
THE INDIAN EMPIRE

Drawn by W. Purser. Sketched by Capt. R. Elliot R. N. Engraved by W. Miller

DELHI. SHEWING THE ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.

Drawn by W. Purser.

Engraved by W. Brandard.

FUTTYPORE SICRI.

This place is situate about 20 miles from Agra, and was the favorite palace of the Mogul Emperors. The gateway represented in the plate, is considered the most beautiful of its kind in any part of the world ___ A body of the Sepoy Mutineers were defeated by Colonel Cotton on the 28th October 1857.

Drawn by S. Prout.

Engraved by C. Mottram.

VIEW OF CAWNPORE FROM THE RIVER.

VIEW OF SASSOOR, IN THE DECCAN, SOUTH EAST OF POONAH.

The walled building to the right is a fortified palace, and in 1818 its garrison held out for ten days against a division of the British Army.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G.F. WHITE, ESQ.

J.B. Allen.

SIMLA, NEAR BELASPOOR.

A favorite resort for invalids of the British Army.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G. F. WHITE, ESQ.

BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

Drawn by W. Purser. Engraved by W. Le Petit.

THE PASS OF MAKUNDRA.

This celebrated pass is situate about 38 miles from Kotah, in the province of Malwa. In this province Brigadier Stuart defeated a large body of the Indore Mutineers at Dhar, on the 20th of October 1857.

Drawn by H. Cox.

Engraved by T. Higham.

JERDAUR,—A HILL VILLAGE,—GURWALL.

C. Bentley DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G. F. WHITE, 1820 W. Taylor

THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS, NORTHERN BENGAL, IN WHICH THE RIVER JUMNA TAKES ITS RISE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

MOHUNA, NEAR DEOBUN.

THE CHOOR MOUNTAINS.

T. Allom.

DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G.F. WHITE ESQ.

J. H. Kernot

GUNGOOTREE, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

Drawn by David Cox. Engraved by W. Taylor.

GRASS ROPE BRIDGE AT TEREE _ GURWALL.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY _ LIMITED.

THE GANGES ENTERING THE PLAINS NEAR HURDWAR.

The Ganges is the principal river of India, traversing the centre of the presidencies of Bengal and Agra. Between Hurdwar and Allahabad the river is from 1 to 1¼ miles broad, below it increases to as much as 3 miles in breadth and 30 feet in depth. Its total length is 1500 miles.

Drawn by W. Purser

Engraved by

THE CELEBRATED HINDOO TEMPLES AND PALACE AT MADURA,

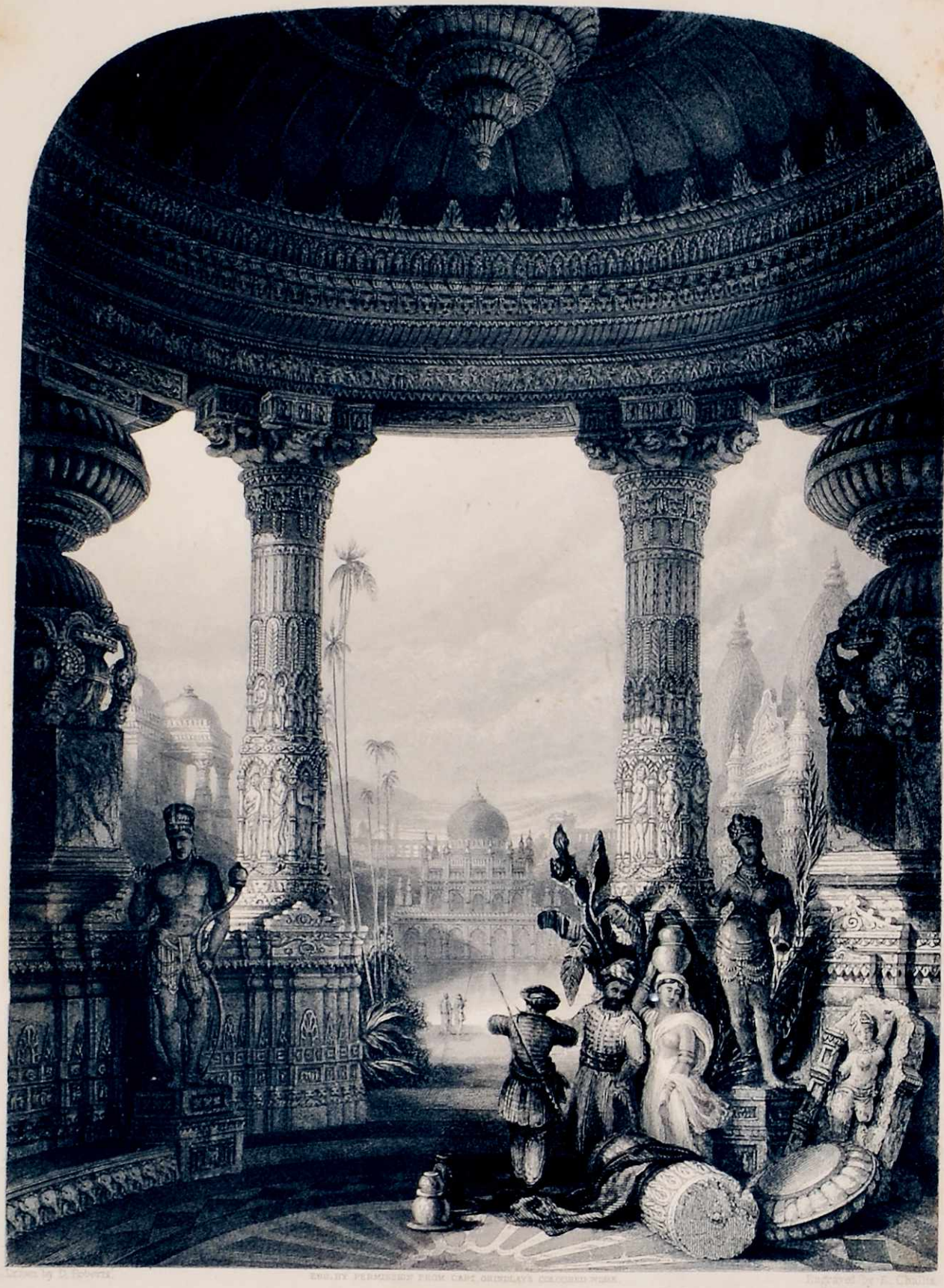
IN THE SOUTHERN CARNATIC.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.

Drawn by Clarkson Stanfield, R. A. Engraved by E. Goodall.

BOMBAY HARBOUR IN THE MONSOON.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.



HINDOO AND MAHOMEDAN BUILDINGS.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

T. Allom. DRAWN FROM NATURE BY G.F. WHITE, Esq. J. H. Kernot.

VIEW NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE JUMNA.

not wonderful that the memory of the man whose well-digested plans "raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust," should be gratefully remembered by his countrymen; but it affords melancholy evidence of the darkness of heathenism to be told, that the murder of Afzool Khan is spoken of as a "commendable exploit," and its perpetrator "as an incarnation of the Deity setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety."*

Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindoo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mohammedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurungzebe's snake-like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these unworthy weapons did not detract from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword (a Genoa blade of the finest temper, named after his tutelary goddess, Bhavani) was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.

On the death of Sevajee, one of his surviving widows burned herself with his body. The other, Soyera Bye, endeavoured to place her son, Rajah Ram, a boy of ten years old, on the throne, to the exclusion of Sumbajee, whose mother had died during his infancy. The attempt failed, and Sumbajee was proclaimed king. He caused Soyera Bye to be put to a painful and lingering death; imprisoned her son; threw the leading Brahmin ministers into irons; and slew such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their caste. Prince Akber reached the Deccan in June, 1681, and was honourably received by Sumbajee, who acknowledged him as emperor, but showed no intention of supporting his pretensions; devoting such time as he could spare from drinking and debauchery to making war upon the Abyssinians of Jinjeera and the Portuguese. The vast treasure accumulated by his father was soon dissipated; the people were harassed by oppressive taxes; and the troops, being left in arrears of pay, began to appropriate the plunder taken on expeditions for their own use, and to degenerate from comparatively regular bands into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters.

Such was the state of things when Aurungzebe, in 1683, arrived at the head of the whole force of the empire. Sumbajee awoke from his stupor; and ably seconded by his father's trained troops, cut off the greater part of the army sent under Prince Mauzim to overrun the Concan, in 1684;† and, in the following year, retaliated this invasion by taking advantage of the march of the emperor against Ahmednuggur, to sack and burn the great city of Boorhanpoor. In 1685, the Moguls being again drawn off to the south, Sumbajee made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, and plundered Baroach with the adjacent part of Guzerat. About this time he entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golconda, which Aurungzebe resenting, sent an army against that state, then weakened by internal dissension. Its sovereign, Abool Hussun, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular, and his government and finances were ably managed by Maduna Punt, an active and upright Brahmin, in whom he placed full confidence, thereby exciting the discontent of the Mussulmans, especially of Ibrahim Khan, the commander-in-chief, who, on the approach of the imperial force, under Prince Mauzim, deserted to him with the greater part of the army. The obnoxious minister was murdered; the king fled to

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 297. The above account of Sevajee is almost exclusively derived from the able and interesting narrative of Grant Duff, whose labour of love has rendered him as eminently the historian of the Mahrattas, as Colonel Tod of the Rajpoots.

† Dileer Khan died in this year. He was, perhaps, the ablest officer in the service of Aurungzebe, whose battles he fought for six-and-twenty years; but he, like Jey Sing and Jeswunt Sing, found, in the suspicion and neglect of his crafty master, fit punishment for treachery to the brave and unfortunate Dara. The emperor confiscated the property of the deceased, and being disappointed in its value, vainly strove to extort, by torture, from his secretary, a confession of the manner in which the supposed surplus had been employed. The relatives of Dileer Khan were not, however, more unfortunate than those of Khan Jehan Bahadur, foster-brother to the emperor, who visited his death-bed, but appropriated his property, giving the usual order to seek for hidden deposits, and recover all out-standing debts.

the hill-fort of Golconda; and Hyderabad was captured and plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiery, notwithstanding the efforts of the prince to check this breach of discipline, which his suspicious father attributed to his connivance, as a means of embezzlement for ambitious purposes.

By a large pecuniary payment, Abool Hussun purchased a brief respite from Aurungzebe, who then moved in person against Beejapoor. The army of this monarchy had been so reduced by prolonged warfare, that the city, although surrounded by walls six miles in circumference, was soon completely invested. The Patan garrison seemed determined to perish sword in hand, and were therefore suffered to capitulate after a practicable breach had been made, through which Aurungzebe entered the place on a portable throne. The state was extinguished, A.D. 1686; and Beejapoor, after attaining a grandeur quite disproportioned to the extent of the kingdom of which it formed the capital, sunk rapidly into the deserted condition in which it now stands. The young king, after three years' close imprisonment in the Mogul camp, perished suddenly, it is said by violence, the fears of his imperial gaoler having been raised by a popular commotion in his favour.

Golconda, the last independent Mohammedan state, was next destroyed, after a duration of 175 years. Abool Hussun strove by costly gifts to deprecate the ambition of Aurungzebe, who, while receiving these offerings, was secretly occupied in intrigues with the ministers and troops of the unhappy king; and at length, his plans being matured, denounced him as a protector of infidels, and laid siege to Golconda. Roused by this treachery, Abool Hussun, though deserted on all sides, defended the fort for seven months, but was eventually betrayed into the hands of his merciless foe, by whom he was sent to end his days in the fortress of Doulatabad. His fate and treatment awakened the compassion of Prince Mauzim, whose mediation he solicited; and the prince, touched by the dignity and resignation with which the monarch bore his misfortunes, or rather injuries, made an earnest appeal in his favour. The result was his own imprisonment for nearly seven years, after which he was released and sent as governor to Cabool. All the territories which had been acquired by Beejapoor and Golconda were annexed to the empire, as well as many of Sevajee's conquests; Venkajee was deprived of the Mysore jaghire, and confined to Tanjore; and Sumbajee seemed to have sunk into a state of inertia, and become heedless of passing events. Prince Akber, dreading to fall into his father's hands, fled to Persia, where he remained till his death, about eighteen years afterwards.

Aurungzebe had now reached the culminating point of success; neither humanity nor policy had stayed his covetous grasp: he stood alone, the sole Moslem ruler in India—the despotic master of an unwieldy empire, over which the seeds of disorganisation and dissolution were sown broadcast. In Hindoostan, the finest provinces were, for the most part, entrusted to the care of incompetent and needy governors, chosen purposely from the lower ranks of the nobility. These men oppressed the people and neglected the troops—evils which Aurungzebe preferred to the risk of being supplanted by more able and influential officers. His policy in the Deccan was equally selfish and short-sighted. In the governments of Beejapoor and Golconda, he might have found valuable auxiliaries in keeping under the power of the Mahrattas; but, by their destruction, he threw down the chief barrier to lawless incursions, setting aside constituted authorities without supplying any efficient substitute.* Of the disbanded armies, the Patans and foreign mercenaries probably obtained service under the emperor; the remainder joined Sumbajee, or plundered on their own account; and amid the general anarchy and distress, the new-born feeling of religious opposition rapidly gained ground. Notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rajah, the Mahratta chiefs exerted themselves individually against the invader, and their energies were rather stimulated than enfeebled by the unexpected capture of Sumbajee, with his minister and favourite companion, a Brahmin named Kaloosha, who were surprised by a body of Moguls during a revel at a favourite pleasure-house in the Concan. It was sug-

* In all these countries Aurungzebe acquired little more than a military occupation. "The districts were farmed to the Desmookhs and other zemindars, and were governed by military leaders, who received twenty-five per cent. for the expense of collecting; and sent up the balance, after paying their troops, to the emperor; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a period of years on fixed districts for the payment of other chiefs."—(Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii., p. 522.)

gested, that Sumbajee might be used as a tool to obtain possession of the Mahratta strongholds; and with this view, he was offered life on condition of becoming a Mussulman. But misfortune had awakened in him a sense of degradation, and the only reply was a sarcastic message to Aurungzebe, and an invective on the False Prophet, for which offence a cruel punishment was decreed. His eyes were destroyed by a red-hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was at last beheaded in the camp bazaar, together with Kaloosha, A.D. 1689.

Sumbajee had neither deserved nor obtained the confidence of his subjects; but they were deeply mortified by his ignominious fate. The chiefs assembled at Raighur, acknowledged the infant son of the deceased as his successor, and nominated his uncle, Rajah Ram, regent. Raighur was invested by a Mogul force, and taken in 1690, after a siege of several months, through the treachery of a Mawulee leader. The young rajah and his mother fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, who treated them with unusual kindness.* Rajah Ram remaining at liberty, proceeded to the distant fortress of Jinjee, in the Carnatic, and assumed the sovereignty. He did not attempt more than the general direction of affairs, sending two able leaders to create a diversion in his own country, and leaving independent commanders to carry on desultory operations against the Moguls, with whom a tedious and harassing struggle commenced, in which the advantage lay on the side of the apparently weaker party.

Yet Aurungzebe was indefatigable. Although far advanced in years, he superintended every hostile operation, and besieged in person the chief places.† His immense armies were marshalled forth in splendid array. The nobles went to battle in quilted cotton tunics, covered with chain or plate armour, and rode on chargers, whose huge saddles, housings of cloth or velvet, satin streamers, bells, chains, and other ornaments of gold and silver, with the frequent addition of pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet hanging down on either side, were better adapted for a triumphal procession, than for warfare with mountaineers in their own country. The common soldiers imitated their superiors in their cumbersome attire, and likewise in sloth and effeminacy: the result was a total relaxation of discipline. The Mahrattas, on the contrary, were mounted on horses, small, strong, and active as themselves, with a pad for a saddle, and a black blanket folded over it for nightly covering during their expeditions, when each man slept on the ground, with his spear stuck by him, and his bridle tied to his arm, ready for any emergency. A led horse, with bags to contain the expected plunder, formed the remainder of their camp equipage. Their common food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion; their dress, a small turban, a fold of which was frequently passed under the chin,‡ a quilted cotton tunic, tight drawers descending to the knee, and a scarf or sash rolled round the waist. Some carried a sword and shield; a certain proportion were armed with matchlocks, or bow and arrows; but the prevailing weapon was a bamboo spear, thirteen or fourteen feet long, which they wielded with extraordinary skill. Thus armed and habited, they wisely adhered to the desultory warfare which could alone be successfully waged against the heavily-attired legions of the Mogul.§ Then, as now, their only name for a victory was, "to plunder the enemy," this being, in their eyes, the chief object as well as sole irrefragable evidence and measure of conquest.

Fort after fort was captured by the imperial army; but the Mahrattas meanwhile issued from their lurking-places and overspread the newly-acquired territories, as

* Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, evinced unremitting kindness to both mother and child during their long captivity. The boy, being much with her, attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who jestingly applied to him the nick-name of Sahoo or Shao, a word signifying the opposite of thief, robber, and similar terms, by which he habitually designated Sumbajee and Sevajee.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i.)

† The traveller, Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurungzebe at Beejapoor, in 1695, describes him as slender and of low stature, with a smiling aspect, bright eyes, a long nose, and a beard whose silvery whiteness contrasted with an olive-coloured skin. His dress was of plain white muslin, with one large emerald in the turban. He stood amid his omrahs leaning on a staff or crozier (like those used by the fakeers); received petitions, read them without spectacles, and endorsed them with his own hand. In youth, says Manouchi, he was pale even to ghastliness.

‡ The Mahratta description of a very fierce-looking person, includes a turban tied beneath the chin, and mustachios "as thick as my arm." Their national flag, swallow-tailed and of a deep orange colour, is emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

§ The Mawulees were famous for sword-in-hand combat; the Hetkurees (Concan mountaineers) used a species of firelock, and excelled as marksmen: both parties could, with ease, scale rocks and mount precipices, which the Moguls would have found certain destruction in attempting.

well as Berar, Candeish, and Malwa. Detachments were sent against them in various directions, but to little avail; for, on perceiving their approach, the wily mountaineers dispersed at once, without attempting to stand a charge; and after leading the Moguls a weary, and generally fruitless chase, were themselves ready to follow the retreating track of their disheartened pursuers, and take advantage of any opening or confusion in the ranks, occasioned by accident or exhaustion. Fighting such foes was like beating the air, and even worse; for while their number and power were rapidly increasing by the alliance of the zemindars of the countries which they overran, the troops of Aurungzebe, thinned by long and sanguinary sieges, required frequent recruitment from Hindoostan, whence also supplies of money had to be drawn.

Rajah Ram died A.D. 1700, and was succeeded by his infant son, Sivajee, under the regency of Tara Bye, mother of the young rajah. This change had little effect on the war. Aurungzebe went on taking forts, until, by the close of the next five years, all the principal Mahratta strongholds had fallen before him; but then the tide turned, and the rapidly-multiplying foe themselves became besiegers, and regained many fortresses, at the same time intercepting several convoys, and thus depriving the emperor of the means of paying his army.* No writer has delineated the condition of the agricultural population of the Deccan; but their sufferings from these prolonged and desolating wars must have been frightful. From them the circle of distress spread gradually but surely, until scarcity of food began to be felt even in the imperial camp, and was aggravated by the devastating effects of heavy rains. On one occasion, a sudden flood of the Beema inundated the imperial cantonment during the night, and caused the destruction of 12,000 persons, with horses, cattle, and stores beyond calculation.

The contempt with which the Moguls once regarded the Mahrattas had long given place to dread; while the Mahrattas, on their part, began to see the emptiness of the pomp which surrounded the Great Mogul, and mocked the Mussulmans, by pretending to ejaculate devout aspirations for the prolonged life of their best patron, Aurungzebe. The news from Hindoostan was of an increasingly-disheartening character; the Rajpoots were, for the most part, in open hostility, and their example had been followed by the Jats (a Hindoo people of the Soodra class), near Agra: against these, as also against a body of Sikhs at Muttra, it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zulfikar Khan, the chief Mogul general, being treated with irritating distrust by his sovereign, seems to have grown dilatory and indifferent, if, indeed, the dark clouds which were gathering over the political horizon did not induce him, like other nobles, designedly to temporize with the foe. The princes—now favoured, now disgraced—turned pale when summoned to the presence of their father;† while he, remembering the fate of Shah Jehan, trembled yet more at the semblance of overstrained humility than at open insubordination.

At length overtures of peace were made to the Mahrattas, and Aurungzebe was brought to consent to the liberation of Shao, the son of Sumbajee, and to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan (as Surdeshmooki), on condition of the maintenance of a body of horse to keep order; but the negotiation was broken off by the exorbitant demands and overbearing conduct of the Mahrattas. Disgusted and unhappy, with dispirited troops and exhausted cattle, the aged emperor retreated from Beejapoor to Ahmednuggur, harassed all the way by the enemy, who succeeded in dispersing and destroying a portion of the grand army; and, had they chosen to hazard a general attack, would probably have captured the person of their inveterate foe. That no such attempt was made is a subject of fervent exultation with Mussulman writers. Aurungzebe gained Ahmednugger in safety; and, when pitching his camp on the same spot whence it had marched in so much pomp and power twenty years before, he sorrowfully remarked, that his campaigns were ended—his last earthly journey completed. He had now entered the fiftieth year of his reign, and the eighty-ninth of his age; but the extreme temperance and regularity which characterised his physical existence, had preserved his faculties in an

* Among the many letters extant, written by Aurungzebe, are several addressed to Zulfikar Khan, desiring him to search for hidden treasures, and hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals, that means may be afforded to silence "the infernal foot-soldiers," who were croaking like the tenants of an invaded rookery.

† Khafi Khan.—(*Vide* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 544.)

extraordinary degree of perfection.* Yet to him, freedom from the imbecility frequently attendant on extreme age was rather a curse than a blessing. The few sands still remaining in his measure of life would, he feared, be rudely shaken by the ambition of his heirs, and, to avoid this danger, he made a last exertion of power by sending away his favourite son, Kaumbuksh, to Beejapoor, and preventing Mauzim (then in Cabool) or Azim (in Guzerat) from coming to Ahmednuggur. His own children could not be trusted to minister to their aged father, although, in this awful period, he seems to have had a newly-awakened yearning for human sympathy. Death was fast approaching; and what provision had he made for the stability of the empire, the welfare of the people, the salvation of his own soul? After his decease, which took place in February, 1707, a will† was found beneath his pillow, decreeing the division of the empire among his sons: but he probably foresaw the little attention which would be paid to it, and might reasonably have adopted the saying of another crooked politician, "*Après moi le déluge.*" His subjects—at least the Mussulman portion—he commends to the care of his sons, in his farewell letters, as a charge committed to them by God himself; and then proceeds to give vent, in disconnected sentences, to the terrible apprehensions before which his spirit shrank in dismay. "Wherever I look," writes the dying emperor, "I see nothing but the Deity. I know nothing of myself—what I am—and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire," he adds, in the same tone of remorse rather than repentance. * * * "I have committed many crimes; and know not with what punishments I may be seized. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"‡

It has been shown that, during the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, the empire was manifestly losing its coherent power. After his death, strife, luxury, and corruption in the court; disorganization in the camp, and discontent among the people;§

* Khafi Khan says, "none of his five senses were at all impaired, except his hearing in a small degree; but not so that others could perceive it." Aurungzebe possessed, in perfection, what Lytton Bulwer, following a French proverb, calls the twin secrets for wearing well—"a bad heart and a good digestion."

† A previous will contained directions for his funeral, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum, equal to ten shillings, saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold: 805 rupees, gained by copying the Koran, were to be distributed among the poor. (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 551.)

‡ These remarkable and well-authenticated letters contain many characteristic and interesting passages: for instance, "the camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself—full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. * * * The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My back is bent with weakness; my feet have lost the power of motion. * * * The Begum [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts." To Kaumbuksh he says, "Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time."—(Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. i., pp. 8 and 9.) According to Tod, this lady was a princess, not of Oudipoor, but of Kishenghur, a minor division of Joudpoor.

§ As in the Deccan, so also throughout Hindoostan, we can only form an idea of the condition of the mass of the people by an incidental remark, scattered here and there, amid many weary pages filled with details of invasion and slaughter, pomp and intrigue. The Mussulman writers were usually pensioners of the monarch, whose deeds they chronicled; the Hindoo annalists were the bards of the leading families, of which they formed important and cherished members. Neither the one nor the other could be expected to rise above the class of mere annalists. To have given a true and lively picture of the actual state of the Indian population under Moslem rule, would have tasked to the utmost the intellect of a philosopher, the zeal of a philanthropist, the courage of a martyr. And to whom should an historian, thus richly gifted, have addressed himself? Would either the degraded Hindoo or the sensual Mohammedan have cared to trace "the practical operation of a despotic government, and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect, upon the great body of the nation, of these injurious influences and agencies."—(Preface to Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of Historians of Mohammedan India.*) No; for to Christianity alone belongs the high prerogative of teaching men to appreciate justly their rights, duties, and responsibilities. Even with her teaching, the lesson is one which nations are slow to learn. Concerning the reign of Aurungzebe, we know less than of many of his predecessors; because he not only left no autobiography behind him, but even, for a considerable number of years, forbade the ordinary chronicling of events. Of the wretchedness prevailing among the people, and the indignation with which the imposition of the jezia was generally regarded, a forcible representation is given in a letter, addressed by Raj Sing of Oudipoor (wrongly attributed by Orme to Jeswunt Sing of Marwar) to Aurungzebe, in which he reminds him of the prosperity attendant on the mild conduct of Akber, Jehangeer, and Shah Jehan towards the Hindoos, and points out the opposite results of the present harsh measures, in the alienation of much territory, and the devastation and rapine which universally prevailed. "Your subjects," he says, "are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. * * * The soldiery are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hin-

fostered by the imposition of the jezia and excessive imposts upon land, grew apace, and the power of the great Moguls crumbled into ruins, its decay being hastened by the rapid increase of the Mahratta nation; the struggles of the Rajpoots for independence; the irruption of the Sikhs; and the desolating invasion of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah. The career of the successors of Aurungzebe need be but briefly narrated, since their reigns are not of sufficient interest to occupy space which can be ill-spared from more important matters; beside which, the leading events of the eighteenth century will again come into notice in sketching the marvellous rise of the English from humble traders to lords paramount of India.

---

*Bahadur Shah.**—Prince Mauzim, the rightful heir to the throne, on receiving tidings of his father's decease, assumed the crown at Cabool with the title of Bahadur Shah, and offered to confirm to his brothers the territorial possessions bequeathed to them by Aurungzebe: viz., to Azim—Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west; to Kaumbuksh—Beejapoor and Golconda. The generous and upright character of Bahadur Shah warranted belief in his good faith; but Azim, who, on the death of the emperor, had hastened to the camp, from which he was not far distant, and caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign of the whole empire, could not be prevailed upon to retract this unwarrantable pretension.

Despite the exhausted state of the kingdom, very large armies were assembled on both sides, and a sanguinary contest took place to the south of Agra, in which Prince Azim and his two grown-up sons were slain. The third, a child, was taken by the soldier who decapitated his father, as he lay senseless in his howdah, and carried into the presence of the emperor, together with the bloody trophy of victory, the head of Azim. Bahadur Shah burst into tears, and strove to pacify the weeping boy with caresses, promising to treat him as one of his own children, a pledge he faithfully redeemed, in spite of the jealous insinuations of his own sons. In this important battle the valour and ability of Monaim Khan, who had been Bahadur Shah's chief officer in Cabool, were very conspicuous. Concealing his own dangerous and painful wounds, he remained on the field till late at night to restore order and prevent plunder; and then, perfectly exhausted, was lifted from his elephant, and carried into the presence of the emperor, by whom he was appointed vizier. Zulfikar Khan and his father, Assud Khan, who had at first taken part with Prince Azim, quitted his camp, disgusted by his arrogance, before the late engagement, of which they had remained spectators. On presenting themselves with fettered hands before the emperor, they were gladly welcomed, and appointed to high positions.

Prince Kaumbuksh, a vain and flighty young man, persisted in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother, who, after repeated attempts at negotiation, which were rejected with scorn and defiance, marched against him to the Deccan, and was again victor in a battle near Hyderabad. Kaumbuksh died of his wounds the same day; his children fell into the hands of their uncle, by whom they were treated as kindly as their orphan cousin.† The next important event was a truce with the Mahrattas, among whom internal dissensions had arisen, owing to the release of Shao (by Prince Azim, immediately after his father's death), and the disputed succession between him and the son of Tara Bye, whose claims, although an idiot, were actively upheld by his ambitious mother. The ascendancy of Shao was recognised by the Mogul government, and the chout, or fourth, of the revenues of the Deccan conceded to him. The Rajpoots were likewise permitted to make peace on very favourable terms. The territory cap-

doos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in want and destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"—(Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 252.) Aurungzebe's persecution of his Hindoo subjects consisted in pecuniary exactions and systematic discouragement: they were excluded from office, their fairs and festivals forbidden, and even some of their temples destroyed; but bodily suffering was rarely, if ever, inflicted from mere bigotry; and capital punishments, for any offence whatever, were infrequent.

