river lay the city, from the walls of which the movement of both armies could be perceived.*

Doveton's advance, in the order described, thoroughly intimidated the rajah, who rode with a few attendants to the residency; but the affair was not yet ended, as the guns were yet to be given up. Apa Sahib pleaded for delay; but, as there was every reason to apprehend their clandestine removal in the interval, it was bluntly refused. Ultimately it was arranged that his troops should be withdrawn and their artillery abandoned to us by noon. Ramchunder Waugh, who had come to expedite the affair, reported that all necessary steps had been taken; but Brigadier Doveton, instead of sending in a detachment only to receive over the guns, suspecting some deception, continued to advance steadily with his whole line on the 16th of December.

After taking possession of thirty-six guns in the arsenal south of the city, leaving Scott's brigade to take charge of them, he was advancing south-east towards the Sakoo Duree Gardens, where he knew there were several batteries, when a heavy cannonade and sharp musketry fire was suddenly opened on his front and right flank.

The columns deployed at the double, and the brigades of Macleod and McKellar carried battery after battery with great valour; the supporting troops were routed, the enemy was driven from all his positions, and pursued to a distance of five miles. The camp equipage, with forty elephants and seventy-five guns, was captured, but not until 142 of our men had fallen.

The blame of all this would seem not to have rested with Apa Sahib, but rather with his Arabs, who were determined to make the best terms they could for themselves. Accordingly, uniting with another body of mercenary Hindostanees, to the number of 5,000, they retired into the city and occupied the fortress, within which were the rajah's palace and other strong buildings; and there they resolved to defend themselves to the last. There was no alternative now but a siege, and it was begun immediately.

On the 23rd of December a breach was made at the Jumma Durwazza Gate, and an assault was at once resolved on. One company of the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant Thomas Bell, and five of native infantry and due proportion of sappers and miners, were detailed for this service; and two other companies of the Royal Scots, under Captain Henry C. Cowell, were destined to attack the city at another gate, and the remaining five Scottish companies were kept for the protection of the batteries.

At half-past eight a.m., on the 24th of December, the bugles sounded the "advance," when the stormers, led by Bell, sword in hand, rushed from the trenches and gained the breach, but were instantly assailed by such a heavy matchlock fire from adjacent buildings, that they reeled, for they could neither return it nor come to close quarters. Sheltered closely behind walls, the Arabs, with fatal aim and perfect impunity, marked each his destined victim; and the fire of their heavy matchlocks was destructive at a distance beyond that which European musketry could then reach. Lieutenant Bell, who, though a young officer, was a Peninsula veteran, fell dead in the breach, which was found untenable; so the troops fell back, while the stormers at the other point were also compelled to retire, with a total loss of ninety killed and 179 wounded.

On the following day the stubborn Arabs renewed their offer to surrender, and their terms

* "Records, 1st Royal Scots."

being acceded to, they marched out of the city on New Year's Day, 1818, with permission to go where they pleased except Aseerghur. In the breach of Nagpore, the Royal Scots, who were more immediately under the command of Major Fraser (his seniors having brigades), lost sixty men, including Lieutenant Bell; and to their 2nd battalion was accorded permission to bear the word "Nagpore" on its colours.

Manifestations of hostility in other parts of the State followed the revolt at Nagpore, and these assumed such formidable proportions in the eastern part of the Nerbudda Valley and in the extensive district of Gondwana, the country of the Gonds—mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, but famous for its diamond mines—that several small British detachments deemed it prudent to concentrate at Hoshungabad on the 20th December. At this time, Colonel Hardyman, quartered in Rewa, received orders from the Marquis of Hastings to enter the Nerbudda Valley; and accordingly he marched thither, at the head of a regiment of native cavalry, and another of European infantry, with four guns. On the 19th he halted at Jubbulpore, a fortress in the province of Berar, where he found the Mahratta Governor ready to give him battle, at the head of 3,000 horse and foot.

These had taken post on some strong ground, having a rocky eminence on the right, and Jubbulpore, with a large tank, on the left. Opening the combat by a cannonade, Hardyman led a charge of bayonets, swept away the enemy's left wing, and soon cleared the whole field, inflicting a severe loss on the foe. He now turned his guns on the fort and town, both of which surrendered. He was about to continue his course southward, when a despatch from Mr. Jenkins intimated to him that his services were no longer required in that direction; therefore he established his head-quarters in Jubbulpore.

Throughout the State of Nagpore, hostilities being now ended, all that remained to be done was to settle our future relations with Apa Sahib on some solid basis. The proposals laid before him by Mr. Jenkins, and the faith on which he claimed to have yielded, had already defined them to a certain extent. Though he had permitted the guaranteed time to expire, and a battle to be fought, ere his guns were given up or his troops dispersed, still, as his capitulation had been accepted, and his subsequent conduct had been satisfactory, to have dethroned him would have been, perhaps, a harsh measure.

Mr. Jenkins therefore, on his own responsibility, prepared the draft of a treaty, by which Apa Sahib, while being permitted to retain his royal rank and state, was to cede large territories, and to submit to British control in every department of his administration at home and abroad—in short, to become a tributary vassal. But before this treaty could be definitely arranged, the instructions of the Governor-General, which had been delayed in transmission, arrived, and were found to differ very materially from the views of the Resident. All reconciliation with the rajah was peremptorily forbidden, and his musnud was to be conferred on a grandson of Ragojee Bhonsla, by a daughter. As he was an infant, a regency of British selection was to have the administration of affairs; but feeling sensible that he was committed too far to give effect to instructions so severe, Mr. Jenkins entered into a treaty, the terms of which were to be subject to the approval of the Marquis of Hastings.

By this treaty, Apa Sahib was to retain his throne, but engaged that his native ministry should be solely of British selection; that the introduction of British garrisons into his forts should be discretionary, besides giving up the Seetabuldee Hills, and a portion of the adjacent ground, for the erection of a fortress and bazaar; to pay all arrears of subsidy; to reside in his capital, under our protection; and to cede districts yielding yearly twenty-four lacs of rupees for the subsidiary force; and so ended a treaty that reduced him to a mere puppet. It would, however, appear that the scheme of placing Ragojee Bhonsla's grandson on the throne could not have been carried out, as the child, together with his father Gooja Apa, had, previous to the arrival of Brigadier Doveton, been forcibly dispatched to the strong fort of Chanda in Gondwana.

The new arrangement with Apa Sahib proved to be of brief continuance; but before proceeding to narrate in detail the other events of the Pindaree and Mahratta war in 1818, it may be proper to glance—but briefly—at the important mission which took place in the two preceding years.

Lord Amherst was sent as our ambassador to China; but his embassy was not more successful, in attempting to change the exclusive policy of that strange country for more than 1,000 years, than had been that of Lord Macartney, or the Russian embassy of Count Golowkin.

On the 8th February, 1816, Lord Amherst sailed on board the *Alceste* frigate (Captain Maxwell); and in July the embassy was off the coast of China, and proceeded up the Yellow Sea, having been joined by Sir George Staunton (who had accompanied Lord Macartney to China), a message having arrived to announce that the new embassy would be received

with every attention. On the 9th of August, Lord Amherst disembarked safely in the Gulf of Pe Chili, not far from the capital. During his journey thither every effort was made by the Mandarins to compel him to comply with the Tartar ceremony of *Ka-tow*, which he resisted.

This degrading ceremony of kneeling and "knocking the head" (the literal Chinese expression) nine times against the ground, is not only demanded from the ambassadors of all tributary kings (as all the sovereigns in the world are called), but likewise on receiving any message from the emperor, and on broken victuals being sent to them from his table; and these humiliations were submitted to by the Dutch in 1795. The Chinese were extremely anxious to extort the performance of this absurdity from Lord Amherst, but in vain; hence the embassy, probably, was useless. The emperor, a man of impetuous and capricious disposition, which his intemperate habits materially affected, seemed in his cooler moments to regret the mode in which the embassy was treated, and even to fear the consequences of its abrupt dismissal, as appeared by his sending after it to request some exchange of presents, and expressing himself satisfied with the respectful duty of the King of Britain, who had sent so far to pay him homage, attributing all the errors to the ambassador who refused to "knock-head."

The delivery of the emperor's letter for the Prince Regent into the hands of the ambassador, terminated the official intercourse of the latter with the viceroy at Canton, and with all the other officials of the Chinese Government.†

The *Alceste*, which had brought out the ambassador, was lying at anchor among the Indiamen, to carry him to Britain, and on the 21st of January, 1817, she got under weigh to commence her homeward voyage. As the impertinent opposition, which was made by the Chinese, to the frigate ascending the river, with the gallant manner in which it was punished by Captain (afterwards Sir Murray) Maxwell, forms an interesting feature in the story of this futile embassy, we can scarcely omit a brief reference to the transaction.

The banks of the river on which Canton is situated are high and strongly fortified; more than 800 pieces of cannon were mounted on the different batteries, and when the *Alceste* passed them, they were garrisoned by about 1,200 men. A messenger came from the Mandarins in command, to inform Captain Maxwell that if he attempted to pass their batteries he would be sunk. To this intimation, Captain Maxwell replied calmly, "I shall first pass the batteries, and then hang you at the yard-arm for daring to bring on board a British man-of-war so impudent a message!" The messenger was forthwith made a prisoner, and then the war-junks, with which the *Alceste* was now surrounded, commenced firing; but a single shot, fired by Maxwell's own hand, quickly silenced them, and all continued quiet, while the frigate, from the want of wind, lay at anchor.

But the moment she resumed her upward course, the junks beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up sky-rockets, and in an instant the batteries were completely illuminated, displaying lanterns as large as moderately-sized balloons—the finest of all marks for the guns of the *Alceste*, while those of the enemy opened a hot but ill-directed fire from both sides of the river. Steering a steady course, the ship maintained a slow but regular cannonade; and when she got abreast of the largest battery, she poured in a broadside of thirty-two pounders, and as the crew gave three cheers, they could hear the stones of the works crashing about the terrified Chinese.

After this, all opposition ended; the Mandarins, with their usual dissimulation, announcing that the affair at the river's mouth was only a friendly salute; and thus, on her return downward, the frigate was saluted—but without shot—by all the batteries in succession.†

In the Straits of Gaspar she struck upon a sunken rock, on the 18th February; after which, Lord Amherst and his suite had to proceed in the barge to Batavia, a distance of 200 miles; and in the interval the wreck was attacked and burned to the water's edge by sixty piratical proas. Maxwell, with his crew, kept a fortified hill on the coast, and after many daring and romantic adventures, the whole were rescued by the *Ternate*, Company's cruiser. Captain Maxwell, a native of Leith, died in 1831, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward's Island; and of Lord Amherst we shall have more to record in future chapters.

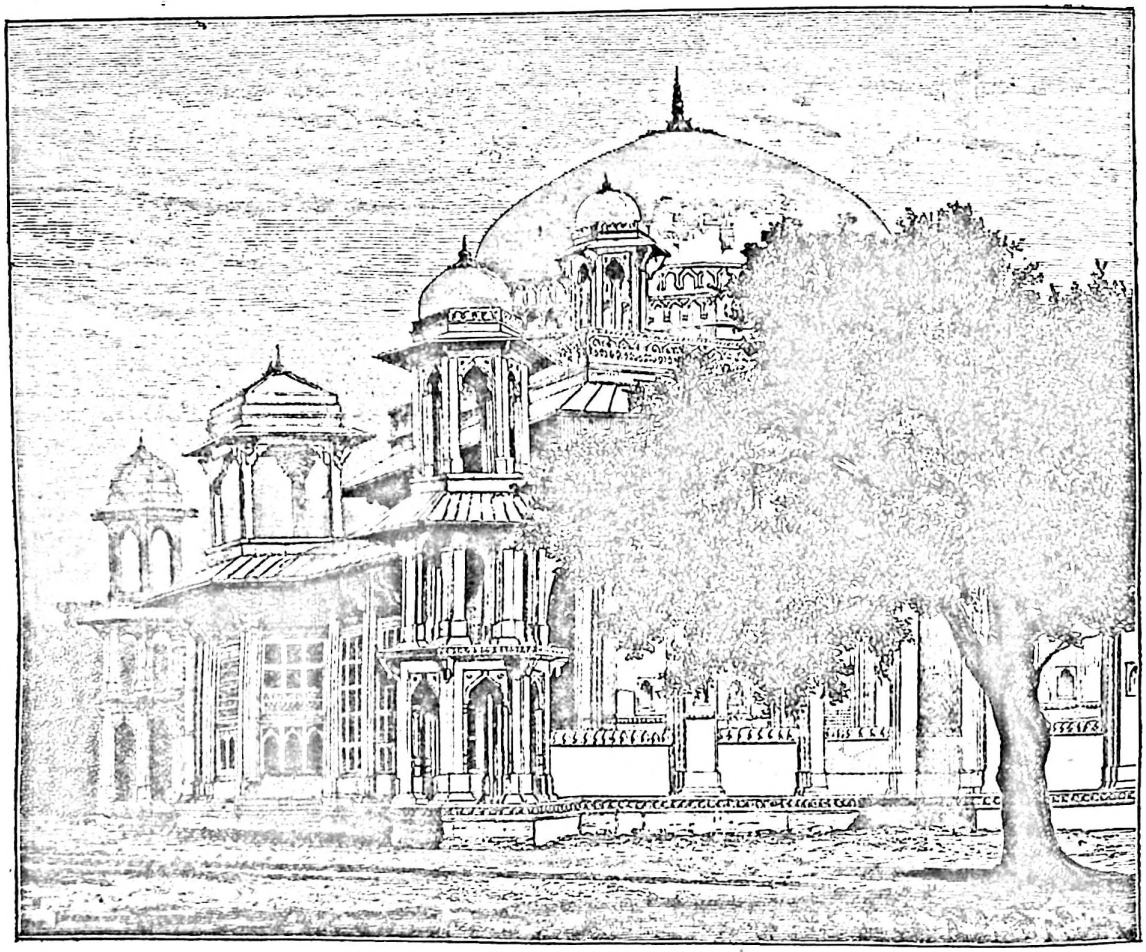
* "Narrative of a Journey to China, 1816-17," by Clarke Abel.

† Macleod's "Narrative of the *Alceste's* Voyage."

CHAPTER XCIII.

BATTLE OF MAHEIDPORE—CHOLERA MORBUS—LEGEND CONCERNING IT—PROGRESS OF THE PINDAREE WAR.

THE Court of Holkar, during the insanity of Jeswunt Rao, and still more after his death, became so distracted by factions that no regular policy could be pursued. His favourite mistress, Toolasi Baee, who had been originally a singing-girl, had attained such an ascendency over him, especially during the time of second infancy that preceded his death, as to secure the succession to a boy named Mulhar Rao. He was a son of Jeswunt, and Toolasi, having no child of her own, had adopted him, and thus contrived to continue in possession of the regency; she was a woman of great personal attractions and winning manners, and with considerable tact and talent, the position might have been secure enough, had not her profligacy excited disgust, and her cruelty hatred. With her minister, Gunpunt Rao, she carried on an intrigue, the immorality of which might have been overlooked, had



VIEW OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF MOHAMMED GHOSE, GWALIOR.

there not been those who wished to make political profit out of it.

One of the first moves in this matter was the suggestion to form a new Mahratta Confederacy, with the usual view of overthrowing the British.

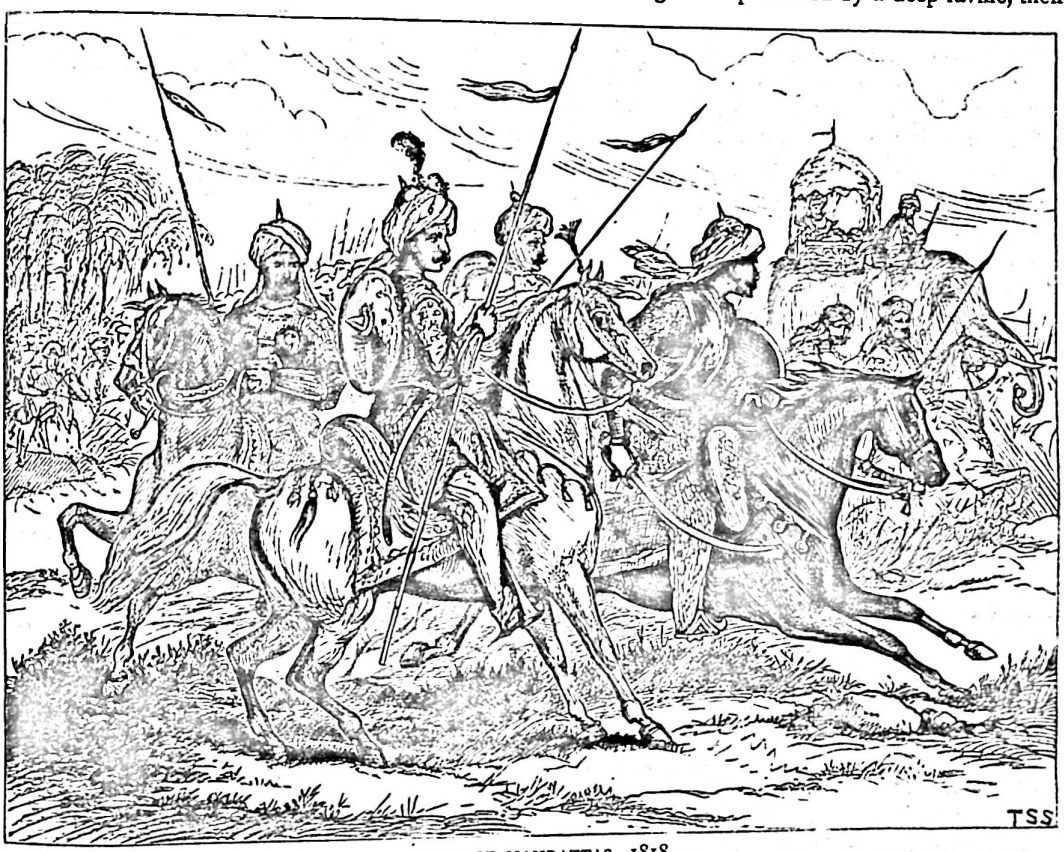
Doubtful, by past experience, of its success, her advisers were careful not to commit themselves too much, and sent a vakeel to Mr. Metcalfe, our Resident at Delhi, to assure him of the friendly disposition of the regent, and a treaty similar to that which had been concluded with Scindia was proposed; for, by this time, Toolasi and her lover had

become convinced that, without British support—much as they hated it—they could not make head long against a mutinous army, led by discontented chiefs.

The latter, who were opposed to her and British intervention, no sooner discovered the unexpected course the negotiation was taking, than they resolved to resort to strong measures; thus, on the morning of the 20th December, 1817, young Mulhar Rao was artfully enticed from a tent in which he was playing, and carried off. At the same time, a guard was placed over Toolasi Baee; and, suspecting that she was to be put to death, she refused all sustenance. This process proved too slow for her enemies, who thrust her into a palanquin, bore her to the bank of the Seepra, cut off her head, and tossed it, with her body, into the river.

The Patan chiefs, and all opposed to British interests, having now the whole power in their hands, clamoured to be led to battle against us, and lost no time in preparing to meet the columns under Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; who, thinking to further and strengthen their negotiations with the regent, Toolasi Baee, after forming a junction, and having a two days' halt at Oojein, had advanced, on the 14th December, towards the Holkar camp. On approaching Maheidpore, on the 21st December, the very day subsequent to the assassination, Hislop's column, when marching along the right bank of the river, where now the headless body of the regent was the sport of the current, saw the enemy drawn up in line, as if about to dispute the passage of the Seepra at the only practicable ford.

Their right was protected by a deep ravine, their left by a bend of the river and an abandoned village. The bed of the Seepra afforded some cover for our troops; and, as their flanks were all but impregnable, it was resolved to attack the enemy generally in front. Sir John Malcolm advanced, with two brigades of infantry, to attack their left, and a ruined village, which was situated on an eminence near their centre. No sooner had these troops crossed the ford and begun to emerge from the cover of the bank beyond and a ravine, than they were received by a dreadful cannonade from two double batteries, armed by seventy pieces of cannon. In the face of these, though men fell, torn to pieces, every



GROUP OF MAHRATTAS, 1818.

moment, our troops advanced, and formed to the front with unflinching steadiness. The Royal Scots led the van of the attack upon the village; but the enemy's left was brought forward in anticipation of the movement, and then the enemy's gunners resorted to grape. Encouraged, however, by the example of Sir John Malcolm and of Colonel McGregor Murray, Deputy Adjutant-General, who joined the flank companies of the Royal Scots, "they rushed forward in the face of this tremendous fire; the enemy's infantry were driven from their position, and the village and batteries carried at the point of the bayonet: the enemy's artillerymen were resolute, and stood their ground until they were bayoneted. While the Royal Scots were victorious at their point of attack, the enemy's right was overpowered; his centre gave way on the appearance of a brigade ascending [from] the river, and his troops, occupying a position where his camp stood, also fled on the advance of a British force to attack them." *

When the Mahrattas began to retire, a charge of cavalry turned their retreat into a total rout. Major (afterwards General Sir James Low) Lushington and Lieutenant-Colonel Russell commanded the two lines of cavalry in the final onslaught and pursuit, which was continued till darkness fell by Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant along both banks of the Seepra, where they gleaned an enormous booty, including many elephants and camels. The British losses were great, amounting to 788. Among these were many of the Royal Scots, who are thus specially referred to in the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief, 23rd December, 1817:—

"The undaunted heroism displayed by the flank companies of the Royal Scots in storming and carrying, at the point of the bayonet, the enemy's guns on the right of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott's Brigade, was worthy of the high name and reputation of that regiment. Lieutenant Donald Macleod fell gloriously in the charge; and the conduct of Captains Hume and McGregor, and of every officer and man belonging to it, entitles them to His Excellency's most favourable report and warmest commendation."

The losses of the enemy were estimated at 3,000.

Seated in a howdah, on an elephant's back, young Holkar was present at the battle of Maheidpore, and is said to have wept on beholding the defeat and flight of his troops. He was conveyed to Allote, and placed under the tutelage of Kesaria Baee, his mother, as regent, who appointed Tantia Jog her minister; but notwithstanding their rout by the waters of the Seepra, so many of Holkar's troops still kept the field, that a column, under Sir John Malcolm, marched to finally disperse them. Meanwhile, the negotiation originally opened up by the unfortunate Toolasi Baee, was resumed to a certain extent, and decided proposals for peace were accelerated by the rapid concentration of the army of the Deccan, and the junction of Sir William K. Grant's corps from Goojerat; hence, on the 6th of January, 1818, a definitive treaty was concluded. "It confirmed Ameer Khan in the territories guaranteed to him by the British; ceded to Zalim Sing Raj, Rajah of Kotah, in property, certain districts held by him from Holkar only on lease; renounced all right to lands north of the Bhoonda Hills; and ceded all claims to territory, or revenue, within and south of the Satpoora range, together with all claims of tribute on the Rajpoot princes. The territories of Holkar were guaranteed in their integrity, as now curtailed, free from all claims of any kind on the part of the Peishwa, and the subsidiary force was to be kept up at the Company's expense; but a contingent, fixed at 3,000 horse, was to be maintained by Holkar in a state of complete efficiency, so as to be ready at all times to co-operate with the British troops."

By this treaty, Holkar, who had contended on equal terms with the British Government for royal supremacy, was reduced, like every other native power with whom they came in contact, to a species of vassal.

The operations of the Grand Army against the predatory Pindarees had been seriously hampered by the insurrections at Poonah, Nagpore, and, latterly, by that conflict which ended on the banks of the Seepra; but now the most formidable enemy we had ever encountered was taking the field against us.

This was the terrible epidemic called the "Cholera Morbus," which, though known in India from time immemorial, having hitherto been confined to particular localities and seasons, had not attracted much attention; thus Princep details all the symptoms of it as if it were something almost novel.† It attacked, with remarkable virulence, that division of the army which was under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings.

The season had been one of scarcity, and, consequently, the grain used by the troops had been collected with difficulty, and was of very inferior quality. That part of Bundelcund in which they were encamped was low, notoriously unhealthy, and indifferently supplied with water. These circumstances, with the usually crowded state of an Indian camp, gave a singular violence to the ravages of

* "War Office Rec., 1st Foot."

† "Narrative of British India."

this scourge, which always attacks the finest and most healthy of the sepoys; and a wild legend is attached by them to the visitation it made to the army of Lord Hastings.

The part of the country where it encamped was formerly under the rûle of a noted chief, named Lalla Hurdee, who was poisoned under extraordinary circumstances; and every year his spirit visits his former residence with an army of unearthly beings. Our troops crossed their path, and, by the sepoys it was said, the disease was produced by their influence. Since that period, Lalla Hurdee is applied to and his wrath deprecated in times of cholera. His worshippers make small clay figures of horses, and offer them at his shrine. Heaps of these are often to be seen lying round some temporary altar on the outskirts of the villages in Hindostan.*

For ten days the fatal scourge reigned with mortal violence in the camp of Lord Hastings, and in that time 764 fighting men and 8,000 camp followers perished. These losses, together with the desertions produced by fear, were thinning fast the ranks, so a change of locality was resolved on. The Marquis of Hastings accordingly struck his tents, and marched south-east from the Sindh towards the Betwah, and crossing that river, encamped at Erich, an ancient town on the right bank, and situated on dry and lofty ground. There the disease disappeared, and the central division prepared to take the field against the Pindarees.

These freebooters had been perfectly well aware of the extensive operations schemed out by the Marquis of Hastings for their complete suppression, if possible, and during the rainy season of 1817 they had been preparing for the worst, while encamped in three *durras*. Under Cheetoo, the first of these was situated at Ashta, on the Parbuttee, some forty miles distant from Bhopal; under Kureem Khan, a second was formed north of that town, near Bairsa; and a third, under Wasil Mohammed (who, by the death of his brother, the Dost Mohammed, had succeeded to the entire command), was near Garspoor, thirty-five miles westward of Saugor. Between Cheetoo and Kureem there existed a feud so rancorous as to preclude them from concerting any common course of action, even for their own general good; and the native princes who were disposed to favour them, feared our power so much, that they dared do no more than indulge in expressions of good-will; and thus the fore-doomed Pindarees had been thrown entirely on their own resources when the monsoon ended.

* "Hist. Rec. 50th Nat. Inf.," foot-note, 1836.

Sir Dyson Marshall, commanding the left column of the main army, had advanced from the south-west to Huttah, on the Sonar, where he halted on the 28th of October. While this movement was being made, Wasil Mohammed abruptly left Garspoor, and by means of a secluded pass, westward of Marshall's route, burst into Bundelcund, part of which he succeeded in ravaging before the troops came up in sufficient strength to drive him back. Continuing his march, General Marshall reached Rylee on the Saugor, by the 8th of November, and opened a communication with Colonel J. Whittington Adams at Hoshungabad.

The effect of this course was to compel Wasil Mohammed to strike his tents at Garspoor, and retreat westward; but as Sir John Malcolm had already reached the Vale of the Nerbudda, and as General Donkin was marching with the right column of the main army in a south-westerly direction, to keep the left bank of the Chumbul, and the Marquis of Hastings, with the centre column, had taken up a position barring all escape to the north and east, it seemed an inevitable result that the great army of freebooters would be destroyed. But this was delayed, in consequence of Sir Thomas Hislop having fallen back towards Poonah, on hearing of those hostilities there, which we have related in their place, leaving only Malcolm and Adams, with the third and fifth divisions of the Army of the Deccan, to press on the Pindaree war.

En route towards Poonah, his march was arrested by a despatch from the Marquis, stating the insurrection there had been sufficiently provided for, and that the original plan of the campaign must be carried out. Foolishly for themselves, the Pindarees had omitted to take the least advantage of his temporary absence; and by the combined operations of Sir Dyson Marshall, Sir John Malcolm, and Colonel Adams, they were driven out of their usual retreats, and Wasil Mohammed, after uniting with Kureem Khan, fell back in a northerly direction towards Gwalior, while Cheetoo's horde moved west towards Holkar's army, which had taken the field for that campaign which ended so rapidly at Maheidpore.

The Governor-General was at Erich, to which the cholera had driven him, when he heard of the Pindaree approach to Gwalior: thus he was compelled to make a counter-march to the Sindh. On reaching the Sonaree ford, twenty-eight miles from the town, he threw his advanced guard across the river, under Colonel Philpot, thus cutting off the communication between the Pindarees and Gwalior, compelling them to seek a passage in another direction.

For some time they halted, in a state of bewilderment and consternation, at some distance to the south-west, among the jungles and thickets, near the town of Shahabad, and in utter perplexity what to do. To advance on Gwalior was impossible while Philpot's guns and bayonets barred the way; to move southward was equally so, for Marshall and Adams held those points from whence interception was easy; and the only passages open were, one by the line of the Chumbul into Jeypore, and another by Hurastee into the Rajahship of Kotah: and they selected the latter, because Zalim Sing, its ruler, had been long one of their warmest friends.

But the number of British troops marching in all directions had influenced his views so much, that he deemed it necessary to occupy all the passes through which his plundering friends might hope to force a way. Stern necessity and despair endued the Pindarees with more than usual courage, and in spite of all the opposition offered by Zalim Sing, they hewed out a passage for themselves, but obtained only a short respite, as Sir Dyson Marshall, on the 14th December, 1817, attempted to take them by surprise. In this he failed; Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed, with all their followers, effected an escape, but in doing so were compelled to abandon many loads of grain and much baggage, including the pillage of several months.

A worse surprise was now awaiting them, for General Donkin was advancing from the west, so secretly and swiftly that they were unaware of his approach till, sword in hand, he fell suddenly upon their advanced guard in the night, at a place some thirty miles north-east of Kotah, when the favourite wife of Kureem Khan was captured, with all his state elephants, his standards, and other trophies. Kureem, with the main body, was six miles distant; but had only time, after hearing what had happened, to commit his tents and baggage to the flames, and desire his followers to disperse in all directions. These fugitives were nearly all destroyed at different times, by various parties of cavalry and infantry, or were murdered by villagers in revenge for all they had suffered at their merciless hands; but the two chiefs, at the head of 4,000 of their best-mounted men, took a swift circuit to the south, and passed unseen the left flank of Adams, while he was on the right bank of the Parbuttee river.

The band led by Cheetoo was now the only formidable one of Pindarees existing. He had retired into Mewar, a mountainous and Rajpoot principality, or Oodeypore, the capital of it, which is surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills, and can be approached only by three defiles, so narrow that each would barely admit a carriage; but Sir John Malcolm, himself a mountaineer, determined to lose no time in tracking him to his stronghold.

With this intention, he marched by Sarangpore, in Malwa, near the right bank of the Kalee Sindh, to Agur, from whence, in consequence of warlike manifestations made in the camp of Holkar, he was induced to fall back to reinforce Sir Thomas Hislop; and as the Pindarees had encamped close to the Mahrattas, many of Cheetoo's horde, as well as those of the two other leaders, had a share in the battle of Maheidpore, after which Cheetoo betook himself to the western bank of the Seepra, and ascended to the sources of the Chumbul.

From thence, with Kureem Khan, Wasil Mohammed, and the remnants of their three *durras*, he moved north to Jawud, in the province of Ajmere, a town consisting of about 500 houses, surrounded by a stone rampart. There dwelt a chief named Jeswunt Rao Bhao, who, though he held under Scindia, offered them a refuge; but the advance of our troops in that direction overawed him, and he compelled the now luckless Pindarees to depart from his little capital.

In desperation, and knowing not whither to turn, they rode northwards to Chittore, and then separated, each to seek fortune or vengeance, as the chance might be. Wasil Mohammed led his *durra* towards Malwa, with that of Kureem Khan, while Cheetoo sought the frontier of Goojerat.

After many wanderings and doublings, enduring the while incredible hardships from the barren and savage nature of the locality, and the still more savage, but natural, hostility of the Bheels and other wild mountaineers, the Pindarees of Cheetoo, on finding the passes of Goojerat so strongly guarded that to attempt to penetrate them was hopeless, fell back, and, as a last resource, strove to regain their old abode in the upper valley of the Nerbudda, which has its source in the side of a great mountain in Gondwana. To avoid the various posts occupied by our troops, Cheetoo took a most laborious and circuitous route; and, on the 24th of January, 1818, his toilworn horsemen, with their long bamboo spears, were seen ascending the Pass of Kanode.

Within twenty-five miles of that place a detachment of our troops was in Hindia, a populous town with a fort in Candeish. Major Heath, who was in command, at once issued forth in pursuit, and attacking Cheetoo just as night was darkening the mountains, completely dispersed his band, after shooting and bayoneting many. Irrepressible,

however, Cheetoo succeeded in assembling some of his dispersed followers, who, feeding themselves with their swords, continued to infest Malwa, till at last he conceived the idea of making peace with those he hated most on earth—the British; and with this intention sought the intercession of the Rajah of Bhopal, through whom he actually proposed to enter the service of the East India Company, with a body of followers, provided he received a jaghire for their support.

But the Marquis of Hastings would grant him nothing more than simple pardon for the past, and provision for the future in some remote part of Hindostan. Cheetoo disdained such terms as these, and setting off once more with horse and spear, made his way into Candeish and the Deccan, and shared the desperate fortunes of some disorganised bands that had originally followed the banner of the Peishwa, and ere long we shall hear of him again.

The Pindarees of Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed had penetrated in three great bands into Malwa, the largest of these being under the command of Kureem's nephew, Namdar Khan. The latter with his force, on the 12th of January, 1818, were bivouacking at Kotra, a village on the bank of the Kalee Sindh, and had no idea of immediate danger; but tidings of their whereabouts reached Sir John Whittington Adams, whose division was named "the Pindarees' direst foe."

According to a memoir of him, by Captain McNaghten of the Bengal Army, "they scarcely ever escaped his detachments, and if they did escape from actual contact with us, it was only to be dispersed, harassed, and destroyed by the inhabitants in detail. The exertions of his troops, especially his Light Brigade, composed of the 5th Cavalry and a Light Infantry battalion, were incessant, and in some respects unparalleled. On one occasion, I remember, that division marched nearly sixty miles in about twenty-two hours, without any kind of food for officers, men, or horses, for nearly two whole days; and on another occasion, Colonel Adams himself, with the heavier part of his force, sustained a pursuit of the enemy for several days, at an average rate of from eighteen to twenty miles per diem."

He now detached a body of Light Cavalry, under Major Clarke, against Namdar Khan. Before day broke on the 13th of January, the major found himself close on the bivouac of the Pindarees, who were either unconscious of danger, or so toil-worn as to be heedless of it. All were sunk in sleep, each man beside his horse, with spear or matchlock. Clarke, resolving to make more sure of success when dawn came, divided his force in two—one to make the attack, the other to intercept the fugitives in that direction by which he foresaw they would attempt to escape after the attack began. His plan succeeded; the cavalry burst suddenly among them with sword and pistol. They fought and fled, only to have to halt and fight again; and of the whole *durra*, consisting of 1,500 men, barely a third escaped with life.

The men of Wasil Mohammed were, for nine consecutive days, chased from place to place, till, in starvation and despair, they reached, with numbers sorely thinned, the frontier of Bhopal, when an intimation was made to them, through the nabob or rajah of that place, that if they laid down their arms and cast themselves upon the mercy of the Governor-General, their lives would be spared, and their leaders placed in districts at a distance from their usual haunts. Of this offer Namdar Khan hastened to avail himself, and was permitted to settle in Bhopal, the nabob of which became surety for his peaceful behaviour. Wasil Mohammed fled to Gwalior, where he was concealed and protected for a time by Scindia. "The Resident, on ascertaining the fact, called upon Scindia to apprehend him. He refused, as a point of honour, to do so, and wished the Resident to undertake the ungrateful task, but was ultimately compelled to execute it; the Governor-General insisting not only that he should do it himself, but do it in broad day, in order that all India might see that an enemy of the British Government could nowhere find an asylum."

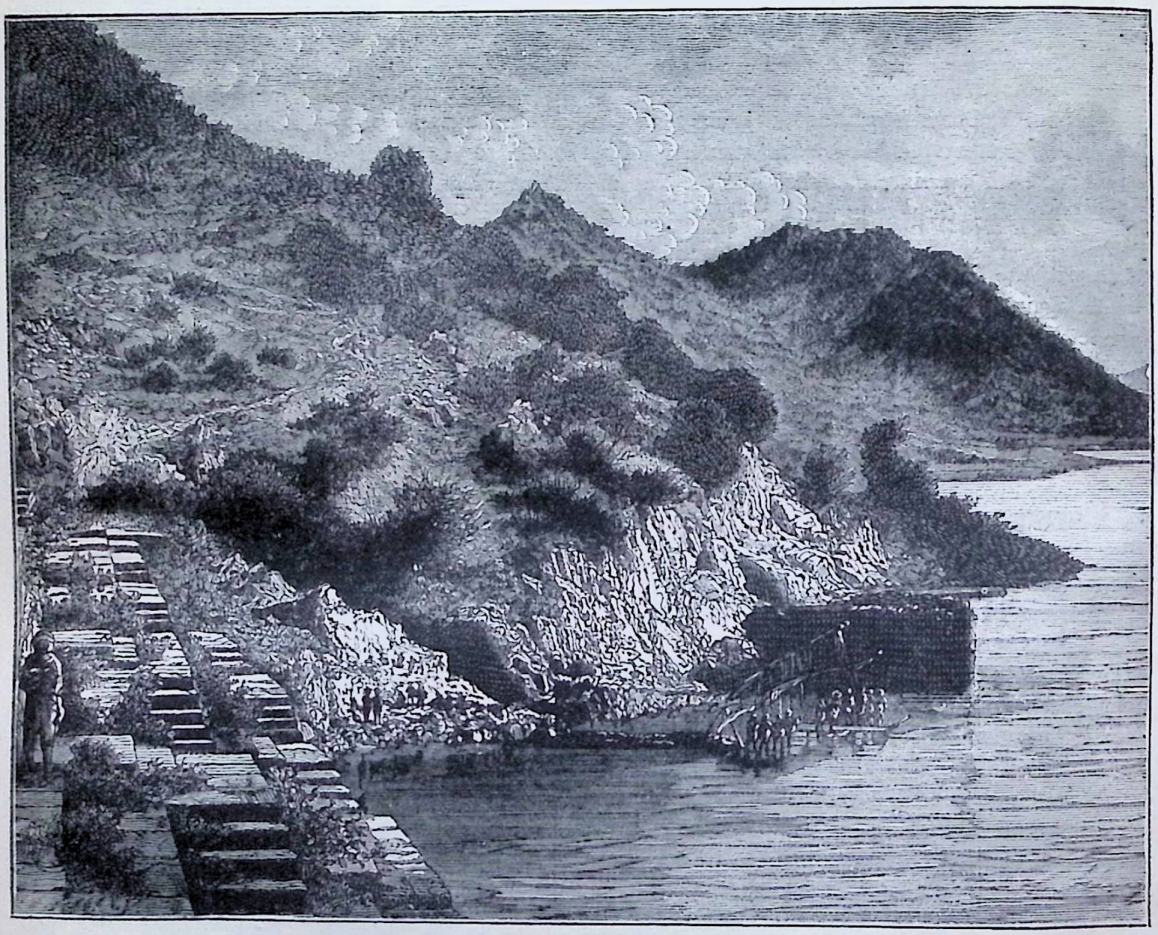
When his *durra* had broken into Malwa, under his nephew Namdar Khan, old Kureem Khan had remained quietly at Jawud, under the protection of Jeswunt Rao Bhao, who was actually in command of a *gole* or division of Scindia's army, which was to co-operate with ours against the Pindarees. Captain Caulfield (afterwards Major-General and C.B.), who had been sent to direct this contingent, was received with the highest honours at Jawud, but soon discovered that its petty rajah was much more disposed to co-operate with the Pindarees than against them. On this being duly reported to the Marquis of Hastings, he ordered him to be proceeded against as an enemy to the State, which was done by a body of troops, under General Brown, before the order reached Jawud.

