

worms and Mrs. Coles. The power could not be despised which made floods of tears roll down the sooty cheeks of the colliers of Kingswood; and which, penetrating to Scotland, had called the lowest of the population of Glasgow to go forth to Cambuslang, and there, "at the foot of the brae near the kirk," hear the Word preached in the open fields, and surrender themselves to an irresistible influence, such as was wielded by the Puritans of old. To assist in "the extraordinary work of Cambuslang" Whitefield came, and saw thirty thousand persons assembled to receive the Sacrament. There was beheld, upon the largest scale, scenes that were familiar in England amongst the earliest converts to Methodism—shrieks, violent agitations of body, shaking and trembling, fainting and convulsions. These manifestations were, by one party in the Church of Scotland, ascribed to the delusions of Satan; by another party to the influence of the Holy Spirit; and by a third party, to natural causes, produced by sermons addressed "not to the understanding of the hearers, but to their imaginations and passions."* These early effects of the fervid preaching of the new sect passed away. But the gradual influence of a more earnest sense of religion was diffused through the whole community of Britain. The members of the Churches of England and Scotland ceased to ridicule even such extravagances as were seen at "the Cambuslang conversions." The separation between Establishment and Dissent became less marked by bitter hostility. The principle of individuality was not less strong; but it gradually put off the form of intolerance, for that honest rivalry in the attempt to do good which has, more than any other cause, enabled us to look back upon the morals and manners of the last century as a condition of society not likely to return.

* Sinclair—"Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. v.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Retrospect of Indian affairs.—Hastings Governor-General.—Rohilla war.—New Council at Calcutta.—Hastings and the Council opposed to each other.—Nuncomar.—His execution.—Dissensions at Madras.—Mahratta war.—Capture of Gwalior.—Hyder Ali.—The Carnatic ravaged.—Hyder defeated by Coote.—Death of Hyder.—Succeeded by his son Tippoo Saib.—Benares.—Oude.—The Begums.—Committee of the Houses of Parliament on Indian Affairs.

IN June 1783, when the news arrived at Calcutta that the preliminaries of peace had been signed between Great Britain and France, the misfortunes that had at one time foreboded the downfall of the British power in India had been mainly overcome. The war with Tippoo Saib and his French auxiliaries was still maintained; although it was evident that the energy of Warren Hastings had succeeded in averting the danger in the East, which, not long before, appeared to threaten as calamitous results as those which had attended our arms in the West. Before we resume our narrative of civil affairs at home, it will be proper that we should take up the history of events in India, from the period of the appointment of Hastings as the first Governor-General.*

Previous to the nomination of Hastings to this high office by the Act of 1773, he had, in his capacity of Governor of Bengal, struck out a line of policy, in which we alternately admire his sagacity and blush, as his countrymen, for his unscrupulousness. In 1772, he was labouring, as an honest statesman, to repair as far as possible the miseries produced by the famine of 1770, and by judicious fiscal arrangements to overcome the consequent embarrassments in the collection of the revenue of the depopulated districts. He freed the country from bands of robbers, by appointing local officers to maintain authority. He secured the administration of justice, by instituting local courts of law. If he could have met, by just means, the unceasing demands of the Directors of the East India Company for lacs of rupees, he would not have resorted to those modes of gratifying the cupidity of his masters for which many apologies have been offered, but for which no adequate defence has ever been established. He was a faithful servant to the Company, not waiting for direct orders to commit injustice, but securing

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 154.