* Sometimes entitled Alum Shah Bahadur.

† Eradut Khan, one of the many rebellious nobles, who, after the defeat of Azim, were freely pardoned, says, that the sons of the fallen princes were always permitted to appear fully armed before the emperor, to accompany him daily in the chase, and share in all his diversions. Seventeen princes—his sons, grandsons, and nephews, sat round his throne: the royal captives of Beejapoor and Golconda were likewise suffered to take their place immediately behind the royal princes; and a crowd of the high nobility daily thronged "the platform between the silver rails."—(Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 49.)

tured from the rana of Oudipoor was restored, and he became again independent in all but name. Ajeet Sing, the rajah of Marwar, and Jey Sing, of Jeypoor, appear to have obtained nearly similar advantages, but rather from necessity than good-will, since the emperor was about to advance against them, when his attention was diverted by intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs. These people, from an inoffensive, religious sect, founded about the end of the fifteenth century by a Hindoo named Nanuk,* had been changed by persecution into fanatical warriors. When driven from the neighbourhood of Lahore, which had been their original seat, they took refuge in the northern mountains, A.D. 1606, and there remained for nearly seventy years, until the accession of Guru Govind, the tenth spiritual chief from Nanuk. This leader conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth. To increase their numbers, he abolished all distinction of caste, and all prohibitions regarding food or drink, except the slaughter of kine, which was strictly forbidden. Hindoo idols and Brahmins were to be respected, but the usual forms of worship were set aside. All converts were admitted to a perfect equality, and were expected to take a vow to fight for the cause, always to carry steel in some part of the person, to wear blue clothes, allow the head and beard to grow, and neither clip nor remove the hair on any part of the body.

The Sikhs fought desperately, but were too few in number to accomplish the plans of resistance and revenge planned by Guru Govind, who, after beholding his strongholds taken, his mother and children massacred, his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed, was himself assassinated by a private enemy. To his spiritual authority, as Guru, no successor was appointed. The temporal command of the infuriated Sikhs was assumed by a Hindoo ascetic, named Bandu, under whose leadership they overran the east of the Punjaub, and, true to their vengeful motto of unceasing enmity to the Mohammedans, not only destroyed the mosques and slaughtered the moollahs, but massacred the population of whole towns, sparing neither age nor sex, and even disinterring the bodies of the dead, and exposing them as food for carrion. The chief seat of these atrocities was Sirhind, which they occupied after defeating the governor in a pitched battle: they subsequently retired to the country on the upper course of the Sutlej, whence they made marauding incursions, extending to the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and of Delhi on the other.

Bahadur Shah marched against them in 1711, and soon obliged them to take refuge in the hills, where they long continued to struggle against the imperial force. Bandu was at last shut up in a fort, which was strictly blockaded; but the Sikhs continued the defence until large numbers perished of hunger, and then made a desperate sally, upon which the enemy took possession of the fort without further resistance; but Bandu escaped through the self-devotion of one of his followers, by whom he was personated.†

After this success, the emperor took his departure; but the Sikhs had received only a temporary check; and their power was again in the ascendant, when Bahadur Shah expired suddenly at Lahore (not without suspicion of poison), in the seventy-first (lunar) year of his age, and the fifth of his reign, A.D. 1712.

Jehandar Shah.—On the death of the emperor, a deadly conflict commenced between his four sons, in which three perished—the eldest ascending the throne, notwithstanding his well-known incapacity, by the aid of Zulfikar Khan, who had taken part with him from ambitious motives, hoping to govern absolutely under the name of vizier. All the princes of the blood, whose persons were within reach, were slain, to secure the authority of the new ruler. But this iniquity only served to heighten the hatred and disgust

* The beauty of Nanuk, when a mere boy, attracted the attention of a learned and wealthy Seyed, who caused him to be educated and instructed in the doctrines of Islam. As he grew up, Nanuk extended his reading, collected maxims alike from the Koran and the Vedas, and endeavoured to unite Mohammedan and Hindoo doctrines on the basis of the unity of God. Converts flocked around him, taking the name of Sikhs (*the instructed*), and giving to their preceptor the name and authority of Guru (*spiritual chief.*) The doctrines of the sect were gradually embodied in sacred volumes called *Grunths*, and the Sikhs silently increased; until, in 1606, the Moslem government took offence at their leading tenet—that the form of worship offered to the Deity was immaterial—and put to death their existing chief, whereupon the Sikhs took up arms under his son, Hur Govind.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Sikh Power.*)

† Though struck by the generosity of the impostor, Bahadur is said to have nevertheless sent him prisoner, in an iron cage, to Delhi, an act singularly at variance with his compassionate nature.

excited by the pride and tyranny of Zulfikar Khan, and the vices and follies of his imperial *protégé*, who lavished honours upon his favourite mistress (originally a public dancer), and promoted her relations, although, like herself, of a most discreditable class, to the highest dignities in the state. Dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the court, when tidings arrived that Feroksheer (the son of one of the fallen princes whom Jehandar had vainly striven to get into his power) had prevailed upon two Seyed* brothers, the governors of Behar and Allahabad, to espouse his cause; and having, by their aid, assembled an army, was now marching towards Agra. Jehandar and Zulfikar met the invaders, at the head of 70,000 men; but, being defeated, the emperor fled in disguise to Delhi, and took refuge in the house of Assud Khan. The treacherous old man made him a prisoner, and persuaded Zulfikar (who arrived soon after, with the remaining troops) to make terms with the conqueror, by the surrender of their unfortunate master. The father and son then presented themselves to Feroksheer, with fettered hands, as they had done to his grandfather, Bahadur Shah, some six years before, but with a very different result. Zulfikar and Jehandar were strangled with a leathern thong, after which their bodies were fastened to an elephant, and dragged through the leading thoroughfares of Delhi, followed by the wretched Assud Khan, and all the female members of his family, in covered carriages. Thus ended the nine months' sway of Jehandar Shah, A.D. 1713.

Feroksheer's first act of sovereignty was to appoint the Seyed brothers to the highest offices in the empire—the elder, Abdullah Khan, being made vizier; the younger, Hussein Ali, ameer ool omra, or commander-in-chief. He next proceeded to remove from his path, by the bow-string, such of the old nobility as might be disposed to combine against him; and the same instrument was freely used among the remaining members of the royal family, including even his own infant brothers. These cruelties were sure indications of a suspicious and cowardly nature; and, as might be expected, his distrust was soon excited against the very persons by whom he had been raised to the throne. The consequence was, that his whole reign was a continued, though long-disguised struggle with the two Seyeds, whose watchfulness and confidence in each other rendered them eventually victorious.† Feroksheer endeavoured to weaken, by dividing them; and, for this end, sent Hussein against Ajeet Sing, of Marwar, to whom a private intimation was forwarded, that the emperor would be well-pleased by the defeat and death of his own general. The plot failed; for the parties immediately concerned wisely consulted their mutual interest, by making a speedy peace, and Hussein returned to court, bearing with him the daughter of the rajah, to be the bride of his ungrateful sovereign. The nuptials were celebrated on a scale of extraordinary magnificence; but were no sooner terminated, than Hussein Ali was sent to the Deccan, ostensibly to prosecute hostilities against the Mahrattas. Daud Khan Panni, an Afghan commander, renowned for reckless courage, received orders to join Hussein, and, under pretence of co-operation, to take the first opportunity of effecting his destruction. But the agent selected to carry this nefarious scheme into execution was ill-chosen. Daud Khan, though well-disposed to revenge the death of his old patron, Zulfikar Khan,‡ would not stoop to stab in the dark; he therefore set the Seyed at defiance, engaged him as an open enemy, and, by the impetuosity of his charge, had nearly triumphed, when a ball pierced his brain, and at once changed the fortune of the day. Hussein Ali proceeded to execute his commission against the Mahrattas, without openly attributing

* Lineal descendants of Mohammed.

† The mother of Feroksheer had taken a leading part in persuading the Seyed brothers, for the sake of her husband who had befriended them, to uphold her son; and had sworn upon the Koran, that if they would do so, no plot should ever be formed against them, of which she, if cognizant, would not give them immediate information. This pledge was conscientiously redeemed, and her timely warning more than once preserved their lives.—*Vide* Col. Briggs' revised translation of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*—(Manners of the Moderns), a work comprising the history of the greater part of the eighteenth century, written in a very clear and interesting manner, by Mir Gholam Hussein, a Delhi noble. Mr. St. George Tucker, late chairman of the East India Company, who met him repeatedly at Gya Behar, in 1786–'7, alludes to him as "the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen."—(*Tucker's Life and Correspondence*, edited by J. W. Kaye, vol. i., p. 40.)

‡ Zulfikar Khan, on receiving the appointment of viceroy of the Deccan, had been permitted to reside at court, leaving Daud Khan as his representative, or, as it was then termed, *naik subah-dar*, deputy viceroy. He was himself succeeded, in 1713, by Cheen Kilich Khan (afterwards well-known under the titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Asuf Jah), who was in turn removed by Hussein Ali.

to the emperor the opposition which he had encountered, and sent a strong detachment against a chief named Dabari, who had established a line of fortified villages in Candeish, and by his depredations on caravans, shut up the great road from Hindoostan and the Deccan to Surat. While one portion of the imperial troops was thus employed, another was dispatched against the Sikhs, who had renewed their ravages with increased fury. Bandu was defeated, captured, and put to death in a most barbarous manner, and a large number of his followers were slaughtered in cold blood.* Those who remained at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and a considerable time elapsed before they became again formidable. In the Deccan the Moguls were less successful: the Mahrattas practised their usual tactics of evacuating assaulted positions, and leading their foes, by the oft-repeated expedient of a pretended flight, among hilly and broken ground, where they were easily separated and defeated in detail, many being cut to pieces, and others stripped of their horses, arms, and even clothes. This inauspicious campaign was at length brought to a discreditable conclusion; for Hussein Ali, determined at any cost to rejoin his brother at Delhi, made a treaty with Rajah Shao, acknowledging his claim to the whole of the territory possessed by Sevajee, with the addition of later conquests, and authorising not only the levy of the chout, or fourth, over the whole of the Deccan, but also of surdeshmooki,† or one-tenth of the remaining revenue. In return, Shao was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees; to furnish a contingent of 16,000 horse; to preserve the tranquillity of the country; and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations, from whatever quarter.

As Shao was at this time engaged in civil war, it was manifest that he could but very imperfectly perform his part of this extraordinary agreement, since a considerable portion of the country recognised as his, was really in possession of the hostile party. Feroksheer refused to ratify the treaty; but Hussein Ali gained his point, by returning to Delhi, where his presence was much needed by his brother, Abdullah Khan. This noble, though a man of talent, was indolent, and devoted to the pleasures of the seraglio; he therefore delegated the business of the vizierat almost wholly to his deputy, a Hindoo named Ruttun Chand, whose strict measures, arbitrary temper, and zeal for the Brahminical faith, aggravated the jealous feelings with which his administration was regarded by the Mussulman nobility. Of this state of affairs Feroksheer endeavoured to take advantage, by forming a combination of the chief persons to whom the vizier was known to have given offence. Among these were Jey Sing, of Jeypoor,‡ Cheen Kilich Khan, and others of importance, who entered warmly into the matter; but the irresolution and timidity of the emperor, together with the continued preference which he evinced, even at this critical period, for incapable and profligate advisers, disgusted and disheartened the nobles who were inclined to take part with him, and all except Jey Sing deserted his cause,§ and made their peace with the vizier, from whom Cheen Kilich Khan re-

* The majority were executed on the field of battle; but 740 were sent to Delhi, and after being paraded through the streets on camels, were beheaded on seven successive days, having firmly rejected the offer of life, on condition of belying their religious opinions. Bandu was exhibited in an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth-of-gold and a scarlet turban: around him were the heads of his followers, fixed on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck up to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. On his refusal to stab his own infant, the child was slaughtered before his eyes, and its heart forced into his mouth. The wretched father was then torn to pieces with hot irons, and died defying his persecutors, and exulting in the belief that he had been raised up to scourge the iniquity and oppression of the age.—(Scott's *History of the Deccan.*)

† The Desmookh, literally *chief of the district*, was an hereditary officer under the Hindoo government, who received a portion of the revenue in money or in kind; "and," says General Briggs, "in the local or modern appellations of Dessavi, Nat Gour, Natumkur, Naidu, Dessye, Desmookh, and Zemindar, we recognise the same person, from Ceylon to Cashmere, to the present day."—(Note to *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 146.) It was as compensation for an hereditary claim of this description, *purchased* by Shahjee, that his son Sevajee stipulated with Aurungzebe for certain assignments on the Beejapoor revenue as early as 1666.—(Grant Duff, vol. i., p. 497.)

‡ This chieftain had been employed against the Jats, whom, after a long course of operations, he had succeeded in reducing to extremities; when the vizier opened a direct negotiation with them, in a manner considered very derogatory to the honour of the Rajpoot general. The cause of offence to Cheen Kilich Khan was his removal from the viceroyalty of the Deccan to the petty government of Moradabad.—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 580.)

§ In marching through Amber, Hussein Ali, to punish the fidelity of Jey Sing to the emperor, gave full scope to the rapacity of the soldiery, who ravaged the land and carried away many persons, of both sexes, into captivity.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

ceived large promises of increased rank and influence, in return for co-operation against Feroksheer, whose doom was now sealed by the arrival of Hussein Ali, at the head of an army devoted to him, and strengthened by 10,000 Mahrattas. Hussein immediately demanded the dismissal of Jey Sing to his own principality. Feroksheer complied, and strove to deprecate the vengeance of his enemies by the most abject submission, giving no encouragement to the few nobles who were still inclined to take part with him. All was gloom and uncertainty, when the townspeople suddenly rose against the Mahrattas, upon which the Seyeds, taking advantage of the disturbance, marched into the city, forcibly occupied the palace, and wrung by torture, from the women of the seraglio, a knowledge of the hiding-place of the unhappy emperor, who was seized, flung into a dark closet, and soon afterwards put to death in a cruel and insulting manner. The body was then buried in that general receptacle for the murdered princes of the house of Timur—the sepulchre of Humayun: but the people evinced an unlooked-for degree of grief; and of the needy multitude who followed the funeral procession, no one could be induced to accept the money brought for distribution, or partake of the victuals prepared in conformity to custom. Three days afterwards a number of poor persons assembled at the place where the corpse had been washed and perfumed, according to Mussulman rites, and having distributed a large quantity of food, sent for several readers of the Koran, with whom they passed the whole night in tears and lamentations, separating in the morning in an orderly manner.

"Oh, wonderful God!" exclaims Khafi Khan, in concluding the above narration, "how did thy Divine justice manifest itself in the several events of this revolution! Feroksheer, in his days of power, had strangled his own brothers, yet in their tender years: he had murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded others; and he was, therefore, destined to suffer all these cruelties before he was permitted to die: he was doomed to experience, from the hands of strangers, all those agonies which others had suffered at his. Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished: in a little time they met with that same usage which they had inflicted on others."*

During their remaining tenure of prosperity, the Seyeds exercised unlimited power. Upon the deposition of Feroksheer, a sickly prince of the blood-royal was brought forth from the seraglio, and crowned under the name of *Rafi-ed-derjut*. He died of consumption in little more than three months, and his younger brother, *Rafi-ed-dowlah*, being set up in his stead, fell a victim to the same disease in a still shorter period.

Mohammed Shah was the title bestowed by "the king-makers" on *Roshen-akhter*, grandson to Bahadur Shah, whom they raised to the throne on the death of Rafi-ed-dowlah. This prince, now in his eighteenth year, had been educated, like his predecessors, in enervating seclusion; but he possessed an able counsellor in his mother, who enjoined the most unhesitating acquiescence with the will of his imperious protectors, until the time should arrive when he might safely defy their anger. The desired opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The decease of the two pageant emperors so soon after the murder of Feroksheer (although really not the interest of the Seyeds, but the reverse), had served to deepen the distrust and dislike with which they were generally regarded;† and in Allahabad, Boondi, and the Punjaub, efforts were made to take advantage of a government which was daily becoming weaker. In Cashmere, a furious contest took place between the Hindoos and Mussulmans, provoked by the persecuting and insulting conduct of the latter, in which some thousand lives and much property were destroyed before the authorities could restore tranquillity. But the most important event of this period was the revolt of Cheen Kilich Khan, the governor of Malwa. This chief, whose descendants were the famous Nizams‡ of the Deccan, is better known by his titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk or Asuf Jah, by which he will henceforth be indiscriminately

* Vide *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, vol. i., p. 193. From using such language respecting two Seyeds, Khafi Khan was evidently a Sonnite or Sunni (*see* note to p. 62); and disputes between this sect and the Sheiahs had risen to an alarming height during the late reign, a violent affray having taken place between them in the capital. In Ahmedabad, a still more serious contest, in which many lives were lost, had occurred between the Hindoos and the Mussulmans, in which the governor (Daud Khan Panni) took part with the former.

† *Rafi-ed-derjut* was said to have been poisoned for attempting to contravene the will of the Seyeds.

‡ Nizam-ool-Moolk, signifies *regulator of the state*, "the Nizam," though scarcely a correct expression, is commonly used by European writers to this day.

termed. His father, a Turk, had been a favourite officer with Aurungzebe, under whom he had himself served with distinction. The waywardness of Feroksheer had induced him to take part with the Seyeds, from whom he received the government of Malwa; but their evident weakness tempted his ambition, and induced him to levy troops, and attempt the establishment of an independent power in the Deccan. Marching to the Nerbudda, he obtained possession of the fortress of Aseerghur, by the simple expedient of furnishing the garrison their two years' arrears of pay; the citadel of Boorhanpoor was acquired in a somewhat similar manner; and many Deccani officers, both Mussulman and Mahratta, joined the invader. Two armies were dispatched against him from Malwa and Aurungabad; but Asuf Jah, knowing the impetuous character of one of the commanders (Dilawur Khan), drew him into an engagement before he could be supported by his colleague, Alum Ali (a nephew of the two Seyeds); and both forces were separately engaged and defeated, with the loss of their respective leaders.

Much alarm was created at Delhi by the tidings of these disasters; and a violent earthquake, which occurred about this time, deepened the gloom of the political horizon. The usurping brothers shared the general feeling; and the young emperor, though closely watched, began to form plans of deliverance from his wearisome tutelage, being aided in this perilous enterprise by a nobleman, named Mohammed Ameen Khan, with whom he conversed in Turki, a language unknown to the Indian Seyeds. A party was secretly formed, in which the second place was occupied by Sadut Khan, originally a merchant of Khorasan, who had risen to a military position, and eventually became the progenitor of the kings of Oude. These combinations were not unsuspected by the brothers, between whom it was at length resolved that the younger, Hussein Ali, should march against Asuf Jah, carrying with him the emperor and certain nobles, leaving Abdullah at Delhi to watch over their joint interests. Shortly after their separation, Hussein Ali was stabbed in his palanquin while reading a petition presented to him by the assassin (a Calmuck of rank), who immediately fell under the daggers of the attendants, A.D. 1720. Abdullah, on learning his brother's death, set up a new emperor, and hastily assembling a large but ill-disciplined force, marched against Mohammed Shah, who had now assumed the reins of government. Choraman, chief or rajah of the Jats (whose number and influence had thriven amid the general disorganisation), joined the vizier, while Jey Sing sent 4,000 men to reinforce Mohammed, who was further strengthened by some chiefs of the Rohilla Afghans, a tribe now rapidly rising into importance. The armies met between Delhi and Agra, a cruel signal being given for the commencement of the conflict. Ruttun Chand having been seized immediately after the murder of Hussein Ali, was severely beaten and kept in chains until the day dawned on which the decisive encounter was to take place. Then, when "the trumpets sounded and the heralds had published three times, as usual, that courage in war is safer than cowardice," the prisoner was decapitated, and his body fastened to the elephant on which Mahommed Shah sat, in the centre of his troops, throughout the whole of the ensuing day and night, which the contest occupied. Abdullah Khan was at length defeated and made prisoner, having received several severe wounds, of which he died in the course of a few months. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph: the empress-mother received him at the entrance of the haram, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head, as a "wave-offering" of joy and thanksgiving. The puppet-prince, crowned by Abdullah Khan, was sent back to his former seclusion, happy in thus escaping punishment for the part which he had been made to bear in the late events. Mohammed Ameen Khan became vizier, but had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, before he was taken ill, and died, after a few hours of extreme agony.* Asuf Jah was appointed as his

* He appears to have been poisoned; but popular belief assigned a different cause for his death. An impostor, named Nemud, had established himself at Delhi, and promulgated a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect, of which the teachers were called Bekooks, and the disciples, Feraboods. The influence of the new pretender increased. His proceedings induced Ameen to issue orders for his apprehension; but before they could be executed, the vizier was taken ill, and his alarmed family, believing the wrath of Nemud to be the cause of this sudden attack, endeavoured, by gifts and entreaties, to avert his vengeance; but could obtain no other answer than—that the arrow being shot, could not be recalled. He was, nevertheless, left undisturbed, and died about three years after.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

successor,* it being hoped that his abilities might prop up the falling monarchy. He did not, however, choose to leave the Deccan until his arrangements with the Mahrattas should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Meanwhile Mohammed was left to make his own terms with Ajeet Sing, whom he had offended by breaking his secret pledge, that as the reward of the rajah's neutrality, with regard to the Seyeds, he should receive the government of Ajmeer, in addition to that of Guzerat, which he already possessed. But the hour of peril having passed, its engagements were forgotten; not only was Ajmeer withheld, but Ajeet Sing was removed from Guzerat, upon which, assembling a large army of Rajpoots, he occupied Ajmeer, plundered Narnol, and marched within fifty miles of Delhi, the emperor being at length glad to compromise the matter by confirming him in the possession of Ajmeer. This happened at the close of 1721: in the beginning of the following year, Asuf Jah arrived in Delhi, and beheld with dismay the shameless dissipation which prevailed there. Corruption and intrigue were venial sins, if not necessary expedients, in the sight of a diplomatist brought up at the court of Aurungzebe; but indolence and sensuality were vices of a class which Asuf Jah held in well-merited abhorrence. It would seem as if the emperor had by this time cast off the salutary influence of his mother, since, among the circumstances that excited the stern reprobation of the vizier, was that of the royal signet being entrusted to the care of a favourite mistress, who accumulated a large fortune by means of the petitions she was suffered to carry within the seraglio. The dissolute companions of the young monarch cordially reciprocated the dislike of the minister, and, from mimicking the antiquated dress and formal manners of "the old Deccani baboon," as they insolently termed him, soon began to form serious conspiracies, which, he perceiving, quitted Delhi on pretence of a hunting excursion, and then sent in his resignation of the vizierat. Returning to the Deccan, he assumed the full powers of an independent ruler; still, however, affecting to recognise the supremacy of Mohammed Shah, who, with equal duplicity, returned this empty compliment, by conferring on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject; but, at the same time, sent secret orders to Mubariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad, to endeavour to dispossess Asuf Jah, and assume the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Mubariz perished in the attempt; and Asuf Jah, not to be outdone in dissimulation, sent his head to the emperor, with presents and congratulations on the suppression of the rebellion. Then, fixing his abode at Hyderabad, he strove to secure himself against the aggression of the Mahrattas, by various manœuvres, alternately endeavouring to direct their efforts against the Delhi court, or fomenting their own internal divisions. Considerable changes had taken place since the reign of Bahadur Shah. The idiot son of Tara Bye died in 1712, and a party set up the claims of Sumba, a child of the younger widow of Rajah Ram. In the struggle between the cousins, Shao acquired the superiority by the favour of the Moguls, and maintained it through the abilities of his minister, Balajee Wiswanath (the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of Peishwas), who, shortly before his death, in 1720, obtained from Mohammed Shah a ratification of the treaty made with Hussein Ali Khan in 1717. Chout and surdeshmooki being thus made legal claims, Balajee demanded, on account of the former, one-fourth of the standard assessment fixed by Todar Mul and Malek Amber; but, as of this only a small portion could now be realised from the exhausted country, the best that could be done was to secure at least 25 per cent. of the actual receipts. The latter claim, styled the rajah's *wutun*, or inheritance, it suited both the foreign and domestic policy of the Mahrattas to keep undefined; "but," says Grant Duff, "one system in practice—that of exacting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable."† The revenue thus acquired was parcelled out by Balajee in assignments on various districts, and distributed among different chiefs, in such a manner as to give each an interest in the increase of the general stock, while to none was allotted a compact property calculated to tempt its holder into forming plans of independence. This was the general rule; but some Mahrattas were already landed proprietors, and others were occasionally permitted to become so. The complicated state of affairs which naturally resulted from the above arrangements, rendered the illiterate chiefs more than ever dependent on their carcoons, or Brahmin

* *Asuf Jah* signifies "in place and rank, as Asuf," who is supposed to have been Solomon's vizier.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 454.

clerks.* The power of the peishwas grew with that of their caste; and from being second† in the counsels of the rajah, they became paramount even over their nominal master, to which result, the talents and energy of Bajee Rao, the son and successor of Balajee, greatly contributed. This remarkable man united to the enterprise and vigour of a Mahratta chief‡ the polished manners and address which frequently distinguish the Brahmins of the Concan. He saw clearly that the predatory hordes, so useful in an enemy's country, would prove ungovernable at home; and, therefore, urged their immediate employment in invading the northern provinces. Shao hesitated: brought up in a Mussulman seraglio, he had retained little of the restless spirit of his countrymen; but when Bajee Rao pointed out the weakness of the Mogul empire, adding, "now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos—let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves," the rajah, roused to enthusiasm by the prophecy that his standard should fly from the Kistna to the Attock, exclaimed—"You shall plant it on the Himalaya, noble son of a worthy father."§ These ambitious projects were materially forwarded by the disputes between the emperor and Asuf Jah. The latter, while vizier, had obtained possession of the government of Guzerat; but was deprived of it, as also of Malwa, after his return to the Deccan. In Guzerat, Hameed Khan (Asuf's uncle and deputy) resisted the occupation of the newly-appointed governor, Sirbuland Khan, and called in the aid of the Mahrattas (A.D. 1725), giving, in return, the chout and surdeshmooki of the country under him, which grant, Sirbuland Khan, though victorious over Hameed, was eventually obliged to confirm.‖ Bajee Rao, about the same time, made incursions into Malwa, entrusting the chief commands to the afterwards famous leaders, Puar, Holcar, and Sindia.¶

The nizam (Asuf Jah), beheld with alarm the growing power of the peishwa, which he strove to undermine in various ways. But secret plots and open hostility alike failed;** and fearing that the emperor might be disposed to revenge his insubordination, by transferring the viceroyalty to his powerful foe, he changed his policy, and made overtures to Bajee Rao, which produced the mutual good understanding necessary to the immediate plans of both parties.

The presence of the peishwa was now needed for the support of the Mahratta interest in Guzerat, the court of Delhi having refused to ratify the grant made by Sirbuland Khan, who had been dismissed from the government, and forcibly expelled by his successor, Abhi Sing, rajah of Joudpoor, the unnatural son of the brave Ajeet Sing.†† Pilajee Guicowar (the ancestor of the family still ruling in Guzerat) repre-

* "Bajee Rao," says Grant Duff, "had not leisure to attend to detail or arrangement; the minute divisions which were made of the revenues ceded by the Moguls, served to provide hundreds of Brahmin carcoons with bread; and every one interpreted the amount of his own or his master's claims to Surdeshmooki, Baptee, Mokassa, &c.; rather according to his power to enforce his demands, than his ability to prove their justice."—(Vol. i., p. 568.)

† The *prithee nidhee*, or representative of the rajah, took rank above the eight ministers or *purdhans*, of whom the peishwa was the chief; and Bajee Rao long found a troublesome rival in Sreeput Rao, the prithee nidhee, whose influence with the rajah frequently obliged the peishwa to return to Sattara while engaged in distant expeditions, lest his power should be undermined through prolonged absence.

‡ During his first campaign against Bajee Rao, the nizam, desiring to form an idea of the person of his opponent, desired a famous painter in his service to proceed to the hostile army, and take the likeness of its leader, in whatever attitude he might be first seen. The result was a sketch of the handsome figure of the peishwa, mounted, with the head and heel-ropes of his horse in its feeding-bag, his spear resting on his shoulder, and both hands employed in rubbing some ears of ripening grain (the common *joowaree*), which he ate as he rode.

