





HISTORY
OF THE
WAR IN INDIA:

INCLUDING

The Complete History of British India,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

ALSO,

A SKETCH OF GEN. HAVELOCK.

Illustrated with numerous Engravings.

By HENRY FREDERICK MALCOLM.

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P R E F A C E.



THE British Empire in India has recently been brought to the eve of dissolution by an extensive mutiny of its native troops. This mutiny has been converted into a rebellion; large bodies of natives not in the British service having joined the mutineers and engaged in active hostilities. Since the month of June, 1857, a civil war has raged in Hindostan; and scenes of bloodshed and horror have been enacted in that populous, extensive and beautiful country, which have scarcely a parallel in history.

These events have attracted attention to India and excited the public curiosity in relation to its condition and history. To gratify this curiosity the present volume is published. It comprises a sketch of the Natural History of the country, and a complete Civil and Military History of the various Races and Dynasties which have ruled it from the most ancient times to the present day.

On account of the paramount interest of the Great Rebellion initiated in 1857, and now apparently quelled

nearly one third of the volume is devoted to that subject, in relation to which many interesting and thrilling details are given.

It is needless to remark that this is a subject of considerable importance to Americans, on account of the many intimate relations existing between Great Britain and this country.

At the close of the volume will be found a Memoir of General Sir Henry Havelock, the hero of the Indian war, the Christian soldier, who was called, when he had just attained the very climax of his earthly fame, to "a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" in a better world.

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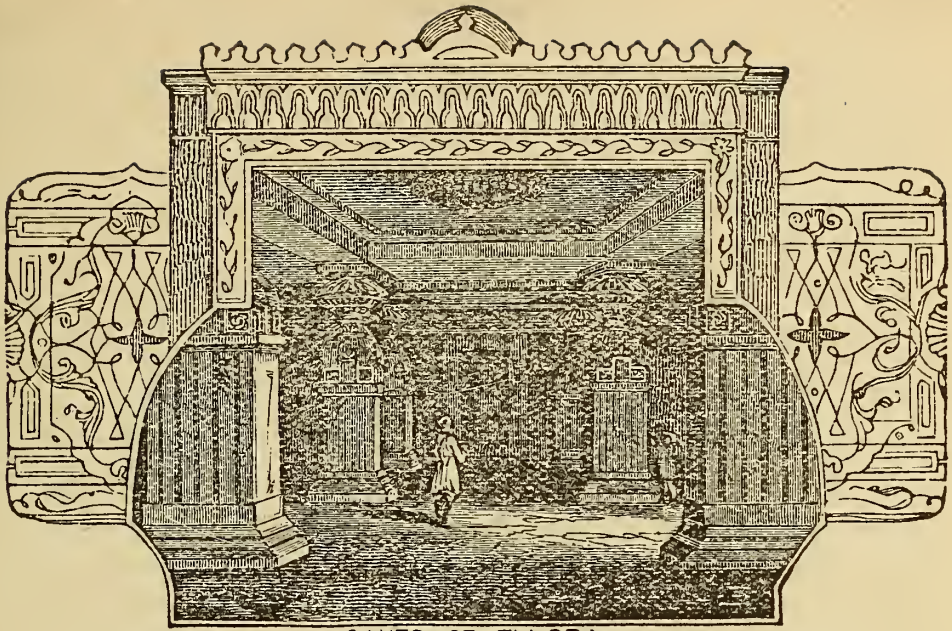
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CAVES OF ELLORA.

BRITISH INDIA.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

THE various countries which now form the three Presidencies of India, together with those native states which are independent of, though in close alliance with, the East India Company, have been at various times known under several denominations. They have been comprehensively and indiscriminately spoken of as Hindostan, the East Indies, and the Indian Peninsula; they are now more correctly termed British India, which term, of course, excludes such independent states as have been alluded to.

Extending from Cape Comorin on the south to the Himalayan range on the north, and from the delta of the Berrampootra on the east to the Indus on the west, British India, exclusively of the recently annexed province of Pegu, may be said to include within its limits 1,200,000 square miles of territory. Of these, the Presidency of Bengal contains 306,012 square miles; Madras, 141,920; Bombay, 64,908; and Scinde

and the Punjab about 160,000 square miles; the remainder being the extent of the allied states.

The coast-line of British India amounts to about 3200 miles. Of these 1800 miles are washed by the Indian Ocean, and 1400 miles by the Bay of Bengal.

The extreme length of India from north to south may be taken as 1800 miles; its greatest width, along the parallel of 25° N. latitude, is about 1500 miles.

Intersected by vast ranges of lofty mountains, the Indian peninsula presents a remarkably varied surface of table-land, delta, and valley; and extending as it does from $8^{\circ} 4'$ N. lat. to 34° N. lat., with tracts of country sometimes 2500 feet above the sea-level, it naturally comprises many varieties of climate and a great range of temperature.

Crossing the peninsula from east to west, between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of north latitude, we find the Vindya Mountains, a dividing range of a marked character, and the base of those various districts into which Hindostan has been divided.

These divisions are four in number: the Deccan, south of the Vindya Mountains; and to the north of the range, the Delta of the Ganges, Central India, and the Delta of the Indus. Some writers add a fifth division, by styling that part of the Deccan which is south of the river Kishna, Southern India.

The distinguishing feature of the Deccan consists of the lofty ranges of mountains which skirt it on every side; they are named the northern, southern, eastern, and western Ghauts.* The latter skirt the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal at distances varying from one hundred to ten miles: those on the eastern coast being the most remote. Their altitude varies from 8000 feet downward. On the southern extremity of the western ghauts are the Neilgherry Mountains stretching eastward, and famed throughout Southern India for their fine climate and fertile tracts of table-land. On this

* Ghaut, or ghât, is applied by the natives to the many openings or passes through these ranges; being derived from the Sanscrit *gati*, a way or path, but is used by Europeans to designate the mountains themselves.

range have been established the sanitary stations of Octacmund and Dimhatty, where Europeans enjoy the bracing temperature of alpine lands within a few days' journey of Madras.

At the northern extremity of the western range, immediately opposite Bombay, are the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to a height of 5036 feet, on which the sanitorium of Mahabeleshwur has been established for the benefit of that Presidency. The Aligherry Mountains are an offshoot of the southern ghauts.

In that portion of the Deccan known as Southern India are several independent states. The King of Travancore and the Rajah of Cochin are both allies of the Honorable East India Company, and offer every facility for the prosecution of commercial enterprise in their territories.

Deccan proper comprises all that portion of the peninsula which lies between the valley of the Nerbudda on the north, and the deep pass known as the Gap of Coimbatore, running from east to west at about 11° N. lat. The greater part by far of this tract consists of elevated table-land of considerable fertility, skirted by long ranges of mountains or ghauts, which stretch coastward until they terminate in plains. This table-land is called by the natives Bala-ghaut, or the country above the ghauts, and varies in breadth from 150 to 400 miles. Its altitude ranges from 900 to 3000 feet.

A considerable portion of the Deccan proper is still ruled by native princes in alliance with the Company. The kingdom of Mysore on the south comprises an extent of 30,000 square miles. It is ruled by a Hindoo prince, and its capital is Seringapatam.

The territory of the Rajah of Hyderabad comprehends about 110,000 square miles, with a population of 10,000,000. It is situated in the north of the Bala-ghauts, and is chiefly noted for its diamond-mines at Golconda.

The Rajah of Berar rules over 3,000,000 subjects, with an extent of territory of about 65,000 square miles, situated to the eastward of Golconda.

The state of Satara comprises about 9000 square miles, with

a population of 500,000. It is ruled by a Hindoo prince, and is situated on the western ghauts. To the south of this principality are the territories of the Rajah of Colapore; a small state, 3000 square miles in extent, under the sway of a Hindoo prince.

The British territories in the Deccan do not exceed 40,000 square miles, part of which are attached to the Presidency of Bombay, and a portion to that of Madras.

A considerable part of this table-land is highly fertile, and rich in natural productions; the ghauts, however, are for the most part barren; and it is only where their spurs form broken valleys that we find extensive forests of lofty timber stretching down to the plains below.

The belt of low country which extends round the Indian peninsula, between the ghauts and the sea-coast, is almost entirely in the possession of the British. It varies not less in its width than in its fertility and its population.

On the western side we find to the north the "Concon" extending from the Nerbudda to 15° N. lat. Thence southward to $12^{\circ} 3''$ is the state of Canara, and from that point to Cape Comorin is the Malabar territory, although the whole extent of this western sea-board is often erroneously termed the Malabar coast. This long range of country is irregular in its surface; the first few miles from the sea being very flat and sandy, with no vegetation but tops of palms. Further inland the ground is broken into hillocks more or less covered with vegetation; and gradually elevating themselves, they become at last merged in the spurs of the ghauts, and crowned with dense jungle and heavy forests of teak and satin-wood.

Along this line of coast, in addition to Bombay, are the towns of Mangalore, Canamore, Tellichery, Calicut, Cochin, Aleppe, and Trevandrum, all of them trading ports, and during the north-east monsoon, from November to April, enjoying a considerable traffic with Bombay, Ceylon, the Persian Gulf, and lately with Europe. Goa is a Portuguese settlement in $15^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., but without any trade worthy of mention.

At the southern extremity of the peninsula is Cape Comorin;

and to the eastward of this, in the Gulf of Manaarlies, the small island of Remisseram, famed for its stupendous Hindoo temple, to which pilgrims annually flock in great numbers.

On the eastern coast-line we find Madras, the capital of the Presidency of that name, Negapatam, Vizagapatam, and Pondicherry and Tranquebar, the former a French, the latter a Danish settlement. This coast is much exposed to the fury of the south-west monsoon, during which period none of the native craft are able to venture out. The only harbor along the coast is that of Coringa, in which vessels of some size may find a safe refuge.

The Deccan is separated from Central India by the valleys of the Nerbudda and Tapti, according to some writers: others, with more propriety, make the Vindya Mountains the natural boundaries of these two territories. This range extends from 74° to 84° E. long., in a direction nearly due east, following the valley of the Nerbudda at a distance of a few miles. At no part do these mountains reach a greater elevation than 2200 feet above the sea-level, and frequently not more than 700 feet. They are crossed in several places by roads of different character.

Central India assumes pretty nearly the shape of a triangle, having its base formed by the Vindya Mountains, and its apex to the southward of Delhi. It consists for the most part of elevated table-land, freely interspersed with mountain-ranges and extensive plains, some of which latter are extremely fertile. Along the range which on the eastward divides this tract from the delta of the Ganges, are the coal-deposits, which at the present time furnish large supplies to Calcutta.

Nearly the whole of Central India is governed by native princes, amongst whom are the Guicowar and Rajpoot chiefs. A considerable portion of the state of Malwa is under the rule of Maharajah Scindia; while other tracts are governed by numerous petty rajahs, amongst whom may be named the Mahratta princes of Holkar and Nagpore.

On the western side of this portion of India the British possess a considerable tract of the plain of Gujerat, which is

annexed to the Bombay Presidency. On the eastern side we find, adjoining, the territories of the Rajpoot princes; and lying between the rivers Sone and Ganges, a region which has been annexed to the residency of Allahabad.

The next natural division is that of the Delta of the Ganges, which ranges from the mouths of that river to the base of the Himalayas, a distance in a straight line of about 300 miles, and varying in breadth from 150 to 180 miles. On the eastern side it is flanked by the Chittagong district and the valleys of Assam and Silhet, with the Tiperah hills; on its western side it stretches from Balasore in the Bay of Bengal, through Midnapore and Nagore, to Rajmahal, and thence by the river Coosie to the Himalayas.

A very considerable portion of this division is incapable of cultivation; on the southern side, between the mouths of the Ganges and the Berrampootra, is a low tract called the Sunderabunds, extending about seventy miles inland and fifty miles in width, covered with swamps and thick jungle, the resort of every variety of reptile and wild beast. The effect of the rising of the tides from the sea is such as to preclude any but the most scanty use of the soil, though recent attempts have been made with partial success to recover some portion of this sterile country. To the north of this tract, as far as 25° N. lat., and chiefly between the branches of the Ganges and the Berrampootra, the land is subject to an annual inundation during the early part of the south-west monsoon, when the country is covered by water to a great depth, some of the rivers rising as much as thirty feet above their ordinary level. This, although causing much inconvenience and loss to the inhabitants, proves a great fertilizer of the soil; and except in the immediate vicinity of the flooded rivers, the entire surface of these river valleys yields most abundant crops of grain on the retirement of the waters, which takes place during October.

Beyond the influence of these periodical floods, we find still a large range of rich fertile land, partly watered by many streams, and partly irrigated by artificial means: to the north of this, again, as far as the swamps at the base of the Himalayan range,

are found numerous tracts of waste land covered with low jungle, reeds, and rank grass.

Stretching along the lower chain of the Himalayas, is the Tarai, or the swamp, a rather extensive portion of peaty soil, through which innumerable springs burst, fed by the mountain land above. The vast masses of vegetable matter swept down from the higher lands, and decaying on these swamps throughout the year, render them unfit for human habitation; and the scattered population suffer severely from fever in their attempts to earn a scanty living by felling timber for the supply of the low country.

The Plain of the Ganges comprehends within it the districts of Bengal, Behar, Tirhoot, Oude, Rohilcund, and Allahabad. It is the most populous and fertile portion of British India, containing about sixty millions of inhabitants, and is entirely under the dominion of the East India Company.

Calcutta is by far the largest and most wealthy city of this or any other part of India, containing at the present date about 600,000 inhabitants. The other principal commercial and political cities are Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Mirzapore, Goruckpore, Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Agra, Delhi, Meerut, and many others, possessing populations varying from thirty to a hundred and twenty thousand souls.

Between the northern extremities of the Gangetic Plain and the Plain of the Indus is a flat, sterile country termed the Doab, ruled over by a few Seikh chieftains in alliance with the British.

The Plain of the Indus is situated on the eastern flank of that river, and commences from the neighborhood of Attock, extending southward and westward as far as the debouchure of the Indus into the sea. It comprehends the Punjab, Scinde, and other smaller states: a large portion of it south of the Punjab consists of desert, arid plains; and even in the more favorable positions, where the land is watered by the overflowing of the Indus and its branches, the soil can scarcely be termed fertile, yielding but indifferent crops of grass and grain.

The Punjab, or the country of the five rivers, forming the

northern portion of the Plain of the Indus, extends from the base of the Himalayan range to the confluence of the Chenab with the Indus. It is the most populous part of this division of India, and contains several very extensive and densely peopled cities: its entire population is believed to be three millions. Its ancient capital, Umrister, contains 100,000 inhabitants, and has long possessed a valuable trade with many parts of India. It is situated between the rivers Beas and Ravee. Lahore, the modern capital, possesses a population of 80,000. Mooltan, on the Chenab, contains 60,000 inhabitants, and possesses some valuable manufactures in silk and cotton.

This country contains some very fertile tracts, especially in its more northern part, where the supply of water is most abundant. Toward the south the land is generally less favored, although there are still some rich valleys between the Ravee and the Beas, as also in the immediate vicinity of all the five rivers. These streams are, according to modern nomenclature, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravee, the Chenab, and the Jhelum, taking them from east to west: the names by which they were known to the early writers of the west were the Zaradus, the Hyphasis, the Hydrastes, the Acesines, and the Hydaspes. These rivers flow from the Himalayas in a south-westerly direction for about six hundred miles, when, after merging into the Chenab, their waters finally unite with those of the Indus at the northern point of the Desert of Scinde.

The Seikhs form the principal inhabitants of this country, and their chieftains proved themselves formidable enemies to the British during one of the most severely contested struggles that have occurred with any eastern power. The Punjab is now a province of the British empire in India, under a resident whose seat is at Lahore.

To the southward of the Punjab is Scinde, until recently a powerful state governed by Ameers, whose descent was from chiefs of Beloochistan, but now annexed to the Bombay Presidency. It is bounded on the north by Affghanistan, and Mooltan, on the east by the state of Rajpootna, on the west by

Beloochistan, and on the south by Cutch and the sea. By far the greater portion of Scinde consists of sandy desert known as the Thurr, and which extends over nearly the whole of the country east of the Indus. The desert is covered with long ridges of low undulating sand-hills, occasionally topped with a little jungle or rank grass. There are, however, scattered throughout this Thurr, many oases of considerable fertility, producing crops of grain and vegetables. Within twenty and thirty miles of the Indus the fertilizing effects of its periodical floodings are felt; and there, as well as far on the western extremity of this province, the soil proves of a more generous nature. The total population of the country does not exceed a million souls. Its chief towns are Shikarpore, Sikkur, Hyderabad, Tatta, and Kurrachee. None of these cities possess more than 20,000 inhabitants: the last mentioned is situated on the west mouth of the Indus, has a good harbor, and carries on a considerable trade, which has much increased since being in British possession.

The Thurr or Desert is still ruled by petty chiefs, Rajpoot princes in alliance with the East India Company: these are the Rajahs of Jessulmere, Marwar, Bikanir, &c. In this part of Scinde there are several cities, having populations varying from 20,000 to 60,000 souls, and some of them carrying on a considerable traffic with the adjoining States.

We have still to notice a portion of the continental territories of the East India Company comprised within the limits of the Bengal Presidency. Of these the first is the district of Arracan, stretching from the north-eastern extremity of the Bay of Bengal to the limits of the late-Burmese province of Pegu. The features of the country, the habits of the people, and the natural productions, so nearly assimilate to those of the other fractions of the Burmese territories, that one general description may well serve for the entire tract.

The provinces of Tenasserim and Pegu, formerly sections of the Burmese empire, were annexed to the British-Indian empire, the former in 1826, the latter in 1853, and are now governed

by a commissioner and the usual staff of European and native officials.

The Tenasserim provinces, as ceded to the East India Company, comprise an extent of country five hundred miles in length, and from forty to eighty in breadth, and reaching from the junction of the Salween and Thoongeen rivers on the north to the Pak Chan river on the south; on the west the sea forms the boundary; and on the east a chain of lofty mountains divides this tract of country from the kingdom of Siam. The seat of government here is Moulmein, situated at the confluence of these rivers, and no less admirably adapted for the purposes of trade than as a healthy position for troops.

The country is divided into three provinces, those of Mergni, Tavoy, and Amherst, in which latter the capital is situated. The population, although still small compared with the extent of country, has greatly increased by emigration from the Burman and Peguan territories since the annexation of these provinces, and amounts at the present moment to about 160,000 souls. These numbers are composed indifferently of Burmese, Arracanese, Peguers, Talamis, Karens, and Tounghoos, with an admixture of Siamese blood amongst them; whilst in the towns of Moulmein and Tavoy are to be found a sprinkling of Chinese, Jews, Moguls, Moors, Bengalese, &c., more or less occupied in trade.

Amongst the many grades of foreigners, both from Europe and other parts of Asia, who have at various periods helped to people Hindostan, we find the British race pre-eminent in intelligence and power, though not so in numbers. The total of the residents in India from the British Isles, including the military, is computed at 75,000 souls.

The Portuguese descendants are far more numerous, amounting to about 1,000,000. They are chiefly to be found along the western coasts and in the chief cities of India.

On the Malabar and Canara coasts we find Arabs in considerable numbers, together with Syrian Christians, or Parawas, and Jews, although not to any great extent.

Parsees, or Ghebirs, are to be met with chiefly at Bombay and other trading ports on that coast.



ARABS.

Throughout various parts of India the descendants of Affghan races are clearly to be traced to the extent of several millions; whilst in Scinde we find a strong blending of the blood of the Beloochees, the conquerors of that country, with the native races, as well as undoubtedly pure descendants of the Ameer tribes.

Extending through 23 degrees of latitude, we may expect to find in British India, a great variety of climate, influenced, more over, by the great irregularities of the surface of the country. We may thus meet a temperature of 28° on the Himalayan range or the Neilgherries; or if we turn to the Cutch country, and the thermometer, during the dry months, ranging as high as 100° .

The Indian seasons are, strictly speaking, two in number and are called the monsoons, viz., the south-west and the north-east; and these are felt more or less throughout the entire length and breadth of Hindostan. But inasmuch as the



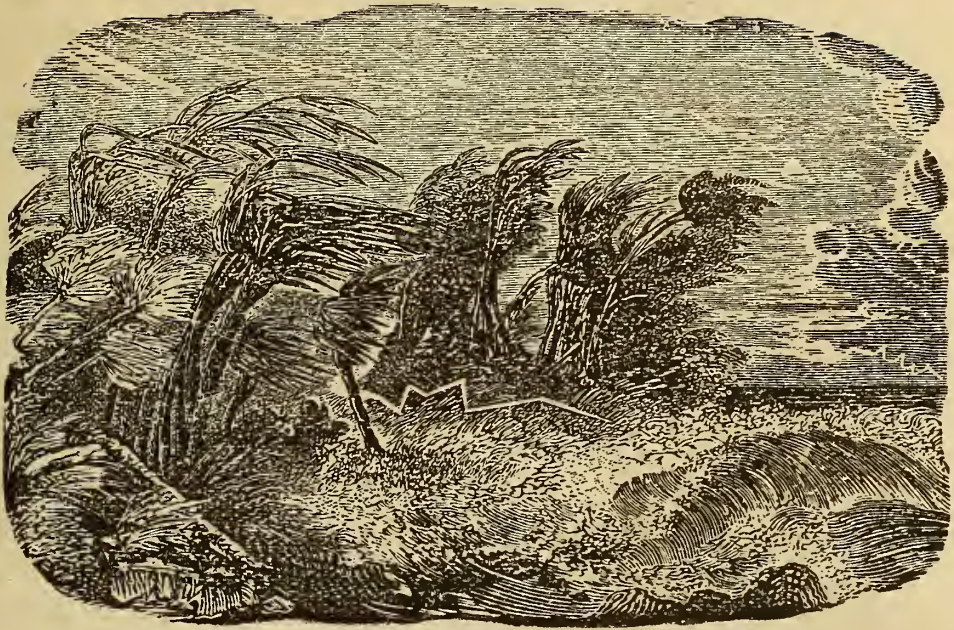
BELOOCHEE.

north-east monsoon is again divided into the temperate and hot months, we may in truth say that there are three distinct seasons.

The south-west monsoon usually commences about the middle of May along the west coast, but later to the north and east. It is ushered in by violent gales of wind, thunder and lightning, and heavy falls of rain, which continue for six or eight weeks, at the end of which time the weather moderates and becomes close and oppressive, with heavy clouds and a dull calm atmosphere. The thermometer will now range

at about 88° or 90° , until further heavy falls of rain take place, ushering in the north-east monsoon some time in October. The weather is now more pleasant, the long-continued rains having thoroughly cooled the land, and the thermometer will stand at about 80° . The cool portion of this monsoon extends from November to January; though to the north of Calcutta it lasts into February, and even March. The mornings and evenings are now remarkably pleasant and cool, not exceeding a temperature of 75° , and woolen clothing may at this season be worn with much comfort by Europeans.

During March, April, and the early part of May, the hot season prevails throughout India, though of course considerably modified by position and local circumstances. At this period the wind, especially upon the Coromandel or east coast, blows along shore, and being extremely dry and hot, gives rise to much sickness, more particularly amongst European residents.



HURRICANE AT THE CHANGE OF THE MONSOONS.

The winds, however, not less than the temperature, are greatly modified by localities; and thus we find that the south-west monsoon in some places really comes from the south-east; in like manner we meet with north-westerly breezes during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. To the south of Bengal the winds are more strictly north and south; whilst in Assam and Behar they will be found nearly east and west.

The long and lofty ranges of mountains, the elevated tablelands, the gigantic rivers, the deep valleys of Hindostan, all exert a most sensible influence upon the direction and force of the prevailing winds.

Thus the south-west monsoon, which along the coasts of Malabar and Canara commences early in May, does not reach Delhi before the end of June, and the Punjab until early in July; where, as well as in the elevated lands of Cashmere, it makes its appearance with light fleecy clouds and gentle showers.

The seasons of Bengal are alternately hot, cold and rainy. The pleasantest and coolest months are the latter part of February, March, and April; though April may sometimes be in-

cluded with May and June as intensely hot, rendered still more oppressive by a scorching westerly wind, accompanied by small and almost invisible grains of sand. People are glad to remain under the shelter of their houses; the vegetable world seems at a stand-still, and nothing remains but barren tracts of soil, though the air of the distant mountains is fresh and delightful.

The rainy season commences in the upper provinces in April and May; in the plains not until June; it continues incessantly till the end of July. The rain tends greatly to cool the sultry atmosphere, although during the months of August and September the heat is still intense. The monsoon changes at this period. In October the cold begins to be felt, and increases throughout the three following months; it is frequently extreme in Bengal and Behar, where the atmosphere is moist and unhealthy, whilst on the mountains ice and snow are often to be met with.

Perhaps there is no part of Hindostan in which the oppressiveness of the climate, at certain periods, is so sensibly felt as at Calcutta and in its vicinity. Here, during the rainy season, when the monsoon comes across the Sunderabunds, and wafts with it a dense heated atmosphere deeply impregnated with vegeto-animal effluvia, the human frame suffers far more than with a much higher temperature and a pure dry air. The body feels hot and damp, as though immersed in a vapor-bath; a languor and listlessness creep over the frame; and so far from night bringing with it any relief, it appears but to aggravate the feeling of oppressiveness, and the restless sleeper rises in the morning wearied and unrefreshed, happy to resort to a chattie-bath of tepid water to relieve his overloaded skin of some portion of the heavy coating of perspiration which clogs its pores.

The mean temperature of Calcutta is, in January 66°, April 86°, July 81°, October 79°, and November 74°. The annual average fall of rain is here about 60 inches; the greatest fall being in the months of May and June, when about 30 inches will be the quantity. No less than 16 inches have been known to fall in the space of twenty-four hours.

At Madras, from its contiguity to the ocean, the monsoon is not felt nearly so oppressively; neither are the cool months so pleasant as in Bengal. The minimum temperature is here 75° , and the maximum 91° , the mean being 84° .

Bombay approaches more nearly to the climate of the elder Presidency, both the heat and the rain being in excess at the change of the monsoon. In Cutch the temperature is as high as 110° , whilst in the elevated mountain tracts, within two days' journey of Bombay, the thermometer will stand at the freezing point.

At the sanitarium on the Neilgherries, or the Blue Ghants, may be found a climate very nearly approaching that of England, especially during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. Without being so cold as Great Britain, it is far more equable; the maximum temperature being only 77° , whilst that of that country is 90° ; the minimum point is 38° against 11° in England. The number of days on which heavy rain falls on these hills is 19 against 18 in that country; whilst the fair days are 237 against 160. The fall of rain on the Neilgherries is 44 inches; in England it is 23.

At Saharamapore, in lat. 30° N., at an elevation of about 1000 feet, where the government have a botanic garden, the mean temperature during the cold months of December and January is 55° and 52° . In May and June, when the hot dry winds prevail, the mean will be 85° and 90° ; whilst in September and October the mean will not be more than 79° and 72° .

At this station, although the cool season is more agreeable and lasting, and the hot weather more endurable than in the southern districts of India, the climate and vegetation are nevertheless essentially tropical.

Fifty miles further northward, but at an elevation of 6000 feet upon the Mussoorri range of the Himalayas, is another botanic garden, where a climate more closely allied to that of central Europe is found. The thermometer there stands at 32° for several months in the night time; and the means for December and January are 42° and 45° . The greatest heat is 80° , during

the month of June; and the means of May and June are 66° and 67°.

Not the least favorite of the hill sanitarium is that of Dharjeeling, situated on the Sikkim Hills, near the Himalayas, on the north-east frontier of the Bengal Presidency: it is at an altitude of about 7000 feet above the sea-level, and distant from Calcutta about 350 miles. There are some excellent roads in its immediate vicinity, but travelers are compelled to travel to it from the capital by water and palanquin. The temperature at this station is pretty equal throughout the day, with clear dry cold in the winter season, and seldom, even in the hottest weather, approaching 70° of Fahrenheit. The average annual fall of rain is 130 inches, the wet season lasting from four to five months. The scenery around this settlement is of the most beautiful description, heightened as it is by the proximity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas. This sanitarium has been found highly beneficial to invalids when resorted to in due season; though in all chronic cases it does not, of course, afford that relief which is to be found in a voyage to sea.

The forms of disease peculiar to the European residents in most parts of India, are congestive fever, intermittents, hepatic and other forms of disease, and rheumatism. Apoplexy is not unfrequent during the prevalence of the cold drying wind of the north-east monsoon; and occasionally, especially in Calcutta and Bombay, we meet with fatal cases of cholera.

A sojourn for a month or two on any of the elevated mountain ranges will usually restore the invalid to health, provided he be not an old resident, or the disease has not assumed the chronic form, in which case there is little hope for him but in a return to the bracing climate and cheerful scenes of his native country.

Amongst the natives we find the prevailing diseases to be cholera, dysentery, fever, skin affections, leprosy, rheumatism, small-pox, elephantiasis, and beri-beri. The latter is a peculiar type of dropsy; and elephantiasis consists in a swelling of the legs and feet until they assume the shape and almost the size

of those of the elephant. Neither of these complaints have ever been known amongst Europeans.

Cholera first made its appearance, in the form of endemic disease, in 1817, in the district of Nuddeah, and has since that time seldom been absent from all parts of India.

Foremost among the products of the soil in India may be mentioned saltpetre, or nitrate of potash, of which vast quantities are annually exported from Calcutta and Bombay. This useful saline product is found existing in caves, and also in the waters of stagnant marshes, frequently combined with the muriate and sulphate of soda. The existence of these salts is always indicated by the sterility of the adjoining land, which is incapable of cultivation.

Coal deposits of considerable extent exist in the Bengal Presidency. The largest of these is in the Damoodah valley, stretching toward the Hooghly, not many miles from Calcutta; and according to recent investigations containing seams forty and fifty feet in thickness. These beds extend over a space of thirty miles, between the towns of Nagore and Bancoorah. The seams rest on metamorphic and crystalline rocks of gneiss and mica schist, and at one point are covered by a ferruginous sand, an extension of the alluvium of the plains of the Ganges. A second set of beds is found in the valley of the river Sone, to the south of Mirzapore, in the Benares district, but not of similar extent or quality to the preceding.

This coal is of very fair quality, and the company working the mines are doing so at a fair profit. In heating power it has not the properties of English coal, but it is sufficiently good to be in constant use by the river steamers and such steam-engines as are employed in factories.

In gems India is exceedingly rich. The diamond-mines of Golconda have long been world-famed for the extreme beauty and great value of their yield. There are also valuable mines at Panna in Bundelcund, where the diamonds are found in a matrix of red iron-stone, gravel, and clay. The celebrated Koh-i-noor, shown in the Great Exhibition, no less than others of immense value in the possession of native princes, testify to

the richness of India in precious stones. The ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, the turquoise, the opal, the amethyst, and indeed almost every known gem, are to be found in various parts of the mountain-ranges and elevated table-lands of Hindostan, and often of great purity and beauty.

Although we are told in ancient records that the Ophir of the east yielded the gold of those remote days, there does not appear to be any trace of the precious metal in India proper. It is found in the Himalayas in small quantities. Iron is, however, found of good quality, especially in the Madras Presidency, where there is a company formed for the smelting and working the ore. The celebrated blades of Damascus bear testimony to the quality of Indian steel, and there is will some of equally fine quality produced.

In the province of Ajmeer there exist some lead mines which yield at the present day a good quantity of ore; whilst in the hills near Nellore, in the peninsula, some very rich specimens of copper ore have been found, containing as much as 60 per cent. of the pure metal.

The hilly country of Mewar appears always to have been known to contain an abundance of mineral riches, and it is not too much to believe that it was this very source of wealth which in former times enabled the Ranas of Oodeypoor to oppose the Emperor of Delhi with such great and continued success. The most noted of the mines in this district were those of Jawar, which are believed to have yielded an annual revenue to the state of £22,000.

The district of Jawar lies about twenty-five miles south of Oodeypoor, and is situated in an extensive valley, surrounded by hills overlooking a fertile but desolate plain, covered by the ruins of former prosperity. Many of these ruins consist of antique temples, erected on hills 160 feet high, composed entirely of ashes, the very existence of which, under such circumstances, bears testimony to the remoteness of the period when the mines were worked.

At the present time no effort is made by the Rana to open up this source of wealth; a feeling of jealousy and distrust

appearing to exist in his mind as to the consequences of his doing so, though it seems that some very excellent specimens of zinc have been covertly obtained from that neighborhood.

In the Tenasserim and Peguan provinces tin abounds; indeed the whole range of the hilly country forming the great dividing range between these and the Burmese and Siamese territories may be said to abound in mineral wealth. Nitre, alum, salt, mercury, lead impregnated with silver, copper in most of its varieties, the sulphurets, oxyds, and sulphates of iron, besides rubies, sapphires, tourmalines, and jasper, are all found in greater or less abundance throughout that range of country. In the Tenasserim province coal is likewise found, though it does not appear that any steps have been taken to turn this natural product to account.

The forests of British India, if not so vast as those of America, are still of great value for domestic, commercial, and agricultural purposes: many of the woods grown in the Himalayan and Deccan forests, as well as those in central and north-western India, possess wonderful strength and durability, not unfrequently combined with much beauty. By far the greater portion of these are quite unknown in Europe, and not many of them are in general use even amongst the Europeans of the East. In some instances the remoteness of the places of growth from populous districts proves a great bar to their use, unless where water-conveyance, the cheapest of all modes of transport in oriental countries, is to be had.

To attempt an enumeration of even the principal woods of India would carry this portion of this work far beyond its limits. The extent of our present knowledge of Indian timber furnishes us with several thousands of specimens, of many of which we know little beyond the names. A large portion of them are fitted but for the most inferior description of work, many serving only for fuel or for garden-fences. On the other hand, there are a number of these woods which might well be used for furniture-work.

The ebony, sattin-wood, and calamander, are more or less known here for their hardness, beauty of grain, and susceptibility

of high polish. There are also "blackwood," tamarind-wood, cedar, sissou, teak, and saul-wood. The two latter are in most general use throughout the coasts and southern and central parts of Hindostan, the first for ship-building, for which it is most admirably adapted; the last for house-building and general engineering purposes. Both of them grow to a vast size, often measuring nine or ten feet round the trunk. The teak is chiefly found on the Malabar coast, and in the northern division of the Madras Presidency; whilst the saul-timber is found growing in almost every latitude northward of Calcutta.

There are many other woods used for every variety of purpose, answering to the oak, elm, and ash, quite unknown except to native carpenters. Until very recently some of the finest forests in the Bombay Presidency were in great danger of utter destruction from the reckless manner in which the natives of those districts were accustomed to fell the finest trees for their most ordinary requirements; until at length the attention of the authorities was directed to the subject, and measures were adopted, not only to prevent this destructive wastefulness in future, but to ensure an extension of plantations of teak and other useful timber.

In the forests of Martaban, or British Burmah, on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, are extensive forests of teak and bamboos, attaining a great size; but the former wood is scarcely equal to that grown on the Malabar coast or in Ceylon. The license-fees for cutting this useful timber yield the Tensasirim government about 12,000*l.* per annum.

Perhaps in none of its vegetable products does India differ more sensibly from western countries than in its grasses. With its many varieties of soil and climate, its fertile valleys and richly clad table-lands, it nowhere possesses the constant and heavily-yielding pasturages of Europe. That there are many varieties of grasses, the large number of cattle, sheep, goats, &c., reared in many parts of India, not less than the numerous wild animals which inhabit its less frequented districts, bear ample testimony.

During the cool months and the rainy season there is little

difficulty in finding pasture for cattle. The principal of the Indian grasses, and perhaps the most generally diffused, is the Doob-grass (*Synodon dactylon*), a creeping plant possessing much nourishing property in its long stems, no less than in its leaves. This endures the greatest elevation of temperature, as its roots penetrate far below the surface; and although during the dry monsoon giving no sign of life, it puts forth its tender leaves on the first approach of the rains.

A very nourishing grass, possessing a powerful aromatic odor, is met with on the elevated lands above the ghauts of the south, as well as in the north-west provinces. So strong are its aroma and flavor, that the flesh, milk, and butter of the animals feeding upon it become in time sensibly affected both in taste and smell.

Upon the many slopes of the Himalayas there are found abundance of good nourishing pastures, admirably adapted to the requirements of cattle and sheep, and upon which many herds and flocks are reared when the dry season forces them from the plains below.

Throughout the flat countries, and spread over vast tracts of indifferent soil, we meet with grasses, or rather herbage, in sufficient abundance, but generally either coarse and poor, or rank and distasteful to animals. In swampy or sterile plains these reedy grasses often fail to tempt even the coarse-feeding buffalo and rhinoceros; and it is a common practice amongst all the Indian villagers, at the end of the dry season, to set fire to these tracts, on which the long withered herbage readily ignites, and after the first monsoon showers, furnish a rapid and abundant supply of young sweet blades.

In some parts of India, especially at the Presidencies, it is customary to cut grass for hay, as fodder for horses during the excessively dry months, but latterly artificial grasses have been introduced for this purpose. The Guinea-grass and Mauritius-grass are both admirably adapted for feeding cattle.

In plants yielding fibrous materials for cordage or cloth, India is peculiarly rich; and although many of these remain as

yet but little known beyond the places of production, there can be no doubt but that the time will arrive when the attention of practical men will be given to them. Some few of these have already been successfully introduced into Europe, and become leading articles of commerce, as well as of considerable value to manufacturers.

Foremost among these latter may be instanced Jute, a species of *Corchorus*, growing very freely in the lowlands of Bengal. Twenty-five years ago this was scarcely known in England; yet so rapidly has it sprung into use for cordage, canvass, and purposes similar to those of flax, that for some time past the consumption of it there has amounted to a thousand tons a month.

The China-grass is found abundantly throughout India; and now that an improved and economical process has been discovered for preparing the fibre for market, this too bids fair to become of great commercial value.

The fibre of the cocoa-nut, known as coir, is chiefly produced along the Malabar coast: it is of superior quality to that from Ceylon. Sunn, Indian hemp, Indian flax, and aloe-fibre, are also known as articles of export to Europe.

Besides these there are, however, a variety of others found in great abundance in most parts of Hindostan, and in much request among the natives, although very coarsely prepared. Of these may be instanced Toonda-coir (*Calotropis gigantea*), Umbarce (*Hybiscus cannabinus*), Marool (*Sanseveira zeylanica*), pine-apple fibre, plantain fibre, &c. &c.

The following table illustrating the breaking-point of some of the Indian fibres, as compared with English hemp, may not be without interest:

English hemp	<i>Cannabis sativa</i>	105 lbs.
Aloe	<i>Argave Americana</i>	110 „
Ejoo	<i>Saguerus Rumphii</i>	96 „
Coir	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	87 „
Indian hemp	<i>Cannabis sativa</i>	74 „
Sunn	<i>Crotolaria juncea</i>	68 „
Broughi paat	<i>Corchorus olitorius</i>	68 „
Indian flax	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>	39 „

Flax has long been cultivated in India, particularly in the northern provinces, but solely on account of the seed, the linseed of commerce, which is shipped in large quantities to various parts of the world: the manufacture of linseed-oil is carried on to a small extent in Bengal; but in no case do we learn that any account is taken of the fibre of the plant, which, strange as it may appear, is lost in immense quantities, a portion only of it being employed for such purposes as thatching houses, feeding or littering cattle, &c.

Of far greater value, however, than any of the preceding is cotton. The species peculiar to the Indian continent, in common with other parts of Asia, as distinguishable from the American and West Indian descriptions, is, according to Dr. Royle, the *Gossypium Indicum* or *herbaceum*; the *Gossypium arboreum*, peculiar to India alone, is unfitted for manufacturing purposes, and employed solely as a padding for cushions, pillows, &c., for which, from its silky softness, it is especially adapted. The former kind appears to have been produced in and exported from India since the most remote periods; and during the present century to have assumed a very important position amongst the articles shipped from each of the three Presidencies.

Great Britain at the present time takes on an average 90,000,000 lbs. annually. China consumes nearly as much; whilst the native manufacture for local use cannot be less than 600,000,000 lbs. yearly. This vast quantity will cease to cause astonishment, when we remember that the hundred millions of inhabitants of India are accustomed to use cotton for all those purposes for which hemp, flax, wool, and hair are employed in European countries. Their finest, lightest dress for the hot months, as well as their warmer well-padded garments for the rainy and cool weather, are alike wrought from cotton. The costly gossamer-web which adorns the rarest beauties of the harems, and the coarsest rags which envelope the emaciated form of the meanest outcast, are produced from the same fibres. The richest trappings and hangings which grace the state canopy of the nabob, and the rope which terminates the exist-

ence of the vilest criminal, owe their common origin to the cotton plant of India.

Extensively as it is employed in manufactures in the East and West, it is nevertheless deficient in those qualities which have secured to the cottons of North and South America the favor of the merchants and manufacturers of Europe, viz., length of fibre or staple, and cleanliness. The former is dependent on cultivation, the latter on the after preparation.

In commerce, Indian cotton is known under the name of Surats, Tinnevelley, Bengal, Broach, &c., according to the locality of its growth or place of shipment. Dr. Royle* gives three distinct varieties of cotton, all indigenous to Hindostan. The common description is found scattered more or less throughout India, reared either as a triennial or annual. It reaches the height of five or six feet in warm, moist climates; the seeds are five in number, clothed with a short grayish down. In the peninsula there are two distinct species of this sort, known amongst the natives as *Oopuni* and *Nadum*. The first thrives only on the richest black soil, and is an annual, producing a fine staple; the latter is a triennial plant, and grows on the poorer red soil, yielding small crops of inferior quality.

Next to these we have the Dacca cotton, as a distinct variety of the *Gossypium Indicum*. It differs from the previous in the plant being more erect, with fewer branches, and tinged with a reddish hue, whilst the cotton is finer, softer, and longer. This variety is reared more or less extensively throughout Bengal, especially in the Dacca district, where it is employed in the manufacture of the exquisitely fine muslin cloths known over a great part of the world as Dacca muslins, and whose delicacy of texture so long defied the imitation of the art-manufacturers of the West.

A third variety is the Berar cotton, grown in the Berar country, in the northern provinces of the Madras Presidency, and in Surat and Broach. This plant attains a greater size

* "The Culture of Cotton in India," p. 139.

than the preceding, bears for a longer period, and produces a fibre of a finer quality than the former. It appears to thrive best on a light black soil of vegetable composition.

Amongst commercial men the term *Surat* includes the produce of Surat, Berar, and Broach, with occasionally some from Dacca; it comes mostly from Bombay. The Madras cottons are those shipped from Tinnevely, Coimbatore, and other parts of that Presidency; whilst the Bengals take in the Bundelcund, Nagpore, and the far northern provinces.

Examined under a microscope, the staple of these sorts appears to range from seventeen-twentieths to one and one-tenth of an inch in length; the staple of the celebrated Sea-Island cotton being usually an inch and a half in length.

The soil in which all these Indian varieties thrive may be classed under two distinct heads, the black and the red cotton soil. The former, as its name indicates, is of a black or deep brown color, of a clayey nature, blended with the red *kunker* of the country (a calcareous iron-stone), forming in the rains a heavy tenacious mass, and drying into solid lumps in the hot months. An analysis of this gives 74 per cent. of silex, 12 of carbonate of lime, $7\frac{3}{4}$ protoxyd of iron, 3 of alumina, 2 of vegetable matter, and $\frac{1}{3}$ salts, with a trace of magnesia.

The red soil of India has been found in some localities better suited to the growth of cotton than the black earth. It is a rather coarse yellowish-red soil, commingled with particles of *kunker*, silex, felspar, and aluminous earth. It mainly differs in composition from the preceding in the iron existing in the state of peroxyd or red oxyd, whilst the carbonate of lime is found present in greater abundance.*

Analyses of the best cotton-soils of America prove that they differ from those of India chiefly in the large portions of peaty matter contained in them; and there appears to be little doubt out that this fact, and the peculiarity of the climate of the American seaboard, sufficiently account for the great superi-

* "Royle's Culture of Cotton," p. 162.

ority of the cottons of America over those of any other part of the world.

The medicinal plants, and the various substances yielded by them, are far from unimportant in an enumeration of the natural products of British India. There is little doubt, however, that at present the medical world are very imperfectly acquainted with the greater portion of the remedies employed, often with very marked success, by the native practitioners. Many of these remedies are probably of small value; but there are, on the other hand, a number of them which have already proved valuable auxiliaries to the pharmacopœia. Senna, rhubarb, and castor oil, are the leading medicinal exports. In the gum and resin series, also an important branch of trade to Europe and America, we find the gums arabic, olibanum, ammoniacum, assafœtida, benjamin, gamboge, mastic, and shellac.

In dyes India is equally rich. Prominent amongst these is indigo, one of the most valuable dyeing substances known to us. Lac-dye, used for dyeing a fine scarlet, safflower, turmeric, madder, chaya-root, and annatto, are all freely exported to Europe and elsewhere, as well as some barks for tanning purposes. There are, however, many other dyes in use among the natives, which, although unknown to Europeans, might be found of some value.

Caoutchouc, or india-rubber, has long been an article of export to England. Kattemandoo is a vegetable substance, partaking somewhat of the joint natures of india-rubber and gutta-percha; it has only recently been brought into notice, but will at no distant date form a valuable item of export.

Of starches India boasts of several kinds. Some of its arrowroot is pronounced by competent judges to be equal to the best Bermuda. The Cassava starch, sago, and sago-meal, are also amongst the useful products of the south of India.

If the seeds and seed-oils to be found in India are not as important as many other of its products, they are nevertheless most useful as articles of commerce. Linseed and rapeseed are shipped in considerable quantities, as well as their oils, and the oil from the ground-nut and cocoa-nut. The two latter

are chiefly produced on the east and west coasts of the peninsula. Sesamum-seed is likewise brought to Europe for crushing; and the seed of the cotton plant is not only extensively employed in feeding cattle, but a very useful burning oil is extracted from it. Besides the above, the natives produce a great variety of other oils for burning, cooking, or anointing, unknown out of India. Of these may be enumerated cadju-apple oil, poonga oil, oil of kossumba, poppy oil, poonseed oil, simboolie oil, karrunj oil, and many others.

There are also several varieties of vegetable butters and tallows expressed from seeds and plants, and employed in cooking or in lamps.

The spices for which Hindostan is known, are cinnamon of second-rate quality, from the northern parts of Bengal; cassia, from the Malabar coast, where also are grown ginger, pepper, and cloves; cardamums are found generally in the peninsula, as are red and green capsicums.

Tobacco, although grown to considerable extent in various parts of India, is nevertheless of very inferior quality; that from Trichinopoly and Madras being coarse and acrid. The best is probably to be found growing on the banks of the Mahamuddy and the Godavery.

The great staple of India, rice, is produced in every variety of soil, at every altitude and in every latitude. To name a tithe of these would prove a tedious and useless task, for they vary with every district in which they grow. The finest of these, which is the Bengal table rice, is inferior to the Carolina kind, whilst the great bulk of them would be unmarketable in Europe, from their poverty of body and the slovenly manner in which they are prepared. The Arracan rice is a grayish opaque grain, used in England only for manufacturing starch. Copious irrigation is required for all these varieties; the Himalayan and other hill rices alone requiring no such aid, their elevation, at times as much as 6000 feet, securing them from the great heat to which the other varieties are exposed.

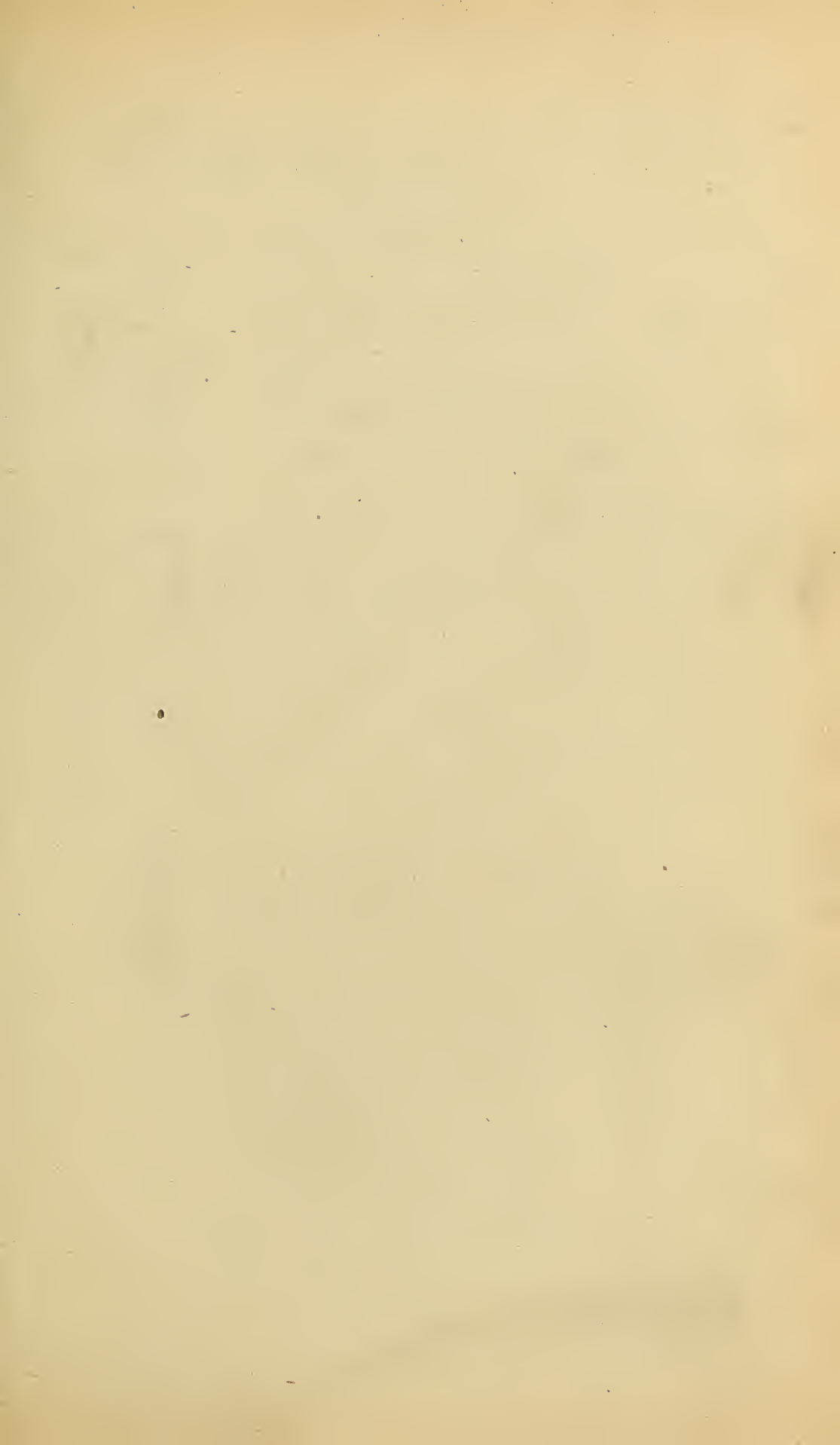
Maize is freely cultivated, but very far from equal to the American variety. A number of millets and other fine grains

are also reared in districts where irrigation for rice culture is not obtainable, or where the ryots are too poor to obtain rice-seed, which, indeed, is the case in many of the more remote districts. The grains most commonly employed for food in place of rice are called Jowár, Bájra, and Rági.

In some of the northern provinces wheat is cultivated for local consumption; whilst, on the other hand, in the south, whole districts subsist upon roots and inferior vegetables, with small portions of rice or some kind of pulse.

In few natural products is India more prolific than in its fruits. The pine-apple, mango, mangosteen, jambo, tamarind, &c., are amongst the best known, besides an infinite variety of smaller fruits partaken by the natives, either dried or in their curries. To the north, and in the hill-districts, peaches, grapes, figs, &c., are both abundant and of good quality. In the south and central parts of Hindostan the fruits and vegetables in general use amongst the people are melons, gourds, cucumbers, water-melons, plantains, guavas, jugubes, custard-apples, and figs. In some of the hill-districts the wild raspberry and a species of gooseberry are found in great abundance and of good quality.

Those who would study the Flora of Hindostan and the Himalayas, will do well to consult the able and interesting works of Roxburgh, Wight, Wallich, &c., on this subject. It will suffice to mention, in this place, that India, both in its plains and its lofty table-lands, possesses some of the choicest flowers in the world, many of them very little known to Europeans, and possessing perfumes far more powerful than any in more temperate climates. The oleander, the Persian rose, the gloriosa superba, the passion-flower, and many other exquisite plants of great beauty and fragrance, are found wild in the jungles. The lotus, the water-lily, and other similar plants, add beauty to every sheet of water; whilst far up on the Neilgherries and the Himalayas we find the rhododendron attaining a size and beauty unknown in the West. The Indian ferns are also remarkable for their great size and exquisite structure.





WILD ELEPHANTS

In few countries are wild animals met with in greater abundance or of more varied types than in British India.

The elephant has from the earliest period been highly esteemed for his great utility to man, when caught and broken into harness or to carry loads upon his back. These animals exist wild in great numbers through many parts of India, and whilst in that state commit great injury to crops on the ground. When tamed, they are the most useful of animals except the horse, and prove invaluable to an army for the transport of its heavy baggage.

The camel is scarcely less valuable; for, though inferior in strength to the elephant, it is far swifter. For mountain work it is even more useful; and the camel-batteries and camel-expresses, so frequently employed in the wars in the north-west, prove the great value of this animal.

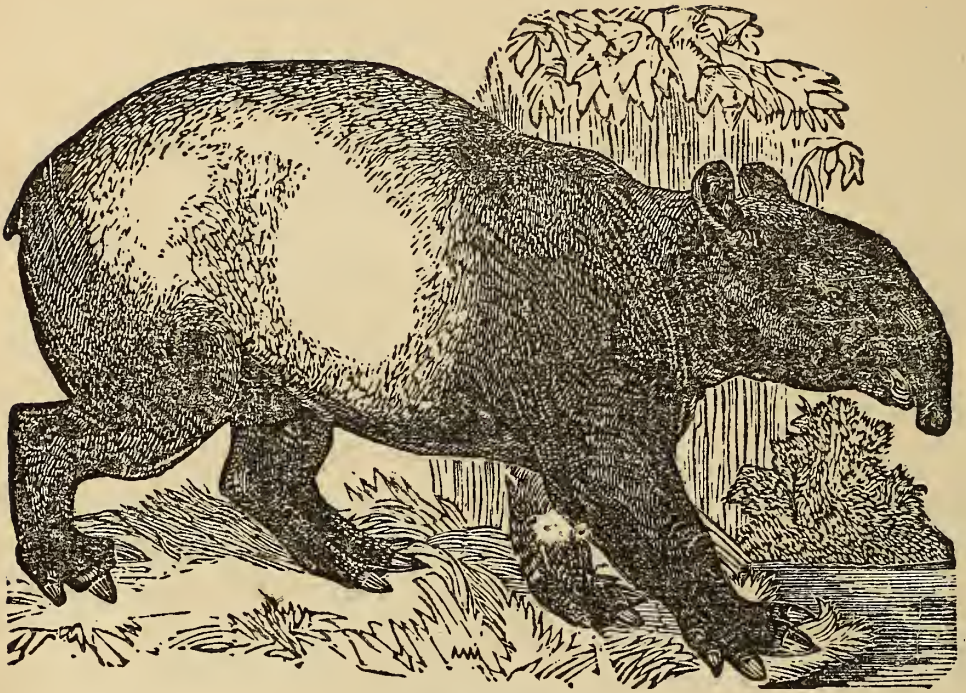
In the forests are to be found rhinoceroses, buffaloes, bears, lions, wolves, foxes, antelopes, deer, wild boars, &c. The smaller jungles and low underwood are the haunts of tigers, jackals, leopards, and panthers; whilst monkeys and apes abound on every side. The jackal, although occasionally a troublesome frequenter of poultry-houses, is nevertheless of great service in removing carrion from the crowded streets of all large towns and cities, which he does during the night time.

The Indian Tapir is found in the larger rivers of the country. It has a general resemblance to the South American Tapir, but differs in color.

The wild goat of Nepaul, although frequenting the highest peaks of the mountain-ranges, is nevertheless capable of being domesticated in the warm plains of the low country. It is remarkably well-shaped, with light graceful limbs and fine expressive head. Its color is slaty gray, mixed with rusty brown and black.

In the same country is to be found a small red deer, the flesh of which is highly esteemed.

Perhaps the most highly prized of any animal in the East is the goat of Cashmere, with the long silky hair of which are worked the world-famed Cashmere shawls. They thrive best



INDIAN TAPIR

on the grassy slopes of the Cashmere hills, but are also reared with success in Lahore and still further to the south.

The boa, the rattlesnake, the cobra capella, the tic-prolonga, and many other varieties of snakes, are in great abundance.

Porcupines, armadilloes, ichneumons, guanas, and lizards exist in vast numbers.

The birds of India are scarcely less beautiful than numerous. Perhaps the choicest of them all are those of the Himalayan pheasant tribe, birds distinguished for their very graceful and rich plumage. The Himalayan bustard is another bird remarkable for its form and varied color. Peacocks, eagles, falcons, vultures, kites, cranes, wild geese, wild fowl, snipes, bustards, parrots and parroquets, the latter in every conceivable variety, abound in all parts at various seasons.

Crows, and a bird called the Adjutant, are to be seen in all large towns in thousands, and prove very serviceable in removing offal of every description from the streets; they are the best, and indeed the only scavengers known in India, and no one ever attempts to kill these birds.



BOA.

The laughing crow is met with in great numbers in the vicinity of the forests of Hurdwar and Sireenagur, feeding on the wild fruits of the jungle. These birds are usually seen in flocks of fifty or a hundred, making a noise resembling loud laughter. The plumage of the back, wings and side is olive-brown; on the tail the brown is that of amber. The head is ornamented with a crest of rounded feathers. A black line passes from the beak across the eyes to the ear-covers, and excepting this the whole of the head is white, as are also the throat and breast.*

* "Gould's Birds of Hindostan," plate xviii.

Amongst the insects, the locust is of common occurrence, frequently visiting particular districts in such clouds as to darken the air. The natives fry these creatures in oil, and eat them with considerable relish. The leaf-insect, which in shape and color bears so close a resemblance to a number of leaves as to render it impossible to detect them on plants; the stick-insect, which in like manner wears all the appearance of a heap of dried sticks; and the bamboo-insect, shaped precisely as a small piece of bamboo, are all perfectly harmless; whilst the myriads of centipedes, scorpions, ants, musquitoes, and other creatures, prove extremely obnoxious to Europeans, more especially to new-comers.

The rivers and bays of India abound with various descriptions of fish, some of which have been long known to and much esteemed by Europeans. A far greater number, however, although said to be excellent eating by the natives, have never been met with on any other table. The objection to many of these latter consists in the great number of small bones contained in them; in spite, however, of this, the natives use them in a variety of ways, either as curries or stews.

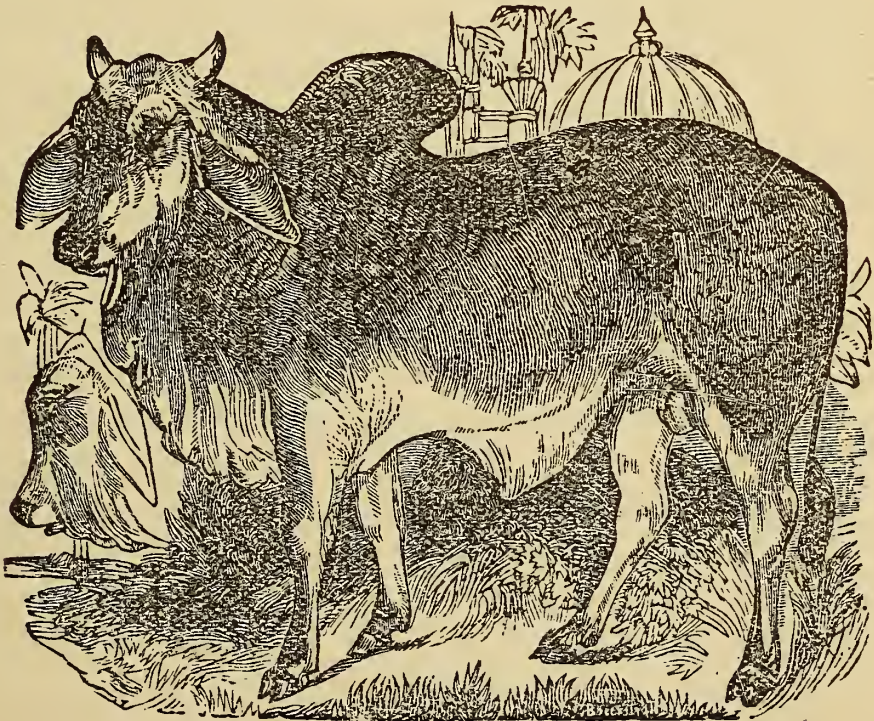
Amongst those known to Europeans are the mango-fish, a great favorite in Calcutta during the mango season, the Indian mullet, the sable-fish, the whiting, a species of perch of great size, the kowall, the rowball, the inkle-fish, the nattoo, the mountain mullet, a species of sole, several kinds of herring, the white and black pomfret, and a very excellent salmon. Most of these are salt-water fish. The rivers are in many parts of the country infested with alligators.

The animals of the Tenasserim and Peguan provinces differ in few particulars from those of Hindostan proper. Elephants, tigers, bears, and panthers abound; whilst several species of the rhinoceros, the hare, the rabbit, the porcupine, are also to be met with in considerable numbers. The most interesting and valuable of all the animals of this region is a hardy and swift-footed pony, highly esteemed throughout all parts of India, especially for mountain journeys, where, from their being so sure-footed, they are invaluable. The sheep and goat are

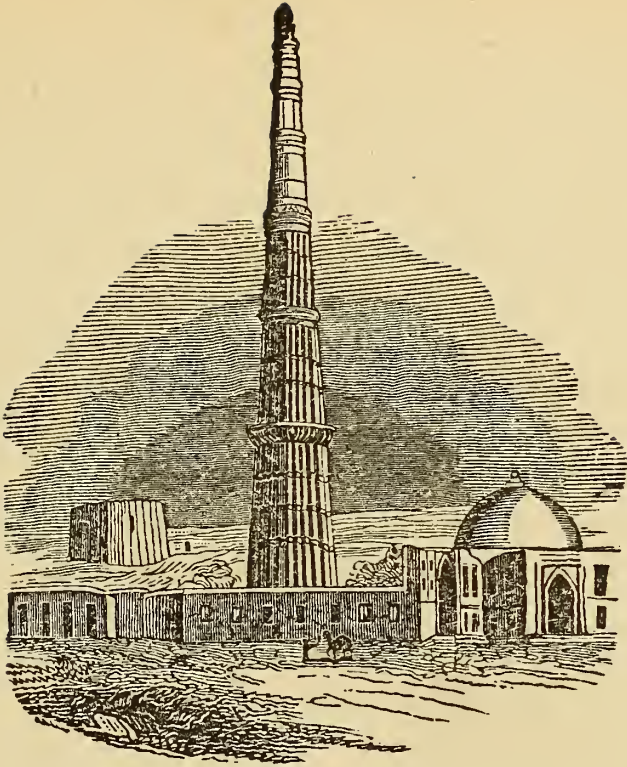
rarely met with here ; but buffaloes, oxen, and several varieties of the deer are plentiful.

In ornithological specimens these provinces are peculiarly rich ; amongst them may be instanced a peacock of surpassing beauty, besides partridges, pheasants, wild fowl, quail, pigeons, and an abundance of water-fowl of great delicacy and flavor. The edible-nest swallows are also common, and furnish a supply of nests for the China market, which realizes a considerable revenue to the local government.

There is nothing to remark in the fishes of Pegu, similar as they are in every respect to those of the Bay of Bengal. The only exceptions which claim our notice are the climbing-perch, which makes its way inland to some distance, and a barbel of extraordinary beauty, whose scales, when fresh from the water, glisten in the sunshine like diamonds of the first quality.



ZEBU OR INDIAN OX.



THE QUTUB MINAR.

THE HINDOO PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE ERA OF FABLE AND THE EARLY HINDOO DYNASTIES.

THE early history of India, like that of many other countries, presents little else than a confused series of mythological tales, full of absurd recitals and chronological inconsistencies. To place any credit in the writings of the first Hindoo chroniclers, would be to carry the history of their country to a date long anterior to the creation of the world. The exploits of Rama, one of their favorite heroes, are stated by them to have taken place a million of years since; whilst one of their records claims an antiquity of double that extent. The labors of such ori-

ental scholars as Colebrooke, Jones, Wilson, Prinsep, &c., have done little more for Hindoo history than point out the utter worthlessness of its earliest records. The most that can be made of that period is a tolerably accurate guess as to the probable dates of such events as need not be put down as altogether fabulous. From the time of Alexander's invasion of India, we are enabled to arrive at something more like certainty with regard to Indian events and Hindoo sovereigns; but until Hindostan became known to and finally conquered by the Mohammedan race, there was at best a most uncertain and irregular chain of records, from which the modern compiler of history can glean but vague and unreliable details.

Of late years, the labors of Mr. Prinsep have brought to light the means of deciphering many ancient inscriptions upon columns and on the walls of rock-cut temples, which had hitherto defied the investigations of the learned. These prove to have been in the Pali dialect; and, when read by the aid of Mr. Prinsep's key, were found to throw considerable light upon some portion of Hindoo history, and eventually to enable the discoverer to fix something like a date of certainty to the reigns of monarchs which had previously been but ill defined.

Of the great antiquity of the Hindoos there can be no doubt. Whilst Joseph was ruling under Pharaoh in Egypt, there were Hindoo princes who possessed considerable territories, and could bring large armies into the field. The "Ramayana," an Indian epic, although undoubtedly replete with fables and exaggerations, cannot but be regarded as shadowing forth, however falsely colored, certain events and exploits which possessed reality in themselves.

The first mention made of this nation gives as their residence a tract of country between the rivers Sersooty and Caggar, distant from Delhi about one hundred miles north-west. It then bore the name of Bramhaverta, as being the haunt of gods; and although it was but about sixty-five miles long by forty broad, it was the scene of the adventures of the first

princes, and the residence of the most famous sages.* At no very distant date from the first records, the Hindoos appear to have extended their territory, which then seems to have included the present districts of Oude, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore, and Delhi. The city of Oud, or, as it was then termed, Ayodha, appears to have been the capital of the kingdom. There were born, as emanations from Brahma, two princes, whose descendants were known as the solar and lunar races. Of these, upward of sixty appear to have lived; but the accounts of their exploits are so fabulous, that no use can be made of them; and we must therefore pass on to Rama, whose deeds, as already mentioned, were chronicled in the "Ramayana."

In this oriental epic, we find the most extravagant recitals and supernatural occurrences detailed with the minuteness of facts. The hero is Rama, a king of Oude, who, having resolved on a life of penance for a certain period, retired to a secluded forest with his wife Sita, a woman of surpassing beauty and extraordinary accomplishments. During their residence in this solitary spot, Ravana, the king of Ceylon, and ruler over a race of demons, chanced to see the beautiful queen, and became so enamored of her, that he carried her away to his capital, Lanka.

Rama, roused to activity by this loss, called to his aid Hanuman, the pretended monarch of a race of supernatural monkeys; and these warriors, with their united followers, are made to march through the Deccan, cross the Pamben Passage by a miraculous bridge, and encountering the wicked but mighty Ravana near his city, totally defeated him and his warrior-demons. Sita was of course released; but the tale ends gloomily, for Rama, having accidentally killed his brother Lachmen, threw himself in his grief into a river, and was reunited to the divinity.

Whatever fable and romance there may be in this great Hindoo poem, it is more than probable that Rama did carry his arms to the south, and with some degree of success; the Cey-

* Wilson's preface to "Vishnu Purana," p. 67.

lon invasion, however, would appear to belong to a more recent period than that named in the "Ramayana." Nothing can be stated of the long line of solar princes who succeeded Rama ; and there is good ground for believing that during that after period, the seat of government was transferred from Oud to Canouj.

The contents of the "Maha-Barat," which is the second great Indian epic, read far more like history than those of the "Ramayana." It relates to the great war which arose out of the claims of two rival branches of the then reigning family for the district of Hastinapoor, supposed to be a country to the north-east of Delhi, on the Ganges. Into this quarrel most of the neighboring princes of India seem to have been drawn ; and the war appears to have raged with great fury for a long period, carrying with it the partial ruin of some of the most flourishing districts of Hindostan. The victors of the Pandu branch suffered so severely in this violent contest, that for one or two generations they did not recover their former position.

The probable period in which this famous war occurred may be some time in the fourteenth century before the Christian era. Of the race of Pandu kings who filled the throne from this period, we find nothing on record beyond a mere list of their names ; and even here the loosely compiled annals of those remote times differ as to whether there were twenty-nine or sixty-four of them.

Dismissing from our minds all that portion of the "Maha-Barat" which deals in marvelous occurrences and extraordinary exploits, we may still glean from its pages much matter of a more solid and reliable tone. There are scattered through it a great number of useful facts, bearing upon the position of the several kingdoms and independent states, their social condition, power, and influence, which greatly redeem the general character of this Iliad of the East. From it we may learn that there were at least six distinct kingdoms in this part of India. Greek writers speak of as many as one hundred and eighteen ;

out they probably intended to have written tribes, and not independent states.

Besides the kingdom of Hastinapoorā, we find one very powerful monarchy mentioned—the sovereignty of Magadā. The king of this country, at the period of the great war, was Sahadeva; and from that time until A. D. 436, we find a long line of kings chronicled in one unbroken succession. It was in this state that Sakya, or Gotama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, was born, somewhere about B. C. 550, during the reign of Ajata Satru, the thirty-fifth sovereign from Sahadeva. It is the ancient language of this country, Magadi or Pali, which has ever since been employed in the sacred writings of this widely-spread religion.

Following this race of monarchs, we find that the fourteenth of the line was murdered by Chandragupta, who was of the Sudras, a low caste. It has been successfully shown by Sir W. Jones and Mr. Prinsep, that this king is the Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, of the Greek historians, whom they represent as having concluded a treaty with Seleucus, one of Alexander's successors, about the year 310 B. C.

The third king after Chandragupta, named Asoca, appears to have been the first who really had any claim to the title previously bestowed on many others, that of lord paramount, or emperor of India. The mastery obtained by the indefatigable Prinsep over the old Pali inscriptions scattered throughout so many remote parts of India, has, amongst other points, satisfactorily established this one regarding the rule of Asoca, that his dominion extended from far northward of Delhi, even southward to Taprobane or Ceylon, and embraced a wide extent of country east and west. It appears from the same inscription that his government partook of a highly civilized nature, more advanced than might have been expected; for many of those ancient writings appear to be edicts for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in distant parts of his empire, and also for the sinking wells and planting shady trees along the public highways for the benefit of travelers.*

* Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 393.

The Magada kingdom appears to have gradually lost its independence, until, in the fifth century of our era, we find it brought under subjection to the kings of Canouj, and its territories no longer recognized as a separate state.

The kingdom of Bengal, although at various periods attaining to a considerable degree of power, if we may judge from inscriptions on copper and stone, cannot be awarded the supremacy in India which has been claimed for it by several Hindoo writers. We can lay our hands upon very little reliable data as to the actual position of this state, though the lists of four distinct dynasties are preserved to this day, and may be tolerably correct. The last of the Hindoo dynasties, whose names ended in Sena, was subverted by the Mohammedan invaders about A. D. 1203.

Gujerat appears to have had an independent existence at an early date, though we are without any reliable particulars. In the middle of the second century of our era, it seems beyond a doubt that a government existed at Balibi, under a Rajpoot race of rulers. In A. D. 524 these princes were expelled by an incursion of Indo-Bactrians from the north, but again held the reins of power in A. D. 531.

In the eighth century the Balibi rulers appear to have been succeeded by the Chauras, another tribe of Rajpoots, who eventually removed their capital to Anhalwara, now Patan, and in after years attained to considerable power amongst the native states. This race became extinct in A. D. 931, when the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka succeeded it, and remained on the throne until early in the thirteenth century, when they in their turn were followed by a dynasty who ruled until early in the conquest of the country by the Mohammedans in A. D. 1297.*

Of the kingdom of Canouj, our information is far from perfect, though such as has reached us, aided by the deciphering of various inscriptions, leads to the belief that this was not only one of the most ancient, but equalled any other state in its extent and importance. The splendid ruins of the capital

of Canouj, to be seen at the present day on the banks of the Ganges, attest the wealth and magnificence of this people in their palmy days.

This state bore in remote times the name of Panchala. It extended from the Banar and Chambol in Ajmir eastward as far as Nepal, which it included. The princes of Canouj appear at various times to have carried their arms into the states of Bengal and Orissa on the east, and as far northward as the Indus. Little is known of them except what we gather from the Rajpoot writings and traditions, that the original race was subverted by a Hindoo dynasty, who subsequently succumbed before a Rajpoot tribe, who continued to govern Canouj, until its final conquest in A. D. 1193 by the Mohammedans.

Cashmere may undoubtedly claim equal antiquity with any of the preceding, though it may well be questioned if the dates assumed by the local histories be correct. According to the Cashmerian annals, that country was an independent state 2600 years B. C. There is a very imperfect list of the monarchs of Cashmere, with a most meagre summary of events. After the succession of five distinct dynasties, the government was seized upon by Mahmoud, of Ghazni, in A. D. 1015.

Scinde appears, beyond a doubt, to have been a distinct kingdom at the period of the "Maha-Barat," though when Alexander invaded India it was evidently divided into some petty states; all, however, independent. Early in the seventh century it was again united under one government. During the early part of the next century it was invaded by the Arab tribes, but subsequently retaken by the Rajpoot tribe of Samera, A. D. 750, and eventually fell before the rulers of the Ghorian dynasty in A. D. 1015.

The earliest mention made of the kingdom of Malwar appears to be about fifty years previous to the death of Buddha. This state must at one period have been in a highly flourishing condition, and to one of its rulers, Vicramaditya, is attributed almost universal sway over India. Certainly he extended his possessions far beyond the ordinary limits of the country, through the centre and West of India. We have little more

than a long list of princely names in the "Ayeni Akberi" in connection with this state, though one of its early rulers, Rajah Bhoja, would appear, by traditional records, to have acquired a more than common reputation. It lost its independence about the year 1231 of our era, when the Moham medan arms swept over the whole of India.

Of the remaining states or principalities we can say little more than that they comprised Gour, Mithili, Benares, Mewar, Jesselmere, and Jeipoor; the three last of which still continue to exist as independent States.

Leaving Hindostan, and its fragmentary histories, we turn southward, and find that the Deccan, if it be less involved in obscurity, is at the same time of far more modern date, and even less interesting in its details.

There seems to be little doubt but that at one period this part of India was peopled by others than Hindoos. The aborigines are said to have been foresters and mountaineers, leading a wild and lawless life. But this must have been at a very remote period, for there is abundance of proof that an advanced state of civilization prevailed previous to the time of the Greek notices of India.

Through this tract there are not less than five dialects spoken: the Tamil, the Telugu, the Mahratta, the Canarese, and the Urya. The Tamil tongue prevails over the whole district to the south of Madras, on both sides of the peninsula.

Of all these southern states, that of Pandya is the most ancient, together with the neighboring kingdom of Chola. They were both founded by men of low origin; and although for some generations they made frequent and destructive wars upon each other, there seems to have been at a later period a long and cordial understanding between them. Pandya extended not further than the present districts of Tinnevely and Madura, its capital being the town of the latter name.

The kingdom of Chola extended over a wider range of country than the preceding—from Madura to Nandidroog, and at one time over a portion of Carnata. The twelfth century, however, saw this state much humbled, and losing some part of

its independence, until a Mahratta chief being called into aid the reigning rajah in some troubles, deposed him and assumed the sovereign power, thus founding the family of Tanjore. The capital of this state was generally Conjeveram, west of Madras.

The state of Chera, which we find mentioned by Ptolemy, comprehended Travancore, Coimbatore, part of Malabar, with some portion of Carnata. It does not appear to have risen to any consequence, and in the tenth century was overrun by the troops of the neighboring kings and partitioned amongst them.

Kerala included within its original boundaries Canara and Malabar; but about the commencement of our era these two districts appear to have become separated; the former remained independent until far into the twelfth century, when it became a tributary of one of the neighboring states. The Malabar country seems to have been broken up into a number of petty states, one of which was that of the Zamorins, whose capital was Calicut, and where they were found by Vasco di Gama in the fifteenth century.*

The kingdom of Orissa, although during a long period in a highly flourishing condition, has left little to tell its history beyond the most absurd recitals of native writers, up to A. D. 473, when a more intelligible narrative takes up the thread of events. We hear of it in the "Maha Barat," and afterward in connection with the names of Salivahana and Vicramaditya, who appear to have occupied the country. From A. D. 473 to A. D. 1131, the government was administered by rajahs of the Kesari race, under whom many petty wars were entered upon, until a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa, seized upon the throne, whose successors were afterward supplanted by a Rajpoot family of the race of the sun. This dynasty was, about the middle of the sixteenth century, expelled by a Telinga chief, and thirty years later Akber annexed the country to the empire. †

Power declined as the Mahrattas became in more modern times,

* Alphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 415.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

and extensively though their language be spoken, we find far less of them in historical records than of any other race or country. Indeed, until the Mohammedan writers mentioned them, there was nothing to mark their existence beyond some inscriptions which allude to their capital, Tagara, as a place of considerable commercial importance, though its site has been long since lost. This place is also mentioned by Arrian as a great emporium of the Deccan country, though with a very vague allusion to its position.

A race of kings of Rajpoot descent ruled over Maharashtra, as this country was called until the twelfth century, when a family of Yadus supplanted them.* Toward the end of the following century a Mohammedan invasion took place; and after the reigning rajah had for some length of time been tributary to the Emperor of Delhi, the government was finally subverted by that power about A. D. 1317. How this people, at a later period, rose to great military power, and proved one of the most formidable opponents to and chief destroyers of the Tartar empire, will be seen in succeeding chapters.

It may be sufficient to notice the Chalukya rajahs of Rajpoot descent as having ruled over a tract of country bordering on Carnata and Maharashtra. Another line of these chiefs governed Calinga, extending from Orissa to Dravira. Their rule appears to have lasted from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, at which latter period it yielded to the supremacy of the kings of Andra, and subsequently to the rajahs of Cattac.†

The Andra kings reigned over a tract of country to the north-east of Hyderabad early in the Christian era. We possess little information concerning them, though it is certain that toward the end of the thirteenth century they had risen to some importance and power, and had extended their limits on the south. In A. D. 1332 the country was overrun by an imperial army, afterward by the kings of Orissa, and finally became annexed to the kingdom of Golconda.

* Wilson's Preface to the Mackenzie Papers.

† Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 417.



ALEXANDER CONQUERING PORUS.

Before closing this sketch of the early history of Hindostan and the Deccan, it may be well to glance at the view taken of India by the Greek writers, shortly after that country became opened to the western nations.

Alexander himself evidently did no more than touch upon the very outskirts of India. Having checked the advance of his army on the banks of the Hyphasis, when the eastern world had but just been glanced at, he bent his steps toward the south-west, and passed onward between the desert and the Indus, leaving some few garrisons behind him, and one or two kings and chiefs allied to his government. Among these was the celebrated Porus, whom he first vanquished and wounded in battle and then received as an ally.

A perusal of the writings of Ptolemy, Arrian, Aristobulus, and others of the early historians, cannot fail to impress us with a favorable opinion of their general accuracy, if we consider how limited the extent of their knowledge must have been, and

under what disadvantages they must have written. We shall find that they represent the position and habits of the people, the state and form of internal government, the religion and literature of the Hindoos, precisely as we have in later days found them to be; and so far from expressing surprise at any erroneous statements they may have advanced, we should rather wonder that their mistakes have been so few.

Of the division of society into distinct castes, the Greeks were perfectly aware, though they have added to the number of classes through some misconception. They appear to have been much struck with the absence of slavery in India; for the servile state of the Sudra caste would hardly have attracted the notice of men accustomed to the domestic slavery of Greece and Rome.

The subdivision of Hindostan into a great number of kingdoms and petty states and principalities did not escape the attention of the Greeks; who, however, greatly overstated their number, calculating them at upward of one hundred.

The forces which the Indian kings were capable of bringing into the field in those days were doubtless overcharged, but their composition and arrangement are truly enough described.

Their account of the revenues of the country, and the sources whence derived, quite agree with our own knowledge of those matters. In the minute descriptions given of the assessment of lands and crops, of the irrigation and culture of the soil, of the duties of the various functionaries of the revenue department, of the natural products of the earth, of the articles forming the commerce of the country—on all these points they relate that which might equally be written at the present time.

We find the public festivals and royal shows* of the Hindoos described as they are known to have taken place in much more recent times. And not less precise and accurate are the early writers in their account of the dress, the domestic manners, and social habits of the various classes† composing an Indian community. In speaking of the personal appearance of the Hin-

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493.

† Arrian's Indica, cap. xvi.

doos, both Arrian and Strabo notice the difference between the inhabitants of the north and south country. The southern Indians they describe as swarthy, tall, and handsome, not unlike Ethiopians in some respects; whilst the denizens of the northern latitudes are said to be much fairer, and not unlike the Egyptians.

The weapons employed by the Indian soldiers were, excepting fire-arms, precisely such as are in use at the present day. The valor of the Hindoos is always highly spoken of; and they are described as being far more formidable enemies than any the Greeks had previously encountered in the East.

That the country was, in the days of Alexander, in a highly flourishing condition there can be but little doubt, even if we make some allowance for exaggeration. There were said to have been 1500 cities, thickly peopled, between two of the rivers of the Punjab; and one city is described as being eight miles long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad, surrounded by ditches and ramparts with 64 gates and 570 towers



MALAY WOMAN.



ARAB ENCAMPMENT.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARAB AND TARTAR INVASIONS, AND THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE MOHAMMEDANS IN INDIA.—A. D. 664–1022.

THE earliest appearance of the Arab armies of the west on the confines of the Indian territories was in the year 664, during an expedition of this people into the Afghan country, when, having penetrated as far as Cabul,* and made its ruler a tributary prince, a portion of their army under Mohalib, a celebrated Moslem commander, pushed on as far as Mooltan, sacked the city, and carried away numerous prisoners. Although the Arabs made several fresh inroads into the Afghan territories at subsequent dates, it does not appear that the country eastward of that land possessed any attraction for them, since no further mention is made of any inroads by this people across the northern waters of the Indus.

We hear, however, of numerous incursions by Arabs into

* Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i. p. 4.



EMPLOYMENT OF ELEPHANTS IN WAR.

the Scinde country as early as the reign of the Calif Omar ; but these would appear to have been chiefly of a piratical character, with no other aim than plunder. The seizure of one of these marauders' vessels, at a subsequent date, in one of the sea-ports of Scinde, led to the invasion of the country by a numerous army under Mohammed Casim, the younger son of Hejaj, the governor of Basra. This juvenile warrior met with the most complete success, capturing the fortified city of Dewal,* overthrowing the son of the Rajah of Scinde, and spreading terror and carnage as far as the capital itself. Here the Rajah Daher interposed with a powerful army of fifty thousand men, and a numerous troop of elephants. Small as was the force of the Arab general, he had no alternative but to fight ; and availing himself of a strong position, he waited within it for the attack of the Hindoos. The great advantage possessed by the troops of Scinde proved of little avail ; for at an early period of the engagement, the rajah's elephant, having been wounded by a fire-ball, rushed from the field of battle, smarting with pain, and plunged into the water of the neighboring river. This untoward circumstance struck dismay into the Hindoo soldiers, who, dispirited at the absence of their royal master, began to give way ; and although the rajah soon re-appeared, mounted on his war-charger, the fortune of the day had been already decided. Finding all his efforts unavailing, Daher determined not to survive the disgrace of a defeat, and rushing with a chosen few amongst the thickest of the Arab horse, fell covered with wounds.

It was in vain that his widow, with more than woman's courage, and all a woman's hope, endeavored to rally his broken forces. She, however, placed the chief city, Brahmanabad, in a posture of defense, holding it against the victors for some time ; and when at last all hope had fled, the women and children of her adherents perished in a huge funeral pile ; and the small Rajpoot garrison, flinging wide the gates, rushed out, and met their deaths upon the Arab weapons. Such as re-

* Believed to have been on the site of the modern Kurrachoe.

mained within the walls were slaughtered without mercy, and the younger members of their families carried away into captivity.*

Casim, it appears, met with but little opposition from this time, and found sufficient leisure to settle the administrative affairs of the newly conquered territory, which he arranged on a just and politic foundation, appointing many of the old Hindoo governors who had held office under the late rajah to similar posts, on the plea that they were best qualified to maintain the established institutions of the country.

Having arranged much of the internal affairs of the country, Casim directed his attention further eastward; and, bent upon the acquisition of fresh territory, commenced a march toward the celebrated city of Canouj, on the Ganges. He had marched as far as Oudipur, when an unlooked-for catastrophe cut short at once his plan of conquest and his career. Amongst the captives carried away from Scinde were the two daughters of Rajah Darhe; these, on account of their high lineage and great beauty, were destined for the harem of the Commander of the Faithful. Arrived at the court of the Calif, they were presented in due form to the sovereign, who had been curious to witness the charms of the elder of them, who was indeed surpassingly beautiful. On being conducted to his presence, she burst into a flood of tears, and exclaimed that, having been dishonored by Casim in her own country, she felt that she was not worthy to appear before the commander of the faithful. The calif, incensed at this outrage, which thus became an insult to himself, and smitten moreover by her beauty, ordered that the offending general should be sewed up in a raw hide and dispatched in that state to Damascus. This order was of course carried into effect; and the body of the late conqueror of Scinde having arrived at the palace, it was laid before the princess, who, unable to contain her delight at the sight of it, declared to the astonished calif that Casim was indeed innocent.

* Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 409.

of the charge imputed to him, but that he had brought ruin and death upon her family, and she was now avenged.*

From this time the Arab arms appear to have made no progress. All ideas of further conquest seem to have died with Casim, whose authority was handed over to less ambitious commanders. The rule of the Mussulmans in Scinde continued until about A. D. 750, when the Rajpoots uniting their forces with the Hindoos, made a desperate effort to expel the foreigners from their country, in which, after some severe struggles, they eventually succeeded.

The declension of the Arab sway may be said to have commenced at this time; certainly the empire of the califs at no later period extended over so large an extent of country. The death of the famed Haroun-al-Raschid was not long afterward followed by the secession of Khorassan and Transoxana. By degrees other provinces fell away from the califate; and at no distant date the commanders of the faithful were reduced to puppets in the hands of their Turkish guards, and the dissolution of their empire was sealed.†

Amongst the many petty dynasties of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, which now swept over the northern provinces of the Arab possessions, were the Samanis, a family of Bokhara descent, who having firmly established themselves in Khorassan, ruled over that country for upward of a century. It was during their sway that the first member of the house of Ghazni, afterward the founders of the Mohammedan empire in India, assumed an importance which his descendants turned to good account. Alptegin, the founder of this new dynasty, was a Turkish slave in the service of Abdulmelek, fifth prince of the house of Samani, and in that capacity performed the most menial offices. Finding that this slave possessed not only great personal courage, but many natural good qualities, his royal master, as was then a frequent practice, promoted him to some important posts, and eventually made him governor of Khorassan.

* "Ayeen Akberry," vol. ii.; Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv.

† Price, vol. iv., quoted by Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 521.

Alptegin held this command until the death of his patron, when, having given offense to his successor, he was forced to seek safety in flight; accompanied by a faithful band of adherents, he took refuge amongst the hill tribes around Ghazni, in the very heart of the mountains of Soliman, where he bid defiance to his enemies, and secured himself in the sovereignty of that part of the country. The hill tribes of the vicinity were nothing loth to receive amongst them one who was both able and willing to enlist their swords in his service, and provide them with pay; and such as did not directly submit to his sway remained in friendly relation with him. During a period of fourteen years he appears to have maintained his position in the Ghaznvide country, supported by a numerous and well-appointed army, chiefly made up of Mameluke horsemen and Afghan freebooters.

His death, which occurred in the year 976, placed on his mountain-throne one who, like himself, had been a slave. Sibektegin had served Alptegin with fidelity from the day that he had purchased him from a merchant traveling eastward from Turkistan, his native country; and having proved his faithfulness and ability, he promoted him to the highest office next to himself. Whether he was named by the dying ruler as his successor, wanting heirs, does not appear certain, but the accession of Sibektegin to his master's power, under the circumstances, was the most natural occurrence. He is said, likewise, to have married a daughter of his late chief, and thus to have strengthened his hold on the popular feeling of the hill tribes of Ghazni.*

* "A story is told of Sibektegin, while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was carrying off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power."—*Elphinstone*, vol. i. p. 526.



TARTAR GENERAL AND HIS STAFF.

Events were now about to occur which speedily called forth the activity and courage of the new ruler. The Hindoo rajahs of the country east of the Indus viewed with considerable apprehension the establishment of this Mohammedan power so contiguous to their own country; and aware of the passion for aggrandizement manifested on every fitting occasion by this race, prepared to adopt aggressive measures, with a view of ridding their neighborhood of such a dangerous rival. Acting on these feelings, Jeipal, Rajah of Lahore, prepared a large army, marched across the Indus, and approached the hilly regions of Ghazni, when he was encountered by Sibektegin. A fierce storm of wind, rain, and thunder so damped the energy of the Hindoo troops, unaccustomed to the severe cold of these climates, that Jeipal found himself under the necessity of coming to terms with his adversary, and agreed, as the price of peace and safety, to pay fifty elephants and a large sum of money. The elephants were surrendered on the spot, and the two armies separated, the Hindoos retracing their steps to their own country.

Once safely within his own territories, Jeipal forgot his former danger and fears, and refused to complete his engagement by withholding the money-payments agreed upon. The Tartar chief was not likely to submit to this insult, and placing himself at the head of a numerous force of Turki and Afghan horse, marched rapidly toward the Indus. Jeipal was prepared for the coming storm; he strengthened himself with the powerful assistance of the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmir, Calingar, and Canouj, and soon found himself at the head of a hundred thousand cavalry and a vast number of foot-soldiers. Sibektegin did not muster a fourth part of this number; but nothing daunted by the numerical strength of his adversaries, he relied on the superior strength and discipline of his chosen horsemen.

Events proved the soundness of his judgment. The enormous masses of Hindoo troops were unequal to the shock of his Mameluk and Afghan charges, and once having succeeded in breaking their lines, he found little difficulty in completing their disorder and final overthrow. Jeipal's huge army fled

in the utmost disorder, and were closely pursued by Sibektegin as far as the Indus, up to which point he at once established his authority, and left a governor with a numerous body of horse in command of the country about Peshawur.

How far Sibektegin might have pushed his conquests cannot be known, since he was required in another quarter to aid his neighbors and former masters, the Samanis, in repelling attacks from some turbulent chiefs of Bokhara. These refractory tribes were with difficulty reduced to submission; and the ruler of Bokhara, to reward the services of Sibektegin and his son Mahmoud, conferred on the latter the government of Khorassan, and recognized the father in all his present possessions as far as the Indus. Matters having been thus settled in the west, Sibektegin prepared to return to his government, but on his way thither was seized with illness and died.

No sooner did Mahmoud find himself firmly established on the throne, and invested with the new title of sultan, than his restless and ambitious spirit, long nurtured by the military exploits and bold daring of his father, sought for some field on which to establish a new and dazzling reputation.

It is scarcely matter for surprise, that the world-wide reputation of India for wealth should have led the young sultan of a semi-barbarous nation to turn his eyes in that direction. Added to this, it may fairly be presumed that Mahmoud was not altogether unmindful of the glory he would acquire by extending the Moslem faith on the wreck of Hindoo idolatry.

In the year of the Christian era 1001, Mahmoud crossed the Indus with an army whose chief strength lay in its horse, for even at that period the Afghan cavalry were nearly always irresistible in open warfare. Defeating the rajah of Lahore at Peshawur, and carrying off a vast quantity of treasure, the sultan returned to Ghazni for a season.

Three other expeditions into the Indian territories followed at various intervals, in the last of which the conqueror secured treasure and precious stones, to an amount previously unheard of, from the sacred shrine in the fortress of Nargacot at the foot of the Himalayas. To celebrate this achievement, Mah-

moud gave a triumphal feast, which lasted many days, during which the rich spoils of the war were exposed to public gaze upon tables of pure gold, amidst the sounds of martial music.

Victories but served to stimulate this warrior-king to fresh achievements; and the glory and treasures which would have proved to many inducements to after-repose, only whetted the royal blade of the Ghaznvide sultan for new and mightier strokes of conquest. The Nargacot exploit was followed after a year or two by the reduction of the Ghor country, the capture of Mooltan, an expedition to Tarcesa near the Jumna, and two attacks upon the Cashmerian provinces.

In the year 1017 Mahmoud took the boldest step eastward that had been made by any foreigner within the Indus. The victories he had already acquired, seemingly with so much ease, over the Hindoo rajahs on the north-west frontiers, emboldened him to attempt something on a more enlarged scale. Accordingly, we find him assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot at Peshawur, with which he crossed the river, and taking his course due east as far as the Jumna, he turned southward, and arrived at the gates of Canouj before the rajah had received notice of his approach. After destroying many temples and razing a number of fortresses, Mahmoud returned once more to Ghazni laden with the wealth of India.

It was in the year 1022 that the first permanent settlement of the Moslems east of the Indus took place, by the annexation of the Punjab to the kingdom of Ghazni; and from this event may be dated the rise of the Mohammedan power in India. Hitherto all the conquests of Mahmoud had been but of a transitory nature. Renown and plunder appeared to be the leading objects of his expeditions; but in this year, during a march to relieve his ally, the rajah of Canouj, Mahmoud was refused a passage for his troops through the territories of the Iahore rajah. This ill-judged step called down upon the offending Hindoo the vengeance of the Moslem conqueror, who did not quit the country until he had annexed it to his own dominions, and by that act laid the foundation of the Ghaznvide dynasty in India.



MOHAMMED.

THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD.



CHAPTER I.

SULTAN MAHMOUD AND HIS SUCCESSORS OF THE GHAZNIVIDE
AND GHORIAN DYNASTIES. A. D. 1022-1206.

THE reduction of the Lahore territories thus brought the Mohammedan conqueror within the limits of India; and having by this stroke made himself permanently master of the whole country as far as the Sutlege, reinforced his army of occupation and strengthened the various garrisons in these districts, he felt himself at liberty to undertake further conquests.

Two years later we find him entering upon his twelfth and last expedition in India; but this time not so much on political as on religious grounds. The temple of Somnát, situated at

the extreme southern boundary of Gujerat, was famed for its sanctity in the eyes of all good Hindoos. Mahmoud determined to evince the ardor of his zeal for the Prophet, by destroying this high place of heathen worship; and it may not be incorrect, if we surmise that the reputed wealth of the Indian shrine had some influence in drawing upon it the warlike notice of the Sultan of Ghazni.

Crossing the desert which separates Scinde from Mooltan, a distance of 350 miles, in perfect safety, the invading army found itself in Ajmir. Meeting with no resistance, the sultan pushed on toward the object of his journey, and soon arrived before Somnát. The Hindoo defenders of their faith in vain offered a gallant resistance; Mahmoud carried all before him, and became master of the gorgeous temple and its vast treasures.

Returning to his capital, the victor appeared for a time disposed to remain in quiet; but fresh opportunities offered themselves, and once more tempted him to take the field. His last exploit was the crowning one of his reign: the conquest of Persia seemed to leave him the most potent prince in the East; and certainly there was no power near to disturb his security. But amidst all this glory the conqueror was cut off; and almost before his victorious army had had time to gather repose from their last exploits, ere their Persian laurels had lost their first bloom, their leader and sultan was taken from amongst them—the founder of the Afghan dynasty in India was no more.

Mahmoud, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mohammedan writers—was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo idolatry, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries; and it is said

that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career.

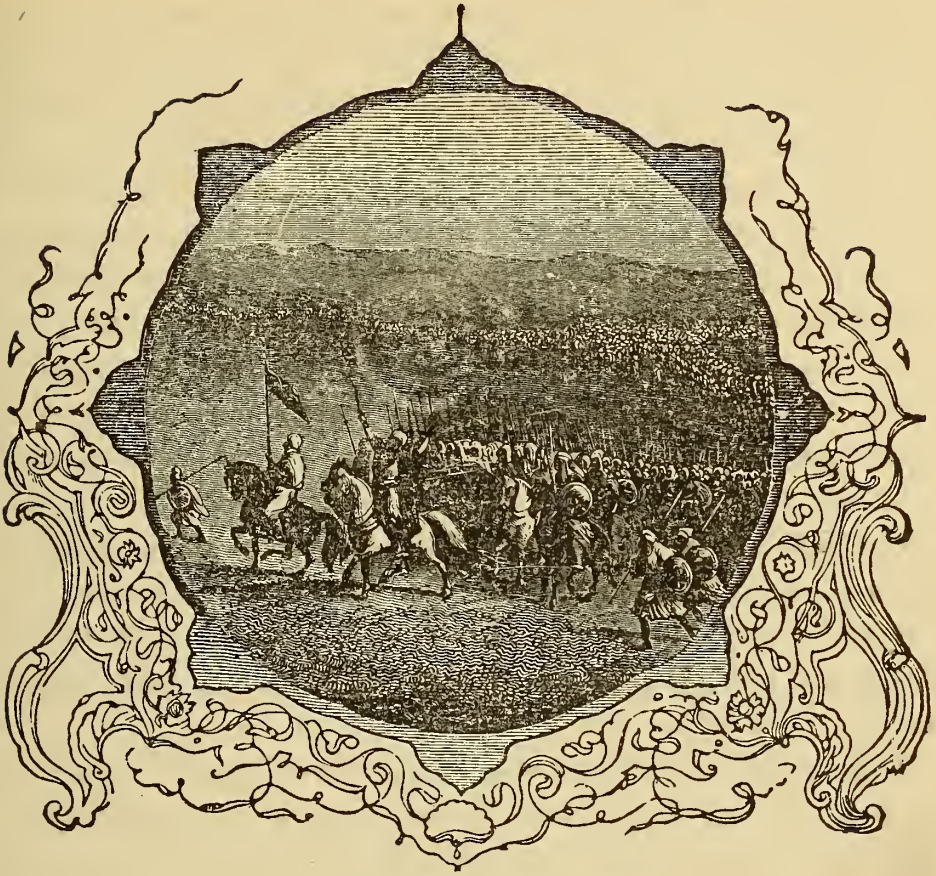
Perhaps his greatest failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported, that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some cotemporary monarch, who had managed to amass as much as seven measures of jewels, he exclaimed with great fervor, "Praise be to God, who has given me a hundred measures."*

His love of riches was, however, blended with a spirit of liberality in certain directions. Besides founding a university in his capital, with a museum and library attached, Mahmoud set apart a large yearly sum, amounting to fully 50,000 dollars a year,† for the maintenance of a body of professors and students, as well as pensions to learned men. Amongst the literary characters who were attracted to his court by this patronage, was the poet Ferdousi, who composed an epic poem of 60,000 couplets, celebrating the exploits of the Persians previous to the Mohammedan conquests, a work which occupied his energies during a period of thirty years, and which has been deservedly admired by Europeans not less than by Orientals for its many surpassing beauties. Mahmoud, however, for some cause not quite clear, disappointed the poet in his promised recompense for this noble production; and it is said that Ferdousi died of a broken heart.