Captain Caulfield, having in vain demanded the surrender of Kureem Khan and some other Pindaree leaders whom he discovered to be concealed there, repaired at once to the camp of General Brown; and on the 28th of January a squadron of cavalry, which had been sent by that

officer to occupy a pass by which it was suspected that Kureem and others might escape from Jawud, was fired upon from the town wall and the camp of Jeswunt Rao Bhao. This mad act brought matters to a crisis, and Brown ordered his whole line out to attack the enemy's two posts. He blew open the gate of the town by a twelve-pound shot, and then carried it by storm, while Jeswunt Rao Bhao escaped on his fleetest horse; and some places

annum; and we are told that he passed the last years of his stirring life as a peaceful and industrious farmer.

Very different were the fates of Wasil Mohammed and of Cheetoo. The former was placed at Ghazeepore on the Ganges; but, in abhorrence of a life so tame, poisoned himself; and the Pindaree war might be considered now at an end, though Cheetoo was still at large.



VIEW OF THE LAKE OF BURDI TALAO, NEAR OODEYPORE.

which he had taken from Oodeypore were now returned to the rana of that place, who was our friend. Among these was Kumulner, one of the strongest hill forts in India.

Disguised and on foot, the wretched Kureem Khan, who was lurking in Jawud during the hurly-burly of the storm, succeeded in escaping unseen to the jungles, where he lived in continual peril from wild animals, till he yielded to his melancholy fate by giving himself up, in his misery, to Sir John Malcolm. By the Governor-General he was finally settled in Goruckpore, on the Nepaulese frontier, on a jaghire which yielded him about £1,600 per

When flying in hopeless misery before our troops, he was often advised by his followers to capitulate and trust to our mercy; but the free mountain robber was haunted by the obnoxious idea that he would be fettered and transported beyond the seas, and to him this seemed a fate more dreadful than death; and his followers, who in succession abandoned him, when they came in and obtained pardon, were wont to relate that in his brief and snatched hours of sleep Cheetoo used continually to murmur, "Kala-pawnee! Kala-pawnee!" (The Black Sea!)

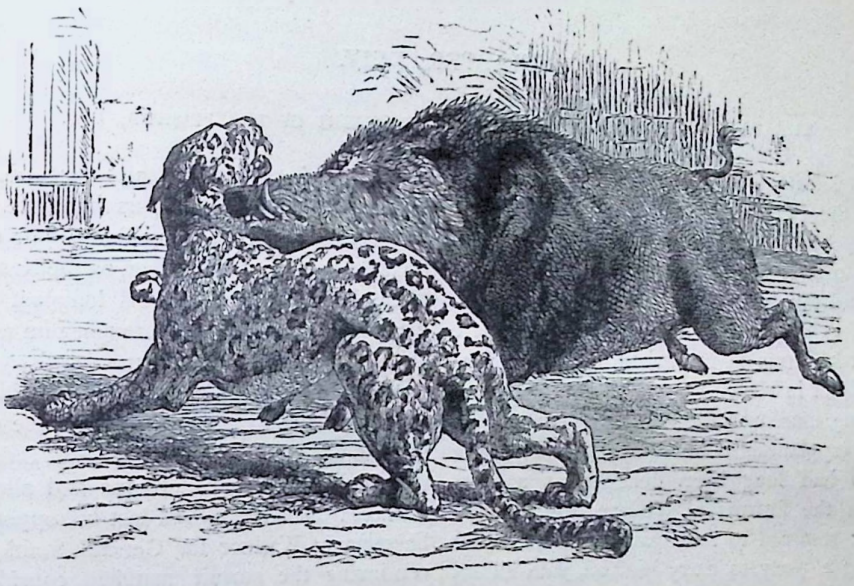
When his offered capitulation through the Nabob of Bhopal failed, there would seem to have been a

plot to seize him in the night; but for this he was too well prepared, and as he had always horses constantly saddled, and men sleeping with the bridles in their hands, he fled on the spur. He was pursued by some of the nabob's people and by some of Sir John Malcolm's parties, till his distress became such that Rajun, one of his most faithful adherents, abandoned him and submitted to the General.

Yet he subsequently found his way into Candeish and the Deccan, and made common cause with the marauding Arabs and others of the Peishwa's routed army, with whom he became assimilated, receiving occasional protection from the Killedar of Aseerghur. His troop was now completely destroyed, yet nothing could crush the spirit of Cheetoo, or induce him to surrender.

But his end, which approached, was a terrible one. Having joined Apa Sahib, he passed the rainy season of 1818 on the high mountains of the Mahadeo range, and on the expulsion of that chief, in the February of the following year, accompanied him to Aseerghur. On being refused admittance there, he took shelter in the adjacent jungle, alone and on horseback. For some days after he was missed, but no one knew what had become of the once-dreaded Pindaree. His horse was at last discovered grazing near the verge of the forest, saddled, bridled, and exactly as it had been when Cheetoo had last ridden it. Upon a search being made, a bag containing 250 rupees was found in the saddle, with some letters of Apa Sahib, which seemed to fix the identity of the horse's late master.

These circumstances, combined with the known resort of ferocious tigers to that jungle, caused a search to be made for the body, when, at no great distance, some clothes clotted with blood, further on some gnawed fragments of bone, and at last the robber's head entire, with the features in a state to be recognised, were discovered in succession. "The chief's mangled remains," says Princep, "were given to his son for interment, and the miserable fate of one who so shortly before had ridden at the head of twenty thousand horse, gave an awful lesson of the uncertainty of fortune, and drew pity even from those who had been the victims of his barbarity when living."*



PANTHER AND WILD BOAR.

Thus did the last of the Pindaree chiefs outlive even the terrible association to which he belonged.

"There now remains not a spot in India that a Pindaree can call his home," wrote Sir John Malcolm, the chief agent in the destruction of these robbers. "They have been hunted like wild beasts; numbers have been killed; all ruined. Those who adopted their cause have fallen. They were, early in the contest, shunned like a contagion; and even the timid villagers, whom they so recently oppressed, were among the foremost to attack them. Their principal leaders have either died, submitted, or been made captives; while their followers, with the exception of a few whom the liberality and consideration of the British Government have aided

* "Narrative of British India."

to become industrious, are lost in that population from whose dross they originally issued. A minute investigation can only discover these once formidable disturbers, concealed as they now are among the lowest classes, where they are making amends for past atrocities by the benefit which is derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation. These freebooters had none of the prejudices of caste, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had either the pride of soldiers, of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those ties which, among many of the communities in India, assume a most indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times; but, as a body, the Pindarees are so effectually destroyed that their name is already almost forgotten, though not five years are passed since it spread terror and dismay over all India."*

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE BATTLE OF KOREIGAUM—CONTINUED FLIGHT OF THE PEISHWA, ETC.

AFTER his defeat at Poonah, on the 16th November, 1817, the Peishwa fled to southern districts, followed up by General Smith, who conceived that he meant to shut himself up in one of his strong hill-forts and then withstand a siege. But, aware that all the petty rajahs of his dominions were ready to take arms in his behalf, he had a very different object in view.

Suspecting, moreover, the Governor-General's intention of supplanting his authority by that of the rajah, who had long been detained as a mere pageant in the fortress of Wusota, not far from Sattara, he resolved to anticipate the attempt, by dispatching a party to carry him off, with all his family; he thus possessed, and had completely in his power, the persons whose legal claim, being better than his own, might have become formidable in the hands of the Marquis of Hastings. Bajee Rao then turned his steps westward to Punderpoor, in the province of Bejapore.

After garrisoning Poonah, under Colonel Burr, General Smith began his pursuit, and on the 29th of November had to force the Salpee Pass, leading to the table-land in which the Kistna has its source. This pass, Gokla, one of the Peishwa's bravest officers but most evil advisers, attempted to defend; but he was beaten, the pass cleared with ease, and the British troops pressed on. No fighting, but rapid and toilsome marches, ensued, the army of the Peishwa flying in a kind of zig-zag route, while he always kept two long marches in advance. With 5,000 of his best horse, Gokla was hovering near Smith's flanks to seize any advantage that might occur.

On the 6th of December, Bajee Rao was forced to quit Punderpoor finally, and succeeded in getting round the flank of the pursuing force. Passing mid-way between Seroor and Poonah, he continued his flight northward to Wattoor, on the Nassick road, where he was joined by his long-lost favourite, Trimbukjee Danglia, who brought him a considerable reinforcement of horse and foot.

Nassick seemed to be the point for which he was making. It is a populous city and the chief seat of Brahminical learning in Western India, having temples that are all picturesque and almost innumerable; but the Peishwa lost his opportunity by lingering at Wattoor for General Smith, who, in continuing the pursuit, marched considerably to the east, and proceeded so far on the 26th of December, that when the Peishwa was still at Wattoor, he was to the north-east of him, and advancing in a line, by which his further progress by the Nassick road would certainly be interrupted.

The Peishwa therefore, after wheeling to the north of Wattoor, returned to it, and on the 28th turned suddenly to the south, and retraced his steps to Poonah. Colonel Burr, who commanded in that city, apprehending an attack, solicited a reinforcement from Seroor. Accordingly, Captain Staunton (afterwards Colonel F. F. Staunton, C.B.), of the Bombay army, was detached at six in the evening of the 31st December, with the 2nd battalion of the 1st Bombay Native Infantry, mustering 600 bayonets, twenty-six artillerymen under Lieutenant Chisholm, of the Madras Artillery, and 300 auxiliary horse, under Lieutenant Swanston.

At ten o'clock in the morning of New Year's Day, 1818, Captain Staunton's force, when

* "Memoirs of Central India."

marching along the heights above Koreigaum village, in Bejapore, seventeen miles north-east of Poonah, and situated on the Beemah river, saw the army of the Peishwa, consisting of 2,000 horse and 8,000 foot, covering the plain below. The latter portion of the force, being mostly Arabs, were therefore greatly superior to the ordinary Indian infantry. Captain Staunton immediately endeavoured to gain possession of the village, the walls around which would render it inaccessible to cavalry, more especially as it was bounded on the south by the bed of the Beemah; and there he hoped to defend himself with his slender force—only 926 men in all—till succour came.

Aware of his intention, the Mahrattas sought to defeat it by pushing forward their infantry. Both parties entered the village about the same time, and a desperate struggle instantly ensued for the possession of it, and this actually continued from noon till sunset. Our troops were the first assailants in their attempts to expel the Arabs, but, failing to achieve this, they were compelled to defend what they had won; while the Arabs kept up a galling matchlock fire from a little fort of which they had possessed themselves, and from the terraced roofs of the houses at the same time, ever and anon rushing on, with the headlong courage of their race, upon the levelled bayonets of the sepoys, and also in the face of showers of grape from two guns, admirably served under Lieutenant Chisholm.

During this most desperate and protracted conflict, our troops, weary with their night march from Seroor, had to encounter, in endless succession, fresh parties of the enemy, whose vast superiority in numbers enabled them to send on large detachments; and, moreover, they had to fight for bare existence the live-long day, without food or water, and ere evening drew nigh their position was perilous in the extreme.

Of their eight officers, Lieutenant Chisholm had fallen; Lieutenants Swanston, Conellan, and Pattinson, with Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, were wounded, so that only Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Innes, and Dr. Wylie remained effective. A great number of the gunners had been killed or wounded, and all who remained untouched were sinking with fatigue. The three last-named officers led more than one desperate charge, and re-captured a gun which the Arabs had taken, and slaughtered them in heaps. Every man fought then with the knowledge that there was nothing left for him to choose except victory or torture and death. Thus the surgeons had to do the duty of combatants.

"The medical officers," said the Division Orders of General Smith, "also led the sepoys to charges with the bayonet, the nature of the contest not admitting of their attending to their professional duties; and, in such a struggle, the presence of a single European was of the utmost consequence, and seemed to inspire the native soldiers with the usual confidence of success."*

When evening came the chance of success seemed remote indeed. The enemy succeeded in capturing a choultry, in which many of the wounded had been deposited, and a horrid butchery of these ensued. Doctor Wingate was literally chopped into fragments, and a similar fate awaited the other wounded officers, when the building was recovered by a sudden onset, and every Arab in it was put to death. The re-capture of the gun is thus related by Duff:—

"Lieutenant Thomas Pattinson, adjutant of the battalion, lying mortally wounded, being shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball through his body completely disabled him. Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the sepoys thus led were irresistible; the gun was re-taken, and the dead Arabs, literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended."†

Near it lay Lieutenant Chisholm, headless; on seeing this, Captain Staunton pointed to the corpse, and told his men that this fate awaited all who fell, dead or alive, into the hands of the enemy; and many who had been talking about surrendering now declared that they would fight to the last. Some water was procured about this time, and most grateful it proved to all, especially to the sepoys, whose lips were baked and dry through biting cartridges the entire day. The enemy now began to relax their efforts, and by nine in the evening had evacuated the village.

Captain Staunton and his brave little band passed the night undisturbed; and when day dawned, the Mahratta army was still in sight, but drawing off towards Poonah. No other attack was made on Koreigaum; for where the gallant, if ferocious, Arabs had failed, it would have been a useless task for the Mahrattas to have made any attempt. They were preparing for a general flight, in consequence of hearing that General Smith was approaching. Unaware of this circumstance, Captain Staunton believed that they were simply taking up a position to intercept his advance on

* *E. I. Military Calendar.*

† "History of the Mahrattas."

Poonah, and therefore he resolved to retrace his steps to Seroor.

In the dark, on the night of the 2nd of January, he sacrificed much of his baggage to provide means for bringing off his wounded, whom he brought away with his guns, and with them reached Seroor by nine a.m. on the morning of the 3rd. Save a little water, the troops had received no food or refreshment since they began their advance on the 31st December. He had lost a third of the battalion and of the artillery in killed and wounded—175 in all; and a third of the auxiliary horse were *hors de combat*, or missing. Among his wounded was the gallant Lieutenant Pattinson, a very powerful man, of six feet seven inches in height, who expired on reaching Seroor; and, during his last moments, was in the deepest distress, from a belief that his favourite regiment had been defeated.*

The Mahratta loss at Koreigaum was above 600 men. Both Gokla and Trimbukjee Danglia were present in directing the attacks; and once the latter fought his way into the heart of the village. While the carnage went on, the cowardly Bajee Rao viewed it safely from a rising ground two miles distant, on the opposite bank of the Beemah. There he frequently taunted his officers by asking them, impatiently, where were now their vaunts of cutting up the British, if they were baffled by one battalion. The Rajah of Sattara, who sat by his side, having put up an *astabgeer* as a shade from the sun, the Peishwa, in great alarm, requested him to put it down, lest the British should send a cannon-ball through it. When the battle was fairly lost, and the advance of Smith became certain, he started off for the south, and never drew bridle till he reached the banks of the Gatpurba river.

The gallant conduct of Captain Staunton and his slender force was much lauded in India and Great Britain. The East India Company voted him a purse of 500 guineas and a splendid sword of honour, with an inscription panegyrising his courage, skill, and devotion to duty; but the rewards bestowed on his brave soldiers bore not the least proportion to their merits.

The place where our slain were buried, near the pretty village of Koreigaum, was long unmarked. The native dead were thrown into an old dry well, and a covering of earth was strewed over them. Chisholm, Wingate, and the Europeans were buried on the bank of the Beemah, near the village; and a handsome pillar of polished granite marks the spot. It is seventy feet in height, and bears, in English, Persian, and Mahratta, the names of the brave fellows who died at Koreigaum on New Year's Day, 1818.

Greatly to the surprise of the fugitive Peishwa, on reaching the Gatpurba, he found the country thereabout, which he believed to be friendly, already in possession of the inevitable British. General Munro (afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, Bart.), who had been sent from Madras to quiet those districts of the Carnatic which had been ceded in 1817 by the treaty of Poonah, had produced this sudden change by mustering a few regulars, in addition to his own escort, and taking advantage of all the population who were disaffected to the sway of the Mahrattas.

Few officers in India at this time won greater reputation than Munro. The son of a Glasgow merchant, who had been ruined by the revolt of the American colonies, he had joined the Madras Infantry in 1779, and through the Mysore and other wars had fought his way up to the highest commands.† Invested by the Marquis of Hastings, at the crisis referred to, with the rank of Brigadier-General, he had reduced all the fortresses and over-run all the districts to which the Peishwa had now fled; and of the services he rendered his country then, we have a *résumé* in the speech of Mr. Canning, when moving, on the 4th March, in the following year, the vote of thanks in the House of Commons:—"To give some notion of the extent of country over which these actions were distributed, the distance between the most northern and most southern of the captured fortresses is not less than 700 miles. At the southern extremity of this long line of operations, and in a part of the campaign carried on in a district far from public gaze, and without opportunities of early and special notice, was employed a man whose name I should have been sorry to have passed over in silence. I allude to Colonel Thomas Munro, a gentleman whose rare qualifications the House of Commons acknowledged when he was examined at their bar on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, and than whom Britain never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, fertile as it is in heroes, a more skilful soldier. This gentleman, whose occupations for some time past have rather been of a civil and administrative than of a military nature, was called, early in the war, to exercise abilities which, though dormant, had not rusted from disuse. He went into the field with not more than from 500 to 600 men, of whom a very small proportion were Europeans, and marched into the Mahratta territories to take possession of the country which had

* Captain Duff—Princep—*East India Calendar*, &c.

† "Scot. Biog. Dict."

been ceded to us by the treaty of Poonah. The population which he subdued by arms he managed with such address, equity, and wisdom, that he established an empire over their hearts and feelings. Nine forts were surrendered to him, or taken by assault on his way; and at the end of a silent and scarcely observed progress, he emerged from a territory heretofore hostile to the British interest, with an accession instead of a diminution of forces, leaving everything secure and tranquil behind him."

So swift and secret had been the operations of Munro, that the bewildered Peishwa, on reaching the Gatpurba, found himself in quiet British territory, with our standard flying on all the forts. Alarmed by the approach of a column, under Brigadier Theophilus Pritzler (of the 22nd Light Dragoons), he now turned about, and fled northward to the vicinity of Muraj; but the brigadier was close upon his trail, and Gokla sustained considerable loss in a close engagement into which he was forced when covering the retreat of the poltroon, his master. Smith, advancing from the north, precluded the progress of the latter in that direction, and on the junction of the two forces, he again fled south.

Our troops were much exhausted by this harassing pursuit, which resembled a species of hunt, without producing the least advantage; thus Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone had the merit of recommending another mode of operating. This was to reduce all the strong places of the country, to garrison them, if necessary, then deprive the Peishwa of all means of subsistence, and to reduce Sattara.

This district forms a part of the table-land of the Deccan, between the parallels of 15° 40′ and 18° 13′, and has a coast-line of twenty miles northward of Goa. Its capital, of the same name, consists of a few houses and huts, grouped together under a range of scarped hills, on the western extremity of which stands its strong fort. It was also a portion of Elphinstone's plan to reinstate Purbah Sing as a protected rajah over Sattara, the nominal capital of the Mahratta empire.

The fortress surrendered to General Smith, when summoned on the 10th of February; and other places were in progress of reduction, when the Peishwa, maddened by the instalment of the Rajah of Sattara as an independent sovereign, and the complete extinction of his own rule by the annexation of his territories to those of the Company, made some rash movements, which enabled General Smith, on the 20th of February, 1818, to fall upon him at Ashta, in the province of Bejapore, at the head of the 2nd and 7th Madras Cavalry and two squadrons of H.M. 22nd Light Dragoons.

The dastardly Bajee Rao leaped from his palanquin the moment he heard the first shot, threw himself into the saddle, and fled; but Gokla, his general—a man of better heart—seeing that he must either fight or lose the baggage, made a bold stand, outflanked Smith's slender force, and at one moment threatened its rear by an entire *gole*, or column, of Mahratta horse; but the two British squadrons went "threes about," and charged through and through, cutting down Gokla in the encounter. He fell from his saddle, dead. From that moment all was wild confusion. Every mass of Mahratta cavalry dispersed, or seemed to melt away, as our cavalry approached them. A sham resistance was offered at the camp, but our troopers went slashing on; the Mahrattas were put to flight and great booty captured, including twelve elephants and fifty-seven camels.

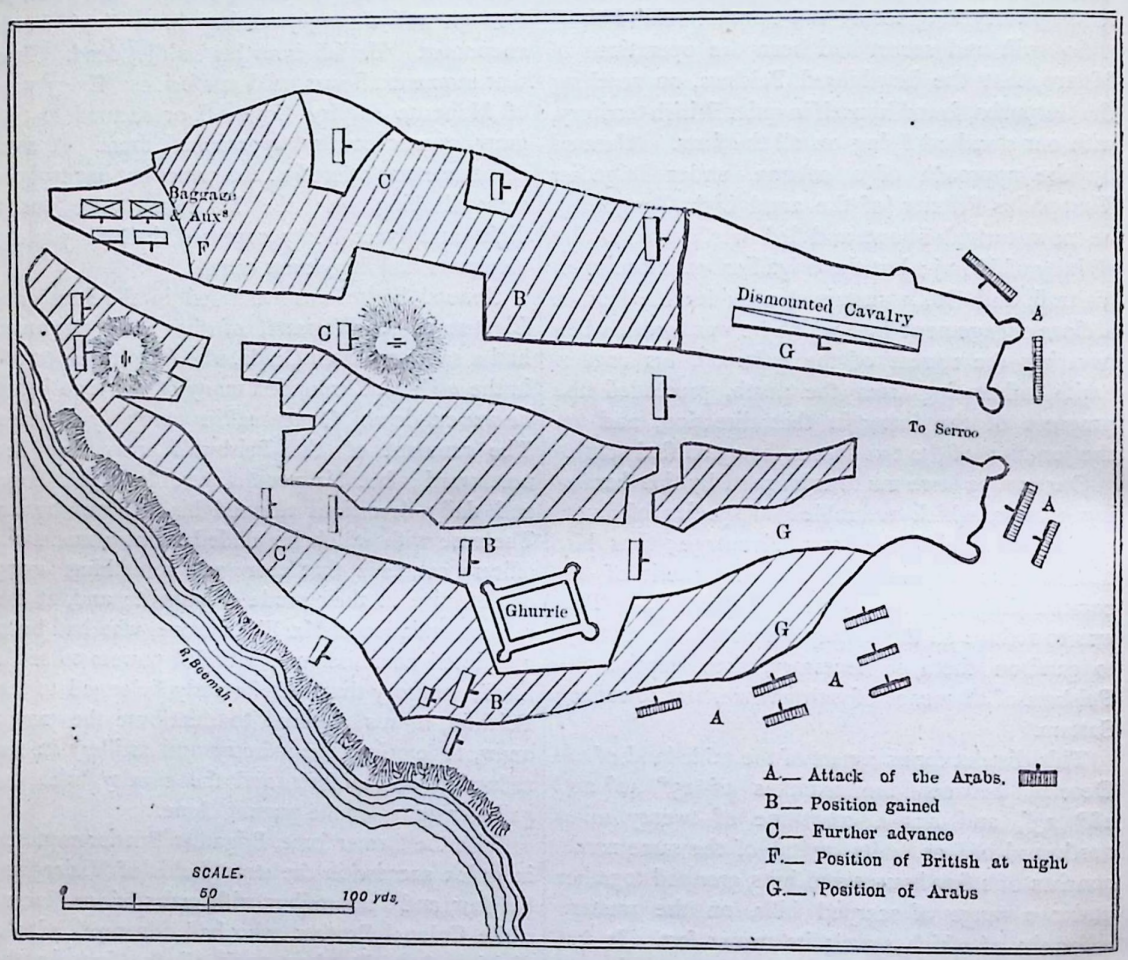
General Smith was wounded in the head, and Lieutenant R. Warrand, of the 22nd Dragoons, had a sabre-cut from Gokla, who fought desperately in the *mêlée*, and wounded many of our men before he was cut down. Our casualties were only eighteen. The remnant of the Peishwa's army now fled northward; but his people were losing all hope, and daily desertions thinned his toil-worn ranks. The ease with which he eluded us now made our officers conceive that there was something wrong or defective in their mode of pursuit; and, at the recommendation of Mr. Elphinstone, who had been appointed commissioner, with full powers to settle all the territory that had formerly belonged to the Peishwa, it was resolved to distribute the troops anew, to employ the infantry and artillery in the reduction of the forts, and the cavalry, with the galloper guns, for the pursuit alone.

With the former force, Brigadier Pritzler captured in quick succession the strongholds of Vizierghur, Singhur, and Poorundhur, with many minor places; while Colonel Prother, who had advanced with a division from Bombay, took all the forts in the Southern Concan, and General Munro, who had already possessed himself of all the country southward from the Malpurba, which rises in the Western Ghauts, and is deemed the southern boundary of the Deccan, captured the forts of Badaumy and of Bhagulkote; and then, in consequence of a succession of conquests so unprecedented, all the chief jaghirdars of the Mahrattas made their submission to Great Britain.

General Smith, after remaining a few days with Mr. Elphinstone for the complete instalment of the rajah at Sattara, now renewed the pursuit of the Peishwa, with his flying column, eastward beyond the Beemah as far as Sholapore. He set out on the

13th of February, and on the 19th he reached Yellapur. There he learned that the Peishwa was turning westward, and might be intercepted somewhere about Punderpoor, in the well-wooded country on the left bank of the Beemah. Accordingly he made a forced night march in that direction, but only to find that the Peishwa had suddenly changed his plans, and had gone twenty miles

Adams had with him only one regiment of native cavalry and some horse artillery, according to one account; "two brigades of horse artillery, six-pounders, two regiments of cavalry, a corps of irregular horse, and a light infantry battalion," according to the memoir of him by Captain McNaghten. The scene of the encounter was hilly, jungly, and stony, and therefore ill-adapted



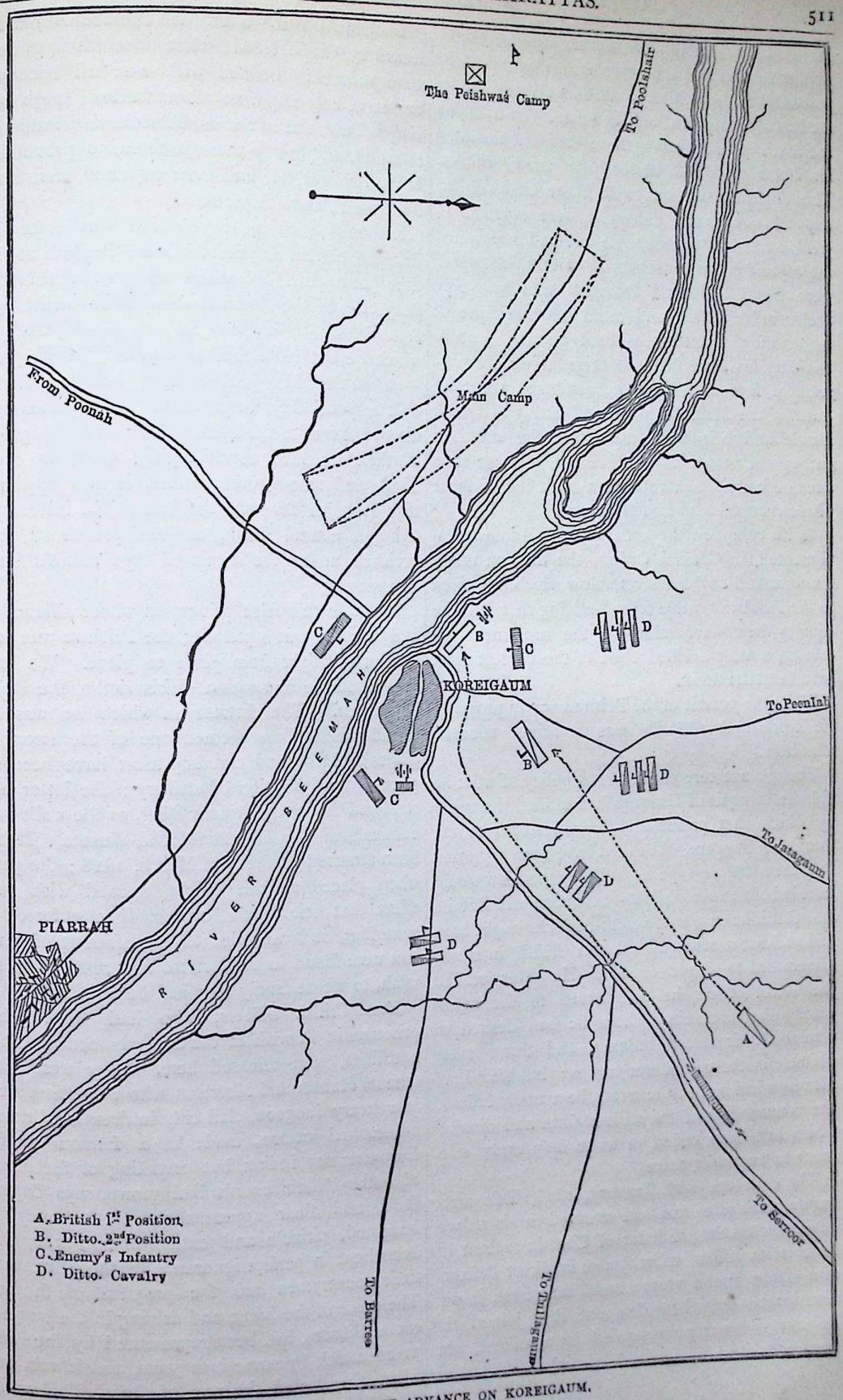
PLAN OF BRITISH POSITIONS AT THE FIRST ATTACK ON KOREIGAUM.

north to Ashta, where he had halted, all unconscious of the vicinity of any British troops.

In his wanderings the now wretched Peishwa, on the 1st April, appeared on the banks of the Wurda; but as his van was crossing that river, it was driven back by a detachment under Colonel Scott. In great alarm and perplexity, Bajee Rao now tried to cross at another point, but there he was met by Colonel Adams, who, without waiting for Brigadier Doveton, with whom he was co-operating, followed the Mahrattas with all speed, and came up with them near Soonee (or Sewanee), in the province of Berar, on the 17th of April.

to the operations of cavalry. Adams formed his troops in order of attack, while the horse artillery opened fire with great effect, covered by the light battalion, under a fusillade of matchlocks.

Observing that the strongest column of the enemy was beginning to reel under the fire of grape, he charged it, at the head of the 5th Cavalry, and though its strength was great, the fury of the charge decided the fate of the day. Though the Mahrattas recoiled before that handful of men, their retreat was for some time neither continual nor general; but ultimately they gave way on all sides, and fled through the jungles, leaving



PLAN OF THE ADVANCE ON KOREIGAUM.

the Peishwa's sorely-diminished treasure, three elephants, 200 camels, and the last five guns he possessed there, with 1,000 dead on the field; while the loss of Adams was only two men. As usual, on the first sign of fighting, Bajee Rao had mounted his horse and fled he scarcely knew whither. The elephants, known to be those on which his treasure was usually conveyed, were expected to yield a rich booty; but some one had anticipated the captors in the confusion, as only 11,000 rupees were found. General Doveton, who was only twelve miles distant, and could hear the noise of the cannon, immediately took up the pursuit. Dividing his force into two brigades, for five consecutive days and nights he continued upon the track of the Mahratta army, and during that time famine and fatigue did more than the sword to cut up the troops of the Peishwa, so that soon after he had little more than a third left of those who encamped with him at Soonee.

In his camp, on the 17th of April, Adams complimented, in General Orders, the division under his command on "the severe blow which was given to the Peishwa's whole force," adding that, had the country been favourable for the movements of cavalry, a most decided close of the contest must have been the result.

While the pursuit of the Peishwa was in progress, the restless Apa Sahib was working mischief elsewhere.

Though not sure of the sound policy of what he did, the Marquis of Hastings had ratified the treaty by which that prince had been restored to the throne of Nagpore. It might have been supposed that the narrow escape he had of deposition would have led him to avoid all future collision with Britain, and that if he were without gratitude, he might have had at least a sense of his own selfish interests. He seemed to possess neither. He never recalled the secret orders he had issued to the rajahs among the mountains, whom he had desired to summon their armed retinues, and throw every obstacle in the way of our troops; but after Lord Hastings had signed the treaty, he actually ordered the commanders of the various forts and districts which had been ceded to us to defy every summons to surrender them.

Thus, on the 18th January, 1818, little more than a week after Apa had returned to his palace, he instructed the Killedar of Chanda to beat up for recruits, and to enlist Arabs, in direct defiance of a clause in the treaty; and a little later, it was discovered that when Gunpunt Rao joined the Peishwa, he was accompanied by a vakeel, who was authorised to invite a mutual confederation against the British power. As India is ever full of treachery, the Resident, when once his suspicions were aroused, obtained with ease all necessary evidence, not only from Ramchunder Waugh and Nagoo Punt, the ministers, but from the blundering rajah himself, partly through them, to prove that he had sought for, and even expected, assistance from the Peishwa Bajee Rao.

Although such an expectation was somewhat delusive, certain movements of the Peishwa at that time (and when his affairs had not become so desperate) in the direction of Chanda—which was Apa Sahib's most powerful stronghold, and to which he seemed about to repair from Nagpore—so startled Mr. Jenkins that, acting upon his own responsibility, he arrested him together with his two favourite ministers. After this, the proofs of their intended revolt rapidly grew on every hand; and among other crimes, it now appeared that Pursajee Bhonsla, the late rajah, instead of dying a natural death, as was pretended, had perished under the hands of Apa Sahib's hired assassins.

So while this false prince, on whose alliance he had counted, was a prisoner, the Peishwa was continuing his flight from place to place. We have mentioned the restoration of his victim, the Rajah of Sattara. The fortress in which he was detained prisoner was deemed one of the strongest places in India, and certainly must have been so, prior to the invention of artillery; the latter now rendered that strength unavailing, as the walls were commanded by a hill, named Old Wusota. It had been attacked on the 31st March, 1818; the guns, when placed on this height, opened with such effect that one day's cannonading enforced a surrender, and valuables to the amount of three lacs were found in the fortress and restored to the rajah, to whose family they had belonged.

Two British officers, who had been taken prisoners in Poonah at the first commencement of hostilities, were released here. They were Lieutenants Hunter and Morrison, who were discovered in a dreary dungeon, clad only in dresses of coarse unbleached cotton, made in a fashion neither European nor Indian, but partaking of the nature of both. Their beards had grown, says Captain Duff, and their appearance was, as may be imagined, pitiable and extraordinary; they had been kept in perfect ignorance of the advance of their countrymen and the progress of the war. The noise of the firing, and driving in the outposts round Wusota, had been represented by the guard as an attack by some insurgents, and it was only when they heard the roar of the shells bursting

overhead, "the most joyful sound that had reached their ears for five dreary months," that they began to suspect the hour of deliverance was at hand.*

It was on the 11th of April, shortly after the fall of this place, that the rajah was seated on his throne, and then Smith pursued the Peishwa as far as Sholapore.

Several who have writtten on India have, with some justice, questioned the policy of the Marquis of Hastings in erecting, in the person of the rajah, a new Mahratta power, after he had crushed that of the Peishwa. "Had it been what it professed to be," says one, "a real sovereignty, it might have excited expectations which it was never meant to gratify, and kept alive recollections which it would have been safer to suppress. As it was only a nominal sovereignty, the rajah continued to be, as formerly, little better than a pageant."

Captain James Grant Duff was the officer selected by Mr. Elphinstone to arrange the form, and as agent to exercise the powers, of the newly-erected government. He had thus the most ample opportunity of weighing well the event, and the issue of it; and though he wrote with reserve in his Mahratta history, his tone indicates an opinion far from favourable. Purbah Sing, the restored rajah, was in his twenty-seventh year, and was of a good disposition, and naturally intelligent; he was, however, "bred amongst intrigue, surrounded by men of profligate character, and ignorant of everything but the etiquette and parade of a court. His whole family entertained the most extravagant ideas of their own consequence, and their expectations were proportionate; so that, for a time, the bounty which they experienced was not duly appreciated."

Eventually the rajah was bound by a treaty to hold his territories in subordinate co-operation with the British Government. These extended between the Wurda and the Neera, from the Syadree mountains, a range of the Western Ghauts on the west, to Punderpoor, on the frontier of the Deccan, and yielded a revenue estimated at thirteen lacs, 75,000 rupees, or £137,500 sterling, together with three lacs permanently alienated, and three more granted in jaghires, making a total aggregate of £200,000, from lands, all of which, in the event of direct heirs failing, were to become an integral portion of the fast-growing British Empire in India.

On the 13th of April, Brigadier Pritzler, after reducing the forts north of Poonah, placed himself under General Munro, thus enabling that officer to accomplish a design which he had in view for some time—to attack some infantry and guns which the Peishwa, in order to accelerate his flight, had been compelled to leave behind him at Sholapore, the capital of a district, part of which belonged to the Nizam and part to the Mahrattas, and the whole of which lies between the Kistna and the Beemah.

Situated on the bank of the former stream, the town—once a place of considerable wealth, and when taken by the army of Aurungzebe from the King of Bejapore, deemed the strongest bulwark of the capital towards Ahmednuggur—was well fortified when Pritzler's columns came before it, on the 9th of May.

The pettah of Sholapore was of irregular form, but measured about 1,200 yards each way, and had twenty-four circular bastions. In its south-west angle stood the fort, also of irregular form, measuring about 350 yards each way, and armed with sixteen round bastions. Its gate opened on the north towards the pettah, and a great marsh or tank lay on its south. The road from Poonah entered it on the west, bordered by rows of trees, and several topes or thickets gave a beauty to the vicinity of the decaying town, which was strongly garrisoned by Arabs in the service of the Peishwa.

In addition to these, when our troops came before it on the 9th of May, a body of his infantry, with eleven field-pieces, were posted in rear of the fort, and to the south of the tank.

These formed eight columns in four divisions, which ultimately advanced, and by a considerable circuit took post with their guns in front, on the north-eastward of the pettah, as if to menace the left flank of Sir Thomas Munro, who threw forward his reserve of cavalry and infantry to hold them in check.