his own tenure of power by violating the pecuniary engagements which Clive had made, and by driving excellent bargains, of which the only defect was that they compromised the English honour. When Clive put an end to the war amongst the native princes, giving the greater part of Oude to the Vizier Sujah Dowlah, he reserved the districts of Corah and Allahabad for the Mogul, Shah Alum, and agreed to pay the fallen potentate twenty-six lacs of rupees annually. The successor of the great Mussulman conquerors of India was happy to have a certain revenue for his own luxurious gratifications, and he willingly executed a solemn deed, giving the English Company the sole administration of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. Hastings, in 1773, had a plausible excuse for setting aside those arrangements with Shah Alum which were costly to the Company, or the violation of which would produce immediate advantages. The Mogul had become dependent upon the Mahrattas, and had been compelled to sign an edict to transfer to them Corah and Allahabad. Hastings promptly occupied those districts with English troops; and resolved to pay no more tribute to the shadow of the sovereignty of Hindustan. Shah Alum lost his annual lacs of rupees, which amounted to nearly three hundred thousand pounds; and the districts which were taken from him were sold to Sujah Dowlah, the Vizier of Oude, for half a million sterling. To manage these transactions Hastings paid a visit to the Vizier in his city of Benares; and there the two allies concluded another bargain, which brought more gold into the treasury of Leadenhall-street. It was agreed that an English army should be hired by Sujah Dowlah to effect the subjugation of the Rohillas—a race of Afghans, who were amongst the bravest and the most civilised of the various populations of Hindustan. With troops under the command of colonel Champion, the Rohilla country was invaded by the English in April, 1774, in concert with Sujah Dowlah and his soldiery. The English gained a victory. The forces of Oude looked on; and then applied themselves to devastate the fertile plains of Rohilcund, and to extirpate, as far as possible, the peaceful and industrious inhabitants. It was one of the charges of “high crimes and misdemeanours” against Warren Hastings, that he entered into a private engagement with the Nabob of Oude, “to furnish him, for a stipulated sum of money to be paid to the East India Company, with a body of troops for the declared purpose of thoroughly extirpating the nation of the Rohillas—a nation from whom the Company had never received, or pretended to receive or apprehend, any injury whatever.”

The Rohilla war was ended. The work of spoliation and mas-

sacre was going on under the declaration of the Governor-general that “he had no authority to control the conduct of the Vizier in the treatment of his subjects.” The country, once a garden, without a spot of uncultivated ground, was reduced, by the brutal mode of carrying on the war, and by the subsequent misgovernment, to a state of utter decay and depopulation. At this period, October, 1774, three new members of the Council, and the judges of the Supreme Court, appointed under the Regulating Act of 1773, arrived at Calcutta. The principal objects of that Act were the reformation of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, and such a re-modelling of the Court of Directors as should secure an enforcement of their authority upon their servants abroad; the establishment of a Court of Justice capable of protecting the natives from the oppressions of British subjects; the formation of a General Council having authority over all the British settlements and who would furnish the ministers of the Crown with constant information concerning the whole of the Company’s correspondence with India. The provisions of this Act were directed to the accomplishment of large and benevolent reforms; but they were found wholly inadequate for the protection of the natives, for the improvement of the country, or for the construction of a firm and united government. The three new members of the council, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, appear to have entered upon their duties with a concerted determination to oppose the measures of Hastings and of the other old servant of the Company, Mr. Barwell. The new Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, sir Elijah Impey, was a personal friend of the Governor-General. Hastings naturally looking with great disfavour upon those who were come apparently with the determination to wrest all power from his hands, by constituting a majority of the Council where he had only a casting vote. Without a day’s delay they testified their abhorrence of the Rohilla war, by recalling the English troops. Sujah Dowlah having died, and his son having succeeded him as Vizier, they maintained that the treaties with Oude were at an end upon the father’s death. They did some rash things which might be intended to remedy past evils, but which had the inevitable tendency of lowering the respect of the natives for that able administrator who had impressed them with a reverential fear. The natives saw, or believed they saw, that the power of Hastings was gone. Charges of corruption were made against him by his enemies, whether natives or Englishmen. An old enemy of Hastings was a Hindoo Brahmin, the Maharajah Nuncomar. He had been disappointed in his aspirations for the great and