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 486.

‖ In 1729, he granted deeds, ceding ten per cent. (*surdeshmooki*) of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with one-fourth (*chout*) of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat; and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 514.)

¶ Udajee Puar was a chief before his connection with the peishwa. Mulhar Rao Holcar was a shepherd on the Neera, south of Poona; and Sindia, though of a respectable family, near Sattara, had acted as a menial servant to Bajee Rao.

** The nizam first affected to doubt whether the money due from his revenues was to be paid to Shao or Sumba; but this question was decided by the treaty which the latter was compelled to sign, accepting, in lieu of all other claims, a tract of country round Kolapoor, bounded on the west by the sea. Asuf Jah next allied himself with a powerful leader, named Dhabari (the hereditary *senaputee*, or commander-in-chief), who had mainly assisted in the establishment of Mahratta power in Guzerat, and viewed with envy the paramount sway of Bajee Rao. Dhabari assembled an army of 35,000 men, and marched against the peishwa, by whom he was defeated and slain, A.D. 1731.

†† Ajeet Sing refusing to sanction the nefarious schemes of the two Seyeds, they sent for his son, and

sented the rights or claims of the Mahrattas in that district; and Abhi Sing, finding him a formidable adversary, procured his removal by assassination. This crime roused the indignation of the countrymen of the deceased: his son and brother appeared in great force; the hill tribes of Bheels and Coolies flocked round their standard; and, beside throwing the whole province into confusion, made a sudden irruption into the hereditary dominions of the Rajpoot governor, who, leaving a very inefficient deputy in Guzerat, withdrew to defend his own principality. In Malwa, the fortune of the Moguls was equally on the decline: Bajee Rao invaded it in person in 1732, and, taking advantage of the hostility between Mohammed Khan Bungush, the viceroy of Malwa and Allahabad,* and the rajah of Bundelcund, whose territory lay between those two provinces, made common cause with the latter, and succeeded in expelling the imperial governor. The Bundelcund rajah, in return for this co-operation, ceded the territory of Jansi, on the Jumna, to the peishwa, and, at his death, bequeathed to him certain rights in Bundelcund, which paved the way to the occupation of the whole of that country by the Mahrattas. Rajah Jey Sing II., of Amber, was now made viceroy of Malwa. This prince, so celebrated for munificence, learning, and love of science,† does not seem to have inherited the Rajpoot passion for war. He considered it hopeless to oppose the partition of the empire, and, therefore, surrendered the province to the peishwa (A.D. 1734), with the tacit concurrence of Mohammed Shah, on whose behalf it was still to be held. By this conduct, Jey Sing is said, by his own countrymen, "to have given the key of Hindoostan to the Southron;" but it is certain that he strove to curb the excesses of the Mahrattas, whose power and influence continued to increase during the two following years, at the expiration of which Bajee Rao, after a short interval spent in arranging the internal affairs of the Deccan, again took up the negotiation, and demanded, as the price of peace, a jaghire, comprising nothing less than the whole province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. As the Mahrattas, like many other diplomatists, invariably began by demanding much more than they expected to obtain, the emperor tried to pacify them by minor concessions, including authority to levy tribute on the Rajpoots, and to increase that already legalised on the territories of Asuf Jah. This permission had the doubtless desired effect on the mind of the nizam. Becoming seriously alarmed by the rapid progress of his allies, he thought he had carried his policy of weakening the Moguls too far, and listened gladly to the solicitations of Mohammed Shah, who, overlooking his rebellious conduct, now earnestly desired his assistance. The courtiers, likewise, changing their tone, began to reckon upon the advice of the nizam as that of "an old wolf who had seen much bad weather." Asuf Jah was yet deliberating how to act, when Bajee Rao marched towards the capital, sending a detachment of light troops, under Holcar, to ravage the country beyond the Jumna. Sadut Khan, the governor of Oude, advanced to the defence of the adjoining province; and the check given by this spirited proceeding was magnified into a decided victory, the report of which occasioned excessive rejoicing at Delhi, and so galled Bajee Rao, that avoiding the army sent out to meet him, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, being resolved, as he said, to prove to the emperor that he had not been expelled from Hindoostan by showing him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of the capital.‡ As his object was,

informed him that the deposition and death of his father were the only means of averting the destruction of Marwar. By the offer of the independent sovereignty of Nagore, Abhi Sing prevailed on his younger brother, Bukht Sing, to murder their father, who was stabbed while sleeping. The mother of these parricidal sons burnt herself with her husband's body; and no less than eighty-four persons shared her fate; for, says Tod, "so much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre."—(*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 745.)

* Mohammed Khan threw himself into a fort, and was almost driven to surrender at discretion, when his wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghan honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcund; and by means of the volunteers thus assembled, her husband was rescued and escorted to Allahabad. (Scott, vol. ii.)

† This prince occupied the *gadi*, or cushion of Amber, for forty-four years. When dismissed by Feroksheer (*see* p. 158), he retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to the study of astronomy and history. He built the city of Jeypoor; erected observatories, furnished with instruments of his own invention, at Delhi, Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mat'hura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and caused *Euclid's Elements*, the *Treatises on Plain and Spherical Trigonometry*, and *Napier on the Construction and Use of Logarithms*, to be translated into Sanscrit.—(*Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 358.)

‡ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 532.

however, to intimidate rather than provoke, he exerted every effort to prevent the devastation of the suburbs by his troops, and, for this purpose, drew off to some distance from the city. This movement being attributed to fear, induced the Moguls to make a sally; but they were driven back with heavy loss. The approach of the imperial forces, and also of Sadut Khan, warned Bajee Rao of the necessity of making good his retreat to the Deccan, which the nizam quitted some months later for Delhi, tempted by the promise not only of the vizierat, but also of the viceroyalty of Malwa and Guzerat, provided he could expel the Mahrattas.

With an army of about 34,000 men under his personal command, supported by a fine train of artillery and a reserve, the nizam advanced to Seronje against his formidable foes, while Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda at the head of a nominally-superior force. This circumstance, added perhaps to reliance on his artillery, led Asuf Jah, with characteristic caution, to establish himself in a strong position close to the fort of Bhopal, and there await the enemy. But he ought to have been better acquainted with Mahratta tactics. Seldom formidable in pitched battles, they gladly avoided a decisive encounter, and resorted to their usual plans of laying waste the surrounding country, intercepting all communication, and attacking every detachment that ventured beyond the lines. Dispirited by watching and privation, many of the nizam's troops were inclined to desert; but Bajee Rao gave them no encouragement, well knowing, that so long as the blockade could be secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. After the lapse of a month or six weeks, Asuf Jah, straitened for supplies, and completely cut off from the reserve force, attempted a retreat northward, under cover of his powerful artillery, but was so harassed by the Mahrattas as to be compelled to come to terms, and agree, on condition of being suffered to pursue his humiliating march unmolested, to give up Malwa, with the complete sovereignty of all the country from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, solemnly engaging to use his best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of this cession, together with a payment of fifty lacs of rupees (£500,000), to defray the peishwa's expenses.* Bajee Rao proceeded to occupy the territory thus acquired; but before the decision of the emperor could be pronounced, an event occurred which, for the time, threw into the shade the internal dissension that mainly contributed to bring upon unhappy Hindoostan so terrible a visitation.

Invasion of Nadir Shah.—The last mention made of Persia was the circumstance of the intended hostilities between Shah Abbas II. and Aurungzebe being broken off by the death of the former monarch in 1666. Since then, great changes had occurred. The Saffavi, or Sophi dynasty, after a duration of two centuries, had fallen into a state of weakness and decay; and Shah Hussein, the last independent sovereign of that race, was defeated and deposed by Mahmood, the leader of the Afghan tribe of Ghiljeis, who usurped the throne of Persia, A.D. 1722. Two years (spent in the unsparing destruction of the wretched Persians, whose numerical superiority was their worst crime in the eyes of their barbarous conquerors) terminated the career of Mahmood: he died raving mad, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ashruf. The new king resisted successfully the assaults of the Russians and Turks, who entered into a confederacy for dismembering Persia, the western provinces of which were to be appropriated by the Porte; the northern, as far as the Araxes, by Peter the Great. The death of the czar relieved Ashruf from these difficulties; but a more formidable foe arose in the person of Prince Tahmasp, the fugitive son of Shah Hussein, whose claims were supported by a freebooting chief, already widely celebrated as a daring and successful leader, under the name of Nadir Kooli, *slave to the Wonderful*.† On entering the service of the prince, this designation was exchanged for that of Tahmasp Kooli Khan, *the lord who is slave to Tahmasp;* but when, after some severe struggles, the Afghans had been expelled,‡ this nominally-devoted adherent,

* "I tried hard," says Bajee Rao, in a letter to his brother, "to get something from the nabob himself; but this I scarcely expected. I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him;" alluding to their compact six years before.—(Duff, vol. i., p. 542.)

† *The Wonderful* being used as a title of the Divinity. The father of Nadir Kooli belonged to the Turki tribe of Afshar, and earned his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheep-skins: his famous son was born in Khorasan, in 1688. An uncle of Nadir Kooli's, who appears to have been at the head of a small branch of the Afshars, was governor of the fort of Kelat; but, having quarrelled with his turbulent nephew, fell a victim to his resentment, Nadir Kooli slaying him with his own hand.

‡ Ashruf was murdered by a Beloochee chief, between Kerman and Candahar, in 1729.

finding his master disposed to exercise the prerogatives of royalty, found means to depose him, and place his infant son on the throne, usurping the sole authority under the name of regent. Repeated victories over the Turks, ending in a treaty of peace with both Turkey and Russia, rendered this soldier of fortune so popular in Persia, that he felt the time had arrived to give free rein to ambition. The boy-king died opportunely at Ispahan; and Nadir, assembling the army and the leading persons in the empire, to the number of 100,000, in the spacious plain of Mogham, bade them choose a ruler. They named him unanimously; upon which he, after a hypocritical declaration that he looked upon the voice of the people as the voice of God, and would therefore abide by their decision, although it contravened his own intention in calling them together, accepted the crown, on condition of the general renunciation of the Sheiah doctrine and the establishment of that of the Sunnis, or Sonnites, throughout Persia. This proviso was evidently designed for the purpose of eradicating any lingering regret from the public mind regarding the Saffavis, who had ever been the champions of the Sheiah sect: but it proved unsuccessful; for the people secretly adhered to their former belief, and its prohibition, together with the strangling of the refractory chief moollah, or high-priest, only served to alienate them from their new ruler, who, on mounting the throne (A.D. 1736), assumed the title of Nadir Shah, *the Wonderful King*.

Hostilities with the Ghiljeis, from whom Candahar was captured after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth, brought Nadir Shah to the frontiers of the Mogul empire. He could not be ignorant of its weakness; and the prospect thus afforded of lucrative and congenial employment for the warlike tribes who owned his sway, offered temptations not to be resisted. In such cases, pretexts are seldom wanting; nor were they now. While besieging Candahar, Nadir Shah had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afghans who had fled into the country near Ghuznee; a demand to which the indolent and effete government, after a long interval, returned an ambiguous answer, being, it would appear, at once unable to comply with the request, and disinclined to acknowledge the title of the Persian sovereign. Nadir Shah advanced on Ghuznee and Cabool, and, from the latter place, which he captured with little difficulty, sent another messenger to Delhi, who failed in fulfilling his embassy, being cut off, with his escort, by the Afghans at Jellalabad.* This circumstance was set forth as warranting the invasion of India; and after spending some months in settling the affairs of the country round Cabool, Nadir marched to the eastward in October, 1738.† Even these proceedings failed to rouse the supine authorities at Delhi, or teach the necessity of merging internal strife in defensive operations against a common foe. They knew that Cabool was taken, but believed, or tried to believe, that the mountain tribes and guarded passes between that city and Peshawer would check the further advance of the invading force, although, in fact, even this barrier had been cast down by the peculation or misplaced economy of Khan Dowran, the ameer-ul-omra, who, by withholding the sum of twelve lacs of rupees, formerly sent every year for the payment of guards, had caused the breaking up of garrisons, until roads and defiles being all unwatched, marauding Afghans or invading Persians alike passed without obstruction. Its commencement being unopposed, the march of Nadir Shah was speedy and terrible. Having sacked Jellalabad, he passed through Peshawer, crossed the Attock in boats, and entered Moultan. The governor of Lahore made some show of opposition, over which Nadir triumphed with little difficulty; and, in fact, met with no serious opposition until, on approaching the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the whole Indian army.

Mohammed Shah, at length thoroughly roused to a sense of the impending calamity, strove to meet the danger it was now too late to avert; and, being joined by Asuf Jah, moved to Kurnaul, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sadut Khan, the viceroy of Oude, arrived to join his sovereign; and Nadir Shah, by attempting to intercept

* Khan Dowran, and his supporters, treated the account of the intercepted embassy from Cabool as a report originated by Nizam-ool-Moolk and the Turani party at court, and jeeringly declared, that the houses of Delhi had very lofty roofs, from which the citizens might see Nadir Shah and his troopers from afar whenever they chose.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 414.

† The number of his force is nowhere satisfactorily stated. Fraser, in one place (*History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155), gives the total, including armed followers, at 160,000; but, in a previous page, a more distinct enumeration, made by a Persian news-writer at the camp at Jellalabad, only shows 64,500 fighting-men and 4,000 followers.

him, commenced hostilities, which issued in a general engagement. In this battle it would appear, that few (if any) Rajpoot princes took part, no longer caring to shed their blood for a foreign dynasty, whose ingratitude they hated, and whose weakness they despised. Even in this emergency, disunion prevailed in the Indian camp. Asuf Jah, from some real or pretended misconception, took no part in the action. Khan Dowran, the commander-in-chief, was killed; Sadut Khan taken prisoner; and Mohammed Shah, seeing his troops completely routed, had no resource but to send Asuf Jah to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nadir Shah, considering the affinity between himself, as of Turcoman race, (though the son of a cap-maker), and the defeated monarch (a lineal descendant of the house of Timur), received his unwilling visitor with every demonstration of respect, and would probably have accepted a ransom, and spared Delhi, but for the selfish intrigues of Sadut Khan and the nizam. The accounts recorded of this period differ materially;* but it is certain, that after some time spent in apparently fruitless negotiations, Nadir Shah marched into Delhi, established himself in the palace, distributed his troops throughout the city, and stationed detachments in different places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet, though, probably, the usurpers could as ill-disguise their exultation as the Indians their hatred and disgust; but on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah,† and the citizens immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night: at daybreak, Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the falsity of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs, being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which, of course, warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true "dogs of war." The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places, where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at moments the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffing of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the Great Bazaar, near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress (for though weak and sensual, he was compassionate and gentle) obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. The prompt obedience of the troops, is quoted by historians as a remarkable proof of discipline; but these tigers in human form must have been weary of a slaughter, in which, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword.‡

* According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Nadir Shah, at an interview with Asuf Jah (procured by the diplomacy of the captive, Sadut Khan), consented to conclude a peace, and return to his own dominions, on condition of receiving two crores of rupees (£2,000,000 sterling), a piece of intelligence which so delighted Mohammed Shah, that he instantly conferred the office of ameer-ul-omra on the successful mediator. Sadut Khan, enraged by the success of his rival, told Nadir Shah, that the ransom he had consented to receive was absurdly insufficient—that he himself could afford to pay it from his private fortune; and, by these treacherous representations, induced the invader to violate his pledge, enter the city, and pillage it without mercy.

† This rumour is said to have been spread by the proprietors of certain granaries, which had been forcibly opened, and the wheat sold at a low price.

‡ *Nadir-nameh*, translated from Persian into French, by Sir W. Jones (*Works*, vol. v.) Scott states the number at 8,000; but Mr. Elphinstone naturally remarks, that it is incredible so small a result should have been produced by a detachment of 20,000 men, employed for many hours in unresisted butchery (vol. ii., p. 630.) Fraser, who among much valuable authority, quotes the journal of a native Indian, secretary to Sirbuland Khan, writes—"of the citizens (great and small), 120,000 were slaughtered: others computed them at 150,000;" adding, in a note, "about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days."—(pp. 185–187.)

The wretched survivors seem to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. "In several of the Hindoo houses," says Fraser, "where one of a family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another, and burn them: and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time, there was no such thing as passing any of those ways." After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of.

The sufferings of the wretched people of Delhi were not yet complete; the rapacity of Nadir afforded fresh cause for bloodshedding, aggravated by cruel tortures. The usurper sat on the imperial throne, receiving costly offerings from the humiliated monarch and his degraded courtiers. He now demanded, under the name of peishcush (*a gift*), a sum stated at from twenty-five to thirty million sterling,* exclusive of the jewels, gold-plate set with gems, and other articles already appropriated. How to provide this enormous ransom was a new difficulty; for Mohammed Shah was far from inheriting the wealth of his ancestors. The prolonged wars of Aurungzebe, and the continued struggles of his successors, had well nigh emptied the treasury; and the present emperor had neither striven to replenish it by legitimate methods, nor, to his credit, be it recorded, by injustice or oppression. The jezia had been formally abolished at the commencement of his reign; and he alone, of all the Great Moguls, had steadily refused to confiscate the property of deceased nobles, leaving, not a small portion, as a matter of favour, for the maintenance of their families, but suffering the appropriation of the whole as a matter of right. The result was, that Mohammed Shah had comparatively little to lose: even the famous peacock-throne, now seized by Nadir, had been deprived of its most costly ornaments; and other portions of the imperial regalia were proportionately diminished in value. During the administration of the Seyeds, large sums had been abstracted from the treasury; and even the gold and silver rails of the hall of audience had been coined into money. A large quantity of gold, silver, and jewels was found in vaults, sealed up long ago (probably by Shah Jehan), and immense sums were levied from the nobles. Neither the crafty nizam nor his treacherous rival, Sadut Khan, were exempted from furnishing their quota, the former being compelled to disgorge treasure exceeding in value a million and a-half sterling; the latter, above a million; while both were treated by the conqueror with undisguised contempt and distrust. Sadut Khan died suddenly, whether from the effects of disease, anger, or poison, is an open question: the old nizam lived on, waiting for the turn of the wheel destined to restore to him that political power which was the sole end and aim of his existence.† The means of exacting the required tribute grew severe in proportion to the difficulty of its obtainment. The property of the nobles, merchants—even of the smallest tradesmen—was subjected to an arbitrary assessment, which, being frequently much above the actual value, impelled numbers of all ranks to commit suicide, as a means of avoiding the disgrace and torture likely to follow their inability to furnish the amount required;‡ while others perished

* *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*; on the authority of Hazveen, an eye-witness; and Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Dow's account of this period, though very interesting, is not deemed reliable; the rumours in circulation at the period, being too often suffered to usurp the place of carefully-sifted facts. This want of judgment is aggravated by the infrequency with which he gives authorities for particular statements. He describes Nadir Shah as having been invited to Hindoostan by Asuf Jah and Sadut Khan, and afterwards represents him as reproaching them for the treachery, by which he had gained the battle of Kurnaul, and spitting upon their beards. The nizam, seeing the fury of Sadut at this public disgrace, proposed that they should end their lives by poison, which being agreed to, they returned to their respective homes. Sadut, doubting the sincerity of his wily colleague, sent a messenger to his house to discover whether the oath had been carried into effect. Being made aware of the presence of the spy, the nizam swallowed an innoxious draught, and pretended to fall down dead. The trick succeeded; Sadut Khan took poison, and died, leaving his rival to exult over his wicked device.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 425.)

‡ The vakeel from Bengal, being ordered to send for seven crore of rupees, said, "so much would fill a string of waggons from Bengal to Delhi; for which, being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and family." (Fraser, p. 200.) The rough usage here alluded to was probably a severe bastinadoing; since that punishment was frequently inflicted on men of station and character, by the orders and in the presence of Nadir Shah, whose partiality for this species of discipline is strange enough, since, if the authorities quoted by Fraser may be relied on, he had been himself, in early youth, bastinadoed by the

under the tortures inflicted by the mercenary wretches to whom the power of extorting the tribute was farmed, and who made their own profit, or wreaked their private revenge unchecked, amid universal misery and desolation. "It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city." The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and "no morning passed that whole crowds, in every street and lane, did not die."* The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight; the roads were blocked up; and all such attempts punished by mutilation of the ears or nose; until at length—the dignity of human nature subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert. The Persian horsemen sallied forth in different directions, seeking provisions and plunder; ravaging the fields, and killing all who offered resistance; but were occasionally attacked by the Jats, who had taken up arms. Intelligence of what was passing at Delhi had reached the Deccan: it was even reported that 100,000 Persians were advancing to the southward. Bajee Rao, undismayed, prepared to meet them, declaring, that domestic quarrels and the war with the Portuguese were to him as nought—there was now but one enemy in Hindoostan. "Hindoos and Mussulmans," he said, "the whole power of the Deccan must assemble; and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul." Nadir, however, does not appear to have had any intention of risking his rich booty by exposing it to the chances of Mahratta warfare. He contented himself with inveighing bitterly against the insolence of the infidel "wretches of Deccan," in venturing to demand tribute from the dominions of a Mussulman emperor, and the weakness of the government by which it had been conceded; and then, having drained to the uttermost those very resources on which the means of resisting similar extortion depended, he prepared to quit the desolated city. Before departing, he caused a marriage to be celebrated between his son and a princess of the house of Timur, with a degree of regal magnificence sadly at variance with the gloom and desolation which prevailed throughout the once stately capital. Seating Mohammed Shah anew on his dishonoured throne (after severing from the Mogul empire the whole of Sinde and Cabool, together with some districts that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrisons of the latter province), he placed the crown upon his head, and bade him keep strict watch over the intrigues and corruption of his courtiers—especially of Asuf Jah, who was too cunning and ambitious for a subject. To this advice he added an assurance, that in the event of any cabals, an appeal from Mohammed Shah would bring him to his assistance, from Candahar, in forty days; and although this speech would, at first sight, appear only an additional insult, yet it is just possible, that it was dictated by a sort of compassionate feeling, which the misfortunes of the delicately-nurtured, indolent, and easy-tempered monarch had awakened in the breast of his victorious foe, whose mental characteristics contrasted no less forcibly than the extraordinary physical powers of his stalwart frame,† with the handsome but effeminate person and bearing of his victim. To the principal Hindoo leaders, including Jey Sing, Abhi Sing, Shao, and Bajee Rao, Nadir Shah issued circular-letters, bidding them "walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother;" and threatening, in the event of their rebellion, to return and "blot them out of the pages of the book of creation."‡ On the 14th of April, 1739, the invader quitted Delhi, after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades, and jewels (of which he was inordinately fond) to an incalculable extent. The money alone probably exceeded thirty million.§ Numerous elephants and camels were likewise carried away, as

order of Shah Hussein, "until his toe-nails dropt off." However, it is doubtless true, that in forming an opinion regarding the use of the rod, it makes all the difference which end falls to our share.

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 210. This description is quoted from a journal kept by an eye-witness, during this terrible epoch. The work somewhat resembles De Foe's masterpiece—the *Plague of London;* though the misery which it records is of a far more varied character.

† Fraser's description of a weather-beaten man, of fifty-five—above six foot high, very robust, with large black eyes and eyebrows—exactly coincides with the full-length picture of Nadir Shah preserved in the India-house. His voice was so strong, that he could, without straining it, give orders to the troops at above 100 yards' distance.—(Fraser, p. 227.)

‡ Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Scott, Fraser, and Hanway. The Nadir-nameh states it at only 15 million: but this is not probable.

also many hundreds of skilful workmen and artificers. Exactions were levied in the towns and villages through which the retreating army marched, until they reached Cabool, where the mountaineers threatened to attack them; and Nadir, considering that the soldiers had suffered much from the intense heat, and were heavily laden with booty, thought it best to purchase forbearance, and reached Herat in safety, where he proudly displayed the spoils of Hindoostan.*

Reign of Mohammed Shah resumed.—The Persian invasion had plunged the court and people of Delhi into a "slough of despond," from which it was long before they summoned sufficient resolution to attempt extricating themselves. The state of public affairs held forth no promise that future prosperity might make amends for past suffering; and the worst of all indications of the decadence of the empire, was the readiness with which the courtiers relapsed into the habits of sensuality and intrigue, that had rendered them impotent to resist the power of a foreign foe; while the lower classes, imitating their apathy, grew to regard the brutal excesses of the Persian soldiery, rather as a subject of coarse merriment than deep humiliation; and, in mimicking their dress and manners, gave vent to feelings no less different from what may be termed the natural dignity of uncivilised man, than from the magnanimous forgiveness of injuries, which is the very crown of Christian virtue.

The influence of Asuf Jah was now supreme at Delhi. He was supported by the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen, with whom he was connected by intermarriage, and by a few leading families, who being, like himself, of Turki descent, were called the Turani nobles. He was secretly opposed by a large number of malcontents, among whom the emperor was thought to be included; and thus the counsels of government were again weak and divided at a time when there was most need of energy and union. On the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the emperor, expressive of submission and obedience, together with a *nuzur*, or offering of 101 gold mohurs, and received in return a splendid *khillut*,† accompanied by assurances of general good-will, but not by the expected *sunnud*, or grant of the government of Malwa, an omission which the peishwa naturally attributed to a breach of faith on the part of the nizam. Had Bajee Rao, on this, as on previous occasions, chosen to advance to the gates of the capital, and there insist on the confirmation of the agreement, he might have probably done so with impunity, so far as the Moguls were concerned; for Nadir Shah had ravaged the only provinces which the Mahrattas had left intact; the imperial army was broken up, and the treasury completely empty. But Bajee Rao was himself in a critical position: hostilities abroad, intrigue at home, crippled his ambitious plans, and surrounded him with debt and difficulty. His foreign foes were the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, and the turbulent sons of Kanhojee Angria, of Kolabah, a powerful chief, whose piracies (which he called levying chout on the sea) had rendered him a formidable enemy to the Portuguese and English.

After the death of Kanhojee, in 1728, a contest ensued between his sons. Bajee Rao took part with one of them, named Mannajee, whom the Portuguese also at first assisted; but, being disappointed of the expected reward, changed sides, and appeared in arms against him. For this inconstancy they paid dearly by the loss of their possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the neighbouring parts of the Concan; and hostilities were still being carried on, when the tacit refusal of the Delhi government to recognise his claims, induced the peishwa to direct his chief attention to his old antagonist, the nizam. Before recommencing hostilities in this quarter, it was necessary to provide against the coalition of the prithee nidhee with other domestic foes (of whom the chief was Rugojee Bhonslay, of Berar,‡ and the next in importance, Dummajee

* A portable tent was constructed from the spoils; the outside covered with scarlet broad cloth, and the inside with violet-satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock-throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massy gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Nadir Shah's nephew and successor, Adil Shah.—(*Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem*, a Cashmerian of distinction, in the service of Nadir Shah. Gladwin's translation, Calcutta, 1788, p. 28.)

† A *khillut* comprises a complete dress, or *sir-pa* (head to foot), with the addition of jewels, horse, elephant, and arms.

‡ Parsojee, the founder of the Bhonslay family, from whom sprang the rajahs of Berar, being one of the first to tender allegiance to Shao on his release at the death of Aurungzebe, was promoted from the rank of a private horseman to high position. Not-

Guicowar, of Guzerat), who, envying his power, were plotting its overthrow, under pretence of emancipating their mutual sovereign. This difficulty Bajee Rao met by engaging the Bhonslay chief in a remote expedition into the Carnatic; but another, of a different character, remained behind. The vast army he had kept up, and the necessity of giving high rates of pay, in order to outbid the nizam, and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery, had induced him to incur an expenditure which he had no means of meeting.* The troops were in arrears, and, consequently, clamorous and inclined to mutiny. His financial arrangements would appear to have been far inferior to those of Sevajee; and, as a nation, the Mahrattas, from various causes, no longer found war a profitable employment. Still, Bajee Rao persisted in endeavouring to carry out his ambitious designs, and taking advantage of the absence of the nizam, surrounded the camp of his second son, Nasir Jung, who had been left in charge of the viceroyalty. The defence was carried on with such unlooked-for vigour, that after some months of active hostility, the peishwa became convinced that his means were inadequate to the task he had undertaken, and entered into an accommodation with his young and energetic opponent. The prudence of the general triumphed over the rash valour of the soldier; yet it was a moment when many in his position would have been inclined to struggle on; for it would appear, that his retreat to court was cut off by the machinations which he had sought to circumvent by procuring the absence of Rugojee Bhonslay. Addressing his *mahapooroosh*, or spiritual adviser, he writes—"I am involved in difficulties, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the rajah are my enemies; and should I at this time go to Sattara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death."† After such an avowal, there is something strange and startling in the fact that Bajee Rao set off suddenly, with his army, towards Hindoostan, with what object is not known, but only lived to reach the Nerbudda, on whose banks he expired in April, 1740.‡

Rugojee Bhonslay, although about besieging Trichinopoly when he heard of the death of his rival, instantly hastened to Sattara; but being obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him, had no sufficient force to cope with Balajee Bajee Rao, who asserted his hereditary claim to succeed to the office of his father; neither was Dummajee Guicowar ready to take the field. In this conjuncture, Rugojee proposed that Bappoojee Naik,§ a connection, but bitter foe (because a disappointed creditor of the late peishwa's), should be appointed to the vacant position; and very large sums were offered to Shao, on condition of his seconding the arrangement.

