CHAPTER III.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DHOONDIAH—IN CEYLON—THE MAHRATTA WAR—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

FROM the month of April, 1799, to December, 1800, Colonel Wellesley retained without a break the chief command in Seringapatam. So long as General Harris's army lingered near, his position was that of commandant of the fortress alone. When the main body of the force returned to Madras, he became civil as well as military superintendent of the district. It was a position which imposed upon him much responsibility and put no inconsiderable strain upon his energies. He had order to bring out of confusion, the authority of law and justice to re-establish ; bands of robbers to eradicate ; refractory chiefs to subdue. He accomplished all these objects as much by management as by force, and made himself at once respected and beloved by all classes of the people. A becoming addition to his pay and allowances relieved him at the same time from pecuniary anxieties, while his share of prize money, about £5000, enabled him to repay to his brother sums advanced for the purchase of his promotion. This was a great weight taken from his mind, but sterner work was cut out for him.

In the dungeons of Seringapatam there lay, at the period of its capture, a notable robber, by name Dhoondiah Waugh. He was one of those adventurers whom we meet with only in the East, who by courage and a certain amount of ability raise themselves suddenly to influence, and not unfrequently fall again as suddenly as they rose. Captured by Tippoo, he had been reserved for a painful death, which he escaped by the bursting open of his prison-doors when Seringapatam

fell to the English. He fled, and soon gathered round him some thousands of desperate men, chiefly the wreck of Tippoo's army. With these he ravaged the country in every direction, the numbers of his followers increasing in proportion to his success. Against that man, who assumed the title of King of the World, Colonel Wellesley found it necessary to equip a force, and began at the head of it a campaign of the most extraordinary marches that had ever been performed in India.

Dhoondiah's people, unencumbered with baggage, moved from place to place with great rapidity. Their intelligence also was excellent, and for a while they managed to elude their pursuers. But perseverance and skill overcame all obstacles in the end, and Colonel Wellesley came up with them and twice struck them hard. Both affairs were those of cavalry alone. The first occurred on the 29th of July close to the Malpurda river, through which Dhoondiah was driven with the loss of his artillery. The second took place near the village of Correahgall with much more decisive results. With 1200 horse, Colonel Wellesley charged and overthrew 5000 of the enemy, cutting his way through, dispersing, and riding them down with great slaughter. Among the killed was Dhoondiah himself, and among the prisoners his son, a mere child, whom some troopers found concealed in a baggage waggon, and brought to their commander. Colonel Wellesley was greatly touched with the piteous condition of the boy, and not only received him kindly at the moment, but took him permanently under his protection. I have not been able to ascertain what ultimately became of that youth, but I know that his protector bestowed upon him a good education, and that before quitting India he made such arrangements as secured to the lad a fair start in life.

The operations against Dhoondiah, besides being brilliant in themselves, were the more creditable to Colonel Wellesley that while they were yet in progress it was proposed to him to resign the government of Mysore, and to assume the command of a body of troops which the Governor-general thought of employing in the reduction of Batavia. To men

of ordinary minds, such a sure prospect of acquiring both wealth and reputation would have been irresistible, but now, as at all stages in his wondrous career, duty was with Colonel Wellesley the great principle of action. Others might succeed in reducing Batavia, or they might fail; it was certain that if he interrupted his close pursuit of Dhoondiah for a day, the freebooter would escape. He preferred, therefore, that his own interests should suffer, than that an object important to the well-being of the country should miscarry. Besides, the Mahrattas were beginning to be restless again, and he could not venture to break up his little army till he saw in what their movement should end. It ended for the present in a return to a state of quietude, and then, and only then, he declared himself ready for active service in any part of the world.