lucrative office of chief minister of the province of Bengal; for Hastings had abolished the office, and had transferred its powers to the servants of the Company. The crafty Hindoo bided his time for revenge. He soon discovered who would be his natural ally against the Governor-General. He put into the hands of Francis a series of charges against Hastings, in which he was accused of setting offices to sale, and of receiving bribes to permit the escape of offenders. Francis brought the papers before the Council. Hastings contended that they had no right to inquire into charges against the Governor, especially into charges made by one so notoriously perjured and fraudulent as Nuncomar. Hastings and Barwell quitted the council-chamber; and the three remaining members called in Nuncomar, and allowed him to tell his story with new embellishments. Hastings instituted proceedings against the old Hindoo, and against others, upon a charge of conspiracy. But the fate of Nuncomar was decided upon a very different accusation. He was imprisoned at the suit of a native merchant, charged with having forged a bond five years before this period; for which alleged offence he had been brought to trial in the mayor's court at Calcutta, and had been dismissed on the interposition of Hastings. The Supreme Court, that had now entered upon its functions, with sir Elijah Impey as its head, had to take cognizance of such cases of lapsed justice. The apologists of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice maintain that it was in the ordinary course of events that Nuncomar should have been tried, and only a strict measure of justice that Nuncomar should have been hanged, at the precise period when he was truly dangerous to the power and influence of Hastings. Forgery, under the Common Law of England, was punished as a misdemeanour; and under the statute of Elizabeth was not treated as a capital offence. The law was made more severe as the commerce of the country became more extensive. But in Hindustan the crime, regarded as very venial, had never been dealt with capitally. Nuncomar was tried upon the severer English statute, although one of the judges associated with Impey pressed for his indictment under the earlier and milder enactment. He was tried by a jury of Englishmen, and was found guilty. He was sentenced to be hanged; and the power of reprieve which the Supreme Court possessed was not exercised. The Council had no power to interfere, although the majority remonstrated in the strongest terms against the entire proceedings. The execution of the old man, to whom the agents of the Company had once sued for favour and protection, to whom his countrymen looked up with awe as a Brahmin who was the very head

of Brahmins,—was inexorably resolved upon. He was carried in his palanquin to the common gallows, and he died with the most perfect composure. The punishment of Nuncomar put an end to all troubles and accusations against Hastings by native informers. The event, we are assured, was a mere coincidence with the attempts to shake the ascendancy of the Governor-General; and that his friend and schoolfellow, the Chief Justice, was a pure administrator of the law without respect of person.

The public quarrels, and the private immoralities, of Hastings and Francis occupy, for several years, the general narratives of Indian affairs. The adulterous intercourse of Francis with the wife of a Calcutta barrister, and the excessive fine imposed upon him by sir Elijah Impey; the very questionable relations of Hastings with Mrs. Imhoff, who afterwards became his wife, and whose reception at her Court by the rigid queen Charlotte was attributed by satirists to the influence of some of the plundered wealth of India—these are matters which, however entertaining they may be, are now of little historical importance. The Council of Calcutta, and its Supreme Court of Justice, were as discordant an administrative body as ever precipitated an empire into ruin. But Hastings had the sagacity, amidst all the rivalries which would have pulled down a man of less energetic will, to maintain his own power, and at the same time to look steadily at the aggrandizement of the British crown. Circumstances at home were favourable to him, although lord North, strongly disapproving the Rohilla war, was bent upon his recall. But the Governor-General could not be removed during the first five years of his administration, except by an address to the Crown by the Court of the East India Proprietors. The most strenuous exertions were made by the supporters of the ministry to obtain a vote against Hastings; but the proposition for the recall was finally negatived. The Governor-General had once authorized his friend colonel Maclean to tender his resignation, if his conduct should not be approved; and though he had retracted that authority, Maclean in 1776 did tender the resignation. About that time Hastings had acquired a temporary supremacy by the death of Monson. His casting vote enabled him to defeat the proposals of Clavering and Francis, and to carry his own views into effect. In June, 1777, a packet-ship arrived with the announcement that the Governor-General had resigned. Hastings denied that he had authorized any such act. Clavering and Francis claimed immediate authority. Hastings and Barwell maintained that the right of the Governor to obedience should be upheld until further information should arrive. An appeal to military force

would have unquestionably determined the victory for Governor Hastings, and not for King Francis, as the presumptuous ex-clerk of the Foreign Office was called. The Supreme Court prevented such a conflict, by deciding that the resignation of Hastings was invalid, and that Clavering had illegally assumed the power of Governor-General. Hastings then contended that Clavering had forfeited his seat in the Council, by his attempt at usurpation; but the Judges of the Supreme Court decided that the Governor-general had no power to remove any member of the Board. In two months after this contest Clavering died. A new member of the Council, Mr Wheler, arrived to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of colonel Monson; and now Hastings had a majority to support him. The same course of unworthy and dangerous rivalries prevailed in the subordinate Council of Madras, between lord Pigot and the members of his Board. He maintained that he was not bound by a majority against him; and upon their refusal to yield, ordered them to be suspended from their functions. They took a stronger step, and put the Governor under military arrest; for which violent act they were recalled home by a vote of the House of Commons; were tried in the Court of King's Bench; and were sentenced to pay a moderate fine, which lenient sentence they probably owed to a speech of Erskine, in mitigation of punishment. Lord Pigot was also recalled, but he had died during his period of imprisonment. When the five years had expired during which Hastings could not be removed by the government without the concurrence of the East India Company, he was re-appointed. Lord North, in 1786, in a debate on the Rohilla war, the charge against Hastings being then under discussion, strongly expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the Governor-General; but said that in 1778, when the French war commenced, he did not think that a fit time to make an alteration in the constitution of our government in India, and considering Mr. Hastings as a man of abilities he continued him in his government.*

