TRANSLATIONS

INTO

PERSIAN.

BY

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FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

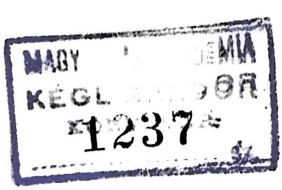
CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1890.

706552





PREFACE.

These translations of extracts from standard English works on history &c. were made in 1870-72 when the writer was studying for examination in Persian. They were corrected at the time by Mr. Mirza Hairat, afterwards and still Professor of Persian in the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and have been again carefully revised by the writer in conjunction with a Persian friend, Haji Muhammad Muhsin of Baghdad; his cordial thanks are due to these gentlemen for the valuable assistance which they have rendered to him.

The translations are now published in the belief that while the study of Persian has become more common than it was, there is still considerable difficulty in obtaining competent tuition, particularly in small up-country stations in India. It is hoped that students so situated, if not a wider class, will find them of service in translating into idiomatic Persian English phrases on a variety of subjects, the equivalents of which may be sought for in vain in the text-books.

For convenience of printing the English portion of the work, the translations have not been arranged in the order in which they were made, but according to their number and sequence in the books from which they have been taken, a list of which, with the subject of each translation, is given in the Table of Contents. Students, therefore, who wish to test their own powers of translation must select such passages as seem best suited to their acquirements without reference to the order in which they now stand.

A. C. TALBOT.

ERRATUM.

Page 250, s. 419, l. 2, *for* mulitude *read* multitude.

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1. In treating of this important country, it will be useful to begin with a general survey of its geographical features; and these, it will soon appear, are distinguished at once by their grandeur and their variety. India is, as it were, an epitome of the whole world. It has regions that bask beneath the brightest rays of a tropical sun, and others, than which the most awful depths of the polar world are not more dreary. The varying degrees of elevation produce here the same changes that arise elsewhere from the greatest difference of position on the earth's surface. Its vast plains present the double harvests, the luxuriant foliage, and even the burning deserts, of the torrid zone; the lower heights are enriched by the fruits and grains of the temperate climates; the upper steeps are clothed with the vast pine forests of the north; while the highest pinnacles are buried beneath the perpetual snows of the arctic zone. We do not here, as in Africa and the polar regions, see nature under one uniform aspect; on the contrary, we have to trace gradual yet complete transitions between the most opposite extremes that can exist on the surface of the same planet.

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2. The main body, as it were, of India, the chief scene of her matchless fertility and the seat of her great empires, is composed of a plain extending along the entire breadth from east to west, between the Brahmapoutra and the Indus; and reaching, in point of latitude, from the great chain of mountains to the high table-land of the Southern Peninsula. It may thus possess a length of 1500 miles, with an average breadth of from 300 to 400. The line of direction is generally from south-east to north-west, following that of the vast mountain-range which bounds it on the north, and from whose copious streams its fruitfulness is derived. With the exception, perhaps, of the country watered by the great river of China, it may be considered the finest and most fertile on the face of the earth. The whole of its immense superficies, if we leave out an extensive desert-tract to be presently noticed, forms one continuous level of unvaried richness, and over which majestic rivers, with slow and almost insensible course, diffuse their sea-like expanse.

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3. Of this general character of the Indian plain, the province of Bengal presents the most complete and striking example; no part of it being diversified with a single rock, or even a hillock. The Ganges pours through it a continually widening stream, which, during the rainy season, covers a great extent with its fertilizing inundation. From this deep, rich, well-watered soil, the sun, beating with direct and intense rays, awakens an almost unrivalled power of vegetation, and makes it one entire field of waving grain. Bahar, farther up the current, has the same general aspect, though its surface is varied by some slight elevations; but Allahabad, higher still, is mostly low, warm, and fruitful, exactly like Bengal. North of the river the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, sloping gradually upwards to the mountains, enjoy a more cool and salubrious climate, and display in profusion the most valuable products both of Asia and Europe. Here the valley of the Ganges terminates, and is succeeded by that of the Jumna, more elevated, and neither so well watered nor quite so fertile.

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4. The Himmaleh range, where it touches on the champaign country, is almost everywhere girt with a peculiar belt or border, called the Tarryani. This term is applied to a plain about twenty miles broad, upon which the waters from the higher regions are poured down in such profusion that the river-beds are unable to contain them. They accordingly overflow, and convert the ground into a species of swamp, which, acted on by the burning rays of a tropical sun, throws up an excessively rank vegetation, whereby the earth is choked rather than covered. The soil is concealed beneath a mass of dark and dismal foliage, while long grass and prickly shrubs shoot up so densely and so close as to form an almost impenetrable barrier. It is still more awfully guarded by the pestilential vapours exhaling from those dark recesses, which make it at certain seasons a region of death. Hence the destruction which overtakes an army that encamps for any length of time near this valley,—an effect fatally experienced by the British detachments which were stationed on the frontiers of Bootan and Nepaul. Beneath these melancholy shades, too, the elephant, the tiger, and other wild animals, prowl unmolested; while the few human beings who occupy the vicinity present a meagre, dwarfish, and most sickly aspect.

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5. The Himmaleh, as it ascends above the picturesque slopes which diversify its lower border, assumes a much bolder and severer aspect. The lofty ridge, the deep valley, the dashing torrent, produce a resemblance to the most elevated portions of our own central Highlands; and Scottish officers, accordingly, who happened to serve in that remote province, have fancied themselves wandering amid the romantic glens of their native country. Generally speaking, the character of this mountain-chain is rugged and stern; its ridges rise behind each other in awful array; but they enclose no rural scenes, nor present any gentle undulations. Their steep sides, sometimes wooded, sometimes presenting vast faces of naked rock, dip down abruptly, forming dark chasms and ravines, at the bottom of which there is only room for the torrent to force its way through rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above. A laborious task is imposed on the traveller, who has successively to mount and descend this series of lofty terraces, along rough and narrow paths that often skirt the most tremendous precipices.

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6. India, in the view of the earliest Greek and Roman writers, appeared an almost inaccessible region; the extensive seas which intervene being in the infancy of navigation considered quite impassable. The inland route, besides its very great length and the imperfect means of conveyance, lay partly across the loftiest ridge of mountains in the world, partly through deserts as dreary as those of Arabia. Yet the country had features which, seen even at this mysterious distance, strongly attracted attention among the civilized nations of antiquity. Its wealth and large population made it one of the principal objects of ambition to those great conquerors who aimed at universal empire; its fabrics, the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced, were sought by merchants at the expense of the greatest toils and dangers; and the manners of its people, as well as the maxims of its sages, had something original and peculiar, which strongly excited philosophical inquiry. For these reasons, from the first moment that its existence became known down to the present day, Hindostan has continued to hold a conspicuous name in the Western world.

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7. The work of Ctesias, who, after the time of Herodotus, communicated the information collected during a long residence in Persia, is known to us only through the medium of some fragments preserved by Photius and other authors. The knowledge of India in his time does not appear to have been any farther extended. He mentions no river except the Indus, yet says that the inhabitants in its neighbourhood are the remotest people known to the eastward; so that his intelligence evidently terminated with the western desert, and did not include the vast regions which compose the proper Hindustan. Yet, even under this limited view, he relates that it surpassed in number all other nations; and hence it may be inferred, that the country, even in that early age, was populous and highly cultivated. His descriptions of the animals and vegetables, though bearing some traces of truth, are greatly mixed with fable. Some light, however, is thrown on the reports of Herodotus concerning the gold of India, which is here stated to be found, not like that of Pactolus in the beds of rivers, but in extensive and rugged mountains, haunted by wild beasts of peculiar form and fierceness. For this reason, it is added, only a small quantity of the precious metal could be extracted from the mines; and it is probable that their remote and difficult situation led to an exaggerated idea of their real importance.

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8. Much more ample information respecting this quarter of the globe was obtained from the expedition of Alexander, though that great conqueror did not pass or perhaps even reach the limit which had arrested the progress of Darius. Having overrun the whole Persian empire as far as Bactra (Balkh), the capital of Bactria, and finding it everywhere subdued and submissive, he determined to cross the mountains, and complete the subjugation of the known world by conquering India. He cleared the ridge of Paropamisus, probably by the great caravan-route between Balk and Candahar, without having suffered any serious loss, though it is admitted that the reduction of the strongholds by which the passes of the mountains were guarded gave occasion to several arduous conflicts. He then marched eastward, and reached the Indus at or near Attock, where its breadth is considerably less than in most other parts of its lower course; and he crossed it without encountering any obstacles, but such as arose from the rapidity of the current.

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9. Portugal, a small kingdom, of little fertility, placed at one of the extremities of Europe, appeared ill-fitted for acting any great part in the affairs of that continent. A long period of her history, accordingly, has been obscure and inglorious. Under the Roman government the Lusitanians were only remarkable for their extreme barbarism; and during the Middle Ages they were crushed beneath the yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole peninsula, erected the western portion into a kingdom under the name of Algarve. In more recent times, oppressed by tyranny and fanaticism, and holding little communication with more enlightened nations, she was kept in every respect very far behind the other countries of Europe. Yet there was an interval between the Middle Ages and the present period, when this monarchy held the foremost place, not only in arms and power, but in all those arts and liberal pursuits which have given lustre to the modern world. But it was in the stern school of adversity that those energies were unfolded. The Portuguese, like the Spaniards their neighbours, had to fight a battle of many hundred years, ere they could drive from their native land the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hosts, united under the standard of Mohammed, by whom it had been subdued.

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10. Religious zeal, the blind exercise of which has since degraded Portugal, was then the inspiring principle of her heroic exploits. The kingdom, according to De Barros, was founded in the blood of martyrs, and by martyrs was spread over the globe; for that name he conceives himself entitled to confer on those who fought and fell in her glorious conflicts with infidel nations. After expelling the Moors from Europe they pursued them into Africa, seeking to avenge that long series of outrage and thraldom to which the peninsula had been subjected, and claiming an undoubted right to every territory that might be conquered from the enemies of the faith. This enterprise, as it necessarily involved some degree of maritime skill, attracted the attention of their monachs towards the ocean, as the scene in which they might find greatness, wealth, and renown. This circumstance, combined with the favourable situation of their country, having a long range of coast bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, paved the way for the distinction which Portugal obtained in the career of maritime discovery.

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11. John died in 1495, before a new expedition could be fitted out; but his cousin Emanuel, who succeeded him, displayed an ardour in this cause surpassing even that of all his predecessors. There were indeed not a few counsellors who represented, that he would thus waste the resources of his kingdom in undertakings every way uncertain, and the happiest results of which might be snatched away by foreign aggression. The king, however, buoyed by sanguine hope, and calculating that the task of penetrating to India descended to him by inheritance, applied himself with the utmost diligence to the fitting out of a grand expedition. Diaz was instructed to superintend the building of the ships, that they might be made of such size and strength as to be fit for traversing the stormy seas which he had experienced. The command, however, was bestowed not upon him, but upon Vasco de Gama, a member of the royal household, who had acquired reputation for nautical skill and talent which his subsequent conduct fully confirmed. The preparations being completed, Gama was called before the king in presence of some of the most distinguished lords of the court, and presented with a silk banner, having attached to it the cross of the order of the knighthood of Christ, of which his Majesty was perpetual Master. On this token he was made to swear that he would, to the very utmost of his power, accomplish the voyage, and fulfil its objects.

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12. Gama sailed from St George, an island near Mozambique, on the 1st April, and continued to steer close to the coast of Africa. A strong current carried him past Quiloa, for which he felt deep but ill-founded regret, having been treacherously assured by his guide that this was a Christian city. In a few days the armament reached Mombaza, which, on the same authority, was asserted to contain at least a proportion of Christians. This town, situated on an elevated point of land resembling an island, and seen from a great distance at sea, delighted the eyes of the mariners; the houses built of good stone, with terraces and windows like those of Portugal, inspired a pleasing illusion, as if they were approaching their native shore. They soon saw a boat coming out with four persons apparently of consequence, who, on making the usual inquiries, and learning the object of the adventurers, assured them that their arrival would afford the greatest pleasure to themselves and to the king, and that all their wants would be supplied. Much care,

though probably without success, was taken to prevent intercourse between them and the trusty pilot from Mozambique. The admiral was urged to land immediately, and this request was reiterated next day by another party ; but he chose previously to send two sailors on shore to make observations.

13. On the arrival of the party at Calicut, to which the Zamorin had now returned, they were joined by several friends of the cutwal, and other nobles or *nayrs*, who escorted them to the place in great state, with sound of trumpet. This royal residence, though built only of earth, was of large extent, delightfully situated amid gardens and pleasure-grounds. They were received at the gate by a venerable old man, the chief Bramin, dressed in white robes emblematic of purity. He took Gama by the hand, and led him through long halls into the presence-chamber, where the sovereign was found reclining in all the luxurious pomp of the East. The couch was spread on a sort of platform or stage raised above the general level of the apartment; his robe of the finest cotton, and his silk turban, were both richly embroidered with gold; from his ears depended rings adorned with the finest brilliants; and his naked legs and arms were covered with bracelets of gold and precious stones. On one side an old man held a golden plate, on which was the betel-leaf and areca, the chewing of which is esteemed a great luxury among oriental nations; while on the other side was a golden vase to receive it when chewed.

14. In a most exhausted state he reached Magadoxo, a more northerly port than any he had formerly visited; but, learning that it was entirely in possession of a bigoted tribe of Moors, he chose rather to proceed to the friendly harbour of Melinda. There he was received with the wonted cordiality, and amply supplied with fresh provisions, which could not, however, arrest the mortality that had begun to rage on board. The sailors were so reduced in strength and number that they could not undertake to navigate all the three vessels round the Cape; and hence he judged it necessary to burn the St. Raphael, and convey her stores on board of the two other ships. In his progress along the coast of Africa, he touched at the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia, and met a good reception; but avoided having any commu-

nication with Mozambique. Being regularly supplied with fresh provisions, all his men, at the time of passing the Cape, were fit for duty, and they met with no farther obstruction in making the circuit of the continent. The admiral, however, had to sustain at Terceira the deep affliction occasioned by the death of his brother Paulo, who had rendered the ties of kindred closer by being an able and faithful coadjutor in this grand expedition. On the 29th August 1499 he entered the Tagus, after a voyage of two years and two months, in which he had fully explored a new path to the commerce and empire of India. But of the hundred and eight mariners who had originally manned the vessels, only fifty-five returned to their native country.

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15. He is said to have entertained considerable anxiety in regard to the reception that he was likely to experience, after the abrupt and somewhat uncourteous close of the transactions with Gama in the former expedition. First appearances, however, were very promising. Some of the principal people came out in almadias, or country-boats, with assurances from the Zamorin of the most friendly disposition. Cabral then restored the captives carried off by his predecessor, handsomely dressed, and ready to bear testimony to their good treatment. Having received an invitation to land and visit the prince, he expressed an earnest wish to comply and also to negotiate a treaty of amity and alliance, only soliciting that four persons of distinction, whom he named, should be sent as hostages. To this proposal the king very strongly objected, as these were Bramins of high and holy character, who could not, without profanation, enter a ship, or perform there any of their sacred ceremonies and ablutions. The Portuguese commander, however, stood firm, and carried his point. Preparations were forthwith made on shore for his reception, by erecting a gallery, which, though not very spacious, was richly hung with carpets and curtains of crimson velvet fancifully embroidered.

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16. The Moors, meantime, began ostentatiously to lade a vessel with the richest spices, and fixed an hour for her departure, of which they took special care to apprize the Portuguese. The admiral, on seeing the ship leave the harbour, allowed himself to be overcome by the urgency of his factor and

agents, and sent his boats, which captured it, and proceeded to transfer its precious contents to their own ships. The Moslems, who had long watched for this crisis, ran instantly to the king, representing that the band of pirates were now seen in their true colours, having, in defiance of his royal power, commenced their system of robbery. His Majesty, who had either forgotten his alleged permission, or never meant it to be seriously taken, entered into their views, and allowed them to seek redress as they chose. The nayrs, and other inhabitants of Calicut, having joined them, they proceeded in a united body against the factory. The Portuguese felt so perfectly secure that they at first supposed the tumult to be raised only in jest, and hence, on ascertaining its hostile purpose, found great difficulty in shutting the gates. Correa, with his slender troop, forthwith manned the roof of the edifice; but it was a contest of seventy individuals against thousands, who rent the air with their cries, and poured in a thick cloud of darts and javelins.

17. Almeyda now sailed to attack the enemy; but on his way having learned that Dabul, one of the greatest commercial establishments on this coast, had embraced with zeal the Egyptian cause, he determined to turn aside and reduce it. This station was very strongly defended, not only by a trench and palisade, but by a fort with powerful batteries, to disembark in the face of which appeared a very perilous enterprise. The Portuguese commander, however, caused the ships to be drawn up in a line facing the shore, then ordered his troops to enter the boats, and push full speed towards the land. They followed his directions with enthusiasm, and even with rapture leaped on shore, striving which should be foremost, and pressed on to the rampart. By this rapid and skilful movement the artillery pointed against the ships, having a somewhat high range, passed over the heads of the advancing soldiers, who without any annoyance reached the gates. They could then advance only by three narrow passages between the city and the beach, each stoutly defended by large bands of armed citizens. The contest was dreadful; the piles of dead formed a barrier more formidable than even the palisade; and the assailants thronging behind impeded each other.

18. Having thus settled the government, the viceroy resumed the consideration of his more distant schemes of conquest. Two objects engrossed his mind,—Ormuz, the splendid emporium of the Persian Gulf, which had been snatched from him almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, a native kingdom, considered then as the key to the remotest regions and islands of Asia. The latter obtained the preference. The capital, though situated upon the coast of a barren peninsula, was enriched in an extraordinary degree by being the centre of the commerce carried on between Hindustan, China, and the eastern islands,—a trade which now gives prosperity to Singapore. Albuquerque sailed thither with a force of eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indians; to oppose which the king had mustered a garrison that has been represented as exceeding 30,000. Negotiations were opened, and professions made on both sides of a desire for peace; but it was obvious that such an expedition could terminate only in an appeal to arms. A vigorous resistance was made by means of wooden machines, cannon, and a species of artificial fire peculiar to the East; but the intrepidity of Albuquerque and his followers finally triumphed.

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19. A death-blow was now given to this great leader, who no longer wished to live. Amid his agonies, it was suggested to him that the attachment of his adherents was so devoted as might enable him to defy the mandate of an ungrateful master, and still remain ruler of the Indian Seas. His mind seems to have opened for a moment to the temptation; but he finally repelled it, and sought only in the grave a refuge for his wounded pride and honour. Violently agitated, refusing food and refreshment, and calling every hour for death, he could not be long of finding it. As his end approached, he was persuaded to write a short letter to the king in favour of his son, expressed in the following proud but pathetic terms:—"Senor,—This is the last letter which, in the agonies of death, I write to your Highness, of the many which I have written during the long period of my life, when I had the satisfaction of serving you. In your kingdom I have a son, by name Braz de Albuquerque, whom I entreat your Highness to favour as my services may merit. As for the affairs of India, they will speak for themselves and for me."

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20. Although this expedition was executed in a manner creditable to the adventurers, and much information collected respecting the trade and commodities of the country, still it was evident that commerce, carried on by a tract so circuitous, and exposed to so many perils, could neither be safe nor profitable. It was in fact one of the channels by which that traffic had been conducted by the Venetians, who were much better situated for it than the English, and who had yet been unable, ever since the discovery of the passage by the Cape, to sustain the rivalry of the Portuguese. The mercantile interest began now to contemplate the last-mentioned route, as alone affording the prospect of a secure and advantageous intercourse. It was guarded, however, with the most jealous care by the Spaniards and Portuguese; and the government of Elizabeth, though then at war with these nations, hesitated to sanction arrangements which would shut the door against accommodation. Mr. Bruce found in the State-paper office a petition, presented in 1589 from sundry merchants, requesting to be allowed to send to India three ships and three pinnaces. The answer does not appear; but in 1591 three ships were actually sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster, who sailed from Plymouth on the 10th April.

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21. It was obvious that these stipulations were of such a nature, and involved so constant an interference in private transactions, as could not fail to lead to the most serious differences. The Dutch, who maintained larger fleets among the islands, interpreted every question in their own favour, and refused to admit the others to the stipulated share of the trade, till they had paid their proportion of all the sums which they themselves, with or without necessity, had expended on fortifications. The enmity between the two parties became always more rancorous, till the Hollanders, availing themselves of superior strength, proceeded to that dreadful outrage called the "Massacre of Amboyna." The island of that name is well known as the richest of the group of the Moluccas, and the one which affords the most copious supply of cloves. The principal settlement of both companies was at the capital, where the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of about two hundred men; while the English, eighteen in number, occupied merely a house in the town, where, however, they thought themselves in safety under the faith of treaties. The former, conceiving sus-

picions of a Japanese soldier who was in their service, arrested and put him to the torture. By that barbarous mode of extracting evidence, they brought him to confess that he and several of his countrymen had entered into a conspiracy to seize the fortress; and upon the information thus obtained, others of the same nation were apprehended and tortured.

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22. The Arabs or Saracens, in spreading by their arms the religion of Mohammed, effected a most astonishing revolution in the eastern world, and penetrated to more remote parts of Asia than were ever reached by the Roman eagle. After the death of their prophet, a short interval only had elapsed when their victorious cavalry drank at once the waters of the Tagus, the Niger, and the Jaxartes. Bagdad became the capital of the greatest empire then on the face of the earth; its court was the most splendid and the most polished, and the seat of all the learning by which that dark age was illumined.

No region derived such advantages from this triumph of the Moslem arms and faith as the country called Mavar-ul-Nahar, being that extensive tract of Independent Tartary which is watered by the great rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Though blessed with a fertile soil, and one of the finest climates of Asia, it is represented in all the ancient records as entirely Scythian, covered with roaming hordes of shepherds and warriors, who lived in tents, and subsisted on the milk of their flocks. Under the Arab sway, it acquired and has ever since retained regular government, improved cultivation, large and populous cities; and yet this province was one of the first which were severed from the Caliphate. Its governors, distant from the seat of empire, began gradually to assume the character of independent princes; they extended their power first over Khorasan; then over the interior provinces of Persia; and finally hemmed in Bagdad itself more and more closely, till the name of Caliph, which had caused the extremities of the earth to tremble, became little more than an empty sound.

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23. There is not a more chequered fame in oriental history than that of Mahmoud. His justice has been so much celebrated that, according to eastern writers, the wolf and the lamb in his reign drank at the same fountain; yet instances are not wanting in which his conduct appears

marked by the grossest iniquity and extortion. His piety, which is as much celebrated, is equally problematical. According to Ferishta, he was in early life prone to scepticism. His mind was agitated with doubt on two very different points,—whether there be a future world, and whether he was the son of Subuktagi; for the general deportment of his mother, it seems, left this last question open to controversy. A vision appeared to him, when the Prophet in person removed both these subjects of inquietude; and the emperor then commenced a high religious profession. His zeal, however, brought such an accession of power and wealth, as made it be doubted whether his devotions to heaven were not chiefly valued as they tended to make him lord of the earth. His fervour was especially inflamed by reports of the boundless wealth accumulated in the holy shrines of Hindustan, and his conscience incessantly reproached him, till he used means to have these profane treasures transported to adorn the palaces of Ghizni.

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24. The rise of the Mohammedan power was pregnant with events to India, over which its princes were destined to rule for ages; yet their dominion had endured four centuries without finding its way into that extensive region. But this security was necessarily impaired, when so formidable a kingdom was erected on its frontier. Subuktagi had already made two inroads into Moultan and Lahore, in which he was successful, having in both completely defeated Jeipal, prince of the latter country. He annexed to Ghizni the fine province of Peshawer, and extended his authority to the Indus. Mahmoud, who, in these invasions, had given early proofs of personal bravery, soon made the country beyond that river the grand theatre of his military exploits, from which he was diverted only by some insurrections in his more distant dependencies, and by occasional alarms of Tartar invasion. Historians record twelve expeditions by this great potentate, from all of which he returned triumphant, and laden with booty.

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25. The three next expeditions of Mahmoud were made with the view of collecting imposts and suppressing partial rebellions. The fifth, in 1009, commenced by an attack on the part of Annindpal. Having formed alliances with all

the great kings of the interior,—Delhi, Kanouge, Ougein, Gwalior, Callinger, and Ajmere,—he assembled the largest army that had been seen in that region for hundreds of years. They crossed the Indus, and entered the Plains of Peshawer, where the Moslems, afraid to encounter in the open field an enemy so immensely superior, began to intrench their forces. The two armies remained forty days in presence of each other, when at length a battle was begun on the side of the natives by the Gickers or Gwickwars, a race almost entirely savage, inhabiting the mountainous tracts north of Lahore. Their arrows did considerable execution; yet the main body were unable to make any impression on the brave and strongly intrenched army of Mahmoud. Many fell on the part of the assailants, when at length the elephant on which the Prince of Lahore rode, frightened by a fire-ball, ran off, and carried his master out of the field. At that moment the troops, thinking themselves deserted by their commander, were struck with panic; and the whole of that mighty host fled in complete and irretrievable confusion.

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26. Religious zeal was not only avowed by Mahmoud, but under a certain shape supplied the main impulse to all his actions. Yet its exercise, as already observed, was productive of earthly gains so immense as to involve its purity in some suspicion. Still a religious profession is not always insincere, because it is somewhat alloyed in the mind of him who admits a mixture of worldly motives. That the Moslem faith, as the exclusive path to salvation, ought to be propagated by the sword, is one of its fundamental dogmas; and by a monarch whose ambition and avarice this tenet so greatly favoured, we cannot wonder that it should have been zealously embraced. Yet one incident, related as having occurred at the end of his mortal career, shows that the vanities of earth still held full possession of his heart. Two days before his death, he caused all his jewels, pearls, and golden ornaments, collected from so many different regions, to be spread out before him, that he might satiate his eyes by a display of riches, from which he was about to be separated for ever. We can more easily sympathize with his taking a last review of his troops, including the long array of his elephants, and with the deep emotion which this spectacle excited in the breast of the dying warrior.

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27. Allah, who murdered and succeeded his uncle, Ferose, in the year 1295, was perhaps of all the sovereigns of Hindustan the most energetic and terrible. The people sympathized deeply in the fate of the late monarch, whose head he caused to be fixed on a pole, and carried through camp and city. To pave the way to the throne by the death of its possessor had become indeed an established practice, of which Ferose himself had set the example. But there was something peculiarly barbarous in the manner in which the new emperor perpetrated this murder, and subsequently that of all the imperial family. He not only, as Ferishta observes, began in cruelty, but waded through blood to the end. He abandoned himself at the same time to the most unbridled voluptuousness, and courted the favour of the omrahs by leaving them also at full liberty to indulge their licentious propensities. Yet the fame of Allah as a warrior stood in the foremost rank. Before mounting the throne, he had begun his military career by marching with a corps of 8,000 men against Deoghire or Dowlatabad, capital of the great kingdom of Aurungabad. Causing it to be believed that this force was only the vanguard of the main army, he intimidated the city into a surrender; put to flight a vast body of troops assembled for its defence; and returned laden with a treasure which had been accumulating for ages. He afterwards sent his vizier, Kafoor, to conquer the Carnatic and other southern kingdoms,—an undertaking which proved completely successful, and produced a plunder that has been estimated, doubtless extravagantly high, at £100,000,000 sterling.

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28. The emperor, intoxicated with success, began to conceive the most extravagant projects. Two in particular were deeply and fondly cherished. He hoped to emulate at once the glory of Mohammed and Alexander, names which in the East stand above those of all other men. Although so ignorant that he could neither read nor write, he undertook to prepare for the human race a new religion, which was to unite the Moslem and the disciple of Brahma in one common worship. Next, he was to leave a viceroy to rule over India, and to set out himself, like a second Macedonian, to conquer the world. His flatterers applauded, and men of sense, overawed by his furious temper, withdrew and were silent. At length Alla-ul-Mulluck, the aged and venerable magistrate of Delhi, determined at all hazards that the

truth should for once be heard by this formidable despot. Being summoned to the palace, he entered on a full discussion of these two insane projects; beginning with the theological scheme, whereby, as a Mohammedan, he had been struck with the deepest horror. He did not dwell on Allah's utter incapacity for the task, but urged the impossibility of commanding the minds of men on such a subject,—the alienation which this attempt would produce among the Móslems, on whom alone he could rely,—and the hopelessness of convering the Hindoos, who had resisted so many successive invaders.

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29. Baber was now seated on the throne of India; but it was not as yet either secure or firmly established. The Patan omrahs, holding sway each in his separate province, detested the Mogul rule as a foreign usurpation, while they had gained to their interest the leading Rajpoot princes, the bravest part of the Hindoo population. An army of 100,000 men was mustered in the west, headed by Mahmoud, brother to the late emperor. The young ruler, surrounded on all sides by open enemies or false allies, and having none on whom he could repose confidence except the small band whom he had brought down from the mountains, was in a truly critical position. His troops were struck with panic; some even of his boldest captains advised him to retreat into Cabul, or at least to the provinces on the Indus. But his lofty spirit indignantly repelled the idea of renouncing without a struggle so great an empire. He proclaimed that the voice of honour was loud in his ear, and with an enthusiasm which communicated itself to his adherents, exclaimed, "Since death is inevitable, it is glorious to meet him with courage, face to face, rather than to shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; since what can we inherit but fame beyond the limits of the grave."

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30. Baber may be ranked as the most accomplished prince that ever ruled over Hindostan, although not perhaps either the greatest or the best. His valour was brilliant; and several of his exploits are considered as surpassing even the most heroic of those achieved by his renowned ancestor. Yet his talents are observed to have been rather those of a

daring partisan than of a skilful leader. He was almost as often defeated as victorious, and for a long period lost kingdoms as fast as he won them. But in the latter part of his reign his military policy seems to have assumed a more fixed character, and in the great battles on the plains of Hindostan he showed no want of the most consummate generalship. His bodily strength and dexterity both in sports and warlike exercises are described as almost preter natural. He was a master in the arts of poetry and music; and the commentaries in which he has related the events of his own life, and of which Doctor Leyden and Mr. Erskine have furnished an excellent translation, though they display not any profound habits of philosophical reflection, manifest much strong sense, combined with an active spirit of observation, as applied to the various scenes which passed before him. They exhibit also an interesting view of the manners of oriental courts and camps.

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31. At another time, he received intelligence that some Mogul chiefs had raised a rebellion in Guzerat, and besieged Ahmedabad, the capital. He instantly despatched from Agra two thousand cavalry, whom he himself followed with a chosen troop, and marching at the rate of eighty miles daily, reached in little more than a week the scene of action. When the enemy's scouts, inquiring whose army it was, were informed that it was led by the king of kings, and brought the news to their camp, the rebels, struck with this event as almost miraculous, were with difficulty withheld from immediate flight. They were, however, compelled into the field; but, after a brisk action, were completely defeated, and their commander taken. Akbar, while his soldiers were engaged in the pursuit, remained with 200 men on the top of a hill, where he saw advancing against him a body of 5000 horse, whom the enemy had not been able to bring forward to the main battle. His officers urged the necessity of instant retreat; but, rejecting this ignoble counsel, he caused the imperial drums to beat, and led on his small detachment as if it had been the van of a great army. The others, thus deceived, fled, and were pursued for several miles.

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32. Akbar died in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years. He left only one son, named Selim, a prince of distinguished promise, who somewhat boastingly assumed the title of Jehangire, or Conqueror of the World. A powerful party

intended to raise against him Chusero, his own son; but their intrigues were defeated, the prince was compelled to submit, and was forgiven. Soon after, however, having gained fresh adherents, he was encouraged to attempt the same object by force; though he still retained enough of good feeling to reject indignantly a plan for the assassination of the emperor, declaring that he would try the fortune of the field, but never ascend a throne stained with a father's blood. He had at first some success, laying waste the country between Delhi and Agra; but being overtaken by a superior army, retreated upon Lahore, near which he was totally routed, and made prisoner in attempting to pass the Indus. Chusero was led before his parent and confessed his guilt; but, with those sentiments of honour which seem to have been always strong in his mind, he refused to give any information which might lead to the detection of his accomplices. Being, however, placed in close confinement, he had the agony of being led out day after day to see his dearest friends and most devoted adherents put to death amid the most cruel tortures. He was released ten years after, though only to be assassinated by his brother, Shah Jehan.

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33. The reign of this prince was distinguished by the arrival of two English missions; from the narratives of which we may derive somewhat more precise ideas respecting his court, than from the vague and pompous language of the oriental historians. In 1607, Captain William Hawkins was sent out by the Company, along with Captain Keeling, to endeavour to open a commercial intercourse with India, and especially with the dominions of the Mogul. Hawkins, who, separating from Keeling at Socotora, arrived at Surat on the 24th August 1608, immediately waited on the governor; but was informed that no permission could be granted to land his goods till a communication were held with Mocrib Khan, the viceroy, who resided at Cambay. A messenger was presently despatched thither; though, in consequence of the heavy rains and inundation of the rivers, an answer did not arrive for twenty days. At the end of this period permission was granted to land, and to buy and sell for the present voyage; but intimation was given at the same time that no factory could be established, nor permanent settlement made, without the sanction of the monarch, which might probably be obtained by proceeding to Agra, a journey of not less than two months.

34. The tide of royal kindness, which had now reached its height, from this moment began to ebb. Mocrib, after being stripped of his most valuable property, was restored again to favour, and allowed to resume his government, being simply exhorted to conduct himself with greater circumspection; but before his departure he took care to do the English every ill office in his power. All those who were about the emperor,—the omrahs, the officers of state, and more especially the Jesuits, united with him in their endeavours to undermine the influence enjoyed by strangers and infidels. It was represented to Jehangire, that by opening his trade to this strange people he would altogether disgust the Portuguese, a much more opulent and powerful nation, who would not only themselves desert his ports, but were able to prevent others from entering them. These arguments, enforced by a balass ruby of uncommon size and brilliancy, so wrought upon the prince, that he exclaimed, "Let the English come no more!" and Mocrib departed with the instruction never again to allow them to touch his shores.

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35. Mohabet now carried his sovereign into Cabul, treating him with the highest respect, maintaining the full pomp of his court, and allowing him to transact all the ordinary affairs of state. At length, having obtained the most ample promises of indemnity and future favour, he proved his disinterestedness by resigning his power, setting the monarch at full liberty, and retiring into a private station. But he had gone too far to recede with safety. The emperor, indeed, was capable of forgiving, and even of forgetting; but the deepest resentment rankled in the mind of his lady, who soon began to demand the life of the general, though the former had sufficient sense of justice to repel her proposal with indignation. She then proceeded to form plots for effecting her object by treachery. Jehangire, on learning these designs, gave information to the intended victim, at the same time owning his inability to afford him the protection to which he had so just a claim. It was evident, therefore, that no choice was left him but to flee; and the man who had so lately been the real master of this great empire became a solitary fugitive, after abandoning all his property. Noor Jehan immediately seized it, and in his absence obtained an entire sway over the mind of the weak sovereign;

the other was declared a rebel; a price set upon his head; and a diligent search was ordered to be made for him through all the provinces.

36. Asiph, the reigning minister, disapproved of his sister's violence, and of the questionable measures into which she urged the government, but knew not how to resist. One evening after dark he was informed that a man in a mean dress besought an audience. With wonder and sympathy, he saw before him the chief who had so lately been the ruler of India. They withdrew into a secret cabinet; and Asiph having acknowledged the empress' violence and the miserable weakness of Jehangire, Mohabet urged, that the only chance for having the empire governed with a firm hand would be obtained by raising to the throne Shah Jehan, the same man of whom he himself had so long been the determined enemy. The other, after some consideration, concurred in his views, and a communication with the royal youth was immediately opened; but several circumstances suspended the execution of this project till it was rendered unnecessary by the illness of the emperor. An asthmatic complaint under which he laboured being severely aggravated by a residence in the cold climate of Cashmere, he expired on the 9th November 1627, leaving behind him a very doubtful reputation.

37. He did not even escape the danger of an immediate claimant for the empire. Lodi, an omrah of distinguished spirit and valour, and who boasted a descent from the Patan emperors of India, had been employed as commander of the army in the Deccan. In this capacity he was opposed to Shah Jehan, and having, when the throne became vacant, attached himself to Shariar, obstructed and even insulted the new sovereign on his way to Agra. The prince sent an army against him, but with liberal offers in case of submission. Lodi laid down his arms, and was appointed to the government of Malwa; whence, on a mandate from the imperial court, he repaired to the capital. At the first audience, however, he was received with such marked disrespect, as showed that some hostile purpose was meditated. Azmut his son even drew his sword; a tumult ensued, and the omrah hastened to his own house, which was capable of defence, where he shut himself up with three hundred fol-

lowers. Thus enclosed, however, in the midst of enemies, his situation seemed desperate, and he was agitated with the most perplexing emotions. Suddenly a scream was heard from the apartment of the females,—he rushed in, and saw them weltering in their blood. In the prospect of captivity and dishonour, with that desperate fidelity not unfrequently displayed by Hindoo females, they had plunged the sword into their own breasts. At the sight his mind was worked up almost to phrensy. He sprang on horseback with his two sons, caused his men to follow him sounding trumpets, while he himself called aloud, "I will awaken the tyrant with the sound of my departure, but he shall tremble at my return."

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38. The emperor, thus secured in the possession of the sceptre, added another to the list of princes who, after seizing it by crimes and violence, wielded it with firmness and justice. The sternness of his temper was now employed in overawing the haughty viceroys, and guarding the people against oppression. He derived, doubtless, much aid from the wise counsels of Asiph Khan and Mohabet, whom, notwithstanding some fits of jealousy, he continued to employ. Sometimes their intercession softened the extreme rigour of his justice, particularly in the case of the Rajah of Bundelcund, whom he had ordered for execution. When Mohabet pleaded for the life of the guilty chief, the monarch not only granted it, but restored him to his full dignity. At one time, though wholly indifferent to the Mohammedan religion, he was so provoked by the manifold absurdities of the Hindoo worship, that he began to make it an object of persecution; but, seeing the eagerness with which the people clung to their prescribed ritual, he became sensible of his error, and resumed the system of toleration which his family had been accustomed to extend to both creeds.

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39. This reign flowed on for more than twenty years in the most smooth and prosperous tenor. The emperor lost his valuable ministers Asiph and Mohabet; but this only induced him to apply more closely to public business, which he continued to administer to the entire satisfaction of the nation. His felicity seemed crowned by possessing four sons, whose accomplishments, and even virtues, fitted them to adorn the throne of the greatest of empires, and to be the

idols of the people. As the most perfect cordiality reigned between them and him, he placed them in all conspicuous situations, which they filled both honourably and ably. But when they grew to manhood it was impossible to prevent mutual jealousies from arising. Each began to contemplate in the event of his parent's death a struggle for the vacant sovereignty; and each anticipated on that occurrence either a throne or a grave. Dara, the favourite of the aged monarch, was kept near his person, and for him the succession was destined. He was, perhaps, the most amiable of the family, shunning the licentious indulgences incident to a court, and employing his leisure in the cultivation of letters; but in action he was hasty and impetuous. Sujah, voluptuous, yet mild and also brave, held the government of Bengal. Morad, magnificent, proud, daring, delighting in war and danger, commanded in Guzerat.

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40. There was yet a fourth, of a character very different from that of any of his brothers, or from what is usually found in the bosom of royalty. Aurengzebe maintained a reserved deportment, rejecting pleasure, and devoting himself to business and public affairs with an intensity like that of one who was to raise himself from a low condition by his own exertions. Another circumstance gave a peculiar stamp to his pursuits and destiny. The princes of the house of Akbar had scarcely made even a profession of the Mohammedan faith, though it was zealously maintained by their armies and great lords. They seem to have viewed religion itself with a careless indifference, chiefly as a subject of philosophical speculation, and studiously avoided making it any ground of distinction among the various classes of their subjects. He, on the contrary, had adopted the Arabian creed in all its rigour; conforming strictly to its observances, and professing himself more ambitious of the reputation of a saint and fakir than of a great monarch. He thereby made himself odious to the Indian population; but the Moslem chiefs, who wielded the military power, hailed the appearance of a sovereign that had renounced the scandalous negligence of his ancestors, and identified himself with them upon this important subject. Having commanded also for a long time the troops in the Deccan, the main theatre of war, he found himself at the head of a better-disciplined army, and had acquired more military skill, than any other of the princes.

41. This state of things, however painful and alarming, might have been of long duration, had not a sudden and severe illness seized the emperor. He continued insensible during several days, and no hopes were entertained of his recovery. Dara, by his direction, immediately assumed the government, and administered it as if he were already on the throne. In particular, he showed a very jealous feeling towards his brothers, prohibiting all communication with them, seizing their papers, and sending into exile all the omrahs attached to their interest. Thus he precipitated, and in some measure justified, the hostile measures to which they were of themselves but too much disposed. Notwithstanding every precaution they obtained information of their father's illness, and were even led to suspect that he was already dead. They immediately entered upon a line of conduct, professedly prompted not by ambition but by regard for their personal safety. Sujah, in Bengal, first put his troops in motion; and soon after Morad, in Guzerat, communicated to Aurengzebe the recent events, inviting him to unite in counteracting the obvious designs of their relative;—in which views that ambitious prince readily concurred.

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42. Aurengzebe lost no time in obeying the invitation of his brother, and hastened to join him with all the forces he was able to collect. But, conscious that he viewed Morad also as a rival, and was likely to excite in his mind a similar feeling, he used every false and flattering expression which could inspire with confidence his naturally open and unsuspicious heart. He professed to consider him as alone fitted for the throne of Hindostan, to which he was called by the desire of the people; and as one to whose elevation it would be his pride to contribute, though his own wish was only to find some tranquil retirement, where he might devote the rest of his days to religious contemplation. Perhaps there was not another individual in Hindostan, knowing the parties, who could have been deceived by such language; but so great was the vanity and credulity of Morad, that Aurengzebe knew he might confidently use it. The two princes, with their armies, met on the banks of the Nerbudda, crossed that river, and totally defeated Jesswint Singh, the Rajpoot chief, who, in the service of the emperor, commanded a numerous body of cavalry.

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43. Shah Jehan learned these events with the deepest dismay. He saw the formidable character of the rebellion, and dreaded that, whatever the issue might be, he himself could scarcely fail to be crushed. He therefore used all his power to support his destined heir; and even expressed an ardent wish to take the field along with him, though he was unfortunately persuaded to give up his intention. Orders were sent to Soliman to grant favourable terms to Sujah, and to hasten against the more dangerous enemy; and Dara was strongly advised to await his arrival with a large reinforcement. That prince accordingly placed his army, consisting of 100,000 horse, in a strong position along the banks of the Chumbul, which commanded the approach to Agra, and covered his camp with a powerful line of intrenchments. When the confederates advanced, and saw his force thus posted, they felt considerable embarrassment. Morad, with characteristic ardour, proposed to attempt forcing the lines; but this undertaking appeared too hazardous to the cautious prudence of Aurengzebe. Having obtained information of a pass through the mountains, by which the enemy's position might be turned, and leaving only the appearance of a camp to deceive his adversary, he effected his object, and marched upon Agra.

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44. Aurengzebe, having thus overcome every obstacle, considered it now time "to exalt the imperial umbrella over his head." He felt, however, considerable difficulty in taking a step so inconsistent with all his professions, and especially with that of his being entirely devoted to religious retirement and abstraction. It was contrived that his friends should come forward to urge upon him the important duty of sacrificing his ease and pious resolutions for the public good, and of submitting to this painful necessity. In due time he allowed himself to be persuaded, though he adhered so far to his former character as to suppress all the pomp with which the ceremony of coronation was usually attended. But the shouts of the people reached the ears of the captive monarch, who felt assured that something fatal to himself had been determined. He asked Jehanara to go and inquire; yet immediately recalled her, lest she should see the head of Dara exposed to public view. She, however, soon learned and communicated to him the real fact. The unfortunate sovereign rose, walked through the room in silence, then fixing his eyes on the figure of a crown sus-

pended over his head, said,—"Take away that bauble;—yet stay, this would be owning the right of Aurengzebe." After standing long involved in thought, he said,—"The new emperor, Jehanara, has prematurely mounted the throne. He should have added the murder of a father to the other crimes which have raised him so high."

45. At another time he made a request for some of the imperial jewels, which were deemed necessary to adorn his throne. The Shah replied, that the hammers were ready to pound them into dust, if he should ever attempt to enforce such a demand. The other then exclaimed, "Let him keep his jewels, nay, let him command all those of Aurengzebe." The old monarch was so much affected by this moderation, that he sent a number of them, accompanied with a letter, in which he said,—"Take these, which I am destined to use no more.—Wear them with dignity, and by your own renown make some amends to your family for their misfortunes." The emperor burst into tears, which, on this occasion, appeared to be sincere. In short, by habitual respect and forbearance, and by occasionally asking advice, he succeeded, not indeed in reconciling the fallen sovereign to his fate, but in reviving a certain measure of friendly intercourse. On receiving intelligence that his father's end was approaching, he did not, it is true, venture into his presence, but sent his own son Shah Allum, who, however, arrived too late. The master of Hindostan then exhibited every mark of undissembled grief, and hastened to effect a reconciliation with his sister Jehanara, who had hitherto remained devotedly attached to her unfortunate parent.

46. Aurengzebe continued for many years to occupy the throne of the Mogul dominion, which, under him, attained to its greatest extent and its highest glory. After he had added to it the kingdoms of the Deccan, it included nearly the whole peninsula of India, with the neighbouring regions of Cabul and Assam,—territories, the population and wealth of which probably exceeded those of the Roman empire during its most flourishing period. The revenues amounted to 32 millions sterling, which, though inferior to the immense income of one or two modern European states, was then probably unexampled. His internal administration seems to have been decidedly superior to that of his immediate

predecessors. Amid the somewhat ostentatious display and matchless splendour of his court, his personal conduct remained pure and even austere; he neither allowed to himself, nor permitted in his palace, any species of disorder or licentiousness. Early in the morning he was seated in the hall of justice, accessible to the meanest of his subjects, administering the law with the strictest impartiality, redressing their wrongs, and even relieving their sufferings by his bounty.

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47. It was during the reign of Aurengzebe that Bernier, an intelligent and reflecting traveller, spent some years in India, and applied himself with diligence to investigate the state of the Mogul Government and empire. The description he gives is that of a country going to ruin, rather than of one flourishing under a just and impartial government. He observes, that supposing the sovereign inclined to enforce justice, he might perhaps succeed within his own immediate circle, in Delhi, Agra, and the close vicinity of these capitals; but in the provinces and remote districts the people had no adequate protection from the capacity of the governors, who ruled with arbitrary power, and whom he characterizes as "men fit for ruining a world." This was confirmed by the mean garb, and the anxiety to assume the semblance of poverty, which prevailed even among those whom other circumstances proved to be possessed of exorbitant wealth. The people could appeal to no court of justice, no administrators of the law, no independent tribunals. The monarch himself could call to his service no men endowed with honourable principles, inspired with feelings of genuine loyalty, or identifying their glory with that of their prince. These functionaries were generally "men of nothing, slaves, ignorant and brutal, raised from the dust, and retaining always the quality and temper of beggars." The only object of those intrusted with any power was to amass wealth during the short and precarious tenure of their possession, regardless if afterwards the whole state should fall into ruin.

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48. Even as to the feelings of justice and regard to the rights of their subjects, which are said to have characterized this dynasty, Bernier mentions several particulars, which, agreeing in a remarkable manner with those reported

by Hawkins and Roe, tend to cast great doubt upon the panegyrics of native writers. Anecdotes, even of a somewhat familiar description, may illustrate the tone of manners at this oriental court. A young man laid before Shah Jehan a complaint, that his mother, a banian, was possessed of immense wealth, amounting to two hundred thousand rupees, who yet, on account of alleged ill-conduct, withheld from him all participation. The emperor, tempted by hearing of so large a fortune, sent for the lady, and commanded her, in open assembly, to give to her son fifty thousad rupees, and to pay to himself a hundred thousand; at the same time desiring her to withdraw. The woman, however, by loud clamour, again procured admittance, and coolly said:— "May it please your Majesty, my son has certainly some claim to the goods of his father; but I would gladly know what relation your Majesty bears to the merchant, my deceased husband, that you make yourself his heir." This idea appeared to Shah Jehan so droll, that he desired her to depart, and no exaction should be made. Such an incident may prove an accessible temper, and a degree of good humour on the part of the sovereign, but gives a very low idea of the general character of that justice which oriental writers are pleased to ascribe to him.

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49. The foreign history of this reign was chiefly distinguished by the danger which threatened the new sovereign of being involved in war with Abbas, king of Persia, the most powerful and warlike prince in Asia. Dow, following the native historians, represents this rupture between these two mighty potentates to have arisen from the error of a secretary, who addressed a letter, "From the emperor of the world to the master of Persia." On receiving the epistle thus directed, Abbas, it is said, rejected all explanation and apology, and instantly prepared for war. Such a mistake seems not very probable, much less that a monarch so distinguished for talent and policy, and now of mature age, should have engaged in so formidable a contest on a ground so trivial. Possibly he might use it as a pretext; and, seeing the throne of India filled by a prince not yet firmly seated, and rendered odious by the steps which had led to his elevation, might conceive the hope of making this important addition to his dominions. Many circumstances conspired to favour his expectations. Of the great omrahs at the

court of Delhi a number were of Iranian extraction; many also of Patan or Afghan origin, looked back with regret to the period when princes of their nation sat on the imperial throne.

50. Sevajee at once resumed his predatory and victorious career, which placed him in a state of avowed warfare with the Mogul; but Aurengzebe, disgusted, perhaps, with the manner in which he had been overreached, and occupied with the arms of Persia and the insurrection of the Patans, did not for a long time direct his attention to this marauder, who pillaged merely a wild district of his dominions. The Mahratta prince accordingly extended his ravages almost undisturbed along the western coast; he again plundered Surat, and on a third occasion, though he did not enter, he levied a large contribution. In the sack of Rajapore, he robbed the English factory of 10,000 pagodas, which, however, were afterwards repaid. Singurh, a hill-fort deemed next to impregnable, had been wrested from him by famine during his late disasters; but a thousand of his daring Mawulees, mounting at the highest point by a ladder of ropes, carried the place sword in hand. Immediately on his return he had assumed the titles of royalty, and caused coins to be struck bearing his name. He now determined to satisfy his pride and dazzle his followers by a formal coronation, modelled upon that of the Mogul, in which the weighing against gold, and other childish ceremonies, were not omitted. Gifts to an immense value, bestowed on Brahmins, gave lustre to this as well as to several other political festivals.

51. The character of Sevajee has been variously drawn; though the delineations appear to us, on the whole, somewhat too favourable. He certainly presented a complete example of a character not uncommon in the East or in barbarous countries, but seldom brought into view in our happier forms of society; in which the monarch, general, partisan, bandit, and even the expert thief, are blended in nearly equal proportions, and each part is performed with equal success, according to the scene on which it is acted. In all these capacities Sevajee showed himself what we should call an excessively clever fellow; and the history of his tricks and surprises, repeated and exaggerated for the

sake of amusement, has rendered his name highly popular among the Hindoos. Yet there seems nothing, either in his objects or in his mode of pursuing them, which can entitle him to be ranked as a great man, actuated by high or enlarged views of policy.

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52. In regard to his moral qualities, again, it seems difficult to ascribe any merit to the man who scrupled at nothing whatever by which he could compass his ambitious designs; for if he had the principles of faith or honour, it is obvious that they were never allowed to interfere with any important interest. Not to have been addicted to wanton cruelty is, indeed, in an eastern warrior, a subject of praise; yet blood was never spared by him if the shedding of it could serve a purpose. Perhaps, had he ever attained the peaceable possession of an extensive kingdom, he might have atoned for the evils which his predatory warfare inflicted, by a beneficent and protecting system; but for this he had scarcely an opportunity. At the same time his habits were simple and temperate; he mingled frankly and familiarly with his followers; and, without guard or precaution, felt himself among them always in perfect safety. He was strictly observant of the rites of the Hindoo religion, professing in its cause the most fervent zeal; nor would we hastily pronounce this attachment to have been purely political, though it proved one of the chief instruments of his aggrandizement. He proclaimed himself its champion against the bigoted enmity, degenerating at last into persecuting zeal, manifested by Aurengzebe.

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53. The Mahratta cause was placed in imminent peril by the premature decease of its founder. Sambajee, according to the usual fate of an Indian prince, opened his career by contending with a brother for the sovereignty. He was next invaded by a large Mogul force; but, showing himself not an unworthy descendant of his father, compelled it to retire with great loss. Aurengzebe, however, soon afterwards pushed all his armies into the Deccan, with the view of making a final conquest of the south of India. He commenced, as we have already related, with the entire reduction of the kingdoms of Bejapore and Golconda, which had so long braved his power. He then turned his whole array towards the Mahrattas, and began to practise against them

their own arts. Having learned from one of his spies that Sambajee, in the pursuit of the irregular pleasures to which he was addicted, had set out almost unattended, he sent a detachment of soldiers who surprised and made him prisoner. The emperor, according to his usual ungenerous conduct, ordered the captive to be immediately put to death, and is alleged even to have feasted his eyes on the sufferings which that unfortunate prince bore with unshaken fortitude.

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54. The latter years of Aurengzebe, though they were not marked by any serious reverse, and though his power continued on the whole unbroken, were yet rendered gloomy by the disappointment of several important enterprises, and by the many omens of decline which thickened around his empire. His bigotry, always increasing, impelled him at length to the most violent measures for extirpating the Hindoo religion. The superb temples of Muttra and Benares were rased to the ground, and mosques erected on their site. The pagoda of Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid of the national structures, was desecrated by killing a cow within its walls. These outrages, viewed by the superstitious people with the deepest horror, did not indeed excite them to direct rebellion; but still they spread throughout the empire a universal detestation of the Mogul yoke, and an eager disposition to rally round any standard whether erected by a chief or a government. To them may be ascribed in a great measure the rapid progress of the Mahratta state, and the successful resistance of the petty Rajpoot principalities. The days of Aurengzebe were also more and more embittered by the disposition which his children showed to follow his example.

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55. Mohammed, his eldest son, had already died in prison,—the punishment of rebellion. During a dangerous illness, under which he suffered at an early period of his reign, Shah Allum, the second, had too clearly shown how intently his mind was fixed on the succession; and though he had done nothing absolutely undutiful, or which would have justified his disgrace, the intercourse between him and his father was ever after marked by suspicion and distrust. Akbar, another son, distinguished by the high rank of his mother, was guilty of open insurrection, and joined succes-

sively the hostile standards of the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots. Two others, Azim and Kaum Buksh, were near him in his last illness; and he foresaw too clearly that his death would be the signal for dreadful conflicts, to be terminated only by the blood of all his male descendants except one. Amid these troubles and gloomy presentiments the fatal term at length arrived; he expired in his camp on the 21st February 1707, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-ninth of his reign.

56. Historians have found much difficulty in forming a correct estimate of the character of this extraordinary monarch. His crimes, written in deep and legible charactars, cannot be concealed, while the general tenor of his life was marked by many virtues. In the administration of justice he was assiduous and impartial; he was liable neither to fits of passion nor caprice; his charities were almost unbounded, and he usually showed much concern for the welfare of his people. Surrounded by the most ample means of licentious indulgence, of which the example had been set by the greatest of his predecessors, the habits of his private life were pure and even austere. Our opinion of his character must be materially affected by the degree of credit which we attach to that religious profession which he maintained through life with so much apparent zeal. It is exposed to much suspicion, from the manifest exaggeration with which it was sometimes exhibited, and still more from its having been made an instrument of ambition, and even of crimes. Yet there seems reason to believe that, as in the case of Cromwell, whom in many respects he resembled, there may have been, beneath a good deal of interested and hypocritical pretension, a fund of sincerity.

57. The chief aim of this monarch seems to have been to restore peace to the empire, even at the cost of resigning some of the pretensions advanced by its rulers during the long period of progressive prosperity. He effected an accommodation with the Rajpoots, on terms which required from those haughty chiefs little more than the shadow of submission. The Mahrattas, during the latter part of the reign of Aurengzebe, had offered to cease their depredations on condition of receiving the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts which were exposed to their inroads;

but that proud sovereign, though unable to repel them, indignantly rejected the idea of listening to proposals made by the leaders of a predatory horde. Shah Allum, however, finding that the empire did not afford the means of subduing these plunderers, determined, wisely perhaps, to accede to their terms, and thereby to deliver several of his finest provinces from so dreadful a scourge. On other occasions, when circumstances were more favourable, he showed himself not destitute either of enterprise or military skill. These qualities he had occasion to display against a new enemy, who about this time rose into political importance.

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58. Shah Allum, according to the account of Eradut Khan, who enjoyed his intimate confidence, appears to have been one of the most accomplished and amiable princes that ever swayed the sceptre of India. His liberality though censured by same as extreme, was always exerted towards the most deserving objects. He was strongly attached to the Moslem faith, and deeply versant in its theology, which he studied, however, in a liberal manner, making himself acquainted with the opinions of all sects, and even of free-thinkers, to a degree that somewhat scandalized the more rigid doctors. Instead of the dark jealousy which had usually reigned between the members of the Mogul family, he had seventeen sons, grandsons, and nephews, constantly seated at his table, who showed no disposition to abuse this kind confidence. Though he did not possess the full energy suited to the trying circumstances of his government, his moderation and the general respect in which he was held might probably have averted the calamities which impended over this great empire; but unhappily, after a reign of five years, he was seized with a violent illness, and died in his camp at Lahore in the year 1712.

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59. The Syeds having thus elevated their candidate to power, considered him as their vassal, and proceeded to administer the empire at their pleasure. They discovered no want of vigour in the conduct of affairs. Banda, the Seik prince, having descended to the plains bordering on the Indus, was defeated, taken, and put to death with the most cruel tortures. The great omrahs, however, soon began to murmur at the supremacy of these chiefs. Even the emperor himself felt their yoke burdensome; and favourites were also

found who exhorted him to submit no longer to this thraldom, but to assume real power in his own person. Thus his reign of seven years was spent in a continued series of intrigues, the issue of which was that the Syeds completely prevailed, put Feroksere to death, and looked around for another high-born pageant on whom to confer the semblance of sovereignty. They chose first a great-grandson of Aurengzebe by his rebellious son Akbar; but in five months he died of consumption. Next his brother Ruffeh-ul-Dowlah was named to succeed, but he survived his elevation only three months. The Syeds then placed on the throne Rooshun Akter, a grandson of Shah Allum, under the name of Mohammed Shah.

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60. But he was no sooner in full possession of sovereign power than he displayed that incapacity which seemed to be now inherent in the Mogul race. He had two able and not unfaithful ministers, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadut Khan; but, disgusted with their grave and severe manners, he resigned himself to youthful advisers, who were easily found within the precincts of a court. Those two chiefs, irritated at finding themselves thus overlooked, withdrew and endeavoured to establish a separate authority in other quarters; Nizam in the Deccan, where he has transmitted his name and title to a race of princes still nominally independent; and Saadut in Oude, where a branch of his family likewise continues to reign. In this crisis the Mahrattas, who had been continually extending the range of their incursions, began penly to contend for the empire. After overrunning the greater part of Malwa and Guzerat, they pushed forward to the very gates of Agra, and struck terror into the imperial capital. Saadut Khan, who alone seemed to retain any regard for the honour and safety of the state, marched down from Oude, and gave them so great an overthrow as would have completely broken their power, had he been permitted to follow it up; but the weak emperor desired operations to be suspended till his favourite minister should have collected troops, and marched forth to take the chief command.

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61. Nadir seems to have entered it with the intention of acting moderately, and of protecting the inhabitants from outrage. For two days the strictest discipline was observed; but unfortunately, in the course of the second night, a rumour was spread of his death, when the Hindoos, emboldened to

a vain resistance, killed a number of his troops. Their commander, whose fierce spirit had been with difficulty restrained, roused to the utmost fury by this outrage, issued orders for a general massacre in every house or lane where the body of a murdered Persian could be found. Till mid-day the streets of Delhi streamed with blood; after which the conqueror suffered himself to be appeased,—and so complete a control did he exercise over his rude followers, that at his mandate the sword was immediately sheathed. The imperial repositories were now ransacked, and found to contain specie, rich robes, and, above all, jewels to an almost incredible value.