The Isle of France offered at that time a tempting prize to English ambition. It was the last of the French colonies which had submitted to the new order of things, and though garrisoned by republican soldiers, the royalist feeling was understood to be still strong among the settlers. More than once, wistful eyes had been turned towards it from Calcutta, and at last Lord Mornington, trusting to co-operation from the people, determined to invade it. He determined also to employ his brother in the enterprise, and addressed to him an official communication, of which the language, it must be confessed, is somewhat ambiguous. Colonel Wellesley accepted the despatch as conferring absolutely upon himself the conduct of the expedition. He did not therefore hesitate as to the course which it behoved him to follow; but making over the administration of affairs in Mysore to his friend Colonel Stevenson, set out without a moment's delay for Trincomalee in Ceylon. It was there that the expedition had been directed to rendezvous, and such was the rapidity with which Colonel Wellesley travelled, that though his orders reached him only on the 2nd of December, Christmas found him at his post. With characteristic diligence he set himself at once to collect stores for the use of the army, and to inform himself as well as he could of the military and political condition of

the Island. But all ended for him in disappointment. Those were times in which the authority of Governors-general, however absolute on shore, was not acknowledged three miles beyond the coast. The senior naval officer on the India station took orders only from home, and Admiral Rainier, though willing to co-operate in an attack on Batavia, refused point blank to act against the Isle of France. Towards Batavia, Lord Mornington therefore turned his attention. But Colonel Wellesley gained nothing from the change of plan. On the contrary, it was announced to him that another should be appointed to reap where he had sown. And yet again, when instructions from home diverted the armament towards Egypt, the place assigned to him was that of second to General Baird. We cannot greatly wonder if this fresh disappointment somewhat disturbed his equanimity. It was mortifying enough to be thwarted once, but to suffer this mortification twice, after so much time and attention bestowed upon the work of preparation, was more than he could bear. His letters of this date show unmistakeable signs of irritation. Not a word escapes him however to indicate that he slackened in his efforts to promote the public service. His labours continued at Trincomalee till the resources of the country were exhausted, and then on his own responsibility he carried the armament to Bombay, as being better able to supply its wants and nearer to the scene of intended operations. But further than this he resolved not to go.

Colonel Wellesley was not free from the weaknesses which appertain to men in general, however marvellous might be his power to overcome them. He felt keenly enough the slight that had been put upon himself, but he felt still more the injustice which others had suffered. "I can easily get the better of my own disappointment," he says, "but how can I look in the face the officers who, from a desire to share my fortunes, gave up lucrative appointments and must go with one whom none of them admires? I declare that I can't think of the whole business with common patience." These, however, were but the first outbursts of a not unnatural indignation. His feelings soon calmed

down. Lord Mornington, desirous to soothe his brother, proposed to reinstate him in his command at Mysore; and Colonel Wellesley, whom a sharp attack of illness rendered incapable, had he been ever so much disposed, to follow the fortunes of General Baird, returned, as soon as he found himself able to travel, to Seringapatam.

He arrived there on the 7th of May, 1801, and heard not long afterwards of his advancement to the rank of Major-General. It was an event which might have operated injuriously to his fortunes, but that a vacancy occurred just at the moment on the staff of the Madras Presidency, and that, without any solicitation on his part, he was immediately nominated to supply. This left him in continued charge of a province, which day by day became more the centre of important proceedings. But his satisfaction was somewhat damped by the tidings which arrived about the same time of the retirement of Mr Pitt from the head of the administration at home, and of the peace of Amiens negotiated under the auspices of his successor, Mr Addington. The truth is, that both the Wellesleys were in those days what the younger continued ever after to be, decided Tories. Both likewise regarded peace with France in the light of a mere suspension of hostilities, of which the consequences, however beneficial elsewhere, could not fail to prove inconvenient in India. But the consideration which weighed with them most was the loss of Mr Dundas from the Board of Control, where he had given to Lord Mornington's policy a consistent and liberal support. So keenly, indeed, did the Governor-general feel the delicacy of his new position, that he entertained serious thoughts of resigning the government. Partly, however, through his own sense of duty, partly in consequence of Colonel Wellesley's remonstrances, he resisted that inclination, and for some years more continued to maintain the honour and advance the interests of his country in the high position to which he had been called.