In the spring of 1778 the French government had openly made a common cause with the North American colonies, and war between England and France was inevitable. In the previous year a French agent had been negotiating with the Peshwa of the Mahrattas, at his seat of vice-royalty at Poonah, and an alliance dangerous to the British interests was likely to be formed. Hastings was for immediate war; and although two of the Council were opposed to him, an army was sent to the Peshwa's country, with instructions to forward the claims of Ragoba, a pretender to

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxvi. p. 46.

the dignity of Peshwa. It was one of the charges against Hastings, that on the 22nd of June, 1778, he made the following declaration in council: "If it be really true that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the Western world, it is more incumbent on those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the East, to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." Hastings alluded to the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. In a few weeks arrived the intelligence of hostilities with France. The French settlement of Chandernagore was immediately captured; Pondicherry was invested, and was surrendered after some resistance; and the Mahratta expedition was persevered in. Its results were very unfortunate. The small army under colonel Egerton that had approached Poonah was surrounded by bodies of hostile cavalry; and the only chance of safety was a convention, by which it was agreed that the Mahrattas should recover what the British had gained from them since 1756. Hastings persevered; and other expeditions were more successful. General Goddard took the fort of Ahmedabad by storm, and the city of Bassein by siege. Captain Popham reduced the city of Lahar; and took by escalade the hill fortress of Gwalior, deemed impregnable. The government at home, on the first outbreak of the war with France, had sent sir Eyre Coote to be the commander of the forces in India, with a seat in the Council. There had been a partial reconciliation in that body between the discordant parties of Hastings and Francis. But the animosities were only smothered. A duel was fought between the two rivals, in which Francis was shot; and upon his recovery he resigned his office, and returned to England. There were other fierce contests between the wielders of the political and the judicial power. Hastings and Impey were now bitter opponents. These feuds have ceased to command the interest which was once attached to them. Events of more real importance were now to call forth all the resources of the boldness and foresight of the Governor-General. The abilities of Hastings were exhibited in connection with a policy which did not shrink from employing means to ensure success which no amount of success can justify. However we may admire in him the great qualities which saved the British authority in the East from a danger as formidable as that which overthrew our power in the West, we cannot lament that his triumphs did not prevent him being accused as an offender against the rights of humanity, and that years of bitter anxiety and loss of fortune were the penalties he paid for his oppressions.

Hyder Ali, the sovereign of the great kingdom of the Mysore,
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had been at peace with the British since he concluded a treaty with the Council of Madras in 1769. This extraordinary ruler was now far advanced in years, but his energy was undiminished. It was one of the Articles of Charge against Hastings that his intrigues against the Peshwa of the Mahrattas had produced, amongst the chief princes and states of India, a general distrust and suspicion of the ambitious designs and treacherous principles of the British government. It was alleged that the two principal Hindoo powers—the Peshwa, and the Rajah of Berar—and the two principal Mohammedan powers—Hyder Ali and the Nizam of the Deccan—renouncing all former enmities against each other, united in a common confederacy against the English. In 1780 Hyder Ali assembled an army computed to consist of ninety thousand men. These forces had been partly disciplined by French officers. He had a more personal quarrel to avenge than his dread of the extension of the English power. The Council of Madras, under Sir Thomas Rumbold, had given especial offence to Hyder Ali. His rival in the Carnatic, the nabob of Arcot, was surrounded by English, who were his creditors, and who are accused of having carried on a continued plot in the divan, for the destruction of Hyder Ali.* The revenge of the great chief of Mysore has been described in language which makes the soberer colouring of history look pale and ineffective. "Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and with every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents on the plains of the Carnatic. 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

* Burke—"Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts."