The attacking force, formed in two columns, advanced against the northern face of the pettah, one by the road which leads to Toliapore, and the other on its left, collaterally, both with bayonets fixed, making a rush straight against the walls. On the 10th the latter were taken by storm, and Sir Thomas Munro, perceiving that the Mahrattas were stealing off in small parties from the camp, detached Pritzler after them, with three troops of his own regiment, the 22nd Dragoons, and 400 other horse, who overtook them at the distance of three miles, when marching in close column. At his approach they broke, threw aside their arms, and dispersed—all, at least, save the Arabs among them, who fought manfully to the last, and perished in great numbers under the sabres of our cavalry.

After undergoing one day's cannonade, the fort surrendered on the 15th of May, and with it there fell into our hands thirty-seven pieces of cannon, the

* "Hist. of the Mahrattas," 3 vols., 1826.

whole of the artillery that remained of the Peishwa's armament. Our losses in these operations were ninety-seven killed and wounded, while those of the enemy were more than 800 killed alone.

And now, about this time, Colonel Whittington Adams, on learning that Generals Smith and Doveton were in close pursuit of the Peishwa, with every prospect of being successful without his aid, marched eastward with his column, and on the 9th of May sat down before the fortress of Chanda, the chief stronghold of the erring Apa, the Rajah of Nagpore.

CHAPTER XCV.

CAPTURE OF CHANDA AND RIAGHUR—THE KILLEDAR OF TALNERE.

THE district of Chanda, in Gondwana, is a level and sandy tract, about eighty miles in length by sixty in breadth; and its chief town, frequently called Turk-Chanda, stands five miles from the confluence of the Wurda and Paynegunga rivers. It is six miles in circumference, and surrounded by a cut freestone wall, from fifteen to twenty feet in height, flanked at intervals with round towers of sufficient size and strength to carry the heaviest guns of those days. In 1803 it contained 5,000 mansions, but about four years after the siege only 2,500. In the centre towered the citadel, on the summit of a commanding height.

The poisoning of the wells along his line of march served to show Colonel Adams that the commander of Chanda would hold out to the last, with his garrison of 3,000 men. He appeared before it in the burning month of May; but as the guns at his disposal consisted of only three eighteen-pounders, he deemed it advisable to send a summons of surrender, embracing very serviceable terms to the garrison, who, as their prince Apa Sahib was a prisoner now, would be permitted to march out with their arms and private property. The killedar had the cruel hardihood to seize the hircarah who bore the terms, and had him blown from the mouth of a cannon. This atrocity was dearly visited upon the city in the end.

Colonel Adams was not a man to suffer feelings of personal indignation to hurry him into measures wanting in military precision, and knowing the smallness of his means in proportion to the end they had to accomplish, he resolved to proceed carefully and circumspectly. Thus, the day after his arrival he spent in reconnoitring, and for this purpose set out accompanied by a battalion of light infantry, a squadron of the 5th Cavalry, and Captain Rodber's troop of horse artillery.

He found that access to Chanda was rendered difficult on the north by a large and dense jungle, and in other directions by the Jurputi and Erace, two affluents of the Wurda, which run along its eastern and western fronts, and meet at the distance of 400 yards to the south. Colonel Adams took up his position in this last direction, selecting the south-east angle as the point to be attacked. In the course of the first day's reconnoissance he had a smart skirmish close to the walls, at a point where he found it necessary to approach for the purpose of having a view in detail. "We were close enough to draw the countenances of the enemy as they looked over the parapet," wrote an officer who was present, "and kept a brisk matchlock fire on us, varied with rockets, which last weapon they did not, however, very skilfully direct; and when, after awhile, the colonel ordered the light infantry to take cover (seeing that the enemy were endeavouring to get a gun to bear), he was almost the only individual advanced who remained perfectly exposed to the fire throughout,—making his observations with perfect coolness and leisure, and narrowly escaping at least one hostile bullet, as I can testify."*

Next day, Adams made another reconnoissance, and took with him a Madras battalion in lieu of the Bengal Light Infantry. Several were killed or wounded on this day. Among the former was Dr. Anderson, of the 10th Native Infantry, through whose body a cannon-ball passed, after killing two or three sepoys in its way; and Adams had a narrow escape from another. Having selected a point for breaching, opposite a little village called Lall Pet, at 400 yards distance from the walls, the whole force was judiciously encamped, and the light battalion, under Captain Doveton, was ordered to keep possession

* *E.I.U.S. Journal*, 1837.

of the village, which it held for eight days and nights, enduring meanwhile the greatest fatigue.

The season was one of insufferable heat; the only shelter proved to be some half-ruined huts; neither officers nor men could take off their accoutrements for a moment, and provisions could be cooked for but a few at a time. Day and night they were assailed by the fire of the besieged, roused by alarms of sallies, and by sudden outbursts of blue lights that shed a ghastly glare over everything—the walls, the towers, the jungle, and the two streams. Major Goreham, of the Madras Artillery, who commanded at the battery, died from the mere effects of the sun. The guns were ultimately placed at 250 yards from the walls, and effected a breach.

On the morning of the 20th of May it was resolved to assault the place. The stormers were formed in two columns, one of Bengal, the other of Madras troops, and the whole were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, who volunteered for this service, and led them on in splendid order. The space between the village of Lall Pet and the foot of the breach was composed of loose dry soil, and the smallness of the artillery resources having rendered it impossible to cripple the defences fully, the columns were enfiladed during their necessarily slow progress through the heavy sand.

The balls from the three eighteen-pounders, passing about a yard over the heads of the stormers, kept the breach clear till the ladders were planted; and as they were then out of the enfilading fire, there was a pause for a few moments in the roar of the musketry. Colonel Adams, who stood in the breaching battery to oversee the attack, was wounded, but never left his post; and he was not kept long in anxiety, "for soon the deadly struggle at the breach commenced," says Captain McNaghten; "the sharp short clang of the musket and matchlock now mingled with the boom of the well-served cannon; the summit was attained after a fierce resistance, but with some serious loss on our side both of officers and men."

In a few minutes Adams saw the British colours waving on the walls, and the columns, after swarming up the breach, diverging to the right and left, with their bayonets flashing in the morning sunshine. The garrison defended every tower and bastion to the last; and the killedar knowing that, if taken alive, he would be hanged for his outrage on the flag of truce, fought with desperate resolution till he was shot down. On his fall the garrison capitulated. The town was then given up to plunder, and a vast number of its defenders were put to the sword—one account says 500. On the walls of Chanda were found sixty pieces of cannon (some of enormous calibre), and numerous jingalls. For its capture the troops received six months' batta.

In a private letter to Colonel Adams, the Governor-General observed:—"That your campaign has closed so brilliantly by the capture of Chanda, is a matter of true gratification to me. You have merited every triumph by the activity and judgment of your exertions throughout the campaign, and this last event occurred fitly to claim the tribute of applause for you."

The General Order of Government, on the 18th of June, 1818, stated that "the skill with which Lieutenant-Colonel Adams made a scanty supply of heavy ordnance suffice for the capture of a strong fortress, powerfully garrisoned, fitly crowns the conduct that had distinguished him during antecedent operations."*

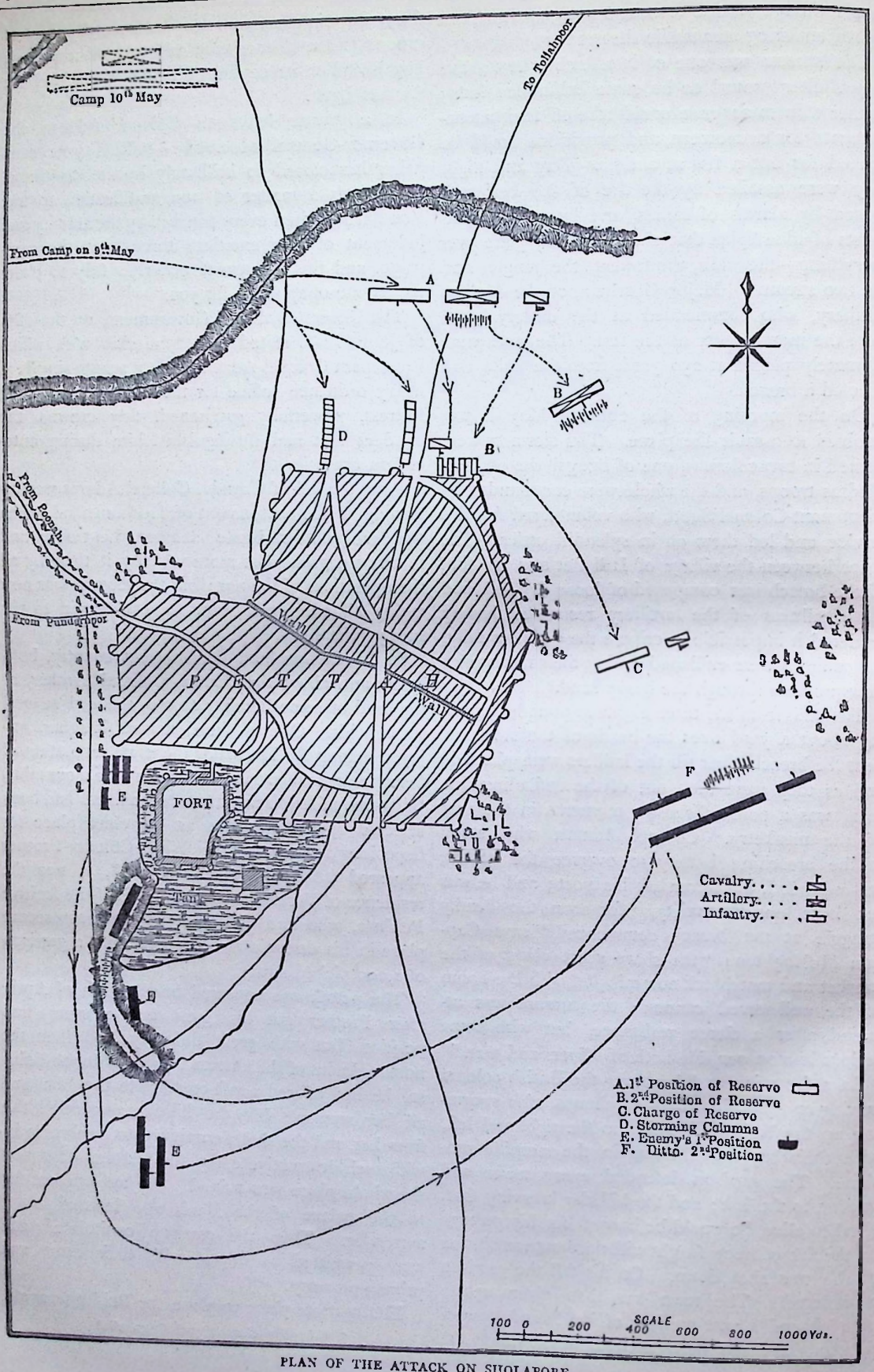
After the fall of Chanda, Colonel Adams was returning to the cantonment of Hoshungabad, when the deadly cholera broke out among his troops, and in a few days he lost more men by it than by all the operations of the war; but the scourge was now raging all over India, from Cape Comorin to the snowy Himalayas.

In the Concan, and the adjacent country, both below and above the Ghauts, Colonel Prother, at the head of some Bombay troops, reduced several strongholds. One of these, named Riaghur, enjoyed among the Mahrattas the usual reputation of being impregnable. It stood among the mountains, thirty-two miles distant from Poonah, and had been selected by the Peishwas as the chief place for depositing their treasures. When Colonel Prother appeared before it, in April, 1818, it was the residence of Varanesee Bhai, the wife of the fugitive Peishwa, who had chosen it as the most secure place in his dominions, and placed in it a garrison of 1,000 picked Arabs.

The pettah was captured on the 24th of April, after Prother got his guns and mortars into position, but with great difficulty, and then the bombardment of the fortress began. Prior to doing so, he had offered a safe-conduct to the Bhai and all her women; but the killedar concealed this from her, and the shells continued to be thrown in, with such destructive effect, for fourteen days, that the whole place was ruined. At last, one set fire to the palace of the Bhai, who insisted on a surrender. Then the garrison capitulated, and were permitted to depart with their arms and private property.

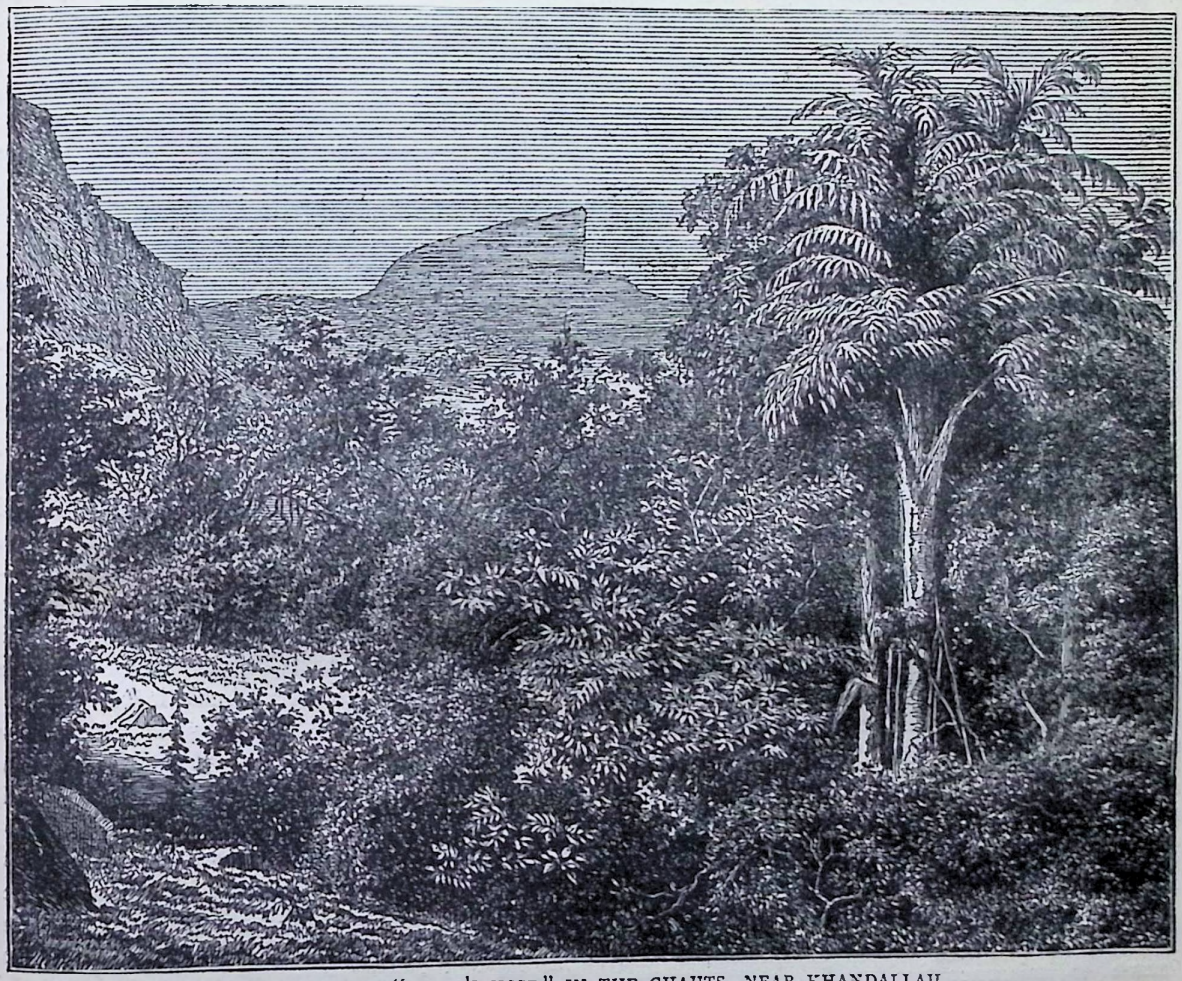
Flitting from place to place, the Peishwa was still

* *London Gazette*, 3rd Aug., 1818.



PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON SHOLAPORE.

uncaptured; but as the chief objects of the campaign had been accomplished, the Governor-General resolved to reduce his great armaments. Accordingly, the army of the Deccan was first broken up; and so early as the middle of January, 1818, Sir Thomas Hislop began his southward march with the first division, after reinforcing the third, which was to remain with Sir John Malcolm in Malwa. After traversing the country between the Nerbudda and the Tapti, on the 27th of February he arrived at Talnere, a town and fortress belonging to Holkar, and formerly the capital of the Sultans of the Adil Shahy dynasty in the fifteenth century.



VIEW OF THE "DUKE'S NOSE" IN THE GHAUTS, NEAR KHANDALLAH.

As it was one of the places which Holkar had ceded by treaty, no difficulty was anticipated in obtaining possession of it; and the baggage, preceding the division, advanced into the plain without any danger being suspected, till a cannon-shot was fired at it from the fort, which is all of stone, with great bastions of considerable height. A summons was instantly sent to the killedar, warning him that, if resistance were offered, he and his garrison, as acting in defiance of the orders of his sovereign, who had ceded the fort and district, and in defiance of the British Government, to which it now belonged, would be treated as rebels.

The killedar refused to receive Sir Thomas Hislop's letter, but the contents of it were communicated to him verbally; he seemed, however, blindly bent on a stubborn resistance, and of this he gave undoubted proof by commencing a match-lock fire, which killed and wounded many British soldiers.

The message to the killedar had been sent about seven in the morning; and it was intimated to him that the order of Holkar for the surrender of the fort was in possession of Sir Thomas Hislop, who would show it to any person whom he might send to examine it. The messenger was detained; and noon having passed without any reply coming, Hislop got his guns into position, and opened fire

on Talnere, at the same time instructing the Deputy Adjutant-General, Colonel Alexander McGregor Murray, "that nothing less than an unconditional surrender would be received; that the lives of the garrison should be guaranteed; that no promise whatever could be given the killedar for his, but that he would be held personally answerable for his acts."

At three in the afternoon a messenger came from the fortress to ask whether terms could be given. Colonel Murray replied according to his instructions; and an hour having passed without any appearance of a surrender, the detachments selected for the assault moved to the front. These consisted of the flank companies of the 1st Royal Scots and of the Madras European Regiment, under Major John P. Gordon, of the former corps, who had with him two six-pounders to blow open the outer gate. This was unnecessary, as the wall about the gate was so ruinous that the stormers had a ready access.

They found a second gate open, and were rushing at a third, when a number of unarmed persons, who were apparently attempting to escape, issued from a wicket, and were made prisoners. At a third and fourth Gordon met no resistance; but he came upon a fifth, the wicket of which was open, with 300 Arabs, under arms, behind it. There some kind of parley took place, the Arabs demanding certain terms, and the assailants insisting on an unconditional surrender, but with an assurance that their lives would be spared. It has been considered probable that the parties could not understand each other; but Colonel Murray and Major Gordon, conceiving that the surrender was acquiesced in, passed through the wicket, attended by three grenadiers of the Royal Scots. No sooner were they within it than, from some cause never explained—some attributing it to Indian treachery, some to misconception, and others to a rash attempt to disarm the Arab guard—Major Gordon and the three grenadiers were instantly slain, and Colonel Murray fell towards the wicket, covered with wounds.

The enemy attempted to close it, but were prevented by a grenadier of the Royal Scots, who thrust his musket into the aperture. Lieutenant-Colonel Macintosh and Captain McCraith, by main strength of arm, forced the wicket open, and it was held so while the latter, with one hand, dragged Murray through, and kept the Arabs at bay with his sword by the other. A fire was then poured through the wicket, which cleared the way sufficiently for the now infuriated Scots Grenadiers, under Captain McGregor, who led the stormers, to enter, when the fort was carried by assault. The captain was killed, and his brother, Lieutenant John McGregor, received a severe wound when defending his dead body. Every man in the place was put to the sword, and the killedar was hanged from one of the bastions on the same evening.*

The storming party, in making this general massacre, were actuated by the idea that they had encountered treachery, and had their fallen comrades to avenge; but the legal right to hang the killedar as a rebel to George III. was questioned, and actually excited some sensation in London, where it was severely commented upon in the Court of Directors, and by both Houses of Parliament, when passing votes of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Deccan; and an explanation of the circumstance was required at his hands.

This he gave in a long despatch to the Governor-General on the 10th September in the following year, which details but briefly the evidence on which the sentence rested:—"At the investigation I attended, and was assisted by your lordship's political agent (Captain Briggs) and the Adjutant-General (Colonel Conway). Evidence was taken, in the killedar's presence, by which it appeared that my communication sent to him in the morning had been delivered, and understood by him and several others in the fort; that he was perfectly aware of the cession by Holkar, and that it was publicly known; that he was entreated by several persons not to resist in such a cause, but that he was resolved to do so, till death; his resistance and exposing himself to an assault was therefore regulated by his own free will; he was sensible of his guilt, and had nothing to urge in his favour. The result of the inquiry was the unanimous opinion (after the witnesses had been heard, and the killedar had been asked what he had to say in his defence, to which he replied, 'Nothing') that the whole of his proceedings became subject to capital punishment, which every consideration of justice and humanity demanded should be inflicted on the spot."

Beveridge, a Scottish advocate, in his Indian History, considers it legally impossible to justify the act. "The killedar," says he, "was not implicated in the supposed treachery of the garrison at the fifth gate, for he had previously surrendered, or been made prisoner; nor could he be said in strict truth to have stood an assault, as he had laid aside his arms and become a prisoner before the storming party encountered any real opposition.

* "Hist. Rec. 1st Royal Scots," p. 224.

The only grounds, therefore, on which the sentence admits of any plausible vindication are, that his original resistance was rebellion, and that, in order to prevent that rebellion from spreading, it was necessary to strike terror by making a signal example. Now, it is not to be denied that the killedar, in resisting the orders of his sovereign to deliver up the fort, was technically a rebel; but, in order to fix the amount of guilt which he thus incurred, it is necessary to remember that at this period Holkar himself was merely a child, and the whole powers of government were in the hands of contending factions. The killedar, who was a man of rank, the uncle of Balaram Seit, the late prime minister of Toolasi Baee, belonged to one of those factions, which had long possessed the ascendant, had only lately lost it, and were in hopes of being able to regain it. In these circumstances, rebellion, in the ordinary sense of the term, was impossible. The order to surrender the fort, though it bore the name of Holkar, must have been viewed by the killedar as only the order of the faction to which he was opposed; and it was, therefore, preposterous in the extreme for a third party to step in and inflict the punishment of rebellion on a leader of one of the factions for refusing to recognise, and yield implicit obedience to, the orders issued by another. The sentence being thus unjust cannot have been politic, and hence the other ground of vindication—the expediency of making an example—hardly requires to be discussed. It may be true, as Sir Thomas Hislop alleged, that other killedars, from whom resistance might have been anticipated, immediately yielded up their forts; but any advantage thus obtained must have been more than counterbalanced by the opinion which prevailed among the native troops and people generally, that the killedar had suffered wrongfully, and that the British Government, in sanctioning his execution, had stained their reputation for moderation and justice."

Be all this as it may, human life, always of little account in European wars, is still held even less so in India; and, no doubt, the terrible example made at Talnere led to the submission, upon the first summons, of the commanders of Gaulna, Chandore, and other much stronger forts, as soon as they were shown Holkar's orders—or those in his name—to admit the British troops.*

Among other places taken from the Peishwa by Sir Thomas Munro was Belgaum. The town stands on an eminence, and about that time contained 1,400 houses, substantially built of the ochrey gravel which abounds in that part of Bejapore. The fort was of great strength, an irregular oval, about a mile and a half in circumference, situated in the plain, and surrounded by a granite wall, the height of which varied from thirty-five to sixty feet. Outside this was a broad wet ditch, cut to a great depth in the solid rock; and in its interior on the cavaliers are—or were—mounted enormous Mahratta guns, built of iron bars and rings. It had three handsome gateways, all strongly defended.

The garrison consisted of 1,600 men, with thirty-six guns on the works, and a great store of all the munitions of war; but they surrendered after twenty days of open trenches, and after only twenty of them had been killed and fifty wounded. Munro's force consisted of seven troops of cavalry, nineteen companies of infantry and pioneers, with eight heavy guns. His casualties were twenty-three killed and wounded. The immediate cause of the surrender was singular.

The killedar, though an old Mahratta warrior, had never seen operations by sapping, and being unable to comprehend its nature, inquired of a native officer, whom he had taken prisoner, "What was the meaning of that moving wall?" The reply was that the British troops were digging a mine. "You saw them some days since a long way off," added the prisoner; "they are now gradually approaching the crest of the glacis; and in three days more you will see them suddenly rise up in the centre of the fort, under your very feet, to blow you to the devil."

The old man credited the story, and surrendered at discretion. It was considered fortunate that he did so, as the place could not have been reduced without a serious loss of life.

* Col. Blacker's "Mem. Operations of the Army in India." Lake's "Sieges of the Madras Army," &c.

CHAPTER XCVI.

OPERATIONS IN CANDEISH—FALL OF MALLIGAUM—APA SAHIB MADE PRISONER, BUT ESCAPES—SURRENDER OF THE LAST PEISHWA OF THE MAHRATTAS, ETC.

WHILE the first division of the army of the Deccan was thus occupied, the second had been withdrawn from Nagpore, and on the 22nd of January had marched towards Ellichpore. In the early part of February detachments from it captured the strong hill forts of Gawilghur (the scene of Wellesley's great exploit in 1803) and of Narunullah, a town and stronghold in the province of Berar. The latter were very defensible, built of stone, and crowning the summit of a hill. The division afterwards encamped at Ootran. In March it proceeded to Copergaum, and on the 17th of that month encamped on the left bank of the noble Godavery, near Fooltumba, and then resumed its former designation of the Hyderabad division.*

It was now to take a part in the pursuit of the ubiquitous Peishwa. Information having been received of an intended attack by him on the cantonments of Jaulna, the division proceeded seventy-two miles, in two forced marches; but before the remaining thirty miles were accomplished, the Peishwa had ridden in another direction. After a short halt, the division proceeded in pursuit of the flying enemy, encountering many difficulties while traversing parts of the country which had never before seen a British army, and using such indefatigable exertions, that at night it often occupied the same ground which Bajee Rao had left on the preceding day.

After a circuitous route, having performed forty-one marches in forty days, at the hottest period of the year, during which time the division had only two halts, the troops returned for supplies to Jaulna, where they encamped on the 11th of May. In this arduous service the Europeans performed their marches cheerfully, and their only complaint was their inability to overtake the flying enemy. After a two days' halt, the pursuit of the Peishwa was resumed.†

Meanwhile, some troops which had been left at Fooltumba, including two companies of 1st Royal Scots, under Lieutenant James Bland, marched, under the command of Colonel McDowall, H.E.I.C.S., into the Candeish country, and captured the hill fort of Unki, which crowns a precipitous rock, 200 feet in height, on the summit of the Candeish Ghauts; also the forts of Rajdeir and Inderye.

The column was next engaged in the reduction of the strong fort of Trimbuk, in the province of Aurungabad, near the source of the Godavery, which rises in the Bala Ghaut. After being bombarded, it surrendered on the 25th April, 1818, and this event was followed by the capitulation of seventeen other forts.

It was in Candeish, the scene of McDowall's operations, that the bands of Arab mercenaries, belonging to the different armies of the Mahratta confederation, had congregated; occupying such strongholds as they could possess themselves of. It was in vain to expect, from their warlike and predatory habits, that these brave but reckless men would ever settle down to peaceful lives, and to the cultivation of industrious habits; so there was nothing for it but to have them driven out of the district; and, as a part of this intention, Colonel McDowall, leaving Chandore on the 13th of May, marched northward, and two days after found himself before Malligaum, a strong fortress situated on a circular bend of the Moasum, near its confluence with the Girna. There the Arabs were concentrated in considerable force, and resolved to make a fierce resistance.

Malligaum consisted, as usual, of a fort and pettah. The latter was square, protected by the river, which flowed close to its outworks, on the south and north, and was enclosed by a triple wall, with a troublesome ditch, twenty-five feet deep by fifteen feet wide, between the first and second. The former was lofty, and built of solid masonry, with towers at the angles. The entrance was by intricate passages, leading through no less than nine gates, furnished with massive bomb-proofs.

On its eastern side stood the pettah, enclosed by a rampart, ancient and dilapidated, but sufficient for defence in many ways. The means possessed by Colonel McDowall were quite inadequate—as he had only with him 950 bayonets, 270 pioneers, and some light European artillery—to the attack of such a place, defended as it was by a garrison consisting of the resolute Arabs who had capitulated to Brigadier Doveton at Nagpore.

* "Hist. Rec. 1st Royal Scots."
† Ibid.

On the 18th of May the garrison made a sortie, which was repulsed, and on the 19th two batteries opened their fire on Malligaum; of which Captain Briggs (who acted as agent for Mr. Elphinstone) was convinced we should make an easy capture, as he had established an understanding with part of the garrison, through Rajah Bahadur, who had held the place as a jaghire till dispossessed or made prisoner by this roving band of Arabs. But ere long it was found that the rajah could achieve nothing, and that science and resolute bravery alone could ensure success.

A breach having been effected, the 1st Royal Scots were ordered to furnish the stormers; accordingly, fifty rank and file of that regiment volunteered on the perilous duty, under Lieutenant Bland, for the principal attack, and twenty-five more, under Lieutenant William Orrock, as part of the column, to make an attack on another point; but success was found impracticable; and the forlorn hope which was led by Ensign Nattes, of the Engineers, after arriving at the outer wall, found the internal ditch beyond. While standing on the verge, and shouting the word "Impracticable," the brave lad was shot dead, and then the stormers were withdrawn.

Simultaneously with the attack on the breach, another was made on the pettah, which was gallantly carried, sword in hand, by Colonel Stewart; but was abandoned, in consequence of the failure elsewhere. McDowall, now convinced of the weakness of his force, and finding that ammunition was becoming scarce, turned the siege into a blockade, and awaited reinforcements.

On the 9th of June, these, consisting of a few European companies, a sepoy battalion, and a train of artillery stores, under Major Watson, came into camp from Ahmednuggur. The failure of the double assault induced McDowall to change his plan of operations, and attempt to carry the fortress on the northern and eastern sides. He sent the main body of his troops across the river, dug mines, threw up a battery, and armed it with five heavy mortars and four howitzers. At dawn on the 11th June these opened on Malligaum, and in the course of that day threw 300 shells in that direction, where the principal magazine was known to be situated; and ere long a dreadful explosion, a mountain of smoke, dust, and stones, that seemed to start skyward, announced that perseverance had been rewarded, and thirty feet of the east curtain were blown outwards into the ditch, killing and wounding many of the garrison, and burying corpses and cannon all in one horrible *débris*.

Once more the excited stormers began to muster for the assault, when Abdool Kader, the Arab commander, anticipated their visit by offering to surrender. McDowall insisted on it unconditionally. Abdool did not decline the terms, but dreading a repetition of the Talnere tragedy, pressed for a written assurance that their lives should be spared, and that their treatment should be good; and now ensued a curious episode, which showed the importance of a knowledge of the native languages.

The Mahratta Moonshee, who drew up the terms of the capitulation, used expressions that went far beyond the verbal assents of the colonel, whom he made to engage to do "whatever was most advantageous for the garrison; that letters should be written concerning their pay; that the British Government should be at the entire expense of feeding and recovering the sick; that the Arabs should want nothing till they reached the places where they wished to go,"—a palpable mistake for "where it was intended to send them."

So, with this comforting letter in his pocket, old Abdool Kader on the 14th of June, 1818, marched out at the head of his Arab garrison, now reduced to 300 matchlock-men and sixty Hindostanees. Captain Briggs was the first to discover the mistake into which Colonel McDowall had fallen by signing a document written in a language he did not understand; and, after some dispute, it was ordered by Mr. Elphinstone that they should be immediately released, their arrears to be paid them from the Government treasury, with safe-conducts to the homes of their own choice.

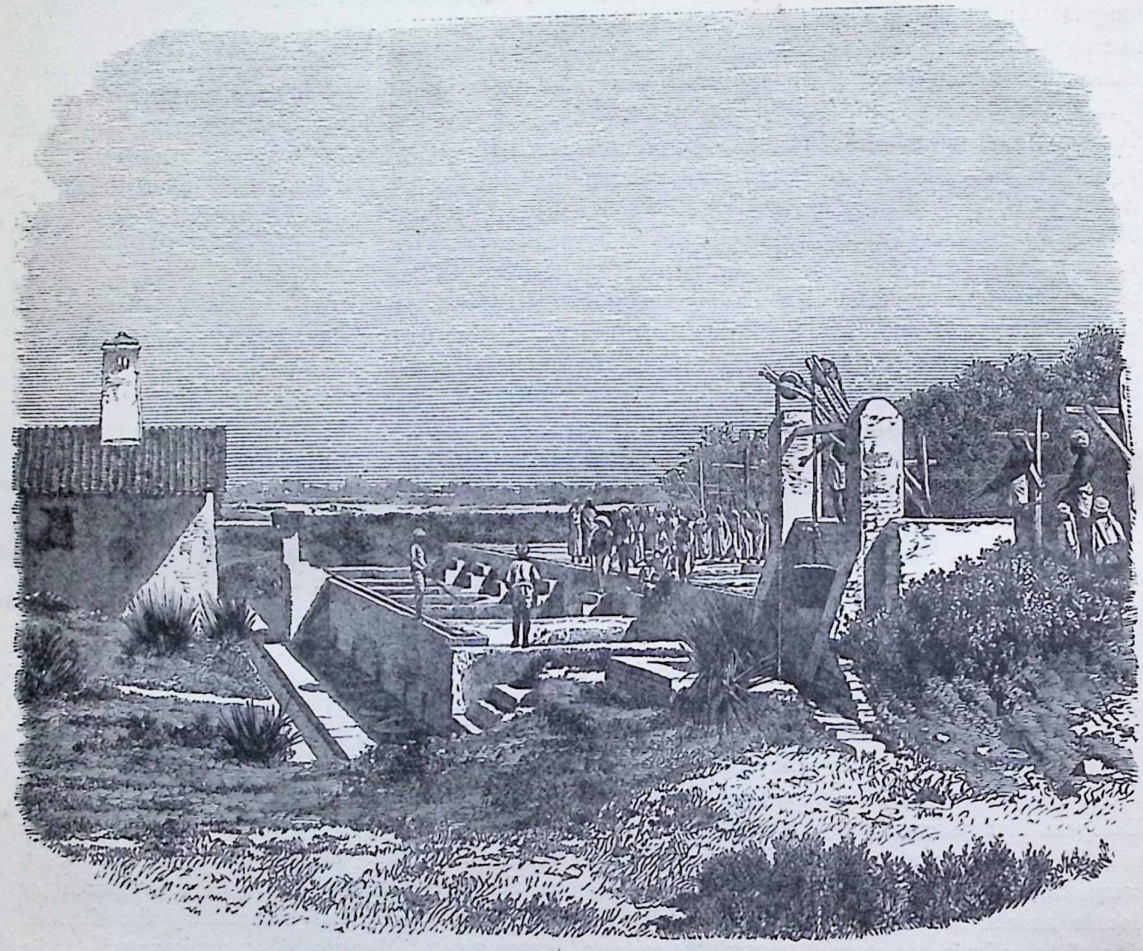
After the fall of Malligaum, the whole of the Hyderabad division expected to take up their monsoon quarters in Jaulnah; but as too many would be under canvas there in the rains, on the 7th August they began their march for Nagpore; and almost immediately the dreaded season set in. The roads became impassable; the baggage was unable to keep up with the troops, who, when they halted for the night, found the tents were far in the rear, and consequently they were frequently exposed for twenty-four hours to incessant wet; no shelter could be procured in the villages, and every comfort was wanting. Exposed to these calamities, the troops arrived at Ellichpore in such a state as to be unfit to proceed any farther.*

We have said that Apa Sahib and his two chief ministers had been arrested, in consequence of their known intrigues with the Peishwa. A grandson of the murdered Ragojee Bhonsla having been placed on the throne, the government was to

* "Hist. Rec. 1st Royal Scots."

be conducted in his name, during his minority, by the British Resident; consequently it now became necessary to dispose finally of Apa Sahib and his two companions.

The ancient palace of the Mogul, within the strong fort at Allahabad, was selected for the residence of the deposed prince, with whom Captain Browne set out on the 3rd of May, 1818, escorting



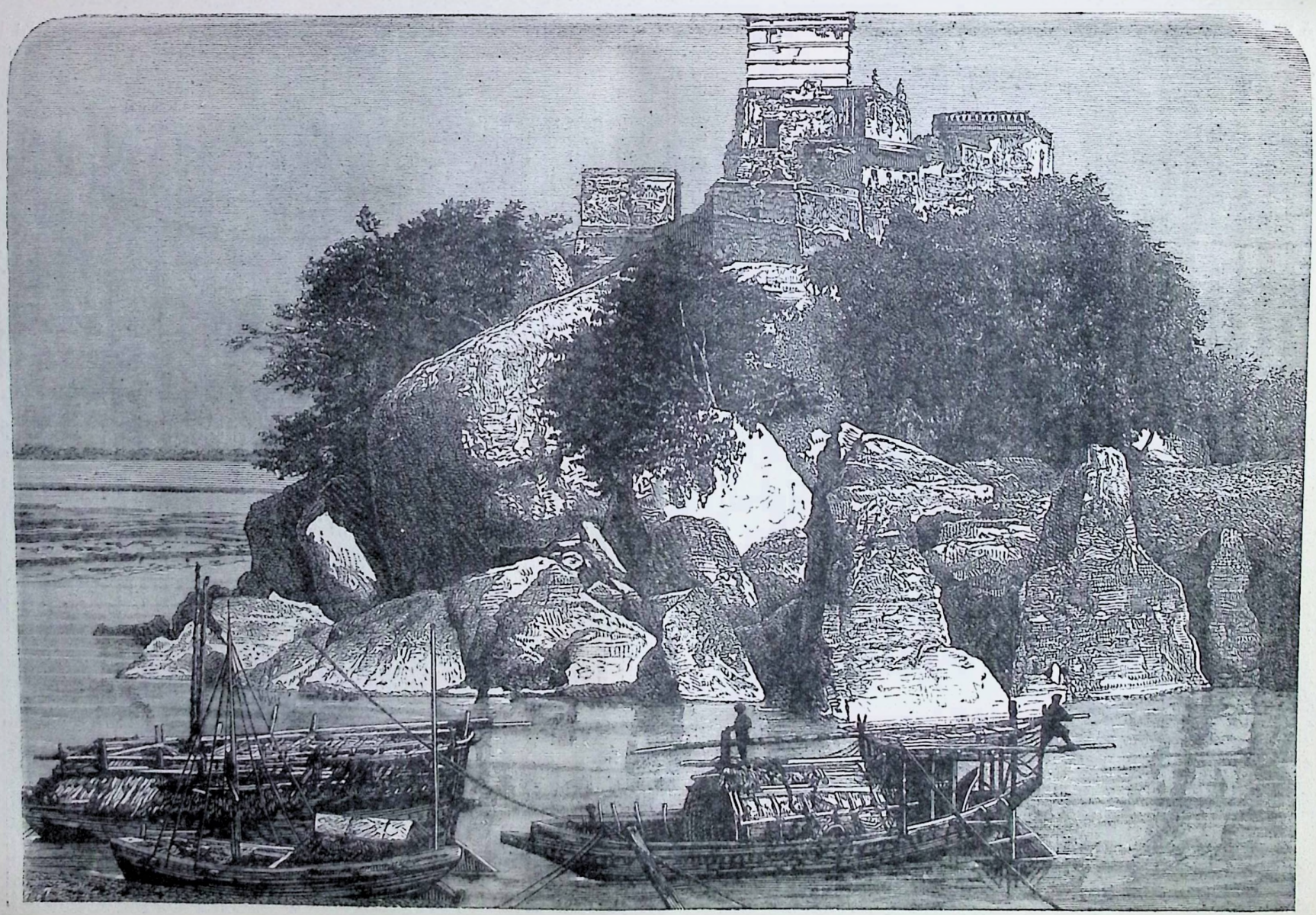
NATIVES WORKING ON A FACTORY NEAR ALLAHABAD.

him with a wing of the 22nd Bengal Infantry and the 8th Cavalry from Nagpore. The captain, from the latter place, marched northward to Jubbulpore, where the three prisoners were to be handed over to another escort; and he had arrived at Raichore (or Rochore), within a day's march of it, when Apa Sahib was found to have effected his escape.