From May, 1801, to Nov. 1802, Colonel Wellesley's labours as administrator of the province of Mysore were chiefly pacific. He reformed abuses in all departments of the public service,

military as well as civil. He cleared jungles, constructed roads, and hunted down robber-bands wherever they made their appearance. But India was then in a state which prohibited all hope of permanent peace; and before 1802 came to an end, the necessity of preparing for a new war became evident. Of the Mahrattas and their princes I have elsewhere spoken briefly. They were lords of a wide tract of country, which extended from sea to sea, between the island of Salsette and the mouths of the Ganges, overlapping the Company's territories, and stretching northward as far as the Sutlej. One chief, Dowlat Rao Scindia, whose authority was acknowledged furthest to the North, could bring into the field, besides swarms of irregulars, 30,000 disciplined infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 250 pieces of cannon. A deserter from the French marines, by name Perron, commanded this corps, and placed adventurers from almost all the countries of Europe at the head of his divisions and brigades. Another Mahratta chief was Holkar, whose dominions interposed between those of Scindia and Bombay, and whose force consisted chiefly of cavalry, of which he could bring 80,000 into the field. A third was the Rajah of Berar or Nagpore, whose territory lay between the western shore of the gulf of Bengal and the Nizam's frontier; while the fourth, nominally the head of the confederation, was the Peishwa. This latter prince kept his court at Poonah, and was on terms of strict amity with the English; a circumstance which gave little satisfaction to his brother chieftains, and led eventually to the rupture of which I am going to speak.

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1802, General Wellesley's attention was constantly fixed on the Mahrattas and their doings. So, indeed, was that of Lord Mornington, for Holkar and Scindia were evidently aspiring each to take the lead of the other, and afterwards consolidate in his own person a strong empire. The Peishwa threw his influence, such as it was, into Scindia's scale, whereupon Holkar declared war and marched against the allies. He defeated their combined armies near Poonah, on the 25th of Oct., 1802, and immediately set up a new Peishwa. But the

legitimate Peishwa, Badje Rao by name, took shelter at Bombay, where preparations were made to lead him back in triumph to his capital. It was not, however, according to the policy of those days to assist even an ally gratuitously. The Peishwa, in recompense of the assistance rendered, undertook to keep 6000 British troops permanently near his person, assigning to the Company territory enough to defray the costs of their maintenance; and never again on his own account to make war, or to permit wars to be waged by any others of the Mahratta princes, except with the sanction of the English Government. Such, in brief outline, was the treaty of Bassein, so important in its results to the growth of British power in the East, with which, as is little to be wondered at, the whole of the Mahratta nation declared dissatisfaction, and against which chief after chief loudly protested.

Indignation at the wrong put upon their common nationality reconciled Holkar and Scindia, who entered at the same time into alliance with the Rajah of Berar. All these collected their troops; and while Holkar with his disciplined legions kept guard in the North, Scindia and the Berar Rajah united their forces, and from a position which they took up at Bourampoor, threatened the Nizam, the ally of the English, with all the miseries of war.

Not one of these various movements escaped the observation of General Wellesley. He appears indeed to have foreseen most of them before they occurred, and to have recommended such an arrangement as the case required, whether war, or the continuance of an uncertain peace, should result from them. An army of observation was assembled early in 1803 on the Toombudra, which could be crossed as circumstances might dictate, whether to repel an invasion of the Nizam's dominions, or to bring back Badje Rao to Poonah in peace. It is curious to observe how, in sending forward the corps which were to form this army, General Wellesley anticipates himself, so to speak, in the operations which he afterwards conducted on a larger scale. There is the same attention to details which manifests itself in his orders to the army of the Peninsula; the same determination to maintain

discipline, and to protect the people through whose fields and villages the troops were to march. The very pace at which men and guns are to move is specified, and not an article required for hospital or field equipment is overlooked. The consequence was a quiet and orderly movement, to which the natives offered no opposition; and to the success of which the Mahrattas themselves contributed by bringing supplies into camp. I advise all military men who are desirous of mastering the science of their profession, to read with care the Duke's published despatches, voluminous though they be; and to make no portion of them the subject of more careful study than those which show how under him operations were carried on in India.