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62. Nadir made no attempt to retain India, though it lay prostrate at his feet. He had probably the sagacity to perceive that so vast a country and Persia were incapable of being united into one kingdom. He contented himself with exacting the cession of Cabul, Candahar, and all the provinces west of the Indus; then seating Mohammed anew on the Mogul throne, he gave him some salutary advices, and departed without leaving a soldier or retaining a fortified post in Hindostan. Yet the empire, already greatly sunk, lost by this discomfiture the little remnant of respect which it had hitherto commanded. In Rohilcund, a hilly district closely contiguous to the capital, some refugee chiefs of the Afghan race, with the brave inhabitants of the country itself, formed an independent state, which defied the imperial power. They were, it is true, obliged to give way before the united force of the vizier and the Nabob of Oude; but they held themselves in readiness to take advantage of those convulsions to which the successors of Akbar were constantly becoming more and more exposed.

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63. The empire was now in a most distracted condition there was scarcely a power so insignificant as not to think itself sufficiently strong to trample on it. The Afghans had completely conquered the provinces of Moultan and Lahore; the Seiks, in the same quarter, daily augmented their numbers and strength; the Jauts and Rohillas continued their predatory inroads; while the Mahrattas extended their incursions, in the course of which they had even passed the Jumna, and obtained an important settlement in Rohilcund. Ghazee-ud-Dien precipitated the disaster by a rash attempt

at conquest, to which his power was wholly inadequate. An Afghan lady having been intrusted by Ahmed Abdalla with the government of Lahore, the vizier, under pretence of negotiating a marriage with her daughter, seized her person, and brought her a prisoner to Delhi. At this outrage the indignation of the barbarian king knew no bounds. He hastened at the head of a vast army, and made an unresisted entrance into the capital, which was given up to a sack almost as dreadful as it had suffered from Nadir.

64. Without attempting to thread further this labyrinth of treason, we may observe generally, that the Mogul throne had now almost ceased to retain any degree of weight or importance. The contest for the empire of India lay entirely between the Afghans and the Mahrattas; and the latter, taking advantage of the absence of their rivals, determined upon a grand attempt to secure complete possession of Hindostan. Bringing up from the Deccan an immense body of cavalry, and being aided by the Seiks, they overran not only the metropolitan provinces of Agra and Delhi, but also those of Moultan and Lahore, and drove the Afghans beyond the Indus. Ahmed Abdalla, however, was not of a character tamely to allow these fine countries to be wrested from his kingdom. He soon crossed the river with a formidable army, and was joined by many chiefs who were exasperated at the incursion of the Mahrattas. These plunderers at first retreated, and allowed him to occupy Delhi; but immediately intrenched themselves in a strong camp, which he did not venture to attack. Pressed, however, by want of provisions, they imprudently came out and gave battle, when they experienced a total defeat; their army of 80,000 men being almost entirely destroyed, and Duttah Sindia, their general, killed. Another body under Holkar was surprised near Secundra, and so completely worsted, that he himself fled naked with a handful of followers.

65. The Mahrattas, though humbled by this disaster, were not discouraged; and they resolved to make the most extraordinary exertions for retrieving their fortunes. Before the close of the year, they had assembled a force of 140,000 men, commanded by Sewdasheo Rao, called the Bhow, nephew to their peishwa or supreme prince; and that chief, being joined by the vizier and the Jaut leaders, advanced upon

Delhi. The deep stream of the Jumna, swelled by the rains, separated the armies; but, though it could not be forded, the daring spirit of Abdalla impelled him to plunge into its waters, and swim across with his whole army. This achievement, which was almost without example, struck dismay into the host of the Mahrattas. Though triple the number of their antagonists, they did not venture to face them in the open field, but shut themselves up in an intrenched camp at Panniput, on a spot where the fate of the empire has been repeatedly decided. Ahmed for some time merely hovered round them and cut off their supplies; at length he ventured on an attempt to carry their position, but was obliged to retire without any important success.

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66. Dupleix, who was thus left in the supreme command of affairs in India, was a very extraordinary character. From his father, who had been a farmer-general and a director of the East India Company, he inherited an immense fortune, which he was taught to employ in the pursuits of commerce. Being sent out originally as first member of the council at Pondicherry, and afterwards as superintendent at Chandernagore, he at once, by his public measures, rendered this last settlement extremely prosperous, and by an extensive trade largely augmented his private wealth. His talents and success recommended him to the important station of Governor of Pondicherry. Although, from feelings of jealousy, he had quarrelled with Labourdonnais, and succeeded in removing him, yet his mind was enthusiastically and intensely devoted to the same system of policy. Neither Cæsar nor Alexander ever formed more magnificent schemes of conquest than this mercantile ruler of French India. His first object was to follow up the advantage gained over the English, and thoroughly to root out that rival nation from the coast of Coromandel.

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67. The English made the first movement. A prince of Tanjore named Sahujee, who had been dethroned by a brother, craved their aid to reinstate him, and offered in return the fortress and district of Devicottah, advantageously situated on the banks of the Coleroon. In 1749, they undertook an expedition against that stronghold; but disappointed by want of concert between the fleet and the army, and receiving no aid from the natives, they returned without having even

attempted its reduction. Mortified by this failure, they proceeded a second time against the place, the ships now conveying the soldiers to the mouth of the river, whence they ascended in boats to the town. After considerable difficulties, and a severe contest, in which Lieutenant Clive, afterwards so eminent in Indian history, distinguished himself by daring valour, they obtained possession of the fort. Its capture was immediately followed up with a treaty, by which its occupation was secured to the English, who, in return, abandoned the cause of the prince for whom they had taken arms.

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68. The French, meantime, were playing a much higher game, and openly aspiring to a direct ascendency in Southern India. We despair of conducting our readers in a satisfactory manner through the dark maze of Carnatic intrigue, or the barbarous names and uninteresting characters who were employed in it. It may be premised, that whenever an Indian prince dies, no respect is paid to the principle of primogeniture, or to any fixed law of succession. His sons, grandsons, nephews, or even more distant relations, advance claims to the sovereignty, which they forthwith endeavour to support by an appeal to arms. The dissensions of the Deccan arose upon the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who may be remembered as acting a part in Mogul history, and of Sadatullah, nabob of the Carnatic. Both these offices, originally subordinate appointments under the Emperor of Delhi, had, in the decline of that dynasty, become gradually independent. For these, instead of Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, the rightful or at least actual possessors, there appeared Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Saheb, who aspired, the former to be Subahdar of the Deccan, the latter to be Nabob of the Carnatic.

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69. This revolution had the effect of completely establishing the influence of the French in Southern India. Mirzapha, reposing entire confidence in Dupleix, visited him at Pondicherry, and was there installed with the greatest pomp in the throne of the Deccan. This officer, in return, was created governor under the Mogul, and collector of the revenue in all the countries south of the Kistna, a territory little inferior in extent to France; considerable districts round each of the three towns of Pondicherry, Carical, and Masulipatam, were also ceded in perpetuity. But the victorious parties found

themselves in that anxious and difficult position which inevitably arises from the alliance of those who own no law human or divine. The Patan chiefs made most enormous demands,—to which, according to the maxims of oriental treason, they seemed entitled. Yet the fulfilment of these and of others which would have followed, must have reduced Mirzapha Jung nearly to a cipher. Dupleix strongly represented to them the necessity of accepting much lower terms; and probably, from feeling themselves to be in his power, they appeared at the moment cordially to acquiesce.

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70. The Mysorean general, after beginning to negotiate with the French, had been induced to pause by the intelligence of the victory gained by the English; but, learning that it had not been followed by any decisive results, he concluded the treaty in conjunction with Morari Rao, who had also been much dissatisfied with his share of the booty. Dupleix likewise drew over Mortiz Ali, the governor of Vellore, by holding out to him the hope of being himself raised to the dignity of nabob; and then the French troops, in conjunction with the native forces, laid close siege to Trichinopoly. Major Laurence was stunned by the unexpected intelligence that, through the negligence of the commander, this important place did not contain provisions for more than fifteen days. He was therefore obliged to hasten instantly with his whole army to its relief. The men suffered considerably by a rapid march in the midst of the hot season; but they succeeded without opposition in entering the city. The major was then able to open a communication with the southern districts for a supply of necessaries, and obtained some assistance from the Rajah of Tanjore, whose alliance, however, like that of all Indian princes, wavered with every variation of fortune.

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71. The British establishments in Bengal had, during a long period, held only a secondary place to those formed on the coast of Coromandel; but the time was now arrived when they were to become the theatre of the most interesting events, and finally the centre and chief seat of our India dominion. The manner in which the factory at Calcutta was first founded has been already mentioned, and it continued to extend its importance, notwithstanding the opposition it experienced during the viceroyalty of Jaffier Khan.

Its situation became greatly improved when the office of nabob was occupied by Sujah; but on the death of that prince, his son Suffraze, a weak and imprudent ruler, was dethroned, and his place usurped by Aliverdi, a chief either of Patan or Afghan extraction, and possessed of great military talents. Notwithstanding the irregular elevation of the latter, he administered the government, not only in an able, but a mild and beneficent manner. This he did under difficult circumstances; for the Mahrattas, invited if is said either by the Mogul court or the subahdar, found their way in vast bodies into Bengal; and, though often repulsed, repeatedly renewed their inroads.

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72. The nabob, on receiving intelligence of the arrival and success of the English, immediately assembled his army and began to march upon Calcutta. Clive, not yet fully aware of the weakness of Indian potentates, was by no means forward to rush into a contest with the ruler of twenty millions of people. He considered it also of great importance to return as soon as possible to Madras, where the affairs of the Company were in so critical a state as to require his presence, and he hoped that Surajah might be induced to accede to moderate proposals. Watson, on the contrary, insisted that he would never become inclined to peace "till he had been well thrashed." But the other so far prevailed, that a mission was sent to him, who were honourably received, and had terms proposed that were considered admissible. He did not, however, discontinue his march, and by various evasions avoided bringing the treaty to a conclusion. In the end of January 1757, having arrived with his whole force, he commenced intrenching himself in the neighbourhood of Calcutta; and then all parties began to be persuaded that his only object in negotiating had been to gain time. Two gentlemen, meanwhile, were sent to request that he would withdraw; but he received them with haughtiness and refused compliance. Being warned by a friendly Indian to be on their guard against treachery, they departed abruptly, and reached headquarters in safety.

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73. A delicate and important question now arose; intelligence having arrived of war being declared between France and England. The subjects of the former, who had a strongly fortified position at Chandernagore, agreed that neutrality

should be observed within the province; admitting, at the same time, that they could not pledge themselves for its permanence without the sanction of the government at Pondicherry. Clive felt inclined to accept the offer, foreseeing that an attack on this post would offend the nabob and involve the British too deeply in the affairs of Bengal. On the other hand, it was considered that the security offered by the French was very precarious, and that when united with the native ruler, whose good will was exceedingly doubtful, and reinforced, as they might easily be, from their presidency, they could soon assemble a force which the English would be unable to resist. It was urged, therefore, that our countrymen ought to avail themselves of their present superiority to crush them, —an opinion which, supported by Waston as well as by urgent representations from Madras, finally prevailed.

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74. An oriental court, especially in so disorganized a state as those of India then were, in which no regular law of succession was recognised, usually presents numerous elements of treason. Among the nabob's principal chiefs, several who were disgusted with his violent and capricious behaviour were at the same time ambitious of filling his place, and Mr. Watts, who still continued resident, afforded a channel through whom applications could be made. The first overture came from one named Khuda Yar Khan Lattee, who proposed with the aid of the British to dethrone his master, assuring them that they would be aided by the Seits, a family of native merchants and bankers possessed of immense wealth. This transaction acquired a greatly augmented importance when it was announced that Meer Jaffier, the premier, was ready to engage in it on condition of being raised to supreme power in the room of the other. Clive, on receiving this intimation considered the revolution as already effected.

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75. Soon after, the government of Bengal was involved in peculiar difficulties. The distracted state of the province excited the hopes of the native princes, who expected that it would fall an easy prey; and the eldest son of the Mogul, called the shazada, having obtained from his father the investiture as Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, proceeded to establish his claim by arms. The force which he could command was exceedingly small; but he was supported

by two distinguished officers, now established nearly as independent rulers. One was the Nabob of Oude, a fine province north of the Ganges, once the seat of a powerful empire. The other was the Subahdar of Allahabad, a fertile region along the same river, the capital of which, situated at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, is one of the largest and most venerated cities of the empire. Akbar made it a favourite residence, and erected at the angle of the currents the *Chalees Satoon*, a spacious fortress, which, having its gateways ornamented with domes and cupolas, exhibits one of the most striking specimens of Indian architecture.

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76. Meantime the interior was by no means tranquil. The young prince, who, on his father being put to death by the Mahrattas, succeeded to the almost empty title of Great Mogul, renewed his pretensions upon Bengal, and was again seconded by the Nabob of Oude, on whom he had conferred the still imposing rank of vizier. Their combined forces had advanced upon Patna, and gained a considerable advantage over the garrison, before Colonel Caillaud, now commanding the English army as well as the native troops under Meeran, Jaffier's son, could arrive to their aid. He made the attack on the 22nd February, 1760; and though the Indian auxiliaries were rendered nearly useless by a very injudicious position, the British and sepoys alone poured in so effective a fire as drove the enemy off the field, and obliged them to retire to Bahar. Meeran, however, who had received a slight wound, re-entered Patna, and resigned himself to ease and pleasure. The defeated army then conceived the bold design of marching across the country by the shortest route to Moorshedabad, and surprising the nabob in his capital. It is believed, had this enterprise been as promptly executed as it was ably planned, that the object might have been accomplished; but the chiefs indulged in the usual dilatory habits of an oriental army, and Caillaud had time, by rapidly conveying troops down the river, to reinforce his ally, and deter the enemy from the meditated attack.

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77. Affairs in Bengal meantime were by no means in a satisfactory state. Jaffier proved an indolent, voluptuous and tyrannical ruler. Instead of being able to pay up the instalments due to his allies, he could not find funds for his own extravagant expenses; and he endeavoured to fill his

coffers by plundering the native chiefs, three of whom at one time rose in rebellion. The revenues of three districts indeed were assigned for the liquidation of the British debt, while the monopoly of saltpetre and other exorbitant commercial privileges were granted; but it soon became sufficiently evident that he had forgotten all his obligations to the English, and yielded only from fear or the impossibility of otherwise maintaining his power. On a full survey of these circumstances, the heads of the council formed the determination of supplanting Meer Jaffier, or at least of placing the real power in the hands of another. After much deliberation, it was resolved that his successor should be his own son-in-law, Meer Cossim, who alone appeared to possess the energy necessary to retrieve the sinking affairs of the country.

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78. Meer Cossim applied himself with talent and vigour to the task of governing. By judicious arrangements, and by extracting money from the native chiefs, he succeeded in paying up the arrears due to our countrymen. But urgent circumstances soon called the allied powers to the frontier; for the emperor, still aided in some degree by the sovereign of Oude, contrived to make several harassing incursions into the nabob's territory. Major Carnac marched to its defence, and having soon brought the Mogul army to action, completely defeated it. The most remarkable event was the capture of M. Law, who, with a handful of French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English. Deserted by his men, he bestrode one of the guns, and in that attitude awaited the approach of death. The Hindoos, strangers to any refined laws of war, were much surprised to see the British officers approach, courteously invite him to their camp, and treat him as an honoured and respected guest. The major, after the battle, sent overtures of accommodation, accompanied even with an offer to wait upon the emperor in his camp; and though these proposals were at first rejected, the prince, on mature reflection, not only received the victorious commander, but proceeded with him to Patna.

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79. The English now again raised to power Meer Jaffier, whom the blind desire of governing induced to forget all his wrongs. At the same time Major Adams, who commanded

the troops, was ordered to open the campaign with the utmost possible vigour; and he found Meer Cossim better prepared for resistance than any Indian sovereign who had yet been encountered. The British had first to defeat a strong advanced guard in front of Moorshedabad, and afterwards to storm the lines constructed for the defence of the city; when continuing to press forward they discovered the subahdar with his whole force drawn up in the plain of Geriah. The troops presented the aspect of a European army; being brigaded, clothed, and accoutred in the English style, and supported by a fine train of artillery. Their number did not exceed 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot; but to oppose this force Major Adams had only 3,000 men. He led them on, however, to the attack, which the enemy withstood four hours with great intrepidity; at one period they had even surrounded and broken a part of his line, and captured two pieces of cannon. But at length, the steady and disciplined valour of the assailants carried every thing before it; and the native warriors fled, abandoning all their artillery and provisions. Their prince, notwithstanding, retired to an intrenched camp on the Oodwa, so strongly enclosed between the river, the mountains, and a swamp, that its reduction detained the army nearly a whole month. In the end it was surprised and carried; after which he never again attempted to face his adversaries in the open field.

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80. The nabob's only hope henceforth rested on Patana, which was soon afterwards invested. He reinforced the garrison with 10,000 men, and supported the defence by strong bodies of irregular cavalry. The resistance was vigorous; the garrison took one of the English batteries, and blew up their magazine; yet in eight days a breach was effected, and the place was taken by storm. Cossim then gave up all for lost, and fled into the country of Oude to implore the aid and protection of the subahdar, Sujah Dowlah. That prince had then a still more illustrious refugee, in the individual who by legitimate descent bore the mighty name of the Great Mogul. At this court the fugitive viceroy was well received, and Sujah, probably with a view to his own aggrandizement, undertook to support his cause; after which these three distinguished personages marched with their united force to attack the British army, which happened then to be

very ill prepared to sustain so formidable an encounter. The troops, composed in a great measure of foreigners and sepoys, complained that, after such a series of brilliant victories, they were left not only without reward, but suffering severely from the climate and scarcity of provisions. Their discontents broke forth into open mutiny, and numbers even separated from the main body.

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81. Meantime the directors at home, amid the triumphs which had crowned their arms, were agitated by many anxieties. It was not from any impulse imparted by them that the career of conquest had been pursued. They do not appear indeed to have desired any further possessions than were necessary for the security of their trade. Without absolutely censuring the council for their proceedings relative to Meer Jaffier and Cossim, they expressed some apprehension lest their character for good faith and moderation should be thereby injured. Three revolutions had occurred in the course of as many years, by which their very existence in India had been exposed to hazard. In particular, they complained of the enormous and incessant expenses in which these transactions involved them, and which they had not been able to defray without reducing their dividend 25 per cent. They had also found extreme difficulty in answering the demand for men, which indeed would have been impossible, had not government supplied them with some regular troops; it was not even very easy to charter vessels for their conveyance.

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82. In the general breaking up of the Mogul empire and its great viceroyalties, India was reduced almost to a state of anarchy. Any bold adventurer, who could summon round him the warlike and predatory bands with which that region abounded, might aspire to rule over extensive districts, several of which were entitled to rank as kingdoms. Among such communities a conspicuous place was held by Mysore, the territory of which forms one of the most remarkable of those elevated table-lands that diversify the southern provinces. It stretches more than half-way from sea to sea, closely approaching the Malabar coast on the one side, and on the other reaching to the border of the Carnatic. A circuit of lofty hills, forming a barrier round the country, raise its general surface to the height of almost 3,000

feet; a happy circumstance, which secures for it a climate unusually temperate and salubrious. The soil is generally well suited for producing the most valuable grains and fruits, and by a rude but careful cultivation is rendered extremely fertile. This kingdom, under the direction of a daring soldier, rose to such power as to threaten the very existence of the British dominion in the East.

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83. Mysore, down to a recent period, had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway; it was still ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall to the Mogul. In the decline of the latter sovereignty both these were withheld, unless when the imperial lieutenant could assemble a force sufficiently strong to wrest payment from the local sovereign. This independence, however, was of little avail to the original rajahs, who, sinking, according to the custom of oriental princes, into voluptuous indolence, allowed the government to pass almost entirely into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, of whom the latter possessed the more vigorous character, had risen to the head of affairs. At this time, however, there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in that country, and in all Southern India.

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84. Colonel Wilks, from native authorities, has given an account of the origin of *Hyder* with a degree of minuteness which it is unnecessary for us to follow. His family appears to have sprung from the northern territory of the Punjab; they were of low station, and so poor, as in some instances to subsist upon alms. Futtee Mohammed, the father, reared by a charitable hand, entered the army of a Mysorean chief, and having served with distinction was raised to the rank of a *Naik*, an officer of peons or foot soldiers. A lady of some quality, whose husband had been robbed and murdered by banditti, being reduced to the utmost want, was prevailed upon to give her two daughters successively in marriage to this adventurer. By the youngest he had two sons, named Shabaz and Hyder; but, when they had attained only the respective ages of nine and seven, their father and the prince his master were killed in battle. The mother and her boys

then fell into the power of a rapacious chief, who not only seized all the property he could find, but employed the most cruel torture to make them yield up their hidden possessions. The widow of Futtee Mohammed, having "lost every thing but her children and her honour," found refuge with her brother Ibrahim, by whose bounty the family were supported. Hyder, accordingly, had his fortune entirely to make; and for some time he gave but slender promise of reaching any high advancement.

85. Hyder had now collected so much strength both of arms and treasure, and had acquired so high a reputation, that he began to aim at the throne of Mysore. His views were greatly favoured by the violent dissensions which prevailed at court. The young rajah, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient tool, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from this thraldom, and had already secured the support of a large body of adherents: but having made a premature display of his designs, the palace which he had fortified was attacked and easily carried. The minister, after this victory, though he treated his sovereign with a semblance of respect, caused his supporters to be either thrown into chains, or, having their noses and ears cut off, to be thrust out into the street. Deoraj, indignant at this cruelty on the part of his brother, abandoned his interests, and went to reside in a different quarter of the country.

Nunjeraj himself was soon exposed to an exigency to which a Hindoo prince is almost always liable. His troops began to clamour for a large amount of arrears, and obtaining no satisfaction, proceeded to the expedient of seating themselves in *dherna* at his gate. According to this institution, which in India is held sacred, he could neither taste food nor drink while the claimants remained in that position; and the soldiers, occupying the entrance of the palace, took care that this rule should be strictly observed.

86. Hyder seemed now at the height of power; yet he was soon after involved in the most serious peril he had ever encountered. The rajah and the dowager were not long in discovering, what indeed they could scarcely fail to foresee, that by this change of affairs they had merely substituted one sovereign minister for another, and were as destitute as ever of any real power. They gained over Kunde Row, who

then watched in conjunction with them the opportunity of striking a blow against the man of whom he had been so long the devoted adherent; and it occurred sooner than might have been expected with one so conversant in all the intricacies of treason. Hyder, suspecting nothing, had dispersed his forces in different directions, and lay encamped with a handful of troops under the walls of Seringapatam. Suddenly, with amazement and consternation, he saw its batteries begin to play upon him; he called for Kunde Row, his resource in every difficulty, but that person was seen on the ramparts directing the operations of the artillery. Perceiving the snare into which he had fallen, he summoned all his presence of mind in this desperate extremity.

87. But this successful career soon met with an interruption. Madoo Rao, one of the most renowned generals among the Mahrattas, entered Mysore with an immense host of cavalry. They covered the face of the country, and so completely cut off all communication, that even the vigilant Hyder was surprised by the appearance of their main body, when he imagined them to be still at a distance. He was defeated, and after several unsuccessful attempts, during a campaign of some length, to retrieve his affairs, was compelled to purchase peace by extensive cessions, and the payment of thirty-two lacks of rupees. That tumultuary horde then retired, and left him at liberty to pursue his farther acquisitions. He directed his arms against Calicut, still ruled by a personage entitled the zamorin, and esteemed the principal maritime city on that coast. Its troops opposed him with the same desultory but harassing warfare by which they had baffled the attack of Albuquerque. The rude soldier, however, forced his way through these obstacles and approached the capital, when the zamorin, despairing of being able to prolong the resistance, came out with his ministers and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. He was favourably received, and on his offering ransom to the amount of £190,000 sterling, the invader agreed to abstain from farther aggression.

88. The British force had now been considerably weakened by remaining so long in the open field, insufficiently supplied with food, and exposed to the unfavourable influences of the climate. The Indian chief, who had gained conti-

nual accessions of strength, determined on a bold movement, not in front of the English, but by one of his circuitous marches among the hills. First his general, and then himself, aided by their thorough knowledge of the passes of the Ghauts, descended suddenly into the level country of Coimbetoor and Baramahl, with the conquest of which our countrymen had been so highly elated. He found the Company's troops scattered in numerous small bodies, and occupying indefensible positions, which fell one after another, almost without resistance, while several were betrayed by the native commandants; so that in six weeks he had reannexed to his territory all these boasted acquisitions. On this occasion a detachment under Captain Nixon being surrounded by the whole force of the enemy was, after a gallant resistance, almost entirely destroyed.

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89. Hyder, in his triumphant progress. now began to menace the rear of his adversaries; and the English awakening from their dreams of conquest, saw the depôts and posts on which their military operations rested in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Their pride was so far lowered, that they despatched Captain Brooke to attempt a negotiation with the sovereign of Mysore. The latter received him extremely well, and seems to have explained his views with a candour not usual in the tortuous proceedings of oriental policy. He declared that it was, and had always been, his earnest wish to be on good terms with the British, an object defeated solely by themselves and their worthless ally, Mohammed Ali. He confessed that this desire was prompted by an enlarged view of his own interest, especially as being liable to a periodical visitation from the Mahrattas, whose usual time was now fast approaching. He frankly owned to Brooke, that as he was quite unable to resist both them and the English, he might find it advisable in such an extremity to form a union with them against his European enemies,—an arrangement in which he would find little difficulty. He desired him, therefore, to assure the council that no time must be lost in making him either friend or foe. The presidency accordingly sent Mr. Andrews, an individual greatly in their confidence, to the Indian camp; but still their terms were too high.

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90. Having thus terminated with advantage and glory this great contest with the British, he felt himself better prepared to encounter a still more formidable enemy. The Mahrattas, under Madoo Rao, entered his dominions with a force supposed to be at least double that of his army, and led by able commanders. He endeavoured a second time to check them by laying waste his territory; but the invaders, as before, surmounted every obstacle, and, forming a regular plan of conquest, reduced successively all his strong places, and committed the most monstrous cruelties. At one fortress, which had made an obstinate resistance, the barbarian leader ordered the noses and ears of the garrison to be cut off; and sending for the governor, asked if he was not conscious of deserving to be thus mutilated and disgraced? The other replied:—"The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours;" an answer, the truth of which so forcibly struck the Mahratta, that he dismissed him uninjured.

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91. Madoo Rao being obliged, by severe indisposition, to yield the command to Trimbuck Mama, Hyder determined to make a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position covered by a range of rugged mountains. The new general did not attempt directly to force this camp, but pointed against it day after day such a harassing cannonade, that the Mysorean chief at length determined to fall back upon his capital. He began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of the enemy; but the rash discharge of a gun by one of the officers betrayed the secret, and the numerous squadrons of Mahratta horse were soon in full pursuit. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The critical condition of the army had not prevented Hyder from indulging in habits of evening inebriety, to which he had become addicted, and which now rendered him wholly unfit for directing the movement of the troops. Having in this state met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; then seizing a thick cane, applied it to his back with such vehemence, that the marks remained visible for upwards of a week. The prince, burning with indignation, went to the head of his division, dashed to the ground his turban, sword, and splendid robe, exclaiming:—"My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Allah and his prophet that I draw no sword to-day."

92. The English during this war did not fulfil their engagement to aid the Mysorean ruler in the defence of his dominions. After it was concluded, the Company wrote to their principal officers, strongly condemning their interference in the wars of the Carnatic, the formation of any alliances which might involve them in hostilities, and particularly the supplying arms and ships to Hyder, or any other native power. To enforce these views, Sir John Lindsay was sent out as a sort of minister plenipotentiary, to act as a check upon the council. He, however, soon went much beyond his commission, for he formed a close intimacy with the nabob Mohammed Ali, whom he joined in urging that the presidency should embrace the cause of the invaders. They successfully resisted so gross a violation of their treaty; but these opposite impulses rendered the whole conduct of the British weak and vacillating. The Court, on being made acquainted with the doings of Sir John, superseded him, and appointed in his place Admiral Harland, commander of the fleet, to whom such instructions were given as were expected to prevent a similar collision.

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93. Hyder, as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory; turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and pay for these bloody trophies; but after seven hundred heads had been brought in, there appeared two with such peculiarly fine and handsome features, that he was moved with unwonted pity, and ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance. His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mahrattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved.

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94. Deep discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He had, as formerly mentioned,

earnestly courted their alliance; for his own purposes doubtless, but on the fair and honourable principle that the parties should mutually support each other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. Their conduct, however, in the late war, when they saw his very existence so long endangered without making a single effort to relieve him, seems to have thoroughly disgusted him. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy.

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95. Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosques, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindoos, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and found mustered on the frontier perhaps the finest army that had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2,000 rocketmen, 5,000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras. Colonel Wilks, however, controverts the idea generally received that the whole country was reduced to ashes. This would have been contrary to Hyder's object in pursuing a plan of conquest; he merely drew round the capital a wide circle of desolation, calculating that a tedious blockade would be necessary to reduce so strong a city.

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96. The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This corps amounted to 2,800, the main body not exceeding 5,200. Lord Macleod, who had recently arrived in India and held the actual command, strongly, and apparently with reason, recommended that the point of junction should be fixed in front of Madras, not in the heart of a province entirely occupied by the enemy. Sir Hector Monro, the commander-in-chief, however, undertook to unite the armies at Conjeveram, fifty miles distant from the capital; but Baillie, in order to reach that place, was obliged to take an inland route, in which he was exposed to the hazard of being attacked by the whole force of the invader. He was detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur, and, after effecting his passage, was assailed by a large detachment under Tippoo, which he repulsed, but not without sustaining some loss. Hyder then, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector, interposed his whole army between the two English divisions.

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97. Meantime Colonel Brathwaite, at the head of 2000 men, was recovering for the English their ascendency in Tanjore; though his corps, when the whole country was occupied by the Mysorean cavalry, seems to have been too small to remain with safety detached from the main army. Hyder not only cut off from the British all sources of accurate information, but studied to deceive them: all the spies who pretended to give them intelligence were in his pay; and Brathwaite remained encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, without a suspicion that the flower of the enemy's forces were hemming him in on every side. Even when assured of the fact by one of the natives, he was so misled by opposite intimations as to think the assertion unworthy of credit, till he found himself enclosed by an army of more than ten times his number. All accounts agree that the resistance of this devoted little corps was truly gallant, and that, during the protracted contest, they repulsed repeated and desperate attacks. But at length an onset by the French troops broke the sepoys; the whole were thrown into confusion, and finally either killed or obliged to sur-

render. The French officers displayed their usual humanity, and even Tippoo, who commanded, did not on this occasion treat the prisoners with his accustomed barbarity.

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98. Notwithstanding this studied concealment, the government at Madras received early notice of the death of Hyder. They immediately transmitted the intelligence to their commander-in-chief, urging him to make a rapid movement to take advantage of that disorganization which usually follows such a crisis in an Indian government. But unfortunately the most violent insubordination and dissension reigned among the different members of the council themselves. The dictatorial power, independent of the civil government, intrusted to Sir Eyre Coote, was perhaps necessary under the circumstances of that period, and had been attended with signal advantage in the conduct of the war; but it formed a precedent to which future commanders were too much inclined to appeal. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre, claimed equal authority; while Lord Macartney required the entire subordination of the military to the civil administration. The former, to vindicate his supposed right, seems to have acted in studious opposition to the instructions issued by the presidency.

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99. We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings on the western coast, which were rapidly rising in importance. After Tippoo had retired so hastily to make good his claim to the crown, the English became again decidedly superior; having obtained a very considerable reinforcement under General Mathews, who assumed the command. That officer received from the presidency of Bombay positive orders to commence operations, and push forward without delay, by the most direct road, against the important city of Bednore. Instructions thus peremptory, issued by a civil government placed at so great a distance, were manifestly inexpedient. Mathews wrote, remonstrating in the strongest manner against the danger of the course thus prescribed, and the disadvantage of depriving him of discretionary power; and yet, though there must be always some measure of discretion implied in such circumstances, he proceeded precipitately to carry his orders into effect. He landed his troops at the point of the coast nearest to Bednore, and began to scale the steepest part of the Ghauts, regardless of several

detachments of the enemy which were hovering on his flank and rear.

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100. Tippoo was greatly annoyed on learning the fall of this important place, and the near advance of the enemy towards his capital. Mathews was soon informed that successive corps were throwing themselves on his rear, and surrounding him with a force against which he would be unable to cope. He had by this time obtained permission from the Bombay government to act according to his own discretion; but he was now so elated by his easy victory, that he placed blind confidence in fortune, and even, according to certain statements, believed himself aided by some supernatural power. Thus, reposing in full security, he allowed his communications with the sea to be intercepted, while his troops were surrounded by Tippoo's force, aided by the science of Cossigny, a French engineer. The garrison were driven into the citadel, and, after a brave defence, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, though on favourable terms, receiving a promise that they should be safely conducted to the coast. When the Indian prince obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but, to his rage and dismay, found it empty.

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101. Tippoo, after having concluded this treaty, became the most prominent personage in the political world of India. Equal perhaps to his father in talents and ambition, sometimes even displaying a superior military genius, he was yet, as already observed, a very different character. The former always proceeded in a direct course to realize his schemes of interest or ambition, from which no other object could turn him aside; but the latter was agitated by various passions and caprices, which disqualified him from pursuing a decided line of policy. Instead, too, of manifesting the indifference of Hyder on the subject of religion, he was inspired with a furious zeal in the cause of Islamism, which prompted to the most odious and tyrannical measures. The issue was, that he was buried under the ruins of the empire he inherited, and which his predecessor, by so many arts and crimes, had raised out of nothing.

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102. His first religious persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. In this case, indeed, he seems to have had a somewhat plausible pretext. In his narrative he asserts, probably not without truth, that the Europeans had originally employed violent means to compel the natives to adopt the new creed. Having therefore collected 60,000, by his own statement, but, acccording to Wilks, only 30,000, he forcibly inflicted on them the rite of circumcision; then hurried them to the capital, and distributed them in the different garrisons; a barbarous treatment, by which it is said that many perished. By a strange inconsistency, he represented it as the highest honour to be thus urged to the profession of the Moslem faith, yet made it the punishment of rebellion and contumacy. The rude mountainous territory of Coorg had always formed a reluctant appendage to the kingdom of Mysore. The people had taken advantage of the war with the English to reassert their independence; holding their conquerors in equal abhorrence on account of their religion, and their disregard for the rights of landed property. As they now presented the aspect of a formidable resistance, Tippoo was obliged to march against them with his whole force, when they retreated into the depth of their forests, which appeared almost inaccessible.

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103. The increasing influence and lofty pretensions of this potentate raised against him, in 1786, a confederacy the most powerful that had for a long time been formed in Southern India. The Mahrattas had repeatedly shaken to its foundation the throne of Hyder; and, though now much disunited, they were still the greatest among the native powers. They held possession of the person as well as the capital of the Mogul, and had no rivals for empire except in the Afghan sovereigns. With the Nizam, who ranked second in strength and dignity, they formed an alliance, which had for its object the subversion of the new kingdom in the south, and the division between them of all its possessions. So confident were the Mahrattas of a triumphant issue, that they did not even call in their own contingents, and declined courting the aid of the English, lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. The confederates advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between their dominions and

those of Tippoo; they besieged and took the strong fortress of Badamee; and their cavalry spread themselves over the country.

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104. The general issue of the day was such as induced them to retreat, abandoning to the conqueror the important city and district of Savanoor. Soon after, overtures were made for a treaty, which was concluded on the condition that the sultan should acknowledge the tribute stipulated by Hyder; amounting still, after some liberal deductions, to forty-five lacks of rupees, thirty of which were actually paid. He restored also Adonie and the other towns taken during the war, and was in return recognised as sovereign of nearly all India south of the river Toombuddra.

By this successful contest against such a powerful confederacy, Tippoo had earned perhaps the greatest military name in Hindostan; having displayed even prudence and moderation in the terms on which he concluded peace. He now considered himself the undisputed ruler of the south, and at liberty to propagate the Mohammedan faith by violence of every description. His first movement was to descend the Ghauts, into the territory of Calicut or Malabar Proper, which, by a hard-won conquest, Hyder had annexed to the dominion of Mysore. Here he found a race inspired with such deadly enmity to his favourite creed, that if a Mussulman touched the outer wall of a house, they thought it necessary to reduce the whole to ashes. Their religious profession, indeed, derived little honour from their moral conduct, since custom among the nayrs, or natives of high rank, sanctioned a mode of living so extremely dissolute, that Tippoo did not exaggerate when he told them, that "they were all born in adultery, and were more shameless in their connexions than the beasts of the field."

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105. The little kingdom of Travancore, forming the western part of the most southerly extremity of India, amid the revolutions which shook the greater states in its vicinity, had hitherto succeeded in maintaining independence and neutrality. It was protected not only by a lofty chain of mountains, extending as far as Cape Comorin, but by the more imperfect defence of a wall and ditch covering its whole frontier. Tippoo, however, had fixed his eyes with intense eagerness on the conquest of a territory which lay as

it were enclosed within his recent acquisitions, and would complete their circuit. He fabricated several grounds of dissatisfaction. The territory of Cochin, which had now been reduced under complete vassalage to Mysore, happened so to intersect that of Travancore, that the wall formed for the defence of the one surrounded some portions of the other; and Tippoo could complain that his passage to a certain part of his dominions was obstructed by this barrier. The Rajah of Travancore again, with the view of securing his frontier, had purchased from the Dutch the forts of Cranganor and Ayacotta, which the latter had long ago conquered from the Portuguese. This measure was deeply resented by Tippoo, who remarked that these forts stood within his territories, and alleged, though seemingly without reason, that the Dutch had owned his superiority, and paid a rent for the land. Lastly, the refugee nayrs, fleeing from his persecution, had found a friendly reception in Travancore. On these, or any other grounds, the sultan would not have been slow to execute his purpose, had it not been checked by a defensive alliance formed during the last war between the rajah and the English. It was therefore necessary to afford explanations to the government at Madras, who appear to have felt the strongest disposition to preserve pacific relations with Mysore. They professed themselves ready to listen to all reasonable grounds of complaint, and proposed sending two commissioners who might examine and adjust the several matters in dispute. This did not harmonize with the design of Tippoo, who hastened with his whole force to attack the weak barrier of the Travancore lines.

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106. It may be easier to conceive than describe the rage and humiliation of Tippoo at seeing his fine army thus completely repulsed by a despised foe; and he made a vow that he would not leave the encampment till he had retrieved and avenged the disaster. All his detachments were called in, his heavy cannon was brought down from Seringapatam and Bangalore; and though more than three months were employed in these preparations, he succeeded completely in lulling the suspicions of the British, and in persuading them that he was still desirous of maintaining amicable relations. At length, his arrangements being completed, about the beginning of April 1790, he opened regular batteries against this contemptible wall, and soon made a breach nearly three

quarters of a mile in extent. The troops of Travancore, thus exposed in the open field, fled with little resistance, and he soon saw the whole country lying defenceless before him. Immediately after he laid siege to Cranganor, near which, on the neighbouring island of Vipeen, the English had a small force stationed to assist the rajah. These were reinforced by three battalions under Colonel Hartley, who, on finding that he could not undertake offensive operations, withdrew the native garrison from the place, and took up a defensive position, in which the enemy did not attempt to molest him.

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107. The Marquis Cornwallis had arrived in 1786 as governor-general, with a view to effect a complete reform in the system of Indian policy; and to avoid by every possible means war with the native powers was one of his leading instructions. He began, accordingly, by proclaiming, in a manner that has been censured as too full and undisguised, the resolution to engage in no hostilities not strictly defensive. Yet his views very early underwent a change; and he then considered it necessary, or at least highly expedient, to enter upon an extended warfare with the view of humbling completely the power of Mysore. It seems difficult to discover any good ground for altering his determination so entirely. Tippoo had no doubt shown himself very formidable; yet there was no reason to apprehend, while the whole of Central India was united by the alliance between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, that the balance of power would be actually endangered; on the contrary, it was likely to be in greater peril from the downfall of one of these parties and the immoderate aggrandizement of the others. The new Governor-general, in adopting this policy, was greatly influenced, we suspect, by the restless and violent disposition of the sultan, and by an abhorrence of the cruel persecutions which he continued to inflict upon the inhabitants of the Malabar coast.

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108. The views of the Marquis were soon developed by a treaty formed with the Nizam. He had been instructed to take the earliest opportunity of demanding from this prince the cession of Guntoor, one of the Northern Circars, considered necessary for completing the circuit of that important territory. This claim was founded on the agree-

ment of 1768, originally concluded with a view to offensive war against Hyder, and to a partition of his dominions. The pretension was somewhat exorbitant, considering that the treaty had been repeatedly broken ; that war had since been waged between the two parties ; and that peace was twice contracted with Mysore without any regard to its stipulations. A military force, however, was despatched to support the claim, which the Nizam showed a very remarkable and unexpected facility in granting. Hatred and fear of Tippoo had at this time overcome all other considerations, and he rapidly agreed to execute the conditions of the treaty relative to Guntoor, provided all the others, including extensive cessions promised to him from the expected spoil of his enemy, were also inserted. The Governor-general could not grant this to the full extent, but he acceded to the proposal in case future circumstances should admit of its fulfilment. At the same time, agreeably to treaty, a subsidiary force was to be sent to the Nizam, and securities were introduced that it should not be employed against certain other powers. No such saving clause being added in reference to the sultan, the negotiation with respect to him bore altogether a hostile character.

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109. While actuated by these dispositions, Lord Cornwallis was probably gratified upon hearing that Tippoo, by his attack on the Travancore wall, had afforded a regular ground on which to declare war. He made a most indignant reply to the presidency at Madras, who, expressing their opinion that this prince still desired peace, were themselves entering into treaty, and making no preparation for hostilities. In fact, the Travancore affair, though it called for attention, does not seem to have pressed so closely on any British interest that an attempt might not have been made to adjust it by pacific arrangements. The Marquis, however, announced, that it ought to have been considered, and must still be viewed, as at once placing the two powers in a state of enmity. He had determined to repair to Madras and take the command in person, but relinquished this intention on learning the arrival of General Medows, in whose vigour and capacity he placed the utmost confidence. At the same time he hastened to conclude an alliance with the Nizam and the Mahratta government, who each engaged to employ their whole force against the sultan ; in

return for which, upon the success of the war, all their claims upon the territory of Mysore were to be granted in their fullest extent. The former pressed earnestly for a guarantee that, while his troops were absent on the projected expedition, his country should not be pillaged by his warlike allies; but, though it was impossible to deny the reality of the danger, it would have been exceedingly ungracious, in a public document, to have supposed that great power capable of such a dereliction of duty and decency. The governor-general, however, gave private assurances of protection, with which he prevailed upon the Indian prince to be satisfied.

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110. Tippoo seems not to have been prepared for the prompt movement of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. This march had already been projected and considered practicable by Colonel Fullerton at the termination of the last year. As compared with the northern road through the frontier-district of the Baramahl, it had the disadvantage of being more remote from Madras, and consequently from all military supplies and stores; but it led through a country more abundant in forage and provisions, and avoided the obstacle presented by the powerful fortress of Bangalore. It was necessary, however, to begin by reducing the strong places possessed by the sultan in the low country; and General Medows, fixing his head-quarters at Coimbetoor, employed in this service Colonel Stuart, who had acquired much experience in Southern India.

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111. While Colonel Stuart was thus employed, considerable progress was made by the army towards the high land of Mysore. A chain of posts along the rivers Cavery and Bahvany, namely, Caroor, Eroad, Sattimungul, had been successively reduced; and the last of these, commanding the important pass of Gujelhutty, which opened the way into the heart of the country, was occupied by Colonel Floyd with a force of 2000 men. By this arrangement the different corps were very ill connected together; for General Medows at Coimbetoor was sixty miles distant from the division of Floyd, and thirty from that of Stuart. The

second of these officers pointed out the danger of his situation, and the intelligence he had received that the enemy was collecting a great force to attack him; but the commander paid no attention to this warning, and ordered the detachment to continue in its present position. The Mysore cavalry, under Syed Saheb, had indeed, in their attack, been very easily repulsed, and even compelled to retire behind the Ghauts; still, this failure of the advanced guard under a pusillanimous chief afforded no ground to judge of what might be expected when the whole force under the sultan himself should be brought into action.

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112. Tippoo, taken completely by surprise, hastened to the defence of his dominions; but he acted on no distinct or effective plan. He lost much valuable time in superintending personally the removal of his harem from Bangalore; and, notwithstanding several attempts to harass the British, scarcely opposed an obstacle to their taking ground before that stronghold, which they did on the 5th March. The siege was immediately begun with the utmost vigour, yet under peculiar disadvantages. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; operations were therefore carried on solely by breach and battery; the garrison received all the reinforcements and supplies of which they stood in need; while the sultan, with the whole of his brave and active army, well skilled in desultory warfare, hovered round, making continual efforts to support the besieged, and to annoy their assailants. Yet the only serious disaster which the latter experienced was occasioned by the too forward valour of Colonel Floyd, when despatched with the cavalry to cover a *reconnoissance*. Being about to retire, he saw the enemy's rear in a position exposed to an advantageous attack, and could not resist the temptation. He pushed on, and though soon entangled in broken and irregular ground, drove successive detachments before him, when suddenly a musket-ball entered his cheek, passed through both jaws, and he fell down apparently dead.

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113. Lord Cornwallis, at the expense of 500 men in killed and wounded, had gained the honour of the day; but he was in such a situation that only a decisive victory, and scarcely even that, could have enabled him to achieve his object. Tippoo had practised, with the utmost diligence,

his old system of laying waste the country around the English. They had marched through a desert, and in vain, by sending scouts in every direction, endeavoured to find a human being who could afford either aid or information; and the army was now suffering most deeply from famine, disease, and all those evils which, in a campaign, are often more fatal than the sword. Their means of conveyance were so deficient that the men were compelled, in view of the enemy, to drag the baggage, and even the heavy cannon, as if they had been beasts of burden. In short, after several marches and countermarches, the British commander felt himself under the painful necessity of immediately retreating, with the sacrifice of all the battering-train and heavy equipments with which he was to have besieged Seringapatam. He was obliged also to stop the progress of another expedition which was advancing to his support.

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114. As his lordship was retiring, in a most shattered condition, upon Bangalore, the strength of the men failing for want of food, and the sick being with the utmost difficulty dragged along, his troops were alarmed by the appearance on their left of a large body of cavalry, apparently the vanguard of a numerous army; but as they were preparing for resistance, one of the horsemen rode up and called out that he was a Mahratta. This proved in fact to be no other than the first division of those potent allies, under the command of Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt. These chiefs had taken the field in good time, and this unfortunate delay had been occasioned by the siege of Darwar, a very strong place considerably to the northward, which Tippoo had carefully fortified and garrisoned with his best soldiers. Purseram, seconded by a small detachment of English, broke ground before it in September 1791; but our officers were almost distracted to see the manner in which this important siege was conducted. The Mahrattas, in working a battery, never pointed their cannon so as to make a breach in a particular spot, but aimed at random all round the wall. After loading a gun they sat down, smoked, and conversed for half an hour; then fired, reloaded, and resumed their conversation. Two hours at mid-day, by mutual consent, were set apart for meals and recreation.

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115. Although the army was thus relieved from the immediate pressure of distress, Lord Cornwallis did not conceive it possible to advance again upon the capital till the arrival of a more favourable season, and till a fresh battering-train and other extensive supplies should be forwarded from Madras. In the meantime the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the tremendous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise like so many fortresses in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest officers; yet Major Gowdie, after some successful experiments upon minor forts, undertook its reduction. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by a double wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive.

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116. The *droogs* being now viewed as no longer inpregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog struck with dismay by these successes, fell with little effort; and a *coup-de-main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahl. This attempt failed; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. The sultan, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbetoor, with its English garrison; and, violating the capitulation, by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palgaut, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

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117. After some abortive attempts at negotiation, Lord Cornwallis, having completed his preparations and brought his army into a state of full equipment, determined no longer to delay his march upon the capital. He was now joined by the troops of the Nizam, under his son Secunder Jah, which had been hitherto detained by the siege of

Goorumconda. His followers consisted of a tumultuary host, closely resembling the corps already described, and giving little hope of an effective co-operation. Purseram Bhow, who at the head of his numerous Mahrattas might have performed with great advantage the services assigned to light cavalry, had concluded that it would be more profitable to himself to turn aside and plunder the rich country of Bednore; and to this personal interest he hesitated not to sacrifice all the grand objects of the confederacy. Captain Little, who, with a body of about a thousand men, had been attached to the host of the Bhow, was obliged to second him in all these irregular pursuits; the most arduous services devolving upon himself and his followers.

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118. It was no longer possible for the sultan to conceal from himself that his crown and kingdom were in the most extreme peril, and indeed that a peace dictated by his enemies could alone save them. The English force under Cornwallis had singly defeated his army and besieged his capital; and that force was now about to be increased by the corps under General Abercromby, by another from the south, which had ascended the pass of Gujelhutty, and even by the Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow, who had at length been shamed or frightened out of his predatory course. There was nothing, therefore, it has been justly observed, but the general uncertainty of human things, which could leave a doubt as to his approaching downfal. He accordingly determined to seek peace on almost any conditions. Two English officers, Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken at Coimbetoor, and made prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation, were still detained at Seringapatam. They were sent for, and the first was asked if he was not an officer of rank, and a near relation of Lord Cornwallis. Notwithstanding his reply in the negative, he was released, and desired to convey to that commander the sultan's earnest wish for peace, and the proposal to send an envoy to treat for it His lordship's answer, though it expressed deep dissatisfaction at the treatment of the captives, contained an acceptance of this overture. An officer of distinction, Gholaum Ali, arrived in the camp, and several days were busily spent in negotiation, to which the allies, though they had been so entirely useless, were admitted on equal terms. The following was at length fixed as the ulti-

matum to be delivered to Tippoo:—The surrender of half his dominions, taken from districts contiguous to the territory of the confederates; the payment of three crores and thirty lacs of rupees (about £4,000,000 sterling); and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. Hard as these conditions were, they were powerfully enforced by events which had occurred in the course of the negotiation.

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119. After the hostages had been delivered, and a crore of rupees paid, a serious difficulty arose. The treaty stipulated the surrender of one-half of Tippoo's dominions, where they bordered on those of the allies; but there was no specification of the actual territories to be ceded,—a point so essential, that it ought, one would imagine, to have preceded the execution of any of the articles. The ceded districts were to be rated according to the revenues which they yielded. His Majesty presented statements by which the produce of those contiguous to the possessions of the allies were grossly exaggerated, and the others underrated; while the Nizam and Purseram Bhow were not slow to err on the opposite side, and hence the discrepancy became enormous. Meantime reports were spread of suspicious conduct on the part of the sultan, and in particular that, contrary to treaty, he was actively strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. When remonstrated with on this subject, he replied that, if they thought proper, he would throw down a bastion and let the English see into the fort,—an answer so wild and extravagant, that it tended little to dispel apprehension.

At length his vakeels produced documents which were supposed to be authentic, and whence it appeared that the entire revenue of their master's dominions did not exceed £2,960,000. Each of the allies then picked out what best suited him; the Mahrattas extended their frontier to the Toombuddra; and the Nizam carried his beyond the Pennar. The English took their share in detached portions; on the east the frontier-territory of Baramahl; in the south Dindigul; on the west a great extent of the disputed coast of Malabar, including Tellicherry and Calicut. No objection was made till it was observed that this last section included Coorg, long the subject of much deadly contest.

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120. On seeing this condition, the sultan burst into a paroxysm of rage that approached to absolute phrensy. "To

which of their territories," said he, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask at once for Seringapatam? They know that I would sooner have died in the breach than have consented to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward till they had treacherously obtained my children and my treasure." Some English authors endeavour to prove that the demand ought not to have been unexpected; and yet it cannot be denied that, while all the other cessions consisted of frontier-territories, leaving untouched the mountain-barrier which encloses Mysore Proper, this included a portion of its very summit, and opened a ready access to the capital. But the truth is, that as long as Tippoo was eagerly intent on pouring his vengeance on its brave people, Lord Cornwallis could not abandon to his fury faithful allies, and a race unjustly oppressed. Upon this refusal all was again in movement,—the princes were separated from their native attendants, and arrangements entered into for despatching them to the Carnatic under an English escort,—preparations were made for renewing the siege,—the army was full of new hope and animation,—Purseram Bhow began once more to plunder. In less than two days, however, the sultan again felt the weight of the necessity which pressed upon him, and sent notice that the demand was acceded to. A considerable delay still intervened; but, on the 18th March 1792, the definitive treaty was transmitted to the young princes, that by their hands it might be delivered.

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121. This celebrated treaty has been the subject of much controversy; nor do the views which influenced Lord Cornwallis seem ever to have been fully understood. It appears to have effected either too little or too much. The cessions extorted were such as to preclude all hope of future friendship; for they inevitably created in the mind of a proud, ambitious, and restless prince, a feeling of deadly enmity, as well as an incessant desire to retrieve his lost greatness; while they left him a degree of power which might easily become formidable in the hands of such an enemy. Notwithstanding these unpromising circumstances, six years elapsed without any violation of the treaty; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. Tippoo saw no prospect of making war with advantage; and Sir John Shore, who succeeded as Governor-general, followed a strictly pacific system, which

he was even accused of carrying to excess. His policy was particularly questioned in the case of the Nizam, when the Mahrattas, his late allies, carried into effect their long-cherished design of invading and plundering his territories. The engagements entered into with this ruler previous to the commencement of the Mysore war, though somewhat vague, were such as reasonably led him, in that event, to look for British protection. The new governor, however, considered himself as strictly precluded by his instructions from engaging in any contest that was not purely defensive. The Nizam, in the exigency to which he was thus reduced, had recourse to a Frenchman named Raymond, who possessed no ordinary share of enterprise and martial skill. He succeeded also in alluring into the service of his employer a great number of French officers, and with their aid organized a large body of troops, who were superior to any native force, with the exception of the sepoys trained in the British army. Tippoo, meantime, was busily employed in attempting to improve his military system, though, from want of means and practical information, he met with very imperfect success.

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122. Such was the state of affairs, when in May 1798 the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, went out as Governor-general. This nobleman, whose splendid career was destined to eclipse that of Clive, was sent with the most solemn injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which, throughout the whole of his administration, he did actually pursue. He was instructed not to engage, if possible, in hostilities with any native power; and yet he waged deadly war with every one of them. He was desired not to add by conquest a single acre to the Company's territory, and he subdued for them all India from the Himmaleh to Cape Comorin. Yet his adherents contend that he acted steadily and uniformly in the spirit of his instructions; and that, in deviating so widely from the wishes of his employers, he was carried along by a current of circumstances which existed prior to any step taken by him in the government of that country.

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123. He had no sooner assumed the exercise of authority, than his attention was roused by a most remarkable proceeding on the part of the sovereign of Mysore. That prince, like

his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with the French, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of the English. This connexion was in a great measure broken by the expulsion of those allies from India upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war; but Tippoo had listened with the utmost eagerness to the accounts of their success against Britain and the continental nations, and had been led to hope for their assistance in the re-establishment of his own greatness. While he was in this disposition, Ripaud, the captain of a French privateer, arrived at Mangalore, in the beginning of the year 1797, to solicit the means of repairing his shattered vessel. There he met with Gholaum Ali, whom the sultan had formerly employed on an embassy to France; and, finding a field open for the display of a little vain-glory, he represented himself as second in command at the Mauritius, and stated that he had come to give notice of a large force being ready at that island to co-operate with them in driving from India their common enemy. He was immediately forwarded to Seringapatam, where the monarch, contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, who assured him that this stranger was an impostor, received him into his entire confidence.

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124. These proceedings were fully communicated to the Governor-general, who immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors his decided opinion, that they were equivalent to "a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war," and that "an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan appeared to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy." These conclusions have been generally assented to by British officers and politicians; yet Mr. Mill, with his usual anxiety to escape national partialities, has not hesitated to assert, that the above incidents afforded no ground for attacking, or reason for dreading, the sovereign of Mysore, beyond what previously existed. No doubt, it is said, could be entertained, ever since the last peace, of his deep hostility against the English, and his disposition to embrace any opportunity of regaining his lost territories. There was, we admit, the most reasonable presumption of the existence, in his mind, of such sentiments. Well-founded, however, as this suspicion was, the governor had no right to proceed upon it without some overt act; it being something very different from the positive conclusion of a

compact aiming directly at the destruction of the British power in India.

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125. It is argued, moreover, that the treaty, having been entered into without any means of fulfilling it, might safely have been regarded as nugatory, and altogether neglected. This reasoning cannot be held conclusive, unless there were some certainty that the sultan could not obtain the means of carrying into effect those hostile schemes in which he had so eagerly engaged. But it is well known that he could depend upon the co-operation of the greatest military power in the world, animated, too, with the most rancorous feeling towards Britain, and peculiarly desirous to strike a blow agains her in this very quarter. The only security lay in the dominion of the seas, which England had fully established; though experience has shown that no fleet, however triumphant, can hermetically seal the ports of a great country, or even prevent a squadron from finding its way to the most distant regions. This had just been made evident, as Bonaparte, in the face of the British navy, had recently landed in Egypt a force sufficient to conquer it; an expedition, too, which was generally believed to be undertaken with an ultimate view to India. The perils of a French invasion of that country were then, perhaps, generally overrated; now, after the event, they were probably too much despised; for it seems highly probable that the republican government, had they not been involved in a series of continental wars, would have attempted to transport a large army into the East,—and it is by no means certain that they would not have succeeded.

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126. The dangers to be apprehended from Tippoo were moreover greatly increased by the actual position of the neighbouring states. The only two by which his power could be balanced were the Mahrattas and the Nizam. The former confederacy, notwithstanding its great extent, was now in so distracted a state that the Peishwa, its nominal head, could scarcely maintain his authority against the turbulent chiefs who were struggling for supremacy. The dominions of the other were also ill organized, and his troops quite undisciplined. His chief military strength lay in the corps trained after the European manner by Raymond, which, in a few years, had been raised from 1,500 to 10,000,

and arrangements were now making to increase it to 14,000. These troops, however, were so far from affording a ground of confidence to the English that they were felt as sure and deadly enemies. It had long been a fixed policy of the French government thus to employ their officers among the native powers, in the view of exalting their own influence and depressing that of their rivals. Little doubt was entertained that, if Tippoo once raised a hostile standard, this and similar corps would soon flock round it, and make a formidable addition to his forces. That prince, moreover, was carrying on active intrigues with the courts both of Poonah and Hydrabad, the fidelity of which to the British alliance was by no means assured. He had sent also an embassy to the Afghan potentate Zemaun Shah, the most powerful of those who then held sway over the destinies of India, and an invasion from whom was considered very probable. Thus, it was clear, a very trifling change of political relations might lead to the formation of an overwhelming confederacy against the English provinces.

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127. Immediate attention was required to the strong corps formed under the French officers at the capital of Hydrabad, and upon this point the Governor-general determined to adopt the most decisive measures. Captain Kirkpatrick, Resident at that court, was instructed to lay before the Nizam the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which he was to be guaranteed against the attack of all his enemies. In support of this pledge, four English battalions, with a body of artillery, in addition to the two already stationed there, were to be sent to his capital; but he was informed that the regiments commanded by the French must be immediately dissolved, and themselves dismissed. The movement of a large body of troops to the frontier intimated that these propositions were not meant to be optional. The Nizam was involved in much doubt and perplexity. He is said to have been disgusted by the insolent and domineering conduct of the foreign officers; but he dreaded to see his country made the theatre of a contest between the rival nations; still more, perhaps, he foresaw that, by the proposed arrangement, he would become completely the vassal of England. At length, on the 1st September 1798, he signed the treaty, which was ratified at Calcutta on the 18th, and carried into effect with such

expedition, that on the 10th October the new subsidiary force arrived at Hydrabad.

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128. Wellesley, having by these means secured the co-operation of the Hydrabad forces, and, at the same time, by indefatigable exertions rendered his military establishment efficient, determined to bring affairs to an immediate crisis. His correspondence with Tippoo had continued friendly till the 8th November 1798, when he wrote a letter, in which, after discussing some general topics, he observed, that it was impossible the sultan could suppose him ignorant or indifferent as to the intercourse maintained by him with the French, the inveterate foes of Britain. He and his allies, he added, had on that account been obliged to adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence. Anxious, however, to suggest a plan which might promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, he proposed to depute Major Doveton, an officer well known to the sultan (having been employed in 1794 in conveying back to him the young princes detained as hostages), "who," said he, "will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion." On the 10th December the Governor-general forwarded another communication, announcing that he was on the point of setting out for Madras, where he hoped to receive his reply.