This episode is supposed to have been planned by a Brahmin, who accompanied the party from Nagpore for a few marches, and left it on the 12th of May, the day before the escape took place. By secretly urging on some of the sepoys the merit of rescuing a Hindoo of the sacred race of Sevajee, and enforcing the suggestion with large pecuniary bribes, a plot was formed. Thus, a suit of sepoy uniform was introduced into the tent of Apa early on the morning of the 13th; and having substituted it for his own, he joined the guard which was placed over his tent, and got out of the camp undiscovered. Six sepoys and one native officer deserted with him.

To delay any pursuit, every precaution was taken by the conspirators. In the prince's tent all looked as usual, and when, at four in the morning, the officer on duty looked into it to ascertain that Apa was there, he found the attendants, whose task it was to shampoo their master's feet, engaged to all appearance in this operation, and reported that all was right, little suspecting that they were artfully manipulating the pillows of the empty bed. Hence, when the escape was discovered, he had got so far away that pursuit was unavailing.

It was long before it could be ascertained whither he had gone. It was then learned that he had fled



VIEW OF THE SACRED ISLE OF DEVINATH, ON THE GANGES.

to Herace, and found shelter among the Gonds, in the fastnesses of the Mahadeo Hills; and such was the faith of these people that they nobly resisted the temptation of £20,000, and a jaghire worth £1,000 per annum, to betray him.

Elsewhere, his luckless compatriot Bajee Rao, the once-powerful Peishwa, had been a fugitive for more than six months; but his harassing career was now drawing to a close. North, south, east, and west, his further flight was barred by horse, foot, and flying artillery blocking up every point of the compass. As he was now more sorely pressed than ever, he made a last desperate attempt to pass into Malwa, with a view of reaching the camp of Scindia; but Sir John Malcolm, who was at Mhow, a large town and cantonment in that province, had so stationed some troops, under Lieutenant-Colonels Russell and Corsellis, as to render the attempt utterly impracticable. He was then reduced to despair. On the evening of the 25th of May, 1818, Sir John Malcolm learned that a vakeel from him had reached a place on the Nerbudda, some forty miles from Mhow. There Sir John went to meet him on the 27th, and this ambassador assured him that the Peishwa meant to surrender, and trust to the generosity and the friendship of Malcolm, to whom a short time before he had sent a letter full of the grossest flattery.

Sir John, who had been informed, in confidence, of the plan which had been framed by the Governor-General and Mountstuart Elphinstone for disposing of the Peishwa by a pension and a handsome residence, sent the vakeel back to that prince, who held a good position on the slope of a hill, to let him know the conditions and the good treatment in store for him; but Bajee Rao remained for several days irresolute, and during that time Brigadier Doveton's column and other troops got close in the vicinity of his band of fugitives. Thus influenced by fear, on the evening of the 1st of June, escorted by 2,500 men, he came down to a village in the plain, and met Sir John Malcolm, who just about that time had heard of the escape of Apa Sahib.

At this important interview the Peishwa seemed unable to make up his mind about the terms which had been offered him in his own camp by Lieutenants Low and Macdonald, the first and second political assistants of Malcolm, who, on the departure of Sir Thomas Hislop, had been left in command of all the troops of the Madras Army north of the Tapti.

Bajee Rao thought that he would, at least, be permitted to retain his rank and title of Peishwa, with a residence at Poonah; but on finding that such was not to be the case, he proposed a meeting next day. This Sir John Malcolm positively refused, as he knew that the Peishwa had just placed the whole of his property—or what remained of it—in the strong fortress of Aseerghur, and suspected that he was about to follow it in person; thus, to shorten the issue, he sent the following schedule of an agreement, for the instant signature of the fallen prince:—

"1. That Bajee Rao shall resign, for himself and his successors, all right, title, and claim over the Government of Poonah, or to any sovereign power whatever.

"2. That Bajee Rao shall immediately come, with his family, and a small number of his adherents and attendants, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, where he shall be received with honour and respect, and be escorted safe to the city of Benares, or any other sacred place in Hindostan that the Governor-General may, at his request, fix for his residence.

"3. On account of the peace of the Deccan, and the advanced state of the season, Bajee Rao must proceed to Hindostan without one day's delay; but General Malcolm engages that any part of his family that may be left behind shall be sent to him as early as possible, and every facility given to render their journey speedy and convenient.

"4. That Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's Government, for the support of himself and family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the Governor-General; but Brigadier Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum.

"5. If Bajee Rao, by a complete and ready fulfilment of this agreement, shows that he reposes entire confidence in the British Government, his requests in favour of his principal jaghirdars and old adherents, who have been ruined by their attachment to him, will meet with liberal attention. His representations also in favour of Brahmins of remarkable character, and of religious establishments founded or supported by his family, shall be treated with regard.

"6. The above propositions must not only be accepted by Bajee Rao, but he must personally come into Brigadier-General Malcolm's camp within twenty-four hours of this period, or else hostilities will be recommenced, and no further negotiation will be entered into with him."

During the interview, before these terms were tendered, Sir John Malcolm had demanded the immediate surrender of Trimbukjee Danglia. Bajee Rao declared that it was not in his power

to give up that personage, who had a camp and an army of his own, and who was stronger than he, his master, was. "Then," said Malcolm, "I will attack him forthwith." "Success attend you!" replied the Peishwa. The events of this visit are thus described by Auber:*—"He appeared low and dejected, and retired for a private interview, when he said that he had been involved in a war he never intended; that he was treated as an enemy by the State which had supported his family for two generations, and was at that moment in a position that demanded consideration, and believed that he had a real friend in Sir John Malcolm. The latter replied that every moment of delay was one of danger, and that he should either throw himself upon the British Government or determine on further resistance. 'How can I resist now?' he exclaimed; 'I am surrounded!' Sir John Malcolm replied that he was, but he could not complain; that he still had the power of escape as much as ever, if he wished to become a freebooter and wanderer, and not accept the liberal provision designed for him. He replied, with the flattery of which he was master, 'I have found you, who are my only friend, and will never leave you; would a shipwrecked mariner, after having reached the port he desired, form a wish to leave it?' Still, upon the plea of a religious ceremony, and that it was an unlucky day, he wished to postpone till the next day surrendering himself up and accepting the propositions."

General Malcolm, to quicken his decision, had recourse to the device of allowing one of his writers to give the vakeels of the two leading Mahratta chiefs still adhering to Bajee Rao, a copy of the preliminary treaty submitted to him, and by this means informed them of the consideration *they* should receive in the event of a quiet settlement. This quickened their zeal in the matter; while the main body of Malcolm's troops, advancing towards Khairee, the village where the important interview had taken place, was followed by the distinct intimation to Bajee Rao, that if he did not immediately accept the terms, his last chance would be lost.

Thus, thoroughly intimidated—after trying one shuffle more—he saw the futility of evasion. His troops began to move down the hill, slowly and reluctantly, towards the British camp, and at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of June, 1818, the Peishwa delivered himself up, with his family, and 5,000 horse and 3,000 infantry, 2,000 of whom were Arabs. The Supreme Government at Calcutta, taking a narrow and mercantile view of the matter, thought that too much had been granted by Sir John Malcolm; but the latter, like most of his Indian military cotemporaries, was a man of a large and generous heart; and none knew better than he the demerits on the one hand, and the helplessness on the other, of the fallen Peishwa of the once great Mahratta Confederation.

When Malcolm, taking with him the latter, began his march towards the Nerbudda, he remonstrated more than once with him on the imprudence of keeping together 8,000 armed men, the majority of whom were certain, from the turn his affairs had taken, to be discontented. However, all remained quiet for five days, when the 2,000 Arabs suddenly demanded their arrears of pay, urging that they had been enlisted by the irrepressible Trimbukjee Danglia, but had been only a short time with the Peishwa, who offered to pay them for that precise period; but they insisted upon having their arrears from the first day they had taken service under the favourite. A whole day passed in angry and unseemly discussions; and Bajee Rao, fearing that his life was in danger among these fierce mercenaries, in his timidity and confusion, sent the most contradictory messages to Sir John Malcolm, calling for aid, and then urging it should not be sent, lest the first appearance of red-coats might prove the signal for his being cut to pieces.

His terrors were not altogether groundless. The armed Arabs had environed his tents, and might, had they chosen, not only have destroyed him, but all his women and children; by the clever management of Sir John Malcolm, however, the disturbance was quelled, and an award pronounced which satisfied all; and after this alarm Bajee Rao gladly consented to his train being diminished to 700 horse and 200 foot; and, moreover, he complied in every other point with the wishes of Sir John Malcolm. It was while on this march that Sir John, no doubt to his annoyance, found that Government was dissatisfied with the terms given to his prisoner after he had been completely surrounded, and that his cause was hopeless.

"But, after all," says Sir John, in his account of this affair, "Bajee Rao was not in our power. He had the means, by going into Aseerghur, of protracting the war for five or six months, and keeping all India disturbed and unsettled during that period."†

Such being the case—and none could know the probabilities of it better than the acute Malcolm—the pension he offered, as a bribe to end the strife, was not an extravagant one; and that view was taken of it by the Court of Directors at home.

* "Rise and Prog. Brit. Power in India."

† "Political History of India."

They thought it possible that Bajee Rao "might have been compelled to surrender unconditionally, had no terms been offered to him; but it does appear to us," they added, "that he still had some chance of escape, and that by throwing himself into Aseerghur he might, at all events for a considerable period of time, have deprived us of the important advantages which resulted from his early surrender; and in this view of the subject, we are disposed to think that these advantages justified the terms which were granted him."

The Marquis of Hastings fixed the residence of the ex-Peishwa at Bithoor, on the right bank of the Ganges, a sacred spot, where Brahma is supposed to have completed the act of creating the world and all therein by the sacrifice of a horse; but rendered more familiar to us, in later years, as the abode of the atrocious Nana Sahib.

His progress through Rajpootana and the Doab to the scene of his exile excited scarcely any sensation among the people. When settled at Bithoor, he resigned himself to spending his £80,000 per annum in a life of luxury. He bathed daily in the waters of the Ganges, indulged in the highest living of a Brahmin, maintained three sets of dancing-girls, and troops of low buffoons and parasites. The great rallying-point of the Mahratta Confederacy—the banner of the Peishwa—had sunk for ever in the dust; but it was not so easy to change the character of that singular people, or to introduce peaceful habits among them; yet their power of working military mischief, if not quite crushed, was greatly reduced.

After his surrender, the most leading of his adherents sought to make terms for themselves; among them, Cheetoo the Pindaree, and Trimbukjee Danglia. The tragic fate of the former we have already related; the latter concealed himself for some time in the neighbourhood of Nassick, in Aurungabad, where he fell into the hands of Mountstuart Elphinstone, being taken prisoner by Major Swanston.* He was first remanded to Tannah, the place of his former imprisonment; but ultimately, for greater security, was sent round to Bengal, and lodged in the mountain fortress of Chunar, which we have described in a former chapter; and there he was visited by Bishop Heber, on the 11th September, 1824, and the prelate's account of that noted disturber of the peace is very interesting.

"He is confined with great strictness, having a European as well as a sepoy guard, and never being trusted out of sight of the sentries. Even his bed-chamber has three grated windows opening into the verandah, which serves as a guard-room; in other respects he is well treated, has two large and very airy apartments, a small building fitted up as a pagoda, and a little garden shaded by peepul trees, which he has planted very prettily with balsams and other flowers. Four of his own servants are allowed to attend him, but they are always searched before they quit or return to the fort, and must be always there at night. He is a little, lively, irritable-looking man, dressed when I saw him in a dirty cotton mantle, with a broad red border, thrown carelessly over his head and shoulders. I was introduced to him by Colonel Alexander, and he received me courteously, observing that he himself was a priest, and in token of his brotherly regard, plucking some of his prettiest flowers. . . . . He has now been, I believe, five years in prison, and seems likely to remain there during life, or till the death of his patron and tool, the Peishwa, may lessen his power of doing mischief. He has often offered to give security to any amount for his good behaviour, and to become a warmer friend to the Company than he has ever been their enemy, but his applications have been made in vain. He attributes their failure to Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who is, he says, 'his best friend and worst enemy,' the faithful trustee of his estate, treating his children with parental kindness, and interesting himself, in the first instance, to save his life, but resolutely fixed on keeping him in prison, and urging the Supreme Court to distrust all his protestations. His life must now be dismally monotonous and wearisome. Though a Brahmin of high caste, so long a minister of state and the commander of armies, he can neither write nor read, and his whole amusement consists in the ceremony of his idolatry, his garden, and the gossip which his servants pick up for him in the town of Chunar. Avarice seems at present his ruling passion. He is a very severe inspector of his weekly accounts, and one day set the whole garrison in an uproar about some ghee, which he accused his khansaman, or steward, of embezzling; in short, he seems less interested with the favourable reports which he from time to time receives of his family than by the banking accounts by which they are accompanied. Much as he is said to have deserved his fate, as a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man, I hope," adds the good bishop, "that I may be allowed to pity him."†

But from this period Trimbukjee Danglia passes out of Indian history.

* Auber.

† "Narrative of a Journey," &c., vol. i.

CHAPTER XCVII.

OF THE BHEELS AND GONDS, ETC.—APA SAHIB AGAIN IN ARMS—HIS FLIGHT.

WHILE the Peishwa was being conducted to his prison at Bithoor, Apa Sahib, the ex-Rajah of Nagpore, was safe with the Gonds, among the Mahadeo Hills, where he was harboured and concealed by that singular race, who have—unlike other natives of India—broad flat noses, thick lips, and not unfrequently woolly hair, like the people of Africa; yet they are supposed to be a portion of the aboriginal race of the country, who, long before the irruption of the Hindoo hordes, made great advances in civilisation; and to this race, of which so little is known, are attributed the remains of many works of art, fortified buildings, and monuments, in every part of India; and thus the Hindoos themselves refer the erection of vast temples, and the excavation of wonderfully carved caverns, to the vague period of the aboriginal kings.

General Briggs—who, when a captain, prosecuted with success the settlements of the Bheels in Candeish—in his lectures, asserts that this race must have entered India at a very remote period, occupying it—as mankind spread elsewhere in successive hordes—under different leaders; and one portion, he conceives, must have preceded the other: "because, in the first place, there always has been, and still continues, an inveterate hostility between two branches of the same race; and because the latter certainly occupied and cleared the land, and established principalities; while the former mainly subsisted on the chase, and followed a much less civilised life."

The more barbarous tribes of India, supposed to be descendants of the aboriginal natives who fled from the plains before their Brahminical conquerors, are to be found among those two mountain ranges which are on both sides of the Nerbudda, and lie nearly parallel with its course—the Satpoora on the south, and the Vindhya on the north. Towards the east and west they form, at each extremity, a vast mountain barrier, all but impenetrable from jungles and primeval forests. Towards the western extremity, where these mountains separate Malwa from Candeish, the inhabitants are designated Bheels, who, according to Bishop Heber, were unquestionably the original inhabitants of Rajpootana, who had been driven to these fastnesses, and to a desperate mode of existence; but who, wherever they have come from, profess the religion of Brahma. This the Rajpoots themselves allow, by admitting in their traditional history that most of their principal cities and fortresses were founded by Bheel chiefs, "and conquered from them by the Children of the Sun."*

Professor Wilson states that the Bheels, and other hill-tribes, are constantly accused by Sanscrit writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of being addicted to the sanguinary worship of Aghori, which required human sacrifices.†

The Bheels excite the horror of the high-class Hindoos by eating not only the flesh of buffaloes, but of cows, an abomination which places them only above the shoemakers, who feed on dead carcases, and must dwell without the precincts of the villages. Sir John Malcolm divides the Bheels into three distinct classes. "The first of these consists of a few who, from chance or ancient residence, have become dwellers in the villages on the plains—though usually near the hills—of which they are the watchmen, and incorporated as a portion of the community; the agricultural Bheels are those who have continued their peaceful avocations after their leaders were destroyed, or forced by invaders to become freebooters; while the wild, or mountain Bheels, comprise all that portion of the tribe who, preferring savage freedom to order and industry, have lived by lawless plunder."‡

The Bheels, though prompt enough to shed blood, without the smallest scruple, in the way of regular feud or foray, are neither vindictive nor inhospitable; and thus British officers have frequently fished and hunted safely in their country, and without other guide or escort than these poor mountaineers have themselves furnished cheerfully for a bottle of brandy. At all times formidable, the Bheels became the terror of Central India under Nadir Sing. Their chiefs exercised absolute power, and their orders to commit the most atrocious crimes were rigidly executed; but on the banishment of Nadir Sing for a murder of more than ordinary cruelty, his son, who had been carefully educated at the head-quarters of Sir John Malcolm, on succeeding to his authority established such

* "Narrative of a Journey," &c.
† "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii.
‡ "Memoir of Central India."

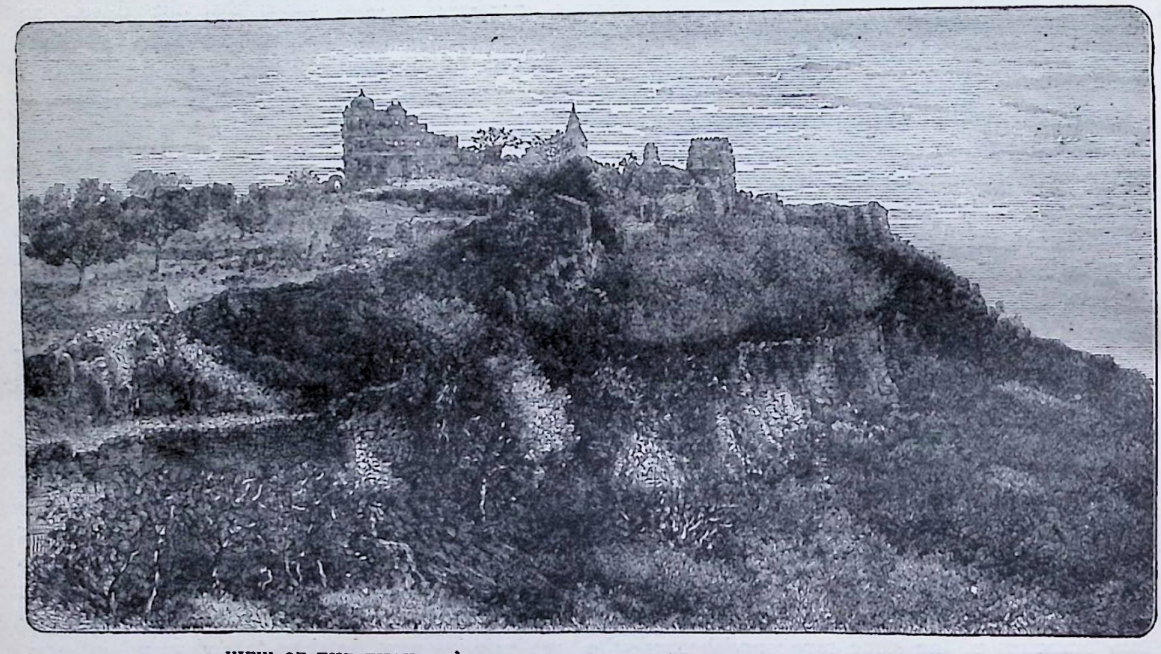
order, that there was soon after no part of the country where life and property were safer than among the once-dreaded Bheels.

Bishop Heber describes their district as being like what "Rob Roy's country" was in the last century, but adds that "these poor Bheels are far less formidable enemies than the old MacGregors." This ancient race are expert in the use of the bow, and have a curious mode of shooting from the long grass, among which they lie concealed, holding the bow with their feet. Besides their prey on the earth and in the air, they use the bow and arrow against fish in the rivers, and shoot them with great dexterity. Their bows are formed of split bamboo; the arrows are of the same, with a barbed iron head. Those used against fish have a long line attached to them, exactly on the principle of the harpoon. As Heber advanced into the country infested by the Bheels, he met caravans of Brinjarries, a wandering race, who spend their whole lives in the conveyance of grain, escorted by armed Bheels, paid for the purpose.

The bishop had a strong escort of Bheels, who led him safely through a most perilous country, abounding with ravines and rugged spots, overgrown with jungle (the most favourable of places for the spring of a tiger, or the poisoned arrows of an ambush; where, shortly before, a man had been carried off from an artillery-train on the march); but they conducted him across the rapid Mhye, and on his arrival at Wasnud, acted as watchmen to his camp, where their shrill calls from one to another were heard all night.

The name of Bheel is now no longer confined to the original race, but, in consequence of their intermarriages, and the adoption of many of their usages and modes of life by other classes of the community, is applied to all plunderers dwelling in the mountains, and in the woody parts of Western India. During a period when we ceased to interfere with them, the Bheels of the plains lost the little civilisation they had attained, and joined those of the same race in the mountains in their depredations; but, in the suppression of these, successful efforts were made by Captain (afterwards General) Briggs, our political agent in Candeish, and by Sir John Malcolm, in Malwa, who raised a corps of Bheels, disciplined and commanded by British officers and by their own chiefs; "and before these robbers had been a month in the service," says the latter, "I placed them as a guard over treasure, which had a surprising effect, both in elevating them in their own minds, and in those of other parts of the community."

Sir John did more; to inspire greater confidence, and exalt these bold and hardy men in their own estimation, he actually took, as his personal attendants, some of the most desperate of the plundering chiefs. Elsewhere, towards the eastern extremity of the mountain ranges referred to, and where the ranges that separate Bengal and Orissa from Berar attain their greatest height, are various ancient and



VIEW OF THE THAKOUR'S CASTLE AT TINTONI, IN THE BHEEL COUNTRY.

predatory races, such as the Koles and Khands, to whom we may have to refer at another period; but the Gonds, who sheltered Apa Sahib, are by far the most numerous of these, and spread from the



GROUP OF GONDS OR GOUNDS.

southern and western limits of Behar into Berar, and away westward, along the valley of the Nerbudda; but the fiercest families of the race are to be found in Vasateri.

They gave their name to Gondwana (or Gundwanah), a district comprising 70,000 square miles, and containing a vast population, differing in physiognomy and religion from the Hindoos, but still retaining their primitive habits, under their indigenous chiefs. Some adhere to the laws of Menou; but others there are who have no aversion to the flesh of the cow and buffalo. The Gonds are strongly and handsomely made, for Orientals; their complexion varies from deep to light copper colour, and the expression of their features shows acuteness and resolution. They are still expert in the use of the bow and sling, and handle sharp battle-axes. Agriculture is in a prosperous condition among them, and they are equally good tillers of the soil as they are warriors in the field.

Their dress consists of a cloth bound round the middle, and hanging down like a short skirt; but their war costume is more elaborate.

Though fierce, they are full of hospitality, and no stranger can appear in a Gond village without being invited to enter. A guest can never be excluded, and he is treated as if he were one of the family; and even though known to be a murderer, his life is held sacred. In special cases, such as those connected with human sacrifice, there is periodically manifested among them a savage ferocity, exceeding that of the old American Indians; and to this must be added the habit of pillage in most, and of drunkenness in all. "At the season of periodical intoxication—the blowing of the *maw* flower, of which their favourite spirit is made—the country is literally covered with frantic and senseless groups of men. And though, usually, the women share more sparingly in the liquor-cup, they yet on public occasions partake in every form of social enjoyment—food, drink, extemporary song, recitations, and dancing, mingling freely and without shame with the other sex, both married and unmarried, in more than saturnalian licence and revelry, which often terminate in gross and nameless excesses, and, as the guests are armed, not unfrequently in sanguinary brawls."*

It was not until 1836 that the British authorities at Ganjam and Vizianagur first became aware that the Gonds were in the habit of offering up human sacrifices, and that victims were freely supplied to them by their neighbours of the plains, from whom they purchased or kidnapped children. Many plans were proposed for the repression of this horrible custom, and some of our officers strove, but with only partial success, to reason the chiefs into the abandonment of human sacrifices; and in some instances the victims were rescued by our soldiers at the point of the bayonet, while some of the kidnappers that supplied this dreadful market were tried for the offence.

One who had undertaken to furnish a victim, and had provided one, whom the authorities rescued, was compelled to substitute his own daughter, and the girl was barbarously sacrificed. Captain Macpherson, an energetic and humane officer, who resided in the Gond country, under the orders of the Supreme Government, displayed a singular ability and courage, in combating with this cruel practice by alternate persuasion and force. Some of the chiefs seemed to have honestly conformed to his wishes; but others temporised and deceived him as occasion offered, and the dreadful sacrifices went on in secret.

* Captain Macpherson.

It was no sooner known that Apa Sahib had taken refuge among this remarkable community, than he was joined by various Gond chiefs, as professed adherents of the Rajah of Berar, and by many wandering bands of Pindarees, Mahrattas, Arabs, and other outlaws, whom the course of events had cast forth to feed themselves by pillage and the sword. The whole strength of them amounted to 20,000 men, and these, breaking into parties of somewhere about 2,000 each, commenced a furious war of outposts upon the British detachments cantoned or encamped in different places. Apa's chief protector among the Gonds was Chain Shah, who had usurped the rights of his nephew, chief of Harai, and by extending his authority over many districts, had his stronghold among the Mahadeo Hills, on the east of the road between Hoshungabad and Nagpore.

As no regular campaign could be begun at the season of the year when this remarkable muster took place, it was necessary to confine the depredations of Apa's people to as narrow limits as possible, and also to prevent any general revolt in his favour; and for this double purpose, bodies of troops from Nagpore, Hoshungabad, and Saugor, were posted in various parts of the Nerbudda Valley, adjacent to the hills. Despite this, a body of Arabs, descending from the head of the Tapti, boldly took possession of the town of Maisdi, near the source of the Purna, and situated in Gondwana. With orders to dislodge them, Captain Sparkes, with two companies of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry, but only 107 bayonets in all, on the 18th July, 1818, pushed on from Hoshungabad to Baitool, a large fortified town in Gondwana, the whole of which country being a succession of the wildest mountains, ravines, rivers, and jungles, was admirably adapted for a desultory and protracted warfare. Stronger detachments followed him on the 20th; but Sparkes, an ardent and courageous officer, pushed on without waiting for them, and quickly encountered a body of horse, which retreated before him. Following rashly, he suddenly found himself confronted by 2,000 cavalry, and 1,500 infantry.

There was nothing for the little party of British and sepoys now but to fight and die where they stood. Captain Sparkes took up the first position that presented itself, at the edge of a ravine, and notwithstanding the extreme disparity of numbers, maintained his ground for some hours, till he lost half his men, and had expended nearly every cartridge. He then displayed a white flag, but it was disregarded. Indeed, it was vain to hope for truce with, or quarter from, such foes; and he had

to make up his mind to die sword in hand. He was shot dead while in the act of leading somewhere about fifty men to a charge, in the wild hope of cutting a passage through, or avenging those who had fallen.

The Arabs closed round them like a living flood, and every man of the party was hacked to pieces, save nine, who had been left in the rear to guard the baggage. In the strong country, eastward of Nagpore, a powerful chief openly declared for the deposed Apa, and other jungle chiefs followed his example, but they were reduced to obedience, and punished by a detachment of our troops, under Major Wilson; yet in the Baitool Valley the Arabs levied heavy contributions in the name of Apa Sahib, and succeeded in destroying another detachment of troops on outpost duty; and now the name of Apa was beginning to become as formidable as those of Cheetoo and Trimbukjee had been.

To avert the consequences that were likely to ensue, a great reward was offered for his apprehension, while troops were advanced simultaneously from Hoshungabad, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Jaulnah; but the inclemency of the weather and the wretched state of the roads retarded their progress so much, that the enemy won new successes. Early in August they had gained possession of the town of Moultee, by the connivance of the civil magistrates; and after capturing several other places, planted their colours within forty miles of Nagpore.

Great alarm prevailed there, all the more so that a conspiracy against the young rajah had been discovered; but the impediments to our troops on the march having been surmounted, the work of retaliation began. The disorderly hordes were driven from all their posts on the plain, were followed into the mountains, and made to pay dearly for all their aggressions; and before the close of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Whittington Adams had matured a plan for the invasion of the Mahadeo Hills,* and established posts of infantry and cavalry round the whole district occupied by Chain Shah.

In the month of February, 1819, Adams opened the campaign in a regular manner, and began to penetrate into the mountains from the Valley of the Nerbudda, advancing in three separate columns, from which parties were detached to penetrate into every recess and place of refuge. Thus Chain Shah was soon taken prisoner, and the head-quarters of Apa Sahib were suddenly beaten up. At the head of a few well-mounted men, he anticipated the movement, by flying on the spur in the direction of Aseerghur, where he hoped to find shelter and protection. A bold attempt was made to intercept him, but he dashed down a deep ravine, where in the darkness of the night our cavalry could not follow him, and ere long found himself before its gates. He must have been taken by the soldiers of Sir John Malcolm, had he not been admitted by the garrison of matchlock-men, who excluded, as we have elsewhere stated, Cheetoo the Pindaree, and left him to his miserable fate.

In according this shelter, Jeswunt Rao Lar, the killedar, was actuated by friendship for Apa, whom he wished to save, and though in the service of Scindia, their ally, by his hatred of the British.

But now, either because Jeswunt was personally afraid to harbour him, or because Apa expected soon to hear the din of the British cannon against Aseerghur, he fled again, in the safe disguise of a religious mendicant, to Boorhanpore, and from thence through Malwa to Gwalior. Yet Scindia was afraid to protect him, though well disposed to do so; and the deposed prince could find no shelter till he passed into the Punjaub, and was rescued in a friendly manner by Runjeet Sing, the King of Lahore.

At a subsequent period, the Rajah of Jodpore, on becoming responsible for his peaceable conduct, was permitted to afford him an asylum.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

PREPARATIONS AGAINST ASEERGHUR—ITS SIEGE AND CAPTURE—CLOSE OF THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS.

ASEERGHUR, known among our troops as "the Gibraltar of the East," was now before them. The expectation that Apa Sahib might seek a shelter there had early occurred to the Governor-General; and Scindia, who, previous to the war, had engaged to yield it up to us for temporary occupation, was now called upon to do so. He complied with apparent

* "Mem. of Adams," *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1837.

readiness, but sent to Jeswunt Rao Lar a secret message to hold out to the last, and at the same time an order to Sir John Malcolm, or rather an authority to receive over the fortress, and then retired to Gwalior, to wait the issue of events. In consequence of Scindia's scheme, his killedar, by artful evasions, spun out the time of handing over the fortress till Apa Sahib had actually been within its gates and permitted to escape. By the former act—the latter event was unknown as yet—but still more by his firing on our troops when in pursuit of Cheetoo, it became evident that by dint of cannon-shot alone he would be induced to yield up the fortress; and then Sir John Malcolm and General Doveton were instructed to employ the troops under their command in reducing it. Accordingly they marched to its vicinity, and took up their ground, the former on the north and the latter on the south of it, in the first days of March, 1819.

The stronghold consisted of an upper and lower fort, and of a partially-walled pettah to the westward. The upper fort crowned the summit of an isolated rock of the Satpoora range, fully 750 feet in height, and having an area measuring 1,100 yards in extreme length by 600 in width. Within this area were two natural hollows or basins, which held water for the supply of the garrison. "As we approached Aseerghur," wrote an officer of the (Old) 15th Bengal Infantry, "it looked uninvitingly down upon us, on a detached hill 700 feet in height, having at the foot of its walls a precipice of mural rock, varying from 80 to 120 feet in depth, unbroken, except in two places, to protect which all that native ingenuity could do was done. The fortress was garrisoned, too, by Arabs, who generally make a stubborn defence, and we all concluded that to plant the British flag on the frowning battlements above us would prove no bloodless achievement."

The rock was so carefully scarped as to render access impossible, save at the two points referred to, and the protections there were strong. The one to the north, the more difficult of the two, was defended by an outer rampart, containing four casemates, with embrasures eighteen feet high and the same in thickness, and 190 feet in length, across the approach. The other point, the easier and, consequently, more used avenue, after ascending from the pettah to the lower fort, which was defended by a rampart thirty feet high, flanked with towers, was continued by a steep flight of stone steps, traversed by five successive gateways, all of the most solid masonry. All the guns arming the works of this great hill fortress were of the most enormous calibre; and there was one, in particular, which carried a ball of 380 pounds weight, and was supposed by the natives to be capable of sending it to Boorhanpore, fourteen miles distant. Another, made of brass, was a 144-pounder.

Active operations were commenced on the 18th of March. On the preceding night, at twelve o'clock, five companies of the 1st Royal Scots, under Captain George A. Wetherall, with the flank companies of H.M. 30th and 67th, and the Madras Europeans, with five companies of native infantry and a detachment of Sappers and Miners (all forming a portion of the Hyderabad division), the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Fraser, of the 1st Royal Scots, began their march from Neembolah, seven miles from Aseerghur, to attack the pettah of that place, in conjunction with another party sent out from the division of Sir John Malcolm.

By two on the morning of the 18th, the column was struggling up a stony nullah, the bed of a nearly dry river, and getting, unobserved, within 500 yards of the walls, rushed at the gate with the greatest spirit, Fraser, with his Royal Scots, leading the way. Taken completely by surprise, the Arabs in the pettah, after firing a few rounds of grape, retired into the lower fort without making further opposition. The Royals then forced the gates, and in proceeding up the main street encountered a picket of the enemy, who retired to the fort, firing into the head of the column as they did so.

Major Charles MacLeod, H.E.I.C.S., Deputy Quartermaster-General, acted as guide on this occasion, and by his direction the leading files of the Royal Scots pursued the enemy close under the walls of the fortress, from whence an incessant fire of artillery and matchlocks blazed out on the dark morning sky, and a few ill-directed rockets were also discharged.

"The leading sections of the Royal Scots, which had pursued the enemy up-hill, were joined by one or two files of the 30th and 67th Regiments, the whole amounting to about twenty-five or thirty men; and as soon as the enemy saw the small force before which they had so precipitately fled, they immediately rallied and came down the hill, with augmented numbers, to attack this party, but were repulsed by a spirited charge with the bayonet, which, with a few rounds of musketry, obliged them to retreat within the works, some of which were within fifty or sixty yards of this handful of men, leaving their chief, who was shot by a soldier of the Royal Scots, and several men on the ground." The pettah was won, and with trifling

loss to that regiment alone, one soldier was killed, Major MacLeod, a subaltern, and eleven soldiers were wounded. The remainder of the column was without a casualty, the men being protected from the enemy's fire by the houses in which they had taken shelter.*

The assaulting party maintained its post in the town till nightfall, when it was relieved by fresh troops, and the five Scots companies marched back to their tents at Neembolah, but Colonel Fraser remained in the pettah to command the troops. He ordered some houses between it and the fort to be occupied. This proximity excited the alarm of the enemy, who, on the evening of the 19th, made a dash at the post and were beaten back, but not before they had succeeded in setting some of the houses on fire.

A battery to bombard the fort having now been thrown up within the town, by the 20th its wall was breached; and on that the enemy made another ferocious sally, and so sudden was their rush along the main street, that many of our officers were still in the houses, past which the yelling Arabs ran, in their headlong career, with sabre and matchlock. Though thrown into disorder at first, the troops soon drove them back; but Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser fell in the act of leading on his men. A ball pierced his head. His remains were sent to Neembolah, and buried there with military honours.

On the 21st of March, the five companies of the Royal Scots were again on duty in the pettah. That day, a magazine in rear of the breaching battery, containing 130 barrels of powder, exploded, killing a native officer and thirty-four sepoys, and wounding another native officer and sixty-five rank and file. Immediately on this taking place, the Arabs were seen rushing down the hill to profit by the confusion; but the battery re-commenced its fire, and they were deterred from coming on. On the 30th, the lower fort was taken possession of by Sir John Malcolm, and on the 31st, General Watson arrived from Saugor, with a brigade; and as our batteries were pressed closer to the fort, the troops suffered much from the enemy's matchlocks and wall-pieces, till opposed by some selected marksmen.

By the 2nd of April the ammunition was so much expended that General Malcolm offered a reward for every cannon-ball that was brought him, and some of the Madras camp-followers madly risked their lives to carry off those that lay at the foot of the walls. By the 7th, these were crumbling fast under our artillery. Next morning, all our batteries kept up an unceasing roar of guns and mortars from dawn till eight a.m., when orders came to suspend firing; and all that followed is thus related by one who was present (for the killedar, fearing the fate of his comrade at Talnere, had begged for a parley):—

"About eleven o'clock p.m. of the 8th, the 1st battalion of the 15th Regiment was ordered to march, and join H.M. 67th Regiment at a point near the pettah. At four a.m. of the 9th, we understood that the fort would be surrendered, and at five, we learned that the garrison was marching out with their arms. Shortly afterwards, the British flag was hoisted on the western tower, under a royal salute from all our batteries, quite deafening. I was ordered up with our Right (company) Grenadiers to take duty at the upper gates, from whence I had a fine view of a scene of some solemnity—General Doveton receiving the submission of the killedar, Jeswunt Rao Lar, and his garrison. A square was formed by Sir John Malcolm's division, within which our late opponents passed in bodies of varying numbers, each conducted by its respective sirdar. As one group arrived before the general, it halted, grounded its matchlocks, and the men were then told they might keep their shields and daggers, that private property would be respected, and subsistence and a secure escort furnished. The surrendering party salaamed, and marched off to make way for another body, which performed the same ceremony. The whole number of those that filed through the square amounted to 1,300. The Arab will resist to death any attempt to tear his arms from him, but he will quietly ground them, as the consequence of a formal capitulation. His dagger he considers invaluable: it is handed down as an heirloom from father to son. The loss of the enemy during the siege was 120 killed and wounded; while we had eleven European officers, four native officers, and 308 non-commissioned and rank and file killed and wounded. . . . . Troops from the three presidencies were collected at Aseerghur, against which we brought 100 pieces of ordnance. Within the lower and upper fort we found, altogether, 119 pieces of ordnance."† Among these were the two great guns already referred to.