While thus guarding against danger on one side of India, General Wellesley was not regardless of what might befall in another. His, indeed, was a plan of campaign which embraced the whole field over which war might be expected to flow. He sent General Lake with 14,000 men from Bengal towards Delhi, while he himself with 23,000 provided for the safety of the Deccan. With General Lake's operations, successful as they were, I am not immediately concerned. They ended in the destruction of Holkar's power at the battle of Laswarree. And even of General Wellesley's brilliant exploits I must be content to describe rather the issues than the details. His first object was to form a junction with a corps of 7000 men, under protection of which the Peishwa was moving from Bombay to Poonah. This he could effect only by a rapid march through a country which ought to have been hostile, but which remained friendly, because of the care which was taken to prevent marauding, and to make the movement a gain rather than a loss to the inhabitants. He next made a dash to save Poonah itself, which the Governor, left by Holkar, was preparing to evacuate, though not till after he should have laid the town in ashes. I have often heard the Duke describe this enterprise, which he did very clearly and with great animation. "We were within 40 miles of the place," he used to say, "when this resolution of Holkar's Lieutenant was communicated to me. My troops had marched twenty miles

that day under a burning sun, and the infantry could no more have gone five miles further than they could have flown. The cavalry, though not fresh, were less knocked up, so I got together 400 of the best mounted among them, and set off. We started after dark on the night of the 19th of March, and in the afternoon of the 20th we got close to the place. There was an awful uproar, and I expected to see the flames burst out, but nothing of the kind occurred. Amrut Rao,—that was the Mahratta's name,—was too frightened to think of anything except providing for his own safety, and I had the satisfaction of finding, when I rode into the town, that he had gone off with his garrison by one gate as we went in by another. We were too tired to follow, had it been worth while to do so, which it was not. Poonah was safe, and that was all I cared for."

Notwithstanding the reinstatement of the Peishwa in his capital, there was no war as yet between the English and the Mahrattas. The latter maintained, indeed, their threatening attitude on the Nizam's frontier, and marauders from their camp passed it occasionally to plunder. But this was a state of things which could not last. General Wellesley informed Scindia and Holkar that they must retire beyond the Nerbudda, otherwise he should be obliged to attack them; and they, with the cunning of their race, endeavoured to evade the proposal without positively declining to accede to it. Delay, however, while it suited their ends, was exactly opposed to his. The Nizam was known to be dying, and a renewal of the war between England and France might any day be expected; he therefore repeated his demand in more peremptory terms, and was again put off. He had been prepared for this issue all along, and brought the negotiation to a close. "I have offered you peace," he wrote, "on terms of equity, honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for the consequences."

General Wellesley, after the occupation of Poonah, had been obliged to look to the safety of many exposed points, and his force was, in consequence, broken up into several corps. Under his own immediate orders, at a place called Sangwer, upon the Seena, were 8903 regular troops, with

5000 irregulars, partly Mahratta, partly Mysorean horse; while Colonel Stevenson, with 7920 men, and 16,000 of the Nizam's people, was at Aurungabad, north of the Godavery. These, together, constituted the army of operations, properly so called, and were in observation of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar; who had assembled at Jalgong, in rear of the Adjuntee Hills, not less than 38,000 horse, 14,000 disciplined infantry, 190 guns, and 500 rockets. The two English corps, though separated by a wide extent of country, yet worked together, and were strong enough to depend, while manœuvring, each upon itself. In the event of the enemy being forced to fight a general action, it was desirable to engage him with both.

With a view of bringing matters to this issue, General Wellesley broke up from Sangwer on the 6th of August, and encamped the same night, amid torrents of rain, a few miles short of Ahmednuggur. It was a place of great reputed strength, and important as lying on the line of his communications, and he determined to reduce it before proceeding further.

Indian forts are, for the most part, built near the summits of hills, having the towns or pettahs clustered round the bases; and about each town is usually drawn a wall with towers or circular bastions at intervals. Before attacking the fort, the town must almost always be taken; and General Wellesley having failed to persuade the Governor to surrender, ordered the pettah of Ahmednuggur to be stormed. And here, for obvious reasons, I prefer telling the story of that operation in the words of the chief actor, rather than in my own. "We had the same storm of rain all the 7th which annoyed us on the 6th; but the weather cleared during the night, and early on the morning of the 8th, I summoned the place. My proposals were rejected; and having made the necessary arrangements beforehand, I let loose the storming party. As I was watching the progress of things, I saw an officer seize a ladder, plant it against the wall, and rush up alone. He was thrown down on reaching the summit, but jumped up at once, and reascended; he was again thrown down, and again reascended, followed on this

occasion by the men. There was a scuffle on the top of the wall, in which the officer had to cut his way through the defenders, and presently a whole crowd of British troops poured after him into the town. As soon as I got in, I made inquiries about him, and found that his name was Colin Campbell, and that he was wounded. I sought him out, and said a few words to him, with which he seemed greatly delighted. I liked his blunt, manly manner, and never lost sight of him afterwards. He became one of my aides-de-camp, and is now, as you know, the Governor of Plymouth."