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129. Tippoo, apparently before receiving the first despatch, had written, on the 20th November, an expostulation, in rather amicable terms, upon the military preparations of the English, and a profession of his own pacific disposition; but the letter of 8th November was followed by a long and suspicious silence. The demands of the Governor-general would, at this time, have been very moderate, confined to the dismissal of French emissaries, and the exchange of a part of the coast of Malabar for a territory of equal value in the interior. But the sultan, who foresaw that some demands were to be made upon him, could not bring down his mind to the necessity of submission. He still placed a vague confidence in destiny, in the aid of foreigners, and in alliances which he hoped to form with the northern powers of India. At length, on the 18th De-

cember, probably after receiving the despatch of the 10th, though he did not acknowledge it, he wrote a long explanatory paper. He represented the French affair as only the casual arrival of a party of strangers in search of employment, which he had granted to a few; and he expressed extreme surprise that there should be any idea of the interruption of mutual amity. Referring to the proposed mission of Major Doveton, he observed that "the treaties and engagements entered into were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted for promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." It seems impossible to regard Lord Wellesley's interpretation as strained, when he considered this note as implying an absolute rejection of the embassy, and a determination against any concession beyond those made by former treaties.

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130. In reply to it, accordingly, his lordship, having arrived at Madras, wrote, on the 9th January 1799, a long memorial, fully explaining all his grounds of complaint. He gave a narrative of the transactions at the Isle of France, enclosing a copy of Malartic's proclamation, and finally inferred, that "his Highness' ambassadors had concluded an offensive alliance with the French against the Company and its allies; that they had demanded military succours and levied troops with a view to its prosecution; that his Highness had sanctioned the conduct of his ambassadors, and had received into his army the troops which they had levied; that having made military preparations of his own, he was evidently ready, had the succours obtained been sufficient, to have commenced an unprovoked attack on the Company's possessions, and had broken the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the allies." Deeply regretting that the offered mission of Major Doveton had not been accepted, he still urged it as a means of conciliation, but earnestly requested that not above one day should elapse previous to its acceptance. On the 16th he sent another letter, enclosing one to the sultan from the Grand Seignior, transmitted through Mr. Spencer Smith, and also that monarch's declaration of war against the French.

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131. General Harris was furnished with the plans of two treaties, to be selected according to circumstances. The first, which was to be produced in the event of the army merely arriving before Seringapatam, required the cession to Britain of the coast of Malabar, and an equal extent of territory to each of the two allies; the reception of a Resident ambassador; the expulsion of all natives of European countries at war with Great Britain, and the payment of 150 lacs of rupees. In case, however, the events of the campaign should not open the prospect of a successful termination this season, these terms might be modified according to circumstances; but every effort should be made to inspire the sultan with fear, from which alone any concession could be hoped. If again the trenches were actually opened before the capital, with the prospect of its speedy reduction, the second treaty was to be produced, in which peace was to be granted only upon the cession of half his dominions.

132. When he had reached Malavilly, about thirty miles from the capital, the sultan's encampment was observed from the heights, and General Floyd, with the advance, having approached within a mile of that village, discovered their whole force posted on the elevated ground behind it. An attack being immediately determined on, it was led by Colonel Wellesley, supported by Floyd's cavalry, and directed against the enemy's right. A column of their troops advanced in perfect order and with great gallantry; but the English infantry, reserving their fire, received that of their antagonists at the distance of sixty yards, rushed upon them and broke their ranks, when a resolute charge by the horse drove them off the field. The whole of the Indian line then gave way, and a general retreat ensued, which Harris, who was greatly inferior in cavalry and light troops, did not attempt to molest. The loss was not very serious on either side; but an additional proof was given how unable even the flower of the Eastern armies was to contend in pitched battle with the British.

133. Tippoo made another attempt to carry into effect his plan of desultory warfare. He had removed or destroyed all the forage, and almost every blade of grass on the highway between his enemy's position and the capital; and he hovered round, ready to fall upon their rear, as they

marched along this desolated route. But he was completely disappointed by the movement of General Harris, who after leaving Malavilly turned to the left, crossed the Cavery at the fords of Sosilla, and proceeded to Seringapatam along the southern bank of that river, a resolution which, being wholly unexpected, no precautions had been taken to defeat. On seeing their last scheme thus baffled, the sultan and his principal officers were struck with deep dismay and despondence. Having assembled them in council, he said:—"We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. A unanimous resolution was formed to try again the fortune of the field, with the alternative only of victory or death. All present were deeply affected; one of the chiefs, before taking leave, threw himself prostrate and clasped the feet of his master, the usual sign in India of the most solemn farewell. The latter could not refrain from tears; his example quickly spread through the whole assembly; and they parted as men who had met for the last time in this world.

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134. On the 5th April, the British took their station opposite the western front of the fortress, at the distance of about two miles. The position was strong; their right resting on elevated ground, their left upon the river Cavery; and several *topes*, or groves of trees, afforded ample materials for the construction of the works. The enemy still occupied a defensive line behind an aqueduct, on which Colonels Wellesley and Shawe made a night-attack and were repulsed; but, being reinforced, they carried it in open day. Meanwhile Floyd was detached to meet and escort General Stuart and the Bombay army. On the evening of the 13th, their signal-guns were heard; and they arrived late on the 14th, having been beset on their way by the whole body of the Mysorean cavalry, yet without sustaining any serious loss. General Floyd then marched to the southward in search of provisions; for an unexpected and alarming discovery had been made, that there was grain in the camp for only eighteen days' consumption. This extraordinary failure, into which Colonel Wilks mysteriously says, that after the lapse of nearly twenty years it was not yet time to inquire, did not, however, as supplies were obtained from various quarters, prove an impediment to the progress of the siege.

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135. Before the second of these actions, the sultan, seeing his defences successively fall, and the siege quickly advancing to its termination, resolved again to solicit peace, though sensible it must be purchased with extensive sacrifices. He wrote, referring to the despatches of the Governor-general, and proposing a conference of ambassadors. General Harris, in reply, after taking a view of recent events, announced, as the positive ultimatum, the cession of half his dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees, one immediately, and another in six months; finally, the delivery of four of his sons and four of his principal chiefs as hostages. These conditions were to be accepted in twenty-four hours, and the hostages and specie delivered on the following day; otherwise he reserved the right of extending these demands, till they should include even the provisional occupation of Seringapatam.

These terms, certainly not favourable, roused in the proud mind of Tippoo a violent burst of indignation. He raved against the arrogance and tyranny of the English, and declared his determination to abide the worst decrees of fate, and rather to die with arms in his hands, than drag a wretched life as a dependant upon infidels, thereby swelling the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs; he resolved, in short, not to give a reply. But six days afterwards, when the parallel had been completed, and nothing remained except the erection of the breaching-batteries, he again brought down his mind to the attempt to gain either delay or mitigation in the conditions of the treaty. A communication was received from him on the 28th, acknowledging the letter of General Harris as a friendly one, but adding, that as the points in question were weighty and not to be concluded without the intervention of ambassadors, he proposed to send two vakeels, or confidential messengers, to treat upon the subject. The general, however, was fully determined not to admit any such overture. In his reply he claimed credit for not making an advance on the terms already proposed, when by non-compliance they had been virtually declined. They were still offered; but no ambassadors could be admitted, unless accompanied by the hostages and the treasure; and the time during which they would be received was to terminate next day at three o'clock. On perusing this answer, the energies of his mind seemed entirely to fail. Yielding to despair and grief rather than rage, he sunk into a state of stupor, alternating

with paroxysms of extravagant and groundless exultation. He no longer took any steady view of his danger, or rationally followed out the means by which it might still have been averted.

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136. The left column, meantime, encountered much more serious obstacles. On reaching the top of the wall they discovered, to their surprise, a deep ditch separating it from an inner rampart, where the enemy, in great force, kept up a destructive fire. The garrison at this point, too, animated by the arrival of the sultan in person, gallantly defended successive traverses, formed across the path of the assailants. The situation of the latter now became critical; all the commissioned officers who led the attack were either killed or wounded; and Lieutenant Farquhar, having assumed the command, immediately fell, and was succeeded by Brigade-major Lambton. Meantime, Captain Goodall, with a detachment from the right, had forced his way over the ditch, seized the inner rampart, and commenced upon the enemy a flanking-fire similar to that with which they had so severely annoyed his countrymen. The Mysoreans were accordingly driven to a spot where they beheld in their rear the other column which had advanced in the opposite direction. Seeing themselves thus completely hemmed in, they fled tumultuously, escaping by every possible outlet from the fortress, which was thus left completely in the hands of the besiegers.

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137. General Baird, meantime, after the triumphant success of the right column, had allowed his troops an interval of rest, when certain officers brought notice that they had discovered the palace, and seen in a species of durbar or court a number of persons assembled, several of whom appeared to be of high consideration. The commander immediately directed Major Allan, who seems to have been well qualified for this delicate task, to summon them to an immediate surrender, in order to avert the calamities that would be inevitable were the royal residence to be taken by storm. This officer, on going towards the palace, saw several persons on a sort of balcony, to whom he announced his message. They manifested the greatest consternation, and soon brought the killedar or governor, who appeared much

embarrassed, and endeavoured to gain time; but the major insisted upon entering with two other officers, by a broken part of the wall. He found a terrace, on which there was a numerous assemblage of armed men, before whom he laid his conditions, and laboured to tranquillize their minds, not only by presenting a white flag, but by placing his sword in their hands.

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138. Thus terminated a dynasty, which, though short, and limited in respect of territorial dominion, was undoubtedly the most vigorous and best organized of any that had sprung out of the wreck of the Mogul empire. It arose, indeed, from the distracted state of India, and rested almost entirely on the personal character of its two rulers, the qualities of whose minds striking though dissimilar, we have had repeated occasion to describe. It may be farther noticed, however, that, while Hyder entered on his career unable to read or write, and remained always a stranger to these primary elements of human knowledge, Tippoo, amid the most active cares of government, retained the habits and character of a man of letters. He read and wrote almost incessantly, carried on an extensive correspondence, and became the historian of his own exploits. Yet the adoption of hasty and superficial theories, in preference to the practical good sense which had guided his predecessor, led him often into crude and rash innovations, which were followed by disastrous consequences. The absolute indifference with which the subject of religion was viewed by Hyder, though marking a degraded state of moral feeling, induced him in his administration to adopt the wise measure of general toleration. His son's mind, on the contrary, was occupied and almost engrossed by his Mussulman zeal, which became the chief source of his crimes and follies. He fancied himself a sort of militant apostle, who was to spread his faith over the world. Combining this design with his projects of ambition, he waged sacred wars on every side; against the Nazarene English, against the Bramin Mahrattas, and against the Pagan and licentious nayrs. Ultimately, as we have seen, he sunk into the most childish superstition, calling not only upon the Mahomedans, but the persecuted Hindoos, to practice their arts of divination. After the capture of Seringapatam, when his repositories were searched, along with treaties, state-papers,

and political correspondence, there was found a record of his dreams and their interpretation, of which Colonel Beatson has preserved some curious specimens.

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139. This prince, owing to his long wars with the English, his cruel treatment of the captives, and the imbittered enmity which he manifested, was regarded by them almost as a monster in human shape. Yet when their armies penetrated into the interior of his kingdom, they found it flourishing, highly cultivated, and seemingly well governed. His people always showed a strong attachment to him, and the inhabitants of the ceded districts were ever ready to embrace his cause. But to the conquered nations he was at all times a cruel master, and rendered himself the object of their inextinguishable hatred; a cause to which his downfal may, in a great measure, be attributed. It has been said, with the general approbation of British authors, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one;" yet it may be observed, that he maintained a complete ascendency over all the native states, some of which had matched, and even overmatched, his father. He fell beneath the English power, employed on a scale, and wielded with an ability, of which, in the course of Indian history, there had been no example.

Mysore, having been thus completely conquered, was placed, as to its future arrangements, entirely at the disposal of the British government. The Mahrattas had taken no share in the expedition, and the Nizam knew that he must content himself with whatever the victors might choose to give. The Governor-general took for the Company, in full sovereignty, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbetoor, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam itself, the capital and main channel of intercourse. He thus secured the whole seacoast, and an easy communication across the peninsula.

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140. To the Nizam was assigned a large tract of territory adjoining to his dominions. Another portion was reserved for the purpose of being offered to the Mahrattas, on conditions which, however, as will be hereafter seen, they did not choose to accept. There remained yet an extensive district in the interior of Mysore, which Marquis Wellesley judged most expedient not to partition, but to form it into

a native kingdom under the protection and control of Britain. The question then arose as to the prince in whom the supreme dignity was to be vested. The Governor-general would not have been disinclined to bestow it on one of the family of Tippoo; but he justly considered, that the recollection of the recent greatness of their house must have rendered them always hostile to the power by whom its downfal had been achieved. It appeared, therefore, more advisable, after making a liberal provision for these princes, to draw forth from their deep humiliation the ancient race of rajahs, to whom the people were still fondly attached. The representative of this house, a minor of five years old, and his mother, were found in great poverty and neglect; from which, amid the applauses of their countrymen, they were raised to the splendour and to some share of the power of Asiatic royalty.

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141. In prosecuting, without interruption, the train of British conquest in Southern India, we have lost sight of the Mahrattas, except in reference to their relations with the government of Mysore. The reader, however, will recollect the steps by which that people raised themselves on the decline of the Mogul empire, and became the most powerful instrument in its overthrow. They would even have occupied its place, had they not encountered the more regular and formidable armies of the Afghans, from whom they sustained two such mighty defeats as would have annihilated any force which did not possess in itself a strong principle of vitality. But they soon recruited their strength out of the warlike and roving population of their mountain-districts; and as the Afghans did not attempt a permanent establishment in the Indian peninsula, the Mahrattas acquired again a decided preponderence among the native states. Only Mysore, in the height of its greatness, for a short time disputed their supremacy; but when that throne was first shaken, and then subverted, the foreign power by which this triumph had been achieved became the only rival to them; and the question soon arose, which of the two was to rule Hindostan. Before coming to the decisive struggle, however, some internal movements of this government, and some previous transactions with the English presidencies, seem to demand our notice.

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142. Sevajee had exercised a power nearly absolute over his rude followers, and the reverence cherished for his name enabled him to transmit the Mahratta sceptre to his posterity. But the princes born to his throne did not possess the active and daring hardihood necessary for treading in the steps of such a progenitor. Indulging in ease and voluptuousness, they gradually intrusted the arduous concerns of government and war to their ministers and generals. Then followed a consequence almost inevitable in oriental dynasties: the minister, or still more the general, in whose hands the actual administration was lodged, and who had the disposal of all favours and offices, soon became the real depositary of power, whom the sovereign would have sought in vain to displace, being in fact his master and that of the kingdom. Yet a certain veneration attached to the original race, and the recollections connected with the history of its founder would have made it unsafe actually to depose the legitimate rajah. It was much easier as well as safer to maintain him in ease and luxury, as a splendid pageant, while all the real authority was exercised in his name by the individual who presided in the council or army.

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143. After the death of Aurengzebe, Shao remained with that emperor's son, Azim, who, wishing to excite divisions in the Mahratta nation, then carrying on a furious predatory warfare against the Moguls, sent home the young prince. During his absence the regency had been held by his cousin, Rajah Rama, and afterwards by the widow of that officer, Tara Bye, who felt exceedingly inclined to continue in the exercise of her high functions; but the people retained such an attachment to the direct line of Sevajee, that she was obliged to give way, and Shao, in March 1708, was seated on the throne of his ancestors. During a long reign he displayed some ability, and did not absolutely sink from his place as a sovereign; yet the debilitating influence of oriental habits was heightened in his case by his education in the Mogul seraglio. He soon discovered a lively taste for pleasure, and a disposition to devolve on others the burdensome cares of government; but fortunately for himself, or at least for the greatness of the state, he placed his chief confidence in Ballajee Wishwanath.



144. This future head of the Mahratta confederacy occupied originally an inferior situation in the revenue; and at his first rise had so little of the adventurous character of his tribe, that he could not sit upon horseback without a man on each side to support him. His consummate talents and address, however, soon raised him to high consideration with Shao, whose object was rather to establish order, and cement his power by a conciliatory system, than to lead his countrymen in their predatory campaigns. By a very able negotiation, this minister extricated his master from a quarrel with Angria, and induced that powerful chief to own his supremacy. Shao was so highly pleased with him on this occasion, that he raised him to the dignity of *peishwa*, usually translated general; but which, embracing as it did all the branches of administration, seems to have had more analogy to the office of vizier in the Ottoman empire. Ballajee soon engrossed the whole power, and ruled successfully, but rather as a legislator than a warrior. He contrived, by ties of common interest, to unite together the somewhat discordant elements of which the Mahratta confederacy was composed, and to fit them for those united efforts that afterwards rendered them so formidable. He introduced order into the finances, encouraged agriculture, and brought all the branches of the administration into a regular system.

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145. After a brief government of six years, which, however, was found sufficiently long to effect these important objects, Ballajee died in October 1720, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, Bajee Rao or Row, had been trained under his own eye both to business and arms, and had proved him-in the former equal, in the latter superior, to his parent and preceptor. He urged his master to much bolder schemes of ambition than had occupied the views of Wishwanath; drawing his attention to the Mogul empire, in which all the Indian ideas of greatness were centered, reduced now to such a state of weakness and disunion, that it must present an easy prey to the first bold assailant. Shao, though not personally a soldier, was dazzled by these prospects of dominion, and gave his entire sanction to the designs of his minister. The peishwa, however, disturbed by domestic rivalry, and involved in a contest with the Nizam, or Subahdar of the Deccan, could not for some years follow out his scheme of aggrandizement: and when at length he assem-

bled his forces, and began his march to the main seat of Mogul power, he was seized with a sudden illness, and died on the banks of the Nerbudda in 1740, after holding office nineteen years.

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146. The office of peishwa was now nearly established as hereditary, and the eldest son of Bajee Rao, who prefixed to his father's name that of Balajee, after some opposition from Raghojee Bhonslay, another aspirant, succeeded to that high station. The disputes with this last chieftain, however, and other occurrences, suspended the design of subverting the imperial throne. The ordinary exaction of chout, or a fourth of the tribute, was stipulated to be paid by the Mogul, while Raghojee made the most desolating inroads into Bengal. In 1749 Shao died, when the dignity of rajah, which had been in some degree maintained by his personal character as well as his descent from Sevajee, sank into total insignificance. Ballajee even intended to suppress it altogether, especially as there was some doubt as to the legitimacy of the young prince nominated to the succession; but after some consideration he determined to preserve, though with reduced state and expense, this shadow of royalty. His measures were strenuously opposed by Suckwar Bye, the favourite wife of the late rajah; but that lady, among other manœuvres, had rashly announced an intention to devote herself to the flames on the death of her husband. The peishwa contrived, even while apparently dissuading her from fulfilling this design, to bring it before her family and the public in such a manner as made it impossible for her, according to Indian ideas, to avoid this dreadful sacrifice. Having gained over Raghojee Bhonslay, and transferred the seat of Government from Satara to Poonah, the peishwa became the sole and undisputed head of the Mahratta confederation. For several years he was involved in foreign connexions, the wars and politics of the Deccan and Carnatic, and the reduction of the piratical power of Angria. The last of these objects gave rise to certain achievements of a memorable description, in which the English bore the most conspicuous part.

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147. As the office of peishwa had become quite hereditary, Madoo Rao, son of the deceased minister, was immediately elevated to that distinguished rank, under the regency

of his uncle, Ragonaut Rao. This chief, afterwards well known to the English under the familiar name of Ragoba, had already acquired considerable military reputation. Four years, however, had not elapsed, when his young nephew showed a power and decision of character, which fitted him for executing in person the duties of his exalted station. In 1764 and 1765 he undertook his celebrated expedition against Hyder, the triumphant issue of which displayed at once his own abilities, and the almost inexhaustible resources of his military system. He carried on also, chiefly through the agency of his general Trimbuck Mama, the other enterprise against the same ruler, which is mentioned in the history of Mysore. Finally, towards the close of his reign, the peishwa again undertook to establish his supremacy in the very centre of the imperial dominions. A great army under Scindia overran Rohilcund, and Shah Alum, who inherited the mighty name of Great Mogul, having exchanged the protection of the English for the aid of the Mahrattas, enabled the latter people to seize all that was left of the power which had so long been held supreme over India.

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148. It was at this period a very favourite object with the Company to secure their possession of that settlement, by adding to it the port of Bassein, with Salsette and several smaller islands in its vicinity. Permission had been given to maintain an envoy at the court of Poonah, who was instructed to watch every opportunity of obtaining these much-desired cessions; and the Bombay Government, on receiving the application from Ragoba for aid to restore him to supreme power, determined to employ it as the means of accomplishing their own purposes. It was contrary, indeed, to the orders and policy of the Directors to interfere in the internal disputes of the native powers; and the support of a usurper and assassin was no very creditable mode of realizing their objects. But these considerations were overlooked; and indeed on this last point their defenders assert that they were very imperfectly informed, and really believed the peishwa innocent of the murder, and the infant illegitimate. Even that prince, however, started when he heard the enormous conditions which his new allies attached to their assistance, particularly the cession of Bassein and Salsette. But seeing that Scindia and Holkar, on whom he placed much

dependence, had been gained over by his enemies, he felt the necessity of submitting to every demand of the English, who, in the mean time, had taken the liberty of possessing themselves of Salsette and its dependencies. In respect to their requisition, indeed, of a large sum of money, he was obliged to profess, what his circumstances rendered exceedingly probable, an absolute inability to furnish it, but deposited jewels to the value of six lacs of rupees, and stipulated the cession of an extent of territory, from which the sum demanded might afterwards be drawn.

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149. The Company, who had hitherto left the three provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, separate and independent, were now induced, by the inconveniences which had arisen from this arrangement, to establish one central authority. They vested in the Governor-general and council of Calcutta a controlling power over the two other presidencies. The latter, however, were not as yet much inclined to acquiesce; and that of Bombay in particular had, in the late transactions, made very little reference to their new superiors. The Supreme Council, on being apprized of their proceedings, strongly condemned them, as unjust in themselves, and contrary to the policy inculcated by the Company, of avoiding all interference in the internal concerns of Indian states. This step is generally blamed by English politicians, though, as it appears to us, without any good reason; but there does seem room to question the propriety of superseding entirely the Bombay Government, and sending Colonel Upton direct from Bengal to conclude a fresh treaty. This had certainly the effect of placing the inferior presidency in a disadvantageous position, and of exposing it to the contempt of the native powers. It has also been observed, that the Hindoo courts interpret every conciliatory step as a sign of weakness, and immediately rise in their demands. Nana Furnavese, a Bramin minister, who had attained an entire ascendency at Poonah, assumed a lofty tone; and indeed, as the English continued to demand the cession of Bassein and Salsette, he complained, not without some cause, that, after having frankly admitted the unwarrantable ground on which their claim to these places rested, they should still wish to retain possession of them. In short, the negotiation took so unfavourable a turn, that Colonel Upton announced to the councils both of Calcutta

and Bombay, that in all probability it would be immediately broken off. Suddenly, however, the Mahratta minister, seeing that the British authorities were really determined to renew the war, and consequently had in no degree been actuated by fear, yielded almost every point in dispute. A treaty was concluded in Poorundur, by which they obtained all the places demanded; while a month was fixed as the period within which the army of Ragoba was to be reduced, and their protection entirely withdrawn from him.

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150. Affairs seemed amicably settled, when the wheel of events brought round another remarkable change. The Court of Directors at home, on being apprized of the arrangement made by the Government of Bombay with that chief, were more swayed by its immediate advantages than by their general principles, and sent out a cordial approbation of the measure. Their despatch to this effect arrived immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Poorundur. It was impossible at once to annul so solemn a transaction; but the council at Bombay exulted in an extraordinary degree over the superior presidency, which had so harshly censured their conduct, and became accordingly disposed to find pretexts for placing themselves again in a hostile attitude towards the administration at Poonah. They by no means withdrew entirely their protection from Ragoba; they even derived encouragement from intrigues carried on to re-establish his influence, which, however, were baffled by the profound political skill of Furnavese.

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151. The latter received with great favour a Frenchman named St. Lubin, who appears to have held out to him the expectation of a strong military force from Europe. It was concluded, on the whole, that Nana had shown a hostile disposition; and Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bombay, entered on the minutes a general review of Mahratta affairs, in which he concluded that they were fast verging to a crisis that would compel the English either to take some active and decisive part, or to relinquish for ever the hopes of improving their own condition in the west of India. Mr. Hastings, too, though he had concurred in the censure on the Bombay Government, now began to think that better terms might have been gained by the treaty of Poorundur. He granted authority to them "to assist in tranquillizing the

dissensions of the Mahratta state;" to promote which object he sent Colonel Leslie with a strong detachment to march across the centre of India from Bengal to the western coast.

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152. After this action, the military authorities decided that even retreat was no longer practicable, and consequently that there remained no resource but negotiation. This, in such circumstances, was equivalent to offering the enemy a *carte blanche* as to the terms on which the invaders should be allowed to return to Bombay. In vain did Hartley remonstrate against that humiliating step, and point out a course by which the retreat might have been effected; in vain did Carnac advance objections, which, however, he forbore to press; nothing could shake the pusillanimous determination of the commanders. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba, had not that chief made a private agreement to surrender himself to Scindia. The British themselves, by treating with the latter, obtained somewhat more favourable terms: still the convention of Worgaom, if not the most disastrous, was much the most disgraceful event which had marked the annals of our army in India. All the points in dispute were yielded; all the recent acquisitions were to be restored; and orders were sent that the troops now marching from Bengal should proceed no farther.

Both at Bombay and at home the utmost indignation was felt at this convention. Mr. Carnac, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, were all three dismissed from the service. Their conduct in the present instance certainly appears quite indefensible, and it is not a little remarkable, that it formed a decided contrast to their characters as displayed on former occasions. Cockburn, in particular, had distinguished himself by exploits of the most daring valour, and was considered one of the best officers in the service; but the qualities which had fitted him for a secondary part, proved insufficient to guide his judgment in this higher and more arduous station. The treaty was immediately annulled, as having been concluded without sufficient authority, and the arrival of Colonel Leslie with his detachment was alone waited for in order to commence offensive operations.

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153. In the course of the dry season, which commenced in October, the general employed himself in the siege of

Bassein, while Colonel Hartley covered his operations, spreading his force over a great part of the Concan, whence he drew both supplies and revenue. This campaign was very successful; Bassein surrendered on the 11th December, while Hartley, taking a judicious position, completely repulsed the whole combined force of the Mahrattas, which attempted to overwhelm him. Thus the English affairs were beginning to assume a prosperous aspect, when Goddard was apprized of an intention on the part of Government to open an immediate negotiation. He was directed, therefore, to hold himself in readiness to cease hostilities as soon as intelligence should be received from Poonah of a corresponding disposition. This resolution was connected with certain events of the war in the south of India related in a former chapter. Hyder, having formed an alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, had made a terrible irruption into the Carnatic, and was threatening the very existence of the British establishment at Madras. Under these circumstances, it was determined to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order to detach the court of Poonah from this formidable confederacy. The treaty, however, proceeded slowly, especially after tidings had arrived of the catastrophe that had befallen Colonel Baillie's detachment. In these discouraging circumstances General Goddard conceived that an advance with his army beyond the Ghauts, and the placing it in such a position as to menace the Mahratta capital, might produce a favourable effect.

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154. From this time the relations of that people with our Government were for many years those of amity and alliance; a union which was produced by a common dread of the exorbitant power and pretensions of the house of Mysore. We have seen them joined with the British in successive leagues, and affording a tumultuary aid in the contests which brought to an end the power of Tippoo. The history of the confederation, however, was remarkably distinguished by the rise of Scindia to a pre-eminence which made him decidedly superior to all its other leaders. His territory being contiguous to the southern states and to the fragments of the Mogul empire, he added to it successively these different possessions. On the east he subdued Bundelcund; on the west he rendered tributary the warlike princes of Rajpootana; and at length, amid the dissensions

of the imperial court, Shah Allum, who still retained the name, revered even in its downfal, of Mogul emperor, placed himself under his protection. In this manner that chief became master of Agra, Delhi, and the surrounding territories; while he exercised all that now remained of imperial power. He was so elated by these successes, that he ventured upon a demand of chout or tribute from the Government of Bengal; a claim which Mr. Macpherson, then Governor, repelled with the highest indignation, and insisted upon its formal renunciation.

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155. Scindia's elevated position was in other respects precarious and difficult. Labouring under an extreme deficiency of funds, he was obliged to levy exorbitant contributions from the Rajpoot chiefs. That proud race rose in insurrection, and were joined by Mohammed Beg and Gholaum Kawdir, to whom, as well as to the emperor himself, the domination of the Mahratta ruler had become odious. In an invasion of Rajpootana, he was completely defeated, and though the feudal bands of that country, as usual after a victory, dispersed and went to their homes, he was no longer able to resist the power even of the Moslem princes. He was again worsted, and reduced to the greatest extremity, when he entreated, though with little success, that Nana Furnavese would forget all grounds of quarrel and jealousy, and aid him in the general cause of the Mahratta confederation. He was extricated by the savage violence of Gholaum Kawdir himself, who, having obtained possession of Delhi and of the emperor's person, treated him, his family, and adherents, with the most wanton barbarity. With his own hand he used the point of a dagger to put out that prince's eyes; and committed other cruelties which rendered him the object of general horror and disgust. At length his own associate, Ismael Beg (who had succeeded to Mohammed), went over to Scindia, who also at length obtained a reinforcement from Poonah. By this means he was enabled to enter Delhi, and pursue Kawdir, who was taken and put to death; and having thus regained almost the entire plenitude of his dominion, the Mahratta chief sought to strengthen his military power by means not resorted to by any of his predecessors.

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156. Having thus rendered himself the most powerful among the Mahratta princes, Scindia's next object was to acquire a preponderance at the court of Poonah. He proceeded thither with the professed purpose of conferring on the peishwa the dignity of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy, which he had caused the Mogul to bestow; a most unwelcome visit, which Nana Furnavese sought in vain to decline. He arrived at length, and was received with every mark of outward respect. The peishwa, amid great state, was invested with this new title, which was considered an addition to the splendour even of his rank; while the gallant warrior, being appointed his perpetual deputy, with the right of nominating a successor, acquired all the real power attached to the function. Besides dazzling the eye of the youthful prince by the pomp of this ceremony, he gained his favour by inviting him to field-sports and other amusements, from which he had been in a considerable degree withheld by the austere maxims of the aged Bramin, his minister. In short, Scindia seemed about to supplant Furnavese as the arbiter of the Mahratta state, when he was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life on the 12th February 1794.

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157. Mahadajee Scindia, who had been the chief instrument in raising his house to be the first in Hindostan, was a person of very great activity and address, long experience, and of so much principle as to be supposed incapable of committing any very enormous crime,—a praise which cannot often be bestowed on the great men of India. His death at the present moment, when a danger of the greatest magnitude impended over the state, may probably be considered as the main cause of the ultimate decline of the Mahratta power. Dying without issue, he adopted as his successor, not the nearest heir, but Dowlut Rao, his nephew, the son of his youngest brother; a youth not more than fifteen years of age, who, though possessed of talents and enterprise, was without that knowledge which would have been necessary to guide him through the difficult circumstances in which he was soon placed.

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158. Nana Furnavese, on the death of his rival, seemed again replaced in the supreme direction of affairs; but the very eagerness with which he clung to power soon involved

him in a deeper calamity. While he kept Madoo Rao, the peishwa, in very strict tutelage, he held also in close confinement Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, who, on approaching manhood, displayed high accomplishments and engaging manners, which rendered him an object of general interest. This was particularly felt by his cousin Madoo Rao. An epistolary communication was opened, and a romantic friendship formed by these two young men, who stood in a position of such deadly rivalry. In their correspondence they were wont to anticipate the moment when, delivered from their present thraldom, they might form a personal intimacy, and emulate the great actions of their ancestors. This innocent exchange of sentiment, being discovered by Nana, excited his most violent rage. He increased the rigour of Bajee's confinement, and, at the same time, loaded Madoo with the severest reproaches.

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159. The high-spirited youth, in a paroxysm of grief and indignation, threw himself from a terrace in the palace, and died in two days. This was a most disastrous event to Furnavese; for Bajee, whom he had done so much to make his enemy, was, in fact, the legitimate heir. The minister attempted at first to parry this fatal circumstance, and proposed that the widow of the deceased prince, though she had not reached the age of womanhood, should adopt a son, whom he might establish as peishwa, and in his name conduct the government. He found this measure, however, to be quite repugnant to public feeling; and learning that Scindia had declared in favour of the imprisoned youth, endeavoured to make the best of his situation by employing his influence in raising the latter to the vacant dignity. Bajee Rao, on this intention being announced to him, was so much surprised, that he obliged the messenger to take hold of a cow's tail, and swear by the holy waters of the Godavery that no stratagem was intended. He then repaired to Poonah, and was placed on the musnud. The reconciliation, however, could not be durable. The court from this time became a complete chaos of political intrigue, between the peishwa, who endeavoured to exercise his own authority, and Nana, Scindia, Purseram Bhow, and other chiefs, who sought to administer it in his name. These individuals appear in the confused scene one day united in close alliance, the next plotting one another's destruction. We shall not

now follow the thread of these intricate transactions, nor encumber our pages with the uncouth names of humbler individuals who, amid the general confusion, contrived to thrust themselves into notice. Some attempts were even made to employ as an instrument the long-imprisoned rajah, whose title was still dear to the Mahratta people. Nana Furnavese, after passing through various fortunes, and being reduced to the greatest distress, was restored to some share of his former power, but died soon afterwards, leaving the reputation of one of the ablest and most skilful politicians that India had ever produced; and there remained no individual possessed of those comprehensive and statesman-like views, which were soon much wanted to direct the affairs of the confederation.

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160. Even before the death of Furnavese, the court of Poonah had been placed for some time in a critical situation. It was united in a triple alliance with Britain and the Nizam, against the power and pretensions of the house of Mysore, and had repeatedly co-operated, though in an irregular and unsatisfactory manner, with the English in their wars with that dynasty. Lord Cornwallis, though he had much reason to complain of the conduct of their army, so far from expressing any anger, granted to them a third, or equal share with the Company and the Nizam, of the ceded lands: and Marquis Wellesley afterwards, when he entered upon the last and decisive contest with Tippoo, called upon the Mahratta Government to fulfil the stipulations of this alliance. By that time, however, they had begun to cherish a deep and ill-grounded jealousy respecting the rapid progress of the British power; and although they chose to temporize, their wishes were now completely in favour of Mysore. Nana strongly shared this feeling; nevertheless he decidedly objected to any measure which might commit the state in a war with so formidable a nation. But Scindia and the peishwa, those young and ardent spirits, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the sultan; a fact which was proved by a correspondence found at Seringapatam, breathing unequivocal hostility, and leaving no doubt, that had fortune favoured the son of Hyder, he would at once have been joined by these chiefs. They were arrested, however, by the intelligence of the fall of that capital, the death of its ruler, and the downfal of his formidable dynasty. Then, indeed, every effort was made to excuse their inactivity as

allies, and to explain away every symptom of a hostile intention.

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161. Though the failure on the part of the Mahrattas had been undeniable, Marquis Wellesley declined showing any resentment; he even set apart for them a portion of the sequestered territory. But he determined to avail himself of his present commanding position to establish if possible an effective control over this great and turbulent state. He tendered to them a share in the spoils of Mysore, coupled with the condition, that the peishwa, on terms similar to those of a treaty just arranged with the Nizam, should receive a British subsidiary force, and cede a portion of territory, the clear revenue of which might be sufficient for their maintenance. But this proposal, after some months of delay and evasion, was decidedly rejected. It evidently appeared that his highness would never agree to any such measure, unless under the pressure of an irresistible necessity; and the Governor-general, entertaining sanguine hopes that such a crisis might erelong occur, carefully watched his opportunity. He calculated that the distractions in the Mahratta confederacy, as they must increase, could scarcely fail of compelling that prince to have recourse to British aid; for, though the nominal head of the other chieftains, and himself a man of spirit and ambition, he saw his power every day more and more controlled by the pretensions of those military adventurers. Scindia began to act as the real sovereign of Maharashtra, commanding a force superior to that of his master, whom he evidently intended to treat as a mere state pageant. Holkar, too, having assembled round him a vast predatory army, was not unwilling to measure his strength with any rival, however mighty. Yet these turbulent elements continued for some time to ferment without producing an actual explosion; and hence, more than three years elapsed from the conquest of Mysore, before the expected crisis arrived. Marquis Wellesley was even preparing to return to Europe in January 1803, when the unexpected intelligence induced him to remain. The convulsion which he had long waited for, occurred on a greater scale, and in a form more favourable to his views, than he had ever anticipated.

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162. The rival houses of Scindia and Holkar, after recently emerging from the lowest obscurity, had for some time ranked nearly equal; but after the former had once risen to greatness, his family acquired a very decided preponderance. The power of the Holkars, however, revived under an illegitimate branch, Jeswant Rao, who by boldness, enterprise, and a peculiar talent for predatory warfare, soon raised himself, notwithstanding the stain on his birth, to be the head of his house, and the leader of all who fought under its banners. Dissensions soon arose between him and Scindia, whose territory he did not spare in the course of his ravages. After various movements, the two armies engaged near Indore, Holkar's capital, when that chief was completely routed, with the loss of ninety-eight pieces of cannon; and his power was supposed to be so completely crushed, that the other very imprudently neglected any farther pursuit. No force is so easily or so rapidly recruited as that of the Mahrattas. The vanquished leader, having undertaken some inroads into the surrounding territories, soon rallied round him all the bold youths who delighted in plunder and adventure: large bands even from the ranks of his adversary, tired of an inactive life, flocked to his camp. In short, he soon found himself in a condition to march upon Poonah.

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163. The latter prince, however, had already entered into engagements with the British. On the first approach of the crisis which had now overwhelmed him, he began to make overtures for a subsidiary force, though on the narrowest possible conditions. It was not even to enter the country, but to be posted on the frontier, ready to advance when circumstances might call for its services. His object evidently was, not to incur the odium and danger of introducing these powerful foreigners into his dominions, but by the mere dread of their approach to overawe the contending chiefs, and restore his own supremacy. The Marquis was not, however, unwilling to close the arrangement, even under this jealous restriction; but the treaty for the maintenance of the corps was attended with great difficulties. An ample extent of territory was indeed offered, but being situated in Hindostan Proper, where the peishwa had a mere nominal authority, it was really occupied by Scindia and Holkar, from whom it must be wrested by force of arms.

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164. The assignment was required of a tract of country over which the English could hold command; even money would be accepted, notwithstanding the uncertainties of obtaining payment. Thus the negotiation was spun out till the very day before the battle, when the prince, foreseeing that whoever prevailed he would be reduced to a state of vassalage, signed the compact After Holkar's signal victory, he determined to throw himself entirely into the arms of the British. This intention he intimated from Singurh, to which he had fled, and was then invited to repair to the coast, where the arrangements could be conducted with security. Having repaired to Severndroog, he embarked for Bassein, where he was met by Colonel Close; and at that place, on the 31st December 1802, was signed the celebrated treaty by which the alliance was settled on a more extended basis. The Company not only engaged to furnish 6000 men, for the support of whom was assigned a territory yielding twenty-six lacs of rupees; they engaged, moreover, to bring forward all the force they could command, and which might be necessary to re-establish the peishwa in his full rights as head of the Mahratta confederacy.

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165. In entering on the greatest war which England ever waged in India, and which was destined completely to establish her supremacy over that region, it is impossible to refrain from some inquiry respecting the necessity and the wisdom of this eventful measure. Mr. Mill, in a very masterly discussion upon this subject, argues, that the war arose out of the treaty of Bassein, which was manifestly the spontaneous act of the Governor-general; and that the Mahratta chiefs, engrossed by their own contests for power, had no immediate intention or wish to involve themselves in hostility with the British Government. The object of each was to obtain possession of the peishwa's person, and to exercise in his name a general control over the whole state. But an arrangement which altogether withdrew that ruler from the control of all of them, and transferred to a foreign power the whole weight of his name and resources, besides humbling their national pride, presented a common obstacle to the ambitious views of each chief, and was therefore to all an object of equal resentment. He goes on to maintain that the Company might have safely looked on, and seen the different leaders waste themselves in internal conflicts, while

courted by each they might have secured advantages to themselves, and held the balance between them. This part of the question, however, depends upon circumstances that are extremely complicated; and the arguments urged on the other side appear to be at least equally plausible.

166. It has never been denied, that a power which sees its neighbours engaged in war may be justified in interfering, either from generosity to defend the oppressed, or from policy, lest any one state, by conquering the others, should attain a dangerous ascendency. But the conflicts of the Mahratta chiefs now bore much less the character of internal disturbance, than of regular war between independent princes. The common national tie served little more than to inspire the design and hope of a general dominion,—the object which, it is clear, had kindled the ambition of the several aspirants. There was therefore, perhaps, a strong probability that erelong some one of these leaders would gain the supremacy, and wield the entire resources of the Mahratta power. It seems impossible to deny that in such a case an able warrior might have become very formidable to Britain, both by the great extent of territory which he would have commanded, and by the success which might have been expected from disciplining his troops after the European manner. He would also have enjoyed the prospect of being aided by the French, while the English would have had to dread the doubtful faith of the Nizam and other native princes whom they held in vassalage.

167. The Marquis Wellesley, from his confidential correspondence recently published, evidently cherished sanguine hopes that the mere influence of this treaty, without any actual appeal to arms, would have re-established tranquillity and a due balance of power in the Mahratta state. Scindia, it was hoped, after so overwhelming a blow, would have been happy to co-operate with him and the peishwa, under the offered pledge of regaining all he had lost, and having its preservation guaranteed to him. Holkar's resources were considered too unsolid and ephemeral to make any stand against these three united powers. The only doubt respected Raghojee Bhonslay, who had become Rajah of Berar, and whose ancestor, as formerly mentioned, had even laid claim to the rank of peishwa. He had, however, been observed to

attach himself so very decidedly to the successful party, that there appeared little chance of his espousing a cause so desperate as that of Holkar. In fact, had these chiefs been guided by sound views of policy, they would have at least temporized till Scindia had recruited his shattered forces, and till his rival, who had retired beyond the Godavery, and seemed disinclined to take any decisive step, could be induced to join the confederacy.

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168. These hopes, though resting on plausible grounds, were not fulfilled. Scindia and Raghojee felt such a hatred and dread of British power, as not only suspended the strongest feelings of enmity between themselves, but impelled them to make precipitate efforts against a treaty which appeared to render the Company supreme over Maharashtra. Yet the former, who, after his defeat, had retired to Burhanpoor, where he had reassembled a considerable force, did not at first declare himself. Being invited to accede to the treaty of Bassein and to share its advantages, he expressed an intention to comply, only wishing previously to correspond with and obtain some explanations from the peishwa. Afterwards he declined acceding, but declared he would do nothing to obstruct its execution. Alarm was naturally excited by his continuing posted at Burhanpoor, which could apparently have no other object but that of regaining his ascendency at Poonah; wherefore Collins, stationed as resident in his camp, again pressed upon him the acceptance of the treaty, though intimating that his refusal would not be considered as a ground of offence. In that case, however, it was expected he would prove the absence of any hostile intention, by immediately recrossing the Nerbudda, to the north of which his own dominions lay.

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169. He made friendly professions, but urged that his present position was necessary to watch and keep in check the movements of Holkar. The Marquis afterwards intimated to the resident, that if this should appear to be the case, he would accept any other unequivocal proof of pacific dispositions; and he continued long to cherish the hope, that this warrior would not venture any opposition without the concurrence of Holkar and the Rajah of Berar. He wrote both to him and the rajah, assuring them of being left secure and unmolested in the possession of their dominions.

at the same time, in allusion to certain unfavourable reports he warned them, that all attempts on the part of any state or power to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein, would place them in a state of hostility with Britain. The rajah replied, disclaiming any hostile views; though a letter was at the same time communicated, which he had written to a chief, Azim-ul-Omrah, expressing his desire to meet Scindia, and concert measures with him for opposing the fulfilment of the said treaty. Although this intention was denied, and amicable professions continued, yet the movements both of Scindia's army and that of Berar entirely corresponded to it. The Governor-general therefore determined to place all his armies in such positions as might enable them to act with the utmost vigour, the moment it should be determined to strike the blow.

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170. As the conduct of the native rulers became daily more suspicious, the Governor-general, to avoid the delays of communicating with Calcutta, invested his brother on the 26th June, not only with the supreme military command in the Mahratta territories, but with the decision of the question of peace or war. In the first capacity, indeed, he was still inferior to Lord Lake and General Stuart; but the former was on an entirly different line of operations, and the latter, it was understood, would not interfere. Sir Arthur hereupon instructed Colonel Collins urgently to demand from Scindia an explanation of his present menacing attitude, and to solicit his retirement into the interior of his own dominions. That chief gave the most positive assurances of a pacific disposition, and even of an intention to acquiesce in the treaty of Bassein; but as, in conjunction with the Rajah of Berar, he still maintained his menacing posture, and was understood to be issuing orders to his officers to hold themselves in readiness to act on the shortest notice, it was judged farther necessary to require that he and the rajah should withdraw their troops to their ordinary stations in the centre of their respective territories, while a corresponding movement should be made on the part of the British army. To this demand, Scindia replied, that he expected in a few days to have an interview with the Rajah of Berar, when the Resident would be informed "whether it should be peace or war." This ambiguous expression, so strongly indicative of the latter alternative,

induced the general to advance to Walkee, a strong post near Ahmednugger, whence he could with advantage commence military operations.

171. On the 3rd June, the rajah arrived, and had a meeting with Scindia, though the principal conference did not take place till the 8th; and when the Resident, on the 12th, demanded to know the result, he was met only by delays and subterfuges. The two princes acknowledged themselves to be in some respects dissatisfied with the treaty of Bassein, but declared that their troops were in their own territory, without any hostile intention. They admitted, however, that they were intending to march towards the Nizam's dominions; and from this and other circumstances, the general formed the decided opinion that they were determined upon war, and were only desirous of waiting till their preparations should be completed, and the negotiation which they had opened with Holkar brought to a conclusion. Every delay, in fact, was in their favour. Colonel Collins was therefore instructed to demand, in a peremptory manner, that the Rajah of Berar should immediately retire to his capital of Nagpoor, and Scindia beyond the Nerbudda, provided the state of the rivers permitted; if not, at least to Burhanpoor.

172. These remonstrances, seconded by a letter from General Wellesley, procured for the colonel an audience on the 25th July; though he obtained nothing beyond shifts and excuses till the 31st, when he threatened an immediate departure. He was then invited to the rajah's tent, and a proposal was made that the allies should retire to Burhanpoor, fifty-eight miles in their rear, provided the English commander would withdraw his troops to their usual stations at Madras and Bombay. This arrangement, which would have left the Mahratta territory entirely at the disposal of the confederates, was at once rejected; and they at length offered to march back to their respective capitals, provided the British army should commence a retrograde movement on the very same day. This proposition was judged worthy of being transmitted to the general. The letter, however, purporting to convey it, on being delivered, was found to contain no such offer, but merely the first and rejected proposition. The Resident, then concluding that

the sole object of the allies was to gain time, at once quitted the camp, and the war immediately commenced.

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173. Sir A. Wellesley was at the head of 7,000 infantry, 1,900 cavalry, with 5,400 native horse, independently of the corps of Colonel Stevenson, which covered the Nizam's frontier. He now with characteristic promptitude marched upon Ahmednugger, and on the 8th August 1803 summoned that fortress, which was considered one of the bulwarks of the Deccan. On the first day the town was stormed, and on the 10th a battery was opened against the fort, which on the 12th was evacuated by the garrison. He then proceeded to the city of Aurungabad. Meantime, however, the confederates with their numerous cavalry had passed Colonel Stevenson, and appeared resolved to cross the Godavery and make rapid march against Hydrabad, the capital of the Nizam. The British general, however, by a judicious movement, obliged them to return northwards; but as the flying warfare, which they seemed inclined to pursue, would have been exceedingly harassing, he resolved to bring them, almost on any terms, to close combat. With this view, the two English corps marched separately, though at a short distance, along the two roads by which the enemy was expected to pass.

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174. Such was the battle of Assaye, which established the fame of the greatest commander of the age, and fixed the dominion of Britain over prostrate India. Yet his conduct on this occasion has been the subject of considerable controversy, and many consider that he led on his troops too daringly to an unequal combat. The panegyrists of the general, on the other hand, argue, that he availed himself of this apparent disadvantage as the only footing upon which the enemy could be induced to engage in regular battle. But this plea is refuted by one of his interesting letters to Sir Thomas Munro, where he disclaims any intention of acting separately from Colonel Stevenson, and admits himself to have been taken considerably by surprise, when he discovered the whole Indian army assembled on the extensive plain. He judged, however, that under existing circumstances, he could not retreat without disastrous consequences. Sir Thomas, rather a severe military critic, observes, "If there was anything wrong, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct

of the action everything was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed at the very moment that it was most necessary." In regard to the result also, it has been said, that the enemy suffered so little of actual loss as to render the battle very indecisive. But besides the capture of their formidable artillery, and the extensive dispersion which in undisciplined armies always follows defeat, it appears probable that this triumph, achieved by such a disparity of numbers, produced a moral effect greater than would have arisen from a much more decisive victory gained under ordinary circumstances. There is something extremely sensitive in the Indian mind, that is acted upon with extraordinary force by whatever is strange or unexpected. Such displays of valour they never fail to exaggerate, attaching to them a mysterious efficacy which partakes deeply of the supernatural. It was on the field of Assaye that the spirit of India was vanquished; and Hindostan, after that fatal day, was viewed by its people as having passed into the hands of invincible conquerors.

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175. After this victory Scindia proceeded to make separate overtures; but as they were presented at first through private and unaccredited channels, which he might afterwards disown, no proceeding could be founded upon them. The commander-in-chief directed Colonel Stevenson to reduce the great city of Burhanpoor and the adjoining fort of Aseerghur, which bore the reputation of being almost impregnable. The town yielded without opposition, and the fort after a surprisingly short resistance. The Mahratta chief then sued for peace in earnest, and the terms of an armistice were arranged for all his territories south of the Nerbudda. The British general next led his army against Berar, and found the rajah with his troops on the Plains of Argaom, where, contrary to the convention, he was still supported by a strong body of Scindia's cavalry. He attacked them without the slightest hesitation, and, after a contest less obstinate than at Assaye, gained a complete victory, taking 36 pieces of artillery, and losing only 46 killed and 308 wounded. Siege was then laid to Gawilghur, one of those hill-forts which are esteemed the bulwarks of India. It made a more vigorous defence than any of the other

strongholds, and severe labour was required to plant the cannon on its steep sides; but in a very few days a breach was effected, and the outer wall was carried by storm. There remained still an inner rampart, which for some time defeated the efforts of the assailants, till Captain Campbell (now Lieutenant-general Sir Colin), with a detachment of light troops, carried it by escalade, and opened the gate to the rest of the army.

176. Sir Arthur could now have advanced upon the rajah's capital, and completed the extinction of his power; but a vakeel had already arrived in his camp to solicit a conference preparatory to negotiation. This envoy endeavoured to prove that his master had never entertained any hostile intention; and after some unprofitable discussion on this question, asked the terms on which peace might now be obtained. The British commander demanded the cession of the maritime district of Cuttack, which was desirable for completing the Company's dominion over the eastern coast; also the surrender of a territory on the river Wurda, the authority over which had hitherto been inconveniently shared between the Rajah and the Nizam. Some further demands were made, but withdrawn; and the arrangements, being hastened by the fall of Gawilghur, were completed on the 16th, and the treaty signed at Deoghaun on the 17th December 1803.

177. After the capture of Alighur, Lake marched directly upon Delhi, the imperial capital, and the residence of him who still enjoyed the rank and title of Great Mogul. He had advanced within view of its walls, when he discovered the army, organized under French command, drawn up in a strong position to defend its approaches. Though he had only 4,500 men against 19,000, yet he determined to give battle without delay; but as the enemy could not without difficulty and severe loss have been dislodged from their present ground, he used a feigned retreat as a stratagem to draw them from it. This delicate manœuvre was executed by the British troops with the most perfect order; and the enemy, imagining the flight real, quitted their intrenchments, and eagerly pursued. But no sooner were they fully drawn forth on the plain than Lord Lake faced about, and in a single charge drove them from the field, with the loss of three thousand in killed and wounded, as well as their whole train of artillery.

178. The conquerors now marched upon Agra, the rival capital, which still possessed the advantage of being defended by a strong fort, occupied by a large body of troops. Anarchy, however, prevailed in the garrison, and the officers, being chiefly of English extraction, had become objects of suspicion, and were thrown into confinement. At the same time seven battalions of Scindia's army having been denied admittance, lest they should claim a share of the riches it contained, still kept their post in the town and principal mosque. It was considered necessary to begin by dislodging them, which was effected, though not without an obstinate resistance; and the soldiers, to the amount of 2,500, immediately transferred their services to the victors. The Mahratta leaders meanwhile resolved to propose a treaty of surrender; but as the time for its ratification approached they suddenly recommenced firing. The trenches were forthwith opened, and a breach being effected on the 17th October 1803, the enemy capitulated the same evening, stipulating only for the safety of their persons and private property. The treasure found here, amounting to no less than £280,000, was divided among the troops as prize-money.

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179. There remained still in the field a corps composed of troops detached from the Deccan, reinforced by fugitives from the different armies. General Lake hastened in pursuit of this force; and, considering it only as a collection of runaways deserted by their officers, little apprehended that he was about to encounter the most obstinate resistance he had sustained during the whole campaign. This body, consisting of 9,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and a numerous train of artillery, were rapidly retreating, when on the 1st November, he overtook them with his cavalry alone, and determined, by an immediate attack, to prevent their escape. The enemy, however, having their motions concealed by a cloud of dust, speedily threw themselves into an advantageous position, which they strengthened by cutting the embankment of a reservoir in their front. The dragoons were led on, and had gained some advantages, when they suffered so severely by the fire from a number of well-served guns, that it was judged necessary to withdraw them, and wait till the infantry should come up.

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180. Scindia, thus vanquished at every point, deserted by the Rajah of Berar, and seeing his finest levies destroyed, felt the necessity of relinquishing those expedients by which, till now, he had hoped to avert the necessity of a humiliating peace. On the 30th December 1803, a treaty was signed in General Wellesley's camp, by which he ceded the Doab, or territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable provinces beyond the latter river; surrendering thereby to the British dominion Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Great Mogul, and with them the person of the nominal emperor. He sacrificed also Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerat; while on the south he yielded Ahmednugger to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. But he regained the other places conquered from him in the course of the war. Finally pressing offers were made to him of a treaty on the same terms as that concluded with the peishwa, by which he should admit into his territory a subsidiary force that would relieve him to a great extent from the cares of government; but this courtesy was for the present positively declined.

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181. Meantime Holkar, while witnessing the downfal of the other members of the Mahratta confederacy, had maintained a very uncertain and equivocal position. At first he gave them ground to suppose that he would join their league; but on the actual commencement of hostilities he remained inactive, and seemed to watch the opportunity when the other powers should have exhausted themselves by mutual conflict, to throw himself in and secure a preponderance. He was struck with consternation at the victorious career of the English, who proceeded with such rapid steps, that before he could come to any decision they had completely realized their object. He seems then to have shown some disposition to take advantage of the reduced state of Scindia, and to strengthen himself at his expense. That prince at least was so much alarmed, that he accepted the offer made by the Company of a subsidiary force of 6,000 men, to be stationed, however, only on his frontier, while their maintenance was to be defrayed out of the districts already ceded. Holkar, seeing himself thus completely hemmed in, and all his schemes of conquest about to be checked by the British, seems to have hastily determined to plunge into a contest with them.

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182. He threatened the territory of their ally the Rajah Jyenagur; he made extravagant and even insulting demands; and in a letter to Sir A. Wellesley, he said, "Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered; Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings in continual war by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." At the same time he earnestly invited Scindia, and the other princes who remained still independent, to unite against the English as a common enemy.

The Governor-general, in comming to the resolution of opening the campaign against Holkar, considered it necessary not merely to reduce and limit, but altogether to extirpate a power whose existence seemed incompatible with the repose and security of all the other states. To display, however, the disinterested views of the Company, it was determined not to retain any part of the conquered territory, but to distribute it among those chiefs who adhered even formally to her alliance. Scindia was to receive the largest share, provided he gave cordial aid in overthrowing the pretensions of his rival.

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183. Lake, on receiving intelligence of the danger of Delhi, hastened to that capital, which he reached on the 17th October. Learning there that Holkar with his cavalry had begun a course of devastation along the Doab, he set out in pursuit of him. He sent at the same time his infantry, under General Fraser, to attack that of the enemy now stationed at Deeg, a strong fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who, on seeing the scale of fortune turn against the English, had embraced the opposite interest. Fraser found them on the 13th, skilfully intrenched under the stronghold just named, their front covered by a morass, and their left by a fortified village. The battle which followed was a repetition of the usual scene; the English rushing on in the face of a destructive cannonade, and suffering severely till they came to close quarters, then charging with the bayonet, and carrying all before them. Here there were successive lines of guns, which it was necessary to capture by repeated assaults. The general, a very gallant officer, received a wound that obliged him to quit the field, and afterwards proved mortal; the victory was completed by Colonel Monson.

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184. Holkar was now about to sustain a complete reverse of fortune. While the strength of his army was broken by recent defeats, his dominions, whence he might have drawn recruits and resources, had fallen into the enemy's possession. Colonel Wallace from the Deccan had reduced Chandore and the other strongholds in that quarter, while Colonel Murray from Guzerat, having overrun nearly the whole of Malwa, and entered Indore the capital, was already preparing to intercept his retreat. The only point of resistance was Bhurtpore, the rajah of which still adhered to his alliance; and the reduction of that city was therefore considered necessary to complete the triumph over this turbulent chieftain. At first sight, the place did not present a very formidable aspect to an army before which many of the mightiest bulwarks of India had fallen. It was encircled by none of those rugged steeps which guarded the approach to Gwalior and Asseerghur. The only works were a lofty mud wall and a broad ditch not easily fordable; and the very extent of its walls, which embraced a circumference of six or eight miles, increased the difficulty of protecting them. But the rajah applied himself to its defence with the utmost skill and resolution: the kingdom of the Mahrattas, he observed, was in their saddle; his was within his ramparts. Hitherto, in general, the reduction even of the strongest forts had proceeded in a sure and regular course; the trenches were opened, a storming-party was selected, who forced their way with greater or smaller loss, and were masters of the place.

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185. Scindia, who had been strongly affected on witnessing the commencement of the war by Holkar, and the brilliant successes with which he had opened the campaign, evidently cherished the idea of seizing this opportunity to retrieve his own fortunes; but the indecisive character of Indian councils caused him to advance towards his object only by tardy and circuitous steps. He began by raising his demands upon the British; he marched his troops towards their frontier, and when remonstrated with, delayed upon various pretexts to withdraw them. At length, when Holkar, after the peace made by the Bhurtpore Rajah, was retreating in a shattered and reduced condition, he received him into his camp; having already committed the almost unprecedented outrage of plundering the abode and seizing the person of the British Resident.

Lord Lake, as the rainy season now approached, could not immediately follow the two hostile chiefs into the heart of their territories. Their power, however, was so completely broken that he entertained no doubt of soon reducing them to submission: but at this crisis the whole system of our policy respecting India underwent an important change.

186. The vast scheme of conquest and subsidiary alliance, by which Marquis Wellesley had studied to place this great eastern empire under British control, had excited in the mother country a very deep sensation. The public were, to a certain degree, dazzled with its splendid success; yet a numerous body of politicians exclaimed that this course was contrary to all true principles of policy,—that it formed an interminable system of war,—that the Company, in seating themselves upon the throne of the Mogul, and endeavouring to effect the conquest of all Hindostan, had entirely relinquished the basis on which they had uniformly professed to act. The contest with Holkar, breaking out with so formidable an aspect after all the others had closed, gave rise to painful feelings as to the endless duration of Indian hostility. The Directors, strongly influenced by public opinion, and struck by the enormous expenditure in which the campaign had already involved them, determined to change entirely the system on which their affairs were conducted. Accordingly, in place of the Marquis Wellesley, who, with or without reason, had acquired the reputation of a war-governor, they substituted the Marquis Cornwallis. This nobleman had not, indeed, while in power, pursued a course materially different; yet his character was generally esteemed moderate and conciliatory, and he was understood to disapprove of the extent to which conquest had now been carried.

187. His instructions were to proceed on principles every way opposite to those of his predecessor,—to conclude peace almost at any price,—to form a defensive line beyond which English interference was not to extend; and to allow the native powers to treat and to fight with each other as if situated at the extremity of the globe.