These attempts failed; and Balajee Bajee Rao was formally appointed by the rajah. Being answerable for his father's debts, he was immediately assailed by Bappoojee Naik with the harassing pertinacity frequently exercised by Mahratta creditors.‖ From this persecution, his own efforts, ably seconded by the influence and credit of his *dewan* (treasurer, or high steward), relieved him; and, after more than a year spent in internal arrangements, he prepared to resist

withstanding the coincidence of his surname with that of the rajah, they do not appear to have been related.

* The soucars, or bankers, to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacs of rupees, refused to make any further advances; and he forcibly describes his embarrassments, by declaring—"I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors; and to pacify soucars and sillidars (military commanders), I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead"—a figurative expression, used in allusion to the Hindoo custom of placing the forehead at the threshold of the temple, or at the feet of the idol, in humble supplication.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 559. The manner of his death does not appear.

‡ Bajee Rao left three sons—Balajee Bajee Rao, Rugonat Rao, or Ragoba (who was at one time much connected with the English), and Shumsheer Bahadur, to whom, though the illegitimate offspring of a Mohammedan woman, and brought up in that creed, he bequeathed all his claims and possessions in Bundelcund. The names of the peishwas (first Balajee, then Bajee, and now Balajee Bajee, combined) will, it is to be feared, confuse the reader; but the alliteration is unavoidable.

§ Brahmin soucars and money-changers assume the appellation of Naik.

‖ A species of dunning, called tuquazu, is practised as a trade. Several men, hired for the purpose, follow the debtor wherever he goes, and establish themselves at the door of his house, subsisting all the while upon the food with which the invariable custom of the country obliges him to supply them. If humble petitions and insolent demands alike fail, the creditor himself sometimes resorts to the last expedient (as Bappoojee Naik did in the present instance), by the practice of *dhurna*—that is, by taking up his position in person, as a dun, and observing a rigid fast, in which his unfortunate debtor is compelled by that powerful agent, public opinion, to imitate him, even at the hazard of starvation, until he can induce him to raise the siege.

the encroachments of inimical Mahratta chiefs, and to demand the government of Malwa from the Delhi court.

In the interim, no endeavour had been made by the Mogul party in the Deccan to take advantage of the dissensions in the Mahratta state. The active viceroy, the successful opponent of Bajee Rao, had been fully occupied in rebellion against his own father, the nizam, who, in 1741, marched into the Deccan to oppose his refractory representative, and received, during his progress, a personal visit from the new peishwa, together with the assistance of a body of troops.

Rugojee Bhonslay, upon the failure of his political schemes at Sattara, returned to the Carnatic, and after the successful termination of the campaign, by the surrender of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, the soubahdar (or, according to the English phrase, the nabob), he sent a force into Bengal under his Brahmin minister, Bhaskur Punt.

At this period, the viceroyalty of Bengal was possessed by Ali Verdi Khan (sometimes called Mohabet Jung.) This celebrated individual was of Turki descent, and had been promoted by Shuja Khan, the late viceroy, to the subordinate government of Behar. After his death, Ali Verdi turned his arms against Serferaz Khan, the son and successor of his late patron, slew him in battle, and usurped the government, for which he obtained an imperial firman by dint of large bribes and hypocritical assurances of devoted submission. He made a determined resistance to Bhaskur Punt;* but, alarmed by the advance of Rugojee in person, he besought the emperor to assist him in the defence of the province; and this request resulted in an appeal for aid to the peishwa, seconded by the long-withheld grant of the viceroyalty of Malwa.

Such an invitation would have been at all times welcome; for the Mahrattas were invariably solicitous to find excuses for interfering in the affairs of the various provinces still more or less subject to Mogul rule, and were ever labouring silently to increase their influence. In the present instance, Balajee Bajee was especially glad to be called in to act as an auxiliary against his private foe, and immediately marching by Allahabad and Behar, he reached Moorshedabad in time to protect it from Rugojee, who was approaching from the south-west. After receiving from Ali Verdi the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal, the peishwa marched against the invader, who retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout and the loss of his baggage before he was completely driven out of the province, A.D. 1743. The reprieve thus purchased for Bengal only lasted about two years; for the peishwa, who, in the name of his sovereign, Rajah Shao, wielded the power of the head of a confederacy of chiefs, rather than that of a despotic ruler, found it necessary to come to terms with Rugojee, by ceding to him the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Behar, if not also in Allahabad and Oude. Bhaskur Punt was again sent to invade Bengal (1745), and proceeded with success, until he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Ali Verdi Khan, by whom he was treacherously murdered. Of twenty-two principal officers, only one (Ru-

* Ali Verdi Khan was encamped at Midnapore, when he heard of the approach of Bhaskur Punt, at the head of 40,000 horse. He marched to Burdwan, and there strove to bring on a general engagement, which the Mahrattas of course avoided, and ravaged the environs with fire and sword, offering, however, to evacuate the country on payment of ten lacs of rupees. This Ali Verdi refused; and resolving to force his way to Moorshedabad, issued orders that the heavy baggage and camp-followers should remain at Burdwan. Instead of obeying, the people, terrified at the idea of being left to the mercy of the enemy, persisted in accompanying the retreating army; and the result was, that on the first day's march, the Mahrattas surrounded the line, and captured the chief part of the stores, artillery, and tents. The sum previously demanded as the price of peace was offered, but rejected: Bhaskur Punt would now accept nothing less than a crore of rupees (a million sterling), with the surrender of all the elephants. Ali Verdi refused these degrading terms, and continued his retreat, for three days, through a flat country, amid heavy rains, constantly harassed by the enemy, and greatly distressed for food and shelter. On the fourth morning he reached Cutwa; and although the foe had been beforehand with him, by setting on fire the magazines of grain, enough remained to afford means of subsistence to the famishing soldiery until further supplies could be procured. Yusuf Ali Khan, one of Ali Verdi's generals, states, that the first day of the march, he and seven nobles shared between them about one pound's-weight of kichery (boiled rice, mixed with pulse); the next, they had a few pieces of a sweet confection; the third, a small quantity of carrion, which, while it was cooking, was eagerly watched by others, who could not be refused a single mouthful. The common soldiers strove to maintain life on the bark of trees, leaves, grass, and ants.—(See *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, done into English by a Frenchman, in 3 vols. 4to.) This translation, though full of gallicisms, is of great value to inquirers on Indian history; since the able labours of General Briggs, as yet, extend only over the first part of the first volume.

gojee Guicowar) escaped, having been left in charge of the camp, and by him the army was conducted back to Berar. No long time elapsed before an opportunity to revenge this perfidious massacre arose, as a direct consequence of the crime itself; for Mustapha Khan, the leader of a body of Afghans who had borne the chief part in it, quarrelled with Ali Verdi for withholding the promised reward—namely, the government of Behar. Both parties were well aware that assassination was an expedient likely enough to be attempted, and soon came to open hostilities, in which the Afghans supported their countrymen. Rugojee Bhonslay took advantage of this state of affairs to invade Orissa, where he obtained possession of several districts, and named 30,000,000 rupees as the sum for which he would spare the remainder, and quit the country. Before narrating the result of these proceedings, which occupied several years, it is necessary, for the sake of the chronological succession of events, to return to the court of Delhi. On the departure of Asuf Jah for the Deccan, A.D. 1741, his place at court was taken by his son, Ghazi-oo-deen, the son-in-law of the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen. These two nobles, being closely united by political and by domestic ties, resisted successfully many intrigues and combinations; but they fought with the same unholy weapons that were employed against them. Treacherous and sanguinary deeds became frequent, offering unmistakable evidence of the weakness as well as wickedness of those who bore sway, and indicating to all accustomed to watch the decline of national power, its rapidly-approaching dissolution. The only person who appears to have profited by the bitter medicine of adversity, was the emperor; he became a wiser and a better man: but long-continued habits of ease and indolence are not to be lightly broken; and he gladly sought refuge in the devotion of the closet, from the cares, vexation, and intrigue which beset the council-chamber. Nevertheless, "while he lived, the royal name was respectable, and his prudence sustained the tottering fabric of the state from falling into total ruin; but he could not repair the unwieldy fabric."*

Of the various communities whose separate existence was more or less fostered at the expense of the empire, the only one against which Mohammed Shah took the field in person, after the departure of the Persians, was that founded by the Rohillas, an Afghan colony, composed chiefly of Eusofzeis and other north-eastern tribes, who had acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains, and, under a chief named Ali Mohammed, had attained to so much importance, as to be with difficulty reduced to even temporary submission. Turbulent and rebellious as subjects, they were yet more dangerous as neighbours; and scarcely had tranquillity been partially restored in the territory above designated, before a formidable combination of Afghans, in their own dominions, threatened India with another desolating irruption. The chief cause was an event which, above all others, would have been least expected to contribute to such a result—namely, the assassination of Nadir Shah, the spoiler of Hindoostan, whose leading share in the expulsion of the hated Afghan dynasty and victories over the Turks, had gained him a degree of renown which, despite his crimes, made him the boast of his subjects. On returning to Persia, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; and the troops whom he had trained and led to conquest, gloried in the renown of their successful leader. At first, it appeared as if he were disposed to use his ill-gotten wealth for the relief and improvement of his kingdom; but it soon became evident, that the hardening influence of rapine and slaughter had extinguished every better impulse, fostered his evil passions, and rendered the once enterprising adventurer nothing better than a cruel and capricious coward. Even his ability and energy in war seemed to fail; and his latest proceedings against the Turks evinced little of his early skill. When this contest was terminated by a treaty, Nadir Shah, no longer occupied by external hostilities, gave free vent to his fierce, savage, and dastardly nature, and instead of the boast, became the terror and execration of his country. All around him trembled for fear of becoming the object of suspicions which their slavish submission served only to increase. Among other atrocities, he accused his eldest son of having incited an attempt to kill him by a shot, which slightly wounded him while traversing a forest in one of his campaigns; and, although there appeared no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, the unhappy prince was blinded at the command of his still more unhappy father, who, in a paroxysm of gloom and remorse, subsequently caused no less than fifty of his chief nobles to be put to death, because they had

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 223.

witnessed the execution of his wicked sentence without one prayer for mercy.* Covetousness was one of the distinguishing vices of his advancing age; and, instead of pursuing his avowed intention of relieving the Persians from the pressure of taxation by means of his enormous private wealth, he became extortionate and oppressive, as if ravaging a conquered territory. Disaffection and revolts ensued, and afforded pretexts for fresh cruelties. Whole cities were depopulated; towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out; tortures inflicted; and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments.† The mad fury of Nadir was aggravated by his knowledge of the angry feelings excited, at the time of his accession, by the prohibition of the Sheiah doctrines, and the confiscation of the lands and stipends of the priests, and his conviction that, after all, the people generally, maintained the forbidden opinions. At length, he came to regard every Persian as his enemy, and entertained for his protection a band of Uzbeg mercenaries, placing his entire confidence on them and the Afghans, taking a delight in aggrandising these, his former enemies, at the expense of his own countrymen. To such a height had his madness attained, that he actually ordered the Afghan chiefs to rise suddenly upon the Persian guard, and seize the persons of the chief nobles; but the project being discovered, the intended victims conspired in turn; and a body of them, including the captain of Nadir's guard, and the chief of his own tribe of Afshar, entered his tent at midnight, and after a moment's involuntary pause—when challenged by the deep voice at which they had so often trembled—rushed upon the king, who, being brought to the ground by a sabre-stroke, begged for life, and attempted to rise, but soon expired beneath the repeated blows of the conspirators.‡

With the morning light, the rumour of this sanguinary deed spread alarm and amazement throughout the army. The Afghans, under the command of a young chief, named Ahmed Khan, the head of the Abdalli tribe, were joined by the Uzbegs in an effort made in the hope of being still in time to rescue Nadir Shah; but being repulsed, and finding that the Shah was really dead, they marched to Candahar, obtained possession of that city, and captured a large convoy of treasure on its way from Cabool and Sinde to the Persian treasury. Ali, the nephew of the murdered monarch, was placed on the vacant throne under the name of Adil Shah,§ and, during his short and inglorious reign, had probably neither the ability nor inclination to interfere with the proceedings of Ahmed Khan, who, having rapidly extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, including Balkh, Sinde, Cashmere, and other previously-conquered provinces, was, in the course of a few months, formally declared king of Candahar. In the plains and cities he established absolute authority; but the Afghan tribes retained their internal government: Beloochistan, Seestan, and some other places remained under their native chiefs, but owned allegiance and military service. Without, however, waiting the settlement of all the above-named countries, Ahmed Shah directed his attention to India as a means of employing his army and increasing his pecuniary resources. The coronation festivities were scarcely concluded before he marched to the eastward, and, having rapidly subjugated all the territory as far as the Indus, proceeded to invade the Punjaub. The viceroy being in revolt, could claim no aid from the Delhi government; and Ahmed,

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 652.

† The sole exception is that afforded by his desire to encourage commerce; but even this was, for the most part, only another incentive to despotic and harsh measures. To foreign traders he, however, extended protection; and Jonas Hanway, the eminent merchant, who visited his camp at a time when all Persia was devastated by his exactions, obtained an order that the property of which he had been plundered, during a rebellion at Asterabad, should be restored, or compensation given instead.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 653, on the authority of Père Bazin, a jesuit, who acted as physician to Nadir Shah during the last years of his life. Malcolm states, that being suddenly aroused from sleep, the king started up, and had slain two of the meaner assassins before a blow from Salah Beg, the captain of his guards, deprived him of life.

§ To assuage the fears of the guilty chiefs by whom he was raised to the throne, Adil Shah publicly but falsely declared, that he had himself incited the deed by which Persia had been relieved from the curse of a despot, who delighted in blood. This character was equally applicable to himself; for he slew the unfortunate blind prince, Reza Kooli, and thirteen of Nadir's sons and grandsons, sparing only Shah Rokh, a lad of fourteen, who was afterwards protected in his residence at Meshhed, by Ahmed Shah, who possessed dependencies immediately to the east of that city. All the assassins of Nadir did not escape with impunity; for the Afshar leader, having incurred the displeasure of Adil Shah, was delivered over to the vengeance of the female relatives of the murdered monarch, by whom he was cut to pieces.—(Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii., p. 56.)

with little difficulty, triumphed over the feeble opposition offered to his usurpations, and occupied Lahore and other towns on the road to the Sutlej. News of his approach had reached the court, and Prince Ahmed, the heir-apparent, with Kamer-oo-deen, the vizier, at the head of the Mogul army, were sent to arrest his progress.* They had taken possession of the fords of the Sutlej; but the Candahar king, despite the inferior number of his troops, resolved to force a passage; and having succeeded in crossing at an unguarded, because unfordable part, left the enemy in his rear, and advancing against Sirhind, captured that place, together with the baggage, stores, and guns deposited therein. The Moguls, intimidated by the rapidity of these movements, intrenched their camp, soon after which the vizier was shot by a cannon-ball; but the army continued to repel the assaults of the Dooranis (as the Abdallis were now termed),† and on the tenth day succeeded in effecting their complete defeat, obliging them to march off homeward during the ensuing night.

Mohammed Shah expired within a month of this victory (A.D. 1748), and his only son, Ahmed, ascended the throne. For the first time from the commencement of the Indian annals of the house of Timur—in the beginning of the 15th century—the succession was uncontested.‡ In truth, it was a woeful heritage—little to be coveted by the most ambitious pretender.

Reign of Ahmed Shah.—The events of the next eighteen years can scarcely be woven into a connected narrative. The Great Mogul is no longer the chief feature in the picture; his proceedings have ceased to form the centre around which all other incidents could be easily and naturally grouped; the governors of provinces, from simple servants of the crown, having become independent powers, whose assistance their nominal sovereign was glad to purchase, at any cost, to ward off a foreign foe.

After the battle of Sirhind, the victor sent a governor to the Punjaub, believing that important province secured to the empire by the retreat of the Afghan monarch; but this latter, on learning that the prince had been recalled to Delhi, by the illness of his father, turned back before he had reached the Indus, and forced from the newly-appointed viceroy an engagement to pay a permanent tribute. Ahmed Shah, anxious to form connections which should enable him to provide against the incursions of his turbulent neighbour, offered the "ink-stand of the vizierat"§ to Asuf Jah, who had become reconciled to his son, Nasir Jung, and was employed in consolidating his own power over the territories in the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty by the most powerful of the house of Timur, and so easily snatched from their feeble descendants. The nizam declined the proffered office, on account of his great age, and died, shortly after, at Boorhanpoor, in his ninety-sixth year.‖

Nasir Jung assumed his father's government, and Sufdur Jung (son and successor of Sadut Khan) became vizier, on condition of retaining likewise the viceroyalty of Oude. In the northern part of that province, the Rohillas had again become formidable, and the efforts of the imperial force were directed to their suppression. Sufdur Jung acted in this matter with shameless ingratitude,¶ and his ill-disciplined troops sacked their own town of Bara (famous for being peopled by Seyeds), and massacred such of the inhabitants as attempted resistance. The Rohillas, though greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory; wounded the vizier, set the imperial power at defiance, and penetrated to Allahabad. In this emergency, the common error was committed of avoiding one danger by incurring another involving greater, though less immediate hazard. Mulhar Rao Holcar, and Jeiapa Sindia, had been recently sent to Malwa by the peishwa: to them Sufdur Jung now applied for aid; as also to Suraj Mul, rajah of the Jats. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas, in a pitched battle;

* Elphinstone states his force at 12,000 men; Elliot's *Hafiz Rehmet* at 15,000; but the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* at 67,000 horse.

† By the advice of a dervish, who had predicted his future greatness, Ahmed assumed the title of *Door-dowran* (the pearl of the age); and the Abdalli tribe took the name of Doorani.

‡ The accession of Jehangeer can scarcely be deemed an exception, since opposition was attempted before the death of Akber; and by Prince Khoorum within four months after.

§ An ornamented ink-stand, or rather ink-horn, is the insignia of office worn by viziers.

‖ Or 104 lunar years, according to the Mohammedan mode of computation; their years consisting of 13 months—of 28 days 6 hours each.

¶ He induced Kaium Khan Bungush, the Afghan governor of Furruckabad, to conduct the war against his own countrymen. Kaium was slain in battle, and his employer strove to dispossess the widow of the chief part of her legitimate possessions, but with no avail; for the people rose upon his representative,

drove them into the lower branches of the Himalaya, about the Kumaon range, which forms their north-eastern boundary, and by authorising the Mahrattas to levy the promised subsidy on the conquered territory, soon reduced his foes to such straits for subsistence, that they submitted on the sole condition of receiving the assignment of a few villages for their chiefs.

In the Deccan many important changes had occurred since 1745, when Rugojee Bhonslay, taking advantage of the rebellion of Mustapha Khan, had invaded Orissa. The defeat of the Afghans, and the fall of their leader, in an attempt to obtain possession of Behar, relieved Ali Verdi from one dangerous foe, and enabled him to direct his efforts to the expulsion of the Mahrattas. In this undertaking he was less successful; driven off at one point, they attacked another, fighting ever in true Cossack* style, until Ali Verdi, in 1751, weary of beholding his fertile plains desolated by their incursions, and possibly influenced by the craving for quiet, natural to the old age of even men of war, bought off the invaders by the cession of Cuttack (the southern division of Orissa), and an engagement for the annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees, as the chout of Bengal and Behar. This very inadequate sum, Rugojee was doubtless induced to accept by the necessity of returning to the Deccan, where the renewal of internal strife among the Mahrattas, and the quarrels and intrigues of the sons of Asuf Jah, together with the ambitious projects of M. Bussy, the French leader, warned every wandering chief to guard his home interests.

The death of Shao, in 1750, gave the expected signal for a struggle between the peishwa and his rivals. The rajah was childless, and had not complied with the Hindoo custom of adopting an heir. His wife, Sawatri Bye, an intriguing and ambitious woman, had strongly urged the claims of the nearest relative, the rajah of Kolapoor; but Shao, who, after remaining for some years in a state of imbecility, had shortly before his death recovered his senses, rejected this candidate, because he also was without offspring, and declared that he had received a private intimation of the existence of a posthumous son of Sevajee II., who had been concealed by Tara Bye. The story sounded sufficiently improbable: but the peishwa and Tara Bye agreed in asserting its truth; and the former procured from the rajah an instrument, transferring to him all the powers of the government, on condition of his maintaining the royal dignity in the house of Sevajee, through its newly-discovered representative and his descendants. Whether this document was authentic or not, the peishwa acted as if it had been so, by placing the alleged grandson of Tara Bye on the throne, with the title of Ram Raja, and by removing all obstacles to his own supremacy either by force, fraud, or bribery. The prithee nidhee was seized and thrown into prison, and Sawatri Bye goaded into performing suttee, in accordance with her own declaration, made before her husband's death, to disguise her real designs. Rugojee Bhonslay, who was anxious to prosecute his annual incursions into Bengal—not having then come to the above-mentioned agreement with Ali Verdi—formally acknowledged the succession of Ram Raja, receiving, in return, a portion of the confiscated lands of the prithee nidhee, and other concessions; while the good-will of Holcar and Sindia was secured by assignments of almost the entire revenue of Malwa.† Believing his path now clear, Balajee Bajee left the rajah at Sattara, under the control of Tara Bye, and starting from Poona, to which place he had before transferred his residence, and which may be henceforth considered as the Mahratta capital, proceeded to take part in the civil war that had broken out between the sons of the late nizam. He was speedily recalled to Delhi by the machinations of Tara Bye, who, having vainly endeavoured to induce her weak and timid grandchild to assert his independence, and set aside the dominant influence of the peishwa, vehemently declared, that she believed he was, after all, no true descendant of Sevajee, but a base-born Gonedulee,‡ having been changed, at nurse, by the cottagers to whose charge he had been confided; then throwing him into a damp, stone dungeon, with the coarsest grain doled out as food,

and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vizier took the field in person.—(Scott, vol. ii., p. 225.)

* The Mahrattas have borrowed this term from the Moguls, finding it perfectly applicable to their favourite mode of warfare.

† Of the annual revenue, estimated at about £1,500,000, £750,000 was allotted to Holcar; £650,000 to Sindia; and £100,000 to Puar and other chiefs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. ii., p. 40.)

‡ The Gonedulees are a low cast of musicians, in the house of one of whom Rajah Ram (according to the statement of Tara Bye) had been first concealed.

the old virago assumed the government in her own name, and called in the assistance of Dummajee Guicowar, who had previously refused to acknowledge the succession of Ram Rajah. Dummajee was treacherously captured by the peishwa at a pretended friendly interview, and his army completely dispersed. Tara Bye proved a more troublesome opponent, being regarded by the people as the rightful regent; besides which, popular superstition attributed to her the possession of supernatural power; but whether she was a *deo* or a *dyt*—that is, a good or an evil spirit—was a disputed point, though one on which most persons, acquainted with her character and history, would scarcely entertain much doubt.

At Delhi, another revolution was impending. During the absence of the vizier in Rohilcund, the Doorani king had extorted from the emperor the cession of the Punjaub; and this arrangement, though it would seem to have been almost inevitable, the vizier made the pretext for insult and reproach; and soon after, vented his jealous spleen by the assassination of Jaweed, a eunuch much favoured by the emperor and his mother, at a banquet to which the victim had been purposely invited. Exasperated by this outrage, Ahmed Shah turned to the ameer-ool-omra for aid against the vizier. This young man, named Shaab-oo-deen,* was grandson to Asuf Jah, and had inherited too much of his ancestor's unprincipled ambition to hesitate taking any part that promised to gratify his dominant passion; he, therefore, gladly sided with the emperor against the very man whose patronage had placed him in an influential position. A civil war ensued, determined not by one great battle, but carried on for six months in daily combats in the streets, during which time the vizier being a Sheiah, and his opponent a Sunni, the war-cry of their respective adherents was the test-word of either sect. Becoming wearied of this unprofitable contest, the rival ministers came to terms; and the unhappy monarch, betrayed by both, made an effort to assert his independence; but being captured by the Mahratta auxiliaries of his treacherous servants, under Mulhar Rao, was delivered over into the hands of the ameer-ool-omra, by whom he was deposed and blinded, together with the queen his mother, A.D. 1754.

* He also bore his father's and grandfather's title of Ghazi-oo-deen; but to avoid confusion, I have adhered to his original appellation.

Alumgeer II.—Under this name a prince of the blood was placed on the vacant throne by Shaab-oo-deen, who, upon the death of the vizier, which happened about this time (at Lucknow, the capital of Oude), took upon himself the vacant office, and soon afterwards marched towards Lahore, secretly hoping to take advantage of the state of affairs in the Punjaub. Upon the death of the Mogul governor, whom Ahmed Shah had continued in his office after the cession, his infant son had been appointed to the viceroyalty under the tutelage of his mother. It so happened, that Shaab-oo-deen had been affianced to the daughter of the late viceroy, and he now approached on pretence of claiming his bride. The marriage festivities were in course of celebration, when a sudden attack was made upon the town, and the governess captured in her bed. While being conveyed to the camp, she vehemently denounced the treachery which had been practised, declaring, that the vengeance of Ahmed Shah would be swift and terrible. Her prediction was verified: the Doorani king marched rapidly from Candahar, passed through the Punjaub without opposition, and advanced upon Delhi to enforce his demand of pecuniary compensation. The culprit escaped through the intercession of his mother-in-law, whom he had contrived to conciliate; but the devoted city was again given over to pillage and slaughter, Ahmed Shah, if willing, being quite unable to restrain the excesses of his soldiery. A detachment was sent into Bengal to levy a contribution, and Ahmed proceeded in person to Agra, against the Jats, with a similar object. The troops enforced his exactions by the most barbarous methods, and found, in bigotry, an excuse and incentive for the indulgence of their natural ferocity. The ancient and venerated city of Muttra was surprised during the celebration of a religious festival, and the defenceless worshippers massacred without distinction of sex or age.

Happily, the career of these destroyers was stopped by the excessive heat, which occasioned an alarming mortality among them, and compelled Ahmed Shah to renounce the siege of the citadel of Agra, which was defended by a Mogul governor, and be content with the money already levied. Before returning to his own territories, he married a princess of the house of Timur, and affianced another to his son, afterwards Timur Shah. He also caused an able and enterprising Rohilla chief, named

Nujeeb-oo-dowla, to be appointed ameer-ool-omra at the especial request of the emperor, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise against his intriguing vizier. This scheme failed; for Shaab-oo-deen called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, under Ragoba (brother to the peishwa), who had recently acquired notoriety by his proceedings in Guzerat, and in levying contributions on the Rajpoot states. Thus aided, the vizier forcibly re-established his paramount influence in Delhi, the prince, afterwards Shah Alum, having first escaped to a place of safety, and Nujeeb to his own country about Seharunpoor, to the north of Delhi.

The ascendancy of his ally being secured, Ragoba next turned his attention to the Punjaub, where a turbulent chief, named Adina Beg, whose whole career had been a series of intrigues, was plotting the overthrow of Ahmed Shah's sway by means of the Sikhs, who, during the late disorders, had again become considerable. Ragoba, seeing in this disorganisation the promise of an easy conquest, marched to Lahore (May, 1758), and took possession of the whole of the Punjaub, the Dooranis retiring across the Indus without hazarding a battle. The death of Adina Beg threw the power wholly into the hands of the Mahrattas, who now began to talk unreservedly of their plans for the obtainment of unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Hindoostan. These pretensions, though little likely to be vigorously contested by the nominal emperor, were opposed to the interests of various individuals, especially of Shuja-oo-dowla, who had succeeded his father, Sufdur Jung, in the government of Oude, and who now joined his hereditary foes, Nujeeb-oo-dowla and the Rohillas, against the common enemy. The first result of this alliance was the invasion of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and the destruction of 1,300 villages in little more than a month: but Shuja marched from Lucknow to the relief of his allies, and drove the invaders, with heavy loss, across the Ganges, obliging their leader, Duttajee Sindia, to conclude a peace, which he did the more readily on account of the reported approach of Ahmed Shah from Cabool.