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."*

The terrified inhabitants of Madras could trace the progress of the ruthless invader as columns of smoke rose from the burning villages. The danger was approaching to the very walls of the Settlement. A force of three thousand men under colonel Baillie had been cut to pieces by Hyder. Sir Hector Munro, with five thousand men, retreated towards Mount St. Thomas. When the evil tidings reached Hastings he at once adopted his course of action. He abandoned the Mahratta war, and proposed that a treaty of peace and alliance should be concluded. Sir Eyre Coote proceeded with every man that could be shipped from Bengal, to take the command at Madras. Hyder Ali was alarmed when Coote took the field in January, 1781; and he immediately raised the siege of Wondewash, and the siege of Vellore. At length, on the 1st of July, the English commander, having only a force of nine thousand men to oppose to Hyder's enormous army, brought him to action at Porto Nono, and obtained a signal victory. Another battle, on the 27th of August, was not so decisive. Peace was not concluded with the Mahrattas till early in 1782; and the continued war with Mysore and with Poonah involved so great a cost, that Hastings had to look to extraordinary resources, to enable him to carry on this struggle against the most dangerous enemy that had yet assailed the British power. He had to repeat the policy of 1773; when he violated a solemn compact with the mogul, and let out his troops to the nabob of Oude for the enslavement of the Rohillas, with the sole object of replenishing his exhausted treasury.

The rajah of Benares, Cheyte Sing, had become a tributary to the English, the nabob of Oude having surrendered his rights to them in 1774. Cheyte Sing had regularly transmitted to Calcutta his tribute of a settled sum. Hastings demanded extraordinary aid from this Hindoo prince; and at the beginning of the Mahratta war, in 1778, had compelled him to make a contribution of five lacs of rupees (50,000*l.*) for the maintenance of three battalions of Sepoys. The Governor-General demanded that a similar contribution should be made in 1779; and again in 1780. Cheyte Sing endeavoured to propitiate his taskmaster by a present of two lacs of rupees. Hastings concealed the transaction from the Council at Bengal, and from the Directors. But after some delay, he handed over the money to the Accountant-General and insisted upon the contribu-

* Burke—"Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts."

tion of five lacs from Cheyte Sing, with a fine of an additional lac for neglect of payment. Hastings had evidently determined by excessive demands to drive the unhappy rajah into resistance, which would have ended in the confiscation of his possessions. To accomplish his purpose, the Governor-General proceeded to Benares; required a contribution of half-a-million sterling; and although the rajah expressed the most abject devotion, placed him under arrest. But now the despotic Englishman had to encounter a power of which he made little account. The people of Benares had been mildly governed. The rajah was popular. The religious and national feelings of the Hindoo population were roused by this outrage upon their native prince. The streets of the great Brahminical city were filled by an angry multitude. The sepoy who had been appointed to arrest and guard Cheyte Sing were butchered; and the prince escaped from his palace-prison. Hastings had to barricade the house in which he had taken up his residence; and, finally, to leave the city by night, with a small band, amidst the hootings of the populace. The rajah at first made offers of submission, to which Hastings did not vouchsafe a reply; but Cheyte Sing, having been followed by a formidable body of insurgents, was able to make a stand with forty thousand undisciplined men. Popham, the victor of Gwalior, was ready to attack the rajah, who was utterly routed, driven from his states, and finally deposed.

Hastings was disappointed in the amount of treasure which he found, when the fortress of Bidgegur, which held the rajah's wealth, was surrendered to Popham; and the quarter of a million that was taken was divided as prize-money by the army. He had another booty in view. Asaph ul Dowlah, the nabob and vizier of Oude, had obtained from the British government a brigade to defend him against the aggressions of his neighbours. The weak and depraved prince had thus virtually become a vassal of the Company. Hastings required heavy payment for his military aid. The nabob wanted money himself. The grandmother and mother of Asaph ul Dowlah, called the begums of Oude, were reputed to be possessed of enormous treasure, which they kept in their palace of Fyzabad. The nabob and the Governor-General met in the fortress of Chunar; and there it was consented to by Asaph ul Dowlah that the begums should be stripped of the domains which they retained by his father's bequest and his own grants, and that their treasure should go to the English in liquidation of the arrears which Hastings demanded. A solemn treaty was entered into; but when the weak prince was no longer under the immediate dominion of the stern