The courts of directors and proprietors voted thanks to the Marquis Wellesley for the zeal, vigour, activity, and ability, to which they attributed in a great measure the

brilliant successes which had crowned the British arms. They qualified the vote, however, by stating, that it was "without entering at present into the origin and policy of that war." This reservation was deeply felt by the Marquis, who intimated that, while the votes of thanks to the commanders had been communicated in general orders to the army, and in an extraordinary gazette, he considered it his duty to forego the gratification of publishing his own. These expressions would, he thought, convey a universal impression of doubt and uncertainty respecting all the recent arrangements and the permanency of all treaties with the native powers. He pressed the question home upon the courts, by observing, "the general fame of your equity and magnanimity precludes any supposition, that in condemning the justice of our cause, you would retain the fruits of our success."

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188. Admitting that the policy of Marquis Wellesley was not quite so pacific as his friends contended, it was very doubtful how far it could now with safety, or even with justice, be thus abruptly relinquished. A great power can seldom be justified in withdrawing from all concern in the contests of its neighbours, from endeavouring to protect the weak against the strong, and thereby preventing any one of them from acquiring a decided preponderance. It was perhaps chimerical to suppose that the principal native chiefs would cultivate habits of sincere peace, or entertain a solid attachment for the British government. They were for the most part usurpers, who had started up amid the ruins of one great empire; each seeking to aggrandize himself at the expense of the rest, and viewing undivided dominion as a prize at which he might aim. They had all, however, through the interposition of the Company, seen their aspiring views checked or baffled, their armies vanquished, and some of the brightest jewels plucked from their diadems. There could be little doubt, therefore, that when left to themselves there would be a struggle for the mastery; and that either by him who should succeed in this object, or by a league of all united, an effort would be made to overthrow the ascendency of England, and to regain the possessions which she had wrested from them. According to the advocates of the Wellesley policy, the system pursued by that nobleman was so far advanced towards maturity that only one effort, of

easy and assured success, was necessary to place all India in a state of tranquillity, and to keep down those discordant elements which would otherwise lay waste the country itself. By stopping short at this point, great part of the empire was involved in calamity and disorder, and the foundation laid for another expensive and even perilous struggle.

189. Lord Wellesley, owing to the state of his health, had announced the necessity of returning to Europe as soon as the contest with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar should have been brought to a termination. On hearing, however, the rupture with Holkar, he intimated his willingness to remain, and bring it also to a close: but the views of the government at home were different. On the 30th July 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta; where, learning that the war was still going on, he determined to proceed immediately into the Upper Provinces, and make personal inquiry into the state of affairs. In his zeal for the public service, however, and to fulfil the anxious wish of his countrymen, he had undertaken this duty at a period when his age and infirmities rendered him very unequal to its performance. Under the fatigue of the voyage his illness daily increased, till on reaching the village of Gazypoor on the Ganges, he was obliged to land, and after lingering some time died on the 5th of October. Having been unable to reach his destination, while his mind as well as body were impaired by indisposition, he had been little able to receive or consider any fresh information. His place was supplied by Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Supreme Council, who had reached that station through various gradations of service, which he had filled with distinction; but his previous habits had not accustomed him to take comprehensive and statesmanlike views of public interests. Regarding with the deepest respect the views of his predecessor, and considering them as supported by the Government at home, he refused to listen to any arguments, or admit any of the modifications suggested by Lord Lake.

190. That commander, although he disapproved of the new system, finding it was firmly established by the supreme power, judiciously sought to carry it into effect on the most advantageous footing. He managed, with great address, to draw the first overtures from Scindia; and as it had been

determined to yield all the points in dispute, no difficulty was found in the conclusion of a treaty on the 23rd November 1805. The Mahratta leader obtained the highly-important fortress of Gwalior, which he made his residence and capital; the Chumbul was fixed as the boundary between his possessions and those of the British, who agreed to dissolve their alliance with the Rajpoot princes and others whom he claimed as tributaries. This last measure was in accordance with the new political system; yet in the case of the Rajahs of Boondee and Jeypore, who on the ground of this connexion had performed important services, it was considered scarcely compatible with national faith.

Holkar, after being deserted by his ally, retreated with the wrecks of his army into the Western Provinces to seek refuge among the Seiks. They refused to receive him; and, being closely pursued by Lord Lake, he must have been reduced to extremities had he not been saved by the new policy which the military commanders were compelled to observe. No sooner did he ask for peace, than it was granted on terms so advantageous, as allowed him to regain almost all that he had lost during the war.

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191. Amid this general dissolution of defensive alliances, those formed on the great scale with the Nizam and the Peishwa necessarily came under consideration. The connexion with the latter, founded on the treaty of Bassein, and out of which the late war had arisen, was described by the Company as one which they were desirous to relinquish. Yet even Sir George Barlow, when he came to consider the proposed measures, could not but view them as fraught with extreme peril. To dissolve the alliance with these potentates, and to withdraw the troops by which they were at present overawed, would have been to relieve the greater part of the powers of India from British control, while they were still animated by the most hostile feelings towards her; it would, in fact, have been to lay the foundation of a future confederacy for her downfal. The peishwa, likewise, notwithstanding his general aversion to the English, had motives, connected with the internal state of his dominions, which made him desirous, for the present at least, to claim on that ground the fulfilment of the treaty of Bassein.

Sir George Barlow was succeeded in 1807 by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his

general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

192. In the aspect which India at this period exhibited, the most remarkable feature consisted in the marauding habits of the people by whom so large a portion of it was occupied. A new power which rose without any basis to rest upon, without country or territory to claim for its own, and without any regular place in the political system, was chiefly supported by the roving tribes named Pindarees, who carried to an extreme all the predatory usages characteristic of Mahrattas. The latter, indeed, regarded plunder as an essential part of their policy; still they had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached; and they had regular occupations which they followed in the intervals, unconnected with their more violent pursuits. Their chiefs aimed not merely to enrich themselves by booty, but also to attain political power. The Pindarees, on the contrary, were nothing more than robbers, elevated by their number into armies; and their boast was, not that they were able to encounter disciplined troops, but that they could elude them. If overtaken or surprised, the point of honour was, who should flee the most swiftly.

193. The Patan and other Mohammedan troops, who, in the wreck of all the thrones occupied by their countrymen, had no longer a sovereign in whose service to fight, afforded another source whence predatory squadrons were formed and recruited. Most of them rallied round Ameer Khan, a bold and enterprising chief, who in the late war had fought under the banner of Holkar. He still retained his allegiance to that house, and attempted to direct its councils; but his main object was, with his chosen band of about 12,000 horse and 200 pieces of artillery, to overawe and extort contributions from the Rajpoot and other petty states in this part of India. Though equally destitute of fixed possessions, and as much devoted to plunder as the Pindarees, he acted more

systematically, and aimed at the attainment of political influence; yet, in Sir John Malcolm's opinion, the Mohammedans, from their tendency to sink into indolence and luxury, are less to be dreaded than the Hindoos, who, though they yield for the moment, pursue their object, on the whole, with unwearied perseverance.

Though Ameer Khan formed a power distinct from the Pindarees, he easily attracted large bodies of them to any enterprise that promised to gratify their appetite for plunder. Such was the expedition which, in 1809, he undertook against Berar, then governed by an effeminate unwarlike sovereign; and he would have succeeded in subverting that monarchy, had not Lord Minto wisely departed from his strictly defensive system. A strong detachment under Colonel Close was despatched into the territory of Nagpore, which, it was notified to Ameer, was under British protection. That adventurer made a blustering and indignant reply, but was soon, by a variety of circumstances, compelled to retreat into Malwa; and the Governor-general, on farther consideration, gave up the design which he had once entertained, of finally crushing him.

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194. The arrangements with the peishwa, meantime, proceeded also in a very unsatisfatory manner. That prince began, indeed, by courting the English, and even soliciting the continuance of their subsidiary force in his territory; but his object was to regain the control which he had almost entirely lost over his own dominions. Besides the provinces possessed by Scindia and other independent princes, numerous districts, especially in the south, had been parcelled out into *jaghires*, which, like the European fiefs in the Middle Ages, were held on the mere tenure of homage and military service. To make the resemblance more complete, the jaghiredars, during the recent period of public confusion, had secured for themselves a condition of almost complete independence. The Company felt considerable difficulty when importuned for aid against these chiefs, with many of whom, during the late exigencies, they had formed an alliance; notwithstanding they agreed to enforce over them the authority of the peishwa, not as an absolute sovereign, but as their liege lord.

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195. As these proud dependants, however, were little inclined to own even this imperfect obligation, they imposed on their head the frequent necessity of calling upon his allies to support his claims, and of declaring their possessions forfeited. Thus, in a few years, principally through the aid or fear of our countrymen, he had reduced most of these retainers, and enriched his treasury by extensive confiscation. Having completely recovered his power and provided the necessary funds, he resolved at once to shake off also the British yoke, and to re-establish his influence over the great feudatories of the Mahratta state. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, a bold, able, but very dissolute minister, raised from the lowest ranks, and entirely devoted to his master's purposes. The British Resident from the first viewed with umbrage the elevation of this personage, and was soon brought into direct collision with him. The peishwa, among his other plans of aggrandizement, had revived certain ancient claims on the *Guickwar* or sovereign of Guzerat, with whom also the Company had formed a subsidiary alliance. As the negotiations on this subject became extremely intricate, it was agreed that Gangadhur Sastree, the prime minister of that state, should repair to the court of Poonah, and endeavour to place them on an intelligible basis; having, however, previously obtained a safe conduct from the English.

196. The British minister, on this emergency, determined to adopt the most decisive measures, and, with the view of giving effect to the negotiation, ordered the auxiliary force to approach nearer to Poonah. The peishwa, evidently apprehensive of being personally charged with the deed, evaded, on various grounds, all communication on the subject. At length, two persons in his confidence waited on the Resident, apparently with a view to sound his intentions. Mr. Elphinstone allowed them te understand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the peishwa; indeed, when he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to show the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The prince studiously employed every

expedient to save his favourite; sometimes endeavouring to justify him, and at other times declaring it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded of a determination to screen the offender, induced the Resident, with the concurrence of the Governor-general, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody.

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197. This proposal was of course still more revolting to the peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to flee with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattas against the Company. Mr Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they esteemed an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shown a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign influence, would have been extremely odious in the eyes of the nation. But the crime with which he stood charged, being aggravated in the view of the natives by every possible circumstance, as having been committed on a Brahmin of high sanctity, and within the precincts of one of their holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularity on the vigorous steps taken by the Resident for its punishment.

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198. The peishwa disavowed all knowledge of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat; and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of this declaration, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an enemy, and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whose plans they professed to oppose. The British Resident farther learned that the prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trimbuckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and had even forwarded to him liberal supplies of

money; being at the same time employed in military preparations, with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operating with him. Secret negotiations were also carried on with Scindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, for the purpose of uniting the whole confederation for the overthrow of British power. All remonstrances relative to these proceedings having been met by a positive denial, as well as by a refusal to adopt any of the measures demanded as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity.

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199. Mr. Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the peishwa, that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month Trimbucjee would be again delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any answer; but at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the Resident gave warning, that these concessions could not be considered as final; and that the peishwa, having forfeited the confidence of the Company, could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the Governor-general. Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms:—That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5,000 horse and 3,000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of 34 lacs of rupees must be ceded; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included; that His Highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahratta confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude; but as the Resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June 1817.

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200. In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the

administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in the end of the year 1813. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the pacific or merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings in fact soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations; to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor chiefs; and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. But his attention was for a time drawn off by movements in a new and somewhat unexpected quarter.

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201. The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of the Himmaleh to the plain of Hindostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, as described in a former chapter, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Gorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect that magnificent range of mountains. Thither they transferred the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different tracts, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole Alpine region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye towards the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue.

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202. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter, not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahratta horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Hindostan. The

British, by the numerous victories gained in the late war, had extended their boundaries along nearly the whole line of this mountain-domain. The Gorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, to which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they could found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, showed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the Governor-general, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate. The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small party to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and drove them out, killing and wounding several of their number. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

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203. These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfal of British power in India. Movements were made by Scindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings, judiciously considering that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepaulese and compel them to sue for peace was the only mode by which the evil could be remedied, augmented and concentrated his force already stationed on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He

had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses that commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kemaoon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April 1815, took Almora, its capital. Ameer, now closely confined to his fortified post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army with the troops under his charge.

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204. The Government of Nepaul were so deeply discouraged by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of several chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who proposed even to seek support from the Emperor of China, they determined to open a negotiation. The terms demanded by Lord Hastings were high,—including the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west, and also of the Teraee or Tarryani, the border of jungle which extends along the base of the mountains. This last article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so much on account of the actual value of the territory, as because most of the principal chiefs at court had in it assignments of land from which they derived their income. The Marquis, considering the point to be of little consequence, had made up his mind, and given directions that it should not stand in the way of an adjustment. The Nepaulese ambassadors had, in fact, agreed to the terms and signed them, but when transmitted for ratification, the court was induced, on the grounds just stated, to refuse its consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer room for the intended concession; and no alternative was left but the renewal of war. This was attended with considerable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but even part of the military stores sold off; however, extraordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January 1816, was again ready to take the field.

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205. The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy, which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of

the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal, when threatened by Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but, amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot prince of Jyepore, who had made heavy complaints of having in 1806 been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but, the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the British having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

206. This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhonslay, Rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Pursajee, so infirm both in mind and body as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Saheb, his cousin and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of regent, to which he seemed to possess a legitimate claim. Another chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhonslay, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the councils of Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of 7½ lacs of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr Prinsep, was viewed at the presidency with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Mahratta league, and fixed in our interests, and not as what

it really was, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

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207. There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them, seeing in its success the downfal of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the courts of Nagpore and Hydrabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. Besides, the Pindaree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Scindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain:— "All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears. His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal leader of the Pindarees, had made urgent applications that he would allow to him a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, "that thereby my heart may be set at ease, and I may face the English with confidence. Then for once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge."

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208. To this Scindia's ministers replied, that they could not take such a step without an immediate rupture with the British government; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings considered it indispensable, before leaving Scindia's dominions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. Colonel Close, the Resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that he

should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the Governor-general; that he should furnish a contingent of 5,000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might be supported; finally, that he should provisionally deliver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which, to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There was even to be a private understanding, that while the contest lasted he should not quit his capital. Scindia manifested the most violent opposition, first to the English entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms attached to that movement; nor was it till Lord Hastings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another, were each within a day's march of his frontier that the treaty was reluctantly signed.

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209. A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he must thereby lose every thing on which his importance and power had been founded; but in return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previously to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army was surrounding him on every side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

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210. The councils of the house of Holkar had been involved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British, became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir, Mulhar Rao, was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Holkar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The lady, with the direct view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving

a subsidiary force. This measure was firmly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and the weight of their opinions was so strongly felt by the regent, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized her person, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations.

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211. While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages, of which the most remarkable occurred at the court of Poonah. The peishwa, ever since the last treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him; and the employment of the British forces in the Pindaree campaign offered a tempting opportunity to re-assert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shown him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond a very short period; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahratta states could create. But the peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his own chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the other leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

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212. For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great indeed was his address, that Sir John Malcolm an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived, and communicated his opinion, that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the peishwa. But Mr. Elphinstone, the official resident, entertained from the

first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the projected war, though for a purpose directly opposite. At the same time, the jaghiredars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahratta horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr Elphinstone, anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force. Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November 1817, so sudden an attack was made that the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses, when his mansion was plundered, and all the property, including his books and papers, was either carried off or destroyed.

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213. General Smith, though placed in the rear of the grand army, had agreed, if a single day should pass without his hearing from Poonah, that he would conclude the communications were interrupted, and hasten thither with his whole brigade. A week, however, must necessarily elapse before his arrival, and to keep the sepoys in the mean time cooped up in a narrow space, harassed by the enemy's artillery and light horse, would, it was feared, damp their courage, and promote that tendency to desertion which had already been strongly manifested. Hence the officers determined to march out with their small corps and attack their foes, who, to the amount of 26,000, were already stationed in front. This movement was executed promptly, and with such vigour, that though the enemy's horsemen made some desperate charges, and reached several times the flanks of the English

brigade, the latter finally remained masters of the field. They had not indeed done much damage to their adversaries; but the intrepidity of their attack, and the amount of their success against numbers so vastly superior, changed decidedly the moral position of the two armies. When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the peishwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahratta camp, that prince at once commenced a retreat.

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214. He continued it upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to reinforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in a village, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The peishwa finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the Governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him; though, in order to sooth in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahratta people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid seige to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance.

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215. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Scindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater

every day; his followers deserted in vast numbers; and the English drew their nets round him so skilfully that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lakhs of rupees (about £100,000), he should renounce the dignity of peishwa, with all his claims as a sovereign; spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a prince who ranked in authority and power above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. He immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which, it is said, he had been always addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

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216. While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid by assassination of the young prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called to which the dignity of rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to regard it with the dislike so generally felt by all persons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into that confederacy against the British power which was formed among the Mahratta chiefs in consequence of the Pindaree war; and was observed also to carry on an active correspondence with the peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November 1817, Mr. Jenkins, the

British resident, was invited to see his highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the juree putka or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the rajah's acceptance of the honours at such a moment; and indeed it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the Company's servants were warned of approaching danger.

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217. As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them; wherefore on the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he might retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his being placed entirely on the same footing with the Nizam; having his military force subjected to the control of the Company, and even his ministers appointed by them. The rajah only so far expressed his dissatisfaction as to offer to retire altogether on a liberal pension,—a proposition which was not considered admissible. He therefore began forthwith to intrigue, with the view of shaking off this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to muster their forces, and give every possible annoyance to the enemy; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered with Bajee Rao, who being invited to join his army to the standard of the peishwa, had actually taken steps for that purpose.

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218. Mr. Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable to call upon Appa to resume his place within the residency; and this not being complied with, a party was sent who effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian princes than to keep them; the rajah being mildly treated, and access procured to him by several of his adherents, a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the discovery was not made till daylight; so that, relays of horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain. But as the Pindaree war was now terminated, and Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the mountainous districts. The English were thus able, on their

own terms, to seat on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson of Raghojee Bonslay, while the administration was placed entirely under their own control.

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219. But in 1825 an important event occurred in the interior of India. After the death of the Rajah of Bhurtpore in that year, his legitimate heir, Bulwunt Singh, being dethroned by Doorjun Sal, his cousin, applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, then resident at Delhi. That officer embraced the prince's cause; but his conduct in doing so was disavowed by the Governor-general, who, at this crisis, showed a disposition to proceed upon the old principle of non-interference. Farther information, however, induced him to change this intention, and Lord Combermere was ordered to march upon the city and expel the usurper. This able commander accordingly, with 25,000 men and an ample train of artillery, proceeded to attack that celebrated stronghold. The siege was begun on the 23rd December; but it was soon found that cannon-shot could not penetrate mud-walls sixty feet thick, and that it would be necessary to employ mining operations. By means of these a breach was effected on the 17th January 1826; the assault was given next morning, and after a gallant defence of two hours, in which many veterans who had triumphantly fought in the former siege took an active part, the place was carried; Doorjun was made prisoner; and there remained no longer in Hindustan a fortress that had successfully defied the British arms. While this conflict lasted, a general ferment was observable among the surrounding principalities; and Bishop Heber doubts not, that had the attack failed, the whole country westward of the Jumna would have risen in arms, at least so far as to resume the predatory system of warfare. This triumph, however, checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain.

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220. In July 1827, Lord William Bentinck was sworn in as the new Governor-general. His election was peculiarly acceptable to Mr. Canning, then Premier, but who died before his departure. His lordship was understood to go out with the intention of introducing a liberal and economical system, which was now considered desirable. He arrived on the 2nd July 1828, and soon after set out on a tour to the Upper Provinces, in order to survey the state of affairs, and

endeavour to cement the relations of amity with the neighbouring independent princes. A visit was paid to Scindia's family at Gwalior, and some time was spent at Ajmere, where the Rajpoot chiefs were invited either to visit him, or to send ambassadors. Extensive military reductions were made, particularly on the field allowance called batta, which excited a great deal of discontent among the officers, many of whom were of good family, and had gone out in the hope of living in splendour, and acquiring fortunes. No general conflict took place during Lord Bentinck's administration, but some partial disturbances agitated the ruder borders of our Indian possessions.

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221. In 1832 and the following year, considerable annoyance was sustained from a tribe named Chooars, inhabiting the jungly tracts on the eastern limits of Bengal. An extensive contraband trade in salt, favoured by this situation, gave them the habit of acting in large bodies, which they soon improved into an extensive and organized system of plunder. Individuals of high distinction were strongly suspected of exciting and supporting them; though this could not be legally proved. The ostensible leader was Gunga-narain, chief of a small village in a hill-pass, whose house was only a clay edifice, surrounded by sheds covered with grass. The depredations were at length committed on so great a scale, and with such impunity, that it became necessary to enter into an avowed war against them. Four regiments and a large body of irregulars were at one time employed, yet found much difficulty in putting down these marauders. Gunga-narain, who never appeared at the head of more than 400 men, was repeatedly defeated; the Chooar fortresses were successively taken and destroyed; yet the pillagers still lurked under the thick cover of their entangled forests. At length their daring captain was killed in a casual encounter with another tribe, after which his followers mostly dispersed, and did not again muster in any formidable numbers.

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222. In 1834 a more serious contest arose in the west of India. The Coorg Rajah, as we had formerly occasion to mention, was an attached ally of the British, and had given material aid in the conquest of Mysore; but the sceptre had now descended to his son, a violent and tyrannical youth,

who had exercised such excessive cruelties in his own family, that his sister and her husband were obliged to flee to the English for protection. The rajah demanded, in the most peremptory manner, that they should be given up, and on this being refused, addressed letters of an insulting tenor to the Madras presidency and the Governor-general. One of the Company's servants being sent to treat with him, was put under confinement, and his release refused. He was accused at the same time of having assumed an attitude of hostility against us, and of receiving and encouraging our avowed enemies; on which grounds a proclamation was issued on the 1st April 1834 from Calcutta, deposing him from the office of rajah, and announcing that a force was about to enter and take possession of his territory.

This country, as to its capacity of coping with the British power, might, from the small amount of its population, have been considered as utterly contemptible. The extreme difficulty of the ground, however, composed altogether of lofty mountains, covered with the thickest and most entangled jungle, defended by a race of determined valour, gave to it a somewhat serious character.

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223. Gwalior being the most powerful of the independent states now remaining, its interior movements were regarded as of considerable importance. Dowlut Rao Scindia having died, left the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bye; and that lady, to ensure a male successor to the throne, as none had been left by her husband, adopted a youth under the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and the title of Maharaja. This young man, on coming of age, aspired to the actual possession of the supreme power, which the Bye was by no means inclined to grant; while he, without any regard to his obligations to that lady, determined to use every means of enforcing his claim. When the Governor-general visited the capital, he solicited his aid to place himself upon the musnud. Lord William, however, intimated, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British Government could by no means interfere; then reminding him of what he owed to his patroness, advised him to pay the utmost deference to her, and await the time when she might be willing to place the government in his hands. But he was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833 made an attempt to seize the reins of power. This being frustrated,

he repaired to the mansion of our Resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it fast locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bye.

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224. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza, and perhaps desirous of change, applied a ladder to the maharaja's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agreement was made, under the mediation of the Resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the musnud, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholapoor. There she still attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, was allowed a revenue of ten lacs of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtyghur. The Company in this case proceeded on the principle of non-interference, and of acknowledging the sovereign *de facto*, whoever he might be. Yet this conduct was criticised by some, who considered the change unfavourable to our interests, from a female ruler of pacific habits, to a military government with a violent and ambitious young man at its head. In fact, some serious disturbances followed, both in the durbar and army, in which British interests and wishes were not much regarded; however, Jhundkoo displayed a degree of vigour which enabled him at last to establish an uncontrolled authority.

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225. An affair of a more serious aspect soon after arose with Maun Sing, Rajah of Joudpore, who had been restored to power by the Governor-general on the footing of a subsidiary and dependent ruler. He was considered, however, to have by no means duly fulfilled the conditions of his tenure; and having absented himself from the congress of Rajpoot princes, who assembled at Ajmere in 1832 to meet Lord William Bentinck, he could not be viewed as showing a friendly or respectful disposition. Besides, he had allowed the tribute to fall more than two years in arrear; he had

given shelter to bands of marauders, and had refused, when called upon, to assist in putting down others. When remonstrances were made against these proceedings, his answers indicated no desire to comply or act according to his professed obligations; and it was therefore determined to march against him a force which might either compel unqualified submission, or dethrone him. For this purpose 10,000 men were ordered to assemble at Nussserabad on the 20th October 1834; but he had no sooner learned that matters were coming to so serious a cirsis, than he sent a deputation of thirty persons, with a numerous attendance, to Ajmere, to treat with the Residents there, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to Britain, and regret at having given offence. When informed, however, that no declarations would be esteemed of any value, unless followed up by certain specific actions, namely, the immediate delivery of the refugees, and payment of a large sum of money, they made many apologies, and showed an extreme anxiety to avoid compliance. But on inquiring what alternative awaited the rajah, and being informed that he would be forthwith dethroned, they showed the utmost consternation, and solicited a delay of at least two days. At the end of that time, after some farther attempts to parry the blow, they finally yielded an unqualified submission; and the storm which threatened the peace of Western India was thus averted.

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226. All these proceedings were approved by the Governor-general; but of the promise extorted from the king relative to a new treaty, it appears that no advantage has been taken.

Claims were advanced by two nephews, sons of a deceased elder brother, who urged that, as their father, if alive, would have succeeded, they ought to inherit in his stead. This question, however, had early attracted the attention of the Indian government, who, after much consideration and reference to high authorities, as well as precedents (among which was that of the present King of Delhi), had concluded that according to the principles of the Soonee sect, a son cannot succeed to rights or property to which his father was heir, if he died before coming into actual possession. In this case, the inheritance goes to a brother. A curious con-

test also arose between the two princes which was the elder; though, as both were excluded, there was no need to discuss this question. One of them spent a considerable time in England, but without being able to obtain any attention either from Parliament or the Company.

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227. Another political change, somewhat similar, excited a great interest in India. The Rajah of Satara, lineal descendant of Sevajee, the warlike founder of the Mahratta dynasty, had, as formerly mentioned, been drawn from the prison into which the peishwa and the other chiefs had thrown him, and invested, not indeed with the wide dominions of his house, but with a certain extent of valuable territory. He held it, however, under the avowed stipulation of paying the greatest deference to the advice of the English Resident, and holding no intercourse with foreign states through any other channel. For several years he gave the highest satisfaction, showing the most cordial attachment to the British government, and exerting himself with diligence, unfortunately not usual among Indian princes, to promote the prosperity of his subjects. At length he began to show strong symptoms of an intriguing spirit; and about 1836, the charges against him assumed a definite form, being resolved into three heads:—1, That he had been guilty of an attempt to seduce certain native officers from their allegiance to the Company. 2, That he had carried on a treasonable correspondence with Appa Sahib, then a refugee at Joudpore. 3, That he had maintained a similar intercourse with the Portuguese Governor of Goa. After long investigation, Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, became thoroughly convinced of his guilt; and Lord Auckland, after a good deal of hesitation, acquiesced in the same judgment.

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228. Sir Robert died, and was succeeded in 1839 by Sir James Carnac, who went out, it is said, with a strong prepossession in the prince's favour. He soon, however, became convinced that there was ground for the charges against him, but obtained the approbation of Lord Auckland to an amnesty, by which past offences were to be buried in oblivion, on securities being given to adhere strictly in future to the treaty by which he had been placed on the throne. He was also required to dismiss his favourite

minister, and not allow him, without our permission, to reside in his dominions. Sir James on a visit to him, presented these proposals, but they met with a peremptory and indignant rejection. His friends admit that he was "proud, overbearing, strong in the assertion of his rights, impetuous, in short a regular Hotspur." It is added, on the other side, that the idea had been instilled into him, that the Company would not proceed to extremities, and great confidence was placed in extensive agencies maintained in England, Bombay and Poonah, at an annual expense of above £35,000. The Governor, in four successive interviews, sought in vain to change his resolution, and in departing on the 28th August, left instructions with the Resident to forward any communications he might receive. The rajah remaining inflexible, a proclamation deposing him was issued on the 5th September, and on the 7th December he was removed to Benares, to be entered on the list of pensioned princes. The vacant seat was bestowed on his brother, who was placed on the gadi on the 18th November 1839. Among his first proceedings was the abolition of suttee, which was followed by other measures decidedly calculated for the public good.

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229. A portion, meantime, of the East India proprietors, actuated by honourable motives, considered these measures oppressive, and even injurious to the British character. A special court being called on 12th February 1840, upon the requisition of nine of their number, Sir Charles Forbes moved, that they should recommend to the Directors and the Board of Control to withhold their sanction to the measure till after a full and fair investigation of the charges. This motion was opposed, until the subject should be considered by the Directors, and the proper documents laid before the proprietors; which being done on the 6th May, and a sufficient time afforded for consideration, the Court again met on 14th July 1841, when a very long and animated debate ensued. Generals Robertson and Lodwick, who had been Residents at the prince's court, took a very decided part in his favour. They urged, that none of the charges were confirmed by any thing in his own handwriting, or had been brought personally home to him; alleging that his agents and officers, especially the Brahmins, cherished in many cases hostile feelings towards his person; that his brother, hoping

for the succession, had an obvious interest in proving him guilty; that the very idea of defying British power by the aid of the Governor of Goa and the imprisoned Rajah of Nagpore, was ridiculous, and could never have been entertained by a prince who was admitted to possess ability; and at all events, that he was entitled, like every accused person, to a fair and open trial. In these views they were supported by others. It was answered, that the inquiry had been most impartial; that due allowance had been made for the defects in the evidence, much of which had been given by persons who had no interest in proving the rajah's guilt; that even his advocates, Robertson and Lodwick, had addressed severe warnings to him on his intriguing disposition, and the consequences which might follow; that there had certainly been some correspondence with Goa and the Nagpore Rajah, which alone was a breach of the treaty placing him on the throne; and that though possessing ability, he was not a politician, and might easily form chimerical expectations from distant quarters. The public trial of a prince in his own dominions, it was admitted, was liable to many objections; but the charges had been stated to him, and no satisfactory explanation given. Finally, the terms on which continuance in power had been offered were extremely lenient, making no material difference from his position when first raised to it. The motion was finally negatived by 31 to 13, and several attempts made to revive it were unsuccessful.

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230. The kingdom of Cabul, under Ahmed Abdalla, had, towards the end of the last century, become one of the most powerful in Asia; and after his victory over the Mahrattas in the battle of Panniput, in 1761, the Mogul throne seemed completely within his grasp. He had the moderation or prudence, however, to content himself with the rich provinces on the Indus, and the fine valley of Cashmere. Having added Balkh, Herat, and Sinde, he formed a powerful monarchy, estimated to contain above fourteen millions of inhabitants; and this dominion Mr Elphinstone, on his mission to Peshawar in 1808, found still entire in the hands of his successor, Shah Sujah ul Mulk. But it was then on the eve of a great revolution; and in a few months afterwards, that prince was driven out by his brother Mahmoud, whose successes, however, were mostly achieved by his vizier Futeh

Khan, of the Baurikzehee tribe. That minister, having incurred the jealousy of his master, was deposed and his eyes put out,—a cruel deed, which roused the vengeance of his numerous offspring. The usurper was driven from all his territories except Herat; and after some vicissitudes, Cabul, Ghizni, Candahar, and Peshawar, were partitioned among members of the Baurikzehee house, the first two falling to Dost Mohammed, the most powerful of their number. Amid these distractions, Runjeet Sing, having acquired absolute authority over the warlike race of the Seiks, made himself master of the provinces eastward of the Indus, to which he added Cashmere. Balkh was seized by the sovereign of Bokhara; the chiefs of Sinde threw off their dependence; while the fine territory of Herat was occupied by Kamran, son to Mahmoud, the only branch of the house of Ahmed Abdalla to whom any thing now remained. In this manner, a monarchy, lately so great, was parcelled out into a number of disjointed fragments.

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231. Shah Sujah, after his expulsion, resided at Loodiana, being allowed by the British Government 4,000 rupees monthly. He kept a longing eye upon his lost kingdom, and was encouraged by various chiefs of Afghanistan and Khorasan to attempt its recovery. With this view he made proposals, in 1831, to Runjeet Sing, and, after some difficulties, concluded a treaty with him on the 12th March 1833. The British agreed to give an advance of four months' allowance, but declined taking any further concern in the enterprise. Hence the exiled prince could not begin his march till the season was somewhat advanced. He passed first through the territories of the Rajah of Bahawulpore, from whom he received only an old gun and 1000 rupees; and then, with the consent of the chiefs of Sinde, he crossed the Indus, and established himself at Shikarpore. Those leaders, however, turned a deaf ear to his applications for money; and the Shah, who had assembled a considerable force, determined to take that affair upon himself, demanding from the city a contribution of three lacs, and seizing all the crops in the surrounding districts. The Sindians thereupon levied a force, and marched to attack him; but being completely defeated, they agreed to the payment demanded, and even to send an auxiliary force.

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232. Dost Mohammed, elated by his victory, and indignant, not without reason, at the conduct of Runjeet Sing, who certainly had acted without any provocation, became eagerly desirous, not only of recovering the lost territory, but of entirely overthrowing this ambitious potentate. Sensible that his own power was inadequate to the undertaking, he hoped to accomplish it by a general confederacy among the powers of Central Asia; and the one from whom he could look for the most effective aid was the sovereign of Persia.

The empire just named has been involved in a continued series of revolutions. The last century in particular was marked, first by the conquest of the Afghans, then by their expulsion on the part of Nadir, and the splendour to which he raised the monarchy; after his death, a long anarchy ensued, out of which she was raised by Aga Mohammed, great grandfather to the reigning prince. Under him and his son, Futeh Ali Shah, she was supported in a respectable position, but having to contend against the advancing power of Russia, with whose numerous and disciplined troops hers could not cope, she was stripped of some of her finest provinces between the Caspian and the Black Sea. In this situation the government applied for assistance to England, which, jealous of the progress of the Czar, supplied some pecuniary aid and experienced officers to discipline the Shah's troops. Nothing more was meant, however, than to maintain him in a purely defensive position, and with this view he was dissuaded from all schemes of war and conquest.

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233. An alliance thus founded on mutual interest, seemed to promise permanency; but a change gradually came over the councils of Persia. Although her improved discipline could not enable her to contend with Russia, it gave to her arms a decided superiority over the rude tribes of Khorasan and Afghanistan. The former country, long held by brave and turbulent chiefs, was, after a desperate struggle, reduced to submission. The adjacent province of Herat was next aimed at, and after its conquest, there appeared no difficulty, in the present distracted state of Afghanistan, to extend the Persian sway to the Indus. To these schemes the old king, Futeh Ali, unwillingly assented, chiefly on the impulse of his son, Abbas Meerza, whose younger brother he had made Governor of Khorasan. In 1834 he died; and as Meerza had

previously deceased, his son Mohammed now succeeded. This young and aspiring sovereign, who had actually led an expedition against Herat, embraced with ardour the new and ambitious system of policy. To carry it on successfully, the acquiescence of Russia was indispensable, while her aid might prove of the greatest advantage. England, on the contrary, had always opposed schemes of conquest, and would doubtless view with peculiar jealousy those carried in the direction of her own frontier. It might scarcely have been expected that Russia would favour the aggrandizement of an old enemy, from whom she had wrested so many valuable provinces, which there was doubtless an eager desire to recover. Yet there was in her cabinet a powerful party who urged the adoption of these views. They considered that attempts at distant conquest would only increase the dependence of Persia on so powerful a neighbour; and they had probably other views to be forwarded by such profound diplomacy.

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234. The question, whether Russia contemplates the conquest of British India has been much canvassed, and in most cases with imperfect local knowledge. Her route is presumed to lie across the vast, almost desert regions of Turkestan, and then through the tremendous passes and eternal snows of the Indian Caucasus, by which it is argued that the complex apparatus of a modern army could never be conveyed. This was indeed the course followed by Alexander and Timur; but the former was obliged to pursue Darius into Bactria, while the latter came from Central Asia. There is, however, another route leading through Persia and Afghanistan, and along the southern verge of the great chain, which is beset with no peculiar difficulties; and this has been usually followed by the conquerors of Hindostan, the Ghisnevide, the Patans, Baber, and Nadir. At the same time, though Russia could send by this track 40,000 men, we imagine her too politic seriously to think of such a step. By employing, however, or even promising a much smaller force, she might acquire a preponderating influence in Western Asia, and might hope to overawe Britain by exciting alarm for her Indian possessions.

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235. By communications from Mr. Ellis, our envoy in 1835, it appears that both powers were strongly actuated by

these views. The Persian court openly avowed its claim not only upon Herat but upon Candahar and Cabul; and great preparations were making for an expedition against the former city, the immediate prosecution of which was eagerly urged by Count Simonich, the Russian Ambassador. In April 1836, a deputy arrived from the chiefs of Candahar proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, even offering themselves as feudatories, and holding out the hope that through their aid the Shah might follow the steps of Nadir to Delhi. He was received with great favour, and the alliance agreed to, though the Persian minister, in his communications with Ellis, represented such language as that of a madman. Mr. M'Neill, who succeeded that gentleman, reported in September 1836, that the Shah had actually marched against Herat. At Astrabad, the dearth of provisions and the insubordination of the troops reduced him to great distress; yet the Russian minister continued to urge even a winter campaign. Lord Durham being hereupon instructed to represent these particulars to the Russian cabinet, Count Nesselrode answered, that if Simonich had really acted in the manner alleged, it had been in direct opposition to his orders.

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236. The British government in India, on receiving this intelligence, instructed our minister to use his utmost exertions to mediate a peace between Persia and Herat. He accordingly set out for the latter place, and after many difficulties, succeeded in persuading the Shah, who began to suffer from want of provisions, to enter into a negotiation, which seemed even in a fair train, when Count Simonich arrived at head-quarters. Then the views of Mohammed were entirely changed, and the treaty was suspended; for the Russian not only supplied money, but aided with his advice the operations of the siege. As, however, it advanced slowly, the Shah, ten days after, sent for Mr. M'Neill, and offered to close with Kamran's proposal, provided the ambassador would pledge the guarantee of Britain. The latter felt this somewhat beyond his powers, yet, on considering the very great importance of the object, he at last gave his consent; upon which the other altered his tone, advanced new demands, and resumed the siege.

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237. The cause of this change was soon understood to be the arrival of a messenger from Kohundil Khan, ruler of Candahar, expressing the most friendly sentiments, and a disposition to co-operate against Herat. It was known in fact, that about four months previously Captain Vicovich, a Russian officer, had proceeded to that city through Persia, having been received on his way with distinction, and supplied with money. The result of this mission forthwith appeared in a treaty, by which the Shah agreed to cede the town to the chiefs of Candahar and to defend them against attack from any quarter; in return for which he was to receive allegiance, peesh-cush (tribute), and military aid. This treaty was sanctioned in the name of Russia by Count Simonich; upon which Mr. M'Neill, defeated in all his views and scarcely treated with common decency, quitted the camp on the 7th June 1838.

Meantime, uncertainty reigned as to the views of Dost Mohammed at Cabul. Lord Auckland sent thither Captain Burnes to negotiate for the free commerce of the Indus, and if opportunity occurred, to endeavour to restore peace between him and Runjeet Sing. The former prince received the envoy well, and soon introduced political subjects, endeavouring to gain the support of Britain. He was assured, by a letter from the Governor-general, that she would readily interpose her good offices to negotiate a peace with the Sheik chief, who had accepted her mediation, and he might thus be secured in all his actual possessions, though he must not expect any more; for even this was only on condition of his renouncing all political connexion with the powers to the westward. These terms were by no means equal to his expectations, so that Vicovich and a Persian envoy having arrived with great boasts and promises, he was induced to prefer their alliance. Captain Burnes was then allowed to depart, bearing with him a very ambiguous letter to Lord Auckland.

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238. This situations of affairs was considered by the Governor-general as calling for the most serious consideration. The ultimate fall of Herat appeared still inevitable, all means of relief being apparently cut off by the Candahar treaty. The whole of Western Asia would then be united in one vast confederacy, under the influence of Russia, which would thereby be able to disturb at will the repose of India, where there were doubtless many princes eager to shake off all de-

pendence on Britain. Under these circumstances, the system of non-intervention, hitherto pursued, was thought no longer practicable nor even safe. Shah Sujah had a legitimate claim to the throne of Cabul; and he had in his favour a strong party, which Major Wade reported to be decidedly superior to that by which the Baurikzehees were maintained in authority. He had formed an intimate alliance with Runjeet Sing, then engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Cabul. It appeared that Britain, by a union with these two powers, could easily replace the exiled monarch on his throne, and thus render the strong country of Afghanistan friendly, and a sure bulwark against all attacks from the westward. In pursuance of these views, a treaty between the three parties was signed at Lahore, on the 26th June 1838; and a considerable force was marched from the Bengal provinces upon the Indus, where it was to be joined by all the disposable troops of the Bombay Presidency.

Shah Mohammed continued to prosecute the siege, and on the 23rd June made a general assault, planned by Count Simonich, who complained, however, that his directions had not been attended to. The Persians attacked with much bravery, but were repulsed with great slaughter, the Afghans pursuing them sabre in hand across the ditch. Yet as the blockade was continued, and the difficulty arising from want of provisions appeared to be in a great measure removed, on the 10th July Mr. M'Neill sent Colonel Stoddart with a notice that its farther prosecution would be considered an act of decided hostility towards England. The message was doubtless rendered weighty by the prince's knowledge of the triple alliance, and the approaching march of British troops into Afghanistan. On the 14th August he announced his unreserved assent; but it was not till the 9th September, that he took his departure, and without attempting to negotiate the treaty with Kamran on the terms formerly stipulated.

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239. In October 1838, Lord Palmerston presented a remonstrance to the Russian government, reminding them of their professed desire to maintain Persia in a pacific state, and asking whether their policy was to be judged of by the declarations of their cabinet, or by the acts of their ministers? Count Nesselrode, in two successive papers, reiterated the same pacific professions, particularly disclaiming any designs upon India, as impracticable and inconsistent with

any sound and reasonable policy. Yet, by a singular course of reasoning, he defended the conduct of those officers, not excepting Simonich's active share in the siege of Herat, representing it as merely aiding a friendly power in distress, while the Candahar treaty had been a purely defensive one. It was, however, announced that both officers had been recalled, and the place of ambassador filled by General Duhamel, "so well known for the moderation of his character, that his nomination alone may be held as the surest proof of the line of conduct which he is instructed to follow." The emperor had also refused to ratify the treaty of Candahar, however harmless, as being "beyond the limits which he had fixed to his policy," and took no part in the civil wars of the Afghan chiefs. As this was written on the 5th March 1839, when the British expedition was fully known, it amounted to an engagement not to oppose that measure. Lord Palmerston, therefore, while declining to give any assent to the reasonings contained in these despatches, expressed entire satisfaction with the result.

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240. In the end of 1839, an event took place which threatened a serious commotion. Runjeet Sing died, leaving a kingdom formed by himself, and supposed to be kept together almost solely by his talents and energy. Kurruk Sing, his eldest son, was understood to be well disposed, but devoid of such vigour and determination as were necessary to control the turbulent elements over which he must preside. Runjeet's abilities were in some degree inherited by Shere Sing, another son, whom, through certain feelings of jealousy, he had refused to acknowledge. Yet, as that prince grew up, and displayed eminent military qualities, he was received into favour, and even invested with the government of Cashmere, where he is said to have ruled tyrannically. Kurruk, being undoubtedly the legitimate heir, and on that ground supported by Britain, was at once placed on the musnud. He ventured, however, to transfer his confidence from Dhian Sing, the active minister of his father, to another chief named Cheyt Sing. Yet Dhian's influence being still paramount, he brought about the death of the new favourite; and placing Kurruk under restriction, lodged all the power in the hands of his son, Now Nehal, said to be a prince of spirit and talent. On the 5th October 1840, the deposed prince died, after a lingering illness, not without strong sus-

picion of poison; and at the funeral ceremony Nehal was killed by the falling of a beam, which was also believed to have proceeded from preconcerted design. Both these guilty deeds were ascribed to Dhian, who immediately after sent for Shere, and placed him on the musnud; but one of the widows of Nehal declaring herself pregnant, her cause was espoused by the mother of that prince, a person of determined character, and Shere, finding her influence at Lahore too strong for him, resigned his pretensions and left the city.

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241. His only object, however, was to muster his adherents, who held a species of feudal sway over different districts of this turbulent domain. He soon obtained ample assurances of support, and though commencing his return to the capital at the head of only 500 followers, he approached it with fair prospects of success. Dhian having joined him with a numerous band, completed his triumph; and the queen, though she still made some attempts to resist, was soon obliged to yield, on the promise of safety and honourable treatment.

During this strange series of events, the British government kept a strong cordon of troops on the frontier, and carefully watched every movement; but there appeared no ground for interference, which could not indeed have been attempted without taking actual possession of the country. Agitations and alarms continued to be felt; but the dread of British hostility restrained Shere Sing for a time, while objects of more immediate interest engaged the attention of the British government.

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242. The interior of Afghanistan, meantime, remained in a state of somewhat precarious tranquillity. Sir John Keane returned with a portion of the army into India, not through Sinde, but by the route of the Panjab, crossing the Indus at Attock. It was found necessary, however, to leave still a considerable force under Sir Willoughby Cotton; for although all regular resistance had ceased, there were clear symptoms of the unpopularity of the new government, and especially of its foreign supporters. The conduct of the Shah, too, as well as of his sons, is represented as neither prudent nor conciliatory. Officers and men found straggling were murdered; several of the mountain-chiefs openly resisted, and were not reduced without some difficulty. The

most serious affair was at Peshoot, where Colonel Orchard's attempt to blow up the gate as at Ghizni failed through the bad quality of the powder, and he was finally beaten off with the loss of sixty-nine killed and wounded. The fort, however, with the adjacent one of Khatke, was then evacuated.

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243. Dost Mohammed, after his retreat beyond the mountains, being favourably received by the chiefs of Khoolloom and Koondooz, had proceeded to Bokhara, hoping to obtain aid from that most powerful of the states in Central Asia. The Khan, however, alarmed by the Russian march upon Khiva, and unwilling to offend Britain, not only refused his request, but placed him under confinement. In August 1840, he made his escape, and being still favoured by the border princes, found no difficulty in raising among the Usbeck tribes and his own former subjects a very considerable force. The Wallee of Khoolloom even took the field along with him, and they advanced through the mountain-defiles upon Cabul. That capital, only about fifty miles from this great barrier, became seriously exposed. Dost Mohammed marched upon the strong frontier town of Syghan, then held by an Afghan corps organized under the eye of the British, and commanded by Captain Hopkins. On the approach of the enemy, they fell back on Bameean in a mutinous and disorderly state, several companies having deserted.

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244. Meantime, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed had occupied the strong defile of Ghorebund in Kohistan. General Sale was sent against him, and on the 29th found him stationed in a village covered by a garden-wall, and defended by a chain of forts. A column of attack was formed, and pressed forward with such energy, that, on its advancing within fifty paces of the wall, the enemy abandoned all their positions, and fled with precipitation into ground where the cavalry could not follow. The loss of the assailants did not exceed six wounded. The General, then learning that several rebel chieftains had sought refuge in a fort at Julga, sixteen miles to the north-east, succeeded on the morning of the 3rd October in completely investing it; but from the state of the road, the artillery could not be brought into action till four in the afternoon. By three next day, a breach had been effected, and considered practicable; upon which Captain Tronson, with a detachment, undertook to storm it.

They reached the crest of the breach, but were encountered by a close fire from the houses, which, after a desperate struggle, obliged them to retire under cover of a neighbouring ravine.

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245. This place was found by no means defensible, surrounded merely by a weak wall, with a narrow rampart and insufficient parapet; while on the north angle, trees and old buildings afforded excellent cover for the enemy within pistol-shot. They soon assembled in great force on all sides, and particularly on this, whence they succeeded in burning a cantonment erected at a heavy expense in 1840, and kept up a harassing fire of musketry. It being deemed necessary to dislodge them from this position, a considerable body of horse and foot was placed under Colonel Monteath. That officer, after reducing three posts which might have harassed his advance, pushed forward against the great mass of the enemy who occupied the heights in front. On his approach, the whole suddenly gave way, and fled to a considerable distance, suffering severely from a cavalry charge by Captain Oldfield. The divisions on the other sides of the city being then attacked, made off with equal rapidity and in great consternation; there was soon scarcely an armed Afghan to be seen in the vicinity of Jellalabad.

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246. Meantime, Cabul became the theatre of scenes most deeply eventful, and which have indeed no parallel in the whole of our Indian history. The expedition into that country had, as we have seen, been undertaken, not with a view to its conquest, but under the belief that the exiled monarch, once replaced on the throne, had a party strong enough to maintain him in power. It now appeared, however, that he was solely supported by the arms of the British, who thus became the real masters of the country. The Afghans were perhaps the bravest and proudest people in Asia; from the time of Mahmoud of Ghizni down to that of Ahmed Shah, they had made several victorious expeditions into India; they had founded its two greatest dynasties, the Patan, which reigned more than three hundred years, and that which, though called Mogul, was established by Baber with native troops. They now saw themselves a conquered people, compelled to acknowledge the superiority of a distant nation, of strange language, religion, and manners. That

in such a situation they should have felt at once indignant and vindictive, can excite no wonder; nor could we have avoided in some degree sympathizing with them, had they sought deliverance by legitimate means; but assassination and breach of faith cannot be palliated even by a good cause.

247. The most urgent object of attention was the commissariat fort, separated from the cantonment by the Shah Bagh or royal garden, which afforded large cover to the enemy. Captain Swayne, on the 4th, attempted to penetrate thither with two companies of the 44th, but was exposed to so severe a fire from a fort in possession of the enemy, that he himself and another officer were killed, and the troops driven back with great loss. A party of the 5th light cavalry were equally unfortunate. Captain Boyd of the commissariat, however, represented so forcibly the extreme importance of this post, that a stronger detachment was prepared, but delayed till next morning; when Ensign Warren, who held the fort, came in with the garrison, stating that the enemy, by forming a mine and setting fire to the gate, had rendered it untenable. This failure in an object so essential, and seemingly so easy, produced a fatal effect on the spirit of both parties. The enemy became greatly emboldened, and were joined by many who had been hitherto our friends; while the British troops were deeply mortified, and ceased to display that courage which usually so much distinguishes them.

248. On the 10th, the army resumed its progress, though the fighting men were reduced now to a small number. They were unmolested for about two miles, when they came to a narrow gorge between two precipitous hills; but here the Afghans had occupied all the heights in great force, whence they directed a most murderous fire. The native troops, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, sought safety in flight, when the enemy rushed down, sword in hand, and commenced a general massacre. Nearly the whole force disappeared during this fearful march, at the end of which it was found that of the 4,500 who had proceeded from Cabul, there survived only 270 Europeans, with indeed a considerable number of the 12,000 camp followers. Akbar, who now appeared in the neighbourhood, made an offer,

that if the former would place themselves entirely under his protection, he would escort them safely to Jellalabad; but all the others must be left to their fate. The General humanely rejected such terms, and his people went on amid fresh losses, till they reached, at four o'clock, an encampment in the Tezeen valley. Another attempt was made to treat, but with the same result.

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249. Pesh Bolak, a fortress which commands the passes between Jellalabad and Peshawer, was held by Captain Ferris, with 250 native troops belonging to the Shah; and there several officers halted, the roads in front being reported impracticable. On the 13th November, the piquets began to be attacked, and skirmishing parties to appear, who, though at first easily beaten off gradually increased to 5000, when they surrounded the post, with wild yells and furious gestures. A gun placed in the centre bastion kept them at bay; but the sad discovery was soon made, that the ammunition was on the point of being exhausted, and moreover that there was treason within the walls. No hope then appeared but to cut their way through; and accordingly, on the night of the 16th, a column was formed, consisting of the armed force, in the centre of which were Mrs. Ferris and her sister dressed in men's clothes, with all the civilians of the garrison. A brisk fire was kept up till the moment of departure, when they rushed forth. The enemy at once took the alarm, and made a furious attack; but some vigorous discharges of musketry obliged them to retire.

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250. Reinforcements, however, continued to arrive; and General Pollock, who has most fully justified the choice made of him, was appointed to command them and all the troops west of the Indus. He arrived in the end of January, but before attempting the formidable operation with which the campaign must open, he judged it necessary to await the accumulation of a considerable force. By the beginning of April, it had been raised to about 8000, and though this was scarcely adequate, and 4000 more were expected, the urgent state of affairs in Afghanistan made him determine to attempt the passage of the Khyber. This tremendous defile was defended by about 10,000 brave mountaineers, thoroughly skilled in this species of warfare. They had raised a strong breastwork to defend the narrow entrance

and their bands covered all the rocky and precipitous heights on the right and left, whence they could take sure aim against the small column, which alone could march on the road beneath. To have penetrated through this passage, exposed to so terrible a fire, would have been scarcely possible, and certainly not without dreadful carnage.

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251. Meantime, active operations were proceeding in the west, where the enemy omitted no exertion to dislodge the force with which General Nott occupied Candahar. Prince Sufter Jung, a son of Shah Sujah, seconded the hostile chiefs in plundering the villages, and exciting the people to rise against the British. After continuing these movements during February, they began early in March to press close upon the city; when the General, finding it necessary to push them to a distance, left 2,600 men under Major Lane for its defence, and with the main body dashed out against the marauders. Though possessing a strength of 12000, of whom one half were cavalry, well mounted, they hastily retreated, passed the rivers Turnuk and Urghundab, and carefully shunned all contact with the pursuing infantry. On the 9th, General Nott approached so near that his artillery could open upon them with effect, when they were completely broken and dispersed, being only saved from destruction by his defect in horse. After accomplishing this object he returned, without sustaining the slightest loss in men, baggage, or camels.

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252. Meantime, Cabul itself, on the departure of the English, became the theatre of most violent dissensions and revolutions; but the train of these events, and the motives of the barbarous actors, are involved in much obscurity. Shah Sujah, having at that crisis remained behind unprotected, might have been expected to fall a victim to the excited fury of the people. On the contrary, he retained possession of the Bala Hissar, exercised a powerful influence, and was even courted by the different parties. The odium attached to him, it thus appears, had been chiefly reflected from the foreign aid by which his cause was upheld. As all parties united in this sentiment, the Shah evidently deemed it expedient to dissemble whatever attachment he might feel for the British; nor is there wanting ground to suspect, that he joined with apparent cordiality in schemes for their en-

tire expulsion. One of the two factions into which the country was rent, obtained, it is said, his consent to place himself at the head of a force levied for that purpose. On this destination he left the Bala Hissar; but the hostile party of the Baurikzehee sirdars, strongly attached to Dost Mohammed and Akbar, determined to seize so favourable an opportunity for gratifying their enmity.

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253. The British counsels, at this era, underwent an important change; for, in September 1841, Sir Robert Peel and his friends came into power, in no degree pledged to the Indian policy of their predecessors. They do not appear to have intended to recall Lord Auckland; but that nobleman, feeling himself in a delicate situation, and the usual term of his office being nearly expired, solicited permission to resign. This was granted; and, amid very opposite opinions as to the Afghan policy, his departure elicited a high tribute of regret and respect, on account of his strict attention to the duties of his office, generous patronage of merit, and zeal for the promotion of every object tending to the prosperity of the great country over which he had presided. In his room, the ministry appointed Lord Ellenborough, who had bestowed particular attention on the affairs of India, and had, in consequence, been placed at the head of the Board of Control. To this nomination the East India Company gave their cordial concurrence. His lordship having set out on the 8th November, arrived at Calcutta on the 28th February following; and after remaining there some weeks, he proceeded to Allahabad, and afterwards to Simla, the military head-quarters in the west. He evidently came at once to the conclusion, that no attempt ought to be made to perpetuate the occupation of Afghanistan, or to control the people as to the choice of their government and ruler. After a correspondence, however, with General Pollock, it was finally settled that this commander from Jellalabad, and Nott from Candahar, should march upon Cabul, display the superiority of the British arms in open warfare, expel Mohammed Akbar, compel the restoration of the prisoners, and level with the ground all the strong fortresses by which the country could be defended in case a future expedition should become necessary.

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254. Pollock now proceeded with the utmost diligence, and on the 11th arrived at Tezeen, where, finding the men and cattle much fatigued, he allowed them to repose on the 12th, before entering into the still more formidable passes which lay before him. The barbarians, imputing this pause to timidity, commenced an attack upon the outposts on the left, which it was necessary to send Colonel Taylor with 240 men to repel. The enemy then retired to the crests of the neighbouring hills, whence they kept up an obstinate fire; but the Colonel, having made a circuit unperceived, took them in flank, and drove them down with severe loss. Soon after, however, they came suddenly upon a picket on the British right, under Lieutenant Montgomery, which was driven in, with the loss of four killed and seventeen wounded, before a reinforcement conld arrive to strengthen the post. They continued similar attempts through the night, but found every point completely guarded. Major Skinner, who had been detached with a party in the evening, succeeded in dislodging a body of the enemy from the heights in front of the camp.

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255. The Afghans, after so many disasters, retreated into the mountain-territory of Kohistan, immediately north of Cabul, where they hoped to find a present refuge and a point whence they might return upon the city. General Pollock, however, determined to dislodge them, and if he could not capture, at least drive them to a distance. The grand rallying point, to which most of the chiefs had conveyed their property and their wives, was Istalif. This town, with 15000 inhabitants, consists of clusters of houses and forts built on the slope of a mountain, having in its rear still loftier eminences. that shut in a defile leading to Turkestan. It could be approached only across ranges of hills separated by dark ravines, and covered with gardens, vineyards, and orchards, enclosed by strong walls; all the heights being occupied by the Jezailchees, those formidable sharpshooters. After careful examination, it was determined to make the attack on the right, through the quarter naturally strongest; but from this very cause, the enemy had been induced to place on the left their guns and the most efficient of their force.

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256. No further operations were undertaken against the enemy. Akbar and other chiefs, on whom it might have been desirable to let fall our resentment, had fled beyond the frontier, and sought refuge in Turkestan. The speedy approach of winter gave warning to lose no time in executing the resolution of evacuating a country which had been the scene of so much glory and disaster. Futteh Jung, as already mentioned, had seated himself on the throne, but without British sanction. It proved that the Kuzzilbashes, and other friendly chiefs, chose rather that it should be occupied by Shah Poora, his younger brother, a mere lad, hoping, it is probable, to govern in his name, and taking advantage of the respect with which his family were still regarded. General Pollock, who had resolved to refrain from dictating on this subject, not only acquiesced, but left uninjured the Bala Hissar, with a store of artillery for its defence. The elder brother accompanied our army to India. It was, however, considered indispensable that, before departing, a severe lesson should be given to the Afghans as to the hazards which must always attend a war with Britain.

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257. The army marched on the 12th October in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Pollock, M'Caskill, and Nott. General Sale, with a light corps, went in advance to clear the right flank, and crown the heights of the Koord Cabul Pass. Through these good arrangements General Pollock's division arrived at Jugduluk on the 16th, without any serious attempt to molest it. The second, under General M'Caskill, suffered some annoyance and loss. General Nott's rear was much retarded by the exhaustion of the baggage-cattle, of which advantage was taken by large hordes of Ghilzies to make several brisk attacks. They were gallantly repulsed, yet with a loss on our side of twelve killed and forty-nine wounded. From Jugduluk, the divisions, for the convenience of march, proceeded separately, each at a day's interval. On the 22nd, 23rd, and 25th, they successively arrived at Jellalabad. Three days were employed in destroying the military works of that celebrated fortress. On the 27th, the first division left it, followed on the 29th by the others. They proceeded with all expedition through the passes, and though constantly harassed by the Khyberees, sustained no serious loss except on the 3rd November, when General M'Caskill's division was attacked with great fury,

and a contest ensued, in which two officers and a considerable number of men fell. Two guns were taken, but recovered next day. On the 6th, the last, under General Nott, emerged from the pass at Jumrood, and the whole were soon united in the vicinity of Peshawer.