The retaliation of the Afghan ruler for the expulsion of his son from the Punjaub, had been retarded by the attempt of Nadir Khan, chief of the Beloochees, to establish his entire independence; but this question was no sooner settled than Ahmed, for the fourth time, invaded India (September, 1759), advancing by the southern road of Shikarpoor to the Indus, and marching along its banks to Peshawer, where he crossed the river and entered the Punjaub. The Mahrattas offered no obstacle; and he continued his progress towards Delhi, avoiding the swollen rivers, keeping near the northern hills until he passed the Jumna, opposite Seherunpoor.

The approach of the Afghans greatly alarmed the vizier, who, conscious of the friendly feeling existing between Ahmed Shah and the emperor, thought to remove an obstacle from his path, and ensure a safe tool, by causing the assassination of Alumgeer II., and hurrying from the palace-prison of Selimghur to the throne, another ill-fated descendant of Aurungzebe.

Extinction of Mogul power.—The title of the prince brought forward by Shaab-oo-deen was never recognised; and the heir-apparent (Shah Alum) being, happily for himself, beyond the reach of his father's murderer, the strange confederacy of Moguls, Mahrattas, and Jats, against Doorani and Rohilla Afghans, had no crowned leader whose uncontested supremacy could afford a bond of union to all concerned.

At this crisis, the question naturally arises—where were the Rajpoots, and how occupied, at an epoch so favourable for the assertion of national independence and individual aggrandisement? Their eloquent historian, Colonel Tod, candidly admits, that, absorbed in civil strife, enfeebled by luxury, degraded by intrigue—their position, in no small degree, resembled that of the once powerful dynasty, whose most distinguished members they had opposed so bravely, or served so loyally. Yet, even had Mewar possessed a rana able and energetic as Pertap or Umra—Marwar, a rajah like Jeswunt or Ajeet; or Amber (Jeypoor), like Maun or Jey Sing, it is still not probable that Rajast'han would have become the nucleus of a Hindoo empire. The characteristics of feudal confederacies are, under any circumstances, scarcely consistent with comprehensive and enlightened patriotism; and the temporary alliances between Rajpoot states, formed in an hour of mutual peril, were thrown aside as soon as their immediate cause was removed. The spirit of clanship, unrestrained by higher and holier principles, prompted in proud and ardent breasts many deeds which, at the first glance, seem grand and heroic, but when tried by the standard of Christian law, severe in its sim-

plicity, are found to be fair-seeming fruit rotten at the core. To raise the honour of a clan—to humble a rival—to avenge an affront—these were objects to be gained at any cost of blood or treasure, and without regard to the character and true interest of the state. It was by taking advantage of the opportunities thus offered, and by becoming partisans in disputed successions, that the Mahrattas, as much by stratagem as by force, were enabled to levy chout over all Rajast'han.

The Mahratta power was now at its zenith. The whole territory, from the Indus and Himalaya, on the north, to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula, was either subjugated or tributary. The authority of the peishwa had become absolute, Tara Bye having, though ungraciously enough, been compelled to enter into terms of peace. She still, however, persisted in retaining the unfortunate Rajah Ram in rigorous confinement, a measure which entirely coincided with the views of the wily Brahmin, who ensured its continuance by perpetually soliciting its revocation. The army, no longer composed of predatory bands, now included a large body of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery. Nor were external signs of increasing wealth and dominion wanting. The pomp which had characterised the palmy days of the Delhi court, together with much of the ceremonial of Rajpoot states, was now observed at Poona; and the peishwa and inferior ministers, possessing the comely forms and courteous manners common among Concan Brahmins, bore their new-fledged honours with natural dignity. The case was very different with the field-officers, who, by exchanging the rude but picturesque garb and homely manners of former days, for the cumbersome attire and wearisome conventionalities, in which they rather caricatured than copied the Moguls, not only rendered themselves ridiculous, but really lost much efficiency in vain attempts to assume a stateliness of demeanour in correspondence with the cloth-of-gold uniforms in which their short, sturdy, active, little bodies were now encased. Their love of plunder had, however, undergone no change: they even seemed to have become more extortionate in proportion to their growing passion for ostentatious display. Their conduct, at this epoch, brought its own punishment; for, although there were 30,000 Mahratta horse in the field, in two bodies, at some distance from each other, when the Dooranis crossed the Jumna, the country people, exasperated by their depredations, kept them in complete ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Shah was consequently enabled to prevent their junction; and, coming suddenly on the body under Duttajee Sindia, slew that chief and two-thirds of his force, while the other division was overtaken and almost destroyed by a detachment which had made an extraordinary march for that purpose. The news of this inauspicious commencement of the war, enraged but did not dispirit the Mahrattas, who prepared for a desperate and decisive encounter. The command of the assembled force was given to the peishwa's cousin, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, commonly called the Bhow,* a brave soldier, but too violent and headstrong for a safe general. He was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir-apparent of the peishwa, and by almost all the leading Mahratta chiefs.† The pressing necessity of uniting to repel the common foe of the Hindoos, seems to have aroused even the Rajpoots from their apathy, and induced them to lay aside their private quarrels; for several Rajpoot detachments were sent to join the Mahratta force on its march from the Deccan, and Suraj Mul came to meet them with 30,000 Jats. This experienced old chief beheld with dismay the gorgeous appearance of the advancing cavalcade, and earnestly entreated the Bhow to leave his heavy baggage, infantry, and guns, under the protection of the strong forts in the Jat territory, and practise the same tactics which had so often proved successful; urging, that if the war could only be protracted, the Dooranis, who had been already many months in India, would probably be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This judicious counsel, though seconded by the Mahratta chiefs, was haughtily rejected by their commander, who affected to despise the Jats;‡ treated Suraj Mul as a petty zemindar,

* The Bhow, or brother, is a term commonly applied by the Mahrattas to cousins German.

† Ragoba remained in the Deccan, having given offence by his improvidence in previous campaigns.

‡ The Jats (who, according to Tod, are "assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Jete races") formed the chief part of the agricultural population of Agra in the reign of Aurungzebe, by whose persecutions they were driven to rebel and elect Choramun for their leader and rajah.

Nujeeb-oo-dowla, to be appointed ameer-ool-omra at the especial request of the emperor, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise against his intriguing vizier. This scheme failed; for Shaab-oo-deen called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, under Ragoba (brother to the peishwa), who had recently acquired notoriety by his proceedings in Guzerat, and in levying contributions on the Rajpoot states. Thus aided, the vizier forcibly re-established his paramount influence in Delhi, the prince, afterwards Shah Alum, having first escaped to a place of safety, and Nujeeb to his own country about Seharunpoor, to the north of Delhi.

The ascendancy of his ally being secured, Ragoba next turned his attention to the Punjaub, where a turbulent chief, named Adina Beg, whose whole career had been a series of intrigues, was plotting the overthrow of Ahmed Shah's sway by means of the Sikhs, who, during the late disorders, had again become considerable. Ragoba, seeing in this disorganisation the promise of an easy conquest, marched to Lahore (May, 1758), and took possession of the whole of the Punjaub, the Dooranis retiring across the Indus without hazarding a battle. The death of Adina Beg threw the power wholly into the hands of the Mahrattas, who now began to talk unreservedly of their plans for the obtainment of unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Hindoostan. These pretensions, though little likely to be vigorously contested by the nominal emperor, were opposed to the interests of various individuals, especially of Shuja-oo-dowla, who had succeeded his father, Sufdur Jung, in the government of Oude, and who now joined his hereditary foes, Nujeeb-oo-dowla and the Rohillas, against the common enemy. The first result of this alliance was the invasion of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and the destruction of 1,300 villages in little more than a month: but Shuja marched from Lucknow to the relief of his allies, and drove the invaders, with heavy loss, across the Ganges, obliging their leader, Duttajee Sindia, to conclude a peace, which he did the more readily on account of the reported approach of Ahmed Shah from Cabool.

The retaliation of the Afghan ruler for the expulsion of his son from the Punjaub, had been retarded by the attempt of Nadir Khan, chief of the Beloochees, to establish his entire independence; but this question was no sooner settled than Ahmed, for the fourth time, invaded India (September, 1759), advancing by the southern road of Shikarpoor to the Indus, and marching along its banks to Peshawer, where he crossed the river and entered the Punjaub. The Mahrattas offered no obstacle; and he continued his progress towards Delhi, avoiding the swollen rivers, keeping near the northern hills until he passed the Jumna, opposite Seherunpoor.

The approach of the Afghans greatly alarmed the vizier, who, conscious of the friendly feeling existing between Ahmed Shah and the emperor, thought to remove an obstacle from his path, and ensure a safe tool, by causing the assassination of Alumgeer II., and hurrying from the palace-prison of Selimghur to the throne, another ill-fated descendant of Aurungzebe.

Extinction of Mogul power.—The title of the prince brought forward by Shaab-oo-deen was never recognised; and the heir-apparent (Shah Alum) being, happily for himself, beyond the reach of his father's murderer, the strange confederacy of Moguls, Mahrattas, and Jats, against Doorani and Rohilla Afghans, had no crowned leader whose uncontested supremacy could afford a bond of union to all concerned.

At this crisis, the question naturally arises —where were the Rajpoots, and how occupied, at an epoch so favourable for the assertion of national independence and individual aggrandisement? Their eloquent historian, Colonel Tod, candidly admits, that, absorbed in civil strife, enfeebled by luxury, degraded by intrigue—their position, in no small degree, resembled that of the once powerful dynasty, whose most distinguished members they had opposed so bravely, or served so loyally. Yet, even had Mewar possessed a rana able and energetic as Pertap or Umra—Marwar, a rajah like Jeswunt or Ajeet; or Amber (Jeypoor), like Maun or Jey Sing, it is still not probable that Rajast'han would have become the nucleus of a Hindoo empire. The characteristics of feudal confederacies are, under any circumstances, scarcely consistent with comprehensive and enlightened patriotism; and the temporary alliances between Rajpoot states, formed in an hour of mutual peril, were thrown aside as soon as their immediate cause was removed. The spirit of clanship, unrestrained by higher and holier principles, prompted in proud and ardent breasts many deeds which, at the first glance, seem grand and heroic, but when tried by the standard of Christian law, severe in its sim-

plicity, are found to be fair-seeming fruit rotten at the core. To raise the honour of a clan—to humble a rival—to avenge an affront—these were objects to be gained at any cost of blood or treasure, and without regard to the character and true interest of the state. It was by taking advantage of the opportunities thus offered, and by becoming partisans in disputed successions, that the Mahrattas, as much by stratagem as by force, were enabled to levy chout over all Rajast'han.

The Mahratta power was now at its zenith. The whole territory, from the Indus and Himalaya, on the north, to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula, was either subjugated or tributary. The authority of the peishwa had become absolute, Tara Bye having, though ungraciously enough, been compelled to enter into terms of peace. She still, however, persisted in retaining the unfortunate Rajah Ram in rigorous confinement, a measure which entirely coincided with the views of the wily Brahmin, who ensured its continuance by perpetually soliciting its revocation. The army, no longer composed of predatory bands, now included a large body of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery. Nor were external signs of increasing wealth and dominion wanting. The pomp which had characterised the palmy days of the Delhi court, together with much of the ceremonial of Rajpoot states, was now observed at Poona; and the peishwa and inferior ministers, possessing the comely forms and courteous manners common among Concan Brahmins, bore their new-fledged honours with natural dignity. The case was very different with the field-officers, who, by exchanging the rude but picturesque garb and homely manners of former days, for the cumbersome attire and wearisome conventionalities, in which they rather caricatured than copied the Moguls, not only rendered themselves ridiculous, but really lost much efficiency in vain attempts to assume a stateliness of demeanour in correspondence with the cloth-of-gold uniforms in which their short, sturdy, active, little bodies were now encased. Their love of plunder had, however, undergone no change: they even seemed to have become more extortionate in proportion to their growing passion for ostentatious display. Their conduct, at this epoch, brought its own punishment; for, although there were 30,000 Mahratta horse in the field, in two bodies, at some distance from each other, when the Dooranis crossed the Jumna, the country people, exasperated by their depredations, kept them in complete ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Shah was consequently enabled to prevent their junction; and, coming suddenly on the body under Duttajee Sindia, slew that chief and two-thirds of his force, while the other division was overtaken and almost destroyed by a detachment which had made an extraordinary march for that purpose. The news of this inauspicious commencement of the war, enraged but did not dispirit the Mahrattas, who prepared for a desperate and decisive encounter. The command of the assembled force was given to the peishwa's cousin, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, commonly called the Bhow,* a brave soldier, but too violent and headstrong for a safe general. He was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir-apparent of the peishwa, and by almost all the leading Mahratta chiefs.† The pressing necessity of uniting to repel the common foe of the Hindoos, seems to have aroused even the Rajpoots from their apathy, and induced them to lay aside their private quarrels; for several Rajpoot detachments were sent to join the Mahratta force on its march from the Deccan, and Suraj Mul came to meet them with 30,000 Jats. This experienced old chief beheld with dismay the gorgeous appearance of the advancing cavalcade, and earnestly entreated the Bhow to leave his heavy baggage, infantry, and guns, under the protection of the strong forts in the Jat territory, and practise the same tactics which had so often proved successful; urging, that if the war could only be protracted, the Dooranis, who had been already many months in India, would probably be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This judicious counsel, though seconded by the Mahratta chiefs, was haughtily rejected by their commander, who affected to despise the Jats;‡ treated Suraj Mul as a petty zemindar,

* The Bhow, or brother, is a term commonly applied by the Mahrattas to cousins German.

† Ragoba remained in the Deccan, having given offence by his improvidence in previous campaigns.

‡ The Jats (who, according to Tod, are "assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Jete races") formed the chief part of the agricultural population of Agra in the reign of Aurungzebe, by whose persecutions they were driven to rebel and elect Choramun for their leader and rajah.

incapable of judging of politics on a large scale; and marched on, in defiance of all counsel, with his whole force to Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of Dooranis and their partisans, Ghazi-oo-deen having sought refuge in the Jat country. The citadel yielded after a feeble defence. The Bhow triumphantly entered the ill-fated capital; defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans; tore down the silver ceiling of the hall of audience (which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees); seized the throne, and all other royal ornaments; and even talked of proclaiming Wiswas Rao emperor of India. Disgusted and alarmed by these rash and grasping proceedings, Suraj Mul returned to his own territory, and the Rajpoots likewise withdrew from the confederacy. Ahmed Shah passed the rainy season on the frontier of Oude, and during that time succeeded in procuring the co-operation of Shuja-oo-dowla. He then marched rapidly towards Delhi, and on reaching Cunjpoora, on the Jumna, learned that the Doorani garrison stationed there had been captured by the enemy, and put to the sword. In a paroxysm of rage, the Shah, thirsting for revenge, crossed the river between fording and swimming; and this impetuous act, by which many lives were sacrificed, so astonished the Mahrattas, that they retired to Paniput, and intrenched their camp.

The force of Ahmed Shah was computed at less than 100,000 men; that of his opponent at 300,000, including followers.* This disparity prevented the invader from venturing an attack, and induced him to encamp, and fortify his position. For three months the hostile armies remained face to face, without coming to any decisive engagement. During that time the state of affairs underwent a material change. The Mahrattas at first endeavoured to provoke an attack, by cutting off the supplies of the Doorani camp; and with this object a chief, named Govind Rao Bondela, was ordered to collect troops on the lower course of the Jumna, and spread over the country in the Mahratta fashion. Govind Rao obeyed, and levied 10,000, or 12,000 men, who proved very successful plunderers, until their leader was surprised in a mango-grove and cut off, with about a thousand followers, by a body of horse, who had come upon them, after performing a march of sixty miles. Other disasters followed; and, at length, all means of forage being cut off, Ahmed Shah succeeded in establishing a rigid blockade; and the resources of the town of Paniput, which was within the lines, being quite exhausted, the pressure of want began to be severely felt; and, from clamouring for arrears of pay, the Mahrattas now began to lack daily food. Cooped up amidst the stench of a besieged camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, the once mighty host grew weaker daily; and, to the dispiriting influences of physical evils, the knowledge of the dissensions between the Bhow, Holcar, and minor chiefs, added greatly. The position of Ahmed Shah was one of considerable difficulty; but he rejected the overtures of peace made through the intervention of Shuja-oo-dowla, judging, by the impatience and weariness of his own troops, of the condition of the foe, and feeling convinced that they would soon be driven into quitting their intrenchments, as the only alternative from starvation. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant guard, visiting his posts, reconnoitring the enemy, and riding fifty to sixty miles a-day. Among the last efforts of the besieged, was the dispatch of a party, with innumerable camp-followers, on a midnight foraging expedition. The attempt was discovered by the watchful picket stationed by Ahmed Shah, and the defenceless crowd were surrounded and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this, the chiefs and soldiers called upon the Bhow to put an end to their sufferings and suspense, by leading them to the attack. The necessary orders were given; the last grain in store distributed among the famishing troops; and, an hour before day-break, the Mahrattas quitted their intrenchments, marching forth with the ends of their turbans loosened, and their hands and faces dyed with turmeric;

* The Bhow's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry, in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Mahratta horse, and 15,000 infantry; of whom, 9,000 were disciplined sepoys, under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall-pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Mahrattas. These troops, with their immediate followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men. Ahmed Shah had about 4,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry, estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afghans would be very efficient; but the great majority, the usual rabble of Indian foot-soldiers. He had, also, about thirty pieces of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Indian allies, and a number of wall-pieces. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 679.)

their gait and expressions bespeaking victims prepared for sacrifice, rather than warriors hoping for conquest. The sight of the foe revived their courage; a fierce onslaught was made on the centre of the Mohammedan army; and a general encounter followed, which lasted in unabated violence until noon —the field of action being one mass of dust and confusion, the combatants fighting hand to hand, and the shrieks and groans of the dying drowned by the incessant "Allah!" and "Deen!" of the Mohammedans, and the "Hur! Hur! Mahdeo!" of the Mahrattas. Up to this period, victory seemed to incline to the latter party; but a reserve, sent forward by Ahmed Shah, who, from his little red tent, had eagerly watched the engagement, decided the fortune of the day. The Bhow and Wiswas were slain.* Holcar and Dummajee Guicowar quitted the field; and "all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs, and fled at full speed."† The victors pursued them with the utmost fury, giving no quarter, and slaying without mercy all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children crowded into the town of Paniput, where they were blockaded for the night, and the next morning divided into allotments by their barbarous captors, the women and children being taken for slaves, the men ranged in lines, and prevented from fainting by a few grains of parched corn, and a little water poured into the palms of their hands preparatory to their decapitation; after which, their heads were piled around the doors of the tents,‡ as fitting trophies of what men call "a glorious victory." These atrocities Ahmed Shah made no effort to restrain; but, on the contrary, sanctioned by example the cold-blooded massacre of the most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Jancojee Sindia, a youth about the age of Wiswas Rao. Ibrahim Khan was cruelly treated; and it was even reported that his death had been caused by the poison put into his wounds.

This great overthrow was a blow from which the aspiring Mahrattas never wholly recovered. In the course of the campaign, 200,000 of them are alleged to have perished, including nearly all their leading chiefs. The disastrous intelligence reached the Deccan through the medium of a letter addressed to the soucars or bankers, who generally contrive to obtain the earliest tidings of all affairs affecting the money-market. The letter-carrier was intercepted by the peishwa while about to cross the Nerbudda, on his way to Hindoostan, and its brief contents—"two pearls have been dissolved; twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost; and, of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up"—revealed to him the fate of his beloved son and cousin, of the officers and army. The shock proved fatal to a mind worn down with intrigue, and a frame enfeebled by indolence and sensuality; and the peishwa, retiring towards Poona, died in a temple which he had erected near that city. Notwithstanding the personal faults of Balajee Bajee Rao, his political sagacity, polished manners, and great address, together with the honoured names he bore, had rendered him popular, and his death increased the gloom which overhung the country.§

With the battle of Paniput‖ the Mohammedan portion of the history of India naturally closes. Ahmed Shah quitted Hindoostan without attempting to profit by the fruits of his victory; and Alum Shah, after enduring many vicissitudes of fortune, ended his days as a pensioner of the powerful company whose proceedings will occupy the chief portion of the following section.

* The body of Wiswas Rao was brought to the tent of the Shah, where the whole camp assembled to look upon it, and admire the extraordinary beauty which, strange to say, a violent death had not marred. Yet the Afghans, untouched by pity, looked upon the pale corpse only as an evidence of victory; and were, with difficulty, induced by Shuja-oo-dowla to renounce the idea of having "it dried and stuffed, to carry to Cabool." Concerning the fate of the Bhow considerable uncertainty prevailed, although a headless trunk was said to be recognised as his by a scar on the back—certain marks in the hands and feet, which seemed to bear evidence of the 1,400 prostrations he made daily before the sun, and what the astrologers term the *Puddum Mutch*, or fortunate lines in his foot.

† *See* narrative of Casi Rai, an officer in the service of Shuja-oo-dowla. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.)

‡ The Dooranis said, that "when they left their own country, their mothers, wives, and sisters desired, that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a merit in the sight of God."—(*Casi Rai.*)

§ Tara Bye did not long survive her old adversary, the peishwa. She died, aged eighty-six, full of exultation at the misfortunes which had overtaken her foes. The rajah was then taken out of prison, and suffered to reside at large in Sattara; his originally weak intellect, still further broken down by persecution, rendering such a procedure free from any danger to the interests of Madhu Rao, the youthful son and successor of the late minister.

‖ Paniput is in 29° 22′ N., 76° 51′ E.; the town, about four miles in circumference, was formerly surrounded by a brick wall, of which a part still remains.

Mohammedan Conquerors and Rulers of Hindoostan.

House or Dynasty.	Name or Title.	Date.	Capital.	Successor.	Death or Deposition.
House of Ghuznee—Subuktugeen dynasty.	Mahmood	1001	Ghuznee	Son	Natural death, 1030.
	Mohammed	1030	Ditto	Brother	Deposed and blinded.
	Masaud	1030	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and murdered.
	Ahmed	1040	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Modood	1041	Ditto	Brother	Natural death.
	Abul Hussun	1049	Ditto	Uncle	Deposed.
	Abul Raschid	1051	Ditto	No Relation	Murdered.
	Toghral	1052	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Assassinated.
	Farokshad	1052	Ditto	Brother	Assassinated.
	Ibrahim	1058	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Masaud II.	1089	Do. and Lahore	Son	Natural death.
	Arslan	1114	Ditto	Brother	Murdered.
	Behram	1118	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru	1160	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru Malik	1167	Ditto	Conqueror	Imprisoned and murdered.
Ghor dynasty	Shahab-oo-deen	1186	Ditto	His slave & general	Assassinated.
	Kooth-oo-deen	1206	Ghor, Ghuznee, & Delhi	Son	Natural death.
Slave Kings	Aram	1210	Delhi	Brother-in-law	Natural death.
	Altamsh	1211	Delhi	Son	Natural death.
	Rukn-oo-deen	1236	Ditto	Sister	Deposed after 7 mths. reign.
	Rezia (Sultana)	1236	Ditto	Brother	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Behram (*Moiz-oo-deen*)	1239	Ditto	Son of Rukn	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Masaud (*Ala-oo-deen*)	1241	Ditto	Grandson of Altamsh	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Mahmood (*Nasir-oo-deen*)	1246	Ditto	His Vizier	Natural death.
	Bulbun, or Balin	1266	Ditto	Son of Bakhara	Natural death.
	Kei Kobad	1286	Ditto	A Khilji Chief	Assassinated.
House of Khiljii.	Jelal-oo-deen	1288	Ditto	Nephew	Assassinated.
	Ala-oo-deen	1295	Ditto	Son	Poisoned.
	Mobarik	1317	Ditto	Vizier	Murdered.
	Gheias-oo-deen	1321	Ditto	Son	Killed, supposed by his son.
House of Toghlak.	Mohammed (*Juna*)	1325	Deoghiri, or Doulatabad	Nephew	Natural death.
	Feroze	1351	Delhi	Grandson	Natural death.
	Gheias-oo-deen	1388	Ditto	Ditto of Feroze	Deposed and murdered.
	Abubekir	1389	Ditto	Son of Feroze	Deposed.
	Nasir-oo-deen	1390	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1390	Ditto	Brother, a Minor	Natural death.
	Mahmood Toghlak	1394	Ditto	No Relative	Driven from Delhi by Timur
Lodi.	Doulat Khan Lodi	1412	Ditto	No Relative	Expelled.
The Seyeds, or Seids.	Seyed Khizer Khan	1414	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Moiz-oo-deen, or Seyed Mobarik	1421	Ditto	Son	Murdered in a Mosque.
	Seyed Mohammed	1436	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Seyed Al-oo-deen	1444	Ditto	Conqueror	Abdicated.
House of Lodi.	Bheilol Lodi	1450	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Secander Lodi	1488	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ibrahim Lodi	1517	Ditto	Conqueror	Slain in battle at Paniput.
Mogul dynasty.	Baber	1526	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1530	Ditto	Usurper	Driven into Persia.
Afghan dynasty.	Sheer Shah Soor	1542	Agra	Youngest Son	Killed at a siege.
	Selim Shah Soor	1545	Delhi & Gwalior	Son	Natural death.
	Feroze Soor	1552	Gwalior	Uncle	Assassinated in 3 days.
	Mohammed Shah Soor Adili	1552	Chunar	Division of Dominion	Expelled and slain.
	Ibrahim III.	1554	Delhi		Imprisoned and slain.
	Secander Soor	1554	Agra	Humayun	Defeated in battle, and fled
Mogul dynasty.	Humayun	1555	Delhi	Son	Killed by a fall.
	Akber	1556	Delhi & Agra	Son	Natural death.
	Jehangeer	1605		Son	Natural death.
	Shah Jehan	1627	Delhi	Fourth Son	Deposed.
	Aurungzebe (Alumgeer)	1658	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Bahadur Shah	1707	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Jehandar Shah	1712	Ditto	Son of Azim-u-Shan	Murdered
	Farokshere	1713	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and slain.
	Mohammed Shah	1719	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ahmed Shah	1748	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Deposed and eyes put out.
	Alumgeer II.	1754	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Alum Shah	1760	Ditto	No successor	Natural death.

Note.—Of the above 65 conquerors and rulers, 24 were assassinated or poisoned; 11 were deposed, driven from the throne, or abdicated; two were slain in battle; one killed by a fall; and 27 were said to have died a natural death. Fifteen princes of the *Ghaznivede* dynasty had an average duration of reign of 11 years; 10 *Slave* kings of eight years; three *Khiljii* of 10 years; eight *Toghlak* of 11 years; four *Seyeds* of nine years; three *Lodi* of 25 years; two *Mogul* of eight years; six *Afghan* of two years; and 12 *Mogul* of 17 years each. If the reign of Akber, which lasted for 49 years, and that of Aurungzebe, for 49 = 98, be deducted, the average duration of the remaining 10 princes' reigns was only $10\frac{1}{2}$ years. The period of 751 years gives an average reign, to each prince, of exactly 11 years. These statements must, however, be regarded rather as affording a general view of the Indo-Mohammedan Dynasties, than as assertions of opinions on various disputed points respecting the death and exact date of accession of several potentates: for accounts of the minor Mohammedan kingdoms *see* pp. 93 to 107. The Great Moguls alone assumed the title of Padsha, or Emperor.

SECTION II.

EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE—RISE AND GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER.

Some light is thrown on the communication between the eastern and western hemispheres by the scriptural account of the frequent supplies of spices and other oriental products obtained by Solomon from the southern parts of Asia, B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were even then supposed to have long been the chief carriers in the Indian trade, by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but an overland intercourse appears to have been simultaneously maintained through Persia and Arabia. Of the Asiatics themselves, and of their territories, little was known in Europe until the invasion of the Indian frontier by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331. For nearly three centuries after his death, the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the marts being Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. There were, besides, two other and far less frequented routes: the first lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, and stretched over a long and dreary desert tract, in which the only halting-place was the famous Tadmor or Palmyra—the city of palms—whose independence and growing prosperity exciting the jealousy of imperial Rome, proved the occasion of its destruction, notwithstanding the determined efforts of its brave queen, Zenobia. With Palmyra the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the time of Abraham, terminated; but the other route, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Koosh, is still in existence, and by this means an inland trade is maintained between India, Persia, and Russia (*vid* Bokhara.)