Mahmoud was not often wanting in his public duties; and it is related of him, that on one occasion a woman went to him to complain of the death of her son, who had lost his life from robbers in a remote part of some newly-acquired territories. The sultan observed that it was impossible that he could enforce the laws in such a distant corner of his kingdom; the woman replied—"Why, then, do you take countries which you cannot

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 572.

† Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i. p. 60.



MASAUD'S ARMY ON THE MARCH.

govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmoud felt the justice of the reproach, and at once gave instructions to afford better protection to his distant subjects.*

Mohammed, who had been nominated by his deceased father as his successor to the throne of Ghazni, in preference to his brother Masaud, did not reign many weeks. The more warlike and popular character of the latter gained for him the suffrages of the people and the army, who proclaimed him sultan so soon as he made his appearance at the capital from the province of Ispahan.

The military qualities of the new sovereign were very shortly in requisition; for whilst a rebellion broke out in Lahore, the Seljuks, a warlike and powerful tribe of Tartars on the north

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 571.

of the Oxus, threatened his dominions with an invasion on the west. The troubles in his eastern possessions being quelled, Masaud marched against his new enemies, who had in the mean time (A. D. 1034) defeated and killed one of his ablest generals. A campaign of two years on the western frontiers of his dominions ended in a decisive battle near Mero, in which the Seljuks (A. D. 1039) were left complete masters of the field.

The sultan retreated with the shattered remains of his army to Ghazni, where finding disunion and discontent amongst his people and army taking a formidable shape, he determined to retreat beyond the Indus, and seek to recruit his shattered fortunes in his Indian territories. On his way to Lahore discontent took the form of mutiny, which ended in his deposition, and the restoration to power of his brother Mohammed. The immediate result of this was the death of Masaud, by command of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, after a turbulent reign of ten years.

The rule of Mohammed was not, however, destined to a long continuance. The deceased sultan's son, Módúd, took immediate steps to avenge his father's death. Marching from the western frontiers with a small body of troops, he made his way through Ghazni to Lahore; and meeting Mohammed and his son at Fattchabad, he attacked and completely routed their army, making themselves and families prisoners, and eventually put them to death to secure to himself the undisturbed possession of the throne.

The whole attention of the new sultan was for a time directed to the west, where the movements of the Seljuk invaders were becoming daily more alarming. Either from the circumstance of Módúd having espoused a daughter of one of the Seljuk chiefs, or from more important matters engrossing their attention elsewhere, they appear not to have offered any real opposition to his regaining possession of Ghazni, which he did in the year following his accession to power.

Disturbances now occurred in the east (A. D. 1042), caused no doubt by the absence of the new sultan from his Indian territories. The Rajah of Delhi made this the occasion of re-

covering all the cities captured by Masaud on the east of the Sutlege; and elated with his first successes, the Hindoo prince pushed his forces to the very gates of Nargacot, to recover which holy shrine vast crowds of Indian volunteers flocked to his standard. The religious zeal of the Hindoos bore down all opposition; and despite the strong military position of this temple-fortress, the shrine fell once more into the hands of its votaries.

Stimulated still further by this new success, and assured by the absence of the sultan, the rajah called around him the whole Hindoo population of the Punjab, and proceeded at once to deliver the country from the Ghaznvide yoke.

Lahore was shortly after (A. D. 1044) invested by the Indian army; and the garrison, receiving no succor or supplies during a siege of seven months, began to be reduced to great extremities. They must soon have yielded before fatigue and famine; but determined to make a last desperate effort, they sallied so vigorously upon the besiegers as completely to disperse them and raise the siege.

The remainder of Mórdú's reign was occupied in keeping within bounds the turbulence of his subjects, the disaffection of his Indian possessions, and the restlessness of his Seljuk neighbors. In the midst of these conflicting occupations Mórdú expired after a reign of nine years. (A. D. 1049.)

The throne was now occupied by the late-sultan's brother, Abul Hassan, who, however, after a short rule of two years, gave way to his uncle, Abul Rashid.

This prince was not more fortunate than his predecessor; for before the second year of his reign he was besieged in Ghazni by a revolted chief, captured, and put to death with all his family. The successful rebel enjoyed the fruits of his treason but a month, at the end of which time he was assassinated; and the army sought for some member of the rightful family to occupy the vacant throne.

The choice at length fell upon a young prince, Farokhsád, who had passed many years in prison through the jealousy of previous outlaws. His reign, although it lasted but six years,

may be called a prosperous one compared to those preceding it. He managed to curb the restless, aggressive spirit of the Seljuk tribes, and at the same time to preserve order and quiet within his own dominions, but at last fell by the hand of an assassin.

His successor was his brother Ibrahim, a prince of widely different tastes and temperament from all who had gone before him. His desire was peace; and having conciliated his troublesome neighbors, the Seljuks, he devoted himself steadily to the internal affairs of his kingdom. Religion, the administration of justice, and the encouragement of learned men, appear to have engrossed the chief of his time; and the only mention we find of him, in any of the historical records, as engaged in a military undertaking, was upon some expedition to the Sutlege, on which occasion he captured several cities from the Hindoos. Little as there is to record of this monarch of a political nature, his reign nevertheless lasted for the unusual period of forty-one years, and terminated as peacefully as it had commenced.

The next in succession was Masaud II. (A. D. 1089), who enjoyed a peaceful reign of twenty-five years, during which period the greater portion of his attention was devoted to legislating and improving the condition of his country. Some expeditions into Hindostan were undertaken by his generals, but with no great or lasting results.

Arslan, the elder son of the deceased sultan, commenced his reign with violence, and ended it in his own blood. Having imprisoned his brothers, their unclé, the Seljuk sultan, marched against him with a formidable army, defeated him, and placed one of his brothers, Behrám, on the throne. Arslan was pursued from the battle-field and slain.

The new sultan (A. D. 1118) appears to have inherited the love for literature which had distinguished so many of his predecessors. Learned men, poets and philosophers, were welcomed at his court, and treated with the greatest consideration. The peaceful and prosperous state in which he found the kingdom greatly favored this, and for a period of nearly thirty

years allowed him ample opportunity to gratify his tastes. The peaceful tenor of his long reign was unfortunately broken, through an act which could scarcely have been expected from a monarch of such elevated tastes.

Having had a difference with his son-in-law, Kutb-u-din Sur, prince of Ghor, he contrived first to get him into his power, and then to kill him. The brother of the murdered prince lost no time in avenging him, and marching upon Ghazni with a numerous army, drove out the treacherous Behrám. The defeated monarch, however, found means and opportunity to fall upon the invader and completely routed his troops, making himself prisoner, and eventually putting him to a cruel death.

Retribution for this double crime was at hand. Ala-u-din, another brother of Kutb-u-din, entered the Ghaznvide territories at the head of a small but determined body of troops; and although in the first instance fortune did not appear to favor him, he finally succeeded in compelling Behrám to fly for safety to his Indian territories, where he shortly afterward died from exhaustion and grief.

His son, Khosru, who had shared his prosperity, had now (A. D. 1152) to participate in his reverses. The discomfited army of Ghazni, finding itself deprived of its leader, followed the son with more than ordinary devotion, and succeeded in fighting a way to Lahore, where the new monarch found his Indian subjects ready to receive him with open arms. It does not appear that the reign of Khosru was marked by any political events of consequence. His tastes led him to consult the prudent policy of peace, and to rest contented with the Indian limits of his ancestral possessions; nor do we find that he suffered any molestation from the new dynasty ruling at Ghazni.

At his death (A. D. 1160) he was succeeded by Khosru Malik, who, after a most tranquil reign of twenty-seven years, was attacked by the Ghor kings, and eventually defeated and slain. The kingdom of Lahore from this date became a

portion of the Ghaznvide territory in the hands of the new line of princes.

Gheias-u-din, the Ghorian sultan of Ghazni and Lahore, aided by the military talents of his brother, Shahib, had not long been settled in his new conquest before he began to turn his attention eastward; and, like many of his predecessors, to attempt new conquests on the Indian side of the Sutlege. The Rajah of Delhi was the first Hindoo potentate attacked; but so well was he supported by his followers, that the fierce and warlike forces led against them from the north failed in their efforts; and despite the terrible charges of Afghan horse, the troops of Delhi were left masters of the battle-field; Shahib, who commanded the invading forces, escaping with great difficulty and badly wounded.

Two years later (A. D. 1193) Shahib, burning with a desire to wipe out the stain upon his military reputation left by his former defeat, again marched an army of Turks and Afghans across the frontiers, and encountered Pritwi, the Delhi rajah, whom he found assembled with a powerful army from many Indian states to oppose his further progress. Upon this occasion the Afghan cavalry decided the result of the day, for having drawn the Hindoo troops from their line of battle, Shahib suddenly wheeled round a body of chosen horse, 12,000 strong, and charging the vast mass of troops whilst in broken columns, succeeded in utterly routing them.* The rajah was made prisoner, and ultimately put to death whilst in confinement.

This victory was followed by other conquests. The Rajah of Canouj was defeated in a pitched battle, and his territories were at once annexed to the dominions of the victor. Gwalior, in Bundelcund, as well as several strong positions in Rohilcund, were next taken possession of; and in the following year the Ghaznvide warrior extended his arms still further, subduing the fine provinces of Oude, Behar, and Bengal.

The death of Gheias-u-din, which took place after a reign of

* "Ferishta," vol. i. pp. 173-177.

forty-five years, placed his brother, Shahib-u-din, on the throne. India, however, saw no further exploits of this successful warrior. He was engaged in a war with the sultan of Kharism, which terminated to his disadvantage, and led to the defection of some portion of his western possessions. A second expedition against that country was on the point of being undertaken, when Shahib fell by the hands of assassins after a short reign of four years. Few soldiers had been more successful or enterprising than the conqueror of the central provinces of Hindostan; even the brilliant achievements of Mahmoud were unimportant in extent compared to those of the Ghorian sultan, who had extended the Afghan rule as far as the extreme limits of the Ganges.

Upon the death of Shahib (A. D. 1206), his nephew, Mahmoud Ghor, was proclaimed sovereign; but he continued to rule over no more than Ghor; and so far abandoned claim to any further territory as to send the insignia of royalty to the viceroy of India, Kutb-u-din, then resident at Delhi. Thus India became an independent power; and in the person of the new monarch commenced the line of kings of Delhi.





JENGHIS KHAN.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF DELHI TO ITS CONQUEST BY THE TARTARS. A. D. 1206-1526.

KUTB-U-DIN was the first of a line known as the slave-kings of Delhi, from the fact of their having been originally Turki slaves. The present monarch had been raised to his high rank through the favor of Shahib, who greatly admired his many good and shining qualities. He seems to have been a prudent and just monarch, and to have attached his subjects to his person by the wisdom and gentleness of his rule, which, however, lasted for but four years as a king, though he had governed the state of Delhi as viceroy for fully twenty years. His son Aram was a weak prince, and was set aside shortly after his accession for Altamsh, son-in-law of Kutb-u-din, who, like his predecessor, had been raised from slavery to high favor.

Altamsh was not deficient in military talent and personal

courage, and found ample occupation during his reign for both qualities. The Mohammedan power was never so thoroughly established in any portion of Indian proper, but some rajah or dependent sovereign found occasion for attempting an assertion of their territorial rights. In this way Behar, Malwa, and Gwalior called down upon them the chastisement of Altamsh. It was during this reign that the celebrated Jenghis Khan poured his Mogul myriads from the north over a great part of Asia, and at one time threatened the Indian monarchy with an invasion.

The death of Altamsh at Delhi, brought his son, Rukn-ud-din, to the throne, whence his indolence, indifference, and dissipation shortly drove him in favor of his sister Rezia.

The sultana (A. D. 1236) was a woman of more than ordinary attainments, and seems to have administered the affairs of the kingdom with wisdom and industry. Her talents, however, failed to secure her in the possession of the throne. Jealousies crept in, a party rebelled against her authority, and finally, after a severe engagement, her troops were defeated, and Rezia made captive and slain in cold blood.

During the two short reigns of Behrám and Masaud which followed, the most prominent event was the invasion of India at different points by armies of Moguls, one of which penetrated as far as Bengal. They were, however, driven back with considerable loss.

Nasir-u-din Mahmood (A. D. 1246) was the grandson of Altamsh. Of studious disposition, he committed the charge of government and of all military operations to his vizier, formerly a Turki slave of his grandfather, and a man of great ability. Through his energy several revolts in the remote Hindoo states were suppressed, and the inroads of the Moguls on the western frontier effectually checked.

Upon the death of Nasir (A. D. 1266), his vizier, Gheias-ud-din Bulbun, stepped quietly to the throne, where he maintained himself by a line of rigorous cruelty to all suspected of being inimical to his interest. His reign, which lasted for a period of twenty years, was marked by insurrections and invasions, all

of which he overcame with the same success which had marked his career whilst vizier.

With his successor, Kai-Kobad, ended the race of the slave-kings. This monarch ruled but for a brief period; and at his death the choice of the people fell upon Jelal-u-din, in whose person commenced the house of Khilji. His reign, as also that of his nephew and successor, Allah-u-din, was a constant succession of plots, intrigues, and murders.

At this period a third Mongolian invasion of India took place, more formidable than either of the previous. Thanks, however, to the bravery and experience of his general, Zaffer Khan, the sultan was victorious, though his success cost him the life of his heroic commander, who fell covered with wounds. This victory induced Allah-u-din to turn his arms to the peninsula of India, where he defeated several of the hitherto independent rajahs, and compelled them to pay him tribute. Jealous of the influence and number of the Moguls in his army, the sultan ordered them to be dismissed his service without pay, and afterward to be exterminated to the number of fifteen thousand.

The death of Allah (A. D. 1316) was said to have been hastened by poison administered by his favorite general, Mallek Kaffir, who thereupon caused the late king's youngest son, an infant, to be proclaimed. This meeting with the disapproval of the nobles and army of Delhi, they placed Mubarik, the eldest son of Allah, on the throne, slew Mallek, and so far restored tranquillity. The new sovereign, although he began his reign with no less an exploit than the conquest of the Malabar country, quickly abandoned himself to dissipation, and left all authority in the hands of a low Hindoo, one Mallek Khosru, who shortly afterward found an opportunity to murder his master, together with every member of his family.

This treason drew upon him the speedy vengeance of the nobles, who, with the Rajah of the Deccan, dispersed his adherents, and terminated his power with his life. The race of Khilji ended with Mubarik, and with his successor commenced the rule of the house of Toghlak.

There being no member of the royal family left (A. D. 1321), the choice of the nobles and of the army was naturally directed toward those chiefs who ranked highest amongst them. Their selection was Gheias-u-din Toghlak, governor of the Punjab, a man of high reputation in military and civil affairs, and who proved himself not unworthy of the popular choice. He showed both activity and wisdom during his short reign. The threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-western frontiers was effectually checked by a line of defenses thrown up along the Afghan boundary, whilst on the south he busied himself by subduing a further portion of the Deccan, and arranging matters in Bengal and Tirhoot, as well as annexing the territories of the Rajah of Dacca to his dominions.

Returning from this last expedition, he was killed by the fall of a bungalow, erected expressly to receive him by his eldest son, not without strong suspicion of premeditation against the latter, who, as a consequence of this occurrence, mounted the throne.

Mohammed Toghlak was proclaimed sultan (A. D. 1325) amidst a great show of ostentatious liberality to all about him. He was a prince of great ability, and possessed more than ordinary acquirements; and few monarchs evinced a greater desire to patronize men of learning and distinction than did the new sovereign. His accomplishments, however, did not counterbalance his terrible crimes; and, if possible, his talents served but to add to the violence of his outrageous actions.

An army of Moguls, which found means to enter the Punjab, was bought off by a large sum of money. The subjugation of the remainder of the Deccan was completed, and general good order was restored throughout the most remote provinces of his vast dominions.

From this time Mohammed seems to have abandoned himself to a most extraordinary and violent line of conduct, quite at variance with the previous reputation he had earned. An invasion of Persia with a gigantic army—the conquest of China—were both productive of disastrous consequences to himself and his people. And added to these freaks were his ex-

cessive fiscal imposts, and his tampering with the currency, and terrible cruelty to the inhabitants of many districts.

These excesses produced open rebellion (A. D. 1338) in many quarters; and during the next thirteen years we read of a succession of revolts, which seem to have kept the sovereign constantly employed. Many of these outbreaks were quelled for a time; but in several instances the disaffected provinces defied the power of the tyrant, and maintained their independence. Amongst these were Bengal, the Carnatic, and the Malabar territories.

Mohammed is reported to have died of a surfeit of fish at Tatta, whilst on his way to quell one of the numerous revolts of that unsettled period, leaving no family behind him.

Firuz Toghlak, the late king's nephew (A. D. 1351), was raised to the throne in the absence of any direct heirs. His reign, though not distinguished by any great military exploits, was yet one of prosperity, and attended with the happiest results to his people. He reversed all the fiscal and monetary decrees of his uncle, and busied himself more in the execution of works of public utility and improving the resources of his dominions, than in seeking to add to their extent.

In the eighty-seventh year of his age, Firuz, from bodily infirmity, resigned nearly all his power into the hands of his vizier, who soon began to use his authority against the claims of the heir-apparent. He failed, however, in his plots; for the son persuaded Firuz to banish his minister and invest him with supreme authority. His dissolute conduct soon disgusted the nobles; and eventually he was compelled to fly to the mountains for safety, and the old king once more resumed the reins of government.

Upon his death a scene of disorder, struggles, and bloodshed followed. Two grandsons reigned after him in succession, each for but a few months; Nasir Toghlak, the banished son of Firuz, returned and resumed the government during three years; after which his son, Humayun, assumed the sceptre, but lived only forty-five days.

Mahmoud Toghlak, the younger brother of the preceding,



TAMERLANE, OR TIMUR BEC.

was a minor when he ascended the throne. (A. D. 1394.) This circumstance, added to the previous distracted state of the kingdom, induced the governors of Gujerat, Malwa, and Juanpoor, to assert and maintain their independence; and it was soon evident that the new sovereign, so far from being able to turn his attention to them, would find occupation nearer home, where civil troubles awaited him.

In the midst of these commotions (A. D. 1398) a fresh calamity descended upon the country, which at once threatened the speedy dissolution of the empire. Tamerlane, having overrun Persia, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with portions of Russia and Siberia, at the head of vast hordes of Tartars, turned his attention to India, and sent forward his grandson, Pir Mohammed, to prepare the way for the main body of the invaders.

The Tartar general swept the Punjab with his fierce troops, and after carrying fire and slaughter through the entire province, took possession of the fortified city of Mooltan. Tamerlane, meanwhile, had effected a passage across the dangerous defiles of the mountain-ranges to the north of Afghanistan, marched for the Indus, which he crossed at Attok, and thence made for Samana, massacring the inhabitants of every town through which he passed.

Reinforced by a junction with the army of his grandson, Tamerlane marched toward Delhi, where he found the Sultan Mahmoud prepared to receive him with a large force, aided by many auxiliaries and a numerous body of elephants. The invaders proved superior to the Indians both in numbers and valor; and although the sultan did his best to defend his kingdom, the Hindoo army was defeated with immense slaughter. Mahmoud sought refuge in Gujerat, whilst his broken forces took shelter within the walls of Delhi, where they made terms with the Tartar chief, and submitted to his authority as Emperor of India, which he was then proclaimed.

The capitulation of the city did not save it from the plunder and violence of the Tartar troops; who, meeting with some resistance in their excesses, fell upon the inhabitants, and a

general massacre ensued: "some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of the utmost horror ensued."*

Tamerlane quitted Delhi when there seemed nothing further to be gained by remaining; and carrying with him an immense booty and a vast retinue of slaves of all ranks, he marched through Meerut and up the banks of the Ganges as far as Hurdwar, thence across Lahore to the Ghazni country by the route he had followed on entering India.

The Tartar monarch may be said to have found Hindostan a garden—he left it a desert, A. D. 1399. Famine and pestilence were the gifts he showered on the inhabitants, whom he deemed not worthy of slavery in a distant land. Acquisition of territory seemed to be no part of his plan. A fame such as in those days of bloodshed was deemed worthy of a despot, he certainly achieved, but with no advantage to himself beyond the amount of treasure he managed to carry with him on his way to meet other foes.

After various struggles and some bloodshed in Delhi for the mastery, Mahmud at length came forward and reasserted his claim to the throne. He lived a few years after this; and was succeeded by Doulat Khan Lodi, who, after a rule of one year, gave way to the governor of the Punjab, Khizir Khan; and thus ended the Toghlak dynasty of the Afghan race of kings.

Khizir Khan affected to rule in the name and under the authority of Tamerlane, and by this artifice gave a stability to his government which it could not otherwise have possessed. His reign of seven years was followed by that of his son Syed Mobarik, a just and prudent ruler, who was, however, during thirteen years, continually embroiled in disturbances.

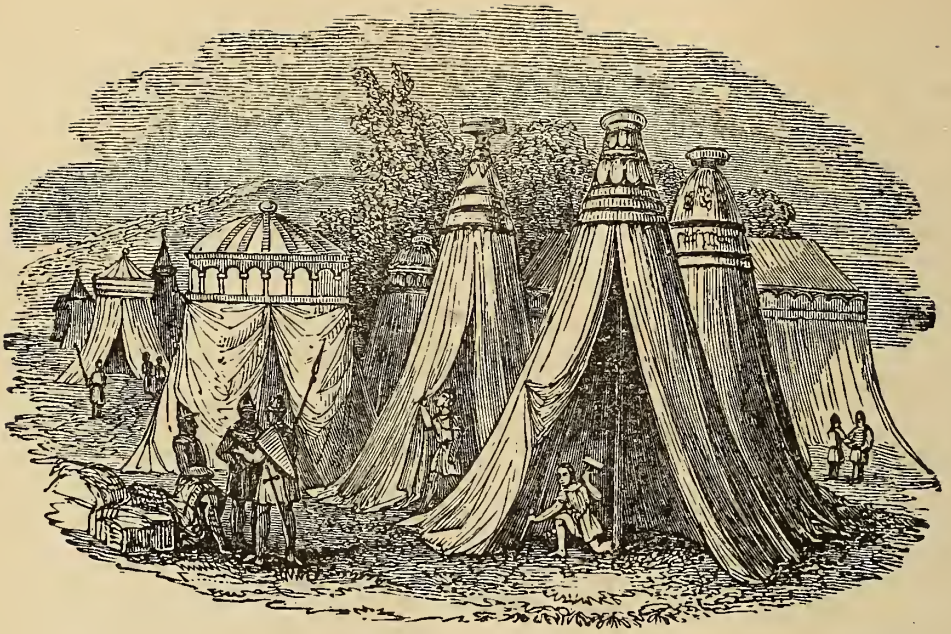
Seyd Mohammed, his grandson, was placed on the throne upon the assassination of Seyd Mobarik. He ruled for a brief period, and was succeeded by his son, Seyd Allah-u-din, who,

after reigning for seven years in great weakness, abdicated, and made way for the fifth or Lodi dynasty.

Behlol Lodi, governor of the Punjab, was descended from an Afghan family of high character, whose power and influence had caused the jealousy and persecution of the late dynasty. The outbreak which drove Seyd Allah from his throne called Behlol to Delhi; and although meeting at first with some resistance, he soon established himself on a firm footing, and reigned peacefully and successfully for a period of twenty-eight years.

His son and successor, Secander Lodi, maintained himself in his father's possessions with vigor and firmness, managing the internal affairs of the kingdom with great leniency and prudence. He was, however, a bigot, and persecuted the Brahmins with great cruelty. The territories of Behar were re-annexed to Delhi by Secander, who was not deficient in military talent. He died at Agra in A. D. 1516.

Ibrahim Lodi, his son, possessed all his father's intolerance, without any of his good qualities. By a course of cruelty and oppression he alienated the affections of his people from his family, and at length drove his nobles to open rebellion. These called to their aid one who was only too glad to avail himself of the opportunity of reconquering the old acquisitions of Tamerlane. Baber, a descendant of the last-named emperor, and who then reigned supreme in Ghazni, accepted the invitation of the governor of Lahore, and passed the Indus at the head of a small but well-appointed army. After some encounters in the upper provinces, Baber advanced toward Delhi, where Ibrahim met him with a large body of troops far superior in number to his own. The superior tactics of the Tartar chief, and the valor of his well-disciplined troops, gave them the advantage over the huge but unwieldy mass of Hindoo soldiers. The last of the Afghan race of monarchs fell on the battle-field, leaving Baber in possession of the country, with no obstacle between himself and the empire.



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE REIGN OF BABER TO THE DEPOSING OF SHAH JEHAN.
A. D. 1526-1658.

DESCENDED in a direct line by his father's side from Timur, the first Tartar scourge of India, Zehir-ed-din, or, as he is more generally styled, Baber the Tiger, claimed equal consanguinity by the maternal line with another great warrior, Jenghis Khan, the Mogul conqueror. It is from this latter circumstance, doubtless, that nearly all writers have erroneously applied the term "Mogul empire" to the rule of this Tartar dynasty.

Contrary to the general expectations of his followers, Baber determined upon exercising the title by which he was now known, and as Emperor of India to remain at Delhi, strengthen his position, and even add to his already extensive territories. This resolve, although disapproved of in the first instance by the chiefs of his army, soon found favor in their eyes when they began to taste the pleasures of an Indian life, and became accustomed to the soft enervation of a southern climate.



BABER.

The various governors and subordinate rajahs, who had assumed something of independence during the recent disturbances, were not disposed quietly to submit themselves to the rule of the newly-made emperor, and several of them set him openly at defiance. To chastise these became his first duty; a task, however, more arduous and dangerous than he had at first contemplated. The Afghan chiefs and the Hindoo and Seikh soldiery fought with determined obstinacy, and disputed every battle with desperate valor. On more than one occasion Baber, who did not spare himself, was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy; and it was not until the end of the fourth year of these hard-fought struggles that he brought the various provinces once more under the dominion of Delhi.

The emperor was not destined to outlive these successes long. A life of strange vicissitude and great bodily hardship had made inroads upon his constitution, not to be shaken off. He was sensible that his end was drawing near; and accordingly prepared for it by many judicious arrangements relative to the future government of the country, which he bequeathed to his son Humayun, and finally expired at the end of the year 1530, having reigned over India five years.

Humayun ascended the throne with the most brilliant prospects. The empire appeared to be firmly established; the revenues were in a flourishing condition; and he himself a prince well calculated to secure the good-will of all those about him. Of an amiable disposition, with a great taste for literature, and a considerable share of military reputation, he gave promise of swaying the destinies of the Indian people to their happiness and his own glory. But his character proved far from suited to the spirit of the age in which he lived, and which could adapt itself to none but an iron rule.

An excursion against Gujerat was followed by one into the Afghan territories, where, although victorious, he nearly fell a victim to treachery, and only succeeded in escaping with his life. Hearing of his reverses, his brothers and some chiefs rebelled against him; and after one or two attempts to recover

his authority, he was eventually compelled to seek safety in the kingdom of Persia, where he was received with great kindness, and even promised assistance, by the monarch of that country.

By the aid of this new ally, Humayun was at length enabled to punish his rebellious relations, and retake a portion, though a small one, of his former dominions; and after an absence of nearly sixteen years re-entered Delhi in triumph. His restoration, however, was not long enjoyed by him; for missing his footway whilst walking on a terrace of his palace, he fell to the ground below, and suffered such severe injuries as caused his death a few days afterward.

Before proceeding to narrate the events which distinguished the career of Akbar, the successor of the preceding monarch, it may be well to place before the reader a brief account of the other Indian states, partly independent and partly owning the supremacy of the emperors of Delhi, inasmuch as most of these will figure in the pages which chronicle the deeds of the new monarch.

The empire of Delhi had reached its utmost limits in the reign of Mohammed Toghlok; but upon the death of that monarch many provinces of the kingdom threw off their allegiance, and with but few exceptions maintained their independence until the reign of Akbar. Of these the most important were, perhaps, the kingdoms of the Deccan, viz., Deccan proper, from the ruins of which sprang the kingdoms of Bijapoor, Ahmednagar, Golconda, and Berar. The kingdom of Gujerat, founded in A. D. 1396, continued independent until A. D. 1561, when it was conquered by Akbar. It comprehended pretty nearly the tract of country at present known as the Gujerat country. The Malwa kingdom lasted from A. D. 1401 until 1512; whilst that of Candeish continued intact from A. D. 1399 to 1599. Besides the preceding were the Rajpoot states of Scinde, Bundelcund, Gwalior, Oodipoor, Marwar, Jesalmeer, Jeipoor, and some petty hill tribes in the western deserts.

The kingdom of Bengal remained independent from A. D



HUMAYUN.

1338 to 1573, governed by Hindoos, whilst Mooltan and a part of the Punjab were governed partly by Afghan families and partly by descendants of Tamerlane.

At the time of his accession to the throne, Akbar was little more than thirteen years of age. His youth and inexperience were fortunately fully compensated by the wisdom and vigor of his vizier Behram Khan, his father's general and prime adviser. This able commander lost no time in putting down the insurrections which broke out in various parts of the empire at this time, as was usual upon the death of an Indian monarch; and by carrying the young emperor, nothing loath, with him, he helped to complete the military education which had been commenced in his father's reign.

The first who brought upon him the chastisement of Akbar was Hemu, a Hindoo prince who had assumed the title of Emperor of Delhi. This usurper had collected a powerful body of troops favorable to his claims and inimical to the Mohammedan rule, and by their religious zeal was enabled to make a good stand against the Tartar army. A great battle was fought at Paniput, in which the Hindoo prince bore a conspicuous part; but despite the number and valor of his devoted followers, victory, which for some time appeared doubtful, at length declared in favor of the Mohammedan forces, and Hemu was taken prisoner after being badly wounded in his howdah. It is related that the captive was brought to Akbar in his tent, where his minister, Behram, desired him to give the first blow to the Hindoo, as a signal for his death. The brave young emperor refused to strike his wounded prisoner; upon which the vizier, enraged at his unlooked-for generosity, struck off the head of the captive with his own hand.

This victory was followed by the complete submission of the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and shortly afterward by the pacification of the Punjab. The young emperor had, however, to deal with another and more dangerous opponent in the person of his prime minister and general, Behram Khan. This able but violent man, raised by his undoubted ability and past

services to the highest offices and greatest authority, began to give evidence of a cruel and jealous spirit, in the many deaths which he caused amongst those about the court, who might in any degree oppose his authority or wishes. He soon became not only hated and feared by the nobles of Akbar's court, but an object of distrust and aversion to the monarch himself, who at length formally deposed him and sent him on a pilgrimage to Mecca; on the road thither he was assassinated by a relative of one of his former victims.

At this period (A. D. 1560) the dominions of the emperor included only the Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ajmeer, and Gwalior. A general spirit of insubordination ruled through most of these provinces, which was no doubt ministered to by the belief that Akbar's extreme youth rendered opposition to his authority an easy matter. The emperor soon showed a determination not only to restrain and punish these refractory spirits, but also to recover all those portions of the empire which had fallen from it during the past century, and so make India but one country under one common head.

Málwas was the first province annexed by Akbar, though not without some hard fighting and a good deal of subsequent insubordination on the part of the generals and governors put in command, against whom the young emperor was compelled to proceed in person. Other revolts in various parts of the kingdom followed, which occupied the attention of the monarch for seven years, at the end of which period he had either slain or conciliated all his unruly chiefs and opponents.

The Rajpoot princes were the next who drew against them the arms of Delhi. The strong fort of Chitur, in Oodipoor, was besieged, and after a gallant resistance captured with all its treasures; the rajah was never taken, and the country managed to hold out against Akbar through his entire reign.

Gujerat was next (A. D. 1572) subdued by Akbar in person, and annexed to the empire; after which Bengal was attacked by one of the imperial generals and finally subdued, though not without some hard fought battles. Here, too, Akbar had to contend with rebellious chiefs, who appear to have given

him more trouble than the original possessors of the country. By means of great firmness, and judiciously blending with it a degree of moderation and clemency, Akbar finally succeeded in quieting all this portion of his dominions,* and firmly establishing his power throughout the whole of central India.

His attention was next turned to Cashmere, a country situated on the Himalayas, above the reach of the temperature of Hindostan, and gifted with fertility and a salubrious climate. The dissensions of the reigning dynasty, a race of Mohammedan adventurers, opened a tempting door to the ambitious spirit of Akbar, who forthwith sent an army, which, forcing the mountain passes leading to that country, soon compelled the king and his chiefs to accept the terms offered them, namely, complete subjection to Akbar's sovereignty. From this period Cashmere seems to have been the summer residence of the emperors of Delhi so long as that monarchy lasted.

A war with the Afghans of the north-eastern provinces of Cabul did not interfere with the quiet government of Hindostan, the whole of which was now under the rule of Delhi as far as the Nerbudda, excepting only a few of the Rajpoot territories.

The Deccan became the scene of Akbar's further conquests in the year 1596; and after two years spent by his generals in that country, he himself marched to the scene of operations before Ahmednegar. The war in the peninsula was terminated by the defeat of the reigning princes and the annexation of a considerable part of that state to the emperor's dominions.

Leaving the prosecution of further objects (A. D. 1601) in the hands of his minister, Abul Fazl, Akbar quitted the Deccan and proceeded to Agra. This was rendered necessary by the rebellious conduct of his eldest son, Selim, who, instigated by bad advisers, and under the influence of opium and wine, had seized upon Allahabad and declared himself king of Oude and Behar. This rupture was, however, healed shortly afterward: Selim was declared heir to the throne, admitted at court, and permitted to wear royal ornaments.

* Stewart's History of Bengal.

The many years spent by Akbar in warlike operations, the daring and reckless manner in which he had ever exposed himself to the dangers and privations of the field and camp, had not failed to work their effect upon his constitution; despite his abstemious habits, he appears to have labored under severe and frequent ailments during the latter years of his reign, and in the month of September, 1605, his illness assumed so alarming a form as to leave little doubt what would be the result.*

A combination was attempted on the part of some of the nobles to set up Selim's son, Khusru, as successor, but it broke down; and Selim, who at first had absented himself from his father, remained by his side during the last days of his mortal illness, and received from his hands the royal scymeter.

Akbar died after a reign of forty-nine years, passed amidst almost continued warfare, leaving his kingdom on a firmer basis than it had been at any previous period. Possessed of all the military genius so necessary in those times, Akbar was endowed with many excellent qualities not often combined with royalty in the East. A lover of science and literature, a most rigorous dispenser of justice, a practiced financier, a thorough master of all business details, the late emperor found time, amidst all his wars, to pursue the peaceful studies of a philosopher. Tolerant in the extreme to all religious sects, Akbar frequently held discourses with Brahmins and Christians upon their creed, and would permit no persecution for difference of opinion. His intimacy with the learned Abul Fazl and his brother Feizi contributed doubtless to his moderation; and to the same cause may be ascribed his own free-thinking ideas, which, whilst they rendered him a very good sovereign, made him a very indifferent Mohammedan.

The revenue of the empire was placed upon a sound footing; many splendid works of military and ornamental character were undertaken; and the whole of his own royal establishment, although on a vast and magnificent scale, was reduced to the most systematic order.† In short, no part of his government

* Price's Memoirs of Jehan-Ghir, p. 70.

† "Ayeen Akberry."



JEHAN-GHIR.

appeared too insignificant in his eyes to deserve its own share of regular attention.

No opposition was offered to the succession of Selim, who was saluted by the title of Jehan-Ghir, or "Conqueror of the World." But before the end of the first year of his reign, it became apparent that the peace of the empire was to be disturbed by Jehan-Ghir's own son Khosru, who, raising levies, marched northward and seized on the city of Lahore. His father followed him at the head of a chosen body of troops; and, in an engagement which followed, totally defeated the rebel army, making many prisoners, amongst whom was the author of the treason, Khosru, who was loaded with chains and kept a close prisoner for a year.

About this time (A. D. 1611) the emperor married the widow of a late governor of Bengal, who became so famed for her unrivaled beauty and brilliant accomplishments as to receive the title of *Noor-mahal*, or "Light of the Harem." This favorite obtained complete ascendancy over the emperor's mind, but exercised it with great wisdom, influenced, it is believed, by the sage councils of her father, a man of high repute. The emperor resigned to Noor-mahal the direction of his imperial household; and by her aid it was managed not only with magnificent pomp, but with a great regard to economy and order. The monarch alludes most feelingly to the good influence of his sultana and her family in his autobiography, and ascribes much of his prosperity to their wise councils and devoted services.

Some disturbances in Bengal were soon quelled, as was also a difference with the Rana of Oodipoor, who was forced to submit to the authority of the emperor. Jehan-Ghir's attempts upon the Deccan were less fortunate, and after an obstinate resistance his army was forced to quit that country with heavy losses.

At the conclusion of these operations (A. D. 1615), an ambassador from the British court, Sir T. Roe, reached Ajineer, to form a treaty of amity with the emperor, or, as he was then termed by European writers, "the Great Mogul." Sir Thomas remained in the country three years; and in the account of his

embassy, written by himself, he has left a very ample description of the Delhi court, and the state of the country at that time.

From this it appears that, however rigorous in his outward bearing, the emperor indulged in free living when in private, and even in the company of the English ambassador. Jehan-Ghir gave every encouragement to Europeans, and permitted the free exercise of their religion. It is said also that he wore figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary, and that two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his full consent.*

The prodigious wealth of the emperor may be judged from the circumstance related in his memoirs of his presenting the bride of one of his sons on the evening of her marriage with a pearl necklace valued at \$300,000, and a ruby worth \$125,000, with a yearly maintenance of \$150,000. †

The great and unbounded influence of Noor-mahal over the emperor raised up many enemies to her authority, and amongst others Korrun, or, as he was afterward styled, Shah Jehan, the monarch's third son. Fearing her power as adverse to his claims, and possibly having advices of some intrigues against him at court, the prince threw aside all disguise, and boldly raised the standard of rebellion by laying siege to Agra. Here he was defeated with considerable loss, and compelled to seek his safety in flight; but nothing daunted by his first failure, he continued to maintain his struggle for several years with varied fortune.

An incident at this time had well-nigh changed the whole course of events, but for the device and boldness of the famed Noor-mahal. Mohabet Khan, governor of the Punjab, having incurred the displeasure or jealousy of that favorite, was ordered to repair to the presence of the emperor, then encamped on the Hydaspes, to meet certain charges against him. He set out at the head of a few thousand chosen horse, and perceiving that his ruin was intended, resolved to strike a blow

* Sir T. Roe.

† Memoirs of Jehan-Ghir.

that should frustrate the plans of his enemies. Being encamped at no great distance from the royal quarters, he made a forced march at daybreak, when the bulk of the imperial army had crossed the river, and finding little opposition, rushed to the emperor's tent and at once made him prisoner.

Noor-mahal was not likely to remain an idle witness of her husband's captivity; and although Mohabet evidently intended the seizure to serve to secure his own safety, she at once made an attempt at his rescue by open force. This was frustrated by the vigilance of Mohabet; but an after effort, carefully planned and executed, met with better success, and the monarch, once more found himself safe among his own troops.

A reconciliation with Mohabet then took place, and he was put at the head of an army to march against Shah Jehan, who still continued in open revolt in the south. Instead of attacking that prince, the old general came to terms with him, and their forces united in the Deccan against their mutual enemy Noor-mahal.*

Meanwhile (A. D. 1627) Jehan-Ghir had proceeded to Cashmere to enjoy the bracing air of that mountain country, and whilst there was seized with an attack of asthma, from which he had been previously a sufferer, and which at once assumed an alarming character. His physicians ordered an immediate removal to a warmer climate; and as a last hope he was conveyed toward Lahore, but expired before he had been many days on the road, in the sixtieth year of his age and the twenty-second of his reign.

Noor-mahal in vain attempted to assert the claims of her favorite, Sheriar, to the throne. No sooner did Shah Jehan receive tidings of the emperor's death than he marched with all speed to Agra, accompanied by Mohabet, and there caused himself to be proclaimed. Sheriar was defeated and slain; Noor-mahal retired into private life with a yearly allowance of a million and a quarter of dollars; and the new sovereign found himself in quiet possession of the throne.

The emperor soon gave evidence of his love for splendor and magnificent buildings by the costly and beautiful public works he began to erect, and the festivals he held on the anniversary of his accession, which were marked by a profusion unknown even in those days of oriental luxury. This first annual celebration is said to have cost him nearly ten millions of dollars.

Amidst all this enjoyment, troubles were in preparation in more than one part of his vast empire. Cabul was invaded by a strong party of Uzbeks, who, however, were soon driven back with heavy loss. In the Deccan a formidable opponent sprung up in the person of Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan general, who had distinguished himself under Jehan-Ghir, but who proved an unruly and troublesome adherent. He allied himself with the King of Ahmednagar, and prepared to invade the Deccan territories of the emperor, who at once took the field with a powerful armament.

Khan Jehan, unable to cope with the superior force brought against him, retired to the most inaccessible districts of the country, and for a long time evaded the pursuit of the imperialists, but was at length compelled to fly to Bijapoor, where he hoped to receive assistance. Disappointed in this expectation, he endeavored to reach the northern frontiers, but was cut off in Bundelcund.

The Deccan was still unsubdued ; and although the war was prosecuted with unabated vigor for several years, and Ahmednager and the Nizam's territories were soon overrun, Bijapoor offered a bold and determined resistance, and it was not until A. D. 1636 that terms were finally settled with the king of that country, who agreed to pay an annual tribute to the emperor. In the following year Shah Jehan returned to his capital ; not, however, to quiet enjoyment, for other occupations awaited him.

Candahar being made over to him by the governor of that country, Shah Jehan seized the opportunity of dissensions among the chiefs of Balkh to invade that country with an army chiefly composed of Rajpoots, under the command of Prince

Morad, his second son. Success attended most of these operations; but the inclemency of the seasons and the want of supplies caused more distress than the arms of their enemies, and eventually led to the evacuation of the country, after a lavish expenditure of life and money.

Candahar, the possession of which was disputed by the Afghan and Persian forces, was invaded in three successive years; twice by Aurungzebe, the younger of the princes, and lastly by Dara, the eldest brother; but each time with ill fortune.

During the interval of peace which followed these enterprises, Shah Jehan found the means of completing the entire survey of his vast dominions, preparatory to reassessing the lands for revenue purposes; this task, it is said, had occupied his attention for a period of twenty years.*

Other less tranquil occupations awaited the monarch in the south. The Deccan, which had never been effectually settled, gave unmistakable signs of approaching disturbances. A difference between the King of Golconda and his vizier formed a pretext for the interference of the emperor, who dispatched Aurungzebe against the king; and the young prince, partly by artifice, partly by force, managed to seize on Hyderabad; and finally to dictate most severe terms to his opponent, the chief feature of which was the payment of five millions of dollars in cash into the emperor's treasury.

It was about this period that a race of men but little known, and only casually mentioned by one of the Mohammedan historians, began to attract some small degree of attention in their immediate neighborhood; and by degrees so to strengthen their position in the Deccan, that at a later period they rose to sufficient importance, not only to affect the destinies of the Mohammedan rulers of India, but at one time to cause serious uneasiness to the British government of that country.

The existence of the Mahrattas was noticed by Ferishta as early as A. D. 1485;† but until the period at which we are now

* Duff's History of the Mahrattas, p. 128.

† Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 457.

arriving, they had not been recognized as a distinct people. We have no certain data as regards their origin, which they themselves boasted was from the Rajpoots, and which may possibly have been the case with one or two of their chief families. But there was nothing in common between these two races. Whilst the Mahrattas were in person small and sinewy, and in their character crafty, persevering, and enduring, the Rajpoots were of a noble and commanding figure, proud but open in nature, indolent but brave.

They had located themselves in a tract of mountain country situated above the high lands of the western ghauts of the Deccan, in the immediate vicinity of the states of Golconda, and forming the most inaccessible portion of the Bijapoor territories. Their chiefs had by degrees established themselves in the confidence of the local government; and many of them were appointed to offices of trust in the villages and districts; many held inferior commands in the Bijapoor army; whilst others were entrusted with the custody of hill forts and revenue stations.

Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta dynasty in the Deccan, was born A. D. 1627; and at the period of which we are now treating was, although scarcely eighteen years of age, admitted by his father, Shahji Boola, to the joint management of his jagir, or collectorate, at Poona. Whilst in the exercise of these duties, he found ample opportunities of gratifying his love of a wandering, romantic life; and it is even said he not unfrequently took a part in the depredations of the lawless tribes who frequented the hilly country in the vicinity. Certain it is that he found means to win over the attachment of large parties of the Mahratta soldiers, who were doubtless struck by the bold daring of their young chief, and only too ready to connect themselves with any enterprise calculated to lead to their enrichment and independence, however desperate it might appear.

Having collected around him a party of his most trusty followers, he contrived by dint of stratagem to obtain possession of one or two hill forts, and eventually to seize on the revenues

of his father's jagir. This success emboldened Sevaji so far as to lead him to open revolt against the authority of the king of Bijapoor. The whole of the hill forts of the ghauts, and next the northern Concan, fell into his hands; and the treasure of which he became possessed by these exploits enabled him to augment his forces and place them on a footing of respectability.

Matters were in this state with the young Mahratta chief when Aurungzebe invaded Golconda; and Sevaji, profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him by the prospect of a tedious war, ventured to enter the imperial territories; and attacking the town of Juner when unprepared for defense, obtained possession of it, and carried off considerable booty.* This daring act was subsequently overlooked, if not forgiven, by Aurungzebe, who was just then called away by his father's illness to take part in proceedings of a more important nature than the chastisement of a lawless freebooter; and Sevaji thus found himself at liberty to carry out his plans of aggrandizement at the expense of the Bijapoor sovereign.

In the year following the Golconda affair (A. D. 1657) an expedition against Bijapoor, although successful, was brought to a sudden termination in consequence of the dangerous illness of the emperor at Agra. The eldest prince and heir to the throne, Dara Shako, was with his father, and had long wielded the powers of the crown; but so soon as intelligence of the sovereign's danger reached the younger sons, Morad and Aurungzebe, they instantly made common cause, and set out together for the capital at the head of 35,000 horse. Dara opposed them with an army greatly superior in numbers, but not so in discipline and valor. In the battle which followed, one day's march from Agra, all the princes distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of a nobler cause. Dara was, however, defeated, and fled in the direction of Delhi with 2000 followers. The immediate consequences of this decisive engagement were the imprisonment of Morad in the strong fort

* Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 466.

of Gwalior, the confinement of Shah Jehan to his palace at Agra, and the proclamation of Aurungzebe as emperor. The deposed monarch lived for fully seven years after this event in indifferent health, and possibly not loath to be saved the labors of government, though he would doubtless have preferred that his eldest and favorite son Dara should have held the reins of power.

Thus ended the rule of Shah Jehan, a prince who had reigned thirty years, the greater part of which was spent in wars and various military expeditions. Whatever fault is to be found with him before he came to the throne, his after conduct merits unqualified praise as regards his duty to his subjects, and his liberality accompanied by wise economy. The revenues of his kingdom must have been enormous; for with all his profuse expenditure in gorgeous spectacles and public works, not less than his many costly wars, he managed to accumulate in his treasury a sum in coin amounting to one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, besides a vast heap of jewels and gold ornaments and vessels. His famous peacock-throne is said to have cost thirty-two and a half millions of dollars, and was one blazing mass of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, representing the plumage of a peacock in its natural colors.

The city of Delhi was rebuilt by him in a style of surpassing splendor and of great extent. But the most celebrated work of this monarch was unquestionably the Taj Mahal, a magnificent mausoleum of white marble and mosaic work at Agra, the delicacy and richness of which has ever drawn forth the admiration of all beholders.* The beautiful mosaic work so profusely and elaborately scattered over this sepulchre is believed to have been the work of Italian artists.

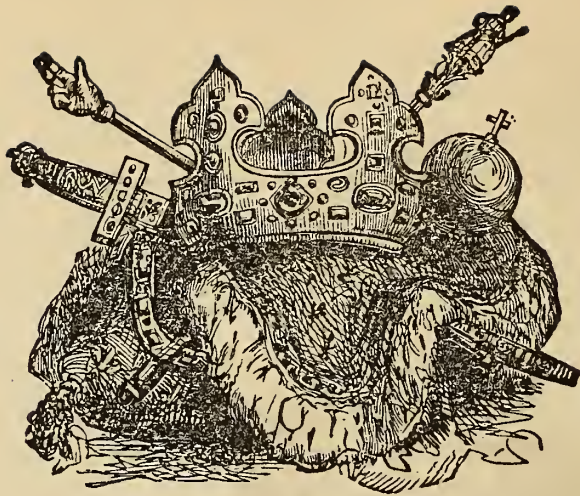
Judged by the standard of Asiatic sovereigns in his days, Shah Jehan must be awarded a high rank amongst the rulers of the East, whether we regard him in his military or civil capacity. Both European travelers and Oriental historians agree in one general commendation of his character as a war-

* Taj Mahal is a corruption of Mumtaz Mahal, the name of Shah-Jehan's queen, whose sepulchre it forms.—*Elphinstone's India.*

rior, a ruler, and a lawgiver. At no time had the Tartar empire in India been more frequently and seriously threatened by external enemies ; and yet it would be difficult to point to a period when those dominions were more consolidated, more secure within themselves, or when the revenues were more thriving, or the laws more promptly and equitably administered. It is no small praise to tell of this monarch, that although the magnificence of his public festivals, the splendor of his daily court, and the lavish outlay he incurred in vast public undertakings, were such as had scarcely had a parallel in the reigns of any of his race, they were followed by no harsh or unusual exactions from his subjects, who were, on the whole, more lightly burdened than any of their ancestors.



SIR WILLIAM JONES.



CHAPTER IV.

**FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE FALL OF
THE TARTAR DYNASTY. A. D. 1659-1765.**

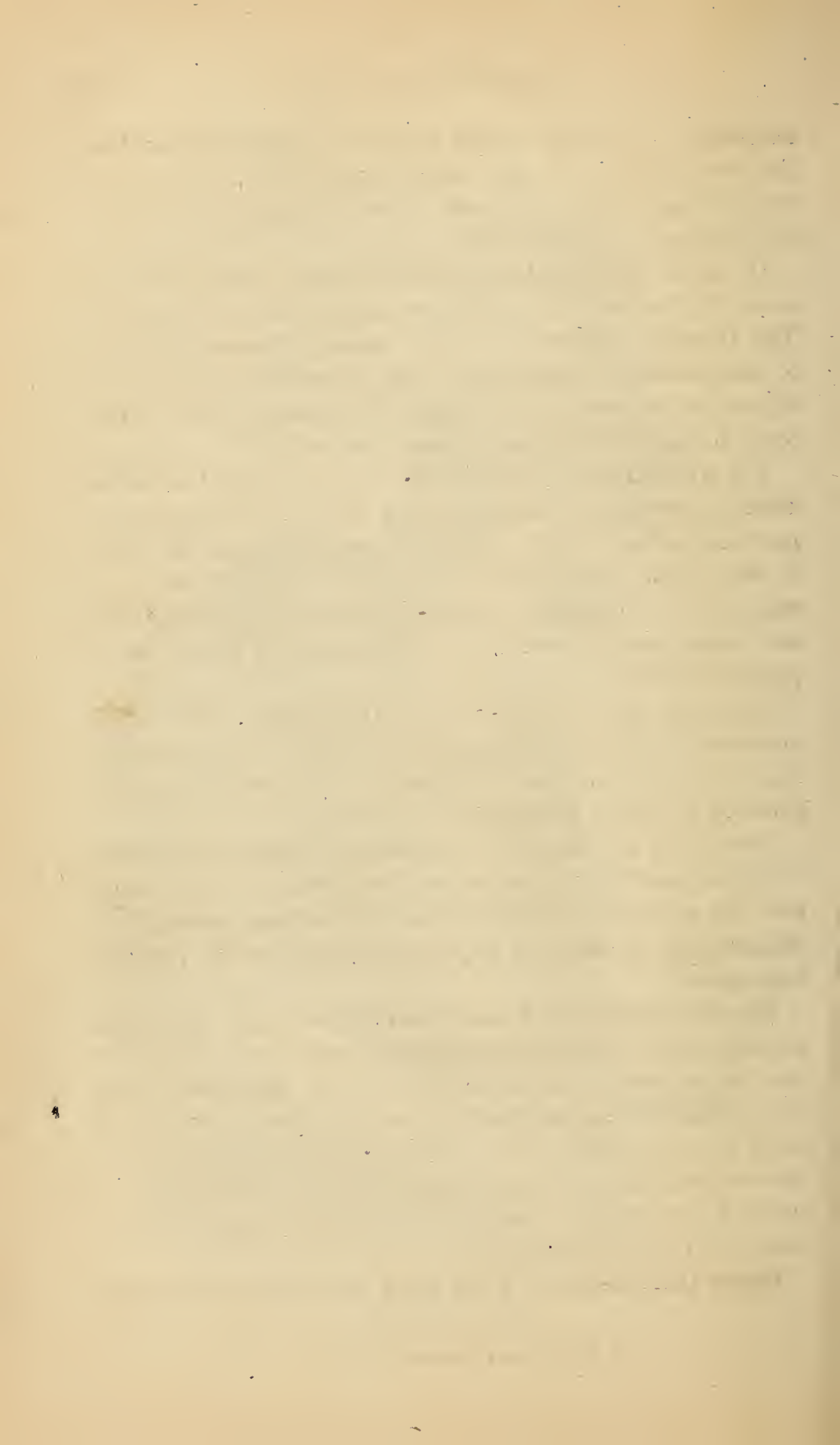
On his assumption of the imperial dignity, Aurungzebe took the title of Alamghir, by which he is still known amongst Asiatics, although his former name continues to be used by Europeans.

The new emperor did not find himself in quiet possession of his father's throne. Dara, his elder brother, although a fugitive in Lahore, had still many adherents amongst the Hindoo chiefs and Rajpoots, the more so as it was known that he was favored by his father. Another adversary came forward in the person of Soliman, Dara's son, who, aided by Rajah Jei Sing and Dilir Khan, marched to meet Aurungzebe at the head of a strong force. Treachery, however, overcame the young prince, and he soon afterward found himself a prisoner in the hands of a petty chief.

The emperor's pursuit of Dara, who now moved toward Scinde, was diverted by news of the advance of another of the royal brothers, Shuja, who, as governor of Bengal, had found means to raise a considerable force of cavalry and artillery, and was then marching toward Allahabad to dispute his brother's



AURUNGZEBE.



supremacy. The two armies met at no great distance from this city; and after lying close to each other for some days, a decisive engagement followed, in which Shuja was defeated with the total loss of his army.

It was in vain that the unsuccessful prince endeavored to retrieve his fortunes by further struggles in his own province. The imperial army under Prince Sultan drove him from post to post, until at length, being hard pressed at Dacca, he fled with a few followers to the Rajah of Arracan, in whose territories he appears afterward to have lost his life.*

The after career of Dara and his family was one of successive defeats, desertions by adherents, and flights from province to province, ending in his capture and ultimate death at Delhi. It was during these reverses that the traveler Bernier encountered the fugitive prince and his family near Ahmedabad, and spent some days with them, as related by himself in his published travels.

Not long after this occurrence, Aurungzebe, under various pretenses, contrived to dispatch his brother Morad and his son, as also the two sons of Dara, all of whom had been imprisoned by him in fortresses in Gwalior.

Freed from all claimants to his usurped throne, the monarch looked around him for the means of employing his large army, and the energies of his vizier Meer Jumla, who might, if remaining idle, be tempted to projects inimical to the peace of the empire.

The rich country of Assam offered a tempting bait to his ambition; and thither the old general was dispatched at the head of an army whose strength defied all opposition. In a few months the country was overrun, and the capital in the hands of the invading army; and it appeared to the mind of Aurungzebe that it would require but his instructions to enable his victorious troops to march forward and obtain possession of the Celestial Empire.

Before these ambitious plans could be attempted, the winter

season began. The troops, cut off all supplies by the artifices of the natives, and exposed to the rigors of an unusually severe monsoon, began to suffer from want of food and proper shelter. Unaccustomed to such rigorous weather as they found themselves exposed to in an enemy's country, many fell victims to disease; and finally the army, which had defied the utmost efforts of powerful antagonists, was driven back to its own territories by the attacks of the elements. The commander, Meer Jumla, died before reaching Dacca, a victim to the rigorous season and the unceasing hardships he had endured for many months.

About this period Aurungzebe was attacked with an illness of such a severe character as at one time to place his life in great jeopardy. This was the signal for many intrigues amongst his chief adherents, some of whom looked to Shah Jehan, the deposed monarch, who still lingered out his days in regal confinement; others brought forward the claims of Akber, third son of Aurungzebe, who was already a great favorite amongst the army.* But the emperor, having notice of these designs, ordered steps to be taken which effectually prevented them from being carried into execution. He soon afterward rallied, and sought repose and renovated health in the cool valleys of Cashmere.

Whilst absent on the northern frontiers of his dominions, events were occurring in the Deccan which were destined at no remote period to afford full occupation for his activity and talents. Sevaji, the Mahratta chief, from some cause not explained, had thought fit to break the alliance he had formed with the emperor, and commenced a series of attacks upon the forts in the vicinity of Aurangabad, besides ravaging the towns in the plains. This drew upon him the chastisement of the imperial viceroy of the Deccan, who, notwithstanding the daring opposition and unflinching valor of the Mahratta troops, contrived to drive them back to their own fortresses.

A successful raid into Surat, when that town was completely

sacked by the troops of Sevaji, and shortly afterward the assumption by that chief of the title of rajah, and the act of coining money bearing his own effigy, were the means of bringing against this troublesome vassal a greatly increased force of imperialists under the command of Rajah Jei Sing. Sevaji, shut up in his hill-forts and closely besieged by the royal army, found himself compelled to make submission to the emperor, abandon the greater part of his fortified posts, and hold the remainder under the authority of that monarch.

For a time the Mahratta chief served in the Delhi army against his old opponents of Bijapoor, and earned high commendation from Aurungzebe; but subsequently, on Sevaji presenting himself at the court of the emperor by invitation, his reception was so cold and even humiliating, that he determined on breaking with his superior; and having found means to elude the close surveillance kept over him at Delhi, effected his escape to his own territories by means of careful disguises.

In this year (A. D. 1666) died Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years in the citadel-palace of Agra, during which time he appears to have remained master of his own acts within the limits prescribed to him.

Fortune seemed to smile on the emperor in all his undertakings up to this period. Little Thibet on the north, and Chittagong on the east, were added to his dominions, and neighboring potentates courted his friendship and alliance.

The Deccan, however, continued to baffle the efforts of every commander sent against it; and Sevaji, once more among his old followers, proved as formidable a foe as he had before been useful as an ally. He did not rely on his arms alone, but succeeded so far with presents to the imperial general, as in the end to prevail on the emperor to grant him peace on most favorable terms.

Bijapoor and Golconda, both wearied of protracted struggles, were too glad to purchase a respite at the hands of the Mahratta by a large payment of money; and Sevaji, left thus in quiet possession of his territories and hill-forts, turned his sole

attention to strengthening his position and regulating the internal affairs of his little kingdom.

This tranquillity proved but a temporary lull, and two years after the conclusion of the late hostilities, Aurungzebe broke the treaty by an open attempt to seize the person of Sevaji. This led to the recovery by the Mahrattas of many important posts from the emperor, and also their overrunning the states of Surat and Candeish.

Although the imperial army far outnumbered that of the Mahratta chief, the want of unanimity amongst them, the daring attacks of Sevaji, and the vacillating conduct and continued jealousy of Aurungzebe in regard to his various generals, contributed to procrastinate the war in the Deccan until his attention was called to another quarter.

A war had been carried on for some time with one or two of the Afghan tribes under the direction of a son of the celebrated Meer Jumla. The success which at first attended the imperial arms was finally converted into severe defeats; and just at this time, A. D. 1672, the emperor determined to attend personally to the prosecution of the war.

His presence in the north appeared to serve his cause but little, and after several campaigns of more than doubtful results, he returned to Delhi, having come to some sort of arrangement with the refractory tribes.

The attachment of his Hindoo subjects was severely tried after his return from the north-west provinces by a variety of edicts and regulations of an extremely harsh and oppressive character.

Amongst other orders, he determined that none but Mohammedians should be employed in any office of trust under the government. Various taxes were increased that bore especially on the cultivators of the soil; and the most obnoxious of all imposts, the jezzia, or poll-tax on infidels, was reinstated, much to the dissatisfaction of all classes save the Mohammedians.

These and some personal disputes led the Rajpoots of western Rajpootana to combine against the authority of the emperor,

and we accordingly find a considerable army sent against them. Peace was temporarily made, but finally broken, and a still larger force detached against the Rajpoots. Fire and sword were carried through their territories, and their families made prisoners, but in vain. The brave Rajpoots defended their hill-fortresses with unflinching obstinacy; and being afterward joined by Prince Akbar with a strong body of his adherents, they hazarded a meeting with the royal army in the plains. Treachery, however, was employed against them, and finding themselves exposed by this means to far superior numbers, they fled from the field; Akbar and the Rajpoot Rana sought refuge in the Deccan with the Mahrattas. Other Rajpoot chiefs, however, remained to dispute the possession of their territories with the imperial troops; and though they did not succeed in driving them out, they so continually harassed and cut them up as to keep them in a constant state of alarm.

Once more the emperor turned his arms toward the Deccan, and a variety of encounters took place, most usually to the advantage of the Mahrattas. Sevaji had just at this time made an incursion on the southern states of the peninsula, and had succeeded in annexing a considerable part of the Mysore Jagir to his territories. Continued invasions of the imperialists called him again to the north, and he was engaged in repelling their attacks when a sudden illness carried him off in the fifty-third year of his age. (A. D. 1680.)

Sambaji succeeded to his father's authority, but to none of his good qualities, and almost the first days of his rule were disgraced by acts of wanton cruelty to some members of his family.

The conduct of the new chief toward his subjects was not less impolitic than it was cruel to his relations. New taxes were levied, the revenues of the country were squandered, his father's chief advisers were neglected, and most of his troops were left greatly in arrears of pay.

These grounds of complaint, added to the appearance of the fugitive Akbar in the Mahratta territories, induced some of the

most disaffected to make overtures to that prince to give the sanction of his name to the pretensions of a half-brother of Sambaji, one Rajah Ram. The plot was, however, discovered and frustrated; and Sambaji, to find employment for his people, led them against the Abyssinians of Jingera, and engaged soon afterward in hostilities with the Portuguese, who had settled on the same coast.

A more formidable enemy, however, now (A. D. 1683) made his appearance in the person of the emperor, who, having settled his affairs with the Rajpoots, found leisure to turn his attention once more to the Deccan.

The two following years did little to bring matters to a settlement, though causing great suffering and loss on both sides. Sambaji ravaged part of Gujerat, whilst the imperial forces were engaged in the south; and although he found himself unable to cope with the large force brought against himself and his allies, he contrived by a continued succession of sorties from his mountain fortresses, to cut off the supplies and embarrass the movements of the invading army.

These efforts did not prevent the imperial forces from laying close seige to the capital of Bijapoor, which eventually capitulated, and being dismantled, was never afterward capable of affording shelter to troops. The subjugation of the kingdom of Golconda followed; and shortly afterward the Rajah of the Mahrattas fell into the power of the emperor, and was beheaded in prison.

The country was, however, as far from being subdued as ever. Sambaji's brother assumed the command of the Mahratta forces, who, following the practice of previous campaigns, harassed the enemy in every possible way without exposing themselves to any serious danger. Larger armies were brought into the field, and endeavored by attacking the foe on various sides to distract their attention and weaken their resistance. But the nature of the country was against these vast bodies of troops, whose supplies had to be collected from a great distance and at a heavy expense. It was in vain that Aurungzebe with untiring perseverance took the field himself, and

personally superintended the siege of some of the most important strongholds of the Mahrattas. It seemed a fruitless task to capture fort after fort and city after city, whilst the enemy lurked as bold and as unsubdued as ever amongst their hills and thickets.

More than ten years were thus spent by the emperor, at the end of which time his prospects appeared less hopeful than when he commenced. The heavy drain upon his resources caused by this most costly warfare, and the defalcation of some portions of his territorial revenues, gave him much uneasiness, and before long embarrassed his movements. His troops began to clamor for their arrears of pay, which it was not in his power to give them; angry expostulation and many defections were the consequence; and to crown all, a very severe fall of rain flooded his encampments, and caused the loss of much of his stores and baggage, and of some thousands of his troops.

Hard pressed on all sides and in all ways, the emperor would now have gladly listened to any terms for an accommodation of matters; but the Mahrattas, conscious of the growing weakness of their opponents, were so unreasonable in their expectations, that Aurungzebe felt himself compelled to break off all negotiations. Finding it impossible any longer to maintain his large force in such a country and under so many serious disadvantages, and himself being worn out by fatigue and annoyed by financial embarrassments, he at length ordered a retreat to Ahmednagar, and considered himself fortunate in arriving safely within that city, with the loss of a considerable portion of his once proud and invincible army.*

It soon became evident that the days of Aurungzebe were numbered. He seems, indeed, to have felt a strong persuasion that his end was not remote, from the day that he entered this his last earthly resting-place; and his letters, many of which are still extant, serve to show the state of his body and mind.

Ever suspicious of all about him, his jealousy seemed increased as the prospect of his death drew near; and his utmost

* Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. p. 409.

efforts were employed to foil any possible plotting on the part of his sons. In his last moments he dictated several letters to these princes, whom he had studiously kept at a distance from him, which, whilst they contain much useful admonition and advice for the future, show not less his own remorse for the past.* He drew up a will a short time previous to his death, in which he expressed a wish that his sons should divide the empire amongst them; the eldest, Moazzim, taking the northern, and Azim the southern districts; whilst the youngest, Cambakhsh, was to have the kingdoms of Golconda and Bija-poor. This appears to have been his last act. He soon afterward expired, amidst many pangs of remorse and great terror of the future, in the fiftieth year of his reign and the eighty-ninth of his life.

Thus departed one of the greatest and least happy of the Tartar monarchs who had ruled in the East. Possessing bodily and mental faculties inferior to none of his predecessors, and superior to most of them, he was yet singularly unfortunate in his own personal career, not less than in his rule over his many subjects and his undertakings against foreign and tributary states. The hollow hypocrisy of his nature, and his narrow-minded policy, did far more to estrange the hearts of his friends and a great portion of his subjects, than any acts of open cruelty or decided oppression.†

It was during the reign of this monarch that the British East India Company's servants, by the determination with which, on several occasions, they attacked and defeated the Portuguese, and other enemies of the empire, first laid the foundation of their political power, which at no very distant date was destined to spread, and at length overshadow the Tartar dynasty.

Confined within the limits of the old native towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Surat, with the island of Bombay, the English traders acting for the East India Company had scarcely attracted the attention of any eastern government.

* Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 549.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 552.

The embassies which had been at various times dispatched from Britain to the court of Delhi had been received with marks of favor bordering upon patronage ; and there appeared no jealousy on the part of any of the sovereigns with regard to the unostentatious establishments of these European factors.

British influence in the East had far more to fear from the power and jealousy of the Dutch, who had not long succeeded in wresting from the Portuguese a great part of their possessions and trade in the eastern seas ; and who seemed determined, if possible, to close the commerce of India against their British competitors. Nor were these the only obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the Company. Internal mismanagement, and incompetency and tyranny on the part of one or two of the governors of their settlements, tended to prostrate the energies of those who served them faithfully, and at one time jeopardized the very existence of the association.

The rash conduct of Sir John Child, governor of Bombay, brought against that small settlement the arms of Aurungzebe, who would unquestionably have reduced the place, but for the timely death of the incompetent commander, upon which the emperor agreed to a treaty on very moderate terms.

At the period of which we are now detailing the events (A. D. 1707), a new chartered Company was established in London for the purpose of trading to the East, and before long the two had merged in one body, much to the advantage of both. The Court of Directors became better constituted as a governing body, their powers were more clearly defined, and new vigor and life seemed infused into all branches of their service, which before long bore fruitful results in the operations carried on with the distant settlements.

But to return to the affairs of the empire. The injunctions of Aurungzebe regarding the succession were altogether unheeded by his sons. Whilst Moazzim was proclaimed emperor of all India at Cabul, under the title of Bahadur Shah, his brother Azim took the same step at Agra, whither he returned so soon as he received tidings of his father's death. Both of these made preparations to assert their claims to the throne by

force of arms. A battle was the consequence, in which Azim and his two sons fell, leaving Behadur Shah in possession of the field and the crown.

Prince Cambakhsh, the youngest of the two brothers, being indisposed to admit the claims of the new emperor, was attacked near Hyderabad, his army utterly routed, and himself mortally wounded. This event left Behadur without a rival, and he at once gave his attention to the troubles of the Deccan, where the succession to the command of the Mahrattas was being disputed by the nephew and the guardians of the infant son of the late rajah. These disputes were shortly afterward arranged, as were also the imperial differences with the Rajpoots, who now gladly accepted the overtures of the sovereign.

Bahadur Shah was well disposed to conclude these matters, as the Seikhs were giving his governors in the north more occupation than they could well undertake; and he accordingly marched to the Punjab, resolved to put down the rebellious outbreak with a strong and determined hand. He was not long in forcing these rude warriors within their own territories, and eventually succeeded in capturing their strongest forts, and scattering their forces with considerable loss.

Returning to Lahore after this undertaking, Behadur Shah died after a short illness, in the seventy-first year of his age, having reigned five years.

No sooner had the emperor breathed his last, than his four sons strove for the mastery. Battles were fought, negotiations were set on foot, and every artifice and effort employed to strengthen the cause of the various claimants; but in the end Jehander Shah, the eldest, succeeded in defeating his brothers, and for the time securing possession of the throne.

The contemptible character of this monarch (A. D. 1712) soon estranged the affections of the nobility and the people from him; and there is every reason to believe that open revolt would have been the result, but for an event which at that moment took place. This was the appearance of a rival candidate for the crown, in the person of Farokhsir, the emperor's nephew, who assembled an army at Allahabad, repelled one or

two detachments sent against him, and finally routed the troops of Jehander near Agra so completely, that the monarch was forced to fly to Delhi in disguise. He was there seized by his late vizier, and delivered up to Farokhsir, who, in putting the fallen sovereign to death, meted the same end to his traitorous minister.

The empire had gained but little by the change of sovereigns. Farokhsir was not less contemptible than his predecessor, though with the additional vices of cruelty and jealousy. He intrigued to secure the death of Hosen Ali, one of his most able and active supporters, whom he had found himself compelled against his will to make commander-in-chief of his forces. The plot failed, and the intended victim of his master's jealousy proceeded on his expedition against the Mahrattas in the Deccan.

The reputation of this general suffered in the campaigns which ensued. The Mahrattas followed up their old tactics with so much perseverance, as in the end to baffle the utmost endeavors of Hosen Ali to bring them to a decisive engagement; and he was eventually glad to compromise matters by several concessions, which, however, Farokhsir, refused to ratify.

This led to a misunderstanding between the monarch and his general, and subsequently to a difference with the vizier, the brother of the latter. Farokhsir, with all the desire, but none of the determination needed to rid himself of these powerful and able men, began to plot against them, though in such an unskillful and undecided manner as served but to expose his own imbecility and fears; and at the same time thoroughly to disgust and alienate those who would have seconded his views.*

The immediate result of these weak and futile attempts on the part of the emperor was the march of Hosen Ali to the capital at the head of an army devoted to his service. After some treating with the weak-minded sovereign, and a rising of the inhabitants of the city against Hosen's followers, the

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 581.

brothers formally took possession of the citadel, seized the person of the emperor, and quietly put him to death after an inglorious reign of six years.

Upon the deposition of Farokhsir, two young princes of the royal family were successively elevated to the throne, each of them living but a few months. Subsequently the vizier and his brother raised to the imperial dignity another prince named Roushu Akhter, who was declared emperor under the title of Mohammed Shah.

From the commencement of this reign (A. D. 1719) there were not wanting unmistakable signs of the approaching decline and fall of the Tartar dynasty in India. The overbearing conduct of the vizier and his brother, coupled with the disgust created by the knowledge of the means by which Farokhsir had met his death, tended to estrange the minds of the people from the ruling powers, who, besides, gave evidence of their own weakness by continued disagreements.*

Insurrections took place at Allahabad, and other large cities, as well as in the southern division of the Punjab, which occupied the imperial forces for some time.

It was during the rule of this monarch that an embassy was dispatched from Calcutta to the court at Delhi, by the Company's servants, with the view of obtaining some further grants of territory and greater privileges than they then enjoyed. The emperor received the British officials with some show of favor; but through the secret influence of his vizier, who was also governor of Bengal, and extremely jealous of the European settlers, matters appeared for some time likely to result far from satisfactorily to the embassy. Fortunately for the English, the emperor was seized with a dangerous illness, which baffled the skill of the royal physicians; and in the hour of need recourse was had to the aid of the medical officer attached to the embassy, who succeeded in restoring his imperial patient to health in a short period. This led to a concession of all the demands of the British, who returned to Calcutta well satisfied with the results of their journey to Delhi.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 584.

Amongst other turbulent proceedings which agitated the empire, was the conduct of Asof Jah, governor of Malwa, who, under various pretenses, managed to raise a considerable body of troops, at the head of which he marched toward the Deccan, and encountering detachments of the royal army, routed them, and established himself, by the co-operation of the Mahrattas, in possession of a large tract of that country.

To oppose this formidable chief, Hosen Ali marched toward the south, taking care that the emperor accompanied him, in order to prevent plots during his absence. Mohammed, disgusted with the state of servitude under which he lived under the rule of the brothers, and eager to be rid of them, fell into a plan for the assassination of Hosen, which took place not far from the royal tent. This led to the revolt of Abdallah, the vizier, who was, however, soon afterward defeated and made prisoner, surviving his reverses but a short time.

These occurrences were followed by the appointment of Asof Jah to the viziership. This austere and ambitious man, however willing he may have been to aid in the government of the empire, was soon disgusted with the frivolous life of Mohammed and the little regard paid to himself. At the end of the first year of his tenure of office he threw up the viziership and withdrew to the Deccan, where it at once became apparent that his design was to render himself independent of the imperial authority.

Establishing himself at Hyderabad (A. D. 1723), Asof took immediate steps to secure the possession of the states around him, and at the same time to turn the Mahratta power to his own advantage by directing against the empire the arms of that restless people. Saho was at this time the dominant rajah of the tribe; whilst another claimant, Samba, held himself prepared for any opportunity which might offer of asserting his rights, real or pretended. By playing one of these against the other, Asof contrived to strengthen his own hands, and at last induced Saho to agree to a treaty, by which he undertook to invade the imperial territories.

At this period (A. D. 1731) we first hear mentioned the names

of Holkar and Sindia, afterward so famous in eastern history. The ancestors of these noted chiefs were, at the time of which we are now treating, the former a shepherd, on the Nira, south of Poonah, the latter, though of a good family near Sattara, in such reduced circumstances as to be serving as the domestic of a Mahratta general.

The events of the succeeding half dozen years (A. D. 1737) may be comprised in a few sentences, no occurrences being of sufficient importance to deserve separate notice. On all sides the Mahrattas continued to make encroachments, adding to their territories as occasion offered, seldom with any real opposition, never with any that was effectual. The empire was yearly becoming weaker, and required but some sudden or violent shock to cause its total dismemberment.

Meanwhile the possessions and influence of the European settlers throughout India had been gradually extending. The French had appeared on the scene, and their naval force, under the command of the brave Labourdonnais, acted so effectually against the fleet of the British, as for a time to cripple most seriously the operations of the latter. Peace being restored between the two nations, they still continued their operations against various native states on one pretext or the other. The governor of Madras took up the cause of a deposed rajah of Tanjore, and marched a body of troops into those territories to assert his rights, without, however, carrying out any real or permanent object. It was during these operations that the since renowned Clive, then a young lieutenant, took the field for the first time, and in his earliest action gave evidence of that cool valor and sound judgment which before long earned for him a world-wide reputation.

The troubles of the Deccan (A. D. 1739) and the frivolities of his own court, had so occupied the attention of the emperor that no heed had been given to the movement of the ambitious monarch of Persia, Nadir Shah, who having left his kingdom at the head of a brave and well-disciplined army, conquered a great part of the Afghan territories, and was already turning his attention to India, where he well knew a sure victory and



NADIR SHAH.

rich booty awaited him. He did not wait long for the pretext necessary to give a shadow of justification for crossing the Indus, which he did at the close of the year 1738. Mohammed Shah, roused by this intelligence, collected a force but ill calculated to oppose the veteran army of the invader, though aided by the questionable presence of the Nizam of the Deccan. Early in the following year a battle was fought at Carnal, which resulted in the defeat of the imperial army and the submission of Mohammed Shah. The emperor was treated with great consideration, and permitted to reside unguarded in his own quarters. The two monarchs afterward proceeded in company to Delhi, where they resided under the same roof.*

The stay of the Persian monarch at the Indian capital, though brief, was marked by rapacity and bloodshed. A tumult having arisen in the city, the pretext was afforded the Persian troops of an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants, which lasted for a whole day, the loss of life during which time has been variously estimated at from 30,000 to 150,000.

This was followed by a general plunder of the city, from the royal treasury down to the most humble dwelling; when an incredible amount of coin and jewelry of various sorts appears to have been brought together and appropriated by the Persian king as payment for the cost of this most unwelcome visit.

The value of the gold and silver coin thus carried away is said to have been forty-five millions of dollars, † whilst the gold and silver plate and jewels amounted to quite as much more. Besides a great number of the finest horses, elephants, and camels, Nadir Shah carried with him several hundreds of the most skillful artisans and workers in the precious metals.

Nadir Shah at length took his departure from the capital of India, after a sojourn of fifty-three days, the memory of which outlived the perpetrators of the atrocities committed therein. Before quitting Delhi, the king of Persia seated Mohammed upon his throne, and with his own hands placed the diadem upon the brow of the reinstated emperor, at the same time en-

* Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 627.

† Scott, vol. ii. p. 212.

joining the strictest obedience to him from the nobles and chiefs assembled about them to witness and partake in the ceremony.

Freed from the dreaded presence of these powerful invaders, the emperor had full opportunity to observe and deplore, without the power of remedying the misery which threatened him. With scarcely the shadow of an army, an exhausted treasury, a devastated country, cities in ruins, and surrounded by many and designing enemies, the prospect for the future was indeed dispiriting.

The nabobship of the Carnatic being at this time (A.D.1740) the subject of contention between two rival candidates, the aid of the Mahratta army was called in by one, which very shortly settled the question for the moment, and resulted in the imprisonment of the defeated candidate. This interference was looked upon with a jealous eye by Asof, or, as he was then more generally styled, the Nizam al Moolk, who finally used his influence to bestow the rank of nabob of the Carnatic upon one of his own connection. The French commandant of Pondicherry, anxious to obtain a footing with some of the native chiefs, used his interest and some money to obtain the liberation of Chanda Sahib, the deposed nabob, who no sooner found himself at liberty than he commenced raising troops and sacking such towns and forts as he found unprotected.

From this date to the year 1748 the troubles in the state of Arcot continued to occupy the attention of the nizam, who died at that period, at the great age of one hundred years. This event, as was almost always the case in eastern governments, led to contentions in the family as to his successor, in which both the English and French took an interest, according as their own advantage might be best served.

From the time of the departure of Nadir Shah from Delhi but few events had occurred within the then prostrate empire. The sole exception to this quiescent state of things, were the rise of the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe inhabiting a mountain tract near Oude, and an invasion of India by an Afghan chief, Ahmed Shah Durani. The former was put down by the em-

peror in person ; the latter was repelled by the imperial forces at Sirhind under Prince Ahmed, though not without a severe contest.

Immediately after this battle, the prince was called off to Delhi, by intelligence of his father's dangerous illness, which ended fatally a month later. Mohammed Shah had reigned twenty-nine years. There was no opposition raised to the succession of his son, who was accordingly proclaimed emperor under the title of Ahmed Shah.

One of the new monarch's earliest efforts was directed against the Rohillas, who still continued to be troublesome neighbors. The vizier, Safder Jang, was sent against them, but was repulsed ; and finally, driven to extremity, was forced to the humiliating expedient of seeking the aid of the two Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Sindia. With the aid of these useful auxiliaries, the vizier obtained a decisive advantage over the Rohillas, and succeeded in driving them from their strongholds to the foot of the Himalayas, when they were glad to sue for peace on any terms.*

A more formidable enemy appeared next in the person of the Afghan king, who once more marched into the Punjab, seized upon Lahore and other principal cities, and finished by demanding that the emperor should regularly cede to him the possession of the entire country. Too weak to refuse, and fearing another invasion of India, Ahmed Shah at once consented to the terms proposed, and was only too glad to buy off on such terms an enemy of this formidable character.

Dissensions at the court followed closely upon these external troubles. The assassination of a favorite eunuch of the emperor by his vizier, led to an open rupture, and eventually to the expulsion of the offending minister. His successor, however, proved not more acceptable to the monarch, who commenced plotting against his life ; and upon the discovery of these intrigues, open war was declared between the emperor and his subject. The latter proved victorious ; and obtaining

* Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. p. 660.

possession of the monarch's person, he caused his eyes to be put out, and a young prince of the same family to be proclaimed in his stead as Alamghir II.

The new emperor evinced (A. D. 1754) as little cordiality toward the vizier, Ghazi-u-din, who had placed him on the throne, as had his predecessor. It was evident that the minister intended to rule with an iron hand, whilst his royal master should look on and sanction his acts. The rigorous severity of his government soon caused an open mutiny, which had nearly cost him his life. Nor was this the sole result of his conduct. Having treacherously seized on Lahore and other cities in the Punjab, contrary to the treaty lately entered into with Ahmed Shah of Afghanistan, that king again crossed the Indus, marched to Delhi, and meeting this time with no opposition, took possession of the capital, and abandoned it to slaughter and plunder.

Having no intention of retaining possession of Delhi, the Afghan king contented himself with securing such treasures as had escaped Nadir. Shah, and then retreated across the Indus; having meanwhile left a Rohilla chief in command of the capital, as a check upon the tyrannical power of Ghazi-u-din over the emperor. The ambitious minister once more had recourse to his old friends the Mahrattas, to second his efforts at supremacy. By the aid of that power, he eventually succeeded in wresting the Punjab from the hands of the Afghan monarch, took forcible possession of Delhi, and having made the unfortunate and helpless Alamghir prisoner, put him to death.

Shah Alum, the heir to the throne, owed his safety at this moment to his absence from the capital. Ahmed Shah Durani of Afghanistan was not long in taking revenge for the occupation of the Punjab. He prepared a formidable body of troops for a further invasion of the empire, crossed the Indus at a time when armies seldom take the field; and marching southward, encountered the Mahratta forces in the plains of Paniput, near the Jumna, under Sedasheo Bhao. The forces of the latter comprised about 100,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, many of whom were sepoys, besides a large park of

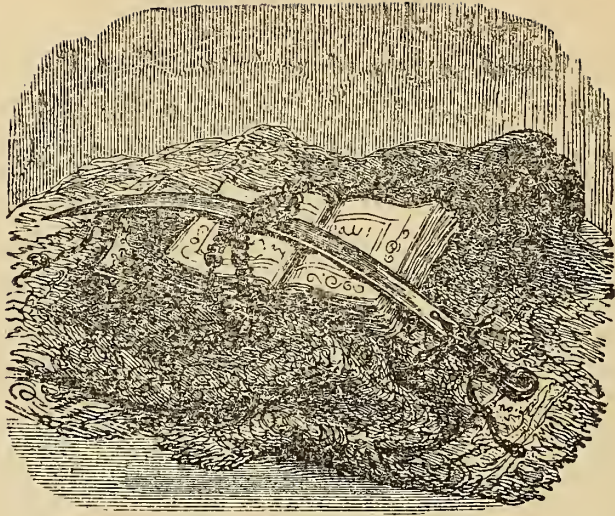
artillery and a liberal supply of rockets. The Durani brought against this army about 50,000 horse, composed of Persians and Afghans, with 30,000 infantry, partly of Rohilla and partly Indian soldiers, but ill trained.*

After facing each other for some time, during which the Mahrattas suffered much from want of supplies, an engagement took place, when after a terrible slaughter on both sides, the Durani's army was victorious. The survivors of the Mahrattas fled from the field; but were so hotly pursued, that but very few of them escaped to tell the tale of their disasters. The power of this people was so effectually broken by this battle, in which most of their chiefs fell, that many years elapsed before they were in a position to exercise any influence in Indian affairs.

The invading army having thus effectually broken up the last remnants of the empire, retired beyond the Indus, and appeared no more on the eastern side of that river.

The history of the Tartar dynasty may now be said to have closed; as the remaining events which occurred in the various provinces and states of India comprising that once powerful empire belong so entirely to the history of the British power in the East, as to render it necessary to link them together. The fugitive Shah Alum subsequently obtained possession of the capital of his ancestors; but being without the power to retain it, he fell into the hands of a Rohilla chief, who deprived him of sight, and afterward gave him into the power of Sindia, one of the Mahratta chiefs, who retained him in close confinement at Delhi until that city was taken by the British forces in 1803. Shah Alum and his son, Akbar Shah, both died pensioners on the bounty of the East India Company; and with the last of these princes ended the race of the Tartar monarchs of India.

* Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. ii. p. 212.



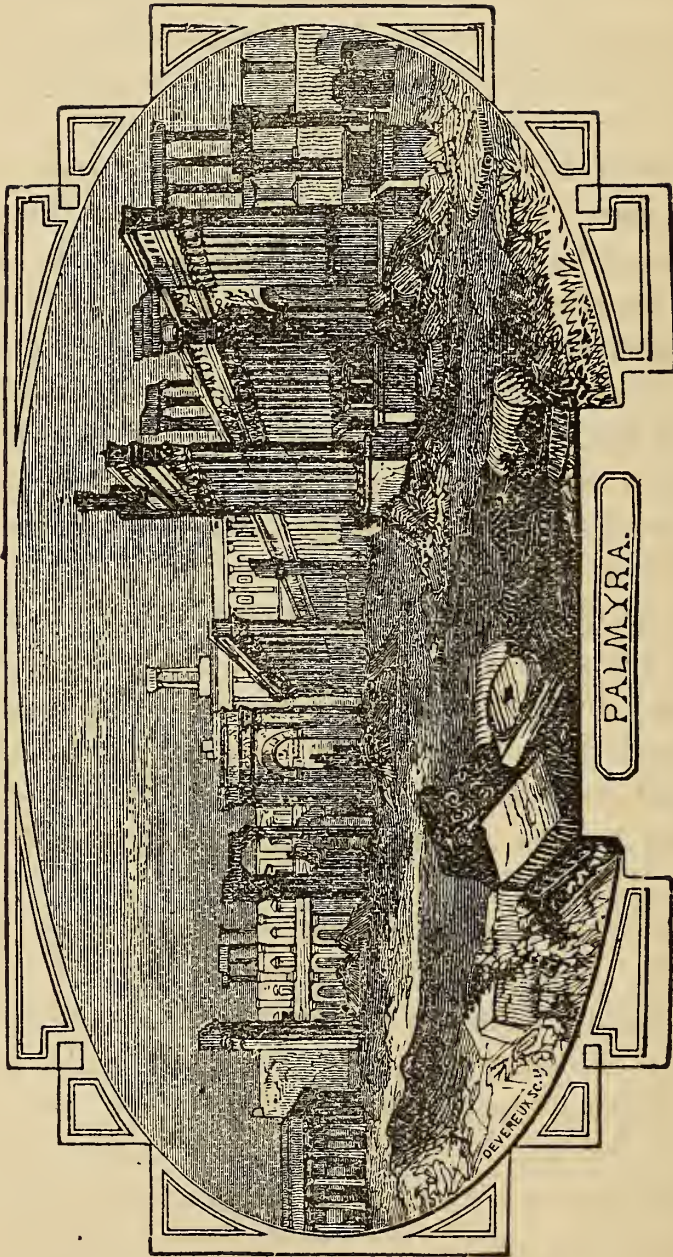
THE EUROPEAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN WORLD, WITH SUBSEQUENT EUROPEAN PROGRESS, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SUPREMACY IN INDIA.

THE earliest records which we possess of commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of India and those of countries to the west of Arabia relate to the Jewish kingdom. (B.C.1014.) History informs us that Solomon drew large and frequent supplies of spices and cotton goods from the southern and eastern parts of Asia; and even in his time the Phœnicians were said to have been long in possession of the bulk of the Indian trade, which was chiefly carried on by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. An overland communication appears to have existed through Persia and Arabia; but with this double intercourse, the western nations remained in deepest ignorance of the country and the people that lay toward the rising sun.

All that Europe knew of India prior to the expedition of the



Macedonian monarch was through its gold, its pearls, its spices, and its rich cloths. But the length of time occupied in the voyage, the circuitous route by which these goods were conveyed, and the many hands through which they passed, rendered it highly improbable that any but the most wild and fanciful pictures of the East ever reached those who consumed the products brought from those distant lands.

It was reserved for Alexander the Great (B. C. 331) to achieve, amongst other things, the opening of this hidden region, although he himself visited but its confines on the west. Unlike the progress of those northern conquerors who came after him, carrying fire and sword and scattering death and ruin about their footsteps, the Macedonian carried with him the softening influence of civilization. Of the knowledge of India, which flowed westward consequent upon the invasion of Alexander, we have already treated at the conclusion of our first historical section.

The early death of the conqueror destroyed any plans he may have formed for opening up a trade with, or settling an empire in Hindostan; and for nearly three centuries the commerce between the eastern and western worlds was conducted by the Egyptian and Arab merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the ports being then Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria.

There were, however, two other routes by which a small portion of the traffic with the East was carried on. One of these lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities; a desert and difficult route, but one of great antiquity. The only halting-place on this dreary road was the famed city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, so called from the abundance of palm-trees which flourished around its walls. This regal city owed its prosperity to the commerce which passed through it; and which, in the course of time, raised the state to a degree of importance and power that exposed it to the jealousy of imperial Rome. A war ensued, in which its brave and noble-minded queen, Zenobia, was captured, her city

destroyed, and with it the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the days of Abraham.

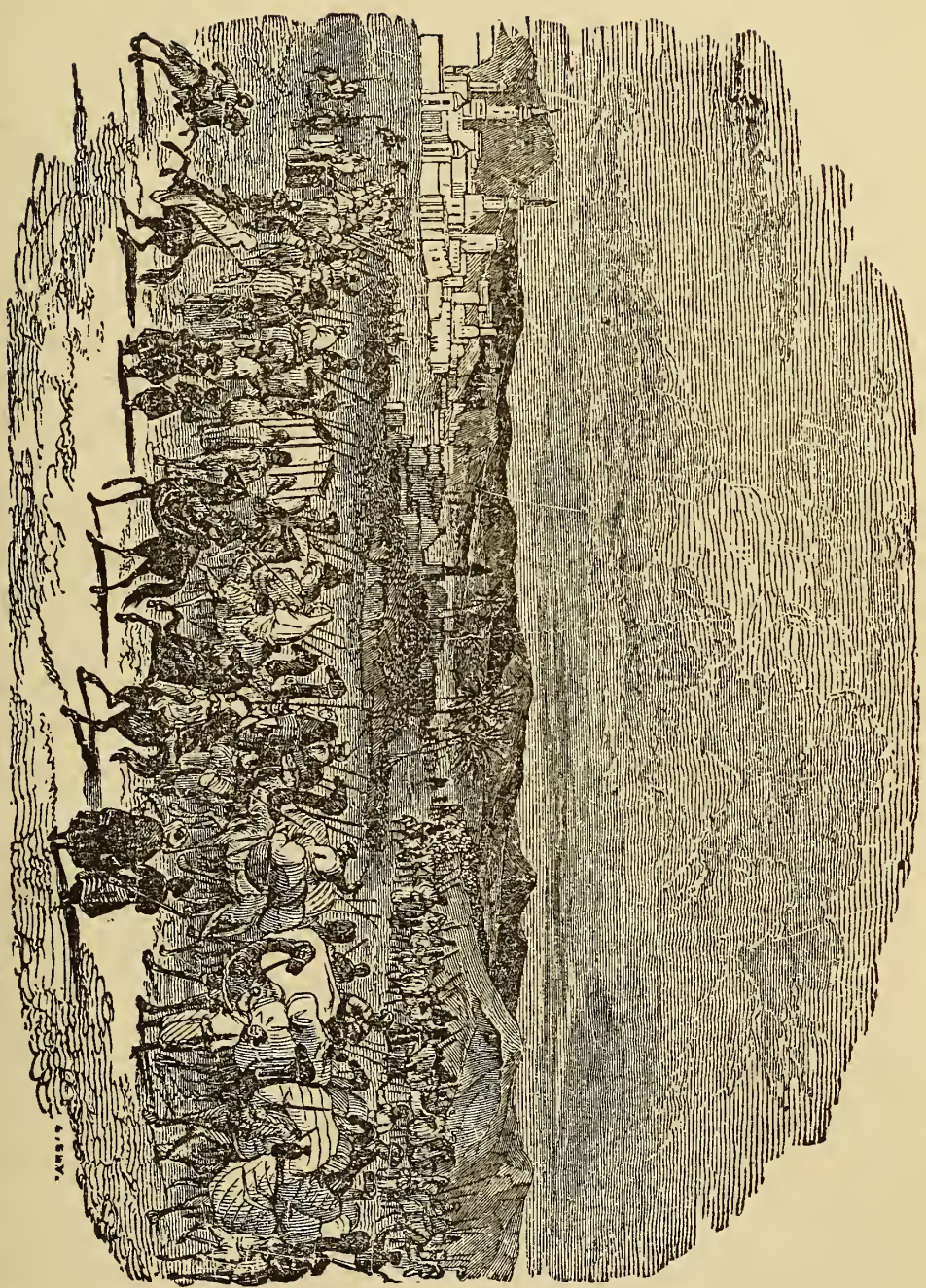
The second route was by way of the Indus upward, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Cush, and so on to the river Oseus and the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandise was conveyed, by other land and water conveyance, to the cities of the north and north-west. Even in the present day we find this a route of some importance, serving as the means of carrying on a trade between India, Persia, and Russia, which is of more real value to the latter country than is perhaps generally known in Europe or America. The richest silks, the finest muslins, the most costly shawls, the rarest drugs and spices, are bought up by Russian dealers, and transported by this tedious route to the cities of the great Czar.

With the Palmyra route the carrying-trade of Egypt with the East suffered equally from the ravages and conquests of the Roman emperors, though not so permanently. We read that during the reign of the emperor Claudius, one of the kings of Ceylon, then famed for its spices and pearls, dispatched an ambassador to the Roman court, loaded with many costly gifts. At a later period still, the Chinese were visited by an emissary from the great ruler of the western world.

With the decline of the Roman empire the trade with India rallied, and gathered something of its olden strength. The two events, however, which most sensibly contributed to the reopening of this commerce, were the removal of the seat of imperial government from Rome to Constantinople, and at a later period the invasions of the Saracens.

Not less enterprising than brave, the Saracenic conquerors of the East were active in forming commercial depots, and opening a trade wherever Nature favored their designs. By them the city of Bussorah was built on a spot peculiarly adapted for navigation; and before long the Euphrates and the Tigris swarmed with the mercantile marine of this new and energetic race. The genius, however, of the Saracens, was not such as to fit them to become civilizers and traders. They possessed too much of the military fire of conquerors to sit down and open

AN ORIENTAL CARAVAN ON THE MARCH.



A. B. B. Y.

out the many commercial advantages which lay before them ; it sufficed them to have shown the path.

The Turkish rulers of Syria, who followed upon the ruins of the Saracenic dynasty, cared as little for the great prize of eastern commerce as had their predecessors ; and were content that Constantinople should be the centre of the traffic, which they allowed quietly to pass into the hands of the Genoese.

This was but a moiety of the eastern trade. The Arabs, as hardy and venturesome at sea as on land, had resuscitated the traffic through Egypt ; and by dint of many explorations along the coast, they boldly sailed from the ports on the Red Sea, through the Straits of Babelmandel, and stretching eastward, reached in due time the coasts of Malabar. It is believed that the mariner's compass was introduced into Europe by these enterprising navigators. This portion of the commerce of India passed into the hands of the Venetians in Egypt, and rapidly raised their republic to an importance and power which has seldom been equalled by any other modern state of similar extent.

Such was the position of oriental commerce, when an event occurred which led to mighty results, and changed the whole course of affairs. Christopher Columbus, in searching for the East, found a new world in the West ; and at no great distance of time, Bartholomew Diaz (A. D. 1486) stumbled upon a road to the East round the "Cape of Storms," so called by him in token of the disastrous weather he there experienced.