Such a summary method of reducing the pettah struck the Governor with astonishment as well as dismay. He waited only till the English batteries began to fire, and then proposed to capitulate. It was of more importance to General Wellesley to save time than to destroy or make prisoners of 1400 Mahrattas ; he therefore permitted the garrison to march away, with its arms and baggage, and took quiet possession of the citadel. A little labour bestowed upon it rendered it an admirable *place d'armes ;* which at once covered his own rear and overawed such of the princes of Southern India as might be inclined to make common cause with the enemy. This done, he renewed his march, and, heading the Mahrattas on one side, while Stevenson headed them on another, he at last forced them to concentrate with the apparent view of hazarding a battle.

It was ascertained on the 24th of September, that the enemy were in position, and in great strength, near a village called Bokerdun, behind the Adjuntee Hills. General Wellesley himself was then at Budnapoor, where, in the course of the 25th, Colonel Stevenson joined him, and it was arranged that they should move on the morrow in two columns—so as to come up with the enemy, through different passes, about the same time. It chanced however, while the British generals were arranging their plans, that the Mahrattas had changed their ground, and that they now occupied a delta, formed by the confluence of the Kaitna and the Juah, having their right on Bokerdun, and their left on the village of Assaye. They were thus brought nearer by two or three miles to the site of the British camp than was

supposed, increasing thereby the distance which it became necessary for Stevenson to compass, in the same proportion as General Wellesley's march was shortened. The consequence was that about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, General Wellesley found himself suddenly in presence of 50,000 men, secured on both sides by villages and rivers, and covered along their whole front by 128 pieces of cannon. His own corps consisted of something less than 8000, of which 1500 only were Europeans: and 17 guns, drawn by animals worn out with hard work, made up the whole of his train. For a moment, and only for a moment, he paused to consider whether it would be better to fall back, or to risk an action. In the former case, he was pretty sure to be followed and harassed at every step; perhaps his baggage might be cut off, and the enemy would doubtless avail themselves of the cover of night to escape. In the latter he had the long odds, so far as numbers were concerned, against him, and a position of great strength, and not unskilfully taken up, to carry. On the whole, however, it appeared to him advisable rather to run all risks than to exhibit the faintest sign of timidity; so he placed his baggage where he believed that it would be safe, and arranged his order of battle.

To those who lived on terms of any intimacy with the Duke, there was nothing so agreeable as to get him, when in a communicative mood, on the subject of his campaigns. He expressed himself with such clearness and entire simplicity, that a child could understand, while a philosopher admired and became instructed by him. It seemed, likewise, as if his Indian wars, perhaps because they were the first in which he had an opportunity to control and direct large operations, had made the strongest impression on his memory. Of the battle of Assaye, he used to say that it was the hardest-fought affair that ever took place in India. "If the enemy had not neglected to guard a good ford on the Kaitna, I don't know how we could have got at him; but once aware of his neglect, I took care that he should not have time to remedy it. We passed the river in one column and then deployed. Unfortunately my first line, which had been directed to keep clear of Assaye, swayed to the right,

and became exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, as well as cannon, in that direction. This obliged me to bring the second line sooner into action than I intended, and to employ the cavalry—the 19th Dragoons—early in the day, in order to save the 74th from being cut to pieces. But whatever mistakes my officers committed, they more than made up for by their bravery. I lost an enormous number of men: 170 officers were killed and wounded, and upwards of 2000 non-commissioned officers and privates; but we carried all before us. We took their guns, which were in the first line, and were fired upon by the gunners afterwards, who threw themselves down, pretending to be dead, and then rose up again after our men had passed; but they paid dearly for the freak. The 19th cut them to pieces. Scindia's infantry behaved admirably. They were in support of his cannon, and we drove them off at the point of the bayonet. We pursued them as long as daylight lasted and the exhausted state of the men and horses would allow; and slept on the field."