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era a discovery was made by a Greek, named Hippalus, the commander of an Egyptian East-Indiaman, of the steady course of the monsoon, at fixed periods, in a certain direction. The result of his observation and daring adventure was to reduce a tedious voyage, of two months' duration, within the compass of a few days; mariners thenceforth steering from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean to Nelcunda (the site of which Dr. Vincent traces in the modern Nelisuram), instead of following the circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts. Here pepper in great abundance, cotton cloths, and exquisitely fine muslins, silk, ivory, spikenard, pearls, diamonds, amethysts, with other precious stones, and tortoiseshell, awaited the arrival of the merchants, and were largely exported, as also from Tyndis and Musiris (Barcelore and Mangalore), and other emporia on the Indian coast, in exchange for gold and silver, (in vessels and specie,) cloth, coral, incense, glass, and a little wine.

The weakness and distraction of the Roman empire checked this profitable traffic, and the rise of Mohammedan power subsequently cut off all direct communication between Europe and India. The Arabians then formed settlements on the eastern coasts of the Deccan, and by their vessels, or by inland caravans, the rich productions of India were sold to the Venetians or Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Euxine. These merchant-princes, though characterised by maritime enterprise, were naturally little desirous of prosecuting discoveries calculated to break up their monopoly, and transfer to other hands at least a large proportion of the Indian trade. The leading European states, engrossed by national or internal strife, were slow to recognise the superiority of an extended commerce as a means of even political greatness, over the sanguinary warfare into which whole kingdoms were repeatedly plunged to gratify the ambition or malignity of a few persons—often of a single individual. The short-lived triumphs of the sword only paved the way for new contests, envenomed by bitter recollections; and it followed inevitably, that all peaceful interests—arts and sciences, mechanics, and agriculture—were neglected in the paramount necessity of finding means to meet the heavy drain of blood and treasure so wantonly incurred. The true principle of trade—the greatest good of the greatest number—was quite overlooked: the citizens of a leading emporium forgot, in triumphing over a defeated rival, that they were exulting in the destruction of one of their own markets; and were far from understanding the more remote connexion which, in the absence

of a holier principle of union, binds nation to nation, forming of the whole a body-corporate, through which the blood circulates more or less freely according to the healthy or diseased action of each and every member.

———

Portuguese Discovery and Dominion.*—A new epoch commenced for Europe, dating from the time when John I. and Prince Henry—worthy representatives of the royal house of Portugal—struck out for themselves and their country a path to power and renown, by becoming the patrons of maritime discovery. Portugal was then, as now, of limited extent and fertility: her previous history afforded little scope for boastful recollection, either while under the sway of the Romans, as the province of Lusitania, or when, in the middle ages, she lay crushed beneath the iron yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole Peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom, under the name of Algarve. But the fiery furnace of adversity developed marvellously the latent energies of the Portuguese. Religious zeal became the inspiring theme with them, as it had formerly been with their conquerors; and, after a struggle of many hundred years' duration, they, like their Spanish neighbours, succeeded in expelling from their shores the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hordes united under the banner of the crescent.

Acting on the false principle of their late persecutors,—that hostilities against infidels were meritorious in the sight of God,—the Portuguese pursued the Moors into Africa, retaliating by every possible means the long series of outrage and thraldom to which they had been subjected. The peculiar situation of Portugal, and its long range of coast-line, bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, favoured maritime enterprise; and the exploration of the shores of western, southern, and eastern Africa was followed by the expedition of Vasco de Gama, who, after crossing the Indian Ocean (by the aid of a Hindoo pilot, obtained at Melinda), succeeded in gaining the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498.

The general condition of India at this period has been shown in previous pages.† Secander Soor sat on the throne of Delhi: in the Deccan, the Mohammedan rulers were Mohammed II., of the Bahmani dynasty; Yusuf Adil Shah, of Beejapoor; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur. The country visited by the Portuguese had anciently formed the southern division of the kingdom of Kerala;‡ but in the course of the ninth century had revolted from its prince (who had become a Mohammedan), and been formed into many petty Hindoo principalities. Of these, the chief was that now governed by a ruler styled the *zamorin*, or *Tamuri rajah*,§ to whom several lesser rajahs seem to have been feudatory; his capital, called Calicut, had attained wealth and celebrity as a commercial emporium. By this prince the adventurers were well received; and notwithstanding some awkward blunders, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, customs, and religion of the country,‖ all went on favourably until their proceedings excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders, whom they

* The authorities for the Portuguese proceedings are Lopez de Castanheda; Stevens' translation of Faria y Sousa; and the accounts given in Harris's *Voyages*, the *World displayed*; Murray's *Discoveries*; and other collections of travels by land and sea, in which Juan de Barros and Osorio are largely quoted.

† Pp. 92 to 106. ‡ Page 41.

§ The origin of the zamorins, or Tamuri rajahs, is discussed by Buchanan (vol. ii., p. 474) and Sousa (vol. ii., p. 225.) In accordance with the custom of the country, the name of the individual then reigning was withheld from the Portuguese; but their interpreter, a Moor of Tunis (long resident at Calicut), described him "as a very good man, and of an honourable disposition." He proved to be a person of majestic presence and advanced age: dressed in fine white calico, adorned with branches and flowers of beaten gold, and rare gems (with which latter his whole person was bedecked), he reclined on cushions of white silk, wrought with gold, under a magnificent canopy. A golden fountain of water stood beside him, and a gold basin filled with betel and areca: the hall of audience was richly carpeted, and hung with tapestry of silk and gold. De Gama found some difficulty from the want of the costly presents with which all diplomatic intercourse in the east begins and ends. The zamorin desired an image of Mary, in gold, of which he had heard: this was refused, on the plea that it was only wood, gilt, but valuable "because it had preserved them at sea"—an answer calculated to confirm the assertion of the Moors, that these Europeans, unlike the native Christians, were idolaters.

‖ The Portuguese, acquainted by the accounts of Marco Polo and other travellers with the existence of a Christian community on this coast, looked for the signs of Christian or rather Romish worship; and, filled with this idea, actually entered a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, and prostrated themselves before an assemblage of strange and grotesque forms, which they took for the Indian ideal of the Madonna and saints. The strings of beads worn by the priests, the water with which the company were sprinkled, the powdered sandal-wood, and the peal of bells, could not, however, quell the suspicions excited by the numerous arms and singular accompaniments of many of the figures; and one of the Portuguese started to his feet, exclaiming, "If these be devils, it is God I worship."

termed the Moors,* settled in Calicut. These merchants having, through their factors, received intelligence of the contests which had taken place, during the voyage, between Vasco de Gama and the people of Mozambique, Mombas, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, informed the zamorin of the outrages that had been committed on this and previous occasions, urging, with sufficient reason, that people who, on frivolous pretences, fired upon and destroyed towns, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and scrupled not to extort information by the most barbarous tortures, were more probably pirates than ambassadors,† especially as they came unprovided with any offering from their sovereign. Notwithstanding these representations, the Portuguese were suffered to make an advantageous disposition of their cargo (of scarlet cloth, brass, coral, &c.) at Calicut; but a dispute subsequently arising, the factor and secretary were made prisoners. De Gama dissembled his alarm, and continued to communicate with the Indians as if nothing had occurred, until he had succeeded in entrapping on board his vessel a party, comprising six nairs‡ and fifteen other persons of distinction. He then demanded the release of his officers as their ransom; but when this condition was complied with, forfeited his pledge by retaining possession of several of his captives. Enraged by this dishonourable and insulting conduct, the zamorin dispatched a squadron of boats against the Portuguese, and succeeded in procuring the co-operation of neighbouring powers; so that in a short time every bay, creek, and river was filled with boats, ready, at a given signal, to attack the intruders. Such at least was the intelligence, wrung by tortures of the most cruel and disgusting description, from a spy who came out from Goa. De Gama, by the aid of favourable winds avoided the encounter, steered homewards, and reached the Tagus in August, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months; only fifty-five of the 160‖ men who had accompanied him on his perilous enterprise, surviving to share the honours of his triumphant entry into Lisbon; but of these, every individual received rewards, together with the personal commendation of King Emanuel.

An armament, comprising thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was immediately fitted out and dispatched to take advantage of the new discovery. The command was entrusted to Alvarez Cabral, De Gama being excluded on the plea of being spared the hazard, but probably either on account of an opposite interest having begun to prevail at court, or because even his own report of his Indian proceedings may have borne evidence that the beneficial results of the skill and courage which had enabled him to triumph over the perils of unknown seas, were likely to be neutralized by his indiscreet and aggressive conduct on shore. Cabral reached Calicut in September, 1500, having, on his way, discovered the coast of Brazil, and lost four of his ships in the frightful storms encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Bartholomew Diaz being one of those who perished in the seas he had first laid open to European adventure. The captives carried off by De Gama were restored by Cabral, and their representations of the honourable treatment they had received in Portugal, together with costly presents of vessels of gold and silver of delicate workmanship, and cloths ingeniously wrought, obtained for the admiral a gracious reception, and permission to establish a factory at Calicut. Cabral endeavoured to ingratiate himself still further by intercepting and driving into the harbour or roadstead of Calicut a large vessel, then passing from the neighbouring port of Cochin, laden with a rich cargo, including seven elephants, one of which the zamorin had vainly endeavoured to pur-

* This designation seems frequently applied to Arabian and African Mohammedans, in contradistinction to Moguls and Patans. Sousa speaks of them as "inhabiting from Choul to Cape Comorin."

† Prince Henry's characteristic motto, "Talent de bien faire," was sadly misapplied by the Portuguese commanders, who, almost without exception, treated the natives of newly-discovered territories with such shameless cruelty, that their skill and courage fails to disguise the fact, that they were little else than pirates and robbers on an extensive scale;—worse than all, they were stealers of men; and thereby guilty of a crime which could not and did not fail to bring a curse upon their nation. In vain they strove to strengthen themselves with forts and cannon—spreading the terror of their name over the whole African sea-coast: their power has dwindled away like a snow-ball in the sun; and now only enough remains to bear witness of lost dominion. Five-and-twenty years ago, when serving in the navy, I visited the great fortress of Mozambique, where we landed the marines of our frigate to prevent the governor-general (then newly-arrived from Lisbon) being massacred by a horde of savages. At Delagoa, Inhamban, Sofala, and other places, the Portuguese governor and officers were unwilling to venture beyond the reach of the rusty cannon on the walls of their dilapidated forts.

‡ Military class of Malabar, of the Soodra cast.

‖ According to Sousa. Castanheda says, 108.

chase; but this unscrupulous use of power gave alarm rather than satisfaction, and added weight to the arguments of the Moors, regarding the danger of encouraging such officious interlopers. The result was, that the Portuguese, unable to effect any purchases from the native merchants, in their impatience construed a hasty expression, dropped by the zamorin when wearied by their solicitations and complaints, into permission to seize a Moorish cargo of rich spices, on condition of the payment of an equitable price. This outrage provoked the resentment of both the Moors and the Hindoo inhabitants of Calicut. The newly-erected factory was broken open, and out of its seventy occupants, fifty-one were killed, the remainder escaping only by leaping into the sea, and swimming to their boats. Cabral retaliated by the capture and destruction of ten Moorish ships, seizing the cargoes, and detaining the crews as prisoners. Then, bringing his squadron as close as possible to the shore, he opened a furious discharge of artillery upon the city, and having set it on fire in several places, sailed southward to Cochin, whose ruler, having rebelled against the zamorin, gladly embraced the offer of foreign commerce and alliance. Here an abundant supply of pepper, the commodity chiefly desired by the Europeans, was obtained, and Cabral returned to Lisbon, taking the opportunity of a favourable wind to avoid a fleet of sixty sail, sent against him from Calicut. It was now manifest that the aggressive policy of the Portuguese could succeed only if powerfully supported; and Emanuel being desirous, in the words of Faria y Sousa, "to carry out what the apostle St. Thomas had begun," during his alleged visit to India, resolved, at all hazards, to avail himself of the papal grant to Portugal of all the eastern regions discovered by her fleets, and tenanted by infidels. He assembled a larger armament than had yet been sent into the eastern seas, and assuming the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India," dispatched Vasco de Gama to enforce his authority. The conduct of the envoy was marked by the most savage cruelty. On the coast of Arabia he met and captured a large Moorish ship, seized its stores, shut up the crew in the hold, and set it on fire. Appearing before Calicut, he collected fifty Indians from several captured vessels, and in consequence of some delay which occurred during a negotiation, opened by his demand of compensation for the destruction of the factory and its occupants, he took up an hour-glass, and declared, that unless the matter were settled before the sand had passed through, the prisoners should all be massacred. This savage threat he fulfilled to the letter, flinging on shore the heads, hands, and feet of the wretched victims. After pouring a destructive fire on the city, he proceeded to Cochin and Cananore, cemented the Portuguese alliance with the rulers of these territories, and then returned to Lisbon, leaving a squadron of five vessels under his uncle, Vincente Sodre, to blockade the Red Sea, exclude the hostile Moors from any communication with the coast of Malabar, and do what he could to protect the allies of Portugal against the anger of their liege lord, the zamorin. Instead of following these injunctions, Sodre engaged in piratical pursuits, and at length perished in a violent storm. Triumpara, rajah of Cochin, was left to make his own defence, and being driven from his capital, took refuge in the isle of Vaipeen, whose natural strength and sacred character would probably not have sufficed to ensure him a safe asylum but for the succour that arrived from Portugal, one detachment being sent under the afterwards famous Alphonso Albuquerque, another under his brother Francisco, and a third under Antonio Saldanha. With their assistance, Triumpara was replaced on his throne, and peace concluded with Calicut, but soon broken by the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese. The Albuquerques, after endeavouring to intimidate the zamorin into a renewal of the violated treaty, set sail for Europe,* leaving Duarte Pacheco with four vessels and a few hundred men to assist in guarding their ally, the rajah of Cochin.

The struggle that ensued afforded the first notable instance of the superiority of a small force, strengthened by European strategy and discipline, over an unwieldly Indian host, and may be said to have laid the foundation of Portuguese power in India. Pacheco was skilful and resolute: Triumpara confided to him the sole direction of the defence to be made against the advancing naval and military armament of the zamorin; and the well-directed fire of his little squadron enabled him to obtain a complete triumph, which was greatly facilitated

* Alphonso reached Europe safely. Francisco, with the ships under his command, is supposed to have perished in a storm near Melinda, in Africa.

by a destructive sickness that broke out among the enemy, and compelled their retreat to Calicut.* Pacheco was, perhaps, the ablest as well as the most humane and disinterested of the commanders of his nation in India; for no other, not even Albuquerque, obtained such uniform success with such inadequate means. It would have been good policy to have left him in the position he had so well filled; instead of which, he was superseded by Lope Soarez. On returning to Portugal, he was treated by Emanuel with well-merited distinction; and his disregard of his own interests, and zeal for the public service, were rewarded by the appointment of governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on the African coast; but a violent faction being there raised against him, he was sent home in chains, imprisoned for years, and although at length honourably acquitted, suffered to die in poverty and neglect.

In 1505, Francisco de Almeida arrived off Malabar, attended by a powerful fleet, and dignified with the new and pompous title of viceroy of India. A more formidable opposition than any heretofore encountered now awaited the Portuguese, in the combination formed against them by Mahmood Begarra, of Guzerat, with the Mameluk sultan of Cairo, and the angry and disappointed Venetians. The sultan, incensed by the diminution of his revenues, by the shameful piracies committed on his vessels, and by the barbarous massacre of pilgrims on their way to Mecca (whose cause every zealous Mohammedan identifies with his own), equipped twelve large ships in the Red Sea,† and placed them under an officer named Meer Hocem, with orders for the extirpation of the infidel invaders from the whole face of the eastern seas. Malek Eiaz, the viceroy of Diu, was sent by Mahmood to join the Mameluks, with an assemblage of vessels, inferior in size, but greater in number; and the combined force fell upon the Portuguese squadron anchored off Choul with such effect, that the young commander, Lorenzo, the only son of Almeida, seeing no prospect of successful resistance, and his chief officers, like himself, being wounded, resolved to take advantage of a favourable tide and proceed out to sea. The movement was commenced at midnight, and went on favourably until the ship in which Lorenzo sailed ran foul of some fishing stakes. The enemy having discovered the manœuvre, pressed on in pursuit, while ineffectual attempts were made to free the intercepted vessel. Lorenzo was entreated to enter a boat and escape to the fleet; but he refused to forsake his companions, and drawing them up in fighting order, resolved to hold out, if possible, until the advancing tide should float them out to sea. Hostile ships, bristling with cannon, bore down on the devoted band, and destroyed their last hope by opening upon them a tremendous fire. A ball in the thigh incapacitated Lorenzo for movement; but he caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer his men till another shot struck him on the breast, and terminated at once his struggles and his life.‡ The crew, though reduced from one hundred to twenty men, and all wounded, were still disposed to resist the boarding of their vessel; but Malek Eiaz, by gentleness and promises of good treatment, prevailed on them to surrender; and by his after-conduct, amply redeemed his pledge. In truth, Eiaz appears to be almost the only Mohammedan commander of his age and country, who in any degree inherited the chivalry which romance and even history have associated with Saracen leaders in the time of the Crusades. He addressed Almeida in terms of the most delicate condolence, expressing earnest admiration of the valour of his lost son; but the veteran sternly replied, that he considered excellence more to be desired than long life, and saw no cause for lamentation in the glorious death of one who was doubtless now enjoying the reward of his good conduct. This semblance of resignation imposed no restraint upon the burning impatience with which he prepared for vengeance. When about to depart at the head of a fleet of nineteen ships, an unexpected event deranged his plans, and inflicted a blow which he bore with far less dignity than he had done his late bereavement. This was nothing less than his recall and supercession

* Both Moors and Hindoos were provided with cannon before the arrival of the Portuguese, though they do not appear to have been skilful in its use.

† The Venetians sent the timber from the forests of Dalmatia, by way of Alexandria and the Nile. Venetian carpenters built the fleet, which was strongly manned with choice Turkish soldiers.

‡ Sousa says, his countrymen lost 140 men in this engagement, and the enemy 600. Unfortunately, we cannot check the Portuguese accounts by those of their foes, because the Mohammedan historians of the Deccan have rarely thought fit to narrate their contests with these "foreign idolaters," whom they affected to treat with contemptuous indifference.

by Alphonso Albuquerque, who arrived in 1506, bearing a commission as governor-general of India.* Almeida positively refused to resign his command until he should have avenged his son's death by the destruction of the hostile fleet. Being supported in his disobedience to the royal mandate by several leading officers, he refused to allow Albuquerque even to take part in the intended expedition, and sailed off to attack Dabul, a leading emporium, which had zealously embraced the Egyptian cause. The troops disembarked at Diu, notwithstanding the discharge of powerful batteries; for these, having rather a high range, passed over the soldiers heads as they landed in boats, without inflicting any injury. Once on shore, a deadly conflict commenced with the bodies of armed citizens who blocked up the narrow passages to the town: these were at length overpowered; and by the orders of the merciless victor, an indiscriminate slaughter ensued. The streets streamed with blood, and the distracted multitudes fled to the caves of the neighbouring mountains, finding that even buildings consecrated to the service of the One Universal Lord afforded no refuge from the lust and fury of the savage men who dared to cast dishonour on the great name of the Redeemer, by styling themselves disciples and propagators of a faith whose very essence is peace and love. This disgraceful scene had a suitable conclusion; for Almeida, unable to withdraw his troops from their horrible employment, resorted to a violent method of restoring some degree of discipline, by causing the town to be set on fire. The flames extended rapidly over the light timber roofs, and after reducing the stately city to a pile of smoking wood and ashes, reached the harbour. The native shipping was destroyed; the Portuguese vessels with difficulty escaped, and proceeded to the Gulf of Cambay. Here Almeida attacked the combined fleet, and gained a great but costly victory. The Mameluk portion was completely destroyed, and Malek Eiaz compelled to sue for peace. Almeida stipulated for the surrender of Meer Hocem; but Eiaz indignantly refused to betray his ally, and would offer no further concession as the price of peace than the freedom of all European captives. Having no power of enforcing other terms, Almeida was compelled to accept these; but unsoftened by the kindness which the surviving companions of his son had received from their brave captor, the Portuguese admiral filled the measure of his barbarities by causing his prisoners to be shut up in the prize vessels and burnt with them. "Many," says Faria y Sousa, "judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen to be a just punishment of that crime." If so, it was not long delayed. On the return of Almeida to Cochin, a contest seemed about to commence with Albuquerque for the possession of the supreme authority. At this crisis, Ferdinand Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, arrived in command of fifteen ships and a large body of troops, having been opportunely dispatched by Emanuel, with powers to act in the very probable conjuncture which had actually arisen. By his mediation, Almeida was induced to resign the viceroyalty, and set sail for his native country, which he never lived to reach,—he, who had brought so many to an untimely end, himself suffering a violent death at the hands of some Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, of whose cattle the Portuguese had attempted to take forcible possession.†

Albuquerque was now left to carry out unchecked his ambitious schemes. He commenced by the assault of Calicut (January, 1510), in conjunction with Coutinho, who, being about to return to Portugal, vehemently urged his claim to be allowed to take the lead on this occasion. As the city could only be approached through narrow avenues, amidst thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance, at day-break on the following morning, in separate divisions. That of Albuquerque took the lead, and obtained possession of a fortified palace (previously fixed upon as the first object of assault) before the rival party reached the spot. Coutinho, greatly annoyed at being thus anticipated, reproached Albuquerque with a breach of faith, and declaring that he would not be again forestalled, made his way through the streets of Calicut to the chief palace, which lay on the other side of the city, and formed a little town, enclosed by a wall. Being the only regular fortification in the place, it was defended by the main strength of the army; but Coutinho succeeded in forcing open the gates, and acquired possession of the whole enclosure. Flushed with victory, he gave his men full

* The office of viceroy and governor-general was the same, though the title differed.

† Vide *British Possessions in Africa*, vol. iii., p. 4.

license to plunder, and withdrew, to seek rest and refreshment in the state apartments. This over-confidence afforded the Hindoos time to recover from their consternation; and a cry, uttered by one of the chief nairs, passed from mouth to mouth, to the distance of several miles, until 30,000 armed men had assembled, and in turn, surprised the invaders. Albuquerque, who occupied the city, vainly strove to maintain the communication with the fleet: he was hemmed in with his troops in the narrow lanes and avenues, and exposed to a continued shower of arrows and stones, one of which felled him to the ground. The soldiers set fire to the adjacent buildings, and escaped to the ships, bearing away their commander in a state of unconsciousness. Coutinho was less fortunate. When, after neglecting repeated warnings, at last roused by the clash of arms to the actual state of the case, he sprang to the head of his troops, and fought with the fury of desperation, striving not to retain possession of the place—for that was manifestly impossible—but only to cut a path to the shore. In this the majority of the common soldiers succeeded; but Coutinho, with Vasco Sylviera, and other nobles of distinction, were left dead on the field. Out of 1,600 Portuguese (according to De Barros), eighty were killed, and 300 wounded. This disastrous commencement, so far from checking, only served to increase the desire of Albuquerque for territorial dominion, in opposition to the policy previously pursued by Almeida, who had considered that factories, guarded by a powerful fleet, would better suit the purposes of commerce, and be less likely to excite enmity.

Disappointed in the hope of gaining possession of the capital of the zamorin, he looked round for some other city which might form the nucleus of a new empire; for as yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, the Portuguese had but a precarious tenure, even of the land on which their few forts and factories were erected. A useful, though not creditable ally, Timojee, a Hindoo pirate, directed his attention to Goa, then comprehended in the kingdom of Beejapoor. The city was taken by surprise in the early part of 1510; recaptured a few months later by Yusuf Adil Shah, in person; and finally conquered by Albuquerque, at the close of the same year. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; and the after-slaughter must have been terrific,—since, according to Sousa, "not one Moor was left alive in the island."* The Hindoos were treated very differently; for Albuquerque, with a politic view to the consolidation of his newly-acquired power, confirmed them in their possessions, and promoted the intermarriage of their women with the Portuguese by handsome dowries, at the same time proving his confidence in his new subjects, by employing them in both civil and military capacities. A large quantity of cannon and military stores were captured in Goa, and probably assisted in furnishing the fortifications raised by him in that city; and also in fitting out an armament, comprising 800 Portuguese and 600 Indians, with which Albuquerque proceeded to attack Malacca. This kingdom was then of great importance, being what Singapore is now—namely, the chief mart of the commerce carried on between Hindoostan, China, and the eastern islands. The inhabitants made a vigorous resistance with cannon and floats of wild-fire, and defended their streets by mining with gunpowder; but they were overpowered by the Portuguese, who gained complete possession of the city, and immediately began to erect a strong fort from the ruins of the shattered palaces, and take other measures for the permanent establishment of their supremacy. Negotiations were opened with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; and friendly embassies are even asserted to have been dispatched from these countries in return. The restless sword of Albuquerque next found employment in the defence of Goa, where tranquillity was no sooner restored, than he resumed his plans of distant conquest; and after two unsuccessful attempts upon Aden, assembled 1,500 European and 600 Asiatic troops, in pursuit of the darling object of his ambition—the conquest of Ormuz, the famous emporium of the Persian Gulf. This he appears to have accomplished with little difficulty, by working upon the fears and weakness of the sovereign, who felt quite incapable of combating a formidable force, led by a commander whose ability was more than equalled by his ruthless severity;† and Ormuz, notwithstanding the counter-

* *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i., p. 172.

† After making large allowance for the barbarities common to his age and nation, Albuquerque seems to have been more than usually cruel in his punishments. Among many instances, may be cited that of his sending Portuguese renegades back to their country with their ears, noses, right-hands, and thumbs of the left hand cut off. His passions were

intrigues of the Persian ambassador, fell an easy prize into the hands of the Portuguese. Albuquerque, delighted with his success, prepared to return to Goa, there to superintend the consolidation of the dominion he had gained, and at the same time recruit his own strength, after toils calculated to increase the burden of advancing years. These anticipations were suddenly dashed to the ground by tidings which reached him while sailing along the coast of Cambay. He who had superseded Almeida, was now himself to be ignominiously displaced by a new governor—Lope Soarez, who, to make the blow more galling, was his personal and bitter foe. There was no letter, nor any mark of respect or sympathy from the king, and no reason assigned for his removal; probably none existed beyond the malice of his foes, in suggesting that the powerful viceroy might not long continue a subject. New officers were nominated to the chief vessels and forts, selected from the party known to be hostile to his interests; and even men whom he had sent home prisoners for heinous crimes, returned with high appointments. The adherents of Albuquerque rallied round him, and strove to induce him to follow the example of many Asiatic governors, by asserting his independence; but he rejected the temptation, declaring that the only course now left him consistent with his honour, which through life had been his first care, was to die. Then giving way to profound melancholy, and refusing food or medicine, he soon found the death he ardently desired, expiring upon the bar of Goa (which he had called his land of promise) in December, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age. While writhing under the torment of a wounded spirit, he was prevailed upon to address a few proud and pathetic lines of farewell to his sovereign, commending to his favour the son whom he had left in Portugal. "As for the affairs of India," he added, "they will speak for themselves and me." This was no empty boast; for in five years, Albuquerque had raised the maritime power of his nation in the East, to a point which, in spite of many changes and conflicts, it never far surpassed. The prize thus acquired was little less than the monopoly of commerce between Europe and India, which was maintained for upwards of a century. Faria y Sousa, indeed, boasts that the empire of his countrymen stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent; but this simply signifies, that upon this immense sea-line, they alone, of the nations of Europe, had established factories. Of these there were, in all, about thirty—in some cases 1,000 miles apart; and of the surrounding country they rarely possessed anything beyond that which their walls encircled. In India, Goa was the great seat of their influence: they there obtained possession of an area, extending, at a subsequent period, over above 1,000 square miles. The town of Cochin may be said to have been under their control, and probably also that of Cananore; but both these small states continued to retain their native rajahs. Peace had been concluded with Calicut in 1513, and a fortified factory erected there: they possibly, also, established a few insignificant trading depôts on other parts of the coast. Had the management of affairs continued to be entrusted to such men as Albuquerque, it is probable that the struggle, already commenced with the Mohammedans by the seizure of Goa, would have continued until the Portuguese had really acquired extensive territorial sovereignty; but as it was, the high-sounding title of the viceroy or governor-general of India, was quite inconsistent with his actual position as ruler of a few scattered settlements, held at all times on a very precarious tenure.

Lope Soarez, the new governor, presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Albuquerque was a man of middle stature, with a long white beard, which, for a characteristic reason, had been suffered to grow until it reached his girdle, where he wore it knotted.* When not clouded by fierce and too frequent paroxysms of passion, his countenance was pleasing, and his manner

unrestrained, after his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, was slain in action; this youth having, according to Faria y Sousa, exercised a very salutary influence over his temper through his affections.