The writer mentions that the chief luxury of the troops during the hot April, under the sun of the Deccan, was the delicious grape of Boorhanpore. The fortress, with a small surrounding tract of jungle, has been retained by the British ever since, though, according to agreement, they were only entitled to temporary occupation of it; but, apart from not finding Apa Sahib within its walls—which

* "War Office Records, 1st Royals."

† "Some Account of the 15th B. N. I." 1835.

Sir John Malcolm was confident he should do—a somewhat unexpected discovery rendered our never parting with it necessary.

It was known that Bajee Rao, the now captive Peishwa, had deposited valuable jewels in Aseerghur. Jeswunt Rao Lar, on being ordered to produce them, declared that they had been returned. This was disbelieved, on which he offered to show the receipt of the Peishwa for them. This document an officer who was present discovered to be in the handwriting of Scindia. On this, Jeswunt Rao Lar betrayed such manifest confusion, that the casket from which he drew it was seized, and its contents inspected; and the pretended receipt, which he probably supposed they were unable to read, proved to be Scindia's distinct orders to the killedar to obey all commands he might receive from the Peishwa, and to refuse to deliver up the fort to the British. When Scindia was charged with this double-dealing, he did not in any way venture to deny it, but attempted a lame species of apology, to the effect that any messages sent to the killedar were mere matters of course, as it was well-known that that officer "would only do what was pleasing to himself!"

Further, to give some colouring to this explanation, he admitted having invited the Peishwa to Gwalior, merely because the cordon of our troops rendered it impossible for him to go there; but perhaps his best justification of all this double-dealing was his candid remark: "How natural it was for a man, seeing a friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out the hand and speak words of comfort, though aware that he could give him no assistance."

In consequence of this, we retained Aseerghur, which has always been considered a place of high importance, in a military point of view, as it commands one of the great passes of the Deccan into Hindostan; and by its possession we were fully enabled to restrain the excesses of the Bheels among the adjacent mountains. When taken in the campaigns of Wellesley and Lake, it had been unwisely restored to Scindia, though, in addition to its other advantages, it was well situated as a great depôt.

While these events had been in progress at Aseerghur, the Gonds had been severely chastised; and, after his capture, the chief, Chain Shah, was deposed, and placed a prisoner in the Company's fortress of Chanda, where he died in 1820. As the best means of protecting the country on the Nerbudda, part of his territories were seized by the Company, and some forts and new posts were permanently occupied by troops, who levied a tax on all pilgrims bound to the shrine of the Mahadeo Temple, and in all the passes that led to it. This had formerly been a source of revenue to the Gond chiefs, and it fluctuated according to the pressure that could be brought to bear upon the pilgrims.

The British now fixed it at a regular rate, and divided the money among the chiefs; and the permanent occupation of the district led to a vast improvement among its savage denizens. The capture of Aseerghur was the closing operation of the Pindaree-Mahratta war, during which there occurred a remarkable number of sieges, of forced marches by day and night, with every toil and privation to the troops, to which were added the terror of a new and dreadful enemy—the cholera. We had captured more than thirty hill fortresses, with most defective engineering appliances; and so deficient was the army in artillery and engineer officers, that there was never enough of them to afford any relief when employed in the same siege. Hence, at Aseerghur, the officers of the Madras Artillery, as we are told by Lieutenant Edward Lake, of the Engineers, lived night and day in the batteries.*

One of the great results of this war was, as Princep states, "the complete deliverance of a portion of Hindostan and of the Deccan, comprehending a space of nearly forty geographical degrees, from the most destructive form of military insolence."

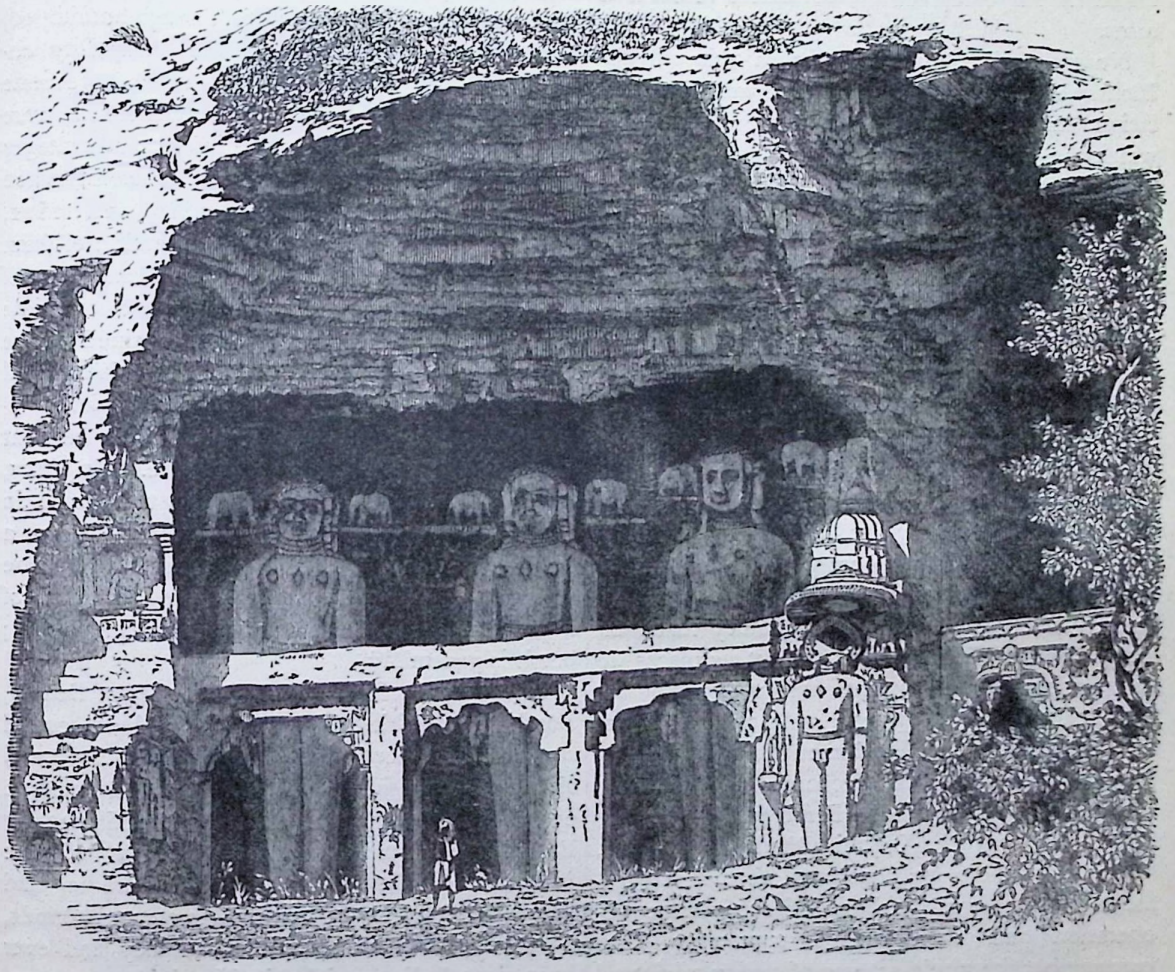
The military preparations made by the Marquis of Hastings for the struggle may seem too great for the occasion, which was the suppression of a vast number of well-armed, reckless, and predatory military hordes, who, though mustering by tens of thousands, would never venture on one pitched battle; but to achieve the end in view, there was a great extent of hostile territory to cover, and, as we have shown, many forts, mostly garrisoned by resolute Arabs, to reduce. The Pindarees, though restless and destructive, were by no means formidable alone; but if well supported, might, as a nucleus, have become dangerous indeed. As it was, three of the Mahratta powers took the field against us; had he not been anticipated and checkmated in his movements by the sudden and judicious advance of Lord Hastings, Scindia too would have drawn the sword; but by the powerful armies brought forth, the chiefs of the confederation were overawed, compelled to consult their own safety, and one by one were beaten in detail.

"The total annihilation of the Pindarees," says Princep, "and of other predatory associations, would alone have been sufficient for the purpose; but the

* "Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army," 1825.

finishing hand has been put to that useful and necessary work, by erecting a barrier against all manner of usurpation from henceforward, whether by mere adventurers and soldiers of fortune, or by one legitimate chief upon his less powerful neighbour. A solid and permanent form of government, good or bad, will have been set over this vast space, which, for half a century, has been the area of continued anarchy and devastation; such a government as will secure its subjects, at least, from all external violence; and the example of the territory occupied by the Bundela chiefs and by the Sikhs, to say nothing of the Mysore dominions, is abundantly sufficient to show that this alone will ensure the revival of agriculture and commerce, and restore the tract to a condition of high, if not complete, prosperity. The first step is always the most difficult to take. Give but the impulse requisite to set the machine of improvement once in motion, and its own progressive power and tendency will, of itself, effect the rest, unless counteracted by the active opposition of unthrifty military despotism, like to that which has just been subverted. The first step will have been secured by the universal establishment of regular authority, and by the measures adopted for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in every quarter. For thus much, those under whose administration this advance has been effected will, at any rate, have a claim upon the lasting gratitude of the human race."*

To Sir John Malcolm finally fell the arduous task of achieving all this in much of Central India.



VIEW OF THE CAVERN OF TIRTHANKARS, NEAR GWALIOR.

Up to the time of this Pindaree-Mahratta war, the non-interference system had been substituted for vigorous policy, in what a writer describes as the vain and selfish expectation that we might increase our own security by leaving the native states to waste themselves by preying upon each other; thus we had permitted a general anarchy to prevail, and could not be roused to a sense of the true position we were called upon to maintain, till we began to count the cost, and discovered that in

* Princep's "Narrative of British India," 1820.

order to exclude the growing anarchy from our own boundaries, we were incurring as much, if not more, expense than if we boldly drew the sword to suppress it, and by war enforced peace. Lord Hastings, by his judicious muster of great forces, showed Britain's actual power in India, and from that period her Government was recognised as the umpire in all quarrels between native states of sovereign rank, and hence an appeal to her decision began to replace the invariable recourse to arms.

No grand battle was fought in this singular Pindaree-Mahratta war; yet great was the revolution effected, and many were the instances in which the superiority of British skill and courage was made manifest, and also, how greatly the capacity of that combined action which perfect discipline gives, is superior to the bravest, but desultory, efforts of irregular troops. Holkar, once so formidable in arms as to be able to defy our power, was left in possession of little more than half his original possessions, and these so trammelled and dismembered as to be incapable of acting in concert; Scindia so crushed and crippled, that he could no longer even countenance those to whom he had once proffered armed support; Apa of Nagpore deposed, deprived of half his territories, a fugitive while another occupied his throne; the last of the Peishwas abolished, a pensioner on our bounty, and his once warlike country made an integral part of British India. In other places we had made many accessions, and many alliances as valuable as territory won. Among the latter were the treaties formed with the Rajahs of Jodpore, Jeypore, Jesselmer, and Bicaneer, and with the lesser chiefs of Dungerpore, Pertabgurh, Banswara, Siroki, Krishnaghur, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kotah. With all of these we contracted formal engagements, on the general basis of subordinate co-operation and acknowledged supremacy, thus carrying out the whole scheme of policy originated by the Marquis of Wellesley.

In the achievement of this great end, Colonel Valentine Blacker states that the number of British officers killed and wounded amounted to 134, and the number of inferior ranks to 3,042; while the series of campaigns lasted from the 5th of November, 1817, to the 13th of May, 1819.*

This vast extension of territory and influence was not contemplated when Lord Hastings first took the field for the suppression of what was simply known as the predatory system; for when the Pindarees were expelled, or driven back to their old haunts, the recovered territories were not retained as lawful conquests, but restored to those to whom they originally belonged. So far as the Mahratta princes were concerned, by their secret treacheries and open hostilities, they drew the war upon themselves, and courted their own ruin; and after having to fight them as we did at Koreigaum, the Seetabuldee Hills, and Maheidpore, no alternative was left us but to break up their confederation and crush their power for ever. Though humiliated, both Scindia and Holkar, by the tranquillity enforced in their territories, gained more in revenue than they drew before those territories were curtailed; and concerning the indirect advantages secured to the former, Sir John Malcolm, when contrasting Central India in 1817 and 1821, says:—"The saving in actual expenditure, from reductions alone, cannot be less than twenty lacs of rupees per annum; and it is difficult to calculate the amount of money and tranquillity gained by the extinction of men such as Bapoo Scindia and Jeswunt Rao Bhao, and other leaders who commanded those bodies of his army which were at once the most useless and expensive. In 1817, there was not one district belonging to Scindia in Central India that was not, more or less, in a disturbed state; in 1821 there existed not one enemy to the public peace. The progress of improvement in his territories differs in every part; but it is general."†

After the fall of Aseerghur, the armies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, returned to their several stations throughout these three presidencies; and all those vast regions which had been traversed in every direction by such masses of armed men, by British and native troops, in pursuit of the Mahrattas of the Peishwa, Holkar, Scindia, and Nagpore, of Arabs, Patans, Pindarees, and Gonds, became quieter and happier than they had ever been since India was inhabited by the human race. For more than thirty years previous, the province of Malwa and the whole of Central India had been pillaged, oppressed, and devastated by the Mahrattas of every tribe, by Pindarees, and the Rajpoot princes; these different powers acted sometimes in concert, but more frequently against each other; but all were alike cruel and rapacious, in carrying off spoil and women; and no power but that of Britain could save the oppressed and overburdened people, whose greatest calamity was the incessant change of masters.

* "Operations of the British Army in India."

† Malcolm's "Central India."

CHAPTER XCIX.

BRITISH RULE IN CENTRAL INDIA—THE KANDYAN WAR AND CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

To the great Sir John Malcolm, who had so ably assisted "in subduing the sanguinary anarchists," and expelling the Pindarees, the Governor-General assigned the difficult task of restoring order out of the chaos which had been produced by the long years of war and pillage. He was appointed to the civil and military command of Malwa, which had suffered more than any other part of India, and the soil of which is extremely fertile, producing cotton, opium, sugar, indigo, and tobacco, together with rich pasture for numerous flocks and herds. Like Bengal, and some other provinces, Malwa has two harvests, and the whole soil is well watered by affluents of the Ganges. Of this noble district, Sir John Malcolm wrote in terms more flattering than of those of Scindia.

"The revenues of Holkar from his possessions in Malwa and Nemaur were, in 1817, 441,679 rupees (£44,167); in 1819-20, they were 1,696,183 rupees (£169,618). The expenses of the collection were, four years ago, from thirty-five to forty per cent.; they do not now exceed fifteen per cent.; there being, in fact, hardly any *sebundy*, or revenue corps, kept up. The proximity of British troops, with the knowledge of the support and protection which that Government affords to the Holkar territories, has hitherto continued to preserve them in tranquillity."

Such were the indirect advantages which accrued to our old enemy by our interference in the affairs of Central India. Prior to the appointment of Malcolm, the land was full of ruined or deserted villages; the ferocious tigers of the jungles possessed the whole country, and fought with the famished inhabitants returning to their fields and roofless homes. In Malwa alone, out of 3,701 villages, only 2,038 were inhabited; 1,663 were "without lamp"—wholly deserted; but under Malcolm's rule they were speedily restored and re-peopled, and in less than five years from the time when our troops garrisoned the district, he boasted, with honest pride, that Malwa in particular, and Central India in general, were fast progressing in population and prosperity. "It may be asserted," says he, "that history affords few examples where a change in the political condition of a country has been attended with such an aggregate of increased happiness to its inhabitants, as that which was effected within four years in Central India; and it is pleasing to think that, with the exception of suppressing a few Bheel robbers, peace was restored, and has hitherto been maintained without one musket being fired."

So long had the hapless people been accustomed to turbulence and arbitrary rule, that, on finding British troops among them, they were naturally first inspired by doubt and alarm, and a fear of outrage and insult. But these emotions soon passed away, when the strict discipline and gentle bearing of the troops became apparent, and they were welcomed everywhere as friends and protectors; while for the general organisation of the country, well-educated and intelligent British officials were sent to all parts of it, with the happiest results.

"These agents, within their respective circles, have not only by their direct intercourse with all classes established great influence, but spread a knowledge of our character and intentions, which has increased respect and confidence; and they have almost in all cases succeeded, by arbitration of differences and the settlement of local disputes, in preserving the peace of the country *without troops*. The most exact observance of certain principles is required from these officers, and their line is very carefully and distinctly prescribed. The object has been to escape every interference with the internal administration of the country beyond what the preservation of the public peace demanded." *

Elsewhere, the people were conscious of the happiness that became their lot by the conquest of the Mahrattas and the extirpation of the roving Pindarees. Bishop Heber tells us that, in 1824, he overheard some villagers, who were comparing the peaceful times of British rule with those when Ameer Khan and Scindia, with their mounted spearmen, "spoiled all the land, smote the people, and burned all the cities through Mewar and Marwar, till thou comest unto the salt wilderness." He also heard them expatiate exultingly on the cheapness of grain; "and, when such have been the effects of British supremacy," adds the good Bishop of Calcutta, "who will refuse to pray for the continuance of our empire?" †

The Puar States of Dhar and Dewas — the former 400 miles in extent, and the latter a province of Malwa, which had suffered so much from depredations of the Loandies as to be almost

* "Memoir of Central India."

† "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces."

depopulated—commenced a new career of hitherto unknown prosperity when that war terminated, which was, says Malcolm, "not an attack upon a state, or upon a body of men, but upon a *system*. It was order contending against anarchy. . . . . The victory gained was slight, comparatively speaking, over armies to what it was over mind. The universal distress which a series of revolutions must ever generate, had gone its circle, and reached all ranks and classes. The most barbarous of those who subsisted on plunder had found that a condition of continued uncertainty and alarm could not be one of enjoyment."

All that Scindia lost by the war was, principally, the fortress of Aseerghur, as all the provinces taken from him by the Pindarees were restored by us; and the wilder portion of his territories became prosperous immediately after his useless and marauding army was broken up. British bayonets, at Maheidpore, had scattered for ever the overgrown army of Holkar, whose battalions were not re-embodied, and he was left with but 200 men to guard his palace. A few light guns, and 3,000 horse, sufficed for the police duties of his dominions.

In Malwa, within three years, Indore arose from its desolation, and became a populous and flourishing capital. Everywhere new villages sprang up; lands were drained and tilled; forests, long abandoned to the tiger and other wild animals, or deemed impenetrable, were cleared, and the timber sold with profit. In addition to the Bheels and Gonds, the Grassias, who held all the hill forts, and the Sondwarrees, were speedily suppressed. It is recorded that, when our armies first entered Central India, the country along the banks of the Nerbudda, and in the Vindhya Mountains, which run from Behar to Goojerat, was not safe even for troops to pass; and, till the end of 1818, when a British force was first cantoned at Mhow, the banditti of the hills continued their depredations. But Malcolm proceeded resolutely and perseveringly; and ultimately, industry, prosperity, and good order, were introduced, from the territories of Bhopal to those of Goojerat on the right bank of the river, and from Hindia to Burwannee on the left bank.

By exchanges with the Guicowar, and by arrangements made with some minor princes, a continuous and uninterrupted dominion was obtained from Bombay to Calcutta, and from Madras to Bombay, thus completing the communication between the three presidencies.*

In 1819, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had continued to act as commissioner at Calcutta, became Governor of Bombay, on the resignation of Sir Evan Nepean, Bart., who died three years after. On leaving Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone sent to the Supreme Government at Calcutta a comprehensive report on the affairs of that district, relating all he had done for the establishment of good order, and suggesting much that there yet remained to do. He also drew a contrast between the condition of the people under the present rule of the Company and that which they had endured under their Peishwas.

"No servant of that Company," says a writer on India, "no Governor or Governor-General that had yet visited the shores of India, was so well qualified as Mr. Elphinstone to govern the natives, or so full of truly liberal and lofty principles of government. He went to India a stripling, and he never once quitted the country (except to go into Afghanistan) for the long space of thirty years, during the whole of which time he had been constantly and successfully employed, either in public business or in adding to his store of knowledge. Nor was there, we believe, in all that time, a single individual that approached him, native or European, but was impressed with a sense of his humanity, generosity, and most manly honesty and integrity."

The veteran Marquis of Hastings made little money by the great offices he enjoyed in India, as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, as he spent the emoluments in support of their dignity, and in the reward of merit wherever he found it, especially in those whose circumstances were straitened; but, as some acknowledgment for the fortunate climax of the late war, the Directors of the Company voted him £60,000 to purchase an estate; and he it was who influenced the Home Government in procuring the extension of the Order of the Bath to the officers of their service, who had hitherto been excluded from it. Before even the conclusion of the war, fifteen of their most distinguished had received the Cross of Knight-Commander. The first, then, as we have stated, was the veteran David Ochterlony, who had been more than forty years in India, and had served under Colonel Pearse, Sir Eyre Coote, and the gallant Popham.

It was in the camp at Terwah that the marquis had the pleasure of investing Sir David, with his own hand, on the 20th March, 1818, when he said:—

"Sir David Ochterlony, you have obliterated a distinction painful for the officers of the Honourable Company, and you have opened the doors for your brothers in arms to a reward which their recent display of exalted spirit and invincible intrepidity

* Colonel Blacker's "Operations of the Brit. Army," 1817-19.

show could not be more deservedly extended to the officers of any army on earth." *

The marquis was always kind and considerate to the native army, and he knew well how to flatter the self-esteem of the sepoys. When he took the field against the Mahrattas, a report reached some of his staff that assassins had been hired by those powers for his destruction, and as they feared that such people might gain admittance to his tent at night through the negligence or, it might be, the treachery of his native guards, European patrols were established round it.

These were heard by the marquis, and on learning the cause of them, he ordered their discontinuance; and, assembling the native company on duty as his guard, he told them that he had done so, adding, that his trust in *them* was implicit, that nowhere could he consider himself safer than with them around him. His lordship might, and probably did after this, retire to rest with a firm conviction, that the hearts and watchful eyes not only of the little band to whom he had addressed himself, but also of those of their comrades at large, would be devoted to him.

During his tenor of office, he did not send so many embassies as the Earl of Minto had done; yet he dispatched, as envoy to Cochin China and Siam, Mr. John Crawford, a learned Scottish medical man, formerly an assistant-surgeon of the Bengal army; and though, like preceding missions, it produced little commercial good, the results were some able and rare volumes of travels, which added greatly to our knowledge of those remote parts of Asia.

We have related how, in the close of the eighteenth century, we had dispossessed the Dutch of all their maritime settlements in Ceylon. Part of that wonderfully fertile isle is occupied by a somewhat savage race, named the Veddahs, who live in a free and independent state in the inaccessible mountains and forests of Bintan, behind Batticaloa. They seek their food in those deep jungles where the elephants abound, with buffaloes, wild hogs, elks, and antelopes, and they cautiously avoid all connection with the rest of the islanders, except for the purpose of bartering, with those who dwell on the border of their forests, ivory, deer-skin, dried flesh, and honey, for salt, arrows, cloth, and a few other articles. They are a robust and hardy race, courageous and resolute, but cruel and treacherous. Their language is a dialect of the Cingalese; and any notion they have of religion approaches near to Brahminism.

There were other portions of Ceylon than that occupied by the Veddahs in which our occupancy was scarcely discernible; but roughly, it was supposed, in 1800, that the British territories formed 12,000 square miles, in a broad belt, and that the dominions of the King of Kandy, which were included within that belt, covered the same number of square miles.

The island was thus pretty nearly divided between us and this potentate; and it soon became evident that a kingdom within a kingdom—a wild district, occupied by barbarians, entirely surrounded by civilised Europeans—could not be permitted to exist; hence, from the day we drove out the Dutch, and occupied the coasts and the great belt between it and the hills, the absorption of the Kandyan dominion into ours became an inevitable necessity. The influence of the Dutch had died rapidly, and at the present time their number is under 1,000; and, with the exception of a few families, they have been reduced to indigence since we captured Ceylon.

"Kandy," in the native language, means a mountain, and the term "Kandyan country," in a physical sense, is synonymous with highlands. As the heart of the island is mountainous and very woody, and every way inaccessible, the Kandyans, who were very ingenious in their mode of stockading the passes, had been able to defend their country for nearly three hundred years against Portuguese, Dutch, and all other invaders. The king was a despotic sovereign; the lives and property of his subjects were totally at his disposal; and the leading features of the government seem to have been the preservation of power by the exercise of cruelty. After the departure of the Dutch, the difficulties of invading the Kandyans were as great as ever—even greater; for by that time they had attained a knowledge of gunpowder, were armed with excellent muskets, and were more fierce and hardy than the natives of continental India.

Quarrels, always attended with bloodshed, were of constant recurrence between our people and the Kandyans, till the death of the king gave rise to a disputed succession, when some of the adigars, or chiefs, courted the intervention of Britain. The spring of 1802 saw a new monarch on the throne, and he instantly made preparations for war. Every man capable of bearing arms was ordered to be in readiness to take the field, and a party of coast merchants, British subjects, who had gone up country to purchase areca-nuts, were savagely attacked and plundered.

On this, the Hon. Frederick North (son of the Earl of Guildford), then Governor of Ceylon, sent 3,000 troops to occupy the mountain capital, and place upon

* *Calcutta Gov. Gazette.*



BURGHERS OF CEYLON.

the throne a king more favourably disposed to us. Major-General Macdowall and Colonel Barbut, who led them, penetrated the jungles, seized the town of Kandy, which stands embosomed in an amphitheatre of rocky hills, densely wooded to their very summits, and which they found deserted by its inhabitants. Macdowall crowned the pretender in the palace, with all the ceremonies used among the people, save the non-recognition of his rank by the adigars. But the general soon discovered that the newly-made king was totally without adherents in the land, and that every night our sentinels and others were killed or wounded by the bullets of ambushed marksmen, or cruelly butchered by savages, who crept upon them, knife in hand, unawares.

In some instances detachments of our troops were lured by pretended guides into secret ambuscades, and there utterly cut to pieces. Our officers and Mr. North began to feel that we had invaded a fierce and fighting race with means far from sufficient for ensuring success, when a very singular compromise was made. The general was ordered to take back to the coast the man whom he had hailed as king in Kandy, and to invest another chief, who had some adherents, with the royal name, on condition of his ceding certain districts to Britain and of peace being instantly proclaimed. Then, on the faith of this treaty, made with an ambitious traitor, Macdowall marched from Kandy to the coast, leaving behind him a garrison of 700 Malays and 300 Europeans in the barbarous little capital, together with a number of sick and wounded men. As no measures (by some inexplicable want of foresight) had been taken to secure them provisions or stores of any kind, starvation speedily stared them in the face; and to make matters worse, Major Davie, the officer in command, was without military skill, and almost destitute of simple courage.

Thus, in three months, the new king starved the troops out of Kandy. The Malays deserted, and with their arms joined the enemy *en masse;* our sick and wounded, 120 in number, were butchered as they lay in the hospital, incapable of resistance; while Davie, in seeking to make a retreat down country, instead of fighting his way through, madly capitulated in the jungles, and every man he had with him—save one corporal, who escaped by a miracle—was put to death by torture, beaten with clubs, or butchered with knives. Davie's own life was spared, but he showed himself at headquarters no more. He spent the remainder of it in



MOORISH CLOTH-SELLER OF CEYLON.

Kandy, adopting the dress and habits of the natives. Captain Edward H. Madge, of the 19th Regiment, who held a small fort, acted very differently, and at the head of his party, fought a passage to Trincomalee; while Ensign Grant, a very young officer, with a handful of invalids, defended his post bravely, and at the last extremity was relieved by a detachment from Colombo. In short, "wherever care had been taken of the commissariat, and wherever common sense and common British courage were displayed, the Kandyans were foiled; but wherever our officers were insane enough to trust to a treaty or truce with them, torture and murder followed, and hardly a man escaped with life."

During the months of August and September, 1802, the Kandyans, flushed with success and longing for more slaughter, issuing from their woody mountains, came pouring down towards Colombo, and after capturing several forts, and carrying havoc and slaughter wherever they went, halted within fifteen miles of that town; but on the arrival of reinforcements from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope, they fell back among their mountains and deep gloomy forests. To punish this invasion, detachments of troops were sent into the Kandyan territory, with orders to lay it waste wherever they went, and everywhere to destroy the houses, gardens, and stores.



MALDIVE ISLANDERS.



BUDDHIST PRIESTS OF CEYLON.

Again, in 1804, war was carried into the heart of that mountain country by a detachment under Captain Johnston, who published an account of its operations in London. He began his petty invasion without being properly supported, and had to fight his way back to Trincomalee, with the loss of two officers and fourteen European soldiers, seven Malays, fifty-four Bengal sepoys, and a great number of coolies, who perished in the leafy wilderness. For months now the desultory war went on, and was conducted with considerable barbarity, even on our side. Many were the villages given to the flames, and large were the tracts of country that were devastated; for our troops were infuriated by the fate of Davie's detachment, and by all the details of the massacre; and instead of restraining this sentiment, the officers are said to have encouraged it.

After they had once more invaded our territory, in 1805, and been driven back with loss from all the maritime districts, in the month of July, in that year, a more able governor than Mr. North came, in the person of the Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, a veteran officer, who had served in Lord Aberdour's Scottish Light Horse during the Seven Years' War. At this crisis civil war had broken out in the interior, and, for some years, the Kandyans employed their weapons on each other. During

this interval, Sir Thomas applied all his talent to undo the mischief done by his predecessor, and to improve the condition of our coast settlements. Sir James Mackintosh, the celebrated lawyer, statesman, and historian, when on his way home from Bombay (retiring from the office of recorder), visited Ceylon in 1810, and in his diary he records his admiration of General Maitland's mode of administering the affairs of the island. "By the cheerful decision of his character, and by his perfect knowledge of men, he has become universally popular amidst severe retrenchments. In an island where there was in one year a deficit of £700,000, he has reduced the expenses to the level of the revenue; and with his small army of 5,000 men, he has twice, in the same year, given effectual aid to the great government of Madras, which has an army of 70,000 men."

Leaving the Kandyan mountaineers to waste their strength on each other, he sought only—instead of attempts at conquest—to consolidate a system of government in the possessions we had acquired, to raise their value, and form laws suitable to the Cingalese.

In 1812, General (afterwards Sir Robert) Brownrigg, Bart., G.C.B., and Colonel of the 9th Regiment, succeeded Sir Thomas Maitland as governor. Just about the time he landed, a war of a singularly revolting nature, in the interior, came to an end. It had been waged between the King of Kandy and his minister, a powerful adigar. After nearly causing the prince to be assassinated, he was betrayed, taken prisoner, and, together with his nephew, beheaded, while six other adigars were impaled alive. Another nephew of the rebellious minister, named Eheglapola, having succeeded to his office in 1815, was suspected of renewing his uncle's designs upon the throne. An armed band was sent against him, and on being defeated, he fled to one of our posts, and was transmitted to Colombo; but all the members of his family, whom he had left in Kandy, were put to death by the king. Among these were his wife and children, and his brother and his brother's wife. The males were beheaded, and the females, according to the usage of the country, were drowned, while all his adherents were impaled, or flogged nigh unto death, by the shore of the lovely artificial lake on which Kandy is situated, to gratify the vengeance of the potentate who bore the name of Raja Tri Wikrama Raja Singa.

Meanwhile, to the lonely Eheglapola was assigned a house near the fort of Colombo, with a pension from General Brownrigg. Longing only for a dreadful revenge upon his uncle, promising adherents and co-operation, he passionately urged again and again upon the governor that he would agree to any terms if he were only lent some troops to aid him in the destruction of those at whose hands his family and friends had perished. Loth to meddle with such barbarians, General Brownrigg declined to afford him even an audience on the subject: the more so, as he was in daily expectation of hearing that the king was coming from his fastnesses to avenge the shelter given to a rebel; but matters were coming to a speedy issue.

Tidings came that ten cloth-merchants, who were Cingalese, but British subjects, had been seized among the hills and taken to Kandy, where they were savagely mutilated, by having their noses, ears, and right arms cut off, by the express order of the king. Seven of them expired on the spot; but the other three reached Colombo in a dreadful condition.

In the November of the same year a small column of troops, organised for service in the hilly country, took the field, under Major Lionel Hook, of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, a corps long before disbanded. Crossing the boundary river, he began his march on the 11th of January, 1816, up country. At the passage of another stream the Kandyans attempted to dispute his progress; but a few well-directed shots from a six-pound field-piece sent them flying in confusion. Proclamations in the Cingalese language were now distributed, setting forth the cause of hostility, and explaining that we made war to secure "the permanent tranquillity of our settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressors; in fine, for the submission of the Malabar dominion, which, during three generations, has tyrannised over the country."

In those expeditions against the Kandyans, our troops in the jungles often found, to their cost, how excellent a preservative against wet and damp were the giant leaves of the great talipot-tree of Ceylon, which imbibes no humidity, however much rain may fall upon it. Each of the enemy's musketeers were furnished with one talipot leaf, by means of which they kept their arms and powder perfectly dry, and thus could fire upon the invading forces, who neglected to adopt the same precaution, and had their arms and ammunition often rendered quite unserviceable by the rain and other moisture in the woods and thickets. "This beautiful tree," says a writer, "which grows in the heart of the forests, may be classed among the loftiest of trees, and becomes still higher when on the point of bursting forth from its leafy summit. The sheath

which then envelops the flower is very large, and, when it bursts, makes an explosion like the report of a cannon." *

Disgusted by the savage and suspicious temper of their king, many of the adigars remained sullenly aloof, while some assisted Major Hook, in order to co-operate with whom, seven other columns of troops, advancing from different parts of the coast, began to concentrate round Kandy. The entire strength was only 3,000 men; but this force was sufficient to make it appear that the sanguinary Raja Tri Wikrama Raja Singa had nothing to hope for now.

On all sides he was hedged in by bayonets. By the 2nd of February the second brigade from Colombo was far up in the country, and had formed its camp on some important heights, where it was joined by General Brownrigg, who halted for some days to let the rest of the troops close up.

There he received tidings that the king had quitted Kandy; then a general advance began, and on the 14th of February, Brownrigg took possession of the native capital, which was found quite deserted; but it soon became known that the fugitive king was concealed in a lonely house not far distant. On this, measures were at once taken to secure his person, and five days subsequently he was made prisoner, together with his aged mother, four wives, all his children, and some followers who adhered to his falling fortunes.

He expected that he, and all with him, would be instantly butchered like the family and friends of Eheglapola, and when assured that their lives would all be spared, and their treatment would be good and tender, the bewildered savages became suddenly contented and were happy. In charge of Major Hook, the whole of the prisoners were, under a strong escort, conveyed down to Colombo; and so indifferent had the people become to the fate of their king, that not a shot was fired, nor a bow drawn in his defence.

On the 6th of March he reached the European island capital, and instead of being placed in the fortress, which is insulated by the sea and a lake, he was, to his surprise, placed in a handsome and well-furnished house, where he exclaimed: "As I am no longer permitted to be a king, I am thankful for all this kindness." By this time our unequivocal right of conquest was admitted by all the adigars, and on the 2nd of March the British flag was hoisted over the palace at Kandy, and a salute of twenty-one guns announced that George III. was king of the island of Ceylon.

His deposed predecessor remained at Colombo until the 24th of January, 1816. He was heard more than once to assert, that until he was made prisoner by the British, he had lived in perpetual dread of assassination, so horrible had been his cruelties and excesses, which were said to be the result of fits of intemperance; and as a vast quantity of cherry-brandy bottles were found in the palace at Kandy, he is supposed to have been very fond of that liqueur.

"Your British governors," said he to Major Hook, "have an advantage over us in Kandy; they have about them counsellors who never allow them to do anything in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few executions; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided." †

On the date above given, the ex-king, and 100 other persons, were conveyed as state prisoners to continental India, and after tarrying for a time at Madras, were placed in Vellore, where the former died in 1832. Two years after his incarceration there, a dangerous insurrection broke out in the central provinces of Ceylon, and lasted till the end of 1819, when, after several encounters in the woods, it was finally suppressed by the lieutenant-governor, General Brownrigg, who, for his eminent services there, had been created a baronet in March, 1816, when the king granted him an augmentation to his armorial bearings, representing in chief, the sword, sceptre, and crown of Kandy, with a demi-Kandyan as a crest.

Since 1819, nearly uninterrupted peace has prevailed in Ceylon, and various improvements, fiscal, judicial, and commercial, have been fully carried out. The Kandyan provinces are separately administered by the governor, without the assistance of his council. There is no doubt that, of old, the possession of this fertile isle was turned to good account by the Portuguese and Dutch; although, until lately, writes a statistician in 1850, a vote of supply was annually made for the support of our Cingalese establishment. It is not in a commercial point of view alone that we are to estimate the value of this conquest, which is one, says M. Bartolacci, that, "in the event of a great reverse of fortune in India, would still afford us a most commanding position, invulnerable by the Indian powers in the peninsula, and yet so situated as to give us the greatest facility for regaining the sovereignty of that country. . . . . The harbour of Trincomalee is open to the largest fleets in every season of the year, when the storms of the south-west and north-east monsoons render impracticable, or very dangerous, the approach to other ports in India. This circumstance alone

* Thornberg.

† Dr. Marshall's "Ceylon," &c.

ought to fix our attention to that spot as peculiarly adapted to be made a strong military depôt and a place of great mercantile resort, if a generally free trade becomes effectually established from India to other parts of the world. It ought further to be observed, that the narrowness of the channel which separates the island from the continent of India, and position of Adam's Bridge, which checks the violence of the monsoons, leaves, on either side of it, a calm sea, and facilitates a passage to the opposite coast at all times of the year. A respectable European force stationed at Colombo, Jaffnapatam, or Trincomalee, can, in a very few days or hours, be landed on the Malabar and Coromandel provinces."

To the present day, the best account of the interior and of the people is that given by Captain Robert Knox, a merchant-mariner, who was taken prisoner on the coast, or kidnapped, and carried off by the king in 1659, and was there a captive for nineteen years.

CHAPTER C.

THE AFFAIRS OF CUTCH—QUARREL WITH THE AMEERS OF SCINDE—INSURRECTION IN GOOJERAT—AFFAIRS OF OUDE AND THE DECCAN—CASE OF PALMER AND CO.

It was during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings that, as we have told, Java was so unwisely restored to the Dutch, thus giving them the keys of the Straits of Malacca and the Straits of Sunda. But now we shall proceed to record some miscellaneous occurrences, for which no exact place has hitherto occurred in our narrative; and the chief of these were, perhaps, the affairs of Cutch.