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258. Such was the termination of this long contest diversified by so many events at once glorious and tragical. It was doubtless a subject of rather painful reflection that the only result should be, the restoration of all things to their previous state, and the renunciation of every object for which the war had been undertaken. Yet few, we think, will deny, that the resolution thus to close it, as announced by Lord Ellenborough, was highly judicious. The expedition had, as formerly shown, been projected by Lord Auckland, under the belief, that the deposed monarch would be welcomed by his former subjects, and that the secure possession of the throne in his hands would form a barrier to our Indian possessions. It has indeed appeared, that the people were not without some attachment to the ancient family, but as soon as it was proved that he could not be maintained in power except by a British force, all hope of holding this proud, brave, and turbulent people in willing subjection necessarily vanished. We might, indeed, by good management, have held a number of fortified positions in a besieged state, but could never have possessed the country. It must have been what Spain was to Napoleon, and what Algiers now is to France, a source of weakness, inasmuch as it would have proved a continual drain both of men and treasure.

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259. The year 1842 closed, both in India and at home, with gratulations and rejoicings for the successful termination of Eastern warfare. A succession of disasters had attended the British arms, such as had scarcely before been matched in its history. Dishonour, defeat, and flight, had disgraced the British standards beyond the Indus, and already boding prophets, both in England and on the Continent, were anticipating the overthrow of our whole Indian empire. Events the most tragical and disastrous had, however, been followed by triumphs no less glorious, and the temporary humiliation of British arms had only helped more thoroughly to show their superiority, in the long run, against any power that Asia can muster against them. All

parties, however, were thoroughly convinced of the necessity imposed upon England, to accept of the great natural barrier which the Indus appears to offer as the north-western boundary of her Eastern possessions; and the establishment of peace on a firm and lasting basis was confidently anticipated as the result of this definite line of policy. There remained, however, another enemy still bent on hostility.

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260. The kingdom of Sinde which occupies both banks of the Great Delta of the Indus, immediately to the south of Afghanistan, altogether differs in climate and natural features from that rugged hill country which the British arms had so recently conquered, only to return into hands of its turbulent native possessors. It was at the very close of 1842, that Lord Ellenborough completed the arrangements for the renunciation of Afghanistan, and restored to liberty the last of the Afghans still remaining in his power. Almost immediately thereafter, his attention was directed to various acts of the Ameers of Sinde in contravention of their existing engagements, as well as to decided manifestations of hostile intentions. During the temporary disasters in Afghanistan which threatened to destroy the prestige acquired by British valour in India, the Ameers had displayed an evident desire to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for setting at naught all existing treaties, and thereby almost as effectually favoured the Afghanistans as if they had raised an army to co-operate with them against the British.

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261. On the 4th of October, Sir Charles Napier arrived at Sukker, and assumed the command of the forces in Sinde. On his way he had left with the Ameers Lord Ellenbrough's ultimatum, and a few days after Major Outram was commissioned to demand an equally definite reply. It was then confidently anticipated that when they learned the complete success of the British arms in the North, there would be little difficulty in negotiating with them. In this, however, the Governor-General was disappointed. Negotiations were indeed carried on for above four months, with considerable hopes of a satisfactory termination; and new provisions, which Lord Ellenborough deemed indispensable, in consequence not only of their manifestations of a hostile disposition, but of various acts in direct contravention of

existing engagements, received the assent of the Ameers of Sinde. The usual difficulties, however, were experienced in dealing with native powers. It was obvious, notwithstanding their adoption of the prescribed terms, that no reliance could be placed on their good faith. Of this abundant evidence was speedily afforded.

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262. Major Outram writes to Sir Charles Napier, on the 15th: "My despatches of the last few days will have led you to expect that my earnest endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with the Ameers of Sinde would fail, and it is with much regret I have now to report that their highnesses have commenced hostilities by attacking my residence this morning, which, after four hours' most gallant defence by my honorary escort, the light company of Her Majesty's 22nd regiment, commanded by Captain Conway, I was compelled to evacuate, in consequence of our ammunition running short. At 9 A. M. this morning, a dense body of cavalry and infantry took post on three sides of the Agency compound, (the fourth being defended by the Planet steamer about 500 yards distant,) in the gardens and houses which immediately commanded the enclosure, and which it was impossible to hold with our limited numbers.

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263. Much satisfaction was naturally experienced at the news of a victory of so brilliant a character, gained under unexpected circumstances, and against such very considerable odds. Whatever doubts might have been entertained of the good faith or friendly intentions of the Ameers of Sinde, the British General might have been excused had he been found unprepared for so sudden and treacherous an attack as that which immediately followed the signing of the treaty. Still the disasters of the first Afghan war had not been entirely effaced from recollection, even by the decisive character of the victories of the second campaign. It was perhaps felt by some of the native powers, little inclined to appreciate any far-sighted course of policy, that the British had neither accomplished the object for which the war in Afghanistan was originally undertaken, nor had they enlarged their Indian empire by retaining possession of the conquered territory. Victory beneath the walls of Hyderabad might therefore be said to be indispensable to secure the prestige of British superiority, against whatever odds it had to be

achieved. This the military skill of the leader, and the valour of the forces under his command, had accomplished, and their victory was welcomed with corresponding gratulations.

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264. By a despatch, dated from the palace of Agra, on the 5th of March, Lord Ellenborough conveys the thanks of the Government and people of India to their gallant defenders. In referring to the first act of hostility by the enemy, he remarks: "The Governor-General cannot forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty. It will be the first object of the Governor-General to use the power victory has placed in his hands in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade, and to the prosperity of the people of Sinde, so long misgoverned. To reward the fidelity of allies by substantial marks of favours, and so to punish the crime of treachery in princes as to deter all from its commission, are further objects which the Governor-General will not fail to effect. To Major-General Sir Charles Napier, and to the brave troops he commanded, the Governor-General offers the tribute of his own admiration, and of the gratitude of the Government and people of India. The bravery of the enemy against whom they were engaged has enhanced their glory—the most decisive victory has been gained upon the best fought field. The policy, however, which is indicated in the despatch of the Governor-General, as to the use which was to be made of this important victory, was not yet to be carried out. The Ameers of Sinde must have been well aware that when they drew the sword under such circumstances they flung the scabbard away, as all further friendly treaty was vain with princes who had availed themselves of the very time of completing amicable negotiations to break through even the common courtesies of hostile nations.

Notwithstanding the very severe loss sustained by the enemy, they were still greatly the superior in point of numbers to their opponents, and were headed by chiefs who could not hope for any satisfactory terms from the conqueror. The foremost of these was Hoche Mohammed Seedee, one of the Beloochee chiefs, who, along with Meer Shere Mohammed, the chiefs of Meerpoor, was looked upon as the great promoter

of the war. The deeply-rooted impression which had been left on the public mind by the disasters in Afghanistan, was manifest from the exaggerated and dubious rumours that speedily superceded the rejoicings with which the news of the defeat of the Sindean army under the walls of Hyderabad had been received, so that on the departure of the May mail from India, an ill-defined rumour was prevalent, that in a second engagement the British army under Sir Charles Napier had sustained a decided defeat.

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265. The small number of the forces under Sir Charles's command, amounting only to about 6000 men in all, prevented his occupying any extended positions beyond the walls of Hyderabad, which he had taken possession of immediately after the victory at Meeanee. The British commander, accordingly, learned, towards the middle of March, that the enemy were once more mustering in numbers not greatly inferior to the force he had already defeated after so arduous a struggle. On the 23rd of March, the British General writes from the camp at Hyderabad, announcing to Lord Ellenborough the junction of Major Stack, on the previous day, with the 3rd cavalry, the 8th native infantry, and Major Leslie's troop of horse artillery. This reinforcement sufficed to supply the losses sustained in the previous victory, and to restore confidence to the British army, in the prospect of again encountering the same determined foe. Sir Charles, accordingly,states in the same despatch to Lord Ellenborough, that the enemy then lay within six miles of his camp, in such force that they had already begun attacking his camels, and he was resolved to go in pursuit of them on the morrow, and attack them wherever they might be found.

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266. Sir Charles put his forces in motion early in the morning, and by the time they had advanced about two miles, they descried the enemy about a mile and a half in advance. Approaching within twelve hundred yards of their position, the troops were drawn up in order of battle, and advanced in echelon of regiments to the attack. About nine o'clock the British guns opened their fire on the enemy's position, producing considerable confusion in their centre, where considerable bodies were observed to move to the left, apparently unable to sustain the cross fire of the artillery. The position of the enemy was nearly a straight

line. The nullah which formed its front consisted of two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen feet deep, further strengthened by banks and escarpments of the most formidable character. These skilful preparations, however, proved altogether ineffectual in arresting the victorious career of the British army, manned though they were by defenders immensely out-numbering them, and inferior in courage and daring to no native force which had yet attempted to withstand the British arms.

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267. The termination of the Afghan war had been characterized by a practical manifestation of the policy repeatedly dictated to the Governor-Generals of India, by the Home Directory, to refrain from all further augmentation of the vast possessions of British India. The conquests in Sinde, however, which so speedily followed those in Afghanistan, originated under totally different circumstancess, and showed how little reliance can be placed on theories of policy, however, well grounded they may appear to be. The following is the opinion, expressed at the time, of this new acquisition, though longer experience has tended greatly to modify the first ideas of its value :—"It is a country without the possession of which our boundary of the Indus cannot be compact. Neither can the navigation of that river be considered safe while an independent, and now hostile power, keeps possession of either bank of the Delta. It is productive, and under our management, may be made more productive, and the troops required to keep possession of it, will cost us nothing; the country itself will maintain them with ease. It lies within a week's reach of our western capital. Its high roads do not run through impassable defiles like the Bolan and the Khyber and the Khoord Cabul; they consist of magnificent streams, which our steam flotilla may traverse with speed and safety. It lies open to the sea, and troops, ammunition, and supplies may be poured in with ease. It is a plain and may be defended with little difficulty, for there will soon be no enemy more formidable than the heat."

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268. Considerable annoyance was experienced from the proceedings of such of the Ameers and Beloochee chiefs as were still at large, and especially from those of Shere

Mohammed, who was making the most determined exertions to bring another army into the field. Meanwhile the conduct of the chiefs, who had been confided in as friendly to the British was even more alarming than the threatening position assumed by the defeated leaders. Ali Moorad, who had received repeated marks of favour from the British occupants of Sinde, when put in possession of Kyrpoor, appears to have concluded that whatever other territories the British wrested from the Ameers, would in like manner be transferred to him. As a further evidence of favour, the guns captured at Meeanee had been made over to him, and so soon as he found that his extravagant expectations were not to be realized, he surrendered the artillery captured by our forces to Shere Mohammed.

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269. The letters brought home by the Indian mail of October 1843, announced the satisfactory intelligence that our Eastern empire, which had been for many months the object of such lively and painful interest, had ceased to furnish any incidents worthy of comment or discussion. *The Bombay Times*, of 6th September, remarks :—" Letters are now received with as much punctuality from Sukkur and Hyderabad, as from any of the most tranquil quarters of our empire. The tidings brought by them are stale, flat, and unprofitable; no fighting, no adventure, no stir of any description, and even rumours of danger have died away. The chiefs, it is said, are daily coming in, and the country becoming pacified with most unexpected celerity." Accounts, however, from the north continued to indicate a very different state of things. Afghanistan furnished frequent reports of distraction and threatened outbreaks. Cabul was in the most disturbed state. Dost Mohammed Khan was stated to be exercising a most arbitrary and despotic sway, and directing his acts of oppression in an especial manner against such of the native chiefs, as had manifested any friendly feeling towards the British during their occupation of that country. Ameenoollah Khan had been imprisoned and put in chains, and upwards of twenty of the chief men of Cabul were reported to be held in durance by the same chief. At Candahar, Sufter Jung was stated to be in close confinement with chains, while his adherents and advisers were everywhere seeking safety by flight. In all this, however, British interests were no further concerned than in so

far as there might be any risk of the disturbances extending to the provinces under our control. The wise line of policy dictated to Lord Ellenborough, had happily freed Britain from the necessity of interfering in these intestine quarrels, though it could not but be felt that it was more difficult to throw off the responsibility of having to a great extent occasioned such division and strife among that brave but turbulent race.

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270. Another country, beyond the northern boundaries of our Indian empire was, however, already furnishing cause for apprehension. In the extensive regions comprehended between the Sutledge and the Indus, considerable symptoms of disturbance were already apparent, and we find official correspondents, early in the following year, giving expression to congratulations that the affairs of British India were in such a tranquil state, as to permit the attention of the Governor-General and his Council to be devoted to the crisis which seemed to be approaching both in the Punjaub and at Gwalior. So early as the month of August, the whole troops in the Agra district received orders to keep themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice, and it was reported that an army of observation was to be immediately formed on the Sutledge, under the immediate command of Sir Hugh Gough. The causes which finally led to a sanguinary revolution in the Punjaub, may be thus briefly recapitulated. Upon the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839, his favourite wife—after she had ascended the funeral pile, where, along with three others, she was burnt with his corpse—called to her Kurruck Sing, the deceased rajah's son and heir, along with Dhian Sing, his favourite minister, and placing the dead rajah's hand in that of his son, she required the latter to swear to protect and favour his father's minister, and by the like solemn oath bound the minister to be faithful to his new master.

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271. Kurruck Sing immediately ascended the throne. He was well-affected to the British Government, but possessed none of the talent or energy requisite for so difficult a post. He had not occupied the throne four months when he died, as has been stated in a previous chapter, not without strong suspicions of poison, and his son and heir, Now Nehal Sing, who should have succeeded him,

was killed by the falling of a beam, as he returned from the funeral pile on which his father's corpse was consumed. These successive deaths were both ascribed to the intrigues of Runjeet Sing's fovourite minister; and, after some difficulty, chiefly arising from the opposition of one of the widows of the latter prince, he succeeded in his long-cherished project of placing Shere Sing on the throne. During the frequent agitations and alarms that ensued, the British Government continued to watch their proceedings with some anxiety; but after a time, the affairs of the kingdom, which chiefly owed its formation to the abilities of Runjeet Sing, seemed to acquire some degree of order and settlement, and ceased to attract special attention from the Government of India, occupied as it soon was with objects of more pressing interest. Meanwhile causes of mutual difference and dislike were springing up between the new rajah and his ambitious minister. Various reasons are assigned for these. The Hon. Mr. Osborne, who describes Shere Sing as a fine, manly-looking fellow, adds that he had become especially obnoxious to his minister, in consequence of his attachment to European manners, and his friendly inclinations toward the British, whom Dhian regarded with rancorous hate. This, however, was probably only one of the causes of dissension, sufficing to indicate their disagreement on all questions of general policy. It is stated that the rajah had abandoned himself to the indolent and dissolute habits which have so frequently been the ruin of the native dynasties of India, and that during the frequent dissensions which prevailed between Shere Sing and his powerful minister, the latter went so far as to reproach him in open durbar with his dissipation and excesses.

Whatever might be the ostensible grounds of dispute, however, the previous character of the minister leaves little room to doubt, that the real ground of offence was the interference with his policy, and the curtailment of his power. He accordingly organized a conspiracy for the assassination of the rajah, in which he enlisted several of the chief sirdars of the court. His influence with the army is sufficiently apparent, from the time chosen for executing his base design.

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272. Meanwhile the affairs of the court of Gwalior, which had so long occasioned anxiety and distrust, were at

length brought to a crisis. Confusion and anarchy prevailed there, one party deposing another, and successive chiefs struggling for power, while the country was left at the mercy of licentious and undisciplined troops. The British Government being bound by its treaties with the late rajah to protect his successor, and preserve his territories unviolated, the Governor-General could no longer overlook the fact that the conduct of the authorities of Gwalior involved a virtual violation of the treaty. Lord Ellenborough accordingly immediately ordered the advance of troops, sufficient, as he said, "to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the rajah, to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience." This was rendered the more imperative by the tender age and helpless position of the rajah, which exposed him to the double danger of being made a tool in the hands of his enemies, and the nominal source of wrongs to his friendly allies. Notwithstanding the preparations which had been made for such an emergency, the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was met by a much stronger and more determined opposition than he had anticipated.

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273. On the 24th, the Gwalior Vakeels had a further interview of some duration with the Governor-General. Many of the more respectable inhabitants, who came from Gwalior on a visit to the camp, conceived the idea of resistance out of the question. Preparations were made to receive the Maharanee, who was expected in camp on the 28th, with sufficient pomp and circumstance for the rank she held, and the audience to which she was about to be admitted. The Governor-General, who had originally been moderate in his demands, requiring the restoration of the Mama Sahib and his friends—the surrender of the Khasjee Walla, and dismissal of his partisans—the exchange of certain portions of country, so as to improve the condition of the mutual frontier—and the disbanding of the mutinous portion of the troops—finally demanding the entire revision of the military establishment, and the surrender of the park of artillery brought into existence about forty years since by Dowlut Rao Scindia, and regarded as the palladium of the state. This was looked upon as implying the entire

destruction of the army, and surrender of the independence of the nation. There is every reason, however, to believe that, throughout, the professions of the Mahratta durbar were hollow and insincere—that so soon as it was found that their earlier and delusive propositions were insufficient to arrest our progress, it was resolved to offer the most determined resistance. Further negotiations appear to have been resorted to merely to gain time.

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274. It must always, indeed, form one of the greatest difficulties in the diplomatic intercourse between civilized and semi-barbarous nations, the difficulty of knowing what dependence can be placed on the most solemn asseverations, and professions of good faith. Among highly civilized nations the value of national credit and unblemished honour is so thoroughly appreciated, that it is rare indeed for the most unprincipled diplomatist to set it at defiance; but among the native princes of India such faithless proceedings as those of the Ameers of Scinde have been too frequent to excite very great surprise. The formidable character and position of the Mahratta army, however, had not been anticipated from the vacillating character of their councils. The country generally exhibits features offering great natural obstacles to the operations of disciplined forces, being intersected with numerous deep and almost impassable ravines, and gullies, affording great facilities for the irregular tactics of an undisciplined army. It was only by the unceasing labours of the sappers, that a practicable passage was effected for the army under Sir H. Gough; and after passing the Koharee river in three columns, at points considerably distant from each other, the whole British army took up their position by eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th of December 1843, about a mile in front of Maharajpoor.

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275. The result of the two great battles of Maharajpoor and Punniar destroyed the hopes not only of the mutinous Mahrattas at Gwalior, but of numerous restless malcontents of Hindostan, and had the effect of diffusing tranquility throughout our whole Eastern empire, where the existence of so many races still very partially amalgamated, and curbed in their predatory habits and love of plunder only by the well-directed force of disciplined authority,

renders the whole empire peculiarly sensitive to such indirect but powerful influences. The rajah was installed with great ceremony at Gwalior, in presence of the Governor-General, the commander-in-chief, and an immense assemblage of native chiefs. An eye-witness of the imposing ceremonial describes the juvenile rajah as seated beneath a gorgeous canopy of gold, see-sawing his legs beneath his throne according to the fashion of listless schoolboys, seemingly altogether indifferent to the import of the stately proceedings in which he was made to bear so prominent a part.

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276. Meanwhile, however, great and increasing dissatisfaction was expressed in many quarters at the Government of Lord Ellenborough. His fondness for military display, and for such pompous exhibitions of vice-regal grandeur as that which immediately followed the victories over the insurgent Mahratta forces, were occasionally manifested in a way that seemed somewhat inconsistent with the wonted gravity of British rule, and frequently led to the neglect of the civil service and the internal Government of India, which were, in fact, his principal duties as Governor-General. His whole course of procedure was erratic, and opposed to the definite policy by which the Directory had sought to avert a continued system of aggression on the surrounding native states, and to consolidate the vast possessions over which their rule was only very partially and imperfectly extended. In the choice of Lord Ellenborough as Governor-General, they had calculated on the probable weight of his influence as a civilian, in carrying out measures in accordance with the peaceful line of policy they were anxious to see pursued; but the character of the proceedings of his successor suffice to show that the false glitter of military glory was more seductive to an inexperienced civilian than to a military veteran. A writer, in the Indian Mail of December 1844, remarks of the latter: "The quiet, unostentatious demeanour of the Governor-General has doubtless had its share in tranquilizing India. He has given no intimation, in public at least, of an intention to quit the Presidency, where he is employed in occupations which befit a man of peace."

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277. In addition, Lord Ellenborough had excited the indignation of the Directorship of the East India Company, by a line of conduct which seemed to imply that he was too well assured of the favour of the Duke of Wellington and the British Cabinet, to greatly concern himself as to the approval his proceedings might meet with from the Directory. Great, therefore, was the sensation created both in India and at home by the sudden recall of Lord Ellenborough, in consequence of the vote of the Court of Directors, in the exercise of their legitimate power, not only without consulting with the Government, but in direct opposition to its expressed opinions. The Duke of Wellington openly and severely censured their proceedings, and it was generally anticpated that an act so embarrassing, if not humiliating, to the Government, and to one of its chief leaders, would have led to still more direct collision in the choice of a successor. Such anticipations, however, were not realized. Sir Henry Hardinge was selected to succeed to the important trust. On the 6th of May 1844, he was appointed by the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-General of India, and the Crown immediately confirmed the choice. This bold and decisive measure of the Court of Directors excited much discussion and considerable diversity of feeling for a time; but the contrast between the wonted proceedings of Lord Ellenborough, and the unobtrusive course adopted by Lord Hardinge, speedily reconciled all parties interested in the affairs of India to the change of its Governor-General.

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278. The country of the Mahrattas still continued in a disorderly and disturbed state, and required the presence of a considerable military force to hold the insurgents in check. Many of the difficulties unquestionably originated in the complicated system of Eastern policy, which has grown out of the circumstance by which a trading company gradually assumed the character of conquerors and rulers. The system of permitting independent or subsidiary princes or rajahs to sway their feeble sceptres within the British dominions has been again and again condemned, as leading to the very worst consequences. British rulers have thereby frequently been unwillingly made accessory to acts of which they could not approve, while such petty principalities become the centres of constant intrigue, and generally prove a barrier to any effectual measures for the improvement of the people.

279. The Punjab continued for many months to furnish the most novel and unexpected phases of intelligence. Each successive Indian mail brought accounts of new revolutions, massacres, assassinations, and capricious plottings and schemings, leading to no definite settlement, and keeping up a feeling of anxiety and alarm throughout our whole Indian possessions, where so many elements exist ready to be excited into opposition and rebellion upon every new impediment or threat of danger to British supremacy in India. The army of observation was still maintained on the banks of the Sutledge. From time to time, skirmishes, assaults, and sorties, diversified the dull routine of their passive line of duty, and kept their leaders on the alert. Politicians meanwhile continued to discuss the propriety of the annexation of the Punjaub to our Indian empire to round its northern frontiers, and free it from the endless anxiety which must result from the proceedings of a barbarous people in a constant state of revolution, maintaining undisciplined hordes of fierce soldiery ready to take advantage of the first necessity that might induce us to recall the army on their frontier, to make aggressive inroads on our own possessions.

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280. For many months the news of each mail which brought to England information of the state of her vast Eastern possessions, consisted chiefly of confused and alarming rumours of revolutions, tumults, and assassinations, in the Punjaub. A large military force was concentrated on the banks of the Sutledge, and war was regarded as inevitable, however long circumstances might delay the commencement of hostilities. Very great misapprehension however existed, both in India and at home, as to the character of the Seiks, or the nature of the preparations requisite for meeting any aggressions on their part. So universal was the conviction of their disorderly and mutinous state, and of the want of any supreme power among them, calculated to secure that unanimity of action on which the success of great military movements so greatly depends, that when at length the long-expected collision took place, both the Governor-General and the commander-in-chief were found to have overlooked some of the most indispensable preparations for war. Considering the lengthened period during which war with the Seiks had been anticipated, and arrangements made for resisting their threatened aggressions, it may well astonish the reader to learn of the difficulties which impeded

the first operations of Lord Gough, when hostilities were commenced by the Seik army crossing the Sutledge.

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281. Captain Cunningham, the impartial historian of the Seiks, seeks to show that, although the first aggressive movements were undoubtedly made by the Seiks, the English were guided rather by the selfish and short-sighted policy which guards against immediate danger, than by the wise and honourable foresight which should direct the councils of an enlightened nation when dealing with a people esteemed in every respect their inferiors. He accordingly conceives, that the open preparations for defensive, and, if necessary, for offensive measures, which marked the progress of the army of observation, appeared in the estimation of a rude people as so many acts of designed hostility deliberately marshalled for an attack on their country whenever a convenient opportunity offered. "The same defective apprehension," says this intelligent officer, "which saw no mark of hostility in collecting boats for bridges across a boundary river, and which paid no regard to the effect on a rude people, with more to fear than to hope, of displaying an army with no road before it except that to Lahore, also led the confident English to persevere in despising or misunderstanding the spirit of the disciples of Govind to an extent which almost proved fatal to the continuity of their triumphs. In 1842, the Seiks were held to be unequal to cope with the Afghans, and even to be inferior in martial qualities to the population of the Jummoo hills.

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282. In 1845, the Lahore soldiery was called a 'rabble' in sober official despatches, and although subsequent descriptions allowed the regiments to be composed of the yeomanry of the country, the army was still declared to be daily deteriorating as a military body. It is, indeed, certain that English officers and Indian sepoys equally believed they were about to win battles by marching steadily and by the discharge of a few artillery shots, rather than by skilful dispositions, hard fighting, and a prolonged contest. The English not only undervalued their enemy, but they likewise mistook the form which the long-expected aggressions of the Seiks would assume. It was not thought that the ministry or even that the army would have the courage to cross the river in force, and to court an equal contest; the known

treasonable views of the chiefs, and the unity and depth of feeling which possessed the troops, were equally disregarded, and it continued to be believed that a desultory warfare would sooner or later ensue, which would require the British to interfere, but which would still enable them to do so at their own convenience. Thus boats for bridges, and regiments and guns, the provocatives to a war, were sufficiently numerous; but food and ammunition, and carriage and hospital stores, such as were necessary for a campaign, were all behind at Delhi or Agra, or still remained to be collected." Thus, at the very time when a soldier was at the head of the Indian Government, distinguished for military experience as well as for courage and sound judgment, the army was allowed to take the field in every way worse provided and equipped than had been the case when an inexperienced and rash civilian held the office of Governor-General.

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283. It is only now that the peculiar characteristics of the Seiks is coming to be rightly understood. Their origin is traced back to the sixteenth century, when Narruk and Govind, two Khutree prophets, obtained a few converts to a doctrine of religious and social reform, from among the peasants of Lahore and the southern banks of the Sutledge. It is not necessary here, however, to trace their history further than to remark, that by the time the Seiks came into collision with the British empire in India, they had grown into a powerful nation, bound together not only by social and political ties, but by the still more stringent bonds of a common creed. The history of Muhammadanism furnishes sufficiently striking evidence of the remarkable effects that may result from such a source, and the Seiks, or "disciples," appear to be not a whit behind the zeal of the Arabian prophet's followers in their devotion to the "Khalsa," or chosen people. The powerful influence of such a bond of union can hardly be over-rated, though unfortunately the true character of the Seik nation was completely misunderstood previous to the war; and the source, as well as the spirit, of the continued revolutions which created such alarm on the northern frontiers of British India, entirely escaped the notice of the sagacious diplomatists who conducted our intercourse with that people.

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284. It would now seem, that so far from the revolutions and tumults being the evidences of disunion and revolt among that people, they originated in their devotion to the essential elements of their singular polity, while it was the successive rulers who struggled with them and sought alliances with the English that were in reality mutineers and rebels against the state. Ambition, and the desire for unlimited power, overcame in the minds of successive Seik rulers the earlier bonds of good faith as members of the Khalsa, but the very cause of alienation between the rulers and the people, supplied a stronger bond of union to the latter. The soldiery talked of themselves as pre-eminently the "Punt'h Khalsajee," or congregation of believers, and their leaders were awed into submission by the resolute spirit with which they were animated. It was by this united and resolute body that successive revolutions were brought about, and one ruler after another dethroned and put to death. Doubtless such a state of things was well calculated to excite uneasiness among neighbouring states, and might perhaps be justly enough characterized both as fanatic and revolutionary, according to more civilized notions of social and political compacts.

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285. Nevertheless, it was manifestly something altogether different from the mutinies and rebellions of an ordinary army of hireling soldiery, such as has most commonly opposed our arms in the East, where the only bond which secures the services of the soldiery is the prospect of pay and plunder. The aspect of the Seik army, indeed, is one altogether singular, and to a disinterested observer remarkably interesting. The soldiery are seen animated by a lofty spirit of patriotic daring, aided doubtless by the fierce fire of fanatic zeal, while the Seik leaders are frequently found secretly counteracting their brave efforts, and more effectually checking their success than the enemy by whom they are openly opposed. "The object of Lal Sing and Tej Sing," says Captain Cunningham, in describing some of the early proceedings of the Seiks, "was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division, but to get their own troops dispersed by the converging forces of their opponents. Their desire was to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they thus deprecated an attack on Ferozepore, and assured the local British authorities of their

secret and efficient good will. But these men had also to keep up an appearance of devotion to the interests of their country, and they urged the necessity of leaving the easy prey of a cantonment untouched, until the leaders of the English should be attacked, and the fame of the Khalsa exalted by the captivity or death of a Governor-General.

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286. The Seik army itself understood the necessity of unity of counsel in the affairs of war, and the power of the regimental and other committees was temporarily suspended by an agreement with the executive heads of the state, which enabled these unworthy men to effect their base objects with comparative ease. Nevertheless, in the ordinary military arrangements of occupying positions and distributing infantry and cavalry, the Generals and inferior commanders acted for themselves, and all had to pay some respect to the spirit which animated the private soldiers in their readiness to do battle for the commonwealth of Govind. The effects of this enthusiastic unity of purpose in an army, headed by men not only ignorant of warfare, but studiously treacherous towards their followers, was conspicuously visible in the speediness with which numerous heavy guns and abundance of grain and ammunition were brought across a large river. Every Seik considered the cause as his own, and he would work as a labourer as well as carry a musket; he would drag guns, drive bullocks, lead camels, and load and unload boats with a cheerful alacrity, which contrasted strongly with the inapt and sluggish obedience of mere mercenaries, drilled, indeed, and fed with skill and care, but unwarmed by one generous feeling for their country or their foreign employers." Here, therefore, the Sepoy force, by which so much has been accomplished for British power in India, was opposed by native soldiers, actuated by all the inspiring influences of patriotic feeling, as well as by the wilder fire of fanatic zeal. It was doubly incumbent on British India to lean for safety on the indomitable energy and valour of her European troops, who could alone be safely entrusted to cope with such a foe.

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287. Sir John Littler had been left with a body of 7000 men to defend the exposed post of Ferozepore. This was menaced by the overwhelming forces of the Seiks, but the British commander showed a resolute and undaunted

front, and boldly led out his little force to give them battle. Had the Seik leaders been as resolutely bent on the defeat and extermination of their opponents as the faithful Khalsa were, it may be well doubted if all the heroism of this isolated division of the British army would have saved it from destruction. But Lal Sing and Tej Sing were both probably in greater dread of their Seik followers than of their British foes, and regarded the chances of victory with greater dread than the prospect of a defeat, which would disperse the enthusiastic Seiks, who, amid all their fickleness to their leaders, maintained an unimpeachable fidelity to their faith. A battle, however, had become inevitable, and the rumours which conveyed the first uncertain and contradictory reports, magnified the difficulties experienced by the British forces into renewed disasters, if not absolute defeat. Doubts and fears, however, were speedily dissipated by the arrival of well-authenticated news of victory, though purchased at a cost which served to temper the rejoicings at a partial triumph with many fears.

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288. The first battle fought with the Seiks took place on the 18th of December, between the Ambala and Loodiana divisions of the British army, which had been prudently united by order of Lord Hardinge, and a detachment of the Seik army under Lal Sing. The two armies met at Moodkee, twenty miles from Ferozepore, and the Seiks immediately begun the attack. The whole forces under Lord Gough amounted to about 11,000, while the Seiks were estimated at 30,000 men, with forty guns. This estimate, however, appears to have greatly exaggerated their number, and Captain Cunningham even inclines to doubt if they much exceeded the British in numbers. The Seiks were repulsed with severe loss, and seventeen of their guns were taken; but the British learned in the battle of Moodkee the valour of the enemy they had to contend with. The forces of Lord Gough, already too few, were reduced by a loss of 215 killed and 657 wounded; among the former of whom were Major-Generals Sir Robert Sale and Sir John M'Caskill.

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289. "The confident English had at last got the field they wanted; they marched in even array, and their famed artillery opened its steady fire. But the guns of the Seiks were served with rapidity and precision, and the foot soldiers

stood between and behind the batteries, firm in their order, and active with their muskets. The resistance met was wholly unexpected, and all started with astonishment. Guns were dismounted, and their ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part.

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290. Some portions of the enemy's line had not been broken, and the uncaptured guns were turned by the Seiks upon masses of soldiers oppressed with cold, thirst, and fatigue, and who attracted the attention of the watchful enemy by lighting fires of brushwood to warm their stiffened limbs. The position of the English was one of real danger and great perplexity; their mercenaries had proved themselves good soldiers in foreign countries as well as in India itself, when discipline was little known, or while success was continuous; but in a few hours the five thousand children of a distant land found that their art had been learnt, and that an emergency had arisen which would tax their energies to the utmost. On that memorable night the English were hardly masters of the ground on which they stood; they had no reserve at hand, while the enemy had fallen back upon a second army, and could renew the fight with increased numbers. The not imprudent thought occurred of retiring upon Ferozepore; but Lord Gough's dauntless spirit counselled otherwise, and his own and Lord Hardinge's personal intrepidity in storming batteries, at the head of troops of English gentlemen and bands of hardy yeomen, eventually achieved a partial success and a temporary repose."

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291. Even the victory of the following day, the candid historian of the Seiks ascribes fully as much to the faithless pusillanimity of their leaders, as to the skill and valour of the English. The latter were ill provisioned, and suffering

from cold and thirst. They were led to the attack on the evening of the 21st, exhausted with fatigue, and unrelieved from hunger and thrist. When night put a temporary close to the action, there was still neither food nor drink to be had, and the exhausted soldiers had to lie down on their arms during that dreadful night, in a state that might well induce the bravest to despond. Even after they were involved in the fearful struggle of the morrow, they were exposed at one time to the most imminent risk from the failure of the artillery ammunition. With every acknowledgment which candour may induce the generous historian to concede, it cannot be questioned that the indomitable valour of British soldiers was never more strongly displayed than on the bloody field of Ferozeshah. Whatever amount of their success may have been really due to the infidelity of the Seik leaders, the whole procedure of the British commanders was entirely independent, if not in ignorance of it.

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292. The victory was most opportune, and might well fill the minds of all with joy and gratitude. Nevertheless, though a complete, it was not a decisive victory. The Seiks had, indeed, been routed and driven from the field. "For twenty-four hours," says Lord Gough in his despatch, "not a Seik has appeared in our front. The remains of the Khalsa army are said to be in full retreat across the Sutledge, or marching up its left bank, towards Hurreekeeputhur, in the greatest confusion and dismay. Their camp is the scene of the most awful carnage, and they have abandoned large stores of grain, camp equipage, and ammunition." However satisfactory such evidences of flight might be, the narration of the commander-in-chief betrays the fact, that the exhausted victors had been unable to follow in pursuit of the retreating foe, and that the flying Seiks, who might have been scattered, and irretrievably broken by a timely pursuit, had been allowed to cross the Sutledge at their leisure, and to reform on the opposite bank. The loss of the British was very severe. The official despatches state 694 killed and 1721 wounded, or 2415 in all, amounting to about a seventh of the whole British force in the field.

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293. When the details of the victory of Ferozeshah were reported to the British public through the official despatches, the news was received with gloomy forebodings rather than

with the wonted exultations that follow in the train of victory. The commander-in-chief's conduct was made the subject of unsparing criticism. He was blamed alike for his ignorance of the formidable condition of the Seik army, and for the hardihood with which he had exposed his army to such fearful odds, and incurred the risk of defeat as well as the certainty of such severe loss as his despatches acknowledged. Even his tactics in the field were freely discussed and censured, and the excited critics seemed disposed to make the British general responsible alike for the bravery of the Seiks, and for his own inferiority in numbers and artillery. The want of proper supplies both of provisions and ammunition was unquestionably an oversight of the gravest nature, though not justly chargeable on the commander-in-chief. From the want of the latter, the British forces were compelled to remain inactive while the Seiks recrossed the Sutledge in great force, and proceeded to construct a bridge-head by which to secure the passage of the river. The commander-in-chief feared to oppose these proceedings of his beaten foe, lest an attack on his part should bring on another general engagement, while they were so deficient in ammunition that their artillery must have been nearly useless, and they were even prevented from attacking some petty forts which still overawed the neighbouring population, and checked the march of convoys and detachments whose approach was so indispensable to them.

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294. "Loodiana was relieved; but an unsuccessful skirmish added to the belief, so pleasing to the prostrate princes of India, that the dreaded army of their foreign masters had at last been foiled by the skill and valour of the disciples of Govind, the kindred children of their own soil. The British sepoys glanced furtively at one another, or looked towards the east, their home; and the brows of Englishmen themselves grew darker as they thought of struggles rather than triumphs. The Governor-General and commander-in-chief trembled for the safety of that siege train and convoy of ammunition, so necessary to the efficiency of an army which they had launched in haste against aggressors, and received back shattered by the shock of opposing arms. Sir Harry Smith, the leader of the beaten brigades, saw before him a tarnished name after the labours of a life, nor was he met by many encouraging hopes of rapid retribution. The Seiks on their side were correspondingly elated; the presence of European prisoners added to their triumph."

295. The victory of Aleewal was one of the most important that has ever been gained by the British forces in India. The number engaged was indeed comparatively small. But the effect of this opportune defeat of the Seiks, at the very time when they were rejoicing in united councils and exulting in anticipated victory, completely overthrew their whole schemes. Golab Sing instead of attempting to rally his defeated forces upbraided them with the rashness and folly of hoping to overcome the conquerors of India, and immediately opened negotiations with the English commander. Another battle, however, had to be fought, and another victory won, before the British conquerors could dictate terms to the hardy and resolute race whom they encountered on the northern boundaries of British empire in the East. The terms offered by the British leaders in reply to the negotiations of Golab Sing were such as must be acknowledged to afford reasonable evidence of the integrity of their motives in entering on the contest. They disclaimed all desire of annexation or conquest, and intimated their readiness to acknowledge a Seik sovereignty in Lahore, so soon as the army should be disbanded.

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296. But, however reasonable and even generous such terms might appear to those that dictated them, they struck at the very root of the Khalsa's dreams of supremacy and integrity, and if the historian of the Seiks is to be relied upon, the battle of Sobraon, which followed these abortive negotiations, was fought with a perfect understanding with the faithless rajah, that in case of British arms being once more victorious, the Seik army should be openly abandoned by its own government, and that the victors should pass the Sutledge unchecked, and march without opposition to the capital. The conditional terms of a negotiation thus mutually agreed upon by belligerent leaders, preparatory to once more appealing to the arbitration of battle, are probably unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern warfare. They suffice, however, to show the singular footing on which our vast Eastern empire rests, and how difficult it is to judge of the proceedings of those to whom its conduct is committed, or by whom its progress is opposed, according to any standard of European policy.

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297. The Seiks, meanwhile, were not wanting in preparation for renewing the contest. The brilliant achievement of Sir Harry Smith's division at Aleewal, had been conducted with an amount of boldness, caution, and military skill, worthy of a brave and experienced commander, and it had been productive of the happiest effects on British interests in India, nevertheless it was only the victory of a division. Its moral effect in confirming the courage and high faith in the destiny of British arms of the one party, and in moving the opposite party to despondency and dread, was doubtless great. Fortune had deserted the Khalsa. Defeat and subjection already depended over them, and divided councils were hurrying on their fate. A decisive victory was, however, still needed, ere the British could force the passage of the Sutledge, and become masters of the Punjaub. Prompt measures were indispensably required. "To subjugate the Punjaub in one season, by force of arms, was a task of difficult achievement and full of imminent risks. The dominion of the English in India hinges mainly upon the number and efficiency of the troops of their own race which they can bring into the field. But besides this, it was felt that the minds of men throughout India were agitated; and that protracted hostilities would not only jeopardize the communications with the Jumna, but might disturb the whole of the North-Western Provinces, swarming with a military population which is ready to follow any standard affording pay or allowing plunder, and which already sighs for the end of a dull reign of peace.

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298. Bright visions of standing triumphant on the Indus and of numbering the remotest conquests of Alexander among the provinces of Britain, doubtless warmed the imagination of the Governor-General; but the first object was to drive the Seiks across the Sutledge by force of arms, or to have them withdrawn to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army; for, until that were done, no progress could be said to have been made in the war, and every petty chief in Hindostan would have silently prepared for asserting his independence, or for enlarging his territory on the first opportunity." This critical state of things in our Indian empire has long been felt by the few earnest thinkers, on whom the false glare of military glory exercises no blinding influence. Even the short-sighted policy of self-interested

motives has sufficed to awaken the Home Directory to a sense of it; and for many years each successive governor has been warned against any further aggressive movements, or the annexation of additional domains to the already unwieldly empire which owns our sway. It is easier, however, to dictate a theory of policy, than to control the events by which it must ultimately be modified. Some of the later wars have perhaps been justly characterized as aggressive, notwithstanding the necessity which frequently compelled the first movements which were thought to render the rest indispensable to the safety of our former possessions, but others of them were reluctantly begun, and only boldly and effectively carried on as the safest and swiftest means of preventing their recurrence.

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299. While Sir Harry Smith was manœuvring his division, and the indispensable reinforcements were being brought up from the rear, the main body of the Seiks had been no less active in their preparations for the final struggle. They had gradually brought the greater part of their available force into an intrenched camp formed on the left bank of the Sutledge, and which comprised within its irregular ramparts the whole possessions they still held by force of arms in the British dominions. Their force was estimated at 35,000 fighting men, though Captain Cunningham inclines to think that such an estimate greatly exceeds the truth. He adds, moreover, that their works exhibited marked evidence of a want of unity of design, the soldiers doing every thing and the leaders nothing. It is probable, however, that in this the candid historian of the Seiks ascribes to want of unity of purpose what should rather be ascribed only to imperfect knowledge and inferior skill. It was hardly to be expected that an experienced military engineer, as he is known to be, should find in the Seik intrenchments a satisfactory display of engineering skill, even although there were European officers of acknowledged experience and great bravery in command of some of their divisions. But the defeat at Aleewal, which had proved so welcome and so important in its results to the British, had a corresponding depressive effect on the Seiks. Some of the older and more experienced Seik chiefs looked forward with sad forebodings to the approaching contest, and one favourite leader, Sham Sing, announced to the desponding Khalsa his resolution to meet death in the foremost ranks that engaged

with the enemy, and so to offer himself up as a sacrifice on behalf of the sacred commonwealth, threatened with such impending danger.

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300. Confidence and joyful anticipations of triumph prevailed throughout the British camp. The victory of Aleewal had restored the faith of the sepoys in the fortune of British arms, while the European forces exulted in the anticipation of victory. Substantial grounds of confidence had meanwhile been supplied by the arrival of the heavy ordnance, with abundant ammunition and stores. The obstacles which had impeded their earlier operations, and made victory so difficult and so hardly won, no longer existed to check the bold advance of the British forces, or the daring impetuosity of the commander-in-chief. The 10th of February, only twelve days after the victory of Aleewal, was fixed for storming the Seik position, and driving them beyond the river. Through indifference or neglect, the British had allowed a post of observation of some importance to fall into the hands of the Seiks, and the surprising of this was determined upon as the first proceeding. Long before dawn, the whole British camp was in motion, and an advanced party was ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets.

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301. The additional gloom of a thick haze added to the darkness of the night, as the British forces silently advanced to assume the initiative in the contest, but the posts of observation, both at the Sobraon and in front of Koodeewalla, were found unoccupied, though held by a strong force on the previous day. The Seiks were every where taken by surprise, and beat loudly to arms throughout their wide intrenchments on both sides of the river. The English heavy ordnance had been arranged in masses on some of the most commanding points opposite the enemy's intrenchments, and at sunrise the batteries opened upon them. For three hours the deadly shower of iron hail poured down upon the Seik forces within their intrenchments, mingled with the more deadly shells, that scattered death on every side as they fell. But the Seik intrenchments bristled with the heavy ordnance which had told so effectively against the light fieldpieces that formed the sole British artillery in the earlier engagements, and the sun's level rays hardly pierced through the clouds of sulphurous smoke that loomed over the scene of deadly strife.

302. Never before had British arms been opposed to such determined bravery and skill, as strove with them on that bloody plain. The deadly struggles which had hung disgrace for a time on the British banners in the passes of Afghanistan, owed their fatal terrors to the natural character of the country, far more than to the bravery of its hardy but undisciplined forces. But here they were withstood on a fair field by a foe that listened unappalled to the thunders of their cannon, and stood unmoved before the glittering points of their bayonets when laid to the charge. Even the brave Seiks, however, sustained by all the nerve that fanaticism can add to native valour, found British skill and daring more than a match for them on an equal field. "At one time," says the British commander, in his despatch from the field of battle, "the thunder of full 120 pieces of ordnance reverberated in this mighty combat through the valley of the Sutledge; and as it was soon seen that the weight of the whole force within the Seik camp was likely to be thrown upon the two brigades that had passed its trenches, it became necessary to convert into close and serious attacks the demonstrations with skirmishers and artillery of the centre and right; and the battle raged with inconceivable fury from right to left.

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303. The official proclamation of the Governor-General, issued only four days after the victory of Sobraon, contains both a declaration and a defence of British policy. It thus proceeds to announce, and to justify the course pursued under the immediate surveillance of the Governor-General, who had combined in so unwonted a manner the duties of the civilian and the soldier. "The British army has crossed the Sutledge, and entered the Punjaub. The Governor-General announces by this proclamation that that measure has been adopted by the Government of India, in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th of December last, as having been forced upon the Governor-General for the purpose of 'effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.' These operations will be steadily persevered in and vigorously prosecuted, until the objects proposed to be accomplished are fully attained.

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304. The occupation of the Punjaub by the British forces will not be relinquished until ample atonement for the insult offered to the British Government by the infraction of the treaty of 1809, and by the unprovoked invasion of the British provinces, shall have been exacted. These objects will include full indemnity for all expenses incurred during the war, and such arrangements for the future government of the Lahore territories as will give perfect security to the British Government against similar acts of perfidy and aggression. Military operations against the government and army of the Lahore state have not been undertaken by the Government of India from any desire of territorial aggrandizement. The Governor-General, as already announced in the proclamation of the 13th of December, 'sincerely desired to see a strong Seik government re-established in the Punjaub, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects.' The sincerity of these professions is proved by the fact, that no preparations for hostilities had been made when the Lahore government suddenly, and without a pretext of complaint, invaded the British territories.

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305. The unprovoked aggression has compelled the British Government to have recourse to arms, and to organize the means of offensive warfare, and whatever may now befall the Lahore state, the consequences can alone be attributed to the misconduct of that government and its army. No extension of territory was desired by the Government of India; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past and security for the future will, however, involve the retention by the British Government of a portion of the country hitherto under the government of the Lahore state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the durbar, and by considerations for the security of the British frontier. The Government of India will, under any circumstances, annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutledge and Beeas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore state."

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306. From the sketch we have already drawn of the singular religious commonwealth of the Seiks, the reader will readily perceive that, however consistent with sound

policy and the just claims of the victors the proposed terms might appear, they were dictated without any reference to the peculiar consistency of the Seik commonwealth, if not indeed in ignorance of the peculiar features on which it was based. For the British Governor-General to dictate terms by which a government might be established in the Punjaub capable of controlling the Seik army, might not unreasonably be compared to the liberal offers of the English Edward to Baliol, on condition that he should control the patriot army of Scotland. The defence of British policy, however, lies in the fact that, whoever may be justly chargeable with the initiative in the war, the movements of the British was purely defensive. They desired no accession of territory, and did not seek to interfere in the control of the Seik soldiers, until their revolutionary movements menaced the British frontier, and endangered the peace and safety of the empire. In the conclusion of the same official proclamation, the Governor-General thus confidently appeals to the integrity of purpose which had influenced the whole course of British policy.

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307. The Governor-General, at this moment of a most complete and decisive victory, cannot give a stronger proof of the forbearance and moderation of the British Government than by making this declaration of his intentions, the terms and mode of the arrangement remaining for further adjustment. The Governor-General, therefore, calls upon all those chiefs who are the well-wishers of the descendants of Runjeet Sing, and especially such chiefs as have not participated in the hostile proceedings against the British power, to act in concert with him in carrying into effect such arrangements as shall maintain a Seik government at Lahore, capable of controlling its army and protecting its subjects, and based upon principles that shall provide for the future tranquillity of the Seik states, shall secure the British frontier against a repetition of acts of aggression, and shall prove to the whole the moderation and justice of the paramount power of India. If this opportunity of rescuing the Seik nation from military anarchy and misrule be neglected, and hostile opposition to the British army be renewed, the Government of India will make such other arrangements for the future government of the Punjaub as the interests and security of the British power may render just and expedient."

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308. If the Seik soldiers did not acquiesce in the justice of British policy, which dictated the necessity for a supreme and independent power by which their future motions would be controlled and kept in check, they at least acknowledged the right of dictation which victory had placed in the conquerors of Sobraon. They agreed to authorize their chosen minister, Golab Sing, to treat with the British, and empowered him to concur in arrangements on the basis announced in the proclamation, of recognizing a Seik government in Lahore.

On the 15th of February, the Governor-General was visited at Kussoor by the Rajah and several of the most influential Seik chiefs, to whom he stated the terms upon which he was willing to conclude a peace. These included the recognition of Dhuleep Sing as sovereign of Lahore, but required the cession of the country between the Beeas and the Sutledge, as specified in the proclamation. They were likewise required to pay to the conquerors a million and a half sterling, as some indemnity for the expenses of the war. The Governor-General was induced to dictate humiliating terms, in order that the full conviction of the supremacy and invincibility of British arms might be felt wherever rebellious thoughts had been cherished, among the allies or the dependents of our Indian empire. After vain endeavours to evade some of the most unpalatable requirements, the Seik chiefs reluctantly accepted the offered terms, and the young Rajah personally tendered his submission. Still more effectually to demonstrate how effectually the Khalsa was humbled under the supremacy of their conquerors, the British army entered Lahore on the 20th February, and, two days afterwards, an English garrison occupied the citadel of the Seik capital.

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309. In the arrangements which followed, Golab Sing contrived that his own interests should be advanced, however those of the great body of the disciples of Govind might suffer. His influences with the Seik forces, and his own wealth both in treasure and munitions of war, rendered him still formidable, should he be driven, by the exacting demands of his conquerors, to fall back on the support of the Seiks. Captain Cunningham thus narrates this part of the transactions in the Punjaub:—"The low state of the Lahore treasury, and the anxiety of Lal Sing to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General to appease

Golab Sing in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Rajah himself, and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Runjeet Sing. The Rajah of Jummoo did not care to be simply the master of his native mountains; but as two-thirds of the pecuniary indemnity required from Lahore could not be made good, territory was taken instead of money, and Cashmere and the hill states from the Beeas to the Indus were cut off from the Punjaub Proper, and transferred to Golab Sing, as a separate sovereign, for a million of pounds sterling. The arrangement was a dexterous one, if reference be only had to the policy of reducing the power of the Seiks; but the transaction scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become stronger when it is considered that Golab Sing had agreed to pay sixty-eight lacs of rupees, (£680,000,) as a fine to his paramount, before the war broke out, and that the custom of the East as well as of the West requires the feudatory to aid his lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Golab Sing ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince.

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310. "The succession of the Rajah was displeasing to the Seiks generally, and his separation was less in accordance with his own aspirations than the ministry of Runjeet Sing's empire; but his rise to sovereign power excited nevertheless the ambition of others, and Tej Sing, who knew his own wealth, and was fully persuaded of the potency of gold, offered twenty-five lacs of rupees for a princely crown and another dismembered province. He was chid for his presumptuous misinterpretation of English principles of action; the arrangement with Golab Sing was the only one of the kind which took place, and the new ally was formally invested with the title of Maharajah at Amritsir, on the 15th March 1846. But a portion of the territory at first proposed to be made over to him was reserved by his masters, the payments required from him were reduced by a fourth, and they were rendered still more easy of liquidation by considering him to be the heir to the money which his brother Soochet Sing had buried in Ferozepore." The author then describes this influential Seik chief, in a note which he appends to the previous narrative: "In the course of this history there has, more than once, been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Rajah Golab Sing; but it

must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race, and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made, Golab Sing will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper."

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311. The spirit of the Seik soldiery, however, was not broken by their reverses, though they had doubtless learned to acknowledge the superiority of British arms. But for such a formidable power to check this enthusiastic soldiery of the creed of Govind, it is difficult to conceive what might ultimately have proved the limits of their conquests. Their partial historian thus describes their deportment in the presence of their conquerors:—"While the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief remained at Lahore at the head of 20,000 men, portions of the Seik army came to the capital to be paid up and disbanded. The soldiers showed neither the despondency of mutinous rebels nor the effrontery and indifference of mercenaries, and their manly deportment added lustre to that valour which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, or they would say that *they* were mere imitators of unapproachable masters. But amid all their humiliation, they inwardly dwelt upon their future destiny with unabated confidence; and while gaily calling themselves inapt and youthful scholars, they would sometimes add, with a significant and sardonic smile, that the 'Khalsa' itself was yet a child, and that as the commonwealth of Seiks grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might and guide them with unequalled skill.

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312. "Thus brave men sought consolation, and the spirit of progress which collectively animated them yielded with a murmur to the superior genius of England and civilization, to be chastened by the rough hand of power, and perhaps to be moulded to noblest purposes by the informing touch of knowledge and philosophy." Such is the account furnished by the partial pen of a generous British soldier, of the hardy insurgents who assailed the north-western frontier of

British India, and were thus hardly defeated, after repeated battles under the most undaunted of British Generals. British arms were again triumphant. New additions were, temporarily or permanently, annexed to our Indian empire, forced on us by circumstances or necessity. New duties and cares helped to complicate the difficulties of our Indian policy while sanguine politicians flattered themselves that the long-sought natural boundaries of Hindustan had at length been reached, and that the British soldier might now sheath his sword, unless as the weapon of defensive justice against aggression. What the final results of the first campaign in the Punjaub may yet prove to be, it is vain for the historian to speculate; but the view we have endeavoured to give to the singular race of armed zealots who constitute the Seik commonwealth, is alone sufficient to satisfy the reader that it would be folly to anticipate the reverses of a single campaign could suffice to reduce them to contented subjects, peaceable and trustworthy allies. A much briefer experience than the least hopeful could have anticipated, served to show on how uncertain a tenure peace could be established with them.

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313. The campaign of 1846 closed with the total rout of the Seiks, and their unequivocal submission to the supremacy of British arms. The ceded provinces were occupied by British forces, and early in 1848, Viscount Hardinge, who had returned from the scene of his civil and military triumphs, declared that all danger of insurrection or disturbance in the Punjaub was at an end. No combination of civil and military genius, however, could in so brief a period convert the wild Seiks of the Punjaub into peaceable subjects or faithful allies. The Indian Mail of June 1848, once more announced that the note of war had sounded on the north-western frontiers of British India. The locality of renewed aggression and treachery was Mooltan, the capital of a large tract of the same name, extending between the Indus and the Sutledge, to the south of Lahore. The city of Mooltan is a place celebrated of old for its great strength. Its more recent history exhibits the Seik not as the patriot defending his native soil, but as the aggressor subjecting neighbouring districts by his sword. After various unsuccessful attempts, extending over a long period, Runjeet Sing succeeded in taking Mooltan, though not without immense loss. Here, as in so many other instances in our Indian wars, Britain ap-

pears only as a new and stronger power superseding a previous conqueror, whose right of possession is of the sword.

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314. The inhabitants of the province of Mooltan consist chiefly of Jats, the descendants of the Scythian invaders of India, who offered a fierce resistance to the Mohammedan invaders, and since their conquest by Mahmood of Ghuzni in 1026, they have repeatedly asserted their independence. Towards the close of last century, this province was nominally dependent on the Afghan empire, between which and Runjeet Sing repeated struggles took place for its possession. After the Seik Rajah had been again and again foiled by the Afghan governor, Mozuffer Khan, he at length succeeded, in 1818, more by good fortune than skill, in gaining possession of the long-coveted place of strength, and annexing the province to his kingdom. By the treaty of 1838, Mooltan was finally ceded by Shah Sooja to the ruler of the Punjaub, who committed it to the care of Sawan Mull, a subordinate governor, who held it by a species of feudal tenure, administering its affairs as a dependent of the Seik state. Sawan, who is described as a ruler of great ability and moderation, perished by the hands of an assassin in a durbar affray, in September 1844. He was succeeded by his eldest son Lalla Moolraj, whose name so frequently occurs in the narratives of recent events on the frontiers of British India. Differences occurred between Moolraj and Lal Sing. One of the districts of his government was violently snatched from him by the Rajah. Subsequently he was summoned to Lahore to settle his accounts, at all times a complicated and reluctant proceeding in the East. He went under British guarantee, effected some sort of settlement, and returned in safety to Mooltan; but negotiations were being still carried on, with the object chiefly of bringing the whole Seik kingdom under a uniform mode of government. These it was believed had, at length, been brought to a successful issue. Sirdar Khan Sing was appointed governor, and Mr. Vans Agnew, assistant to the British resident at Lahore, was deputed to proceed, along with Lieutenant Anderson, to install the new governor in his office. No opposition was anticipated, and they were attended apparently by a force fit for little more than a guard of honour.

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315. It was believed for a time that this violent outbreak was entirely referrible to some temporary and accidental misunderstanding with the Seik soldiery, and was unconnected with any organized plan of opposition to established rule, or to any designed hostilities with the British. Long experience, however, suffices to prove that the more recent acquisitions of our Eastern empire resemble in their most quiescent state rather the stillness of a powder magazine than the calm of the unvexed sea. A single spark suffices for the explosion, and it is scarcely possible to calculate how far its effects may extend. Amid their most sanguine hopes this was not overlooked by those at the head of affairs in India; but the scene of danger was remote from means of defence or supply, the warm season was at hand, when active operations are scarcely possible, and rumours of the instability of affairs at Lahore, and of the equivocal fidelity of the Rajah Golab Sing, furnished grounds for the deepest apprehension. The confidence expressed by Viscount Hardinge in the peace of the Punjaub was based doubtless to a considerable extent on the admirable military arrangements made by him previous to his departure. At Lahore these were rendered fully available by the vigilance of the British officers in charge. The troops all along the frontier were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action. Officers absent on leave were ordered to join their troops without delay, and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise.

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316. The wisdom of such precautions soon became apparent. The outbreak at Mooltan was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy of the most alarming character at Lahore, having for its object the massacre of all the British officers, the expulsion of our whole troops from the Punjaub, and a revolution in the Seik government. Attempts had been made, not without some slight success, to seduce the Sepoys from their allegiance. On the discovery of this, the British resident, Sir Frederick Currie, directed certain native officers, whose fidelity could be relied upon, to fall in with the plans of the conspirators, by which means the whole plot was disclosed. Three native corps, it was found, had been tampered with, but only a small number of the men had yielded to the temptations by which they were assailed. Undoubted proofs, however, were discovered of persons of the highest rank being privy to the plot, by whom the

fakeers had been employed to use their influence over the Sepoys in seducing them from their fidelity. It was at the very time that the Indian papers were filled with the accounts of this abortive conspiracy at Lahore, that the mail from England reported the speech of Viscount Hardinge, in which he stated "he had no apprehension for the tranquillity of the Punjab!" So impossible is it for the most experienced statesman to anticipate the changes which a few months may effect on the state of our Eastern empire.

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317. The indomitable courage and skill of a British officer of youth and inexperience, sufficed at this critical juncture to do more for the safety of the British empire than all the experience and foresight of the civil and military rulers of India. It speedily became apparent that the zeal of Dewan Khan Sing, in the defence of the unfortunate British officers deputed to accompany him to his new Government, was altogether assumed, and that he was in league with the conspirators in Lahore and elsewhere, by whom a scheme had been matured for overpowering the British, and expelling them from the country. In the neighbourhood of Lahore, a Gooroo, or priest, named Maharaj Sing, had raised the standard of revolt, and speedily collected a numerous force of the disbanded Seiks, among whom he enjoyed a reputation for great sanctity. By this means the British forces at Lahore were prevented attempting any movement upon Moultan, and every successive mail brought news of fresh difficulties or alarms, tending still further to confound the speculations of the most experienced politicians as to the extent, or probable issue, of this new revolution in the Punjab. At this time Lieutenant Edwardes was stationed on the Indus with a force consisting only of one regiment of infantry and 300 sowars, with two guns. His duty was the collection of the land-tax due to Moolraj, and the occupation of Leiah, a town situated on the left bank of the Indus.