The Portuguese monarch, in whose service Diaz had sailed, was naturally elated at the importance of this discovery ; for it was easy to see, that by means of this new passage to India, the trade carried on by the Italians, at a great hazard and cost, would rapidly fall into the hands of their western neighbors.

Maritime affairs were in those days (A. D. 1498) carried on in a very different fashion to the business of present times ; and, anxious as the court of Lisbon was to profit by the fortunate discovery, it was not until eleven years afterward, that a large and well-appointed fleet sailed for India under the command of Vasco de Gama. The Cape of Good Hope, as it



COLUMBUS.

was now rechristened, was safely doubled; and at the end of the tenth month from their departure, the ships composing this first Portuguese fleet of India anchored in the roads of Calicut on the Malabar coast. A valuable cargo of the precious things of the East recompensed the enterprising navigators for all their toils and dangers; and the king of Portugal had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the spoils of Indian commerce piled at his feet; whilst the merchants of Italy and Egypt looked on in undisguised alarm. It was soon demonstrated that the monopoly of the eastern seas was at an end. It was in vain that Venitian merchants leagued with Egyptian Mamelukes to fit out a powerful squadron, and endeavor to annihilate the fleets of the Portuguese. The latter proved more than a match for their assailants, and remained masters of the Indian waters. Soon after this the power of the Venitian state became crippled, and at last annihilated, so that the merchants of that country ceased to hold any influence amongst other powers. Egypt, too passed into new hands; and although the Turkish

successors of the Mameluke rulers would gladly have weakened the power of the Portuguese, they lacked the skill and enterprise to do any mischief in that direction.

The merchants of Lisbon had, however, other opponents to encounter—opponents possessing both daring and skill. The Moorish traders—half merchants, half buccaneers—had to this period held possession of the Indian seas without opposition; and long habitude had impressed them with the feeling that in them rested the sole right to navigate and traffic on the waters of the East. It was not to be expected that these people would quietly see any interlopers trenching on their vested interests; nor was it long before the subjects of King Emmanuel found this to their cost.

The Portuguese monarch was not ignorant of the opposition which his attempt to open a trade with the natives of India would meet with from the Moors. Every care was taken to render the armaments which followed the first expedition as strong and efficient as was possible. A fleet of thirteen sail of all sizes, well manned, and carrying out upward of a thousand soldiers, was dispatched from Lisbon, for the purpose of extending the commercial operations already so favorably commenced by Vasco de Gama, but under command of another officer, one Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. This commander had orders to open commercial negotiations with the Zamorin of Calicut, with the view of obtaining permission to form a settlement for trading purposes within his territories.

It was during this voyage to India that Cabral accidentally discovered the Brazils, having been driven near the South American coast by stress of weather. Arrived at Calicut, the Portuguese commander found little difficulty in persuading the prince of the country to accede to such proposals as he made. A treaty of commerce was entered into; and the new comers very shortly found themselves established within the boundary of the city.

The Moors, from their long intercourse with the natives of India, had naturally great influence with the Zamorin, who may have looked upon the Portuguese with eyes not more

favorable than the former. They contrived in a very short time to work upon the fears and jealousy of this prince to such an extent, as to induce him, with their co-operation, to attack the European factory, and kill the whole of the residents therein.

Cabral was not slow to avenge this cruel treachery. Bringing his entire force to bear upon the city, he found little difficulty in burning or sinking the greater part of the Moorish vessels at anchor under its walls, and reducing the place to a heap of ruins. The Zamorin, upon this, was glad to purchase safety at the expense of several new concessions to the victors; and a treaty far more favorable to the latter was concluded upon the spot.

This decisive blow at the power of the ruler of Calicut was shortly afterward productive of the best results to the Portuguese. Impressed with the courage and success of the newcomers, many of the petty sovereigns of the adjacent states sought their friendship, entered into amicable treaties with Cabral on behalf of his sovereign, and allowed factories to be established at various points where the localities presented favorable opportunities for opening a trading intercourse with the interior of the country.

Having so far established the supremacy of the Portuguese flag upon the Malabar coast, Cabral prepared to return to Europe with a fleet freighted with the rare and costly products of the East, and not a little experience of oriental affairs, at that time shrouded in the greatest mystery.

Arrived at Lisbon, this successful commander was received with the utmost favor and distinction by his royal master, upon whom the precious freightage of the ships, and the boundless prospect for the future, made no slight impression. The wealth of India brought thus, as it were, to the very threshold of Europe, was well calculated to arouse the energies of a nation, at that period deeply imbued with a chivalric spirit of enterprise and discovery. The rich display of spices, silks, precious stones, and gums, were but types of the boundless mines of wealth to be opened in that far-off land of rich promise. The envied power and riches of the merchant-princes of Venice



VASCO DE GAMA.

might now be their own destiny. The East lay, as it were, prostrate at their feet; and it required but an outstretched hand to seize the willing prize.

The king, Emmanuel, was not tardy in turning the information brought by Cabral, as well as the enthusiasm created in the minds of the people, to full account. A fleet of twenty sail, all good ships and royally found, was immediately equipped, and the command of the armament given to Vasco de Gama, who, from his former experience, was well fitted for this distinction. The monarch had no reason to regret the selection he had made. De Gama rapidly placed matters on a sounder and more thriving footing than they had hitherto been, by cultivating the friendly acquaintance of all those native princes who appeared willing and able to further his views. With the Zamorin of Calicut he was less careful to keep up an intercourse, being thoroughly convinced of the duplicity of his character, and of his prejudice against Europeans. This

slighting of his importance led the prince to take aggressive steps; he dispatched his fleet to attack the ships of De Gama; but although they were far superior in numbers, it was in vain to contend against the superior skill and courage of the Portuguese; and the result was, that the Zamorin was compelled to see his adversaries successful in all their undertakings.

Shortly afterward the Portuguese commander, having fulfilled his mission in the East, took his departure for Europe, leaving a small fleet, and sufficient forces to protect their factories, under the direction of one Loche. This officer, however, proved unequal to the task; and instead of guarding the trading settlements and the territories of such native princes as had favored his countrymen, he proceeded in various directions in quest of adventure and riches, and thus excited the enmity of the powerful ruler of Calicut. The immediate result of this conduct was the attack and capture of Cochin, a friendly state, by the Zamorin. The return of the fleet to the Malabar coast, the death of the unqualified commander, and the final appointment of Albuquerque to the post of captain-general of the Portuguese forces in India, were the means of restoring matters to their original footing. The king of Cochin, with the aid of his European allies, defeated the numerous troops of the Zamorin, and recovered from that chief possession of his city.

It was fortunate for the Portuguese that they possessed such an able commander as Albuquerque; for all that valor, judgment, and decision could effect, was needed to preserve their power and influence among the native states. The promulgation of a papal bull, couched in the arrogant and dictatorial tone peculiar to those insolent documents; and assigning to the king of Portugal the possession and sovereignty of the whole of India, so far from serving the cause of the interlopers, tended to jeopardize their very existence in that part of the globe. It was found an exceedingly difficult task to persuade the benighted denizens of the eastern world, that any Christian dignitary, however exalted his earthly station might be, possessed any right to bestow their territories, their possessions,



ALBUQUERQUE.

and themselves upon any band of adventurers, who chose to set up a claim to such lavish gifts.

The attempts made under cloak of this Catholic document brought down upon the heads of the Portuguese the enmity and hostility of every race they came in contact with; and before long they found themselves in the unpleasant predicament of carrying on their barter at the cannon's mouth. Their factors were compelled to go about armed to the teeth; every bale of goods was bought at the cost of blood; each entry in their books was made under the protection of drawn swords.

The indomitable energy and perseverance, no less than the prudence and foresight of Albuquerque, saved the Portuguese from the imminent danger which at this period (A. D. 1511) threatened their possessions in the East. A series of bold enterprises, crowned in every case with undoubted success, served

to reinstate their name and reputation upon the old footing; and before two years had passed, this excellent commander had the satisfaction of beholding the neighboring rajahs and princes eager to ally themselves and open trading treaties with him. Goa was taken possession of, and strongly fortified. The island of Malacca was conquered and garrisoned; and, in short, at every point along the eastern and western coasts of the Indian peninsula, where there appeared an opportunity for commercial intercourse, there Albuquerque planted the flag of his sovereign and built a factory. Not content with his conquests in India, the Portuguese commander opened communications with China, and freighted several ships for that remote country.

By a series of wise and liberal enactments, he gave such encouragement to trade and navigation, that soon his ports were crowded with vessels of merchants from every eastern state, anxious to transact business where they could do so in the greatest security and to the most advantage.

Having thus fairly established the Portuguese empire in India, Albuquerque might have extended his influence still further, had he not been cut off by death in the height of his successes, after a brilliant rule of five years. His loss was felt not less keenly by the natives of India than by his countrymen. Far and wide the influence of his name had been felt for good; and wherever it was known, regret, deep and universal, was expressed for the death of one so good and talented.

His successor, Soarez, was opposed to him in nature and reputation; and in proportion as his conduct departed from that steady and unflinching course pursued by Albuquerque, so did the prosperity of the Portuguese settlements suffer in their transactions with the native dealers. Self-interest was the dominant feeling with the new commander; and as his example was not long in being followed by those under his authority, it became a struggle amongst the whole body of military to enrich themselves as rapidly as possible, without regard to the public service, or the means used to attain their ends.

Corruption and oppression ruled rampant at all the stations; justice was forgotten amidst the general scramble for wealth; and it soon became evident, that before very long the position of Portuguese affairs in India would be in no better condition than they were previous to the government of Albuquerque.

Fortunately for their reputation, the authorities at Lisbon gathered tidings of the existing state of things in the East, and recalled Soarez whilst there was still something to be saved; although the successor appointed, Sequera, did nothing to retrieve the confusion into which matters had fallen. The power of the Portuguese was at that period at an extremely low ebb; and there is little doubt but that, had the native princes made any combined and well-directed attack upon them, they could hardly have helped proving completely successful. As it was, however, the old-established reputation of the Portuguese arms served to keep them safe at that time from any plots.

At length a change was wrought in the councils of the court at Lisbon by the decease of King Emmanuel. The veteran, Vasco de Gama, under the title of Count di Vidigueyra, was appointed to the sole command, as captain-general of the Indian empire, and sailed once more for the scene of his former exploits, at the head of a well-appointed civil and military staff. Unfortunately, the old commander lived but three months after his arrival in India; yet in that brief space of time, he managed, by dint of activity and boldness, to correct many of the abuses existing, and to put down the swarms of pirates and robbers who infested both sea and land, equally with the numerous speculators in high places.

His death was followed by a long series of disgraceful struggles among the Portuguese leaders for the supreme command; and when at length a superior officer was sent out from Lisbon to assume the chief authority, it was not without difficulty that he asserted his office, and dispatched one of the principal misdoers under arrest to Europe.

The good offices of Nunio were needed to endeavor to place Portuguese affairs upon a better footing. Yet it seemed a hopeless task, so widened had been the breach between the Eu-

Europeans and the various rajahs. To add to his difficulties, he involved himself in a war with the Emperor of Delhi, taking up the cause of the Sultan of Gujerat. Subsequently, the emperor having been worsted, the sultan and his allies came to an open rupture, and war was declared, which led to a protracted struggle between the two powers, and gave occasion to the emperor to avenge his defeat by sending reinforcements to aid his countrymen against the Europeans. The valor and discipline of the Portuguese troops proved, in the end, too much for the hordes of rude soldiers brought against them; and thus the danger was averted, and at the same time the singular bravery and skill displayed by the garrisons of the factories so influenced the feelings of the many petty rulers in the vicinity, that those who had before been ready to declare against the Portuguese, and waited for the moment to do so, now professed the most devoted attachment to them, and sought their friendship by every means.

Stephen de Gama, the son of the veteran of that name, although in every way qualified for the important post, was not permitted to hold the reins of government in the East long enough to effect any beneficial improvements; whilst the notorious conduct of his successor, De Souza, went far, by cruelty, oppression, and religious persecutions, to ruin the Portuguese character and influence in that part of the world. So infamous was the conduct of this sanguinary and haughty man, that the Sultan of Gujerat once more declared war upon the oppressors of India; and with the assistance of numerous reinforcements from the court of Delhi, he laid close siege to a fortified town, and pressed it so severely, that it must have fallen into his hands but for the timely arrival from Lisbon of De Souza's successor, De Castro, a man of very different stamp, who relieved the garrison of the besieged city, defeated the besieging army with great slaughter, and finally carried the war so vigorously and successfully into the heart of the enemy's country, as to induce the sovereigns of the Deccan and Gujerat gladly to sue for peace on terms proposed by himself.

The successful general followed up these exploits by a course

of wise and conciliatory measures, calculated to remove the evil impression left by his several predecessors. In this he finally succeeded; enemies were made friendly; peaceful trade took the place of warfare and persecution; religious toleration was the order of the day; and before a year had elapsed, prosperity once more smiled upon the Portuguese settlements. Their ports were crowded with shipping; their factories teemed with produce and merchandise; and on all sides were heard the busy sounds of industry. At no period of their Indian history could it be said that the Portuguese had attained any greater degree of prosperity than they enjoyed under the wise administration of De Castro.

The establishment of Jesuit institutions in the East by the monk Francis Xavier must not be omitted, as it forms an important epoch in the history of those colonies, and at no distant date exerted a sensible influence upon the course of events. Of limited capacity in ecclesiastical matters, he compensated for religious deficiencies by energy and untiring zeal; and not particularly exacting in the degree of sincerity of his followers, contrived, in an incredible short space of time, to convert vast numbers of heathen to a nominal Christianity. The new faith, in his skillful and enterprising hands, assumed a degree of elasticity and pliability which moulded it to the temperament of any of the Hindoo or Moslem races; and as Xavier looked more to the number than the faith of his disciples, he was met on all sides with open arms.

To the zeal of a religious apostle he added the enterprise of a politician, and carefully played into the hands of the civil government; not making himself a party to any of the corrupt malpractices of those times, but rather setting himself in opposition to the misdoers. At the death of De Castro, however, the old leaven of corruption, which had during his rule lain dormant amongst the civil and military servants of the Indo-Portuguese government, showed itself in undisguised colors. It was in vain that the Jesuit exerted his strongest influence to avert the evil effects of this state of things; equally useless was it to represent the misconduct of the officials to the court

at Lisbon. The evil-doers had powerful friends at home; and at that distance, with the then tardy and uncertain means of communication between remote parts of the globe, it was not to be wondered at that justice was long ere it found a response in the royal mind which then ruled the destinies of Portugal.

During the rule of the various governors who followed De Castro, little occurred worthy of record, save events which shock humanity, and cause us to blush for the deeds committed under the cloak of *religion*. Jesuitism had, unfortunately for India, brought in its train the institution of that infernal machine of evil passions and fanatical bigotry, the Inquisition, the archetype of Roman Catholicism. This devilish engine was set to work at Goa, and made to do the bidding of priestly intolerance and lay enmities; and when, by the death of Don Sebastian, the crown of Portugal fell into the hands of Philip of Spain, the work of wickedness received a stimulus that wrought it up to the highest pitch of cruelty.

The enormity of the crimes perpetrated within those fearful walls, the terror which the name of a priest of Christ inspired in the breast of every Christian and heathen dweller in those devoted colonies, spread a sad and heavy gloom over the land that but a few short years previously had reveled in the sunshine of happy, peaceful industry. The records of these terrible times are far too sad to be long dwelt upon. It is enough to know that such things were, and leave the dark veil unlifted.

As evil has ever been known to work out good, so these persecutions and religious slaughters led in the end to favorable results. A cry for vengeance arose from the priestly shambles of the Inquisition. It went forth over that devoted land from shore to shore, and found an echo in many a heart—sympathy in many a home. Insurrections, revolts, massacres, and burnings were to be met with far and near. Armed with another Papal bull, the Portuguese *Christians* deluged the country with blood; but in vain. Even the native converts joined the standard of the Hindoo and the Moslem, whose practice, if not their creed, was more merciful and tolerant than that of the **civilized** crusaders from the western world

And now another people appeared on the bloody stage; a race of persevering, industrious merchants, who, by their cautious and humane policy, founded an empire in the East more durable, because more merciful, more kindly, than that of the intolerant Portuguese.

The Dutch (A. D. 1509) having gathered some information respecting the trade and possessions of the Portuguese in India, and lured by the prospect of a share of those costly spoils, fitted out a fleet of merchantmen under the direction of an East India Company, and dispatched it laden with goods and merchandise for barter, and well armed. The advent of this first armament from Holland was the dawn of salvation to India; and from that time may be dated the decline and ruin of the Indo-Portuguese empire.

It was in vain that the governor of Goa, alarmed by the appearance of these formidable rivals on the eastern waters, endeavored to excite the natives of India against the Dutch. He soon found that, so far from the new-comers being regarded with fear or jealousy, they were looked upon with favorable eyes by the princes who ruled upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; and that these people began to count upon the assistance of the Hollanders as a foil to the oppressions of the Portuguese. Equally in vain was it to endeavor to repel the intruders by force of arms; they would gladly have found a pretext for a quarrel; but the wary policy of the Dutch disappointed them in this, and the latter were, moreover, too well armed to be easily taken by surprise.

Following closely in the steps of these, came the English, seeking their share of the wealth of these fabled regions. The fame of the Indian name, the marvelous tales told of the wonders and boundless riches of the land of the sun, had made their way across British waters, and found ready listeners amongst the merchants of London. Previous to this period, the English had received the uncertain and illassorted shipments of Indian goods through the Venitians, who, enjoying a monopoly at that period, had imposed such terms on their traffic as seemed best to them. Subsequent negotiations with



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

the Sultan of Turkey had enabled the British to trade to greater advantage by sending their ships direct to the ports of that country, and purchasing such eastern goods as they required direct from those merchants who imported them by the way of Persia. The opportunity, however, which was now presented, of being able to share in the lucrative commerce of India by a more direct and profitable means, was too tempting to be thrown away; and incited by the news of the entire success of the Hollanders in obtaining a large share of the spice trade of the East, at that time the most valuable traffic, and furthermore emboldened by the reports of several English travelers and adventurers who had visited various parts of India and forwarded home copious results of their observations, it was at length determined to follow the example of the Dutch, and form an English East India Company.

It was in the year 1600, that a number of London merchants formed themselves into an association for trading purposes, with a capital of £369,891; and applying to the sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) for a charter, they were finally incorporated under the designation of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter of incorporation thus obtained named the first twenty-four directors, and the chairman, Thomas Smythe; but the power of nominating their successors was vested in the subscribers to the stock of the Company, which was by shares of £50 each. The following are the terms in which the powers of this new Company were defined: "To traffic and use the trade of merchandise by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, unto and from the East Indies, unto the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and unto and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used; to or from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should from time to time determine."

Amongst other stipulations inserted in this original document was a proviso, by the cautious Elizabeth, to the effect that if within the time allotted to the corporation by the charter, it should in any way appear to her majesty that the privileges and immunities of the Company worked detrimentally to the welfare of the trading or other portions of the community, then, by giving two years' notice, it would be lawful for the crown to cancel the entire deed of incorporation. On the other hand, if the course of events went to show that the Company carried on their operations in a right and public-spirited manner, then her majesty agreed to renew the said charter, and at the same time strengthen the powers and privileges of the Company in many ways, as might appear unto her and her advisers most conducive to the general good.

The first English fleet which was dispatched to India (A. D.

1601) consisted of five ships, under the command of Captain Lancaster. These anchored in the roads of Achen in June of the following year; and one of the first acts of the commodore was to form a commercial treaty with the prince of the country. Having bartered some of the merchandise for such articles as the place furnished, Lancaster made sail for Java, to complete the homeward lading with spices, gums, silks, saltpetre, &c.; and finally, after arranging another treaty with the king of Bantam, he returned home, well freighted with a valuable cargo.

This and similar successful voyages (A. D. 1605) by the fleets of the English Company, did not fail to arouse the jealousy of not only the Portuguese, but the Dutch, who had by this time established many factories and settlements along the Indian coasts, and upon some of the islands of the Eastern seas. Malacca was taken possession of by them; and from that point they made several efforts to open a trading communication with other countries to the eastward. Although cordially detesting each other, the merchants of these two nations at once agreed upon a mutual course of action as regarded the new interlopers upon the Indian seas. They united to thwart and damage, by every means in their power, the traffic of the English; and at length this secret opposition was flung aside, and exchanged for a more open hostility. Fleets were sent out to cut off the British merchantmen, by both the Portuguese and Dutch; and so determined was the opposition, that it was eventually deemed necessary for the English East India Company to dispatch much larger ships well armed with heavy cannon. The result of this decision was, that when next the Portuguese fleet made an attack upon the English vessels, which they did in the neighborhood of Surat, they experienced a terrible defeat, amounting almost to annihilation. A second engagement led to precisely similar results; and it then became evident to the native princes and sovereigns of India, no less than to the Portuguese and Dutch, that on the seas no power that could be brought to bear upon them was sufficient to master the English, and that in *their* hands must remain the dominion of the Indian waters

The like desire, which had in years past animated the petty and superior rulers of those countries to court a friendly alliance with the Portuguese, was now (A. D. 1632) manifested by them toward the British, whom they considered as perfectly invincible.

Advantage was taken of the favorable impression thus created, by dispatching embassies from the British settlements to several of the native potentates, especially to the Emperor of Delhi, by whom Sir Thomas Roe was most warmly received. By these means, permission was gained for the formation of several new and important settlements, with factories for purposes of trade; so that, indirectly, the very opposition of the Portuguese had proved the means of the advancement of their new rivals.

The rule of the Portuguese in India was now rapidly on the decline; the Dutch were sensibly on the ascendant in many places where the former had ruled paramount; and it became evident that in future the struggle, if there should continue to be any, would be between the Dutch and the English. Negotiations were entered upon in Europe with a view to prevent any further acts of hostility between the subjects of two powers at amity with each other, but with little effect. The Dutch East India Company relied so confidently upon the strength of their position in the various trading countries of India, that they regarded any amicable arrangements as weak concessions on their part, and accordingly threw every obstacle in the way of an arrangement. The weakness and vanity of James I., and the troubles during the greater part of the reign of Charles, favored the desired procrastination of the Dutch merchants, and left the English company to their own resources.

The active mind and energetic character of Cromwell (A. D. 1654) viewed matters in a far different light; and he at once perceived the importance of fully protecting the eastern commerce of England; and having, in the war which he waged with Holland, completely beaten that people where they had believed themselves the most powerful, he felt himself in a position to dictate his own terms in reference to Indian matters.

accordingly, in April, 1654, a formal treaty was concluded, in which the rights and privileges of the British East India Company were fully and honorably maintained.

From the weak and profligate Charles II. (A. D. 1669) little was to be expected; and the only advantage the British company derived during his reign was the cession to them of the island of Bombay, which had formed part of the dowry the monarch had received from Portugal on the occasion of his marriage with a princess of that country.

During the reign of James II. the Company might have strengthened their position with the utmost ease; for that prince, whatever were his other faults, did not possess that of inattention to the commercial interests of his subjects. He readily conceded them all the privileges they sought, and was prepared to forward their views in any manner that might have been desirable; but, with all these advantages, the Company suffered much from the incapacity or dishonesty of their own servants; and so great was this evil in the case of the governor of Bombay, Sir John Child, that the Emperor of Delhi deemed it necessary to proceed to open hostility with the English, and was only prevented from sacking that town by the timely death of the unpopular governor.

The early part of the reign of William and Mary saw little improvement in the management of the affairs of the Company, or in their prospects in the East. The outcry against the misdirection of these affairs became loud and general; and it was only by heavy and frequent bribes in influential quarters that the directors contrived to maintain their position. At length a new East India Association was formed, which, after some years of bitter animosity, became fused in the old one (A. D. 1708); and eventually the two obtained a new charter, which, amongst other concessions, granted to the Company the privilege of holding courts of session and appeal, as also a mayor's court, at each of the three Presidencies, then created, of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

By slow but sure steps (A. D. 1715) the servants of the Company advanced their superiors' interests; and it was so far a



CLIVE.

fortunate circumstance for them that, upon the decease of the then Emperor of Delhi, Aurungzebe, many dissensions and cabals took place, which enabled them to work out their own particular views. Another embassy was undertaken from Calcutta to the court of Delhi; and although many difficulties and delays intervened, the objects of the mission were eventually gained, much to the annoyance of the Viceroy of Bengal, who cordially hated the English, and who would gladly have denied them the possession of a foot of land within the imperial territories.

The commerce between France and India attained about this time such an importance as to excite the envy of the English; and when at length there was a declaration of war between the two countries, a fleet was equipped for the purpose of capturing Pondicherry. This expedition failed through the incapacity of the English commander and the valor and skill of the French Admiral Labourdonnais, who, in his turn, attacked and reduced Madras, A. D. 1747. A second naval expedition against Pondicherry was attended with as little success as the first; and Boscawen, the English admiral, was forced to a humiliating retreat. These, and the failure of an expedition against Tanjore, served for a time to dim the lustre of the British arms in the East. Major Lawrence undertook a second expedition against Tanjore, in aid of the dethroned rajah; and on this occasion the English, though with little permanent advantage, came off victorious. These operations were shared in by one who was afterward destined to play an important part in Indian warfare. The name of Clive is inseparable from the history of British influence in the East, and ranks second to none other in its world-wide fame. At this time Clive was a young lieutenant in one of the regiments engaged upon this occasion; and his abilities and sound judgment were at once perceived by Major Lawrence, who did not fail to turn them to account.

The peace of the Indian peninsula was at this period greatly disturbed by repeated disputes between the nabobs of the Carnatic and the Nizam al Mulk, viceroy of the Deccan. The

treachery, the cruelties, the bloodshed which arose out of this struggle are scarcely to be paralleled in any country out of the East. At length, after a long series of crimes and treacheries, the nabobship of the Carnatic was assumed by Chanda Sabib, formerly the minister of that state. The death of Nizam al Mulk followed soon after; and disputes arising between his son and grandson, Nazir Jing and Murzafa Jing, respecting the succession, Chanda Sahib, noted not less for his cowardice than for his ambition, formed an alliance with the latter; they were soon joined by the French, and for a time victory declared in their favor; but so elated were they with their success, that instead of ensuring at once the power that now lay so easily within their grasp, they repaired to Arcot and Pondicherry, where they spent their time in pompous display; and thus afforded time to their enemies, who, being joined by Mohammed Ali, governor of Trichinopoly, and a detachment of English troops under Major Lawrence, came upon them unawares, and gained an easy victory. Murzafa Jing was flung into prison, whilst Chanda Sahib escaped with difficulty to Pondicherry.

Nazir Jing was shortly after shot in an engagement with the French, who captured the important fortress of Gingee. Murzafa was now released, and raised to the dignity of Viceroy of the Deccan; he did not, however, long enjoy his power, but was murdered by a party of the Patan troops; and Salabat Jing, son of Nizam al Mulk, was nominated by the French to succeed him.

The military energies of the English, which had suffered severely since the departure of Major Lawrence from India, were now retrieved by Clive, who requested and gained permission to attack Arcot, in order to divert the attention of Chanda Sahib, who was then engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. Arrived at Arcot, Clive, in spite of the most inclement weather, at once made himself master of the town and citadel. But more memorable by far than the capture of the place was the defense made by this young officer when besieged. With but 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, Clive withstood the attacks of fully 9000 of the nabob's troops, and 150 French

soldiers. Breaches were made in the walls; but so bravely and effectively were they defended by the little band within, that the nabob's army finally fell back from the struggle; and, in spite of overwhelming numbers, retreated precipitately, after a siege of nearly two months. Not content with this, Clive, on being reinforced by a small detachment from Madras, pursued the retreating foe, and scattered the retiring host with terrible slaughter.

This siege terminated hostilities for a brief period; but before Clive had been many weeks at Madras, the French again took the field and threatened Arcot, though without effect. More serious work was before the English commanders. The siege of Trichinopoly had to be raised; and this was performed by Lawrence and Clive in conjunction with the forces of the rajahs of Mysore and Tanjore. The French troops, although greatly strengthened by those of Chanda Sahib, were unequal to the contest. D'Auteuil, a French general coming to the relief of M. Law, was made prisoner; and eventually the latter was forced to capitulate, whilst the unfortunate Chanda Sahib, falling into the hands of the Rajah of Tanjore, was sacrificed to the hatred of his enemies. This obstacle being removed, Mohammed Ali was declared nabob of the Carnatic.

Although in many respects the fortune of the French in the Indian peninsular appeared more than desperate, there were other circumstances which favored them. M. Bussy possessed great influence at the court of the viceroy of the Deccan. He had risen to importance in the estimation of Salabat Jing by the advice and assistance he had rendered him, not only in his promotion to the vice-royalty, but in the subsequent government of that country. The friendly aid of the French general was eventually rewarded by the gift of the governorship of the tract of country known as the Northern Circars—a large, populous, and thriving district, and in many ways calculated to strengthen the influence of the French in the peninsular.

The raising of the siege of Trichinopoly, narrated above, was followed by a series of incessant attacks and petty warfare between the troops on either side, with but little advantage re-

sulting to either party; whilst the expenses of the French and English companies' establishments were necessarily much augmented by the constant hostilities carried on. A few years of this heavy drain upon their resources, induced both to consider that the policy of their respective commanders was not the one best calculated to further their substantial interests.

The governments of the two countries being then at peace, it appeared a monstrous anomaly that their subjects in India should continue to wage war upon each other with so little pretext; and in the end, the consideration of this state of things led to an understanding between the French and English East India companies. It was arranged that M. Dupleix, the French governor-general, should be recalled, and that various concessions should be made on either side, though mostly in favor of the British. To render the cause of the French still more unsatisfactory, M. Bussy about this time gave offense to his friend and patron, the viceroy, who removed him from his government, flung off the friendship of the French people, and sought the acquaintance and friendly aid of their opponents, the British.

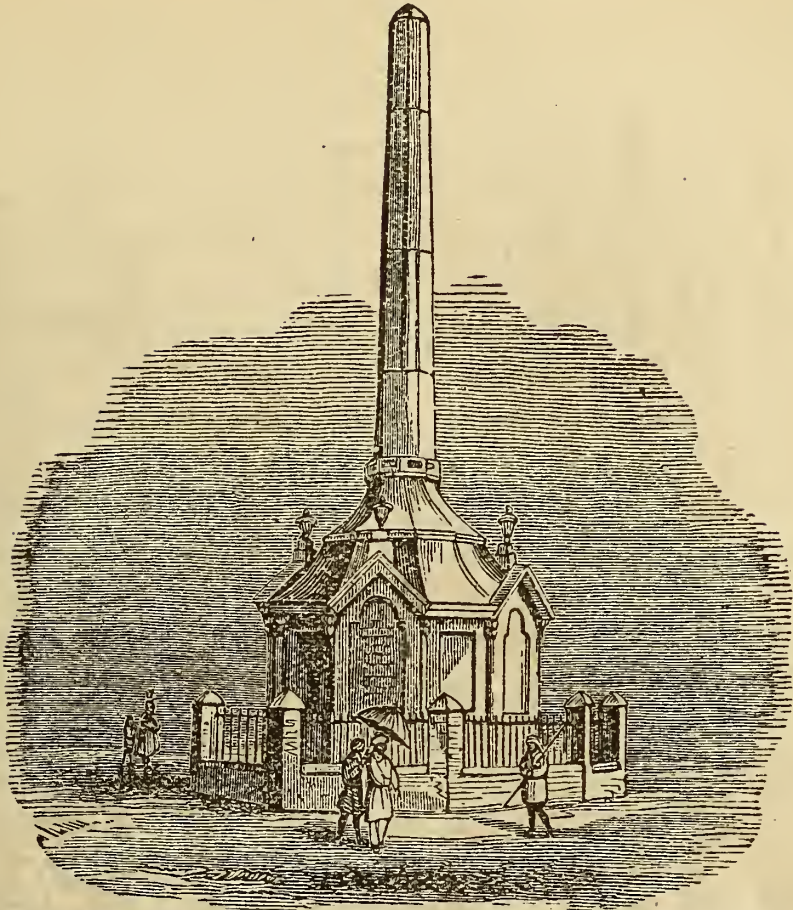
Clive, who had visited England to recruit his health during recent events, reached India once more in June, 1756, and assumed the command of Madras. At this time events were occurring in the northern presidency, which shortly called forth the activity and enterprise of the young commander.

Suraj-al-Dowlah, who had succeeded his uncle, Alverdi Khan, as viceroy of Bengal, was a cruel and rapacious tyrant. Not content with possessing himself of all the treasures which his relation had accumulated during a series of years, he determined to seize on the English factory and property at Calcutta; which, from the extensive commerce carried on, he imagined must be of great value.

He marched suddenly upon Calcutta with a large force; and despite the gallant resistance of the little band who garrisoned the British factory, he took possession of the place, and gave up the town to pillage. Such of the English residents as were able, sought shelter in the few ships at anchor in the river;



SURAJ-AL-DOWLAH AND HIS SONS.



MONUMENT ERECTED TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTIMS OF THE "BLACK-HOLE."

but one hundred and forty-six fell into the hands of the tyrant, who ordered them to be confined until the following morning. The unfortunate prisoners were forced into a miserable, badly-ventilated cell, known as the "Black-Hole," and kept there during one of the most sultry nights of an oppressive season. In vain the wretched men supplicated for air and water; immense sums were offered to their guards for a change of prison. The soldiers outside could or would do nothing, and seemed to enjoy their sufferings, which, as night drew on, became intense. It was in vain they tried to force the door. Madness came on many; numbers fell fainting on the ground, and were at once trampled to death. Others fought for a place near the small hole which served as a window, and died in the madness of the struggle.

When the door of this horrible prison was flung open in the

morning, a shocking sight presented itself. Of the one hundred and forty-six who, on the previous evening, were forced within its walls, but twenty-three remained alive, and those so ghastly, so exhausted, as to look like spectres.

This tragedy brought speedy retribution upon the head of Suraj. Clive took the command of such forces as could be spared from Madras, and making his way rapidly to Calcutta, found small difficulty in possessing himself of that town. This was followed up by the capture of Hooghly, further up the river; and eventually, by the decision and rapidity of his movements, Clive compelled the viceroy to sue for peace.

It became evident, however, that Suraj did not intend to remain long on friendly terms with the English; for, upon their marching to besiege Chandernagore, a French settlement, the viceroy thwarted them by every means in his power.

Clive determined that the nabob should be deposed, as a treacherous and dangerous enemy; and this resolve was strengthened and aided by events which at that time occurred in Bengal.

Mir Jaffier, who had married the sister of Alverdi Khan, plotted against Suraj; and having secured the co-operation of the English, found no difficulty in inducing Clive to take the field. On the 22d June, 1757, the British commander took up his position in the Grove of Plassy. Clive's forces amounted to about three thousand men, one third of whom were Europeans; those of the subahdar consisted of fifty thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse; but, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, the battle terminated in favor of the English, and Suraj fled from the field. Finding himself without a friend on whom to rely, he sought to escape in disguise; but, being recognized by an enemy, he was delivered up and placed in the custody of the son of Mir Jaffier, who ordered him to be assassinated.

Mir Jaffier being called upon to defray the expenses that had been incurred, it was discovered that the late subahdar's treasures were inadequate to meet the demand. After some tedious negotiations, it was agreed that one half of the money

should be paid immediately, and the remainder in three equal payments in three years.

About this time Major Coote was sent to expel the French from Behar; in which enterprise he succeeded, and an amicable arrangement was entered into with the governor of the province.

Whilst the above events occurred in the north, affairs were not less complicated in the south. War was again raging between France and England, and a fleet was daily expected with reinforcements for the French in Pondicherry. Captain Calliaud, the governor of Trichinopoly, was ordered by the Council of Madras to reduce Madura and Tinevelly, which he at once undertook; he was, however, soon recalled to Trichinopoly, which had been besieged by the French during his absence. He contrived by forced marches to effect a junction with his garrison; and the French, disheartened by his successful daring, marched back to Pondicherry on the following day. The enemy having been reinforced by troops from Europe under the command of the Count Lally, that general laid siege to Fort St. David, and finally captured it on June 1st, 1758. Bussy had meanwhile established the French arms in the Decan. Having forced the Nizam and his Omrahs to submit to his terms, he proceeded to the Northern Circars for the purpose of collecting the revenues of these provinces. Lally, determined, if possible, to strike a blow that should at once overthrow the supremacy of the British in India, and supply his exhausted treasury with means, ordered Bussy to join him with the whole of his forces. The harsh conduct of the French general toward all classes had rendered him most unpopular in his camp and in the native states, so that when he laid siege to Tanjore, he found but little cordiality or co-operation. His attempts against this city were rendered fruitless by the arrival of an English fleet in the vicinity, and relief afforded to the garrison by the governor of Trichinopoly; the result was the retreat of Lally to Carical.

The siege of Madras ended with no better success to the French arms. Lally retreated from the trenches; and shortly

afterward, in an engagement with the English under Coote, before Wandewash, suffered a complete defeat; Bussy being captured with most of the artillery and baggage. Coote steadily pursued his victorious career; Arcot, Timery, Devi-Cotah, Trincomalee, Pennacoil, Alamparva, Carical, Valdore, Cillambaram, and Cuddalore, all surrendered to the British troops.

Meanwhile, at Moorshedabad, Clive received intelligence of the engagement between the English and French fleets on the Coromandel coast, and the investment of Fort St. David, upon which he hastened to Calcutta, critical affairs requiring his presence. On his arrival, he found instructions from England constituting a council of ten, and appointing four governors to manage the affairs of India. Clive's name was omitted; but the administration invited him to accept the office of president, by which they anticipated fresh instructions, that were forwarded upon the intelligence of the battle of Plassy reaching England.

Mir Jaffier, his son Meeran, and Nuncomar, a Hindoo, having combined to destroy Dooloob Ram, the Dewan of the Viceroy, Clive was obliged to protect him in Calcutta. Active measures on behalf of the injured minister were prevented by the misfortunes of the English in the Carnatic, Fort St. David being taken, and Madras threatened with a siege. He resolved not to send troops to Madras, but entered upon a diversion favorable to that presidency, and of infinite service to Bengal.

Rajah Anunderaz, dissatisfied with the conditions on which Bussy had invested him with power, on the departure of this officer attacked and captured the French settlement of Vizigapatam, and made an offer to the Madras government to surrender his capture, provided a body of troops were furnished him to aid in subjugating the Circars. The executive of Madras being apprehensive of Lally's progress, declined a distant enterprise; and the rajah addressed himself to Clive, who, in opposition to the entire council, concluded a treaty with Anunderaz, and dispatched Colonel Forde with a large force to aid him.

Forde's operations were retarded both by want of money and supplies; but being joined by the rajah, he advanced against the French under M. Conflans, who with superior force held a strong position at Rajamundri. Forde ordered an immediate attack; and although deserted by Anunderaz, defeated the French, captured their camp, and drove them from Rajamundri. The rajah's penuriousness prevented Forde from taking immediate advantage of his success; and when the English, after a vexatious delay, began to advance, M. Conflans retired into the fort of Masulipatam. Forde, upon reaching it, summoned the garrison to surrender, but was treated with ridicule, the defenders being more numerous than the besiegers, with an army of observation in the field; while Salabat Jing was on his march to support them with the army of the Deccan, and a reinforcement expected from Pondicherry. Though his troops were in a mutiny for their pay, and his ammunition short, Forde commenced a siege on the 25th of March, and maintained it vigorously until the 6th of April, 1759, when his engineers reported but two days' ammunition in store; at the same time intelligence reached him that the army of observation was effecting a junction with the advancing forces of the Deccan; whereon he resolved to storm the fort. As hot a fire as possible was ordered during the day; and the troops to be under arms at ten at night. Forde divided his little army into three divisions, and at midnight led them under the walls. The assailants gained the palisades of the ditch without discovery, when a heavy fire was opened on them; but they advanced determinedly until the ramparts were possessed, when separating to the right and left, they stormed with success bastion after bastion. Surprised, terrified, and panic-struck, the firing coming from every direction, the French force surrendered at discretion as morning broke upon the scene.

The effect of this gallant achievement was great and immediate. Salabat Jing entered into a treaty with Forde, ceding Masulipatam to the English, and consenting to banish the French from his dominions forever. The Pondicherry rain-

forcement arrived too late to be of any service, and returned after enduring great privations.

Bengal was threatened at this time with a fresh danger. Alumgir II., dissatisfied with Mir Jaffier, invested his son with the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and the prince collected an army to assume his rights. Ramnarain, the ruler of Berar, joining Mir Jaffier and the English, closed the gates of Patna upon the prince, who besieged the place; upon which Clive hastened to its assistance. But before his arrival, the prince's allies had quarreled with one another, reducing him to so much distress, that he wrote to Clive requesting money for his subsistence, and promising to withdraw from the province. The terms were acceded to, and the danger removed. Mir Jaffier was so grateful for his deliverance, that he made Clive a chief Omrah of the empire, and bestowed upon him a jaghire or estate round Calcutta worth 150,000 dollars a year.

Clive, upon returning to Calcutta, was joined by Forde in time for another emergency. Though peace existed between England and Holland, the Dutch, jealous of the English progress in Bengal, fitted out a fleet at Batavia, to counterpoise the English in that province, consisting of seven ships, manned by 700 Europeans and 800 Malays. Entering the Hooghly, they landed their forces a few miles from Calcutta, to march to their settlement at Chinsura. Forde was ordered to intercept their progress, which he did with so much success, that fourteen only reached their destination, the remainder being either slain or captured. The seven Dutch ships surrendered to the Company's vessels; and the Dutch, in order to avoid being totally expelled from Bengal, were compelled to pay the expenses of the war.

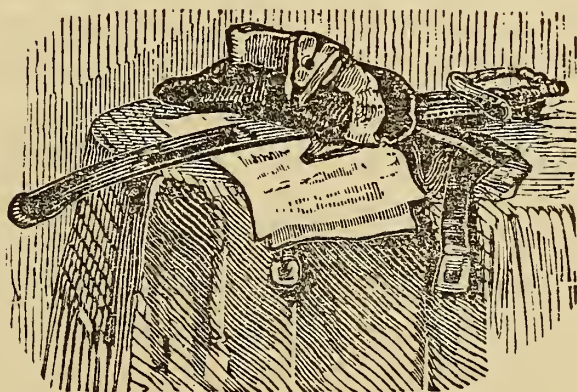
In the Madras Presidency the tide of fortune flowed still in favor of the British. The French had retreated to Pondicherry, where, in May, 1760, they found themselves completely hemmed in by the English. After sustaining a siege of eight months, the fort and town capitulated, upon which their remaining settlements fell an easy prey to the victors.

From this date the destiny of the French in India was

ated. Bussy had been killed some time previously in an engagement. Lally returned to Europe; and on his arrival in France, was put on his trial for treason by the French parliament. Defense was in vain; he was condemned, and put to death by the hands of the common hangman. With him expired the French East India Company; and though some few isolated attempts were afterward made to resuscitate that body, they never again took any part in Indian affairs.

The disappearance of the French, the impotency of the Dutch, and the subjugation or disunion of the native powers, promised to secure to the English undisturbed possession of India. Clive, having placed matters on a firm basis, took the opportunity of this political calm once more to visit his native country, full of honors and years, leaving the British power both feared and respected throughout those vast dominions.*

* The authorities consulted in this and the following chapters of the historical section, have been Mill's *History*, Aubir's *Rise and Progress of the British Empire in the East*; and files of the *Bombay Times*, *Calcutta Englishman*, and *Friend of India*.





CHAPTER II.

FROM THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA,
TO THE DEATH OF HYDER ALI.

THE departure of Clive for England left the command of the army to Colonel Calliaud, who, though not wanting in energy and ability, had neither the prestige nor the military genius of Clive.

The emperor's son again made an attempt upon the power of Mir Jaffier, and thus kept Calliaud and his forces on the alert. Before long, however, another revolution took place at Delhi. The emperor was murdered, and his son invested with the dangerous title, under the name of Shah Alum.

The supremacy which Orientals ever attach to the royal name, added to the direct influence of his vizier, the nabob of Oude, soon added large and seasonable reinforcements to his army, so that he found himself in a formidable position for

warlike operations, and accordingly marched with his large army upon Patna.

Arrived before that important town, Ramnarain, in opposition to his councilors, attacked him, but was signally defeated, and the detachment of English stationed there were cut to pieces. Calliaud immediately advanced to save Patna, and upon coming up with the imperialists, attacked them and gained a complete victory. The emperor, having been reinforced by M. Law and his body of French troops, subsequently stormed Patna a second time, and was repulsed with great difficulty. A third assault was anticipated; but fortunately a strong reinforcement reached Patna under Captain Knox, who, upon finding how affairs stood, without allowing his troops time for refreshment, ordered an attack upon the imperial camp during the hour of the afternoon's repose, when he surprised and drove his enemies from their position, to which they never returned.

This gallant affair was speedily followed by the advance of the Naib of Poorania with 12,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon upon Patna. Knox, whose forces amounted only to 200 Europeans, one battalion of Sepoys, 300 irregular horse, and five pieces of ordnance, determined to cross the river and encounter the Naib, in which he was supported by a friendly rajah with 300 men. His intent was a night surprise of the enemy's camp; but through a mistake of his guide this was frustrated. In the morning, the Naib's army advanced and literally surrounded Knox, who, however, defeated him in every quarter, drove him from the field, and followed him with destruction until incapacitated by fatigue, when Calliaud took the retreating Naib off his hand and pursued him vigorously for several days.

Upon Clive's departure for England, the Court of Directors appointed Mr. Vansittart to the head of the executive—a proceeding alike injurious to the government, and offensive to the remainder of the council; it having been the usage to nominate the senior member of the council for the appointment. Such a deviation, even in favor of a talented individual, would necessarily engender much unfriendly feeling; but in the case of

Vansittart, whose only statesmanlike recommendation was a grave demeanor, it was highly offensive, and produced very violent dissensions in the Calcutta council, which often terminated most disgracefully. Vansittart found the treasury empty, the troops at Patna in mutiny for pay, Mir Jaffier's allowance to his auxiliaries in arrear, with little prospect of his paying either that or his large balance to the Company.

Instead of advising with his council, he arranged his plans with a secret committee, and determined to depose Mir Jaffier, and substitute in his stead his son-in-law, Mir Casim ; for which purpose he proceeded with some troops to Moorshedabad. Mir Jaffier naturally opposed this unjust arrangement as long as a probable chance of success remained, when, scorning an empty title, he retired to Calcutta on a pension.

Mir Casim's elevation was for a stipulated payment, the English undertaking to supply him with troops for the collection of his revenues. These payments, with the expenses of subduing some rebellious chiefs aided by the Mahrattas, exhausted his finances, which he determined to recruit by plundering Ramnarain, the Hindoo governor of Berar ; and to forward his views, charged the governor, who had been a faithful ally of the English, with various offenses, which Mr. Vansittart, in defiance of the caution afforded him both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, listened to. The result is easily foreseen : Ramnarain was seized by Mir Casim, plundered, and eventually put to death with great barbarity.

Vansittart's government daily diminished in popularity ; and all confidence in the English was destroyed when the natives learned the sacrifice of Ramnarain, who had so steadily supported the English interest ; while it was generally promulgated among the Europeans that the partiality to Mir Casim was the effect of corruption. Vansittart's principal supporters in the council were at this period recalled in consequence of their having presumed to censure the proceedings of the Court of Directors, which left him in a minority ; and Ellis, the most determined of his opponents, was appointed resident at Patna. He treated Mir Casim without the least deference, seized his

officers for interfering with the transit of goods, and forcibly took possession of a quantity of nitre which had been purchased for the viceroy's use. In these acts Ellis was supported by the entire of the Company's servants. The seizure of his officers induced Mir Casim to abolish all transit-duties in his dominions; but it will hardly be credited at this time, that peculation was then so rife in the council of Calcutta, that this abolition of duties was declared an act of hostility against the India Company, and threats of war were made unless the edict was canceled; a proposition which Mir Casim took no heed of, and both parties prepared to solve the dispute by force.

The viceroy, knowing that Mr. Ellis, the resident at Patna, intended seizing that city, stopped some boats laden with muskets for the troops; and it was with considerable difficulty that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, who had been instructed to remonstrate with him, could obtain his sanction to allow the boats to pass. He eventually granted Amyatt permission to return to Calcutta, holding Hay as a hostage. Upon learning Amyatt's departure, Ellis intemperately took the city by a night attack. Mir Casim, enraged at this outrage, dispatched a body to overtake and bring back Mr. Amyatt, who resisted, and was, with several attendants, slain. This seizure of Patna did not long remain unpunished; the troops dispersed in search of plunder; and the governor, who retreated but a few miles, receiving a reinforcement from Mongheer, returned, and again possessed himself of the city, when the English surrendered and were sent prisoners to Mongheer.

Upon intelligence of these events reaching Calcutta, the council determined that no proposals should be received from Mir Casim, and that Mir Jaffier should again be invested with the power he had been deprived of; and, on the 2d of July, 1763, the English army opened the campaign. The first engagement was with the van of the viceroy's army, near Moorshedabad, which terminated unfavorably to him, when the Indian troops retreated upon Gheriah, where Mir Casim joined them with all his forces. He was again attacked on the 2d of August, and

totally routed after four hours' hard fighting, losing all his cannon, baggage, and one hundred and fifty boats laden with provisions.

After this last engagement, he retreated with his forces to Oodiva, where, among the hills, he entrenched his army with so much judgment, that his adversaries were kept at bay for a month; but, on the 5th of September, a sudden and successful assault was made, which compelled Mir Casim to fall back upon Mongheer, then his capital; which place, with its garrison of two thousand men, shortly after surrendered to the English arms. Increased rage and cruelty attended each defeat of the viceroy: at Gheriah he executed the unfortunate Ramnarain and several nobles; at Oodiva, two of the Sets of Moorshe-dabad; while at Mongheer the whole of his European prisoners were slaughtered at his command, with the single exception of a Dr. Fullerton, whose professional services and skill proved his safeguard.

On the 6th of November Patna fell by storm, when Mir Casim, considering his position irretrievable, fled to Oude, and requested the protection of its nabob, which was granted. For some time the English remained upon the confines of Oude, anticipating that the nabob would surrender Mir Casim; but in this they were disappointed, the nabob feeling somewhat confident in his position, owing to the insubordination which at that time prevailed in the English forces. This mutinous spirit prompted Sumroo, one of Mir Casim's chiefs, to attack the English near Patna, when he was repulsed with dreadful slaughter. Unfortunately the illness of Carnac procrastinated the war until the arrival of Major Hector Monro with a detachment from Bombay.

The mutinous spirit that existed in the army under Carnac prevailed more strongly upon Monro assuming the command. An entire battalion of sepoy, with arms and accoutrements, deserted to the enemy, but were overtaken and brought back; twenty-four of the principal offenders were sentenced to be blown from the mouths of cannon, and the whole army ordered to witness the execution of the sentence. Four of the unfortu-

nate men having been executed, the officers of the sepoy's waited on the major, and stated that their men would not permit any more to be sacrificed. A command to load the field-pieces with grape, and for the Europeans to form in line, with the guns at proper intervals, was Monro's reply; at the same time he ordered the sepoy officers to return, and command their men to ground their arms; and declared that if a single man stirred from his position, he would order his guns to be immediately opened upon them. This firmness intimidated the mutineers, and the execution was completed.

Monro's spirit effected a great improvement in the army; after which he marched against the Nabob of Oude, and destroyed his forces near Buxar; the Emperor Shah Alum upon this sought the friendship of the English, and concluded a peace, which gave the latter supreme power in Bengal. Mir Casim fled to the Rohillas, the Nabob of Oude being no longer able to afford him shelter.

The finances at Calcutta at this period were in a wretched state; and Mir Jaffier, being totally unable to liquidate the Company's claims, independent of those demanded from him by private individuals for losses both real and imaginary, sunk under his embarrassments in January, 1765.

The council invested the second son of Mir Jaffier with the viceroyalty, and installed Rez-Khan his prime minister, which was by no means agreeable to the new ruler; nor were these arbitrary proceedings supported by Vansittart, who, upon their adoption, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer.

The Company's servants in India had hitherto been little controlled by the proprietary at home; but the latter, alarmed at the recommencement of hostilities in India, with a mutinous army and exhausted treasury, petitioned the Directors that Clive, who had been created a peer, should be appointed to the head of affairs, he being the only man who could extricate them from their difficulties. This was far from palatable to the Directory, Clive having, previous to leaving India, treated their authority with contempt, and sued them for the rental of his jaghire. But, after a warm discussion among the directors,

his appointment was carried by thirteen against eleven votes. Upon this he demanded, and was invested with, the authority of commander-in-chief, president, and governor of Bengal, and, with a committee of four nominated by the Directory, empowered to act without consulting or being subject to the control of the council.

The capture of Pondicherry raised Mohammed Ali, who was the creature of the English, to the sovereignty of the Carnatic; and the nabob soon felt that it was for their, not his own pleasure and profit, he reigned. In a short time, however, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic was determined upon. The nabob, although unwilling, could offer no opposition, and was therefore compelled to submit.

The custom of receiving or rather extorting presents, and the abuse of private trade, which had become great evils, were two things Clive immediately investigated, believing them fraught with danger to the Company, and pernicious to its servants. As a remedy for the first, he compelled both the civil and military servants of the Company to sign a declaration that they would not accept presents from the native princes under any pretext whatever. With the abuses in trade he found it more difficult to grapple; feeling that some sort of emolument was due to the Company's servants, their salaries being miserable and inadequate, he created a monopoly in salt, betel-unt, and tobacco, for the benefit of the superior servants, the profits to be apportioned to their respective grades. Though no statesman would now be found to defend such a proceeding, he acted upon the principle, that the Company was a monopoly, and that the servants were merely adopting the practices of their masters.

The Nabob of Oude having placed himself at the mercy of the English, submitted to the terms of their dictation, by which he retained his dominions, excepting Korah and Allahabad. These were transferred to the emperor, who, in consideration, promised not to interfere with his vassal, Bulwant Sing, Rajah of Benares, for having joined with and rendered the English good service during the war. Understanding well the abuses,

under the name of free trade, that the Company's officers had perpetrated in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, the emperor refused to negotiate upon the subject, and trade was not mentioned in the treaty; but he was compelled to forego all arrears of revenue due from the Bengal province, and to cede to the Company the dewanee, or the right of collecting the revenue in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, on condition of receiving twenty-six lacs of rupees annually.

To cover the heavy expenses which service in the field necessitates in India, the Company made an extra allowance to their officers, termed *batta*; and upon the army marching to aid Mir Jaffier, he promised the officers double *batta*. But when the revenues of Bengal reverted to the Company, this was a charge that could be ill supported. Clive determined to remedy the evil, and issued an order to the effect that double *batta* should cease on the 1st of January, 1766, excepting in some few instances.

Hereupon the officers determined, unless the double *batta* was restored, to resign their commissions simultaneously upon a certain day. Clive, having good information of what was proceeding, sent expresses to Calcutta and Madras for fresh officers, and arrested the principal conspirators. Many of the leaders, among others, General Sir R. Fletcher, were tried and dismissed the service. Fletcher, however, through family interest, was reinstated, and subsequently appointed to the command of the forces at Madras. Clive would doubtless have more severely punished the promoters of this conspiracy, but it was considered uncertain at this period whether the Company had the power to enforce capital punishment upon Europeans.

Clive's health at length failing him, he resigned his command and returned to England in the end of January, 1767, leaving affairs in the hands of the select committee, at the head of which was Mr Verelst.

The most extravagant expectations took possession of the proprietors of Indian stock, in consequence of Clive's acquisitions. Overlooking the vast outlay involved by his conquest, and the incidental expenses of upholding them, they outvoted

the Directory, and declared the dividends should be increased to twelve and a half per cent. This could not be effected without borrowing at an enormous interest; and the interposition of the ministry and parliament was solicited, which, much to the chagrin of both parties, canvassed the policy of allowing a trading company to exercise imperial power over a great and extending dominion. During the peaceful administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, the revenues scarcely defrayed the expenses of government; notwithstanding which, the delusion as to the riches of India continued to prevail, although it was at the time well known that an expedition to depose the Ghoorka, and reinstate the Rajah of Nepaul, who had been dethroned by him, was abandoned in consequence of the want of funds, all the resources at control being required to arrest the impending dangers which threatened Madras.

The control of the Carnatic, obtained by the capture of Pondicherry, involved the English in all the political intrigues of the Deccan; and in their endeavor to obtain quiet possession of the Circars, they had to encounter the most hazardous war they had yet experienced in India.

Salabat Jing, subahdah of the Deccan, had not miscalculated when he reckoned that the departure of the French under Bussy would jeopardize his safety: he was assassinated by the confederates of his brother, Nizam Ali, who determined to maintain his viceroyalty in the Deccan, and to re-establish his authority over the Carnatic. He invaded and laid desolate the country; but made a precipitate retreat upon the advance of the English. When the Emperor Shah Alum ceded the Northern Circars to the English, the Deccan was esteemed a part of the viceroyalty; but this Nizam Ali would not admit, and resisted all attempts to take possession of it, until the English stipulated to pay him an annual tribute, and to assist him when necessary with troops; an undertaking which soon brought them into collision with Hyder Ali, the governor of Mysore.

While the French and English were fighting in the Carnatic, Hyder had risen from a subordinate rank to the command of

the army of Mysore ; and by subjugating the Nairs of Malabar, and taking possession of several small tracts of land in Southern India, established a principality for himself. According to their treaty with the Nizam, the English joined him in invading Hyder Ali's territory, when that faithless auxiliary made peace with Hyder, and turned his arms against the English, whom he intended betraying to Hyder ; but Colonel Smith, discovering his treachery, retreated to Trincomalee, having previously engaged the combined forces of these native princes. The Nizam, finding in several subsequent actions, that the English were invariably victorious, became alarmed, broke his treaty with Hyder, and again addressed the Presidency of Madras, who, elated with the prospect of territorial aggrandizement, and presuming Mysore to be easily subjugated, bestowed its sovereignty upon Mohammed Ali ; at the same time Colonel Smith, an experienced officer, was superseded in the command of the forces by the appointment of Colonel Wood, who was wholly destitute of knowledge in Indian warfare. This Hyder soon discovered, and defeated Wood, capturing the whole of his baggage. Subsequently, feigning to retreat, Hyder drew him from Madras ; then, by forced marches, his son Tippoo, at the head of 6000 horse, appeared suddenly at the suburbs of the English capital. All was terror and confusion, amidst which Hyder was enabled to dictate terms of peace, which were agreed to.

Shah Alum, impatient of restoration to the throne of Delhi, unavailingly urged the English to yield their promised assistance. His prayer being disregarded, he formed an alliance with the Mahrattas ; and by their aid easily reached his capital, rewarding his auxiliaries with the plunder of the country of the Rohillas. The emperor joined them in an attack upon Zabita Khan, whom, having deprived of the government of Delhi, he regarded with suspicion. Unable to withstand the imperialists and the Mahrattas combined, he was, after a spirited defense, defeated ; and his country, then in a most flourishing condition, was, despite the emperor's wishes, laid waste by the Mahrattas. The remainder of the Rohilla chiefs being alarmed, sought

their old enemy, the subahdar of Oude, engaging to pay him thirty lacs of rupees upon his driving the common enemy from their country. At this period the Mahrattas quarreled with the emperor, and returned to Delhi, making him virtually a prisoner, and extorted from him the districts of Korah and Allahabad, after which they repaired to the Ganges, which they prepared to cross. The subahdar of Oude, though urgently pressed, never afforded any assistance to the Rohillas; yet, when the Mahrattas retreated, he demanded the payment of the thirty lacs as stipulated.

The subahdar and Warren Hastings, who had now succeeded Cartier as governor-general, met at Benares in September, 1773, and signed a treaty, by which the Emperor of Delhi and the Rohillas were sold to the subahdar. When Shah Alum joined the Mahrattas, the English held his conduct a justification for stopping the Bengal tribute. Hastings now went further. The districts of Korah and Allahabad he sold to the subahdar for fifty lacs of rupees; and for an additional forty lacs, and the expenses of the troops employed, he agreed to assist in the extermination of the innocent and peaceable Rohillas. Upon the subahdar demanding assistance, Colonel Champion, with a brigade, was dispatched to join in the invasion, which ended in the total defeat of the Rohillas, and the fall of their general, Hafiz Rahmet Khan. The atrocities of this victory are almost unequalled; but the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, and the conquered country, excepting a small tract, was assigned to the ruler of Oude.

The three commissioners from England who had been dispatched to enforce the new constitution which parliament had framed, arrived on the 19th of October, 1774; they, with Hastings and Barwell, were to form the executive. The first subject discussed was the Rohilla war, which the three newly-arrived councilors censured with undisguised severity. They likewise complained that the correspondence of Mr. Middleton, the political agent at Oude, was withheld. They then voted the agent's recall, the withdrawal from the subahdar of the forces, and immediate payment for their services. Suja-ed-

Dowla dying at this time, the council insisted that his son and successor should be held to his engagements, deliver the country of the zemindar of Benares to the Company, and augment the pay of the European brigade. Hastings ineffectually opposed these measures, the councilors being supported by the home authority.

Although in other parts, the Company had largely increased their territory, but little augmentation appeared in Western India. Bassein and Salsette, commanding the Bombay harbor, were Portuguese settlements until 1750. A dispute among the Mahrattas respecting the succession of the post of Peishwa, presented a favorable opportunity for the interference of the Bombay authorities, who supported the claims of the Ragonat Ras, and stipulated that Bassein and Salsette should be ceded for this assistance. These terms were agreed to, and the English garrisoned both places. An army was now sent to place Poonah, the Mahratta capital, in Ragonat's possession; but orders arrived from the supreme council of Calcutta, disapproving the Bombay policy, and commanding the abandonment of Ragonat. Upon which the English restored Bassein, with some territory in Gujerat, but retained Salsette and its tributary islands. Shortly after this mandate from Calcutta, dispatches from the Court of Directors arrived, highly approving the policy of the Bombay Presidency, which naturally tended to increase the existing confusion and jealousy.

At this period the integrity of Warren Hastings was seriously impeached; charges of peculation and corruption, which he vainly endeavored to suppress, were brought against him. The most important charge was that made by the Rajah Nuncomar, who proved that his son Goordass, and Munny Begum, had paid for certain offices they held. The council, upon this evidence, ordered Hastings to refund the money; but he refused to acknowledge their authority, and returned no reply to their order.

Nuncomar was, with others, indicted for conspiracy; but the attempt failed. He was afterward, however, indicted for perjury at the instance of an obscure native, and tried before the

Supreme Court by a jury of Englishmen, when he was convicted and hanged. Perjury was not capital by any existing law; and there now remains no doubt that the law was most shamefully perverted, in order to get rid of a person objectionable to certain official parties.

The death of one of the members of the council gave Hastings a majority; but he had authorized a Mr. Maclean to convey to the Court of Directors his resignation, which was accepted, and Mr. Wheeler named his successor. General Clavering, being senior member of the council, was empowered to officiate until Mr. Wheeler's arrival. Hastings, upon reconsideration, refused to carry out his resignation, disavowing Mr. Maclean's proceedings, and insisted upon being recognized as governor, threatening an appeal to arms. Eventually, however, the matter was referred to the courts of law, which pronounced for Hastings, who immediately proceeded to reverse all the former acts of council, a step highly disapproved by the Court of Directors; but to that Hastings paid no attention.

The Supreme Council having, by their interference, involved the authorities of Poonah and the Bengal government, it was proposed, in order to conciliate the Mahrattas, to give up Rajonat. Hastings, however, who recently censured the Bombay policy, now warmly advocated it, and ordered six battalions of sepoys, one company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry, under the command of Colonel Leslie, to act in concert with the Bombay army, entrusted to Colonel Egerton, for the purpose of restoring Rajonat as Peishwa.

The results of these expeditions were disgraceful to a degree. Egerton was worsted by the Mahrattas, retreated, and eventually entered into a most humiliating treaty for the safety of his forces. Leslie's hesitation and negotiations carried on with different chiefs led to the suspicion of dishonorable motives; and the council, finding their orders disregarded, deprived him of his command, and appointed Colonel Goddard in his stead, who advanced into the interior of the Mahratta country, hoping to join the Bengal army, when he learned the disgraceful treaty

of Egerton, and, refusing to acknowledge it, led his army to Surat, where Rajonath, having escaped from Poonah, joined him.

Goddard, having command of the army, took the field in January, 1780, and shortly possessed himself of Dubhoy and Ahmedabad. The Mahrattas, by simulated overtures for peace and prolonged discussions, tried to overreach him by diplomacy; but their efforts were futile, for on the morning of April the 3d he surprised both Scindiah and Holkar in their camp, routing their forces without loss on his side.

Sir Eyre Coote, who, by Clavering's death, was appointed a member of the Supreme Council, arrived in Bengal as a treaty was concluded with Rana, a Hindoo prince, whose territory was on the Jumna, between Oude and Scindiah's country. This prince was shortly after invaded by the Mahrattas, whom he could not resist. But a small force, under Captain Popham, was sent to the Rana, and expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, driving them into their own country. This victory was succeeded by the capture of the fort of Gwalior, believed by the native princes to be impregnable. It was garrisoned by a thousand picked soldiers; nevertheless Popham, on the 3d of August, carried it by escalade; and by this act struck so much terror into the Mahratta ranks, that they deserted the surrounding country.

This war occasioned fresh quarrels between Hastings and Francis, who mutually accused each other of falsehood and fraud. Their differences resulted in a duel, in which Francis was wounded; and it being evident that they could no longer act together, Francis returned to England.

The position of the Company in the Carnatic was becoming somewhat critical. The imbecility of the nabob compelling the Madras government to employ British forces to protect the country, they accordingly insisted that he should defray their expenses. The inadequacy of his revenue compelled him to borrow at exorbitant interest; and his embarrassments increased in proportion to the exactions of the lenders. At this period, July, 1770, Admiral Sir John Lindsay reached Madras,

armed with authority from the home government; and, acting in direct opposition to the Court of Directors and Madras executive, recognized the nabob as an independent sovereign, and openly espoused his cause.

By virtue of the stipulation entered into between Hyder and the English in 1769, to afford mutual support, he applied for assistance in an insurrection against the peishwa, but was refused. Again, in 1770, when the Mahrattas invaded Mysore, he demanded effectual support, offering three lacs of rupees to defray the expenses. Circumstances determined the English to avoid compliance until compelled; they therefore evaded his demands, while the nabob, being stimulated by the Mahrattas, was anxious to form an alliance with them. The nabob's views were supported by Lindsay, and opposed by the council; which ended in the recall of Lindsay, and the promotion in his stead of Sir Robert Harland, who also supported the alliance between the nabob and the Mahrattas, but met with decided opposition at Madras. A peace was eventually concluded between the Mahrattas and Hyder, unfavorable to the latter, who accordingly vented his anger against the English for their desertion of him.

Little as the authorities were inclined to favor the alliance of the nabob with the Mahrattas, they were not disinclined to support him against the Rajah of Tanjore, who, having attacked the polygars, or chiefs, of the Marawar districts, was ordered to desist by the nabob from offering violence to his vassals. The rajah was obdurate; when an army, under General Smith at Trichinopoly, was ordered to combine with the Carnatic forces, commanded by Omrah-al-Omrah, the nabob's son, and advance on Tanjore, the capital. This they invested, and made every preparation for an attack, having effected a breach; but at the last moment, to the indignation of the English authorities, Omrah-al-Omrah informed Smith that he had concluded a treaty with the rajah, and hostilities had ceased. Well knowing this arrangement could not be permanent, the English left their forces in the nabob's service, and retained the frontier town of Tanjore.

The nabob instantly demanded English assistance to subdue the very polygars upon whose behalf he had declared war with the Rajah of Tanjore; and the government, without demur, joined in the expedition, which ended in the defeat of the Marawars. When this petty war was concluded, the nabob, upon the pretext that the late treaty had not been maintained, determined to attack Tanjore again; which he did on the 20th of August, 1773, and captured it on the 16th of the following December, taking the rajah and his family prisoners.

The Court of Directors highly disapproved of this step, and sent out Lord Pigot, with orders to restore him, which he effected despite all opposition; but was eventually arrested and placed in confinement by the majority of the council, and after eight months died in imprisonment.

The government of Madras, on Pigot's death, was administered by Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Hector Munro. Rumbold's first measure was to adopt new arrangements in the collection of the revenues of the Northern Circars, which, it was asserted, was for the corrupt gain of himself and his supporters; this would appear to have been verified, as large sums were brought into Madras which never reached the treasury.

It was agreed, in 1776, with the Nizam, that his brother, Salabat Jing, should retain the Circar of Guntur for life, or so long as the subahdar remained in friendship with the Company. But when it was found that Salabat Jing had enlisted a French force, a negotiation was set on foot, by which, for an annual sum, he ceded Guntur to the Company, and engaged to dismiss the French on receiving an English force, under General Harper, to protect his country. The French passed from Salabat Jing into his brother the Nizam's service, who was jealous of this alliance with the English, and indignant at the refusal of the Madras council to pay the stipulated tribute for the possession of the Northern Circars. The Supreme Council at Calcutta remonstrated against the impolicy of the Madras proceedings, to which Rumbold replied in no measured terms; and, in order further to show his defiance, granted a lease of

Guntur to the nabob of Arcot for ten years. At length the Court of Directors, aroused to a sense of the true state of affairs, dismissed Rumbold and one of his advisers from their service, and two others from their seats in the council; severely reprimanding Sir Hector Munro, the commander of the forces, for his share in the late proceedings.

Rumbold had, however, been guilty of faults of omission as well as of commission, some of which subsequently proved sources of great calamity. Hyder, who had really great cause of complaint against the Madras government, formed an alliance with the French; and the governor of Pondicherry furnished him with arms, ammunition, and stores of every description from the French settlement of Mahe on the Malabar coast. Rumbold was informed of this, but took no notice; and while he treated Hyder with contempt, allowed the military establishment at Madras to fall into miserable inefficiency.

Intelligence being received at Bengal, in July, 1778, that war had broken out between England and France, it was determined to capture the French settlements in India. Chander-nagore, Carical, and Masulipatam surrendered at once. Pondicherry capitulated after a vigorous defense, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. The defenses and fortifications were then destroyed. The small fort and settlement of Mahe was the sole spot left to the French in India; this place Hyder had previously threatened in the event of its being invaded to revenge upon the Carnatic; but despite this, and the defeats the British forces had formerly sustained in the Mahratta country, the government of Madras persevered, and Mahe was taken on the 19th of March, 1779, by Colonel Braithwaite, who, when ordered to join General Goddard at Surat, the following November, destroyed the fort. Before Braithwaite had commenced his march for Surat, the chief of Tellicherry sought his assistance to avert the hostility of Hyder, who was offended in consequence of the former harboring a Nair chief who had displeased the ruler of Mysore; whereupon Braithwaite moved his forces toward Tellicherry.

The political atmosphere had for some time been getting

more and more disturbed; and at length, in November, 1799, the Nabob of the Carnatic gave the Madras executive warning that Hyder, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas had united in a determination to expel the English from India. The only need taken was in the following June, when Colonel Baillie, who then commanded the forces protecting Salabat Jing, was ordered to cross the Kistna in the event of disturbances in the Carnatic. On the 21st of July, Hyder crossed the frontier with an army of 100,000 men, and upward of 100 pieces of artillery, well manned; he was counseled by M. Lally, the commander of the French force, a gentleman skilled in his profession, and of high integrity. The English forces comprised 6000 infantry, and 100 cavalry, to which the nabob's irregular horse and a few pieces of cannon were additions; while the people were disaffected at the miserable and divided government of the Company and the Nabob.

To add to existing perplexities, Munro was reluctant to command, and wished Lord Macleod, who had just arrived, to assume the management; but Macleod declined risking his reputation in executing Munro's plans, doubting their judiciousness. At length Monro, after ordering Baillie to join him at Conjeveram, marched from St. Thomas' Mount, persisting in encumbering himself with heavy artillery, although he had no fortifications to attack, and it was difficult to find cattle to carry his provisions.

Arcot was besieged by Hyder, and Munro felt anxious for a junction with Baillie's force, in order to relieve the place; but on the 31st of August, he learnt that Baillie was stopped by the swelling of a river a few miles north of TrepoSSore, and the same day that Hyder was moving on Conjeveram, having left Arcot. At Perambaucam, fifteen miles from the main army, Baillie was attacked by Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, with a very superior force, which was repulsed by the English; but Baillie was so weakened, that, instead of advancing, he urgently requested Monro to push on with the main body to relieve him. Monroe, however, sent a detachment under Colonel Fletcher to join Baillie, who, believing further reinforcements would arrive

left his position on the 9th of September, and, despite the vicinity of Tippoo's forces, continued his march during the night. In the morning, intelligence was brought into camp that Hyder, with all his strength, was advancing upon him. What courage and discipline could do, Baillie's gallant band accomplished; and with the slightest assistance from Monroe, Hyder would have been defeated. As it was, left to himself, and losing two of his tumbrils by an explosion, Baillie found his forces reduced to 400 men, and at length exhibited a flag of truce. No sooner had they laid down their arms, quarter having been promised upon immediate surrender, than Hyder's troops rushed upon them, and would have murdered the whole, had not M. Lally and the French officers boldly and generously interferred, by which the lives of 200 men were saved. This disaster compelled Monro to retreat upon Madras, which he reached on the 13th of September.

The council now began to regret the corrupt practices and indifference it had previously exhibited; while its thorough destitution of supplies and military appliances had no tendency to diminish the uneasiness of the authorities. But the governor-general, acting up to the exigencies of the occasion, proposed that fifteen lacs of rupees and a large detachment of European infantry and artillery should be sent to Madras; that Sir Eyre Coote should command the army, and alone expend the money transmitted; and that the governor of Fort St. George should be suspended.

These orders were reluctantly obeyed by the Madras Council. On the 7th of November, Sir Eyre Coote took his seat in the Madras Council, and produced the decree deposing the governor, which was supported by the majority. Arcot having been captured, Coote proceeded to protect Vellore and Wandewash, both being closely besieged and gallantly defended. Wandewash was abandoned upon the English approaching, who could not pursue their advantage. The arrival of a French fleet compelled them to march on Pondicherry, where the French inhabitants, hoping to recover their former position in India, had enlisted troops and collected stores. Coote speedily

disarmed the inhabitants, removed the stores, destroyed the boats, and marched on Cuddalore; then threatened by Hyder, whom he endeavored to draw into an action, failing in which, he moved his army on to Trichinopoly, and on his way unsuccessfully attacked the fortified jagoda of Chillingbram. His failure encouraged Hyder to risk a battle, which terminated, after six hours' desperate fighting, in the complete defeat of the Mysore army.

Coote, being now joined by a body of Sepoys from Bengal, marched upon the enemy, who were strongly posted; when Hyder's army nearly suffered a total route, which he had tact enough to declare a drawn battle, and marched toward Vellore. Coote followed, and once more defeated him, having surprised him in his camp. Hyder's cavalry were nearly all sacrificed in his anxiety to save his guns. After this engagement, Coote returned to Madras, having lost nearly one third of his forces in his severe engagements with Hyder.

England and Holland being now at war, Lord Macartney, who had just arrived at Madras as governor, resolved on attacking the Dutch settlements in India, and commenced with Pulicat and Sadras, both of which places surrendered on the first summons. He then determined to attack Negapatam; but here Coote's jealousy developed itself. He would neither march himself nor spare any of his troops; upon which Lord Macartney collected the remainder of the forces in the Presidency, and gave the command to Munro, who displayed great energy and ability, and compelled the governor, in less than three weeks, to surrender. From thence a detachment was sent which took possession of Trincomalee, in Ceylon.

The capture of Negapatam had no tendency to allay Coote's feelings; and Lord Macartney experienced great difficulty in maintaining a semblance of good feeling while negotiating with the nabob. But the intelligence of the loss of Chittore, and the consequent exposure of Vellore, effected more than either remonstrance or supplication. Coote took the field, though so ill that he was obliged to be carried in a palanquin,

and would not return until an apoplectic fit compelled him to quit the camp.

The Madras detachment occupied Tellicherry after the capture of Mahe, closely besieged by the Nairs, but was relieved by Major Abingdon, who arrived with a force from Bombay. The fortress was shortly afterward invested by a general of Hyder's, and Major Abingdon applied to Bombay for assistance, upon which he was ordered to evacuate the fort; but upon a second application, was supplied with a considerable force. Abingdon now resolved to act on the offensive. In the night of the 7th of January, 1782, he made a vigorous sally and attacked the enemy's camp, throwing it into such disorder, that they fled in every direction, leaving their wounded leader a prisoner in the hands of the British. After destroying the enemy's works and improving the fortifications of Tellicherry, he marched against and captured Calicut, garrisoning it with English troops.

During the preceding events, a secret expedition was planned and fitted out in England for offensive operations against the Cape of Good Hope and in the Indian seas. The designs and destinations of this armament were discovered by M. de Suffrein, the French commander, who followed the English with his squadron to the Cape de Verd Islands, where, in Praya Bay, he attacked them, but was beaten off. The English, nevertheless, required so much refitting, Suffrein having made the Cape previous to them, that he strengthened and improved its fortifications, so as to render the contemplated attack abortive.

Commodore Johnstone, who commanded the English squadron, having captured a number of Dutch East-Indiamen in Saldanha Bay, returned home with his prizes, leaving a portion of his armament to proceed to India, with the troops on board. At this period General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton, with the strength of the army, sailed in search of Admiral Hughes on the Coromandel coast, while the remainder, under Colonel Mackenzie, sailed for Bombay. The latter learnt upon his arrival that Madras was in danger. He accordingly joined

Abington at Calicut, and entering Hyder's territory, was successful in creating a diversion.

M. de Suffrein, having reinforced his fleet at the Isle of France, made for the Coromandel coast; from whence, after an indecisive action with Admiral Hughes, he retreated, and landed an army of 3000 men under M. Bussy at Porto Novo.

These auxiliaries Tippoo hastened to join, he having just destroyed Colonel Braithwaite's force at Tanjore. Braithwaite, whose little band consisted of 100 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 300 cavalry, was encamped near the banks of the Coleeroon, in fancied security. But Tippoo, with 10,000 cavalry, the like amount of infantry, 400 Europeans, and 20 pieces of cannon, surrounded him when least expected. For twenty-six hours Braithwaite fought and repulsed Tippoo; but when M. Lally, with his Europeans advanced, the Sepoys were disheartened, fell into confusion, and victory declared against the English commander, who was made prisoner with the whole of his force.

With the French reinforcement, Tippoo's designs became more enlarged; and on the 3rd of April, Cuddalore, an excellent military and maritime station for the French, surrendered to him. Had the king's officers deigned to receive orders and advice from the Company's servants, this loss would have been prevented; and upon several other occasions the like cause was seriously prejudicial to the public service.

Disputes with the civil authorities, and absence of proper supplies, kept Coote in cantonments until the 17th of April. His first object was the protection of Parmacoil; but on reaching Caranjoly, he learned its surrender. He then attempted to surprise Arnes, Hyder's principal depot; but Tippoo removed the treasure while Hyder engaged the English with a distant cannonade, and Coote fell back upon Madras.

During his preparations to join the French fleet, and in retaking Negapatam, Hyder amused Coote by pretending to negotiate. And it most fortunately happened that, as Suffrein was making for that place, Sir Edward Hughes fell in with and brought him to action. The engagement was most severe, and

victory was declaring against the French, when a sudden shift of wind enabled Suffrein to bear off for Cuddalore, where he quickly repaired his vessels, and again put to sea.

When the news of this action reached Madras, Lord Macartney pressed Sir E. Hughes, as both Negapatam and Trincomalee were threatened, to put to sea and protect them; but disinclination to receive orders from a Company's servant made the admiral obstinate, and he put to sea when more convenient to himself, on the 20th of August, three weeks after Suffrein had sailed from Cuddalore. The result may be anticipated. Trincomalee had surrendered three days before his arrival. Eager to avenge this loss, he immediately engaged the French fleet with an inferior force, and obtained a victory, but did not know how to profit by it. He disabled one of the French ships, and two others were so crippled that it took them ten days to get into harbor; but Hughes made no attempt to capture them, and returned to Madras.

The monsoon coming on, Hughes determined to leave the coast of Coromandel and seek shelter in Bombay, notwithstanding Negapatam was attacked, and Bickerton on his way to join him with five sail of the line. Four days after Hughes's departure, Bickerton was in the Madras roads, when, ascertaining the admiral's movements, he followed him to Bombay. Sir Eyre Coote at the same time resigned the command of the army to General Stuart, a man as obstinate as himself, but of far inferior ability. Within a short period of his resignation, Coote was again attacked with illness, under which he sank in a few days.

The governments of Bengal and Bombay having declared war against the Mahrattas, Goddard besieged Bassein, and sent Colonel Hartley to secure for the British the revenues of the Concan, and cover the besieging army. Hartley drove the Mahrattas from the Concan, taking a position near the Bhorghaut; thence he retreated on Doogaur before a host of the enemy. On the 10th and 11th of December, an army of 20,000 Mahrattas attacked him. The result proved a complete vic-

tory for the British, the Mahratta general being among the slain.

Bassein having surrendered, Goddard advanced on Poonah, whence he soon returned, the Mahrattas following him and ravaging the country as he descended the ghauts. On the Bengal side, Popham had been superseded by Colonel Carnac, whose position was so critical, that he resolved, as a last resource, to attack Scindiah's camp by night. The stratagem succeeded perfectly; the enemy fled in every direction, most of their guns, elephants, and a quantity of ammunition, being left to the conquerors. Colonel Muir, who was Carnac's senior, then took the command; shortly after which Scindiah, whose resources were exhausted, entered into a negotiation with him, and a treaty was concluded at Salbye, on the 17th of May, 1782.

Reinforcements having been supplied to Colonel Mackenzie at Calicut, he opened the campaign in September, and took several forts; but the capture of Palagatcherry was essential to perfect his success. This was, however, impossible without artillery, which he had been compelled to leave behind, wanting draught cattle; upon which Colonel Macleod, who had been dispatched by Coote to take the command, retired to a camp a few miles distant, until his battering train should arrive. Through the negligence of the officer who conducted the retreat, the baggage, stores, and ammunition were placed in the rear. This did not escape the enemy, who, when the main body had passed a narrow defile, made a sudden attack, and carried off the provision and greater portion of the ammunition. The sea-coast was now the only retreat the English could make. Tippoo hastened after, and overtook them with 20,000 men; but, as they retreated, they fought until Panrani was occupied by them. Here they with difficulty maintained their ground, and were anticipating a second attack, when Tippoo's army was seen in full retreat, and in a few hours not one of his forces remained. The death of Hyder had reached Tippoo secretly, and caused the sudden movement, leaving the English force at full liberty.



TIPPOO SAIB.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF TIPPOO SAIB AS SULTAN OF MYSORE
TO HIS OVERTHROW AND DEATH AT THE SIEGE OF SERINGA-
PATAM. A. D. 1782-1799.

THE enemy in vain endeavored to keep secret the death of the old monarch. Lord Macartney was not long in ascertaining the nature of the intelligence which had so promptly withdrawn Tippoo from the field; and fully aware of the confusion which invariably arises in all native states on an occurrence of this kind, wished to profit by the opportunity thus presented to him, and urged General Stuart to attack the Mysorean army, which he rightly judged would be easily overthrown in the absence of their leader. Stuart, however, either did not credit the report of Hyder's death, or disliking to expose himself and his troops at a time of year not usually one of action in that country, delayed operations until the season had changed; and

it was consequently February, in 1783, before he was in motion. Stnart having thus lost this opportunity, withdrew the garrisons from Wandewash and Caranjoly, and blew up both forts; then marching to Vallore, he heard that Tippoo was retreating from the Carnatic, and had ordered the evacuation of Arcot.

The necessity of establishing his hereditary authority, and repelling a formidable invasion of the Sikhs, obliged Tippoo to visit the western side of India. The English army, after his sudden departure, divided; the sepoy's marching by land to Tellicherry, while the Europeans proceeded by sea to Merjee, where they were joined by General Matthews with a considerable army, who passed the ghauts, took Bidnore and Ananpore, and compelled Mangalore to capitulate.

The treasure found at these places Matthews refused to apply in payment of the arrears due to the army, which Colonel Macleod, Colonel Mackenzie, and Major Shaw quitted, to complain to the authorities at Bombay, who superseded Matthews, and appointed Macleod in his stead. Returning by sea, these officers fell in with a Mahratta fleet; and, ignorant of the treaty recently made, an engagement ensued, in which Macleod was wounded and made prisoner, Mackenzie mortally wounded, and Shaw killed.

The army of Matthews being most injudiciously dispersed in small detachments, gave Tippoo an opportunity for concentrating his forces. Suddenly attacking Bidnore, he forced it to capitulate after a gallant resistance. Matthews, who commanded the garrison, previous to surrendering, distributed the treasures in his possession among his soldiers, which Tippoo held to be a breach of the terms of capitulation, and made it a pretext for the imprisonment of Matthews, who was subsequently assassinated; his companions in arms were likewise subjected to long and rigorous confinement. After this action Tippoo invested Mangalore, a sea-port to which he attached great importance.

The Madras army being inactive, Suffrein landed Bussy with a reinforcement at Cuddalore; during which time Lord Ma-

cartney in vain remonstrated with General Stuart against the impolicy of allowing the French to occupy a post so important. After several weeks, Stuart marched, but with so much reluctance, that he put his men over three miles a day only. In the mean time the fleet, which had been augmented, returned to Madras, and was sent to assist in the recapture of Cuddalore. By the time Stuart arrived at Cuddalore, the French had erected several fortified points, which he attacked with partial success, but made no attempt to improve his victory.

Affairs at sea were managed still worse. The English and French fleets engaged off Cuddalore. Suffrein was thoroughly defeated, but remained to repair, while the victorious admiral sailed for Madras, which afforded Suffrein the opportunity of landing men from his fleet to reinforce Bussy, who attacked the English, but unsuccessfully. Bussy, undaunted, prepared for another attack, when intelligence arrived that peace was established between France and England. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, and Tippoo was invited by Bussy to join in the treaty; the French soldiers in his service being at the same time recalled. The same messenger that brought intelligence of peace brought orders for General Stuart to appear before the governor and council of Madras, a summons he reluctantly obeyed: it was resolved he should be dismissed the Company's service. To this sentence he refused to submit, and was supported by Sir John Burgoyne; but Lord Macartney arrested Stuart, and sent him in a few days to England.

These errors and disgraces were retrieved by Colonel Fullarton, who commanded in the southern districts. In the height of a victorious career, Stuart stopped and ordered him to join at Cuddalore; while marching, he learnt of the armistice, and also of Tippoo's demonstration against Mangalore, and without further orders, he pushed on to Seringapatam. In his way he captured Palagatcherry and Coimbatore; but received orders, on the 28th of November, to cease all offensive operations, and evacuate the places he had captured.

Fullarton well knew Tippoo's treacherous nature, and delayed executing the orders he had received; which foresight

was amply verified by his receiving directions on the 26th of the ensuing January, to renew the war. Tippoo would not listen to peace until the reduction of Mangalore, which he had besieged upward of twelve months. A force was sent to relieve the place under Macleod, who, instead of doing so, negotiated with Tippoo to be allowed to supply the garrison with provisions: the result of these delays was, that Campbell was obliged to capitulate, marching to Tellicherry with all the honors of war.

A treaty of peace, embracing a mutual restitution of all captured places, was signed on March 11th, 1784, and ratified by the Supreme Council at Calcutta during Hastings' absence, who wished subsequently to introduce modifications, which Lord Macartney honorably rejected.

From the uncertain way in which the act of parliament was drawn up which created the Supreme Court, consisting of one chief and three puisne judges, a conflict ensued between it and the council, virtually involving the Company's right to the provinces acquired. The civil jurisdiction of the Supreme Court compassed all claims of the Company against British subjects, and of British subjects against the natives, presuming the parties disputing acquiesced in appealing to its decision. In criminal cases it extended to all British subjects and servants of the Company; but the act did not define what constituted a British subject, and the judges classed, not only all the subjects of the Company, but even subjects of the native princes over whom the Company exercised any influence, as coming within its jurisdiction. The effects of this interpretation were not long before they manifested themselves. Writs were issued against the Zemindars by individuals for ordinary debts, upon which the defendants were ordered to appear at Calcutta; if they neglected, they were arrested, or if, upon their arrival, they were unable to procure bail, they were carried off to prison, where they remained pending the litigation of the suit. It had been the usage in India, in collecting the revenue, to exercise summary jurisdiction in cases of disputed payments, which power was vested in the provincial councils

called Dewannee Adaulut, with which the Supreme Court soon interfered; and when any summary process was enforced, the defendant was encouraged to take out a writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court, when the judges took bail for the appearance of the parties, and liberated them. More than this, the Company had reserved to the Nabob of Bengal the administration of all civil cases. The Supreme Court, however, did not heed this reservation, and disputed its enforcement. Whereupon Mr. Hastings instituted a new court, the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, and placed Sir Elijah Impey at the head of it. The office and emoluments being held during the pleasure of the governor and council, it was presumed that Impey would no longer support the pretensions of the Supreme Court against the Dewannee Adaulut, and would effect a reconciliation between the antagonistic courts. But the House of Commons censured these proceedings; and Impey was recalled to answer several criminal charges.

Hastings made some important alterations in the finance department. A revenue board was formed at the Presidency to superintend the collection and lease the revenues to the Zemindars. He then made a tour to the upper provinces; and, as the government was pressed in its finances, determined to obtain assistance from the Rajah of Benares and the Nabob of Oude.

The Rajah of Benares, Cheyt Sing, paid a tribute upon receiving protection of the Company; and an addition was demanded, which the rajah paid, stipulating that after the year it was not to be redemanded. It was, however, again demanded, and remonstrated against; when an army was sent to enforce it, with £2000 besides, for the payment of the troops employed. The same proceeding was repeated the third year, with an additional fine of £10,000, although the rajah's agent had presented the governor-general with two lacs of rupees. Hastings, having determined on his line of proceeding, upon reaching Benares, refused Cheyt Sing an audience, and had him arrested as a defaulter; when the population broke into the palace and cut down the larger portion of Sepoys and their officers having

custody of the rajah. The latter, in the confusion, escaped to the opposite bank of the river. Hastings, who was comparatively wanting both in men and money, escaped to Chunar. Cheyt Sing, when all his offers of submission had been rejected, raised a few troops, who, after encountering a severe defeat from the British troops, disbanded themselves; and the unfortunate rajah fled to Bundelcund, leaving his wife and treasure in the Bejygur fort, which was soon taken, and Cheyt Sing formally deposed. A grandson of the late rajah, Bulwant Sing, being declared the ruler of Benares, the tribute was raised to forty lacs, and the administration of the laws was placed under the control of the Company.

Hastings next directed his attention to the Nabob of Oude, whose tribute was in arrear £1,400,000, the payment of which he intended to enforce. Previous, however, to any hostile display, he appointed a fresh resident, named Middleton, at Lucknow, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Directory. Hastings instructed this official to proceed in his demands, although knowing the nabob's revenues had been eaten up in the support of the English forces he had been compelled to maintain. Middleton, however, was to look to another quarter for the deficiency. At this period there were resident at Lucknow, in possession of large revenues, two native princesses or begums, the mothers of the late and present nabobs, to whom Suja-ad-Dowla had bequeathed the larger portion of his treasure. These princesses, it was suggested by the nabob, were far richer than they should be, and were fair objects of plunder, under the plea that they had endeavored to excite rebellion in favor of Cheyt Sing. They were accordingly stripped of their revenues forthwith, through the instrumentality of the nabob, who, having invested their palaces, crowned his proceedings by putting the chief and confidential attendants in irons, and threatening to keep them without food until the treasures of the princesses were yielded up. By means of this violence half-a-million was extorted, which sum failed to procure the release of the unfortunate captives for some months; indeed, not until it was manifest that the begums would surren-

der nothing further, were their attendants liberated. Hastings' share in these proceedings was rewarded by a present of £100,000 from the nabob, which he asked the Company's permission to accept as a reward for his services.

The sums of money thus obtained—whatever may be thought of their source—were undoubtedly the means of saving the Carnatic, and probably of preserving the British empire in the East. The sinews of war thus fortunately supplied, enabled the campaign in the Carnatic to be pushed on with renewed vigor, and finally ended in the complete overthrow of all their enemies in that quarter—a consummation that no doubt soothed the great man's mind during after annoyances and persecutions.

Having thus consolidated the British power in India, and having, during the two years of peace which followed the wars in the Carnatic, placed the revenues and general administration of the country in a sounder and more efficient state, the governor-general tendered his resignation, and in the early part of 1785 embarked for England. Seldom, if ever, has any man quitted the shores of India so universally admired and beloved as did Warren Hastings. Military men, civilians, and natives, all united by one common consent in regretting the departure of the man who, after a thirty years' residence and fourteen years' rule, had endeared himself to all sections of the community.

The East India Company having received formal intimation that their charter would expire in three years from the 25th of March, 1780, great interest was excited regarding the principle of its renewal. The political events and charges of speculation and oppression laid against the Company's servants in no wise favorably influenced either the public or parliamentary feeling; while Lord North, the minister, held it as the law of the constitution, that acquired territory belonged solely to the crown. This was spiritedly opposed by the Company; and Lord North, whose administration was extinct in 1782, promised an extension of the charter, with this one further condition, that all dispatches received by the directors from their



GEORGE III.

servants in India, should be open to the inspection of the minister.

The Marquis of Rockingham, a known antagonist to the East India Board, succeeded North; but his death shortly afterward placed the Earl of Shelburne, since the Marquis of Lansdowne, at the head of affairs. Fox, who was greatly hurt at being passed over, left the cabinet, and joined North in the opposition which defeated the Shelburne administration; and, to the annoyance of George III., brought about the celebrated Coalition Ministry. Fox soon introduced a bill for the better government of India, which proposed vesting the patronage of the directory and proprietary in seven commissioners appointed by the legislature; and also proposed measures for affording a more creditable local government to India. Calumny and interest represented his efforts as a means of personal aggrandizement, the seven commissioners being represented as ready instruments in his hands for ruling India. The House of Commons, whose

select committees had made valuable reports upon India, were uninfluenced, and passed the bill by large majorities. Its fate was different in the House of Lords; for there the king, acting most unconstitutionally, authorized Lord Temple to state that he should personally regard every man as his enemy who supported the bill; which was consequently thrown out by a majority of eight, the numbers on division being eighty-seven against seventy-nine.

Shortly after, Pitt, as prime minister, introduced and carried his India bill, and established the Board of Control, composed of six privy councilors chosen by the king; whose powers, as their title implies, authorize them to check and control the most important functions of the Company.

Upon the departure of Hastings, the senior member of Council, Mr. Macpherson undertook the government, which he conducted with great ability, and much to the satisfaction of the Directors.

After some delay in the nomination of a successor to Hastings, the Court of Directors appointed Lord Cornwallis to the vacant office; and that nobleman arrived in Calcutta and assumed the reins of government in September, 1786, taking at the same time the command of the forces in India.

Promising as were the appearances of the political horizon at this juncture, the new governor-general soon found it as difficult to maintain peace as had his predecessor. The first symptom of approaching troubles was by an act of Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, who on some pretense invaded the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the English, and succeeded in introducing a portion of his army within the intrenched lines of the rajah's fortifications. The resolute daring of a small body of Nairs, however, turned the fortune of the day; and Tippoo had the mortification of beholding his numerous troops flying before a mere handful of Hindoo warriors. The sultan himself had some difficulty in escaping with his life, so hotly was he pursued by the resolute band of Nairs.

Tippoo endeavored to persuade Lord Cornwallis that it was an unauthorized attack of his troops; his lordship, knowing



LORD CORNWALLIS.

his adversary's character, negotiated treaties with the Nizam and the Mahrattas at Poonah, to control the restlessness of Tippoo, who meanwhile renewed his assault upon the lines of Travancore, which he carried on the 7th of May, 1790, razed them, and desolated the country. This attack was met by the advance of General Meadows with the Madras army on Coimbatore, and thence to the interior of the Mysore country; while General Abercrombie with the Bombay army descended by the Malabar coast on Tippoo's territory. The campaign was terminated in Tippoo's favor, Meadows having ineffectually endeavored to draw him into a general engagement, which he dexterously avoided, and captured several depots well supplied with stores and provisions.

The necessary arrangements having been completed, Cornwallis personally opened the second campaign, and reached the pass of Mooglee before his enemy could offer any resistance. On the 5th of March, 1791, the English arrived before

Bangalore. Colonel Floyd, on the next morning, with a strong detachment, unexpectedly fell in with Tippoo's army, and rashly ordered an immediate attack; which would probably have been successful, had not a severe wound prevented him from directing the operations. The retreat was covered by Major Gowdie, who with a few guns effectually checked the pursuit. Cornwallis, on the night of the 21st of March, though the sultan and his army were in sight of the town, attacked and captured Bangalore, when a terrible slaughter ensued, upward of 1000 of the besieged falling during the storming. The possession of Bangalore did not produce the advantages anticipated; there were scarcely any provisions, stores, or draught cattle; and the Nizam's contingent was worthless. But the governor-general, undaunted, advanced upon Seringapatam, having previously ordered an invasion of Mysore on the Malabar side by the Bombay army. Tippoo was defeated; but the want of supplies and increasing sickness compelled Cornwallis to retreat, with the loss of his battering train and stores. The Mahrattas joined his lordship a few days after this loss, well supplied with draught cattle and provisions; but the season was too advanced for active operations, and the army retreated to Bangalore.

The third campaign having been well prepared for, was opened with spirit, detachments securing the hill-forts which protected the passes into the Mysore country. Amongst the captures was the celebrated Savendroog, which, from its natural position and artificial advantages, appeared impregnable; but was taken by storm on the 21st of December; and Octadroog, a fortress almost as strong, fell a few days later.