The rajah of that country, Rao Barmaljee (or Bharmalji), after concluding a peaceful treaty with the British Government, had surrounded himself with reckless parasites and dissolute companions, among whom he gave loose to such intemperate habits as to impair his powers of reason; and his career now became that of a cruel and sanguinary tyrant. By his express orders Lakhpati, or Ladhuba, the young prince who had competed with him for the throne, was murdered with great barbarity; and his widow, who had been left pregnant, and afterwards bore a son, would have shared his fate but for British interference.

Candid and friendly relations with a prince of a temper so brutal could not be of long duration; thus, he foolishly began to make open military preparations against us. Forewarned by these, the British sent an additional battalion to reinforce their troops in Anjar. On this, Barmaljee, fearing to attack them, turned his troops against Kallian Sing, the father of the prince's widow, and one of the Jhareja chiefs under British protection. As it was impossible to pass over such an infringement of the treaty as this, or to omit giving the rajah a rough lesson, our troops marched against him, and at their approach he made a hasty retreat.

Pushing on, the 24th of March, 1819, saw them in front of Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, having a fort on the bank of a small river. After repulsing some heavy bodies of horse and foot, which ventured to attack them, they carried the fort by storm; and Barmaljee, on discovering the futility of further resistance, surrendered to the mercy of the British commander. The latter, acting in concert with certain Jhareja chiefs, deposed him, and the administration of Cutch was to be carried on in the name of Desal Rao, his infant son, under the direction of a British Resident and the guarantee of the Government at Calcutta.

These matters had scarcely been arranged when Cutch became the scene of one of the most dreadful earthquakes ever known in India. A vast tract of country sank down and was submerged by the invading sea, while, adjoined to it, an enormous mound of sand and earth, many miles in extent, was heaved up to a considerable height. In Bhooj, 7,000 houses were shaken to ruins, under which 1,140 persons were buried. At Anjar, 3,000 houses were destroyed, and the fort was shaken into a mere heap of stones. Many other places suffered, and simultaneous shocks were felt in other parts of India.

By the treaty concluded at Bhooj, the crime of female infanticide, which prevailed to a vast and horrible extent among the Jharejas, was to be suppressed; but now the political arrangement with Cutch gave great offence to the Ameers of Scinde, who had long had an eye to the conquest of it, and were inspired with rage and disappointment on finding themselves anticipated; and other

circumstances concurred to add to their antagonism to the British Government. The Khosas, and other predatory hordes who dwell on the skirts of the desert of Scinde, had been pillaging on the borders of Cutch and Goojerat. To suppress these robbers, the co-operation of the Ameers had been asked, and they had dispatched a body of their troops to act with a British detachment, which, under the orders of Colonel Barclay, marched from the northern frontier of Goojerat. The auxiliaries from Scinde, instead of acting against the invading Khosas, allowed them quietly to encamp in their neighbourhood, and when Barclay attacked and dispersed them, complained, oddly enough, that they themselves had been also the object of his attack.

Another ground of offence was, that in pursuing the Khosas, Colonel Barclay had violated Scindian territory. In short, the Ameers were determined on having a quarrel, and without even asking for an explanation, or making the slightest effort to have an amicable settlement, they at once took the means for redress into their own hands, and, at the head of a body of troops, burst into Cutch, which they wasted with fire and sword to within fifty miles of Bhooj, and captured the town of Loona.

Scinde is a province 300 miles long by eighty broad. Its government was a military despotism, under Ameers, who belonged to the Mohammedan sect of the Sheas. The inhabitants are also Mohammedan, and consist of forty-two tribes, which at that time could bring 36,000 horse into the field, all hardy and warlike men, who can also fight on foot. "The Scindians," says Mrs. Postans, "are a grave, sad people, and the sound of dancing, or the voice of music, is seldom heard among them. It would be strange, however, were it otherwise, where life is held as nought, when its loss may contribute to the rulers' pastime; when the ground, which should yield corn to the husbandman and fruit to the planter, is over-run with rank weeds and thorny bushes, to shelter wild and dangerous beasts; and when the villager tills the field with his sword by his side, and the grain-seller stands with his matchlock in his hand, in the market-place, to guard his property from robbery by the prince's followers."

Such was the character of the people with whom we now seemed on the eve of a dangerous quarrel. After taking Loona, on the advance of our troops towards them, they fell back; but the Bombay Government declined to overlook the bold agression, and threatened to send a column of their army into Scinde; on this, the Ameers, who were not yet quite ready to do battle with Britain, sent apologies to Bombay and to Bhooj, and disowned the proceedings of their troops. Indisposed to engage in a new war, which promised no useful result, the Marquis of Hastings accepted the pretended explanation, and concluded with the Ameers a treaty which stipulated that they should procure the liberation of all captives carried off by the Khosas, and, moreover, should restrain the latter, and all other marauders in their quarter, from raids into the territories of Britain and her allies.

Goojerat was the next source of trouble to the Governor-General. Anand Rao, its imbecile sovereign, held possession of the throne, while the government was nominally administered by his brother, Futteh Sing, under the surveillance of a British Resident. On the death of Futteh, in 1818, a younger brother, named Syajee Rao, nineteen years of age, took his place as a kind of regent, and matters continued thus till the following year, when Anand Rao died. On this occurring, Syajee became Guicowar. A youth somewhat fiery by nature, he was indisposed to forego any of his royal rights to Britain or any other power, and stated, with some truth, "That since he had been considered fit to conduct the government as regent to his predecessor, he must surely be capable of conducting it now that the sole right of sovereignty was legally vested in himself. There was no longer any occasion for the controlling presence of a British Resident."

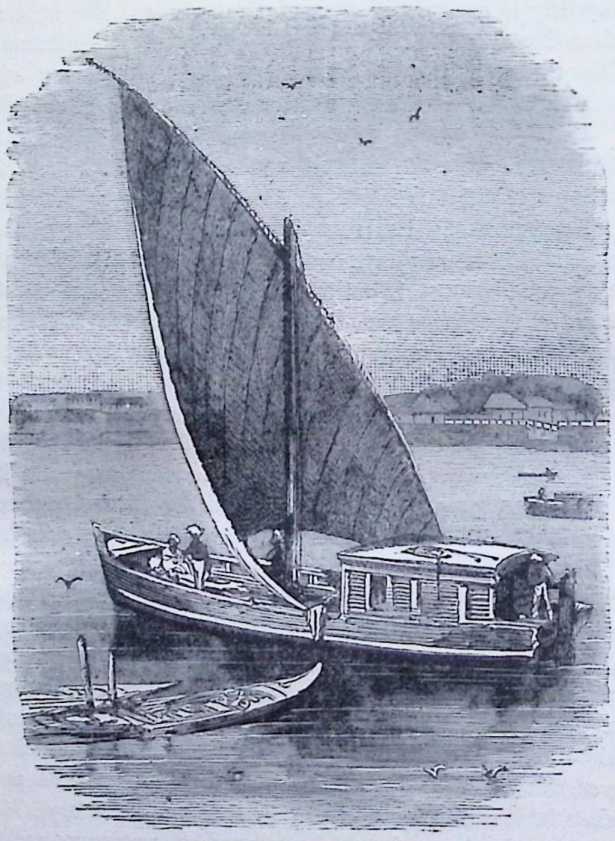
While it was impossible not to acknowledge the justice of what the young prince so plausibly advanced, it was easily foreseen at Calcutta how perilous to British interests and the prosperity of the country would be his uncontrolled exercise of royal and independent authority. Thus, the new Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, deemed it necessary and proper to visit Baroda, for the purpose of adjusting the terms of future intercourse.

The Guicowar had derived many advantages of great importance by the abolition of the Peishwa. By that event he had won much territory, and been released from heavy monetary demands; and as the British Government had undertaken the entire defence of his country, it was only deemed just that the insufficient quantity of territory ceded for subsidiary forces should be considerably increased. It was confidently supposed that the exchequer was in such a prosperous state as to be well able to bear the proposed additional tract; but much was Elphinstone's bewilderment to learn that it was in a state of extreme embarrassment.

One million sterling of debt remained undis-

charged, while the expenditure of the last two years had far exceeded the receipts, and the troops were all in arrears of pay; partly from bad crops, but still more from severe exactions, the tributaries were all in the utmost distress; hence, under such calamitous circumstances, the idea of abandoning all control over Syajee Rao and his mode of administering was at once abandoned, and after arranging for the discharge of his debts, by loans, raised at a moderate rate of interest on the *security* of assignments of his revenue, and a British guarantee, a final conclusion was come to thus, in 1820:—

"The British Government should have the exclusive management of foreign affairs, and the Guicowar, so long as he fufilled his engagements, should conduct the internal affairs, subject, however, to the following provisoes:—That he should consult with the British Government in the appointment of his minister, and that the Resident should have free access at all times to inspect the public accounts; be apprised of all financial measures at the commencement of each year; and be consulted before any expense of magnitude was incurred."



BOMBAY BUNDER BOAT.

The sea-coast of Goojerat, from the Gulf of Cambay to the river Indus, is full of creeks and inlets; these are occupied by different independent chiefs, who were generally addicted to piracy, but are now kept in awe by British naval superiority; while the north, north-western, and even central quarters of the province, were until very late years unexplored, and were over-run or occupied by numerous hordes of armed banditti, who were thieves not so much by profession as by nation; and against these an expedition was undertaken in 1820.

Tempted by the withdrawal of our troops for the war against the Pindarees and Mahrattas, the Wagars of Okamandal, a Goojerat district, about thirty miles in length by fifteen in breadth, surprised Dwarka, its principal town, and another named Beyt; and as there was no force to oppose them, made themselves masters of all the adjacent country. For several months they had been in undisputed possession, when the Hon. Colonel Leicester F. Stanhope, C.B., and Quartermaster-General in India, a son of the Earl of Harrington, also a distinguished officer, who had served at Buenos Ayres and throughout the Mahratta war, was sent against them by sea, at the head of an expedition, consisting of H.M. 65th Regiment, two regiments of native infantry, the 1st Light Cavalry, and a requisite train of guns.

This force arrived off Dwarka, famous alike then as a nest of pirates and as a resort for pilgrims to the shrine of Krishna, and landed on the 26th of November, 1820. The garrison, consisting of Arabs and natives of Scinde, retired into the great temple, the shrine of which was a source of abundant wealth to the Brahmins, and the solid walls of which seemed to mock all ordinary means of attack. Over the roof of an adjoining house an entrance was effected by the bayonet, the 65th (or 2nd Yorkshire) leading the way, and of 500 armed men who garrisoned the place, and were driven out, only 100 escaped death. This punishment, by its extreme severity, so intimidated the rest, who, with their chiefs, were posted in a neighbouring thicket, that they surrendered at discretion. The robbers who garrisoned Beyt also surrendered, and thus the piratical insurrection in Goojerat was completely crushed.

Between the Nabob of Oude, Sadut Ali, and Major Baillie, the Resident at his court during the time Lord Minto was in office, there had been

several discussions and disputes, which, after being put an end to, began anew on the arrival of his successor. Their chief source of contention was, the amount of interference which the major was entitled to have in the internal government of Oude. The Earl of Minto had decided in favour of the Resident; but before any steps could be taken in accordance with that decision, he had sailed for Europe. The death of the nabob, on the 11th July, 1814, ended their jealousies. Throughout his life he had been avaricious, and now his treasure almost amounted to thirteen millions sterling.

Ghazee-ud-Deen Hyder, his eldest son, succeeded him; and that prince, being aware that he was greatly indebted to Major Baillie for the ease with which he did so, was facile enough to consult him in the choice of his dewan and other ministers, and to agree to much of the internal reformation which that officer had urged in vain upon his father. But all this was too pleasant a state of matters to be of long continuance.

Some of the reforms, made at the suggestion of the major, were opposed to native prejudice, and the nabob began to repent that, like his father, he had not taken his own way; and, while full of this conviction, he paid a visit to the Governor-General, then Earl of Moira, who had come to Cawnpore during our war with Nepaul, and on that occasion Ghazee-ud-Deen offered a million sterling as a free gift to the Company. Moira declined it as a gift, but accepted it as a loan, to bear interest at the government rate of six per cent.

That all this was meant as a bribe was evident; for at the time the nabob made his handsome offer, he delivered to the earl a document, which, though expressing the greatest personal regard for Major Baillie, hinted pretty plainly at a desire to be less controlled by him. Having, by some means, discovered that the sentiments of the young nabob in this matter were much stronger than he had ventured to express on paper, to arrive at the perfect truth he avoided personal intercourse with him, but allowed members of his staff to do so, and through them he was informed—at second-hand—that the nabob was not treated by Major Baillie with the deference due to his royal rank. He therefore gave Baillie instructions to treat the nabob, "on all public occasions, as an independent prince; to be strict in the observance of all public ceremonials; and to confine advice or remonstrance upon any mismanagement in the nabob's administration to such occasions as might endanger British interests."



NAUTCH-GIRL OF BARODA.

These instructions had not been long issued when the major was desired to obtain another million sterling from the nabob, as a supply in season for the war in Nepaul. He gave the money, but with unconcealed constraint and annoyance; and he felt more than ever irritated at Baillie, as being the medium or instrument through whom it was exacted. He became more than ever hostile to the Resident, turned a deaf ear to his suggestions, and removed from his court and councils all persons who favoured him.

Aware of all this, and somewhat irritated by the course the Governor-General had pursued, the major forwarded to him a letter, in which he gave free utterance to all he felt on the subject. A rupture was the consequence; Major Baillie was removed, and the nabob was left uncontrolled in the internal administration of Oude. In May, 1816, the loan of the second million was discharged by a treaty, which commuted it for a piece of territory which belonged to Britain, but was situated to the north-west of Oude, on the Nepaulese frontier; and now, encouraged by the apparent cordiality subsisting between the two governments, the Earl of Moira ventured to recommend a change of title, which would give Oude more the character of an independent kingdom.

The nabobs of that country (properly called

Ayodhya), since its conquest by the Mohammedan kings of Delhi in the thirteenth century, had been content with the title of Nabob-Vizier, thereby intimating that they held themselves to be only the hereditary viziers, or prime ministers, of the Great Mogul, and, as such, the servants, but not the equals, of the King of Delhi.

Ghazee-ud-Deen, whose ambition was fired, and whose pride was flattered by the suggestion of the Governor-General, lost no time in acting upon it; and thus, in 1819, greatly to the indignation of the court of Delhi, and to the extreme dissatisfaction of the Mohammedan population of India, he issued a proclamation, announcing that, in all time coming, his designation was to be, *Abu Muzufar, Maiz-ud-Deen, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazee-ud-Deen, Hyder Shah, Padishah-i-Awadh*, meaning, "the Victorious—the Upholder of the Faith—the King of the Aya, Ghazee-ud-Deen Hyder Shah, King of Oude."

In all this the Marquis of Hastings committed a mistake: so far as concerned the condition of Oude, which did not justify the flattering pictures that he drew of the consequences resulting from the uncontrolled internal management of the nabob-king. The absence of Major Baillie began to be speedily felt, and British troops were repeatedly called out to assist in the reduction of refractory zemindars. Thus, in 1822, a British column was compelled, in the neighbourhood of Sultanpore alone, to capture and dismantle the forts of seventy of those landholders; while bands of Dacoits, and other armed robbers, countenanced by them and connived at by the police, infested the topes and jungles, and often crossed the frontier to pillage in British territory.

Of the weakness of the King of Oude's character there are several anecdotes in the "Journal" of Bishop Heber, who records that, "like his father, he has already taken to drink spirits. We passed one evening the royal *suwarree* of a coach, several elephants, and some horse guards, waiting to convey him back from one of his summer palaces, where he had been dining. On returning from our drive we found these going away without him, and learned that he had resolved to sleep there. I thought nothing of the circumstance at the time," adds the bishop, "but on mentioning it to one of the persons best acquainted with his habits, he said, 'Ay; that means that his Majesty was not in a fit state to offer himself to the eyes of his subjects.'"

When the Marquis of Hastings returned home in the *Glasgow* frigate, in 1823, he brought with him presents from the King of Oude to George IV., valued at £200,000. Among them were a sword and belt studded with diamonds, with a sword-knot, to which was appended an emerald, said, by the London papers of the time, "to be the largest extant, and nearly the size of an egg." In the same ship was brought home a bird of paradise, alleged to be the first that ever reached Europe alive.

During the official reign of the Marquis of Hastings, some events took place in the Deccan, which require at least a brief notice.

The administration of the government, nominally, was in the hands of the Nizam's favourite, Moonir-ul-Moolk; but the executive power was really wielded by the Hindoo, Chandoo Lal, in concert with the British Resident. Indignant to find himself deprived of all control, the Nizam allowed all things to take their own course; and whenever his opinion was asked by the ministers or Resident, he was wont to reply, sullenly, that it was useless to give it, as he had no interest in anything that occurred. Chandoo Lal was keen-witted and active, but aware that his post was precarious, in consequence of the hostility that existed against him at court, made such friends as he could there by a liberal distribution of treasure to all who possessed influence, or could yield him useful intelligence by acting as his spies.

So magnificent were those bribes, that a portion of them are said to have found a way into the pockets of the Nizam himself; and it was alleged that every one of the latter's servants, and even his mother-in-law, were in the pay of Chandoo Lal, to whom she sent a daily report of all that occurred in the inmost chambers of the palace. To uphold this singular mode of retaining office, a vast expenditure was requisite, and this Chandoo strove to meet, partly by rapacious exactions, and partly by loans, at enormous interest, from bankers in Hyderabad. The revenues of the Deccan he let to the highest bidders; and those who contracted for them —intent on great profit alone—employed so much cruel violence and heartless extortion, that the tillers of the soil abandoned their fields in despair, and the revenue and the population rapidly diminished together.

And now, about this time—1816—occurred that which made some noise at the period, and was known as the case of William Palmer and Co. When Chandoo Lal became seriously and financially embarrassed, he had formed a connection with a mercantile house of that name in Hyderabad; and on the recommendation of Mr. Russell, then our Resident there, he succeeded in obtaining—as minister of the Nizam—considerable advances from it in 1814.

But in 1816, William Palmer and Co. began to

doubt whether such transactions with the minister of the Nizam were not at variance with the Act 37, George III., c. 142. The 28th section of that Act, proceeding on the preamble, that the practice of British subjects lending money to the native powers of India, or borrowing from them, has been productive of much extortion and usury, enacted, that, from the 1st of December, 1797, "no British subject shall, by himself, or by any other person, directly or indirectly employed by him, lend any money, or other valuable thing, to any native prince in India, by whatever name or description such native prince shall be called; nor shall any British subject be concerned, either by himself, or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, in raising or procuring any money for such native prince, or as being security for such loan or money; nor shall any British subject lend any money or other valuable thing to any other person for the purpose of being lent to any such native prince; nor shall any British subject, by himself, or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, for his use or benefit, take, receive, hold, enjoy, or be concerned in any bond, note, or other security or assignment, granted, or to be granted, after the 1st day of December next, for the loan, or for the re-payment of money or other valuable thing."

The violation of this law was to be treated as a misdemeanour, and all security given for money so lent was declared to be null and void.

William Palmer and Co., on referring to this Act, were somewhat anxious about the moneys advanced, and for their safety in future; but, as British influence had placed Chandoo Lal in power, the Supreme Government felt themselves responsible for all his acts and transactions. If the first dealings of Palmer and Co. with him were illegal, it is difficult to see how any that were subsequent could be less so; yet the mercantile firm succeeded on application in obtaining, in virtue of a reserve clause in the Act, the consent of the Governor-General in council, subject only to the condition that the Resident at Hyderabad should have ample permission to satisfy himself, at any time, as to the nature of the transactions in which Palmer and Co. might engage, in consequence of the permission then given to them.

On finding that they were thus countenanced by the Governor-General and Supreme Council, they extended their monetary transactions with Chandoo Lal; and, with the full cognisance of the powers at Calcutta, undertook to provide for the pay of the troops in Berar and Aurungabad. The regular pay of those reformed forces being a necessity to their efficiency, the sanction of those in authority was the more easily gained, on the assertion that the Hyderabad bankers would not advance the funds on the security offered—the assignments of the revenue.

On finding how readily all their wishes were complied with by the Supreme Government, Palmer and Co. waxed bold, and entered into a negotiation for a loan to Chandoo Lal of £600,000 sterling; and their application for sanction was recommended at Calcutta by the Resident, Mr. Russell, on the ground that such advantageous terms could be got through no other agency. Chandoo Lal, on his part, urged that the money was to be spent in paying arrears that were due to public establishments, reducing encumbrances held to native bankers, and advancing to the ryots the means of tilling the soil.

Chandoo Lal's proposed modes of applying the loan were excellent; but as suspicion had now been kindled, the vote to sanction it was opposed by two members of council, but was carried by the casting vote of the Governor-General. "This was particularly unfortunate, as one of the leading members of the firm of William Palmer and Co. had married a ward whom the Governor-General had brought up in his family and loved like a daughter; and persons were uncharitable enough to suggest that the relation thus established had clouded his judgment, and gained his consent to an arrangement of which he would otherwise have been the first to perceive the impropriety."

The sanction of the executive at Calcutta to the new loan had barely been given, in 1820, when a despatch arrived from Leadenhall Street, disapproving, in vehement terms, of all the transactions relating to the mercantile firm at Hyderabad, "and enjoining, both that the consent which had been given with the view of legalising their proceedings should be withdrawn, and that, in the event of any discussion as to the claims of the firm on the Nizam, the British Government should not interfere to enforce them."

Thus the firm was interdicted from all future transactions with the Nizam or Chandoo Lal; and the result of the whole affair is thus summed up briefly by Beveridge * from several authorities:—

"Had William Palmer and Co. been acting in an honourable and straightforward manner, they might have complained, with justice, of the severity of this sudden interdict and the ruin in which it might involve them; but when the real state of the case was investigated, their explanations were considered shuffling and evasive, and the so-called

* "Comprehensive History of India."

loan of sixty lacs proved little better than a fiction and a fraud. Like Chandoo Lal, they had represented the loan as entirely a new advance for specific purposes, whereas Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had become Resident at Hyderabad, had little difficulty in discovering, notwithstanding the mysterious manner in which the accounts were stated, that there had been no real advance, and that the loan of sixty lacs was nothing more than the transfer of a previous debt of that amount, claimed by the firm of the Nizam, to a new account. They had thus obtained the sanction of the Supreme Government by false pretences. As soon as the real facts were discovered, the Governor-General became fully alive to the gross imposition which had been practised upon him, and characterised it as it deserved. For a moment, imputations affecting the Governor-General's personal integrity were whispered in some quarters; but another dissipated them; and the worst that could be said was, that from not exercising due caution he had allowed his confidence to be abused."

CHAPTER CI.

THE PIRATES OF THE GULF—THEIR ORIGIN AND PROGRESS—END OF LORD HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

THE year 1821 witnessed the final destruction of those sea robbers who had so long infested the Gulf of Persia. All British commerce in these waters, says Captain Mignan, H.E.I.C.S., in his account of the Joassamee pirates, was, until a late period, at their mercy. In atrocity they surpassed the corsairs of Algiers, and were a race of Arabs descended from the people of Nedjd, an extensive tract of Arabia. They once possessed the principality of Seer, in the country of Oman, and from the earliest ages had been an independent tribe; but Oman contained many others, including the Zobairy, Kohasmi, Beni-Kutib, and Beni-Nain, For many years the last was the most powerful tribe, but the anarchy and strife which followed the death of Nadir Shah, compelled Moolah-Ali, the Governor of Ormuz, Gombroon, and Minau, to solicit the aid of certain Arabs to resist the unjust levy of tribute made by every claimant to the throne of Persia, heedless that it had already been collected by his predecessor. He therefore fixed on Rashid Ben Cassim, with whom he formed an alliance by marriage, and by the war-vessels under his command could render himself formidable by sea, whenever necessary.

The Cassimees, or, as they were afterwards named, the Joassamees, retained the vessels occasionally sent to them, and having many opportunities for obtaining arms and ammunition, they soon acquired sufficient power to take possession of several towns upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, and to extend their conquests through the territories of Moolah Ali, till their career was checked by the Sheik Abdallah, who re-took Ormuz and Gombroon from Moolah Hassan, and Kishm and Luft from the Joassamees.

In the year 1772, the Sheik Rashid of Ras-el-Khyma, who had succeeded his father, Sheik Moolah, co-operated with the Sheik of Muscat, and destroyed two Persian vessels off Gombroon, with a magazine formed for the Persian troops at Linga. Three years subsequently, Sheik Rashid, who was fast becoming formidable, and was at feud with the Imaum of Muscat, captured some vessels belonging to Bushire, on the pretence that their cargoes were the property of the Imaum. After this, he resigned the Sheikdom to his son, Sugger, who espoused a daughter of Abdallah; and thus ended all their dissensions.

The Joassamees now went forth ostensibly as traders, and by their undoubted activity carried on a very lucrative commerce; but their inborn treachery of character was constantly manifesting itself, and leading to hot disputes among themselves and their neighbours. The Persian influence being on the decline along the coast, the Ras-el-Khyma fleet caused every petty chief to fit out armed boats, manned by lawless crews, whose dependence was on plunder alone—a state of affairs that arose entirely out of the quarrels between Ras-el-Khyma and Muscat.

The Joassamees remained tolerably quiet till 1796, and took no part in the quarrels that ensued between the Turkish Government and the Montfic

Arabs; but in May, 1797, they had the hardihood to capture a British vessel, charged with public despatches. In a few days after they released her. In the October of the same year, the Company's cruiser, *Viper*, while at anchor in the roadstead of Bushire, was attacked by them. The armed dhows of the Joassamees had arrived a few days before the *Viper*. They were under the banner of Sheik Sallah, and their object was to attack the Sooree Arabs, who were at Bussorah. On the day the *Viper* came to anchor near them, the Sheik obtained an interview with our Resident, and, after many professions of friendship, he begged that official "not to protect the Sooree dhows, nor ship any Company's property on board of them, adding, that if he did so, it would, of course, be held sacred." Ere retiring, he requested to be supplied with some ammunition from the magazine of the *Viper*. This he no sooner received, than he at once attacked her with guns and matchlocks, but was repulsed. On being remonstrated with by the Resident, he had the effrontery to assert that the *Viper* had first fired on him.

Towards the end of 1798, after many disputes that arose from the unsettled state of the Muscat Government, the Imaum threatened to blockade Bussorah, on account of some ancient claims against the Pacha of Bagdad. The more effectually to execute his hostile intentions, he negotiated a peace with his most formidable enemies, the Joassamees. The latter, however, were completely kept in check by the Wahabees, who, by the middle of 1802, had reduced to nominal submission the whole coast from Bussorah to Deba, their own territory included. Towards the close of 1804, the Joassamees were in close alliance with the Uttobees; and it was in a battle with these two tribes that the Imaum was slain.

From this time we may date the period when the Joassamees began their regular system of piratical expeditions, and when the attention of the Bombay Government was directed to the necessity for crushing the robber spirit which began to be manifest among those lawless dwellers on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The contention for the Imaumship had excited the greatest confusion among them; and the Joassamees, taking advantage of it, captured two vessels belonging to Mr. Manesty, the British Resident at Bussorah, which were charged with public despatches; and their officers were treated with the greatest cruelty. The Company's cruiser, *Mornington*, was surrounded by their fleet of dhows, which fired into her, till a few broadsides knocked one half of them to pieces and compelled the rest to sheer off.

In their successful co-operations with Moolah Hassan, of Kishm, against Gombroon, they hoped to check the advance of Beder, who had succeeded to the Imaumship, and was projecting a plan with the Uttobees for the annihilation of the Joassamees, against whom, at this time, operations were actively prosecuted by the Bombay Government, in conjunction with that of Muscat. The combined forces sailed for Kishm, where they blockaded a Joassamee fleet, and reduced it to such distress that it was compelled to sue for peace. The British declared that, in becoming a party to any peace, it should extend throughout the whole Persian Gulf, and that they should have full indemnification for all the losses sustained. These terms could not have been enforced without having recourse to measures which must have embroiled the Company in a general warfare with the whole gulf; it was, therefore, deemed more prudent to enter into certain agreements with the Joassamees, who affected to be anxious to resume their former mercantile pursuits.

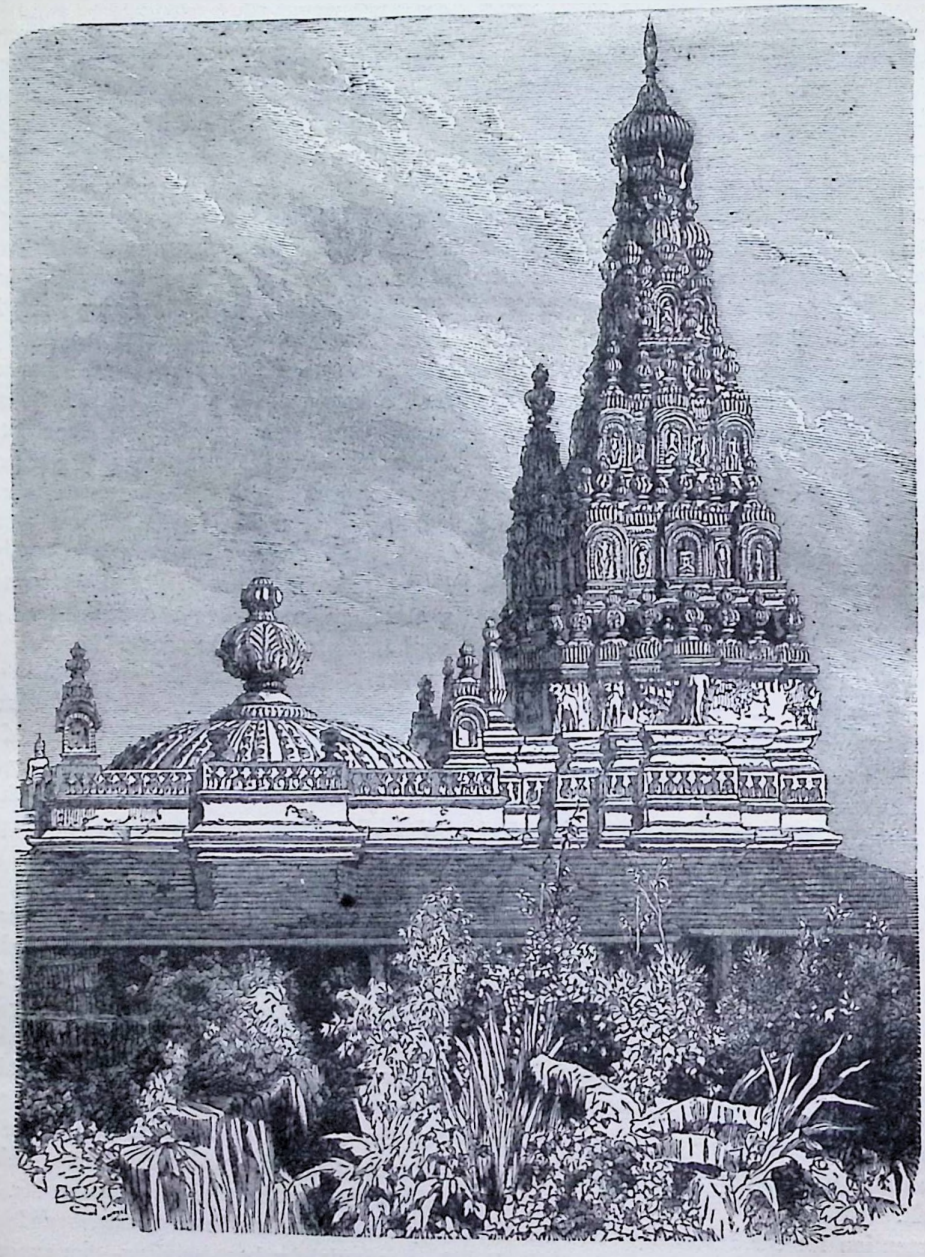
This was in 1806. Precluded now from piracies in the gulf, when urged on by the Wahabees, they extended them to India, and early in 1808 they appeared as corsairs in the Indian Ocean, along the northern part of the coast beyond Bombay. During one cruise in this year, they captured twenty large native craft, which so elated them, that they determined on sending a fleet of fifty sail to Cutch; and ere the year was out, they attacked and captured, in the Gulf of Persia, the cruiser *Sylph*, which was subsequently re-taken by H.M.S. *Nereide*.

After the vigorous attack upon them, in 1809, by Sir Lionel Smith and Captain Wainwright, of H.M.S. *Chiffone*, it was generally supposed that the Joassamees were deprived of all power for committing further depredations by sea. Our Resident at Bussorah confirmed this opinion, but added, that such was the vindictive spirit of the Wahabees, and of the inhabitants of the Arabian coast generally, that they would wreak their vengeance on any defenceless British ship that fell into their power; and, to prevent them building boats, Mr. Manesty suggested that—as these countries did not produce material for boat-building—the exportation of timber should be prohibited; yet the corsairs were as busy as ever in 1812.

At this time, an Arab chief, named Rahma Ben Jaubir, was the most daring and successful pirate in the gulf. He fell in with a large fleet belonging to Bushire and other places, and, with a few exceptions, captured the whole, including a large ship, and innumerable minor craft. He put every man on board to death, and made spoil of everything.

He was Governor of Khore-Hassein, and his followers, who numbered many thousands, were as prodigal of their own lives as of the lives of others; but, as yet, they had carefully respected the British flag. Captain Mignan says that he was present at the last interview this chief ever had with our authorities.

"It was at the British residence, in the presence of that accomplished man, Colonel Stannus, and a more ferocious barbarian I never beheld. His dress was disgustingly simple. It consisted of a shirt, which did not appear to have been taken off from the time it was first put on. No trousers covered his lank legs; a large abba encircled his meagre trunk, and a ragged keffiah was thrown loosely over his head. His body was pierced by innumerable bullet-wounds; and his face was fearfully distorted by several scars and by the loss of an eye. His left arm had been severely wounded by a grape-shot, and the bone between the elbow and shoulder being shivered to pieces, the fragments worked themselves out, exhibiting the singular appearance of the arm and elbow adhering to the shoulder by flesh and tendons alone.



VIEW OF A HINDOO TEMPLE, BOMBAY.



DEATH OF THE ARAB PIRATE.

Notwithstanding this, he prided himself on being able to use the *yrmbeah* with great effect; and it was one of his favourite remarks, that he desired nothing better than the cutting of as many throats as he could open with his boneless arm."

No corner of the Gulf of Persia was safe from this remarkable barbarian. From shore to shore, and isle to isle, he swept along like a gloomy spirit bearing death and destruction; till one day, in rashly attempting to board a large vessel called a *bughalah*, he was overpowered by superior force. Hastily he demanded of his crew whether they would perish now, or after, at the hands of the enemy: he rushed below, threw a match into the magazine, and re-appeared on deck, with his only son in his arms. The vessels were at that moment fixed together with grappling irons. The magazine exploded; both were blown "into a thousand atoms, and hurled into the air, in the midst of a volcano of flames and blazing timbers; and when the terrific explosion subsided, the bodies of the combatants were washed by the waves on the coast of Bahrein." This man had been the terror of the gulf for five and twenty years.

Notwithstanding many remonstrances sent to Hussein Ben Rahma, the chief commanding in Ras-el-Khyma, British vessels, and others having British protection, were assailed, or taken from time to time, and the commander of the Resident's boat, which had been sent to that place, returned in a deplorable condition after an attack from the Joassamees. This was followed by their capturing a large vessel belonging to the Imaum of Muscat, which was at anchor in Mogoo Bay, with a remount of Arabian horses for H.M. 17th Light Dragoons, and also laden with government stores. Six other vessels were subsequently taken at Scinde and Kurrachee. These successes encouraged various other chiefs to put to sea, assured that piracy was the speediest mode of acquiring wealth.

In 1816, a ship belonging to Bombay was captured by the Joassamees off Muscat; a few of her crew were ransomed, but the rest were put to death. They next nearly achieved the capture of the *Caroline*, of thirty-two guns; and their audacity increased to such an extent, that they attacked the *Aurora* cruiser, and fired upon the American ship *Persian;* and so great was the dread entertained of them at last, that our Resident in the gulf could not obtain a vessel to send with his usually useless letters of remonstrance to the head chief at Ras-el-Khyma.

Three Surat vessels were next taken; their crews were butchered, and property taken on board to the value of a crore of rupees. Many other captures followed fast, and all attended with great atrocities; and to another remonstrance sent to Ras-el-Khyma, we are told, that "the Joassamees explicitly and boldly asserted that they would respect the sect of chieftains, and their property, but none other. They added, that they did not consider any part of Western India as belonging to the British, except Bombay and Mangalore, and that if we interfered in favour of the Hindoos and other unbelievers of India, we might just as well grasp at all Arabia, when nothing would be left for them to plunder."

A squadron of Joassamee dhows came off the island of Busheab, burned all the villages, carried away the cattle, and slew hundreds of the people. In the close of the same year they took five large vessels in the harbour of Assooloo, valued at three lacs of rupees, and murdered every man on board. The inhabitants of Bushire were greatly alarmed, as the Joassamees contemplated an attack on the city of Bussorah, and the inhabitants began to fly into the interior. Their fleet remained twelve days at Assooloo, and then bore northward to Zaiee, where they landed and destroyed everything, even the date-groves, but were eventually repulsed by the inhabitants. Then, apprehending an attack by the Turkish troops, the Joassamee chief sent a number of people from Ras-el-Khyma to build a fort at Bassadore, on the western end of the island of Kishm, which they meant to garrison.

It was evident that the lesson given to the pirates of the gulf by Colonel Smith and Captain Wainwright, in 1809, had been utterly without avail; hence, in 1819, the Government of Bombay resolved to fit out an expedition for their complete destruction. Major-General Sir William Keir Grant had command of the troops destined for this service, while Captain Francis Augustus Collier, of H.M.S. *Liverpool*, conducted the naval part of the operations, with the *Eden* and *Curlew*, two sloops of war, some Bombay marines, and transports.*

The latter, twelve sail in all, under the convoy of the *Liverpool*, after a ten days' run, reached Muscat, where they were joined by some naval forces of the Imaum, and in ten more days came in sight of Ras-el-Khyma. *Ras* is an Arabic word, signifying "cape," or point; hence this place occupies a sandy peninsula, the isthmus of which is defended by a battery, while the sea-line is, or was, fortified for about a mile and a quarter by strong works at regular intervals.

The vessels in the van lay to until all the rest hove in sight, when the *Liverpool* signalled the rendezvous at a particular spot, within a moderate distance of the fortress. It was evening when all

* Brenton's "Nav. Hist."

the ships joined, but two days elapsed before preparations for landing were complete.