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318. Lieutenant Edwardes effected a junction with Colonel Cortlandt's forces, by which a body of about 7000 men was placed under their joint command. With this force considerable success was achieved,and it was confidently anticipated for a time that these young officers, at the head of such a small and irregular force, were to bring the rebellion summarily to a close, and re-annex Moultan to the

Punjab, ere the British Resident or the Commander-in-chief could adopt any definite line of policy for the suppression of this unexpected outbreak. The Press as usual were as severe in their criticisms on the tardy operations of the commander-in-chief, as they afterwards were on his supposed rashness and indiscretion. *The "Friend of India"* censured in the severest terms "the tame conduct of the chief authorities," and predicted that there would be no Moultan laurels but for Edwardes and Cortlandt. None more worthy indeed could be achieved. The gallant lieutenant, now advanced to the rank of a Major, led the British troops and their allies under the very walls of Moultan, after twice defeating a force greatly superior to them in numbers. But the fortifications of Moultan were such as bade defiance to the efforts of an irregular force, with no other artillery than a few light field-pieces. Major Edwardes at once perceived his inability to make the slightest impression on the fortress with the troops under his command, and he accordingly despatched a messenger to the British Resident at Lahore, for reinforcements and heavy artillery.

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319. Meanwhile the position of the British force in the neighbourhood of Moultan was somewhat critical. The hold he had upon his native allies had owed much of its force to his own tact and the success which had hithero attended his operations; and to the latter cause also may be ascribed the successive junction of Shere Sing and other Seik chiefs, at the head of about 10,000 men. Such allies, however, were a source of far more apprehension than confidence to Major Edwardes. Many of the Seiks were known to be disaffected, and he was obliged to watch their camp, situated about a mile from his own, with scarcely less jealousy than that of Moolraj. His suspicions of his Seik allies proved only too well founded. Their defection speedily turned the scale against him, and he was obliged to take up a new position, at a much greater distance from the stronghold of Moolraj. But though it was no longer to be hoped for that the gallantry of this British officer would prove sufficient to counteract the deep-laid plots and machinations of the Seiks, the check he had given at so critical a period was productive of the most important results. Much valuable time was gained. The cautious deliberations o those at the head of affairs were carried on while he held th

enemy at bay, and by the time it became obvious that the most decisive measures were indispensable, they were ready to forward to his aid a force capable of coping with such difficulties.

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320. After the lapse of a considerable period of painful suspense, the Indian Mail of February 1849, brought to England confused rumours of a decisive battle having been fought, which successive publications of demi-official informations tended only more effectually to clothe with doubt and apprehension. During the interval between the arrival of the succeeding mails in March, the most painful anxiety prevailed. Reports were circulated that the British forces had sustained a total defeat, the most extravagant rumours were believed, and a state of feverish excitement prevailed, which required far more acceptable news than the most flattering narrative could convey of the doubtful victory gained by the British arms on the banks of the Jelum. "Our narrative of the sanguinary battle of Chillianwalla," says the *Indian Mail* of March 5th, 1849, "which though termed victory, might by a not very partial historian be described as a defeat, must be compiled from the details furnished by writers on the spot to the various public journals, which are unanimous in their condemnation of the General. 'Not since the destruction of the garrison of Cabul,' says *The Bombay Times*, 'has so heavy a catalogue of blunders and misfortunes been carried home from India as that which the present mail conveys; we have, for the first time since 1842, to give particulars of the annihilation of half regiments, from the sheer mismanagement of the commanding officer.' *The Bombay Telegraph* believes 'the opinion to be almost universal, that the terrible slaughter during the engagement is attributable, in a great measure, to the want of forethought, judgment, and tactical skill on the part of the Commander.'"

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321. With the flight of the Afghans beyond the Khyber Pass the war was at an end; but new measures were requisite to guard against the renewal of similar outbreaks of the restless and daring Khalsa. Within the brief period that had elapsed since the summary recall of Lord Ellenborough, experience and necessity had overthrown every theory of British policy in India. One critic, in summing

up the record of events of the previous year, at the time when only the first steps in the new war beyond the Sutledge had transpired, remarks: "A year barren of events, although a tame and unattractive period to readers of history, is a propitious one to good rulers, especially rulers of such a country as India. The want of time, and opportunity, and political quiet, to digest plans of improvement, has been the ready and unanswerable excuse of every governor of India since the administration of its affairs has been transferred to our hands from those of the Moguls. The fault is not theirs; it is the vice, or rather a misfortune, inseparable from the circumstances of British rule in India in relation to the native powers, which clothe it with progressive (or, as some say, aggressive) attributes, that a stationary policy is not only irreconcileable with the security of our Indian empire, but impracticable, and the intervals of suspension of war and conquest are few and brief. The last three governors of India furnish examples which the next three may be compelled to follow.

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322. "Lord Ellenborough, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Lord Dalhousie, proceeded to India with visions of peace, of prosperous revenues, and of the realization of benevolent schemes of social benefit for the people of India. The first was, upon his arrival, immersed in the perils and perplexities of the Cabul outbreak and the Mahratta campaign. The second was most unwillingly forced by a Seik invasion into a war, first of defence and then of conquest, beyond our frontiers. Lord Dalhousie, in like manner, has been compelled to desert the seat of government, where he was busied with plans of domestic improvement, and to enter upon projects which, from the magnitude of the preparations, appear to embrace the conquest of an extensive territory, the cost of which will exhaust the present and pledge the future revenues of India, postponing every scheme of local and general improvement and moral amelioration which demands an outlay of money. Should our presage be correct, and the British empire be extended to the Indus, that 'forbidden' river, conveniently termed the 'historical boundary of India,' will not be a final boundary any more than the Sutledge has been; the expansion of our line of frontiers, bringing us into contact with new neighbours, jealous of our greatness or alarmed at our proximity, will involve us in fresh quarrels, and we shall be led onward, until, as Baron Hugel predicts, we reach Herat.

323. This is the condition of our existence as a ruling power in India; and critics of our administration there, instead of exposing its imperfections, and proclaiming the vast amount of what has not been done to ameliorate the people, would be more just if they compared what has been accomplished with the time and means at our command,—in snatches of repose, broken by sudden political explosions, which engross the attention and the energies of the government, amidst the financial incumbrances created by an increasing expenditure, which cannot be met, as in other countries, by increase of taxation." The result has proved the justice of these remarks. By a proclamation of the Governor-General of India, dated March 30th, 1849, the Punjaub is declared to be a portion of the British empire in India; and the same official document thus enters on the defence of British policy:—"For many years, in the time of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Seiks. When Runjeet Sing was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the counsels of the state, the sirdars and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated.

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324. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing tendered to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British Government. The Governor-General extended the clemency of his government to the state of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and, the Maharajah having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states. The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them. But the Seik people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound. Of their annual tribute, no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the Government of India have never been repaid. The control of the British Government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms. Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been

murdered when acting for the state; others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity.

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325. Finally, the army of the state and the whole Seik people, joined by many of the sirdars in the Punjab who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The Government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The Government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound, in its duty, to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace. Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end; and that all the territories of Maharjah Dhuleep Sing are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India.

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326. The wonted justice of British rule tempered the policy thus forced upon it. The Maharajah has been treated with due consideration of his rank, the property of all who had not forfeited their rights by their own conduct, has been respected, and the utmost care has been taken to preserve to all the free exercise of their religion. What the final results of this new annexation to our Indian empire may prove to be, it is vain to speculate. Whether the Indus, "the historical boundary of India," shall prove a barrier against foreign aggression and a limit to British acquisition, remains to be seen; but many years must elapse, even under the most peaceful sway, ere the diverse races and creeds of British India can be reconciled, and the vast peninsula consolidated into one kingdom, united by the safe bonds of mutual confidence and the sense of a wise, just, and benignant rule. Experience has heretofore overturned

every speculation. The first campaign in the Punjab was regarded by many, whose judgment was worthy of confidence, as final; few perhaps will venture to pronounce the same of the second, notwithstanding the apparent finality of its results.

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327. Such is the history of the latest and perhaps the most critical struggle which Britain has yet been compelled to make in order to maintain the integrity of her Indian empire. The disastrous struggles in Afghanistan are altogether insignificant, when compared with a war thus waged on terms so nearly equal, and yet so hardly brought to a triumphant close. When we take into consideration all the circumstances of the former campaign, we can readily account for them. The real strength of the Afghans was shown in their final retreat from the Punjab. They are indeed formidable in their native fastnesses; but this arises more from the natural features of the country, than from the skill of their brave but undisciplined bands. Even in their strongholds and amid their terrible passes, British arms, under proper and skillful leaders, found no difficulty in coping with them, and on a fair field they proved how little apprehension could be excited by them, even though greatly outnumbering their opponents. But the Seiks are altogether different. Their bravery is fully equal to that of their opponents. Their skill and discipline is not greatly inferior, and it can hardly be questioned, that under European leaders, and with the same unanimity which their patriotic devotion to the commonwealth of Govind inspired in their first contest with the British, the mercenaries of our native army, could be little relied upon in a similar struggle. Britain, however, longs to lay aside the weapons of the conqueror, and to consolidate her Eastern empire by arts of peace. Time alone, however well employed, will bind the native Hindoo to the British sceptre by the only safe ties, those of mutual interest and the confidence of mutual justice. The necessity of this is acknowledged. All the efforts of British rulers are now directed to render our sway in India alike beneficent and just. Should they succeed in accomplishing such a purpose, it will be a more noble and lasting victory than the proudest triumph of British arms; and it is only by converting the devotion of the Seik foe into the patriotism of the British subject, that a safe, a lasting, and a beneficial

peace shall be secured on the North-West frontier so long the source of anxiety and apprehension to the British rulers of India.

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328. I am equally sensible of your affliction, and of your kindness, that made you think of me at such a moment; would to God I could lessen the one, or requite the other with that consolation which I have often received from you when I most wanted it! but your grief is too just, and the cause of it too fresh, to admit of any such endeavour. What, indeed, is all human consolation? Can it efface every little amiable word or action of an object we loved, from our memory? Can it convince us, that all the hopes we had entertained, the plans of future satisfaction we had formed, were ill-grounded and vain, only because we have lost them? The only comfort, I am afraid, that belongs to our condition, is to reflect (when time has given us leisure for reflection) that others have suffered worse; or that we ourselves might have suffered the same misfortune at times and in circumstances that would probably have aggravated our sorrow.

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329. Uses of friendship. The best way to represent to the life the manifold uses of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, "that a friend is another himself"; for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself! A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person

hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the persons; but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend he may quit the stage.

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330. Augustus Cæsar. It is not likely that Cæsar entertained any serious thoughts of restoring the commonwealth; but it is very probable that he consulted his friends about it, and desired them to give him their opinions without reserve, which are set forth in great detail, and excellently argued by Dion. ... But if Cæsar had entertained dispositions really favourable to this object, his own experience and reflection must have taught him that the materials out of which alone a free state can be constructed and supported were wanting; and he therefore perhaps conferred the greatest benefit upon his country, which it was at that time capable of receiving, by using that power, which he had obtained by the most questionable means, with moderation and justice.

At the end of a long series of sanguinary struggles the people naturally felt desirous of repose, and well inclined to submit to a temperate but firm government, which would protect without oppressing them. The republican party, if they argued rationally, must have been convinced that the death of Julius, instead of regenerating the commonwealth, plunged it into endless distresses and calamities; three tyrants started up in the place of one, while the last and best of the true Romans fell in the ineffectual combat for freedom. It was not for ordinary men to revive and reanimate a cause in which Brutus and Cassius had failed; in fact, the vital principle of liberty seemed utterly spent in the field of Philippi, and the republic was left without a party, while Cæsar and Antony divided or contested the dominion of the world. The long life of Cæsar, and the almost uninterrupted tranquillity of his reign during nearly half a century, gave consistency and the stamp of usage to the few changes which he introduced: the affected desire of retiring from the cares of government, which he renewed at stated intervals, conferred upon his power the character of a charge pressed upon him by the senate and people rather than of

an authority usurped from them. If he were inferior to his great uncle in extent of talent and grandeur of character, he yielded neither to him nor to any other in solidity of parts, and maturity of judgment; conforming his government with admirable dexterity to the temper of the times, and leading the opinions of mankind with no less adroitness to conform to his government.

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331. Funeral of Oliver Cromwell. It was the funeral-day of the late man who made himself to be called Protector. And though I bore but little affection, either to the memory of him, or to the trouble and folly of all public pageantry, yet I was forced by the importunity of my company to go along with them, and be a spectator of that solemnity, the expectation of which had been so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious persons (and no doubt singular virtuosos) as far as from the mount in Cornwall and from the Orcades. I found there had been much more cost bestowed, than either the dead man, or indeed death itself could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants, among which two divers princes in the persons of their ambassadors (being infinitely afflicted for the loss of their brother) were pleased to *attend;* the hearse was magnificent, the idol crowned and (not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore by no means could be omitted here) the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself.

But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that methought it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expense, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly, a great show, and yet, after all this, but an ill sight. At last (for it seemed long to me, and like his short reign too, very tedious) the whole scene passed by, and I retired back to my chamber, weary, and, I think, more melancholy than any of the mourners.

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332. The Stoics and Epicureans. But as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low; as those raised it to the heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held pleasure to be the chief good of man, death the extinction of his being; and placed their

happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a plesurable life; esteeming virtue on no other account than as it was a handmaid to pleasure, and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man therefore had no other duty than to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate the life of their gods, by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose, in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society; great parts, learning, judgment, candour, benevolence, generosity; the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero; whom he was always advising and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself, or never at least so far as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony, that he might secure against all events the grand point which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country: each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attemping to do any, resolving never to act at all.

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333. Temple and sacred grove of Daphne. At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world. A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his colossal figure almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous Daphne: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were

imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic Oracle, flowed from the Castalian fountain of Daphne. In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege, which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures. The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne; which emulated the splendour, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love...The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise; where pleasure, assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue.

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334. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. When the French entered Italy, they met with nothing able to resist them. The Italian powers having remained, during a long period, undisturbed by the invasion of any foreign enemy, had formed a system with respect to their affairs, both in peace and war, peculiar to themselves. In order to adjust the interests, and balance the power of the different States into which Italy was divided, they were engaged in perpetual and endless negociations with each other, which they conducted with all the subtlety of a refining and deceitful policy. Their contests in the field, when they had recourse to arms, were decided in mock battles, by innocent and bloodless victories. Upon the first appearance of the danger which now impended, they had recourse to the arts which they had studied, and employed their utmost skill in intrigue in order to avert it. But this proving ineffectual, their bands of effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in the country, being fit only for the parade of service, were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk at its

approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Florence, Pisa, and Rome, opened their gates as the French army advanced. The prospect of this dreadful invasion struck one king of Naples with such panic terror, that he died (if we may believe historians) of the fright. Another abdicated his throne from the same pusillanimous spirit. A third fled out of his dominions, as soon as the enemy appeared on the Neapolitan frontiers. Charles, after marching thither from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the throne of Naples, and intimidated or gave law to every power in Italy.

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335. Foundation of Constantinople. The master of the Roman world, who aspired to erect an eternal monument of the glories of his reign, employed in the prosecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with Imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little island of Proconnesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed by the convenience of a short water-carriage to the harbour of Byzantium. A multitude of labourers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil: but the impatience of Constantine soon discovered, that in the decline of the arts, the skill as well as number of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatness of his designs. The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford; but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lysippus, surpassed indeed the power of a Roman emperor; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed to posterity were exposed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments. The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration,

the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets, of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Cedrenus, who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent.

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336. The object of education. The man, who is fitted out by nature and sent into the world with great abilities, is capable of doing great good or mischief in it. How great then is the duty of parents and instructors to infuse into the untainted youth early notices of justice and honour, that so the possible advantages of good parts may not take an evil turn, nor be perverted to base and unworthy purposes! It is the business of Religion and Philosophy not so much to extinguish our passions, as to regulate and direct them to valuable well-chosen objects: when these have pointed out to us which course we may lawfully steer, it is no harm to set out all our sail: if the storms and tempests of adversity should rise upon us, and not suffer us to make the haven where we would be, it will however prove no small consolation to us in these circumstances, that we have neither mistaken our course nor fallen into calamities of our own procuring.

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337. Death of Fiesco. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where everything had succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral's galley: alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains and overpower his associates, he ran thither. But the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea, while he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of everything that his ambitious heart could desire. Verrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing at once all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy.

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338. Character of Tiberius. Hitherto Tiberius had kept within bounds; he was frugal, just in the distribution of offices, a rigid punisher of injustice in others and an example of temperance to his luxurious court. But now, from the ninth year of his reign, it is that historians begin to trace the bloody effects of his suspicious temper.

Having no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the mask entirely and appear more in his natural character than before. He no longer adopted that wisest maxim, the truth of which has familiarised it into a proverb, that honesty is the best policy. With him, judgment justice and extent of thinking, were converted into slyness artifice and expedients adapted to momentary conjunctures. He took upon himself the interpretation of all political measures; and gave morals whatever colour he chose, by the fine-drawn speculations of his own malicious mind. He began daily to diminish the authority of the senate: which design was much facilitated by their own aptitude to slavery; so that he despised their meanness, while he enjoyed its effects. A law at that time subsisted, which made it treason to form any injurious attempt against the majesty of the people. Tiberius assumed to himself the interpretation and enforcement of this law, and extended it not only to the cases which really affected the safety of the state but to every conjuncture that could possibly be favourable to his hatred or suspicions. All freedom was consequently banished from convivial meetings; and diffidence reigned amongst the dearest relations. The gloomy disposition and insincerity of the prince were diffused through all ranks of men: friendship had the air of an allurement to betray; and a fine genius was but a shining indiscretion; even virtue itself was considered as an impertinent intruder, that only served to remind the people of their lost happiness.

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339. Fall of Jerusalem. Titus, after entering the ruins of the city, and admiring the impregnable strength of the towers, declared that he indeed was the leader of the army, but God was the author of the victory. He commanded his soldiers, wearied with slaughter, 'to cease from carnage, except where any still chanced to resist: that the leaders, concealed in the subterraneous passages, should be sought after: that the youths, distinguished by their beauty and

stature, should be reserved for his triumph: the more advanced in years be sent into Egypt to the mines.' A vast number also were selected to perish in the theatres by the sword and wild beasts: all under seventeen were sold by auction. It is a current report among the Jews that in this siege ninety-seven thousand men were taken prisoners: that eleven hundred thousand fell. Nothing remained of the city, except three towers left as a memorial of victory: at the same time part of the western wall was preserved, to which a garrison was assigned; and Terentius Rufus was appointed Governor. Everything else was overturned and polluted by the plough.

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340. Rise of Roman empire. The greatness of Rome was founded on the rare and almost incredible alliance of virtue and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of war; carried her victorious arms beyond the seas and the mountains; and brought home triumphant laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The Venerable City which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest nations, and established a system of laws the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom, was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve on the Cæsars her favourite sons the care of governing her ample patrimony. A secure and profound peace, such as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth; and the subject nations still reverenced the name of the people and the majesty of the Senate.

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341. Of idleness. No man is so much open to conviction as the idler: but there is none on whom it operates so little. The drunkard, for a time, laughs over his wine—the ambitious man triumphs in the miscarriage of his rival; but the captives of indolence have neither superiority nor merriment. 'Tis not only in the slumber of sloth, but in the dissipation of ill-directed industry, that the shortness of life is generally forgotten. As some men lost their hours in laziness, because

they suppose that there is time for the reparation of neglect, others busy themselves in providing that no length of life may want employment; and it often happens, that sluggishness and activity are equally surprised by the last summons, and perish not more differently from each other, than the fowl that received the shot in her flight from her that is killed upon the bush. Idleness can never secure tranquillity; the call of reason and of conscience will pierce the closest pavilion of the sluggard, and though it may not have force to drive him from his down, will be loud enough to hinder him from sleep. Those moments, which he cannot resolve to make useful by devoting them to the great business of his being, will still be usurped by powers that will not leave them to his disposal: remorse and vexation will seize upon them and forbid him to enjoy what he is so desirous to appropriate.

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341. Decline of Roman power. We have hitherto seen this great people by slow degrees rising into power, and at length reigning without a rival. We have hitherto seen all the virtues which give strength and conquest, progressively, entering into the state, and forming a mighty empire. From this time forward we are to survey a different picture—a powerful state, giving admission to all the vices that tend to divide enslave and at last totally destroy society. This seems to be the great period of Roman power; their conquests afterwards might be more numerous and their dominions more extensive; but their extension was rather an increase of glory than of strength. For a long time, even after the admission of their vices, the benefits of their former virtues continued to operate; but their future triumphs rather spread their power than increased it; they rather gave it surface than solidity. They now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modesty, plainness and severity of life. The triumphs and the spoils of Asia brought in a taste for splendid expense, and these produced avarice and inverted ambition; so that from henceforward the history seems that of another people.

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342. New Carthage. New Carthage is situate near the middle of the coast of Spain, upon a gulf that looks towards the south-west, and which contains in length about twenty stadia, and about ten stadia in breadth at the first

entrance. The whole of this gulf is a perfect harbour. For an island lying at the mouth of it, and which leaves on either side a very narrow passage, receives all the waves of the sea; so that the gulf remains entirely calm; except only that its waters are sometimes agitated by the south-west winds blowing through those passages. All the other winds are intercepted by the land, which incloses it on every side. In the inmost part of the gulf stands a mountain in form of a peninsula, upon which the city is built. It is surrounded by the sea, upon the east and south; and on the west by a lake, which is extended also so far towards the north, that the rest of the space, which lies between the lake and the sea, and which joins the city to the continent, contains only two stadia in breadth. The middle part of the city is flat; and has a level approach to it from the sea, on the side towards the south. The other parts are surrounded by hills, two of which are very high and rough; and the other three, though much less lofty, are full of cavities, and difficult of approach.

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343. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beaten to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and an hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews as escaped the fury of the sea were murdered without mercy by the Arabs, as soon as they reached land. The Emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy as for the subsistence of his own troops. At last the wind began to fall and to give some hopes that as many ships might escape, as would be sufficient to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness; and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storms, to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty.

344. Destruction of Jerusalem. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or in the uncertainty of their own lives neglected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends, others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sate with dry eyes and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes steadily fixed on the Temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their bodies; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the bodies, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

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345. Norwegian Legislation. There is, and always has been here, much more of the real business of the country in the hands of the people, and transacted by themselves, than in any other country of Europe. They have not merely the legislative power and election of their Storthing (senate), which is but a late institution; but, in all times, the whole civil business of the community has been in a great measure in their own hands. It appears to be the general spirit of the Norwegian law, that the constituted legal authorities have rather a superintending than a managing power. The division of landed property among heirs, the guardianship of estates belonging to minors, the settling disputes by the commission of mutual agreement, the provision for the poor, the support of roads and bridges, the regulations for the fisheries, the charge and conveyance of prisoners (as jails are only in the chief towns of each province), the attendance on the courts of the district as valuators, arbiters or jurymen, are among the affairs which devolve on the people under the superintendence of the legal authorities. The exclusion from these affairs and functions, which of course the legal

sentence of loss of honour produces, is a punishment so severely felt, that there are instances of culprits, after that portion of their punishment consisting in slavery for a certain period had been completed, returning to their chains, committing on purpose some petty offence rather than live as outcasts under the sentence of dishonour among their former friends.

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346. The two Antonines. Titus Antoninus Pius has been justly denominated a second Numa. The same love of religion, justice and peace was the distinguishing characteristic of both princes. But the situation of the latter opened a much larger field for the exercise of those virtues. Numa could only prevent a few neighbouring villages from plundering each others' harvests. Antoninus diffused order and tranquillity over the greater part of the earth. His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. In private life, he was an amiable, as well as a good man. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his fortune; and the benevolence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper.

The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more laborious kind. It was the well-earned harvest of many a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many a midnight lucubration. At the age of twelve years he embraced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to submit his body to his mind, his passions to his reason; to consider virtue as the only good, vice as the only evil, all things external as things indifferent. His Meditations, composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy, in a more public manner than was perhaps consistent with the modesty of a sage, or the dignity of an emperor. But his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms, he readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns on the frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at last fatal to the weakness of his constitution.

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347. Oliver Cromwell. What can be more extraordinary, than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, possessing no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in so improbable a design, as the destruction of one of the most ancient and most solidly founded Monarchies upon the earth; that he should have the power or boldness to put his Prince and Master to an open and infamous death, to banish that numerous and strongly allied family; to do all this under the name and wages of a Parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased and spurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and to set up himself above all things that ever were called Sovereign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms and all his friends afterwards by artifice; to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the South and the poverty of the North; to be feared and courted by all foreign Princes, and adopted a brother to the Gods of the Earth; to call together Parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to have the estates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and lastly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory) to bequeath all this with one word to his posterity; to die with peace at home, and triumph abroad; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguished but with the whole world, which as it is now too little for his praises, so might have been to for his conquests, if the short line of his human life could have been stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs.

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348. Travelling Merchants in Gaul. We learn from Cæsar and other Roman Writers, that the travelling merchants who frequented Gaul and other barbarous countries, either newly conquered by the Roman arms, or bordering on the Roman conquests, were ever the first to make the inhabitants of those countries familiarly acquainted with the Roman modes of life, and to inspire them with an inclination to

follow the Roman fashions, and to enjoy Roman conveniences.

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It is farther to be observed, for the credit of this most useful class of men, that they commonly contribute, by their personal manners, no less than by the sale of their wares, to the refinement of the people among whom they travel. Their dealings form them to great quickness of wit and acuteness of judgment. Having constant occasion to recommend themselves and their goods, they acquire habits of the most obliging attention, and the most insinuating address. As in their peregrinations they have opportunity of contemplating the manners of various men and various cities, they become eminently skilled in the knowledge of the world. As they wander, each alone, through thinly-inhabited districts, they form habits of reflection and of sublime contemplation. With all these qualifications, no wonder, that they should often be, in remote parts of the country, the best mirrors of fashion, and censors of manners; and should contribute much to polish the roughness, and soften the rusticity of our peasantry.

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349. The French under Louis VII. defeated by the Turks. In the mean while, the Turks, who had kept by the side of them, at a small distance, being covered from their sight by some rising grounds, were informed by their scouts, that the two parts of the Christian army were separated so far, as not to be able to assist each other: upon which, with great expedition, they went and possessed themselves of the top of the mountain, where the French vanguard had been ordered to encamp. Then, having formed a line of battle, they suffered the rear-guard to advance unmolested, till their foremost squadrons had almost reached the summit of the ascent, and the rest were far engaged in the deep hollow ways which embarrassed the middle of the hill. Having thus drawn them on to inevitable destruction, they made a sudden attack upon them, first with showers of arrows and then sword in hand; which threw them immediately into the greatest confusion. For, as they expected no enemy, but imagined that the troops they saw over their heads had been their own van-guard, they marched in a very careless, disorderly manner; and many of them, to ease themselves of the weight of their arms, had thrown them into the waggons

that carried the baggage. All things concurred to aid the Turks, and render the valour of the French ineffectual; the narrow defiles, in which they could not form any order of battle; the roughness and steepness of the ascent, which made their heavy-armed cavalry useless; the impediment of their baggage which, being placed in the midst of them, hindered those behind from assisting the foremost; and the inferiority of their number to that of the enemy: so that scarce seven thousand out of above thirty thousand were able to escape, the rest being all either killed or taken.

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350. Colonisation as subservient to population. Suppose a fertile but empty island to lie within the reach of a country in which arts and manufactures are already established; suppose a colony sent out from such a country, to take possession of the island, and to live there under the protection and authority of their native government: the new settlers will naturally convert their labour to the cultivation of the vacant soil, and with the produce of that soil will draw a supply of manufactures from their countrymen at home. Whilst the inhabitants continue few, and lands cheap and fresh, the colonists will find it easier and more profitable to raise corn or rear cattle, and with corn and cattle to purchase woollen cloth, for instance, or linen, than to spin or weave these articles for themselves. The mother-country, meanwhile, derives from this connexion an increase both of provision and employment. It promotes at once the two great requisities upon which the facility of subsistence, and by consequence the state of population, depend,—*production* and *distribution;* and this in a manner the most direct and beneficial. No situation can be imagined more favourable to population, than that of a country which works up goods for others, whilst these others are cultivating new tracts of land for them.

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351. The climate of Germany, its effects on the physical and mental condition of the natives. It is difficult to ascertain, and easy to exaggerate, the influence of the climate of ancient Germany over the minds and bodies of the natives. Many writers have supposed, that the rigorous cold of the North was favourable to long life and generative vigour, that the women were more fruitful, and the human species more prolific, than in warmer and more temperate climates. We may assert, with greater confidence, that the

keen air of Germany formed the large and masculine limbs of the natives, who were, in general, of a more lofty stature than the people of the South, gave them a kind of strength better adapted to violent exertions than to patient labour, and inspired them with constitutional bravery, which is the result of nerves and spirits. The severity of a winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the North, who in their turn were unable to resist the summer heats, and dissolved away in languor and sickness under the beams of an Italian sun.

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352. Character of Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the great Seal. He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom; and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of Church and state, which by the unskilfulness of some well-meaning men justled each the other too much.

He knew the temper and disposition and genius of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy and inquisitive and patient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who stood at a distance, thought that he was not active and stout enough in opposing those innovations.

For though, by his place, he presided in all public councils, and was most sharp-sighted in the consequence of things; yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which, he well knew were, for the most part, concluded, before they were brought to that public agitation: never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgment could well comprehend; nor indeed freely in any thing, but what immediately and plainly concerned the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity, but a severity, and even some morosity; yet it was so happily tempered, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, so much without affectation, that it marvellously reconciled him to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manner.

353. Desire of learning. Men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to win the victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of man. As if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's state.

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354. English and French gardens. We have observed that there is generally in nature something more grand and august, than what we meet with in the curiosities of art. When, therefore, we see this imitated in any measure, it gives us a nobler and more exalted kind of pleasure than what we receive from the nicer and more accurate productions of art. On this account our English gardens are not so entertaining to the fancy as those in France and Italy, where we see a large extent of ground covered over with an agreeable mixture of garden and forest, which represent every where an artificial rudeness, much more charming than that neatness and elegancy which we meet with in those of our own country. It might indeed be of ill consequence to the public, as well as unprofitable to private persons, to alienate so much ground from pasturage and the plough in many parts of a country that is so well peopled, and might be cultivated to a far greater advantage. But why may not a whole estate be thrown into a kind of garden by frequent plantations, that may turn as much to the profit as the pleasure of the owner? A marsh overgrown with willows, or a mountain shaded with oaks, are not only more beautiful but more beneficial, than when they lie bare and unadorned. Fields of corn make a pleasant prospect, and if the walks were a little taken care of that lie between them, if the natural embroidery of the meadows were helped and improved by some small additions of art, and the several rows of hedges set off by trees and flowers that the soil was capable of receiving, a man might make a pretty landscape of his own possessions.

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355. Warren Hastings, his appearance on his trial. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, and made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqa in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

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356. Astronomy. The wisest and greatest of men, both amongst the ancients and moderns, have confessed themselves charmed with the beauties of this science. To contemplate the grand spectacle of the heavens, has ever been considered as the noblest privilege of our nature. For it is here that we discover the wonders of the Deity, and see his wisdom in the works of creation. Nor is there any knowledge, attained by the light of nature, that gives us juster ideas of this great Being, or furnishes us with stronger arguments by which to demonstrate his existence and attributes. 'The heavens,' as the Psalmist observes, 'declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work; day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge; and there is no speech or language where their voice is not heard.' Thus Astronomy is not only valuable, as it affords us such exalted ideas of God and his works; but it also improves the mind, and increases the force and penetration of the human understanding. For, by means of this science, we are taught to discover the spring and fountain of all the celestial motions; to follow the footsteps of the Creator through the immense regions of his empire; and to trace the secret causes by which he regulates the great machine of the universe. Were a knowledge of this kind attended with no other advantage, it has rendered essential service to humanity, by dissipating our superstitious opinions

and vain fears. Man is naturally timid, and terrified at dangers which he cannot foresee. Before he is familiarized with nature, he suspects her constancy, and regards many of her operations with dread and apprehension. The regular and invariable order of things will at length inspire him with confidence; but still there are some singular phænomena, which appear as alarming exceptions to the general rule.

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357. Character of Oliver Cromwell. He was one of those men, whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time; for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage and industry and judgment. And he must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in the applying them, who from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family) without interest of estate, alliance or friendships, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, that he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted anything, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which are used to reconcile the affections of the standers by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

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358. What kind of knowledge a student ought to attain. Our business is to attain knowledge, not concerning obvious and vulgar matters, but about sublime, abstruse, intricate and knotty subjects, remote from common observation and sense; to get sure and exact notions about things which will try the best forces of our mind with their utmost endeavours; in firmly settling principles, in strictly deducing consequences, in orderly digesting conclusions, in faithfully retaining what we learn by our contemplation and study. And if to get a competent knowledge about a few things, or to be reasonably skilful in any sort of learning, be difficult, how much industry doth it require to be well seen in many, or to have waded through the vast compass of learning, in no part whereof a scholar may conveniently or handsomely be ignorant; seeing there is such a connexion of things and dependence of notions, that one part of learning doth confer light to another, that a man can hardly well understand any thing without knowing divers other things; that he will be a lame scholar, who hath not an insight into many kinds of knowledge; that he can hardly be a good scholar, who is not a general one. The knowledge of such things is not innate to us; it doth not of itself spring up in our minds; it is not in any ways incident by chance, or infused by grace, (except rarely by miracle;) common observation doth not produce it; it cannot be purchased at any rate, except by that, for which it was said of old, the gods sell all things, that is for pains; without which, the best wit and greatest capacity may not render a man learned, as the best soil will not yield good fruit or grain, if they be not planted or sown therein.

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359. Ridicule, the talent of ungenerous tempers. If the talent of ridicule were employed to laugh men out of vice and folly, it might be of some use to the world; but instead of this, we find that it is generally made use of to laugh men out of virtue and good sense, by attacking every thing that is solemn and serious, decent and praiseworthy in human life. We may observe, that in the first ages of the world, when the great souls and master-pieces of human nature were produced, men shined by a noble simplicity of behaviour, and were strangers to those little embellishments which are so fashionable in our present conversation. And it is very remarkable, that notwithstanding we fall short at

present of the ancients in poetry, painting, oratory, history, architecture and all the noble arts and sciences which depend more upon genius than experience, we exceed them as much in doggerel humour, burlesque and all the trivial arts of ridicule. We meet with more raillery among the moderns, but more good sense among the ancients.

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360. Latter days of Oliver Cromwell. All composure of mind was now for ever fled from the Protector: he felt that the grandeur which he had attained with so much guilt and courage, could not ensure him that tranquillity which it belongs to virtue alone and moderation fully to ascertain. Death too, which with such signal intrepidity he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poignards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehension, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: with a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him: he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose, nor intrusted himself in any which was not provided with back doors, at which sentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: solitude astonished him, by withdrawing that protection which he found so necessary for his security.

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361. Prospect of death. It seems to me a strange thing, and a thing much to be marvelled at, that the labourer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rows with all force to attain the port, and with a joyful cry salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never content nor quiet till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we, in the meanwhile, tied in this world to a perpetual task, tossed with continual tempest, tired with a rough and cumbersome way, yet cannot see the end of our

labour but with grief, nor behold our port but with tears, nor approach our home and quiet abode but with horror and trembling. This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing; a sea open to all winds; a weary journey thro' extreme heats and colds; over high mountains, steep rocks, and thievish deserts; and so we term it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oar, in passing this miserable way. Yet lo, when death comes to end our work; when she stretcheth out her arms to pull us into the port, when after so many dangerous passages she would conduct us to our true home and resting place; instead of rejoicing at the end of our labour, of taking comfort at the sight of our land, of singing at the approach of our happy mansion; we would fain retake our work in hand; we would again hoist sail to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. We fear more the cure than the disease: the surgeon, than the pain. We have more sense of the medicine's bitterness, sooner gone, than of a bitter languishing, long continued; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, then the endless misery of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish that we ought to fear.

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362. The character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend was, in all respects, the reverse of theirs. Those northern adventurers, or barbarians, as they are called, breathed nothing but war; their martial spirit was yet in its vigour; they sought a milder climate and lands more fertile than their forests and mountains: the sword was their right; and they exercised it without remorse, as the right of nature. Barbarous they surely were, but they were superior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as in valour. Simple and severe in their manners, they were unacquainted with the word luxury; anything was sufficient for their extreme frugality: hardened by exercise and toil, their bodies seemed inaccessible to disease or pain: war was their element; they sported with danger and met death with expressions of joy. Though free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders, because they followed them from choice, not from constraint, the most gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were these their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the sanctity of the marriage-bed; for their generous hospitality; for their detestation of treachery and falsehood:

they possessed many maxims of civil wisdom, and wanted only the culture of reason to conduct them to the true principles of social life.

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363. The estimate of an enemy as well as a friend deserves attention. Let them consider well what are the characters which they bear among their enemies. Our friends often flatter us, as much as our own hearts. They either do not see our faults, or conceal them from us, or soften them by their representations, after such a manner that we think them too trivial to be taken notice of. An adversary, on the contrary, makes a stricter search into us, discovers every flaw and imperfection in our tempers; and though his malice may set them in too strong a light, it has generally some ground for what it advances. A friend exaggerates a man's virtues, an enemy inflames his crimes. A wise man should give a just attention to both of them so far as they may tend to the improvement of one, and the diminution of the other.

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361. Prospect of the ruins of Rome in the fifteenth century. In the last days of pope Eugenius the Fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline Hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. Her primæval state, such as she might have appeard in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy, has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket; in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles.

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365. In this doubt of all sides, the night, the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them; and then the king caused his cannon, which were nearest the enemy, to be drawn off, and with his whole forces himself spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next morning, many reporting, 'that the enemy was gone': but when the day appeared, the contrary was discovered: for then they were seen standing in the posture and place in which they fought, from whence their general, wisely, never suffered them to stir all that night: presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their numbers would lessen, and that many would run away: and therefore he caused all manner of provisions, with which the country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their repast, and reposed himself with them in the place: besides, that night he recieved a great addition of strength, not only by rallying those horse and foot, which had run out of the field of battle, but by the arrival of two thousand fresh foot, (which were reckoned among the best of the army,) and five hundred horse, which marched a day behind the army for the guard of their ammunition, and a great part of their train, not supposing there would have been any action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this seasonable recruit brought them was to give their old men so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed they would hardly have been persuaded to have done.

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366. Effects of education upon character. It is certain that a serious attention to the sciences and liberal arts softens and humanizes the temper, and cherishes those fine emotions in which true virtue and honour consists. It rarely, very rarely, happens that a man of taste and learning is not, at least, an honest man, whatever frailties may attend him. The bent of his mind to speculative studies must mortify in him the passions of interest and ambition, and must at the same time, give him a greater sensibility of all the decencies and duties of life. He feels more fully a moral distinction in characters and manners, nor is his sense of this kind diminished, but, on the contrary, it is much increased by his speculations. Besides such insensible chan-

ges upon the temper and disposition, 'tis highly probable that others may be produced by study and application. The prodigious effects of education may convince us, that the mind is not altogether stubborn and inflexible, but will admit of many alterations from its original make and structure. Let a man propose to himself the model of a character, which he approves of: let him be well acquainted with those particulars in which his own character deviates from this model: let him keep a constant watch over himself, and bend his mind by a continual effort from the vices towards the virtues; and I doubt not but in time he will find in his temper an alteration for the better. Habit is another powerful means of reforming the mind, and implanting in it good dispositions and inclinations. A man who continues in a course of sobriety and temperance will hate riot and disorder: if he engage in business or study, indolence will seem a punishment to him: if he constrain himself to practise beneficence and affability, he will soon abhor all instances of pride and violence. Where one is thoroughly convinced that the virtuous course of life is preferable; if he has but resolution enough for some time to inforce a violence on himself, his reformation needs not to be despaired of.

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367. F. Cortes. As soon as this was known, the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened; the emissaries of Cortes, mingled with them, inflamed their rage; the ferment became general; the whole camp was almost in open mutiny; all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing; when, with one voice, officers and soldiers expressed their astonishment and disappointment at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Castilian courage to be daunted at the first aspect of danger, and infamous to fly before any enemy appeared. For their parts, they were determined not to relinquish an enterprise, that had hitherto been successful, and which tended so visibly to advance the glory and the interest of their country. Happy under his command, they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, in quest of those settlements and treasures which he had so long held out to their view; but, if he chose rather to return, and tamely give up his hope of distinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory, which he had not spirit to enter.

368. Rhetorical Blandishments. My lords, I should be ashamed if at this moment I attempted to use any sort of rhetorical blandishment whatever. Such artifices would neither be suitable to the body that I represent, to the cause which I sustain, or to my own individual disposition upon such an occasion. My lords, we know very well what these fallacious blandishments too frequently are. We know that they are used to captivate the benevolence of the Court, and to conciliate the affections of the tribunal rather to the person than to the cause. We know that they are used to stifle the remonstrances of conscience in the Judge, and to reconcile it to the violation of his duty. We likewise know, that they are too often used in great and important causes (and more particularly in causes like this) to reconcile the prosecutor to the powerful factions of a protected criminal, and to the injury of those who have suffered by his crimes; thus inducing all parties to separate in a kind of good humour, as if they had nothing more than a verbal dispute to settle, or a slight quarrel over a table to compromise; while nations, whole suffering nations, are left to beat the empty air with cries of misery and anguish, and to cast forth to an offended heaven the imprecations of disappointment and despair.

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369. Belisarius, his repulse of the Goths from Rome. Eighteen days were employed by the besiegers, to provide all the instruments of attack which antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared to fill the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest supplied the timbers of four battering-rams: their heads were armed with iron: they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets moved on wheels or rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the rampart. On the morning of the nineteenth day, a general attack from the Prænestine grate to the Vatican: seven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the assault: and the Romans, who lined the ramparts, listened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their Commander. As soon as the enemy approached the ditch, Belisarius himself drew the first arrow: and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transfixed the foremost of the barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a second arrow, and the stroke was followed with

the same success and the same acclamation. The Roman General then gave the word that the archers should aim at the teams of oxen: they were instantly covered with mortal wounds: the towers which they drew remained useless and immoveable: and a single moment disconcerted the laborious projects of the king of the Goths.

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370. The Cavaliers, their claims on royal favour. The feeling of the Cavaliers was widely different. During eighteen years they had, through all vicissitudes, been faithful to the Crown. Having shared the distress of their prince, were they not to share his triumph? Was no distinction to be made between them and the disloyal subject who had fought against his rightful Sovereign, and who had never concurred in the restoration of royalty, till it appeared that nothing else could save the nation from the tyranny of the army? Grant that such a man had, by his recent services, fairly earned his pardon. Yet was he to be ranked with men who had no need of the royal clemency, with men who had in every part of their lives merited the royal gratitude? Above all, was he to be suffered te retain a fortune raised out of the substance of the ruined defenders of the throne? Was it not enough that his head and his patrimonial estate, a hundred times forfeited to justice, were secure, and that he shared, with the rest of the nation, in the blessings of that mild Government of which he had long been the foe? Was it necessary that he should be rewarded for his treason at the expense of men whose only crime was the fidelity with which they had observed their oath of allegiance? And what interest had the king in gorging his old enemies with prey torn from his old friends? What confidence could be placed in men who had opposed their Sovereign, made war on him, imprisoned him, and who even now vindicated all that they had done, and seemed to think that they had given an illustrious proof of loyalty by just stopping short of regicide? It was true that they had lately assisted to set up the throne: but it was not less true that they had previously pulled it down, and that they still avowed principles which might impel them to pull it down again.

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371. Neither party wanted strong arguments for the measures which it was disposed to take. The reasonings of the most enlightened Royalists may be summed up thus:—

"It is true that great abuses have existed; but they have been redressed. It is true that precious rights have been invaded; but they have been vindicated and surrounded with new securities. The sittings of the estates of the realm have been, in defiance of all precedent and of the spirit of the constitution, intermitted during eleven years; but it has now been provided that henceforth three years shall never elapse without a parliament. The Lord Lieutenant aimed at establishing military despotism; but he has answered for his treason with his head. The Primate tainted our worship with Popish rites, and punished our scruples with Popish cruelty; but he is awaiting in the Tower the judgment of his Peers. The Lord keeper sanctioned a plan, by which the property of every man in England was placed at the mercy of the Crown; but he has been disgraced, ruined, and compelled to take refuge in a foreign land. The ministers of tyranny have expiated their crimes. The victims of tyranny have been compensated for their sufferings. Under such circumstances it would be most unwise to persevere in that course which was justifiable and necessary when we first met, after a long interval, and found the whole administration one mass of abuses. It is time to take heed that we do not so pursue our victory over despotism as to run into anarchy. It was not in our power to overturn the bad institutions which lately afflicted our country, without shocks which have loosened the foundations of Government. Now that those institutions have fallen, we must hasten to prop the edifice which it was lately our duty to batter. Henceforth it will be our wisdom to look with jealousy on schemes of innovation, and to guard from encroachment all the prerogatives with which the law has, for the public good, armed the Sovereign."

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372. Cæsar's passage of the Rubicon. About ten miles from Ariminum, and twice that distance from Ravenna, the frontier of Italy and Gaul was traced by the stream of the Rubicon. This little river is formed by the union of three mountain-torrents, and is nearly dry in the summer, like most of the water-courses on the eastern side of the Apennines. In the month of November the wintry flood might present a barrier more worthy of the important position which it once occupied: but the northern frontier of Italy had long been secure from invasion, and the channel was

spanned by a bridge of no great dimensions. Cæsar seems to have made his last arrangements in secret, and concealed his design till the moment he had fixed for its accomplishment. On the morning of the fifteenth he sent forward some cohorts to the river, while he remained himself at Ravenna, and shewed himself at a public spectacle throughout the day. He invited company to his table, and entertained them with his usual ease and affability. It was not till sunset that he made an excuse for a brief absence, and then, mounting a car yoked with mules, hired from a mill in the vicinity, hastened with only a few attendants to overtake his soldiers at the appointed spot. In his anxiety to avoid the risk of being encountered and his movements divulged, he left the high road and soon lost his way in the bye-paths of the country. One after another the torches of his party became extinguished, and he was left in total darkness. It was only by taking a peasant for a guide and alighting from his vehicle that he at last reached his destination.

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373. Muley-Hascen restored to the kingdom of Tunis by Charles V. Meanwhile Charles, satisfied with the easy and almost bloodless victory which he had gained, and advancing slowly with the precaution necessary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at last a messenger despatched by the slaves acquainted him with the success of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the same time deputies arrived from the town, in order to present him with the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper measures for this purpose, the soldiers, fearing that they should be deprived of the booty which they had expected, rushed suddenly and without orders into the town, and began to kill and plunder without distinction. It was then too late to restrain their cruelty, their avarice or licentiousness. All the outrages of which soldiers are capable in the fury of a storm, all the excesses of which men can be guilty when their passions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inspires, were committed. Above thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished on that unhappy day, and ten thousand were carried away as slaves. Muley-Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects on whom

he had brought such calamities, and pitied even by those whose rashness had been the occasion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory; and amidst such a scene of horror there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves, among whom were several persons of distinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

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374. William the Third. Such situations bewilder and unnerve the weak, but call forth all the strength of the strong. Surrounded by snares in which an ordinary youth would have perished, William learned to tread at once warily and firmly. Long before he reached manhood he knew how to keep secrets, how to baffle curiosity by dry and guarded answers, how to conceal all passions under the same show of grave tranquillity. Meanwhile he made little proficiency in fashionable or literary accomplishments. The manners of the Dutch nobility of that age wanted the grace which was found in the highest perfection among the gentlemen of France, and which, in an inferior degree, embellished the Court of England; and his manners were altogether Dutch. Even his countrymen thought him blunt. To foreigners he often seemed churlish. In his intercourse with the world in general he appeared ignorant or negligent of those arts which double the value of a favour and take away the sting of a refusal.

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375. Profligacy of politicians in the reign of Charles II. During these events no man could be a stirring and thriving politician who was not prepared to change with every change of fortune. It was only in retirement that any person could long keep the character either of a steady Royalist or of a steady Republican. One who, in such an age, is determined to attain civil greatness must renounce all thought of consistency. Instead of affecting immutability in the midst of endless mutation, he must be always on the watch for the indication of a coming reaction. He must seize the exact moment for deserting a falling cause. Having gone all lengths with a faction while it was uppermost, he must suddenly extricate himself from it when its difficulties begin, must assail it, must persecute it, must enter on a new career of power and prosperity in company with new associates.

His situation naturally developes in him to the highest degree a peculiar class of abilities and a peculiar class of vices. He becomes quick of observation and fertile of resource. He catches without effort the tone of any sect or party with which he chances to mingle. He discerns the signs of the times with a sagacity which to the multitude appears miraculous, with a sagacity resembling that with which a veteran police officer pursues the faintest indications of crime, or with which a Mohawk warrior follows a track through the woods. But we shall seldom find in a statesman so trained, integrity, constancy, or any of the virtues of the noble family of Truth. He has no faith in any doctrine, no zeal for any cause. He has seen so many old institutions swept away, that he has no reverence for prescription. He has seen so many new institutions from which much had been expected produce mere disappointment, that he has no hope of improvement. He sneers alike at those who are anxious to preserve and at those who are eager to reform. There is nothing in the State which he could not, without a scruple or a blush, join in defending or in destroying. Fidelity to opinions and to friends seems to him mere dulness and wrongheadedness. Politics he regards, not as a science of which the object is the happiness of mankind, but as an exciting game of mixed chance and skill, at which a dexterous and lucky player may win an estate, a coronet, perhaps a crown, and at which one rash move may lead to the loss of fortune and of life. Ambition, which, in good times and in good minds, is half a virtue, now, disjoined from every elevated and philanthropic sentiment, becomes a selfish cupidity scarcely less ignoble than avarice.

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376. Charles the Fifth, his resignation of his dominions. Charles then rose from his seat; and leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he rcounted with dignity but without ostentation all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure;

that, either in a pacific or hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire, nor was he so fond of reigning, as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to secure to them the happiness which he wished they should enjoy; that instead of a Sovereign worn out with diseases, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years; that if, during the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs, and amidst the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness; that, for his part he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for all his services, and in his last prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his most earnest petitions for their welfare.

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377. All things about us do minister (or at least may do so, if we would improve the natural instruments and the opportunities afforded us) to our preservation, ease or delight. The hidden bowels of the earth yield us treasures of metals and minerals; the vilest and most common stones we tread on (even in that we tread on them) are useful, and serve to many good purposes beside: the surface of the earth—how is it bespread all over, as a table well furnished, with variety of delicate fruits, herbs and grains to nourish our bodies, to please our tastes, to cheer our spirits, to cure our diseases! How many fragrant and beautiful flowers offer themselves for the comfort of our smell and the delight of our sight! Neither can our ears complain, since every wood breeds a

quire of natural musicians, ready to entertain them with easy and unaffected harmony: the woods, I say, which also adorned with stately trees afford us a pleasant view and a refreshing shade, shelter from weather and sun, fuel for our fires, materials for our houses and our shipping, with divers other needful utensils. Even the barren mountains send us down fresh streams of water, so necessary to the support of our lives, so profitable for the fructification of our grounds, so commodious for conveyance of our wares and maintaining intercourse among us.

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378. William III, his early life and education. Nature had largely endowed William with the qualities of a great ruler; and education had developed those qualities in no common degree. With strong natural sense, and rare force of will, he found himself, when first his mind began to open, a fatherless and motherless child, the chief of a great but depressed and disheartened party. The common people, fondly attached during a century to his house, indicated whenever they saw him, in a manner not to be mistaken, that they regarded him as their rightful head. The able and experienced ministers of the republic, mortal enemies of his name, came every day to pay their feigned civilities to him, and to observe the progress of his mind. The first movements of ambition were carefully watched: every unguarded word uttered by him was noted down; nor had he near him any adviser on whose judgment reliance could be placed. He was scarcely fifteen years old when all the domestics who were attached to his interest, or who enjoyed any share of his confidence, were removed from under his roof by the jealous Government. He remonstrated with energy beyond his years, but in vain. Such situations bewilder and unnerve the weak, but call forth all the strength of the strong.

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379. Norman conquest, extraordinary facility of. The night was spent in a manner, which prognosticated the event of the following day. On the part of the Normans it was spent in prayer, and in a cool and steady preparation for the engagement; on the side of the English in riot and a vain confidence that neglected all the necessary preparations. The two armies met in the morning; from seven to five the battle was fought with equal vigour; until at last the Nor-

man army pretending to break in confusion, a stratagem to which they had been regularly formed, the English, elated with success, suffered that firm order in which their security consisted, to dissipate: which when William observed, he gave the signal to his men to regain their former disposition, and fall upon the English, broken and dispersed. Harold in this emergency did everything which became him, every thing possible to collect his troops and to renew the engagement; but whilst he flew from place to place, and in all places restored the battle, an arrow pierced his brain; and he died a king, in a manner worthy of a warrior. The English immediately fled; the rout was total, and the slaughter prodigious. The consternation which this defeat and the death of Harold produced over the kingdom, was more fatal than the defeat itself. If William had marched directly to London, all contest had probably been at an end; but he judged it more prudent to secure the sea-coast, to make way for reinforcements; distrusting his fortune in his success more than he had done in his first attempts.

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380. Character of Caius Marius. The obscurity of his extraction, which depressed him with the nobility, made him the greater favourite of the people, who, on all occasions of danger, thought him the only man fit to be trusted with their lives and fortunes, or to have the command of a difficult and desperate war; and in truth he twice delivered them from the most desperate with which they had ever been threatened by a foreign enemy. In the field he was cautious and provident; and while he was watching the most favourable opportunities of action, affected to take all his measures from augurs and diviners; nor ever gave battle, till by pretended omens and divine admonitions he had inspired his soldiers with a confidence of victory: so that his enemies dreaded him, as something more than mortal; and both friends and foes believed him to act always by a peculiar impulse and direction from the gods. His merit however was wholly military, void of every accomplishment of learning, which he openly affected to despise; so that Arpinum had the singular felicity to produce the most glorious contemner as well as the most illustrious improver of the arts and eloquence of Rome. He made no figure therefore in the gown, nor had any other way of sustaining his authority in the city, than by cherishing the natural jealousy between

the Senate and the people; that by his declared enmity to the one, he might always be at the head of the other; whose favour he managed not with any view to the public good, for he had nothing in him of the statesman or the patriot, but to the advancement of his private interest and glory. In short, he was of a temper and talents greatly serviceable abroad, but turbulent and dangerous at home; an implacable enemy to the nobles, and ready to sacrifice the republic, which he had saved, to his ambition and revenge.

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381. Battle of Marston Moor, fought July, A. D. 1644. The numbers on each side were not far unequal, but never were two hosts speaking one language of more dissimilar aspects. The Cavaliers, flushed with recent victory, identifying their quarrel with their honour and their love, their loose locks escaping beneath their plumed helmets, glittering in all the martial pride which makes the battle-day like a pageant or a festival, and prancing forth with all the grace of gentle blood, as they would make a jest of death, while the spirit-rousing strains of the trumpets made their blood dance, and their steeds prick up their ears: the Roundheads, arranged in thick dark masses, their steel caps and high crown hats drawn close over their brows, looking determination, expressing with furrowed foreheads and hard-closed lips the inly-working rage which was blown up to furnace-heat by the extempore effusions of their preachers, and found vent in the terrible denunciations of the Hebrew psalms and prophecies. The arms of each party were adapted to the nature of their courage: the swords, pikes, and pistols of the Royalists, light and bright, were suited for swift onset and ready use; while the ponderous basket-hilted blades, long halberts, and heavy firearms of the parliamentarians were equally suited to resist a sharp attack, and to do execution upon a broken enemy.

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382. The overture to invest Cromwell with the title of king, by whom and on what grounds opposed, A. D. 1657. But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them was from the horror they had of

the confusion of the present government; that very many who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king was more directed to the monarchy than to the person, and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government ran again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges which were due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcileable to the [present] government, would by this alteration find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was without doubt at that time too much propension in too many of the nobility to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

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383. Reflection on the tombs in Westminster Abbey. Though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy, and can therefore take a view of Nature in her deep and solemn scenes with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror. When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion: when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow: When I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the

holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.

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384. Constantine the Great—his great prodigality. The frequent and regular distributions of wine and oil, of corn or bread, of money or provisions, had almost exempted the poorer citizens of Rome from the necessity of labour. The magnificence of the first Cæsars was in some measure imitated by the founder of Constantinople; but his liberality, however it might excite the applause of the people, has incurred the censure of posterity. A nation of legislators and conquerors might assert their claim to the harvests of Africa, which had been purchased with their blood; and it was artfully contrived by Augustus, that, in the enjoyment of plenty, the Romans should lose the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of Constantine could not be excused by any consideration either of public or private interest; and the annual tribute of corn imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital was applied to feed a lazy and insolent populace, at the expense of the husbandmen of an industrious province.

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385. Gradual development of the English constitution. The historical literature of England has indeed suffered grievously from a circumstance which has not a little contributed to her prosperity. The change, great as it is, which her polity has undergone during the last six centuries, has been the effect of gradual development, not of demolition and reconstruction. The present constitution of our country is, to the constitution under which she flourished five hundred years ago, what the tree is to the sapling, what the man is to the boy. The alteration has been great. Yet there never was a moment at which the chief part of what existed was not old. A polity thus formed must abound in anomalies. But for the evils arising from mere anomalies we have ample compensation. Other societies possess written constitutions more symmetrical. But no other society has yet succeeded in uniting revolution with prescription,

progress with stability, the energy of youth with the majesty of immemorial antiquity.

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386. Character of king Charles the First. The character of this prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly speaking, his imperfections: for scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. He deserves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first measure; he was not endowed with the vigour requisite for the second. Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious; had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard, as sacred, the boundaries of the constitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns savoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since, even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed, without revenue, without arms, to the assault of furious, implacable, and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condition too rigorous to be imposed on the greatest human capacity.

This prince was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior, as well as many of the essential qualities, which form an accomplished prince.

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387. Preference of the right hand, natural to man. For the conveniences of life, and to make us prompt and dexterous, it is pretty evident that there ought to be no hesitation which hand is to be used, or which foot is to be put forward; nor is there, in fact, any such indecision. Is this taught, or have we this readiness given to us by nature? It must be observed at the same time that there is a distinction in the whole right side of the body, and that the left side is not only the weaker, in regard to muscular strength, but also in its vital or constitutional properties. The development of the organs of action and motion is greatest on the right side, as may at any time be ascertained by measurement, or the testimony of the tailor or shoemaker: certainly this superiority may be said to result from the more frequent exertion of the right hand; but the peculiarity extends to the constitution also; and disease attacks the left extremities more frequently than the right. In opera dancers we may see that the most difficult feats are performed by the right foot. But their preparatory exercises better evince the natural weakness of the left limb, since these performers are made to give double practice to this limb, in order to avoid awkwardness in the public exhibition; for if these exercises be neglected, an ungraceful preference will be given to the right side. In walking behind a person, it is very seldom that we see an equalised motion of the body; and, if we look to the left foot, we shall find that the tread is not so firm upon it, that the toe is not so much turned out, as in the right, and that a greater push is made with it. We think we may conclude that every thing being adapted, in the conveniences of life, to the right hand, is not arbitrary, but is related to a natural endowment of the body. On the whole, the preference of the right hand is not the effect of habit, but is a natural provision, and is bestowed for a very obvious purpose; and the property does not depend on the peculiar distribution of the arteries of the arm, but the preference is given to the right foot, as well as to the right hand.

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388. William the Third, coldness of his manners. He was born with violent passions and quick sensibilities: but the strength of his emotions was not suspected by the world. From the multitude his joy and his grief, his affection and his resentment, were hidden by a phlegmatic serenity, which

made him pass for the most cold-blooded of mankind. Those who brought him good news could seldom detect any sign of pleasure. Those who saw him after a defeat looked in vain for any trace of vexation. He praised and reprimanded, rewarded and punished, with stern tranquillity: but those who knew him well and saw him near were aware that under all this ice a fierce fire was constantly burning. It was seldom that anger deprived him of power over himself. But when he was really enraged the first outbreak of his passion was terrible. It was indeed scarcely safe to approach him. On these rare occasions, however, as soon as he regained his self-command, he made such ample reparation to those whom he had wronged as tempted them to wish that he would go into a fury again. His affection was as impetuous as his wrath. Where he loved, he loved with the whole energy of his strong mind. When death separated him from what he loved, the few who witnessed his agonies trembled for his reason and his life. To a very small circle of intimate friends, on whose fidelity and secrecy he could absolutely depend, he was a different man from the reserved and stoical William whom the multitude supposed to be destitute of human feelings. He was kind, cordial, open, even convivial and jocose; would sit at table many hours, and would bear his full share in festive conversation.