While General Wellesley was thus warmly engaged, Colonel Stevenson held his appointed course, and gained the further side of the hills, only to discover that the enemy were not where he expected to find them. The sound of firing reached him however, and acting on a rule which Grouchy, at a later period, is accused by his countrymen of having neglected, he brought up his right shoulder and marched towards it. He arrived on the field of battle just in time to see that the victory was complete, and to follow and inflict further damage on the fugitives. After which, by Colonel Wellesley's desire, he laid siege one after another to several strong forts, which covered the approaches to Berar in that direction. Meanwhile, Scindia and Ragogee Bunsla, confounded by their disaster at Assaye, endeavoured to open separate negotiations with General Wellesley, at the same time that they reinforced their army with every disposable man, and manœuvred to interrupt these sieges. There was one fortress in particular, a place called Gawilghur, regarded by the natives with almost superstitious reverence, the endeavour to save which brought them once more into collision with Colonel Wellesley's army. This

second battle was fought near the village of Argaum, on ground selected by the enemy themselves, because it was suitable for cavalry, in which they were strong. But neither the advantage of position, nor a vast superiority in numbers, availed against the skill and hardihood of the assailants. After a march of 26 miles under the rays of an Indian sun, General Wellesley, with 18,000 men, of whom 4000 were irregulars, came upon 40,000 Mahrattas, and instantly attacked them. For a moment, and only for a moment, the issue of the strife seemed doubtful. Three Sepoy battalions, which had behaved admirably at Assaye, were seized with a sudden panic, and began to move off, when General Wellesley himself rode up and rallied them. They turned round, fell upon their pursuers, and drove them from the field. Thirty-eight guns, many elephants and camels, with an enormous quantity of baggage, became the prize of the victor, and the light of a full moon enabled him to pursue with his cavalry, and to inflict heavy loss on the fugitives till a late hour of the night.

The loss of this battle, with the surrender of Gawilghur, put an end to the Mahratta war in Central India. Scindia and Ragogee Bunsla felt that further resistance would be useless, and after a good deal of chicane and equivocation, they threw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror. The terms imposed upon them were severe. Territory was ceded to the Company, yielding a revenue of two millions, and measuring about 2400 square miles of surface extent, which included Delhi, Gwalior, Gohud, Baroach, Ahmednuggur, and other important towns. It was stipulated also that neither chief should hereafter receive into his service Europeans of any nation except with the consent of the Governor-general, —Scindia agreeing to co-operate with the English and compelling Holkar to accept similar terms.

This treaty of peace, as well as the conduct of the war, was altogether the work of General Wellesley. He had arranged the entire plan of operations before they began, and received plenary power from Lord Mornington to act in every emergency as his own judgment might suggest. In after-years he used often, when one or two confidential

friends got about him, to speak in glowing terms of the generous confidence with which his brother treated him.

And when the conversation took that turn it was not difficult to lead him on into details which were highly interesting. For example, he would say, referring to the subsistence of his troops during the campaign, "that he greatly preferred depending upon Brinjarries to the difficulty and labour of transporting grain. The Brinjarries are native grain-dealers. They traverse the face of the country in large bodies, and besides being able to defend themselves against marauders, they enjoy a sort of immunity from molestation in passing through states which have any government at all. Pay them well, and you may almost always depend upon them. I never found them fail me. If I had endeavoured in that war to carry about with me stores of grain sufficient for the consumption of the sepoys and the animals, I should have done nothing. It was difficult enough to transport my ammunition, and supplies of meat and rum and bread for the Europeans."

"The Mahrattas were capital marchers, were they not?"

"Yes; but except when they set out on a mere predatory excursion, I always managed to come up with them. Mahrattas cannot live upon air more than other people, and the Brinjarries would not trust them. Besides, they always encumbered themselves sooner or later with plunder, and then we had them."

"Was the country settled immediately on the conclusion of peace?"