Meanwhile, the Arabs were mustering in great force, and were seen strengthening their works in anticipation of the coming attack. Early on the third morning the troops, in the greatest enthusiasm, began to disembark, and the grenadier and light companies of H.M. 47th and 65th Regiments advanced in skirmishing order to clear the ground, while Captain Collier sent parties of his seamen to assist in loading the guns, and erecting batteries at those points selected by Sir W. Keir Grant. By evening, one armed, but with only four guns, was ready; and the beach being sandy supplied ample materials with which to fill the bags and fascine baskets. When night fell, the pickets were thrown out, and the troops bivouacked beside their arms, under the starry Arabian sky. At a time when all was still, save the occasional cry of "All's well" from the advanced sentinels—about midnight, when the sky had become dark, a few shots and wild cries were heard. These brought all the troops under arms. The Arab pirates had surprised the camp, and there ensued a confused encounter, during which it was difficult to distinguish friend from foe. The Arabs had stolen upon the pickets by creeping on all fours. The contest lasted for nearly an hour ere they were all driven out. The troops were then mustered, and remained under arms till daylight, when the losses were found to be considerable. "No less than eight of our company," wrote a private of the Bombay Artillery, "lay stretched in their gore. Five of them had evidently been killed before they had time to shake off the lethargy of slumber; but the other three lay with their swords in their hands, which bore indubitable marks of having been steeped in the blood of their enemies. One of them, a remarkably fine lad, lay *on* his antagonist, his bloody fingers grasping the throat of the Arab, his sword through the Arab's body, while the Islamite's weapon, stained with red, showed what arm had inflicted the death-wound on poor D.'s head."

This unexpected *alerte* was a fierce spur to the exertions of the troops, though it showed the daring of the antagonists with whom they had to deal. With dawn the guns opened on the batteries of the Joassamees, and two of the curtains were breached. They replied by a vigorous fire, and one of their first shots killed Major (Brevet Lieut.-Colonel) Byse Molesworth, of the 47th Regiment. By next morning a mortar battery laid completely open the principal towers, and General Grant ordered the stormers to advance. The ramparts were soon cleared, and the British standard planted on them. The town was then captured and pretty freely pillaged, against the orders from head-quarters. The fortifications were dismantled, all the dhows and other piratical vessels in the docks and harbour were burned, and the Joassamee chiefs were compelled to agree to certain obligations involving the future cessation of piracy. After this, Sir W. Keir Grant left a small corps of observation on the Island of Kishm, or Djessen, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, noted for its fertility and stoneless grapes, and on which was built a square fort of European structure. After this, the remainder of the expedition returned to Bombay. These operations lasted from October, 1819, till April, 1820.

Captain Thompson, our political agent at Kishm, had, ere long, to co-operate with the Imaum of Muscat against the Arab tribe of Beni Boo Ali, otherwise called Wahabees. In this expedition he took with him six companies of sepoys and eight pieces of artillery. These troops were attacked so furiously by the sword alone that the bayonet utterly failed: the sepoys were routed, and the guns taken. In order to punish them, and to assist the Imaum, an expedition from Bombay was fitted out for the Red Sea, in the spring of 1821, under Major-General Smith; and his operations against the Beni Boo Ali Arabs, though successful, were not so without some severe losses.

In an attack made upon his force in the night, Captain Parr, of the Bombay Regiment, was killed, while Lieutenant-Colonel Cox and Lieutenants Watkins and Burnett, of the same corps, were wounded. A decisive action ensued early in March at Aden, when our troops gained possession of the whole fortified position before sunset. The right brigade, composed of 600 rank and file of H.M. 65th Regiment and 300 of the 7th Native Infantry, sustained the brunt of the action, with a heavy loss. Of the Arabs 500 were killed and 236 captured, together with all the guns they had taken from Captain Thompson's detachment. Our casualties were 102 killed and wounded.* After some of the attacks made by these natives of the desert, as the fallen lay unburied on the sands, Arab women, who had assisted in the defence, were found among the dead. So devoted, indeed, were these poor creatures, that after the surrender of the place they were seen staunching the wounds of their husbands and sons—who refused all assistance from the British; and, ere long, flocks of vultures came down on the slain around the works.

The piratical tribe of Beni Boo Ali was thus completely put down, and the British factory

* *London Gazette*, November, 1821.

was placed on a more satisfactory footing than it had ever been before. Six regiments of the Bombay army had "Beni Boo Ali" inscribed on their colours. Among these were the 1st Europeans, now 103rd Regiment of the Line.

The unfortunate affair of William Palmer and Co., together with the disapproval expressed by the Directors thereon, brought the administration of the Marquis of Hastings to a close sooner than he intended. Deeply mortified by the want of confidence which the instructions issued concerning it implied, he tendered his resignation in 1821, and finally quitted India on the 1st of January, 1823. It was on his passage home that he drew up the summary of his administration, and on his arrival in London there ensued many debates in the India House, after which notable rewards were conferred upon the marquis and his successors in the title.

Among many other things, he achieved considerable financial reform in the presidency of Bengal, where it was greatly wanted. "In Bengal," says Beveridge, "no *fundamental* alteration could be made. The permanent settlement had been finally and irrevocably adopted, and the utmost that could be done was to enact regulations for the correction of previous errors, or to provide for altered circumstances. Among the regulations thus adopted under the permanent settlement, notice is due to those who checked fraud and precipitancy in the sale of land for arrears of revenue, and still more to those which gave the ryot a protection which he had never enjoyed before, at least, under the permanent settlement of Bengal. By an extraordinary oversight, or deliberate perpetration of injustice, the sale of a zemindary abolished all sub-tenures, and the purchaser was entitled, if he chose, to oust and order off any occupant he found upon it. Instead of this iniquitous and tyrannical law, it was now enacted that tenants and cultivators having an hereditary or prescriptive right of occupancy could not be dispossessed, so long as they paid their customary rents, and that those rents would not be increased, except in specified circumstances."*

During his administration the revenue of India was augmented by nearly £6,000,000 sterling: the amount in 1813-14 being £17,228,000, and in 1823, £23,120,000. The only part of this which could be considered as permanent was the revenue derived from land newly acquired, and the increased productiveness of the older territories; hence much of the increase was fluctuating. In 1823 the receipts exceeded the expenditure by nearly three millions and a half, but an addition of nearly two and a half was made to the public debt, that bearing interest being, in 1813-14, £27,002,000, and in 1823, £29,382,000.

Though the political changes effected by the marquis are the leading and most meritorious features of his active administration, he introduced many minor reforms into several branches of the civil and military services; but some of these were the adopted suggestions of others, such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Sir David Ochterlony, and others. Though a professional soldier, he also effected many reforms in the cumbrous procedure of the law.

In the judicial departments of India the accumulation of cases unheard and undecided, the undue multiplication of absurd forms, and that protracted system of litigation by which the Anglo-Norman law of England contrasts so strongly with the simple old civil law of Rome, had become a crying evil—all the more so that the number of judges was far too few for the work allotted to them.

Under the administration of the marquis a considerable diminution of this intolerable evil was obtained by curtailing and simplifying the process in those cases where a speedy decision was quite as important as its accuracy, and by increasing the number and the salaries of the native judges, and also the circle of their jurisdiction.

Moonsifs, who were at first restricted to hearing cases valued at fifty rupees, were made competent to deal with those of 150, and Sudder Ameers, also limited at first to suits of fifty, could give judgment in cases of 500 rupees. Courts of arbitration were also encouraged, and decisions therein were unchallengeable, save on corruption being asserted or proved.

In criminal judicature the principal changes were an abandonment of the rule, laid down by Lord Cornwallis, that the offices of collector and magistrate should never be combined. The old Indian rule was the reverse of this, and by a recurrence to it many criminal cases were quickly decided by judges of approved impartiality, while their duties as collectors were not interfered with.

We have recorded how the high merits of the Marquis of Hastings were acknowledged publicly at the termination of the war with Nepaul, by his earldom being made a marquisate, and, at the close of the varied strife with the Pindarees, by his receiving a free grant from the Company of £60,000. Thus it was simply his talents as a soldier that were rewarded and honoured; but, as yet, there had been no acknowledgment of that grand policy which had made the authority of Britain supreme and paramount

* "Comprehensive History of India."

in India. Nor was this act of gratitude and tardy justice done until, when stung to the quick by the suspicion which the expressions of some of the Directors seemed to insinuate in the affair of Palmer and Co., he intimated his intention of resigning.

Then it was that the Court of Directors and body of proprietors concurred in a resolution, setting forth their regret at his resignation, and expressing, in warm terms, their thanks for that zeal which had been unremitting in their service, and for that eminent ability which he had for nearly nine years displayed in his capacity of Governor-General. This resolution, notwithstanding the complimentary terms in which it was couched, was deemed by his friends somewhat cold; and hence, on the 3rd of March, 1824, the subject was again brought before the India House.

A motion was then tabled, urging the Court of Directors to make the marquis such a pecuniary grant as his services seemed to merit; but it was met by another, which proposed that all the correspondence and other documents in the public records, regarding his administration, should be printed, to enable them to judge whether such further pecuniary reward was necessary. The latter was carried; but so much time elapsed, that it was not until the 11th of February, 1825, that the matter was revived; and at a meeting of the General Court "it was moved that there was nothing in the papers relating to the transactions of William Palmer and Co., which in the slightest degree affected the personal character and integrity of the late Governor-General."

By an amendment the Directors, however, censured the indirect countenance which had been given to that firm, and after a seven days' discussion that amendment was carried. "Here the matter rested; and a simple error in judgment (for it is now admitted on all hands to be nothing more) was held sufficient to justify the withholding of a pecuniary reward, which otherwise would have been bestowed without a dissentient voice, and which, if ever due to a Governor-General, certainly ought not to have been denied to the Marquis of Hastings." A vote of £20,000 was, however, given to his son, the Earl of Rawdon.

He died in 1826; and the marchioness, overcome by grief for the death of her daughter, Lady Flora Hastings, in 1839, died in the following year, and was interred by her side in the family vault at Loudon, in Ayrshire.

CHAPTER CII.

GEORGE CANNING, APPOINTED GOVERNOR-GENERAL, RESIGNS; LORD AMHERST APPOINTED—MR. JOHN ADAMS, IN THE INTERIM, CONDUCTS THE ADMINISTRATION, ETC.

On the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings being received, the Right Honourable George Canning was nominated Governor-General. This was the spontaneous act of the Directors, in consequence of the talented and conciliatory manner in which he had managed the Board of Control, of which he was then president. The official career of George Canning belongs to the history of Britain, especially to that period of it when he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. At the time when the Ministry, at the instigation of George IV., committed themselves—but with undoubted reluctance—to that public scandal, the trial of Queen Caroline, Mr. Canning had openly avowed his resolution not to take any part in it; and therefore, on the 24th of June, 1820, when—in consequence of the queen's spirited refusal to submit to the degradation of a compromise, which the majority of the Lower House urged upon her, and it was then seen that the trial must inexorably proceed—he tendered his resignation as President of the Board of Control, George IV. declined to accept it, and thus left it possible for him to retain his office, while at liberty to follow his own views with regard to the inquisition about to be made on the alleged misconduct of the unfortunate queen. In all its phases this unhappy affair greatly agitated the public mind; and Mr. Canning, though still retaining office, went to the Continent, and did not return until the Bill of Pains and Penalties had been withdrawn.

He then seemed to become keenly conscious of the inconsistency of remaining a member of a Ministry with whom he could not act in a matter



VIEW OF A STREET IN MAZAGON, BOMBAY.

of such moment to the nation, and again he surrendered his office, and on its being accepted, he went abroad again. But in March, 1822, on the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings arriving, he consented to succeed him as Governor-General of India.

This arrangement, however, was doomed to be unfulfilled, for the melancholy fate of the Marquis of Londonderry led to a reconstruction of parties, and at the very time when Canning was preparing for his long voyage, the doors of the Cabinet were again thrown open to him, and he resigned his Indian appointment to accept the seals of the Foreign Office.

Two candidates were now brought forward for the office of Governor-General—Lord William Bentinck, who had been somewhat summarily dismissed from the government of Madras, for reasons which had since been deemed insufficient and gave him a claim on the Court of Directors for further honour; and William Pitt, Lord Amherst, who, by his conduct during his difficult embassy to China, had won the entire approbation of the Court of Directors: and thus, eventually, the latter had the preference.

He derived his title from his uncle, the first Lord Amherst, who, from subaltern rank, acquired high reputation as commander-in-chief of the army in America from 1758 to 1764, and gained a marshal's *bâton*, with a peerage as Lord Amherst, of Holmesdale, in the county of Kent. After being appointed, the new Governor-General did not reach India for several months after the departure of the marquis, his predecessor; and in the interval, the administration devolved on Mr. John Adams, as the senior member of Council. Though much could not be done during a tenure of office so brief and uncertain, Mr. Adams, while he held it for seven months, contrived to obtain much odium, but, luckily, more praise. A few of his measures were calculated to be beneficial to India, but were unfortunate; and some, though well meant, were most unfavourably received. But none were of much importance.



THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

He had from the first been a strenuous objector to the encouragement given to Messrs. Palmer and Co., and therefore he now lost no time in following out all the instructions transmitted by the Court of Directors on this unlucky subject.

The debt due to Palmer and Co. by the Nizam was then discharged, by an advance of the Company on the security of that tribute, which they were bound to pay him for the Northern Circars; and to preclude the chance of any such monetary troubles for the future, all such dealings with the Nizam were strictly interdicted. These measures brought about the bankruptcy of Palmer and Co., and the ruin of others who had no share in their errors, and who now complained bitterly that, had less precipitation and severity been used, and the firm permitted time to wind up its affairs gradually, their loss in the end would have been greatly lessened; but they were answered that Mr. Adams had acted in obedience to orders, and had no option but to obey.

Several administrations in India had turned their attention to the public press, and to the difficulty of leaving it free and untrammelled while the government was absolute; nevertheless, it had, from time to time, been subjected to restrictions more or less stringent. A censorship of a regular nature was at last established: no newspaper was allowed to be published without being first scrutinised by Government authority, authorised for that purpose; and the penalty of offending was instant embarkation for Europe.

This inquisition applied at first to newspapers alone; but during the administration of the Earl of Minto there was an increased vigilance, and it would appear, that not only they, but "notices, handbills, and all ephemeral publications," were sent to the Chief Secretary for revision; the titles of all works intended for publication were transmitted to the same official, who had the power of demanding the work itself for examination. These somewhat intolerable restrictions are applauded by Sir John Malcolm, and yet he tells us, "that from the time the office of censor was established—though there were never less than five newspapers published at Calcutta, in which every kind of European intelligence and all matters of general and local interest were inserted—there did not occur, from 1801 till 1820, a period of twenty years, one occasion on which Government was compelled even to threaten to send any individual to England."*

The Marquis of Hastings abolished the office of censor in 1818; and in reply to an address from the inhabitants of Madras, he said, with regard to the freedom of the press:—"If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its actions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny; while conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment."

With all this apparent candour, the marquis showed that, like the politicians and soldiers of his time, he was not without a dread of an untrammelled press; and thus the editors of newspapers were publicly prohibited publishing certain things; among these were: "1. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government in India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of Council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any interference with their religious opinions. 3. The re-publication from English, or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. 4. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society." By this, the whole onus of what was published fell on the editors; but, at all events, the invidious office of censor was swept away.

Soon after that event, the celebrated James Silk Buckingham (subsequently author of "Travels in Mesopotamia," &c.) started a paper, entitled *The Calcutta Journal*, of which he was both editor and proprietor, and which he conducted with great talent, but so little prudence, that—from the nature of the articles appearing in its columns—he was repeatedly warned that his journal would be suppressed, and himself shipped off to Europe. The Marquis of Hastings had never put these threats in execution; but Mr. Adams, who had fewer scruples on the subject, went roughly to war with the press.

Short though his tenure of temporary authority, without venturing to restore the censorship, he compelled every printer to obtain a licence before he could put in type a newspaper, or any other work whatever, and gave a startling proof of how he meant to use his power, by forcibly shipping off Mr. J. S. Buckingham to Europe.

By this act he incurred much censure, as it was generally felt that the offence was small, and consisted in the insertion of a paragraph, inspired by a somewhat narrow and provincial spirit, ridiculing the appointment of a Scottish clergyman to the office of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery. Mr. Buckingham brought his case before the Court of Directors repeatedly, and before the Privy Council, but he failed to obtain any redress; yet he never allowed the subject to be forgotten, and ultimately obtained, in the form of an annuity, a little compensation for his loss.

His offence was scarcely one which required to be put so roughly down as by expulsion from India; and it was thought that Mr. Adams would have acted more judiciously if, during his short term of office, he had refrained from displaying that which he never cared to conceal—his known hostility to the Indian press—and left the proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal* to be dealt with by the new Governor-General, Lord Amherst.

On the 1st of August, 1823, the latter reached Calcutta, and was barely installed in his chair of office when he found himself involved in a war with a new and almost untried enemy, beyond the proper bounds of India—the Burmese, who, for many years, had menaced the frontiers of Assam and Arracan.

This quarrel, a formidable one, was a serious impediment to Lord Amherst's civil administration; especially as his government was much opposed by the friends of the Marquis of Hastings, and he was personally antagonistic to some of his lordship's

* "Political History of India."

proceedings, more particularly in the affairs of Calcutta and the province of Bengal.

"It is almost impossible," says Lieutenant White, "to imagine the arduous, difficult, and perplexing situation in which Lord Amherst stood. For, besides the important duties he had to perform as Governor-General, he had a most formidable opposition to contend against in the council chamber. This was produced by *the change of men* in the change of Governors-General. Lord Hastings had usually left much to his council or his favourites, who were men certainly not of the most brilliant talent. Lord Amherst, not wishing to imitate the example of the noble marquis, determined to judge for himself, and not by proxy. There were other causes, too, which tended to create difficulty, and render his lordship unpopular. These were unfortunate circumstances had they happened at any time, but more particularly so at that particular period; because they all tended not only to embarrass the mind of his lordship, which required the utmost tranquillity, but to impede the progress and welfare of the operations of Government."

This officer, the author of one or two now forgotten works on India, was a partizan of the new Governor-General, and hence the somewhat invidious tone of his remarks.

The more immediate causes of hostility with Burmah were the rival claims concerning the muddy island of Shuparee, situated at the entrance of the Nauf river—a place which had long been possessed by the British as belonging to Chittagong. The Burmese contended that the island had been theirs for centuries before Britain was ever heard of in the East; but their demand was only a pretext for war.

It chanced that, in January, 1823, a Mugh boat, laden with grain, when sailing near the island, was stopped by the Burmese, who shot the helmsman. Their intention was, by this outrage, to deter the ryots from cultivating the island; and when our magistrate at Chittagong heard of the event, he placed a sergeant's guard of sepoys upon Shuparee, after which the Burmese began to assemble an armed force upon their bank of the Nauf. The British magistrate thereupon increased the strength of the guard on the island to fifty men; and, early in May, the Burmese authorities at Arracan made a formal demand to those at Chittagong for the removal of these troops, and threatened war.

Later in the same month the demand was renewed, in strong and stern language that would bear no misconstruction. The magistrate replied, "That the island had belonged to the British for a lengthened period; but if the King of Ava had a claim, it would be negotiated at Calcutta, in conformity with justice and the friendship of the two nations; but that force would be repelled by force."

To another demand, made at Chittagong, on the 3rd August, the Governor-General replied, asserting the right of the Bengal Government to the island, but offering to send an officer of rank to negotiate, and, if possible, bring matters to a friendly conclusion. The Burmese urged that they had no faith in the British, from their repeated violation of pledges in former disputes, and that they would put the matter to the issue of the sword.

Accordingly, on the night of the 24th September, 1823, 1,000 Burmese landed on the island, and routed the sepoy guard, with the loss of several men, killed or wounded. They then evacuated Shuparee, to which another guard was sent; while Lord Amherst, anxious for the maintenance of peace, affected to treat the outrage as one committed by the Governor of Arracan, without the authority of the king, his master. In this spirit, a ship from Calcutta brought a letter to Rangoon, expostulating against the invasion of the island, and requesting that the act should be disavowed. To the Governor of Arracan a letter was also sent, expressive of astonishment and indignation.

"The island was never under the authority either of the Moors or British," replied that official; "the stockade thereon has consequently been destroyed, in pursuance of the commands of the Great Lord of the Seas and Earth. If you want tranquillity, be quiet; but if you re-build a stockade at Shein-ma-bu, I will cause to be taken, by force, the cities of Dacca and Moorshedabad, which originally belonged to the great Arracan Rajah, whose chokies and pagodas were there."

He further informed the bearer of the letter that, if the British Government attempted to recover Shuparee, the Burmese would invade Bengal by the way of Assam and Goalpara, and enter Chittagong by the mountains from Goorjeeneea up to Tipperah; adding, that the mighty King of Ava had armies ready for the British dominions at every point, and that, by his express command, the sepoys had been driven out of Shuparee.*

From this it became evident that the Burmese, who had been long preparing for war, had all their plans for it laid. On the 11th November, the Company's agent on the north-eastern frontier informed Government that a large Burmese force from the province of Assam had begun its march for the conquest of the mountainous and jungly province of Cachar, which bordered on the Company's province of Sylhet. In 1774, the latter had

* "Pol. Hist. of Events which led to the Burmese War," &c.

made a tributary convention with the Cachars, who were quiet and industrious people; and in virtue of this, the Government demanded now, that the Burmese troops should make no offensive demonstrations against the protected territory.

They, however, not unnaturally, asserted an old prescriptive claim to a similar connection, and were therefore threatened that no incursion would be permitted. On the south-eastern frontier of Chittagong, large armies were being mustered for the purpose of invading us in that quarter; and it became no longer a question of who should hold the wretched island of Shuparee, but whose power should be supreme in India.

In consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation, in January, 1824, the detachment of sepoys was withdrawn from the island, which the Rajah of Arracan now proposed to recognise as neutral territory; but he accompanied his offer with insulting threats of invasion in case of non-compliance. Hence Lord Amherst declined to accept any proposal that was couched in such terms.

On the 15th of the same month, four Burmese nobles of high rank crossed over to the island, and hoisted upon it the standard of the empire. They then sent invitations to the officers in command of the Company's troops and of the vessels in the river, to visit them, that matters might be adjusted by a friendly interview.

Attended by two lascars, the officers of the pilot schooner *Sophia* were foolish enough to accept this invitation, and were all seized and sent prisoners into the interior of Arracan. The officers commanding two companies of H.M. 20th Regiment, occupying a stockade on the island, were more wary, and declined the invitation which ended so perfidiously; and the people along the Chittagong frontier became so alarmed by the event, that they fled with their families, fearing that they might be carried into slavery.

Lord Amherst demanded the release of the captured officers and lascars, with reparation for this fresh outrage; but the demand was treated with silent contempt. So the British authorities betook them to writing and negotiating, when they should have drawn the sword at once and thus avoided the vast expense and loss of life that ultimately ensued; for by the end of January, 1824, the Rajah of Arracan refused, in the name of the emperor, to deliver up the prisoners, and at the same time two Burmese armies invaded Cachar.

The British still met these demonstrations by some well-written remonstrances, which, however, only excited the laughter and contempt of the Burmese, whose general wrote one in reply, concluding thus, with reference to the two kings or emperors at Ava—the temporal and ecclesiastical:—"We have eyes and ears, and have the interest of our sovereigns at heart."

It happened that at this time the provinces of Assam and Cachar were agitated by opposing factions, whose hostility to each other was made use of by the Burmese to promote their own purposes; while, on the other hand, the British resolved to make these intestine contentions instrumental in checking the invaders. Accordingly, on the 18th of January, the officer commanding on the frontier, learning that a united Burmese and Assamese force had entered Cachar at the foot of the Birtealien Pass, and were stockading themselves at Bikrampore, resolved also to enter the country of Cachar. But on the preceding day the first blood had been drawn in the new war, when the Burmese opened fire from a stockade upon a detachment of our troops, under Major Newton, who gallantly carried it by storm, and put 175 Burmese to the bayonet.

His force was too feeble to follow up this advantage, and on its retiring the two Burmese columns, amounting in all to 6,000 men, formed a junction, advanced on Jatrapore, and began to form stockades on both banks of the Surma river, and pushed along its northern side till within 1,000 yards of our post at Bhadrapore. Captain Johnstone, the officer commanding there, immediately attacked them, and carried all their stockades in succession at the point of the bayonet, while the major's force was compelled to linger within the borders of Assam.

The British wrote letters and sent messengers again, requesting the Burmese to abstain from their hostile movements; but to these absurd and timid expostulations they replied by flaming and bombastic manifestoes, and while stockading themselves more strongly along our frontier, demanded that Major Newton and his soldiers should be delivered over to their vengeance.

It seemed difficult to foresee how long arguments would be substituted for arms, had the course of events not driven our authorities to action, and compelled Lord Amherst to declare war against Burmah. As usual, there was a party at home ready to denounce this proceeding; but a defence of the war was thus given, in a work written by the gallant Sir Henry Havelock:—

"Previous to this invasion of our little island territory, the question of the direct invasion of Bengal had been discussed in the hall of the Lotoo, or Grand Council of State, and the king,

though a man of mild disposition, and not caring much to encounter a war with the governors of India, had yielded to the arguments of his councillors, and, amidst the applause of the assembly, had sanctioned the invasion of Bengal. At that Grand Council the Bandoola, with vows and vehement gestures, announced that from that moment Bengal was taken from under the British dominion: his words being, 'Henceforth it has become in fact what it has ever been in right—a province of the Golden King. The Bandoola has said and sworn it!'"

"Hence," continued Havelock, "it was a war undertaken for the vindication of the national honour, insulted and imperilled by the aggressions and encroachments of a barbarous neighbour—a war for the security of the peaceable inhabitants of the districts of Chittagong, Moorshedabad, Rungpore, Sylhet, Tipperah—menaced with the repetition of the atrocities perpetrated the year before in Assam. That would indeed have been a parental government that should have consented to have abandoned its subjects to the tender mercies of Bandoola and the Maha Silwa."*

While fighting had commenced in the north, it was about also to begin in Arracan, the Rajah of which had received explicit orders to expel us from Shuparee, at whatever cost, and Maha Bandoola, the most famous general of Burmah, was appointed the chief of the force destined for this purpose. Hence, Lord Amherst's declaration of war, issued on the 24th of February, 1824, which charged the Court of Ava with grossly and wantonly violating the friendly relations between the two states, and with having "compelled the British Government to take up arms, not less in self defence, than for the assertion of its rights and the vindication of its insulted dignity and honour. . . . . Anxious, however, to avert the calamities of war, and retaining an unfeigned desire to avail itself of any proper opening which may arise from an accommodation of differences with the King of Ava, before hostilities shall have been pushed to an extreme length, the British Government will be prepared even yet, to listen to pacific overtures on the part of his Burmese Majesty, provided they are accompanied with the tender of an adequate apology, and involve the concession of such terms as are indispensable to the future security and tranquillity of the eastern frontier of Bengal."

It became most necessary, in forming the plan of the intended military operations against these remarkable people, to take into consideration the nature of their country and the mode of warfare they practised. It was almost a continuous tract of forests, where the elephant and tiger roamed, and in which the marshes were completely inundated at certain seasons, and at all times were teeming with noxious vapours that rendered the air full of pestilence and death. Among the windings of the lofty hills and wild crags were almost innumerable lakes, many of them sufficiently large to deserve the name of inland seas, the haunts of vast flights of aquatic birds, and abounding in various species of fish.

The low and marshy coast was indented by numerous bays and arms of the sea; but there are only three harbours now belonging to Burmah, namely, those of Bassein, Martaban, and Rangoon, at that time a place of refuge for the outlaws and runaways of all that part of Asia, where robbery and murder were incessant, and scarcely a night passed without houses being broken open and goods stolen.†

The military force of Burmah depended much upon the perseverance and tact with which it could be kept together; and the fidelity of the army was, and is, secured in a mode which evinces the tyranny of Oriental despotism. The wives and children of the soldiers are detained as hostages, and should the latter desert or display cowardice—a very usual event—the former were publicly burned alive! During the epoch of the first and second war with the Burmese, their whole force was supposed not to exceed 50,000 men. The arms of the infantry are bows, muskets, and sabres, but, save the Body Guards, they are neither uniformly clad nor well armed.

The bow and arrow, with a short sword or dagger, called a *dah*, with a blade eighteen inches long, are their favourite weapons. Their war-boats are generally from sixty to 120 feet in length, narrow, and rowed by men who paddle two abreast. Each is formed of the hollowed trunk of a single teak-tree, and carries about sixty men, armed with swords and lances, and thirty musketeers. On the prow, which is flat and solid, a large gun is mounted; but these war-boats (usually estimated at 500 in number), being low in the water, are easily run down.‡

In Lord Amherst's time, so little was known of the geography of Burmah that, save a few narrow belts of land along the low flat coast, or the banks of the navigable rivers, it was unexplored by Europeans; hence, to lead an army through such a country, even had its people been friendly, would have proved a task of no small difficulty; but to fight a passage through it, when every available

* Owen's "Memoir of Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B."

† Judson's "Mission to the Burmese Empire," &c.

‡ "Asiatic Researches," &c.

route and pass was occupied by a treacherous, cruel, and ferocious enemy, skilful in the formation of stockades, may serve in some way to explain the extreme reluctance of Lord Amherst and some of his predecessors to engage in a war with the ignorant and vainglorious Burmese.

The Prince of Tharawadee, a brother of the King of Ava, when warned that the Burmese soldiers could never cope with the British, replied, "We are skilled in making trenches and stockades, which the barbarians do not understand;" and there is no doubt that to this local skill they were indebted for any success they had during the war. Every soldier, in addition to his musket, bow, &c., carried a spade and hoe, as part of his equipment. With these, as the line advanced, he dug a hole, from which he fired away under cover till a nearer approach, perhaps with the bayonet, dislodged him. He then retired into the nearest stockade. "These usually formed complete enclosures, of a square or oblong shape, varying in height from ten to twenty feet, constructed sometimes of bamboos and young wood in a green state. The whole, firmly and closely planted into the ground, and bound together at the top by transverse beams, with no more openings than were necessary for embrasures and loopholes, formed a defensive work which did not yield readily to an ordinary cannonade, and was most effectually assailed by shells and rockets. Within the interior platforms were fixed, or embankments thrown up, on which gingals, or small guns, carrying a ball of six or twelve ounces, were planted; and occasionally, to increase the difficulty of access to the main work, it had the additional protection of outer and inner ditches, and of minor stockades, abattis, and similar outworks."

To reach the interior by water routes, and avoid as much as possible the tedium and trouble of those by land, was deemed the most advisable plan of entering on the campaign, against troops pursuing such a system of tactics as the Burmese; and no doubt was entertained of the perfect practicability of the former mode. The capital, and other great cities, of the yet almost unknown empire, were situated on the Irawaddy, which, rising in Thibet, near the sources of the Brahmapootra, runs in a southerly direction throughout the entire length of the Burmese dominions to the Gulf of Martaban, and which, if a proper season were chosen, might be ascended by a flotilla conveying troops, for a distance of 500 miles in about six weeks, as at Manchi this river is eighty yards broad, and can be forded at its ordinary level, and at Amarapura, where it flows with gentle current through a rich plain, it is two miles broad. Below Ava it is four, and reaches the sea through fourteen different mouths.

By the Irawaddy, therefore, it was determined that the chief effort should be made, and that, in the meanwhile, little else should be done in other quarters than to keep the foe in check. This plan, though adopted by the Supreme Government in absence of the commander-in-chief, General the Hon. Sir Edward Paget, G.C.B. (a veteran of the wars in Holland and Flanders, Egypt, and Spain, and who, singularly enough, served in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, in 1797), was approved of by him fully, before any steps were taken.

Writing in his name, the adjutant-general says:—

"The commander-in-chief can hardly persuade himself that if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any serious attempt will be made by the Burmese to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories, and to the re-establishment of those states along the line of frontier which have been overrun and captured by the Burmese. Any military attempt beyond this, upon the internal dominions of the King of Ava, he is inclined to deprecate; as in place of armies, fortresses, and cities, he is led to believe we should find nothing but jungle, pestilence, and famine. It appears to the commander-in-chief that the only effectual mode of punishing this power is by maritime means."

CHAPTER CIII.

THE FIRST BURMESE WAR—CAPTURE OF RANGOON—THE EUROPEAN PRISONERS—MORTALITY AMONG THE TROOPS, ETC.

Tippoo Sahib used to say, "I have no fear of what I see of the British; but it is what I *cannot see* that alarms me!" He never could understand the apparently endless resources of those distant isles, which replaced general by general, and regiment by regiment, with such rapidity and perseverance; and now the King of Ava was to be taught something of the same vague sense of terror.

Bengal could but imperfectly perform its part of supplying troops for the war, in consequence of the well-known aversion of the sepoys to those sea voyages which interfered with the purity and preservation of caste; and as it was wisely deemed inexpedient to attempt coercion, the province furnished only H.M. 13th Light Infantry, and 38th Regiment, two companies of Artillery, and the 40th Bengal Native Infantry. Among the Madras sepoys the sea-going objection did not prevail so much, or much of it had been subdued or obviated by the great popularity of the governor, Sir Thomas Monro; so from thence came H.M. 41st (Welsh) and 89th Regiments, the Madras European Battalion, and seven corps of native infantry, with the requisite detachments of artillery and pioneers.

The whole force, which amounted to 11,475 men — nearly one-half being Europeans — was placed under the command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, G.C.B., an officer who had performed great and distinguished services in the East Indies, and had served at the battles of Albuera, Vittoria, Pyrenees, and in the south of France. Under him, Colonel McCreagh commanded the Bengal contingent, and Colonel Maclean that of Madras. The sloops of war, *Lorne* and *Sophia*, with certain of the Honourable Company's cruisers, convoying the transports, which consisted of several sail, formed the naval force, together with a flotilla of twenty gun-brigs, and twenty war-boats, each carrying a heavy bow gun.

With this armament went the *Diana*, a tiny steam vessel, but the first that had ever been seen in the Bay of Bengal: hence she was a source of mingled wonder and terror to the natives, "when they saw her, without sails or oars, moving against wind and tide by some mysterious agency." As political agent and joint commissioner, Captain Canning accompanied the expedition, the rendezvous of which was Port Cornwallis, near the north-eastern extremity of the Great Andaman Island.

There the Bengal and Madras forces formed a junction in the end of April, 1824, and on being joined by Commodore Grant, the naval commander-in-chief in the Indian seas, in the *Liffey* frigate, the whole set sail on the 5th of May, and four days after appeared off the spacious mouth of the Irawaddy, to the great consternation of the



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Burmese, who never contemplated an attack in that quarter.

Standing boldly up the river, before reaching Rangoon, detachments were landed to seize the islands of Negrais and Cheduba. "The Court of Ava," says Lieutenant Laurie, of the Madras Artillery,* "had never dreamed of the sudden blow about to be aimed at the southern provinces, and maritime commercial capital of the Burmese empire. At this time there was no actual governor (*Myo-wood*) in Rangoon; a subordinate officer, styled *Rewoon*, exercising the chief authority in the town. On receiving intelligence of the arrival of a large fleet of ships at the mouth of the Rangoon river—ships of unusual size, and belonging to the British—this unfortunate barbarian became almost beside himself with wonder, consternation, and rage. His first order ran thus:—'English ships have brought foreign soldiers to the mouth of the river. They are my prisoners; cut me some thousand spans of rope to bind them!' He next ordered the seizure of all the British residents in Rangoon. The order extending to all 'those who wore the English hat,' American missionaries, American merchants, and other foreign adventurers, were confined in the same building with five British merchants, a ship-builder, and two pilots. They were immediately loaded with fetters, and otherwise cruelly treated."

In his scarce "Memoir," which is little known in England, as it was published at Serhampore, Sir Henry Havelock, then a lieutenant with H.M. 13th Regiment, and serving as deputy adjutant-general of the army, further tells us that these unfortunate people had been dragged from their homes under every species of brutal indignity; their clothes had been torn off, their arms tied behind them with ropes, tightened until they became instruments of torture rather than means of security. The Rewoon had commanded that, if a cannonade should be "opened against the town of Rangoon, every prisoner should be put to death. The first gun was to be the signal for their decapitation. Instantly the gaolers commenced their preparations: some spread over the floor of the Taik-dau a quantity of sand to imbibe the blood of the victims; others began to sharpen their knives with surprising diligence; others brandished their weapons with gestures and expressions of sanguinary joy. Some seizing them, and baring their necks, applied their fingers to the spine with an air of scientific examination. The Burmese, coerced for ages by dint of tortures and frightful punishments, have acquired a kind of national taste for executions. The imagination cannot picture a situation more dreadful than that of these foreigners, placed at the mercy of such fiends. These prisoners, who were subsequently brought nearer to death, were at length set free by the entry of the British troops."†

The enemy heard the roar of the cannonade which covered the landing of our troops, and enveloped the flat shore of the Irawaddy with clouds of smoke, while cannon-shot bowled through the streets in every direction. Abandoning himself to his terror, the Rewoon fled on horseback through the eastern gate into the country, followed by all the armed rabble he had collected.

When the prisoners were released it was found that the reason of four of them had quite given way. Major Robert Sale, of H.M. 13th Infantry, the future hero of Jellalabad, found Mrs. Anne Judson, wife of the famous missionary, tied to a tree, from which he instantly released her.

The defences of Rangoon consisted of only a stockade about twelve feet high, which enclosed it on every side, and of a twelve-gun battery, situated on a wharf at the river side; and these Commodore Grant, by a few well-directed shots from the *Liffey*, soon silenced. On the troops landing, the prisoners were the only people they found in Rangoon, as the whole population had been ordered to retire into the adjacent forests, and none dared to disobey the Rewoon. Like that of all Burmese towns, the appearance of Rangoon is by no means imposing; according to Lieutenant Alexander, of the 13th Light Dragoons, "the wooden buildings along the banks of the river, as seen from it, resemble ancient barns, behind which is the stockade. In the background towers the Great Shwe-dagon, in the midst of its subordinate spires; for near a great national pagoda it is usual for every Burman, when he has acquired a competency, to erect a smaller pagoda on the model of the huge one. These vary much in size, and in value and splendour; but as it is more meritorious to build a new one than to repair an old one, the sight of these temples in ruins is very common. Bells are attached to each pagoda, and tinkle as moved by each breeze, the effect of which is particularly soft, composing, and conducive to that quiet and holy state of abstraction which the Burman considers as the supreme good. Mr. Alexander took up his quarters in a gilded temple, surrounded with lofty pagodas, and after the crowd of a transport, and the tumult of the sea, found the soft influence of the bells especially delightful. The ornaments which the British had placed there were not exactly in unison with the

* "The Burmese War," 1853.

† Havelock's "Campaigns in Ava."

rest of the scene—a breastwork, and two long twelve-pounders."*

The troops which landed were capable of doing all that men might do, and of going everywhere; but their power was crippled by the defective state of the commissariat—the old and invariable complaint of British armies everywhere. This total desertion of Rangoon was an event on which the commanders had never calculated, and no provision had been made for such a contingency. Aware that Pegu—the province in which it is situated—had only been lately conquered by the King of Ava, with whose rule the people were far from satisfied, they had expected to be greeted as friends and deliverers, and to have all the resources of a fertile country placed at their disposal; instead of which, they had to depend for subsistence entirely upon themselves.