A detachment under the command of Captain Little, sent to aid the Mahrattas, obtained great advantages over the enemy; his allies, however, instead of assisting, proved an incumbrance. With 700 men he attacked a strongly-fortified camp of the Mysorean army, consisting of 10,000 men, whom he routed, capturing their guns and stores. After this fell the fortress of Lemoga, opening a portion of Tippoo's territory till then free from the ravages of the war. The Mahrattas,

instead of advancing to support General Abercrombie, who reached the top of the ghauts on the Malabar side, made a miserable attempt on Prednore, for the sake of plunder, thus interfering with the plan of the campaign, and causing the fall of Coimbatore before the Mysore army. The capitulation being flagrantly violated, Lord Cornwallis refused to listen to Tippoo's solicitations for peace.

On the 5th of February, 1792, reinforcements from Hyderabad having arrived, the governor-general advanced to lay siege to Seringapatam. On the 6th, in the evening, the troops having been dismissed from parade, were ordered to fall in again with their arms and ammunition. By eight all was completed for a surprise on Tippoo's fortified camp, the army advancing in three columns. Tippoo's army, which consisted of 50,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, under his own command, were routed; and their assailants, after storming several batteries, obtained a defensible position before the dawn of morning. At daybreak hostilities were more fiercely renewed, the fortress opening a destructive fire on the redoubts captured by the English, and vigorous attempts were made to recover their lost positions; but Tippoo's soldiery were beaten in every direction, and the battle terminated on the evening of the 7th; 535 men were killed and wounded upon the English side; but the adverse army suffered to the extent of upward of 4000. General Abercrombie joined Lord Cornwallis nine days after with an augmentation of 2000 Europeans and 4000 native troops.

On the 24th, Tippoo yielded to his fate, and most reluctantly signed a treaty, by which he bound himself to give up one-half of his territories to his conquerors, pay three crores and two lacs of rupees as the expenses of the war, and to surrender two of his sons as hostages for the performance of these stipulations.

Tippoo evinced great disinclination to complete his promises, notwithstanding his sons were in the English camp. The independence of the Rajah of Coorg was most objectionable to him; and it was not until he found preparations were being

made for a renewed attack, that he submitted on the 19th of March, when his hostages delivered in the definitive treaty. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, Lord Cornwallis took possession of all the French settlements in India, the revolution in France having brought on a war with England and that country.

The charter of the East India Company met with but little opposition or discussion when renewed in 1793. At this period Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company, was appointed successor to Lord Cornwallis; whose financial and judicial measures, especially the Permanent Settlement, had proved far from advantageous to those whom he really intended to benefit; hence Shore's appointment, who was well acquainted with the financial administration of India.

The treaty between the English, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam did not provide for the possibility of disagreement among the contracting parties, which soon afterward occurred. The Mahrattas were desirous of grasping the spoils of the Nizam, and at the same time apprehensive of the increasing power of the English. Their chief, Scindia, openly expressed his dissatisfaction, and at the same time made no hesitation in asserting that Tippoo should be strengthened as a necessary opposing power to the English. His death, shortly afterward, prevented this formidable combination from taking place; upon which the Nizam, believing the court of Poonah to be in a state of confusion, hastily invaded the Mahratta territory, but was encountered by a body of troops near Kurdla, where an action took place, from which the Nizam and his officers fled, leaving his army to suffer a total rout. The Nizam sheltered himself in the fort of Kurdla for two days; at the end of which time he submitted to his enemies' conditions. The Company refused upon this occasion to allow the British in the Nizam's service to join him; and upon his return he dismissed them, and appointed a French officer to discipline his troops. This gave the English great uneasiness; and not less so from the fact of the attempt of some French officers to

escape from Madras, and the desertion of several sepoys from the Madras to the French service.

Sir John Shore, desirous of effecting a reconciliation with Tippoo, immediately the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, delivered up his sons with due honors. But the sultan, as revengeful as proud, declined to meet Shore's advances, treating the officer who accompanied his sons with great coolness, and refusing a second interview with him.

The extravagance and incapacity of the nabob had produced lamentable effects in Oude, to which a disputed accession upon his death added considerably; his brother claiming the throne, asserting the nabob's reputed children to be the offspring of others. The governor-general, until visiting Lucknow, favored the pretension of young Vizir Ali; but whilst there he obtained such information, that he confirmed the claims of Sadat Ali, the late nabob's brother, who was proclaimed on the 21st of January, 1798.

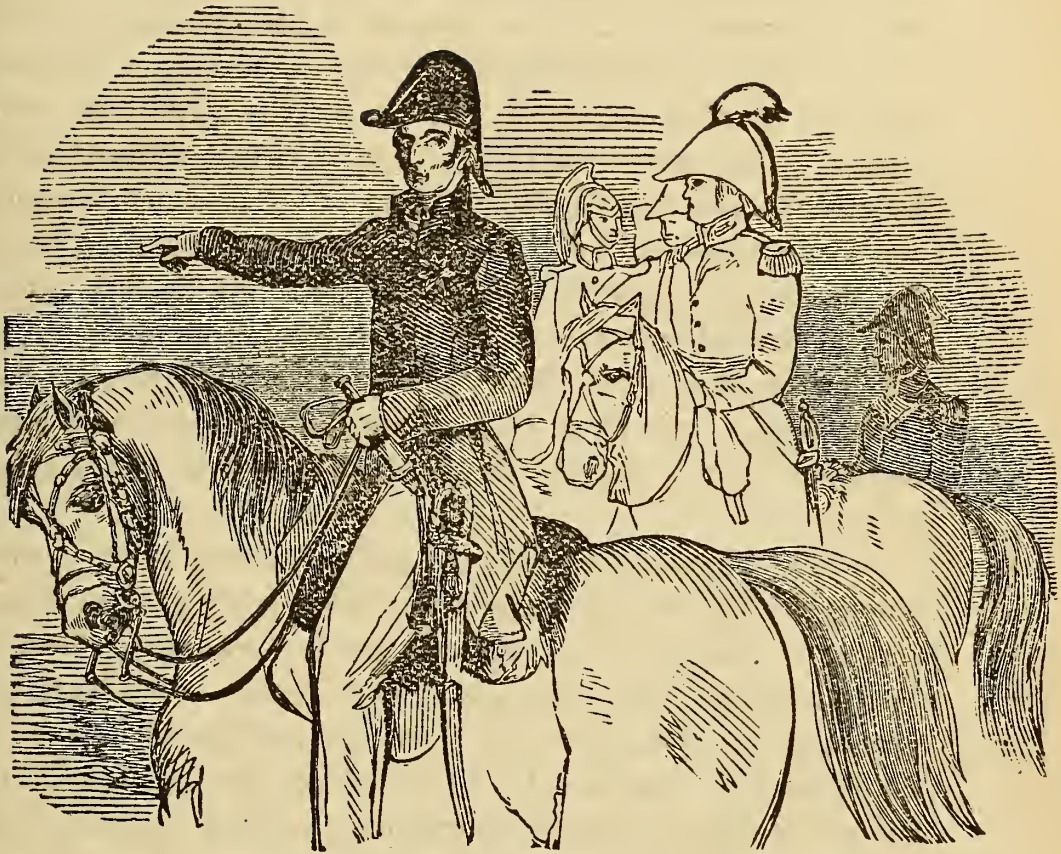
In the Carnatic, affairs were not more promising than those of Oude. Lord Hobart, governor of Madras, endeavored to prevail upon the nabob to renounce his authority; but the governor-general refusing to allow any intimidation, all his endeavors on this point failed. But if unsuccessful with the nabob, Lord Hobart proved otherwise with the Dutch; for immediately on receiving the news of the outbreak of war between England and Holland, he took possession of Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna, all Dutch settlements, with scarcely a struggle. Shortly after, he was superseded by Lord Clive as governor of Madras; and Sir John Shore being elevated to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth, sailed for England, having resigned the governor-generalship.

The affairs of India were now placed under the control of Lord Mornington, who assumed the office of governor-general on the 17th of May, 1798. Shortly after his arrival, he received the copy of a proclamation, issued by the French governor of the Mauritius, certifying that Tippoo Sultan had sent two officers to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with the French; and soliciting soldiers to drive the English out of

Southern India. The document also requested the citizens to enlist, for which Tippoo would pay handsomely. This was at first considered a forgery; but, upon its proving genuine, no alternative appeared to be left, and accordingly war was declared against Tippoo.

General Harris, the governor of Madras, could not respond with promptitude to the orders of Lord Mornington, owing to the embarrassed state of the finances of his presidency, as well as to the opposition offered to the war by several of the leading men of the government. Little activity prevailed, therefore, until the arrival of Lord Clive. At this critical period fortune favored the English in a direction in which they had very little reason to look for it. The French soldiery, whom the Nizam had engaged when he dismissed the English troops, were disbanded, and in such a state of insubordination and dissatisfaction, that their officers gladly entered the English lines for protection; the place of these rebellious troops being again occupied by the British battalions formerly in the Nizam's service.

In November a remonstrance was forwarded by the governor-general to the sultan; and he immediately afterward proceeded to Madras, where all arrangements were completed for the campaign. Generals Harris and Stuart commanded the armies of the Carnatic and Bombay; and the latter was ordered to join Harris as he advanced on Seringapatam. On the 6th of March General Harris had invaded Tippoo's country, taking a few hill-forts. The Nizam's troops were at this time commanded by the Hon. Col. Arthur Wellesley, subsequently Duke of Wellington, just entering upon his military career. Tippoo gave out reports that the Bombay army was the first contemplated object of his attack; but meanwhile he marched 200 miles in an opposite direction to intercept Col. Montessor at Sedasser, who had three battalions of sepoy under him. Accident frustrated his intentions; for, on the evening of the 5th of March, the Rajah of Coorg, who had been entertaining Montessor and his English officers, conducted them to the heights of Sedasser for the purpose of viewing the



COL. WELLESLEY, AFTERWARD DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

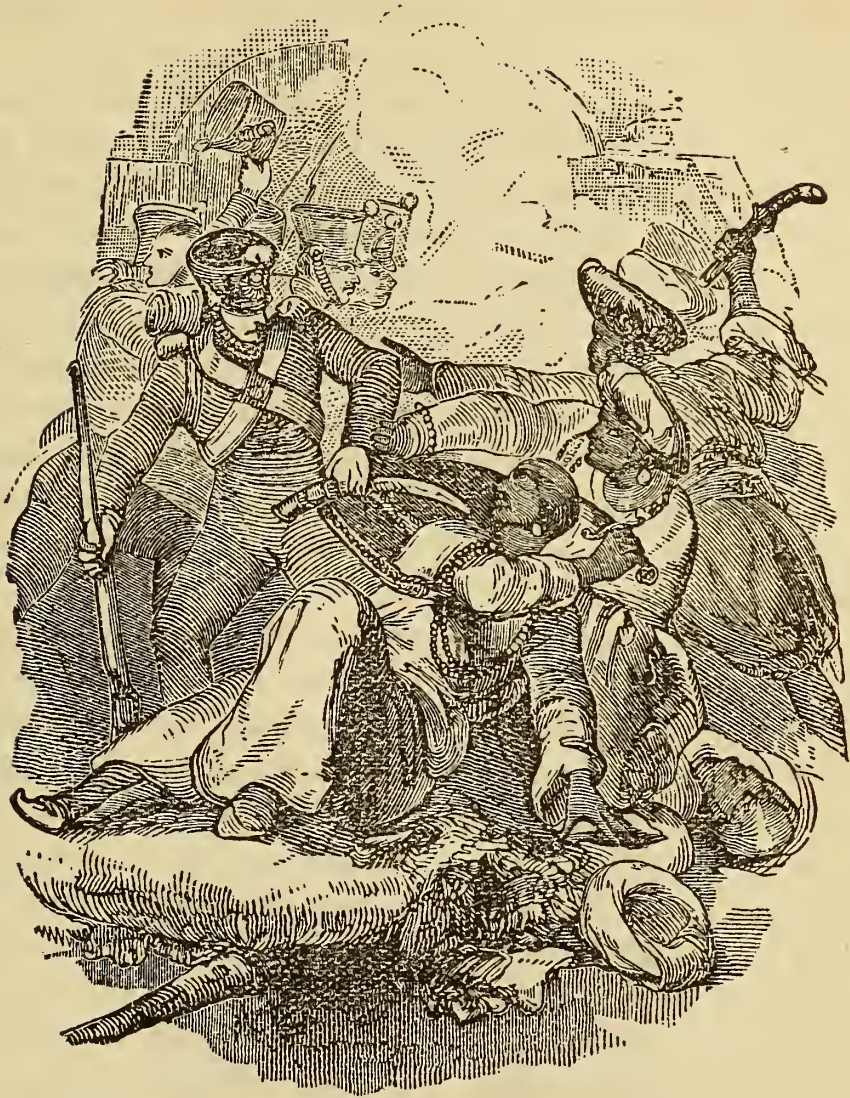
Mysore country, when, to their astonishment, in the plain below, they discerned Tippoo's encampment. Montessor took every precaution time and place would allow for defense, and sustained Tippoo's attack the next morning most gallantly. In the afternoon General Stuart arrived and relieved him from his perilous position. Tippoo having exhausted himself in the effort to prevent the junction, his troops became disheartened, and fled in every direction, throwing down their muskets, swords, and turbans, and indeed every thing that impeded their flight.

Tippoo neglected several favorable opportunities for attacking the army of the Carnatic, but at length changed his plans, and determined upon engaging at Mallavelly. The plan of attack was, for three hundred picked men, under the command of Tippoo's councilor, Poorniah, to charge and break the right wing of the English; upon which Tippoo was to pour his entire cavalry upon the weakened part, and cut through the army, and thus, by dividing, destroy it. But Poorniah's detachment was discovered in time; and the Scotch brigade, ordered to receive the attack, were strictly enjoined to withhold their fire until the enemy were close upon them. Scarcely had they formed, when the three hundred men rushed from the jungle; steadily obeying their orders, the Scotch, with national coolness, waited the word to fire, which Harris timed so judiciously, as to lay forty men and horses on the ground at the first discharge. Harris then advanced his right wing; but Tippoo's soldiers, discouraged by the failure of the first onset, retreated rapidly; of which advantage could not be taken, owing to the want of means for transporting the artillery and stores.

The left wing, under Wellesley, was even more successful. Tippoo's troops, thrown into confusion by the close and steady fire he maintained, were charged at an opportune moment with great slaughter and the loss of six of their standards. The comparative losses in this battle were, on the English side, sixty-six men killed, wounded, and missing; while Tippoo suffered to the extent of two thousand.

Harris now prepared to cross the Cavary, near Soosilly, if practicable, and attack Seringapatam on the west side, in order to facilitate the junction of the Bombay army, and obtain the requisite supply of grain expected through the western passes. This movement, unexpected by Tippoo, filled him with alarm. On the 5th of April the English army were before Seringapatam. In the evening, Colonels Shaw and Wellesley were ordered to attack a watercourse and tope, or clump of trees, forming an outpost of the enemy; through some confusion, owing to the darkness of the night, Wellesley was unsuccessful, barely escaping with life; and, by some mischance, was too late the next morning to take the command for a renewed assault upon the post, which was then carried in twenty minutes.

The siege steadily advanced, several breaches having been made, until the day of assault, the 4th of May. At one o'clock in the day, the usual Indian hour of repose, Syed Goffhar, Tippoo's best general, sent word to the sultan that an attack was about to be made; but Tippoo's faith in astrological predictions overweighing the general's warning, he refused to listen to the message; and while Syed was deliberating upon the answer, he was killed by a cannon shot. At half-past one General Baird stepped from the trenches, sword in hand, and gave the orders to advance. In seven minutes the English colors were planted and floating at the summit of the breach. The storming divisions, as they ascended, wheeled to the right and left, fighting along the northern and southern ramparts, every inch of which was bravely defended by the Mysoreans. Thousands fell; and the slaughter terminated only when the two storming parties met on the eastern rampart. Tippoo's palace alone remained to be captured, the surrender of which was withheld in consequence of the uncertainty of its master's fate. He had fallen in the thickest and hottest of the fight, shot in three places by musket balls. It was late in the evening before Tippoo's body was discovered; and on the ensuing day it was placed in the tomp of Hyder Ali, the highest military honors being paid to the deceased sultan. Tippoo's family were im



DEATH OF TIPPOO SAIB.

mediately taken under the protection of the English, and treated with every respect due to their exalted station

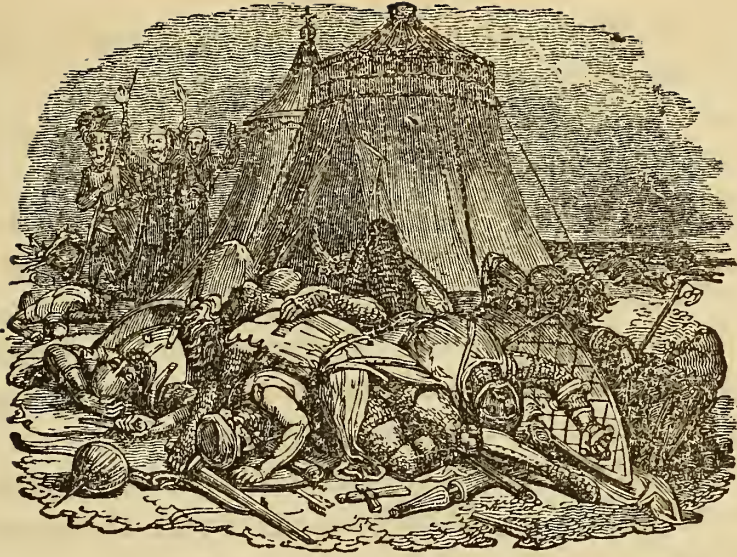
Thus fell one of the most cruel and implacable enemies the British had ever encountered in India. His love of war appeared to have its origin in the misery and ruin it carried in its train. An enemy to the human race, he seemed to take especial pleasure in exercising his ferocity upon such English prisoners as fell into his power. Death by the sword was considered a fortunate termination to their existence, even when safety had been guaranteed by capitulation; and many were

the cold-blooded atrocities revealed when his death unloosed the tongues of his oppressed people.

His name signifies a tiger; and so attached was Tippoo to these savage animals, types of his own ferocious character, that he kept numbers of them about his palace, and often made them his executioners. One of his favorite toys is still to be seen, though sadly disarranged, in the East India Company's museum in Leadenhall street, London. It consists of the figure of a tiger in the act of tearing a European to pieces; on turning a handle, some mechanism in the inside moves the jaws and limbs of the animal, and at the same time emits sounds intended to represent the growls of the tiger mingled with the groans of the dying man.



CIRCASSIANS.



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE MYSOREAN KINGDOM, TO
THE TERMINATION OF THE FIRST MAHRATTA CAMPAIGN.
A. D. 1799-1806

THE death of the tyrant Tippoo was followed by the occupation of the numerous strongholds of the Mysorean country, which at once fell into the possession of the British commander.

Colonel Wellesley was appointed governor of Mysore, and assumed charge of Seringapatam, much to the annoyance of General Baird, who, as his senior in years and service, had calculated on the post. How far the relationship of the young commander to the governor-general may have exercised an influence in this arrangement is little to the purpose, since it afforded Wellesley an opportunity for displaying those administrative and military talents which were at a future period destined so greatly to distinguish him. He succeeded most completely in restoring order and security throughout his government, and earned for himself at once the approval of his superiors, and the respect and attachment of the natives of the country.

The governor-general, in the distribution of the late sultan's territory, determined that his family should be no participators in it; he nevertheless apportioned them an extremely liberal annuity, with a residence in the fort of Vellore. That part of Mysore approximating to the former capital was created a principality for the Hindoo rajahs who had been deposed by Hyder Ali. The Nizam had several rich districts, whilst the English kept Seringapatam and the mountain passes and forts. A small portion was set apart for the Mahrattas as allies, although their forces had not joined during the war.

Lord Mornington being now comparatively unfettered, directed an expedition against the Isle of France, which had for years been the rendezvous of several buccaneering vessels, the captains of which had openly carried on attacks upon British commerce. The island being deemed also a very favorable point for assembling an enemy's fleet, its tenure was held to be indispensable. Colonel Wellesley was accordingly commanded to prepare an armament for the capture of the place; and Admiral Rainier, who commanded in the Indian Ocean, was ordered to Trincomalee to co-operate in the attack. This order the admiral refused to execute or join in such an expedition without instructions from England. Whatever the admiral's motives, the results were most disastrous; for these privateers continued, during the subsequent wars, to levy tribute upon the commerce of the Indian seas with impunity.

Being foiled in this, the governor general projected an attack on Batavia with the forces at Ceylon; but orders from England directed him to send a body of troops into Egypt to expel the French; and thus, for a time, the attack upon the Dutch settlement was delayed. The troops at Ceylon were accordingly dispatched to Bombay, and joined by some native infantry in readiness for foreign service. The combined body was commanded by Baird, and sent by the Red Sea to Egypt; but the French had capitulated before its arrival, and it therefore took no share in the honors of the campaign.

The nizam being unable to protect himself without the British contingent in his service and the governor-general ap-

prehensive that the Mahrattas would invade his country, arrangements were entered into between them that certain districts should be assigned to the English for the maintenance of his auxiliaries. This was rendered necessary by the inconsistencies and jealousy of the nizam's court, some portions of whom endeavored to persuade him to dismiss these forces, and rely upon his own enlistments. The acquisition of new territory was in opposition to the act under which the Company held their authority; but the prudence of the policy pursued prevented any objection to this infringement. Indeed, the court of Hyderabad presented such a scene of corruption, imbecility, and profligacy, that, had the nizam surrendered all his power and dominion, little opposition would have been offered, even by the greatest opponents to the East India Company.

During, and indeed for some time previous to the war with Tippoo, Shah Zeman, the Afghan sovereign, had threatened an invasion of India, which enterprise Tippoo urged him to undertake, persuading him that the attempt would be joined by all the Mohammedans in India. Tippoo's advice so well reconciled itself to Shah Zeman's wishes, that he invaded the Punjab in 1795; but a rebellion at home compelled him, in less than a fortnight, to recross the Indus. His second attempt was in January, 1797, when he advanced to Lahore, and, by mediation, made a successful impression upon the Sikhs and their chieftains. These people were originally a quiet, inoffensive sect, having a mixed creed of Mohammedan and Hindoo tenets, but had become a warlike and independent people, owing to the cruel persecutions inflicted upon them by the emperors of Delhi. The efforts of Shah Zeman to conciliate the Sikhs were, however, opposed by the Mohammedan priests following his army, and the licentiousness of the army itself, which he could not suppress; despite these, however, he continued to hold the Punjab, and prepared for an attack upon Delhi. The occupation of Lahore by the Afghans, produced a sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, and the incapacity of the nabob's government, predisposed the populace to revolt; and the Rohilla chiefs, ready to avenge

the harshness suffered at the hands of Warren Hastings, were soon in arms. It required but the further advance of Shah Zeman to have matured these elements of discord, which would probably have gone far to have annihilated the power of the British in India.

His brother, Prince Mohammed, having headed a rebellion, Shah Zeman was again compelled to return in the summer of 1797, threatening another and early invasion. He returned to Lahore in the ensuing year; but the Persians attacking his dominions, he was forced to quit India in order to protect his own territory. This presenting an extremely favorable opportunity, the governor-general sent an embassy to the Shah of Persia, and negotiated an offensive and defensive alliance; which, however, was of little use, for Shah Zeman, in 1801, was dethroned and imprisoned by his brother.

The affairs of Oude, under Lord Teignmouth's arrangement, had proved most unsatisfactory. The nabob being irregular in the payment of his subsidies, his army harassed the people much more effectually than it could protect them against an enemy; while his civil government was a mass of corruption. These circumstances induced the Marquis of Wellesley, formerly Lord Mornington, to correct the abuses existing in Oude; to which he was also prompted by the irruption of Shah Zeman, the effect of whose occupation of Lahore was not lost sight of.

Another circumstance determined a prompt line of action. Vizir Ali, after his deposition, was permitted by Sir John Shore to reside at Benares; but this place being considered too close to his former sovereignty, it was determined to remove him to Calcutta: to this he objected. On the 14th of January, 1799, he called on and complained in very indiscreet language to the resident, Mr. Cherry; while the latter was remonstrating with him, the vizir started from the ground and struck him with his sword, upon which his companions rushed on and murdered the unfortunate gentleman. Four other Englishmen were similarly butchered; but a fifth so effectually defended himself, that assistance arrived, upon which Ali and his fellow assassins fled from the spot. Vizir Ali immediately col-

lected a body of adventurers, who speedily deserted him upon some slight reverses. He then sought the protection of a Rajpoot chieftain, who surrendered him to the British.

Colonel Scott was now dispatched to the Nabob of Oude, with instructions authorizing him to demand the immediate dismissal of the nabob's native troops, and their replacement by a British army, retaining such as were acquainted with the mode of collecting the taxes. The nabob delayed as long as possible, when he declared his desire to resign the sovereignty; which the governor-general hesitated upon, unless made in favor of the Company. It soon became apparent that delay was his object, upon which Wellesley adopted measures that forced compliance; and upon the nabob asserting his inability to defray the expenses of the English troops, the transfer of the civil and military government of his country was demanded, his court and family being provided for by the Company; while he was also informed that so much territory as would afford a revenue to defray the subsidy agreed upon with Lord Teignmouth, must be yielded absolutely to the English.

Every delay that his ingenuity could devise he adopted, until he heard that troops were actually advancing upon him, when he reluctantly consented. Wellesley proceeded with the same promptitude with which he had commenced. On the day the treaty was signed, he issued a commission for the provisional government of the country, nominating the Hon. Mr. Henry Wellesley the head of the commission.

These proceedings were unpalatable to the Court of Directors, and Wellesley's policy, it was rumored, was to secure family appointments; that of Mr. H. Wellesley was particularly censured, as he did not belong to the class of Company's servants to which, by act of parliament, such appointments were confined. The Board of Directors thereupon ordered his immediate removal; but the Board of Control refused to sanction it, remarking that the appointment was temporary, and hence not within the restrictions. Pending these dissensions, Mr. Wellesley concluded a treaty with the nabob of Furrucabad, having similar stipulations to those of Oude; but Rajah

Rajwunt Sing refusing to acknowledge the treaty, his two fortresses, Pridgeghur and Sansu, were besieged and captured. There were also some refractory Zemindars, who had gained by the misrule in the Doab, whom it was necessary to coerce; which being accomplished, and having thus established tranquillity, Mr. Wellesley voluntarily resigned his commission.

The East India government, never wasting opportunities nor wanting pretexts, now discovered that Surat was shamefully misgoverned. This, and the nonpayment of the tribute, formed a good justification for annexing it to the Company's territories; which plea was further strengthened by the constant difficulties arising out of the right of succession. The Nabob of Surat, like many other vassals of the Delhi empire, when strong enough, became virtually independent, and rendered his succession hereditary. But disputes having arisen respecting the inheritance, the British interfered and exercised their authority. A subsequent dispute upon the same subject, in 1789, afforded a further opportunity for the Company, and the nabob was treated similarly to the ruler of Oude, being compelled to surrender the civil and military government of his dominions to the English, receiving in lieu a pension, and with it protection. But the chout, or tribute, he had agreed to pay to the Mahrattas, was not so easily settled. The Guicowar prince declared his readiness to relinquish his portion of the tribute to the Company, but the Peishwa was not so yielding.

In Tanjore, like circumstances produced similar results. The late rajah, Zuljajee, on his death-bed, had appointed his adopted son, Sarbojee, his successor; but the English government decreed in favor of Zuljajee's brother, Amar Sing. Sarbojee was compelled to fly to Madras in consequence of Amar's tyranny, and was subsequently declared rajah on the condition that he would cede the civil and military government of his kingdom to the English.

The position of the Nabob of Arcot had caused great inconveniences between his government and that of Madras. His revenues were nearly all absorbed or mortgaged, and consequently fell into arrears. After the capture of Seringapatam,

records of treacherous correspondence were discovered amongst the sultan's papers, involving the late Nabob Wallrjah, as well as the present Omdah-al-Omrah with Tippoo. Omdah died while preparations were being made for taking possession of the civil and military administration of the Carnatic. He was succeeded by his reputed son, Ali Hassein, with whom Lord Clive personally negotiated, and received his assent to the proposed terms, which he, however, subsequently rejected; upon which his lordship deposed him, and gave the throne to his cousin, Azim-ed-Dowlah. Ali remonstrated, and expressed his willingness to abide by Clive's previous decision; both alike were disregarded, and death soon after terminating his career, as well as that of the Rajah of Tanjore, the governments of the latter country and of the Carnatic were established without further difficulty.

Lord Wellesley was equally desirous of maintaining the same relations with the Mahrattas, their troops being little better than banditti, living rather on plunder than pay, while the maintenance of such forces hourly jeopardized the peace of India. On the other hand, an auxiliary disciplined army would protect the native princes from their continual apprehensions of insurrection, and restrain their habits of rapine and extortion. Negotiations were commenced with the Peishwa, who was legally the Mahratta sovereign, though only in name, for both Holkar and Scindia, who held their feudatories by military tenure, rejected his supremacy; the latter indeed so controlled the Peishwa Bajee Rao, that Lord Wellesley imagined he would readily accept the offer of British troops to rid himself of this insolent chief. Fortune seemed to favor the governor-general's intentions. Holkar's family, who had for nearly a century been acknowledged in the northern states, having established their virtual independence, and an extent of country scarcely inferior to that of the Peishwa, were at discord upon the right of succession, which afforded Scindia an excuse for interfering, who declared Cashee Rao sovereign, and put Mulhar Rao, his brother, to death, retaining a posthumous son of the latter for the fidelity of his uncle. Jesswunt

Rao, an illegitimate son of the late Holkar, escaped from Scindia, and shortly appeared at the head of a body of adventurers; but was defeated near Indore, on the 14th of October, 1801, losing his artillery and baggage.

In the ensuing year he again appeared with a better disciplined and more numerous army, and marched against the united forces of the Peishwa and Scindia near Poonah. After a severe engagement, Scindia's cavalry gave way, and a decisive victory was obtained by Holkar. The Peishwa left his palace with an intention of taking part in the engagement, but being alarmed, he retreated to wait the result; upon ascertaining it, he fled to the fort of Senginh, previously sending to Colonel Close, the British resident, the outlines of a treaty, binding himself to maintain six battalions of sepoy, and yield twenty-five lacs of rupees of his revenues for their maintenance. The day following his victory Holkar requested an interview with the resident. Colonel Close at once proceeded to his tent, where he found him suffering from a spear wound in the body, and a sabre cut on the head. He expressed great anxiety for the mediation of the resident, with a view of arranging matters with the Peishwa and Scindia. Holkar's propositions had no effect upon the Peishwa's fears, who fled in an English ship to Bassein.

The Guicowar having previously declared his readiness to yield his share of the chout levied on Surat, further to secure the British alliance, yielded the Chourassy district. His death, in September, 1800, produced great disturbances; for his son was perfectly imbecile, and unfit to control the intrigues of the court of Baroda. These intrigues speedily brought on a war between the late prime minister Nowjee Apajee and an illegitimate brother of the deceased Guicowar; but the English siding with the minister, and furnishing troops, victory declared in his favor. Nowjee being unfettered, pursued his economical reforms by dismissing the Arab mercenaries; but this body refused to disband, demanding enormous arrears; afterward mutinying, they seized Baroda and imprisoned the Guicowar. The English immediately invested Baroda, which surrendered

in ten days. Contrary to capitulation, many of the mutineers joined the rebel Kanhojee; but were pursued, and ultimately, with the latter, driven from Gujerat.

Bajee Rao's flight to Bassein, Holkar treated as an abdication, and with other Mahratta chiefs proclaimed Amrut Rao Peishwa; upon which the most violent excesses commenced; the ministers of the late prince were tortured to reveal his treasures; and every presumed wealthy person in Poonah was seized and terrified into the delivery of his property. When these atrocities began, Colonel Close proceeded to Bassein, and concluded a treaty with Bajee Rao, by which the Peishwa agreed to accept an English force, providing for its subsistence, to exclude from his territories Europeans of whatsoever country hostile to the English, to relinquish his claims on Surat, and submit all points between him and the Guicowar to the arbitration of the English.

This treaty was no sooner executed than Bajee Rao began intriguing with Scindia and Raghajee Bhousslay, Rajah of Berar to frustrate the execution of it, in which these chiefs willingly assisted, as its operation would have overthrown the influence they possessed in the Mahratta states. The governor-general promptly restored the Peishwa, and Amrut Rao, subsequent to his deposition having deserved it, was awarded a liberal pension and a residence at Benares.

The governor-general, after restoring Bajee Rao, endeavored to obtain the acknowledgment of the Bassein treaty by the Mahratta chieftains; Raghajee Bhousslay, however, offered every opposition, and endeavored to unite Scindia and Holkar to defeat the English policy, which end they fancied might be obtained by procrastination. But General Wellesley, who was invested with the joint powers of political agent and commander of the army of the Deccan, felt little inclined to submit to evasions, and without circumlocution insisted that the troops of Raghajee should retire to Boxar, and Scindia's to Hindostan. This proposition admitted of no escape, and greatly disconcerted the Mahratta princes; and being thus forced to deter-

mine at once, they refused, which was of course regarded as a declaration of war.

Scindia had a numerous army in the northern Mahrattas, disciplined and officered by several French officers, against whom General Lake was directed to act, while General Wellesley and Colonel Stephenson commanded in the Deccan. Wellesley's first operation was against the reputed impregnable fort of Ahmednuggar, which withstood his attack but four days. He then pursued the Mahrattas, who avoided an engagement; but being determined to bring them to a decisive action, on the 21st of September, 1803, he marched in one direction, ordering Stephenson to take another, so that their forces might again unite on the 24th, when he fancied the Mahrattas would, from his apparently small army, be drawn into action. But, on the 23d, intelligence reached him that the Mahrattas, fifty thousand strong, with a hundred pieces of artillery, were encamped close at hand; he at once decided to attack them, without waiting for Stephenson's reinforcement, although his force was only four thousand five hundred men strong. This engagement was the celebrated battle of Assaye, and began with a terrible discharge of canister, grape, and round shot from the Mahrattas, which told with fearful effect upon the English ranks, which were entirely destitute of artillery; nevertheless, the English troops undauntedly advanced, when a body of Mahratta horse charged the 74th. A counter-charge of the 19th Light Dragoons and 4th Madras horse was ordered, and executed with such irresistible effect, that the enemy's advanced line fell back upon the rear, and the British and native infantry rushing upon them with impetuosity, drove both into the Juah. As the enemy attempted to reform on the opposite side of the river, the British cavalry again dashed amongst them, and completely sealed the fate of the Mahrattas, ninety-eight pieces of cannon being captured. The loss was severe on the British side, one-third of the troops being wounded or killed. Stephenson did not join until the evening of the 24th, when he pursued the fugitives, but unsuccessfully; he, however, reduced the city of Burhampore and the fort of

Asseghur, while a portion of the Gujerat forces took Baroach and other fortresses.

During these proceedings, General Lake, who held powers in Hindostan similar to those of Wellesley in the Deccan, advanced from Cawnpore against Scindia's northern army, under M. Perron. The campaign opened with the storming and capture of Alijurh; but, as a set-off, Shekoabad was surprised by some Mahratta cavalry, commanded by a French officer, and the garrison compelled to capitulate, the detachment Lake sent to their relief arriving too late.

Information reaching M. Perron that Scindia intended superseding him, he addressed a letter to General Lake, requesting permission to pass, with his family, property, and officers of his suite, through the Company's territories to Lucknow, which was immediately conceded by the governor-general.

After capturing Alijurh, Lake advanced upon Delhi, where his advanced guard suddenly encountered a destructive cannonade, M. Louis Bourquin, next in command to Perron, having cleverly ambuscaded his guns in long grass. The Mahratta position was too strong to draw them from it. Lake, therefore, commanded the cavalry to retire, which the enemy mistook for a retreat, and rushed after them. The cavalry retired in close order, until it reached the advancing column, when opening from the centre, the British infantry passed to the front. The battalions advanced under a destructive fire from the enemy's guns until within a hundred yards, when they fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Scindia's infantry abandoned their guns and fled. The English broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging through them, the slaughter was dreadful. After this victory Delhi was taken immediate possession of, and Shah Alum delivered from Mahratta captivity.

Lake then marched against Agra, which was a prey to the greatest anarchy. Before the war the garrison was commanded by English officers, who were confined, upon the outbreak of hostilities, by their own men. Seven battalions of Scindiah's

infantry encamped upon the glacis ; but the garrison were afraid to admit them, lest they should plunder the treasury, which they wished to keep for themselves. These battalions were defeated by Lake with the loss of twenty-six guns ; after which the garrison liberated their officers and capitulated, being allowed to retire with their private property.

The forces sent by Scindia from the Deccan, reinforced by the remnants of Bourquin's army, were General Lake's next pursuit : he came up with them on the 1st of November at sunrise, and fancying they were in retreat, sent his cavalry to turn them. But the Mahrattas occupied a strong position, with seventy-five pieces of cannon chained together, to resist cavalry, in their front. The cavalry were forced back, and the infantry and guns came forward. In the attack Scindia's cavalry proved most cowardly ; but the battalions disciplined by the French fought with desperate determination. Refusing to surrender, they died with their weapons in their hands. This battle of Laswarre destroyed Scindia's power in Northern India ; at the same time Kuttack and Bundelcund were subdued.

The rapidity with which the enemy moved in the Deccan harassed Wellesley much ; but at length, on the 20th of November, he routed them at Argoam, and there captured Gawelgush, which led to proposals for peace. The Rajah of Berar was the first to capitulate, yielding a large amount of territory to the English and their allies, and all claims against the Nizam ; agreeing also that no European should be admitted into his dominions unless permitted by the British ; accredited ministers were to reside at the respective courts, the rajah receiving a resident at Nagpore. Scindia succumbed to similar terms, but was compelled to sacrifice much more territory and power than his ally.

Pending these hostilities, Holkar at Malwa was plundering friend and foe, incredulous of the British achievements. When too late, he determined to make an effort for the independence of the Mahrattas, and sent to Scindia, pressing him to break the recently-signed treaty ; which fact the latter immediately made known to the British. Lake believing Holkar amical ly

disposed, invited him to send officers to negotiate a treaty. Upon their arrival, their terms were found so preposterous they were forthwith dismissed; and the governor-general being made acquainted with their demands, ordered Generals Wellesley and Lake to march upon Holkar's territories, Scindia professing the greatest willingness to co-operate.

Colonel Monson was sent to act in concert with Colonel Murray, and attack Holkar's territory on the Gujerat side. Monson advanced with spirit, but retreated upon hearing that Holkar, with a large force, was marching against him. It was an injudicious movement, and deplorably conducted, while a want of confidence existed between the colonel and his army: the officers and men desired an engagement, Monson sought shelter under a fortress. The forts on the line of his retreat pronounced against the English; and the troops, weary and starving, broke through all discipline, and fled in parties to Agra. This panic increased both Holkar's reputation and his army.

Lake took the field to reclaim these misfortunes; but failing to bring the Mahrattas to an engagement, wasted his time at Mutha, which afforded Holkar the opportunity of attempting the surprise of Delhi, and securing the emperor, which he nearly accomplished. Lake then marched to relieve the capital; but Holkar, five days before, had joined the Rajah of Bhurt-pore, who had broken his treaty with the English. General Frazer then undertook the pursuit, and came up with the enemy's infantry near Deeg fortress, on the 13th of November, and drove them from their first line of guns, but fell mortally wounded at the second, when Colonel Monson assumed the command, and captured eighty-seven pieces of cannon; among them were fourteen he had lost in his retreat. Four days later, at Furruckabad, Lake routed Holkar, slaughtering three thousand of his men. Deeg was then invested, and stormed in ten days. The power of Holkar now seemed destroyed, his territory reduced, his forts and capital possessed by the English. Bhurt-pore alone remained to shelter him. This place of refuge Lake attacked on January 2d, 1805, and then, as on

subsequent occasions, with great valor, though but little engineering skill. The siege being converted into a blockade, the rajah sued for peace, which was accorded him on favorable terms, renewed hostilities being anticipated with Scindia, who had advanced toward Bhurtpore, when Holkar joined him, and was still hovering about the neighborhood, and harassing the English outposts.

The policy of Lord Wellesley had been that of stripping the native princes of military, and leaving them civil power only; which gave the East India Company entire control over the foreign relations of these rulers. By the treaties with the Peishwa and the Nizam, the governor-general not only protected the frontiers of both, but secured tranquillity in the southern parts of the peninsula. This prevented Scindia from levying tribute on the more feeble states, while Holkar moved about at the head of a mere rabble. Necessarily such important results occasioned vast expenditure; but the diminished cost of governing, and the growing revenues of the conquered states promised an ample return.

From July of this year (1805), when Lord Cornwallis succeeded the Marquis of Wellesley as governor-general, hostilities continued between the troops of Scindia and Holkar and those of General Lake. Driven from the Bhurtpore territories, the Mahratta chieftains fled toward the north-west frontier, where they appear to have expected some countenance.

Lake, having conferred with the governor-general, pushed on toward the Sutlej in pursuit of his troublesome opponents, satisfied that the only prospect of continued peace in that quarter lay in the utter overthrow of their power. Undismayed by the perils and trials of a long and harassing journey through countries then but little known, the British commander halted not until, having crossed the boundary-line of Alexander's conquests, he encamped his troops on the banks of the Hyphasis (the Beas), where, upward of two thousand years before, the veterans of the Macedonian conqueror had pitched their tents. The snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas, the green hills and valleys of the country of the five rivers, the noble stream whose

waters fell into the Indus at some distance below—all these were before their eyes, whilst, at the distance of a few miles, and within his reach, lay Holkar, the object of this long and toilsome march.

To have dashed at him and thus have finished the struggle, would have been the policy of Lake ; but a controlling power was at hand. Sir George Barlow had succeeded as acting governor-general, in the room of Cornwallis, who died but a few months after his arrival in the country ; and the policy of this civilian was to purchase peace and security at all hazards, at all cost. With the instructions which at this juncture reached him, Lake, however unwilling, had no alternative but to consent to a peace, the preliminaries of which were arranged in December ; and the treaty was finally ratified in the month of January, 1806.

By the terms of this agreement the British reinstated Holkar in all his possessions, broke off their alliance with the Rajah of Jeypoor, and other Hindoo chiefs to the westward of the Jumna, and finally marched back to Delhi. The peace policy of Sir George Barlow, however it may have served a present purpose, did not satisfy those who, like Lord Lake, viewed matters in India with reference to the future as well as the present ; and no one who was really competent to form an opinion, believed for a moment that this disgraceful treaty would be observed one moment beyond the time which it might serve the purpose of the Mahratta chieftains. And so it indeed proved, as the following chapter will demonstrate.





A GHOORKA WARRIOR.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES TO THE TERMINATION OF
THE SECOND MAHRATTA WAR. A. D. 1806-1822.

THE new policy of the supreme government was not long in producing its fruits, as might have been anticipated; and first we find matters in the Deccan promising a crisis.

Mir Allum, the prime minister of the Nizam, had, by his attachment to the English, lost the confidence and regard of his master; and intrigues were at this time discovered at Hyderabad for his removal and the disruption of the alliance with the British. This conspiracy calling for decisive steps, orders were forwarded to the resident and commander of the troops, by means of which it was frustrated.

It was at this period that the Court of Directors, in order to mortify Lord Wellesley, urged the governor-general to modify the treaty of Bassein; which proceeding Sir George

Barlow, with more than ordinary courage and determination, opposed most strenuously, and declined carrying out.

Upon the restoration of the Mahratta chief Hoikar, he intimated that, from pure necessity, he must at once disband so many as twenty thousand of his cavalry; whereupon, large arrears being due to them, a mutiny ensued, which was only quieted by placing Holkar's nephew in their hands as a hostage. Having thus the heir to the throne in their possession, the troops once more mutinied, but were subdued, and their arrears paid; while the innocent object of their revolt was sacrificed by his uncle. Shortly after, Holkar became insane, and so remained until his death on the 20th October, 1811.

On his thus becoming incapacitated, the regency was divided between Toolze Rye, one of his concubines, and Ameer Khan, who administered for Mulhar Rao Holkar, about four years old, the son of Jeswunt Rao. This imbecile government swayed between two parties, the Mahrattas and the Patans, whose respective ascendancy was the signal for the renewal of the most sanguinary atrocities.

Lord Minto was appointed governor-general, and arrived in India in July, 1807. He was a statesman of ability, hated precedents, and judged invariably for himself. He soon found that Wellesley had adopted a firm, but right policy, the very reverse of Cornwallis and Barlow, whose imbecility was near proving most fatal to British ascendancy in India. There existed in the Deccan at this period a body of freebooters called Pindarries, who hired themselves indiscriminately to the best paymaster. Upon the defeat of the Mahrattas, these people, left to their own resources, wandered through the country, and pillaged every place that was too weak to oppose them. Subsequent to the last treaty, they were confined in their ravages to Malwa, Rajpootna, and Berar; a few ventured into the dominions of Peishwa and Nizam, but so long as they left the inhabitants at peace they were not molested.

The policy of non-interference adopted by Sir G. Barlow had not only exposed the Rajpoot states to great danger, but thrown the Sikh chieftains into considerable consternation;

they were apprehensive that this apparent withdrawal of British assistance might lead to their subjugation by Runjeet Singh, whose recently established throne in the Punjab hourly increased in strength. The abandonment of the Rajah of Jey-pore, and the employment by Scindia of Rao Ghatkia as minister, who had previously planned the attack on the British residency, at length induced the Directory to express their dissatisfaction with Barlow's policy; at the same time they wished to avoid a further extension of political supremacy.

The Nizam's court had been an exception to Barlow's tactics, he having been compelled to support the minister Sheer Alum; upon whose death an arrangement was effected between the Nizam and the governor-general to divide the office, appointing the Nizam's favorite, Moneer-al-Mulk, minister; while Chand-u-lal, a supporter of the British, performed the duties of deewan. The Brahmins of the Carnatic, the sect of Chand-u-lal, are frequently men of good education, with enlarged commercial knowledge, while the Mohammedan Omrahs, to which Moneer-al-Mulk belonged, are the very reverse. Chand-u-lal at once discerned the difficulties and danger of his position, and that his tenure of office rested upon the supremacy of the British at Hyderabad; he therefore exerted himself to establish the Marquis of Wellesley's military reform, and organized an army commanded by English officers. In return for which he was supported by British influence against his enemies, and allowed to administer the government without interference. The result of this was, that the Nizam fell into a state of melancholy despondency, while the deewan and his relatives flourished at the expense of British reputation; and Lord Minto found that, without overstepping his instructions, a remedy was almost hopeless; matters were therefore allowed to remain as they stood, during his administration.

Upon Bajee Rao being reinstated by the treaty of Bassein, he did not hesitate to declare that revenge was his motive for allying himself with the English; he was of a most profligate character, chosing his favorites and ministers from those who gratified his lusts or his cruelties; and through their agency

maintained a correspondence with those who were most opposed to the English. General Wellesley well knew the character of Bajee Rao, and urged a speedy settlement of the relations between the Peishwa and southern chiefs, who, though nominally subjects, obeyed the Peishwa only when he was strong enough to enforce obedience. The terms of settlement proposed by the resident at Poonah for adjusting these differences were, the oblivion of past injuries, the abandonment of all money claims, the guarantee of the lands granted for supporting a certain number of soldiers for the Peishwa, attendance with the whole of their forces when required, and of a third portion under command of a relation at all times. Upon adhering to these stipulations, the British guaranteed the personal safety of the chiefs and their relations. Upon which, Lord Minto sent to Madras, Mysore, and the Deccan, to have an adequate force to compel the submission of any refractory chief.

At first neither the Peishwa nor the Jaghiredars, or chieftains, were willing to submit to English dictation; but the presence of a powerful force quieted dissatisfaction, and the feudatories accompanied the Peishwa to Poonah; and under the mediation of the resident, came to an arrangement, which greatly increased the Peishwa's power and resources.

Upon the insanity of Jeswunt Rao incapacitating him from exercising authority, Ameer Khan declared himself regent; and quitting Indore, headed a body of Pindarries, and began plundering the people. His next act was to threaten Bejar, under the pretense that the rajah owed Holkar large sums of money. Upon this Lord Minto at once abandoned the old policy of non-interference; and tendering the rajah British protection, Ameer Khan was subsequently driven into his own dominions with heavy loss.

Early in the year 1808 it was rumored that Napoleon was again endeavoring to establish French influence in India; and, moreover, that his ambassadors in Persia had been received with great marks of distinction by Futteh Aji Shah, the reigning monarch, who had concluded with them a treaty most

inimical to British interests. When this intelligence reached London and Calcutta, missions were sent from each to the court of Persia; but without any privity or concert. Lord Minto dispatched Captain Malcolm; but his advance on Teheran was stopped by the King of Persia, who at the same time insisted that he should negotiate with his son, the Viceroy of Shiran. To this Malcolm refused to accede, as unbecoming the dignity of the country he represented; and, after embodying his sentiments in a memorial to the court, he sailed for Calcutta. The ambassador from the British court, Sir Harford Jones, was a most incompetent person, who seemed only anxious to show his independence of the Calcutta council. At the time of which we are writing, it was the custom with England to subsidize all her allies; in other words, to pay them for protecting themselves; and a treaty was signed in 1809, by which Great Britain bound herself to pay a yearly sum of £100,000, while the King of Persia was at war with Russia; and in addition supply 16,000 stand of arms and twenty field-pieces, together with artillerymen and officers to instruct the Persians; for which Persia agreed to oppose any attempt of the French to invade the Company's Indian territory.

A similar impression respecting French influence originated a mission to the court of Cabul, governed at that time by Shuja-al-Mulk. An alliance was concluded with this potentate, who was, however, shortly after driven from the throne, and pensioned by the British.

It has been before remarked that the Marquis of Wellesley's judicious plans for the occupation of the French and Dutch possessions in the Indian seas were frustrated by Admiral Rainer. For several years the weakness of the French fleet precluded them from doing more than annoy; but in the winter of 1808, a number of French frigates sailed from various ports in France and Holland, and reaching the Indian seas in the ensuing spring, committed great injury upon commerce. Still more serious results being apprehended, Lord Minto announced his intention of reducing the islands which sheltered them, depriving the French vessels of any port of refuge. The reduction

of Bourbon and the Mauritius was effected with but little difficulty; but Java was considered an affair of considerable importance. The command was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, under whom the governor-general served as a volunteer. On the 4th of August, 1811, the whole of the troops were disembarked in twenty-four hours without an accident, and marched against the Dutch at Cornellis, who were protected by a series of batteries mounting 300 guns. On the 26th orders for assault were issued, which terminated in the storm of the Dutch camp, and surrender of 5000 prisoners of war. But Jansen, the Dutch governor, refused to submit; and it was not until garrison after garrison capitulated, that he surrendered the island on the 16th of September.

The principle of non-interference prevented Lord Minto from checking the tyranny of the Nabob of Oude toward his subjects; but he secured the allegiance of Travancore and Bundelcund, and restored tranquillity, to which they had long been strangers. The same absurd policy prevented him from chastising the Pindarries, who, having increased in audacity, at length plundered Mirzapore, committing, as usual, all sorts of excesses. The apprehension of a Mahratta war, which Lord Minto knew would be displeasing to the Directory, deterred him from punishing these lawless freebooters.

The tranquillity of the Company's possessions was now disturbed by the Ghoorkas, a warlike race on the north-eastern frontier, who, taking advantage of the disputes and distress of their neighbors, extended their sway through the entire province of Nepal, and thence to the plains inhabited by the dependent rajahs, committing great excesses at Gurruckpore and Sarun. These were at first regarded as individual and unpremeditated acts; but at length their frequency compelled Lord Minto to address the Ghoorka rajah in determined language, demanding redress and threatening retaliation. But his lordship's recall threw the duty of curbing these marauders upon his successor. We might here, if space allowed, allude to the vast benefits both the European and Indian community in the peninsula had enjoyed through the sagacity, discretion, and even

temper of this really great man, whose doctrines, in the words of Sir John Malcolm, were "to conciliate and carry his superiors along with him; but not from the apprehension of responsibility; for wherever the exigency of the case required a departure from this general rule, he was prompt and decided."

The arrival of the Marquis of Hastings as governor-general took place on October 13th, 1813. His appointment was hailed with great satisfaction; having proved himself an able diplomatist and brave soldier on many occasions, he was justly esteemed the most suited to the exigencies of the times; more particularly so, as it was now well known that neutral policy was rapidly declining in favor with the authorities in England, and that determined measures were to be taken to repress the insolence and violence of treacherous allies and open enemies.

In the following December, the Rajah of Nepaul sent a reply to Lord Minto's dispatch. It was couched in servile and evasive terms, and led to the appointment of commissioners on both sides to discuss the various points at issue. After repeated interviews, the English commissioners reported that it was useless longer to protract their powers, it being evident that the Nepaulese, who were adepts in dissimulation, negotiated merely to gain time; upon which the governor-general dismissed the Ghoorka commissioners, with instructions to their rajah to confine himself to his own territory, if he wished to avoid punishment. At the same time the chief was ordered to restore certain lands belonging to the British government which he had seized; and that in the event of his not complying, troops would at once occupy them. This notice being disregarded, the magistrate at Gurruckpore, Sir Roger Martin, took possession of Turall, and the villages near Sarun were also occupied without resistance. The rainy season now setting in, the charge of these places was left to native officers, and the troops withdrawn; upon which the Nepaulese, who had been watching their opportunity, attacked the civil officers and police, who were completely defenseless; and after murdering the superior officer, they killed eighteen, and wounded six, of the police establishment. This outrage was committed

in the presence of the Nepaulese commander-in-chief, who offered neither restraint to the assassins nor assistance to the victims. Immediate representations were made to the rajah, who, instead of offering reparation, justified the outrages which his troops had committed; upon which the Marquis of Hastings prepared for war, the means of defraying which, had it not been for the Nabob of Oude, who lent the governor-general large sums of money at lower rates of interest than the market prices, must have been found by the national government, the Bengal treasury being completely empty.

The Pindarries, like the Ghoorkas, it was known, were only waiting the opportunity to renew their predatory excursions; and the Marquis of Hastings forcibly represented to the executive in England the urgency of its sanction to a series of determined proceedings, to avoid the impending danger. With the view of strengthening the British power, the governor-general had commenced a defensive treaty with the Rajah of Berar, who, however, after a protracted correspondence, declined acceding to it; and, breaking through the existing treaty of 1814, joined Scindia in the attempt to subjugate the nabob of Bhopaul, who had long maintained himself against the Hindoo princes.

The friendship invariably shown by the nabob, particularly in the Mahratta war, induced the British to join him, as well as Govina Rao, the prince of Sagur, in offensive and defensive treaties, by which means were furnished for watching the Mahratta princes, Runjeet Sing and Ameer Khan, leader of the Pindarries. Scindia, who pretended that the Rajah of Bhopaul was one of his vassals, became greatly enraged at this alliance, and threatened retaliation; upon which a body of troops was marched on Bundelcund, while another force, under the Nizam, advanced to Elichipore, the capital of Berar; and the governor-general then gave his undivided attention to the coming war in Nepaul.

The frontier of Nepaul consists of mountain ridges, extending 600 miles from east to west; and it was determined to penetrate it by four armies marching simultaneously. General Ochterlony, with 6000 sepoy, was ordered from Loodiana

through the hill-passes overlooking the Sutlej; General Gillespie, from the Doab to the west of the Jumna, and so on to Nahir; General Wood, through Bootwal to Palpa; and General Morley, with the main body, was ordered to force the Gunduck passes and march direct on Katmandu, the Ghoorka capital.

General Gillespie crossed the frontier on the 22d of October, 1814, and captured Dera without opposition; while Balbhadur Sing, to whom the defense of the town had been entrusted, retreated to a steep and well-fortified hill called Nalapanee. Gillespie, who miscalculated the strength of the position, determined to carry it by assault, but had scarcely reached the wall when he was killed by a musket ball, and his troops fled to their lines, leaving many comrades behind. Colonel Mowbray, with the remainder, retreated on Dara until he obtained a train of heavy artillery; then advancing, after two days' firing, he effected a breach, when an assault was attempted; but the Ghoorkas drove back the storming party with great loss. This so disheartened the sepoy that they would not renew the attack; and Mowbray compelled the garrison to surrender by bombardment, after it had been reduced from 600 to 70 inhabitants.

General Martindell, Gillespie's successor, having joined the camp, marched against Nahir, which the Ghoorkas evacuated, retiring to Jythuck, a fortress built on a ridge 4000 feet above the adjacent plain. The general, having reconnoitered, resolved to turn it on both flanks, concealing his intentions by an attack in front; but, most unfortunately, the grenadiers leading the southern column, underrating their adversaries, rashly attacked a stockade well flanked with rocks, and were received with a heavy and well-directed fire from all sides, and driven back upon the sepoy, who had not formed into line so as to support them. The Ghoorkas, perceiving their advantage, dashed forward, driving the British before them to the confines of their camp; after which, General Martindell retreated to Nahir.

General Ochterlony, with the army of the Sutlej, was as con-

spicuous for caution as Martindell for rashness. He was opposed by Ameerah Sing, the most experienced and courageous of the Ghoorka leaders, whose generalship was well and successfully tested. By a series of maneuvers the general obtained possession of post after post, until the entire country between Plassea and Belarpore submitted to him.

General Wood, on the other hand, was most unfortunate; while passing through the Sal forest, his troops came upon an unexpected and well-appointed stockade, which opened a fearfully destructive fire; but Colonel Hardyman, of the 17th Royal regiment, turned both flanks of the Ghoorkas, and was rapidly securing the victory, when the general, disheartened by the surprise, to the astonishment and indignation of the entire force, sounded a retreat. This was a type of Wood's campaign, timidity and injudiciousness invariably betraying the incapacity of the commander.

The fourth army, under General Morley, was quite as discreditably commanded as that under Wood. Dividing his forces, he posted three large detachments twenty miles distant from each other; and was panic-struck when two of them were cut off by the enemy. Upon learning this, he suddenly left the camp, and fled to Calcutta. His successor, General George Wood, was a cautious but timid man; and the consequence was, that the remainder of the campaign was passed in disgraceful idleness.

The effect of this disastrous campaign naturally induced a feeling of confidence amongst the enemies of the British in India. In the Peishwa and Scindia there was a marked alteration; while Runjeet and Ameer Khan showed they were ready, and only wanted the opportunity to act. But the Marquis of Hastings was nothing daunted; and having ascertained that Kumaon, in the north of Nepaul, was destitute of troops, he determined, as he could not spare any of his army, to send an irregular force; for which purpose he appointed Lieut. Colonel Gardiner and Captain Hearsay, formerly in the Mahratta service, to enlist a force among the Patans of Rohilcund.

A considerable number of men were thus collected and

divided between Gardiner and Hearsay. The latter blockaded Koolulgurt; and while in this position, the enemy advanced to relieve the place, and forced him into an engagement, in which he was wounded, captured, and sent to Almora by his conqueror, Hasta-Dal. Gardiner, understanding well the mode of Patan warfare, submitted to their ways, but proceeded nevertheless with skill and caution, and advanced to Almora shortly after Hearsay's defeat, where he was joined by Colonel Nicholls with a small train of artillery and 2000 regular infantry. Hasta-Dal attempted to relieve Almora, but was defeated, and fell in the skirmish; which so disheartened the Ghorkas, that they surrendered the place, and with it the prisoner Hearsay.

Notwithstanding repeated orders from Calcutta, General Martindell remained comparatively inactive; and when he did move, he had neither plan nor object in view. He wasted the season before Jythuck; now trying an active siege, but wanting courage to push it boldly; then a blockade, without cutting off the enemy's communications. His only success was in wasting men and money, and destroying British reputation in India.

General Ochterlony, however, prepared to follow up his advantages, while the Ghorkas retired before him to a formidable position, consisting of a mountain-ridge of elevated peaks, all but two of which were stockaded, and further protected by the redoubts of Malcun and Seringhar. The two unprotected peaks Ochterlony seized, being confident their attempted recovery would bring on a decisive battle. And so it proved. The Ghorkas attacked the British with desperation for two hours, when they were driven back with the loss of their commander and one-third of their force. Ameera Sing would have continued to resist, but was deserted by the other chiefs; eventually he procured safety for himself and followers by surrendering to the British the country west of Kalee, as well as the fortress of Jythuck.

Proposals having been made for peace, the English insisted on stipulations to which the Nepaulese refused to accede; and

Ochterlony was ordered to take command of the main army. In February, 1816, he penetrated into the forests which protect the frontier of Nepaul, and soon reached the fortifications guarding the chief pass through the hills. A brief inspection satisfied him of the inutility of attempting to capture the stockades by assault, and that he must adopt other plans. Upon further inspection of the locality he discovered a narrow water-course, which was forthwith entered by a column of troops, headed by Ochterlony. After imminent danger and privation, the summit was attained, and the enemy abandoned their intrenchments as useless. The Ghoorkas now brought their whole force to bear upon a post occupied by the English at Makwanpore, but were completely defeated; and Colonels Kelley and O'Halloran having obtained another victory, the Rajah of Nepaul solicited peace upon the terms he had recently rejected. During this war, the Ghoorkas, nominally subjects of the Celestial empire, had applied in that quarter for assistance; upon which the Chinese assembled an army, but procrastinated marching until the war had terminated. Upon learning, however, the origin of the war, they pronounced the Ghoorkas well-deserving punishment, and unhesitatingly left them to their fate. The governor-general was not inclined to act with oppressiveness, nor encumber himself with useless possessions; he therefore limited the Ghoorkas to Nepaul proper, without disturbing their ancient dominions.

The British reverses at the commencement of the war gave rise to fresh Mahratta intrigues. Scindia, who headed the confederacy, had established a permanent camp, protected by the fort of Gwalior, which had become a flourishing town in a few years, the increase of which contributed largely to his pride, as proof of his growing power. He not only intrigued with the Peishwa at Poona, and Holkar at Indore, but entered into alliance with the Rajah of Berar, and obtained promised assistance, upon emergency, from Runjeet Sing and the Rajpoot rajahs; and even sought to win the Rajah of Mysore. This combination during the Nepaulese war, had it been brought into operation, would assuredly have seriously affected the

British authority ; but the mutual jealousy of the Mahrattas, and knowledge of each other's treachery, combined with suspicion of their allies, required too much time to organize with effect such a confederacy, during which peace was concluded with the Ghorkas, and the British concentrated their attention upon central India.

During this period of uncertainty and anxiety, the residents at Poonah and Nagpore were Messrs. Elphinstone and Jenkins, diplomatists of unrivaled ability, possessed of enlarged experience, great decision, and intimately acquainted with the relations between the native states. The position of the resident at Poonah was one of much difficulty, arising out of the treaty of alliance signed between the Peishwa and the British. The Marquis of Wellesley at the time knew that necessity only had induced the Peishwa to contract the alliance, and foresaw that jealousy would rankle in the native prince's mind, and a period arrive when he would display his hostility. This view was a correct one ; the state of the Peishwa's affairs being now much improved, and the various Mahratta states tendering him their support, he became desirous of canceling his engagement with the British. He was likewise much dissatisfied with various decisions of the English governors in their capacities of arbitrators between himself and his vassals, conceiving that intererest, not right, had been the foundation of them. Another great source of annoyance was compelling him to renounce his supremacy over Kolapore and Sawant Waree, on the coast of the Northern Concan ; these states fitted out small piratical vessels, and had been the scourge of the western seas for years. In 1812, Lord Minto obliged them to succumb to his power, taking possession of their principal ports, and preventing their maritime depredations, the loss of which was the ground of offense to the Peishwa. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that, like most Asiatic princes, Bajee Rao was equally ambitious and timid, fond of intriguing, and swayed by alternate desires and fears. Mr. Elphinstone, by combining discretion with decision, held him in restraint, until his inclinations being in

flamed by a profligate minister, he dashed on through criminality and treachery to his eventual destruction.

Upon the death of the Rajah of Nagpore, in 1816, his son, Pursajee Bhonslab, who was blind, paralyzed, and idiotic, succeeded him, when two factions divided the court; the resident secretly supported Appa Sahib, the next heir, securing him to the British interest. This was a blow to the Mahratta confederacy; for though Appa proved treacherous, his timely withdrawal from that union was considered of the greatest importance to the British.

The most depraved minister of the Peishwa was Trimbuckjee Danglia, who commenced life as a runner, then became a spy, and after passing through a variety of degrading offices became the Peishwa's favorite, with the command of the artillery, and rank of prime minister. These steps were rewards for pandering to his master's licentiousness and innumerable daring crimes. Trimbuckjee shared in the Mahratta hatred to Europeans, whose presence, he believed, prevented the Peishwa's supremacy; it was therefore a studied policy with him to join any attempt to expel or reduce the British power; he accordingly instigated Bajee Rao to renew his claims upon the Nizam and Guicowar, seizing the estates of the principal landholders, whose revenues enriched his treasury. By this audacious step he collected five millions sterling previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The claims against the Nizam and Guicowar Mr. Elphinstone knew were pretenses urged for the purpose of keeping open the communications between the courts of Poonah, Baroda, and Hyderabad. He therefore strove for an arrangement; but was thwarted by the Peishwa and his minister. The Guicowar was also anxious for a settlement between the Peishwa and himself; he accordingly sent a representative to Poonah, with power to conclude a treaty, who, after wasting twelve months, resolved to return and leave the arbitration to the British government. This would have foiled the plans of the Peishwa and Trimbuckjee, who accordingly made every exertion to conciliate the envoy's favor and arrest his return. Gungadhar Shastre, a Brahmin of repute, the Guicowar's representative,

was excessively vain, and readily duped by the professed respect Trimbeckjee paid to his abilities, to whom he proposed resigning his office, that the Peishwa might secure more able services. Mr. Elphinstone having guaranteed the Shastre's safety, finding negotiations dormant, proposed his return; to his surprise the envoy refused; when it transpired that a marriage was negotiating between the Shastre's son and Bajee Rao's sister-in-law. The Guicowar refusing to cede some territory, the marriage was broken off. The refusal of the Shastre to permit his wife to visit the palace proved another offense in the Peishwa's eyes.

These differences soon produced a quarrel between the Peishwa and the Shastre. Trimbeckjee therefore determined, as he was too deeply committed to extricate himself, to alter his policy, and resolved upon assassination. The Shastre being invited to accompany Bajee Rao on a pilgrimage to the temple of Binderpore, Mr. Elphinstone proceeded with them as far as Nafik, where he was induced to remain while his companions went forward. The night after their arrival, the Shastre, instigated by Trimbeckjee, joined the Peishwa in some ceremonies of much sanctity, receiving in return the warmest assurances of friendship and esteem. Immediately, however, on quitting the temple, the unfortunate Shastre was almost hewn to pieces by hired assassins. The murder of an envoy, whose safety the British had guaranteed, excited universal indignation; and the sanctity of the spot, and the character of the victim, afforded additional ground of condemnation. The strict inquiry Mr. Elphinstone enforced, fixed the guilt upon the Peishwa and his minister. Hereupon Bajee Rao was informed that he might attribute the culpability to the actual perpetrators, but that his crafty and guilty minister must be surrendered to the British authorities. The Peishwa hesitating, a British force was quickly assembled at Poonah; upon which he delivered Trimbeckjee to the resident, having obtained a promise that his life would be spared. Accordingly the minister was confined in the Tannah fort, on Salsette island, where he admitted his

participation in the murder, in obedience to the Peishwa's instructions.

Tannah, being entirely garrisoned by Europeans, Trimbeckjee was enabled, by some native servants, to correspond with his friends; a horsekeeper, who passed his place of confinement daily, being his chief agent. This man carelessly sung, in the peculiar Mahratta recitative style, his information; while the sentries, ignorant of the language, were incompetent to detect the plot, even had they had any suspicion. All being ready, Trimbeckjee made an excuse for quitting his rooms, dressed himself as a servant, reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by a rope which one of his accomplices had secured to a gun. He had friends ready outside; and long ere his flight was discovered he was safe from pursuit. The Peishwa disclaimed acquaintance with Trimbeckjee's escape; but Mr. Elphinstone ascertained that he not only supplied him with money to raise troops, but had given him an audience. A remarkable display of duplicity ensued. Trimbeckjee disciplined large numbers of Mahrattas and Pindarries, whose existence the Peishwa denied; and when his falsehood became transparent, he repudiated their actions and threatened them as insurgents. Eventually he placed a price on Trimbeckjee's head, and forfeited the estates of his principal coadjutors.

It is here necessary, before entering upon the results of the events just recorded, to review other portions of the Indian possessions. The reputation gained by the British from the issue of the Nepaulese war was augmented in the ensuing year by the capture of Hatrass, a fort belonging to a tributary of the Company named Diaram, who, relying upon its position and reputed impregnability, became contumacious, and determined the authorities upon his chastisement. The military depot at Cawnpore furnished a large train of artillery, which, in a few hours, effected a breach in the walls, and the principal magazine exploding, finished the demolition of this invulnerable fort, unaccompanied with loss to the besiegers. The affair effected a sensible impression upon the refractory chiefs in Hindostan Proper.

The Pindarries, however, increased in numbers and daring proportionately with the success of the British arms. Upon the destruction of Hatrass, a large body entered and desolated a portion of the Madras territory; and in the following season, despite the exertions of the British, ravaged the Deccan. The governor-general, convinced that eventually these audacious proceedings would be noticed and ordered to be suppressed by the authorities in England, merely acted on the defensive, waiting events, and watching the growing treachery of the Mahrattas, at the same time making every preparation for a war, which he saw was inevitable.

This course received the sanction of the national executive, who became at last convinced that Cornwallis and Barlow had erred in their policy of non-interference; and upon the renewal of the charter in 1813, orders were dispatched to place Jeypore under British protection when opportunity favored. Upon the termination of the Nepaulese war, the capital of Jeypore being threatened by Ameer Khan and the Pindarries, overtures of an alliance with the prince were made; but these advances were received with indifference, owing, it subsequently appeared, to a supposition entertained by the Jeypore prince that Ameer Khan would abandon his plans under the impression that British protection could be secured at pleasure; upon which the governor-general abandoned any further negotiations until he adopted the line of action he had in view.

The Peishwa, though professing the most perfect amity toward the English, was known by the resident to be in league with Trimbuckjee, and fostering a rebellion nominally against his own dominions. He was manifestly preparing for war; his treasures were removed from Poonah, his forts repaired and garrisoned, and he levied troops from all quarters. Upon this the governor in council declared that Bajee Rao had broken his treaty with the English, and should be forced to render satisfaction for his past, together with security for his future conduct. His principal forts being at the time in the hands of the British, he had no choice between war or concession; he reluctantly adopted the latter alternative, and a treaty was

signed on the 18th of June, 1817, in which he abandoned his pretensions to be considered as the head of the Mahratta chiefs, giving up a quantity of territory and the fortress of Ahmednagar to the British.

As a sequence to the foregoing treaty, a supplementary one was executed in the following November with the Guicowar, in which the claims of the Peishwa upon him were commuted by the payment of four lacs of rupees annually; the British receiving, as their share of the agreement, the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujerat, a place of considerable political and commercial importance.

The Marquis of Hastings, being now comparatively unfettered, proceeded to execute his plans against the Pindarries. He resolved on pushing forward unexpectedly several corps to occupy certain positions, so that the enemy were prevented from concentrating their forces. The success of this plan he considered rested upon secrecy and celerity. The first effort of his policy, which greatly influenced the succeeding war, was directed against Scindia, to whom both the Pindarries and Mahrattas looked for support. Two corps, one under the governor-general, the other under Major-General Dorkin, so effectually isolated him, that he was forced either to fight or treat. The latter, placed as he was, he knew was his only alternative, though repugnant to his sentiments; and thus early in the war, the promoter and supporter of opposition to the British rule was detached from his associates.

The treaty was to the effect that Scindia should use his best exertions to annihilate the Pindarries, and furnish a contingent to act with the British, under the direction of a British officer; for the complete efficiency of which, as well as the pay of the troops, he was to resign for three years his claim against the Company; that the sums paid as pensions to his family and ministers should be appropriated to the payment of the cavalry he was to furnish; and it was further agreed that the rest of his army should occupy posts assigned by the English, who alone could order their removal. A further stipulation admitted the British to garrison the forts of Asseerghur and



A RAJPOOT.

Hindia during the war, as pledges for his fidelity; and the eighth article dispossessed him of the absolute control of the Rajpoot States.

This treaty, so adverse to Scindia's inclinations, was opposed in its execution by every sort of pretext: his contingent was with difficulty obtained, and Asseerghur not delivered up, the governor, it was stated, refusing to comply with his instructions. The British eventually besieged and captured the fort, when a letter was discovered from Scinda directing the governor to comply with any and every command of the Peishwa. This letter Scindia endeavored to palliate upon the plea of the long-established friendship between their families, an extenua

tion Lord Hastings admitted; but as a penalty for so gross a violation, he demanded the absolute cession of Asseerghur, which in the British keeping placed an effectual check upon the freebooters and robbers who had hovered about it, while under the Mahratta government, it being a sure refuge for them.

The main attack against the Pindarries was now arranged. Situated as they were in Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda, the armies of Bengal, Gujerat, and the Deccan, moved simultaneously toward them. The army of the Deccan, numbering fifty-three thousand men, under Sir Thomas Hislop, formed the centre, being supported by the Bengal army, twenty-four thousand strong, on one side, and the Gujerat army, nearly as formidable, on the other; while the entire force of the enemy scarcely numbered thirty thousand, and from the jealousy of their chiefs, Cheetor, Kurrur Khan, and Nasil Mohammed, were destitute of all unity of action. Favorable as circumstances thus appeared, events at Poonah entirely altered the campaign, and brought the Company into a war with the Peishwa.

An impression prevailing that the treaty which Bajee Rao had signed at Poonah was intended to be infringed, the resident declined attending him when he paid his next annual visit of devotion to the temple of Pundesore. This was done with a view to restore the confidence between the British government and the Peishwa, while he, under pretense of meeting this concession, dismissed a body of his cavalry; but it was ascertained that each officer had seven months' pay in advance, with orders to be vigilant and ready, and when summoned, to bring as many volunteers as possible.

Instead of returning to Poonah, the Peishwa proceeded to Maholy, near Satara, a place invested with great sanctity by the Hindoos. While there, he was waited on by Sir John Malcolm, political agent to the governor-general, who had been visiting and instructing the different residents respecting the proceedings against the Pindarries. Sir John, usually held to be an able diplomatist, was completely duped by the professions of the Peishwa, and returned to Poonah, satisfied that by

encouraging his desire to augment his forces, and treating him with confidence, the British would find an able ally. The resident, Mr. Elphinstone, differed entirely from Sir John's views, but was overruled, and the hill-forts, which were held for the performance of the treaty, were delivered up to the Peishwa, while General Smith's force, placed so as to intimidate Poonah, was marched to the frontiers of Candeish, leaving scarcely any protection for the residency. The Peishwa returned to Poonah in September, after having matured his plans against the English at Maholy. The Mahratta chiefs, however, before uniting with him, doubting his resolution, compelled him to swear that he would be guided by the advice of Bappoo Gokla, a general who had their entire confidence.

The Peishwa did not neglect Malcolm's absurd recommendation to recruit his army; upon that point his exertions were unceasing; neither did he omit storing and repairing his forts, or manning his fleet. Trimbuckjee Danglia likewise contributed his assistance by engaging the Bhuls, Ramoosies, and various predatory tribes; while constant dispatches passed to Nagpore and the encampments of Scindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan. The assassination of the resident and disaffection of the troops were personally undertaken by the Peishwa.

The fidelity of the sepoy's had never been suspected; but the reports from every quarter, together with the largeness of the offered bribes, and a still more important fact, that several of their families were in the Peishwa's power, and suffering from his vindictiveness, at length created some apprehension. But to the honor of these gallant men, neither domestic considerations, nor the rewards held out, had any influence on them. All attempts were ineffectual; some indignantly spurned the offers, while others appeared to accept them, for the purpose of learning the nature of the intrigues, and then divulged them to their officers. If there was this principle of honor exhibited on the British side; on the Peishwa's, it would not be doing justice to a brave soldier if we omitted stating that Bappoo Gokla would not for a moment listen to or sanction the

assassination of Mr. Elphinstone; on the contrary, he immediately sent word to the resident to apprize him of his danger. That gentleman, knowing that a European regiment was marching to support him, and aware of the indecision of Bajee Rao, entertained hopes that his courage might fail at the last moment.

The forces in cantonments being badly posted, Mr. Elphinstone moved them to Khirkee village, which had been pointed out by General Smith, in the event of a rupture. This withdrawal the Mahrattas attributed to fear, and the abandoned cantonments were immediately plundered. Parties of horse at the same time advanced on the British lines, while the language of the Peishwa's ministers became most offensive and insulting. On the 3d of November, Mr. Elphinstone deeming longer delay inimical to the Company's interest, ordered the light battalion and a body of auxiliary horse to march on Poonah, when the Peishwa resolved at once to commence hostilities.

The only portion of the Mahratta army visible was the infantry assembling on the tops of the surrounding heights. Ascending one of these, it was perceived that a mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole of the plain below, toward the city; while endless bodies were pouring in from every quarter. Mr. Elphinstone, discovering the attempt the infantry were making to cut him off from the camp, retired with his family to Kirk-see, exposed to the Mahratta fire from the opposite side of the river; at the same time ordering Lieut.-Colonel Burr to attack the Peishwa's forces, and Major Ford to support him with the irregulars. The Mahrattas, surprised at this movement from troops they had fancied disheartened, hesitated; Gokla, however, encouraged his men to advance, using praises, taunts, and implorations, as best suited his purpose; but the Peishwa, after the troops had advanced, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. The general, seeing the messenger, and guessing his errand, instantly opened a nine-gun battery, detaching a corps of rocket-camels to the right, and advancing his cavalry upon both flanks, nearly surrounded the British; but the rapidity of the cavalry movement left the infantry in the rear,

with the exception of a battalion under a Portuguese named De Pinto, who had taken a shorter route, and concealed his men amongst the low jungle. De Pinto formed with great steadiness, but was suddenly charged by the English sepoy, who, in their impetuosity, became detached from the rest of the troops. Gokla, to take advantage of this, led forward six thousand cavalry, but was perceived by Colonel Burr, who instantly stopped the pursuit of De Pinto's routed force, and ordered the sepoy to reserve their fire. In front of the British left, and unknown to either party, was a deep swamp, into which the Mahratta horse dashed with such impetuosity that those behind rode over their sinking companions in front. The sepoy poured their reserved fire into them with terrible effect; whilst the few who reached the sepoy's bayonets were dispatched with ease. A company of Europeans now advancing in support, the Mahrattas fled in a body, leaving the English victors over a body ten times their number, with the loss of but eighty-three in killed and wounded.

Upon the declaration of hostilities, Bajee Rao gave vent to his sanguinary and vindictive disposition. The residency was plundered and burnt; the families of the soldiery that fell into his hands, beaten, robbed, and many mutilated; the crops destroyed, trees torn up, and even the graves violated. An engineer officer, surveying, was killed. Two brothers named Vaughan, one a captain in the Madras army, were captured whilst traveling near Poonah, and hanged; but Gokla terminated these atrocities, Mr. Elphinstone representing to him that a severe retaliation would follow the continuance of such acts.

The communications from Poonah having ceased, General Smith, suspecting something amiss, prepared to return, and was followed and harassed by parties of the Mahratta light horse. On the 13th of November the two detachments effected a junction, marched toward the camp of Bajee Rao, who, after a sharp engagement, fled to Sattara, leaving his capital to the mercy of the English. Possession was at once taken of it, and further reinforcements having arrived, General Smith started in pursuit of the Peishwa.

At Naffpore very similar occurrences had taken place. Notwithstanding that Appah Sahib was chiefly indebted to the English for his elevation, he soon exhibited his ingratitude, by entering into secret correspondence with the Peishwa. This, although a violation of his treaty, the English government did not notice, the resident considering it would be impolitic to betray any suspicion respecting the rajah's integrity, his communications being frank and unreserved. Mr. Jenkins did not, however, trust to demeanor only; the increase of the Nagpore army, and the growing correspondence with the court of Poonah, spoke more plainly than the rajah's professions. But it was hoped that Bajee Rao's defeat would have had its influence upon the rajah; still the worst was prepared for, and instant reinforcements demanded. In a short time suspicions were confirmed, news being brought of an intended attack upon the residency and cantonments, which the movements of the rajah's army tended to confirm, and defensive measures were at once taken. Colonel Scott with his brigade forthwith occupied the residency and neighboring heights. The British force, about 1500 strong, were here attacked, on the night of the 26th of November, by an army numbering 18,000 men, and again on the following day, when, after many hours' severe fighting, the enemy were repulsed with great loss.

The defeat of his army, added to the appearance of reinforcements, destroyed the hopes of Appah Sahib, who sought to make his peace with the British, declaring the late attack had been made without his cognizance. He was ordered to draw off his troops from the vicinity before any reply would be made, with which he instantly complied, but still continued to vacillate in his conduct. General Doveton having now arrived with his army in support of the resident, the following terms were offered the rajah: viz., to deliver up his ordnance and military stores, disband his Arab mercenaries at once, and his own troops afterward; that the British should occupy Nagpore, and himself reside at the residency as a hostage. He was still left with the nominal sovereignty and functions, against the wish of the governor-general, who acceded to the representations

of Mr. Jenkins; and the latter, after many evasions, and a further struggle with the Arab troops, brought the rajah to accede to the British terms.

The Marquis of Hastings ordered the embodiment in a treaty of the provisional engagements with Appah Sahib; but before final instructions reached Nagpore, a fresh revolution had burst forth. The cession of the forts of Berar was refused by the governors. This, it was suspected, and soon confirmed, was at the instigation of the rajah; while correspondence between the rajah, his troops, and former ministers, clearly demonstrating renewed hostility, was detected. The murder, likewise, of his predecessor, was clearly brought home to him. These offenses, great as they were, would not have induced Mr. Jenkins to have adopted extraordinary measures; but information of the rajah's intended escape reaching him, he ordered a detachment to occupy the palace and capture the rajah, who was placed in confinement at the residency until ordered to be sent, strongly escorted, into Hindostan. But while on his way to Benares, appointed as his residence, by pretending illness and bribing his guards, he escaped. The officer in charge visited the rajah at the usual hour at night, found him apparently asleep in bed, the attendants requesting him not to disturb their master, repose being essential to his enfeebled condition; this was acceded to, and a hasty glance failing to detect a pillow as a substitute for the invalid, the officer departed, Appah Sahib at the time being miles away. His escort, it subsequently appeared, were his own soldiery, whom he had been allowed to select, the authorities not wishing, upon his leaving his kingdom, to irritate his feelings by a denial. Appah fled to the Mahedo hills, and thence to Asseerghur, where he joined Cheeto, the leader of the Pindarries.

General Smith, who pursued the flying Peishwa, had a harassing chase through the ghauts; and getting too far to the north, Bajee Rao returned and threatened to retake Poonah. Upon which Colonel Burr ordered to his assistance the Seram detachment, which marched under the command of Captain Staunton. It consisted of one battalion of native in-

fantry, three hundred irregular horse, and two six-pounders manned by twenty-four Europeans. A night-march brought them to the hills overlooking Konjaum, where Captain Staunton suddenly found himself confronting the Peishwa's army twenty-five thousand strong.

An engagement ensued, which, incredible as it may appear, terminated in favor of the British; men and officers gallantly supporting the reputation of the English. The feats of daring performed this day were never excelled in Indian warfare; while, on the side of the enemy, acts of barbarity which were intended to intimidate, produced a contrary effect, and added to the desperate valor displayed on the part of the English. The Peishwa, his general Lokla, and Trimbuckjee Danglia witnessed the engagement with dismay, and when night came on made a rapid retreat. The Peishwa was pursued; but, as usual, without success.

Sattara was then attacked by General Smith, and capitulated; after which a proclamation was issued deposing the Peishwa; and, with the exception of a small portion retained for the Rajah of Sattara, his territories were declared forfeited to the Company. Regulations were also issued for equitably adjusting the rental and taxation of the country.

Bajee Rao, who had retreated to Sholapore, being joined by a body of horse, moved westward. General Smith, discovering the enemy's tactics, pursued with cavalry and horse-artillery, and came upon the Mahrattas suddenly. In the engagement which ensued, Gokla was cut down by a dragoon, and the Mahrattas fled, leaving their baggage and several elephants, and their captive hostage, the Rajah of Sattara. Bajee Rao now moved on Nagpore; but finding the dissimulation of the rajah of that country had been punished, he returned to the northern confines.

The Marquis of Hastings having resolved upon the extermination of the Pindarries, Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams, acting with General Marshall, drove them from their strongholds; upon which Wasil Mohammed and Kharrum Khan united their forces and proceeded to Gwalior, whither

they were invited by Scindia. Cheeto took to the northwest, trusting to Holkar for support.

These movements being known, the governor-general sent a strong force to cut off the enemy before reaching Gwalior, bringing one division close on Scindia's camp. The Pindaries, failing in their object of entering Gwalior, took flight into Mewar. One body, however, ravaged the Deccan, and entered the Carnatic, where they were destroyed or dispersed before the ensuing February; and Cheeto, pursued by Malcolm, sought refuge in Holkar's encampment.

On the 21st of December the English sighted the enemy's entrenchments. Holkar's army was strongly posted near Mahedpore, the river Supra covering his left, and a deep ravine protecting his right flank, with a strong display of artillery in front, amounting to seventy guns, well manned by the Patans. The British, while fording the Supra, suffered severely from the enemy's guns; and each regiment, in order to escape the slaughter, was ordered, after taking its position on the other side of the river, to lie on the ground. At length, the whole having crossed, the signal was given, when they advanced rapidly to the charge, carrying all before them. Holkar's lines were broken, his guns captured, and a complete though bloody victory was obtained. A large amount of military stores was left on the field by the enemy, in addition to the whole of their artillery.

After this engagement the British forces marched to Mundinore, where envoys met them, deputed by young Holkar, to treat for peace, which was granted more favorably for him than he might have anticipated. The victory over Holkar rendered Scindia perfectly submissive: he could not, however, control his feudatories, one of whom sheltered Cheeto and his Pindaries. This was immediately noticed, and General Brown sent to resent his contumacious behavior. A more efficient man for the service could not have been selected; he acted with such promptitude, that Juswunt Rao's camp was surprised, his town stormed, all his guns captured, and another prince substituted for him over the district he governed.

Cheeto now fled with his Pindarries to the northwest districts; and the pursuit was then handed over to the Gujerat division, by whose efforts he was at length surprised, and his army dispersed by a small detachment from the fort of Hindia. Escaping with a few followers, he sought protection from the Nabob of Bhopal, who, however, rejected his overtures. Thus situated, he was compelled to join Appah Sahib, also a fugitive, but who was unable to afford him an effectual shelter; and having left this, his last hope, he wandered friendless through the fastnesses, and finally fell by an attack from a tiger. The Pindarries were now prostrated; destitute of leaders and homes, their position had become desperate, and eventually such as remained of them settled down to agricultural pursuits.

On his return to Madras, Sir Thomas Hislop proceeded to possess himself of the various forts yielded by Scindia and Holkar. Matters proceeded peaceably until the advance guard approached the fort of Taluier, when a fire was opened from the walls. This unprovoked assault and rupture of the treaty by which Taluier was ceded to the English, occasioned much surprise. General Hislop not being desirous of having recourse to severe measures, sent a message to the governor, informing him of the stipulations, and that in the event of any further opposition, he would be treated as a rebel. Instead of this message producing the effect intended, the reply was of a hostile character; upon which a six-pounder and two howitzers were ordered at once to play on the gateway of the fort. The enemy briskly replied, and opened a spirited fire upon the besieging force. The British guns were found too small to do much damage to the walls, and it was at length decided to carry the gate by assault. A storming party was ordered to advance; upon which a flag of truce was exhibited on the walls, and the commander shortly after appeared, and declared his readiness to surrender the fort according to the stipulations acceded to, time being allowed to make the requisite preparations. To this the British general replied that the surrender must be immediate and unconditional, and directed his reply

to be made known to the adverse troops. Great reluctance being shown to convey this message, the storming party were led on, passing through the dilapidated walls, and advanced to the last gate without opposition. On arriving there, a small gate was opened, through which Major Gordon, with a few supporters, entered; a short conference ensued, the enemy closing round Gordon, who was thus completely entrapped, and with his party barbarously murdered.

This treachery being made known, the English soldiery attacked the place with desperation, to avenge their murdered comrades. The pioneers soon forced an entrance; and the besieged, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were destroyed. Some few hid themselves in haystacks; but being discovered, the stacks were fired, and the fugitives, in attempting to escape from the flames, were shot like dogs by the infuriated soldiers. Two Arab boys and an old woman, who had secreted themselves in a well, were the only survivors of this fearful assault. The Killidan and Arab commanders of the fort, Sir Thomas Hislop hung as rebels. Their execution was strongly remonstrated against by several of the officers, both of them at the period of Gordon's murder being prisoners in the keeping of the British. Hislop's line of action proved correct, and ensured the peaceful surrender of the other fortresses. The keys of Chandore Galna and Unktunky were sent into the British camp, and immediately occupied. All that was now wanting to terminate the war was the capture of Bajee Rao and Appah Sahib.

The Peishwa moved about with a daily decreasing army, and at last was surprised and defeated by Colonel Adams, who crowned his victory by the capture of Chandah fort. Bajee Rao now made proposals to Mr. Elphinstone; but as they implied the possession of authority, he was informed that nothing short of unconditional submission would be listened to. Deeply mortified, he retreated with about 8000 men to a strong hill-post, whence he sent agents to Sir John Malcolm, the nearest of his adversaries, to treat for a surrender. Malcolm, coveting the honor of being considered the terminator of the war, en-

tered into negotiations at once; the terms of which were his surrender to Sir John, the abdication of his throne, and the passing the remainder of his life within the British territory, the Company allowing him £80,000 a year, and the retention of his private treasures. These concessions were reluctantly confirmed by the governor-general, who considered them greatly disproportioned to the condition of the Peishwa; and condemned Malcolm in strong terms for his injudiciousness. Trimbeckjee Danglia did not long remain free after his master's surrender; and being captured, remained a prisoner for life.

Appah Sahib was for some time blockaded among the hills; but at length made his escape to Asseerghur, which was then invested by General Doveton, supported by Malcolm with the Malwa contingent, and a strong force of artillery.

Asseerghur, after an obstinate defense, surrendered on the 9th of April, 1819; but Appah Saib had fled previously to its capture, and was not to be heard of. Fort after fort was now surrendered, and the governor-general commenced his plans for managing the captured territory. The possessors of property were treated with every consideration, and the law little changed in its enforcement; but an increased vigilance was needed in the criminal courts to suppress the organized bodies of murderers and robbers that infested the country. By these means a great change in the condition of the natives was effected, which on the whole gave much satisfaction. At Barcilly in Rohilcund, however, some resistance was made. A tax was there levied to defray the cost of the police; unpopular in itself, it was rendered still more so by its mode of collection. The head of the police, a man hated for his audacity and severity, was appointed by the magistrate to collect the tax. In consequence of the offensiveness of the tax, several meetings were held, and a petition against it presented by the mufti to the magistrate. The petition was unnoticed; and popular discontent was aggravated by a female being wounded by the police while distraining for the tax.

These occurrences led to a collision with the people, which

was attended with bloodshed, and left behind a strong feeling of discontent.

With the fall of Asseerghur ended the Mahratta war, famous alike for the many engagements which had taken place, and the difficulties presented by the nature of the country in which they occurred. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and invalided, was considerable; and amongst other enemies which the British troops had to encounter during this harassing campaign, not the least was the cholera, which made its first appearance in the south of Bengal during the rainy season of 1817. Thence it made its way westward to the English camp, where it committed great havoc, especially among the troops of the governor-general in Bundelkund, where about a tenth of the entire number were carried off. Europeans and natives were alike attacked, though not with equally fatal effects, the more poorly clad and fed suffering the most. Since that time the disease has scarcely ever been absent from some part of the Indian territories.

Early in 1822, the Marquis of Hastings, having resigned the high office he had filled during nine years, returned to England, leaving India, as several of his predecessors had done, in an apparent state of tranquillity. A review of his active administration will show that it had been attended with the most striking and brilliant events. The aggressions of the Mahrattas and Pindarries had been put an end to, and the power of those daring and restless people completely broken; whilst Scindia alone remained of all the disturbers of the public peace, almost powerless, and no longer feared as a dangerous adversary. The Company's name and reputation had been extended by the addition of large territories; and on all sides the revenues and trade had increased, and the people appeared to be contented and prospering.



CHAPTER VI.

**THE FIRST BURMESE WAR, AND THE CESSION OF ASSAM AND
THE TENASSERIM PROVINCES TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.
A. D. 1822-1827.**

IF the Marquis of Hastings had the honor of terminating successfully one of the many important struggles in which the British forces had been engaged with native powers, he enjoyed the credit of having bequeathed to his successor a war as tedious and harassing, if not as brilliant, as any in which that government had ever been involved. Before proceeding to detail the events of the first Burmese war, it will be necessary, in order to preserve this historical narrative in its integrity, to advert in the first place to the nomination of Earl Amherst as governor-general, mainly through ministerial influence; which was successfully urged against the superior claims of Lord

William Bentinek, who had previously distinguished himself as governor of Madras.

The temporary administration of Mr. Adams, pending the arrival of this latter nobleman, was rendered notorious by the exercise of a power which had hitherto not been used, though vested in the supreme government. To the censorship of the press of India was added the discretion of banishing any refractory or troublesome editor from the Company's territories. This despotic control was exercised by Mr. Adams against the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who, upon publishing some stringent remarks upon the acts of the executive, received notice to quit the country within a few days. This tyrannical proceeding, involving as it did the ruin of an individual, called forth some severe strictures in England, but was nevertheless supported and approved by the supreme government.

It was at this period, also, that the negotiations among the European powers, relative to the various Dutch settlements in the East, captured during the war, were brought to a final issue by the British authorities ceding to Holland the islands of Sumatra and Bencoolen, the former retaining possession of Malacca and Singapore. This last, under the auspices of Sir Stamford Raffles, was destined to rise to an importance as a commercial settlement unknown to any other of our eastern possessions; and at the present time may be considered the heart of the Indian seas.

Another event occurred, during the short administration of Mr. Adams, most disastrous to many of the European community of India. The commercial firm of Palmer and Company had for a series of years, and with the private cognizance of the Marquis of Hastings, contracted for loans of money to the Nizam of the Deccan, amounting in the aggregate to £700,000; and, as security for repayment of the balances, they had received a lien on the revenues of the Nizam. Such transactions were contrary to the laws of the Company, which reserved to itself alone the right of entering upon monetary transactions with native powers. Some difficulties having arisen between the contracting parties, the entire affair came

under the notice of the supreme government; whereupon the acting governor-general declared Palmer and Company had throughout acted illegally, and could not recover from the Nizam. The effect of this was to cause the immediate insolvency of this wealthy firm, to the serious injury of great numbers of the service, who had employed them as their bankers.

Whilst the British had been engaged in the extension of their territories on the west and north-west of India, the Burmese had been scarcely less actively employed in the enlargement of their dominions on the east. In this way the frontiers of the two powers approached each other, until the occupation of Assam, Arracan and Cachar, finally rendered them near neighbors. On the part of the Company there was little to hope for by any aggression in the direction of Burmah; whilst, on the other hand, the *eclat* of successes over the inhabitants of the subjugated provinces led the advisers of the golden-footed sovereign of Ava to indulge in dreams of further and more noble acquisition to the westward.

Matters might have remained undisturbed for a long period, but for an occurrence which took place on the confines of the south-east territories. In order to render this affair intelligible, it will be first necessary to refer to events which had occurred on our Burman frontier during the previous thirty years.

It was in 1798 that as many as 30,000 of the Mugs, a race inhabiting a part of Arracan, fled from the oppression of their Burmese masters, and sought refuge within the British district of Chittagong. An asylum was not refused them, and they settled down in villages and towns to various pursuits. Many attempts were subsequently made by the Burmese authorities to persuade the resident at Chittagong to deliver up the fugitives; but without avail. An embassy was afterward dispatched by the Court of Ava to Calcutta, but without inducing any change in the policy of the supreme government. In 1802, and again in 1809, embassies were sent to the governor-general by the Burmese sovereign, having the same subject in view, always with apparent friendly results, but still leaving the matter rankling in the mind of the latter potentate. In 1813

It appeared probable that a rupture would ere long take place between the two powers. The governor-general, however, had no desire for a war which held out such small prospect of gain or renown; and assumed a conciliatory tone in all negotiations. This demeanor was not unnaturally construed into weakness by the barbarian monarch; and his tone and demands became more assuming as that of the other evinced a more friendly disposition. On the arrival of Lord Amherst in India, a lull in Burmese agitation had taken place; and it might have been imagined by ordinary spectators that the threatening storm would pass over. Suddenly, however, it burst upon the British territories in a night-attack by the Burmese troops upon the island of Shahporee, at the entrance of the Tek Nauf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. It had been usual to keep a small guard on duty to protect the island from any marauders; but an attack from the Burmese not having been anticipated, the small force was overcome, and the island formally occupied by the Burmese. The governor of Arracan, when called upon to explain this invasion, impudently announced the annexation of it by his government; and that, moreover, unless the acknowledged right of the Burmese to the island was admitted, the sovereign of Burmah would invade the British territories. This violent act was shortly followed by the imprisonment of the commander and several of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia*. Other open acts of hostility were committed; and finally large bodies of troops from Assam and Munnipore crossed the frontiers, and, plundering the villages, established themselves within a few miles of Sylhet by means of their usual defenses, bamboo stockades. From this position they were driven with considerable loss, as also from several other stockaded posts on the eastern frontier, though not always without loss on the side of the British. These operations occurred during January and February of the year 1824; and when a more imposing force under the command of Colonel Innes was preparing to march against the invaders, intelligence was received of a numerous army of the Burmese having penetrated the British territories

on the Arracan side, led on by Maha Bandoola, the favorite general of the sovereign of Ava, who, it was stated, was so confident of success, that he carried with him golden fetters, in which the governor-general was to be led captive to the presence of his royal master.