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389. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword and exile they fell into the jaws of famine. For months together these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury in their most plenteous days had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without

sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India.

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390. I was going to awaken your justice towards this unhappy part of our fellow-citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beset and waylay the life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is. But I find myself unable to manage it with decorum. These details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting; they are so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that on better thoughts, I find it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions.

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391. Warren Hastings, brought to the bar of the house. The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings; the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. * * * The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together from all parts of a great free and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and every art. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons in the prime of her majestic beauty looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when before a senate which still retained some show of freedom Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa.

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392. Sympathetic revenge a duty. Lord Bacon has very well said, that "revenge is a kind of wild justice." It is so, and without this wild austere stock, there would be no justice in the world. But when by the skilful hand of morality and wise jurisprudence a foreign scion, but of the very same species, is grafted upon it, its harsh quality becomes changed, it submits to culture, and laying aside its savage nature, it bears fruits and flowers, sweet to the world, and not ungrateful even to Heaven itself, to which it elevates its exalted head. The fruit of this wild stock is revenge, regulated, but not extinguished; revenge transferred from the suffering party to the communion and sympathy of mankind. This is the revenge by which we are actuated, and which we should be sorry if the false, idle, girlish, novel-like morality of the world should extinguish in the breast of us, who have a great public duty to perform.

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393. Effects of usurious transactions in the Carnatick. In consequence of this double game, all the territorial revenues have, at one time or other, been covered by those locusts, the English soucars.* Not one single foot of the Carnatick has escaped them, a territory as large as England. During these operations what a scene has that country presented! The usurious European assignee supersedes the nabob's native farmer of the revenue; the farmer flies to the nabob's presence to claim his bargain; whilst his servants murmur for wages, and his soldiers mutiny for pay. The mortgage to the European assignee is then resumed, and the native farmer replaced; replaced, again to be removed on the new clamour of the European assignee. Every man of rank and landed fortune being long since extinguished, the remaining miserable last cultivator, who grows to the soil, after having his back scored by the farmer, has it again flayed by the whip of the assignee, and is thus by a ravenous, because a short-lived, succession of claimants, lashed from oppressor to oppressor, whilst a single drop of blood is left as the means of extorting a single grain of corn. Do not think I paint. Far, very far from it: I do not reach the fact, nor approach to it. Men of respectable condition, men equal to your substantial English yeomen, are daily tied up and scourged to answer the multiplied demands of various contending and contradictory titles, all issuing from one and the same source.

* *Soucars, i. e.*, money-dealers.

394. The Carnatick. The Carnatick is refreshed by few or no living brooks or running streams, and it has rain only at a season; but its product of rice exacts the use of water subject to perpetual command. This is the national bank of the Carnatick, on which it must have a perpetual credit, or it perishes irretrievably. For that reason, in the happier times of India, a number, almost incredible, of reservoirs have been made in chosen places throughout the whole country; they are formed for the greater part of mounds of earth and stones, with sluices of solid masonry; the whole constructed with admirable skill and labour, and maintained at a mighty charge. There cannot be in the Carnatick and Tanjore fewer than ten thousand of these reservoirs of the larger and middling dimensions, to say nothing of those for domestic services, and the uses of religious purification. These are not the enterprises of your power, nor in a style of magnificence suited to the taste of your minister. These are the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people; testators to a posterity which they embraced as their own. These are the grand sepulchres built by ambition; but by the ambition of an insatiable benevolence, which, not contented with reigning in the dispensation of happiness during the contracted term of human life, had strained, with all the reachings and graspings of a vivacious mind, to extend the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors, the nourishers of mankind.

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395. Excessive anxiety for life. The fear of death often proves mortal, and sets people on methods to save their lives, which infallibly destroy them. This is a reflection made by some historian upon observing that there are many more thousands killed in a flight than in a battle: and may be applied to those multitudes of imaginary sick persons that break their constitutions by physicing, and throw themselves into the arms of death by endeavouring to escape it. This method is not only dangerous, but below the practice of a reasonable creature. To consult the preservation of life as the only end of it, to make our health our business, to engage in no action that is not part of a regimen or course of physic, are purposes so abject, so mean, so unworthy human nature, that a generous soul would rather die than

submit to them. Besides that a continual anxiety for life vitiates all the relishes of it, and casts a gloom over the whole face of nature, as it is impossible we should take delight in any thing that we are every moment afraid of losing.

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396. Being of God proved from the beauty and order of the heavens. But if we lift up our eyes and minds towards heaven, there in a larger volume and in a brighter character we shall behold the testimonies of perfection and majesty stupendous described: as our eyes are dazzled with the radiant light coming thence, so must the vast amplitude, the stately beauty, the decent order, the steady course, the beneficial efficacy of those glorious lamps, astonish our minds, fixing their attention upon them. He that shall, I say, consider with what precise regularity and what perfect constancy those (beyond our imagination) vast bodies perform their rapid motions, what pleasure, comfort, and advantage their light and heat do yield us, how their kindly influences conduce to the general preservation of all things here below, impregnating the womb of this cold and dull lump of earth with various sorts of life, with strange degrees of activity, how necessary or how convenient at least the certain recourses of seasons made by them are: how can we but wonder, and wondering adore that transcendancy of beneficent wisdom and power, which first disposed them into, which still preserves them in such a state and order? That all of them should be so regulated, as for so many ages together (even through all memories of time) to persist in the same posture, to retain the same appearances; not to alter discernibly in magnitude, in shape, in situation, in distance each from other; but to abide fixed as it were in their unfixedness, and steady in their restless motions; not to vary at all sensibly in the time of their revolution (so that no one year was ever observed to differ in an hour or one day in a minute from another) doth it not argue a constant will directing them and a mighty hand upholding them?

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397. Qualities requisite for good government. For when civil society is once formed, government at the same time results of course, as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. Unless some superior be constituted, whose commands and decisions all the members are bound

to obey, they would still remain as in a state of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their several rights, and redress their several wrongs. But, as all the members which compose this society were naturally equal, it may be asked, in whose hands are the reins of government to be entrusted? To this the general answer is easy; but the application of it to particular cases has occasioned one-half of those mischiefs, which are apt to proceed from misguided political zeal. In general all mankind will agree that government should be reposed in such persons, in whom those qualities are most likely to be found, the perfection of which is among the attributes of him who is emphatically styled the Supreme Being; the three grand requisites, I mean, of wisdom, of goodness, and of power: wisdom to discern the real interest of the community; goodness to endeavour always to pursue the real interest; and strength, or power, to carry this knowledge and intention into action. These are the natural foundations of sovereignty, and these are the requisites that ought to be found in every well-constituted frame of government.

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398. The probability of the resurrection upon natural grounds. Beside the principles of which we consist, and the actions which flow from us, the consideration of the things without us, and the natural course of variations in the creature, will render the resurrection yet more highly probable. Every space of twenty-four hours teacheth thus much, in which there is always a revolution amounting to a resurrection. The day dies into a night, and is buried in silence and in darkness; in the next morning it appeareth again and reviveth, opening the grave of darkness, rising from the dead of night: this is a diurnal resurrection. As the day dies into night, so doth the summer into winter; the sap is said to descend into the root, and there it lies buried in the ground; the earth is covered with snow, or crusted with frost, and becomes a general sepulchre: when the spring appeareth, all begin to rise; the plants and flowers peep out of their graves, revive and grow and flourish: this is the annual resurrection. The corn by which we live, and for want of which we perish with famine, is notwithstanding cast upon the earth, and buried in the ground, with a design that it may corrupt, and being corrupted may revive and multiply; our bodies are fed with this constant experiment,

and we continue this present life by a succession of resurrections. Thus all things are repaired by corrupting, are preserved by perishing, and revive by dying; and can we think that man, the lord of all these things which thus die and revive for him, should be detained in death as never to live again? Is it imaginable that God should thus restore all things to man, and not restore man to himself?

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399. Pompey the Great—his miserable death. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and, in his wretched flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, that he had trusted too much to his hopes, and that Cicero had judged better, and seen further into things than he. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt finished the sad catastrophe of this great man. The father of the reigning prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom; and the son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance, in the present war: but, in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a court governed by eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whose politics turned, not on the honour of the king, but the establishment of their own power, which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety! or if he had fallen by the chance of war, on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate: but as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human greatness, he who a few days before commanded kings and consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter; cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand; and, when the whole earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave. His body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat: and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited, privately, by his wife Cornelia, in a vault of his Alban villa. The Egyptians, however, raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor Hadrian.

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400. Warren Hastings—the nature of the crimes laid to his charge. The crimes which we charge in these articles are not lapses, defects, errors of common human frailty, which, as we know and feel, we can allow for. We charge this offender with no crimes that have not arisen from passions which it is criminal to harbour: with no offences that have not their root in avarice, rapacity, pride, insolence, treachery, in short in nothing that does not argue a total extinction of all moral principle. If we do not plant his crimes in those vices which the breast of man is made to abhor and the spirit of all laws human and divine interdict, we desire no longer to be heard upon this occasion. Let every thing that can be pleaded on the ground of surprise or error, upon those grounds be pleaded with success: we give up the whole of those predicaments. We urge no crimes, that were not crimes of forethought. We charge him with nothing that he did not commit upon deliberation; that he did not commit against advice, against the direct command of lawful authority; that he did not commit after reproof and reprimand. His crimes are aggravated by being crimes of contumacy. They were crimes, not against forms, but against those eternal laws of justice, which are our rule and our birthright.

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401. There is nothing in the boys we send to India worse than in the boys whom we are whipping at school, or that we see trailing a pike, or bending over a desk at home. But as English youth in India drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reason have any opportunity to exert themselves for remedy of the excesses of their premature power.

Their prey is lodged in England; and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation, at a board of elegance and hospitality. They marry into your families; they enter into your senate; they ease your estates by loans; they raise their value by demand; and they protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage; and there is scarcely a house in the king-

dom that does not feel some concern and interest that makes all reform of our eastern government appear officious and disgusting. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness, or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks.

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402. The emperor then inspected the field of battle; and never was there any that exhibited a more frightful spectacle. Every thing concurred to increase the horrors of it; a lowering sky, a cold rain, a violent wind, habitations in ashes, a plain absolutely torn up and covered with fragments and ruins; all round the horizon the dark and funereal verdure of the north; soldiers roaming in every part among the bodies of the slain; wounds of a most hideous description; noiseless bivouacs; no songs of triumph, no lively narrations, but a general and mournful silence.

Around the eagles were the officers, and a few soldiers barely sufficient to guard the colours. Their clothes were torn by the violence of the conflict, and stained with blood; yet, notwithstanding all their rags, misery, and destitution, they displayed a lofty carriage, and even, on the appearance of the emperor, received him with acclamations of triumph: these, however, seemed somewhat rare and forced; for in this army, which was at once capable of discrimination and enthusiasm, each individual could form a correct estimate of the position of the whole.

The soldiers were amazed to find so many of their enemies killed, such vast numbers wounded, and nevertheless so few prisoners. The latter did not amount in all to eight hundred. It was by the number of these that they estimated their success. The slain proved the courage of the conquered rather than the victory. If the rest retired in good order, under little discouragement, and even with a firm and warlike attitude, what was the advantage of gaining a mere field of battle? In a country of such immense extent there was ground enough to furnish these in endless succession.

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403. The buccaneers. Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of these buccaneers, who called themselves *brothers of the coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they sailed in open boats, which generally contained twenty

or thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat by day and the chilling damps by night. The evils of this mode of life were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition. Like savages having no fear of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by economy, they frequently suffered the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving even from their distresses a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail transported them to frenzy. They seldom deliberated on the mode; their custom was to attack at once. The smallness of their own vessels and their skill in managing them was their protection.

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404. Massacre during the French revolution. The massacre continues during this dreadful night. The murderers are alternately judges and executioners. At the same time they are drinking, and setting down on the table their glasses stained with blood. In the midst of this butchery they spare, however, some of their victims, and even feel an excessive delight in restoring them to life. One young man was acquitted amidst shouts of delight, and was borne in triumph in the blood-stained arms of the executioners. An old man was brought forward in his turn, and sentenced to be removed to another prison, which was the signal for execution. His daughter perceived it from the interior of the prison, rushed out amidst the pikes and swords, embraced her father in her arms, clung to him so forcibly, and intreated the murderers with so many tears, and with such an expression of agony, that they paused in the midst of their fury. Then, as if to subject to a new trial this filial feeling which could not but move them, they called out to the noble maiden, "Drink then of the blood of the enemies of the people." They held to her a vessel full of blood; she drank of it, and her father was saved.

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405. Siege of Badajoz, A. D. 1812. The night was dry but clouded, the air thick with watery exhalations from the rivers, the ramparts and the trenches unusually still; yet a low murmur pervaded the latter, and in the former, lights were seen to flit here and there, while the deep voices of the sentinels at times proclaimed, that all was well in Badajoz. The French, confiding in Philippon's direful skill, watched, from their lofty station, the approach of enemies,

whom they had twice before baffled, and now hoped to drive a third time blasted and ruined from the walls; the British, standing in deep columns, were as eager to meet that fiery destruction as the others were to pour it down; and both were alike terrible for their strength, their discipline, and the passions awakened in their resolute hearts.

Former failures there were to avenge, and on either side, such leaders as left no excuse for weakness in the hour of trial; and the possession of Badajoz was become a point of honour, personal with the soldiers of each nation. But the strong desire for glory was, in the British, dashed with a hatred of the citizens on an old grudge; and recent toil and hardship, with much spilling of blood, had made many incredibly savage: for these things render the noble-minded indeed averse to cruelty, but harden the vulgar spirit.

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406. The villa Pliniana on the lake of Como. This house, which was once a magnificent palace, and is now half in ruins, we are endeavouring to procure. It is built upon terraces *raised from* the bottom of the lake, together with its garden, at the foot of a semicircular precipice, overshadowed by profound forests of chestnut. The scene from the colonnade is the most extraordinary, at once, and the most lovely that eye ever beheld. On one side is the mountain, and immediately over you are clusters of cypress-trees of an astonishing height, which seem to pierce the sky. Above you, from among the clouds, as it were, descends a waterfall of immense size, broken by the woody rocks into a thousand channels to the lake. On the other side is seen the blue extent of the lake and the mountains, speckled with sails and spires. The apartments of the Pliniana are immensely large, but ill-furnished and antique. The terraces, which overlook the lake, and conduct under the shade of such immense laurel-trees as deserve the epithet of Pythian, are most delightful. We staid at Como two days, and have now returned to Milan, waiting the issue of our negotiation about a house. Como is only six leagues from Milan, and its mountains are seen from the cathedral.

This cathedral is a most astonishing work of art. It is built of white marble, and cut into pinnacles of immense height, and the utmost delicacy of workmanship, and loaded with sculpture. The effect of it, piercing the solid blue with those groups of dazzling spires, relieved by the serene

depth of this Italian heaven, or by moonlight when the stars seem gathered among those clustered shapes, is beyond anything I had imagined architecture capable of producing.

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407. Repulse of the Tlascalans by Cortes, A. D. 1519. Slowly and stealthily the Indians advanced, while the Christian camp, hushed in profound silence, seemed to them buried in slumber. But no sooner had they reached the slope of the rising ground, than they were astonished by the deep battle-cry of the Spaniards, followed by the instantaneous apparition of the whole army, as they sallied forth from the works, and poured down the sides of the hill. Brandishing aloft their weapons, they seemed to the troubled fancies of the Tlascalans, like so many spectres or demons hurrying to and fro in mid air, while the uncertain light magnified their numbers, and expanded the horse and his rider into gigantic and unearthly dimensions. Scarcely waiting the shock of their enemy, the panic-struck barbarians let off a feeble volley of arrows, and offering no other resistance, fled rapidly and tumultuously across the plain.

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408. Death of Nicholas di Rienzi, A.D. 1354. In the death as in the life of Rienzi the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had pierced his head, he sank into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood among the multitude nearly naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last

feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.

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409. Disadvantages of an exalted reputation. But farther, a man whose extraordinary reputation thus lifts him up to the notice and observation of mankind, draws a multitude of eyes upon him that will narrowly inspect every part of him, consider him nicely in all views, and not be a little pleased when they have taken him in the worst and most disadvantageous light. There are many who find a pleasure in contradicting the common reports of fame, and in spreading abroad the weaknesses of an exalted character. They publish their ill-natured discoveries with a secret pride, and applaud themselves for the singularity of their judgment, which has searched deeper than others, detected what the rest of the world have overlooked, and found a flaw in what the generality of mankind admires. Others there are who proclaim the errors and infirmities of a great man with an inward satisfaction and complacency, if they discover none of the like errors and infirmities in themselves; for while they are exposing another's weaknesses, they are tacitly aiming at their own commendations, who are not subject to the like infirmities, and are apt to be transported with a secret kind of vanity to see themselves superior in some respects to one of a sublime and celebrated reputation. Nay, it very often happens, that none are more industrious in publishing the blemishes of an extraordinary reputation, than such as lie open to the same censures in their own characters, as either hoping to excuse their own defects by the authority of so high an example, or raising an imaginary applause to themselves for resembling a person of an exalted reputation, though in the blameable parts of his character.

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410. Political discontents—easily excited in the best constituted governments. Great discontents frequently arise in the best constituted governments from causes which no human wisdom can foresee, and no human power can prevent. They occur at uncertain periods which are commonly not far asunder. Governments of all kinds are administered only by men; and great mistakes, tending to inflame these discontents, may occur. The indecision of those who happen to rule at the critical time, their supine neglect, or their precipitate and ill-judged attention, may aggravate the public misfortunes. In such a state of things, the principles, now only sown, will shoot out and vegetate in full luxuriance. In such circumstances the minds of the people become sore and ulcerated. They are put out of humour with all public men and all public parties; they are fatigued with their dissensions; they are irritated at their coalitions; they are easily made to believe (what much pains are taken to make them believe) that all oppositions are factious, and all courtiers base and servile. From their disgust at men, they are soon led to quarrel with their frame of government, which they presume gives nourishment to the vices, real or supposed, of those who administer in it. Mistaking malignity for sagacity, they are soon led to cast off all hope from a good administration of affairs, and come to think that all reformation depends, not on the change of actors, but upon an alteration in the machinery.

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411. The highest prosperity a forerunner of decay in society as well as individuals. But it is not only in the lives of individuals that man's shortsighted impatience and temerity are thus tacitly rebuked by the course of events; examples still more striking are furnished by the history of states and institutions. The moment of the highest prosperity is often that which immediately precedes the most ruinous disaster, and (as in the case not only of a Xerxes, a Charles the Bold, a Philip the Second, and a Napoleon, but of Athens, and Sparta, and Carthage, and Venice,) it is the sense of security which constitutes the danger, it is the consciousness of power and the desire of exerting it that causes the downfall. It is not however these sudden and signal reverses, the fruit of overweening arrogance and insatiable ambition, that we have here principally to observe; but rather an universal law, which mani-

fests itself no less in the moral world than in the physical, according to which the period of inward languor, corruption, and decay, which follows that of maturity, presents an aspect more dazzling and commanding, and to those who look only to the surface, inspires greater confidence and respect, than the season of youthful health, of growing but unripened strength. The power of the Persians was most truly formidable when they first issued from their comparatively narrow territory to overspread Asia with their arms. But at what period of their history does the Great King appear invested with such majesty as when he dictated the peace of Antalcidas to the Greek? And yet at this very time the throne on which he sate with so lofty a port was so insecurely based, that a slight shock would have been sufficient, as was soon proved, to level it with the dust.

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412. It was nearly at the same juncture that Sparta seemed to have attained the summit of her power: her old enemy had been reduced to insignificance; her two most formidable rivals converted into useful dependents; her refractory allies chastised and cowed: in no quarter of the political horizon, neither in nor out of Greece, did it seem possible for the keenest eye to discover any prognostics of danger: her empire, says the contemporary historian, appeared in every respect to have been now established on a glorious and solid base. Yet in a few years the Spartan women saw for the first time the smoke of the flames with which a hostile army ravaged their country in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and a Spartan embassy implored the pity of the Athenians, and pleaded the magnanimity with which Sparta in her day of victory, had preserved Athens from annihilation, as a motive for the exercise of similar generosity towards a fallen enemy. The historian sees in this reverse the judgment of the gods against treachery and impiety. But when we inquire about the steps by which the change was effected, we find that the mistress of Greece had lost nearly a thousand of her subjects and about four hundred of her citizens in the battle of Leuctra.

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413. Aranjuez and its gardens. Aranjuez stands in a rich and lovely country, where the Xarama falls into the Tagus, in what was once a peninsula. Its pride was in its

gardens; they were in the French style, but with a charm which that style derived from a Spanish climate. Long and wide avenues were overbowered with elms, which loved the soil, and which by the stateliness of their growth, and the deep umbrage of their ample branches, repaid the care with which water from the Tagus was regularly conducted to their roots. That river also supplied numerous fountains, each in the centre of some area, square or circular, hex- or oct-angular, where in peaceful times, at all hours of the day, some idlers or ruminators were seen on the marble benches, enjoying the shade, and the sight and the sound of the water, which was thrown up by statues of all kinds, appropriate or preposterous, beasts, harpies, sea-horses, Tritons, and heathen gods and goddesses, in jets or curvilinear shoots, intersecting each other, sparkling as they played, cooling the air around, and diffusing a sense of freshness even in the hottest noon. In some places the loftiest trees were made to bear a part in these devices of wanton power, the pipes being conveyed to their summit; in others the fountains set music in motion when they played.

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414. Sir John Moore. A soldier from his earliest youth, Moore thirsted for the honours of his profession, and feeling that he was worthy to lead a British army, hailed the fortune that placed him at the head of the troops destined for Spain. As the stream of time passed, the inspiring hopes of triumph disappeared, but the austerer glory of suffering remained, and with a firm heart he accepted that gift of a severe fate. Confiding in the strength of his genius, he disregarded the clamours of presumptuous ignorance, and opposing sound military views to the foolish projects so insolently thrust upon him by the ambassador, he conducted his long and arduous retreat with sagacity, intelligence and fortitude; no insult disturbed, no falsehood deceived him, no remonstrance shook his determination; fortune frowned, without subduing his constancy; death struck, but the spirit of the man remained unbroken, when his shattered body scarcely afforded it a habitation. Having done all that was just towards others, he remembered what was due to himself; neither the shock of the mortal blow, nor the lingering hours of acute pain which preceded his dissolution, could quell the pride of his gallant heart, or lower the dignified feeling with which, conscious of merit,

he at the last moment asserted his right to the gratitude of the country he had served so truly. If glory be a distinction, for such a man death is not a leveller!

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415. Lord Raglan—his conduct in the Crimean campaign. A wise man places his happiness as little as possible at the mercy of other people's breath. His own conscience, and the opinion of his friends, which become with the high-minded a sort of second conscience, are the sole tribunals for whose temporary verdict he in general cares. But without a just sensitiveness to the opinion of his employers, no one who holds a responsible situation can continue to serve in comfort. The peculiar circumstances of his case rendered the support of the Government of unusual moment to the English commander; and he had, if ever man had, a right to look for their uncompromising countenance. It was entirely in obedience to their pressing instructions that he had embarked in the adventure. It was under difficulties most trying to mind and body that he had gallantly persevered in it. He found himself now, with a divided command which had thwarted his schemes and cut short his triumphs, encamped upon a bleak and barren ridge, with soldiers sickly, dying, and dead, while those who continued to stand at their posts were overtasked, ill-sheltered, ill-clothed and ill-fed. An enemy superior in number, who had lately engaged with him in a terrific struggle which made fainter hearts tremble for the ulterior consequences, encompassed him round, perpetually harassed his troops, and threatened to fall at every moment upon the remnant of his army, which grew daily less. Many a time in that anxious interval officers hastened down to head quarters full of consternation at some rumour that the Russians were about to attack our lines, and returned reassured from the sole influence of his calm demeanour and cheerful words. In the worst troubles he continued to speak a soldier's language, and wear a soldier's countenance, and threw upon those who conversed with him the spell of his own undaunted nature.

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416. Enterprising spirit of the Carthaginian Government. A great commercial state, where wealth was largely gained and highly valued, was always in danger, according to the opinion of the ancient philosophers, of losing its spirit of enterprise. But in this Carthage resembled the government

of British India; necessity at first made her merchants soldiers; and when she became powerful, then the mere impulse of a great dominion kept up her energy; she had much to maintain, and what she already possessed gave her the power, and with it the temptation, of acquiring more. Besides, it is a very important point in the state of society in the ancient world, that the business of a soldier was no isolated profession, but mixed up essentially with the ordinary life of every citizen. Hence those who guided the counsels of a state were ready also to conduct its armies; and military glory was a natural object of ambition to many enterprising minds which, in modern Europe, could only hope for distinction in the cabinet or in parliament. The great families of Carthage, holding amongst them a monopoly of all the highest offices, might safely calculate on obtaining for all their members some opportunity of distinguishing themselves; if the father fell in the service of his country, his son not unfrequently became his successor, and the glory of finishing what he had begun was not left to a stranger.

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417. The Spaniards—justification of their retaliation on the French. There are insults and injuries, which to have endured at the hand of an oppressor, degrades a man in his own esteem, and forces him to recover his level by a signal and terrible revenge. Such are the inflictions which the French armies have poured out upon the Spaniards. If ever acts of ferocious retaliation might admit of extenuation, it is in such a cause, and upon such provocation as they have received, from an enemy unrestrained in his career of ambition and blood, by any law human or divine.

Such is, in my opinion, the justification of the Spaniards. Thus they defend and avenge their invaded country—their pillaged and desolated homes—their murdered parents—their violated wives and daughters—and who shall say, that such vengeance is not justified in the eyes of God and man? Who shall pretend that the assailant of unoffending and defenceless innocence is privileged from resistance or retaliation, that the invader has a right to make his inroad when he thinks fit, to commit what excesses he pleases;—but that he is only to be met in the listed field and by regular battalions—that the cottage or the altar

are to be defended or avenged only by an enrolled soldiery; that the peaceful population of a country must be passive under every species of outrage and of wrong?

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418. Spirit of the English constitution. Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? It is the love of the people, it is their attachment to their government from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire: and have made the most extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the health, the number, the happiness of the human race.

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419. Pervading influence of ambition. If we look abroad upon the great mulitude of mankind, and endeavour to trace out the principles of action in every individual, it will, I think, seem highly probable that ambition runs through the whole species, and that every man in proportion to the vigour of his complexion is more or less actuated by it. It is indeed no uncommon thing to meet with men who, by the natural bent of their inclinations, and without the discipline of philosophy, aspire not to the heights of power and grandeur; who never set their hearts upon a numerous train of clients and dependencies, nor other gay appendages of greatness; who are contented with a competency, and will not molest their tranquillity to gain an abundance. But it is not therefore to be concluded that such a man is not ambitious; his desires may have cut out another channel, and determined him to other pursuits; the motive however may be still the same; and in these cases

likewise the man may be equally pushed on with the desire of distinction. Though the pure consciousness of worthy actions, abstracted from the views of popular applause, be, to a generous mind, an ample reward, yet the desire of distinction was doubtless implanted in our natures as an additional incentive to exert ourselves in virtuous excellence. This passion indeed, like all others, is frequently perverted to evil and ignoble purposes; so that we may account for many of the excellencies and follies of life upon the same innate principle, to wit, the desire of being remarkable: for this, as it has been differently cultivated by education, study and converse, will bring forth suitable effects as it falls in with an ingenuous disposition, or a corrupt mind. It does accordingly express itself in acts of magnanimity or selfish cunning, as it meets with a good or a weak understanding. As it has been employed in embellishing the mind, or adorning the outside, it renders the man eminently praise-worthy or ridiculous. Ambition therefore is not to be confined only to one passion or pursuit; for as the same humours in constitutions otherwise different, affect the body after different manners, so the same aspiring principle within us, sometimes breaks forth upon one object, sometimes upon another.

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420. The English language—its gradual improvement. Language proceeds, like every thing else, through improvement to degeneracy. The fate of the English tongue has been similar to that of others. We know nothing of the scanty jargon of our barbarous ancestors; but we have specimens of our language, when it began to be adapted to civil and religious purposes, and find it such as might naturally be expected, artless and simple, unconnected and concise. The writers seem to have desired little more than to be understood, and seldom, perhaps, aspired to the praise of pleasing; their verses were considered chiefly as memorial, and, therefore, did not differ from prose, but by the measure or the rhyme. In this state, varied a little according to the different purposes or abilities of writers, our language may be said to have continued to the time of Gower, whom Chaucer calls his master, and who, however obscured by his scholar's popularity, seems justly to claim an honour, which has been hitherto denied him, of showing his countrymen that something more was to be desired, and that English

verse might be exalted into poetry. From the time of Gower and Chaucer, the English writers have studied elegance and advanced their language by successive improvements to as much harmony as it can easily receive, and as much copiousness as human knowledge has hitherto required. These advances have not been made at all times with the same diligence or the same success. Negligence has suspended the course of improvement, or affectation turned it aside; time has elapsed with little change, or change has been made without amendment. But elegance has been long kept in view, with attention as near to constancy, as life permits; till every man now endeavours to excel others in accuracy, or outshine them in splendour of style; and the danger is, lest care should too soon pass to affectation.

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421. The retreat from Moscow. In the retreat from Moscow Buonaparte provided only for his own security: the famished and the wounded were without protection. Those, to the amount of forty thousand, who supplied the army with occasional food by distant and desperate excursions, were uninformed of its retreat: they perished to a man, and caused to perish by their disappearance a far greater number of their former comrades. Forty miles of road were excavated in the snow. The army seemed a phantasmagoria; no sound of horses' feet was heard, no wheel of waggon or artillery, no voice of man. Regiment followed regiment in long and broken lines, between two files of soldiers the whole way. Some stood erect, some reclined a little, some laid their arms beside them, some clasped them; all were dead. Several of these had slept in that position, but the greater part had been placed so, to leave the more room: and not a few from every troop and detachment took their voluntary station amongst them. The barbarians, who at other seasons rush into battle with loud cries, rarely did so. Skins covered not their bodies only but their faces, and, such was the intensity of cold, they reluctantly gave vent, from amidst the spoils they had taken, to this first and most natural expression of their vengeance. Their spears, although often of soft wood, as the beech, the birch, the pine, remained unbroken, while the sword and the sabre of the adversary cracked like ice. Feeble from inanition, inert from weariness, and somnolent from the iciness that enthralled them, they sank into forgetfulness with the

Cossacks in pursuit and coming down upon them, and even while they could yet discern, for they looked more frequently to that quarter, the more fortunate of their comrades marching home. The gay and lively Frenchman, to whom war had been sport and pastime, was now reduced to such apathy, that, in the midst of some kind speech which a friend was to communicate to those he loved the most tenderly, he paused from rigid drowsiness, and bade the messenger adieu. Some, it is reported (and what is unnatural, is, in such extremity, not incredible) closed their eyes and threw down their muskets, while they could use them still, not from hope nor from fear, but part from indignation at their general, whose retreats had always been followed by the total ruin of his army; and part, remembering with what brave nations they had once fought gloriously, from the impossibility of defeating or resisting so barbarous and obscure an enemy.

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422. The ocean dried up. But if we should suppose the ocean dry, and that we looked down from the top of some high cloud upon the empty shell, how horridly and barbarously would it look? and with what amazement should we see it under us like an open hell, or a wide bottomless pit? So deep and hollow and vast; so broken and confused, so every way deformed and monstrous. This would effectually awaken our imagination, and make us inquire and wonder how such a thing came in nature; from what causes, by what force, or engines, could the earth be torn in this prodigious manner? Did they dig the sea with spades, and carry out the mould in hand-baskets? Where are the entrails laid? And how did they cleave the rocks asunder? If as many pioneers as the army of Xerxes had been at work ever since the beginning of the world, they could not have made a ditch of this greatness. Nor is it the greatness only, but that wild and multifarious confusion which we see in the parts and fashion of it, that makes it strange and unaccountable; it is another chaos in its kind; who can paint the scenes of it? Gulphs, and precipices, and cataracts; pits within pits, and rocks under rocks, broken mountains and ragged islands, that look as if they had been countries pulled up by the roots and planted in the sea.

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423. The praise of a country life. The day itself (in my opinion) seems of more length and beauty in the country, and can be better enjoyed, than any where else. There the years pass away calmly; and one day gently drives on the other, insomuch that a man may be sensible of a certain satiety and pleasure from every hour, and may be said to feed upon time itself, which devours all other things. And although those that are employed in the managing and ordering of their own estates in the country have, otherwise, *viz.*, by that very employment, much more pleasure and delights than a citizen can possibly have, yet verily so it is, that one day spent in the recess and privacy of the country, seems more pleasant and lasting than a whole year at court. Justly, then, and most deservingly, shall we account them most happy with whom the sun stays longest and lends a larger day. The husbandman is always up and drest with the morning, whose dawning light, at the same instant of time, breaks over all the fields and chaseth away the darkness (which would hinder his early labours) from every valley. If his day's task keep him late in the fields, yet night comes not so suddenly upon him, but he can return home with the evening-star. Whereas, in towns and populous cities, neither the day, nor the sun, nor a star, nor the season of the year, can be well perceived. All which, in the country, are manifestly seen and occasion a more exact care and observation of seasons, that their labours may be in their appointed time, and their rewards accordingly.

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424. Character of the Emperor Charles V. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering the pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn, that during the most ardent and bustling periods of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive; yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science which is of greatest importance to a mon-

arch, that of knowing men and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no minister in the cabinet, no ambassador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them. Though destitute of that bewitching affability of manners which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with those illustrious personages who have attained the highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract in some degree from his own merit, if the talent of discovering and steadiness in employing such instruments, were not the most undoubted proof of a capacity for government.

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425. Pleasure of contemplating divine wisdom as seen in the formation of the earth. Neither is it perhaps such an intricate thing as we imagine at first sight to trace a chaos into an habitable world; at least there is a particular pleasure to see things in their origin, and by what degrees and successive changes they rise into that order and state we see them in afterwards when completed. I am sure, if ever we would veiw the paths of divine wisdom, in the works and in the conduct of nature, we must not only consider how things are, but how they came to be so. It is pleasant to look upon a tree in the summer, covered with its green leaves, decked with blossoms, or laden with fruit, and casting a pleasing shade under its spreading boughs; but to consider how this tree, with all its furniture, sprang from a little seed; how nature shaped it, and fed it, in its infancy and growth; added new parts, and still advanced it by little and little, till it came to this greatness and perfection; this, methinks, is another sort of pleasure, more rational, less common, and which is properly the contemplation of divine wisdom in the works of nature. So to view this

earth and this sublunary world, as it is now, complete, distinguished into the serveral orders of bodies of which it now consists, every one perfect and admirable in its kind; this is truly delightful, and a very good entertainment to the mind; but to see all these in their first seeds, as I may so say: to take in pieces this frame of nature, and melt it down into its first principles; and then to observe how the divine wisdom wrought all these things out of confusion into order, and out of simplicity into that beautiful composition we now see them in: this, methinke, is another kind of joy, which pierceth the mind more deep, and is more satisfactory.

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426. Of the true use of History. We are fond of preserving, as far as it is in our frail power, the memory of our own adventures, of those of our own time, and of those that preceded it. Rude heaps of stones have been raised, and ruder hymns have been composed, for this purpose, by nations who had not yet the use of arts and letters. There is no need of saying how this passion grows among civilized nations in proportion to the means of gratifying it; but let us observe that the same principle of nature directs us as strongly to indulge our own curiosity as to gratify that of others. The child hearkens with delight to the tales of his nurse; he learns to read, and he devours with eagerness fabulous legends and novels: in riper years he applies himself to History, or to what he takes for history, to authorized Romance; and even in age, the desire of knowing what has happened to other men yields to the desire alone of relating what has happened to ourselves. Thus History, true or false, speaks to our passions always. What pity is it, that even the best should speak to our understandings so seldom! That it does so, we have none to blame but ourselves. Nature has done her part. She has opened this study to every man who can read and think; and what she has made the most agreeable, reason can make the most useful, application of our minds. But if we consult our reason, we shall neither read to soothe our indolence, nor to gratify our vanity; as little shall we content ourselves to drudge like grammarians and critics, that others may be able to study with greater ease and profit, like philosophers and statesmen; as little shall we affect the slender merit of becoming great scholars, at the expence of groping all our lives in the dark mazes of antiquity. All these mistake the

true drift of study and the true use of history. An application to any study, that tends neither directly nor indirectly to make us better men and better citizens, is at best but a specious and ingenious sort of idleness; and the knowledge we acquire by it is a creditable sort of ignorance, nothing more.

427. Advantage of integrity. The best way in the world for a man to seem to be anything, is really to be what he would seem to be. It is hard to personate and act a part long; for where truth is not at the bottom, nature will always be endeavouring to return, and will peep out and betray himself one time or other. Therefore if any man think it convenient to seem good, let him be so indeed, and then his goodness will appear to every body's satisfaction; so that upon all accounts sincerity is true wisdom. Particularly as to the affairs of this world, integrity hath many advantages over all the fine and artificial ways of dissimulation and deceit: it is much the plainer and easier, much the safer and more secure way of dealing in the world: it has less of trouble and difficulty, of entanglement and perplexity, of danger and hazard in it; it is the shortest and nearest way to our end, carrying us thither in a straight line, and will hold out and last longest. The arts of deceit and cunning do continually grow weaker and less effectual and serviceable to them that use them; whereas integrity gains strength by use, and the more and longer any man practiseth it, the greater service it does him, by confirming his reputation, and encouraging those with whom he hath to do to repose the greatest trust and confidence in him, which is an unspeakable advantage in the business and affairs of life.

428. The British empire. I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the single source of our not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their true bearings and relations. After all its reductions, the British empire is still vast and various. After all the reductions of the House of Commons, (stripped as we are of our brightest ornaments, and of our most important privileges) enough are yet left to furnish us, if we please, with means of shewing to the world, that we deserve the superintendence of as large an empire as this kingdom ever held, and the continuance of as ample privileges as the House of Commons,

in the plenitude of its power, had been habituated to assert. But if we make ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty; if, on the contrary, we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of their object, be well assured, that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds.

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429. On the writing of history. The historian must have no idol but truth, entirely disregarding all things else: he must make it a rule not to regard his own age, but posterity, lest he be accounted a mere flatterer, which is a vice utterly contrary to history, and as inconsistent as for a champion to use cosmetics. He must be undaunted; proof against a bribe; a free speaker, calling everything by its name; he must be, in his writings, without either love or hatred or shame or compassion; an equal judge to all; and he must give to no person more than their due, nor less; he must seem a foreigner, a denizen of no city, a subject of no government, lord of himself, regardless of what may please people; merely a relater of what has happened. He must not set out at first with too much mettle, but with a peaceable even pace; his sense should be methodically disposed and lie close, his diction should be clear and polite, the main scope of the first being truth and liberty, and that of the latter expressiveness and intelligibility; let him explain his thoughts in a diction not obsolete, nor vulgar, so as that the common people may understand and the learned admire him.

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430. Character of Diocletian. It would not be easy to persuade us of the cowardice of a soldier of fortune, who acquired and preserved the esteem of the legions, as well as the favour of so many warlike princes. Yet even calumny is sagacious enough to discover and to attack the most vulnerable part. The valour of Diocletian was never found inadequate to his duty or to the occasion; but he appears not to have possessed the daring and generous spirit of a hero, who courts danger and fame, disdains artifice, and boldly challenges the allegiance of his equals. His abilities were useful rather than splendid; a vigorous mind, improved by the experience and study of mankind; dexterity and application in business; a judicious mixture of liberality and economy, of mildness and rigour; profound dissimulation under the disguise of military frankness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary his means; and above

all, the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his ambition, and of colouring his ambition with the most specious pretences of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire. Like the adopted son of Cæsar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather than as a warrior; nor did either of those princes employ force, whenever their purpose could be effected by policy.

431. America—its marine enterprise. As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries—neither the perserverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things, when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

432. Savage nations—ferocity of their wars. When polished nations have obtained the glory of victory, or have acquired an addition of territory, they may terminate a war with honour. But savages are not satisfied until they extirpate the community which is the object of their hatred. They fight, not to conquer, but to destroy. If they engage in hostilities, it is with a resolution never to see the face of the enemy in peace, but to prosecute the quarrel with immortal enmity. The desire of vengeance is the first, and almost the only principle, which a savage instils into the minds of his children. This grows up with him as he advances in life; and as his attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men whose passions are dissipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and pursuits. The desire of vengeance, which takes possession of the heart of savages, resembles

the instinctive rage of an animal, rather than the passion of a man. It turns, with undiscerning fury, even against inanimate objects. If hurt accidentally by a stone, they often seize it in a transport of anger, and endeavour to wreak their vengeance upon it. If struck with an arrow in a battle, they will tear it from the wound, break and bite it with their teeth, and dash it on the ground.

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433. Democratical governments. I am ready to admit that according to the experience of history, the ancient democracies of the world were vicious and objectionable on many accounts. Their instability, their injustice, and many other vices cannot be overlooked. But surely when we turn to the ancient democracies of Greece, when we see them in all the splendour of arts and arms, when we reflect to what an elevation they carried the powers of man, it cannot be denied that, however vicious on the score of ingratitude or of injustice, they were at least the pregnant source of national strength, and that they brought forth this strength in a peculiar manner in the moment of difficulty and distress. When we look at the democracies of the ancient world, we are compelled to acknowledge their oppression to their dependencies, their horrible acts of injustice and ingratitude to their own citizens; but they compel us also to admiration by their vigour, their constancy, their spirit, and their exertions in every great emergency in which they were called upon to act. We are compelled to own that democracy gives a power, of which no other form of government is capable. Why? Because it incorporates every man with the State; because it arouses everything that belongs to the soul as well as to the body of man; because it makes every individual feel that he is fighting for himself, and not for another; that it is his own cause, his own safety, his own concern, his own dignity, and his own interest, which he has to maintain, and accordingly we find that whatever may be objected to democratical governments on account of the turbulency of the passions which they engender, their short duration and their disgusting vices, they have exacted from the common suffrage of mankind the palm of strength and vigour.

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434. Navigation and commerce of the Romans. The progress which the Romans made in navigation and discovery was still more inconsiderable than that of the Greeks. The genius of the Roman people, their military education,

and the spirit of their laws, concurred in estranging them from commerce and naval affairs. It was the necessity of opposing a formidable rival, not the desire of extending trade, which first prompted them to aim at maritime power. Though they soon perceived that in order to acquire the universal dominion after which they aspired, it was necessary to render themselves masters of the sea, they still considered the naval service as a subordinate station and reserved for it such citizens as were not of a rank to be admitted into the legions. In the history of the Roman republic hardly one event occurs, that marks attention to navigation any farther than as it was instrumental towards conquest. When the Roman valour and discipline had subdued all the maritime states known in the ancient world; when Carthage, Greece and Egypt had submitted to their power, the Romans did not imbibe the commercial spirit of the conquered nations. Among that people of soldiers, to have applied to trade would have been deemed a degradation of a Roman citizen.

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435. The physical condition of man as compared to that of other animals. The situation of man on the globe he inhabits, and over which he has obtained the control, is in many respects exceedingly remarkable. Compared with its other denizens, he seems, if we regard only his physical constitution, in almost every respect their inferior and equally unprovided for the supply of his natural wants and his defence against the innumerable enemies which surround him. No other animal passes so large a portion of its existence in a state of absolute helplessness, or falls in old age into such protracted and lamentable imbecility. To no other warm-blooded animals has nature denied that indispensable covering without which the vicissitudes of a temperate and the rigours of a cold climate are equally insupportable; and to scarcely any has she been so sparing in external weapons, whether for attack or defence. Destitute alike of speed to avoid and of arms to repel the aggressions of his voracious foes; tenderly susceptible of atmospheric influences; and unfitted for the coarse aliments which the earth affords spontaneously during at least two-thirds of the year, even in temperate climates,—man, if abandoned to mere instinct, would be of all creatures the most destitute and miserable. Distracted by terror and goaded by famine; driven to the most abject expedients of concealment from his enemies and to the most cowardly devices for the seizure and destruction of his nobler prey, his existence would be one continued

subterfuge or stratagem;—his dwelling would be in dens of the earth, in clefts of rocks, or in the hollows of trees; his food, worms and the lower reptiles, or such few and crude productions of the soil as his organs could be brought to assimilate, varied with occasional relics, mangled by more powerful beasts of prey or contemned by the more pampered choice.

436. Character of John Hampden. Mr. Hampden was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring anything to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was not a man of many words, and rarely began the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the house was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he never was without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent its determining anything in the negative, which might be inconvenient in the future.

437. The body considered as the soul's instrument. The soul in respect of the body may be compared to an excellent workman, who cannot labour in his occupation without some necessary instruments, and those well wrought and prepared to his hand. The most skilful musician cannot raise any harmony from an instrument of music out of tune. We are therefore to be very careful of these external parts, since the spirit which moves in them can naturally produce no actions of worth, if this instrumental frame be out of order. Hence it is that those men, who abuse their bodies by the violence of intemperate sins, are sometimes overtaken either with a sleepy dulness or a wild distraction. Their souls are not able to produce any worthy act after a defect contracted upon their organs, or else are unwilling to be restrained and confined to a bad lodging or a loathsome dungeon.

438. Francisco Pizarro on the Island of Gorgona. By this time Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour

from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid transition, not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardour.

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439. Employment variable. Employment is much more constant in some trades than in others. In the greater part of manufactures, a journeyman may be pretty sure of employment almost every day in the year that he is able to work. A mason or bricklayer, on the contrary, can work neither in hard frost nor in foul weather, and his employment at all other times depends upon the occasional calls of his customers. He is liable, in consequence, to be frequently without any. What he earns, therefore, while he is employed, must not only maintain him while he is idle, but make him some compensation for those anxious and despondings moments which the thought of so precarious a situation must sometimes occasion. Where the computed earnings of the greater part of manufacturers, accordingly, are nearly upon a level with the day wages of common labourers, those of masons and bricklayers are generally from one half more to double those wages.

439*a*. The Blindness of great Criminals. His conduct upon these occasions may be thought irrational. But guilt was never a rational thing; it distorts all the faculties of the mind; it perverts them, it leaves a man no longer in the free use of his reason; it puts him into confusion. He has recourse to such miserable and absurd expedients for covering his guilt, as all those who are used to sit in the seat of judgment know, have been the cause of detection of half the villanies in the world. To argue, that these could not be his reasons, because they were not wise, sound and substantial, would be to suppose what is not true, that bad men were always discreet and able. But I can very well from the circumstances discover motives which may affect a guilty, anxious, restless mind, full of the weak resources of fraud,

craft and intrigue, that might induce him to make these discoveries, and to make them in the manner he has done. Not rational, and well-fitted for their purposes, I am very ready to admit. For God forbid that guilt should ever leave a man the free undisturbed use of his faculties.

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440. Establishment of order in towns earlier than in the country. Order and good government, and along with them the liberty and security of individuals, were, in this manner, established in cities, at a time when the occupiers of land in the country were exposed to every sort of violence. But men in this defenceless state naturally content themselves with their necessary subsistence; because to acquire more might only tempt the injustice of their oppressors. On the contrary, when they are secure of enjoying the fruits of their industry, they naturally exert it to better their condition and to acquire not only the necessaries but the conveniences and elegancies of life. That industry, therefore, which aims at something more than necessary subsistence, was established in cities long before it was commonly practised by the occupiers of land in the country. If in the hands of a poor cultivator, oppressed with the servitude of villanage, some little stock should accumulate, he would naturally conceal it with great care from his master, to whom it would otherwise have belonged, and take the first opportunity of running away to a town. The law was at that time so indulgent to the inhabitants of towns, and so desirous of diminishing the authority of the lords over those of the country, that if he could conceal himself for a year, he was free for ever. Whatever stock, therefore, accumulated in the hands of the industrious part of the inhabitants of the country, naturally took refuge in cities, as the only sanctuaries in which it could be secure to the person that acquired it.

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441. Concealment of King Charles at Bescoble, A. D. 1651. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers equally honourable with himself: and having clothed the king in a garb like their own they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such

homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king, and some expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *royal oak*, and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

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442. Embarcation of the outpensioners of Chelsea College under Anson, A. D. 1739. Indeed it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarcation of these unhappy veterans. They were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprized of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies nor the vigour of their minds were any ways proportioned, and where, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise they were engaged in, they would in all probability uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this too after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service. And I cannot but observe, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diseased detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in, that amongst two thousand men the most crazy and infirm only should be called out for so fatiguing and perilous an undertaking.

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443. On education. I consider a human soul without education like marble in the quarry, which shows none of its enherent beauties until the skill of the polisher fetches out the colours, makes the surface shine and every ornamental cloud, spot, and vein that runs through the body of it. Education after the same manner, when it works upon a noble mind, draws out to view every latent virtue and perfection, which, without such helps, are never able to make their appearance. The philosopher or the hero, the wise, the good or the great man, very often lie hid in

a plebeian, which a proper education might have disinterred and have brought to light. Men's passions operate variously, and appear in different kinds of actions, according as they are more or less rectified and swayed by reason. It is, therefore, an unspeakable blessing to be born in those parts of the world where wisdom and knowledge flourish; though it be confessed there are, even in all these parts, many poor uninstructed persons, who are but little above the inhabitants of barbarous climes: those who have had the advantage of a more liberal education rise above one another by different degrees of perfection.

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444. Abuse of liberty. In some people I see great liberty indeed; in many, if not in the most, an oppressive and degrading servitude. But what is liberty without wisdom, and without virtue? It is the greatest of all possible evils: for it is folly, vice and madness without tuition or restraint. Those who know what virtuous liberty is, cannot bear to see it disgraced by incapable heads, on account of their having high-sounding epithets in their mouths. Grand, swelling sentiments of liberty, I am sure, I do not despise. They warm the heart; they enlarge and liberalize our minds; they animate our courage in a time of conflict. Neither do I wholly condemn the little arts and devices of popularity. They facilitate the carrying of many points of moment; they keep the people together; they refresh the mind in its exertions;—and they diffuse occasional gaiety over the severe brow of moral freedom. Every politician ought to sacrifice to the Graces, and to join compliance with reason. But in such an undertaking as that in France, all these subsidiary sentiments and artifices are of little avail. To make a government requires no great prudence. Settle the seat of power; teach obedience; and the work is done. But to form a *free government*, that is, to temper together those opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful and combining mind.

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445. Public liberty. There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day: he is unable to discriminate colours or recognise faces. But the remedy is, not to re-

mand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos. Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free, till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.

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446. A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle rising, I climbed a high tree from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look over the barren wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same uniform prospect of shrubs and sand everywhere presented itself, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea. Descending the tree I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity, and as I was too faint to attempt walking and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity and perhaps the last I should ever be able to perform, to take off his bridle and leave him to shift for himself, in doing which I was suddenly seized with sickness and giddiness, and falling on the sand felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here then, thought I, after a short but ineffectual struggle terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation. Here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast a last look on the surrounding scene, and whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world with its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection.

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447. Character of William the Conqueror. Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities

and the vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; his ambition, which was exorbitant and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with submission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes, and partly from the ascendant of his vehement character, partly from art and dissimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion, and he seemed equally ostentatious and equally ambitious of show and parade in his clemency and in his severity.

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448. Defeat of Fabius. He found the way quite clear; for the Romans who had guarded it, seeing the hills above them illuminated on a sudden with a multitude of moving lights, and nothing doubting that Hannibal's army was attempting to break out over the hills in despair of forcing the road, quitted their position in haste and ran towards the heights to interrupt or embarrass his retreat. Meanwhile Fabius with his main army, confounded at the strangeness of the sight and dreading lest Hannibal was tempting him to his ruin as he had tempted Flaminius, kept close within his camp till the morning. Day dawned only to show him his own troops, who had been set to occupy the defile, engaged on the hills above with Hannibal's light infantry. But presently the Spanish foot were seen scaling the heights to reinforce the enemy; and the Romans were driven down to the plain with great loss and confusion.

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449. Struggle between the Spaniards and Hollanders. Accompanied by two hundred Spanish pikemen, he flew to the place of attack and appeared upon the scene just in time to save his troops from total destruction. He placed himself at the head of his troops, and with his sword in one hand and a shield in the other, led them against the foe. The news of his arrival, which soon spread from one end of the dyke to the other, re-animated the drooping spirits of his troops, and the contest, which the nature of the field of battle rendered more murderous, was resumed with new energy. Upon the narrow top of the dyke, which in many places did not exceed nine paces in breadth, five

thousand combatants were engaged; within this narrow space, the power of both parties was concentrated; upon its possession depended the whole fate the blockade. With the Antwerpers, the last bulwark of their city was at stake —with the Spaniards, the whole issue of their enterprise; and both parties fought with that courage, which nothing but desperation can inspire.

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450. The siege was memorable for many passages. They revived the ancient invention of carrier-pigeons, for a-while before they were blocked up, they sent to the fleet and to the nearest towns of their own party some of these pigeons, which afterwards being dispatched away when necessity required with letters fastened under their wings, remembering their several masters and their young ones flew back into the city. By these winged posts the townsmen were encouraged to hold out the last three months, till one of them tired of flying lighted in a tent, and being shot by a soldier ignorant of the stratagem the mystery was discovered. After that accident no pigeon could fly over the leaguer, though not of that kind, but the soldiers would strive which should kill her. Nothing was more admirable than the townsmen's obstinacy, who, notwithstanding they had lost three great armies and had hardly any shelter within their walls, yet would not hear of a treaty or condition. Lastly, though grievously pressed by famine, yet they lost not their courage, but had rather sally out and die glorioulsy than yield to mercy and have their throats cut like beasts.

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451. Inundation in Holland. Another cause of their dissent was the new and sudden calamity of the provinces. For upon All-Saints' Eve, the sea excessively swelling and in some places overflowing, in others bearing down the banks, such a prodigious and unheard-of deluge covered the greater part of the sea-coast, as that the inundation which threescore years before is said to have swallowed up threescore and twelve villages was not so high by a foot. There was not only an inconceivable loss of fortunes but also of men. In the very compass of Friesland 20,000 persons were drowned, sunk and swept away at the rising and falling of the water, which at both times was alike merciless, whose bodies, with carcasses of cattle, household goods and broken

ribs of ships, floated over the fields. The land became undistinguishable from the sea and, as they affirmed, presented to the eye a model of Noah's flood. I find in the history that many men who had climbed to the top of hills and trees, ready to give up the ghost, were timeously saved by boats, which the magistrates sent out to gather up the remainder of the shipwreck. Among the rest upon a hill they found an infant carried thither in the cradle lying beside a cat and soundly sleeping, neither in fear of shipwreck nor of flood.

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452. Love of truth. You complain of a great many defects, and that very complaint is the highest recommendation I could desire to make me love and esteem you, and desire your freindship. And if I were now setting out in the world, I should think it my great happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish for truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for truth's sake is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I mistake not, you have as much of it as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the best; a friend for any one to be proud of?

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453. Lord Chatham. The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which like death canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence: one or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species and surely a little too general, led him into measures which were greatly mischievous to himself, and for that reason, among others perhaps, fatal to

his country—measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable.

GIBBON.

454. In the second century of the Christian era, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle, but powerful influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence: the Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the emperors all the executive powers of government. During a happy period of more than fourscore years, the public administration was conducted by the virtues and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this, and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosperous condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.

The principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under the republic; and the emperors, for the most part, were satisfied with preserving those dominions which had been acquired by the policy of the senate, the active emulation of the consuls, and the martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first centuries were filled with a rapid successions of triumphs; but it was reserved for Augustus, to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils. Inclined to peace by his temper and situation, it was easy for him to discover, that Rome, in her present exalted situation, had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of arms; and that in the prosecution of remote wars, the undertaking became every day more difficult, the event more doubtful, and the possession more precarious, and less beneficial. The experience of Augustus added weight to these salutary reflections, and effectually convinced him that, by the prudent vigour of

his counsels, it would be easy to secure every concession, which the safety or the dignity of Rome might require from the most formidable Barbarians. Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he obtained, by an honourable treaty, the restitution of the standards and prisoners which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus.

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455. Of the various forms of government, which have prevailed in the world, an hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest scope for ridicule. Is it possible to relate, without an indignant smile, that on the father's decease, the property of a nation, like that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet unknown to mankind and to himself; and that the bravest warriors and the wisest statesman, relinquishing their natural right to empire, approach the royal cradle with bended knees and protestation of inviolable fidelity? Satire and declamation may paint these obvious topics in the most dazzling colours, but our more serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that establishes a rule of succession, independent of the passions of mankind; and we shall cheerfully acquiesce in any expedient which deprives the multitude of the dangerous, and indeed the ideal, power of giving themselves a master.

In the cool shade of retirement we may easily devise imaginary forms of government, in which the sceptre shall be constantly bestowed on the most worthy, by the free and incorrupt suffrage of the whole community. Experience overturns these airy fabrics, and teaches us, that in a large society, the election of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or to the most numerous part of the people. The army is the only order of men sufficiently united to concur in the same sentiments, and powerful enough to impose them on the rest of their fellow-citizens: but the temper of soldiers, habituated at once to violence and to slavery, renders them very unfit guardians of a legal, or even a civil constitution. Justice, humanity or political wisdom, are qualities they are too little acquainted with in themselves, to appreciate in others. Valour will acquire their esteem, and liberality will purchase their suffrage; but the first of these merits is often lodged in the most savage breasts; the latter can only exert itself at the

expense of the public; and both may be turned against the possessor of the throne, by the ambition of a daring rival.

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456. But all this well-laboured system of German antiquities is annihilated by a single fact, too well attested to admit of any doubt, and of too decisive a nature to have room for any reply. The Germans in the age of Tacitus, were unacquainted with the use of letters; and the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a hord of savages incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without that artificial help, the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas intrusted to her charge; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers; the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular. Fully to apprehend this important truth, let us attempt in an improved society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning and the *illiterate* peasant. The former, by reading and reflection, multiplies his own experience and lives in distant ages and remote countries; whilst the latter, rooted to a single spot, and confined to a few years of existence, surpasses, but very little, his fellow labourer the ox in the exercise of his mental faculties. The same, and even a greater, difference will be found between nations than between individuals; and we may safely pronounce, that without some species of writing, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences, or ever possessed, in any tolerable degree of perfection, the useful and agreeable arts of life.

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457. The character of the prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weekness, dishonoured the Imperial purple. The same passions have in some

degree been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers, and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without blush. But it would soon appear, that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

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458. The person as well as the mind of Constantine had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise, and from his earliest youth to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected; yet he shewed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the despatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were always continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects.

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459. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge, that he possessed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the

most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundless ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of superior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace and order to the distracted empire. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants, with the spirit of wisdom and justice which seemed to direct the general tenor of the administration of Constantine.

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460. The Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the fortune, of the republic. The inconstant goddess, who so blindly distributes and resumes her favours, had *now* consented (such was the language of envious flattery) to resign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immutable throne on the banks of the Tyber. A wiser Greek, who has composed, with a philosophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome. The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the state, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic; the ambitious citizens laboured to deserve the solemn glories of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors. The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular assem-

blies, with the authority and wisdom of a Senate, and the executive powers of a regal magistrate.

461. When the Consul displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his sword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the sacred duty by a military service of ten years. This wise institution continually poured into the field the rising generations of freemen and soldiers, and their numbers were re-inforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave resistance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance of the Romans. The sage historian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage, has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the spirit and success of a people, incapable of fear and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been defeated by the seasonable conspiracy of mankind, was attempted and achieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the *iron* monarchy of Rome.

462. After pursuing above six hundred years the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent

on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.

In the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, the Arabian peninsula may be conceived as a triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions. From the Northern point of Beles or Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the Straits of Babelmandel and the land of frankincense. Abont half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. The sides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian Ocean. The entire surface of the peninsular exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatised with the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*.

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463. Even the wilds of Tartary are decked by the hand of nature, with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood, that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilize the soil, and convey its produce to the adjacent regions: the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth; the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clifts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night: a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts; the wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert; and the pilgrim of Mecca, after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters, which have rolled ever a bed of sulphur or salt.