"Not at all. The country was never settled, except in those districts over which we extended our authority. Even the Nizam, our ally, was always ready to play us a trick. He refused to shelter my wounded after the battle of Assaye, till I compelled him to do so. And when Scindia and Ragogee Bunsla could no longer hold out the promise of plunder to their people, most of them deserted, and set up as free-booters on their own account. There was one band, in particular, under a very daring leader, which gave us a good deal of trouble. The fellow broke into the Deccan, defeated the Nizam's troops, and was growing formidable,

when I set out in search of him. I was suffering at the time from boils, a not uncommon complaint, by the by, in India, and riding was disagreeable, but I got upon my horse, and after a march of sixty miles ascertained that he had managed to put a river between him and me, which the guides assured me was impassable. We pushed on across a large plain, and presently saw the river, which certainly had no bridges upon it, and looked very much as if it were too deep for fording. I noticed, however, that two villages stood directly opposite to one another, looking like a single village with a stream running through, and I said to myself, 'These people would not have built in this manner unless there were some means of communication from side to side.' I made no halt, therefore, and found, sure enough, that a very good ford allowed the inhabitants of one village to visit their neighbours in the other village at all hours of the day. We crossed by that ford, greatly to the disgust of our guides, who intended the robbers to get away, and overtaking the marauders we attacked and dispersed them, taking all their guns and baggage. I knew that, without guns, and broken up as they were, they would be cut to pieces in detail by the armed villagers, and it was so."

"The rivers must have puzzled you at times, for you probably did not carry pontoons with you."

"No, we had no pontoons in those days. We crossed the rivers either by fords, or, when these failed us, by bridges resting upon inflated skins. In fact, we made war pretty much as Alexander the Great seems to have done, and as all men must do in such a country as India then was. My heaviest siege-guns were twelve-pounders, and I often found them so inconvenient to carry that they were left behind."

It was thus that the Duke used to speak of his own operations against the Mahrattas and of his Indian wars generally. His estimate of the policy which brought about these wars never varied. He held that Lord Mornington was in every case forced into the hostilities in which he engaged. Hesitation on his part in taking the initiative would have

encouraged the native powers to combine; and the contest, which was inevitable sooner or later, would have been not only more expensive, but in its issue perhaps more doubtful. These were not the views taken at the time by the Court of Directors. In a succession of despatches they expressed themselves so angrily about orders disobeyed and dividends absorbed, that General Wellesley, whom Lord Mornington consulted on the subject, advised his brother to resign. As to General Wellesley himself, he had by this time begun to look for something more than an Indian career, of which the effects were telling upon his constitution. He applied therefore, in the autumn of 1804, for leave to return to Europe, and not doubting that the request would be acceded to, he repaired to Calcutta in order to take leave of the Governor-general. Lord Mornington, however, had not acted upon his brother's advice. The support afforded him by the King's ministers, though less vigorous than he had a right to expect, sufficed to make him indifferent to the censure of his masters in Leadenhall-street; and having made up his mind to remain a little longer at the head of the Indian Government, he did what he could to dissuade his brother from leaving him. So far he prevailed that General Wellesley returned to Seringapatam, of which he continued to administer the affairs till the beginning of 1805. Beyond that date, however, no considerations were strong enough to keep him in the country. On the first of February he renewed his application to the Madras Government; on the 13th he arrived at Fort St George, packed and ready for the voyage; on the 16th he took possession of a cabin in H.M.S. Trident, and India saw him no more. He did not depart, however, till he had received from many quarters marks of the esteem and respect in which the Indian community held him. The native inhabitants of Seringapatam sent him an address, in which these remarkable expressions occur: "You are entitled to our gratitude for the tranquillity, security, and prosperity which we have enjoyed under your beneficent administration. We address our prayers to the God of all castes and of all nations, that he will grant you health, glory, and good fortune." The people of Ma-

dras gave him a magnificent farewell banquet, causing his portrait to be placed among those of the chief benefactors of the province. From the English settlers in Calcutta, he received a valuable sword, and from the officers of the army of the Deccan, a gold épergne, bearing this inscription, "Battle of Assaye, 26th Sept., 1803." Nor, as it appeared, had either his or his brother's claims to share in such honours as the Crown can bestow, been overlooked. Before quitting Madras General Wellesley was gratified by learning that the honour of the Bath had been conferred upon himself; and that his brother was advanced a step in the Peerage, being created Marquis Wellesley.