Hostilities being no longer doubtful, Lord Amherst proclaimed war in due form, by issuing a manifesto declaring the Burmese public enemies, stating the various causes of complaint against them, and interdicting all British subjects, European and native, from holding intercourse with them. This proclamation also stated, that the "deliberate silence of the Court of Ava, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their sovereign. The governor-general in council therefore, for the safety of the subjects and security of our (the Company's) districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honor no less obviously requires that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted and so insolently maintained; and the national interests equally demand that we should seek, by an appeal to arms, that security against future aggression which the arrogance and grasping spirit of the Burmese government have denied to friendly remonstrance and expostulation."

The ignorance of the authorities upon the geography and resources of the Burmese territories caused some hesitation in adopting a plan of action. It was intended at one time to march on Ava through Arracan, a subsidiary force moving simultaneously from Cachar; but on inquiry this plan was abandoned, the unhealthiness of Arracan being considered insurmountable. It was then resolved that Madras and Bengal should provide an army which should capture Rangoon, the principal Burmese sea-port at the mouth of the river Irrawaddy. The seizure of this place, it was believed, would intimidate the king, and induce him to sue for peace; if otherwise, it was re-

solved to establish a depot of ammunition and military stores at Rangoon, to seize the boats and ascend the river to the capital, a distance of six hundred miles. Port Cornwallis, a harbor in the Andaman Islands, was the place of rendezvous to which the Bengal division was conveyed in April, to be followed in May by the Madras force. The united forces were commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served with great distinction in the Spanish campaigns, but knew little either of India wars or discipline. Commodore Grant commanded the naval part of the expedition, consisting of the *Liffy*, *Larne*, *Sophia*, *Slaney*, with several cruisers, and a small steam-vessel.

The 10th of May found the squadron anchored within the bar of the Irrawaddy, to the great consternation of the Burmese authorities; and as the night advanced watch-fires were lighted in every direction along the shores. The British resolved at once to make for Rangoon, trusting by the great consternation evinced, that the place would surrender, and afford at once, cattle, boats, and boatmen, all of which the expedition was destitute of. Accordingly, arrangements having been speedily made, the fleet sailed up the river on the ensuing morning. At noon the *Liffy* anchored in front of the king's battery at Rangoon, the remainder of the vessels taking position in her rear. These arrangements were effected without the slightest interruption, the enemy appearing completely intimidated. The Burmese authorities, however, at length succeeded in persuading their mercenaries to open a cannonade upon the ships, to which the *Liffy* replied, quickly driving the troops from their guns, and leaving the town deserted by both soldiers and inhabitants.

The complete evacuation of Rangoon was at first viewed with suspicion, it being apprehended that it was intended as a ruse. It soon, however, transpired that upon the arrival of the British becoming known, the governor, aware of the defenseless nature of the place, had ordered the inhabitants to be driven into the thick jungle of the interior, drafting the males into the army, and retaining their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. This appears to have been a customary practice with the Burman government. The position

of the victors was now one of considerable anxiety ; for, destitute of supplies, and without the means of traveling either by land or water, it was evident that during the approaching monsoon the hovels of Rangoon were to be their quarters, with an uncertain supply of provisions, and but a remote prospect of reinforcements from Calcutta.

It was known previous to the capture of Rangoon, that there were a few British and American residents in the town, whose absence afforded considerable anxiety to the captors. It subsequently appeared that they were seized and confined, and after repeated examinations by the governor were condemned to death. In this condition the prisoners remained several hours, when a 32-pound shot from the *Liffy* struck the place in which the chiefs were assembled, upon which they hurried off with their prisoners some miles into the interior. An advanced guard of the British fortunately followed in their track, and so alarmed the Burmese escort that they fled in great haste, leaving their prisoners behind them, who were thus liberated.

The possession of the Golden Dagon Pagoda, about two and a half miles from Rangoon, was Sir A. Campbell's first care. The approach to it on the southern face was through a row of mango, cocoa-nut, and other beautiful trees leading from the town, and shading a good road, at each side of which were monasteries of great antiquity, and richly carved with curious images and ornaments; whilst here and there appeared huge images of griffins and other hideous monsters, guarding the entrance to different pagodas; at the end of this road rose abruptly the eminence on which stood the golden Dagon.

The removal of the inhabitants from Rangoon was but the prelude to the desolation of the country, in the hope that famine would drive the British from the place. This would, doubtless, have been good policy, had humanity accompanied the perpetration; but the evils that it was intended to inflict upon the invaders, fell with tenfold severity upon the poor inhabitants, who were as little cared for as though they neither belonged to the country nor were worthy of a moment's consideration to those who directed the war.

The Burmese, who formed a cordon round the British, resolved, while they harassed them, to avoid an engagement. They were concealed in their impenetrable forests, and carried their measures into effect without the slightest chance of observation, whilst with their adversaries all was doubt and uncertainty. Their scouts came in without intelligence, and the natives previously removed from the vicinity, all means of communication were destroyed. The English commander had been induced to suppose that the occupation of Rangoon would instantly have produced its effect upon the Court of Ava; and that the demands of the governor-general would have been immediately complied with; but the present aspect of affairs led him to doubt the accuracy of these conclusions. Even the rising of the inhabitants of Pegu against the yoke of the Burmese, which he was informed might be safely relied upon; had not been manifested by the slightest movement.

The Court of Ava had been both expecting and preparing for war, but not in the quarter in which it appeared. After the insolent message sent to Chittagong, respecting the retention of the island of Shaporee, preparations upon an extensive scale were made for invading Chittagong from Arracan; and reports were circulated that, in the event of the British refusing to give up all claims to the island, an army of thirty thousand men would invade Bengal, and march directly upon Calcutta. Upon the arrival of the British at Pegu, active preparations were made to expel them. Every town and village contributed its quota of armed men to its respective chief, and the Irrawaddy was covered with boats conveying troops to the main army assembled at Hengawaddy. At the end of May, strengthened in numbers, they approached the British, and began stockading themselves in the jungle, to which Sir A. Campbell offered no opposition, trusting for an opportunity to impress a lesson upon the Court of Ava. A stockade having been thrown up at a short distance from his pickets, the general headed a reconnoitering party, it being reported the governor of Shudauny was there stationed with a large force to harass the English, and prevent the inhabitants

from quitting the jungle. The stockades being incomplete, were abandoned as the troops advanced, who found unfinished works in every direction, demonstrating that this movement had not been anticipated by the enemy.

A sudden tempest falling as the British passed from the jungle into the adjoining rice-fields, compelled them to advance on the villages without their field-pieces. As the huts were approached, it was discovered that they were protected by two stockades of considerable strength, well mounted, and guarded by troops, who uttered loud shouts of defiance. The rain which had prevented the guns from being brought forward, had also rendered the muskets of the British comparatively useless; and as they could not return the enemy's fire, which was well maintained, no time was lost in attacking them. Three companies rushed gallantly forward under the command of General Campbell, and forced their way through the stockade, killing or driving out the Burmese, who refused to give or take quarter.

The irrepressible valor of the English, which thus foiled the dogged determination of the Burmese, impressed the latter with a respect for the courage of their adversaries they had not before felt; and anxious, moreover, to gain time, they endeavored to practice upon the patience of their invaders by strong professions of friendship and desire for peace; but Sir A. Campbell was not so easily duped, and did not for one moment delay his preparations for attacking Kemmendine, a war-station up the river, which the enemy were daily strengthening. On the 9th of June it was announced that two officers of rank from the enemy were solicitous to confer with the general. Permission was given, and two war-boats appeared, from whence the deputies landed, and were escorted to the house of the British commissioners. Assuming an easy familiarity, it was soon discovered that they were either unwilling or not authorized to treat, and their object was simply to delay affairs; and upon their requesting a suspension of hostilities for a few days, it was at once refused. At 2 o'clock on the following morning, the British advanced on

Kemmendine by a road parallel to the river, and at no great distance from it. The advancing column was soon checked by a formidable stockade, flanked on three sides by the jungle, and fourteen feet high in front, protected by cross-bars and palisades driven diagonally into the earth. Two eighteen-pounders having reached the spot, and opened a fire upon the defenses, a gap was soon made, and an assault at once ordered. In a few minutes the British found themselves in complete possession of the position, after a loss of 200 men on the part of the enemy. At the rear of the fort the gilt umbrella, sword, and spear of the Burmese commander were found, the umbrella much shattered by a shower of grape; and the body of the chief was found a few yards further in the jungle. He had apparently received his death-wound where the emblems of command were dropped, and had probably been carried off by his attendants, until their own safety rendered it expedient to leave their burden behind them. The chief was said to be recognized as the elder deputy of the day before, whose pacific tone had so much amused the English commissioner.

The Kemmendine stockade was reached the same day at 5 P. M., and was found by General Campbell to be much more formidable than he had anticipated. He therefore postponed his attack until the ensuing day. As morning broke, the mortar batteries were opened, and told with such effect, that the attacking columns were marched forward, and the position captured without resistance; the Burmese having retreated to avoid the destruction the shells of the English were making in their crowded stockade. This victory, although it had the effect of striking terror into the enemy's soldiers, had little influence upon the Court of Ava, which continued to authorize the military chiefs to lay the country waste, in order effectually to render the British dependent for their resources upon India.

About the end of the following June it was known that Sykia Woongee, a minister of state, had received the imperial order to drive the British into the sea. To enforce this command, a large body of the enemy emerged from the jungle

early in July, and advancing in a parallel to their front, attacked the British position near Rangoon, where a regiment of sepoy's being advanced and supported by two guns, the Burmese commander ordered a retreat; when the news of this action reached Ava, he was dismissed with disgrace, and the second minister of state, Soomba Wongee, appointed to the command of the army in his stead.

The new commander occupied a very strong post at Kummeroot with his force, about five miles from the Dagon pagoda, and had likewise fortified a commanding point of the river above Kemmendine, where he not only prevented the navigation of the river, but constructed fire-rafts to destroy the British vessels of war. Both positions General Campbell attacked simultaneously, leading the column against the river position in person, whilst he left the advance on Kummeroot to General M'Bean.

Campbell found his undertaking really formidable; the stockades on both sides of the river being not only admirably posted and strongly constructed, but well found with guns and men. A naval force under Captain Marryat, consisting of a brig and three cruisers, were ordered to clear the obstructions on the river. These soon silenced the Burmese artillery; and a breach having been effected, the storming party crossed the river and carried the stockade with little loss. General M'Bean, approaching Kummeroot, found himself completely surrounded by well-constructed stockades, garrisoned by large bodies of troops, who watched his advance with great contempt. Destitute of guns, he determined on an immediate assault upon their principal stronghold, consisting of three stockades, one within the other; the last was Soomba Wongee's head-quarters. The Burmese general was taking his forenoon meal when the report of the British advance was made to him; but, satisfied with his position and the valor of his troops, he merely commanded his officers to their post, with orders to "drive the audacious strangers away."

He was not allowed to finish his repast in quiet; the rapidly-approaching volleys of musketry announced the forcing of his

outer line. Hastening to the scene of conflict, he found his men crowded together in the centre stockade, upon which the British fire was pouring with terrible effect. Panic-stricken and confined, all attempts of their leader to get them into order were unavailing. At length Soomba Wongee fell, and the Burmese troops fled, leaving 800 dead in the stockades; while the jungle and neighboring villages were filled with the wounded and the dying.

Although General Campbell had captured ten stockades, covered by thirty guns, and well garrisoned, he was unable to take advantage of the panic his successes had created, by marching upon the capital. He determined, therefore, to act against the maritime province of Tenasserim. The principal places offered little opposition; several excellent harbors were secured; and, what was all-important, a salubrious country discovered for the troops, whom the pestilential air of Rangoon had seriously affected.

The king of Ava, surprised at the audacity of an insignificant number of men, and unable to understand their success, dispatched his two brothers to superintend the war. These were accompanied by numbers of astrologers, who were to foretell the periods most favorable for success. They were likewise attended by a body of warriors termed the "Invulnerables." The distinguishing features of this ludicrous and pantomimic force consisted in the short cut of their hair, and peculiar method of tatooing, the figures of elephants, lions, and tigers being elaborately and somewhat abundantly displayed all over their persons. Gold, silver, and precious stones were also inserted in their arms, introduced under the skin when young. They are considered by their countrymen to be invulnerable; and, to judge from the absurd exposure of their persons to the fire of an enemy, they are either impressed with the same opinion, or find it necessary to show a marked contempt for danger, in support of their pretensions.

The English commander had ascertained that the princes were warned by the astrologers to wait for the first lucky moon; and as this was not very near, he determined not to lie

idle, and forthwith attacked several posts which had prevented provisions being brought to Rangoon. One of these, Syriam, a fort originally erected by the Portuguese, had been recently repaired and strongly stockaded. Against this place a strong party in boats was sent, and it was captured, notwithstanding the advantages in favor of the besieged; the Burmese retreated to the pagoda, leaving eight guns and a quantity of ammunition behind them. From the fort the English advanced to the pagoda, which was also carried without loss.

The astrologers, it was ascertained, had at length discovered the favored time for attacking the British, viz., at midnight on the 30th of August. Sir A. Campbell, having made his preparations, was in readiness to receive them. The Invulnerables boldly rushed up the road leading to the great pagoda, uttering threats and imprecations against the impious strangers who defiled the place with their presence. The English remained perfectly quiet until the multitude approached the gateway, when the guns were opened with discharges of grape, whilst the musketry poured in rapid volleys among them. The Invulnerables, astonished at the carnage, fled to the jungle, leaving the dead and dying in every direction.

This success General Campbell determined to improve by driving the enemy from all their posts near Rangoon. Major Evans was accordingly dispatched with three hundred men to ascend the Lyne River, and Colonel Smith, with the light division, on the road to Pegu. Colonel Smith having cleared several stockades, learned that a large body of the enemy, with cavalry, elephants, and guns, were in a fortified pagoda at Kytloo. As his men were all sepoys, he sent to General Campbell for a European reinforcement. His request was refused, with what appeared to Colonel Smith an imputation on his motives. Conceiving that his courage was doubted, he resolved to hazard an attack, which proved unsuccessful; and, after severe loss in killed and wounded, he was compelled to order a retreat, the gallantry of the officers being unsupported by their men, who were alarmed at the superior physical strength of the Burmese

The Burmese had in the meantime commenced preparations in Arracan for invading Bengal. Maha Bandoola, their commander, with a powerful force, marched on Ramoo, and attacked a small body of British stationed there. These, after a gallant resistance, were overwhelmed and nearly all destroyed or captured. The intelligence of this catastrophe reaching the commanding officer, who was marching to their relief, he made for Chittagong, considering that would be the next place upon which the enemy's power would be directed. The Burmese, however, never attempted to turn their advantage to account; and before Bandoola entered upon fresh aggressions, he was recalled to defend his country. This affair produced most painful impressions throughout Bengal. The peasantry fled from the invisible Burmese, as they were called; and the native merchants of Calcutta were dissuaded with difficulty from removing their families and property from that city. These alarms were fostered by the Peishwa and other Mahratta princes at Benares, as was subsequently ascertained.

By the end of the rainy season, the British in Rangoon had formed far more favorable opinions of their position. Great improvements were visible in the health of the troops, and hopes of an early advance were entertained. Five hundred Mugh boatmen from Chittagong were brought in and employed in preparing boats for the river service; a reinforcement also had arrived, consisting of two British regiments, some native infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a troop of horse-artillery. Added to these, transports with draught cattle began to arrive; all of which tended to impart fresh spirit to the men, who were busily preparing for their advance, when the approach of Maha Bandoola and his force was announced. He was the best general in the Burmese service, and commanded the largest army they had ever sent into the field.

The enemy's approach was learned by means of an intercepted letter from Bandoola to the ex-governor of Martaban, stating that he had left Prome at the head of an army well disciplined and supplied, either to capture or drive the English from Rangoon.

On the 30th of November, the Burmese assembled in the forest in front of the Shoe-dagon pagoda. Their lines, extending from above Kemmendine in a semicircular direction to the village of Puzendown, were easily traced by the smoke from their watch-fires. As night set in, the hum of voices from this multitude ceased, and in its place was heard the sound of heavy columns marching to the very edge of the jungle which formed the English barrier. The greatest alertness was displayed by the British, a furious assault on the pagoda being momentarily expected; but day broke without their expectations being realized. Scarcely had the day dawned when hostilities commenced with a heavy fire of musketry at Kemmendine, the reduction of that place being preliminary to any general attack. The firing was long and animated; and from the commanding situation at the great pagoda, though nearly two miles from the scene of action, the troops posted there could distinctly hear the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants, occasionally returned by the hearty cheer of the British seamen, as they poured in their heavy broadsides upon the resolute and persevering masses.

In the afternoon several Burmese divisions were discerned marching toward the Dallas River; and later in the day dense bodies issued from the forest, about a mile from the east front of the pagoda, taking position on the river at Puzendown, already strongly occupied by cavalry and infantry. These formed the left wing of the Burmese army. The centre was posted in the forest, and defied all conjecture as to its strength or position. In a few hours the British were completely surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon River alone unoccupied in their rear. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy extended a considerable distance, and, being divided by the river, weakened Maha Bandoola's means of assailing the British on any particular point; but the celerity, order, and regularity with which the different corps took up their stations reflected much credit on the Burmese general.

In the afternoon a sortie was made to ascertain the disposition of the Burmese; and as they were entirely unprepared for

this movement, they were forced from their earth-mounds, or coverings, which they had rapidly thrown up, with severe loss, leaving a great quantity of arms and tools in the trenches. But in the evening the Burmese returned to these works, and began fresh excavations. Soon after sunset the enemy's activity was again evinced by a fierce attack on Kemmendine, the country being simultaneously illumined by the flames of their tremendous fire-rafts, set adrift in the river to destroy the British shipping at Rangoon. These rafts the sailors secured and towed ashore, where they were consumed, whilst the attack on Kemmendine by land was also repelled.

For three or four days Sir A. Campbell allowed the enemy to advance their outposts until within fifty yards of his lines; when, ascertaining that they had brought all their ammunition and stores from the jungle into their entrenchments, he resolved on a decisive attack. Two battalions under Majors Sale and Walker were ordered to advance, while a number of armed boats under Captain Chads proceeded to Puzendown Creek, and opened a fire upon the enemy's entrenchments. Walker's column was stoutly opposed; but advancing, it drove the Burmese from their trenches at the bayonet's point, though with the loss of its leader. Sale's column met with less resistance, forcing the centre with ease, and then uniting with Walker's troops, it ended in driving the enemy from all parts into the jungle, leaving the earth strewed with the dead and wounded. The whole of their guns, tools, and other stores were at the same time captured.

Still undaunted, Bandoola persevered in his attempts, his troops laboring to make good their approaches to the great pagoda. On the morning of the 7th, four attacking columns from the British lines once more forced their entrenchments, and again the Burmese were compelled to retreat into the forest in their rear. In the evening a detachment from Rangoon attacked the position at Dalla, which had enabled the enemy to keep Kemmendine in a state of siege. The attempt was successful; and the Burmese were driven from their line

of circumvallation, with the loss of the remainder of their guns, ammunition, and stores.

These reverses caused hundreds of Bandoola's troops to desert, while he was personally fearful that his tyrannical sovereign would wreak his vengeance upon him for his losses. He therefore determined to maintain his position if possible. Four miles in the rear he had an army of reserve busied in stockading and strengthening a position near the village of Kokein, where considerable reinforcements were ordered to join him; and finding he could still face the enemy with twenty-five thousand men, he resolved to risk another action, should the English again attack him. With the view of assisting his operations, he bribed several of the inhabitants to set fire to Rangoon in various places, hoping that in the confusion some favorable opportunity might present itself to advance his schemes. The fire was, however, soon extinguished, and on the 15th the English advanced to the attack on Kokein at three different positions. As long as the troops were advancing, the enemy maintained a heavy fire; but no sooner had the advanced column penetrated the works, than the enemy fled in every direction, and the entrenchments were carried with little loss to the assailants, but great sacrifice to their adversaries. It was estimated that from the 1st to the 15th of December, six thousand Burmese were slain, while the total on the British side, killed and wounded, did not amount to six hundred, officers and men.

Notwithstanding the repeated defeats of Bandoola, it was evident that the war would be indefinitely protracted unless the interior of the country was penetrated. Accordingly, Sir A. Campbell resolved to march on Prome, while General Cotton proceeded thither with another division in boats; Sale being ordered, at the same time, to reduce Bassein. The march was commenced on the 11th of February, 1825; and on the evening of the 25th of the ensuing month, Sir A. Campbell reached a village from which Bandoola's position at Donoobew was visible. The general continued to advance, without much opposition, until the 25th, and halted within cannon-shot of the

enemy's stockades. On the morning of the 27th the flotilla was seen in full sail, and, after an unsuccessful attack by the Burmese, captured or reduced every thing opposed to it.

Bandoola having been killed by a shell, the troops refused to obey any other commander, and deserted Donoobew, which was immediately occupied by the besiegers, who forthwith prepared to march on Prome, which, in its turn, was abandoned as the British advanced. The court of Ava defeated, but not disheartened, once more tried to organize a fresh army, and raised levies from every part of the kingdom. This heterogeneous force was commanded on the right division by Sudda Woon; the prime minister, Kee Woongee, commanded the centre; while the left wing, under Maha Nemiow, followed a route about ten miles from the centre. On the 10th of November, Maha Nemiow occupied Wattygoon, sixteen miles from Prome, whither Colonel M'Dowal was sent to dispossess them; but the Burmese, learning his advance, marched to meet him. In the engagement which followed, M'Dowal was shot, which so dispirited his sepoy as to cause them to retreat. The Burmese, elated with this trifling advantage, resolved to retake Prome. The English having completed their arrangements, on the first of December, two columns, respectively headed by Generals Sir A. Campbell and Cotton, marched against Nemiow. The engagement that followed was obstinately contested by the enemy, and terminated in the death of the Burmese general, and the total annihilation of his army. Napaadu was next assaulted, and was carried at the bayonet's point, with great slaughter amongst its defenders.

On the 5th of December, the remaining division of the Burmese army under Sudda Woon was attacked and defeated, the troops flying in consternation to the woods for protection. General Campbell, with the view of ending the war, began his march on the enemy's capital early in December. After the capture of several stockades, and some slight skirmishes, Patanagoh was reached, when offers of negotiation were renewed, and a meeting to agree upon the terms of a treaty was appointed for the first of January, 1826. It was, however, dis-

covered that the Burmese were dissimulating ; and consequently, upon the armistice expiring, notice was given that hostilities would be renewed on the 18th. It was now evident that the Burmese cause was hopeless : all exertions upon the part of the officers were useless ; the soldiers, too dispirited to offer any defense, were driven from their entrenchments, leaving the whole of their artillery and stores. Prince Memiaboo and his defeated army retreated as quickly as possible, closely pressed by the British.

On the 25th the army was again on its march through a country desolated by fury and fanaticism. On the 31st two Burmese of rank arrived, with full authority for negotiating a treaty ; and General Campbell refusing to waive one point of his former demands, was assured they would be yielded. But no entreaty prevailed on him to arrest the progress of his army ; he, however, agreed not to pass Pagham Mew for twelve days.

Notwithstanding the assurances of these envoys, Campbell, as he proceeded onward, ascertained that hostilities were to be renewed. The king, instigated by a warrior of low origin, believed his boast, that with thirty thousand men he could annihilate the rebellious strangers. A fresh levy was accordingly made, and the force honored with the title of " Retrievers of the king's glory." The British army, weakened by the absence of two brigades, did not muster two thousand men ; nevertheless, Campbell determinedly pushed on to Pagham Mew. Clearing the jungle, he debouched on the Burmese army, sixteen thousand strong ; regardless of their position and numbers, the British dashed into their centre, which was speedily overthrown, and the wings with great difficulty reached the second line of redoubts under the walls of Pagham Mew. No time was allowed for rallying ; the English troops rushed into the Burmese entrenchments and within the city, and thus secured the victory. This was the most sanguinary defeat the Burmese had yet experienced. Severe as had been their former engagements this was still more so ; but thirteen hundred men,

with their boastful leader, returned to Ava out of all that numerous host.

The army was still kept marching until it arrived at Gandaboo, forty-five miles from the capital, when the Burmese monarch, completely humbled and disheartened, sent envoys to conclude peace upon any terms, which were at length arranged, and the treaty signed and sealed at Gandaboo on the 24th. By this act, the king of Ava renounced his claim to the sovereignty over Assam, Cachar, and Jylna; declared Munzipore an independent kingdom; acknowledged the mountains of Arracan as the boundary between his territory and the Company's, and yielded the whole of Tenasserim to the British. He further agreed to pay, in four payments, a crore of rupees, not to punish any of his subjects who had assisted the English during the war, to include the King of Siam in the amnesty, and to grant to British vessels visiting his ports the same privileges enjoyed by his own ships. The English, on their part, undertook to fall back on Rangoon at once, to leave the country entirely upon the payment of the second instalment of the crore of rupees, and to return all prisoners with as little delay as possible.

On the 5th of March, Sir A. Campbell gave the order for returning to Rangoon, which he reached without any casualties. The whole of the troops did not, however, return by this route; a body of sepoys, conducted by native guides, were directed to cross the country to Arracan, where they arrived without much trouble. Ava was thus proved to be accessible, upon any future occasion, by land as well as by water.

During the hostile operations against the Burmese in 1825, the attention of the Bengal executive was called to affairs at Bhurtpore, where Durgoon Sal, immediately upon the rajah's death, usurped the throne rightfully belonging to Bulwunt Sing, a minor, whose interests the British had promised to protect; upon which the guardians of the prince fled with him to Calcutta, and prayed the assistance of the governor-general. Lord Lake's failure at Bhurtpore had created a strong party there inimical to the British; and it had been wished for some time,

upon political grounds, to destroy this influence. A favorable opportunity for so doing now presented itself, and it was determined to destroy the hallucination that Bhurtpore was impregnable. Lord Combermere happening to arrive in India at this juncture, assumed the command of the army; and on the 10th of December; at the head of twenty thousand men, supported by a hundred pieces of artillery, appeared before the walls. Unwilling that the females and children should encounter the horrors of such an assault as must ensue, he addressed a letter to Durgoon Sal, on the 21st, urging him to send them out of the fort, and offering safe conduct to them, and further gave twenty-four hours for the execution of his humane desires; he afterward further extended the time twelve hours, though without any result.

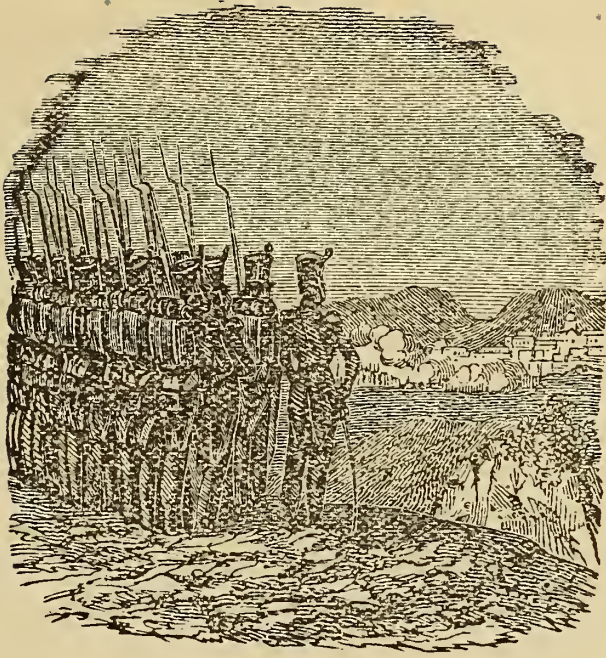
On the 23d, besieging operations commenced, the north-east angle being selected as the *point d'appui*, the British at the same time possessing themselves of Kudum Kundee, a village, and completing their first parallel eight hundred yards from the fort. The remainder of the month was employed in constructing and repairing batteries and making preparations for the general assault, a heavy and destructive fire being sustained by the town during the whole time. At length, on the 3d of January, 1826, the artillery began to breach the curtains. The tough mud-walls were, however, much more effective than masonry; and, as the batteries produced but little effect, recourse was had to mining. On the 16th two mines were driven, and sprung successfully, previous mines had proved ineffective, or were rendered abortive by the besieged; and an excellent breach in the walls being reported, the 18th was fixed on for the assault. Early in the morning, the troops forming the storming-party reached the advanced trenches without being discovered; while General Nicholls and General Reynells, at the head of their brigades, were respectively to mount the left and right breaches, the explosion of the mine being the signal for attack. The explosion took place at eight o'clock in the morning, carrying away the entire salient angle and a great portion of the stone cavalier in the rear. The troops imme-

diately advanced with great order and determination; and shortly, notwithstanding the fury of the besieged, carried the breaches, and in two hours the whole rampart environing the town and the gates of the citadel were in the hands of the besiegers; very shortly afterward the citadel itself was captured. General Hugh, who had been specially appointed to prevent the enemy's escape, so judiciously disposed his men that Durgoon Sal, his wife, and two sons, were, with a strong body of horse, made prisoners in their attempt to force a passage through the 8th Light Cavalry.

It was estimated that not less than four thousand of the besieged fell in this assault, and scarcely a man escaped through Hugh's cordon of cavalry. The whole of the military stores and ammunition being captured, the political and military power of Bhurtpore was annihilated, and the fortifications demolished, by Lord Combermere's order, on the 6th of February. All the remaining fortresses belonging to the rajah surrendered, and the rajah himself was reinstated; after which Lord Combermere broke up the camp, and returned to Calcutta on the 20th of February.

This gallant assault merited, and received, the thanks of Parliament and the East India Company; and what was still more gratifying, the prize-money which the king presented to the Company was ordered by the Court of Directors to be distributed among the troops.

In 1827, the whole of British India being in a state of tranquillity, Lord Amherst proceeded to the upper provinces, and visited Delhi, expressly to arrange the relations of the British government with the nominal king of that country; his negotiations were ended by setting aside the shadow of sovereignty which had nominally attached to the last descendant of the Mogul. At the end of March Lord Amherst embarked for England in his Majesty's ship *Herald*, leaving the Hon. Mr. Bayley to administer the government of India pending the arrival of his successor.



CHAPTER VII.

**FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK TO
THE ANNEXATION OF SCINDE AND THE PACIFICATION OF
GWAJAR. A. D. 1828-1844**

THE administration of Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded Earl Amherst, was, unlike that of any of his predecessors marked by no warlike demonstrations. The inroads of hordes of hill-tribes, the punishment and dethronement of the petty Rajah of Coorg, and some other arrangements with various tributary powers, were not sufficient to disturb the general tranquillity which now pervaded India, and which it was his lordship's fortune to turn to profitable account. The state of the services received the governor-general's earnest attention; and many reforms were introduced into their various branches, which, however unpalatable to the members, were calculated greatly to improve their efficiency. Many concessions were also made to the natives of India; not the least valuable of which was an enactment freeing seceders from the

Hindoo or Mohammedan faith within the Bengal Presidency from the penalties which had, under the old native laws, attached to such an act, viz., the forfeiture of their personal and family property.

Educational and other public institutions received his lordship's warmest support; and to this day the name of Bentinck is gratefully remembered by the inhabitants of British India. Two projects of national importance were at this time undertaken; of one of which the ultimate benefits can scarcely be over-estimated—the opening of communications between British India and the countries west of the Indus as far as the Caspian Sea, and the establishment of an overland steam communication between England and India.

The former of these projects had for its objects the extension of British commerce, and the ascertaining the feasibility of a Russian invasion from that quarter. This important and dangerous task was confided to Lieutenant, afterward Sir Alexander Burnes, who gathered and published some valuable information respecting the political condition, the commercial relations, and the geographical features of the countries lying between the Indus and the Caspian Sea. No commercial advantages have as yet sprung from his labors, with the exception of the complete navigation of the Indus by steamers; whilst, as regards political occurrences, the only result has been the disastrous Afghan campaign, which may truly be traced to this exploration.

Of far greater magnitude and solid advantage to Indo-British commerce was the rapid and safe communication, first commenced during Lord W. Bentinck's administration, between India and Great Britain, by way of the Red Sea, Egypt and the Mediterranean. To Lieutenant Waghorn belongs all the merit of having conceived and thoroughly carried out this scheme in the teeth of all the constituted authorities of India, at home and abroad. Thanks to the enlightened man who at this time ruled India, Waghorn's efforts were rightly estimated, and in the end completely carried out, to the lasting advantage.

of every interest connected with the British possessions in the East.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam-vessels was, during this peaceful administration, set on foot with the most complete success; and has since, under a completer system, afforded great facilities to the internal traffic of the Bengal Presidency.

In the year 1833, the discussions in Parliament on the renewal of the East India Company's charter led to some great and important changes in the functions of this powerful body. The principal of these changes may be placed under the following heads: The Company retained its political rights, and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, gave its entire attention to the government of India. It ceased to be a commercial body, gave up its monopoly of the Chinese trade, and abandoned that of India; the trade to both countries was declared to be free to every British subject. British subjects were permitted to settle in any part of the Indian territories. The shareholders were guaranteed a fixed dividend upon their capital of £6,000,000; and a sinking-fund was set aside for the purpose of redeeming the Company's stock at the end of fifty years, if deemed necessary. With these leading provisos, the charter was renewed for a further term of twenty years, expiring in the year 1853.

Lord William Bentinck resigned the administration of Indian affairs early in 1835, owing to the failure of his health; and in the month of March set sail for England, regretted by the native and a large portion of the European community.

The advent of Lord Auckland as governor-general of India was destined to prove a momentous epoch in the Anglo-Indian annals. On this appointment being made known, the public were somewhat at a loss to guess what peculiar quality of his lordship had formed the justification of the act. None knew what his administrative ability might amount to; and all who took the trouble to form any opinion on the subject, were unanimous that the name of Auckland could, by no human possibility, become distinguished in the connection with the gov-

ernment of the vast territories, over which it was decided that he should hold an almost uncontrolled sway. But these cavillers were mistaken; they knew not their man. Before these sceptics in the achievements of an Auckland were three years older, they had the strongest possible reasons for according to his lordship a distinction and a notoriety as world-wide, and as indelible, as any achieved by a Clive or a Wellington. It was Lord Auckland's destiny to place the British arms in a position that they had never previously occupied on the continent of India; to carve out for the British forces a career as disastrous as its origin was unjustifiable and unworthy; to peril the position of the English in the East; to sacrifice an army of brave men; and finally, to clothe half the nation in mourning, and to overwhelm the other half with shame and indignation.

On the arrival of this amicably-disposed nobleman in Calcutta, he found India rife with rumors of Russian diplomacy and Russian intrigue. Every political occurrence of the day was set down to autocratic influence; every foreign traveler in moustaches, was believed to be a diplomete or officer of engineers from St. Petersburg; and every Arab or Beloochee trader who crossed the western frontier, was transformed by these political genii of the Company's service into a Russian spy.

Shah Soojah, the imbecile ruler of Afghanistan, had been expelled that country, in the ordinary Eastern style, to make room for one far better able to rule such a turbulent people as were his subjects; and the deposed chief appeared well satisfied to find himself with his head on his shoulders, eating the Company's "salt" within the walls of the British fortress of Loodianah, one of the northwest frontier stations.

The Punjab, or "Country of the Five Rivers," which formed the barrier between the Company's territories and the turbulent Afghans, was at that time under the sway of Ranjeet Singh, a chief whose valor and indomitable energy and activity had won for him the title of the "Lion of the Punjab." Between this chief and the Afghan rulers a constant succession of hostilities

took place, with varying results, though most frequently in favor of the "Lion."*

The mission of Captain, afterward Sir Alexander Burnes, to Cabul, in 1837, although apparently successful at the time, bore no fruit; and it soon became evident that the ruler of that country, with many promises on his lips, cared as little for the friendship and commerce of the English, as for their hostility †

Another party of diplomatists, military and civil, was dispatched to Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, with the view of forming a treaty with Runjeet Sing. So far as the signatures to a parchment were concerned, every thing was attained that had been hoped for; and the governor-general, who was already planning, at the instigation of others, the chastisement of Dost Mohammed, the restoration of the imbecile Shah Soojah, and the defeat of the so-much-dreaded Russian influence in that quarter, flattered himself that Lahore would prove a safe and accessible road by which to reach the walls of Cabool.

In October, 1838, war with the Dost was proclaimed from the cool retirement of Simla; and so determined were the abettors of this ill-advised scheme, that before the close of the year, the Bengal and Bombay armies were at the appointed rendezvous, Shikapore in Scinde. These forces amounted to 15,000 men, with a reserve of 4000 at Ferozepore, and a native contingent, provided by Shar Soojah, but paid by the English, amounting to 6000.

The British troops encountered disasters from the outset. The cholera, want of a sufficient means of transport, jealousy and heart-burnings amongst the commanders, and lastly, the

* The Sikh ruler appears to have been keenly alive to the process of absorption of native states by the English, although he felt it to be his policy to remain on friendly terms with so powerful a neighbor. It is related of him that in a conversation with a Company's officer, he pointed to a large map of India before him, on which the British territories were defined by a narrow red band, and exclaimed: "When Runjeet dies, Company's red line swallow up all Punjab country."

† Alexander Burnes' Travels in Afghanistan, &c.

trying season during the greater part of the march, all contributed to impart a prestige of no cheering character to the commencement of the campaign.

Sir John Keane, appointed to the command-in-chief of the army of the Indus, was seconded by officers as brave and energetic as any in the service. Among them were Major-General Nott, Sir W. Cotton, Brigadier Sale, and Colonel Dennie. The arrangements for the supply of the commissariat were, however, of the worst possible kind; and added to this was the enormous number of camp-followers, amounting to nearly 100,000; these had to be provided for amidst strange and unfriendly countries, upon a march of extraordinary length and of great physical difficulties.* It was not surprising, therefore, that these circumstances, added to the want of unanimity in action amongst the divisions of the army, should have placed the invaders in a difficult and perilous position.

On the 6th of March, the Bengal column under Sir John Keane and Sir Willoughby Cotton, reached the foot of the mountains of Western Afghanistan, scarcely on the threshold of their journey; yet even then their provisions ran short, and the allowance of the troops was reduced to one-half. The dangerous and difficult passage of the Bolan Pass, seventy miles in length, was effected after much suffering; and when the troops reached Quettah, on the 4th of April, so reduced were they in all their supplies, that the camp-followers were under the necessity of feeding on roots, skins of beasts, &c.

Thence to Candahar the sufferings of the soldiers and followers were very great; and when they reached that city on the 4th of May, the latter dwindled down to 20,000. The expectation that supplies would be there obtained, was doomed to disappointment. The army found itself as badly fed as ever; and, in order not to exhaust completely the miserable means of the commissariat, a move onward toward Ghuznee was at once decided upon, although the distance was fully 230 miles, and the army wanted most of the requisites for a long journey.

* Buist's Outline of the Operations of the British Troops in Scindia and Afghanistan.

On the 21st of July the British troops encamped under the walls of Ghuznee, which were found to be far stronger than had been anticipated. Hesitation would have been ruinous; and the choice lay between making a dash at this stronghold, and a timely retreat to the starting point. Fortunately for the besiegers, it was discovered that one of the gates of the town had not been built up with masonry, and accordingly this was blown in with gunpowder during the night, the breach thus effected being at once taken advantage of by a storming party, seconded by all the troops available for an assault of the kind. The town was quickly captured; and, in spite of some desperate resistance from the Afghan garrison, the citadel fell within a few hours. The loss of the British in killed and wounded was but trifling; that of the besieged amounted to 1000 slain and 3000 wounded and captured.

The fall of this stronghold of the Afghans was fortunate in many respects; for it not only afforded the troops much that was needed, but struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, and at once opened the road to Cabool. The army was not allowed a long halt; Colonel Wade, who was moving onward from Peshawur, fought his way through the Kyber Pass, and seized Jellalabad, driving before him Akbar Khan, the second son of the Dost, and capturing a large supply of arms, ammunition, and horses. On the 30th of July, the main body of the army, with Sir John Keane, Shah Soojah, and Mr. McNaghten, marched toward the capital; from which, as they approached, Dost Mohammed fled with a chosen body of horsemen, making his way to the west, beyond the reach of regular troops.

Deserted by their ruler and every chieftain of any consequence, the inhabitants of Cabool had little choice left them but to open their gates to the advancing columns of the British, who entered the Afghan capital, with Shah Soojah at their head, in all the pomp and circumstance of victory. There were none to oppose the placing the English nominee on the throne; and this was accordingly done; though it does not appear to have occurred to any of the actors how they were to manage to

keep him there without the presence of an overwhelming military force.

Thus far the game had proceeded smoothly enough ; despite the privations of the troops, every thing had succumbed to them ; and if the miserable arrangements of a most defective commissariat had not involved the army in utter confusion, it was owing rather to good fortune than to any other contingency.

The commander-in-chief hastened from the scene of his hollow exploits ; and scarcely resting at the seat of government, took his way home, to show himself to the British public as the conqueror of Afghanistan, receiving, as the fruit of his splendid achievement, a title and a pension ; the greatest exploit of the entire campaign having been the blowing open of a wooden door with a few bags of gunpowder.

The bulk of the troops followed their retreating commander ; a small force being left behind in various positions, scarcely any of which were tenable against an enemy. Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir William MacNaghten were left at Cabool in a political capacity, with a garrison under the command of Major-general Elphinstone and General Sale, badly housed, and still worse provided with a commissariat. So miserably indeed, was this department conducted, that it was frequently only by dint of hard bribing, that any provisions could be procured from the neighboring country.

Matters remained tranquil through the first winter ; which, in that country, proved a most severe season for the Company's troops, both European and native. The spring ushered in a foretaste of what was in store for the British. Dost Mohammed was known to be at no great distance from Cabool, raising the people, and inciting them to vengeance on the unbelieving invaders of their country. Akbar Khan, his "fighting" son, was everywhere leading large bodies of Afghan troops against the British outposts ; cutting off supplies, and harassing the troops in every possible manner.

In the summer of this year (1840) some sharp encounters with the enemy took place, much to his discomfiture ; the rude

courage and brute energy of his wild troops being quite unable to cope with the disciplined bravery of English regiments. After many desperate engagements, Dost Mohammed surrendered himself a prisoner to the British envoy, Sir W. Mac-Naghten; and was, before the end of the year, sent beyond the frontier. A pension of £30,000 a year was allowed him, and a residence for himself and his numerous family allotted at Mussoorie, on the north-western frontier, where he quietly remained, awaiting the course of events.

They were not very long in casting their shadows on the foreground. Akbar Khan had been no party to his father's submission; and so far from contemplating a similar course, omitted no opportunity of falling upon any British force which came in his way. Month after month witnessed the same system of desultory warfare; always to the damage of the British, and seldom to that of the enemy, who were completely masters of this art of campaigning.

Beyond this system of petty and vexatious warfare, and the evidently growing dislike of the people to British influence and presence in the country, there was little to disturb the course of events at Cabool. At the same time there were not wanting those who could see below the surface of things, and who prophesied the approaching storm. Hints, warnings, and advice were alike thrown away upon the British envoy, who appeared to discredit all that did not coincide with his own previously formed opinions.*

This strange infatuation clung to him up to the last moment; and when the 2d of November, 1841, ushered in a general rising of the people of Cabool, he was still unpersuaded of any real danger, and expressed a belief that "it would all blow over." It did blow over; but it swept with it the existence of the whole English force. From that fatal morning the record of events in Afghanistan is a sad and terrible recital, uncheered by but one single bright and stirring deed—the gallant and apparently-hopeless defense of Jellalabad by its small and ill-provided garrison.

* The Military Operations at Cabool, &c., by Lieutenant Vincent Eyre.

The massacre of Burnes, and every officer, woman, and child found with him in the city, was followed by the seizure of the commissariat, and the gathering of numerous bodies of Afghans within and about the walls. The energy and faculties of both officers and men seemed to have been completely paralyzed by the suddenness, rather than the greatness of the danger; and in this manner many valuable days were suffered to pass, adding to the confidence and numbers of the enemy; and in proportion dispiriting the British troops. Resistance did not form a part of the tactics adopted by this most unfortunate body of men, who preferred trusting to negotiations with men who were proverbial for their utter faithlessness, rather than to their own energy.

Toward the end of November, Akbar Khan arrived in Cabool with a chosen body of horse; and from that day matters drew rapidly to a crisis. Conferences were held between the chief and the British envoy, which resulted in an arrangement that the British should immediately evacuate Afghanistan, being guaranteed a safe passage to India and supplies of provisions. Dost Mohammed was to be permitted to return to his country, Shah Soojah to retire within British territories, and perpetual friendship to be firmly established between the two powers.

The troops began to prepare for their humiliating march on the 14th December; and on the 23d, as the remainder of the forces joined the main body, Sir W. MacNaghten was invited to a final conference with the Afghan chief, and during a short interview was killed by a pistol-shot, as some have declared, fired by the hand of Akbar Khan.

The retreat of the English forces, amounting to 4500 men, and some 12,000 of camp-followers, took place, as arranged, on the 6th of January; but no sooner had they cleared the walls of Cabool, than parties of Afghans harassed their rear and picked off the stragglers day and night. The horrors of that humiliating retreat were heightened by the severity of the season and the difficulties of the country. First the wounded, and then the ladies and children, were given up to the Afghans

as the only hope of saving them ; finally, abandoning all further hope, the soldiers and camp-followers gave themselves to despair, and either lay down to die in the snow, or fell in the rear, and were dispatched by Afghan bullets. From straggling shots the work of death proceeded until it became wholesale slaughter ; and before many days had elapsed, of all that host of twenty-six thousand souls but one Englishman, Dr. Brydon, and a few sepoys and followers, escaped with the terrible tidings to Jellalabad, where the gallant Sale held his position with the courage and determination of a hero.

Meanwhile Candahar was held by General Nott and a strong body of troops ; Ghuznee was kept possession of by Colonel Palmer and a mere handful of sepoys ; whilst Shah Soojah contrived to make good his position in Cabool itself, despite the presence of Akbar Khan and the treachery or feebleness of nearly every Afghan chieftain.

Determined, if possible, to obtain possession of the fortress of Jellalabad, Akbar Khan invested it with an army strong in numbers, but deficient in every requisite for conducting a siege. With the old crumbling walls of the fort tottering at every discharge of cannon, with wide gaps in their defenses, which any other enemy would have known how to avail himself of, Sale and his gallant little party not only bid the besiegers bold defiance, but sallied out for forage, and did no small mischief in the Afghan camp.

Whilst the above was transpiring, and when the English captives, ladies, officers, and children, were dragging on a miserable existence in Afghan dungeons, General Pollock was making his way with a relief across the Punjab ; and at the same moment, the instigators of all these disasters were issuing instructions for the withdrawal of the British troops from Cabool, leaving the prisoners of course to their fate.

The winter of 1841 brought no hope for the pent-up garrisons of the captives in Afghanistan. The troops of Akbar continued to press hard upon every fort in the possession of the English ; and though Jellalabad and Candahar held out gallantly, Palmer was compelled to evacuate Ghuznee, when,

as was usually the case, nearly every man, woman, and child of the garrison was butchered as they marched out under the capitulation. Palmer was reserved for torture and imprisonment, with one or two of his officers.

At length brighter days dawned upon the army of the Indus. The nervous and imbecile Auckland was replaced by Lord Ellenborough, a man of other mettle, who, though pestered by the fears and phantasies of the incompetent Council of Calcutta, acted on the impulsive feeling of doing that which alone could retrieve the tarnished reputation of the army, and rescue the British captives by means alone consistent with the national honor. The word was given, and heard but to be joyfully obeyed. No second bidding was needed. Pollock continued to move forward with his troops to the relief of the gallant band in Jellalabad. The Afghans, under Akbar Khan, opposed the passage of the Kyber Pass in vain; driven from every point by the bayonet, the enemy fled before the British troops, and from the moment of emerging from that dangerous mountain-gorge the British forces met with no further resistance. The army of the Khan had melted away like snow before the noonday sun.

On the 16th April, the troops of Pollock and Sale met under the tottering walls of Jellalabad, with what delight to all parties may be readily imagined. But all felt that the time was too precious to be wasted in mere rejoicings or congratulations. Both generals knew well the critical position of the remainder of our pent-up forces, the revengeful, impetuous temper of Akbar, and the imminent danger of the prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of Sale; and they felt that if any decisive blow was to be struck, it must be achieved at once, with the *eclat* of Pollock's recent victories still fresh in the minds of the enemy and their own troops. Had their own impulses only been consulted, Cabool would have been in their hands within a week; but unfortunately a reference was yet to be made to the supreme government.

It was thus the middle of August before a combined movement was made by the three generals, Nott, Pollock, and Sale,

from Candahar and Jellalabad. The former moved out with seven thousand troops; and defeating one of the Afghan chiefs, who attempted to intercept his march, razed the walls and fortifications of Ghuznee, the scene of so much treachery and disaster to the British. On the other side, the combined forces of Pollock and Sale did not proceed without force; but in every case in which opposition was offered, victory declared for them. Indeed, every sword that was drawn, every shot that was fired, told in honor of the British, and served but to render the cause of the Afghans more desperate.

The final struggle for the mastery took place at the Khoord Cabool Pass, a most difficult and commanding position, where the enemy mustered in considerable numbers; but to oppose in vain. Nothing could now restrain the British troops, who seemed eager for the fray, and driving the foe before them from every defile and mountain-path, sealed the fate of that short and glorious campaign.

On the 15th of September, the forces of Pollock and Sale arrived at Cabool, where they found, as expected, that numerous changes had taken place. Revolutions and savage conflicts had succeeded each other with rapidity. The chiefs had been divided among themselves in the support of the two rulers, and eventually the assassination of Shah Soojah had to a degree paved the way to something bearing the semblance of amity. No sooner did the news of the junction of the British forces at Jellalabad reach the ears of Akbar, than he prepared for flight, making arrangements at the same time for carrying his numerous prisoners with him into the wilds of Toorkhistan. On the notification of the advance of the generals toward the capital, the Afghan chief put his plans into execution; and whilst he hurried off his own treasures and family toward the northwest, and himself hastened to watch the steps of the British, the English captives, to the number of one hundred and twenty-two, were dispatched in charge of an Afghan khan, toward Bameen, where they were detained for upward of a week, awaiting further instructions from Akbar. The orders of the latter had been to kill all the sick, wounded, or feeble, so

as to prevent any delay in their march ; but although the khan showed little regard for his charge, he hesitated to carry into execution these barbarous instructions.*

Fortunately for the prisoners, this chief was easily swayed by interest. Avarice was his ruling passion ; and the officers in his custody were not long in ascertaining that a bribe sufficiently liberal would induce their jailer to open the doors of their prison-house. The result of their negotiations was, that £2000 were to be paid down to the khan and a pension settled on him ; for which he was to fling off allegiance to Akbar, and maintain the party in the fort against all enemies until relief could be obtained. The position of independence taken up by the old khan and his followers and British companions, soon drew around them some of the neighboring chiefs, who doubtless were aware of the present aspect of affairs at Cabool, and were able to make a shrewd guess at the probable course of events. These people guaranteed support and aid to the English party ; and at length, when news was brought to the latter of the successes of Pollock and the dispersion of Akbar's forces, they moved boldly and rejoicingly from their prison-fort, and turned their steps in the direction of Cabool. Their party was, however, but a small one ; and they were not without apprehensions lest Akbar might still be hovering about to intercept any relief sent to them, the more so as some report reached them that a strong body of Afghan horse was following in their steps to hurry them off to the banks of the Oxus.

On the first evening of their bivouacking, they received decided intelligence of the complete successes of the various bodies of British troops, and of the dispersion of the Afghan and their chief Akbar. The glad intelligence was confirmed during that night by the arrival, in their little camp, of a native trooper, bearing a letter from Sir Richard Shakespeare, informing them of his near approach to their assistance with a strong body of Kussilbash horse. Before daylight the little party set forward on their way to meet their deliverers with beating

* Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan : Lieutenant V. Eyre.



LADY SALE.

hearts; and at noon, whilst resting under the shade of a ruined fort, they were gladdened by the approach of Sir Richard and his cavalry, mustering six hundred.

Fears were, however, still entertained that an attempt at rescue might be made by the desperate Akbar, especially as a dangerous pass had to be traversed on their road to the capital. Accordingly, a messenger was dispatched to General Pollock, requesting instant reinforcement; whilst on their part every available means were used to push on their way, with but little rest or desire for halting. On the 20th they encountered an officer who had ridden on in advance of the approach

ing relief; and from him they gathered the joyful intelligence that General Sale's brigade was but a mile or two in the rear.

The happiness of this day may be imagined. The long-lost wife and daughter were restored in safety to the man who had so gallantly maintained the honor of his country within the little fort of Jellalabad; and many a missing one was met that day by friends or anxious relatives.* It was indeed a joyful meeting, and gladly did the whole party set forward to retrace their steps to the camp outside the city of Cabool. This they reached by sunset on the 21st, the British artillery rending the air with the glad echoes of their thundering welcome.

The remainder of this eventful history may be soon told. By a proclamation issued at Simla, the governor-general declared, that having retrieved the disasters of the past, and taught the Afghans a lesson not likely to be soon forgotten, the British army should now evacuate that country and retire to Ferozepore. After a short period employed in interring the thousands of skeletons of our slaughtered countrymen that literally strewed the scenes of the massacres of Cabool; and after effectually demolishing the citadel, the walls, the Bala Hissur, and every building of any strength in the capital, the army of the Indus set out on its homeward march upon the 12th of October.

At Ferozepore the troops were received by the governor-general and his staff, and many and hearty were the congratulations given and received upon this happy termination to a sad and fatal campaign.† Rejoicings and festivities wound up that which had begun in rashness and infatuation, and consummated in disgrace, bloodshed, and imprisonment. Heavy as was the retribution that descended on the actors in the Afghan tragedy, the remembrance of the errors and disasters of the expedition will live long and sadly in the recollection of the British in India.

For a time it appeared as though peace was firmly established on the Indian continent; but to those who could see below the

* Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan: Eyre. † Lady Sale's Journal.

surface of things, the tranquillity was but a deceptive lull, a calm ushering in the tempest that was soon to burst forth in another quarter.

The treacherous conduct of the Ameers of Scinde during the Afghan campaign was not mended on the return of the army from that country, the Ameers judging that the army would not have retired so soon unless it had met with further reverses. The evacuation of Afghanistan was looked upon by them as a virtual defeat; and it soon became pretty evident that their feelings toward the British were not improved, nor their disposition more friendly, in consequence of that impression. Grave doubts have been since entertained by many with regard to the propriety and justice of the Company's operations in the Scinde country; but there appears to be no question, that whilst the rulers of that territory entertained the hostile feelings toward the British which they did, no security could for a moment exist for the tranquillity of the state, and that sooner or later the events which were then brought about must of necessity have occurred.

Cautions, warnings, and every friendly means were employed toward the Ameers, to induce an amicable disposition, or at any rate a peaceful line of conduct; but all these means seem to have been employed in vain; and when it was evident that but one course must be adopted, Lord Ellenborough was not slow to order its execution.

The Ameers had, during the entire winter season of 1842, been busily engaged in gathering their forces and taking up a menacing position; whilst the veteran Sir Charles Napier strengthened his own attitude, and made every disposition for acting so soon as the proper moment should arrive. That moment occurred in the early part of February. The British residency at Hyderabad was attacked with great fury by a large and desperate body of the Ameers' troops; and it was not without difficulty that the English officials were enabled to make good their retreat and join their friends within the camp at a short distance from the city.

Sir Charles, with his small but well-disciplined band of 2100 of all arms, moved across the Indus and approached the enemy's

position, which was a remarkably strong one, near the village of Meeanee. Their forces amounted to fully 30,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with a train of 15 guns well served on the European system. A stronger position than that occupied by their main body could scarcely be conceived. A natural ravine of considerable depth protected them in front, whilst their flanks were well sheltered by extensive forests and broken ground. Formidable as their entrenchment appeared, the British general did not for a moment hesitate about the attack; but on the morning of the 17th of February gave the signal for the assault.

Moving rapidly forward from their open position on the plain, the English and sepoy regiments advanced gallantly toward the thickly guarded ravine, behind which bristled myriads of glittering weapons. Cheering each other on, regardless of the storm which swept their ranks from the Scinde artillery, they plunged into the dangerous ravine, and rushing up the opposite bank, which they strewed with their dead and wounded, made for the top of the embankment, where the enemy stood matchlock in hand to receive them. The gallant 22d, an Irish regiment, led the way; and quick as thought were on the summit of the entrenchment, behind which they found awaiting them, a glittering forest of steel and a barrier of bucklers, vast masses of Beloochee swordsmen, whose numbers and savage shouts must have struck dismay into the hearts of any but such as were opposed to them. Shout for shout was given, cheer for cheer, and lowering the queen of weapons—the bayoneted musket—the little handful of heroes rushed upon the vast force opposed to them.

The conflict was long and bloody. Valor could but do its utmost; and the sweeping discharges from the thickly, well-planted Scinde artillery on their flank told fearfully upon the courageous band who strove against this mighty host. For every score of Beloochees who fell before the British bayonet an English soldier was swept away by the murderous discharge of grape; and although each gap was gallantly filled up from the rear, their numbers went on thinning hour after

hour, whilst the multitude opposed to them seemed to be as numerous as ever, so little was the havoc amidst their ranks perceptible.*

Victory seemed about to declare against the small band of assailants; the greater part of their officers were killed or disabled; and the sepoy, without a leader, more than once made a retrograde movement. At this critical juncture a charge was ordered to be made on the enemy's right by the small body of horse under Colonel Pattle, which had the effect of at once deciding the fate of the day. The British cavalry did their duty nobly; and the Beloochees finding themselves in danger on their flank, began to move slowly but defiantly from the field. Resistance was no longer thought of; and the British guns in their turn swept all before them, whilst cavalry and infantry carried on the work of destruction until nature became exhausted, and they could do no more.

On the following day Sir Charles summoned the Ameers, who had remained safely within the fortifications of Hyderabad, to surrender their persons and their authority into his hands without delay, in default of which he threatened to storm the city. The mandate was obeyed by the entrance within his camp of six of these chiefs, who proceeded to lay at the feet of the British general their swords and insignia of royalty. "Their misfortunes," said Sir Charles in his dispatches, "were of their own creating; but as they were great, I gave them back their swords;" and doubtless he knew full well the utter uselessness of those weapons to men who looked on from their fortified walls whilst the brave but mercenary troops of Beloochistan were fighting their battle. One other action, that of Dubba, and the power of the Ameers was forever annihilated; and when one or two turbulent bands of marauders had been swept from the country, the British flag waved supreme to the borders of Beloochistan.

The immediate consequence of these decisive victories was the annexation of Scinde to the territories of the Company. 11

a proclamation dated on the 5th of March, 1843, from Agra, the governor-general announced that the conquered territories had become part of the Company's eastern dominions. On the 15th of the same month, Major-General Sir Charles Napier was appointed governor of this province; and a declaration was made relative to the manumission of all slaves within the boundaries of Scinde, the free passage of the Indus to the commerce of the world, and the abolition of all transit-duties.

Scarcely had this proclamation been made generally known, when troubles, though of far less magnitude, awaited the government in another direction, and nearer home. The independent Mahratta state of Gwalior had been for a long period the scene of great confusion and strife, giving ample employment to the British resident at its court, under whose protection the reigning family held their authority. The decease of the last rajah, and the consequent regency of his widow during the minority of his successor, opened the door to endless intrigues and difficulties. Ministers of pacific views, and favorable to the English policy, were rudely set aside by the widow for others of questionable character, and holding opinions directly opposite. Plots, conspiracies, and insurrections split the country from one end to the other; until, determined that such an unquiet and dangerous neighbor could not be permitted, the governor-general ordered a force to enter the maharajah's territories, in order to assert his just authority, and give security to his person and power.

This army was conducted by Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by Lord Ellenborough, and moved from Agra in the early part of December; whilst a second division, under Major-General Grey, advanced from Bundelcund. The first and main division crossed the Kohuree river on the 29th December, and took up a position not far from the village of Maharajpooor, where the Mahratta army lay strongly encamped, mustering fully eighteen thousand men, a strong body of cavalry, and a hundred guns. The British troops amounted to fourteen thousand men, with forty pieces of artillery.

The attack was commenced by Major-General Littler's

column charging full upon the enemy's front. The advancing regiments were received with a furious and deadly cannonade, which sensibly thinned their ranks, whilst the Mahratta troops gave them a warm reception from their matchlocks. Nothing, however, could stem the torrent that swept up to the mouths of the enemy's cannons, bayoneting their gunners and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fled to the village, where, sword in hand, they made a desperate stand, but in vain. The small but dashing brigade of cavalry, under General Valiant, charged Maharajpooor in the rear, cut up the flanks of the enemy, and effectually sealed the fate of the now defeated and flying Mahratta force.

The loss of the enemy in this hard-fought battle was believed to have been from three to four thousand in killed and wounded, besides all their cannon and stores. The victory, however, was not purchased without cost on the side of the British. Upward of one hundred killed, of whom seven were officers, and nearly seven hundred in the hospitals, told of the severity of the conflict.*

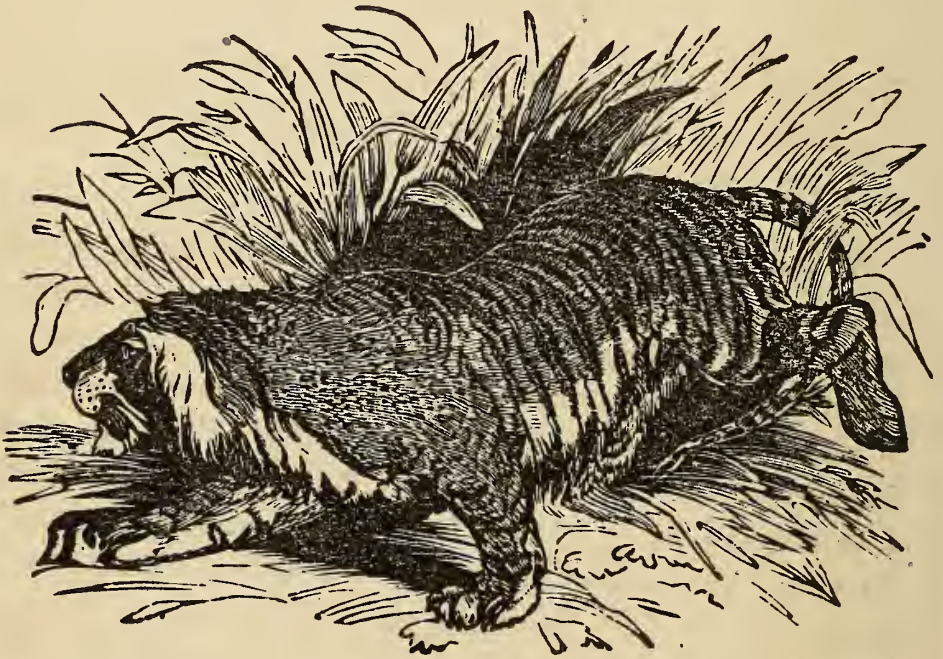
Whilst the roar of the hundred and forty opposing guns at Maharajpooor sent forth their deadly echoes, almost within sound of them another struggle was maintained, equally decisive, though less fatal. General Grey's column, moving toward the capital from Bundelkünd, encountered a strong Mahratta force at Punniar, but twelve miles distant from their destination. The action was sharp but brief. The enemy stood no more than the first charge of the British infantry, and fled to the heights, whence they were driven at the point of the bayonet, and finally scattered through the country.

The two armies united beneath the walls of Gwalior, where, having no alternative, the Durbar immediately made every submission to the terms imposed by the British. It was stipulated that Gwalior should in future be protected by a British subsidiary force, paid from the revenues of the country; that an English officer and garrison should hold possession of the

* Sir Hugh Gough's dispatch.

fort of Gwalior ; and that the state should pay all the expenses of the war.

Thus ended the brief but glorious military career of Lord Ellenborough, who, during the short tenure of his office, had accomplished more than any other man for the pacification of India ; and when, through intrigues and jealousies, he was shortly after recalled by the Court of Directors, his departure was deeply regretted by all who wished well to good government and the security of the British Eastern possessions





RUNJEET SING.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WARS IN THE PUNJAB, AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE FIVE RIVERS TO THE BRITISH DOMINIONS. —A. D. 1844—1849.

ON the arrival of Sir Henry Hardinge in India as governor-general, in the summer of 1844, he found the vast territories under the British rule in the most profound peace. This able and indefatigable man had ample leisure to make himself master of very many details of government, which he was not slow to discover needed much reform. He did his best to bring about a better and more friendly feeling between the services; he furthered the claims of the native army to many privileges; he promoted a stricter discipline amongst the troops generally; he aided in the organization of railway companies in India; and, in short, did all that lay in his power, during so short a period, to promote the welfare of many sections of the community.

But the course of Indian events was not long destined for this pacification. One more storm of war and bloodshed was

gathering in the north; another fierce struggle was about to overwhelm a vast tract of fruitful and populous country in its calamities and its sufferings; and Sir Henry, peacefully as he may have been disposed, could not avoid the career that was awaiting him.

The decease of Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, in 1839 had paved the way to an infinity of intrigues, plots, and counter plots at and around the capital of the Punjab. The death of the "Lion," soon followed by that of the grandson, not without suspicion of design; the struggles for the viziership; the intrigues of the ranee, or queen-mother; and the subsequent assassinations of rival chiefs which took place at Cabool, bore testimony to the absence of any controlling power in the state. Indeed, the only parties who appeared to be endowed with any faculty for directing the course of events were two French officers, promoted to the rank of generals by Runjeet Sing, and who had brought the army of the Punjab into a state of high efficiency, more especially its ordnance department.

The young maharajah, Dhulup Sing, a child of four years, and his mother, although nominally at the head of affairs, were really in the hands of the Sikh soldiery; these, clamoring for their arrears of pay, and anxious for some occupation which might bring with it a chance of spoil, sought to be led against their English neighbors, whom they considered their enemies. How far this feeling may have been fostered by the French officers, who, it was known, always possessed great influence amongst them, it is not easy to judge. This hostile passion was kept up, until at length the ranee became a party, unwillingly, to a demonstration in the direction of the Sutlej Ghoolab Singh, brother to the late vizier of the "Lion," was pressed in vain, first, to accept the dangerous office of vizier; secondly, to join the war-party against the British. It would have been equally dangerous to have openly opposed the movement; Ghoolab therefore contented himself with taking no part in the preparations, and under various pretenses absented himself from the scene of military activity. When at last the war had actually begun, and he could no longer avoid acting in some

way, he prudently declined any command in the army, preferring to remain at the head of his own immediate followers, ready for any special service that might present itself.*

The preparations which were now being made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej could not be kept a secret; and long before the public had any idea of what was going on, the governor-general had expeditiously but quietly concentrated thirty-two thousand men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepore, Doodianah, and Umballa. In the early part of December, the intelligence forwarded to head-quarters respecting the warlike preparations in the Punjab were of such a definite and unmistakable character, that Sir H. Hardinge at once made his way to the camp at Umballa, though without at that time having any belief in the intention of the Sikh army to invade the British territories in considerable numbers. From Umballa the governor-general proceeded onward to Loodianah, inspecting the various cantonments, and generally making himself acquainted with the actual position of affairs.

On the 7th and 8th of December, intelligence was received by the governor-general from Lahore, of such a nature as at once to induce him to issue instructions to the commander-in-chief to move up the whole of his force from Umballa, Meerut, and other minor posts. On the 9th, a portion of the Sikh army had approached to within a few miles of Ferozepore; whilst further advance along the river-line showed that the most active preparations were being carried on for hostile purposes. By the 12th of December the whole of the Umballa and reserve forces were in full march toward the appointed rendezvous; and at the same time orders were issued to Brigadier Wheeler, at Loodianah, to be prepared to move up with his force of five thousand men and twelve guns at a moment's notice. During this day more precise information was received as to the Sikh movements; and on the following morning intelligence was brought in that the enemy had crossed the Sutlej

* Macgregor's History of the Sikhs.

and were concentrating in great force on the left bank of the river.*

Affairs having arrived at this point, the governor-general issued a proclamation, setting forth the unprovoked nature of the Sikh invasion, declaring the territories on the left of the Sutlej annexed to the British possessions, and calling upon all friendly and well-disposed natives to aid in the restoration of peace, and at the same time cautioning all evil-doers as to the consequences of their acts.

Brigadier Wheeler was immediately ordered up with his force of four thousand five hundred men and twenty-one guns to cover Bussean, where a large depot of stores for the army had been collected; and by the afternoon of the 14th he was in position before that place. Two days later, the main column from Umballa, under the commander-in-chief, arrived at the same spot. At that moment, the Sikhs were completing the passage of the Sutlej with their heavy artillery and trains; and on the 17th their main body, consisting of twenty-five thousand regulars and eighty-eight guns, under the command of Lal Singh, moved into position at the village of Forozshah; whilst another force of twenty-three thousand men and sixty-seven guns encamped opposite Ferozepore. The Sikhs commenced throwing up earth-works around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest. The governor-general and commander-in-chief pushed on with their main column toward Ferozepore; and at mid-day halted at the village of Moodkee, where they snatched some hasty rest and a little refreshment, after a long and harassing march.

The repose of the troops was soon broken by intelligence that at no greater distance than three miles a large body of the enemy were encamped, chiefly cavalry, with twenty-two guns. The troops were immediately called to arms, placed in position, and moved forward to meet the enemy.

The cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier were advanced rapidly to the front, and occupying the open

* Dispatch from Sir H. Hardinge to Secret Committee.

plain gave good cover to the infantry whilst forming. The horse-artillery speedily followed, flanking the cavalry. In a short time the Sikh artillery, which was well secured behind a quantity of low jungle, opened a brisk and rather telling fire upon the advancing columns, which was replied to with great spirit by the British horse-artillery and the light field-batteries, which had by this time moved up. These directed such a steady and judicious fire, that the enemy were for a time shaken, and, seizing the opportune moment, the commander-in-chief ordered a cavalry charge upon the left flank of the Sikhs, whilst a similar one was directed upon their right.

Both of these succeeded to admiration; the charges of the British horse sweeping every thing before them, up to the very guns, and nothing but the irregularity of the ground and the dense cover of the jungle saved the enemy from far heavier loss.

In the meantime, the infantry was moved on to the charge, covered by the vigorous fire of the horse-artillery, brought close to the low jungle in front of their lines. Sir H. Smith, Sir John M'Caskill, and General Gilbert led on the troops in echelon of lines, and pouring in upon their close ranks a murderous fire, soon taught the enemy the efficacy of the British musket. From position to position the Sikhs were driven; and so often as they stood, the bayonet was resorted to with fatal and unerring effect.

The day was thus won from the enemy; and making the best of their way from the field, with the loss of great numbers of their troops and seventeen of their guns, they sought shelter within their camp at Ferozshah. The slaughter was only stayed by the weariness of the troops and the spreading darkness, for the last two hours of the conflict had been carried on by a dim and uncertain light. When the British moved back to their camp at Moodkee it was midnight.

The loss on the side of the British was severe for the duration of the struggle, the chief execution having been from the Sikh artillery. The number of killed was sixteen officers and two hundred men; that of the wounded, forty-eight officers and six

hundred men ; and this was out of a force of twelve thousand rank and file. Amongst those who fell at this time, deeply regretted, was General Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grape-shot.

This victory was at once followed up by preparations for further efforts ; for it was well known that the enemy would not long remain inactive under their late severe discomfiture. Some heavy artillery was brought up from the rear, escorted by several fresh regiments. Sir John Littler was ordered up from Ferozepore with all his available force, in order to effect a junction with the main body, and, in concert with them, to attack the Sikh entrenched lines.

Accordingly Sir John moved off with one-half of his force, amounting to five thousand five hundred, together with twenty-one guns, leaving the remainder in Ferozepore, to maintain that post and watch the movements of Tej Singh and his army encamped against it. This was early on the 21st ; by eleven o'clock on that day the main body had advanced from Moodkee and taken up a position opposite the entrenched camp of the Sikh army, which contained a total force of thirty-five thousand soldiers and eighty-eight guns, whilst that of the British comprised less than eighteen thousand rank and file and sixty-five guns.

The Sikh lines were about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, strongly placed, and ready to receive an enemy from whatever quarter he might advance. The ground in front of the army was flat, and interspersed with low jungle. The three divisions of the British army having been placed in line, the artillery was stationed in the centre, with the exception of three troops of horse-artillery, placed on each flank, and in support. The reserve, under Sir Harry Smith, with the cavalry, formed the second line.

The engagement was commenced by the British artillery advancing and pouring in rapid and well-directed charges upon the Sikh lines until within three hundred yards, when the guns were unlimbered, and a further heavy and continuous discharge kept up, until the word was given for the infantry to charge

and seize the Sikh guns, which continued to be served with murderous effect. This heavy and bloody task was performed with matchless courage and rapidity, and the enemy's artillery in the centre was for the time silenced. On the left, Littler's brigade had done wonders; but the storm of grape and shot which fell amidst them caused them to stagger, and make a retrograde movement, which was, however, supported by a portion of the reserve under Sir Harry Smith. The centre and right divisions, under Generals Wallace and Gilbert, were successful at every point; and the battle seemed to be won, when unfortunately night fell so suddenly as not only to prevent the decisive blow being struck, but to cause not a little confusion and danger from the extreme proximity of friends and foes.

In this critical position, the main body of the troops were withdrawn to a few hundred yards from the Sikh camp, where they rested during the remainder of the night under arms. About midnight, however, some of the Sikh guns, which had not been taken possession of, were brought to bear upon the British column as they lay on the ground, doing considerable execution. The governor-general mounted his horse, and calling on the 80th Regiment and a portion of the first Bengal Europeans, led them against the annoying guns, which were carried at a charge, and spiked.

That night was one of intense anxiety to the commanders; their loss had been most severe; they were within a few hundred yards of an enemy still formidable, with a heavy reserve under Tej Singh, no doubt on its way up from Ferozepore; whilst Littler's and Sir H. Smith's divisions had been compelled to retire from the left, and nothing was known as to their position.

The spirit of the troops was, however, admirable; and weary and harassed as they were by long marching and hard fighting, all seemed animated with but one spirit—a determination to finish the work so gloriously begun, and drive the enemy beyond the Sutlej. At early dawn this portion of the army was put under arms, deployed into line, and led on at once against the Sikh entrenchments, without waiting for the other divisions. A few volleys, a round or two of grape, and the bayonet did

the rest most effectually. The troops having secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, now wheeled rapidly round, swept past the village of Ferozshah, and in this way cleared the entire length of the enemy's works, who retired upon their reserve, which at that moment appeared in sight.

The remaining divisions of the army now effected a junction with the centre and right; and thus reinforced, ill provided as they were with ammunition, the British commanders would have had no hesitation in advancing against their new enemy, had there been any disposition shown to await an attack. But such was not the intention of the Sikh generals; disheartened and alarmed, the discomfited troops of Ferozshah communicated to their comrades the panic which they themselves felt, and at once moving off with a few flourishes of their remaining artillery, made for the banks of the Sutlej, which river they quickly left behind them.

To follow up this decisive victory, as inclination would have prompted, was rendered impossible by the want of cavalry and ammunition, nearly the whole of the latter having been exhausted during the recent engagements; and the commander-in-chief was therefore fain to content himself with seeing the enemy fairly across the river, and await reinforcements from the rear.

That day and several following were fully occupied with the care of the wounded, numbering upward of seventeen hundred. Ferozepore was converted into a hospital, until the sick could be conveyed to a place of greater security; and during the time of their sojourn there, the governor-general was most unremitting in his personal inspection of their comforts. The British loss in killed was heavy; 694 were found dead in the field; and of the wounded 595 died in the hospitals, or were disabled from further service.

The same cause which had compelled Sir Hugh Gough to allow Tej Singh to recross the Sutlej unmolested, prevented him from marching on Lahore, and finishing the war under its walls. Nearly two months were spent in waiting for the arrival of a battering train, and reinforcements of both infantry and

cavalry; during which period the Sikhs, recovering from the first shock of their disaster at Ferozepore, commenced preparations for the defense of their territories on an extensive scale, and with considerable skill. Throwing a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, the enemy took up a position of much strength on its left bank, and at once commenced forming entrenchments of great extent and solidity, under the superintendence of a French officer of engineers. At the same time a strong body of Sikhs, numbering about 15,000 men and fifty-six guns, crossed the river in the immediate neighborhood of Loodianah, and took up a position at the village of Aliwal.

As soon as the commander-in-chief was strengthened by the fresh troops ordered up, he dispatched Sir H. Smith with a force of 7,000 men and 24 guns to relieve Loodianah, threatened as it was by the advance of the enemy in its vicinity. The object was speedily and most completely effected. Sir Harry, although harassed in his march by many rear and flank attacks, during some of which he lost much of his baggage, pushed on with determination for the main body of the enemy, which he knew was not far distant.

On the 27th of January the British troops found themselves opposed to the Sikh forces under Runjoor Singh, now reinforced by 4000 more regular troops and twelve field-pieces. On the morning of the 28th, Sir Harry Smith, having with him by that time nearly 10,000 men, advanced to the attack with his entire line, warmly received by the enemy's artillery. After a brief cannonade and a cavalry charge, the infantry moved up in gallant style; and though opposed with a well-served artillery force, swept all before them. The village of Aliwal, the enemy's chief position, was carried at the point of the bayonet: the British cannon cut up the heavy masses of Sikh troops; and the 16th Lancers, by their brilliant charges, completed the triumph of the day by capturing every gun opposed to them, and driving the foe, with terrible slaughter, across the river.

The total discomfiture of this body of the enemy left the British generals at liberty to direct their full attention to the

works carrying on by the Sikhs at Sobraon, which were rapidly assuming an importance that promised to render them truly formidable. But the much-needed heavy artillery had not yet reached the camp; and without it, operations against the enemy's works would have been deemed most injudicious. On the 8th of February, Sir Harry Smith joined the main army with his forces; and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the camp. Not a moment was lost after the receipt of this much-needed arm of war. On the morning of the 10th, long before daybreak, the troops moved out of camp, and marched to the position assigned them, opposite the enemy's works. The British troops numbered somewhat above 16,000 rank and file, with 99 guns; the Sikh force consisted of 34,000 men within the entrenchments, and 20,000 of reserved troops, with seventy pieces of artillery.

The enemy's position was a most formidable one, and had cost them much labor during several months. It was, indeed, considered by them as perfectly impregnable to any force that could be brought against it; and when it is considered how strong was the army posted within those massive fortifications, behind three lines of trenches, and how ably their artillery was served, the victory of the small British force which carried those vaunted works must be allowed to have been no ordinary achievement.

From six until past eight o'clock the artillery maintained an incessant roar of destruction, aided by that fatal weapon the rocket. At nine the command was issued for the troops to move forward to the attack; and supported on either flank by troops of horse-artillery, the infantry advanced to test the vaunted strength of the Sikh fortifications. They were received by a tremendous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel-guns; and so murderous was the discharge from the entrenchments, and so completely exposed were the advancing troops, that it appeared impossible that any body of men could stand such havoc. If there was any halting or indecision under this fearful fire, it was but momentary; the charge was renewed, and in a few more short minutes the advanced troops of the column were within the

fatal works. Other divisions of the army met with an equally desperate resistance on either wing, and in more than one place the attacking column was forced back several times, again and again returning to the charge with undaunted valor. At length line after line was entered at the bayonet's point; and to make victory still more decisive, a gallant charge of cavalry under Major-general Thackwall followed up the blow, silenced the Sikh guns, and drove the retreating mass over their bridge of boats and into the river. Great was the slaughter of the flying foe by the light field-pieces of the British; hundreds were cut to pieces by the horse-artillery in crossing the Sutlej, and many more drowned in the confusion.

The fruits of this victory were 67 guns, 200 camel-swivels, and a great number of standards. But these trophies were purchased at a cost of 320 killed and 2063 wounded, including many valuable officers, amongst others, the veteran Sir Robert Dick.

This decisive battle was at once followed up by a movement on Lahore; and although endeavors were made by Ghoolab Singh to divert the governor-general from his resolution, the troops proceeded on their way, and encamped beneath the city walls. There a treaty was drawn up and formally executed, by which the whole expense of the war, amounting to a million and a half sterling, was undertaken to be paid by the Lahore government. The guns taken by the Company's troops were to be retained, and all those which had ever been pointed against them were to be delivered up; whilst the Sikh troops and their leaders were to receive instant dismissal. Subsequently it was arranged that a strong garrison was to be left in Lahore by the British, for the protection of the inhabitants and the security of the Maharajah's authority; and in accordance with this, Sir John Littler was left there with 10,000 men.

Thus terminated the first Punjab war, having occupied but sixty days, and beheld the complete dispersion of the Sikh forces. Upward of 200 pieces of their best artillery had fallen into the hands of the British; and of 100,000 fighting men, not 30,000 remained together. The cost of the war had been

defrayed by the vanquished ; and, on the whole, the campaign appeared to have been not only the most decisive, but the most important in its results of any that the British forces in India had been engaged in.

At the close of 1848, the Earl of Dalhousie assumed the supreme government of India. On his arrival he found the most apparently profound tranquillity reigning ; and there seemed for the time every probability of his rule being one of an entirely pacific nature. But, as with his predecessor, it soon became evident that he was destined to heighten the reputation of the British arms, and to extend their triumphs and their possessions.

The first indication of trouble came from Mooltan, the capital of a petty state situated between the Indus and the Sutlej. Moolraj, its governor, first showed signs of unfriendly feeling, and eventually assumed a hostile attitude by the assassination of the British assistant political resident, Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army. This treachery brought forward Lieutenant Edwardes and a party of Sikh horse, who, being reinforced by Colonel Cortlande's troops and some pieces of light artillery, and further aided by the auxiliary forces of the Khan of Bhawulpore, attacked and defeated Moolraj on two several occasions with considerable slaughter.

The chief then fell back upon Mooltan, to which the troops under Cortlande and Edwardes would have at once laid siege, had they been provided with the necessary guns ; they were compelled, therefore, to sit before it and keep up a simple blockade until the 18th of August, when they were opportunely reinforced by General Whish with two regiments of native infantry, one of horse, and a troop of horse-artillery. Other forces arrived at nearly the same time from Ferozepore with that which was most needed, a battering train of considerable weight, and further horse-artillery and light horse. With these various reinforcements the besieging army amounted to 28,000 men, of whom about 6000 were British, and the operations were accordingly pushed forward with vigor. Early in September several successful attacks were made on the enemy's

outworks, and one or two sallies of the garrison repulsed with considerable loss to them; but the aspect of affairs was suddenly changed by a large party of the Sikh allies under Shere Singh going over to the enemy. This compelled the British to abandon their operations, and retire to a strong position at a short distance from Mooltan.

The defection of the Sikhs had been doubtless brought about by the intelligence that Chutter Singh had collected a body of insurgents in the Hazerah district, and made an attempt upon the fort of Attock. Foiled in this, the chief pushed rapidly forward to Peshawur, where, the British force being greatly reduced in numbers, the resident, Major Lawrence, and his lady, were compelled to fly to Kohat and put themselves under the protection of the khan of that place. They were, however, given up to Chatter Singh, together with Lieutenant Borrie.

Another Sikh war now became inevitable. The forces under Chutter Singh and Shere Singh united; other chiefs flocked to their standards, and they were not long in mustering an army of 30,000 troops eager for plunder, or any prospect of employment, as preferable to a state of peace. The enemy now took a position at Ramnugger, near Wuzeerabad, having the Chenab flowing in their front, and strongly flanked by artillery.

Reinforcements having reached the British army at Ferozepore, the commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, moved forward to Saharum on the 21st of November, and prepared at once for action. At two o'clock on the following morning the troops moved forward in the most perfect silence and with as much order as though on parade. Arrived at Ramnugger, the troops were placed in position, whilst the horse-artillery pushed on in advance toward the enemy's lines, which were then distinctly visible, and commenced a sharp fire upon them. This seemed to make but little impression; and the heavy guns of the Sikhs beginning to return the cannonade, it became apparent that these two branches of the armies were most unequally matched.

The enemy determined to act vigorously and on the offensive, pushing across the river a strong body of their best cavalry under the fire of their heavy batteries. These were imme-

diately charged by the 5th Light Cavalry and the 14th Dragoons, and driven back to the entrenchments, though not without heavy loss being sustained by these two regiments, especially in officers. Amongst others who fell from the heavy cannonade the troops were exposed to were General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald.

At length, after sustaining a furious fire from the British guns, and giving way to the infantry charges in several places, Shere Singh thought it prudent to abandon his camp and works, and rapidly withdrew toward the Jhelum in tolerably good order.

Preparations were now made by Lord Gough to follow up this victory by advancing in the direction of Lahore, and driving the enemy before him. Whilst this was being carried into execution, events of a stirring nature were enacting before Mooltan, which was once more standing a siege from the British under General Whish; and fresh troops having arrived from the south, the siege was carried on with the utmost vigor, as Moolraj soon found to his cost. The cannonade kept up by the Bombay artillery was incessant and destructive. Wall after wall crumbled before the fury of the battering train. The suburbs were taken, the powder-magazine in the fort blown up, breaches in the fortifications effected, and at last, in spite of desperate sorties and counter-works, the town was stormed, and the British colors planted on its walls on the 2d of January.

The citadel still held out, and the courageous Moolraj appeared bent on no surrender so long as a wall was left standing. By the 21st the huge works of the fortress were undermined and several practicable breaches opened in them, so that orders were given for the troops to be in readiness for storming the citadel at daybreak. The chieftain, however, saved them any further trouble by appearing at the gate of his fort as the troops were forming for the attack; and proceeding straight to the general's tent, he there handed up his sword.

The fort having been garrisoned, the army moved off to join the camp of the governor-general; and, to prevent any accident,

Moolraj was conducted with them. This junction was effected too late for the Mooltan troops to share in the dangers of the battle of Chillianwallah, to which we must now return.

The preparations for marching on Lahore having been completed, the commander-in-chief proceeded, in the early part of January, toward the Chenab, where, as expected, he found the Sikhs strongly entrenched. On the 10th, Lord Gough moved his troops forward, with the view, in the first instance, of at once attacking the enemy. This resolve, however, appears from some cause to have been abandoned; and the evening was allowed to draw on without any farther demonstration being made on the side of the British. The Sikhs had, however, evidently made every preparation, and were bent upon an engagement. Throwing some flying artillery toward the centre of the British, they brought out a few of their heavy guns, which at once silenced the others, but were in their turn responded to by a tremendous cannonade of heavy guns from a quarter much nearer than had been anticipated. Under cover of some low but dense jungle, the Sikhs had planted their artillery in a commanding and safe position; and the advantage of the ground was fully proved by the terrible havoc their guns committed in the ranks of the British army.

To charge in the face of a murderous storm of grape and shell was the only alternative known to British troops; and, as had been the result at Ferozshah and other places, the bayonet and the spur wrested from the enemy their ruinous and fatal guns, and earned a dear-bought victory. This furious engagement lasted until after nightfall; and on the morrow, when the troops were mustered and their loss ascertained, it was found that the killed amounted to 26 officers and 731 men; whilst in wounded the numbers were 66 officers and 1446 men.

Great as was the loss on the English side, the carnage amongst the Sikhs must have been far more terrible. Nevertheless, they did not yet think of submission; but, being joined by a strong body of Afghan horse, prepared with undaunted determination to renew the struggle for supremacy.

Reinforced during the early part of February by the Mooltan troops, Lord Gough made every disposition for striking another and, if possible, a more decisive blow at the Sikh power in the Punjab. It was evident that nothing short of utter and complete overthrow, a perfect annihilation of their military power, could by any possibility restore tranquillity to that country or give security to the neighboring states for the future; and on this impression the commander-in-chief at once prepared to act.

The Sikh army had again strongly entrenched themselves in a most favorable position, within a few miles of the town of Gujerat. Hither Lord Gough marched his recruited forces, and on the 21st of February commenced a furious and most effective cannonade on the enemy's lines. Shere Singh was at this time at the head of 60,000 men and 59 guns of heavy calibre; but nothing could withstand the deadly fire of the British artillerymen. For three hours this arm of the force did its work; and by the end of that time it was quite apparent that the Sikh troops were not only thinned, but making a retrograde movement. The whole force of the British infantry and cavalry were then let loose upon the enemy, and, relieving the heavy guns from further service, the bayonet, lance, and sword accomplished the remainder of the bloody task.

A more complete and effectual overthrow had never been given to the enemy;* that they felt it to be so was manifested by the surrender shortly afterward of Cutter Singh, Shere Singh, and the other Sikh leaders who had escaped the bullets. The Afghans fled across the Indus; the Sikh forces were disbanded; and the Punjab was declared annexed to the British territories in India.

Moolraj was placed upon his trial for the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, found guilty, and had his sentence of death commuted to imprisonment for life.

* Punjab Blue Book: Dispatch of Lord Gough.



CHAPTER IX.

**SECOND BURMESE WAR AND ANNEXATION OF PEGU AND OUDE.—
A. D. 1851–1856.**

THE profound tranquillity that reigned throughout the Eastern possessions of Great Britain at the commencement of 1851, can scarcely be said to have been even ruffled by the occasional forays of the hill tribes beyond Peshawur. But the calm was deceitful, and of brief duration. In the course of that year the governor of Rangoon so far forgot the duties of his position as to subject certain British merchant-captains to spoliation and insult. Lord Dalhousie was not the man to overlook an outrage committed on a British subject, and accordingly demanded instant and ample reparation. He was unfortunate, however, in his choice of a negotiator, for Commodore Lambert to whom that duty was entrusted, was a bold

sailor rather than a skillful diplomatist. More experienced in maneuvering a man-of-war than in writing protocols, that gallant officer somewhat exceeded his authority by instituting a blockade, and seizing one of the King of Ava's ships, which happened to be lying off Rangoon. This hasty and ill-considered step led to an open rupture, though the governor-general made one more effort to avert hostilities by confining his demands to a written apology from the new governor of Rangoon, the payment of £990 as compensation for the wrongs inflicted upon the original complainants, and the honorable reception of a British resident, or envoy, at the Burmese court. These demands having been rejected, war was openly declared, and an expedition fitted out under the command of General Godwin, who had served in the former war under Sir Archibald Campbell.

Actual operations did not commence before the 2d of April, 1852. On the previous day the Burmese fired on a flag of truce sent in to ascertain the final intentions of their sovereign. On this, General Godwin opened the campaign by the capture of Martaban, a place of no further importance than that it was opposite to Moulmein. This success was followed up by the storming of the White House stockade on the 12th, and the reduction of the outworks of Rangoon. On the following day the great Shoa Dagon Pagoda was carried by assault, and the city became the prize of the victors. A period of inactivity then ensued, and it must be admitted that the British general on no occasion exhibited any exuberant energy; but on the 19th May the important town of Bassein, situated about sixty miles up one of the three navigable branches of the Irrawaddy, was taken after a feeble resistance. A few days later the Burmese made an ineffectual attempt to recover Martaban, but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 3d of June General Godwin dispatched an insignificant force in a steamer to take possession of Pegu, formerly the capital of an independent kingdom. The enemy fled at the first onslaught, and the British troops, having marched through the streets in triumph, re-embarked in their steamer and returned to Rangoon. An equally absurd and fruitless expedition was sent against

Prome about a month afterward, with precisely similar results; the enemy returning, on the evacuation of the place, to strengthen its fortifications and increase its means of defense. It was not until the middle of September that the British general fairly roused himself to strike a decisive blow. A force of 5000 men was then placed on board a steam flotilla, and on the 9th of October anchored off Prome. That same evening the enemy's guns were silenced, and his stockades carried at the point of the bayonet, and on the following morning the victors a second time found themselves in possession of that city. Although it was known that the Burmese were posted in considerable force only a few miles distant, the general made no effort to dislodge them, but, leaving a garrison in Prome, retraced his steps to Rangoon. After again slumbering for a while he accompanied a force, about the middle of November, under Brigadier M'Neill, to effect the second capture of Pegu. This time the Burmese made a stout resistance, and inflicted some loss. A feeble garrison having been left to occupy the place, the enemy came down in great numbers and invested it on all sides. A reinforcement of English sailors and sepoys under Captain Loch, R. N., and Major Minchin, was hastily dispatched to the relief of the beleaguered fort, but were attacked in a jungle and repulsed with great slaughter. On this, a larger force took the field under General Godwin in person, and driving the Burmese before them in every encounter, arrived in time to rescue Major Hill and his heroic little band from their perilous position. This was the last military operation of the second Burmese war. On the 20th of December, 1852, the governor-general, acting under instructions from the president of the Board of Control, transmitted through the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, declared the province of Pegu an integral portion of the British territories. Bodies of armed marauders, indeed, continued for awhile to harass the new possessions of the British, but the judicious distribution of the regular troops in support of a local police force, soon succeeded in repressing their depredations and compelling them to respect the frontier.

Satisfied of their inability to cope with the British forces, the Burmese deposed their bellicose monarch and placed his brother on the throne. The new king sued for peace, which was readily granted, and friendly relations were once more restored with the Court of Ava. That tranquillity will be of long duration in that quarter, it would be hazardous to predict; but it is at least certain that the renewal of hostilities will never be sought by the British government, though the result would inevitably be the absorption of the entire Burmese empire.

In the meantime the province of Pegu is experiencing the blessings of a firm and equitable administration. The rivers and creeks are being swept clear of the swarms of pirates that infest them. Rangoon is being rebuilt on a regular plan, a new port has been opened, and new roads constructed. Commerce and industry are receiving large developments, and the inhabitants, assured of protection, are being daily augmented by immigrants from the adjacent countries. Thus was a second kingdom added to the British empire during Lord Dalhousie's viceroyalty, and yet a third kingdom was to be annexed before he laid down the power he so long and so ably wielded.

In violation of the most solemn engagements, the kings of Oude had for many years abetted and encouraged the existence of a most iniquitous administration of justice throughout their dominions. No man was safe unless he could protect himself. No man was secure from spoliation unless too powerful to be attacked, or too poor to be noticed. The revenue was farmed out to the highest bidders, or to the most influential friends of the minister; and these farmers of the revenue were permitted to employ the king's troops to assist them in collecting the taxes. The distribution of these taxes was arbitrary. A certain amount had to be gathered in to insure a profit, and it could only be obtained by violence and extortion. The powerful land owners armed their retainers, gave battle to the chucklidars (or farmers of revenue), and not unfrequently worsted them. The burden of taxation, therefore, fell upon those who were unable to oppose force to force. It may thence be easily imagined that the whole country groaned under the most

frightful amount of oppression that modern times have ever witnessed. In vain did each successive governor-general remonstrate, and threaten to put into force the treaties which authorized the assumption of the administration in the event of habitual malversation. Their warnings were unheeded; and, encouraged by impunity, Wajid Ally, the last King of Oude, far exceeded the worst malpractices of the worst of his predecessors. To permit the longer existence of such glaring misgovernment was equivalent to becoming an accessory. The British government, therefore, decided on authorizing Lord Dalhousie to dethrone a monarch who had proved himself so utterly incapable and unworthy to be entrusted with power, and to assume the functions of government. Accordingly, on the 7th of February, 1856, Major-General Outram exchanged the office of resident at the Court of Lucknow for that of chief commissioner of Oude. The transfer of the government to the British authorities was effected without the slightest tumult or opposition, and a few days afterward the king took his departure for Calcutta. There his ex-majesty remained, while his mother, the queen-dowager, proceeded to England to prosecute the suit for the recovery of his kingdom. A wiser and more just system of administration was, meanwhile, introduced into the state, but sufficient lapse of time was not allowed to judge of its adaptability, before circumstances occurred to subvert the new order of things, and to substitute anarchy for a well-regulated government.

Some minor states were also annexed, owing to the failure of male issue. It was an ancient, and almost a religious, custom of the Hindoos to adopt a son when legitimate offspring was wanting; but this could only be done with the sanction of the paramount power. In the cases of Nagpore, Sattara, and Jhansi, this preliminary condition was omitted, and consequently those fine districts fell into the British dominions. The province of Behar was further ceded by his highness the Nizam, for the permanent maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent, and for the payment of certain debts which he had incurred.

But these, after all, were not the most lasting illustrations of Lord Dalhousie's administration. He was even more dis-

tinguished in peace than in war. It was owing to his enlightened liberality that a uniform low rate of postage was introduced throughout the vast empire subject to his control. Upward of 4000 miles of electric telegraph wires were also laid down, and a promising inauguration celebrated of the different lines of Indian railways. One line of 120 miles was opened from Calcutta to Raneegunge, on the high road to Peshawur; a second line of fifty-one miles was in working order between Bombay and Wasindra; and a third line of fifty miles in the Madras presidency, though not thrown open to the public, was traversed by the governor-general. But the crowning glory of this brilliant administration was the opening of the main stream of the Ganges Canal on the 8th April, 1854. The main irrigation line of this stupendous work extends over 525 miles in length, measuring, in its greatest depth, ten feet, and in its extreme breadth, 170 feet. When the branches are completed, the total length will be about 900 miles, irrigating an area of 1,470,000 acres. Great improvements were introduced also into every department of the government, with the object of simplifying its details, and centralizing its action. In brief, after eight years of triumph in war, and the more beneficial exercise of an enlightened statesmanship, Lord Dalhousie handed over to his successor, Viscount Canning, in the spring of 1856, an immense empire in the enjoyment of external peace and internal contentment and prosperity.

Before concluding this chapter it is necessary to allude to the change that was made in 1853 with regard to the Company's charter. According to the new system, the number of directors chosen by the proprietors was reduced to twelve, in addition to whom six are appointed by the crown, who must have resided at least ten years in India. The civil patronage of the Court was at the same time taken from them, and nominations to the Indian civil service thrown open to competition. The college of Fort William was at once abolished, and a date assigned for the abolition of the college at Haileybury. The local government of Bengal was also committed to the hands of a lieutenant-governor, and the Legislative Council separated from the Supreme Council with advantage to both.