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464. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palmtree and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distingushed by their superior plenty of wood and water: the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous: the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appallation of the *happy;* and the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast and countenanced by distance. It was for this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favours and her most curious workmanship; the incompatible blessings of luxury and iunocence were ascribed to the natives: the soil was impregnated with gold and gems, and both the land and sea were taught to exhale the odours of aromatic sweets. This division of the *sandy*, the *stony*, and the *happy*, so familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themselves: and it is singular enough, that a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of *Bahrein* and *Oman* are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of *Yemen* displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia Felix: the name of *Neged* is extended over the inland space: and the birth of Mahomet has illustrated the province of *Hejaz* along the coast of the Red Sea.

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465. The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be out-numbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the Ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Icthyophagi*, or fish-eaters, continued to wander in quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which

ill-deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages may roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage be restrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and pursuits which confine his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert, and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens,* we may trace the features of their ancestors, who, in the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals: and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave. Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the *horse;* the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generous animal.

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466. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood: the Bedoweens preserve, with superstitious care, the honours and the memory of the purest race; the males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed, among the tribes, as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to galop: their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip: their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind; and if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career, they instantly stop till he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia, the *camel* is

a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burthen can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude: the larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race.

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467. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man: her milk is plentiful and nutritious: the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal: a valuable salt is extracted from the urine: the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents of the Bedoweens. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert: during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous license of visiting the banks of the Nile, and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury, than the proudest Emir, who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hords of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedoweens derived from their useful intercourse, some supply of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia, enumerated by Abulseda, the most ancient and populous were situate in the *happy* Yemen: the towers of Saana, and the marvellous reservoir of Merab, were constructed by the kings of the Homorites; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of Medina and Mecca, near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles.

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468. The last of these holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not indeed, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders, in the choice of a most unpromising situation. They erected their habitations of mud or stone, in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains: the soil is a rock; the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish; the pastures are remote from the city; and grapes are transported above seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprises of trade. By the sea-port of Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Jerrha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldean exiles: and from thence, with the native pearls of the Persian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Saana and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise.

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469. The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives; and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael.

Some exceptions, that can neither be dissembled nor eluded under this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous: the kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Romance province of Arabia embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies: the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mahomet, their intrepid valour had been severely felt by their neighbours in offensive and defensive war. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life.

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470. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; but the martial youth under the banner of the Emir, is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practise the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the scymetar. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their last hostilities against the Turks, the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the Bedoweens are not

only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants, remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the soil and climate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude, and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard, that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains; and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master. The historians of the age of Justinian represents the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in the long quarrel of the East: the tribe of *Gassan* was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory: the princes of Hira were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous; but their friendship was venal, their faith inconstant, their enmity capricious: it was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving Barbarians; and, in the familiar intercourse of war, they learned to see, and to despise, the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of Saracens, a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

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471. The slaves of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence, but the Arab is personally free; and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe, superstition, or gratitude, or fortune has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of Sheich and Emir invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious; and the most worthy or aged of the noble kinsmen are preferred to the simple, though important, office of composing disputes by their advice and guiding valour by their example. Even a female of sense and spirit has been permitted to command the countrymen of Zenobia. The momentary junction of several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union constitutes a nation; and the

supreme chief, the Emir of emirs, whose banner is displayed at their head, may deserve, in the eyes of strangers, the honours of the kingly name. If the Arabian princes abuse their power, they are quickly punished by the desertion of their subjects, who had been accustomed to a mild and parental jurisdiction.

Their spirit is free, their steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The softer natives of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a monarch; but if he could not leave his palace without endangering his life, the active powers of government must have been devolved on his nobles and magistrates. The cities of Mecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form or rather the substance of a commonwealth.

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472. The grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors, appear in foreign and domestic transactions as the princes of their country; but they reigned, like Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish. On solemn occasions they convened the assembly of the people; and since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clearest evidence of public freedom. But their simple freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and political rights of the community. In the more simple state of the Arabs the nation is free, because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified with the austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety; the love of independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command; and the fear of dishonour guards him from the meaner apprehension of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity and firmness of the mind is conspicuous in his outward demeanour: his speech is slow, weighty and concise, he is seldom provoked to laughter, his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, the venerable symbol of manhood; and the sense of his own importance

teaches him to accost his equals without levity, and his superiors without awe. The liberty of the Saracens survived their conquests: the first Caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their subjects: they ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify the congregation, nor was it before the seat of empire was removed to the Tigris, that the Abbassides adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantine courts.

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473. In the study of nations and men we may observe the causes that render them hostile or friendly to each other, that tend to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate the social character. The separation of the Arabs from the rest of mankind, has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy; and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practice to the present hour. They pretend, that in the division of the earth the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family; and that the posterity of the outlaw Ismael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandise: the caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Sesostris have been the victims of their rapacious spirit. If a Bedoween discovers from afar a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt, my wife, is without a garment." A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defence. A single robber, or a few associates are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band assumed the character of a lawful and honorable war. The temper of a people, thus armed against mankind was doubly inflamed by the domestic license of rapine, murder and revenge. In the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list of respectable potentates, but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman. The union of the nation consisted only in a vague resem-

blance of language and manners; and in each community, the jurisdiction of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded Mahomet seventeen hundred battles are recorded by tradition: hostility was embittered with the rancour of civil faction; and the recital in prose or verse, of an obsolete feud was sufficient to rekindle the same passions among the descendants of the hostile tribes. In private life, every man at least every family, was the judge and avenger of its own cause. The nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather than the injury shed its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs: the honour of their women and of their beards, is most easily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word can be expiated only by the blood of the offender, and such is their patient inveteracy that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge.

474. A fine or compensation for murder is familiar to the Barbarians of every age; but in Arabia the kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement, or to exercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer, substitutes an innocent to the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to the best and most considerable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he falls by their hands, they are exposed in their turn to the danger of reprisals, the interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled. This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two perhaps of four months was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed both in foreign and domestic hostility, and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habit of anarchy and warfare.

475. But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilized

nation of the ancient world: the merchant is the friend of mankind: and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac and the Chaldean tongues; the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects, but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was entrusted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the groundwork of the present alphabet were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententions, and their more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers.

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476. The genius and merit of a rising poet was celebrated by the applause of his own and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tymbals, and displaying the pomp of their nuptials, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalise their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems; a national assembly that must have contributed to refine and harmonise the Barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs; and we may read in our own

language, the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold, and suspended in the temple of Mecca. The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the age; and if they sympathised with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues of their countrymen. The indissoluble union of generosity and valour was the darling theme of their song; and when they pointed their keenest satire against a despicable race, they affirmed in the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not how to give, nor the women to deny. The same hospitality, which was practised by Abraham and celebrated by Homer, is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Badoweens, the terror of the desert, embrace, without enquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honour and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful; he shares the wealth or the poverty of his host; and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; but the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience.

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477. A dispute had arisen, who, among the citizens of Mecca, was entitled to the prize of generosity; and a successive application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup when he heard the voice of a supplicant, "O son of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am a traveller and in distress!" He instantly dismounted to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value, or as the gift of our honoured kinsman. The servant of Kais informed the second supplicant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold (it is all we have in the house), and here is an order, that will entitle you to a camel and a slave." The master, as soon as he awoke, praised and enfranchised his faithful steward, with a gentle reproof that by respecting his slumbers he had stinted his country. The third of these heroes, the blind Arab, at the hour of prayer, was supporting his steps on

the shoulders of two slaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but these you may sell; if you refuse, I renounce them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue: he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet, and a successful robber: forty camels were wasted at his hospitable feast, and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy, he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice: they proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

478. The religion of the Arabs, as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars, a primitive and specious mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of the sky display the visible image of a Deity: their number and distance convey to a philosophic, or even a vulgar eye, the idea of boundless space: the character of eternity is marked on these solid globes, that seem incapable of corruption or decay; the regularity of their motions may be ascribed to a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their peculiar care. The science of astronomy was cultivated at Babylon; but the school of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches, they steered by the guidance of their stars: their names and order and daily station were familiar to the curiosity and devotion of the Bedoween; and he was taught by experience to divide in twenty-eight parts, the zodiac of the moon, and to bless the constellations who refreshed, with salutary rains, the thirst of the desert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended beyond the visible sphere; and some metaphysical powers were necessary to sustain the transmigration of souls and the resurrection of bodies: a camel was left to perish on the grave, that he might serve his master in another life; and the invocation of departed spirits implies that they were still endowed with consciousness and power.

479. I am ignorant, and I am careless, of the blind mythology of the barbarians, of the local deities, of the stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each

independent warrior, created and changed the rites and object of his fantastic worship, but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the Caaba ascends beyond the Christian era; in describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus has remarked between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple whose superior sanctity was revered by all the Arabians; the linen or silken veil which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a pious king of the Homerites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mahomed. A tent or a cavern might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has been erected in its place, and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original model. A spacious portico incloses the quadrangle of the Caaba; a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high: a door and a window amid the light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood; a spout (now of gold) discharges the rainwater, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution.

After the book had been printed, it was decided to omit translations Nos. 480—506 *; page* 309 *therefore follows page* 290.

Our faithful ally the Nizam.

507. Although there seems at present to be no reason to apprehend that Tippoo Sultan will, for a considerable period, be disposed to come to a rupture with any of the members of the late confederacy, yet as it is of great importance for preserving our reputation for good faith, as well as for the general interests of the British nation, that the grounds should be clearly explained, on which the allies can, in consequence of the 130 articles of the treaties of the alliance that was formed at the commencement of the war, demand assistance and support from each other against any hostile attempt of their late common enemy, I look upon it as proper and desirable that the treaty of guarantee which they are bound to enter into should with all convenient despatch be put into a distinct form, and I therefore wish that you should take an early opportunity to confer fully with the minister upon the subject.

Every consideration will induce me to examine and discuss any propositions that may be made by him in the most amicable manner, but the greatest care must be taken that no vague or ambiguous expression shall be admitted into this new instrument, and that the stipulations shall in no shape go beyond the spirit of the article upon which they will be founded.

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508. I shall defer entering much into detail until you can inform me of the Nizam's sentiments and expectations; but it is proper that you should be acquainted with my ideas of the general principles which should form the basis of the agreement.

The allies are bound to guarantee against Tippoo the territories that each of them might possess at the conclusion of the war; but it must always be adverted to that the stipulation is merely defensive, and cannot operate unless Tippoo should attack either of them without just provocation.

It must therefore be clearly expressed in the treaty of guarantee, that in case any difference should arise between one of the latter and Tippoo, the other allies are to have a right to expect that the nature and circumstances of such differences shall be fully communicated to them, in order that they may give their opinion and advice, and endeavour to settle it by temporary negotiation, and that they shall not be considered as bound to take up arms in his favour, until they are convinced that he has justice on his side and all the means of conciliation shall have proved fruitless.

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509. Should a rupture become unavoidable, the interest and safety of the contracting powers will be so evidently and deeply involved in the event, that it would be highly injudicious in them to limit their exertions in endeavouring to bring it to a speedy and honourable conclusion, and it must consequently be stipulated that the whole force of each state is to be employed for that purpose. The distress and danger of the party that may be attacked, being entitled to the greatest attention from the other members of the alliance, it ought to be understood and settled, that whilst no time should be lost in preparing their whole force to take the field, every immediate assistance that may be practicable should be afforded with such troops as may be in actual readiness for service.

The above are the fair principles for the treaty of guarantee; and to render any further treaty unnecessary, in the event that Tippoo's conduct should again force us into hostilities during the existence of the guarantee, it may be proper to insert in it that a general plan of operations for the confederate forces is to be concerted as soon as possible after a rupture becomes certain, and that conformable to the terms of the alliance that was made at the commencement of last war, no one of the parties shall enter into separate negotiations, but (under the exclusion of unreasonable objections) all measures for concluding a peace shall be conducted with the knowledge and approbation of the whole.

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510. The inclination which his highness felt to cultivate and improve his connection with the Company by the manner in which the negotiation for the surrender of the Guntoor Circar was prosecuted, was further confirmed by the subsequent upright and conciliatory conduct of the late administration, and the brilliant successes of the late war, which impressed him, in common with the other states of the Deccan, with a deep and increased respect for the stability and puissance of our government. In proportion as that respect augmented Azim-ooloomrah's antipathy to the Mahratta connection and his personal animosity towards Balaji Pundit increased the Nizam's bias in favour of this long standing alliance, and should it ever be found advisable to meet his wishes of drawing close with the Company in any degree commensurate to their extent, which I conceive is to establish a connection approximating to that which subsists between us and the Nawab of Oude and the Carnatic, there would be no difficulty in weaning him from intrigues with any other Power, and guiding him entirely by our councils.

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511. The imbecility of the Nizam's government and the character of his present chief minister (Azim-ooloomrah) are adverse to his being considered in all respects such an ally as we might desire, and may therefore appear to be an argument against too intimate a connection; but on the other hand, the extensiveness of his dominions; the great resources they would yield, if properly managed, and their local importance, equally commanding an entrance into the

countries of Tippoo, the Peishwa, Scindiah, and the Berar Rajah, from which latter only anything is ever to be apprehended that can disturb the tranquillity of Bengal, might seem in favour of our adopting such an alliance with his highness as would confer on us a right to speak to him in that sort of mild but firm tone regarding men and measures, as in the case of the Kurnool business, must be attended to, and without trenching on the independency of his government, could not fail gradually to restore it to that rank and respectability it is naturally entitled to.

Should, however, such an alliance, and the kind of interference above alluded to be deemed improper, and the limits to which it is at present confined be considered as sufficient, the friendship for, and confidence in us, which has been so happily established in his government, and the reliance which the Nizam must ultimately place on the Company for checking any hostile league which the Mahrattas may form against the rights and dignity of his government, will, I imagine, always prevent his engaging in any measure to our prejudice, and induce him even to be very guarded in adopting any of which our very marked and pointed disapprobation may ever be expressed.

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512. The chief danger during the Nizam's life that his government is exposed to from the Mahrattas, arises, I conceive, from Scindiah, to whose art, turbulence, and ambition, its riches, and the character of its minister, seem to form a mark exactly calculated. Balaji Pundit, besides being attached to the Nizam by personal obligations (if any native can be attached by such a principle), and a similarity of disposition, is of a mild and pacific nature, and from him I conceive there is little to fear, nor, I apprehend, is there even any very strong grounds of apprehension from Scindiah, so long as jealousies shall exist between him and the Poonah minister, jealousies which will in all probability last as long as their lives, but should those jealousies ever yield to a sincere and cordial reconciliation, and leave Scindiah at perfect liberty to pursue his project, I think the event would be extremely alarming to this state, since the causes of offence afforded by Azim-ooloomrah are too deep and inveterate for Balaji to interpose, or indeed neglect any fair opportunity he may have of avenging them. Even though Azim-ooloomrah's destruction should draw after it

the ruin of his master, Scindiah and Balaji seem equally anxious to prevent a good understanding being established and to thwart any already subsisting between his highness and them respectively; and the Nizam on his part is not less intent to keep alive, by every means in his power, the distrust and difference that exist between the chiefs.

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513. Agriculture and the state of cultivation in the Nizam's dominions are at a low ebb; the late famine, which was not meliorated by the smallest exertion or liberality on the part of the government (bating about 150 poor wretches who were fed daily by the minister) desolated many parts of the country heretofore inhabited, and the tyranny of the government many more, yet such is the power and impolicy of the minister that he endeavours, and part real and part nominal succeeds, in keeping up the collections by fines, sequestrations, and heavy imposts, to the former but forced standard instead of the natural one, which his undue lenity to some Amils, and excessive severity to others, have reduced it; from the disorders and defalcations, however, which such measures must inevitably lead to and will shortly appear in all their native deformity, and indeed have already shown themselves in the flight of Shunker Naik Amil, of Neermul, and Azim-ool Moolk, Amil of Aurungabad, the former indebted to the Circar in an accumulated balance of ninety, and the latter twenty lacs of rupees; while Assud Ally Khan is caressed by the minister, although he has held the valuable district of Kurpah and other considerable Pergunnahs nearly two years, without having made any material payment from their revenues to the state, or being subjected to any muster of, or inquiry into, the military establishment in the support of which he pretends to have expended them.

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514. The great dexterity of the minister and the success that attends his arts for preserving the confidence of his master, notwithstanding the ruin and mismanagement which surround him, is as surprising as the weakness, or rather infatuation, of his conduct in other respects is remarkable; whether his ambition has aspired to, but not yet attained the point that he thinks will enable him to throw off the mask and dictate to the Nizam in the soft but absolute style

of Ruccan-oo-dowlah, or that he is apprehensive a similar exercise of his power may be attended with the fate of that minister (who was put to death by Nizam Ally Khan), whether it be from that distant and slavish awe which a dependant sometimes feels for his despot, Azim ool-oomrah in the most trivial instance has never failed in his respect, or presumed to act without first consulting his highness's pleasure, which he punctiliously seeks to obtain in every act, both of his public and private life. Once only, since my residence at this court, has the slightest degree of estrangement on the part of the Nizam appeared towards him, which occurred when he attempted, on the death of his rival Shumsh-ool-oomrah, while the Nizam was involved in grief for the loss of that favourite servant, to secure the sequestration of his jagheer and effects.

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515. It is most probable, I think, that the fate of Ruccan-oo-dowlah, who was the creature of the Mahratta government, and assassinated apparently for a failure of respect after having so far established his power as to confine the Nizam to a stated monthly allowance for his immediate expenses, may dwell upon his mind; for though of a rash, and, in many respects of an ungovernable temper, I have no very respectable opinion either of his political firmness or personal resolution. If any other cause operates, if he thinks the Nizam not sufficiently in his power, while the strength of Shumsh-ool-oomrah's adherents (many of them the most respectable characters at this Durbar) remains unbroken, that obstruction I do not conceive will remain long in his way, for although his highness not long ago was prevailed upon, at the earnest representations of Bukshy Begum, to recall the authority he had unwarily given him, to attach Shumsh-ool-oomrah's estate and pay the Pagah and establishment of troops for whose support it is held immediately from the treasury, yet as he acquiesced in an inquiry being instituted into the real produce of those lands, which owing to the lenity and judicious management of their holder, had increased in value considerably above their original assessment, this right to interfere, I have little doubt, will ere long be turned to such an account as to enable him to annul an establishment so obnoxious to his ambition if he aspires to present uncontrolled power, or to his future views of securing the undisputed succession to Secunder Jah; if

he does not, the immediate result of the inquiry instituted has been, that the lands shall stand at fifty-four, instead of thirty-eight lacs of rupees, at which they were before rated.

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516. Of the succession above alluded to, I am happy to think, if, as said, the Nizam's dropsical complaint has left him, the time may yet be considerably distant; considering, however, his advanced age, and the freedom with which he indulges his appetite, especially that for women, which I understand has increased upon him, I conceive it would be advisable we should be prepared what line of conduct to adopt in respect to the competitors that will start up when the event takes place. These, I think, may be confined to Ali Jah, Secunder Jah, and Darah Jah. The first his highness is conjectured to consider as his successor, but he has never declared it by any formal act or any express terms, and the servility and superstition of his women and ministers, who all think, or from interested motives pretend to do so, that his preparing for death, or being warned of his danger, would be provoking its stroke, will, in all likelihood, leave him in ignorance of his situation till it is too late to make any effectual arrangement for what is to happen after his decease.

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517. Of the only two chiefs who, in point of rank, pretensions, or ability, could be considered as rivals to the minister, Azim-ool-Moolk, as before-mentioned, has fled, and Imtiaz-oo-dowlah, his highness's nephew, is in disgrace. He is supposed to be attached to Tippoo, for intrigues with whom, whether real or pretended, the minister effected his downfall. He is slowly recovering his ground, but while Azim-ool-oomrah's influence remains, his restoration to any material degree of power is not to be expected.

Meer Allum, bating ignorance of military affairs even as the natives understand them, and of sickly habits, is otherwise equal to important considerations, and considering his qualifications altogether, and the sincere attachment I believe he entertains for our government, were I called on to give my opinion of the proper person among the chiefs of the Durbar, I am not certain I could fix upon a better man.

The value that is set upon the detachment of our troops

is too great, and the respect it gives this government in the eyes of the neighbouring powers is, I conceive, too considerable for them ever cheerfully to part with it, nor do I imagine it to be without its use to ourselves, in the salutary influence which its situation may always be supposed to have on the conduct and designs of Tippoo. I cannot leave this subject without expressing the great satisfaction I have derived from Major Roberts's conduct since he has been in command, and my opinion that a better officer could not be found in every point of view for this delicate and important trust.

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518. It is unnecessary to point out to you, that the suppositions on which I first authorized our interposition are so far varied, that the demands of the Peishwa, so far as I can judge from the communications which have hitherto reached me, are founded on justice and upon agreements, and cannot therefore be considered as exactions; and the tenor of our interposition, if it should take place, must be accordingly modified. It is our object to prevent a rupture between the two courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, and not to support one against the other. I do not, however, imagine that the Peishwa will proceed to attack the Nizam without previous communication with our Resident, Sir C. W. Malet; but I shall at all events instruct him, in the event of appearances indicating hostilities on the part of the Peishwa, to interpose his endeavours to prevent them, by offering the friendly advice of this government for an amicable termination of the matter in dispute between the two courts, on the grounds of our mutual connection and alliance with both. With respect to Sir C. W. Malet and yourself, this and my former letters having sufficiently explained the principles of our interposition, which you both appear thoroughly to understand, I leave you to act upon them according to the exigency of circumstances and the information you may possess, adding only that it is by no means my wish to interfere as long as it can prudently be avoided.

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519. In the first place, however little credit there may be due, generally speaking, to the declarations of Eastern courts, yet I own I do not see that the sincerity of the Nizam's professions with regard to his wishes for a fair and amicable adjustment can at present be reasonably or

justly questioned. He has determined to depute to Poonah for the purpose of negotiating such an accommodation, one of his principal servants, and has declared his intention of vesting him with ample powers on the occasion. If the Poonah Government should meet the proposed discussion with no more than equal alacrity, the real views and inclinations of both parties will soon develop themselves. In the interim, I deem it of no consequence whether the claims of the Mahrattas have been fully and faithfully stated by this court or not. It has pledged itself to comply with all the just demands of the Peishwa, and I still think, with Meer Allum, that if other more powerful obstacles were not in the way, there would be no considerable difficulty in adjusting all the claims of that description, which refer entirely, I believe, to the Mahratta right of Sherakut, or participation, consisting principally of Choute and Sir Deshmooky. And although, under the same circumstance of Meer Allum's approaching departure for Poonah, I consider it premature to offer any opinion with respect to those particular points which Mr. Malet seems to think likely to be agitated by the Poonah court, yet I trust I shall be excused for observing that I cannot discern the advantage derivable to our government from the dismission of the Nizam's present minister at the instance of Balaji Pundit.

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520. It is not to be denied that there are gross defects in the character of Azim-ool-oomrah; but though there should be at this court any man better qualified to conduct its affairs, yet it is by no means clear that his highness's choice would fall upon the individual, or, supposing it did, that such an one would be agreeable to the Mahrattas. As to the latter being restrained from interfering in any shape in the selection of a successor, I need only remark, that if they should be able to compel the Nizam to discard Azim-ool-oomrah, there must necessarily from that moment be an end to the independence of his highness, and though they were not openly to meddle in the nomination of a new minister, yet I humbly conceive, that whoever he might be, he would be but too apt, warned by the fate of his predecessor, to enter completely into their views. In such an event, I am so far from perceiving anything favourable to the interests of the Company, that I own I should rather expect it to lead rapidly to the deduction of the political equipoise of

the Deccan, and to the dissolution of our connection with this state. On the other hand, it is far from being certain that his highness would sacrifice his minister without a struggle for the maintenance of his independence in so material a point, in the course of which it may be reasonably doubted whether an attempt would not be made by this Court to strengthen itself by an alliance with Tippoo Sultan. Although, therefore, I readily admit it to be highly desirable that there should be no necessity for our taking any steps with a view to the prevention of such evils, yet whenever this necessity shall become apparent, our exertions on the occasion will, no doubt, be proportioned to the importance of the object in view; in the prosecution of which, however, I flatter myself I shall not be thought inclined to go any lengths that can possibly have any effect of involving us in a war with the Mahrattas; since, however pregnant with mischief to us, I consider the subversion or enthralment of this state by that nation to be, I am far from being of opinion that the danger would be so imminent as to justify our hazarding such an extremity in the present posture of things. I shall close my observations on this subject with taking the liberty of referring you, honourable sir, to the second part of my predecessor's letter to the Resident at Poonah, under date the 18th of January, 1793, wherein he has treated the very point here under consideration with great clearness and force.

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521. Any suggestions for promoting the desirable object of a reconciliation between the two states can only be safely formed on general principles, under a due consideration of their relative power and resources.

Little doubt can, I presume, be entertained of the superiority of the Mahrattas in these respects, and consequently of the inability of the Nizam to maintain a successful war against them, and if this be admitted, it follows, that it is the interest of his highness to avoid a contest which will probably confirm his dependency on the Peishwa, from which he so naturally wishes to emancipate himself.

With this view, the deputation of Meer Allum was prudent and proper, and the powers with which he was on this occasion invested, appeared to me sufficient for opening the negotiation with the Poonah minister, and would probably have been deemed so by the latter, if the disagree-

ments between the two courts were of a public nature only, without any mixture of personal jealousy and animosity.

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522. Without considering in this place the probable motives of the Poonah ministry in requiring a demonstration of plenary powers from Meer Allum, for concluding the articles of discussion between his sovereign and the Peishwa without reference to the former, I shall only observe that the suggestion for demanding a similar declaration from Balaji Pundit appears to me superfluous and unnecessary; that it was not calculated to answer any useful purpose, and that the notification of the demand was very prudently suppressed by Meer Allum, as advantage might have been derived from it to protract the commencement of the negotiation, which cannot, with a view to the interests of the Nizam, be too earnestly urged. And here it may be proper to add as a general principle to be observed throughout the negotiation, that the Nizam and his minister should be very cautious in suffering any demur to intervene on articles of mere etiquette, or to show any hesitation or reluctance upon matters that are not of a real importance.

In the instructions given to Meer Allum on this occasion, the point of reference is still maintained, but subject to a further modification which is certainly reasonable, and as such ought to satisfy the Poonah ministry. Of this determination you are at this time apprised; but as it is possible they may still adhere to their original requisition, I give you my opinion that this point, if insisted upon as an absolute preliminary, ought to be conceded; and that I see less danger in it to the Nizam than to Meer Allum, from the greatness of the responsibility which will, in consequence, devolve on him.

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523. This opinion, suggested by the preceding observations, may be supported by the following reasons: it does not follow from the delegation of plenipotentiary powers to Meer Allum, that he is obliged to sacrifice the true interest of his master, or to yield more than justice or sound policy requires. His highness may himself, if he judges it expedient, prescribe the limitations of his concessions, and the demands which he may think it right to insist upon in all points where the grounds of altercation are known; the term required for discussion will occasionally

afford opportunity for reference and time may even be gained for the purpose. If unforeseen subjects should occur, the discretion of Meer Allum must be trusted, and the interests of the Nizam may, perhaps, be safer in this confidence than in the decisions of his minister; the Resident at Poonah, as far as prudence and propriety warrant, will afford him the advantage of his advice, and your communications will assist the former on the grounds of it.

The advantages to be expected from this measure are these, that it will bring the sincerity of the two courts to a test, and, what is of the greatest importance to the Nizam, the real intentions of the Mahratta minister must be immediately developed; after this concession the Peishwa, without a violation of the principles of propriety and equity, cannot longer decline and refuse a discussion of his claims with the representative of his highness.

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524. I am not very apprehensive that the Nizam will evince great reluctance in conferring plenipotentiary powers on Meer Allum, as this minister cannot but see that his pride and vanity will thus escape the mortification of those concessions which, sooner or later, he will be compelled to make.

It is of the last importance to the interests of the Nizam for him to ascertain the mere grounds of the reserve of the Poonah ministry in stating their claims upon his highness.

If, as I suspect, they originate in a distrust of Azim-ool-oomrah and animosity to him, the reflections which I have detailed, derive new force from this consideration; if former jealousy and dislike of our interposition, that may be easily remedied, if it cannot be otherwise surmounted; but if the cause of this reserve should exist in motives that cannot be explained, such, for instance, as the removal of Azim-ool-oomrah from the control of his highness's administration, and the reduction of the Nizam to his former dependency on the Poonah government, or in an intention to gain time for the commencement of hostilities which have been predetermined, it behoves the Nizam to be well upon his guard, and to weigh the consequences of submitting to these claims, with his means and power to resist them.

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525. On such conjectures it is impossible to speak to the Nizam more than will be sufficient to lead him to serious reflections on the perils of his situation. If after yielding what equity requires, and any points not of very material consequence, which, in equity he might refuse, the demands of the Poonah government should remain unsatisfied, it remains with him to consider and determine how far he possesses power to resist those exactions, and whether a war with the Mahrata would involve him in deeper embarrassments, or extricate him from the thraldom they might wish to impose upon him.

I perfectly agree with Sir C. W. Malet, that in the event of a contest with the Mahrattas, his highness could entertain no hopes of assistance from ——; it is further evident to me, that if the Berar Rajah should take any part in the contest, it would be against the Nizam, and that any expectations which he might form of assistance from Tippoo would most likely prove visionary. The contempt of that prince for the Nizam is sufficiently apparent in his late neglect of paying the same compliment to him as to the Court of Poonah, and it may not be improper to inform you, that I learn from Captain Doveton that it was evident in the language of Tippoo's officers, they did not hesitate to express these sentiments; adding, that they considered the period of the Nizam's death as a signal of the dissolution of his state, making use of this expression, that the game was prepared and would be soon begun.

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526. By whom the treaty of Eadgheer was first infringed or whether Nanna or Azim-ool-oomrah first gave cause of provocation or animosity, are questions of importance only as they may become subjects of discussion, and in this view, if the charge could be clearly ascertained to rest with Nanna, the imputation might be forcibly opposed in reply to those accusations, which he has good grounds to urge on the intemperance and arrogance of Azim-ool-oomrah's language; on his connections with the Scindiah for a purpose which he disclaimed to the Poonah ministry, and on his march to Bidur to support the objects of that connection. It is, therefore proper that Meer Allum should be fully instructed on these points, but I would by no means recommend that they should be introduced by him, or that they should be discussed without necessity. It would be more

prudent, if they should be brought forward by Nanna to reply, that although he is satisfied, he could vindicate his court and the minister to the satisfaction of Nanna, by showing that the grounds of imputation were not on one side only, that he is instructed to waive the discussions by an offer of the personal friendship of Azim-ool-oomrah, and a promise of the continuance of it in future. At the same time it may be possible that the discussion of the infraction of the original treaty of Eadgheer may be unavoidable, but this may be made on public not personal grounds.

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527. I entirely agree with you that your support of Meer Allum cannot be advantageously exerted, unless his communications with Azim-ool-oomrah are candid and explicit, and I trust Sir C. W. Malet has already explained the necessity of it to him.

Great embarrassment is stated to result from the variety of emissaries employed by his highness at Poonah: whilst the conduct, of Meer Allum merits his highness's confidence I would advise that he should be made the sole channel of communications if it be practicable (of which you and Mr. Malet must judge), leaving it to him to employ such inferior agency as he may think necessary.

If the present dissensions should proceed to hostilities, I would recommend to you to continue with his highness's person as long as he remains within his own territory, but not to accompany the Nizam into those of the Peishwa, without his consent, leaving it at the same time with you to use your discretion in retiring to any situation which you may think proper. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the Company's troops stationed with the Nizam cannot be employed offensively or defensively against the Mahratta; under this restriction, they may be of use to his highness in suppressing or preventing internal commotion, or in the protection of his capital during his absence from it.

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528. In the opinions which I have detailed, you will find, I imagine, instructions for your general guidance in most cases, and in your conferences with the Nizam and his minister. But as we are absolutely precluded from assisting his highness with the troops of the Company, and as our mediation is introduced under a restriction to avoid

any imputation in the consequences, if it should prove ineffectual, you will carefully attend to these principles.

For the same reasons, it should be left to the Nizam's reflection to decline the advice which I wish to press upon him, from questions and inferences, rather than by direct communications, unless it should be required in such unreserved terms as to render a candid, explicit declaration in reply unavoidable.

Since writing the above, I have received your despatches of the 31st August, and Sir C. W. Malet's of the 26th, with a copy of his private letter to you of the same date, and from the tenor of them I am sorry to observe that the object of Meer Allum's negotiations seems as remote as ever, and that the disagreement between the two ministers appears to be so inveterate as scarcely to admit of reconciliation.

These circumstances plainly suggest a conclusion that the discussions of the two courts will never be brought to an amicable termination, whilst they continue to be immediately conducted by the two ministers, and strongly point out the necessity of the measures which I have recommended for investing Meer Allum with plenipotentiary powers, or that some other plan should be adopted to remove what appeared to me insuperable obstacles to the conclusion of the negotiation as now carried on. For this purpose, no better way could be devised than a meeting of the Nizam and the Peishwa without the presence of the minister, as it would relieve us from an interposition which will probably prove inefficacious; but in giving my opinion as to the expediency of the measure, I by no means suppose it practicable, that the existing difficulties might be diminished, even by a direct correspondence between the Nizam and the Peishwa, I have no doubt. But how far his highness would be inclined to make the advances in terms calculated to promote the intended object under an assurance even that they would be accepted, is a consideration which I leave to you, with a discretion to suggest it or not, as from circumstances you may judge expedient.

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529. The only treaties which have a reference to this question are those concluded at Paungul and Poonah, with the Nizam and Mahrattas, under the title of offensive and defensive alliance in June and July 1790.

The preamble to the treaty with the Nizam specifies three

parties to it, and that the alliance is against Tippoo Sultan. The first article confirms the friendship existing between the three states by former treaties, and the second declares that Tippoo having violated his engagements with the contracting powers, they have united in a league to punish him to the utmost of their ability, and to deprive him of the means of disturbing the general tranquillity in future. The third and subsequent articles to the 9th inclusive, relate to the prosecution of the war, and to objects connected with it, to the distribution of the conquered territories, and to the mode of making peace, and the tenth article of the treaty of Paungul, which is the 13th in that of Poonah, is in the following terms:—

"If after the conclusion of peace with Tippoo, he should attack or molest either of the contracting parties, the others shall join to punish him; the mode and conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled by the contracting parties."

The treaty therefore, from this summary recital of it, is clearly an alliance between three states for a declared specific object, with a prospective clause for the future security of all the contracting parties against a common enemy.

To ascertain with all possible accuracy the nature of the obligations of the treaty, I now advert to the negotiations preceding the formation of it, and to the discussions of the quoted article, which have taken place subsequent to the war.

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530. I shall now consider the arguments by which the Nizam presumed to urge his claim to our assistance in the event of the promised suppositions. That he is by treaty entitled to the assistance of the company, as well as that of the Mahrattas, if Tippoo should attack his dominions without just cause or provocations, and the defection of one party to the treaty cannot exonerate the other from the obligations which it has contracted to discharge, that so far from being justified in refusing him aid against Tippoo, it is incumbent on us to stand forth and compel the third party to perform its stipulations.

That the article imposing the obligation of assistance is clear, and positive in its terms, and contains no expressions or condition to justify a secession on our part; that his reliance in making the treaty was upon our good faith,

as he not only well knew the treachery of the Mahrattas, but plainly intimated his suspicions of it during the preliminary negotiations; that at the period of making the treaty, our interest dictated the necessity of entering into an alliance with him, whether the Mahrattas became parties to it or not, and it cannot be doubted that if he had insisted upon an offensive engagement in general terms, it must have been acceded to; that if we are at liberty to renounce the performance of our stipulations, because the Mahrattas have violated their engagement, or for other reasons of convenience or policy, that good faith, which is the basis and cement of treaties, is subverted, as a pretence equally valid can never be wanting to authorize a departure from the most solemn obligations.

That Tippoo's aggression must be with or without the concert of the Mahrattas, and in either case we are bound to oppose it, but more particularly should he take the field against the Nizam as the confederate of the Peishwa, as such a confederacy would be, on his part, a direct and insulting violation of the treaty which it would be an indispensable duty to resist.

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531. To these arguments the following may be opposed.

Nothing can be clearer than the treaty, by the terms of it, is a tripartite engagement, binding and uniting three states for their reciprocal security against a declared common enemy, and supposing the guarantee established by it to be maintained by the joint efforts and co-operation of the three allies; upon this principle all explanations and acts originating out of the treaty were to take place by mutual communication and the concurrence of the three allied powers. That as the union of the three allies was the basis of the treaty, the continuance of that union, or friendship, is essential to the performance of the obligations imposed by it, and a war between two of the parties totally changes the relative situation of all.

A junction between Tippoo and one of two parties to the treaty, whilst at war with each other, is to be considered with reference to the causes of hostilities between the two parties engaged in them. The treaty can never be construed with that rigour as in all cases to preclude any of the parties to it from forming such alliances as may be necessary to his safety, and upon a supposition that the justice of the

war between the Nizam and the Peishwa is decidedly on one side, and that the other has been compelled into it by unprovoked aggression, self-preservation would justify an alliance between the aggrieved party and Tippoo.

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532. On the other hand, a confederacy between him and one of the parties to the triple alliance against any other party from ambitious motives, may be pronounced a gross infraction of that alliance with respect to the state confederating with Tippoo. The inference from this reasoning in point of fact bears rather against the Nizam, as his advance towards Bidur, if not an act of aggression against the Mahratta state, was indisputably with a view to take part in the dissensions between Scindiah and the minister, and so far an indication of hostilities. In an early stage of those measures which have contributed to involve the Nizam in his present embarrassments, the consequences of them were distinctly pointed out to Azim-ool-oomrah, and whilst the importance of a good understanding with Balaji Pundit, to the prosperity of the Nizam's government, was urged to him, he was at the same time apprised of the destructive tendency to his highness's affairs of a rupture with the Mahratta minister.

To support the Nizam against Tippoo if he should seize the oportunity of actual hostility between his highness and the Mahratta, to attack the territory of the former without provocation, must necessarily involve us in a war with the Mahrattas, a predicament which the obligations of the treaty never supposed. I state this as a necessary consequence, for the operations of the field would lead to it, even if the invasion were not originally concerted or intended between Tippoo and the Peishwa.

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533. KINGLAKE.—And with this invasion there came something more than what men said upon the battle-fields of the contending armies. In one of the allied states, the people, being free of speech and having power over the judgment of their rulers, were able to take upon themselves a great share of the business of the war. It was in vain that the whole breadth of Europe divided this people from the field of strife. By means unknown before, they gained fitful and vivid glimpses of the battle and the siege, of the sufferings of the camp and bivouac, and the last

dismal scenes of the hospital tent; and being thus armed from day to day with fresh knowledge, and feeling conscious of a warlike strength exceeding by a thousand fold the strength expressed by the mere numbers of their army, they thronged in, and made their voice heard, and became partakers of the counsels of state. The scene of the conflict was mainly their choice. They enforced the invasion. They watched it hour by hour. Through good and evil days they sustained it, and when by the yielding of their adversary the strife was brought to an end, they seemed to pine for more fighting. Yet they had witnessed checkered scenes. They counted their army on the mainland. They watched it over the sea. They saw it land. They followed its march. They saw it in action. They tasted of the joy of victory. Then came the time when they had to bear to see their army dying upon a bleak hill from cold and want. In their anguish this people strove to know their General.

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534. They had seen him in the hour of battle, and their hearts had bounded with pride. They saw him now commanding a small force of wan, feeble, dying men, yet holding a strong enemy at bay, and comporting himself as though he were the chief of a strong, besieging army. They hardly knew at the time that for forty days the fate of two armies and the lasting fame and relative strength of great nations were hanging upon the quality of one man's mind. Tormented with grief and anger for the cruel sufferings of their countrymen, they turned upon the chief with questioning looks, and seeing him always holding his ground and always composed, they strove to break in upon the mystery of his calm. But there, their power fell short. Except by withstanding the enemy, he made them no sign; and when he was reinforced and clothed once more with power, he still seemed the same to them. At length they saw him die. Thenceforth they had to look upon the void which was left by his death. They grew more patient. They did not become less resolute. What they hoped and what they feared in all these trials, what they thought, what they felt, what they saw, what they heard, nay, even what they were planning against the enemy, they uttered aloud in the face of the world; and thence it happened that one of the chief features of the struggle was the demeanour of a free and impetuous people in time of war.

Again the invasion of the Crimea so tried the strength, so measured the enduring power of the nations engaged, that, when the conflict was over, their relative stations in Europe were changed, and they had to be classed afresh.

Moreover, the strife yielded lessons in war and policy which are now of great worth.

But this war was deadly. It brought, they say, to the grave full a million of workmen and soldiers. It consumed a pitiless share of the wealth which man's labour had stored up as the means of life. More than this it shattered the framework of the European system, and made it hard for any nation to be thenceforth safe except by its sheer strength. It seems right that the causes of a havoc which went to such proportions should be traced and remembered.

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535. For thirty-five years there had been peace between the great Powers of Europe. The outbreaks of 1848 had been put down. The wars which they kindled had been kept within bounds, and had soon been brought to an end. Kings, emperors, and statesmen declared their love of peace. But always while they spoke, they went on levying men. Russia, Germany, and France were laden with standing armies.

This was one root of danger. There was another. Between a sovereign who governs for himself, and one who reigns through a council of statesmen, there are points of difference which make it more likely that war will result from the will of the one man than from the blended judgments of several chosen advisers. In these days the exigencies of an army are vast and devouring. Also modern society, growing more and more vulnerable by reason of the very beauty and complexity of its arrangements, is made to tremble by the mere rumour of an appeal to arms; and, upon the whole, the evils inflicted by war are so cruel, and the benefit which a Power may hope to derive from a scheme of aggression is commonly so obscure, so remote, and so uncertain, that when the world is in a state of equilibrium and repose, it is gererally very hard to see how it can be really for the interest of any one state to go and do a wrong clearly tending to provoke a rupture. Here, then, there is something like a security for the maintaining of peace. But this security rests upon the supposition that a state will faithfully pursue its own welfare, and therefore it ceases to hold good

in a country where the government happens to be in such hands that the interests of the nation at large fail to coincide with the interests of its ruler.

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536. This history will not dissemble—it will broadly lay open—the truth that a people no less than a prince may be under the sway of a warlike passion, and may wring obedience to its fierce command from the gentlest ministers of state; but upon the whole, the interests, the passions and foibles which lead to war are more likely to be found in one man than in the band of public servants which is called a ministry. A ministry, indeed, will share in any sentiments of just national anger, and it may even entertain a great scheme of state ambition, but it can scarcely be under the sway of fanaticism, or vanity, or petulance, or bodily fear; for though any one member of the government may have some of these defects, the danger of them will always be neutralised in council. Then, again, a man rightly called a minister of state is not a mere favourite of his severeign, but the actual transactor of public business. He is in close intercourse with those labourers of high worth and ability who in all great states compose the permanent staff of the public office; and in this way, even though he be newly come to affairs, he is brought into acquaintance with the great traditions of the State, and comes to know and feel what the interests of his country are. Above all, a ministry really charged with affairs will be free from the personal and family motives which deflect the state policy of a prince who is his own minister, and will refuse to merge the interests of their country in the mere hopes and fears of one man.

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537. On the other hand, a monarch governing for himself, and without responsible ministers, must always be under a set of motives which are laid upon him by his personal station as well as by his care for the people. Such a prince is either a hereditary sovereign or he is a man who has won the crown with his own hand. In the first case, the contingency of his turning out a man really qualified for the actual governance of an empire is almost, though not quite, excluded by the bare law of chances; and, on the other hand, it may be expected that the prince who has made his own way to the throne will not be wanting in such qualities of mind as fit a man for business of state.

In some respects perhaps, he will be abler than a council. He will be more daring, more resolute, more secret; but these are qualities conducive to war, and not to peace. Moreover, a prince who has won for himself a sovereignty claimed by others will almost always be under the pressure of motives very foreign to the real interests of the state. He knows that by many he is regarded as a mere usurper, and that his home enemies are carefully seeking the moment when they may depose him, and take his life. He commands great armies, and has a crowd of hired courtiers at his side; but he knows that if his skill and his fortune should both chance to fail him in the same hour, he would become a prisoner or a corpse. He hears, from behind, the stealthy foot of the assassin; and before him he sees the dismal gates of a jail, and the slow, hateful forms of death by the hand of the law. Of course he must and he will use all the powers of the state as a defence against these dangers, and if it chance to seem likely—as in such circumstances it often does—that war may give him safety or respite, then to war he will surely go; and although he knows that this rough expedient is one which must be hurtful to the state, he will hardly be kept back by such a thought, for, being, as it were, a drowning man who sees a plank within his reach, he is forced by the law of nature to clutch it; and his country is then drawn into war, not because her interests require it, nor even because her interests are mistaken by her ruler, but because she has suffered herself to fall into the hands of a prince whose road to welfare is distinct from her own.

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538. The supreme Law of Usage which forms the safeguard of Europe is not in a state so perfect and symmetrical that the elucidation of it will bring any ease or comfort to a mind accustomed to crave for well-defined rules of conduct. It is a rough and wild grown system, and its observance can only be enforced by opinion, and by the belief that it truly coincides with the interests of every Power which is called upon to obey it; but practically, it has been made to achieve a fair portion of that security which sanguine men might hope to see resulting from the adoption of an international code. Perhaps under a system ideally formed for the safety of nations and for the peace of the world, a wrong done to one state would be instantly treated as a wrong done to all. But in the actual state of the world

there is no such bond between nations. It is true that the law of nations does not stint the right of executing justice, and that any Power may either remonstrate against a wrong done to another state, great or small, or may endeavour, if so it chooses, to prevent or redress the wrong by force of arms; but the duties of states in this respect are very far from being co-extensive with their rights. In Europe, all states except the five great Powers are exempt from the duty of watching over the general safety; and even a state which is one of the five great Powers is not practically under an obligation to sustain the cause of justice unless its perception of the wrong is reinforced by a sense of its own interests. Moreover, no state, unless it be combating for its very life, can be expected to engage in a war without a fair prospect of success.

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539. But when the three circumstances are present—When a wrong is being done against any state, great or small, when that wrong in its present or ulterior consequences happens to be injurious to one of the five great Powers, and, finally, when the great Power so injured is competent to wage war with fair hopes—then Europe is accustomed to expect that the great Power which is sustaining the hurt will be enlivened by the smart of the wound, and for its own sake, as well as for the public weal, will be ready to come forward in arms, or to labour for the formation of such leagues as may be needed for upholding the cause of justice. If a power fails in this duty to itself and to Europe, it suddenly becomes lowered in the opinion of mankind; and happily there is no historic lesson more true than that which teaches all rulers that a moral degradation of this sort is speedily followed by disasters of such a kind as to be capable of being expressed in arithmetic, and of being in that way made clear to even the narrowest understanding. The principle on which the safeguard rests will not be acknowledged by all, but those who will disown it can be designated beforehand. There are many who cannot make out how society can justly be harsh upon a man for being tame under insult or injury; and the same class of moralists will encounter a like difficulty in their endeavour to understand the cogency and the worth of this Usage.

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540. The obligation imposed upon a great state by this Usage is not a heavy yoke, for after all it does no more than impel a sovereign, by fresh motives and by larger sanctions, to be watchful in the protection of his own interests. It quickens his sense of honour. It warns him that if he tamely stands witnessing a wrong which it is his interest and duty to redress, he will not escape with the reckoning which awaits him in his own dishonoured country, but that he will also be held guilty of a great European defection, and that his delinquency will be punished by the reproach of nations, by their scorn and mistrust, and at last, perhaps, by their desertion of him in his hour of trial. But, on the other hand, the Usage assures a prince that if he will but be firm in coming forward to redress a public wrong which chances to be collaterally hurtful to his own state, his cause will be singularly ennobled and strengthened by the acknowledgment of the principle that, although he is fighting for his own people, he is fighting, also for every nation in the world which is interested in putting down the wrong-doer.

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541. Of course neither this nor any other human law or usage can have any real worth except in proportion to the respect and obedience with which it is regarded, but since the Usage exacts nothing from any state except what is really for its own good as well as for the general weal, it is very much obeyed and is always respected in Europe. Indeed, a virtual compliance with the Usage is much more general than it might seem to be at first sight for the known or foreseen determination of a great state to resist the perpetration of a wrong is constantly tending with great force to the maintenance of peace, and peace being much less remarkable than war, the very success with which the principle words presents it from being conspicuous. And, certainly, when the Usage is faithfully obeyed, it is a strong safeguard, for the interests of different states being much interwined, it commonly happens that as wrong done to a lesser state is in some way hurtful or dishonouring to one or other of the great Powers; and if the great Power which is thus aggrieved takes fire, as it ought to do, and determines to resist or avenge, it is generally able to embroil other states; and the result is that the Prince who is the wrong-doer finds himself involved in a war which—having

a tendency to become greater and greater—can hardly be otherwise than formidable to him. It is the apprehension of this result which is the main safeguard of peace.

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542. Any prince who might be inclined to do a wrong to another state casts his eyes abroad to see the condition of the great Powers. If he observes that they are all in a sound state, and headed by firm, able rulers, who are equal, if need be to the duty of taking up arms, he knows, that his contemplated outrage would produce a war, of which he cannot foresee the scope or limit, and unless he be a madman or a desperado desiring war for war's sake, he will be inclined to hold back. On the other hand, if he sees that any great nation which ought to be foremost to resist him is in a state of exceptional weakness or under the governance of unworthy or incapable rulers, or is distracted by some whim or sentiment interfering with an accustomed policy, than, perhaps, he allows himself to entertain a hope that she may not have the spirit or the wisdom to perform her duty. That is the hope and it may be said in these days it is the one only hope, which would drive a sane prince to become the disturber of Europe. To frustrate this hope—in other words, to keep alive the dread of a just and avenging war—should be the care of every statesmen who would faithfully labour to preserve the peace of Europe.

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543. It is a poor use of time to urge a king or an emperor to restrain his ambition and his covetousness, for these are passions eternal, always to be looked for, and always to be combated. For such a prince the only good bridle is the fear of war. Of course it is right enough to appeal to this wholesome fear under the courteous title of deference to opinion, though in truth it is not for the ambitious disturber, but rather for those princes who are showing signs of weakness and failing spirit, that the discipline of opinion is really needed. Happily this discipline is not often wanting for the feelings of nation in regard to the toleration of a wrong coincide with the general weal; and if men cannot always shame a prince from being guilty of an ignominious defection, they at least take care that the fruit of his delinquency shall be bitter. Europe is severe and slow of forgiveness towards any great Power which, shrinking from

the defence of its own rights, has suffered a harm to be done to another state.

It will be seen by and by that in defiance of the opinion of Europe, and without any colour of right, a great Power invaded the territory of a weaker neighbour; but any one who keeps in mind the principle of the great Usage will have the means of seeing what resources Europe had for repressing that act of violence, and will hold a clue for finding out the quarter to which men had a right to look for the commencement of resistance.

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544. The Emperor Nicholas held an absolute sway over his Empire, and his power was not moderated by the salutary resistance of ministers who had strength enough to decline to take part in acts which they disapproved. The old restraints which used sometimes to fetter the power of the Russian monarchs had fallen away, and nothing had yet come in their stead. Holding the boundless authority of an Oriental Potentate, the Czar was armed besides with all the Power which is supplied by high organization and the clever appliances of modern times. What he chose to do he actually did. He might be sitting alone and reading a despatch and if it happened that its contents made him angry, he could touch a bell and kindle a war without hearing counsel from any living man. In the room where he laboured he could hear over-head the clicking of machinery, and he liked the sound of the restless magnets, for they were giving instant effect to his will in regions far away. He was of a stern, unrelenting nature. He displayed, when he came to be tried, a sameness of idea and of language and a want of resource which indicated poverty of intellect; but this dearth within was masked by the brilliancy of the qualities which adorned the surface; and he was so capable of business, and had such a vast activity, that he was able to arrogate to himself an immense share of the actual governance of his subjects.

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545. England had long been an enigma to the political students of the Continent, but after the summer of 1851 they began to imagine that they really at last understood her. They thought that she was falling from her place among nations; and indeed there were signs which might well lead a shallow observer to fancy that her ancient spirit

was failing her. An army is but the limb of a nation, and it is no more given to a people to combine the possession of military strength with an unmeasured devotion to the arts of peace than it is for a man to be feeble and helpless in the general condition of his body, and yet to have at his command a strong right arm for the convenience of self-defence. The strength of the right arm is as the strength of the man; the prowess of an army is as the valour and warlike spirit of the nation which gives it her flesh and blood. England, having suffered herself to grow forgetful of this truth, seemed, in the eyes of foreigners, to be declining. It was not the reduction of the military and establishments which was the really evil sign: for—to say nothing of ancient times—the Swiss in Europe, and some of the states of the North American continent, have shown the world that a people which almost dispenses with a standing army may yet be among the most resolute and warlike of nations; but there was in England a general decrying of arms.

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546. When a great country is induced, by virtue or by policy, to refrain from using her physical strength against a sovereign of a weaker state, she often solaces herself for this painful effort of moderation by showing her neighbour the error of his ways and giving him constant advice; and if it happen that two or more great Powers are thus engaged in tendering their rival counsels to the same state, they will be prone to struggle with one another for the ascendancy, and to do this with a zeal scarcely intelligible to men who have never seen that kind of strife. The prize contended for is commonly known by the name of influence; and although this moral sovereignty over foreign states may be a privilege of small intrinsic worth, the princes and statesmen who have once begun combating for the prize, and even the merchants and the travellers who have happened to be on the spot, and to witness with any attention the animating incidents of the conflict, have generally had their zeal kindled.

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547. The Rise of Roman Imperialism. There are some coincidences of history that entertain better than a novel, and moralize more persuasively than a sermon. The footprints of the Deity, in human action, seem there more visible than in the more isolated results we owe to His government

of the universe. The Master-Hand which coerces, to a few given limits, the extravagance of human action, shows in more palpable evidence; the thing we call human greatness resolves itself more into the theatrical pretensions in which it so often consists; and we are tempted, as we marvel over the humiliating study, to think that the loftiest of our fellows, with the best of their works, form but so many instruments of a nursery game in the hands of a superior intelligence.

What, for example, is the career of Louis Napoleon but a providential plagiarism on that of Octavius Cæsar? The most cursory recollection of our Merivale will bring up the coincidences, that both emperors rose to eminence from private stations, under the shadows of great names, not their own; that, though both were essentially civilians, both reached the successions of military uncles and the chieftainhoods of great military nations, by much the same arts and agencies, after long intrigues and by very similar tenures of power, at kindred epochs as to faith and morals, over kindred nations as to legal and social characteristics, and amid similar sources of strength and weakness.

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548. As we detect so extraordinary a reproduction of character and events in lives severed by thousands of years as to time, and thousands of miles as to place, with a whole Christian civilization between the two, how are our conceptions of the world's government altered, and how mean seem the parts played by the most successful of the world's actors, compared with that mysterious law of event—the immediate guard of Providence—which seems to force great national movements into a few given grooves, and reduces all human flesh into the almost passive instrument of ends, shaped as little as possible like those which had been so painfully rough-hewed by itself.

The young Augustus, when taking the first step in his extraordinary career, was brought in contact with a commonwealth already entered into the rapids of a new revolution, as enigmatic then as it became legible in characters of blood later. An aristocratic conspiracy had just laid low "the foremost man of all the world," and for an instant his friends "bent down, while bloody treason flourished over them." But if that "godlike stroke," as it has been called, avenged the traditional majesty of Roman right, it by no means restored it.

549. In the utter darkness that came over the future, consternation took possession of every party and every leader of party. Antony disguised himself as a slave, and fled when no man pursued him. Brutus and his friends fortified themselves in the Capitol; and the senators and burgesses, even when not immediately concerned, did not dare to appear in public, to question each other on the next act in the drama. Like the mangled body itself, smuggled home by servants, in the night, supported on a broken litter, the State lay helpless and exanimate, shrouded in darkness, and under improvised carriage, at the hands of slaves, scared, more than pleased, at the death of a master.

The first surprise over, the mutual concessions, which a present or proximate anarchy tends to extort, allowed the machinery of constitutional rule to get again into play, but the main power falling into the hands of the surviving consul, the debauched lieutenant of the dictator, it was soon made apparent that Antony meant to reserve the vacant succession for himself. Scarcely, on the one hand, had he directed the brands which had consumed Cæsar's body to the houses of the assassins, before he seized Amatius, a relative of the Cæsars and ardent supporter of their policy, and strangled him, with his principal followers, as traitors to the State.

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550. As the sickly youth of eighteen heard, in his school at the other side of the Adriatic, of this betrayal of the Cæsarian policy by his uncle's best friend, and acquired the certainty that the statesman who wielded the executive power of the republic by that uncle's own appointment was using it against his nephew, he might well recall the great man's touching apostrophe to Brutus, and forecast, with an anxious heart, the journey he now decided on making to the capital. His friends expounded to him the uncertainties of popular favour, and the tragic contingencies of factious times, of which his own family had just furnished two memorable instances: they dilated on the reckless ambition of Antony, on the power of the senate, and the influence of the republican party, and he was made to feel that, in aspiring to so gigantic an inheritance, he was inviting against his own bosom every sword, and against his own peace every treachery which had been turned against his uncle's.

But, were these counsels as wise as they were specious, it was fated that the individual who was to be distinguished for his prudence above all other statesmen should pay them no heed now, in taking the most important step in his career.

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551. Influenced by *principle*, as the new chief of the great Marian party, influenced still more by *feeling*, as the heir of Cæsar's wrongs, he opposed to their reason the impulse and ascendancy of a fixed determination; and we are told that his mother, charmed as well as amazed at a daring that seemed to her little less than inspired, allowed even her timidity to give way, and delivered him up to the career from which dated the imperial house of the Cæsars, with these memorable words:—"Go, my son: may the gods conduct thee whither thy high destiny calls thee: may they grant that I may soon see thee victorious over thy enemies!"

Could the veil of the future at that hour have been withdrawn, how would she have recoiled from the drama her words prologued! How little she surmised that the time was near when the last matron that was to survive of her illustrious progeny, should be anxiously like her questioning a dark future on the destiny of its last offshoot, and that when told the terrible truth that her son, Nero, was to reign, but to reign her murderer, should pronounce the response which epitomizes the history of the Cæsars: "Let him murder, but let him reign!" Yes, Attia, as thy son shall attain the destiny to which thou yieldest him, but the republic that gave him birth be no more, so Nero, the last of thy blood, shall ascend to empire, but Agrippina, his mother, perish! The parricide that inaugurates the rise of thy family shall follow them into their palaces, till it sing the requiem of their fall!

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552. But though a calamity for the youth to be drawn into the furnace of faction, he was in circumstances that made it the law of his existence, and left no substantial imprudence in the determination. His high birth and higher adoption compelled a career of greatness. He might have exclaimed with one to whom Shakspeare has given many like traits of character:—

> The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right—

for it was the fatality of the man and the hour, that he

could not live for himself. The Cæsarian party, as if animated by the heroic genius of its founder, was numerous, powerful, and, above all things, in earnest; and from every extremity of the empire its myriad voices were hourly inviting the orphaned nephew to take the place of honour at their head. Even as a paltry question of personal security, there was as much hope in a vigorous campaign as under the most secluded life of privacy. The heir of the tyrant could only know safety in the strong arms of the devoted partisans who were crowding around him their services. He had inherited, with the name, its eminence of glory or catastrophe; and dangerous as was the position of dictator, for him it was still more dangerous to be without it.

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553. The responsibility, solemn for any man, was terrible for one so young; and ably as, for the most part, he discharged it, we must not so far lend ourselves to the exaggerations of history, as to believe that he owed all to his own inspirations. By the appointment of his prescient uncle, he had near him at school the counsels of an able friend destined to aid him with rare fidelity through the vicissitudes of his future fortunes.

Marcus Agrippa, subsequently celebrated both as general and minister, was like Horace—another friend of Augustus—the son of an enfranchised slave; and his uprise to the first offices in a State, essentially patrician, indicates that the revolution, in social relations, was even greater than that which in the world of politics, perhaps, only typified it. He was, in the highest sense of the term, a man of business, possessing with force of character and natural courage that ready tact and intuitive good sense which seems more like instinct than genius, but which, if less brilliant, is nearly always more successful. His straightforward abilities were exactly of the class required to complete the far-reaching policies, but over-subtle appliances of his young companion.

THE END.