* When on his way to supersede Almeida, he attacked Ormuz, and there committed great cruelties, such as cutting off the hands, ears, and noses of persons carrying provisions into the city. Being compelled to raise the siege by the valour of Khojeh Atar, the governor or regent for the young king, the enraged Albuquerque swore, that his beard should never be cut, until he should sit, for that purpose, on the back of his adversary. The opportunity never appears to have arrived (for the name of Khojeh Atar is not even mentioned in the account of the eventual seizure of Goa); and Albuquerque carried to his grave a mortifying memorial of the folly of rash vows.—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. i., p. 178.)

frank and courteous: to the native princes especially he maintained a respectful demeanour, which rendered him popular even with those who had little real cause for regarding him with a friendly eye. Soarez, according to Faria y Sousa, "was a comely man, with very red hair," and a haughty and repulsive bearing. His covetous and grasping conduct set an example which was speedily followed; and the whole body of the military began to trade, or rather plunder, each one on his own account, with an utter disregard for the public service. The main-spring of the mischief was in Portugal, where, instead of selecting men of tried ability and rectitude, birth or patronage became the first requisite for an office, in which the formula of installation required from the successful candidate a solemn asseveration, that he had made no interest to procure that employment. "How needless the question!" exclaims Faria y Sousa, "how false the oath!" Even if a good governor were appointed by a happy accident, or in a moment of urgent necessity, he could hope to effect little permanent reform; for in the event of his sending home officers charged with the most outrageous offences, they, if men of wealth, however acquired, were sure of a favourable hearing at court, and their representations would probably succeed even in procuring the downfall of their more righteous accuser.

It is quite unnecessary to follow in detail the hostilities in which the Portuguese became involved with the natives of every place where they had established themselves, being, in some cases, completely expelled; in others, barely tolerated: thus fulfilling the prophecy of one of the despised Hindoos,—that "whatever they gained as courageous soldiers, they would lose as covetous merchants;"* and it might with truth have been added, as persecuting bigots: for the injunctions given to the eight Franciscan friars attached to Cabral's expedition, to "carry fire and the sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching,"† were not neglected by their successors.

The administration of Soarez, though generally disastrous,‡ was distinguished by the erection of a fort and factory in the territory of the king of Columbo, in Ceylon (A.D. 1517), from whom, though he had from the first traded amicably with them, the Portuguese now exacted a yearly tribute of 1,200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants. It is probable this payment could not be enforced, as the fort itself was abandoned, in 1524, as not worth the keeping, by Vasco de Gama, who was sent out as viceroy in that year. His tenure of office lasted but three months, being terminated by death on Christmas Eve. Sousa describes De Gama as a man of "middle size, somewhat gross, and of a ruddy complexion;" of a dauntless disposition; capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue; prompt and resolute in the execution of justice. Even during his mortal sickness the veteran discoverer zealously exerted himself to put down piracy by sea and peculation by land, preparatory to the execution of greater designs; but the temporary check given to long-permitted malpractices was soon over-stepped; and the dissensions arising from the unbridled lust and avarice of the Portuguese reached such a height, that had the natives combined together against them, their total expulsion would seem to have been very practicable. The zamorin succeeded in driving them from Calicut, which they quitted after performing the humiliating task of destroying their own fortifications.

Nuno da Cunha was sent out in 1529. He was then forty-two years of age, tall, and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and black beard, but disfigured by the loss of an eye. His reputation for justice and moderation, though probably deserved, so far as his countrymen were concerned, ill accords with the character of his foreign policy; for during his administration a series of unprovoked outrages of the most disgraceful character were committed on the territories of neighbouring rulers. The coast of Guzerat was ravaged in 1530; towns and villages, including Surat,§ Damaun, and others of note, were plundered and burned; the adjacent land bereft of every semblance of cultivation; and the wretched inhabitants carried off as slaves.‖

* Sousa adds, "Who was most barbarous—he that said this, or they who did what he said?"

† *De Barros* and *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The wrath excited by the piratical seizure of two ships, caused the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal, where they wished to establish factories.

§ Surat (according to Sousa), when attacked in 1530, contained "ten thousand families, mostly handicrafts, and all of no courage:" it was taken almost without resistance, "and nothing left in it that had life, or was of value. Then the city, and some ships that lay in the arsenal, were burnt."

‖ The result of a single incursion on the coast of Diu was "the obtainment of 4,000 slaves and an

In the two following years an expedition was carried out, which, though unsuccessful in its main object—the taking of Diu—resulted in the capture of the strong island of Beth, seven leagues distant: the whole of the towns on the Maharashtra coast, from Chicklee Tarapoor to Bassein, were burned, and contributions levied from Tanna and Bombay. The contest between Bahadur Shah and the Moguls, drove the former into a compromise with his European foes, whose assistance against the emperor, Humayun, he purchased by granting the long-desired permission to build a fort at Diu,* and by the cession of Bassein in perpetuity, with authority to levy duties on the trade with the Red Sea. The circumstances connected with the assassination of Bahadur by the Portuguese have been already repeatedly mentioned.† The immediate consequence was their occupation of Diu, where they obtained some treasure and an extraordinary amount of cannon and military stores.

In September, 1538, a determined attempt to recover Diu was made by a force levied in Guzerat, through the exertions of a Moorish chief, named Khojeh Zofar, and supported by a squadron dispatched by the Grand Seignior, under the command of Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The small and sickly garrison of the fort defended themselves with desperate valour; and the women, incited by the enthusiasm of Donna Isabella de Vega (the wife of the governor), and others, bore their part in the danger and fatigue, by taking upon themselves the task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Attempts to carry the fortress by storm were continued during two months, and the besieged were well nigh exhausted, only forty men remaining fit for duty, when, to their joyful surprise, want of union in the camp of the enemy, added probably to ignorance of the straits to which they were reduced, led Solyman to abandon the enterprise on the very eve of success. During his way to Egypt he committed great cruelties on the Portuguese whom he found at different Arabian ports, putting 140 of them to death, and causing their heads, ears, and noses to be salted, and so preserved for the gratification of the Grand Turk. This at least is the story told by Sousa, who departs from his usual moderation in describing this formidable foe to his nation, representing him as ill-favoured, short and corpulent —"more like a beast than a man." Although eighty years of age, and unable to rise without the assistance of four servants, he obtained the command of the recent expedition, by reason of the enormous wealth gathered by oppression, which enabled him to furnish the shipping at his own cost. At length a career of crime was terminated by suicide, committed in a paroxysm of envy and wounded pride.

The reason of succour not having been dispatched from Goa to Diu, was the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the recall of Nuno da Cunha, whose ten years' administration was brought to a close as abrupt and humiliating as that of Albuquerque. His aggressive policy is quite unjustifiable; but as King John III. was little disposed to be critical on that account, the perfect disinterestedness and energy of the governor had merited honour rather than disgrace.

Like many other of the world's great men, who have thought to serve their country at the expense of duty to God and the common rights of mankind, Nuno discovered his error too late: he fell sick, and died on the voyage to Portugal, the body being committed to the deep, in compliance with the command of the disappointed statesman, that his ungrateful country should not have his bones.

The next memorable epoch in Indo-Portuguese annals, is formed by the administration of Martin Alonzo de Sousa, which commenced in 1542, and lasted about three years, during which brief period, his fierce, bigotted, and grasping conduct completely neutralised the beneficial effect of the efforts of his immediate predecessor, Stephen de Gama.‡ War again commenced with the neighbouring rulers: cities were destroyed,

infinite booty." The fleet, as reviewed in 1531, consisted of "above four hundred sail, many large, more indifferent, and the greatest number small; several of them were only sutlers, fitted out by the natives for private gain," and manned by 3,600 soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese seamen, 2,000 Malabars and Canarese, 8,000 slaves, and 5,000 seamen.—(*Sousa*, vol. i. p. 347.) Nuno is also described as employing as sailors "1,000 Lascarines of the country."

* Sousa relates a feat, performed on this occasion by a Portuguese, named Botello, who, hoping to regain the favour of King John by being the first to communicate the welcome news, set out from India with five Europeans and some slaves, in a barque, 16 feet long, 9 broad, and 4½ deep. The slaves mutinied, and were all slain; the Europeans held on their course without sailors or pilot, and after enduring great hardships, arrived at Lisbon.

† *Vide* preceding section, pp. 85—103.

‡ The son of Vasco held sway during two years. In evidence of his disinterestedness, it is said that he left India 40,000 crowns poorer than he entered it.

together with every living thing they contained;* temples were despoiled, and cruelty and corruption reigned undisguised. François Xavier, one of the earliest Jesuits, had come to India with De Sousa. He exerted himself strenuously in representing the impolicy of the course pursued, which, if not checked, threatened to cause the downfall of Portuguese power throughout Asia; but his arguments appear to have been unheeded. The king of Guzerat, forced into a renewal of hostilities, co-operated with his old ally Khojeh Zofar, who again besieged the fort of Diu, A.D. 1545. The blockade lasted eight months, and was carried on after the death of Khojeh Zofar (whose head and hand were carried away by a cannon-ball) by his son, entitled Rumi Khan. Provisions became so scarce, that nauseous vermin were used for food; while "a crow taken upon the dead bodies was a dainty for the sick, and sold for five crowns." The ammunition was almost spent, and the soldiers exhausted with fatigue. The women displayed the same determination as on a previous occasion, and the fort was maintained until the new governor, Don Juan de Castro, arrived to its relief. On his way he captured several ships in the vicinity of Damaun, and "cutting the Moors that were in them in pieces, threw them into the mouths of the rivers, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast." Ansote and other towns were destroyed, and "the finest women of the Brahmins and Banians slaughtered." In fact, these butchers spared neither youth nor beauty, age nor infirmity; the sanctity of cast, nor the innocence of childhood. After raising the siege of the fort, the city of Diu became the scene of a fierce conflict, in which, when the Portuguese wavered, the favourite expedient was resorted to of holding up a crucifix as an incitement to renewed exertion. The sword was a favourite means of conversion with Romish missionaries; priestly robes and warlike weapons were quite compatible; and, on the present occasion, one Fra Antonio played a leading part. The result is best told in the words of the historian above quoted, and may serve to illustrate the manner in which hostilities were conducted by his countrymen, under the personal leadership of a governor whose administration is generally considered one of peculiar prosperity and honour. An arm of the desecrated symbol was shattered in the contest, upon which "the priest, calling upon the men to revenge that sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that having done incredible execution, they drove the enemy to the city, who still gave way, facing us. The first that entered the city with them was Don Juan, then Don Alvaro and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver; other things, though of value, were slighted as cumbersome. * * * Of the Portuguese, 100 were killed; others say only thirty-four: of the enemy, 5,000 [including Rumi Khan and others of note.] Free plunder was allowed. * * * There were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which, with the lesser, made up 200, and a vast quantity of ammunition."†

After this "glorious victory," thirty ships were sent to devastate the Cambay coast: the people fled in alarm from the burning towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountain caves. The inhabitants of a city, called Goga, while sleeping in imagined security, a league distant from their ruined homes, were surprised at night, and all put to the sword. The cattle in the fields were either killed or ham-strung. In the various vessels captured along the coast of Baroach, the same system of general massacre was carried out; and the groves of palm-trees, which afford, in many places, the sole article of subsistence, were systematically destroyed.

The governor returned in triumph to Goa, crowned with laurel, preceded by Fra Antonio and his crucifix, and followed by 600 prisoners in chains, the royal standard of Cambay sweeping the ground. The streets were hung and carpeted with silk, scattered over with gold and silver leaves. The ladies threw flowers at the feet of the conqueror, and sprinkled sweet-scented waters as he passed their windows. This ovation, whether designed to gratify individual vanity,

* The rani, or queen of a small raj or kingdom, situated on the Canarese coast, having refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese, was punished by the destruction of her capital, Batecala. "The city," says Faria y Sousa, "ran with the blood of all living creatures before it was burnt; then the country was laid waste, and all the woods cut down."—(Vol ii., p. 74.) Other small Hindoo states are mentioned by Sousa as personally defended by female sovereigns.

† *Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., pp. 110 to 113.

or with the idea of making an impression on the natives, was rendered the more unseemly by the fact, that Don Fernando, the son of the governor, had perished during the siege of Diu. The sway of De Castro lasted only from 1545 to 1548. Notwithstanding his sanguinary proceedings, he appears to have been solicitous for the interests of commerce, and perfectly disinterested; for, instead of having amassed wealth, like many other governors of equally short standing, he was so poor, that in his last illness provision was made for him out of the public revenue.* The cause of his death, at forty-seven years of age, is said by Faria y Sousa to have been "grief for the miserable estate to which India was reduced"—a statement reconcilable with other accounts of this period, only by supposing that amid seeming prosperity, De Castro foresaw the end of an oppressive and corrupt system.

The invasion of Sinde, in 1556, under the administration of Francisco Barreto, is alleged to have been provoked by the fickleness of its ruler, who first solicited and then refused Portuguese co-operation, thus affording a pretext for his intended auxiliaries to pillage his capital (Tatta), kill 8,000 persons, and destroy by fire "to the value of above two millions of gold," after loading their vessels with one of the richest booties they had ever taken in India. Eight days were spent in ravaging the country on both sides of the Indus, after which the fleet returned, having, it would appear, scarcely lost a man. The next exploit was the burning of Dabul and the neighbouring villages, in revenge for the hostility of the king of Beejapoor.

Religious persecution, which seems to have slumbered for a time, awoke with renewed ferocity, and was directed rather against what the Romish priests chose to call heresy, than absolute paganism. An account of the alleged mission of St. Thomas the apostle, and of the Christian church spoken of by Cosmas,† in the sixth century, properly belongs to the section on the religious condition of India. In this place it is sufficient to say, that both on the Malabar coast and in the kingdom of Ethiopia—including the state whose ruler attained such extraordinary celebrity under the name of Prester John—the Portuguese found Christian communities who steadily refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; rejected the use of images, together with all dogmas regarding transubstantiation, extreme unction, celibacy of priests, &c., and asked for blessings, whether temporal or eternal, only in the name of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. These "ancient Christians," says Sousa, "disturbed such as were converted from paganism" by Zavier and his fellow-labourers: the Jews also proved a stumbling-block. In 1544, Jerome Diaz, a Portuguese physician of Jewish extraction, was burnt for heresy; and probably many others of less note shared his fate. In 1560, the first archbishop of Goa was sent from Lisbon, accompanied by the first inquisitors, for the suppression of Jews and heretics. Throughout the existence of this horrible tribunal, crimes of the most fearful character were perpetrated; and in the minds alike of the denounced schismatics and of pagans, a deep loathing was excited against their persecutors. The overthrow of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuggur, in 1564, by the combined efforts of the four Mohammedan Deccani states, left these latter at liberty to turn their attention more fully towards their European foes; and in 1571, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur. The zamorin of Calicut likewise joined them; but from some distrust in his own mind, long withheld his personal co-operation. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, sustained great loss, and after ten months was compelled to withdraw without having accomplished anything. Mortezza Nizam Shah sustained a mortifying defeat at Choul, and was glad to make peace with the triumphant Portuguese. The zamorin, though last in the field, had the best success, obtaining the surrender of the fort Chale (a few miles from Calicut) from Don George de Castro, who, although eighty years of age, was beheaded at Goa by orders from Portugal, on the ground of having surrendered his charge without sufficient reason.

A change was made in 1571 in the duties of the governor, by the division of authority over Portuguese affairs in Asia into three parts: the first, that of *India*, being made to comprise their possessions situated between Cape Guardafui and Ceylon;‡ the

* He died in the arms of François Xavier. "In his private cabinet was found a bloody discipline (? a scourge) and three royals, which was all his treasure."—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Surnamed *Indicopleustes*, or the Indian voyager.

‡ The proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon are purposely omitted here: they will be narrated in the history of that island.

second, styled *Monomotapa*, extending from Cape Corrientes to Guardafui; the third, or *Malacca*, from Pegu to China. The sway of Portugal was now, however, nearly ended; she had misused the trust committed to her care, and was punished by the suspension of her independence, after maintaining it 500 years. King Sebastian fell in Africa, in 1578, and about two years later, Philip II. of Spain procured the reannexation of Portugal, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Isabella. In India, the change was only from bad to worse: the furnace of persecution was heated seven times hotter than before. The Syrian Christians of Malabar were cruelly persecuted, their bishop seized and sent to Lisbon, and their churches pillaged; their books, including ancient copies of the Scriptures, burned, while Archbishop Menezes marched, singing a hymn, round the flames (1599.) The Inquisition increased in power; and, perhaps, among all the impious and hateful sacrifices offered up by men given over to dark delusions, never yet did idolatrous pagan, or professed devil-worshipper, pollute this fair earth by any crime of so deep a dye as the hideous *Auto da Fé*, usually celebrated on the first Sundays in Advent.* Dellon, a French physician, who languished two years in the dungeons of Goa, has given a life-like picture of the horrible ceremonials of which he was an eye-witness; and describes his "extreme joy" at learning that his sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.† He speaks of himself as having heard every morning, for many weeks, the shrieks of unfortunate victims undergoing the *question;* and he judged that the number of prisoners must be very large, because the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building, enabled him to count the number of doors opened at the hours of meals. At the appointed time, the captives were assembled by their black-robed jailors, and clothed in the *san benito*, a garb of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew before and behind. The relapsed heretics were dressed in the *samarra*, a grey robe, with the portrait of the doomed wearer painted upon it, surrounded by burning torches, flames, and demons; and on their heads were placed sugar-loaf-shaped caps, called *carrochas*, on which devils and flames were also depicted. The bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, and the gloomy procession commenced—men and women indiscriminately mixed, walking with bleeding feet over the sharp stones, and eagerly gazed on by innumerable crowds assembled from all parts of India to behold this "act of faith" of a European nation. Sentence was pronounced before the altar in the church of St. Francis, the grand inquisitor and his counsellors sitting on one side, the viceroy and his court on the other; and each victim received the final intimation of his doom by a slight blow upon the breast from the alcaide. Then followed their immolation, the viceroy and court still looking on while the prisoners were bound to the stake in the midst of the faggots, and hearing, as a periodical occurrence, the shrieks and groans of these unhappy creatures. The vengeance of the Inquisition ceased not even here: the day after the execution, the portraits of the murdered men were carried to the church of the Dominicans, and there kept in memory of their fate; and the bones of such as had died in prison, were likewise preserved in small chests painted over with flames and demons.‡

These are dark deeds which none aspiring to the pure and holy name of Christian can record without a feeling of deep humiliation; but they may not be shrouded in oblivion, since they furnish abundant reason why the mutilated gospel preached by Romish priests made so little permanent impression in India; and, moreover, afford enduring evidence that England, and every other protesting nation, had solid grounds for severance from the polluted and rotten branch which produced such fruit as "the holy Inquisition." In Europe, as in Asia, a light had been thrown on the true nature of the iron yoke, with which an ambitious priesthood had dared to fetter nations in the name of the Divine Master, whose precepts their deeds of pride and cruelty so flagrantly belied. The Reformation, faulty as were some of the instruments concerned in its establishment, had yet taught men to look to the written gospel for those laws of liberty and love which nations and individuals are

* The portion of the gospel read on that day mentions the last judgment; and the Inquisition pretended, by the ceremony, to exhibit an emblem of that awful event.—Wallace's *Memoirs of India*, p. 394.

† Dellon was accused of heresy for having spoken disparagingly of the adoration of images. He had also grievously offended by calling the inquisitors fallible men, and the "holy office" a fearful tribunal which France had acted wisely in rejecting.

‡ Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. i., chap. iv

alike bound to observe. Unhappily, this great lesson was but imperfectly learned; for although withheld rights have ever formed a popular theme, the responsibilities those rights involve cannot be expected to commend themselves, save to conscientious and enlightened minds. Thus it proved easier to renounce the dogmas of popery, than to root out the vices it had fostered or permitted; and the very people who had most cause for gratitude in being delivered from the oppressive and arrogant dominion of Spain, became themselves examples of an equally selfish and short-sighted policy.

At this period there were many signs in the commercial horizon, that neither papal bulls, nor the more reasonable respect paid to the claims of discovery and preoccupation, could any longer preserve the monopoly of the Indian trade to Spain and Portugal. Several causes combined for its destruction. The conquest and settlement of America afforded full employment for the ambition and ferocity of Philip II.; and his Asiatic territories were left in the hands of rulers, who, for the most part, thought of nothing but the gratification of their own passions, and the accumulation of wealth;—which latter, by pillage of every description, and by the shameless sale of all offices and positions, they usually contrived to do in the period of two to three years,* which formed the average duration of their tenure of office. It may be readily imagined that the measures of his predecessor were rarely carried out by any governor; but all seem to have agreed in conniving at the most notorious infraction of the general rule which forbade any Portuguese to traffic on his own account, as an unpardonable infringement on the exclusive rights of his sovereign. Corruption, mismanagement, and the growing aversion of the natives, gradually diminished the trade, until the average annual arrival in Lisbon of ships from India was reduced from five to about three; and the annual value of the cargoes decreased in proportion to about a million crowns. Thus, notwithstanding the royal monopoly of spices, Philip soon found that the expense of maintaining the various Indian governments† exceeded the commercial profits: he therefore made over the exclusive privilege of trading to India, in the year 1587, to a company of Portuguese merchants, on consideration of a certain annual payment; reserving, however, the appointment of governors, the command of the army, and every description of territorial revenue and power. This change in the state of affairs created great excitement and dissatisfaction at Goa. It was evident that the company, if able and willing to enforce the rights bestowed upon them, would reduce the profits of the various officials to their legitimate bounds; and the very thought was intolerable to a community who, "from the viceroy to the private soldier, were all illicit traders, and occasionally pirates."‡ The general disorganisation was increased, in 1594, by the arrival of a papal bull and royal command for the forcible conversion of infidels; which was in effect, free leave and license to every member of the Romish communion to torture and destroy all who differed from them on doctrinal points, and to pillage pagodas or churches, public or private dwellings, at pleasure. Such a course of proceeding could scarcely fail to bring about its own termination; and the strong grasp of tyranny and persecution, though more fierce, was yet rapidly growing weaker, and would probably have been shaken off by the natives themselves, even in the absence of the European rivals who now appeared on the scene. England, under the fostering care of Elizabeth, had already manifested something of the energy which, under the Divine blessing, was to secure to her the supremacy of the ocean; to extend her sway over ancient and populous nations; and to lay the foundation of the greatest colonial empire the world ever saw. This puissance was still in the embryo, and England a little kingdom with a limited trade, when her soldiers and merchants began the

* From the arrival of Almeida in 1505, to 1640 (the period at which Sousa terminates his history), there were some fifty viceroys or governors, of whom a very large proportion (about one-third) died in India or on their voyage home.

† The possessions of Spain and Portugal, at this time, were the forts of Diul (on the Indus) and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damaun; the town and castle of Choul; a factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette, and the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort of Goa; and factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, (on the Coromandel coast); and several commercial posts in Bengal. They had also the port of Cochin; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkseylon; held the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, and had, moreover, established themselves at several commanding points in the island of Ceylon. (Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*, vol. i. p. 24.)

‡ Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 32.

struggle with the combined forces of Spain and Portugal, in alliance with a people whose newly-acquired independence had originated in the reaction caused by the corruption and cruelty of the Spanish government, represented by such men as the Duke of Alva, and the bigotry of Rome, represented by such institutions as the Inquisition.*

Rise of Dutch Power.—It was only in the year 1579 that the Netherlanders ventured to defy the power of Philip, and formed themselves into a separate government, which they did not establish without a desperate and prolonged conflict, aided zealously by Elizabeth. Their after-progress was marvellous; and before neighbouring countries had well learned to recognise their new position, the "poor distressed people of Holland" had changed that designation for the "High and Mighty States, the United Provinces." The course that materially aided their rapid advancement was forced upon them by the arbitrary policy of Philip. Having very little land, they had ever mainly depended for subsistence on fisheries, trade, and navigation. While Portugal was a separate kingdom they resorted thither for East India produce, of which they became the carriers to all the northern nations of Europe; and after the annexation of that kingdom to Spain, their ships continued to sail to Lisbon under neutral colours, at which the Portuguese gladly connived. But Philip, hoping to lay the axe to the root of the mercantile prosperity which enabled his former subjects to sustain a costly and sanguinary contest with his mighty armies, compelled the Portuguese to renounce this profitable intercourse,—laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, seized the cargoes, imprisoned the merchants and ship-masters, or delivered them over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and even forced the mariners and others into his hated service. The Dutch, driven to desperation by an enemy from whom they had all to fear and nothing to hope, incited by the able counsel of Prince Maurice, resolved to attempt procuring the necessary supplies of spices direct from Asia.

With the double inducement of avoiding the fleets which guarded the approach to the Indian seas, and of finding a much shorter route, the Dutch (following the example of various English navigators) strove to discover a north-eastern passage to India,† and in the years 1594,–'5, and '6, sent three expeditions for this purpose. All failed, and the last adventurers were compelled to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla. In the meantime some Dutch merchants, not caring to wait the doubtful issue of these attempts, formed themselves into a company, and resolved to brave the opposition of Philip, by commencing a private trade with India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope. Four ships were dispatched for this purpose, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman,‡ a Dutch merchant or navigator, well acquainted with the nature and conduct of the existing Indian traffic; and the coast of Bantam (Java) was reached without hindrance, save from the elements.§ Having obtained cargoes, partly by purchase from the natives, but chiefly by plunder from the Portuguese, Houtman returned to the Texel, where, notwithstanding the loss of one of the vessels—a very frequent occurrence in those days,‖—the safe arrival of

* Before the people rose against their oppressors, 100,000 of them were judicially slaughtered—the men by fire and sword, and the women by being buried alive.—(*Grotii Annal. Belg.* pp. 15—17.)

† Along the shores of Norway, Russia, and Tartary, to China, and thence into the Indian Ocean.

‡ The manner in which he acquired this knowledge is variously related:—by Savary, as obtained in the Portuguese service; by other authorities, during a long imprisonment at Lisbon; Raynal says for debt; Sallengre, in consequence of the suspicions excited by his inquiries on commercial subjects. His freedom was procured by payment of a heavy fine, subscribed on his behalf by Dutch merchants. (*See* different accounts, commented on in Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, note to p. 45.)

§ Two of the vessels were 400 tons burthen, carrying each eighty-four men, six large brass cannon, fourteen lesser guns, four great "patereroes" and eight little ones, with "muskers" and small guns in proportion; the third, of 200 tons, had fifty-nine men, six large cannon, with lesser ones in proportion; the fourth, of thirty tons, with twenty-four men and cannon: the whole carrying 249 mariners. The fleet sailed from the Texel the 2nd of April, 1595; reached Teneriffe on the 19th; St. Jago on the 26th; crossed the equator on the 14th of June; on the 2nd of August doubled the Cape of Good Hope (seamen in great distress with scurvy), and remained some days on the coast: in September, October, and November, the ships were at different parts of Madagascar, and sailed thence on the 1st of December towards Java, which was reached in the middle of January, 1596; thus terminating the first Dutch voyage to the Indian seas.—(See *Collection of Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company.* London translation, 1808.)

‖ Linschoten says, that almost every year one or two Portuguese East-Indiamen were lost. Faria y Sousa gives an account of 956 vessels, which sailed from Portugal for India, from 1412 (when Prince Henry first attempted the discovery of a passage by

the remainder was welcomed as an auspicious commencement of the undertaking. Several new companies were formed;—the number of ships annually increased,* and succeeded in obtaining cargoes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, who strove, but for the most part ineffectually, to prejudice the natives against their rivals; their own proceedings having been so outrageous, that any prospect of a check or counteraction seemed rather to be courted than avoided. In 1600, not five years after the first expedition under Houtman, forty vessels, of from 400 to 600 tons, were fitted out by the Dutch. Hitherto the Spanish monarch had made no effort to intercept their fleet; but in the following year he dispatched an armament of thirty ships of war, by which eight outward-bound vessels, under the command of Spilbergen, were attacked near the Cape Verd Islands. The skill and bravery of the defendants enabled them to offer effectual resistance, and they succeeded in making their way to India without any serious loss. Philip did not again attempt a naval contest, but made military force the basis of his subsequent efforts for their subjugation; prohibiting them, under pain of corporal punishment, from trading with the Spanish possessions, either in the East or West Indies. These threats proved only an incitement to more determined efforts; and it being evident that the combination of the several Dutch companies would tend to strengthen them against the common foe, they were united, in 1602, by the States-General, and received a charter bestowing on them, for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right of trade with India, together with authority to commission all functionaries, civil and military, to form what establishments they pleased, and make war or peace in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From regard to the claims of the proprietors of the minor associations, the new company was divided into six chambers or boards of management, of which Amsterdam and Middleburg were the chief, their share in the funds subscribed being proportionably represented by twenty-five and twelve directors; the remaining chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen having each seven directors: making a total of sixty-five persons, with a capital of 6,440,200 guilders, or (taking the guilder at 1*s.* 8*d.*) about £536,600. The project was popular, and brought both money and a valuable class of emigrants into Holland, many opulent merchants of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and of other places, removing with their effects into the Dutch territory. No time was lost in fitting out a fleet of fourteen large ships, well manned, and furnished with soldiers and the necessary military and other stores requisite for the carrying out of the aggressive policy henceforth to be adopted against the national enemies, whom the Dutch had previously shunned rather than courted encountering in their foreign possessions.† The same power, whose co-operation had so materially contributed to the success of their European struggles, now came equally opportunely to their assistance in Asia; for in this same year (1602) the first ships of the first English East India Company appeared in the Indian seas. It may be useful to pause here, and briefly review the circumstances that led to the formation of a body, which, after long years of trial and vicissitude, attained such unexampled and strangely-constituted greatness.