CHAPTER X.

CAUSES OF THE GREAT REBELLION IN INDIA.—A. D. 1856—1857.

SECURED from all apprehension of foreign enemies, and ruling an apparently prosperous and happy people, Lord Canning entered upon the government of India with fairer prospects than any governor-general since the first conquest of that country. Not many months, however, elapsed before a naval and military expedition was on its way from Bombay to Bushire, and war was publicly declared against the Shah-in-Shah. After two or three slight actions, in which the Persians were immediately put to flight, the king of kings was constrained to sue for peace and to accept the easy conditions which were imposed upon him. The British troops were then recalled to India, and arrived only in time to encounter the most imminent peril that has ever menaced the Eastern empire of Britain.

It had long been notorious that the Mohammedans of Upper India were discontented with their subordinate position, and that their idle and sensual habits rendered them insolent and fractious. This feeling of unquiet was not a little embittered by the decision arrived at with regard to the titular dignity of King of Delhi. The Court of Directors had authorized Lord Dalhousie, on the death of the heir-apparent in 1849, to "terminate the dynasty of Timour, whenever the reigning king should die." But as these instructions had been issued with great reluctance, the governor-general had recourse to a compromise, and agreed to recognize the king's grandson as heir-apparent, on condition that he quitted the fortress at Delhi for the royal palace at the Kootub. The royal family had no choice but to submit, though the humiliation to which they were about to be subjected rankled in their bosoms and in those of the Delhi Mohammedans generally. They were too sensible, however, of their weakness, to attempt any opposition to the powerful British government, until an opportunity presented itself in a quarter where, perhaps, it was least expected.

From the time when Lord Hastings created the Nawab of Oude an independent king, and freed him from his allegiance to his rightful suzerain, the King of Delhi, there had been a feud between those two houses, inflamed by their difference in religious matters—the one being a bigoted Soonnee, the other as fanatical a Sheeah. But the dethronement of Wajid Ally Shah, and the annexation of his kingdom, gave deep offense to a large portion of the Bengal army, who were natives of Oude, and drew together in one common cause the Mohammedans of both sects. Still, it was clear that from their numerical inferiority, the Mohammedans alone could not hope to break the English yoke from off their necks, so long as the Hindoo soldiery remained true to their salt. Unfortunately, circumstances occurred to remove this obstacle.

The germ of the late native army of Bengal sprang into vitality exactly a hundred years ago. In the month of January, 1757, when the atrocity of the Black Hole at Calcutta had been avenged by the defeat and signal punishment of Surajah Dowlah,

and the authority of the English government had been firmly established by Lord Clive, the first battalion of Bengal sepoy was raised, and officered from a detachment that had accompanied him from Madras. The establishment of the new force consisted of one European captain, with lieutenant and ensigns who acted as field-officers; a native commander and adjutant, one *subahdar* (captain), and three *jemadars* (subalterns), to each of the ten companies. The company consisted of five *havildars* (sergeants), four *naiks* (corporals), two *tomtoms* (drummers), one trumpeter, and seventy sepoy; and each company was distinguished by a color, bearing the device or badge of recognizance of its *subahdar*. Upon such a foundation, and with such a slender European establishment for its *nucleus*, the vast military superstructure represented by the late native armies of Bengal had been progressively raised and perfected, by leaders who guided those armies from triumph to triumph, until the victor flag of England floated in proud supremacy over the strongholds of the most powerful of the native sovereigns of India.

The religion prevalent among the sepoy of the Bengal army, must necessarily be referred to in connection with events that have rendered it a prominent feature in their history. Brahminism and Mohammedanism have both their head-quarters within the extensive provinces of Bengal—the former among the fertile plains and settled populations of the provinces along the course of the sacred Ganges; the latter in the higher portions of the country in which the Moslem invader originally established his empire; but neither faith has ever pervaded the whole of India. In the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the older worships of the aboriginal or immigrant populations exist to this time, and are adhered to by more than sixteen millions of people. The consequence is, that the native armies of those presidencies are comparatively but little affected by religious questions; while that of Bengal, recruited for the most part from the very cradle of Brahminism, and principally composed of its two superior *castes*, has demanded, and obtained,

a consideration for religious scruples, which gradually had impaired its discipline, and, ultimately, has led to its destruction.

The Brahmin sepoy, springing from a class which regards the profession of a soldier as only second in honor to that of a priest, occupies a position infinitely superior in pay, and all material comforts, to the native cultivator or the mechanic. In the field and in cantonment, he has been treated by his English employers, not merely on a par with, but, in many points, with superior consideration to that accorded to the European soldier in the same service. Indulged with regular furloughs to visit the shrines of his deities or the home of his family; entitled, as of unquestioned right, to a decoration for meritorious service; rising by seniority to preferment; and, finally, assured of a competent provision on retirement—no private soldier in the world enjoyed the advantages of his profession to the same extent, or with so few of its discomforts, as the Bengal sepoy. It is true, that through years of arduous struggle and well-fought campaigns, he has evinced his sense of the advantages of his position, by faithful service and a noble emulation of European heroism. But great as the loyalty—signal as the valor of the native armies of India has been since their first organization and submission to British rule, instances of mutiny and desertion have not been wanting in their history. Occasionally, a question of pay or provisions has supplied the motive for insubordination; but the most frequent and formidable ground of discontent has been that which presents itself at the present crisis, namely, a suspicion of meditated interference with the inviolable immunities of their faith and the privileges of their *caste*. Notwithstanding this; however, for part of the last century the confidence of the Anglo-Indian government in the loyalty of its native troops has been implicit; and it was but natural, therefore, that as territory became progressively acquired, and necessity arose for an augmentation of troops for its protection, that the native element should be largely absorbed in the consolidation of military strength. The result has followed, that, by degrees, the single battalion of Clive, in 1757, had swollen and spread over the country until, at the

commencement of 1857, it was represented, in the presidency of Bengal alone, by an armament of upward of 150,000 men, divided into seventy-four regiments of foot, and eleven of light cavalry; four troops of horse-artillery, and two battalions, of six companies each, of foot artillery; this force being further augmented by irregular troops, to the extent of twenty-three regiments of cavalry, seven battalions of Sikh infantry, and upward of twenty other corps of various arms. This vast military establishment was again increased by the contingents of several native states, raised for local service in Assam, the Punjab, Nagpore, and Oude. The whole European force acting with, and to a great extent looked up to as giving a tone to the military spirit of this vast mass of heterogeneous material, as regards races and creeds, consisted, in January, 1857, of thirteen regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, belonging to the English government; and three regiments of infantry, three brigades of horse, and six battalions of foot artillery, in the service of the East India Company. This force was distributed in about a hundred military stations, over a tract of country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to Affghanistan, and from the Himalayas to Nagpore; equaling in extent, and greatly exceeding in the numerical amount of its population, the united territories of France, Austria and Prussia.

An unfortunate recognition of the privileges of *caste*, by the Anglo-Indian government, at the commencement of its triumphs, has, doubtless, in a very great degree, encouraged the isolated pride and religious prejudices of the high-caste sepoys, of whom the bulk of the Bengalese army consisted; and a dread of interfering with the visible mysteries of their idolatrous faith, has led from time to time to concessions and indulgences that were at last looked upon as the rightful privileges of their order, to the serious obstruction of military duty, and the lax enforcement of proper discipline. The inconvenience resulting from this state of the Bengal army, at length rendered it expedient that a stop should be put to further concessions, and that, in some minor instances, the privileges already enjoyed should be

curtailed, if not entirely withdrawn; thus, the *dâk* letters of sepoy, that had hitherto passed free of postage-tax, became chargeable. Tolls were exacted when they traveled, although formerly they had been exempt from the imposition of them; and they were deprived of the privilege they had enjoyed of purchasing their provisions in the markets at a lower price than other consumers. The sepoy had also been granted the right to choose whether they would, or would not, go beyond sea on active service; and this most inconvenient and dangerous discretionary power was sought to be withdrawn. Promotion among them, which had gone by seniority, without reference to merit or ability, and which, moreover, was in a great degree subject to the dictation of the men themselves, was also to be henceforth in the hands of the military authorities only. The pride of *caste*, which had been absurdly encouraged, for the purpose of conciliating the people and recruiting the ranks of the army, it was now found necessary in some measure to discourage; the preponderance of Hindoos in the army having become so great, that in some of the regiments of 1000 men, from six to seven hundred were Brahmins, combining the priestly with the military character, and exercising peculiar influences over the minds of their comrades of inferior *caste*. The European officers attached to the native regiments, had seen their power to control, by the enforcement of discipline, gradually reduced, until even trivial questions connected with regimental duty, could only be settled by a reference to headquarters, or to the supreme council at the seat of government. Officers in charge of companies had little, if any, power to punish or reward their own men; and the colonel had as little power to promote, or punish, in the regiment under his command, and, consequently, was without that summary and effective control over his men that the efficiency of military discipline requires; besides these disadvantages, not more than two or three of the whole staff of European officers attached to each native regiment, were able to speak or understand the language of the men they commanded; who were necessarily accustomed to look to their native officers of the same or higher

caste than themselves for direction and guidance, while their European officers were regarded with indifference, and obeyed only mechanically. These several causes operating together, through a period of some years' duration, and being strengthened by the adverse influence of the agents of the *Dhurma Sobha*, a Hindoo association, established at Calcutta for the avowed purpose of defending the religious customs of Brahminism from encroachments by the government, had at length rendered the sepoy arrogant, self-sufficient, and independent of his officers; and the evil has been encouraged, and the men petted, until, as in the case of spoiled children whom parental authority lacked nerve or resolution to correct, the mischief grew into a settled habit, and its eradication from the system became a work of great difficulty and of danger. There can be no doubt, also, that a species of fanaticism was largely auxiliary in working up the real, or assumed, grievances of the native troops to the dangerous magnitude they had acquired.

It has been remarked by a high military authority in India, "that in the Bengal army there is a constant studying of many *castes*, which the *European* appears to think as much of, and to esteem as high as do the natives themselves; and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their soldiership and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of *caste*, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste for the sake of increased power*; he knows well that Government never intend any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that, by crying out about his *caste*, he keeps the power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of service, and makes his officers afraid

of him. This is proved by what takes place in the armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and does often, rise to the rank of subahdar by his own merit; in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen the Brahmins; yet, in the Bombay army, the Brahmin (father, brother, or son may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement. If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy—as it is, sometimes, by Bengal officers—the ready answer is, ‘What do I care? Is he not the soldier of the state?’ The reply speaks volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army cannot conceive.”

Of this privilege of *caste*, the late General Sir Charles Napier has expressed the following deprecatory opinion in his dispatches to the home government. He says—“The most important thing which I reckon injurious to the Indian army, is the immense influence given to *caste*; instead of being discouraged, it has been encouraged in the Bengal army. In the Bombay army it is discouraged; and that army is in better order than the army of Bengal, in which the Brahmins have been leaders in every mutiny.” Connecting the fact, as stated by Sir Charles Napier, with subsequent transactions, we may not greatly err in attributing much of the mischief that has occurred in India to the baneful and mysterious influences of this peculiar distinction, and the absurd and frequently mischievous privileges claimed by those who enjoy it.

Among other notions inculcated by the Brahminical theology, is a belief that certain things are so innately impure, as to defile those who taste or handle them; and the consequence of any such defilement is a loss of *caste*; the most fearful and humiliating infliction that can be imposed upon a worshiper of Brahma. It was affirmed to be in connection with a dread of such defilement, and its consequences, that the earliest symptoms of the existing mutiny were manifested.

At Dumdum, an artillery station about eight miles from

Calcutta, a depot had been established for the instruction of native troops in the use of the Enfield rifle, the cartridge for which is made with a different material from that used in preparing the case of the ordinary cartridge, and is required to be greased. To touch or taste the fat of animals, is, to the Hindoo, defilement, and loss of *caste* is the inevitable consequence. The offender becomes an outcast, and disinheritor follows; for the Brahminical law says, "No outcast can inherit property." This is, however, a British as well as a Hindoo law; for it was enacted by the 21st George III., cap. 70, "That inheritance in the case of Gentoos (Hindoos) shall be determined by the laws and usages of Gentoos." Another effect of the forbidden act is excommunication, such as formerly was practiced among Christians, but carried to a point of infinitely greater severity. The intercourse of a sepoy so circumstanced, even with his wife or family, is visited, according to Hindoo law, by mutilation and death. The stain inflicted is, in some cases, capable of being removed from the family of the offender by a series of penances, that are crowned by passing over a burning mass of red-hot charcoal, nine yards square, and twenty-nine inches deep, vehemently fanned during the operation; and this purgation can be accomplished on one day of the year only.

In the month of January, 1857, a workman of the lowest *caste* (a sudra attached to the magazine at Dumdum), asked a Brahmin sepoy of the 2d grenadiers to give him water from his "lotha" (a small brass pot for drinking from); the sepoy refused the favor, on the ground of his superior *caste*, and because his "lotha" would be defiled by the touch of the sudra; the latter, incensed by the refusal, observed, that "the pride of *caste* would soon be brought low; for the sepoy would presently have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of cows and pigs!"—the former animal being an object of special veneration; the latter of abhorrence and hatred. The Brahmin soldier reported the language of the sudra to his high-caste comrades in the barrack, by whom it was listened to with disgust and indignation, and the alarm quickly spread through

the depot. Intelligence of the occurrence having reached the ears of the officer in command, the native troops were paraded, and asked if they had any complaint to make? Upon this, the whole of the non-commissioned officers, and the larger portion of the men, stepped to the front, and stated their objection to the new cartridge; respectfully suggesting the use of a substitute in the making-up, that would not interfere with the peculiarities of their religion, and render them liable to the deprivation of *caste*. The appeal of the men, thus urged, was listened to by the colonel in command of the depot, and immediately reported to head-quarters; and upon the representation of General Hearsay, then commanding the presidency division—who remarked, that “though totally groundless, it would be most difficult to eradicate the impression from the minds of the native soldiers, who are always suspiciously disposed when any change of this sort affecting themselves is introduced”—the required concession was promptly made by order of government. The colonel was also authorized to procure from the bazaar unobjectionable ingredients for greasing the cartridges, and the men were to be permitted to make them up themselves in their quarters, that they might be satisfied there was no desire to interfere with their prejudices.

Contemporaneously with these transactions, a singular, and, at the time, incomprehensible, incident occurred at Cawnpore, a town in the north-western division of the presidency of Bengal, which occasioned much surmise, and no inconsiderable degree of apprehension. It was reported to the authorities, that the chowkeydars, or village policemen, were speeding from Cawnpore through the villages and towns of the peninsula, distributing on their way a symbol, of the origin of which no European could at the time form an intelligible idea, or conjecture the purpose. The manner of effecting this singular movement—which later events have shown to be somewhat analogous to that of the Fire-cross of the Highland clans of Scotland in earlier times—was as follows:—One of the chowkeydars of Cawnpore ran to another in Futteghur, the next village, and placing in his hands two *chupatties* (small unleavened cakes

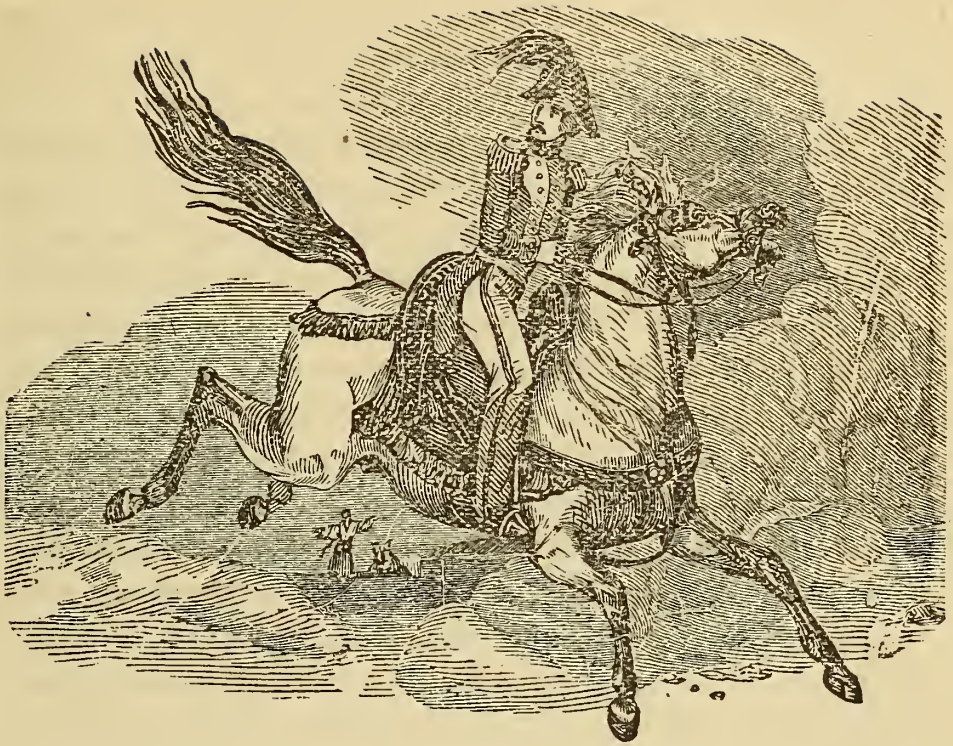
about the size of a gingerbread-nut, and similar in composition to the ordinary food of the poorer classes), directed him to make ten more of the same kind, and give two of them to each of the five nearest chowkeydars, with instructions to perform the same service. He was obeyed; and in a few hours the whole country was in a state of excitement, through these policemen running from village to village with their cakes. The wave spread over the provinces with a velocity of speed never yet equaled by the bearers of government dispatches. The English officials in the districts through which this extraordinary and mysterious operation progressed with the rapidity of light, were bewildered; some of the messengers were arrested, and themselves and the cakes examined by the magistrates and superior police, who looked at, handled, and tasted the latter, but could arrive at no satisfactory conclusions respecting them. The chowkeydars professed to be ignorant of the source whence they originated, or of the object in view by their transmission and distribution over the country, which they believed to be by the order of government. The magistrates thereupon reported the occurrence as a strange but harmless affair; and no further notice was taken by those in authority, nor does it appear that any subsequent effort was made to discover the object of the parties with whom the movement originated. The circumstance occasioned much conversation; but no one appeared capable of elucidating the mystery in which it was involved. Some thought it might be a superstitious act of Hindoo faith to propitiate Vishnu (the preserver), that the deity might be induced to avert the cholera; others, who, more penetrating than their neighbors, ventured to suggest the possibility of a plot against the government, were laughed at for their apprehensions; and at last the novelty lost its attraction as a topic for conversation, and the fact was for a time forgotten.

Another incident had then recently occurred, that, viewed in possible connection with the above mysterious affair, might reasonably have generated suspicion of impending evil. It had been made known to the government, that early in January, an incendiary address, written in Hindostani, was placarded at

Madras, calling upon "all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. It declared that the English had now abandoned all principles of justice, and were bent on appropriating the possessions of the Mohammedans, and that there was but one way of resisting their encroachments—a holy war! He who fell in such war would be venerated as a martyr. He that held back would be execrated as an infidel and a heretic." As a proof that the smouldering fires of the volcano were not yet apparent to the authorities, the Indian journals of January and February describe the whole country at that time as "profoundly tranquil."

On the 17th of the same month, the tranquillity into which Oude had subsided since its annexation, was broken in upon in consequence of a Maulavi, named Sekunder Shah, arriving with some armed followers at Lucknow, and preaching war against the infidels; at the same time distributing proclamations calling upon the faithful, and even the Hindoos, to arise, or be forever fallen. The Maulavi and his people were arrested after a conflict, in which Lieutenant Thomas of the 22d regiment of native infantry, and four sepoy, were wounded; and three persons were killed, and five wounded, belonging to the seditious preacher, himself being among the latter.

Whatever may have been the positive, long cherished, but hidden grievance of the native soldiers, it is more than possible that the alleged insult offered by the greased cartridges, and the dread of conversion to Christianity, gave the main impulse that roused the discontented spirit of the troops into mischievous activity. On the 6th of February, 1857, a jemadar (lieutenant) of the 34th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, disclosed to his colonel some proceedings in which he had taken part on the preceding night, and which afforded ample ground for believing that the sepoy contemplated an outbreak—during which they intended to kill the European officers at the station, and, after plundering it, to destroy the place, and retire toward Delhi. The communication was duly reported to the general commanding the district, but no serious notice appears to have been taken of it at the time



CHAPTER XI.

MUTINOUS CONDUCT OF THE 19TH REGIMENT OF NAIVE INFANTRY.—1857.

ON the 24th of February, a detachment of the 34th native infantry arrived at the station of Berhampore, in the district of Moorshedabad, and about 100 miles from Calcutta, *en route*, and, on their dismissal from parade, the men were entertained by the sepoys of the 19th regiment, who naturally sought intelligence of their comrades at Barrackpore. The 34th were not slow to communicate all they knew or surmised, and repeated to their eager and excited hosts the intelligence respecting the cartridges—the animal fat—the alleged determination of the government to deprive the Brahmin sepoys of the privileges belonging to their *caste*, and to destroy the religion of Brahma, with many other assumed grievances of the cantonments. Nothing was omitted by the narrators that could tend

to exasperate the feelings of their auditory, and the pernicious effect of their eloquence will be shown in subsequent proceedings.

On the following day (the 25th), Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th regiment, ordered a parade with blank cartridge for the next morning. The cartridges were directed to be given out that evening; but when the native sergeants proceeded to distribute them, they were peremptorily rejected by the sepoys. The 19th irregular cavalry was then ordered to parade on the spot, with a view to intimidate the refractory men, and the guns of the station were placed in position to command the native lines. After a short delay, in which sullen defiance and culpable irresolution were exhibited on either side, the men were dismissed to their quarters; but between eleven and twelve o'clock, the sepoys of the 19th regiment made a rush upon the bells of arms (little houses in which their weapons were kept), and possessing themselves of their muskets and ammunition, carried them into their lines. When, on the following morning, the European officers reached the parade-ground, they found the men in undress, but armed and formed in line. As they approached, the sepoys shouted tumultuously, and threatened violence if they came near them. The cavalry and artillery were again paraded, and the mutineers were commanded to lay down their arms. Another pause ensued, and the native officers, after conferring with the men, informed Colonel Mitchell that they would not lay down their arms until the whole of the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn. This dangerous concession to open and undisguised mutiny was unfortunately made by the colonel; and then, but not till then, the refractory sepoys submitted to the command of their officers.

It is possible that this unmilitary compliance with the demands of a mutinous soldiery, when the means for enforcing submission and preserving authority were at hand, may have encouraged, if it did not hasten, the explosion that followed throughout the presidency. The colonel, perhaps, dreaded the responsibility of a conflict between armed men in the same service, and may have had no desire to witness the destruction of his own regiment.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence at Barrackpore, great agitation became visible among the sepoys of the various regiments at the station; and more especially it was remarked among those of the 2d and 34th regiments. The men obeyed orders with sullen and threatening indifference, which they took no pains to conceal; nightly meetings for conference took place in their lines, when the conduct of the 19th sepoys was discussed and openly applauded. Those meetings were reported to the general commanding the district, but they were not further noticed or prevented.

The elements of mischief were now at work in another quarter. The 1st regiment of Madras native infantry, recently arrived from Burmah, and subsequently engaged in the Kimedya campaign, was in cantonment at Vizianagram, a town in the Madras presidency; and, on the 28th of February, the men were under orders to march to Kurnool without their families. One and all, while on parade, decidedly refused; and when remonstrated with by their colonel, raised shouts of derision and defiance. As there was no force at hand to compel obedience, the colonel was obliged to submit to the mutinous spirit of the men without attempting to make a single arrest. The regiment, however, quietly left on the 3d of March; but, in the meantime, its destination had been changed to Secunderabad—another unfortunate concession to military insubordination.

At length, on the 23d of March, it was announced in garrison orders, that government had resolved to punish the men of the 19th regiment for their mutinous conduct at Berhampore, and the regiment was ordered to march to Barrackpore preparatory to its being disbanded. The sentence was severe enough to be sensibly felt by those on whom it fell; as, by disbanding the regiment, every native officer lost his position, and every sepoy his pension for service; and as recruits for the Bengal army are not accepted after a certain age, many of the men who had attained it, and were of high caste, were deprived of the means of procuring a future livelihood.



CHAPTER XII.

THE 19TH N. I. REGIMENT DISBANDED—SPREAD OF DISAFFECTION
—A NEW CAUSE OF OFFENSE AT LUCKNOW—DECISIVE CON-
DUCT OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

AT daybreak on the morning of the 31st of March, the whole of the European force in cantonment at Barrackpore, assembled on the parade-ground. The two regiments of the Queen, with the artillery and cavalry, occupied one side of the area, the native regiments being drawn up on the other side. The 19th, which during the night had been halted outside the cantonment, was then marched into the vacant space between the forces. After a short interval of impressive silence, the major-general, surrounded by his staff, advanced to the front of the delinquent corps, and read aloud the order for disbanding them.

Up to this moment it was felt to be very doubtful if the refractory corps would quietly submit to the degradation it had brought upon itself; or whether a shout of defiance, and some mutinous effort, would not compel the general to open fire upon the regiment. Fortunately for themselves, perhaps otherwise for the country, the men listened to the sentence with silent

attention; and when the general had concluded his painful duty, two of the native officers, in the name of the regiment, asked his permission to again petition the governor-general for forgiveness, offering to serve in any part of the globe, so that the regiment might be retained in the Company's service. They were told the time for petitioning had passed; that nothing now remained for them but unconditional submission, and to lay down their arms and disperse. The formidable preparations made to enforce obedience, left the repentant mutineers no alternative between instant compliance or total annihilation. The instinctive terror felt of old by the Hindoo races when opposed to European resolution, revived; and, without attempting further remonstrance, the entire corps grounded arms and retired several paces, their officers actually shedding tears of grief or rage during the degrading ceremonial. No further humiliation was offered; both officers and men were allowed to retain their clothing; and, after a short delay, the whole were escorted by a detachment of cavalry to Chinsurah, at which place they were ordered to disperse, bearing from thence the germs of treason and revolt, to be presently scattered over the whole presidency.

At this time no lack of vigor or of moderation had been exhibited on the part of the government. Every possible effort was made to remove the unfounded and unreasonable suspicion of the sepoys; and if indeed there had been some error at first, in allowing cartridges to arrive from England, greased with a composition of which the materials could not be positively defined by the troops, the mistake was rectified before a single native could be really affected by it. The matter was carefully and clearly explained by General Hearsay and the commanding officers of the several regiments; and the general orders issued on the occasion of each disbandment, and read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service, contained the most explicit assurances of protection and regard.

The mutinous spirit thus promptly suppressed at Barrackpore and Berhampore, was supposed in the early part of the month of April, to have received an effectual check; the fate

of the 19th regiment appeared to have disheartened men who, by the dignity of *caste*, had no choice for the means of subsistence but to remain soldiers. The men of the 34th, although sullen and careless, appeared to be without energy, thoroughly dispirited, and unwilling to risk the chances of further quarrels with their European officers. Some sepoy of the 36th native infantry, who had taunted the pupils in the Umballah school of exercise, were put under arrest, and ordered for trial by court-martial, without exciting any visible feeling among their comrades; and several regiments, suspected of being undecided between duty or revolt, had by this time ranged themselves under the banners of discipline and loyalty, and remained passive. Thus every thing connected with the native troops appeared to be in an improving and satisfactory state, when suddenly, and simultaneously, symptoms of discontent burst out with fearful earnestness at several stations of the Bengal presidency. At Agra, numerous incendiary fires heralded the approach of greater calamities. At Sealkote, inflammatory letters from the sepoy at Barrackpore were intercepted; and at Umballah, the conflagrations became so frequent and destructive, that a reward of 1000 rupees was offered by the government for the discovery of the incendiaries.

Toward the end of April, indications of disaffection and revolt became apparent at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which speedily assumed a formidable aspect. The grievance of the obnoxious cartridges had of course been adopted by the sepoy stationed there; and, in addition, they had adopted a private wrong, which was especially their own. The European surgeon of the 34th regiment, in cantonment at Lucknow, had inadvertently tasted a bottle of medicine before handing it over to a sick Brahmin soldier. The act was immediately construed into a flagrant violation of the privileges of *caste*, and a premeditated attempt to break down its distinctive barrier; and the sepoy of this ill-conditioned regiment forthwith revenged the insult by burning down the doctor's bungalow. They also began to hold nightly meetings, and conflagrations were of frequent occurrence. Sir Henry Lawrence, the British residen^t

at Oude, was fortunately upon the spot at the time, and took effective means to trample out the smouldering fire. He applied, by electric telegraph, to the governor-general in council for enlarged authority. "I want," said he, "unlimited powers; I will not abuse them;" and in a few seconds he received the desired grant. Thus armed, he prepared to put down any attempt at insurrection the instant it should become apparent.

On the 3d of May, a letter addressed by the men of the 7th Oude irregular infantry to the sepoys of the 48th regiment, was brought to his notice under the following circumstances. The writer, in the name of the 7th regiment, said—"We are ready to obey the directions of our brothers of the 48th in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist either actively or passively." This communication was handed to a Brahmin sepoy of the 48th, for the purpose of being read to his comrades; but the man being "true to his salt," and an exception to his class, at once made known its purport to his havildar, who, in his turn, reported it to his subahdar; and these having consulted together, it was decided to bring the matter to the notice of the commissioner, and the letter was accordingly placed in his hands. In the course of the same or the preceding day, some men of the 7th had displayed an offensive temper; and among other outrageous acts of insubordination, four of them had forced their way into the quarters of the adjutant of the regiment (Lieutenant Mecham), and ordered him to prepare for death. They informed him that, personally, they had no quarrel with him, but that "he was a Feringhee, and must die!" The adjutant was at the moment without any means of defense; his visitors were armed to the teeth; and resistance being useless, the unfortunate officer resolved to meet his fate calmly and with dignity. The mutineers having paused, that he might speak to them, he said—"Men! it is true that I am unarmed, and you can kill me; but that will do you no good. You will not ultimately prevail in this matter; another adjutant will be appointed in my place, and you will be subject to the same treatment you have received from me. Why, then, should

you desire to destroy me?" The expostulation had a fortunate and unexpected effect upon the intruders, who turned and left the place without further attempting to molest the astonished officer.

Information of this mutinous outrage having been forwarded to Sir Henry Lawrence in the course of the same evening, he, without a moment's unnecessary delay, ordered out her majesty's 32d foot, the 13th, 48th, and 71st, native infantry, the 7th cavalry, and a battery of eight guns, manned by Europeans, and proceeded to the lines of the mutineers, about seven miles from the city. Darkness had set in before he arrived, and his movement had been so sudden, that the men of the 7th regiment were completely taken by surprise. Within five minutes after his troops had reached the parade-ground, the bugler was ordered to sound the assembly; and the men, on making their appearance, were commanded to form in front of their lines. In the presence of a force so overwhelming they saw they had no choice but to obey. The infantry and cavalry then formed on either side of them—the guns, within grape distance, being ranged in front; and with this energetic demonstration before them, the 7th, completely baffled, awaited their doom, whatever it might be. They were simply ordered to lay down their arms, and they obeyed without a moment's hesitation. At this juncture the port-fires of the artillery were lighted; a sudden panic seized the whole regiment; the men shouted as if frantic, "Do not fire! Do not fire!" and, breaking from the ranks, rushed into their lines for shelter or concealment. So far the object of Sir Henry Lawrence had been accomplished without bloodshed; the ringleaders, and many of their most active followers, were discovered and put under arrest the same night, and the remainder of the regiment was relieved from duty and confined to its lines pending further measures.

Having thus promptly succeeded in quelling the first open attempt to excite mutiny among the troops at Lucknow by the agency of the 7th regiment, Sir Henry Lawrence endeavored to remove the dissatisfaction that prevailed among the native regiments, by explanation and conciliatory treatment.



CHAPTER XIII.

MUTINY AT MEERUT—REVOLT OF THE TROOPS—MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND INHABITANTS—FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS TO DELHI.

WHILE the transactions we have narrated were in progress through other parts of the presidency, a cloud had been gathering over Meerut, an important military station situate in the Doab, nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna, and about thirty-two miles from Delhi. Little suspicion was yet entertained of the tempest about to burst, in torrents of blood, over the streets of the populous capital of an important district; but, as it afterward appeared, the native troops, like those quartered at Barrackpore and other places already named, had become deeply impressed by a sense of grievance in connection with the objectionable cartridges, and they had also a supplemental imaginary wrong to excite the more credulous among them. A rumor had been privately circulated amongst the Brahmin sepoy, that the government designed to deprive them of the privileges of *caste*, by having the bones of bullocks,

ground and mixed with flour, sold in the markets, so that the Hindoo, by inadvertently partaking of food with which a portion of the substance of the forbidden animal was combined, would become polluted and outcast, and thus be compelled to embrace Christianity. The hostile influence of this impression at length became visible to the European inhabitants; and General Hewitt, commanding the forces at Meerut, attempted, through the instrumentality of the officers of the different corps, to combat these notions, and to efface the mischievous impression. The remonstrances and arguments employed were, however, listened to with sullen impatience; and it soon became evident that some deep-seated feeling, hostile to the Company's government, was operating upon the impulsive temperament of the entire native army, which merely waited for favorable opportunity, and slight provocation, to burst into active revolt. In the early part of May, the *Bombay Times* represented the whole district from Calcutta to Lahore, as "either in open mutiny, or upon the verge of it." The preconcerted arrangement, as subsequently disclosed, appears to have warranted such an opinion; as it had been planned that a rising should take place simultaneously at Meerut, Lahore, and other cities of the Punjab. The revolted troops were then to fall back on Delhi, and make it their head-quarters, and the base of future operations in the Mogul empire; which was to be there proclaimed and established, by the extermination of the whole European army and population throughout India.

The circumstances that immediately preceded the military outbreak at Meerut were as follows:—Some refractory temper having been exhibited by several men of the 3d native cavalry, in reference to the obnoxious cartridges, it was considered proper, by the officers in command at the station, to test the discipline of the regiment; and with this view, a parade was ordered on the 6th of May, at which the cartridges were served out to the men. Out of ninety sowars on parade, only five would receive, or even submit to touch them. Anxious to conciliate, rather than push matters hastily to an extreme point, the havildars were ordered to offer them a second time to the

eighty-five men, who again peremptorily refused to receive them; and their insubordinate conduct being reported to the general in command, the whole of the refractory soldiers were by his orders placed under arrest, and were subsequently tried by a court-martial composed of native officers, by whom the delinquents were severally sentenced to periods of imprisonment varying from six to ten years. The eighty-five prisoners were then placed in charge of a guard of European soldiers, composed of two companies of the 60th rifles, and twenty-five men of the carabineers, and were thus conducted to their lines.

A general punishment parade was ordered at daybreak on the morning of Saturday, the 9th of May, and at that time all the troops at the cantonment, with the exception of the standing guards, were paraded on the ground of the 60th rifles; that battalion, with the carabineers, the 3d light cavalry, the 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry, a light field battery, and a troop of horse-artillery, being present under arms. Upon the arrival of General Hewitt and his staff, the carabineers, horse-artillery, and rifles, were ordered to load; and having performed this significant military operation, the eighty-five prisoners were marched to the ground under escort, the European regiments and the guns of the artillery being disposed so that the slightest effort to get up a mutinous outbreak would have been followed by their inevitable destruction. The prisoners were in uniform when marched on to the ground; but as soon as their respective sentences had been read in the hearing of the assembled troops, they were ordered to take off their military clothing and accoutrements; and the armorers and smiths of the horse-artillery being in readiness with the necessary implements, irons were riveted upon the legs of each individual, and, finally, they were marched off the parade, and escorted to the gaol, about two miles from the cantonment. During the progress of this scene, so humiliating to the character of the regiment to which the men belonged, the officers and men of the 3d cavalry present, appeared intensely, though silently, to feel the degradation of their comrades; they sat mounted, with swords drawn and sloped, but allowed no out-

ward indication of the fires of revenge and hatred that were scorching their hearts, and consuming whatever had existed of human feeling within them, to appear. The sepoy regiments, evidently intimidated by the preparations that had been made to crush any mutinous demonstration on the ground, marched sullenly to their lines.

Up to this date no suspicion of a general rising of the native troops had been entertained either by the officers in cantonment or by the European residents at Meerut, the discontent of the native troops and their connections in the bazaars and town having merely shown itself by incendiary fires in the lines, scarcely a night passing without one or more conflagrations, and the partial and abortive attempt at mutiny already noticed. All was therefore in comparative repose until the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when a movement commenced among the native troops, which, in its results, showed that a plan of wholesale and indiscriminate massacre had been arranged, and was then about to be carried into effect, the intent of the conspirators being to surround, during church-time, the whole of the European population, civil as well as military; which, thus surprised, unarmed, and defenseless, was to be destroyed, without exception or regard to age, sex, or station. To the successful accomplishment of this diabolical scheme there was but one obstacle—namely, the want of unanimity among the chief actors in the proposed tragedy. The 11th native infantry had less thirst for European blood than either the 3d cavalry or the 20th regiment. The moment for decisive action approached; and the 11th still holding out against a massacre, the men of the 20th, excited by rage and disappointment, at length fired several shots at the sepoys of the 11th, who, being either intimidated by the fury of their comrades, or probably not sincerely unwilling to join in the sanguinary work proposed to them, now joined the rebellious movement; and the men of the three regiments, thus united, rushed together into the parade-ground, with shouts and execrations against the Europeans generally, and at once began their task of unrelenting slaughter. Unfortunately, at this critical moment, General

Hewitt, in charge of the troops at the cantonment, seems to have shown much indecision as to the means to be adopted to arrest the first steps of the rebellious and murderous outbreak.

In the meantime the work of destruction was rapidly approaching consummation. The moment the alarm had reached Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th regiment, that officer rode to the parade-ground, and endeavored, by haranguing the men, to induce them to return to their duty as soldiers; he exhorted them by their former good character and the confidence that had always been deservedly reposed in their loyalty and obedience, to remain true to their colors, and to avoid the stain that a useless attempt at mutiny would indelibly inflict upon the regiment. He appealed to them as their colonel and their friend; but the reply to his remonstrance was a shot from a sepoy of the 20th regiment, which struck him in the back as he uttered his last sentence. A volley from the muskets of the tumultuous rabble instantly followed this signal, and the colonel fell from his horse, riddled by bullets. Observing the fate of Colonel Finnis, and being utterly unprepared to resist the fury of the mutineers, the other officers withdrew from the parade-ground, and sought protection in the lines of the rifles and 6th dragoons, their longer continuance upon the scene being useless as well as personally hazardous. Throughout this scene, the men of the 11th regiment were not so murderously disposed as those of the 3d and 20th, since, if their desire had been to massacre their officers, they had ample opportunity to accomplish their purpose while the colonel was addressing them; and it may be observed also in their favor, that they offered no impediment to the escape of their officers after the colonel had fallen.

During this lamentable scene on the parade-ground, a strong party of the 3d regiment had mounted and rode off to the gaol, where some eighty-five of their comrades had been conducted in irons the previous day, in accordance with a sentence of court-martial. Meeting with no attempt at resistance on the part of the *burkandazes* (gaol guards), the liberation of the

troopers was speedily accomplished, as well as that of about 1,200 other individuals, then in confinement for sundry crimes and offenses. The yet fettered sowars, exasperated by the disgrace they had been subjected to, added greatly to the frenzied excitement of their comrades, who escorted them back to their lines in the cantonments, followed by a tumultuous rabble from the gaol, yelling and shouting, and vociferating savage denunciations of vengeance upon all Europeans. The first object of the rescuers, on returning to the cantonment, was to free their comrades from the irons riveted upon them; the next, to join their brother mutineers of the 20th regiment in the frightful carnage that had already commenced, and in which the soldiers of the 3d regiment spared neither sex nor age. The men of the 20th regiment were equally busy at the like sanguinary pastime, and the murders committed by them were as numerous and unprovoked as those of the 3d; although, if it be possible to make a distinction in the character of such atrocities, the acts of the 20th were not signalized by the unspeakable brutalities that marked the pitiless vengeance of the 3d. The 11th regiment, as before observed, seemed at first to enter with reluctance into the reckless outrages of the other troops; but at length they also became excited by the fury of their companions in the mutiny, and exhibited a like avidity for the shedding of European blood. By this time darkness had set in; and the fires that had been conveyed to every house and building, officers' bungalows, public edifices, the mess-houses of the troops and, in short, every structure between the native lines and Meerut, began to proclaim their ascendancy over the fragile materials by which they were fed. On all sides great pinnacles of waving flame, of all hues and degree of intensity, shot up high into the darkness; huge volumes of smoke came rolling on in the sultry atmosphere; and the cracking and roar of the extending conflagration, the frantic yells of the mutinous sepoys, and the shouts and shrieks of the multitude gathered to witness the progress of the revolt, and share in the plunder (many of whom fell from the random shots of the soldiers), all combined, on that dark and awful night, to present a scene of horrors it

would be impossible to exaggerate in attempting to describe. Every living thing within reach was attacked at once, as the furious mobs of sepoy and plunderers rushed from place to place, uttering cries of revenge on the Europeans, mingled with shouts of exultation at their easily-acquired triumph over unsuspecting and defenseless victims.

The official details of the occurrence at Meerut on the 10th of May, as given by General Hewitt, are very meagre, and do not at all explain the reason why no European guard was placed over the gaol or the native lines, although the men were well known to be disaffected. Neither do they afford information why the brigadier did not advance in pursuit of the fugitives with even a portion of his force. Promptitude on the part of General Hewitt, in following up and attacking the mutineers the next morning, would have struck a mortal blow at the revolt, and would, in all probability, have saved Delhi from massacre and plunder.

It is due to the men of the 11th to say, that they left Meerut without touching their officers, so that the deaths in that regiment must be attributed to the mutineers of other corps. Many other persons unconnected with the army, also fell before the rage of the mutineers who had carefully prearranged *their* outbreak. At the very commencement, all possibility of telegraphic communication with Delhi was cut off. They also had the precaution to keep possession of the road to the capital, as some movements made by the cavalry in that direction, were rendered unsuccessful by the advantages of time and position the rebels secured by their unmolested flight.

It will be observed, that the first movement of the 3d and 20th regiments commenced between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and that the lines of the European cavalry ranged off from the centre of the cantonment, and consequently were within two miles and a-half of the extreme limits (inclusive) of the lines of the three mutinous regiments; and were certainly not more than four miles and a-half from the town of Meerut; but, notwithstanding the proximity of the 6th dragoons and the other European troops, night had set in before they were

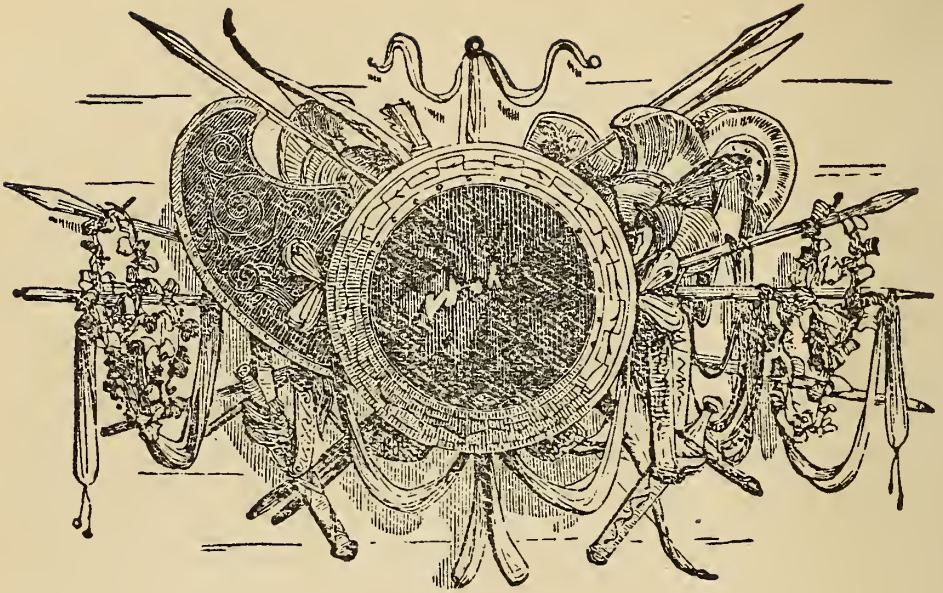
on the parade-ground in service order ; and then, as far as the 6th dragoons were concerned, according to various letters we have seen, began the system of marching and countermarching that ended in their doing nothing. The 60th rifles and horse-artillery were first upon the scene of outrage ; the dragoons (probably fearful of blowing their horses by too much haste) leisurely followed ; but long before they reached the native lines, the mutineers had exhausted their fury, and, sated with blood and carnage, had begun to retire in the direction of Delhi. Their rear was already disappearing in the gloom, when it was discovered by the 60th rifles and the horse-artillery, who fired a few volleys into a wood in which the fugitives had sought cover. It was now quite dark, and beyond the wood no search was made or pursuit attempted ; the rifles and artillery therefore retraced their steps to the cantonment, and, on the parade-ground of the late 11th regiment, met the 6th dragoons, returning from their useless ride. The mutineers, thus left free to choose their accommodation for the night, encamped unmolested within six miles of Meerut. The European troops bivouacked upon the scene of devastation and slaughter they had *not* prevented by timely interposition ; and the remainder of the night of the 10th of May was occupied in devising plans for the future safety of the smoking ruins of Meerut, and of the portion that yet survived of its European population.

The horrors of that dreadful night could scarcely have been surpassed though, unfortunately, they were too closely paralleled by subsequent atrocities in other places. The mutinous and infuriated soldiers had, it is true, withdrawn from the scene of their outrages ; but the liberated prisoners from the gaol, and the rabble of the town, continued their ravages almost without a check. The first act of Major-general Hewitt, after the return of the troops from their tardy, and consequently ineffective pursuit, was to post European sentries in different parts of Meerut ; and the constant fire of their rifles showed that the measure, late as it was adopted, was necessary. To many of the surviving Europeans, the night of the 10th of

May, 1857, was one of agonizing suspense; to some it was a night in which the desolated heart was numbed by the intensity of its hopeless grief. Husbands had missed their wives, wives had been torn away from their husbands; infants had been wrenched from their mothers' arms to be butchered before their eyes; and children had been compelled to witness the expiring agonies of their murdered parents, and even to drink their blood!

It is quite clear that no attempt was made, even on the following morning, to pursue and attack the fugitive mutineers, who were consequently allowed to advance upon Delhi without hindrance—an advantage that enabled them the more effectively to perpetrate the atrocities we have yet to record.

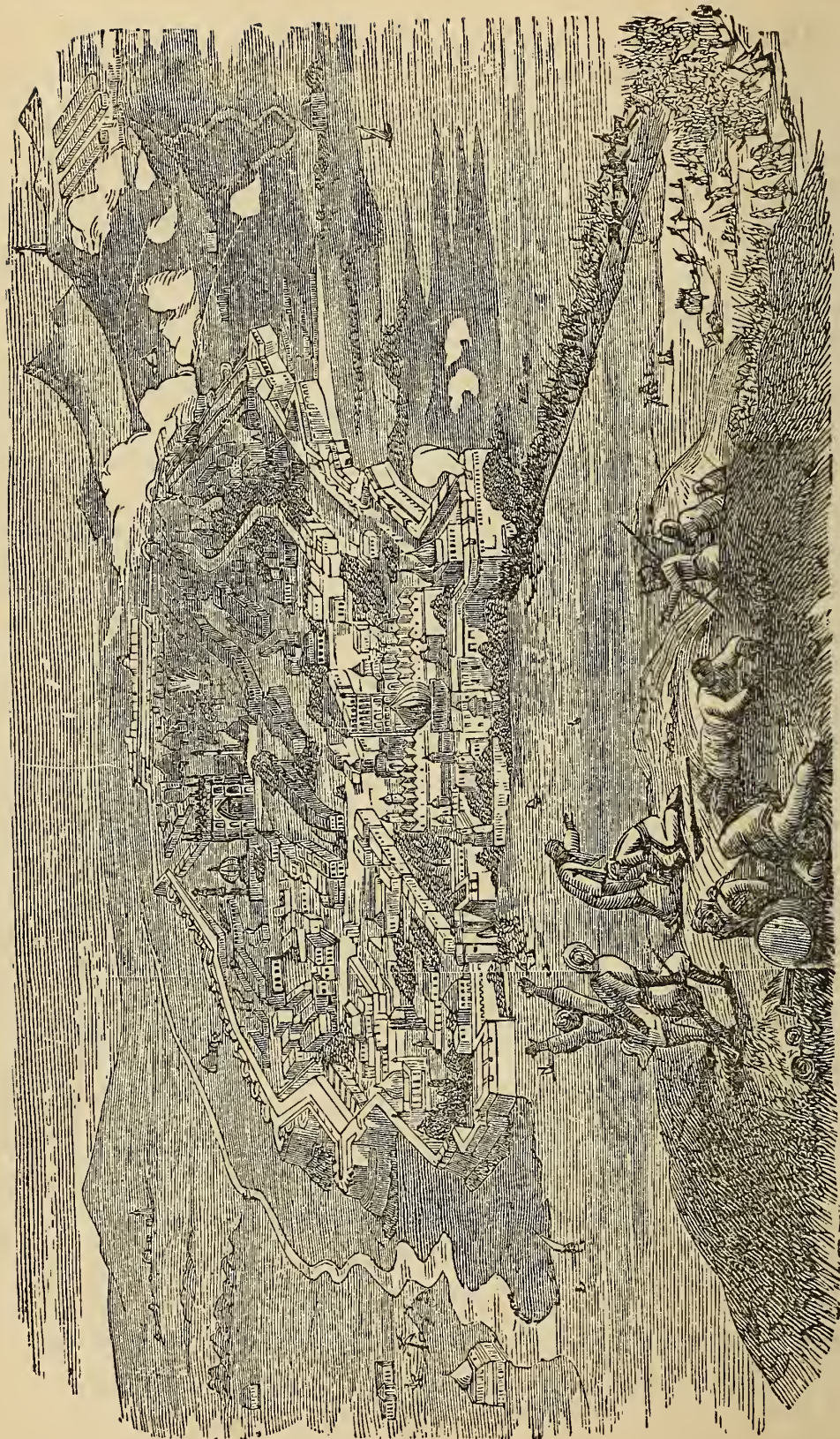




CHAPTER XIV.

FALL OF DELHI.

RESUMING the details of an outbreak that was destined, in its results, to involve the partial destruction of the capital of the ancient monarchs of Hindostan, and to destroy the last relics of a once mighty dynasty, we find, that after a short interval of rest from the fatigue and excitement of the previous night, the mutinous troops, at an early hour, commenced their flight toward Delhi, and by a forced march of considerably more than thirty miles, arrived within sight of its towers shortly after eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, May the 11th. The city was at this time garrisoned wholly by native troops, consisting of the 38th, 54th, and 74th regiments of infantry, and a battery of native artillery. The arsenal in the interior of the city contained 900,000 cartridges, two complete siege-trains, a large number of field guns, and some 8000 or 10,000 muskets. A powder-magazine, which had been removed, at the request of the inhabitatants, from the city to the cantonments, at this time contained not less than 10,000 barrels—a formidable supply for the purposes of rebellious soldiers.



SIEGE OF DELHI.

On the arrival of the mutineers from Meerut, they found no difficulty in fraternizing with the troops which were stationed at Delhi. Several of the officers were killed while attempting to prevent the sepoy's under their command from taking a part in the rebellion, and the whole native force in Delhi were soon engaged in murdering the European residents.

Some sepoy's of the 38th and 74th regiments, on duty at the magazine guard and at the Calcutta gate, threw open the latter, and rushed forward to welcome the mutineers, a portion of whom entered the city, and at once commenced the work of destruction. They first set on fire the bungalows in Durya Gunge, cutting down the European inhabitants as they tried to escape from the flames; they then plundered and destroyed the dispensary building near the fort, and murdered Chinnam Lall, the native doctor; then seeing the commissioner driving past, on his way to the palace, they dashed after him, overtook, and struck him down, but not before he had shot one of his pursuers; in revenge for which they afterward cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph.

Whilst this party of the mutineers was thus employed, others had proceeded to the river-gate of the palace, from whence communication was speedily opened with the attendants of the king; and the occurrence at Meerut was made known, with the desire of the soldiers that his majesty should ascend the throne. After a short parley the troopers were, by order of the king, admitted within the gates. It was some time, however, after the arrival of the mutineers at the palace before the king yielded to their clamor that he should suffer himself to be proclaimed emperor. It was represented to him that the whole of Hindostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta and other chief towns were already in possession of the native armies; and that it was only for his majesty to unfurl the sacred standard of the empire, and the warlike millions of India would range themselves beneath it, and re-establish the independent throne of the Moguls, driving the English tyrants into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. Two troops of artillery, that had deserted from

Meerut in the confusion of the previous night, had now arrived, and entering the city by the Calcutta gate, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns in front of the palace. This incident decided the future of the ill-starred descendant of the royal house of Timour; he yielded; and the soldiers, exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying point under any emergency, rushed through the palace gates into the streets of the city, to put a climax to the work of treachery and rebellion.

The first person who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers upon their entry into the palace, was the commandant of the guard of the titular king, Captain Douglas. The next victims of their barbarity were the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the English chaplain to the Residency, and his daughter, an amiable young lady of nineteen, who were seized while on their way to seek the king's protection. They were hurried into the presence of the puppet sovereign; and to the demand of the troopers, "What shall we do with them?" the king is reported to have replied, "What you like; I give them to you." History must draw a veil over the sufferings of these unfortunate martyrs.

Meanwhile the people of the city were gathering for mischief; and as the day advanced, the Goojurs of the villages around Delhi became aware of the chances for plunder, and were ready for action. Pillage and murder now ravaged the streets; every house in which a European was believed to have resided was searched, and ransacked from foundation to roof. The purpose of the soldiers was massacre; that of the rabble which followed in their train, and added to the horror of their outrages, was plunder. Arming themselves with the national hatred of Europeans as a pretext, the bad-mashes and rioters broke into the houses of the rich native inhabitants, the shops of the citizens, and the public stables. Many of the shopkeepers fell victims to the fury of the rabble, merely for asking payment for their goods. While a portion of the mutinous soldiers and rabble were thus occupied, others spread through the streets in search of the European and Christian inhabitants, whom they butchered without mercy. One of their first objects,

after glutting their hatred against the Feringhees, was to obtain possession of the treasure deposited in the Delhi bank, and to murder the manager in charge—a Mr. Beresford, whose wife and five children fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, by having their throats severed, and mangled with broken glass. They next plundered the government treasuries, destroyed the church, and utterly demolished the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*, throwing the presses into the river, and melting the type into slugs. The compositors attempted to escape in the disguise of natives; but, on being recognized, were literally hacked to pieces.

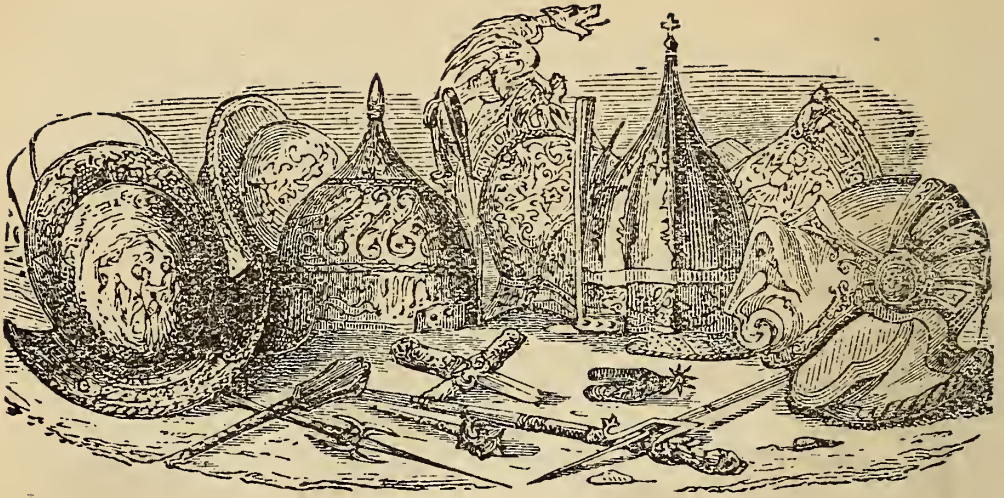
The fate of the unfortunate Europeans who had been unable to leave the city previous to the outbreak of the populace, was most deplorable; no mercy or consideration was shown to age or sex. Delicate women, mothers and daughters, were stripped of their clothing, violated, turned naked into the streets, beaten with canes, pelted with filth, and abandoned to the beastly lusts of the blood-stained rabble, until death or madness deprived them of all consciousness of their unutterable misery. A few Europeans, with arms, took refuge in a mosque; as they were without water or food, they at last determined to give themselves up; and, calling to the subahdar in charge of a native guard before the door, they asked for water, and that he should pledge his oath to take them alive to the king. The oath was given, and the Europeans came from their asylum. The mutineers placed water before them, and said, "Lay down your arms, and then you get water." They obeyed; and the soldiers instantly surrounded them; they gave no water, but seized the whole party, consisting of eleven children, eight ladies, and eight gentlemen, whom they marched off immediately to the cattle-sheds, placed them in a row, and shot them. One lady entreated of the murderers to give her child some water, although they killed herself. A sepoy, in reply to the mother's appeal, snatched the child from her arms, and dashed its brains out on the pavement before her face! The demoniac fury of the excited multitude had no bounds; and in a few hours after sunrise of Monday the 11th of May, the interior of Delhi was

a pandemonium that fiends might have shuddered to contemplate.

Upon the first alarm reaching Sir Theophilus Metcalf, the political agent, he immediately proceeded to the magazine, situated within the walls, near the Calcutta gate, and gave directions for two guns to be placed on the bridge of boats over the Jumna, for the purpose of preventing further approach to the city in that direction; but the movement on this point had already been anticipated by the mutineers, who had taken possession of it, and were then in considerable force on the Delhi side of the river. Foiled in this object, the attention of Sir Theophilus and the officer in charge of the ordnance stores (Lieutenant Willoughby), was directed to the defenses of the magazine, which, at the time, contained an unusually large quantity of ammunition and military stores. The gates were immediately closed and barricaded, two six-pounder guns, double-charged with grape, were placed in a position to command the gates in case they should be forced by the rebellious sepoys; other guns of larger calibre were also double-charged, and placed in position to act upon various parts of the magazine buildings; and a train having been laid communicating with the interior, and given in charge to a trustworthy non-commissioned officer, arms were distributed among the native servants of the establishment; and the little garrison of seven Europeans awaited in silence the attack they had so much reason to expect.

After a brief interval, during which the ferocity of the mutineers had been partially sated by rapine and murder, a summons was transmitted from the palace, demanding, in the king's name, the surrender of the magazine. Of this message no notice was taken by its defenders, and ladders were thereupon brought from the palace for the purpose of taking it by *escalade*. Already the mutinous troops swarmed upon the walls; the rifles of the gallant defenders sped their unerring bolts, and thinned their ranks. In the midst of the unequal conflict, the whole of the native servants of the magazine and ordnance departments contrived to scramble up the sheds and

buildings against the outer wall, and, descending by the ladders, joined the ranks of the assailants. The attack was persevered in, although continued rounds of grape swept them from the walls only to be replaced by others. At length, the bullets of the enemy began to tell upon the little garrison, two out of the seven being wounded; and Lieutenant Willoughby felt that the moment had approached in which the defense of the magazine and its important contents must be consummated by the destruction of the whole. The walls were again crowned by the exasperated sepoys; the outer court of the building was already filled by the advancing enemy; when a preconcerted signal was given. A few seconds had scarcely elapsed before a dull, heavy report boomed above the din of the city and the shouts of its maddened people; the ground vibrated, and a huge volume of smoke ascending in the air, spread like a pall over the palace of the Moguls, and announced, amidst the groans and shrieks of its ferocious and mangled assailants, that the great magazine of Delhi, with its vast accumulations of powder and military stores, had been blown into the air. The gallant Willoughby happily escaped the effects of the explosion with merely a severe scorching; but it was believed that from 1,500 to 2,000 of the mutineers and town rabble were blown up with the magazine, or were crushed by the falling and scattered ruins. Exasperated by the disappointment occasioned by the destruction of the stores, the sowars rushed to the palace, and demanded of the king that the Europeans who had received his assurance of protection should be given up to them. The demand was acceded to; and the unfortunate victims of royal perfidy and insatiable revenge were murdered in cold blood by the remorseless soldiers, who, in reply to their appeals for mercy, pointed to their legs and pretended to show the marks of the irons that had been put upon them on the Saturday previous to the outbreak at Meerut.



CHAPTER XV.

APPEARANCE OF DISSATISFACTION AT UMBALLAH.—MUTINOUS DEMONSTRATIONS AT FERROZEPORE AND LAHORE.

TURNING for a moment from the head-quarters of rebellion, as established at Delhi, we now proceed to trace the progress of the outbreak in other districts of British India, and to describe the steps taken to arrest the further spread of the disorder that ravaged the country.

From the beginning of January it had gradually become manifest that an unquiet and discontented feeling was gaining strength among the troops in several stations of the Bengal presidency, and the attention of Government was repeatedly invited to the subject; but the measures adopted at Barrackpore and other places, were thought to have effectually checked the mischievous impulse; and so little was its revival anticipated, that the commander-in-chief, General Anson, sought a temporary relaxation from the duties of his onerous position in a sporting tour, that occasionally took him to a distance from any telegraphic communication. Upon his return in March, his excellency visited the school of musketry at Umballah, and from thence proceeded to Simla, where he purposed to remain during the season. Meantime the old difficulty about the



greased cartridges recurred, and notwithstanding the attempts of the officers at conciliation, the discontent of the sepoys was manifested by incendiary fires, of which not less than fifteen occurred between the 26th of March and the 1st of May, by which military depots, arms, ammunition and supplies for the army to an immense amount, were destroyed, in and near Umballah.

It had by this time become evident, that independent of the mutinous demonstrations at Meerut and Delhi, the seeds of disaffection and revolt were germinating, and rapidly attaining maturity, in other districts of the presidency; and a succession of disturbances in places far distant from each other, but evidently moved by the same impulsive cause, afforded ample proof that the most energetic measures would be required to preserve the integrity of British power in India. It was in vain that the suspicions and fears of the credulous and excitable sepoys had been alternately met with explanation and concession, by positive indulgence or by rigorous punishment; the evil yet existed in its full strength; and the efforts as yet made to eradicate it, only served to lessen the *prestige* of a government that could tamely concede the high principle of absolute command, and accept from its troops a conditional service in lieu of unhesitating and implicit obedience. Circumstances had enabled the Mohammedan and Hindoo elements embodied in the mass of the native armies of British India, to put the screw of their prejudices and assumed privileges upon the impressible nature of the government; and the ravages at Meerut and Delhi were but the early results of an influence that, by timely caution, might have been altogether prevented.

At Ferozepore—situate also in the north-west province, on the left bank of the Sutlej, distant about 175 miles from Lahore, and 1,181 from Calcutta—a new source of disquietude had now arisen to embarrass the authorities. In the early part of May the garrison at this place consisted of the 45th and 57th regiments of native infantry, the 10th native light cavalry, and her majesty's 61st foot. On the night of the 12th a detachment of the 57th regiment was on guard duty at the magazine, which was situated within the lines of a fortification near the

town, and at a short distance from the cantonment. In consequence of some suspicion as to the loyalty of the native troops at the station, a company of her majesty's 61st regiment was told off for the relief on the following morning. No opportunity was afforded for discussion or inquiry among the troops, respecting the sudden alteration of the *roster* for the day; and the new guard, in due course, was marched to the post assigned to it. Upon the arrival of the relief, the two guards remained together, while orders were carried into effect for the immediate removal of the women and children, and of the unarmed Christian population, to the magazine fort for safety. During this operation the 10th light cavalry and the two native regiments of infantry were paraded at the cantonment, and the 45th was ordered to march to the Suddur Bazaar, situated at some distance, and in an opposite direction from the fortifications. The regiment marched out in obedience to orders; but as soon as it had reached the entrance to the bazaar, the men halted of their own accord, and, facing about, immediately proceeded at quick-step toward the magazine. Having reached the north-west bastion of the fortifications, they managed to communicate with some men of the 57th regiment, yet within the walls; and the latter proceeded to throw out ropes, and put over ladders to assist them in scaling the fortifications. By these aids the moat was crossed, and the outer defenses carried by the mutineers, who numbered about 3000. Having succeeded thus far without difficulty, they next attempted to force the inner gate leading to the depot for ordnance stores; but here they were met by Colonel Redmond, and five men of the 61st regiment, who fired a volley, and killed six of the assailants—the colonel being in return shot in the thigh and disabled. Repulsed at this point, the mutineers endeavored to obtain access to the interior of the fort by another gate; but again they were driven back with loss, and being dispirited by their failures, they commenced a precipitate retreat over the walls they had just scaled, many of them falling in the attempt by the butt-ends of the muskets of the 61st. In the midst of this affair a reinforcement of two companies of the Queen's regiment, with two guns.

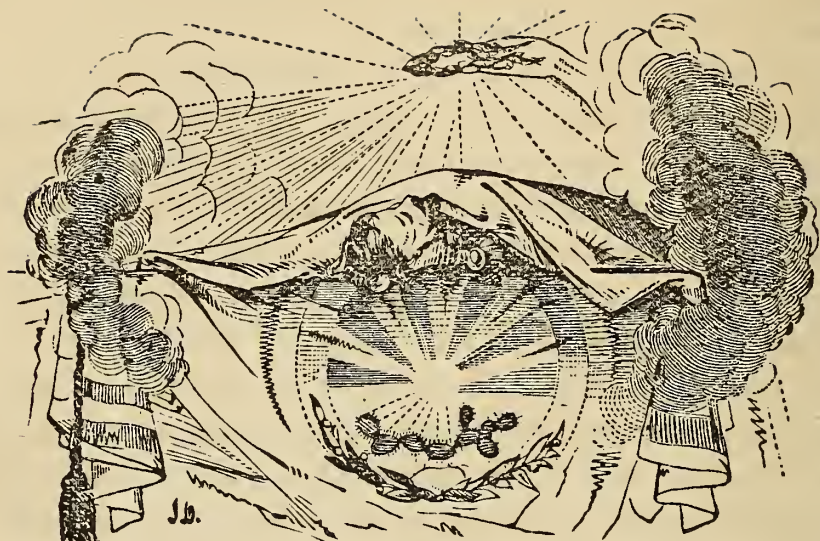
under the command of Lieutenant Angelo, arrived at the magazine; and the guard of the 57th, which had been standing quietly in front of the European relief, while the struggle with their mutinous comrades was proceeding in another part of the fortification, now began to exhibit symptoms of defiance by loading their muskets. Lieutenant Angelo had his two guns charged with grape, and turned their muzzles upon the company, which was then immediately disarmed by her majesty's 61st, and turned out the intrenchment. The 45th native infantry retreated toward the Ice-pits, and carrying their dead with them, left the bodies at the Mussulman graveyard, adjoining that of the Europeans. The remainder of the day was passed in comparative quiet; but as soon as night had thrown her vail of darkness over the scene of the morning's struggle, about 200 of the mutineers returned to the cantonment, and in gangs took lighted torches and set fire to the church, chapel, two vacant hospitals, her majesty's 61st mess-houses, Captains Salmon, Harvey, Woodcock, Cotton, and Bloomfield's bungalows, and several others. They were not even molested in committing this incendiarism except at the chapel, where a young lad, the son of Mr. Hughes, a merchant, shot one of them; every one seemed panic-stricken. The next day, the 14th, the mutineers began to plunder some of the officers' houses, when a party of her majesty's 61st and 10th light cavalry drove them out, and shot some of them; Lieutenant Prendergast and the serjeant-major of the cavalry were both fired upon, and as the magazines of the 45th and 57th native infantry were in danger of falling into the hands of the mutineers, the artillery brought their guns to bear upon the buildings, which were blown up by a couple of shots fired into them. On the same day the 57th native infantry were disarmed, and the mutineers of the 45th, to the number of two hundred, sent in the colors of their regiment, and surrendered their arms and themselves.

By this time a suspicion existed among the Europeans at Lahore, that the fidelity of the troops in the cantonment at Mean-mere, consisting of the 16th, 26th, and 40th regiments

of native infantry, and the 8th light cavalry, could no longer be relied on; and, as a matter of prudent caution, Brigadier Corbett, the officer in command, with the concurrence of Sir John Lawrence, determined upon disarming them. It fortunately happened at the time that the queen's 81st regiment, and two battalions of English artillery, were also in cantonment, and afforded the means for carrying such determination into effect without difficulty. These regiments, it was known, were merely awaiting a favorable opportunity to break out into open revolt; but they lost the chance by delay, and the cool but decisive arrangements of Sir John Lawrence. A ball had been announced at the station for some weeks, and the patrons of it were now desirous that the *elite* of the European residents should attend as if nothing had occurred at Delhi, or other places, to occasion alarm. This appearance of ignorance deceived the ringleaders of the intended revolt, and induced them to make their final arrangements with more leisure than was compatible with success. Dancing was kept up with great zest and spirit until an early hour of Thursday, the 14th of May; but when the native regiments marched at daybreak to the parade-ground, intending to commence the insurrectionary movement, they were panic-stricken by the preparations made to receive them. The European artillery had taken a position immediately in front, and the 81st regiment was formed in line in rear of the guns; the latter were charged with grape before they were brought on the ground; and the 81st received the order to load. The order for disarming the native troops was then read by Brigadier Corbett; and, at its conclusion, he commanded the sepoys to pile their arms, and the cavalry to throw their swords on the ground, and retire to the rear of the infantry. To the great astonishment of the Europeans, the order was obeyed without hesitation or remonstrance; and the arms being collected were placed in wagons, and escorted by a detachment of the 81st regiment to the fort at Lahore. The men of the native corps were then dismissed from parade, and almost immediately left the station, without committing any outrage, but dispersing in various directions about the country.

It was at length found to be necessary that some plan should be adopted to check the spirit of insubordination that had become apparent in many districts of the Punjab; and for this purpose a council of war, composed of Major-general Reid, Brigadiers Chamberlayne and Cotton, and Colonels Edwards and Nicholson, was held at Peshawur on the 13th of May. After due consideration of the state of the country, it was arranged, that the troops scattered about the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, the 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, the the 24th foot (British regulars), from Rawul Pindee, one European troop of horse-artillery from Peshawur, the guide corps from Murdan, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindee, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2d Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock, were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, from whence the Punjab could be secured. These measures were taken just in time; for the 24th, 27th, and 51st native infantry, and 5th light cavalry, were all disaffected, and gradually showed a spirit so dangerous, that on the 29th of May the four regiments were disarmed without offering resistance. A party was at the same time sent, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, to disarm the 55th native infantry, in garrison at Murdan, a fort in the centre of the Peshawur valley. The corps resisted; a fight ensued; and the sepoy lost about 200 men, killed and prisoners, the remnant making good a retreat to the hills, where they were pursued and scattered by Major Vaughan with his mountain train.





CHAPTER XVI.

DISTURBANCES IN BOMBAY—THE PARSEES, OR FIRE-WORSHIPERS AT BAROACH—THE RAJAHS OF GWALIOR, PUTTEEALA, JHIND, AND BHURTPORE—THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

WHILE the fires of rebellion were thus spreading over the presidency of Bengal, that of Bombay was not at this period entirely free from disquietude, although the cause of it did not appear to be connected with any of the grievances that convulsed the sister presidency. In Bombay and several of the principal towns bordering upon the Gulf of Cambay, large numbers of a singular people, called Parsees (descended from the Guebres, or Fire-worshippers of Persia), had located themselves after their expulsion from that country by the Moham-medans. They are described, at the present time, as an active, intelligent, and loyal body of men, contributing greatly to the commercial prosperity of the settlement in which they are resident. The mercantile property and wealth of Bombay are principally in their hands, as it is usual for every European house to have one or more Parsee partners, who supply a large portion of the capital. In personal appearance they are taller,

better formed, more athletic, and, as a race, have handsomer features than the Hindoos generally.

The outbreak we are about to describe occurred at Vaejulpore, the Parsee suburb of Baroach, on the morning of the 12th of May, when, without any previous indication of bad feeling, about half the Mussulman population of the place, and as many more of the same faith as could be gathered from the neighboring villages, assembled with arms at a shrine called Bawa Rahan, about a mile from the city; and, after a brief consultation, marched into the Parsee quarters, and immediately commenced a ferocious and indiscriminate attack upon the defenseless inhabitants. They struck down and mutilated every Parsee that came in their way, pulled down and plundered the dwellings and warehouses belonging to them, and perpetrated the most outrageously indecent attacks upon women. During the tumult, one unfortunate individual in particular became an object of their vengeance; they chased him from house to house as he sought refuge, and at length dragged him from his last place of shelter, strangled, and then inflicted innumerable wounds on him with all sorts of weapons, even after he had expired. They also murdered the high-priest of the Parsees in the fire-temple, which, together with the Tower of Silence (tomb adjacent), the fanatical Mohammedans desecrated in a manner most offensive to the feelings of the Parsees. The deputy-magistrate being one of that people, very narrowly escaped being stoned and stabbed. As soon as the chief magistrate and superintendent were informed of the tumult at Vaejulpore, they repaired to the scene of disturbance, but were insulted, and even roughly handled. At length it was found necessary to send for a detachment of sepoy, for the purpose of restoring order; but these also were rudely assailed, on their arrival, by the infuriated populace; and as they were not allowed to fire in their own defense, the ravages of the mob continued until a large amount of property had been destroyed, and several valuable lives were sacrificed.

Returning to the progress of the sepoy mutiny, we may observe, that the recently annexed kingdom of Oude (which,

under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, had been reduced to a political grade subordinate to the presidency of Bengal) was at this time considered perfectly safe under the vigorous supervision of Sir Henry Lawrence, notwithstanding an abortive mutinous attempt of the 7th Oude irregular infantry on the 3d of May, which had been promptly met and effectually crushed. The principal native chiefs were yet faithful; and no occasion had been given to doubt the sincerity of their allegiance. Scindia, the Rajah of Gwalior was the first to tender assistance to the government after the affair at Meerut, by offering to the lieutenant-governor at Agra, through the political agent, the services of the whole or any part of his troops. This offer was partly accepted; and the maharajah's body-guard, composed of horse artillery and cavalry, together with a detail of picked infantry, was immediately detached to await the disposal of the lieutenant-governor; and but for a serious indisposition at the time, the rajah would himself have headed his troops on the service. The rajahs of Bhurt-pore, Jhind, and Putteeala, also promptly dispatched their contingents to the aid of the English authorities.

Such instances of fidelity present honorable exceptions to the general conduct of the native princes at the commencement of disturbances that have since involved many of them in ruin.

Our attention must now be directed to events connected with the city of Agra—capital of the Anglo-Indian province of the same name, and seat of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. This important station is situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in lat. $27^{\circ} 12'$ N., and long. $78^{\circ} 6'$ E. Its distance from Delhi is 130 miles; and from Calcutta about 839 miles.

On the 13th of May a general parade was held of the troops in cantonment at Agra, when the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces (Mr. Colvin) addressed them, assuring them, if they had any cause of dissatisfaction, and wished to leave the Company's service, they might say so, and they should be allowed to depart peacefully. The men replied, in a body, that they were satisfied and happy, and had no wish

to leave so good a service. The lieutenant-governor then addressed the European troops, telling them to consider the native soldiers as brothers, and to be as kind to them as possible. These harangues were favorably listened to by the whole of the force present, and both natives and Europeans cheered the lieutenant-governor as he left the ground under the usual salute.

The local authorities appear to have acted with judgment and firmness at the crisis presented to them; and the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces proved equal to the emergency by at once proclaiming martial law in the districts of Meerut, Moozuffernugger, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the river Jumna.

It might have been expected that the effect of this measure would have been seen in the improved condition of the district; but such was not the case; and after a very short period of comparative quiet, abundant demonstration was afforded of the fact, that the snake of revolt in that portion of British India had been merely scotched—not killed.

Up to the middle of May, however, affairs had continued tolerably satisfactory at Agra; and the state of the surrounding districts was such as afforded no extraordinary cause for apprehension.

The 9th regiment of native infantry, whose good conduct had been favorably noticed at Etawah, had its head-quarters at Allygurh, with detachments at Mynpoorie, Etawah, and Boolundshuhur. At the last-named place, an emissary of the mutineers from Delhi had been detected while endeavoring to tamper with the loyalty of the men; some of whom, who were yet untainted by a mutinous spirit, became indignant at his intrusion, and repudiated the doctrine he was disseminating among their comrades. Finding their remonstrances of no avail, they at length seized the traitor, and conveyed him a prisoner to the officer in charge of the detachment, who forwarded him to Allygurh, where he was tried by court-martial, and, upon the evidence of the soldiers from Boolundshuhur, was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. The three men

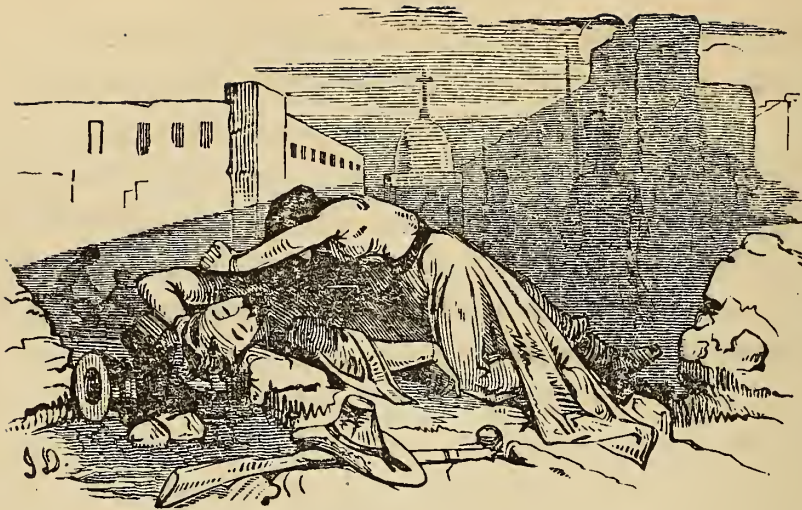
who, in the execution of their duty, had been thus instrumental in arresting the career of a traitor, stood alone in their loyalty, the remainder of the detachment having taken an opposite view of their duty as soldiers; and upon hearing the result of the proceedings at Allygurh, the whole of them deserted their post, and joined the head-quarters of the regiment, bitterly upbraiding their comrades for the part they had taken against a Brahmin sepoy. The morning of Thursday, the 21st of May, was appointed for the execution of the rebel from Delhi, and the regiment paraded in the usual manner for carrying the sentence into effect in the presence of the whole corps. The proceeding had gone on without any appearance of disorder on the part of the men, until the hangman had performed his duty, and the body of the traitor hung suspended from the gallows, when one of the Boolundshuhur sepoys rushed forward, and declared aloud to his comrades, "that they had destroyed a martyr to the cause of their religion, since the Company's government had determined on sacrificing *caste* throughout India!" The men listened, awed into silence by the frightful denunciations of the sepoy; they then conversed together—wavered, and finally broke from their ranks with frantic and threatening shouts, declaring their intention to march at once for Delhi, in the name of "Deen and the King." Some of the better disposed men gathered round the European officers, and assured them, that although they could not prevent the dispersion of the regiment, they would protect them, and take care no harm should befall them; and they kept their promise; but the remainder of the regiment, after plundering and partly burning the station, marched off for Delhi, taking with them their comrades from Boolundshuhur and Etawah, which latter place they also plundered.

On the evening of the 23d of May, intelligence of these events reached the station of Mynpoorie, a town about fifty miles south-west of Agra, where another detachment, consisting of two companies of the 9th native infantry, had been posted, and the men did not hesitate to follow in the steps of their mutinous comrades. Unlike them, however, their conduct was not

marked by outrage; and owing to the judicious behavior of an officer with the detachment, Lieutenant De Kantzow, who temperately reasoned with them upon the folly of their conduct, they were induced to leave the place without inflicting any injury, or offering any insult to the Europeans. The latter, on the departure of the sepoys, formed a volunteer corps among themselves, for the purpose of protecting the treasury and the property of the inhabitants.



JUNG BAHADOOR, PRINCE OF NEPAL.



CHAPTER XVII.

**THE OUTBREAK AT NUSSEERABAD—DEATH OF COLONEL PENNY—
INFANTRY DISARMED AT AGRA—ANTICIPATED DISTURBANCES
AT BAREILLY—REVOLT OF THE NATIVE REGIMENTS, AND
FLIGHT OF THE OFFICERS.**

NOTWITHSTANDING the favorable aspect of affairs, as understood and acted upon at this period in Calcutta, the poison of disaffection was still operating with deadly effect and ceaseless activity upon the native army, at the various stations throughout the presidency ; and the unfortunate result was next manifest at the cantonment of Nusseerabad, a town in the upper province, situate about twelve miles to the south-east of Ajmeer. This cantonment had been drained of infantry and guns for the Persian war ; but the 1st Bombay lancers had remained ; and, shortly after, the 15th Bengal native infantry from Meerut, the 30th from Agra, and the 2d company of the 7th battalion Bengal artillery, were added to supply the deficiency of troops at the station. Matters proceeded quietly at this place until the afternoon of the 28th of May, when the horses of the Bombay troop, with a portion of the men, had gone to water. As soon as they were out of the cantonment, the light company of the 15th native infantry, by a sudden and unexpected movement, took

possession of the artillery, and, being joined by the remainder of the regiment, turned the guns upon the lines occupied by the cavalry. For some hours the 30th regiment and the artillerymen remained passive: they refused to act against the mutineers; but they took no part in their proceedings, and protected their officers from insult. At length, as the evening advanced, the whole of them yielded to persuasion, and threw themselves into the movement commenced by the mutineers of the 15th regiment. The lancers, who numbered 250 men, finding the crisis had arrived for deciding the mastery, unhesitatingly charged the rebellious mass in the hope to recover the guns. Driven back for a moment, they rallied, and again and again advanced upon the bayonets of the mutineers; and, though ultimately repulsed by the overwhelming numbers of their opponents, covered themselves with glory, and inflicted severe loss upon the enemy. In this affair, Captain Spottiswoode and Cornet Newberry, of the lancers, were killed; and Captain Hardy and Lieutenant F. Lock severely wounded. The officer commanding the regiment, Colonel Penny, died the following night from the effects of a fall from his horse during a charge. Further attempt to regain the guns being useless, the lancers retired from the cantonment, taking with them the European officers and families belonging to the revolted regiments, whom they safely escorted, first to Ajmeer, and, subsequently, to the camp of Colonel Dixon at Beawur. The mutineers remained in possession of the station until midnight of the 28th, when, after plundering the treasury, and firing some bungalows, they marched off in the direction of Delhi, with their arms and ammunition. It appears they were not long in making their way to the capital, although their passage was greatly impeded by the guns they had carried off, and which they were finally compelled to abandon in the deep sandy plains on their route. Captain Nixon, who held Muttra on the Jumna, having received intelligence of the mutiny and desertion, determined to intercept the rebel force on its way to Delhi, with the Bhurtpore contingent under his command. His troops advanced for three marches, and then they also mutinied, forcing Captain Nixon and Captain Munbee

to flee for their lives into Bhurtpore. An attempt to bring the Malwa contingent against the mutinous sepoy on their way from Nusseerabad was attended with similar results; and the two regiments, with the artillerymen belonging to the abandoned guns, were thus enabled to swell the ranks of the rebel army at Delhi.

After the departure of the mutinous troops, on the night of the 28th of May, Nusseerabad appears to have escaped further annoyance.

An attempt at insurrection at Agra, on the 30th of May, was promptly put down, and two regiments, the 44th and 67th of sepoy infantry, were disarmed and disbanded on the next day. The disbanded troops went off and joined the rebels at Delhi.

Meantime some rumors of danger had prevailed at Bareilly. On Sunday, May 31st, the day opened upon the cantonment at Bareilly peacefully, and nothing seemed moving to disturb the usual arrangements of the day. Divine service was performed at the church, and there was a large and serious attendance of worshipers. The native officers reported all quiet and satisfactory, and assured the colonel commanding that the men were "never in better heart." The form of examining and closing muster-rolls and pay accounts was carefully and deliberately gone through; leave-rolls were prepared and countersigned; and the whole routine of a Sunday in cantonment regularly observed; and so cleverly was the mischief veiled, that not one regimental officer had the slightest suspicion that it was so near consummation.

Precisely as the clock struck the hour of eleven, a gun was fired, and a loud and long-continued yell from the lines broke the repose of the Christian sabbath. The men rushed to the bells of arms, and began to fire indiscriminately among the officers' houses. Some of the well-disposed hastened to their officers, and besought them to fly, and by no means to approach the parade, where the mutineers were then assembling. Meanwhile, others were running frantically in every direction, firing at every thing and everybody that came in their way; and before several of the officers knew what had really occurred, their houses

were surrounded, and themselves had become targets for their own men.

While these incidents were progressing, repeated discharges of musketry and artillery announced to the inhabitants of Bareilly that rebellion had arrived at their own thresholds. Soon after the commencement of the outbreak, the gaol was attacked by the mutinous soldiers and budmashes of the town, and nearly 3,000 prisoners, of all grades, were let loose upon society. Many of these individuals began to plunder the shops, and maltreated all who offered to resist them. Irritated at this, the townspeople took up arms, and, after a little time, a regular fight ensued between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, in which the latter were victorious, and at once took the command of the place, under the leadership of Buktawnr Khan, a subahdar of artillery, who assumed the rank of general; and, having harangued the people on their duties to the government about to be established, paraded the streets in a brigadier's carriage, followed by a numerous, if not a brilliant staff. One of the native judges in the Company's service, named Khan Bahadoor Khan, a descendant from a Rohilla chief (Hafiz Rehmud), and notorious for his abject servility to the Europeans generally, had now the audacity to cause himself to be proclaimed King of Rohilcund; and inaugurated his reign by a series of cowardly murders, perpetrated upon the unfortunate English residents who had not succeeded in making their escape.

At Seetapore (a military station in the territory of the Gwalior rajah), a wing of the 41st native infantry, the 9th and 10th Oude irregular infantry, and the 2d regiment of Oude military police, comprising altogether about 3,000 men, were in cantonments; and, up to the beginning of June, nothing had occurred in the behavior of the troops to excite apprehension of their loyalty, although, as it subsequently proved, a mischievous influence had for some time been actively employed to seduce them from their allegiance. During the morning of Tuesday, the 2d of June, a sepoy orderly communicated to Lieutenant-colonel Birch, of the 41st regiment, that the men were disaffected, and that a mutinous outbreak was at hand; but that they had re-

solved not to injure their officers if the latter would leave the cantonment and town quietly. By some extraordinary fatuity this timely information was disregarded, and no preparations were made in anticipation of the possible revolt, beyond ordering the European officers attached to the native regiments to remain with their respective companies. On the 3d, the outbreak commenced by the men of the 41st regiment assembling on parade with their arms and ammunition, and thence proceeding to the residence of their colonel; who, on refusing to deliver over to them the treasure under his charge, they immediately shot, with one of their three lieutenants and the sergeant-major. The men of the 9th irregulars had not been idle spectators of the movement of their rebellious comrades, and they also broke into open mutiny; emulating the former in their work of blood by shooting their commanding officer, doctor, and sergeant-major. While these events were in progress, the 10th regiment was marched out to protect the civilians, having the military police drawn up on the left of their position for the same object. After a very brief interval of inaction, the men of the police force suddenly mutinied, and commenced firing upon the civilians who happened to be gazing at the unusual military demonstration. For some minutes the 10th exhibited a disposition to stand true to their duty and their colors; but upon the approach of the 9th and 41st regiments, they also left their ranks and joined the mutinous host. The men of the 10th did not, however, imitate the others in wreaking their vengeance upon their officers; one of whom, Lieutenant and Adjutant Burnes, describing the events of the morning, says—"I was standing in front of the centre of the left wing, exhorting the men to be faithful to their salt, and to the colors they had so lately and so sacredly sworn to defend. They listened with the utmost respect, and evinced no signs whatever of disobedience until the 41st and 9th came within eighty yards; when the light company broke their ranks, and seizing me, took me to the rear, begging of me to run and save myself, as they wished me no harm. Seeing my commanding officer and second in command going away, I followed with a heavy heart, little caring what

became of me, and not taking much notice of the volleys the troops were treating us to."—The disorder now became general; a portion of the rebellious soldiery had already commenced shooting the inhabitants and plundering the town, while others had taken possession of the treasury, and were now occupied in firing the bungalows and lines of the cantonments. A few sepoys still, however, continued faithful, and earnestly besought the surviving officers to escape, and so avert the otherwise inevitable destruction of their families; as, in the event of their falling, the women and children would be without a chance of protection. Finding it useless to contend with the circumstances by which they were surrounded, it was at length determined to follow the advice of the sepoys; by whose assistance, eventually, twelve of the officers, with six ladies and several children, and some families of Europeans in the civil service (numbering altogether about fifty persons), managed to quit the place, under the protection of twenty soldiers, by whom the party was safely conducted to Lucknow. Throughout the journey of fifty miles they were compelled to avoid the public roads, and to cross ravines and broken ground, that under other circumstances would have been considered impossible for ordinary travelers. Their flight was soon discovered, and a pursuit commenced; but by taking the unusual route selected by their protectors, the fugitives were enabled to keep sufficiently in advance of their pursuers to avoid personal harm, although upon one occasion, in which they had halted for an hour, they were nearly overtaken. The time occupied in this doubly hazardous flight extended over two days and a night, during the whole of which period they were without shelter, and but scantily provided with food. The outbreak at Seetapore was consummated by a massacre of about sixty of the European and Christian inhabitants of the town, and the partial destruction of the place itself. The cantonments were utterly destroyed by fire; and the Europeans who had saved themselves by timely flight, escaped with only the clothing they had upon them at the moment of their departure.

Cotemporaneous with the events at Seetapore, the military

stations at Harsi and Hissar, situated about eighty-seven miles to the north-west of Delhi, were also the scenes of military revolt and unprovoked massacre. The troops at these adjacent stations consisted of a battalion of the Harreana light infantry, and the 4th regiment of irregular cavalry, who appear to have been excited to mutiny by some troopers that arrived at Hissar from Delhi; and, after a short parley, succeeded in persuading the men to rise and destroy "all the young and old of English parentage." The determination, once formed, was promptly carried into execution; and, of the whole European population at the station, only twenty-three grown persons, and twelve children, escaped a violent death at the hands of their ferocious assailants.

Following the course of events as closely as possible in chronological order, we now come to the outbreak by the 17th native infantry at Azimgurh, the capital of a district in the province of Allahabad, about fifty-six miles north-east of Benares. The circumstances under which this mutiny and revolt were developed, appear to have been as follow:—On the morning of Wednesday, the 3d of June, an escort party of fifty troopers of the 13th irregular cavalry arrived at the station with treasure, amounting to seven and a half lacs, from Goruckpore, *en route* to Benares, at which place the presence of the queen's 10th regiment was considered a necessary guarantee for its safety. The agitation that had prevailed in the adjacent districts had induced the authorities at Azimgurh to adopt some precautionary measures in respect to the defenses of the place, and they were at this time occupied in throwing up a breastwork round the Cutcherry and public offices, in case it should be necessary for the safety of the European families to seek protection from the probable effects of a popular tumult, which would inevitably follow any mutinous demonstration on the part of the native soldiers: the necessary operations for strengthening the position had, therefore, been commenced, but were not yet completed. After the usual halt of a few hours, the escort with the treasure resumed the march for Benares about six in the evening, at which time nothing unusual was observed in the conduct of the

men of the 17th regiment, who were then in the cantonments. The place wore its accustomed aspect until about nine o'clock, when extraordinary agitation was apparent in the native lines, followed by violent shouts and firing of musketry. It was then ascertained that the troops had broken out into open mutiny; and having forcibly possessed themselves of their weapons, they had commenced a murderous attack upon some of their non-commissioned officers, two of whom, the havildar-major and quartermaster-sergeant, were sacrificed to their fury. The officer on guard at the Cutcherry, hearing the tumult, and having, as he believed, a body of trusty men on duty, ordered them to fall in, and at the same time directed the golundauzes to get ready the guns for service. The men at once, and unanimously, refused to obey orders, and told the officer they would neither themselves fire, or allow others to fire upon their comrades, if the latter came toward them. At the same time they declared it was not their intention to injure the officers or their ladies, unless provoked to do so by useless opposition; and that they were all at liberty to leave the place if they chose to do so. They further stated that they required the guns for the pursuit of the treasure, which had already got more than three hours' start, and which they intended to secure for themselves. Remonstrance was of course unavailing under the circumstances; and as the mutineers had already begun to fire the bungalows and plunder the unfortunate inhabitants, further stay in the town was merely inviting peril that could be avoided; and, consequently, the officers and their families, with several European residents belonging to the civil service (numbering altogether nearly one hundred persons, including children), sought safety in flight. During the hasty preparations for this exodus, some men of the 17th regiment took Major Burroughes, their commanding officer, under their protection, and escorted him a considerable distance on the road to Ghazepore, treating him on the way with their accustomed respect, and at length leaving him in a position that ensured his safety. Another party of the mutineers, with two guns, started off in pursuit of the treasure, with which they came up; and after a feeble show of resistance

on the part of the troopers having charge of it, the whole party joined and retraced their way to Azimgurh.

During their absence the work of destruction had been rapidly progressing. The sepoy left behind had occupied themselves by plundering the treasury and firing the bungalows of the officers in cantonment; but upon the arrival of the villagers and budmashes of the adjoining district, the whole town was given up to pillage, and every inhabitant suspected of favoring the Europeans was subjected to brutal violence. The kotwal of the police was one of the earliest to fall beneath the blows of the excited rabble, who fired the houses, and wantonly destroyed the furniture that was useless to themselves. The prison was opened, and 800 offenders of various degrees of crime were let loose to swell the ranks of the plunderers, who, when there was no longer private property to "loot," destroyed the public gardens and baths, and effectually dismantled the whole place. The orgies of the night and following day were brought to an end amidst a scene of utter and hopeless desolation.

At Neemuch—a cantonment 155 miles north-west of Mhow, and situated between Malwa and Newar, on the frontier of Rajpootana—the hydra of revolt raised one of its fearful heads also on the 3d of June, under circumstances of extraordinary interest. The station had been for some time denuded of its proper garrison of Bombay troops, whose place had been supplied by the 72d Bengal native infantry, the 4th troop, 1st battalion horse artillery from Agra, and a wing of the Bengal light cavalry from Mhow. The elements of mischief were therefore concentrated in dangerous abundance; and the effect of the arrangement may be traced in the following details.