will of the Governor-General, he relented in his meditated spoliation of his parents. Hastings sent the most peremptory orders to the English resident at Lucknow, Mr. Hamilton, to carry out the treaty, even if force were necessary. If the resident hesitated, Hastings would come himself, to take the work out of feebler hands. The gates of the palace of Fyzabad were forced by the Company's troops. The aged princesses were confined to their own apartments, it being alleged that they had been concerned in exciting the insurrection at Benares. Sir Elijah Impey hurried to Lucknow to receive depositions against the begums, and then hurried back to Calcutta. The begums would not part with their treasure, though imprisoned, and dreading personal violence. An atrocity, which requires not the eloquence of Burke or Sheridan to rouse the indignation of every man jealous of his country's honour, was perpetrated upon the two eunuchs who presided over the household of Sujah ul Dowlah's widow. Through their persecution the treasure was to be extorted from the begums. They were put in irons; they were half-starved; they were ordered to be debarred from all food till they yielded. The English resident, Nathaniel Middleton, signed this cruel order. The old men agreed to produce the sum that was then required. But the whole demand was not satisfied. They were removed to Lucknow. The British resident there incurred the disgrace of issuing this order to a British officer: "Sir, the nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall think proper." The eunuchs were imprisoned till, after months of terror, the begums had surrendered twelve hundred thousand pounds; and Hastings was content.

The case of the rajah of Benares, and the case of the begums, furnished the most exciting materials for that eloquence which determined the impeachment of Hastings; and which, during the first year of that procrastinated trial, attracted eager crowds to Westminster Hall, to listen to the greatest masters of oratory of that age—inferior probably to none of any age. From 1788 to 1795, was this memorable trial carried on. Amidst the storm of invective which denounced him as a monster of cruelty and rapacity, Hastings was sustained by the proud consciousness that he had rendered eminent service to his country. In his Address upon his defence he said, and said truly, "To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of their dominion in India, I dare to reply that they are—and their repre-

sentatives annually persist in telling them so—the most flourishing of all the States of India. It was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired—I enlarged and give consistency to—the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it.” With the treasures which he extorted from rajahs and begums he carried on the war in the Carnatic till the death of Hyder Ali in 1782; and finally concluded an honourable peace with Hyder’s son and successor, Tippoo, in 1783. His administration ceased in the spring of 1785; when a new system for the government of India was established, after a parliamentary contest of unexampled interest and momentous results.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox.—Pitt’s second Reform Bill.—Affairs of India.—Fox brings forward his India Bill.—The Bill carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the House of Lords.—The Coalition dismissed from office.—Pitt the head of the government.—His struggle against a majority of the Commons—His final triumph.—Parliament dissolved.—Results of the elections.—The Westminster election.—Pitt’s financial measures.—Commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.—His third Reform Bill.—Disputes between Holland and Austria.—Pitt’s Sinking-Fund.—Commercial Treaty with France.—Consolidation of Taxes.—War with France averted.—The prince of Wales’s debts.—Mrs. Fitzherbert.—The king becomes insane.—Parliamentary conflict on the Regency Bill.—The king’s Recovery.

THE Coalition of the party headed by lord North, and of the party headed by Mr. Fox, had succeeded in compelling lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt to resign; but it was not without difficulty that the coalesced chiefs could induce the king to admit them to power. After a considerable delay, the duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox and North were appointed Secretaries of States. The repugnance of the king to this extraordinary union of two political rivals—which, securing a majority in the House of Commons, forced upon him as the real prime minister, a man whom he disliked with an intensity approaching to hatred—was more than tolerated by the majority of the nation. The Coalition was odious to all men not bound by the trammels of party. Fox and North received the seals on the 2nd of April, 1783. The acceptance of place by Fox rendered his re-election for Westminster necessary; and Romilly writes—“It is almost a general wish that some man of character and credit may be opposed to him as a candidate.” He was re-elected, because no candidate was found; “but the populace received him with hisses, and every other mark of displeasure.”*

Pitt was now in opposition. He had in vain declared “a just and lawful impediment” to the “ill-omened and unnatural marriage,” forbidding the banns “in the name of the public weal.” The ministry were strong in their majorities. Pitt vainly opposed the conditions of the loan which they had raised upon very disadvantageous terms. On the 7th of May he, a second time, brought forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. He proposed that

* “Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly” —Letter to Roget.