Without provisions, either to advance or to remain was almost impracticable. To take advantage of the Irawaddy being in full flood they had arrived at the very beginning of the rainy season, when a great part of the country would soon be under water, and thus, instead of carrying on a decisive campaign, they would be compelled to shut themselves up in Rangoon, or confine their operations to the miasmatic swamps in its vicinity. "Considerations which had been previously overlooked now forced themselves into view, and it became impossible not to admit that, in the arrangement of the campaign, serious blunders had been committed. The attack by sea, if advisable at all, was ill-timed. An attempt to ascend the river in incommodious boats during the tropical rains, without native boatmen to guide them, and while both banks were in possession of the enemy, would only be to invite destruction; and yet to remain cooped up among the swamps of the delta, was to expose the troops to a mortality which, while it gave none of the triumphs of actual warfare, could hardly fail to be more destructive. No choice, however, remained, and it was resolved to place the troops under cover, and use all despatch in obtaining the necessary provisions and supplies from India."

For many days after the disembarkation of the troops (says Major Snodgrass), a hope was entertained that the people of Rangoon, confiding in the invitations and promises of protection that were circulated about the country, would return to their homes, and thus afford some prospect of local supplies during the period we were doomed to remain inert; but the removal of the people from their houses was only the preliminary to a concerted plan for laying waste the whole district in our front, in the hope that starvation would drive us into the sea: a system long and rigidly adhered to, with an unrelenting indifference to the awful sufferings of the luckless poor, which clearly evinced to what terrible extremes the government of Ava and its chiefs were capable of proceeding in defence of their empire.†

Such was the effect of all this on our troops, that in three months half the army were dead or in hospital.

The rains continued during the whole month of September, and the sickness reached an alarming height. An epidemic fever made its appearance among the troops (continues the writer just quoted), which left all those whom it attacked and failed to slay in a deplorable state of weakness and debility, accompanied with pains and cramps in the limbs. Soldiers discharged from the hospitals were long in repairing their strength, and too frequently indulged in limes, pine-apples, and other fruit, with which the forests of Rangoon abound, bringing on dysentery, which, in their exhausted state, usually ended in death.

The detached corps of Campbell's army were, in the matter of disease, not more fortunate than his main body.

Prior to this deplorable state of affairs, the more commodious and substantial edifices in Rangoon had been appropriated for the head-quarters, staff, and accommodation of stores. On an artificial mound, about thirty feet in height, two miles north of Rangoon, stood a famous Buddhist temple, called the Shwe-dagon, or Golden Pagoda. It was substantially built of brick, on an octagonal base, richly coated with gilding, decorated with elaborate mouldings, and rising in the form of a bell-shaped cone, gradually tapering to a spire three hundred feet in height.

This temple being abandoned, like every other edifice there, was taken possession of by our 69th Regiment and the Madras Artillery, while the rest of the troops were cantoned in a number of smaller temples and priests' houses, that lined two roads leading from the northern gateway of Rangoon to the Golden Pagoda.

Meanwhile, detached parties of observation explored the neighbourhood, and others proceeded up the Irawaddy in boats for the same purpose, and to destroy all defences and fire-rafts they could discover. One of these parties came upon a partially-finished stockade at Kemmendine, and landing, carried it by storm, driving out a very superior force, but not without some loss. On the same

* "Travels: India to England," 1825-26.

† "Narrative of the Burmese War," 1824-26, by Major Snodgrass.

day, a considerable detachment, when advancing into the interior, fell suddenly in with the late governor of Rangoon, who fled into the forest without firing a shot. While these petty successes gave our troops good reason to suspect that the personal courage of the Burmese was rather of a low standard, there were several indications of plans for a greater struggle being in preparation, and their resolution not to allow the invaders to remain long quiet in their swampy cantonments, where, when the May rains set in, the country became one vast sheet of water, and brought on the calamitous state of affairs described by Major Snodgrass.

While the main expedition, under Campbell, was proceeding to Rangoon, a body of troops was collected, under Brigadier McMorine, at Goalpara, on the southern bank of the Brahmapootra, near the Assamese frontier, at a point where no European is permitted to pass without a signed permission from the governor, and a sepoy guard held the line of demarcation. On the 13th of March, 1824, the brigadier began to move to Gowhatty, a well-fortified town in Lower Assam (which was taken in 1663 by the Mogul troops of Aurungzebe), and where now the Burmese had thrown up stockades, which, however, they had not the courage to defend, but abandoned as the British troops drew near.

To the latter the peasantry, who had been barbarously treated by the Burmese, evinced the most friendly disposition, but they were too poor to furnish such supplies as were necessary, and the transport of these in such a country became a work of the greatest difficulty. Hence, instead of advancing with his whole force, the brigadier sent forward a detachment, under Colonel Richards, C.B., to Nowgong, to meet Mr. Scott, the commissioner, who had halted there with his escort. From thence Colonel Richards marched to Kaliabar, and onward to Maura Mukh, where the Governor of Assam had stockaded himself, at the head of 1,000 men; but the rainy season came, and the colonel was compelled to fall back on Gowhatty, without—as he intended—striking the blow that would have liberated the whole province of Upper Assam.

Two months subsequently, the Burmese, who in the beginning of the year had evacuated Cachar, returned with a force 8,000 strong, and began a series of raids from Munipore, stockading themselves on the heights of Jatrapore, Deedpatlee, and Talain; while our troops were foiled in an attempt to dislodge them from the latter place, as the number we had left in Sylhet proved too few for the purpose. They were compelled to retreat; and the Burmese, elated with their petty success, remained undisputed masters of Cachar, till the cessation of the rains permitted the campaign to be re-opened.

The Burmese appear to have made their chief effort against us in Arracan, the original seat of the strife; and in May, at the very time when Campbell was capturing Rangoon by surprise, they appeared, to the number of 10,000 men, under Maha Bandoola, on the frontiers of Chittagong.

To resist the invasion of this province, our forces were wholly inadequate; and though the Bengal Government were made fully aware of the coming danger, they did not attempt to avert it. From whatever cause this gross negligence sprang, it met with severe punishment. Colonel Shapland, who commanded in Chittagong, threw forward to Ramoo five companies of the 45th Native Infantry, with two guns, a Mugh levy, and the Chittagong Provincial Battalion, the whole under the command of Captain Noton: his strength being only 1,050 bayonets, of whom 650 were irregulars, on whom not the slightest dependence could be placed.

Against that officer the Burmese, after crossing the Nauf, advanced with great rapidity, and with their whole strength, and on the 13th of the month reached a stream which flows past Ramoo. Noton's well-served guns prevented their passage for a time, but at last they forced it and hurried to attack him. His slender force he posted in rear of a bank that encircled his camp; his front was formed by the sepoys of the 45th, with his two six-pounders, protected by a tank, at which a strong picket was stationed. The river covered his right flank, and another tank his rear, with the Provincials and Mugh levy; and in this order he prepared to give battle to the noisy warriors of Maha Bandoola.

The contest that ensued was a short one. The Provincials covering the rear broke; the Burmese forced their way in, sword in hand; the position was no longer tenable, and Captain Noton sounded a retreat. This movement was conducted with some regularity at first, but ultimately, under pressure of the overwhelming force of the enemy, the soldiers madly threw down their arms and rushed into the water. Yet the loss was less than might have been expected: only 250 were missing; but as most of these were conveyed prisoners to Ava, the court there began really to conceive that its soldiers were invincible; while, on the other hand, an absurd panic was communicated to Chittagong, and from thence to Dacca, whence it reached Calcutta, "and it was deemed not incredible that a body of adventurous Burmese might penetrate the Sonderbunds into the British Indian metropolis."

Had the Burmese known how to improve the occasion, they might have over-run and pillaged with impunity a vast tract of our territory; but they spent the time, luckily, in foolish exultation, till the falling rains precluded further operations; and meanwhile Chittagong was reinforced. Moreover, the expedition up the Irawaddy was beginning to produce its expected effect; and the Golden Foot, becoming alarmed for the safety of his capital, gave orders that all available troops should be collected for its defence. The army of Arracan was thus recalled, and the only occasion on which the Burmese could have inflicted a severe blow upon us was lost for ever.

Writing from Madras to Lord Amherst, Sir Thomas Monro had early urged strenuously the advance of General Campbell upon the capital of Ava by the waters of the Great Water; but the councils of the British at Calcutta, as at Madras and Rangoon, were long perplexed by the questions of organised transport and of systematic supplies of food and stores.

When at last, by enormous trouble and expense, Sir Archibald obtained such munitions of war and ambulance as enabled him to move, he prepared to take the field against the enemy. Prior to this, he had various skirmishes with them, as they had formed a cordon round Rangoon to hem the British in, constructed stockades in every direction to prevent access to the interior, and by sending parties through the jungle, harassed the pickets and cut off stragglers. In these petty affairs the Burmese fought with more obstinacy than the sepoys; but their stockades and huts were usually forced in the end, and carried by the bayonet, while an efficient fire of musketry was ever a good answer to the matchlocks and gingals of the Burmese, who now began to send fire-rafts blazing down the river before wind and tide, for the purpose of burning our flotilla off Rangoon.

On the 28th of May, Sir Archibald Campbell, at the head of 400 Europeans and 250 sepoys, with a field-piece and howitzer, advanced to make a personal reconnoissance. The route was through a dense forest, where the natural impediments were increased by those of art, but ultimately he reached rice-fields and plains that were knee-deep in water. Ground of this nature rendered the conveyance of the two cannon impossible; hence they were sent back under the escort of the sepoys, while the Europeans continued to advance alone till, about eight miles from Rangoon, they came in sight of the enemy, some 7,000 strong, entrenched in rear of a great stockade.

Campbell instantly attacked and routed them with such slaughter, that the main body was too intimidated to support them, and the detachment fell back on head-quarters without further molestation; and two days subsequently another stockade near the great Golden Pagoda was stormed.

These events did not deter the Burmese from the prosecution of a plan by which they hoped to leave our troops no alternative but to surrender at discretion or perish amid the swamps of Rangoon; and with this view, a series of extensive works had been constructed at Kemmendine. These, it was resolved, should be attacked both by land and water, and with this view three columns of attack were detailed against the northern and eastern faces of the stockades, while Sir Archibald Campbell, with 300 of H.M. 41st Regiment, ascended the Irawaddy in three Company's cruisers; but the works of the Burmese proved stronger than was anticipated, and though they were actually entered, a retrograde movement became necessary.

On the 10th of June, 1824, the attack was renewed by a force of 3,000 men, with four eighteen-pounders, and four howitzers; but, before Kemmendine could be reached, it was necessary to storm a strong stockade, which had been erected between that place and the pagoda. One side of it was protected by a sheet of water; on the other three sides was the forest; and the importance attached to this post was evinced by the number of Burmese placed within it.

A cannonade commenced the attack. One face was breached, and the troops rushed to the storm in front, while another column got over the palisades in rear. Assailed thus on two points, and unable to escape, the defenders, expecting only such mercy as they would have given if victorious, fought with desperation; but the unfailing British bayonet soon made dreadful havoc among them. Our guns now opened on the works of Kemmendine, but from these there was no response, and they were found to be abandoned. In fact, the vain-glorious Burmese were already becoming less confident, and were withdrawing to a greater distance from Rangoon.

At Donabue, fifty miles above that place, they began to concentrate their forces. As yet, the campaign had made but little progress, and such were the effects of the climate and the unwholesome food, that barely 3,000 were fit for active duty. Towards the end of June great numbers of the enemy were observed passing from Dalla, on the right bank of the Irawaddy, to the left above Kemmendine; and on the 1st of July, while the dense green forests in front were filled with troops, three columns—each 1,000 strong, with many gilt

umbrellas glittering in the sunshine—took ground to the right, as if to interpose between that part of our cantonments and Rangoon. By Campbell's orders they were attacked and dispersed, but on the following day began in greater force to march upon Dalla. They were again repulsed, and as the town had been deserted by all its inhabitants, it was set in flames, lest it might be used as a cover for other operations.

Thekia Wungyee, the Burmese general, was now superseded by another, named Thamba Wungyee, as the Golden Foot, who had been in daily expectation of hearing that his invaders had been cut to pieces, began to be impatient of the slow progress of events. Thamba, knowing how much would be expected of him, made a wonderful display of activity, and gave our outposts so much annoyance that it was resolved to drive him back. At a point six miles above Rangoon, where a stream called the Lyne joins the Irawaddy, he had planted four stockades: one at the delta, a second below it, half a mile down the main river, a third on the bank opposite it, and a fourth at Kamaroot, a mile and a half above the confluence.

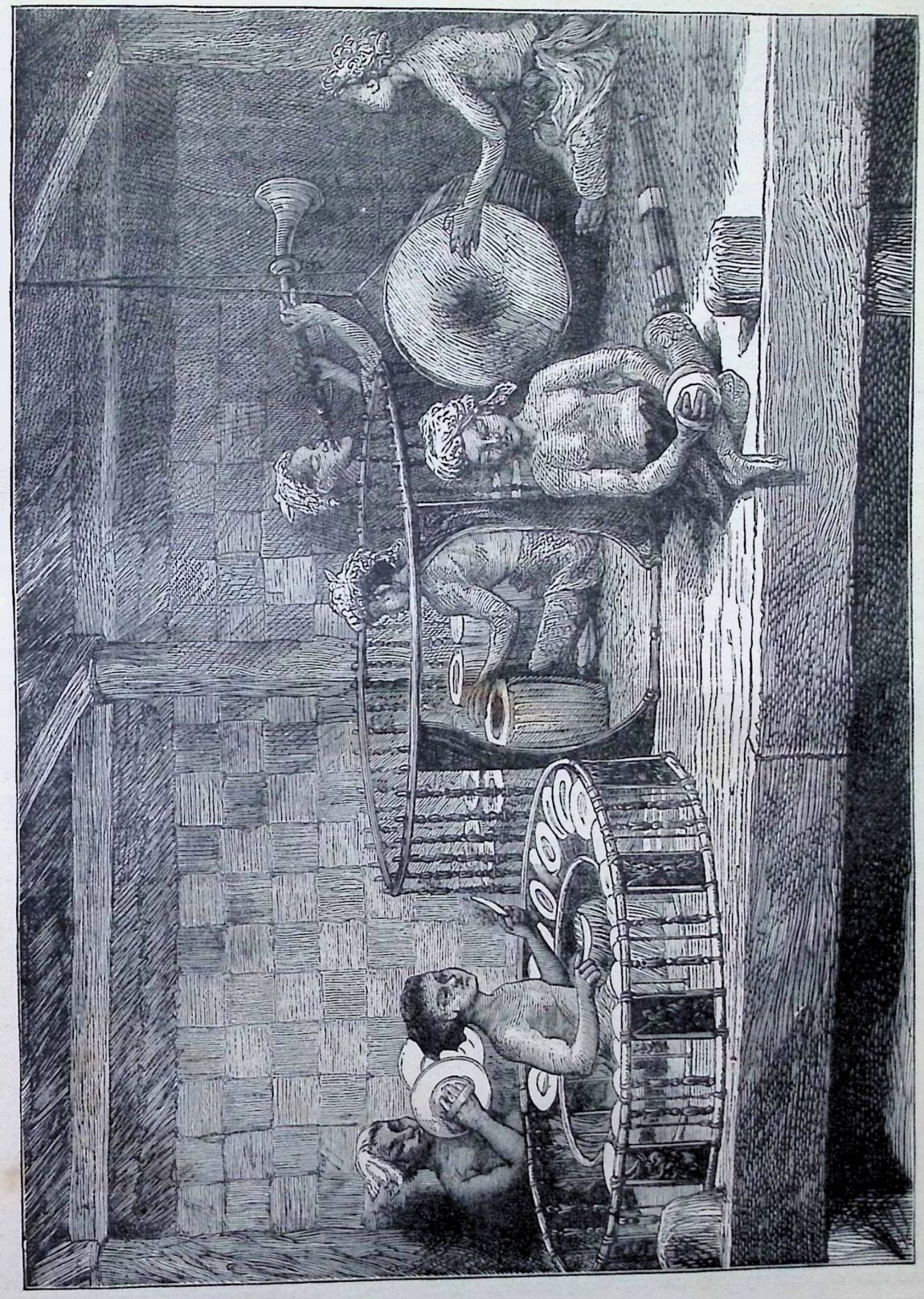
The latter—the strongest and greatest—was connected with the other three by entrenched works, and the whole were manned by about 10,000 Burmese. To attack Thamba Wungyee, General Campbell ascended the river on the 8th of July, with the *Lorne*, two of the Company's cruisers, and other vessels, having all the troops that could be spared on board, and after silencing the fire of the enemy by the guns of the shipping, he carried three of the stockades that were accessible from the water.



GROUP OF BURMESE NOBLES.

Against the fourth, that could only be reached by land, Colonel Maclean marched, with a detachment from the great pagoda, but, from the nature of the ground, was compelled to send back his guns and retain his howitzers alone. The stockades at Kamaroot were now found to consist of seven, strongly garrisoned, and armed with thirty pieces of cannon; yet, within ten minutes after our troops opened fire, the first stockade was stormed, and the second too, but after a greater resistance; the other five made little or no defence.

Thus, by the bayonet, were those works, which Thamba thought impregnable, wrested from 10,000 of his warriors by a mere handful of British troops.



BURMESE BAND.

Among the episodes at Kamaroot was a single combat, in which Major Sale, of the 13th Regiment, slew a Burman of high rank. Within the stockades lay 800 of the enemy killed, and amid them Thamba Wungyee, expiring of his wounds. These events struck terror into the Burmese, who began to doubt their hitherto boasted invincibility.

In the beginning of August, General Campbell advanced against Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, which occupies high ground, with a great pagoda, near the junction of the Pegu river with the Irawaddy. Among its edifices was a factory, built of old by the Portuguese, in the days when that adventurous people were seeking to spread their dominion over the East, and from within its walls the Burmese matchlock-men, as if determined to stand a siege, opened a heavy fire, but took to flight the moment our troops advanced to the assault.

These events were not without some influence on the inhabitants of Rangoon, many of whom began to return; while the inhabitants of Pegu—whose country had been subdued, and their king put to death in 1757, by the celebrated Alompra, the Burman—generally evinced so much dissatisfaction with their masters, that they might easily have been induced to throw off the yoke under which they had writhed for sixty-seven years. But, as yet, it was deemed inexpedient to encourage any desire for revolt or national independence, as no prince who was set upon their throne could have maintained it without permanent British aid. "The restraint thus exercised," says a writer, "was, at all events, cautious; but it may be questioned if it was well judged, as it made the Peguers, if not jealous of our success, indifferent to it, and thus tended to protract the war. This seems to have been the view ultimately taken by the Supreme Government, as they afterwards gave the encouragement which they now refused, and offered to recognise the independence of any chief whom the Peguers might appoint to rule over them."

During these desultory operations about Rangoon, a naval expedition sailed for the Tenasserim provinces, a district of Trans-Gangetic India, lying between Siam on the east and Pegu on the west, comprising Martaban, Ye, Tavoy, and Mergui,—a territory bounded by a lofty range of mountains, branching from the table-land of Yunnan, and clothed in many places with dense forests. The towns of Tavoy and Mergui were speedily reduced, the inhabitants cordially assisting our forces, and after making their Burmese governor a prisoner, surrendered to us voluntarily. The resistance in Ye, or Amherst, as it is now named, was chiefly confined to the town of Martaban, situated on a bay of the same name, which was completely reduced by our land and sea forces; and the importance of these unexpected conquests was speedily felt by our expedition at Rangoon, into which supplies of fresh provisions were poured in great quantities.

Having a great faith in astrology, the Burmese troops were accompanied by a horde of bigots and impostors; and not the least singular portion of their paste-board helmeted army was their corps of Invulnerables. When excited by opium and fired by superstition, these men certainly did evince a marked contempt of danger. Some of them exhibited a war dance of defiance upon the most exposed parts of defences; and to this corps—headed by leaders, one of whom was said to be a female, and all of whom had, as they conceived, made themselves invulnerable by means of charms and amulets—was confided the perilous task of attacking Maclean's post in the Great Pagoda.

CHAPTER CIV.

THE WAR WITH BURMAH—ATTACK ON THE GREAT PAGODA AT RANGOON—OPERATIONS IN ASSAM, ARRACAN, ETC.

At midnight, says Major Snodgrass, the attempt was made by the Invulnerables, armed with swords and muskets, rushing in a compact body from the jungle near the pagoda. A slender picket, thrown out in our front, retiring slowly and steadily, skirmished with the head of the advancing column, until it reached the great flight of stairs leading up to the pagoda. On the summit of these the troops were drawn up, silently waiting the approach of these Invulnerables, whose number the gloom of

the moonless night concealed, and it could only be guessed at by the dreadful noise and clamour of their threats and imprecations upon the sacrilegious occupants of their holy edifice, whom they threatened with the most dreadful deaths if they did not quit the temple; and, guided by a few lanterns that glimmered weirdly and dimly in their front, they rushed in a dense and undefinable multitude along a narrow pathway that led to the northern gate.

Suddenly the flashing of musketry and the boom of the thundering cannon broke from the hitherto silent summit of the vast temple. Then the wild tumult of the advancing masses grew still, "while showers of grape and successive volleys of musketry fell with dreadful havoc among their crowded ranks, against which the imaginary shield of self-deceit and imposition was found of no avail, leaving the unfortunate Invulnerables scarcely a choice between destruction and inglorious flight. Nor did they hesitate long upon the alternative; a few devoted enthusiasts may have despised to fly, but as they all belonged to the same high-favoured caste, and had brought none of their less-favoured countrymen to witness their disgrace, the great body of them soon sought for safety in the jungle, where they, no doubt, invented a plausible account of their night's adventure, which, however effectual it may have proved in saving their credit, prevented them in future from volunteering upon such desperate enterprises, and contributed in some degree to protect the troops from being so frequently deprived of their night's rest."*

In October, 1824, information having been received that the enemy were in strong force at a place named Kaikloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, it was resolved to dislodge them; and as the Madras contingent had been expressing some mortification at the subordinate part assigned them on previous occasions, to it alone was the task assigned by General Campbell.

On the 4th, Colonel Smith marched on this service, taking with him the 3rd and 34th Madras Native Infantry, only 800 strong, and two howitzers. Evening was falling when he found himself before a Burmese entrenchment, which he failed to escalade, though he carried it by shelling. Yet the Burmese trenches are usually only a succession of holes capable of containing two men each, so excavated as to afford shelter from the weather, and even from bombs, so far as each could, at most, kill but two men by explosion.

As the failure of the escalade seemed ominous, and the preparations at Kaikloo were averred to be great, Colonel Smith applied for some Europeans; but General Campbell, influenced by some feeling which might be more easily explained than justified, told off for the service only 300 more Madras Sepoys, with two field-pieces. With these reinforcements, on the forenoon of the 7th of October, Colonel Smith found himself before Kaikloo. The first obstacles encountered were a series of breastworks, which he had to storm. Hence it was five in the evening before the principal stockade was reached.

Its right flank rested on a height crowned by a pagoda. Colonel Smith formed his troops in three columns of attack: the first to assail the work in front, the second to attack its right flank, and the third as a support and reserve.

Till within sixty yards the first was allowed to approach the stockade, over which the gilded umbrellas of the leaders were visible at times, when suddenly it was assailed by a terrible fire of matchlocks and grape. Major Wahab, who led it, with many officers and men, fell killed or wounded, while the rest threw themselves on their faces to avoid the murderous fire which swept over them. The attack by the flanking column failed; it gave way, and was pursued. The other column, unable to penetrate a thicket in its front, was now falling back without having achieved anything. Under all these adverse circumstances, Colonel Smith could but order the bugles to sound a retreat, which he effected, in tolerable order, with the loss of eighty-eight of all ranks killed or wounded.

This affair—magnified, of course—caused the greatest exultation at the Court of Ava; but Campbell lost no time in attempting to retrieve Smith's disaster.

On the 17th of October, 420 Europeans and 350 native infantry, with three guns, advanced against Kaikloo, on reaching which they had their wrath and indignation fired on beholding the bodies of those who fell ten days before stripped and hung from the trees in horrid states of mutilation. They dashed on, intent to take vengeance, but found the works abandoned, and had to return to Rangoon without firing a shot.

About this time, Kye Wungyee, a leading Burman noble, was defeated. He had taken post at Shantabain, on the river Lyne, with fourteen war-boats, each carrying a large gun. These he had moored near three breastworks, in rear of which stood his principal stockade, constructed of solid timber, fifteen feet in height, with an inner platform, armed with small iron and wooden guns, which overlooked the heavy ordnance that were in battery below. Strong as these works appeared, a very small party of soldiers and sailors

* "Narrative of the Burmese War."

stormed one part of them with such speed and fury that terror was struck in the defenders elsewhere, and they speedily abandoned it at every point.

Now the sickness had become so great that little more that 1,300 Europeans remained fit for duty, and the native troops were reduced in proportion; yet the prospect of active operations, with triumphs to be won, was hailed with joy by all. But in the circumstances under which Campbell's little force found themselves, these prospects might have damped the boldest spirits; for, according to the last reports that had reached Rangoon, the Golden Foot had mustered every soldier he could find, and was resolved, by one grand effort, to destroy his invaders, or convey all whom he could capture in chains to the interior, where ignominy, torture, and death should await them.

From Arracan, Maha Bandoola had come, with his so-called veterans, and, at the head of 60,000 men, was advancing on Rangoon, in the vicinity of which he actually made his appearance early in December. Flanked on the right by a flotilla of war-boats and fire-rafts, his army extended from the river in a semi-circle, opposite Dalla, past Kemmendine and the Golden Pagoda, till it rested with its left on Puzendoon Creek, half a mile eastward of Rangoon.

Dense jungles, for the most part, covered his front; and where it was open, breastworks and stockades protected it.

The key of our position, the great Shwe-dagon, or Golden Pagoda, was occupied by 300 of H.M. 38th, or 1st Staffordshire, Regiment, with twenty guns, while the 28th Madras Infantry were posted below it. H.M. 13th Light Infantry, with some guns, held the high ground that lay between the pagoda and the town. In front of the lines an old Buddhist convent was held by 200 of the Madras Europeans and some sepoys, while the stockade at Kemmendine, which covered the left of the position, was occupied by the 26th Madras Native Infantry and a few of the Madras Europeans. The remainder of our troops were placed in communication with Rangoon, which, as well as Kemmendine, was supported by the shipping in the river.

Great were the exertions of Maha Bandoola during the first week of December, 1824. His troops were employed, without an hour's cessation, in pushing forward his works and attacks on the stockade at Kemmendine, every movement being accompanied by a profusion of banners, flags, and gilt umbrellas, which were always encouraged by the sight of our vedettes and sentries, who were deemed by them a sign of watchful fear.*

* Snodgrass—"Appendix."

To repulse them seemed to have no effect in dislodging them, as the moment our troops retired they returned, and resumed their fighting and trenching tools. By this pertinacity they made so much progress, and annoyed Commodore Grant's flotilla by their perilous fire-rafts and incessant matchlock firing, that a general attack was now resolved on.

With this view, while our gun-boats advanced to Puzendoon Creek to take the Burmese in flank, two columns of infantry, one 1,100 strong, under Major Robert Sale, and the other of 600, under Major Walker, moved against their left, and bursting through the entrenchments, drove in the whole of that flank, with a heavy loss of men, guns, and munition of war. But as Maha Bandoola seemed disposed to hold firm with his right and centre, another attack was made on the 7th of December.

In four columns our troops advanced, and completely discomfited the hordes of Burmah, which, without waiting to be attacked, fled from their works in disorder. After this, all remained quiet for a week, till a conflagration, which was too evidently the result of design, broke out in Rangoon, laying several quarters of the town in ashes; and on the same night, tidings came that 20,000 men had taken post only five miles distant, at Kokim, where they had begun to throw up strong works.

As General Campbell was determined not to tolerate this close vicinity, he marched in person, with two columns, one of 800 and the other of 600 men. Brief though the time, the works at Kokim were cast up so rapidly, that they embraced a circuit of three miles; and consisted of six circular entrenchments, flanked by two strong stockades.

Campbell made his attack in front and rear simultaneously. Hemmed completely in, the Burmese, while fighting only to escape, suffered terrible loss; while the *Diana* steamer, the men-of-war launches, and the gun-boats, destroyed all the enemy's war-prows and fire-rafts. But though the army of Maha Bandoola seemed somehow to have evaporated, before achieving the destruction or capture of ours, he was not a man to despair; but organised a new one, which he proceeded to entrench in works greater and stronger than had yet been attempted, at Donabue. But prior to relating the attack on that place, it will be necessary to glance at the war in Assam.

The retrograde movement of Colonel Richards from his advanced position in that province to Gowhatty, caused the Burmese to return and renew their inroads and devastations; hence it was necessary that, so soon as he obtained reinforcements

and supplies, he should once more take the field against them. But, as the state of the weather rendered the advance of his whole force—only 3,000 men—impossible, he was only able, towards the close of October, to send off two detachments to check their depredations, and these did not march, but proceeded by water.

One of these parties, led by Major Waters, after routing a party of the enemy at Raha Chowki, proceeded to Nowgong, where the Governor of Assam and the Boora Rajah had posted themselves, with 1,300 men, who, notwithstanding their superior number, retired with precipitation, and left him in undisputed possession of their works. Under Major Cooper, the other detachment marched to Kaliabar, which he found evacuated; and Colonel Richards, having thus secured two advanced positions, began a march of toil, with the rest of his little force, while his baggage was tediously dragged in boats against the current of the Brahmapootra—a river which is ever teeming with alligators—till the 6th of January, 1825, when he halted at Maura Mukh, about 130 miles beyond Gowhatty.

The 29th saw him at Rangpore, in Upper Assam, the fort of which was built of solid stone, was square in form, and armed with 100 pieces of cannon. Access to it was rendered difficult by two swamps and a wet ditch. Its garrison consisted of Burmese and Assamese—a people, by nature and habit, weak, intemperate, idle, timid, and addicted to drinking arrack and chewing opium; yet, the combined force was capable of a vigorous defence. Luckily for Colonel Richards, violent dissensions prevailed among the leaders; and he had no sooner stormed a stockade which barred his approach, and got his breaching-guns into position, than he received a proposal for capitulation, by which he permitted the Burmese to retire to their own country, or remain peaceably in Assam, according to their choice. At first, 9,000 persons—men, women, and children—began the homeward pilgrimage; but many changed their minds, and returned. With the fall of Rangpore the fighting ended in Assam, which from that time became an integral portion of the British empire; with the exception of the Sudiya district, which was given up to the Rajah Poorunder Sing, in 1833, for a tribute of 50,000 rupees yearly.

Two forces were directed to proceed overland against Ava, on the obstacles which menaced the success of Sir Archibald Campbell's expedition becoming known at Calcutta. One column was to penetrate through Cachar and Munipore into the valley of the Ningtee, an affluent of the Irawaddy; while the other, from Chittagong, was to march across the hilly range between Arracan and Ava, to form a junction with the troops at Rangoon. The former force, 7,000 strong, under Colonel Shuldham, mustered on the border of Sylhet, towards the close of 1824; and as the Burmese had abandoned Cachar, and had their hands fully occupied in Pegu, no immediate opposition was expected. But the natural obstacles to be surmounted were very considerable.

Ere the first march could be achieved, the pioneers had to make a road from Bhadrapore to Bauskandy, and the distance to Munipore was still ninety miles, over a most rough and savage tract of country, exhibiting lofty mountains, deep watercourses, dense forests, and pathless morasses; and after cutting a footway for nearly forty miles, the toil-worn pioneers had abandoned the work as futile; and by the month of March, 1825, the obstacles were pronounced by the staff insurmountable, and the advance on Burmah, by the way of Cachar, was abandoned.

Under Brigadier Morrison, the Arracan force, 11,000 strong, mustered at Chittagong. In consequence of the aversion of the Bengal sepoys to sea voyages, it was resolved that the expedition should proceed by the more tedious and difficult land route; but so many desertions took place, that it became pretty evident to the officers that their men had also an aversion to fighting the Burmese, whom they regarded with superstitious terror, as a species of magicians who could render themselves proof to lead and steel; thus innumerable pretexts were made to avoid joining the head-quarters in Arracan. Three native regiments—the 26th, 47th, and 62nd Bengal Infantry—then cantoned at Barrackpore, were under orders to join Morrison at Arracan, when loud murmurs, complaints, and factious opposition were exhibited by the three corps. Among other things, the sepoys declared that they were without the proper means of transport for a distance so great.

In addition to his knapsack and its contents, each had to carry sixty rounds of ball-cartridge, and for the due preservation of caste, all his own culinary articles—including a plate, a water-pot, frying-pan, a boiler, and a *lotah*, all of brass, and weighing about twenty-two pounds. This toil was thrown upon himself as a religious necessity, and was usually borne without grumbling; but in the present instance, as the distance of the duty rendered the case an exception, the sepoy, not without some show of reason, averred that the commissariat should provide and convey these things. All the available cattle had already been taken from Bengal, and none could be obtained

by the luckless sepoys, save at rates far beyond their means.

Thus, when the 47th—which regiment was ordered to march—were informed that they must move in the usual manner, mutinous meetings were held within the lines, and the sepoys mutually bound themselves by the most solemn oaths not to quit their quarters until their pay was increased or carriage provided. Colonel Cartwright, then in command, purchased bullocks at his own expense, and the Government actually offered to advance money; but still the sepoys, anxious beyond everything to evade service in Burmah, still refused to part with the new pet grievance; and, in short, the spirit of insubordination had already reached a point beyond repression.

The colonel, finding that the regiment was nearly in a state of open mutiny, reported the circumstance to General Dalzell, commanding at Barrackpore, who proceeded to Calcutta to consult with the commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Paget. On the 1st of November, 1824, the general gave orders for the 47th Regiment to parade in heavy marching order. On that day a third of the battalion obeyed, but the rest mustered tumultuously within the lines, and threatened to fire if the others attempted to quit the cantonments; and every effort made by General Dalzell, Colonel Cartwright, and other officers, to bring these mutineers to a sense of duty was met only by noisy clamour and open defiance. During all that day, and the following night, this alarming state of matters continued, till the arrival of Sir Edward Paget, to whom they sent a petition, which was translated by a Captain Macan, of H.M. 16th Lancers, who averred that it was barbarous and unintelligible, and without spelling or grammar.

It would seem, however, to have omitted all mention of the alleged grievance—the want of bullocks; and stated, that the soubahdar-major and havildar-major having informed the regiment that it was to proceed to Rangoon by ship, each sepoy had sworn by the waters of the Ganges and the sacred basil not to put a foot on board, lest he should forfeit caste; adding, "And every gentleman knows, that when a Hindoo takes Ganges water and basil in his hand, he will sacrifice his life. . . . Now, you are master of our lives; what you order, we will do; but we will not go on board ship, nor will we march for that purpose. Formerly our name was good, but it is now become bad; our wish is, therefore, that our names be effaced, and that every man may return to his home."

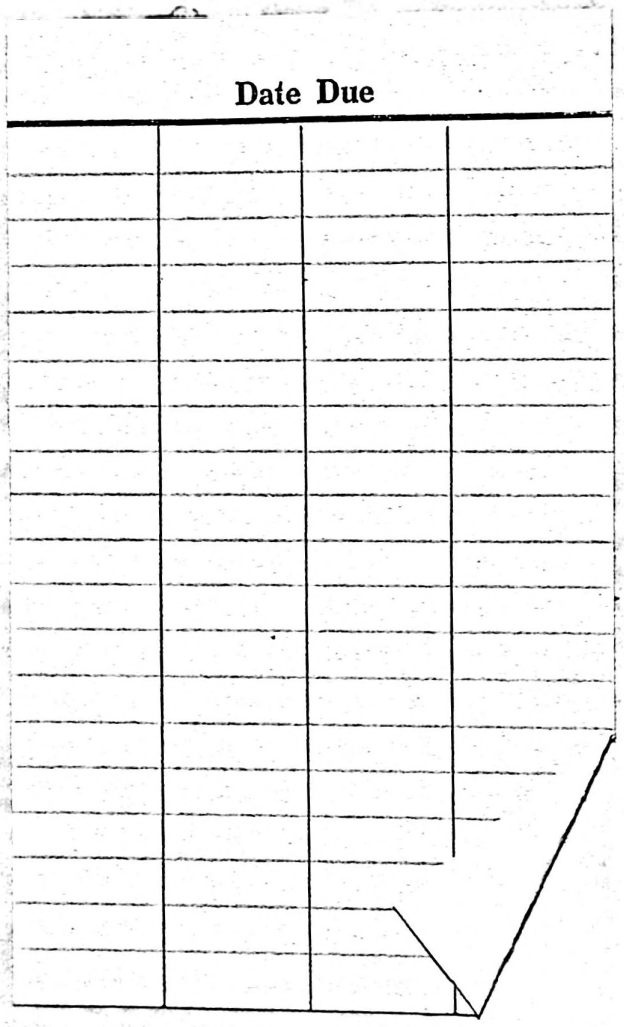
They were told by Sir Edward Paget that it had never been intended to send them by sea; but now, as there could be no treating with mutineers, they must lay down their arms unconditionally. As it was well known that the other two regiments were disaffected, and hence, unwilling to aid repressing this mutiny, the 2nd battalion of the 1st Royal Scots, the 47th (Lancashire) Regiment, a battery of Horse Artillery, and a troop of the Body Guard, were brought to Barrackpore for that necessary, but unpleasant, purpose.

The early dawn of the 2nd November beheld these troops drawn up opposite the lines of the disaffected. The artillery were in rear. The mutinous 47th was under arms in front of the lines; and in their left rear were the 26th and 62nd—the two other Bengal regiments under orders for Arracan and Burmah. Twenty sepoys of the former, and more than a hundred of the latter corps, had rashly joined the 47th to share its fate, whatever that might be.

Before giving the fatal order that would lead to death and slaughter, Sir Edward Paget directed the Quartermaster-General, Colonel Galloway, C.B., Colonel Cartwright, and Captain Macan, to make the mutineers fully aware of the awful position in which they stood; for now even their native officers had deserted the cause, and stood apart from them. Expostulations were only met with clamorous uproar; and thus they were finally informed that their fate depended upon their obedience to orders issued by the adjutant-general.

"Order arms," was the command, which was instantly obeyed. "Ground arms," was the second, which was met by uproar, and one man alone obeyed. In an instant the Horse Artillery poured a volley of grape, piling the killed and wounded over each other in the cantonment; and the mutineers, instead of firing, as they had threatened, though each man had forty rounds in his pouch, flung down their arms, broke, and fled wildly across the square, or parade-ground, under an infantry fire, which was followed up by a charge of the Body Guard. And many perished in the scattered pursuit, or in the river Hooghly, which skirts the level plain near Barrackpore.

Many who were made prisoners were tried by native courts-martial and hanged, or condemned to hard labour for life; but after a time the latter were forgiven and set at liberty; and a new 47th Bengal Infantry Regiment, dating from 1824, was embodied, and called "Volunteers," which did good service at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon.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