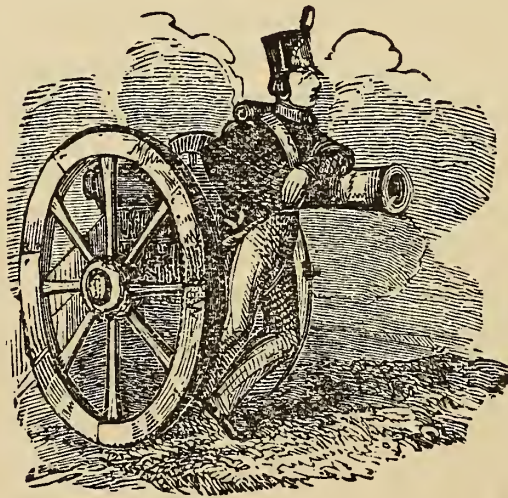
The massacres at Meerut and at Delhi were known at Neemuch very soon after their occurrence; and with the natural reliance upon the resources and energies of the government, the inhabitants of that place were looking anxiously for the news that should announce the restoration of the Monghol capital to its British rulers. Day by day, the excitement produced by unsatisfied expectation and feverish anxiety grew more oppressive; yet the desired intelligence came not. During the feast of the

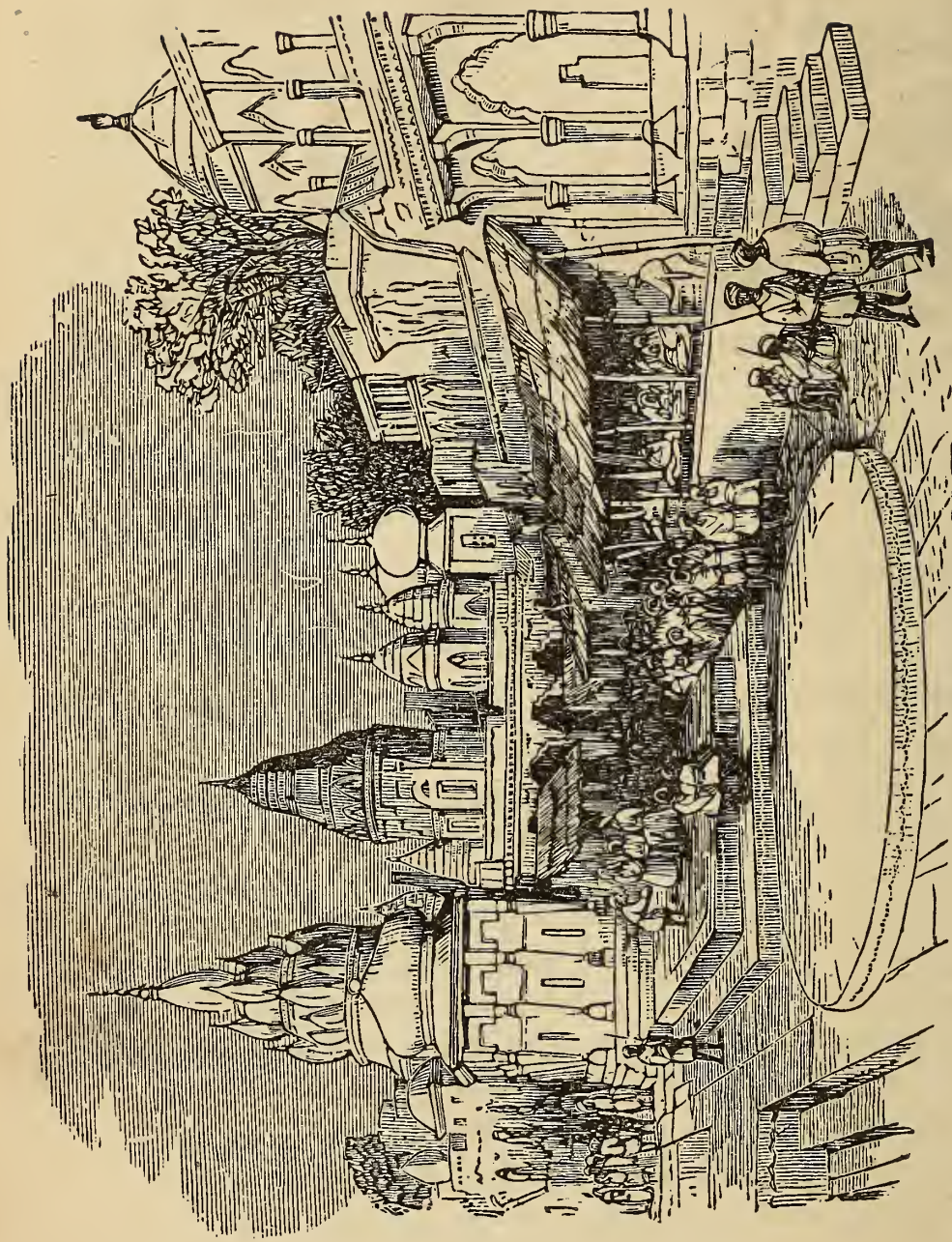
Eed, the Mussulmans congregated in formidable numbers, and the whole week passed in disquietude, the people of the bazaars leaving the town in shoals, and every species of carriage being engaged in conveying the timid inhabitants to the shelter of the adjoining villages, for safety from some anticipated yet undefined danger. All sorts of reports were in circulation; and the panic was complete, notwithstanding the efforts of Brigadier Abbott and Captain Lloyd, in command of the troops, to restore confidence. An unusual and offensive demeanor by the sepoys, whose manners had suddenly changed from a respect bordering upon servility, to that of bold, saucy indifference, too plainly showed that the cords of discipline had become relaxed, and that the influence of the officers over their men had been dangerously shaken. Thus matters had continued for some days, when at length the expected crisis was precipitated by some mischievous fellows declaring aloud in the bazaar, that the *Ghoré log*—*i. e.*, European soldiers—were coming to attack them. The report occasioned a rush of people into the cantonments; and the sepoys, in wild excitement, tore open the bells of arms, and took possession of their weapons and ammunition. Colonel Abbott repaired as quickly as possible to the lines of the 72d (his own regiment), hoping by his presence, and the influence he then possessed over his men, to avert the impending catastrophe. Fortunately he reached the lines before a shot had been fired, and for the moment succeeded in calming the excitement of the troops. At this moment, some sepoys of the 7th regiment of the Gwalior contingent, then stationed in the fort, manned the ramparts, and the sowars of the light cavalry prepared to mount at the command of a leader they had themselves chosen. The terror of the natives in the bazaar had now become excessive; and a report that a mutinous outbreak would occur at midnight, did not serve to allay it. On the night of the 30th of May, it was arranged by Colonel Abbott, that the officers of each corps should occupy tents in their respective lines among the men, himself saying to the 72d—“You are so foolish and childlike in believing every absurd report, that I must treat you as my children, and come and live among you.” This precau-

tion probably restrained the troops from breaking out that night, as the several corps had no time or opportunity to effect a useful combination for their purposes under the eyes of their officers ; while the gallant conduct of the colonel, in unreservedly placing himself in the hands of his men, had for the moment a beneficial effect upon their temper. Some of the native officers entreated of him to have a sentry over his tent ; but in the generous confidence of his brave heart, he answered, " I want none ! I am among my own men, and I have already a thousand guards. I don't doubt a single man." This reliance upon their fidelity visibly affected the men ; but evil influences were at work among them, and their better feelings speedily vanished. On Sunday morning, the 31st of May, service was performed as usual in the little church of the garrison ; and there were many who offered up prayers for safety, with a presentiment that it would be the last time the congregation there assembled would meet together in an earthly temple. The day passed gloomily ; a heavy feeling seemed to oppress every heart, and to check every effort that would divert the mind from a thought of impending danger. Shortly before midnight the dâk arrived, and letters announced the outbreak at Nusseerabad and other places. On Monday, June 1st, the excitement continued ; the bazaar was almost deserted, and deathlike stillness cast a chill upon the senses. Towards night the golundauzes, on the pretext that the other troops were about to attack them, tumultuously demanded to have the wagons stored with ammunition ; but Lieutenant Walker, their commander, succeeded in prevailing upon them to refrain from their purpose until he had reported their desire to Colonel Abbott ; who, as a last resource, assembled the native officers and harangued them ; and, after a long conference, the pundits were called in, and a solemn swearing by the officers, to exert their best influence with the men, took place ; the colonel likewise solemnly affirming that the government had no intention to force the cartridges upon, or to interfere with, the religious prejudices of any sepoy. It should be observed, that the objectionable cartridges had never been issued to the troops at Neemuch ; so that, in fact, no real grievance could have been

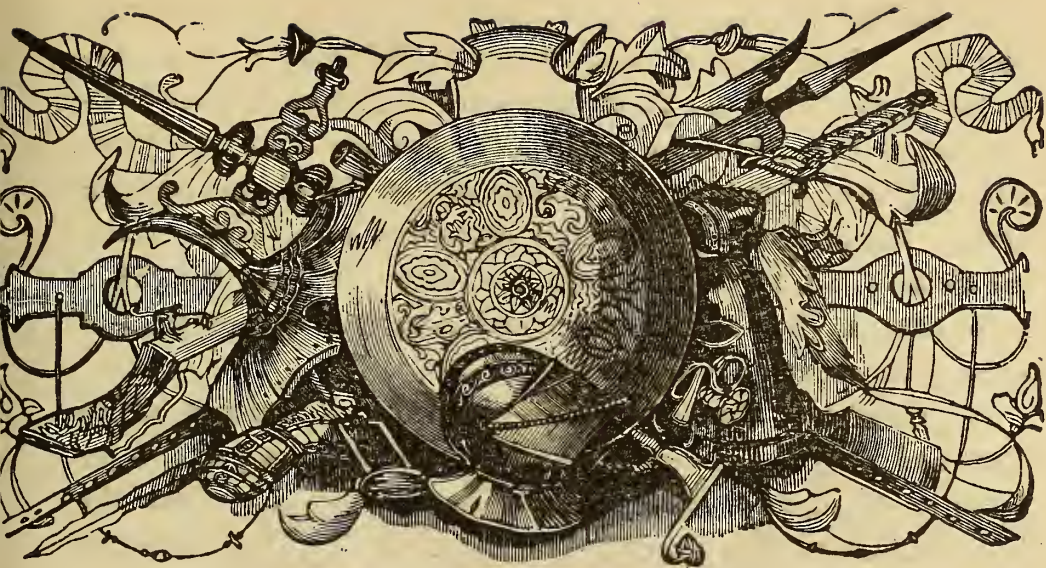
felt upon that score. Tuesday passed over without additional cause for uneasiness; and a few people returned to their usual occupation in the bazaar, and remained until the evening of the following day, when a panic again seized them, and they fled from the gathering storm. Three companies of the 7th infantry (Gwalior contingent) were at this time quartered in the fort, under the command of Captain Macdonald; the remaining five companies being stationed in a vacant hospital, about a quarter of a mile distant. The whole of Wednesday had passed quietly until towards nightfall, when the bazaar people again began to exhibit alarm and desert the place; no movement was, however, observed among the troops, and it was hoped that the apprehensions of the people were groundless. Matters continued thus until shortly after eleven o'clock, when the quiet of the night was disturbed by the report of a gun from the artillery lines—speedily followed by a second. This had been evidently a preconcerted signal for the commencement of the outbreak, and in an incredibly short time the bungalows were in flames in every direction. Lieutenant Gordon, who was with the left wing of the 7th Gwalior regiment at the hospital, on hearing the guns, immediately turned out his men, and, with Lieutenant Rose, marched with them to join the companies in the fort. On the way, the latter officer had a narrow escape from the shot of one of the sepoy's aimed at him, but fortunately incorrectly. Upon the arrival of the party at the fort, the whole of the men were placed along the ramparts, and ammunition having been served out to them, they were commanded to load, and obeyed orders with apparent cheerfulness, loudly and unanimously swearing to defend the place with their lives. This had scarcely been effected, when the 72d native infantry, with the Bengal cavalry and artillery, in a state of tumultuous disorder, approached the fort from the cantonments, passing in their way the residence of the political agent, about 300 yards distant, when two more guns were fired—the signal, apparently, for the Gwalior troops to commence operations, which they immediately obeyed. Ensign Davenport, the officer in charge of the gate, was overpowered; and, in defiance of his orders, the gate was opened, and himself

and the other European officers were desired to leave the place. Remonstrance was useless; and upon the ensign hesitating to leave without the colors of the regiment, he was informed, that if himself and his companions were not immediately off, they would be murdered by the sowars, who were then almost within view of the gate. These officers, fortunately, availed themselves of the opportunity, and escaped. Not so, however many of the European residents, who fell a sacrifice to the savage fury of the mutinous soldiers, who, having joined at once, proceeded to liberate the prisoners confined in the gaol, and then commenced firing and pillaging the town, and murdering the obnoxious Europeans, without regard to sex or age. Fires were raging in all directions, and the streets were strewn with valuable furniture, glass, books, musical instruments, and whatever else could be found belonging to the European or Christian inhabitants of the place, who were themselves shot down, or hacked to pieces without mercy. Throughout the whole station only one bungalow was left standing; and the rebellious sepoy having sated themselves with the destruction of the place, quitted the scene of havoc and proceeded to join their faithless comrades at Delhi.





BENARES.



CHAPTER XVIII.

OUTBREAK AT BENARES SUPPRESSED BY COLONEL NEILL.—MUTINY AT JUANPORE AND SULTANPORE.

THE result of the outbreak at Azingurh had the effect of scattering a portion of the mutinous soldiers from that station in the direction of Benares ; and, then, for the first time, apprehensions began to be entertained as to the fidelity of the 37th regiment.

It happened opportunely that on Wednesday, the 3d instant, Colonel Neill, of the 1st Madras fusiliers, had arrived at Benares with a detachment of his regiment, accompanied by twenty gunners with three nine-pounders. The garrison, thus reinforced, consisted of 150 men of the queen's 10th regiment, the 37th native infantry, a Sikh regiment, commanded by Colonel Gordon ; about seventy men of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Captain Guise ; a battery of nine-pounders, with thirty gunners, and Colonel Neill's fusiliers.

Upon the unsatisfactory state of the 37th regiment being reported to Colonel Neill, he resolved upon disarming it without further delay, in opposition to the plan of Brigadier Ponsonby,

who desired to postpone the operation until the following morning. The colonel was, however, inflexible; and ultimately a parade of the European force, with the Madras fusiliers, was ordered at five o'clock in the evening of the 4th; the 37th regiment being required to appear on the ground without arms. Simultaneously with the promulgation of this order, the bells of arms were secured; and this operation being observed by the disaffected men, added greatly to the excitement already prevailing among them.

At five o'clock the troops were paraded. A few men of the 37th had obeyed the order to appear without arms; others refused to do so, and some confusion necessarily arose from the insubordination that prevailed on the ground. Meanwhile the greater part of the regiment which had not turned out, gathered round the bells of arms; and as soon as they became aware of the object for which the European force was paraded, they burst open the doors and seized their weapons, with which they now repaired to the parade and joined their comrades, who had remained standing in groups, without making any other offensive demonstration. With a view of intimidating the disaffected men, the whole of the troops, including the Sikhs and irregulars, had been drawn up in front of the position left vacant for the 37th regiment, with three guns ready shotted and prepared for instant service. In the arrangement of the forces, the Europeans were stationed within musket-range, the Sikhs and irregulars being at the extreme verge of the ground.

On noticing these preparations, the men of the 37th found the time for action had arrived, and they immediately opened fire upon their officers and the European troops, at the same time retiring toward their lines. For a time the Sikh regiment remained passive spectators of the outrage; but upon their colonel giving the order to load with ball, an ominous change came over the men. At the same moment, the irregular cavalry advanced, but presently broke into confusion. The Sikhs now joined the 37th in firing upon the Europeans; several officers were wounded, and two men of the 10th regiment killed. The guns immediately poured a shower of grape

into the ranks of the mutineers; and after a faint attempt at resistance, the 37th broke away from their position, followed by the greater portion of the irregular cavalry, and sought safety behind the huts of the cantonments. At the commencement, Captain Guise, of the irregulars, was shot at by a rebel sepoy of the 37th regiment, whom he pursued; and his horse falling, the assassin had time to reload and fire before the unfortunate officer could extricate himself. The second shot was aimed with precision, and Captain Guise fell to the ground a corpse. Several of the mutineers halted in their flight to look upon their murdered leader; but no indignities were offered to his remains. The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the little body of Europeans, who, as they advanced to dislodge them from the huts, labored under the disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually sheltered. The European officers of the 37th regiment took post with the 10th, and were exposed to a smart fire from their own men, which continued for some twenty minutes, when, as the British soldiers began to drop rather fast, the order was given to charge the huts. The operation was speedily performed; and the mutineers having been driven from their shelter, the whole of the buildings were set fire to and destroyed. While these matters were in progress, the irregular cavalry and Sikhs became bewildered, and began fighting at random. Three times the latter charged the guns, and were repulsed with considerable loss; above one hundred of the mutineers were killed upon the ground, and more than twice that number lay wounded. The lives of the civilians and of the officers' families in cantonments, were saved through the instrumentality of a Sikh prisoner, Soorut Sing, who prevailed upon the Sikhs of the treasury guard to remain tranquil, after they were informed of the conduct of their comrades on the parade. At a late hour in the evening, the ladies were conveyed to the Mint, a fortified house between the city and the cantonments, where they could be effectually protected. The transit was not, however, unaccompanied by danger, the party being repeatedly fired at on the way by straggling parties of the irregulars, some of whom

managed to send three balls through the turban of a native coachman, while conveying ladies to the rendezvous; fortunately, both the driver and his charge escaped unhurt. Upon the restoration of order, a handsome subscription was raised among the European families, for the purpose of presenting Soorut Sing with a splendid case of firearms, in acknowledgment of his generous and timely protection.

Disheartened by the severe punishment they met with at Benares, the mutineers of the 37th regiment hastened toward Juanpore, a town situated about forty miles north-west of the former city, and formerly the capital of an independent state. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, the European residents assembled at the Cutcherry, or office of the collector, and proceeded to make preparations for their safety and defense. On appealing to the soldiers upon guard at the collectorate, the latter, formed of a company of Sikhs, were loud in their protestations of loyalty, and swore to defend the *Sahib loge* (English gentlemen) to the last drop of their blood. A few seconds proved the utter worthlessness of their oaths; for as the Europeans turned from them to enter the building, one of the men took deliberate aim at Lieutenant Mard, commanding the guard, and shot him in the back! The unfortunate officer fell into the arms of a gentleman near him, who succeeded in carrying him into one of the apartments, and laid him upon the floor writhing with agony. Satisfied for the moment with this their first act of perfidy, the traitors fired a volley over the heads of the terrified dependants on their mercy, and then, without further violence, went off to plunder the treasury, that they might share its contents among themselves before the arrival of the mutineers from Benares. On their way to the treasury, the rebel band passed the gaol, where they met the civil magistrate, a Mr. Cuppage, who attempted to remonstrate with them upon the folly of their proceedings, not being aware of the murder they had so recently perpetrated. Impatient at his interference, the excitement of the mutineers was at once directed against the magistrate, whom they shot while yet speaking to them; and, leaving the corpse to the



mercy of the budmashes and rabble of the town, hastened to accomplish the work of plunder. Meanwhile, the Europeans at the Cutcherry, relieved of their presence, availed themselves of the opportunity to escape; and, risking the uncertain perils of the road rather than the certain destruction that awaited them on the return of the mutineers, fled, in such conveyances as they could procure at the moment, to Zjufferabad, on the Ganges, in the direction of Benares, where they sought refuge and conveyance by the native boats.

Resuming the continuous thread of events associated with the revolt in the northwest division of the presidency of Bengal, we arrive at Sultanpore, a town of minor importance in the Oude territory, situate about thirty-four miles south of the ancient city of Ayoda, or Oudee. At this place, the troops, consisting of a portion of the 13th Bengal irregular cavalry and native police, had mutinied early in the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of June, and their first act of blood was the murder of Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, of the 15th irregular cavalry, the first of whom was shot by some of the native police while out walking, unconscious of the danger that surrounded him. Messrs. Block and Strogan, of the civil service, were also killed by the mutineers shortly after the commencement of the revolt; but the rest of the European residents, amounting to forty-five men, women, and children, were enabled to effect their escape to Bela, a town about forty-five miles W. N. W. of Cawnpore, where a troop of the 3d irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Grant, had proceeded some days previous from Sultanpore, for the purpose of collecting revenue. From this station they were, after some difficulty, forwarded to Allahabad, which they at length reached in safety, but with the loss of every thing they possessed of value, of which they were mercilessly deprived by marauding parties whom they met with on their route.

At Allahabad some uneasiness had been felt; but the sepoy professed great loyalty, and desired to assist in the siege of Delhi. They were then meditating a revolt. At half-past nine in the evening of the 5th of June, while the officers were

yet assembled in the mess-room, a bugler of the 6th regiment sounded the assembly. The officers, imagining some disturbance had taken place in the bazaar or the neighborhood, rushed out of the house, and the foremost of them was instantly shot down. One or two of the others contrived to escape to the fort; but five officers of the 6th regiment, and several young ensigns doing duty with that corps, were inhumanly massacred. The moment the bugle sounded, the sepoy, who were already prepared, seized the remaining guns, and fired at the artillery officer who attempted to resist them. In the meanwhile, the signal had been understood by the sepoy at the bridge, and the officers with them were hustled and insulted. Several shots glanced by or passed over them; but they were finally permitted to escape from the mutineers. Lieutenant Alexander, on hearing the tumult, immediately proceeded in the direction of it, to ascertain the cause; but as he galloped along, at the head of a few of his troopers, a sepoy sprang from some hiding-place, and shot him through the heart. His death was sudden; and it was merciful when compared with the barbarities practiced upon the persons of several of his gallant but unfortunate brother-officers. Captain Harwood, of the artillery, finding it useless to contend alone with a host of infuriated mutineers, took opportunity to escape in the confusion, and reached the fort in time to put the inmates upon their guard. The first step taken by the officer in command was to disarm the men of the 6th regiment, who had charge of the principal gate; and their muskets were found ready capped and loaded, in readiness for the first summons from the cantonments. These men were then turned out of the fort, as it was impossible to feel secure with them at large, and there were not sufficient Europeans that could be spared to guard them if retained in the fort. They lost no time in joining their comrades; and having liberated about 3,000 prisoners from confinement in the gaol, the whole body distributed itself through the town and cantonments, and the work of plunder and destruction commenced in every direction. Captain Birch, the fort adjutant, and Lieutenant Innes, executive engineer, who

were, as already mentioned, outside the fort at the time, were both shot down. An officer of the 6th was pinned to the ground with bayonets, and, while yet alive, a fire was kindled on his body. Three others escaped to the fort by swimming across the Ganges, and succeeded in obtaining refuge before their pursuers came up with them. Several of the Europeans who had a few days previously taken refuge in the fort, happened, at the moment of the outbreak, to be outside, on account of the excessive heat and overcrowding of the place, and their reliance upon the friendly assurances of the sepoys on guard; and they were slaughtered without mercy by some of the very men who had encouraged them to rely upon their good feeling and that of their comrades. Of these poor creatures, several were barbarously tortured before death released them from the fiendish malignity of their unprovoked tormentors. One family, consisting of three generations, was burned alive; and not a single individual, old or young—the hoary grandsire, or the prattling babe in its mother's arms—was permitted to escape. Some of the defenseless creatures were cut to pieces by slow degrees, and with a refinement of cruelty that might have been envied by the grand inquisitor of the Indies in the palmiest days of Portuguese dominion in that country; the nose, ears, lips, fingers, and toes of both men and women, were slowly and deliberately chopped off, and then the limbs and bodies were hacked, until the loss of blood prevented the sufferers from affording further sport to the butchers by their convulsive agonies, and piteous but unavailing appeals for mercy. Infants were actually torn from their mothers' arms, and their little limbs chopped off with tulwars yet reeking with their fathers' blood; while the shrieking mother was forcibly compelled to hear the cries of her tortured child, and to behold, through scalding tears of agony, the death-writhings of the slaughtered innocent. More than fifty Europeans perished in the first outburst of this demoniac fury; and to many of the females, a merciless death was even the least of the cruelties they were subjected to by the gallant

sepoys of the 6th regiment, recently complimented by the Government for their professions of loyalty and devotion.

In this outbreak at Allahabad, the miscreants did not confine their outrages altogether to the European community. As soon as they had obtained possession of the guns outside the fort, they commenced firing into the town at random. The houses of several of the wealthy natives were broken into and plundered, and afterward set fire to; the banking-houses were ransacked, and shops were emptied of their stores; while in the bungalows occupied by the European residents, the destruction was wanton and universal. Furniture was broken into fragments, glass and crockery utterly smashed, wearing apparel hacked and cut to pieces, and even the canvas of the punkahs cut into shreds, to mark their uncontrollable hatred of the people who had lived among them as friends, and whose "salt" they were eating up to the hour of their treason being consummated by rapine and murder.

On the 9th of June, Colonel Neill marched with a strong force, chiefly assembled on the road from Benares, and consisting of regulars and Sikhs, and speedily drove the mutineers from Allahabad, and re-established tranquillity in that place.

When the insurrection broke forth at Delhi, Allahabad, like that city, was without a single European soldier within its garrison, if we except the few officers attached to the native regiments. It possessed a valuable arsenal, and a fort, situated in a position of the greatest possible military value and importance. It is true, when the revolt had broken out, efforts were made in Calcutta to forward troops without delay, to meet the pressing exigencies of Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore; but, as the first reinforcements of Europeans arrived at the former place, they were sent forward by the commissioner to supply the supposed yet greater need of Cawnpore; and at length about 300 European troops arrived there. Allahabad, supposed to be yet strong in the ostentatiously paraded loyalty of the 6th native regiment, had also for its protection about 400 men of a Sikh regiment from Ferozepore, and some irregular cavalry from Oude. Of the hollow ground upon which its safety rested, we

have ample proof in the detestable treachery of the 6th, and the unfaithfulness of the sowars. But for the opportune arrival of Colonel Neill, and the promptitude and determination of Lieutenant Brasyer of the Sikh regiment, there is little doubt but the garrison and residents in the fort would have been sacrificed to the insane vengeance of the mutinous sepoys. By the energy of this subaltern officer, the volunteers in the fort were assembled, armed with rifles and revolvers. The order was given to the men to pile arms; the sepoys hesitated; two guns which were in readiness were pointed at them, and then, at the most critical moment, the Sikhs, distracted and excited by the firing outside the fort, faltered, and their ranks wavered! But Brasyer stood firm; the order to fire was upon his lips, when providentially, two or three of the sepoys threw down their arms, and the Sikhs, instantly recovering themselves, began at once to disarm and strip the remainder of the guard. The crisis occupied but a few minutes; but at that crisis Allahabad was saved!

Had ill success befallen Lieutenant Brasyer at this eventful moment, the result to government would have been most calamitous. The fort at Allahabad, in the hands of the 6th regiment, would have become the rendezvous and stronghold of all the revolted troops in that part of India, and its subjugation would have been the necessary, but very difficult and hazardous, preliminary to any further operations in the Doab. Its preservation was, in fact, a most important and providential triumph for the British arms; and, at the time, tended more than any thing else to diffuse alarm, and a sense of insecurity, among the disaffected populations of the surrounding districts; while it also formed the basis on which to construct further measures for the progressive restoration of European ascendancy throughout India.



CHAPTER XIX.

THE JHANSIE MUTINY—SEIZURE OF THE STAR FORT BY THE 12TH NATIVE INFANTRY—APPEAL TO THE LOYALTY OF THE REGIMENT—PROTESTATIONS OF FIDELITY AND ATTACHMENT—MURDER OF CAPTAIN DUNLOP—THE EUROPEANS RETIRE TO THE TOWN FORT—DEATH OF CAPTAIN GORDON—THE FORT SURROUNDED BY MUTINEERS—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE—OFFERS OF PROTECTION ON SURRENDER—THE EUROPEANS LEAVE THE FORT AND ARE MASSACRED.

FOLLOWING a chronological succession of the mutinous outbreaks it is the object of these pages to record, attention must now be directed to circumstances connected with the mutiny and massacre consummated at Jhansie, a town and military station of Bundelcund, in Central India, situate about 129 miles south-west of the city of Agra. The atrocities wantonly perpetrated at this place have scarcely been exceeded in heartless brutality by the crimes of the rebellious soldiers in other localities ravaged by their indiscriminating vengeance.

Of the outbreak at Jhansie, the details available for history are more copious than might have been expected, under the circumstances of a blow so complete and unsparing as that

which, on the 8th of June, 1857, crimsoned the annals of the town with the blood of helpless and unoffending women and children.

For some time prior to the outbreak, the left wing of the 12th regiment of native infantry, and that of the 14th irregular cavalry, had been stationed at Jhansie, where there were two forts—one in the town itself; the other, called the “Star Fort,” being in the cantonments. Some unpleasant indications of the existence of a bad feeling among the native troops had, in the latter part of May, awakened suspicion that their fidelity could not be depended on; and Captain Dunlop, in command at the station, transmitted to Major Kirke, then with the head-quarters of the regiment at Nowgong, some letters that had come to the hands of Major Skene, superintendent of the district, and Captain Gordon, deputy-commissioner of Jhansie; in which it was alleged that a Brahmin, named Lacknum Rao, in the service of the ranee of Jhansie, was using strenuous efforts to induce the men of the 12th regiment to mutiny and destroy their officers; and that although the fact was suspected, it was not at that time certain that the emissary of revolt was acting under the orders of the ranee. Other letters, from the same source of information, informed Captain Dunlop that spies from the revolted regiments, and from the known leaders of the movement, found no difficulty in entering his lines and tampering with the men. Up to this time, no apparent cause existed for doubting the fidelity of the troopers of the 14th cavalry, and the danger consequently seemed but of limited extent, and not too difficult to be successfully grappled with. As a measure of precaution, however, arrangements were quietly made for the removal of the European families from their bungalows, &c., to the town fort, where the officers now took up their night quarters, spending the day at the cantonments as usual, to avoid exciting suspicion that an *meute* was anticipated.

The surveyor of the revenue of the district, Captain Burgess, with the whole of his official establishment, had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was prepared for the permanent accommodation of the European and *half-caste* residents, when it should be necessary for them to seek the asylum.

Nothing to indicate an immediate movement occurred until the morning of Thursday the 4th of June, when the men of the 7th company of the 12th regiment, headed by one of their havildars, suddenly marched into the "Star Fort," and took possession of it, with the treasure, ammunition, and stores deposited there. Upon this decided act of open mutiny being reported to Captain Dunlop, he immediately dispatched the following communication to Colonel Kirke, dated "Jhansie, June 4th, 1857, 4 P. M.":—

"SIR—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the 'Star Fort.' No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

Yours, &c., J. DUNLOP."

On the departure of his messenger, Captain Dunlop paraded those companies of the regiment that had not joined in the mutinous demonstration, and the men of the irregular cavalry, and called upon them to preserve the honor of their respective corps by their fidelity and obedience. The troops eagerly and loudly responded to this appeal, by declaring they would do so, and would stand by their colors and their officers to the last man. Reassured by these protestations of loyalty and attachment, Captain Dunlop remained in the lines during that and the following day, and nothing occurred to awaken his suspicions of impending mischief.

During the evening of the 4th of June, the whole of the European families at the station were removed to the fort, and began to prepare in earnest for the defense of the position. The whole number of Europeans in the town fort on the night of the 4th of June was fifty-five, including the ladies and children; some of the *half-castes* having previously ventured to leave the place, but without the good fortune to ensure safety by so doing.

As yet no blood had stained the hands of the mutineers at Jhansie; but about noon of Saturday, the 6th of June, as Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor were walking together across

the parade-ground of the 12th, on their return from the post-office, some men of the 12th, without any warning, raised their muskets and deliberately shot down the two officers. Lieutenant Campbell, of the 14th, who was on horseback near the spot where they fell, instantly rode off in the direction of the town fort, whither he was pursued by some of his own troopers, and thrice wounded before he gained shelter. Lieutenant Turnbull, the assistant-surveyor of revenue, hastened from the lines; but being on foot and unable to reach the fort, he climbed a tree for concealment from the men who were following him. Unfortunately, he was seen in the act by some persons, who directed his pursuers to the spot, and the latter, on their arrival, shot him down, and he fell a corpse at their feet, riddled with bullets. A native servant to one of the officers, who remained in the fort until the 8th, afterward stated that the inmates could see, through their glasses, the men killing Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor; and it was not until that occurrence that the gates were closed and barricaded with large stones. The people in the fort also observed the approach of Lieutenant Campbell, with the sowars in close pursuit; and, with their well-aimed rifles, secured his safety for a time by bringing down some of the sowars as they came within range.

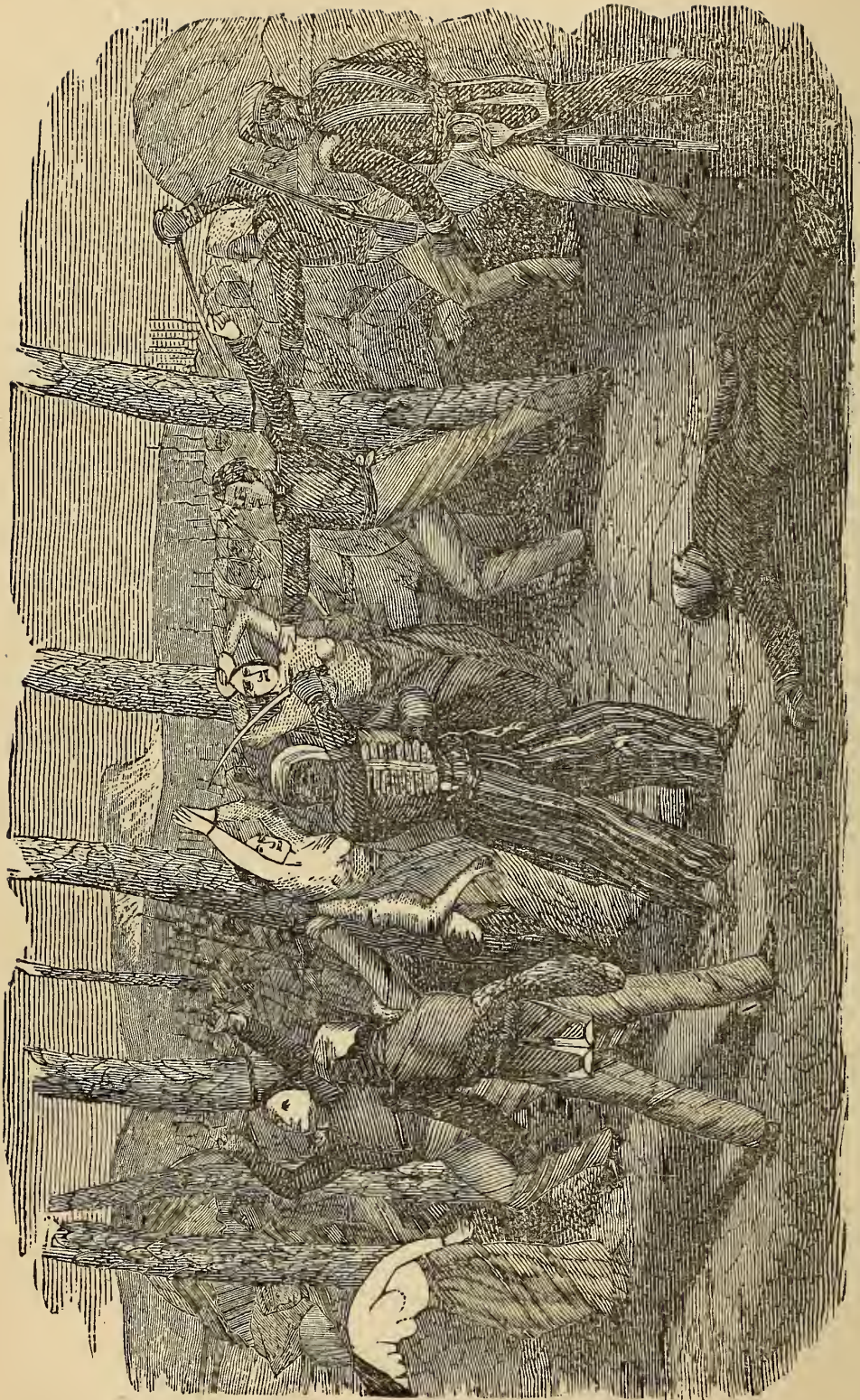
The fort being now, it was thought, effectually secured from attack, the little garrison calmly awaited the arrival of hoped-for succor, and occupied the interval in getting provisions from the town, hoisting the supplies, by ropes, through an embrasure in the parapet—occasionally varying their occupation by shooting such of the mutinous soldiers as ventured within range; and, by cautious practice from the loopholes and embrasures of the fort, they managed to make some havoc among their assailants; the only loss in return being that of Captain Gordon, who was shot through the head while hauling up a bucket of wheat, that had been brought to the wall of the fort by a native groom belonging to one of the officers.

The parties collected within the fort at the time its gates were barricaded, were Major Skene, his wife and two children; Captain Gordon, of the Madras native infantry; Dr. M'Egan (12th

native infantry) and wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th native infantry (attached to the canal department), with his wife and child: Dr. Brown, deputy commissioner of Jalowan, with his wife, child, and sister; two ladies from Orai, guests of the last-named gentleman; Quartermaster-sergeant Newton, with his wife and four children; and the whole of the English and Christian native *employes* in the canal and civil departments, with their wives, children, and other relatives.

It was not alone to attacks from without that this little community was exposed: while busied in providing against the open enemies that surrounded the fort, treachery within the walls was at work to destroy them! One of the *khitmutgurs* of Captain Burgess, seizing an opportunity when he thought he was unobserved, began rapidly to pull away the stones piled up to secure one of the gates; but being detected in the treacherous act by Lieutenant Powys, that officer indignantly shot him, and was himself immediately cut down by the tulwar of another native servant standing by. Lieutenant Burgess, who, between the closing of the fort and its surrender, had himself brought down fourteen of the rebels by his rifle practice, avenged the death of his brother-officer by killing his murderer. The position of the Europeans now became desperate; and, during the night of the 7th, some of the civil *employes* endeavored to escape in native clothing by descending from the parapet; but they were instantly caught, and butchered before the eyes of the friends they had just left.

In the course of Monday, the 8th of June, offers of safety for the whole of the Europeans within the fort, were proposed by the mutineers, who had then completely surrounded it; and two of the gates having been battered in, the provisions nearly exhausted, and no succor appearing probable, Major Skene and the other officers, relying upon the assurances made them, that the lives of all would be spared if they surrendered—a condition that both Hindoos and Mohammedans pledged themselves by oaths to observe—a gateway was cleared, and all walked out of the fort, except Lieutenant Powys (who was yet alive, but unable to move) and his wife, who refused to leave her dying



MASSACRE AT JHANSIR.

husband. She was, however, torn from his side, and compelled to join the rest of the-betrayed party.

The evacuation of the fort, and its consequences, are thus described by an officer who, under a clever disguise, managed to escape the butcheries of Jhansie, and, it is hoped, lived to avenge them.

“At last Major Skene, taking the arm of one of the party, proceeded from the gateway, near which a strong body of the rebels were drawn up in two lines to receive their victims. The soldiers stood quiet until the last of the Europeans had left the fort, and then, suddenly closing upon the officers and other males seized each of them, tied them with ropes they had with them for the purpose, and led them to an adjacent garden: the females were next secured in the same way; and then every soul, whatever the age, rank, or sex, was killed by the sword. The men died first, Burgess taking the lead—his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved. Our quartermaster-sergeant and his family alone were spared; the servant says he was taken with the rebels when they left. This man said, the women stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed; but, with one exception only, I believe they were spared any violence save death. Dear little Mrs Powys—I think of her with such a pang. Poor Dunlop, too, the first friend I made in India; and Turnbull, so warm-hearted and anxious to do good and to benefit others. Poor little Taylor! he had been with his brother, and had made great haste to rejoin on the mutinies breaking out at other stations. He reached Jhansie a few days before he died. I am so glad you and your pets were gone. I should have withered with horror at your sharing the awful end of the other poor ladies. It is bad enough to have to mourn Mrs. Powys. Ryves, thank God, escaped to Gwalior. I have seen his name in two Calcutta papers, which say that he had escaped, with others, to Agra, when the Gwalior troops mutinied.”



CHAPTER XX.

**SIEGE OF LUCKNOW—DREADFUL DISASTER AT CAWNPORE—
TREACHERY OF NANA SAHIB—STATE OF AFFAIRS AT DELHI—
AT CALCUTTA—PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND—SUCCESSSES OF GENERAL
HAVELOCK—HE RELIEVES CAWNPORE—MUTINY AT DI-
NAPORE—CONDUCT OF THE NATIVE CHIEFS—DISAFFECTION
IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY—MISCONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR-
GENERAL—HAVELOCK RELIEVES LUCKNOW—BATTLE OF MUN-
GARWAR—ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF DELHI.**

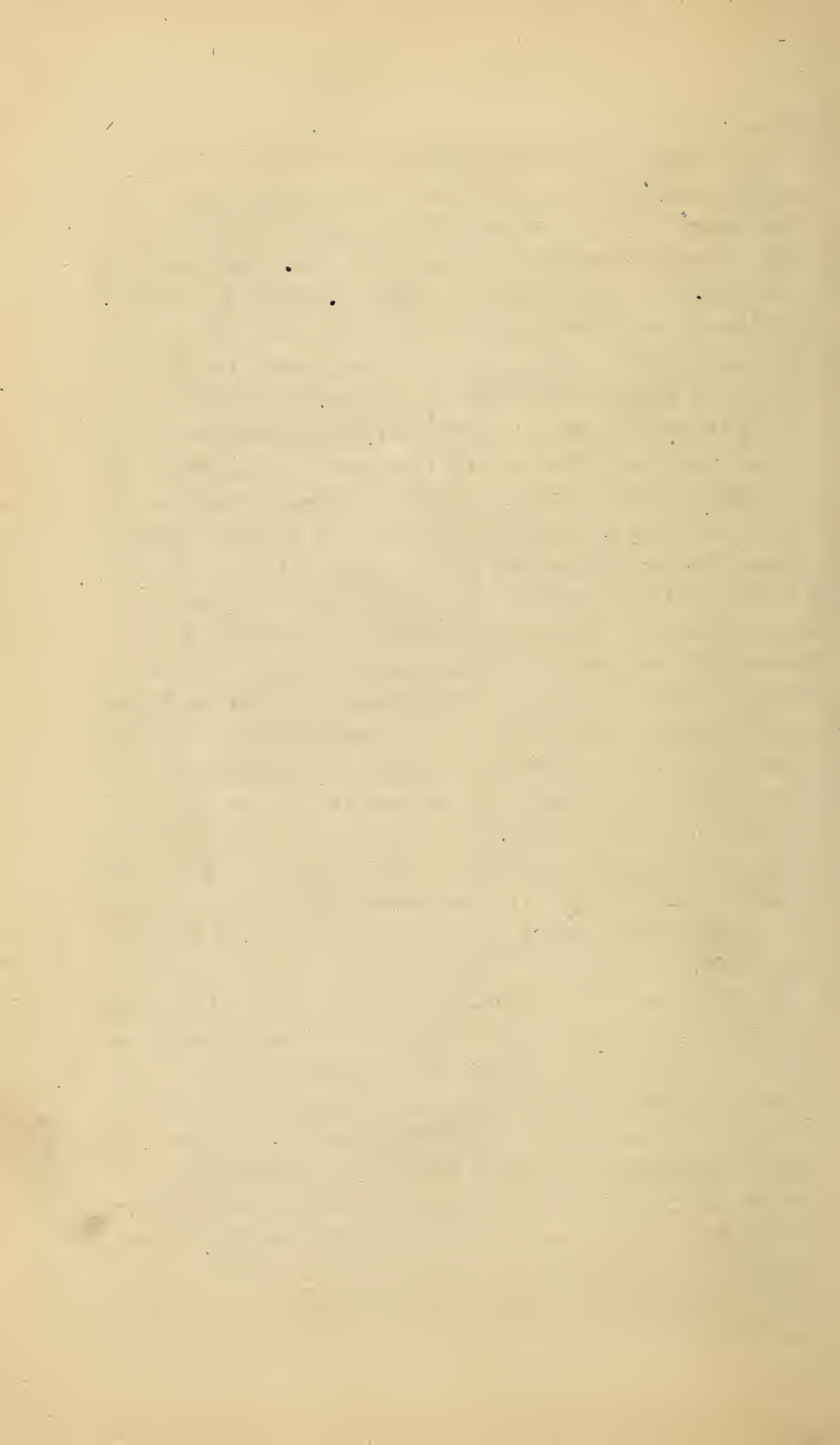
THE mutiny, as our readers will have perceived, had now become very widely extended, and the situation of the British posts, still holding to their fidelity, was becoming daily more perilous.

At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence attacked and defeated a numerous body of insurgents, but was soon afterward himself besieged in the residency. Here he bravely held out against overwhelming numbers until the beginning of July, when he was mortally wounded in a sally, and the heroic little band compelled to retire into a smaller fort.

At Cawnpore a terrible disaster befell the British arms. Sir
(418)



MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE.



Hugh Wheeler, a veteran officer of approved bravery, had entrenched himself in the barracks with a force of less than 300 fighting men, and upward of 500 women and children, the wives and families of officers and civilians, and of the queen's 32d regiment then besieged at Lucknow. The insurgents were commanded by Nana Sahib, or rather Dhandoo Pant, Rajah of Bhitoor, the adopted son of the late Peishwah Bajee Rao. This man, under the mask of kindly feeling toward the English, nurtured a deadly hatred against the government which had refused to acknowledge his claims as the Peishwah's successor. He had long been addicted to the most revolting sensuality, and had lost all control over his passions. Wearied and enraged by the desperate resistance of this handful of brave men, he offered them a safe passage to Allahabad if they would give up their guns and treasure. The place indeed was no longer tenable; and the survivors, diminished in number, were exhausted by constant vigils and want of food. In an evil moment, then, they accepted the terms of their perfidious enemy, marched down to the river and embarked on board the boats which had been prepared for them. Suddenly a masked battery opened fire upon them, and crowds of horse and foot soldiers lined either bank. Many were shot dead, still more were drowned, and about 150 taken prisoners; four only escaped by swimming. The men were instantly put to death in cold blood; the women and children were spared for a few days longer.

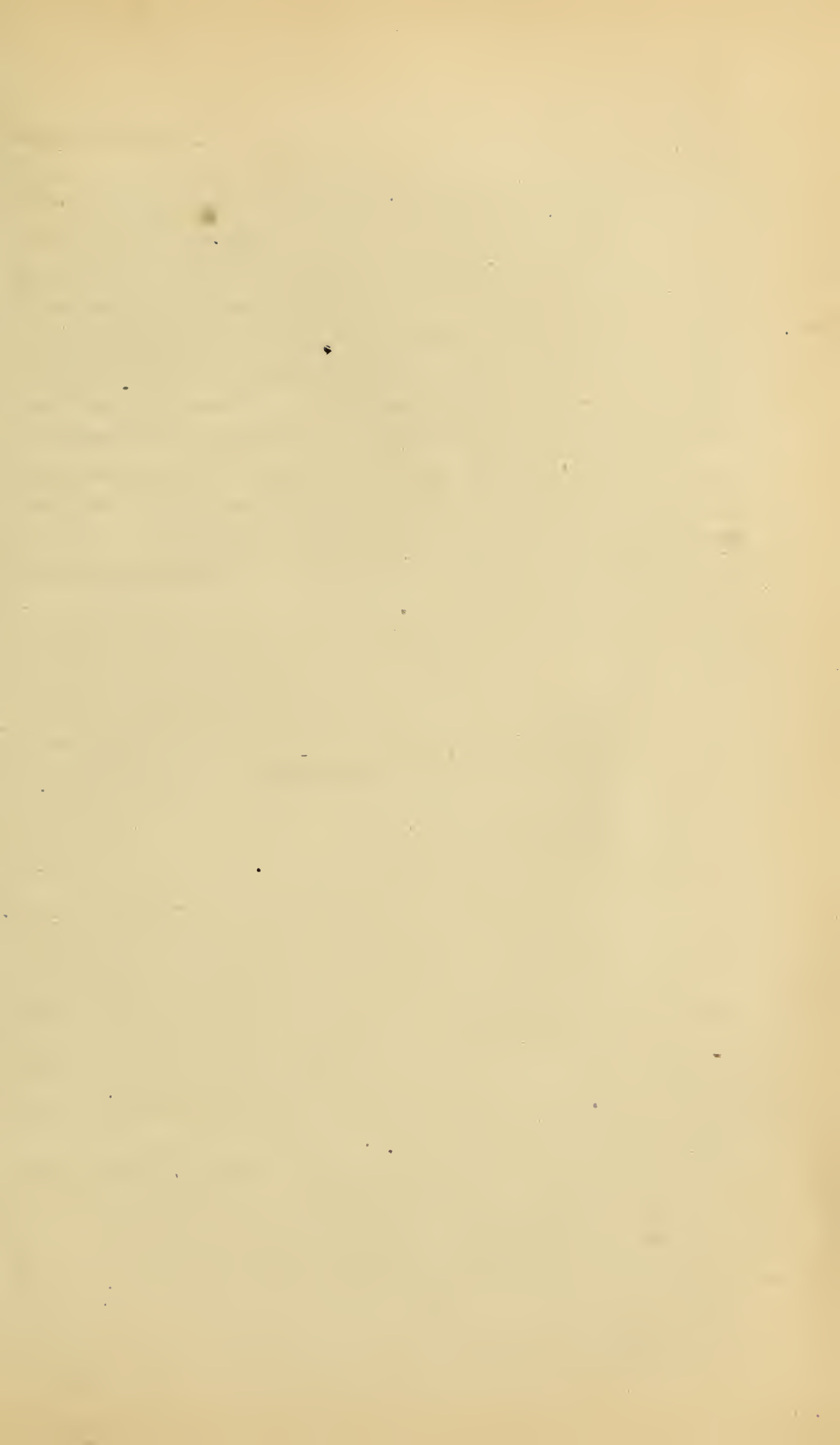
All this time the main body of the rebels, frequently strengthened by fresh arrivals, had their head-quarters at Delhi. On the lower plateau that commands that city was encamped a British force burning for revenge, but too weak to venture upon an assault. On every occasion, however, they repulsed the repeated sorties of the enemy, and drove him with greater slaughter within the walls. A strange mortality deprived them of their commanders at brief intervals. General Anson died of cholera at Kurnaul, on his way down from the hills. His successor, Sir Henry Barnard, was carried off by the same disease before the walls of Delhi. The third was General

Reid, whose health likewise failed him, and compelled him to resign the command to Brigadier Wilson.

No sooner had the sad tidings of the massacre at Delhi reached Calcutta, than the governor-general instantly dispatched a vessel to Ceylon to intercept the troops proceeding to China, in support of Lord Elgin's mission. At the same time he telegraphed to Madras and Bombay for all the European troops that could be spared; and on the death of General Anson appointed Sir Patrick Grant Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, pending the confirmation of the appointment by the Home Government. Large reinforcements were also drawn from Mauritius and the Cape; and as the mutiny assumed still more formidable dimensions, the European residents in Madras and Calcutta were enrolled into voluntary corps of horse and foot militia.

Never, perhaps, did greater excitement prevail in England than when the first intelligence arrived of the revolt of the Bengal army, and of the fiendish atrocities perpetrated by soldiers whose loyalty had become proverbial. As each successive mail brought the narratives of additional horrors, indignation at such unparalleled treachery and brutality almost surpassed the natural feelings of sympathy for those who had suffered such cruel wrongs. The government was urged on all sides to send out immense armies of retribution, and to pause at no amount of expenditure necessary to recover the lost position. Volunteers from all ranks and classes of society spontaneously came forward to tender their services; and through the initiation of the Lord Mayor of London, whose brother, Colonel Finnis, was one of the first victims of the mutiny, a Relief Fund was instituted for the aid of the many hundreds so suddenly reduced to destitution.

By the middle of October upward of £150,000 were subscribed for this purpose, and the fountain of charity still gave no signs of drying up. It was in the latter end of June that the news of the Meerut revolt and massacre was first received by the ministry, and within three months more than 30,000 excellent troops had left the British shores, and regiment after regiment continued to be dispatched in the same direction.





GENERAL HAVELOCK DEFEATING NANA SAHIB ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES.

Within forty-eight hours of the notification of General Anson's death, Sir Colin Campbell was on his way to the East to assume the chief command; and a steady fixed determination was evinced throughout the British islands to reconquer the revolted provinces at any cost of blood or treasure. But before Sir Colin could reach his destination the tide had already turned, and the victories of British troops had begun to supersede the massacre of defenseless women and children.

General Havelock, taking the command at Allahabad of the 78th Highlanders, the queen's 64th, the 1st Madras fusiliers, and the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, had set out in the hope of arriving at Cawnpore in time to release Sir Hugh Wheeler and his devoted comrades. After marching 126 miles, fighting four actions, and capturing a number of guns of heavy calibre, in eight days and in the worst season of an Indian climate, he was yet too late to avert the terrible catastrophe. The day before he entered Cawnpore, Nana Sahib foully murdered the women and children, who alone survived of the Cawnpore garrison, and caused them to be flung, the dead and the dying, into a well of the courtyard of the assembly rooms.

The indefatigable Havelock followed the treacherous Marhatta to Bhitoor, which he captured and dismantled. Then collecting some boats he crossed the Ganges, and, thrice forcing the enemy from strong positions, arrived within a day's march of Lucknow. But encumbered with his sick and wounded—cholera having broken out in his little camp—he was compelled to retrace his steps toward the river.

On the banks of the Ganges, for the eighth time, he defeated the enemy, and captured his guns; and a few days afterward, the 15th August, he marched out from Cawnpore and again drove them from Bhitoor. His approach had enabled the garrison of Lucknow to sally forth and secure many head of cattle, and, a little later, having undermined a house, they blew up above a hundred of the insurgents, and disabled their two heaviest guns. Thus relieved, they informed General Havelock that they could hold their own until he received the reinforce-

ments that were coming up from Calcutta. They would have arrived at Cawnpore some weeks sooner than they actually did, had not General Lloyd proved unequal to the occasion at Dinapore.

Until the 25th of July three regiments of native infantry, stationed at that place, had continued faithful, but circumstances had occurred to create suspicion, the general was advised to disarm them. Instead of doing so, he merely ordered them to give up their percussion caps before a certain hour, by which time they were making the best of their way to the river Soane. When it was too late to be of service, the 10th and a battery of artillery were sent in pursuit, but failed to inflict much loss. Subsequently a detachment under Captain Dunbar was dispatched to relieve Arrah, a civil station closely invested by the Dinapore mutineers. Marching without taking proper precautions, these troops fell into an ambush, and were driven back to their boats with the loss of 150 killed and wounded. The glory of relieving Arrah was reserved for Major Eyre of the Bengal artillery, who with three guns and 150 men of the 5th fusiliers, dispersed the insurgents, captured Jugdeespore, and restored the communication between Calcutta and the Upper Provinces.

With rare exceptions the native chiefs preserved their engagements with the British government during this critical period. The contingent forces, indeed, of Scindiah and Holkar joined the mutineers, but those princes do not appear to have been in any way accessory to the movement. The Sikh states, and especially the rajahs of Jheend and Puttiala, rendered signal service, and both the Nepaulese government and the Maharajah Goolab Sing of Cashmere—who died on the 2d August—sent considerable bodies of auxiliary troops to the aid of the British. Still more significant is the fact that the viltagers, almost invariably, exhibited more sympathy for the British than for their own countrymen. It is true that they oftentimes plundered unarmed fugitives, but they showed still less mercy to the rebel sepoy when not in sufficient force to protect themselves. It thus appears evident that the revolt of

the Bengal army was actually a mutiny and not a popular insurrection.

Meanwhile the mutterings of disaffection began to be heard also in the Bombay Presidency. The 27th N. I. broke out into open mutiny at Kolapore, and shortly afterward the 21st N. I. conspired at Kurrachee to massacre the European inhabitants, but their projected villainy being discovered, they were promptly disarmed, and the ringleaders justly punished. The Joudpore Legion was not more faithful to its colors than other contingent forces, and the trifling successes which attended their first movements encouraged the enemies of the British government throughout Rajpootana to take up arms and join their ranks.

The Madras troops, with the exception of the 8th light cavalry, exhibited a rare and honorable example of fidelity amid such wide-spread treachery and rebellion. But on the north-east frontier of Bengal, the Assamese displayed a restlessness that boded no good; and their vicinity to the Burmese on the one hand, and to the Santhals on the other, rendered it necessary to adopt energetic measures to keep them in awe.

Unhappily, the governor-general of India too rarely manifested the decision of character demanded in such an emergency. Of personal courage there was no want, but he was deficient in quickness of conception, and in moral hardihood. His counselors were even more timid than himself, and thus the mutineers were encouraged, and the European residents in Calcutta in the same proportion disheartened by the habitual vacillation of the government.

At one time during the advent of the great Mohammedan festival of the Mohurrum, a panic prevailed throughout all classes of the Christian inhabitants; and was only allayed by the unexpected arrival of Lord Elgin with the *Shannon* and the *Pearl*.

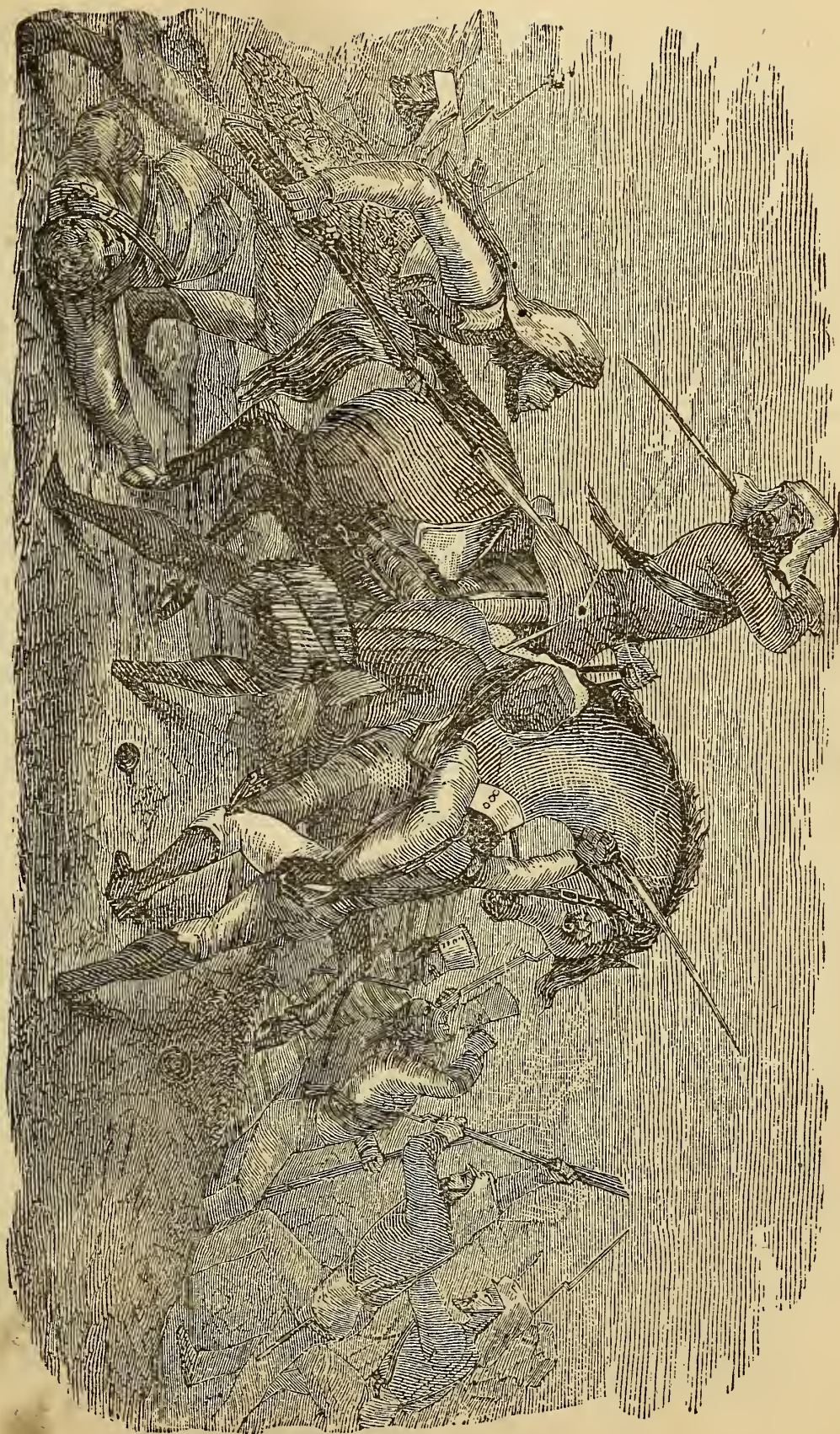
At a later period Lord Canning converted this feeling of distrust into one of disgust and indignation by appointing a Lieut.-Governor of the Central Provinces, with two Mohammedan assistants, to supersede martial law, and to tie the hands

of the military leaders, upon whose promptness and resolution depended the safety both of individuals and of the State. In pursuance of the same impolitic line of conduct, an Act was passed by the Legislature, rendering it a misdemeanor to possess arms or ammunition without first obtaining a license to that effect. As his lordsip in council had previously returned an ungracious answer to a petition of the European community, praying that the native population might be disarmed; it was felt that this was at least an insulting intimation that the European settlers were no more trustworthy than the people of the country.

While these dissensions obtained at the Presidency, Sir James Outram, who had succeeded General Lloyd at Dinapore, hastily collected what forces he could muster, and pushed on to reinforce General Havelock at Cawnpore. With characteristic magnanimity, however, he first disclaimed all intention of plucking the nobly earned laurels from the grasp of his junior officer, and intimated his desire to accompany him solely in his civil capacity of Chief Commissioner of Oude. His march upward from Allahabad, however, was much impeded by the heavy rains, and at one point a small body of the enemy attempted to harass his flank; but being vigorously attacked by a detachment under Major Eyre, they were destroyed almost to a man. It was thus the 19th of September before General Havelock was in a position to cross the Ganges for a third time, and to advance with an efficient force to relieve the long beleaguered garrison at Lucknow.

On that day the army of relief crossed the river by a bridge of boats, and encamped on the other side. General Havelock's force consisted of about 2,000 European infantry, the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, three batteries of field artillery, and a handful of volunteer cavalry. The rebels mustered above 40,000 strong, but their numerical superiority only served to enhance the prowess of their conquerors. The first engagement took place on the 21st of September, at the village of Mungaiwar, and resulted in the total defeat of the mutineers. Five field-pieces and two guns in position were taken, two of the former

BATTLE OF MUNGARWAR.





being captured by the volunteer cavalry, led on to the charge by General Outram in person.

From this point the army pushed on by forced marches, without encountering any organized opposition, until it arrived before the city of Lucknow. Skirting the suburbs of that once stately capital, General Havelock forced his way through every obstacle, and by the evening of the 25th had relieved the heroic garrison.

The relief was opportune. Two mines had already been driven under the chief works, and in a few hours more would have been loaded and sprung. The besieged would thus have been placed at the mercy of those who knew no mercy.

The city, however, had still to be subdued. From several advantageous positions the enemy continued to fire upon the fort, and were only finally dislodged after a series of determined assaults.

In these operations the loss of the British was very severe. General Neill, the brave and energetic saviour of Benares, and the inexorable avenger of the massacre at Cawnpore, was among the slain. With him fell Major Cooper, in command of the artillery, and many other gallant spirits. Even now much remained to be done. Taking courage from their overwhelming numbers, the enemy soon closed again around the army of deliverance, and cut off their communications with Cawnpore. Encumbered with not less than 1,000 women and children, and sick or wounded men, it would have been hazardous, if not impossible, to have attempted a retrograde march across a difficult country, harassed on all sides by an active and desperate enemy. Under these circumstances, Sir James Outram, who had now assumed the chief command, determined on remaining at Lucknow, and awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. His position, indeed, was critical, but events in another quarter were in the mean time operating in his favor.

Until the latter end of August, the British troops before Delhi are rather to be considered as an army of observation, than as a besieging force. Inferiority in numbers and artillery was barely counterbalanced by their superior discipline, courage,

and physical strength. These advantages enabled them, indeed, to maintain their ground, but not to assume the offensive.

Toward the close of August, however, a reinforcement of European and Sikh troops, under Brigadier Nicholson, arrived from the Punjab, and on the 25th of that month the rebels were defeated at Nujffghur, with great slaughter and the loss of thirteen guns. A few days later a heavy siege-train was received from Ferozepore, and breaching batteries were constructed on the north side of the city. The siege may be said to have commenced on the 7th of September, and by the evening of the 13th the engineers reported two practicable breaches—one near the Cashmere, the other near the Water bastion. Arrangements were therefore at once made for an assault to take place at day-break on the following morning.

The first column, commanded by Brigadier Nicholson, advanced under a tremendous fire, and applying their scaling-ladders, carried the Cashmere bastion, and established themselves in the main guard. Almost simultaneously the second column, under Brigadier Jones, stormed the Water bastion, and effected a junction with their comrades inside the walls.

A third column, under Colonel Campbell, awaited the blowing open of the Cashmere gate to join in the assault. They had not long to wait. Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, of the engineers, accompanied by three sergeants carrying the powder-bags, walked up to the gateway in broad daylight, and while exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, coolly fastened the bags to the iron spikes of the gate. In the performance of this heroic exploit, Lieutenant Salkeld was severely wounded, and two of the sergeants killed upon the spot; but the train was lighted, and the gate blown open with a tremendous crash.

As the smoke cleared away, the storming party sprang through the ruins with a British cheer; and the three columns, uniting, made themselves master of the whole line of works, from the Water bastion to the Cabul gate; and before nightfall were in possession of Skinner's house, the Church, the College, and the adjacent grounds. This brilliant success, however, was not achieved without great loss of life

Of the European soldiery, eight officers and 162 rank and file were killed, with fifty-two officers and 510 rank and file wounded; of the sepoys, 413 were placed *hors de combat*, of whom 103 were slain outright. The total number of casualties thus amounted to 1,145, or one-third of the entire assaulting force. Among the mortally wounded was Brigadier Nicholson, whose death was justly deplored as a national calamity.

Simultaneously with these main attacks, a diversion was made by a fourth column, consisting of Sikhs, Ghoorkas, and Cashmerians, on the suburbs of Kishengunge and Pahareepore. But, in spite of their most strenuous efforts, these troops failed to overcome the desperate resistance offered by the enemy, and, in the end, were compelled to retreat, though not ingloriously.

The day following the assault was consumed in shelling the palace and in battering the magazine. A breach was effected, and at daylight of the 16th a storming party dashed forward with such impetuosity that the rebel artillerymen dropped their lighted port-fires and fled, leaving undischarged six guns of large calibre commanding the breach and loaded with grape. On the 17th the British troops became masters of the Bank, formerly the palace of the Begum Sumroo, and shortly afterward of the Jumma Musjid, or principal mosque. Heavy guns were now brought to play upon the palace and the bridge of boats, and by the evening of the 20th the rebels entirely evacuated the city and its suburbs. Then was seen the extent of the damage sustained by the former capital of the Moghul dynasty. Whole streets had been laid in ruins; dead bodies tainted the air in all directions; the inhabitants, reduced to beggary, were crouching, terror-stricken, in obscure lurking-places. But the British soldier is merciful in victory, as he is irresistible in battle. To armed rebels no mercy was shown; but women and children and the defenseless citizens were spared and protected.

The venerable descendant of Timour—venerable only by reason of his gray hairs and extreme old age—had fled, with his principal Begum, two sons, and a grandson, to the tomb of his ancestor, Hoomayoon, son of the mighty Baber. Here he was discovered and seized by Captain Hodson, of the 2d European

fusiliers. His own life and that of his queen were respected but the princes were led out and shot, and their dead bodies publicly exposed at the kotwalee, or mayor's court.

General Wilson, whose health failed him in the hour of victory, now resigned the command to Brigadier Penny, C. B., a veteran of approved gallantry. Colonel Burn, whose father so gallantly defended Delhi against Jeswunt Rao Holkar in 1803, was appointed military commandant within the city, and measures were successfully taken to re-establish order, and to afford protection to well-disposed and peaceful citizens. Two movable columns, consisting each of 1,600 infantry, 500 cavalry, three troops of horse artillery, and 18 guns, were told off, and ordered to follow up the retreating enemy without delay. One of these, commanded by Colonel Greathed, of the 84th, came up with a rebel force strongly posted near Bolundshuhur, and, after a spirited engagement, utterly discomfited them with the loss of two guns, a vast quantity of ammunition, and 100 men.

On the same day the other column overtook the mutineers at Muttra, and inflicted severe chastisement. The security of Agra was thus assured, and a direct road laid open into Oude. Reinforcements from England were at the same time arriving at Calcutta, and each successive day fresh troops were rapidly pushed up the country.





CHAPTER XXI.

THE MISSIONARIES—RELIEF OF LUCKNOW—MUTINY AT CHITTA- GONG—OPERATIONS IN OUDE.

THE fall of Delhi was considered by the British government as the virtual termination of the rebellion; just as the same government had regarded the capture of Philadelphia in 1777, as the virtual termination of the American rebellion. Subsequent events have shown how very far this was from being a correct calculation. The fall of Delhi, by scattering the rebels, appears only to have multiplied the rebel posts in various parts of India, and to have increased and more widely diffused the spirit of disaffection.

The reader will naturally be desirous to know what became of the missionaries and their establishments, during the period which we have already passed over. The following extract from one of Dr. Duff's Letters on India* supplies the desired information; and, at the same time, affords a gratifying testimony in favor of the missionaries, both British and American.

* "The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results. In a series of Letters from the Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., Calcutta."

“ *October 6.*—From the fragmentary way in which details have been reaching us, it is impossible to ascertain with absolute accuracy the number of British Christians that have met with an untimely end in the midst of the present awful whirlwind of fire and blood. One thing is certain, that, at the lowest calculation, *the number cannot be under thirteen hundred.* Of that number, about two hundred and forty have been British military officers—about a tenth of the officers of the Bengal army. Great as is this number, the marvel is that, amid such terrific scenes, it has been so small. I now speak of those who have been actually massacred, and not of those who have fallen in open battle with the enemy. The rest of the 1,300 consists of civil servants of the East India Company, assistants in government offices, bankers, traders, agents, and ladies.

“ The number also includes *four* chaplains and *ten* male missionaries, with their wives. Of the latter ten, two, belonging to the Propagation Society, fell at Cawnpore, and three at Delhi; four, of the American Presbyterian Mission, at Futtehghur; and one, of the Established Church of Scotland, at Sealkote, in the Punjab.

“ The destruction of mission property in the North-west has been immense. At upward of twenty stations there has been much devastation, and at some of them total ruin. The mission bungalow residences, the schools, the churches or chapels, the libraries and stores of books, have been completely destroyed. The extensive printing presses of the American Mission at Allahabad, and of the Church of England Missionary Society at Agra, with the founts of types, and Bible, and tract, and school-book depositories—the accumulated results of the knowledge, experience, and toil of many a devoted spirit for many years—have all disappeared. In pecuniary value alone, the aggregate of mission property thus wantonly and wickedly demolished and swept away cannot, at the *lowest* estimate, be reckoned under *seventy thousand pounds.* But if the Lord in mercy rouse the Christian heart of Britain and America, the seventy thousand will soon be replaced by more than seven times seventy. And in this way may a glorious exemplification be furnished to

the whole of nominal Christendom and actual Heathendom of the Divine principle of overcoming evil with good. Oh that British and American Christians would be shaken by this earthquake out of the drowsiness of the past, with its meagre drowsy action! Now, if ever, is the golden opportunity. When the Prince of Darkness, through his emissaries, brought the Lord of glory to an ignominious death on Calvary's cross, little recked he that, instead of extinguishing, he was only establishing and for ever glorifying *His* name and cause on earth. So, with similar short-sighted policy now, he may have stirred up his heathen emissaries to imbue their hands in the blood of the heralds of the cross, plunder and lay waste their property, and annihilate their Bible stores, in the hope of thereby exterminating the Redeemer's name and cause from this vast land, in which for thousands of years he has exercised undisputed sovereignty over its teeming myriads. But if Christians are true in their professed loyalty to their Saviour-King, they will turn this policy of the arch enemy into foolishness and irretrievable defeat. They will now arise and come forth with twice redoubled energy, and more than twice redoubled liberality—energy and liberality sustained by an Abraham-like faith and a wrestling Jacob-like prayer—and if they do so, Satan's long-consolidated dominion in India will soon be wrenched from his tyrant grasp and converted into a glorious province of Immanuel's universal empire!

“To prevent all misconception with reference to missionaries, it ought to be emphatically noted that *nowhere has any special enmity or hostility been manifested toward them by the mutineers*. Far from it. Such of them as fell in the way of the rebels were simply dealt with precisely in the same way as all other Europeans were dealt with. They belonged to the governing class, and, as such, must be destroyed, to make way for the re-establishment of the old native Mohammedan dynasty. The same actuating motive led to the destruction of *native Christians and all others who were friendly or supposed to be friendly to the British government*. In this way it is known that many of the natives of Bengal, who, from their superior English education, were employed in government offices in the North-west, and were

believed to be favorable to the continuance of our rule, were made to suffer severely both in life and property. Some of them were sadly mutilated after the approved Mohammedan fashion, by having their noses slit up and ears cut off; while others, amid exposures and sufferings, had to effect the same hair-breadth escapes as the Europeans. In short, I feel more than ever persuaded of the reality of the conviction which I entertained *from the very first*, that this monster rebellion has been *mainly* of a *political*, and but *very subordinately* of a *religious* character, and that the grand proximate agency in exciting it was a treasonable Mohammedan influence brought skillfully to bear on a soil prepared for its action by many concurring antecedent causes of disaffection and discontent. Brahminical and other influences had doubtless their share in it, but the preponderant central element has been of Mohammedan origin, directed to the realization of the long-cherished dynastic designs of Mohammedan ambition.

“By the *natives generally*, no *special animosity* has been exhibited toward the missionaries or their doings. The very contrary is the fact. On this subject the editor of the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, a clergyman of the Church of England, has been able to bear emphatic testimony. ‘If any European, says he, ‘is respected and trusted by the natives at present, it is the missionary. *All the influence of public officers and their agents at Benares could not succeed in procuring supplies for the troops and others from the country round; but a missionary well known to the people is now going round the villages and getting in supplies for the public service.* The missionaries and their families are living, at that and some other stations, at some distance from the other residents, and from the means of defense, and are surrounded by the people on every side. How remarkable is this state of things! *The government, who have always fondled and favored superstition and idolatry, are accused of an underhand design to cheat the people into Christianity; and the missionaries, who have always openly and boldly, but still kindly and affectionately, denounced all idolatrous abominations, and invited their deluded votaries to embrace the gospel of Christ for their salvation—they are under-*

stood by the people; and if any Europeans are trusted, the missionaries are at present'

“The gratifying incident recorded here of the Benares missionary at once reminds us of the case of the celebrated Schwartz, who, when the agents of the Madras government utterly failed in their attempts, by his personal influence with the people succeeded in obtaining the most abundant supplies for the British army. The case of *Peshawur*, the remotest and most critically situated of all the Punjab stations, is most remarkable and instructive. The Mohammedan population of that city is singularly fanatical. The city is encompassed with hill tribes as daring as they are fanatical. The first British political resident there, after the conquest of the Punjab, full of antiquated anti-christian fears, declared that so long as he lived there should not be a Christian mission beyond the Indus. Subsequently, the resident was assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic. His successor was the famous Major Edwardes, of Mooltan celebrity, a man who, happily, fears God and loves the Saviour and his cause. When it was proposed to establish a mission at *Peshawur*, he at once fearlessly headed it, and openly declared, in substance, that the Christianization of India ought to be regarded as the *ultimate end* of our continued possession of it. At the outbreak of the great rebellion, nearly the whole of the native regiments (eight in number) at the station showed symptoms of disaffection and mutiny. Most of them had to be disarmed; and one of them has since been cut to pieces. In the midst of these frightful internal troubles, and surrounded on all sides with a fiercely fanatical people, what were the missionaries to do? If they were even called on by the authorities to pause for a season, no one could have been much surprised. But no; Sir John Lawrence, the chief Commissioner, and Mr. Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, of the Punjab, in reference to them, in substance replied: ‘Let the preaching and other missionary operations by no means be suspended.’ Oh, how true the saying, ‘Them that honor me I will honor!’ At *Peshawur*, amidst almost unparalleled difficulties, the British have been able to hold their own; the Punjab has been preserved in tranquillity;

and not only so, but has been able to furnish nearly all the troops that have now so triumphantly recaptured Delhi! Are not these suggestive facts? Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say, that it is the Punjab which has mainly saved our Indian empire."

At the time of the fall of Delhi, the native army of Bengal, as a British force, may be said to have ceased to exist. That vast body, consisting of regulars, irregulars, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and numbering upward of 100,000 men, had been, with the exception of two regiments, entirely dissolved; and by far the greater part of it was in open and sanguinary revolt. Driven from the open plains of the Jumna and the Ganges, they betook themselves to the rolling hills, vast forests, and all but interminable jungles of Central India, where they are still carrying on a desultory and indecisive guerilla warfare, which is gradually exhausting the forces of the British.

Dr. Duff, in a letter dated October 19th, 1857, writes thus in relation to his views of the final issue of the rebellion:—

"Never, even for a single moment, have I desponded. From the very first, when the lurid clouds, surcharged with the red lightning and thunder of Jehovah's judgments, seemed hanging over our heads, and ready to burst upon us with desolating fury, my faith in the *ultimate* destiny of *British* India was never for an instant shaken. I felt fortified with an intense persuasion that, after visiting us with well-merited chastisements for our past sins and negligences, and after we ourselves had been sufficiently humbled under a burning sense of our guiltiness and shame, and had resolved with lowly, penitent, and broken hearts to return unto the Lord with 'full purpose of, and endeavor after new obedience,' Jehovah would look out upon us through the fiery cloud of suspended judgments, and once more gladden us with the smiles of His gracious countenance. And this is my intense persuasion still; though I am grieved to add that, either in Britain or in India, I have not yet perceived convincing signs of our being sufficiently humbled as a *people* and *nation*. 'There is a loud cry for the visitation of retributive justice on the hosts of unpardonable murderers, and a loud and honest

wail of sympathy with the agonized friends of the murdered, as well as surviving sufferers. And all this is right, thoroughly right and Christian, in its way. But any hope of an accelerated removal of deserved judgment, and an accelerated restoration of settled peace and tranquillity, would be vastly enhanced were I to see our people and nation prostrated in the dust before a holy God; and then, sincerely and truly, and not feignedly, like the Jews of old, in those hypocritical fastings and humiliations which were an abomination to the Lord, confessing our past sins of omission and commission toward poor benighted, superstition-ridden India, and resolving that, in the amendment of the future, ample reparation shall be made for the crimes and negligence of the past. * * * * *

“Still, my faith in the ultimate issue is in no way shaken—not because of any worthiness in us, or any confidence in the sagacity of our counsels or the prowess of our arms, but because of God’s manifest purposes of mercy to poor distracted India, through the instrumentality of Christian Protestant Britain. That as a nation we have been negligent in the discharge of our great trust, and that as a people we have, in manifold ways, grievously sinned against God in this land, is undoubted. Hence the successive visitations of Jehovah’s displeasure, in former as well as present times. His judgments are now abroad amongst us, that thereby we may be made to learn and to return to righteousness and the paths of dutiful obedience. If this be the issue of them, the great object for which they have been sent will have been gained. And if so, happy will it be for Britain—unspeakably happy for bleeding, ransacked, devastated India

“From the chequered events of the last few months may we not, without presumption, infer that the Lord has still mercy in store for us? Our people, scattered in mere handfuls at great distances from each other, over a vast territory, of more than a thousand miles in breadth, and at least fifteen hundred in length, assailed by a revolted disciplined army of a hundred thousand men, and surrounded by a population of nearly a hundred millions, the greater part of them, to say the least, indifferent to our fate, and millions of them, yes, literally millions of

them positively hostile! Surely, surely, may we exclaim, 'It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed! If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us!' That so many should have fallen by the hands of foul and treacherous assassins, is beyond measure distressing; but the real wonder—the wonder of wonders—is, that any one at all should have been alive this day to 'sing of mercy' as well as of 'judgment.' That there have been so many instances of fatuous miscalculation and mistake on the part of the enemy, as well as of their counsels being turned into foolishness, is also very notable. That amid so many exasperated myriads, having so prodigious a stake at issue as that of life, and property, and empire, no man of towering genius, such as India has heretofore supplied—no Sevajee, no Hyder Ali, no Runjeet Singh—should have arisen, capable of combining and concentrating the scattered elements of rebellion, and bringing them to bear down with a sweeping tornado force on the exposed and all but helpless handfuls of British—is surely something more than notable. The escapes, too, of individuals, as well as of small companies of fugitives, have been almost miraculous. The energy also which has, in so many cases, been exhibited by single men, not less than by small assemblages of men, rises positively into the sublime of heroism. I speak not now of men in commanding positions, such as General Neill and Sir Henry Lawrence, but of more ordinary men in less conspicuous circumstances. It is only the other day that in Rewah, an independent State that lies between Mirzapore and the Saugor territories on the Nerbudda, the most of the rajah's troops revolted, and went off to join a vast body of rebels under Kuwar Singh, who threatened to visit his country with fire and sword on his way into Central India. The people were seized with panic; the rajah himself went to Captain Osborne, the political agent, and begged him to leave the territory, as he could not protect him or the other British officers for an hour. Having already sent off his own zenana, he told the city people to send away their wives, as he could not protect them; and away he

went to a distant fort. The agent, knowing well that on his preventing the host of armed rebels from passing through the Rewah State depended the safety of Nagode, Jubbulpore, Bundelkund, and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, resolved, with something like a martyr spirit, to stand by his strangely critical post to the very last. Though unwell at the time, and scarcely able to move, his spirit rose to the height of Spartan energy, while it seemed partly to inspire and partly to overawe all around him. Fertile in expedients, as well as brave, he roused the rural population by sending amongst them numbers of agents to rehearse in their hearing the multiplied atrocities committed by the rebels elsewhere. He even procured one or two sufferers from their brutality, sent them out as a spectacle among the people, and worked upon their fears to such an extent, that at last they all united in declaring that they would oppose the passage of the rebel army. Tidings of all this having reached the traitor-leader of that army, he deemed it prudent to pause in his onward career, and eventually to withdraw it altogether, and pass away in another direction. Thus, for a time at least, has Central India been saved—the handfuls of our poor beleaguered countrymen, with their wives and children in different stations there, have been saved—by the indomitable energy, the admirable tact and sagacity, of a single man!”

The Indian mutiny has assumed the aspect of a regular war in the kingdom of Oude, the latest acquisition of the British, where the disciplined army of the late king formed a nucleus around which were gathering the fragments of the insurgents defeated and driven from other parts of India. We have already noted the beleaguerment, late in June, of a large body of Europeans, including many women and children, in Lucknow, and General Havelock's gallant attempt to relieve them, toward the close of September. At the head of a few thousand men he fought his way through greatly superior numbers of the insurgents, and was just in time to prevent the Residency, where the Europeans were besieged, from being captured. His force not being sufficient to protect the retreat of the women and children to Cawnpore, he remained at the Residency, the garrison of which

was strengthened by a portion of his troops, the remainder falling back upon Cawnpore. Lucknow was held by 50,000 insurgents, who pressed the siege of the Residency with great vigor and the position of the defenders was extremely critical. Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, having collected a considerable body of troops at Cawnpore, set out on the 9th of November, 1857, for the relief of Lucknow.

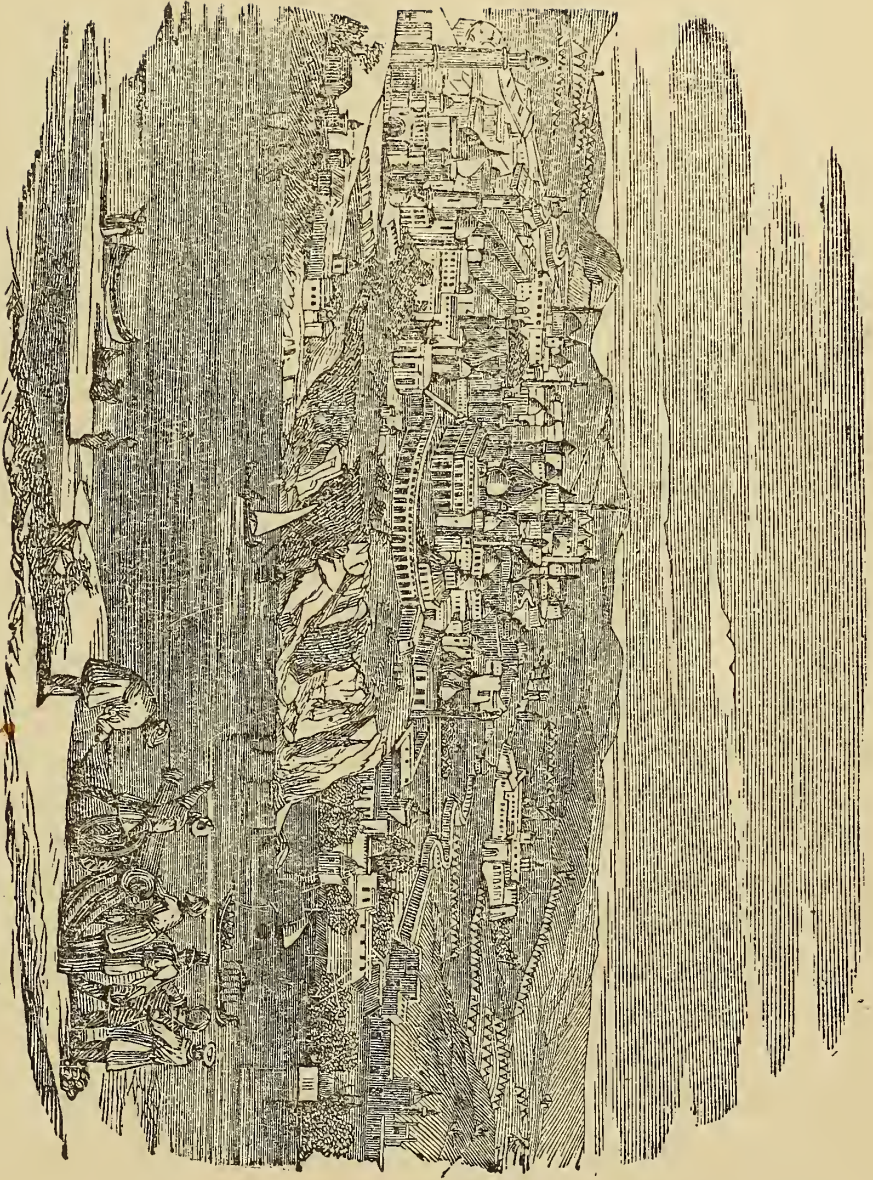
The distance between Cawnpore and Lucknow is fifty-three miles, for the first fifty of which the road was tolerably clear, but the last three miles ran through a succession of strong positions, occupied by large bodies of the enemy. These were carried after desperate fighting, in which the insurgents suffered terribly—two thousand dead being carried from one of them—and on the 16th communication was opened with the besieged. It now became necessary to execute the second and more difficult part of the plan of the commander—the removal of the garrison, including a thousand women and children, through the masses of the enemy. The line of retirement resembled a tortuous lane, affording numerous points for attack.

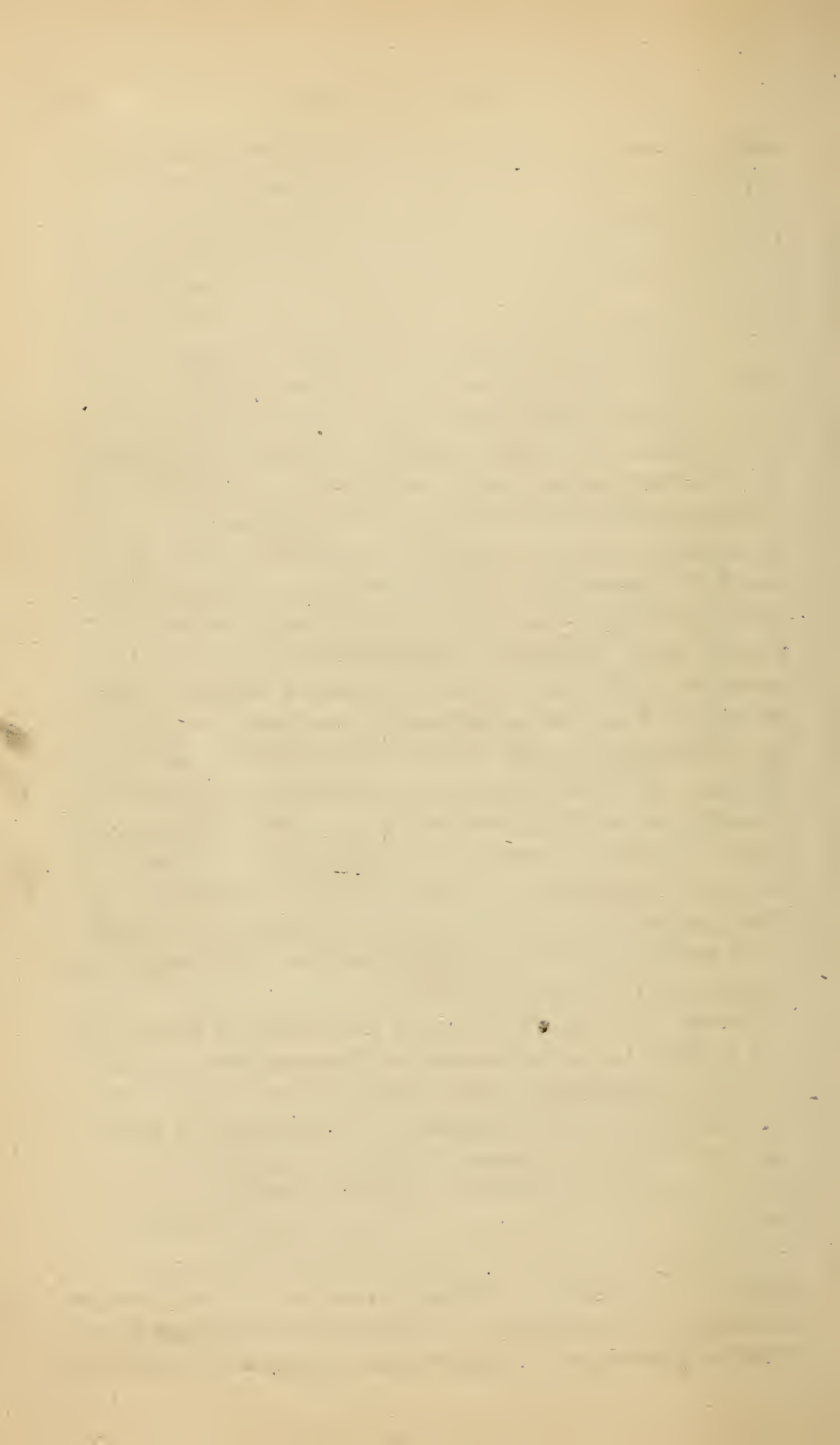
Sir Colin had recourse to stratagem. The enemy still held almost the whole of the city. A vigorous fire was directed upon one of their strong positions, in order to induce them to suppose that a serious attack was designed upon it; and at midnight of the 22d, when a breach had been effected, the English silently decamped in the opposite direction, and succeeded in passing unmolested through the dangerous lane, carrying the garrison and all the valuable stores from the Residency. So completely were the enemy deceived, that they kept up a fire upon the British positions in Lucknow for hours after they had been abandoned.

On the third day after leaving Lucknow, General Havelock, the hero of the campaign, died of dysentery, brought on by excessive fatigue and anxiety.

Dr. Duff thus describes the character of General Havelock. "I knew him personally, having been privileged to make his acquaintance many years ago under the hospitable roof of the late revered Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, whose son-in-law he

LUCKNOW.





was. Somewhat stern and reserved he was in manner, yet you could not be long in his presence without finding that he was a man who feared God, and that, fearing God, he feared nought else besides. It was this holy reverential fear of God that was the real source of his undaunted courage in the discharge of duty, at whatever peril to life or fortune. His, in this respect, was the genuine spirit of the old English Puritan, the very spirit of Oliver Cromwell and his compeers. And the tendency was to turn the British soldiers, under his exclusive moulding, into a phalanx of modern Ironsides. He was the first of our generals who distinctly recognized the hand of God in his surprising victories over the mighty host of rebel mutineers. 'By the blessing of God, I have captured Cawnpore,' were the first words of his memorable telegraphic dispatch from that scene or one of the strangest and bloodiest tragedies ever enacted on the stage of time. Faithful as a patriot warrior to his earthly sovereign, he lived to receive from her gracious Majesty a first instalment of honor and reward, and to hear how a grateful country had hailed his great services with unbounded admiration and applause. But faithful also as a soldier of the Cross to his Sovereign in the skies, he has now gone to receive a far greater honor, and inherit a vastly nobler recompense of reward. He has gone, ripe in grace, to fructify in glory! What a transition! From the confused noise of battle, to the hallelujahs of angels! From garments rolled in blood, to the pure white robes of the redeemed in Immanuel's Land!"

General Windham, "the hero of the Redan" at Sebastopol, had been left behind in command at Cawnpore, with orders not to risk an engagement. But hearing that the "Gwalior Contingent," a body of the insurgents, were advancing, he marched out, and defeated a portion of them on the 25th. They renewed the attack on the two following days, and defeated Windham, with considerable loss in men, stores, and equipage.

Intelligence of this disaster reached Sir Colin Campbell, who set out at once for the scene of action, marched thirty-eight miles in fifteen hours, drove back the victors, and then returned to provide for the safety of the fugitives from Lucknow. This having

been secured, he attacked the Gwalior men on the 6th of December, defeated them again, and put them to flight. The fugitives were pursued by General Grant, who, coming up with them as they were attempting to cross the Ganges into Oude, attacked them with great spirit, and, after half an hour's cannonade, took fifteen guns, a large quantity of ammunition and stores, without losing a single man himself.

Dr. Duff, in his letter of December 8th, 1857, gives the following account of the mutiny at Chittagong. "The three companies of sepoy in charge of the treasury, jail, &c., at Chittagong, the capital of the district of that name, at the south-eastern extremity of Bengal, round the head of the bay, mutinied in November. The circumstances are suggestive. These men had so long continued, to all appearance, 'stanch and loyal, that even the most sceptical were beginning to think sepoy faithfulness not absolutely impossible. In proof of their fidelity, they forwarded a petition not long ago to government, begging to be allowed to remain where they were for another year, as the time of their removal, in the ordinary course of rotation, was nigh at hand. The government, in cheerfully acceding to their request, sent also a letter complimenting them on the excellence of their conduct. This letter reached them on Sunday, 15th November, and on the evening of Wednesday, the 18th, about 11 P. M., they suddenly rose in open mutiny, and promptly went to work after the most approved and stereotyped fashion!

"First of all they rush to the houses of the Europeans, civil and military, bent on the destruction of their inmates. Happily, these, with a single exception, escaped the intended massacre by a hurried flight, mostly in their night-clothes---some on board ships, others into boats up the river, and others still into the neighboring jungles. The civil commissioner, who had concealed himself in the compound or court-yard of his house, distinctly heard the mutineers asking for him. Next they set fire to their own lines; killing the native jailer, they liberated the convicts; blew up the magazine; robbed the treasury. Having then bestowed bountiful largesses on the mosques, and loaded the Company's elephants with their plunder, they marched

northward in the direction of Tipperah, with the blessings of the faquirs, exclaiming: 'We have obtained our utmost wish, but have not succeeded in killing the Feringhee dogs.'

"Immediately on the report of the mutiny reaching Dacca, the next principal station to the north west, it was resolved to attempt to disarm the two companies of sepoy and small body of native artillerymen located there. The non-combatants having been lodged in the house which had been fortified in anticipation of such a contingency, the sailors, who had been sent from Calcutta at a time when no British soldiers could be spared, proceeded to the lines to enforce the order for disarmament. The men were evidently well prepared; as the sailors, headed by the authorities, were at once received with volleys of musketry and showers of grape. A stubborn fight ensued, in which two or three of the seamen were killed, and several wounded. But British pluck and bravery, as usual, though against heavy odds, won the day. After a resistless charge, the guns and magazine were got possession of; and the sepoy, fairly beaten, took to flight, leaving behind them about forty killed and many wounded. One correspondent from the place writes: 'Had it not been for our handful of marines, who fought right gallantly, where would we have been now?' And another: 'Had the sepoy here overpowered our seamen, who were scarcely ninety in number, perhaps we should not have been alive at this time. But God has been very merciful, and to him we would render our most earnest thanks.'"

In the early part of December, while in the neighborhood of Lucknow, where the rebels were employed in strengthening the fortifications, Sir Colin Campbell was suddenly applied to for a reinforcement to the garrison at Cawnpore. This place was assailed by a well organized force of twenty-five thousand rebels and fifty guns. Sir Colin arrived at Cawnpore with a strong force just in season to save the place, and to relieve the garrison, who had been engaged in a severe and bloody contest with the enemy.

Sir Colin remained at Cawnpore, collecting a large force for the final siege of Lucknow. That place being the capital of

Oude, with a population variously estimated from 300,000 to 500,000, its recapture was considered a matter of prime importance.

Meantime the rebellion was raging in every direction around. Twice the communication between Cawnpore and Delhi was cut off, and had to be reopened by the hard fighting, first by Greathed's, and again, two months after, by Seaton's column. The commander-in-chief had to encounter some severe contests before he could re-occupy Tuttehghur, where a Mohammedan Nawab had set up for king, collecting revenues and administering justice in his own wild way. Jung Bahadoor, the Nepaulese chief, as Sir Colin's ally, with his Ghoorkas, after some hard fighting, occupied Gooruckpore, to the east of Oude, dispersing the forces of Mohammed Hossein, the self-installed ruler of that place.

During the month of February, 1858, various minor skirmishes and engagements took place along the eastern and western frontiers of Bengal, in Northern Behar, and in Central India, while vast preparations were in progress under the eye of Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore, for the final attack on Lucknow.

On the 3d of February, the fort of Saugor, on the Nerbudda, was relieved by a force under Sir Hugh Rose. Here four hundred Europeans, of whom 190 were women and children, had been shut up for seven months, the surrounding country swarming all that time with armed natives in open rebellion.

On the 17th of February, the almost impregnable stronghold of Rhotosgur was captured. It had been occupied as a rendezvous by Umer Singh, and other rebel chiefs, since the first outbreak of the rebellion; and from it parties had been sent out to scour the country, and especially to plunder and cut the telegraph wires of the Grand Trunk, which were in sight of it.

On the 5th of March the naval brigade, which had gone up the river Gogra to Fyzabad, on the eastern frontier of Oude, in conjunction with a body of Ghoorkas or Nepaulese, gained a victory over an army of rebels estimated at 20,000, with sixteen guns, dispersing them, capturing eight of the guns with all their

ammunition, and killing three or four hundred of the men. The rebels were headed by Mohammed Hossein, who had set himself up as king at Gooruckpore.

In Central India Sir Hugh Rose (who had lately relieved Saugor on the Nerbudda), enabled at last to move, forced a passage named Midnapore, vigorously defended by four or five thousand rebels, of whom only six or seven hundred were sepoys. This success gave Sir Hugh command of the country to Jhansie—the scene of one of the most horrid of all the recent tragedies. Jhansie itself was subsequently besieged by Sir Hugh, who captured it on the 5th of April, killing 1,500 rebels in the final assault.

At Lucknow, on the 11th of March, Sir James Outram's force, which was on the left or eastern bank of the Gumti, pushed his advance as far as the Iron Bridge, to the north of the Residency. There he established his batteries, so as to enfilade some of the enemy's works, and to command the Stone Bridge, which lies still further up the river to the north. The escape of the enemy from the city by either of the bridges was thus cut off. On the western or right side of the river, on which the city is situate, Sir Colin, on the afternoon of the 11th, made another advance. After a very heavy cannonade, another of the large palaces usually known by the name of "the Begum," which had been turned into a fort, was carried by storm. This achievement was effected mainly by a brigade of the 93d Highlanders.

Jung Bahadoor, with his Ghoorka force, was to move close to the canal on the morning of the 11th; and was expected to take an active part in the subsequent operations. The canal crosses the road from Cawnpore, a little beyond Alumbagh, and between it and the city.

At 9 A. M., on the morning of the 14th of March, a breach having been effected in the Imamibarra, which adjoins the walled enclosure of the Kaiserbagh Palace, in which the king used to reside, it was carried by storm; and the troops, following close on the retiring enemy, entered and took complete possession of the palace. Sir James Outram was then ordered to

cross the Iron Bridge, which lies considerably to the north-west of the palace, beyond the British Residency, and press the enemy from that quarter.

The city was so invested on the west, south, and east, as to prevent all escape of the rebels. The only part open to them was the north or northwest, in the direction of Rohilcund. That quarter, though not invested, was watched by Brigadier Campbell. After the fall of the Kaiserbagh, on whose defense the enemy had securely calculated, as by far their strongest position, it was reported that they began to stream out of the city in vast numbers. Accordingly, at 2 A. M., on Monday morning, 15th, Brigadier Campbell started in pursuit of them; while General Hope Grant advanced toward Sitapore, in the direct road to Rohilcund, with the view of intercepting fugitives who might be turned off by Brigadier Campbell's movements.

On the 16th, Sir James Outram, having secured the iron and stone bridges, recrossed the river, advanced and occupied the Muchi Phawan or fort, which had been blown up and abandoned by Sir Henry Lawrence at the commencement of the siege of the Residency, as also the great Imambarry, both of which are in the northern division of modern Lucknow. The resistance was slight, compared with that of the previous day. On the night of the 16th, a Ghoorka division seized the enemy's position in front of Alumbagh, and between it and the city.

On the 17th, the commander-in-chief reported that his advances were being gradually pushed on all sides of the line occupied by the British troops, and that "vast numbers of men, armed and unarmed, were evacuating the city by the only outlet they possessed, to the north."

As a result, probably, of these operations, it was reported that the rebels had again entered the district of Futtehghur, to the north-west, and that the Nana, with the chief rebels, were at Shahjehanpore.

The rebels who had crossed the Jumna, in the neighborhood of Calpee, with the view, as was supposed, of attacking Cawnpore, recrossed the river to the districts on its right or western bank. The successes at Lucknow had probably made them

fear lest, by the time they reached Cawnpore, the conqueror of Lucknow would once more be down upon them.

On the 18th, the British troops were in possession of the greater part of the city; the inhabitants had fled the city, and were in the neighboring villages; and the Musa Bagh, the last post held by the enemy, was expected to fall next day, an attack having been organized.

On the 19th, the last post held by the enemy fell; the cavalry had a most successful pursuit, capturing his remaining guns; the city was completely in possession of the British troops; one hundred and seventeen guns had been collected, and the enemy was in flight toward the north-west. This is the most important event since the fall of Delhi.

On the 27th of March, Sir Hugh Rose, with two brigades, laid siege to Jhansie, which was held by the rebels, 12,000 strong. On the first of April an attempt was made by a strong force of the enemy to relieve the city. Without interrupting the siege, Sir Hugh attacked and dispersed the relieving party, and then stormed and took the place, killing three thousand of the enemy.

Matters were now proceeding satisfactorily in Oude. A number of native chiefs made their submission to the Chief Commissioner, either personally or by their representatives; and the settlement of the country round Lucknow was being rapidly made.

The main body of the Ghoorkas was proceeding to Nepaul, which was held by Maun Sing, with 700 men, and two guns; and the Ghoorkas expected little opposition.

Jung Bahadoor, with his body guard, had already passed through Goruckpore. An action with the rebels under Mahomed Hosein, and Colonel Rowcroft's force, took place near Amorha, in the Goruckpore district, on the 17th April. The enemy was defeated, and pursued to their intrenchments, losing one gun and about one hundred men.

General Whitelock arrived at Budaon on the 19th April, having at Bhoragurh defeated the Nawab, who fled precipitately. Gen. Whitelock captured four guns, and took possession of the

city and palace of the Nawab. Eight guns were afterward abandoned by the rebels and taken. The British lost one officer killed and two wounded.

It was reported from Calpee that Tantia Topee, the Ranees of Jhansie, and the Rajahs of Shahgur and Cawnpore, with 7,000 men and five guns, were encamped at Koch, to oppose Sir Hugh Rose. The Rao Sahid, with 1,000 men, and the relics of the Banda Nawab's force, was at Jubulpore with three guns, to oppose Gen. Whitelock at Calpee, where there were 2,000 men and three guns.

General Walpole's division defeated the rebels on the 22d of April; four guns were taken, and their baggage, camp equipage, &c., captured at Allygunj after a long pursuit. The Commander-in-Chief joined Gen. Walpole's division on the 27th April, and entered Shahjehanpore without opposition on the 30th. Brigadier Pennyfather attacked the rebels on the 30th April, about ten miles from Budaon, and defeated them, taking several guns. The field force under Gen. Sir Sidney Cotton attacked and burnt Tanita on the 25th April. The rebel chief of that place suffered great loss in property; about twenty of his followers were killed and wounded in the attack. The disarming in the Guzerat proceeded successfully. General Walpole's division, on the 15th of April, made an unsuccessful attack on the fort at Rowas, which was attended with considerable loss; four officers and about one hundred men were killed. The European troops were obliged to retire, but the enemy evacuated the fort in the night, and the column moved forward. On the 22d of April, a large body of rebels was encountered opposite Kanouge, and was dispersed with loss of four guns, their camp, and 500 or 600 killed.

Kover Sing, with about 2,000 rebels, although hotly pursued by Brigadier Douglass, crossed the Ganges on the 5th of April, and arrived at Judgespore on the 22d. On the following day, a force of 300 men, under Captain Lagrand, which advanced from Arrah, having followed the enemy into the jungle, was defeated—133 men and three officers killed.

Body was taken by Gen. Whitelock, on the 19th of April,

after an engagement in which the enemy lost 500 men and four guns. Sir Hugh Rose left on the 27th, and expected first to be joined by Gen. Whitelock, and then to fight the Raneé's army, 12,000 strong, encamped at Kooch in advance of Calpee. Brigadier Johns, of the Sixtieth Rifles, had been successful in reaching Moradad, after three actions, and the capture of Rujedabad and Nujeena

The Moulvie and followers were flying back to Oude. Nana Sahib was at Bareilly. The Hindoos were friendly. The force under Brigadier Penny, after crossing the Ganges, marched on Kukrala ten miles from Budaon. The general and his staff were in advance, and came upon a body of horse, which they at first took to be a portion of the baggage guard, which had marched by a more direct route on the flank of the column. The general rode towards it, and when at thirty yards distance four guns opened with grape on the party. General Penny shortly after was missed, and the command devolved on Colonel Jones, of her majesty's 6th carabineers. The troops quietly came up, and the action ended in the total defeat of the enemy, one gun and two limbers being captured.

It is not known when General Penny was wounded, but his body was recovered after the action close to Kukrala. It appears that his bridle arm had been broken by a musket ball, and his horse had then taken fright and carried him close to the town, where the rebels rushed upon him, and cut him up with their swords. The troops which had composed Brigadier Penny's column marched, after the action at Kukrala, across Rohilcund and joined the force of the commander-in-chief, on the 3d instant. Shahjehanpoor was occupied without opposition, on the 1st of May by the commander-in-chief, who had joined Walpole's column. The next day, his excellency, leaving a small garrison at Shahjehanpoor, marched on Bareilly.

On the 3d of May a large body of rebels, headed by the fanatic Moulvie of Lucknow, came down from Mohundie, in Oude, cut up a picket of Dekantzowh's horse, plundered the city, massacring many of the inhabitants, and compelled the garrison to take shelter in the entrenchment round the wall. Briga-

dier-General Jones, by order of the commander-in-chief, marched with a strong force towards Shahjehanpoor on the 8th. Bareilly was attacked on the 6th by the columns under the Commander in-Chief and Brigadier-General Jones. The rebels were driven into the city with loss of several guns. The city was entirely occupied by the British on the 7th of May.





CHAPTER XXII.

CAPTURE OF CALPEE AND GWALIOR—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

On page 453 we have noticed the capture of Jhansie, by Sir Hugh Rose, which took place on the first of April. The ranee of Jhansie, on the capture of the city, fled toward Calpee with the remnant of her force.

On the 9th of April, the fugitive ranee of Jhansie arrived at Calpee with about 2,000 men; and the fort at that place was occupied by an entire regiment of the Gwalior contingent, and between the fort and town, half another regiment of the con-

tingent, and a new levy of the same strength, with six guns, were in a strong position. Further down the banks of the Jumna, the bridge over which had been destroyed, there were in position 350 men, of a regiment called Godfrey's regiment, the remainder of which was stationed at a point called Indur Chowrassie. Outside the city were 500 Willayatees, and 1,000 newly-raised horse, and inside were 350 Mewatties, and two parties of the same, numbering 150 each, under the command of the rajah of Kurrukpore and another. Twelve elephants were with the force which was under the supreme command of Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana, during the absence of Tantia Topee. The chief authority in the city was held by a pundit, named Dada Sahib. The force of the raneé of Jhansie was stationed with its two guns at Murgaon, a short distance from Calpee, on the Jhansie road, where it threw up entrenchments, and awaited the expected approach of Sir Hugh Rose, whose movements are explained in the following telegrams from that officer:—

“Poonah, 6th May.

“As soon as Jhansie, and my sick and wounded, whom I leave there, and the road from Jhansie to Goonah, were secured from the advance of the Kotah rebels and the late garrison of Chundeeree, which made incursions on the road after the capture of Jhansie, I marched with the first brigade from Jhansie to Poonah on Calpee. I had previously, on the 21st ultimo, sent Major Gall with two squadrons of the 14th dragoons, and three nine-pounders, on the road to Calpee, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to support Major Orr, whom I had sent from Jhansie across the Betwa to Mhow, to clear that part of the country of rebels, and with orders to rejoin me on the road to Calpee. Major Orr found no rebels. My second brigade, with the exception of the portion left for the protection of Jhansie, having joined me to-day, I march to-morrow against Kouch, where Tantia Topee and the raneé of Jhansie, have concentrated a considerable force of sepoy, for the purpose of opposing my advance to Calpee. Sir Robert Hamilton, at my request, has written to General Whitlock to move on.”

The advance upon Konch took place as intended, on the following day. The rebels had thrown up strong entrenchments for protecting the town from the Aile and Jhansie roads by which Sir Hugh was marching on it. These, however, were carried by a flank movement, and the attack upon the town, and its results are described in the following telegram, dated:—

“ Konch, May 8th.

“After having driven the enemy’s infantry and cavalry out of the woods into the town, with artillery fire, I stormed the town with my first brigade in skirmishing order, covered on each flank by cavalry and artillery; my second brigade, and Major Orr supporting. The Calpee sepoys, seeing they were on the point of being cut off from Calpee, returned in a mass in that direction, and the town was in our hands in less than an hour

“I pursued the enemy with horse-artillery and cavalry for more than eight miles, the former firing into them, the latter charging them. The artillery and cavalry were so completely exhausted by the long day’s march, the intense heat and the day’s operations, that they could go no further. We took eight guns and quantities of ammunition and tents. I had few killed or wounded, but some Europeans were among the former, and others as well as officers were struck down by the sun, which was 115 degrees in the shade. I march on Calpee to-morrow.”

A subsequent telegram, dated Oraia, May the 10th, states:—

“Four more guns abandoned by the enemy have been taken. The inhabitants of this place report that the sepoys, after their defeat at Konch, passed through there with numerous wounded in a state of despair, declaring that an entire battalion, the 32d Bengal native infantry, had been destroyed, and now they had no refuge but the Jumna. The enemy’s loss at Konch, according to to-day’s account, was 700 killed besides their wounded. We would have destroyed nearly the whole of them, only that

the intense heat, and the great fatigue, paralyzed the strength of both men and horses."

After a necessary but short delay to recruit the exhausted energies of our troops, Sir Hugh Rose put his division again in motion for Calpee, and, on the 16th of the month, arrived before that place. Here he joined Brigadier Maxwell, whose column already occupied a position on the left bank of the Jumna, from whence a heavy fire was opened upon the town on the 22d of May. The fire was to be kept up until 8 A.M. of the 23d, after which the assault was to be made; but in the course of the 22d, the rebels, at bay, desperately attacked the front and right wing of Sir Hugh's camp, and the latter arm being hard pressed, the camel corps was brought up, and the enemy being charged with the bayonet took to flight. The English line then moved forward, and the rout became general. Calpee being the last retreat of the rebels in that part of the country, they had sworn to destroy the European force, but after firing a few shots they fled, leaving the town and fort in the hands of Sir Hugh and his victorious troops. The cavalry and horse-artillery were forthwith dispatched in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives destroyed a great number of them, and took all their guns and ammunition. In the town and fort, foundries and manufactories of cannon and small-arms were found undamaged, with several brass guns, and in the fort a subterraneous magazine was discovered, containing 4,000 barrels of gunpowder, and an immense quantity of ordnance stores.

After the severe punishment inflicted upon the insurgent forces by General Sir Hugh Rose at Calpee, the fugitive rebels, with the ranee of Jhansie, her general, Tantia Topee, and the nawab of Banda, at their head, fled to Indoorkee, on the road to Gwalior, where they were joined by Rahim Ali and Koogar Danlap Sing, who brought with them about 1,500 men, and a few light guns; and here measures were concerted for an attack upon Scindia in his capital, in revenge for the fidelity he had preserved toward the English government.

With the capture of Calpee the labors of the Central India

field force seemed at the moment to have terminated. The last stronghold of the enemy was supposed to have fallen, and with it his guns, stores, and munitions of war: thus there appeared no object of sufficient magnitude and importance to demand the combined energies of the several brigades of which that force was composed. Sir Hugh Rose had suffered so fearfully from exposure, and from repeated attacks of sun-stroke, that he had resolved to decline further active service, and to proceed by Allahabad to Bombay on sick certificate; but, previous to his intended departure, the gallant general announced the breaking-up of the force, and took leave of the brave men under his command in a spirited and eloquent general order, which came home to the hearts of his soldiers. The document, written with a considerable degree of pathos, at once expressed the heartfelt sincerity of the writer, and excited feelings of deep sympathy for the failing hero throughout the force he had so often led to victory.

The address to the troops ran as follows:

“Head-quarters, Camp, Calpee, 1st June.

“Soldiers!—You have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes, and intricate jungles, and over rivers. You have captured the strongest forts, and beaten the enemy, no matter what the odds, whenever you met him. You have restored extensive districts to the government; and peace and order now exist, where before, for a twelvemonth, were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and you never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you, that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail; and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and dangers, you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks; you have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenseless—of foes as well as of friends.

I have seen you, in the ardor of the combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and it is what has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place before which the glory of your arms can be dimmed."

This gratifying tribute to his brave followers had scarcely been issued, when the general received intelligence which convinced him that the proposed distribution of his force, and his own retirement from active service, must, for the present at least, be postponed. Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and the chief himself was a fugitive in the English camp.

It will be in memory, that early in July of the preceding year, nearly the whole of Scindia's army—the Gwalior contingent, numbering close on 12,000 men, as well armed and disciplined as any troops in India—had joined the insurrection, and, from that time, had formed one of the most formidable bodies in arms against the government. It was these men who shut up General Windham in Cawnpore, and were only driven from their prey by the hurried return of the commander-in-chief from Lucknow. A large portion of them then joined the rebel garrisons of Jahansie and Calpee, considered strongholds peculiarly capable of maintaining an obstinate and protracted resistance. Of the whole Gwalior contingent, some 6,000 only remained faithful to the maharajah when the bulk of his force abandoned him; and the time had now arrived when their fidelity also gave way, under the pressure of circumstances and the influence of religious hatred.

From the time of the defeat at Konch, Gwalior was looked to by the discomfited rebels as a city of refuge; and as soon as Calpee fell, a general rush in that direction was made. The approach of the rebel bands was announced; and Scindia, who had abundant cause to doubt the soundness of the troops that remained with him, determined nevertheless to abide the storm, and bear it as he best might, inasmuch as his repeated appeals to the governor-general for European aid, to avert the danger

he well knew to be impending, had been without any beneficial result.

Some days before the fall of Calpee, it had become known that the rebel leader, Tantia Topee, had moved away from that place to the westward, with a portion of the force under his command; and his destination, not apparent at the time, afterward turned out to be Gwalior. On arriving near that place, he separated himself from the troops he had brought with him, and proceeded, with a few trusty adherents, to the cantonments, where the remaining troops of the contingent were quartered; and there he occupied himself in tampering with the soldiers, and preparing them to welcome the rebels, whom he foresaw would very shortly be on their route thither from Calpee; and his intrigues were, as seen in the sequel, too successful.

Shortly after daybreak on the 1st of June, scouts reported that the rebels, driven from Calpee, were approaching the capital; and a short time sufficed to prove the correctness of the intelligence. They came on in great strength, under the nominal command of the Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana; but as soon as they came near the place, Tantia Topee emerged from his shelter and assumed command. With the force, also, was the ranee of Jhansie—a woman whose conduct was not to be scanned by the usual tests applied to her sex, since, but for her relentless cruelty to the Europeans at her capital on the 8th of June, 1857, she might have been looked upon as deserving admiration, if not entitled to respect. That she had been goaded to a desperate and unpitiful revenge by some real or imaginary wrong perpetrated by the Company in carrying out their favorite system of annexation, was one among many questions of a similar kind forced by events upon public consideration; and supposing her sincere in a belief that territory had been unjustly taken from her, her conduct (setting aside her cruelty) had something of the stamp of heroism about it. Perfectly Amazonian in courage and example, she led her troops to the field in person, armed, and actually fighting like a man, stimulating her followers to contend to the last against

the Feringhees, and at length sealing her testimony against them by a soldier's death upon the field.

The enemy's force, as it approached the capital of Scindia, consisted of 4,000 cavalry, 7,000 infantry, and twelve guns; and for the most part, it was composed of well-disciplined soldiers, belonging to the Bengal army and to several of the contingents that had fallen into the stream of revolt, and who were all exasperated by the successive disasters that had befallen them in their various conflicts with the British troops. They had now, however, opponents of different mettle—men of their own country and faith, and of numbers far inferior to their own; and in the present instance, therefore, success was far from improbable, since, besides the sword, they had the rallying cry of "Deen!" and the standard of the prophet to exercise a powerful influence on their behalf. The force of the maharajah consisted of 600 cavalry (forming his body-guard), 6,000 infantry, and eight guns; and on the morning of the 1st of June, placing himself at their head, Scindia marched out to encounter the advancing enemy. The forces met, shortly after daybreak, upon a plain about two miles from Morar—the cantonment of Gwalior; and so soon as the guns of the maharajah opened upon the rebels, about 2,000 of their cavalry made a desperate charge upon them, cut down the gunners, and secured the guns. The maharajah's body-guard fought with great determination for the protection of their chief and the recovery of the guns, and had above 200 killed in the attempt; but the moment the guns were captured, 2,000 of the Gwalior troops went over in a body to the enemy, and fired upon such of their comrades as remained loyal. After a short time, the whole of the force, with the exception of the body-guard, either fled from the field or joined the ranks of the enemy. Under such circumstances of treachery and defection, it was useless to attempt further opposition, and Scindia fled with the remnant of his guard to Agra, whither they were hotly pursued by the rebel cavalry.—The Bæza Bæa (widow of a former prince of Gwalior), with Scindia's family, had already escaped from the capital to Sepree, and were in safety; but the principal officers

and attendants of the maharajah's court, only preserved their lives by scattering themselves over the country in all directions, and in disguise.

As soon as Scindia had fled, the rebels entered and took possession of his capital, where they attempted to form a regular government. The arch-traitor, Nana Sahib, was chosen as Peishwa, or chief of the Mahratta confederacy of princes. Rao Sahib was appointed chief of Gwalior; and Ram Rao Govind, an individual who had some time before been dismissed Scindia's service for dishonesty, became prime minister. These selections were assented to by the traitors of the late army of Scindia, as well as by the other rebels, who were all gratified with a certain number of months pay for their services in the achievement that had ended in the plunder of the capital. The army, constituted as the present one had been, presented, however, a great difficulty to the new government. The insurgents from Calpee and the newly-revolted troops of Scindia, had certainly worked together for a common object in the present instance; but there was an ill-feeling among them; and nothing could overcome it but a liberal distribution of money, partly as arrears of pay, and partly as a reward. The greater portion of the rebel force, under the immediate command of the ranee of Jhansie, remained outside of the city, encamped in a large garden called the Phool Bagh, and to this female leader was entrusted the charge of protecting all the approaches to the city. The property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered, as a punishment for their real or alleged adherence to the maharajah and his British allies; and the immense treasure belonging to the former, which he had been unable to remove from the palace before his flight, was betrayed into the hands of the rebel chiefs by the late treasurer of the fugitive prince; and by this means they were enabled to reward their troops with pay and gratuities. The whole of the royal property was confiscated; and four Mahratta chieftains of the district of Shekawatee, who had some time previously offended Scindia by declaring their independence, and had been captured and imprisoned by him for so doing, were set at liberty by the

new authorities, and received insignia and dresses of honor from the plundered treasury, on condition of raising forces in their several localities to oppose any British troops who might attempt to cross the Chumbul and approach the capital. The civil station, or residency, was plundered and burnt; the prisons opened; and such among the inmates as were likely to be useful, by their daring or cunning, were appointed to active duties. Letters of invitation were dispatched to the rajahs of all the adjacent districts, assuring them of the ultimate success of the native arms, and calling upon them to present themselves and their levies at the seat of the new government.

It has already been mentioned that Sir Hugh Rose had issued a valedictory address to the troops under his command, and was about to relinquish further active service, when intelligence of the events at Gwalior reached him. The moment he learned that his presence was required to the northward of Calpee, he changed his plan, and made arrangements to head a force for the recovery of Gwalior, and there consummate the work he had hoped had been already brought triumphantly to its close. General Whitlock was summoned to garrison Calpee; and Sir Hugh Rose, pushing forward his army in divisions, under Brigadiers Stuart and Napier, followed with the last division on the 6th of June for Gwalior. The march from point to point occupied nine days, and was performed without a single interruption. On the evening of the 15th, the troops were within ten miles of the cantonments; and the general, with a strong guard, advanced to reconnoitre. He found the cantonments occupied by small parties of cavalry and infantry—the great mass of the rebel troops having retired on the town. Meanwhile, Brigadier Smith's brigade from Sepree, which had been joined by Major Orr's force from Jhansie, moved on in advance of the main body, and occupied a position at Kotaki-Serai, five miles south of the fort. After a brief *reconnaissance*, Sir Hugh ordered an advance on the Morar cantonment, which was about three miles from the town, and separated from it by the Suwarnarekha River. The troops advanced, and drove the enemy before them; part of the rebel force, with the

guns, escaped over a bridge into the town; but a considerable number were driven along the whole length of the cantonments, being cut off from the line of retreat by the horse-artillery. As this portion of the rebel force emerged from the cantonments, they were charged and destroyed in great numbers by the 71st regiment; but some of them, who had posted themselves in an intrenched nullah, made a desperate resistance. A party of the sepoy had taken refuge from the pursuing horse-artillery in a deep and narrow nullah, out of which they kept up a brisk and annoying fire of musketry. A company of the 71st Highlanders came up, and went straight at the ditch, where the leading officer, Lieutenant Wyndham Neave, was shot; but the next moment his men were down among the rebels, and his death was sternly avenged. The spot was too confined for the use of fire-arms, and a terrific contest between the bayonet and tulwar ensued. Steadily the European bayonet bore down the native weapon—the wounded sepoy hugging the steel that pierced him, to deliver with his failing strength one last cut at his opponent. All that hate and despair could do in this mortal struggle was done, but in vain; not one single sepoy left the ditch alive. Of the Highlanders, besides Lieutenant Neave, three were killed, and five more or less severely wounded. The corpses of the sepoy numbered forty-three within the nullah, and sixty at a short distance from it. The day closed with the occupation of the Morar cantonment and the severe punishment of the enemy, who, however, continued to hold the town and fort, with the heights to the eastward of it.

While Sir Hugh's force was still assembling in advance of Indorekee, Sir Robert Hamilton, present with the army as the governor-general's agent, sent a dispatch to Scindia, at Agra, requesting him to move down at once to the Chumbul, that he might be in readiness to present himself at Gwalior immediately upon its being occupied by the British, or even previous to the assault. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th, the maharajah quitted Agra with all his followers, escorted by a body of English horse, under Captain Meade. On the 15th, he had reached Dholpore, where he found a division of the army, under

Colonel Riddell, encamped. Here the maharajah was joined by a great number of fugitives, who had deserted from the enemy at Gwalior. On the 16th, heavy firing was heard in the direction of that place, thirty-seven miles distant; and the night had not closed when an express arrived from Sir Thomas Hamilton, announcing the capture of the Morar cantonment, and urging the advance of the maharajah. Scindia at once mounted, and, escorted by Meade's horse, crossed the river, and took the road to his capital.

Early in the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Smith's column was at Kota-ki-Serai—ten miles from Gwalior, on the river Oomrar: beyond this point the road crosses or winds among successive ranges of hills, till the plain in which Gwalior lies is attained. Below, and in front of one of these ranges, when morning broke, the enemy's pickets were observed from Kota-ki-Serai. Skirmishing parties of infantry were immediately thrown across the stream, and a squadron of the 8th hussars followed to reconnoitre. These were soon after fired upon from a concealed battery of three guns. An advance in force was then ordered; the cavalry charged and took the battery, and the infantry at the same time carried and occupied the first range of heights. On the English side, Lieutenant Reilly, of the 8th, was killed, or died of sun-stroke, and two other officers were wounded. The loss on the side of the enemy must have been considerable; but the most important incident of the day was the death of the ranee of Jhansie, either by the bullet of a rifle or a splinter of a shell. This extraordinary female, whose age did not exceed twenty years, was in the dress of a mounted officer, superintending the movements of the cavalry on the field, and sharing in all the dangers of the struggle, when struck down. Her body was surrounded by her guard while a pile was raised, and it was then burnt upon the scene of her daring, to prevent its being profaned by the touch of the Feringhees, whom she so mortally hated.

On the following day (the 18th), Brigadier Smith's force remained quiet, merely exchanging long shots with the enemy on the next range of heights, from whence the fire was suffi-

ciently good to be annoying. Sir Hugh Rose, perceiving that the strong positions of the enemy lay all in front of this officer, whose force alone was not sufficient to carry them, determined to join him by a flank march with the greater part of his division, and by a circuit of twelve miles to his left, through Kota-ki-Serai. The following day, *reconnaissances* of the positions of the enemy on the heights were made by Sir Hugh Rose; and the day being far spent in the examination, orders were given to encamp, as nothing more seemed requisite than to keep the enemy at a distance until the morning. Emboldened by this appearance of inactivity, the rebel leaders redoubled their practice with the guns, and at length it was found necessary to resort to active operations to put a stop to it. The order was given for the whole force to advance—the 86th, in skirmishing order, on the left; the 71st, in similar order, on the right; and the 95th, the Bombay 25th, and 10th native infantry supporting. A three-gun battery, which had chiefly annoyed the camp, was stormed by the 86th, and the guns captured, together with the heights on the left; the 71st carried those on the right at the same time. All the high ground cleared, the enemy's force—strong in cavalry and artillery—appeared drawn up in the plain below, which was about a mile in breadth. Against these, with the rapidity of the mountain torrent, the hussars and Bombay lancers poured down, the infantry skirmishers advancing at the same time; but the rebels awaited not the conflict, and fled in all directions. The extreme left of the British line was, however, threatened by another body of the mutineers; and the skirmishers, who had outrun their supports, were now compelled to slacken their pace and restrain their ardor. A company of the 95th regiment, reinforced by some men of the 86th, now swept along the heights, and captured two guns at the point of the bayonet. The rebels, after a feeble resistance, fled at all points; and after a running fight of about five hours' duration, the town of Gwalior was occupied by the British troops, the enemy leaving twenty-seven guns in the hands of the victors, and flying in the direction of Kerowlee and Jeypore. To dispose of these fugitives before

they should have time to collect together and arrange further plans of mischief, Brigadier Napier was dispatched, with a flying column of cavalry and horse-artillery, in pursuit, while other columns watched their flanks. Coming up with the rebels, on the 20th and 21st, the brigadier cut them up fearfully, taking twenty-five more guns, and an immense quantity of ammunition, which they were carrying off. In a telegram announcing the result of the pursuit, the enemy are described as "lying killed in every direction, along some miles of country." The brigadier returned from the "death-chase" on the 23d, having, among other trophies of his successes, the person of Ameer Chund Buttye, the faithless treasurer of the maharajah, whom he had saved from the sword for a traitor's death by the halter.

Immediately on taking possession of Gwalior, a royal salute was fired by Sir Hugh Rose to welcome the maharajah back to the capital of his dominions, into which, on the 20th of the month, he was escorted in state, attended by Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Hugh Rose and staff, and by all the troops in camp. At this moment it was believed that the fort of Gwalior, which commanded the town, had been evacuated by the rebels; and it is evident that due precaution had not been taken to verify the fact until almost too late. Thus, as the cavalcade passed slowly through one of the principal streets of the city, a shot from the walls threw the actors in the pageantry into some confusion. Fortunately, no harm ensued. A short time before the procession entered the town, it had become known to Lieutenant Rose, of the 28th Bombay native infantry, stationed at the Kotwalee, that some Ghazees were still remaining in the fort; but finding they did not exceed from ten to fifteen persons, he proposed (in the absence of his superior officer) to Lieutenant Waller, of the same corps, to go up with their party of sepoy, and take the fort by storm. The brother-officer agreed. Taking a blacksmith with them to force the outer gate, they rushed toward the entrance, which, within the enclosure of the rampart, is toward the north end of the east side, first by means of a steep road, and higher up by steps cut in the face of the rock, of such a size and moderate degree of acclivity, that ele-

phants easily make their way up. This huge staircase was protected on the outside by a wall, and was swept by several traversing guns. Gaining this passage without the slightest resistance, they then forced five gates in succession, and gained the summit of the fort unhurt. Here they separated their little band of twenty into two bodies; and while Waller's party attacked and shot some men who had fired into the town, and had worked a gun at them during their ascent; Rose's followers cut up another party of the rebels, after a desperate hand-to-hand fight on one of the bastions. From this encounter the gallant officer escaped without a wound; but immediately afterward, while turning to speak his men, of whom he had got in advance, he was shot through the body, from behind a wall, by a Pathan, said to be Raheen Ali of Bareilly, who then emerging from his concealment, rushed upon the wounded officer, and inflicted two severe cuts with a tulwar. Turning from the prostrate officer, the infuriated rebel rushed toward Lieutenant Waller and his party, but was pierced with balls before he could strike a blow. The wounds of Lieutenant Rose unfortunately proved mortal; and the memory of his daring, and the successful achievement by which the fort was thrown open to its sovereign and his British allies, was thus recorded by Brigadier Stuart (to whose division the gallant officer belonged), in the following general order:—

“Brigadier Stuart has received, with the deepest regret, a report of the death of Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay native infantry, who was mortally wounded yesterday on entering the fort of Gwalior, on duty with his men. The brigadier feels assured that the whole brigade unites with him in deploring the early death of this gallant officer, whose many sterling qualities, none who knew him could fail to appreciate.”

The Hindoo prince, known by his designation of Scindia, in whose behalf the force under Sir Hugh Rose was thus successfully employed, represented in his person the most considerable of the native powers; as, although not in reality at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, he was the strongest member of that great league. The relations which the various branches

of that mighty clan, of which he was a chief, had successively entered into with the Company's government, were not a little remarkable. The true prince of the Mahrattas, by descent, was the rajah of Sattara, with whose claims the British public were not unacquainted, in consequence of the efforts made on his behalf in parliament, some ten years previous to the time referred to. The position, however, of that sovereign family had been usurped by its ministers, with one of whom (Bajee Rao, under the title of *Peishwa*) the Indian government came finally into collision in the year 1818. The result of this, was the defeat and submission of Bajee Rao, who agreed to relinquish every political right or claim to the sovereignty, in exchange for an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees, and an asylum at Bithoor—a place of sanctity near Cawnpore. The dethroned *Peishwa*, at his death, left no lawful heir; but a pretender to his rights, by adoption, appeared in the person of Nana Sahib, whose disappointment at the non-recognition of his claim, was alleged to be the cause of his hostility to the Company's government. The rajah of Berar, another Mahratta chief, had died recently without issue, and his dominions had lapsed, in default of heirs, to the Company; and of the great Mahratta stock, once so formidable, but three princes now survived to exercise territorial sovereignty under British protection—the Guicowar at Baroda, Holkar at Oojein, and Scindia at Gwalior.

When the mutinies broke out in the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, in May, 1857, Scindia and Holkar, whose territories were conterminous, and closely adjacent to the disturbed districts, remained as we have seen, faithful to their engagements with the Company; and the former, who was by far the more powerful of the two, displayed considerable judgment as well as loyalty in the policy he pursued. In virtue of the arrangements subsiding between himself and the Company's government, he had maintained, from the revenues of his principality, a compact and well-disciplined force of between five and six thousand men, as a "contingent" available in aid of the Bengal army. This force was organized and officered exactly

like the sepoy regiments in the service of the Company; and it had proved true to its model in all respects, by joining the mutiny at a very early opportunity. At the time of its defection, the safety of British India trembled in the balance; and had that body of well-armed and well-disciplined men been conducted by an able leader toward either Delhi, Agra, or Lucknow, the consequences at the moment might have been disastrous in the extreme; but Scindia's measures in this emergency were taken with great ability. Like other native princes in his position, he retained in his pay, and under his independent control, a large military force over and above the "contingent" due to the Bengal establishment; and this force he played off against the mutineers.

The departure of the mutinous contingent at length left Scindia with what may be termed his own private army, in his capital city of Gwalior; where, notwithstanding its proximity to Kotah and Jhansie (two of the strongholds of the rebels), and the general disorganization that pervaded the adjacent country, he for a long time maintained himself in perfect security and unshaken allegiance to British rule; but the moment at last arrived when the fidelity of his army gave way before the calls made upon it by the discomfited bands from Jhansie and Kotah; and Scindia, despite a valiant resistance, was compelled to fly from his capital, to which he now returned with untarnished honor, and strengthened claims to the confidence of the British government.

The restoration of Scindia to his throne, with all the *prestige* of triumph and of Oriental pomp that circumstances would admit of at the moment, was considered necessary, as showing to his people that the British government would promptly and firmly support a faithful ally, and also as an encouragement to other native princes to remain faithful. It was also necessary that the victors should be enabled to judge, from his information on the spot, who among the inhabitants of the capital had merited punishment, or were justly entitled to reward; and it was deemed a favorable augury, that in the course of the progress of the maharajah from the camp to the palace, the people

who lined the streets manifested unequivocal symptoms of rejoicing at the restoration of their prince. Immediately upon the ceremonial being concluded, the officers of the court resumed their duties. The harem of Scindia arrived in safety; and by the night of the 22d of June, few traces of the revolution were apparent in the palace of the maharajah.

The fall of Gwalior had a most excellent effect throughout the surrounding districts. Rebels who were looking out in Etawah, Agra, and Mynpoorie, for opportunity to rise and strike while the English troops should be concentrated and engaged before the city, now quietly subsided into a prudent inactivity. Lal Sing, the rebel chief of the last-named district, surrendered himself voluntarily to the authorities at Agra, only stipulating for a trial before execution; and throughout the North-Western Provinces there prevailed a general change of tone among the natives.

The pursuit and dispersion of a portion of the Gwalior mutineers, by Brigadier Napier, has already been mentioned; but the remainder of them had also to be disposed of. This division of the fugitive army, estimated at from five to six thousand in number, had followed Tantia Topee, who, after his last defeat, led them across the Chumbul, past Shree Muttra and Hindoun, and thence made toward Jeypoor and Bhurt-pore, two principal cities of the Rajpoot states, where he expected to receive important aid from the discontented chieftains of the district. This leader carried with him the crown jewels, and an immense treasure belonging to the Scindia, with which for some time he was enabled to keep his soldiers together by pay and gratuities; but, for a considerable period, his movements were involved in obscurity, and no decisive effort was made by him to disturb the apparent lull that followed the reconquest of Gwalior.

Now that the last stronghold, as it was supposed, of the enemy had fallen, with its guns, ammunition, and stores, into the hands of its rightful owner, there did not at the time appear to be in hand any enterprise of sufficient importance to demand the combined services of the different regiments constituting the

Central India field force; and Sir Hugh Rose, worn out by fatigue and shattered health, through a long continuance of active service in hot weather, in which he had marched from one side of India to the other—had been five times engaged with the enemy, and had captured six strongly fortified towns—once more determined to seek that repose he so much needed, and which he had anticipated the enjoyment of, after the fall of Calpee. At the end of the month, the gallant veteran took leave of the army under his command in the following general order:—

“Head-quarters, Camp, Gwalior, June 30th.

“The major-general commanding being on the point of resigning the command of the Poonah division of the Bombay army,* on account of ill-health, bids farewell to the Central India field force, and, at the same time, expresses the pleasure he feels that he commanded them when they gained one more laurel at Gwalior. The major-general witnessed, with satisfaction, how the troops, and their gallant companions-in-arms, the Rajpootana brigade, under General Smith, stormed height after height, and gun after gun, under the fire of a numerous field and siege artillery, taking finally by assault two eighteen-pounders at Gwalior. Not a man in these forces enjoyed his natural strength or health; and an Indian sun, and months of marching and broken rest, had told on the strongest; but the moment they were told to take Gwalior for their queen and country, they thought of nothing but victory. They gained it, restoring England’s brave and true ally to his throne; putting to complete rout the rebel army; killing numbers of them, and taking from them in the field, exclusive of those in the fort, fifty-two pieces of artillery, all their stores and ammunition, and capturing the city and fort of Gwalior, reckoned the strongest in India. The major-general thanks sincerely Brigadier-general Stuart, C.B., and Brigadier Smith, commanding brigades in the field, for the very efficient and able assistance which they

* The Central India field force was a branch of the Poonah division of the army of the Presidency of Bombay.

gave him, and to which he attributes the success of the day. He bids them and their brave soldiers, once more, a kind farewell. He cannot do so under better aspects than those of the victory of Gwalior."

It was admitted by every one, that the repose so much desired by the major-general had been well earned by five consecutive months of marching, fighting, besieging, and conquering, under an Indian sun. On the 12th of January, 1858, he had assumed command of the Central India field force at Sehore. On the 23d he captured the town of Ratghur; on the 28th he defeated the enemy in the field; and on the 30th, captured the fort of Ratghur. On the 7th of February he relieved Saugor; on the 9th, captured the fort of Garra Kotah; and on the 3d of March, forced the pass of Mundenpore; and, during the following week, captured a series of strongholds that gave him uninterrupted command of Bundelcund. On the 10th he captured and burnt Churkaree, and occupied Tal Beehat. The 1st of April he signalized by the defeat of the army of Tantia Topee, near Jhansie; and on the 3d he followed up that victory by the capture of Jhansie itself, crowning the exploit, on the 7th, by storming the fort, and dispersing the rebel army. On the 7th of May he captured the fort of Konch; and, on that day, thrice fell from his horse from sun-stroke. The 20th found him engaged in a severe contest near Calpee, which resulted in his driving the rebels into the fort, which, on the 23d, he took possession of. On the 16th of June he again defeated the enemy near Gwalior; and on the 18th and 19th, captured the town and fortress; and, on the 20th, restored Scindia to the throne. With the exception of Havelock, there was no general engaged in the war of the revolt, whose operations were so numerous, continuous, and uniformly successful, as those of Sir Hugh Rose, who now retired to rest under the shade of those laurels he had so nobly gathered with his brave comrades beneath the scorching sun of India.

By the time the recovery of Gwalior had been effected, that stage of the Indian year approached when the periodical rains

would intervene to establish, as it were, an armistice, or rather an interval of compulsory inactivity, which afforded the adverse parties leisure to recruit their strength, and mature their plans of future operation. The unbroken chain of successes hitherto pursued by the British troops, was not yet likely to terminate in the complete pacification of the country. Tantia Topee and the nawab of Banda were still at large, beating up for adherents; and the whereabouts of the prime instigator to rebellion, Nana Sahib, was still unknown to the authorities, despite the enormous reward of £10,000, which had been offered for his capture, dead or alive; but which, hitherto, had produced no useful result. It should also be noticed that, while matters in the Upper Provinces certainly had acquired an improved appearance, the rebels, in detached parties, were still occasioning considerable trouble in Lower Bengal. In Buxar, cutting down the jungle had ceased for a time, as the rebels were reported to have left it; and Colonel Douglass, with his force, proceeded toward Benares; but he had scarcely advanced more than one march on the route, when he was recalled to Buxar, as the dispersed rebels took advantage of his absence and had re-occupied the jungle. About the same time, another body of mutineers attacked Gya, and the European residents had to retreat into the intrenchments. After plundering the bazaar, they went to the jail, and released one hundred and fifty prisoners. The Nujeebs, in whose charge they were, offered no resistance; and the rebels shortly after left the town without committing further depredations, in marked contrast to their conduct at other places, where they traced their progress by frightful atrocities, and by mutilating or slaying the natives in government employ.

The subjugation of Gwalior, and the reinstatement of Rao Scindia in his paternal dominions, were facts in reality of much greater importance than at first sight was apparent. That the rebels, after being everywhere defeated and dispersed, would make for Gwalior as a point of concentration, might have been foreseen; and the maharajah evidently entertained such opinion when he repeatedly applied for aid to the governor-general,

even to the extent of only half a regiment, to enable him to hold out against such an anticipated attempt. Gwalior being the key to the Southern Mahratta country, if the city and fort had remained for any length of time in the possession of the enemy, the flame of rebellion would have been kindled throughout the western presidency, where it was believed all the elements for an outbreak were ripe for action. Moreover, with Gwalior in the possession of the insurgents, Agra would have been in imminent danger; and no troops could be spared for a contingency that might or might not happen, while an actual necessity existed for their presence in a distant quarter.

The Central India field force was entirely broken up after the triumphant restoration of the maharajah. For a short time, the 95th regiment remained quartered in the rock fort; and two of the Queen's regiments of infantry, and one Bombay regiment, with detachments of cavalry and artillery, occupied the Morar cantonments. At Jhansie, the 3d Bombay Europeans, and 24th Bombay native infantry, with some cavalry and artillery, were stationed. The Rajpootana brigade, which, under Brigadier Smith, had rendered good service in the siege of Gwalior, was distributed in three portions—one remaining at the latter place, the others occupying Sepree and Goonah. These troops positively needed a respite from the arduous duty they had so long and so well performed; and to General Roberts, who held command of the disposable force in Rajpootana, was entrusted the task of intercepting the flight or progress of any rebel force that might still be scattered over the country.

Such, however, was the general aspect of affairs at the end of June, that, even at Calcutta, it was believed the Indian rebellion was at an end, and that little remained to be accomplished beyond the suppression of brigandage, and the re-establishment of order. The insurrection had certainly lost its most alarming characteristics, and had dwindled from the dimensions of a great military revolt to the limit of mere local disorders. No longer did the *prestige* of an organized and active rebellion exist, and no leader of note was known to be abroad with any military force of importance. "Matters," said a telegram of

the 25th of June, "seem settling down in all parts of India" Of the popular chiefs, some had paid the penalty of their folly and crimes, like the princes of Delhi; some were slain in the field, like Koer Sing and the ranee of Jhansie; and others had fallen by the hands of their own countrymen, as the moulvie of Fyzabad. Of those who at this time survived and were at liberty, not one held the command of any important fortress, or city, or garrison. Feroze Shah, the agile boaster, whose only claim to notice, beyond the marked cowardice he had exhibited, rested upon the fact that he was now the last of the Mogul princes to lift a sword against the British rule, dared not quit the hiding-place he had found after his flight from Bareilly; while Nana Sahib still continued to conceal himself so effectually that no one even could surmise where he might be found. Of all the notorieties among the rebel leaders, Tantia Topee was now the only one from whose determined hostility and military enterprise danger was likely to spring; and he was known to be a fugitive in the midst of a broken and discomfited army, without guns or material of war. With regard to the Nana, it certainly was a remarkable fact, that a man on whose head so magnificent a sum had been set, should have escaped capture to this time. Fourteen months had nearly elapsed since the perpetration of his atrocities at Cawnpore, and eleven since the recovery of Delhi had replaced the British government in its capacity of conqueror and master. For nearly a year, therefore, it had not only enjoyed the renown of victory, but had had the command, more or less, of the territories in which the miscreant had lain concealed; and yet he had been ever successful in eluding pursuit or discovery. It was hardly certain that his route had once been correctly tracked, although his person was well known; and there were grounds for believing that he had been present at Lucknow, at Calpee, and at Bareilly. The circle was, however, now contracting around him and his confederates in crime; and sanguine anticipations were indulged, that the last asylum furnished by the wild and but half-cultivated region in which he was now sheltered, would speedily be destroyed.

The Presidency of Bengal, at the period of which we write, consisted of three main divisions of territory, which materially differed from each other in condition. One of these was formed by the country to the east of Oude; a second, by that to the west of the same province; and the third, by that hotbed of rebellion, Oude itself. It could warrant no reflection on the progress of the British arms, that this central district—the home of the sepoy class of the revolted Bengal army—was yet subdued; for its landholders and cultivators still refused allegiance to the British government: many, or rather most, of its territorial chiefs had been, or were, in arms against the Company's rule; and the entire province was still in a state, if not of active insurrection, at least of latent anarchy. In Oude was held the capital with a European garrison superior to all the levies of the country, and the British could march out of Lucknow with a force sufficient to conquer and scatter abroad any assemblage of rebels that might venture to stand before it. To the east of Oude, in the old provinces of Bahar and Bengal, trifling disturbances occasionally demanded repression; but these were merely local, and did not exceed the usual magnitude of gang-robbery and marauding. To the west of Oude, however, the spectacle was more satisfactory. The vast country comprising the districts of Rohilcund and Delhi, which had been the original seat of the rebellion, the scene of its first outbreak, and of its most desperate struggles, was now perfectly tranquil, well ordered, well organized, and well controlled. This division of territory had been attached to the government of the Punjab, held by Sir John Lawrence; and Delhi, under his prudent administration, had become as peaceable as Lahore.

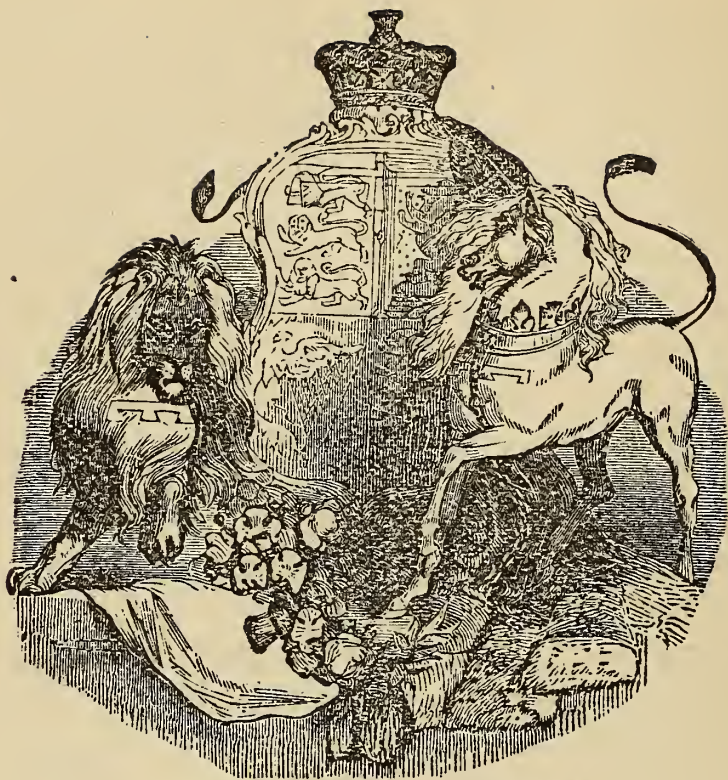
In closing this chapter with a brief glance at the state of the insurgent leaders and of the country at Midsummer, 1858, it may be fitly observed that, considering at the like period, twelve months previous, 150,000 well-organized soldiers were in arms against British rule—that they had possession of the chief arsenal of the country, and that every thing gave prospect of a protracted and perhaps chequered struggle; it was certainly surprising that opportunities so extensive should not

have brought forward any one example of political or military ability in the ranks of the insurgents. Not in all that immense army did there exist a single native general, though India had ever been, and still was, the country of successful soldiers and flourishing adventurers, comprising desperadoes of all the most promising races in the world. Arabs, Affghans, Malays, and Persians—the free lances of Oriental service, the representatives of Eastern conquerors, swarmed by thousands in the native courts and armies of the country; and yet not one soldier worthy of the name had stepped from the crowd. No Sivajee!—no Hyder Ali!—no Runjeet Sing had appeared on the scene. Koer Sing was said to have shown the nearest approach to military science in his movements; but the other rebel leaders had proved utterly worthless. The Khan Bahadour Khan, who had been raised to the chief command during the brief occupancy of Delhi by the rebels, had his brain turned by an overpowering sense of the responsibility imposed upon him; and it is scarcely possible to be accurate as to the individual leaders at Calpee, at Cawnpore, or at Gwalior, and other scenes of serious conflict. If any distinction was achieved at all, in a military sense, by the rebel chiefs, it was achieved by women rather than by men!—by the ranee of Jhansie, and the begum of Oude! The native troops, whose treacherous revolt had carried fire and sword through the country, were virtually without a leader for any purpose of combined strategy. They certainly remembered the words of command, and the evolutions of a parade. They retained the impress of discipline and organization so tenaciously, that regiments and brigades hung together until utterly broken up by defeat and dispersion. Thus they could go through all the forms of camp or garrison duty; but, in their campaigning, there was no life—no master-spirit to guide them. They never made a strategic movement!—never succeeded in an assault, and scarcely ever repelled one. As events showed, they could not even keep stone walls when attacked. Thus they held Delhi only until the heavy guns came up and effected a breach. Lucknow they abandoned after a faint struggle; and Gwalior they fled from

without defending it at all. They had been beaten in masses wherever they dared stand before the armies of Retribution; and the survivors of the immense force were now dispersed over the country in comparatively insignificant bands, whose only means of annoyance consisted in carrying on a sort of guerilla warfare, until, in the course of events, the whole should be exterminated.

It has already been observed, that the glorious army which had toiled so long and so successfully against the concentrated force of the great rebellion which had now expended its energies, and languished into a mere series of local annoyances, was at length about to rest from its labors, and to take much needed shelter from the sun and the rains; while the veterans in its ranks might recruit their strength, and the young among them learn discipline in the season of forced repose that awaited them. There was, however, no respite for the commander-in-chief, or for his staff, whose watchful care was required in every direction, in organizing arrangements for the distribution and accommodation of the troops, as well as in precautionary measures for the repression of any attempts that the enemy might be induced to make against the various outlying stations and lines of communication during the rains, to say nothing of the labor necessarily devoted to the arrangement of plans for an ensuing campaign, should circumstances render it inevitable. We have already shown that much had been accomplished; still, much remained to be done before the sword could be sheathed. The state of Oude was still not satisfactory; its chiefs and population were yet hostile, and had rejected the offers of reconciliation and forgiveness. They had refused to accept either the terms offered by the governor-general in his original proclamation, or the more liberal conditions the commissioner had been empowered to grant them; and were resolved to risk the chances of a guerilla war, and to try the effect of an armed opposition to the introduction of civil power into their territories; and the gage being thus thrown down, no course was left to the British government but to crush and politically exterminate those who had defied its power and

scorned its mercy. Oude had not only now to be conquered, but to be occupied militarily—its forts to be laid in ruins—its chiefs brought to utter and acknowledged subjection—its population disarmed, and its social state entirely reconstituted. The task yet reserved for the army might be arduous and tedious, but it could now scarcely be called dangerous; for, from the enemy in the open field, there was no longer any thing to dread; but in the multifarious operations in which the troops, split into numerous small columns, were likely to be engaged—each depending for success upon the judgment of its individual leader—there were certainly grounds for apprehension. There was not, at this time, in Central India, in the North-West Provinces, or in Bengal, any assemblage of the enemy which had the slightest pretension to be called an army. In one short campaign, Sir Colin Campbell had tranquillized the Doab, crushed the Gwalior contingent, taken Lucknow, overrun Oude for a time with movable columns, wrested Rohilcund, from the rebels, and re-established the civil rule of the Company in many of its old sites of power; while his lieutenants had restored the *prestige* of the British name in Central India, had pacified large provinces, laid waste the strongholds and haunts of numerous hostile chieftains, and had broken up every band which met them in arms—seizing their guns, and dispersing them in helpless flight. Between the beginning of the mutiny in May, 1857, and the close of June, 1858, not less than 30,000 of the rebellious soldiers of the native army had been slain in the field, had died of their wounds, or had perished of diseases incident to the war. From 8,000 to 10,000 armed men, and refractory inhabitants of the towns and villages, had also perished in encounters with the troops; and of those shot, blown away from guns, or hanged, pursuant to the sentences of civil or military courts, the number had been frightfully great. The result of this wholesome weeding-out had, however, established the fact, that the sepoy rebels had disappeared as organized bodies; and the principal enemies which our troops had thenceforth to contend with, were simply matchlockmen and irregular horse, without a single leader of note to command them.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—CLOSING SCENES OF THE REBELLION.

WHILE the rebellion in India was being slowly but surely brought to a final conclusion, a very important change in the government of that country was under discussion in the British parliament. Lord Palmerston having given notice of the intention of the government to transfer from the East India Company the government of India, the Court of Directors addressed a very long and strong petition and remonstrance to the House of Commons, with a view to avert the coming change, but without effect.

On Friday February 12th, 1858, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty's dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he

said, not out of any hostility to the Company on any ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company's political authority, he observed, had not been conferred; it had grown up gradually and accidentally from small beginnings—factories extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the obvious inconveniences incident to the double government by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial, but check and counter-check might be so multiplied as to paralyze action; and he thought it was desirable that this cumbrous machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should vest where the public thought complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be confined to a change of the administration at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India, the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other territories of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India, the president to be a member of the cabinet, and the councilors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final; but that if the councilors dissented from his opinion, they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes; and on matters con-

cerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councilors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves; that the president should be placed upon the footing of a secretary of state, and that the councilors should have salaries of £1,000 a-year. It was proposed that while all the powers now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council, all appointments in India now made by the local authorities should continue to be so made; that the president should be authorized to appoint one secretary capable of sitting in that house; but it was not proposed that the councilors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local councils likewise would be made by the governor-general. Arrangements had already been made by which writerships were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the president of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee, it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of the Indian government, and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue, and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his

conviction that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India, would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties toward the people of India which it was intended that this nation should perform.

After long and animated debates on the subject, and a change of ministry, a bill differing in some important respects to that described by Lord Palmerston, was finally passed, and the Queen issued her proclamation, formally announcing the change in the government; and promising an amnesty to all "save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects."

The amnesty offered in the Queen's proclamation was soon found to be slowly but surely thinning the ranks of the rebels; and there was good reason for believing that the whole country would be restored to peace without much additional bloodshed. On the 4th of November, a force, commanded by Lord Clyde in person, having marched sixty-one miles in sixty hours, completely defeated Bene Mahdo, Sing, and a large army of rebels, at Dundeca Klara nearly opposite Suttehpore; the enemy was driven out of the dense jungle, and afterward chased for miles by guns and cavalry; their loss was enormous; many were drowned in the Ganges. Bene Mahdo fled down the river Oomrao. Sing escaped toward Cawnpore road. The rabble threw away their arms, and fled to the steep ravines in which the Younsky abounds. Bene Mahdo was at Doleemou Ghat, on the Ganges.

On the 7th of December, Tantia Toppee had been defeated with severe loss. Vigorous efforts were on foot to catch him. Maun Singh had been defeated in Bundelcund by Brigadier Smith, with great slaughter. The Oude Talookdars were coming in everywhere. The enemy had also been defeated with loss at Goontee by General Grant. An insurrection, on a small scale, had occurred in Burmah.

In Oude, quiet prevailed on the 24th of December. The large rebel force on the north side of the Gogra had dwindled

down and attached themselves to the Nana and Begum. These, with Bene Mahdo, had gone northward in the Serai.

Lord Clyde was at Nanparah on the 24th ult., when a large party of rebels, including a Prince and a son of Umpseed Allee Shah, and some 250 women, came into camp.

Many men of rank in the Begum's camp, had returned to Lucknow. The forts throughout the country were being rapidly dismantled, and the disarming of the people was progressing.

In Rajpootana, on the 17th of December, General Napier defeated, and pursued with slaughter for eight miles, the rebels under Feroze Shah. Six elephants and many horses were captured. Captain Prettyjohn and ten men were wounded.

On the 20th of December, Lieutenant Stack, Bombay Cavalry, was attacked, between Goonah and Seronge, by Feroze Shah's cavalry, numbering 1,500. Three lancers were killed, and some camels' baggage taken.

On the 23d of December, at Goonah, the troops under Captain Mayne, surprised the rebels under Feroze Shah, near Jhajpoor, in a dense jungle. A few were killed, and the rest dispersed. One hundred horses, several camels, and much clothing, were captured. No loss on our side.

The rebels under Tantia Topee advanced on the 24th of December to attack Pertabghur in three divisions, commanded by Tantia, the Rao, and Raheem Allee. They were met and repulsed by the Neemuch Field Detachment. One of their leaders was killed, and two elephants were captured. The main body retreated toward Banswara.

The rebels under Tantia Topee were engaged near Pertabghur, on the 25th of December, by a British detachment, and repulsed. They lost two elephants, retreated eastward, were overtaken by Colonel Benson, 17th Lancers, after five days' pursuit, at Zeerapoor, beyond Guonal, were routed with much slaughter, and lost six elephants. Colonel Somerset, a few days after, overtook Tantia near Burrad, in Kotah, and again defeated him.

General Napier reported Tantia making beyond Tonk, to-

ward Jeypoor, to join Feroze Shah. A force was detached from Ajmere to Madharajpooora to prevent this junction.

Some rebels from Indore were reported near Soosner, on the 28th of December. They had come from Dug, and were going to Machilpooa. Colonel Benson was in pursuit. Intelligence had been since received of elephants and property captured by his force. Tantia (from Sir Robert Napier's report of the 30th,) passed Goonah on the 28th of December. Troops under General Napier were warned and on the alert.

On the 22d of December, at Kirwee, in the Banda district, the former residence of rebels, Narain Rao Madho Rao was attacked by Bundelcund rebels under Raho Govind, and the garrison shut up in the palace; but the rebels left on the 26th, having heard of the rapid advance of General Whitlock. On the 29th, the general attacked them four miles from Kirwee, and completely dispersed them. Three hundred were killed, and all their guns, elephants, many horses, and cattle were taken.

A body of Rohillas, 2000 strong, having plundered Adjuntah, two regiments of Hyderabad cavalry, serving in the valley of the Nerbudda, were ordered to the Nizam's territory to restore tranquillity.

The creation of the Punjaub into a separate governorship, is thus announced in the Governor-General's *Gazette*, dated Allahabad, January 3d:—

“Under authority received from her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the Right Honorable the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to resolve that a separate Lieutenant-Governorship for the territories on the extreme northern frontier of her Majesty's Indian Empire shall be established; and that the Punjaub, the tract commonly called the ‘Trans-Sutlej States,’ the ‘Cis-Sutlej States,’ and the ‘Delhi Territory,’ shall form the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Right Honorable the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has been pleased to appoint the Honorable Sir John Lawrence, Bart., G. C. B., to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of the ‘Punjaub and its Dependencies’ ”

Toward the last of February, 1858, in Oude, the campaign on the borders of Nepaul had not yet made any considerable progress. It was on the 8th of February that Brigadier Horsford, in obedience to Lord Clyde's orders, crossed the Raptée, in the neighborhood of Bankee. He was reinforced previously to making this movement by the 1st Bengal Europeans from Beyram Ghaut and the Kumaon battalions, both regiments having been diverted from the destination assigned to them by the late relief. On the 10th, after a short march up the defile through which the Raptée falls into the plains, the enemy's advanced position was attacked and captured without loss on the British side, the rebels taking flight at their approach, and leaving in their hands fourteen guns and a mortar. The main body of the insurgents was thirty miles to the eastward, on the northern declivity of the hills facing Brigadier Rowcroft's camp at Liswa.

Tantia Topee was discovered, on the 4th of February, to have reached a place between Erinpoora and Joudhpore, on the way to Pahlunpoor. Pahlunpoor is within a short distance of Deesa, and accordingly a force went out from thence, under Colonel Kelly, to pursue the rebels. Brigadier Holmes, at the same time, was following in Tantia's rear; and General Michel, who had reached Nusseerabad, started again from thence on the 14th.

The forts of Buswuntnugger and Digrus were taken without a blow by a detachment from Brigadier Hill's force on duty in North Berar. In fact, the Rohilla war was at an end, and Sir Hugh Rose had nothing more to do but to recall his troops and distribute them into quarters, as Lord Clyde had done in Oude. The Rohillas, cowed as they are, will only give trouble in future to the Nizam's Government, whose authority they systematically set at naught.

In Khandeish the remnants of the Bheels under Bheema Naik were severely punished. Several fugitives, discovered to be sepoys, came in starving, and gave themselves up to Lieut. Atkins, at Shadah.

Maun Sing still held out in the jungles west of Narghur in

Gwalior, and defied Sir Robert Napier. General Whitlock made a triumphant entry with his division into Rewa, whose wavering rajah came out in state to meet him. The 3d Bengal Native Infantry, the only regiment which not only did not join the mutiny, but rendered important services, was ordered to Rohilcund from Saugor.

In the Punjaub, the Sikh artillery corps were abolished, as well as the Towannah levies. The gunners were offered the option of serving in the police corps, and some of them accepted the offer. The disarmed 33d Bengal Native Infantry was rearmed on the 17th of January.

Tranquillity continued to prevail throughout Oude, and the disarming of the province progressed rapidly. On the 12th of March, 378 cannons and 975,000 arms of all kinds had been collected, while 756 forts had been entirely levelled. The Begum and the Nana were still in the Nepaul Terai. On the 9th of March, Brigadier Horsford took fourteen guns from the rebels on the Nepaul frontier; he was but slightly opposed, and suffered no loss. Mr. C. J. Wingfield assumed charge of the office of Chief Commissioner from Mr. Montgomery on the 15th of March.

The rebels in Central India, under Tantia Topee, were now reported to be making for Pertabgurh. They were at Antoolah on the 17th, and burnt Gassoonda, south-west of Jeerun, on the 19th. On the 18th four generals, several other officers, and 600 men of the rebel force, gave themselves up to the Rajah of Bikaner.

The troops of the Punnah Rajah attacked and defeated a body of rebels at Alove on the 10th.

The following summary of the last news received from India, shows clearly that the game is at last played out.

“Maun Singh has surrendered to the British forces.

“Tantia Topee has been captured after a desperate struggle, in which 500 of the rebels were killed.”

The news from India was received by telegram from the British Consul at Alexandria.

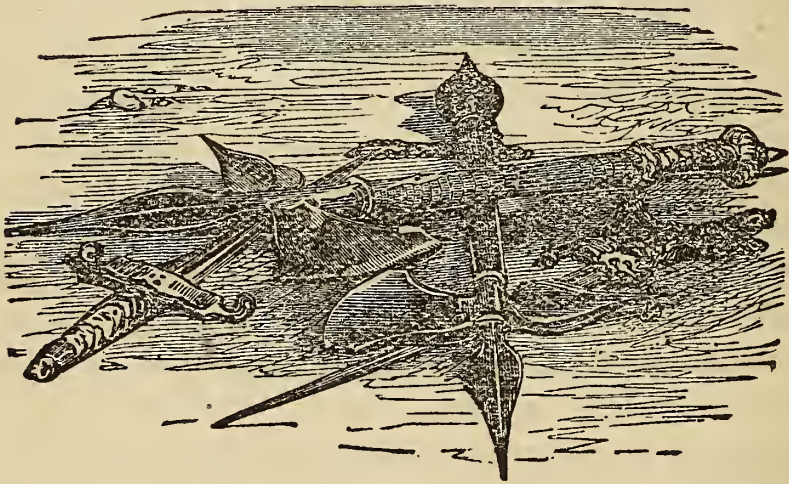
On the 2d of Apri', Maun Singh surrendered to Major Meades five columns of his forces at Manandia.

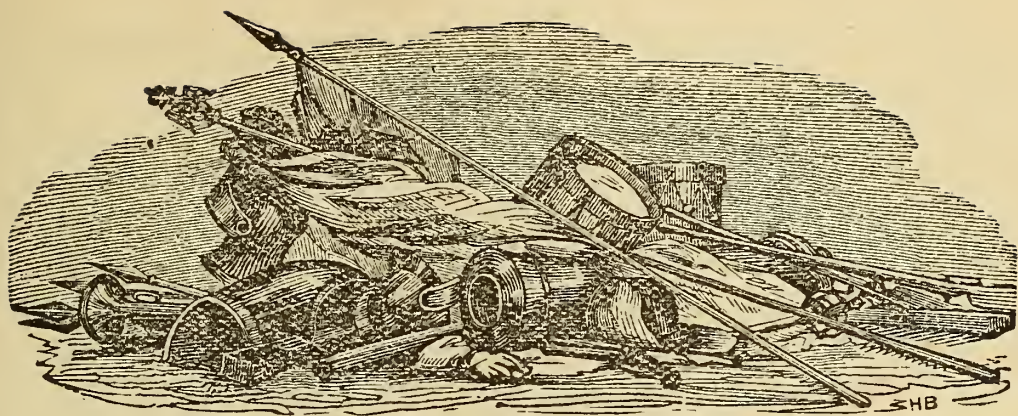
Tantia Topee was captured on the 8th by that force, assisted by Maun Singh himself.

Cols. De Salles and Riches, by a combined movement, attacked the rebels in the front and rear. In one fight, 500 were killed, including three officers. The chiefs, however, escaped.

A body of the rebels are still at Nepaul.

Sir R. Shakspeare succeeds Sir R. Hamilton. He is now in Oude.





MEMOIR OF SIR HENRY HAVELOCK.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, Bart., K. C. B., who died in the zenith of his fame, and who has bequeathed to his countrymen a name that will long be kept as a household word in the homes of England and of India,—was a native of Bishopswearmouth, near Sunderland, where he was born on the 5th of April, 1795. He was the second of four sons of William Havelock, Esq., of Ingress-park, near Greenhithe, Kent, the descendant and representative of a family that had long flourished near Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire. Educated at the Charter-house, at the period when that school was in the full tide of its prosperity, under the head-mastership of Dr. Russell, young Havelock numbered among his schoolfellows many whose names were destined, like his own, to shed lustre upon the annals of their country. A *soubriquet*, “philosopher,” by which he was distinguished among his companions, was applied in consequence of his gentle, meditative disposition, and quiet manner—seldom taking part in the boisterous pastimes of the playground, but ever ready, with friendly offices and kind words, to soothe down the asperities of his more excitable and impulsive companions. In course of time the appellation diminished to “Phlos,” and occasionally he was addressed as “Old Phlos.” Few, perhaps, who thus knew that thoughtful, unobtrusive boy, would have believed it possible that, in the “Old Phlos” of the Charter-house, they beheld the future hero

of Cawnpore and Lucknow—the noble victor of unnumbered fields.

While young Havelock was still at the Charter-house, a change came over the fortune of his family, that rendered his withdrawal from that establishment a measure of prudence. After a short interval, the youth was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, it being supposed that the law held out for him the fairest prospect of advancement. Here he attended the lectures of Chitty, the eminent pleader, and formed an intimate friendship with the no less eminent Talfourd. But the profession chosen for him was not to the taste of his noble nature, which could not be moulded to any affinity with a life-long career of sophistry and chicane, and to a sense of honor that could be regulated by the amount of a fee. Moreover, though mild in disposition, an indoor occupation did not accord with his temper. He pined for a life of action and enterprise; and, in a short time, he could exultingly say with Norval—

“Heaven soon granted what my sire denied.”

The elder brother of Henry Havelock, who was in the army, had gained distinction in the Peninsula, and was mentioned in the dispatches of his illustrious chief as even then, in his mere youth, “one of the most chivalrous officers in the service.”* This officer was wounded at Waterloo, where he acted as aide-de-camp to General Baron Alten; and he possessed a sufficient

* The following anecdote of this young officer is recorded in Napier's *Peninsular War*, vol. vi., p. 265:—“The Spaniards stopped, and though the adventurer Downie, now a Spanish general, encouraged them with his voice, and they kept their ranks, they seemed irresolute, and did not advance. There happened to be present an officer of the 43d regiment, named Havelock, who, being attached to General Alten's staff, was sent to ascertain Giron's progress. His fiery temper could not brook the check. He took off his hat, called the Spaniards to follow him, and, putting spurs to his horse, at one bound cleared the *abattis*, and went headlong among the enemy. Then the soldiers, shouting for ‘*El chico blanco*’ (the fair boy)—so they called him, for he was very young, and had light hair—with one shock broke through the French ranks.” This noble youth terminated a career of honor by a soldier's death, falling at the head of his regiment, the 14th light dragoons, in a desperate but victorious charge on the Sikhs, at the battle of Ramnuggur, November 22d, 1848.

interest and influence to obtain a commission for his brother; and within a few weeks after Waterloo was won, had the satisfaction of seeing him gazetted to a second lieutenancy in the Rifle brigade. Unfortunately for the aspirations of the young soldier, peace supervened, and the prospect of active military employment in Europe was obscured. For eight years young Havelock, as a subaltern, was obliged to endure a life of mere military routine in various stations of the United Kingdom.

At length, in 1823, an opportunity was afforded him to exchange into the 13th light infantry, a regiment under orders for Indian service. The necessary steps for effecting this were taken, and Henry Havelock landed at Calcutta toward the close of that year.

In 1827, the first Burmese war broke out, and he served in the campaign against the "Sovereign of the Golden Foot," as deputy assistant-adjutant-general to the forces under Sir Archibald Campbell, and was present at the actions of Napadee, Patnagoa, and Paghan.

Upon the conclusion of the war he was associated with Captain Lumsden and Dr. Knox, in a mission to the court of Ava, and had an audience of the king when the treaty of Yandaboo was signed.

In 1827, he was appointed by Lord Combermere, to the post of adjutant of the military depôt at Chinsurah, on the breaking up of which he returned to his regiment. Shortly after this he visited Calcutta, and, having passed the examination in languages at Fort William, was appointed adjutant of his regiment by Lord William Bentinck. The corps, at that time, was under the command of Colonel (afterward General Sir Robert) Sale.

In 1838, after twenty-three years of service as a subaltern, Lieutenant Havelock was promoted to a company, and attended Sir Willoughby Cotton as one of his staff in the invasion of Affghanistan. He served through the Affghan campaign with increased distinction, and was present with Sir John Keane at the storming of Ghuznee in 1839.

After a short leave of absence, Captain Havelock was sent

to the Punjab in charge of a detachment, and was placed on the staff of General Elphinstone, as Persian interpreter. He next served in Cabul, under Sir Robert Sale, and was present at the forcing of the Khoord-Cabul Pass, the action of Tezeen, and all the other engagements of that force until it reached Jellalabad. In conjunction with Major McGregor and Captain Broadfoot, he had, under Sale, the chief direction of the memorable defense of that place. For his services in Cabul he obtained his brevet majority, and was made a Companion of the Bath.

Having accompanied Generals Pollock and Gough, as Persian interpreter, on one or two expeditions of minor importance, in 1843, we find Major Havelock with the troops at Gwalior, and at the battle of Maharajpore : shortly after which, he obtained the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel ; and, in 1845, he proceeded with Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough to the Sutlej ; and was actively engaged at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. In the first of those engagements he had two horses shot under him, and a third at Sobraon, but himself escaped without a wound.

On the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed deputy-adjutant-general of the Queen's troops at Bombay, and had scarcely received tidings of the appointment when the second Sikh war commenced. His own regiment, the 53d, was ordered up from Bombay to take the field, and had proceeded as far as Indore (nearly 400 miles), when the order was countermanded, and he returned to the duties of his staff appointment.

Lieutenant-colonel Havelock took advantage of a temporary lull in the discordant elements of Asiatic policy, and obtained leave of absence, on sick certificate, to England, where he spent two years, recruiting the health weakened by twenty-six years' continuous service, and returning to India in 1851.

Upon his arrival, through the interest of Lord Hardinge, who had watched his career with admiration, and by whose side he had fought in the three great battles of the Sutlej, he was appointed first, quarter-master-general, and afterward adjutant-general, of the Queen's forces in India, which latter

post he held until the war with Persia broke out at the close of 1856.

On the dispatch of the expedition against Persia, Colonel Havelock was nominated to the command of the second division of the army, and led the troops at Mohammerah. The glory of the action, however, such as it was, was reserved for the naval force employed in the expedition, as the Persian troops ignominiously deserted the field before a gun was fired.

Upon the conclusion of peace with the government to whom such warriors belonged, Colonel Havelock returned to India, and was wrecked off Ceylon, in the *Erin*, on his passage to Calcutta, in April, 1857. An interesting incident of his life is connected with this disaster. When the vessel struck, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, half a gale of wind blowing, Colonel Havelock sprung upon the deck, and seeing some confusion, said in that sharp military tone that always commands attention, "Men, be steady, and all may be saved: but, if we have confusion, all may be lost. Obey your orders, and think of nothing else." They did so; and behaved in the most exemplary manner. The lives of all on board were saved, and on the following day all were landed, together with the mails and specie. Immediately afterward, Colonel Havelock mustered the men on the shore, and said, "Now, my men, let us return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy he has just vouchsafed to us." They all knelt down: he uttered a short prayer of thanksgiving; and then, rising from his knees and looking benignantly upon the companions of his misfortune, he walked away as coolly as if leaving an ordinary parade.*

* At a meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, held at Belfast in the summer of 1857, the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Bonn, repeated the following anecdote, as one he had heard from the lips of Lady Havelock:—"When General Havelock, as colonel of his regiment, was traveling through India, he always took with him a Bethel tent, in which he preached the gospel; and when Sunday came, in India, he usually hoisted the Bethel flag, and invited all men to come and hear the gospel; in fact, he even baptized some. He was reported for this at head-quarters, for acting in a non-military and disorderly manner; and the commander-in-chief, General Lord Gough, entertained the charge; but, with the true spirit of a generous military man, he caused the state of

Upon his arrival at Calcutta, almost the first news that met him was a report of the mutinous outbreak at Meerut and Delhi. Colonel Havelock was not a man to be passed over in the emergency that had arisen, and he was immediately sent up to Allahabad as brigadier, to command the movable column employed against the rebel force under Nana Sahib. His subsequent victories over the Nana's troops, including several pitched battles with numbers far superior to his own, crowned by the action of July 16th, at Cawnpore, and his continuous successes until his arrival at Lucknow, have been recorded in the preceding pages.

For his first exploits in the early summer of 1857, Brigadier-general Havelock was rewarded with a good-service pension of £100 a-year, all that the commander-in-chief then had in his power to bestow. The gallant officer was subsequently raised to the rank of general, and honors fell thick upon him. By his sovereign, the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath was awarded. The houses of parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 per annum for two lives. The colonelcy of the 3d Buffs was conferred upon him; and the *London Gazette*, of the 26th of November, announced that her majesty had been pleased to elevate him to the baronetcy, as Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow. On the day preceding this announcement, the much and deservedly honored subject of it had passed away from all consciousness of human distinction. In consequence of his demise the day previous to the notification of the baronetcy, a question arose—whether, not having been in actual possession, the title could pass to his descendants? The difficulty was, however, removed by the gracious act of the sovereign; and the *Gazette* of the 19th of January, 1858, announced that

Colonel Havelock's regiment to be examined. The reports descriptive of the moral state of various regiments throughout the presidencies, were obtained and laid before him. These were severally referred to for some time back, and he found that Colonel Havelock's stood at the head of the list; there was less drunkenness, less flogging, less imprisonment in it, than in any other. When that was done, the commander-in-chief said—'Go and tell Colonel Havelock, with my compliments, to baptize the whole army.'

her majesty had been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet to Captain Henry Marshman Havelock, son of the late Major-general Havelock; and had also ordained that the widow of the gallant general should "have, hold, and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence to which she would have been entitled, had her husband survived and been created a baronet." Captain Sir Henry Havelock was promoted to a majority; and the admiration of the public for his deceased parent was expressed by a monument, to be erected by voluntary subscriptions; and a provision for the surviving daughters of the hero of Lucknow, whose bust was placed, by the citizens of London, in the council-chamber of their Guildhall.

General Havelock married, in 1827, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, by whom he had a family of three sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, now Major Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, was born in 1830.

The following extract, from the Rev. William Brock's Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock, contains an account of his peaceful death, with some excellent remarks on the lessons to be drawn from his strongly marked and decisive religious character.

Scarcely had the brave-hearted General reached the comparative repose of the Alum Bagh before it was discovered that he was seriously unwell. He was evincing great satisfaction at the rescue which had been so gloriously accomplished, and accepting with grateful appreciation the marked attention which was paid to him on all sides. It might have been thought that he was only temporarily indisposed; that now his anxieties were so far alleviated, he would presently rally and regain his health.

Such hope, however, was delusive. Symptoms of indigestion first disclosed themselves; but they were presently suppressed, and he was pronounced better. The 20th of November closed upon him with some promise of continuous amendment; but, before midnight, unmistakable signs of dysentery marked their appearance. Every thing was done which medical science

or friendly sympathy could suggest; and, by the forenoon of the 21st, there were indications of improvement.

With characteristic mindfulness of home, one of the first things which he had done on the relief of the Residency was to write to his family. Other letters had indicated great apprehension of what might happen. This letter expresses nothing at which they might have been alarmed.

Prospects were brightening, and he hoped that they should ere long bear away the surviving women and children to a place of safety, and that some of their own most pressing wants would in a measure be supplied. For weeks had they been unable to change any of their garments. Just as they came into the Residency, so had they continued night and day for forty days; harassed incessantly by the enemy, and beset with disease and death, without even the ordinary conveniences whereby they could be bodily refreshed. It would be better now.

Information, too, had reached him of the estimate in which his country held him for his bravery, and of the first of the series of honors which had been conferred on him by the Queen. This was cheering. He was grateful, but as modest and unostentatious as ever. The children were remembered in a kindly message, and their brother, they were assured, though again wounded, was doing well:—

“*Nov.* 19.—Sir Colin has come up with some 5,000 men, and much altered the state of affairs. The papers of the 25th September came with him, announcing my elevation to the Commandership of the Bath for my first three battles. I have fought nine more since. . . . Dear H. has been a second time wounded in the same left arm. This second hit was a musket-ball in the shoulder. He is in good spirits, and is doing well. . . . Love to the children. . . . I do not after all see my elevation in the ‘Gazette,’ but Sir Colin addresses me as Sir Henry Havelock. . . . Our baggage is at Alum Bagh, four miles off; and we all came into this place with a single suit, which hardly any have put off for forty days.”

This was the last letter that Havelock ever wrote. No more would he indite the graver or the pleasanter things for perusal and pleasurable conversation at Bonn. Henceforward the wedding day and the birthdays would pass uncommemorated by the grateful references of the conjugal and parental pen.

The admonitions and encouragements which had been so habitually interspersed with the periodical correspondence of the last seven years had come to a perpetual end. Happily, however, though his counsels and his comforts would never again be administered to his beloved ones, they would hear that his counsels were found pre-eminently trustworthy, and that his comforts triumphantly availed as he passed through the valley of the shadow of death.

It was now generally known that Havelock was very ill. He was not seen about among his companions-in-arms. They missed him the places of military resort. There was sorrow lest, after all his self-sacrificing exertions to rescue others, he should himself succumb.

To further the incipient improvement, it was arranged to move him from the Alumn Bagh to Sir Colin Campbell's camp at the Dilkoosha; the change of air being deemed of great importance at the crisis which he had just reached.

Well aware was he of the danger which was impending. Yet, whilst he felt his jeopardy to be extreme, he was thoroughly at rest. The peace of God which passeth all understanding was keeping his heart and mind through Jesus Christ. Should he be about to pass through the valley of the shadow of death he would fear no evil. Why should he? There were the rod and the staff to comfort him. There was "the Resurrection and the Life" awaiting to be the strength of his heart, and his portion forever. How often had he cheered his brethren by the assurances of life and immortality, when they were in thickest danger. How many times had he talked of Providence, of everlasting purposes, of the keys of Hades and of Death, of the destruction of the last enemy, of departure to be with Christ. With his Bible in his hand had he made good all his exhortations. The believer in the Son of God could

not be too confident of help all-sufficient, whenever he might come to die.

And now, having the self-same Bible before him, he could not be too confident. Where was the sting of death, so far as he was personally concerned? Where any power of harming him? Where any capability of making him ashamed of his hope in Christ? Had not his gracious Lord been once within the power of the last enemy? And what had he done with Him? Had he retained Him within its grasp? Could he boast of perpetual dominion over Him? Was Jesus still amidst the degradation of the Arimathean's tomb?

Oh, how the Christian veteran on his couch understood the triumphant answer to such inquiries! and how, as he remembered his Master's words, "I was dead, but I am alive again; and, behold, I am alive forevermore;" he sang with melody in his heart, "Because He lives, I shall live also!"

True, the earthly house of his tabernacle must be dissolved. The grave would receive THAT into its dark and desolate domain: but it would not receive HIM. He should not die. He should not see corruption. There would be no cessation of his being; no intermission of his existence; no interruption of his life. His consciousness would be continued, as would also his character, and his fellowship and union with Christ. Before his son, who was so considerately attending on him, could say that his father was no more, he would be singing, amidst the exulting impulses of his incipient immortality, "Thanks be unto God, who hath given me the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

So he mused and meditated, mingling faith with what had been so familiar to him in the Scripture readings and exhortations of upward of forty years. As the day so the strength was. He needed, just then, strong consolation. The Master whom he had served and trusted, most amply supplied the need.

The change to the Dilkoosha was a great comfort to the invalid. Further improvement was observed, and, gladly reported. It might be that, though terribly reduced, he would

survive. Only momentary was such a probability. Early on the 22^d the disease assumed a malignant form: and though it inflicted no severe bodily suffering, yet it was evidently rapidly taking away his life.

The confidence of the dying man became more and more profound. To have departed in the midst of his family would have been an alleviation. Thoughts, fond and fatherly, followed one another toward his beloved ones far away on the Rhine. But God had willed that he should not go hence, with their prayerful and sustaining utterances falling gently on his ear. He therefore devoutly acquiesced; and, remembering gracious promises about God's inalienable loving-kindness to the fatherless and the widow, he commended them to the Divine care, and then collected himself to enjoy the abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

The 23^d passed in the calmest submission to the Lord's will. Every faculty was active, and every sensibility of his nature in fullest power. No mere indifference was upon him. It was not because he did not choose to realize his position that he contrived to be at peace. He knew that he was about to make the great transition from the life that now is to that which is to come. He remembered his unworthiness of all God's favors. He was actually conscious, as he was lying there in his prostration, of his personal desert of banishment from God. But then he was in Christ; and, being there, it was impossible he should perish. He must needs have everlasting life.

His illustrious companion, Sir James Outram, having called, he thought it right to say to him what was then upon his mind. "For more than forty years," was his remark to Sir James, "for more than forty years I have so ruled my life, that when death came I might face it without fear."

Often had they faced it together, even during that recent memorable advance for the relief of Lucknow. There, however, God had averted it; but here it was present in all its power, and must be met. "So be it," was the imperturbed response of Outram's comrade; "I am not in the least afraid. To die is gain."

“I die happy and contented,” he kept on saying, knowing whom he had believed, and persuaded that he was able to keep what he had committed to him until that day.

On the 24th his end was obviously near at hand. His eldest son was still his loving and faithful nurse, himself, it should be remembered, a wounded man, and specially needing kindly care. Waiting on his father with unflagging and womanly assiduity, he was summoned to hearken to some parting words.

“Come,” said the disciple thus faithful unto death; “come, my son, and see how a Christian can die.”—And Havelock died.

“HAVING SERVED HIS OWN GENERATION, BY THE WILL OF GOD, HE FELL ON SLEEP.”

On the 25th a grave was prepared for his remains in the Alum Bagh, and Sir Colin Campbell, with his sorrowing comrades who had followed him through so many vicissitudes, buried him out of sight, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection unto eternal life.

“There gleams a coronet of light around our Hero’s brow,
 But of far purer radiance than England can bestow;
 He takes his place among his peers. His peers! And who are they?
 Princes of yon celestial spheres, whom angel hosts obey.
 The heralds have made search, and found his lineage of the best.
 He stands amid the sons of God, a son of God confess’d;
 He wears a glittering, starry cross, called by a monarch’s name;
 That monarch whose ‘Well done’ confers a more than mortal fame.
 Victorious first at Futteypore, victorious at Lucknow,
 The gallant chief of gallant men is *more* than conqueror now;
 For his whole life was one stern fight against so fierce a foe,
 That only superhuman might avails to lay him low.
 And he possess’d a talisman, thro’ which he won the day:
 A blood-red signature which kept the hosts of hell at bay.
 The banner under which he serv’d can never know defeat,
 And so he laid his laurels down at his Great Captain’s feet.
 There rest thee, Christian warrior,—rest from the two-fold strife—
 The battle-field of India, and the battle-field of life!
 Rest in the presence of thy Lord, where trouble may not come,
 Nor thy repose be broken thro’ by sound of hostile drum;

*There, where no scorching sun beats down on the unshelter'd head:
 Where no pale moon keeps mournful watch over the silent dead;
 And when, in God's good time, this page of history shall be turn'd,
 And the bright stars be reckon'd up which in its midnight burn'd,
 Then shall the name of Havelock, the saintly, sage and bold,
 Shine forth engraven thereupon in characters of gold!"*

Our reverence for the memory of this good man constrains us to seek for the lessons which are to be learnt from his eventful life. It would be a reflection on his name, a practical dishonor to his reputation, to let those lessons go unlearned. If, by presenting his example to general attention, we can accomplish good, then we are sure he would have acquiesced in our doing so. If the narrative of his history or the mention of his habits can be made subservient to the formation of sound character and to the maintenance of upright conduct in other men, then we know he would have been content, but not else. Ostentatiousness he abhorred; vain-glory was odious to him; to flattery he was insensible; of himself he never cared to speak. From that distant grave in the Alum Bagh there comes his voice, reminding us of duties which we are sadly prone to neglect, and of privileges which we are far too ready to forego.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND HE SAYS THAT, WHATEVER A MAN'S SECULAR ACTIVITIES, HE OUGHT TO FEAR GOD.

Instantly it will be granted that our secular engagements are not more absorbing than his were. Through the whole period of his manhood he was out prominently before the world, having a good deal more than the ordinary share of harass, and turmoil, and responsibility. There were times, no doubt, when he was comparatively at rest, but very often he had for months scarcely any rest at all, his condition in Affghanistan and Oude to wit:

The condition, however, was virtually immaterial. The first thing anywhere was to seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness. That must be attended to of course. He was not all day long at his Bible, but he invariably pondered some portions of it every day. He was not continually in the outward act of prayer, but he took care, somehow or other, to be alone

both morning and evening, that he might worship and bow down. He was not constantly at church or chapel, but he was there on the Lord's day, and not unfrequently on other days besides. If for these engagements he could not find time, he just made time. Even when so pressed as he was at Jellalabad, he got his comrades who were like-minded with himself together constantly that they might join in worshipping and in commending themselves to God; and when on his heaviest marches it was determined to start at some earlier hour than that which he had allotted to his devotions, he arose quite in time to hold undisturbed his usual fellowship with God. He lived and he died declaring that where there is a will there is a way.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock, as we are contemplating the godliness which was nurtured by communion with God, and which consisted in walking humbly with God,—go and do likewise. When you object the anxieties of your warehouse, remember the anxieties of my tent. When you plead the distractions of your business, remember the distractions of my profession. When you vindicate your irreligiousness by urging the pressure of your occupations night and day, remember the pressure of my occupations at Ghuznee and Lucknow. Through God's grace, I could live godly in Christ Jesus, so, if you will only try, so can you.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND HE SAYS THAT, WHATEVER A MAN'S UNAVOIDABLE ABSENCES FROM HOME, HE OUGHT ASSIDUOUSLY TO CHERISH AFFECTIONATE ATTACHMENT FOR THOSE WHO CONSTITUTE HIS HOME.

It was his lot to be separated for a long time together from his wife and children. A sense of duty left him no alternative. Circumstances necessitated their absence from one another. But mutual attachment was cultivated with most congenial assiduity. The interchange of sympathy between the father in his solitariness on the Ganges or the Jumna, and the mother with her children on the Rhine, was uninterrupted. Letters by almost every mail were both the evidence of well-sustained affection and the generous aliment by which the affection was

increased. No matter how heavy the pressure of his occupations at one time or the agreeableness of his relaxation at another, Havelock must keep up his correspondence with home. None so dear to him on earth as its precious inmates. Nothing in his esteem comparable with the honest reciprocation of their irrepressible and yearning love. He lived and he died evincing the imperativeness and the possibility of maintaining the conjugal and the parental responsibilities untarnished and intact.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock, as you are contemplating his virtuous and honorable married life,—go and do likewise. Repel the intrusion of the wrong, by preoccupying your sensibilities with the right. Preclude the operation of the evil by surcharging your sympathies with the good. Turn off your eyes from beholding vanity by keeping ever before you the images of darling children fondly listening as they are told about their absent father by your lealhearted loving wife.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND HE SAYS, WHATEVER A MAN'S VIRTUES, HE OUGHT TO TRUST FOR HIS SALVATION EXCLUSIVELY TO CHRIST ALONE.

That he was virtuous and reputable is beyond doubt. To a long and most eventful life the reference may be made in confirmation. He was patriotic. He was unselfish. He was forgiving. He was veracious. He was temperate. He was pious. Not many of us should be found surpassing him were investigation to be made into our duties, whether toward God or man. By common consent, he was a sound-minded, a right-hearted and a good-living man.

But he held himself to be personally unworthy of the Divine mercy. By his reading of Holy Scripture he had concluded himself under sin. In more than one point had he offended against God's commandments: thence he was guilty of all. He had not continued in all things written in the book of the law to do them: consequently he was liable to the curse. But that would not befall him, if so be he would believe in Christ as the sacrifice and propitiation for sin. He did believe in Christ. He submitted himself to the righteousness of God.

His sins were forgiven him. He was accepted in the Beloved. He became complete in Christ.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock,—as you are contemplating his quiet confidence in the intercession of our Great High Priest,—go and do likewise. Put no trust in your own doings, for what do they amount to at the best? Have done with all reliance upon your integrity, and your loyalty, and your philanthropy, for in evincing these you have acquired no merit at all; you have simply performed your duty, and nothing more. Be the good father, and the good neighbor, and the good citizen, by all means, but be the penitent sinner, nevertheless. Through God's grace, I renounced dependence upon myself, and went and depended on the Saviour; so—if you try—so can you.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND SAYS THAT, WHATEVER A MAN'S LIABILITIES TO PERSECUTION, HE OUGHT TO ABIDE RESOLUTELY BY HIS CONVICTIONS OF WHAT IS RIGHT.

No secret was it to him that if he confessed Christ before men, he must expect persecution in some or other of its different forms. Not the most congenial with his religious habitudes and predilections would be the associations and companionships of military life. Would he, under such circumstances as his, conceal his evangelic principles, and imitate Joseph of Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews? He revolved the question, thoughtfully, and presently he was ready with his reply. He dared not act clandestinely. He was under paramount obligation to the Lord Christ. Show him that what he meant to do was wrong, and he would instantly leave it undone. Make it evident that it was at least doubtful or premature, and he would postpone it until it could be reconsidered and ascertained; but, once admit that the course which he projected was in itself prescribed by the grace and the providence of God, and an objector might forthwith hold his peace. "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord," was his answer then, "and I cannot go back." The satirist might sting and the sarcastic might exasperate contempt; misrepresentation might attribute his peculiarities to

eccentricity, rather than to principle—to chagrin, rather than to deliberation—to obstinacy, rather than to conscientiousness—to a deeper form of worldly policy, rather than to spirituality of mind; timidity might forebode unpleasant consequences from the misrepresentations, and expediency might gravely recommend him to be somewhat careful about the main chance; but it was in vain. The opposition, in the different forms of it, availed nothing against the call of duty from the Lord. He was not ambitious of singularity, but he was bent upon obedience. He was perfectly aware that he might be mistaken, but he exercised himself to have always a conscience void of offense toward God and toward men.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock, as you are contemplating his inflexible adherence to his convictions—go and do likewise. Tell the employer who bids you to falsify and defraud, that you must refuse his bidding. Tell the counsellor who misquotes the apostolic text, about being all things to all men, that you must have something better than misquotation. Tell the men of this time-serving, money-grasping, self-seeking, luxurious generation, that, politic or impolitic, competency or no competency, through good report or evil report, you, the individual man, mean fearlessly to do the right and straightforward thing. Tell yourself, when by unbelief you get entangled, and embarrassed, and disheartened, that light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart; and then, hoping against hope, bravely hold on your way. Through God's grace I outbraved and outlived the opposition which threatened and impeded me; so, if you try, so can you.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND SAYS THAT WHATEVER A MAN'S PROFESSIONAL CALLING, HE OUGHT TO AIM EVANGELICALLY AT DOING GOOD.

Most sincerely did he esteem all faithful ministers of Christ. Upon the services which they conducted was he a constant attendant, whenever he had the opportunity. For a stated and settled administration, both of the word and ordinances of the Gospel, he evinced the highest possible respect. In no degree

would he heedlessly infringe upon what he always held to be an institution of the Head of the Church. At the same time, when those around him were perishing for lack of knowledge, and there were none ready to interfere to prevent the consummation of the calamity, he felt constrained to interfere himself. The duty of doing good and communicating was remembered. The responsibility of striving together for the faith of the Gospel was realized. The injunction to love our neighbor as ourselves, was apprehended. The fact that, in the apostolic times, men who were not specially ordained went everywhere preaching the Word, came up to his recollection; and, as the result, he felt that he must preach. He could expound to the inquiring the meaning of Christ's gracious invitations, and he could enforce upon the thoughtless the lessons of Christ's solemn admonition. He began the effort and he continued it to the last; often, if not in every case, most diligently preparing, in order by the manifestation of the truth, to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock, as you are contemplating his evangelic services at the Shivey-dagoon and Jellalabad,—go, and do likewise. Never be ashamed of Christ. If you believe that your servants, your neighbors, your companions, are, whilst unconverted, dead in trespasses and sins, take care to tell them of their danger. If you are well assured that not one of them need to remain dead in trespasses and sins another hour, the Holy Spirit being most willing to make them alive unto God, render your assurance the ground of action, without delay or hesitation, and beseech them to invoke the new heart, through the intercession of the Son of God. Break with the selfishness that has been withholding you. Renounce the indolence that has been hindering you. Correct the mistake that has been misleading you. Through God's grace I was enabled to exhort, and to warn, and to encourage, even so that many were converted from the error of their ways; so, if you try, so will you be enabled also.

HAVELOCK SPEAKS, AND HE SAYS THAT, WHATEVER A MAN'S ECCLESIASTICAL OR THEOLOGICAL PREFERENCES, HE OUGHT TO

SHOW BROTHERLY REGARD FOR ALL WHO LOVE OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IN SINCERITY.

No doubt was there, within his circle, of the preferences which he cherished for one of the various bodies of which Christ's Church is now composed. His correspondence and his conversations, and his conduct generally, made his denominational preferences plain. It was not his habit to make light of any portion of his Lord's discovered will. Latitudinarianism, in every aspect of it, was held in utter disrepute.

But in equal disrepute did he hold every aspect of sectarianism. Who might rely upon his co-operation in their aggressions upon the world's misery and wickedness? Every Christian body under heaven. Who might send for him in any seasons of their sorrow, or assure themselves, if he was within their reach, of his readiness to weep with them as they wept? Every Christian family throughout the world. Who might trust themselves implicitly to his generosity, certain that if they were misrepresented he would fraternally undertake their defence? Every Christian community, however designated, whether so illustrious as to be envied, or so insignificant to be despised. Who might reckon that, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, he, if possible, would be present, gratefully acknowledging the right of every believer in Christ to show forth his death in that service until He comes again? Every section of the entire Christian Church. Then did he make no reservation of his evangelical friendships and fellowships at all—not even in the commemoration of the death of his Redeemer at the sacramental table? He made no reservation. Enough for him that a man was a servant of the Lord Christ.

What has been done may be done again. Go, saith Havelock, as you are contemplating his large-hearted Christian charity, go and do likewise. Give way to the warmer impulses of your regenerated nature. Remember the Master's memorable reproof to the disciples who boasted that they had forbidden a man, because he followed not with them. Read the apostolic injunction to receive one another, as Christ also hath received us to the glory of God:—"Whereunto you have already

attained, walk by the same rule, mind the same thing." Speak the truth, as you have been assisted to apprehend it, but always speak the truth in love. Through God's grace I was enabled to be valiant for the truth upon the earth, whilst I kept the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. So, if you try, will you be enabled also.

Being dead! Yes, a nation mourns his loss; and, judging from such indications as the lowering of their colors halfmast-high by one fleet after another as his death was heard of in the United States, other nations, we gather, sympathize with our sense of loss. The country will have him honored. India demands the celebration of his deeds. The world must know that we hold him in renown.

Be it so. But one thing is incumbent first of all: Let every reader of this sketch be personally a follower of him, as he followed Christ. Let him go and imitate his example, and whether he be the statesman, or the magistrate, or the lawyer, or the physician, or the soldier, or the merchant, or the yeoman, or the artizan, or the shopkeeper, or the assistant, or the domestic servant, bring out in the habitudes of a religious life henceforward the indelible eulogium,

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF HENRY HAVELOCK."

That will be legible when the sculptured inscription will be illegible. That will tell when the granite and the marble are unavailing. That will be an honor done to him of which Christ will take grateful cognizance. That will be an association with his name which shall be consummated gloriously when in his company we ascribe all might, majesty, and dominion to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

THE END.

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