Rise of English Power.—Before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, England, like other northern European nations, had been supplied from the Adriatic with Eastern products. A ship of great bulk usually arrived every year from Venice, laden with spice (chiefly pepper) and some other Asiatic commodities, which the traders necessarily sold at high prices, owing to the circuitous route they were compelled to traverse. This state of things terminated with the close of the fifteenth century, by reason of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama, which gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. At that very time, the English, stimulated by a strong desire for the extension of com-

sea) to 1640: of these, 150 were lost, and with them he estimates not less than 100,000 persons—a not improbable number, considering the great size of many of the vessels, which carried 800 or 900 men.

* In 1598, two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, were sent by the Amsterdam merchants from the Texel, and five from Rotterdam, which were followed up by successive fleets in subsequent years, as the trade gave twenty to seventy-five per cent. of profit on the adventures.—(*Voyages of Dutch Company.*)

† The Dutch at first resorted to Sumatra and Java, where the Portuguese do not appear to have had any considerable establishments. Houtman formed a factory at Bantam in 1595.

The spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas, in 1598; with Sumatra and China, in 1599; with Ceylon, in 1600.

merce, and likewise by curiosity regarding the far-famed country, then called Cathay (China), were themselves attempting the discovery of a sea-passage to India; and in May, 1497, two months before the departure of Vasco, from Lisbon, an expedition comprising two ships fitted out by Henry VII. and some vessels freighted by the merchants of Bristol, left England, under the guidance of an enterprising Venetian navigator, named Giovanni Gavotta, *anglicé*, John Cabot. On reaching 67° 30′ N. lat., Cabot was compelled, by the mutinous conduct of his crew, to stand to the southward; and in the course of the homeward voyage he fell in with Newfoundland and the continent of North America. Notwithstanding the dissensions which characterised the concluding portion of the reign of Henry VII., and that of his son and successor Henry VIII., several commissions of discovery were issued by them,* but were attended with no important results. The commerce with the Levant appears to have commenced about the year 1511;† in 1513, a consul was stationed at Scio for its protection; and in process of time, the Levant or Turkey merchants came to be looked upon as the true East India traders. Factories were established by them at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different ports of Egypt and the Turkish dominions. Their growing importance did not however extinguish, but rather increased the general desire for more direct communication with India and China; and in 1549, Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, who had accompanied his father in the expedition of 1497, and had since attempted the discovery of the much-desired line of route, persuaded a number of London merchants to raise a capital of £6,000 in shares of £25 each, for the prosecution of a new voyage of discovery and trading adventure. The young king Edward VI., to whose notice Sebastian had been previously introduced by the protector Somerset, had bestowed on him an annual pension of £166, and made him grand pilot of England. He now gave every encouragement to the infant association. No time was lost in fitting out three vessels, which were dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in May, 1553, and furnished with "Letters Missive" from King Edward to the sovereigns of northern Europe, bespeaking their protection for his subjects in their peaceful but perilous enterprise.‡ The court, then at Greenwich, assembled to witness the departure of the little squadron: vast crowds of people lined the shore; and the roar of cannon, and the

* Robert Thorne, an English merchant, having during a long residence at Seville acquired considerable knowledge of the benefits derived by Portugal from the Indian trade, memorialised Henry VIII. on the subject, urging the advantages which England might attain from the same source, and suggesting three courses to be pursued;—either by the north-east, which he imagined would lead them to "the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday," and thence "to the land of the Chinas and the land of Cathaio Orientall;" from which, if they continued their navigation, they might "fall in with Malacca" and return to England by the Cape of Good Hope. The second course, to the north-west, would lead them, he said, "by the back of the Newfound-land, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects," and pursuing which they might return through the Straits of Magellan (discovered six years before.) The third course lay over the North Pole, after passing which he suggested that they should "goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the tropikes and under the equinoctiall;" and "without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteem most."—(Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 235.) The consequence of this memorial was the sending of two vessels by private merchants in 1527, which returned very shortly without success (Hakluyt, iii., 167), and two by the king in the same year, of which one was lost off the north coast of Newfoundland, and the other effected nothing.—(Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii., 809.)

† Hakluyt states, that between 1511 and 1534, "divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol had an ordinary and usual trade" to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus; as also to Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria. The exports, as proved by the ledgers of Locke, Bowyer, Gresham and other merchants, were "fine kersies of divers colours, coarse kersies, &c.;" the imports, silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscatel, &c. Foreign as well as English vessels were employed, "namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships." (ii., 207.)

‡ The religious spirit in which the project was conceived is forcibly evidenced by the instructions drawn up by Cabot, for what Fuller truly remarks "may be termed the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein." (*Worthies of England, Derbyshire*, of which county Willoughby was a native.) Swearing and gambling were made punishable offences, and "morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the king's majesty and laws of this realm to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the *Admiral* [flag-ship], and the merchant, or some other person learned in other ships; and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."—(Hakluyt, i., 254.) This daily prayer on board ship was long an acknowledged duty; and in 1580, in the directions of the Russian company, the mariners are enjoined, as a matter of course, "to observe good order in your daily service and pray unto God; so shall you prosper the better."

shouts of the mariners, filled the air: yet the ceremony seemed inauspicious; for the youthful monarch, on whom the eyes of Protestant Christendom waited hopefully, and who felt so deep an interest in the whole proceeding, lay prostrate in an advanced stage of that insidious disease, which then as now, yearly robbed England of many of her noblest sons and fairest daughters. Sir Hugh, and the whole ship's company of the *Buona Ventura*, were frozen to death near Lapland;* Captain Chancelor, the second in command, reached a Russian port (where Archangel was afterwards built), and proceeded thence to Moscow. The czar, Ivan Vasilivich, received him with great kindness, and furnished him with letters to Edward VI., bearing proposals for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries. These were gladly accepted by Mary, who had in the interim ascended the throne; and a ratification of the charter promised by Edward to the company was granted by the queen and her ill-chosen consort, in 1554.† Chancelor was again sent out in the following year with agents and factors, and on his return, an ambassador accompanied him to England, in saving whose life in a storm off the Scottish coast, Chancelor lost his own.‡ This is an exceptional instance of encouragement given by the Crown to commercial enterprise during this short and sanguinary reign; nor, indeed, could Mary, as the wife of the bigotted Philip of Spain, herself a stanch and unscrupulous adherent of the Romish creed, be expected to patronize any adventure likely to trench upon the monopoly which the pope had assumed to himself the power of bestowing on her husband: the only cause for surprise is, that her signature should ever have been obtained to the charter of the Russian company, though probably it was a concession granted to the leading Protestant nobles, whose support she had secured at a critical moment by her promise (soon shamelessly broken) of making no attempt for the re-establishment of a dominant priesthood in England.

It was reserved for her sister and successor Elizabeth, alike free from the trammels of Rome and the alliance of Spain, to encourage and aid her subjects in that course of maritime and commercial enterprise, whose importance she so justly appreciated. The early part of her reign abounded with political and social difficulties;—foes abroad, rebellion in Ireland, discord at home, gave full and arduous employment to the ministers, whose energy and ability best evidenced the wisdom of the mistress who selected and retained such servants. The finances of the nation did not warrant any large expenditure which should necessitate the imposition of increased taxation for an uncertain result: it was therefore from private persons, either individually or in societies, that commercial adventures were to be expected. The Russian company renewed their efforts for the discovery of a north-east passage, and records of several voyages undertaken under their auspices are still extant; but it does not appear that

* When the extreme cold ceased, the peasants of the country found the body of Sir Hugh in his cabin, seated as if in the act of writing his journal, which, with his will, lay before him, and testified his having been alive in January, 1554.

† The Russian company, probably the first chartered joint-stock association on record, exists to the present day—at least in name.

‡ The Russian ambassador, Osep Napea, returned to his own country in the last year of Mary's reign, and was accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, who represented the company, and was instructed to attempt the extension of their trade through Russia to Persia and Bactria. By permission of the czar, Jenkinson quitted Moscow in April, 1558, and proceeded by Novogorod and the Volga river to Astracan, on the north of the Caspian: he then crossed that sea, and on its southern shores joined a caravan of Tartars, with which he travelled along the banks of the Oxus to Bokhara, and having there obtained much valuable information for his employers, returned to England (by Moscow) in 1560. In the following year, Queen Elizabeth dispatched him with letters to the Suffavi or Sophi, king of Persia (Shah Abbas I.), requesting his sanction for her subjects to open a trade in his dominions for the sale of their goods, and the purchase of raw silk and other commodities. The jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents, who were then engaged in concluding a treaty with the Shah at the fortified city of Casvin (where the Persian court then was), frustrated the mission of the English envoy, and even endangered his life; so that he was glad to make his escape through the friendly interposition of the king of Hyrcania, who furnished him with credentials granting various commercial privileges to such English as might desire to traffic in, or traverse his dominions on the southern shore of the Caspian. In 1566, another agent, named Arthur Edwards, was sent to Persia, and succeeded in obtaining from the czar permission for Englishmen to trade in his dominions with immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandise, and protection for their persons and property. In the same year the Russian company obtained from Elizabeth a charter with additional privileges, in reward for their explorations in the Caspian Sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania (Astrabad), and Persia, which it was hoped might lead to the ultimate discovery of "the country of Cathaia."—(Hakluyt, i., 414—418.)

either queen or people cared to defy the fleets of Spain by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, until Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, having fitted out five ships at his own expense, left England and sailed through the straits of Magellan, into the south seas,* where he acquired immense booty from the Spaniards. The news reaching Europe, a strong force was sent to intercept him, but information of the danger enabled him to avoid it by changing his route, and after visiting Ternate (one of the Moluccas), forming a treaty with the king, and taking part in some hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, Drake shipped a large quantity of cloves, and proceeded round the Cape to England, where he arrived at the close of 1580, with a single shattered vessel, having been the first of his nation to circumnavigate the globe.

The *Turkey Company*, established by charter in 1581, sent four representatives to India, through Syria, Bagdad, and Ormuz, whence they carried some cloths, tin, and other goods to Goa, and proceeded to visit Lahore, Agra, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca, meeting everywhere with kindness from the natives, and opposition from the Portuguese. Of the envoys, Fitch alone returned to England (in 1591);† Newberry died in the Punjaub; Leades, a jeweller by profession, entered the service of the Emperor Akbar; and Storey became a monk at Goa. In 1586, Captain Cavendish commenced his voyage round the globe, and on the way, scrupled not to seize and plunder whenever he had the opportunity, either by sea or land. He returned home in less than two years flushed with success, and some years after attempted a similar privateering expedition (for it was little better), from which he never returned, but died at sea, worn out by a succession of disasters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish had brought matters to a crisis: the Spanish government complained of the infringement of their exclusive rights of navigating the Indian seas;‡ to which Elizabeth replied—"It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common to all men." The defeat of the so-called Invincible Armada, in 1588, rendered the English and their brave queen more than ever unwilling to give place to the arrogant pretensions of their foes; and in 1591, some London merchants dispatched three vessels to India by the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Captains Raymond and Lancaster. A contest with some Portuguese ships, though successful, eventually ruined the expedition by the delay it occasioned; one of the vessels was compelled to put back in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the difficulties encountered in weathering the "Cape of Storms;"—the second, under Raymond, is supposed to have perished;—the third, under Lancaster, reached Sumatra and Ceylon, and obtained a cargo of pepper and other spiceries, but was subsequently lost in a storm at Mona, one of the West India isles. The captain and the survivors of the ship's company were rescued by a French vessel bound to San Domingo, and reached England in May, 1594. In the meanwhile, mercantile enterprise had received a fresh stimulus by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, profanely called *Madre de Dios*, of 1,600 tons burden, with thirty-six brass cannons mounted. This vessel, the largest yet seen in England, was taken by Sir John Burroughs, after an obstinate contest near the Azores, and brought into Dartmouth. The cargo, consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, &c., was valued by the lowest estimate at £150,000. This display of oriental wealth incited Sir Robert Dudley and some other gentlemen to fit out three ships, which sailed for China in 1596, bearing royal credentials addressed to the sovereign of that country, vouching for the probity of the adventurers, and offering the fullest protection to such Chinese subjects as might be disposed to open a trade in any English port. This expedition proved even more disastrous than the preceding one. After capturing three Portuguese vessels, the English crews became so fearfully reduced by disease, that out of three ships' companies, only four men remained alive.

* He anchored in a bay (supposed to be that now called Port San Francisco) on the coast of California, and landing, took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it "Nova Albion."

† Fitch published a narrative of his adventures, which greatly stimulated public curiosity on the subject; and this feeling was increased by the accounts sent from India by an Englishman, named Stevens, who had proceeded thither in a Portuguese vessel from Lisbon. According to Camden, a Portuguese carrack, captured by Drake off the Azores in 1587, and brought to England, contained various documents regarding the nature and value of the India trade, which first inspired English merchants with a desire to prosecute it on their own account.

‡ By the union of Spain and Portugal, the papal grants of eastern and western discoveries centred in one crown.

These unfortunates were cast on shore on a small island near Puerto Rico, where three of them were murdered by a party of Spaniards, for the sake of the treasure they had with them, and only one survived to divulge the crime to the Spanish officers of justice, soon after which he was poisoned by the same robbers who had murdered his shipmates. The public enthusiasm was somewhat damped by the dense cloud which long shrouded the calamitous issue of this expedition; but the successful adventures of the Dutch (*see* p. 196), and their grasping policy in raising the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per lb. (the cost in India being two to three pence), induced the merchants of London—headed by the lord mayor and aldermen—to hold a meeting at Founders'-hall, on the 22nd of September, 1599,* which resulted in the formation of a company, for the purpose of setting on foot a voyage to the East Indies.† The stock embarked, then considered a large one, of £30,133 6*s.* 8*d.*, was divided into 101 shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3,000. The queen was ever zealous in promoting similar projects, but in this instance there was need of deliberation. Elizabeth well knew the value of peace to a trading nation, and delayed granting the charter of incorporation solicited by the company, until it should be proved how far their interests could be prudently consulted in the course of the friendly negotiations newly opened by Spain through the mediation of France. The treaty however soon fell to the ground, in consequence of a disputed question of precedency between the English and Spanish commissioners at Boulogne. The discussion of the East India question was eagerly resumed both in the city and at court; and on the last day of the 16th century, Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen, merchants, and other individuals of repute, constituting them "one bodie-corporate and politique indeed," by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."‡

A petition was addressed to the Privy Council for their sanction that "the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance, notwithstanding the treaty:" but they "declined granting such a warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of merchandise to entertain a peace, than that the same should be hindered by standing with the Spanish commissioners for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forego the opportunity of concluding the peace."§

It was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinary progress, and also for a reign, characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. The ablest sovereign (perhaps excepting Alfred) the realm had ever known, was soon to be taken away under very melancholy circumstances. The death of Lord Burleigh, and the rebellion of Essex, were trials which the failing strength and over-taxed energies of the queen could ill withstand; and she died in November, 1603, a powerful and beloved

* At the commencement of this year a merchant, named John Mildenhall, was dispatched (by way of Constantinople) to the Great Mogul, to solicit, in the name of his sovereign, certain trading privileges for his countrymen. He did not reach Agra till the year 1603, and was there long delayed and put to great expense by the machinations of the Jesuits then residing at the court of the Great Mogul, aided by two Italian (probably Venetian) merchants; but he eventually succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer the desired grant in 1606.

† At a subsequent meeting, a committee of fifteen persons was appointed to present a petition to the lords of the Privy Council, setting forth that, "stimulated by the success which has attended the voyage to the East Indies by the Dutch, and finding the Dutch are projecting another voyage, for which they have bought ships in England, the merchants having the same regard to the welfare of this kingdom, that the Dutch have to their commonwealth, have resolved upon making a voyage of adventure, and for this purpose entreat her Majesty will grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., for that the trade being so far remote from hence, cannot be managed but by a joint and united stock."

‡ Thomas Smith, alderman of London, and an active member of the Turkey company, was declared first governor. Among the other names mentioned in the charter are those of George, Earl of Cumberland; Sirs—John Hart, John Spencer, Edward Michelborne, Richard Staper, and ten other citizens and aldermen of London, and two hundred and six individuals of repute, who petitioned for the "royal assent and license to be granted unto them, that they, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of this our realm of England, as for the increase of our navigation and advancement of trade of merchandise within our said realms and the dominions of the same, might set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandise to the East Indies and countries of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had, divers of which countries and many of the islands, cities, and ports thereof have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandise." —(*See* quarto vol. of *Charters granted to the East India Company from* 1601, &c., pp. 4, 5.)

§ Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 4.

ruler, but a broken-hearted woman. As yet the commercial and colonial enterprises, commenced under her auspices, had produced no tangible results, so far as territorial aggrandisement was concerned. English merchants had, it is true, even then become "the honourable of the earth;" and English ships had compassed the world, bearing their part manfully in the perilous voyages of the age, in the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, uplifting the national flag on the shores of Virginia and Newfoundland,* amid the isles of the West Indies,† and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru. The straits of Magellan, the broad expanse of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had mirrored that standard on their waves; and for a brief season it had floated upon the Caspian Sea, and been carried along the banks of the Oxus. In the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, it became a familiar visitant, as it had long been to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and dwellers on the shores of Guinea and Benin;‡ and lastly, pursuing its way to the isles and continents of the East, it floated hopefully past the Southern Cape of Africa.§ The initiatory measures are ever those which most severely task the weakness and selfishness of human nature: energy, forethought, patience—all these qualities, and many more, are essential ingredients in the characters of those who aspire to lay the foundation of an edifice, which future generations must be left to bring to perfection. In the history of the world, such "master builders" are comparatively few: more commonly, we find men carrying on the structure of national progress with scarcely a thought beyond their individual interests, each one labouring for himself, like the coral insects, who live and die unconscious of the mighty results of their puny labours. Nor is this blindness on the part of the majority to be regretted, while the minority—those on whom the steering of the vessel of the state more or less evidently devolves—afford such constant illustrations of the fallible and unsatisfactory character of human policy. Thus, even in attributing to Elizabeth the pre-eminence in patriotism and statesmanship, in zeal for religious truth and liberty;—the excellence ascribed is at best only comparative, since her administration was deeply stained by the besetting sin of civilised governments—"clever diplomacy," or, in plain words, that constant readiness to take advantage of the weakness or ignorance of other nations, which, among individuals, would be stigmatised as grasping, overreaching, and unjust, even by those who do not profess to judge actions by any loftier standard than the ordinary customs and opinions of society. This admixture of unworthy motives is probably often the cause of the failure of many well-devised schemes: it may account, to some minds, for the career of Elizabeth terminating when the projects she had cherished were on the eve of development; when England was about to enter on a course of annually increasing territorial, commercial, and maritime prosperity, often, however, checked rather than encouraged, by the weakness, selfishness, or prejudice of her rulers.

The original charter bestowed on the East India Company manifested a prudent regard for the prevention of disputes with other European powers, or with previously incorporated English companies, and reserved to the Crown the power of accommodating the Indian trade to the contingencies of foreign politics, or of the trade carried on by its subjects with neighbouring countries. The charter was granted for fifteen years; but if the exclusive privileges thereby conferred should be found disadvantageous to the general interests of the country, it might be revoked upon two years' notice: if, on the

* *North American Possessions*, vol. i., pp. 292–3.

† *West Indian Possessions*, vol. iv. (div. viii.), p. 15. The Rev. James Anderson, in enumerating the exploratory proceedings of England, truly remarks, that "the foundations of her future greatness were laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless." —(*History of the Colonial Church*, vol. i., p. 123.)

‡ Repeated efforts were made for the extension of commerce with Africa. In 1572, a treaty between England and Portugal provided for the better adjustment of the intercourse of their respective subjects with the western shores of Africa; in 1585, the queen granted a patent to Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco: and in 1588, and 1592, some merchants of Exeter and Taunton were empowered to traffic with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In 1597, we find the indefatigable Elizabeth seeking commercial privileges from "the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens (Abyssinians), the mightie emperor of Ethiopia, the higher and the lower."

§ The Russian company desired, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia with those from the Baltic; the Levant company, which traded with the Mediterranean ports, brought thence, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England or for the European market, by the direct intercourse, though circuitous routes, of the company.—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*)

contrary, the result should prove of public benefit, new letters patent were to be granted at the expiration of the first period, for other fifteen years.* With these needful limitations, great encouragement was given to the association; notwithstanding which, the delay occasioned by the Spanish negotiation had so far damped the enterprise of some of the individual adventurers, that they refused to pay their proffered subscriptions; and the directors, acting under the charter (in which no amount of capital was prescribed, as in the case of modern documents of a similar character), appear to have wanted power to compel them to do so, or else to have deemed its exercise imprudent. The consequence was, the formation of a subordinate association, endued with authority to adventure on their own account, providing the funds, and either bearing the whole loss, or reaping the whole profit of the voyage. A new body of speculators was thus admitted, by whom £68,373 were subscribed, and five vessels† equipped, manned by 500 men, provisioned for twenty months, at a cost of £6,600, and furnished with bullion and various staples and manufactures wherewith to try the Indian market. The command was entrusted to Captain James Lancaster, who received from the queen general letters of introduction addressed to the rulers of the ports to which he might resort. The fleet sailed from Torbay on April 22, 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen,‡ which they reached on June 5, 1602; a voyage now usually accomplished in ninety days.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the queen's letter to the king or chief of Acheen, who received him with much pomp and courtesy, and accorded permission to establish a factory, with free exports and imports, protection to trade, power of bequeathing property by will, and other privileges of an independent community. But

* Under the charter, the plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. The chief permissive clauses were as follow :—the company were empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, whose offences they might punish by imprisonment or fine;—to export goods for four voyages duty free, and duties afterwards paid on goods lost at sea to be deducted from dues payable on next shipment;—six months' credit to be allowed on custom dues of half imports, and twelve months for the remainder, with free exportation for thirteen months (by English merchants in English vessels);—liberty to transport Spanish and other foreign silver coin and bullion to the value of £30,000, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, and the same sum in any subsequent voyage during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges, provided that within six months after every voyage except the first, gold and silver equal in value to the exported silver should be duly imported, and entered at the ports of London, Dartmouth and Plymouth, where alone the bullion was to be shipped. The monopoly of the company was confirmed by a clause enacting, that interlopers in the East India trade should be subject to the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes, one-half to go to the Crown, the other to the company, and to suffer imprisonment and such other punishment as might be decreed by the Crown, until they should have signed a bond engaging, under a penalty of £1,000 at the least, "not to sail or traffic into any of the said East Indies" without special license from the company. Another clause affords evidence of the condition of the state by guaranteeing, that "in any time of restraint," six good ships and as many pinnaces, well-armed and manned with 500 English sailors, should be permitted to depart "without any stay or contradiction," unless the urgent necessities of the kingdom, in the event of war, should require their detention, in which case three months' notice would be given to the company.—(*Charters of East India Company*, p. 21.)

† The *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Guest*, of 600, 300, 260, 240, and 100 tons respectively, the smallest serving as a victualler; the others are described by Sir William Monson as "four of the best merchant ships in the kingdom." According to the same authority, there were not in England, at this period, more than four vessels of 400 tons each. In 1580, the total number of vessels in the navy was 150, of which only forty belonged to the Crown: a like number was employed in trade with different countries, the average burden being 150 tons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appears that wars with Spain, and losses by capture, had reduced both shipping and seamen one-third. The small English squadron seemed insufficient to enter on a traffic in which the Portuguese had long been in the habit of employing vessels of 1,200 to 1,500 tons burden: in its equipment £39,771 were expended, the cargoes were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in various goods, including iron and tin wrought and unwrought, lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloth of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with various smaller articles, including glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, and other things intended as presents for different local functionaries. Factors and supercargoes were nominated, and divided into four classes: all gave security for fidelity and abstinence from private trade in proportionate sums of £500 downwards. Three of the principal factors were allowed £100 each as equipment, and £200 for an "adventure;" and four of each of the other classes smaller sums. The salary of each commander was £100, and £200 on credit for an adventure. If the profits of the voyage yielded two for one, they were to be allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000.—(Bruce's *Annals*, vol. i., p. 129.)

‡ Situate on the N.W. extremity of the large island of Sumatra, in 5° 36′ N. lat., 95° 26′ E. long.

the crop of pepper having failed in the preceding season, a sufficient quantity could not be obtained in that port; and Lancaster, impressed with a conviction of the influence the pecuniary results of the first voyage would have upon the future prosecution of the trade, concerted measures with the commander of a Dutch ship, then at Acheen, for hostilities against their joint foe, the Portuguese.* A carrack of 900 tons was captured, and her cargo, consisting of calicoes and other Indian manufactures, having been divided between the conquering vessels, the Portuguese crew were left in possession of their rifled ship, and the Dutch and English commanders went their way. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where, after delivering his credentials and presents, he completed his lading with spices, and leaving the remaining portion of his merchandise for sale in charge of some agents, sailed homewards, arriving off the Downs in September, 1603.

The company awaited his return with extreme anxiety. They delayed making preparations for a fresh voyage until the result of the first venture should appear, and persisted in this resolve, notwithstanding the representations of the privy council, and even of the queen, who considered their delay an infraction of the terms on which the charter had been granted, and reminded them of the energy and patriotism of the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments and extended their commerce by unceasing exertion. The safe return of the fleet, though at an inopportune moment,† put an end to all incertitude regarding the feasibility of the projected trade; and notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the encouragement given by the king to the attempts of private adventurers, in violation of the fifteen years' monopoly promised by the charter,‡ and the enmity of the Portuguese,—to which the tacit and afterwards open opposition of the Dutch was soon added,—the company continued to fit out separate expeditions on the same terms as the first, until the year 1614, when the twelfth was undertaken by a single ship, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent as ambassador to the English sovereign by Shah Abbas of Persia. The total capital expended in these voyages was £464,284; of which £263,246 had been invested in shipping and stores, £138,127 in bullion, and £62,411 in merchandise. Notwithstanding losses (including a disastrous expedition in 1607, in which both vessels perished), the general result was prosperous, the total profit reaching 138 per cent.; but it must be remembered that a period of six or seven years and upwards elapsed before the proceeds of a voyage could be finally adjusted, and that the receipts included the profits of a shipbuilder and purveyor, or "ship's husband," as well as of a merchant.

In 1613, it was deemed advisable to renounce all separate adventures, and continue the trade on a joint-stock account; this, however, being itself an experiment, was

* What authority Captain Lancaster possessed for this proceeding does not appear, but it is probable that he acted according to permission granted for a similar conjuncture; because the queen, being unable to retaliate the attack of the Armada on her own behalf, by reason of the condition of the treasury, permitted private adventurers to fit out expeditions against the national foe both by sea and land. Such was the squadron of about 100 vessels, 1,500 sailors, and 11,000 soldiers, under Sir F. Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, which ravaged and plundered the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that of several ships under the personal command of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the same year, to the Azores or Western Isles, where much booty was obtained. From this period may be dated English "privateering," which soon degenerated into "buccaneering;" and which James I. deserves much praise for his endeavours to check.

† Elizabeth was dead, and London afflicted with the plague; everybody who could leave it, had taken refuge in the country; and in the general disorder it was next to impossible to raise money either by borrowing or by sales of merchandise.

‡ In 1604, King James granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade with China and various East Indian ports. The undertaking was little better than a series of petty piracies, committed upon Chinese junks and small Indian vessels encountered in cruising among the Asiatic islands; but is memorable as marking the appearance of the *interlopers* or *private traders*, whose disputes with the company afterwards ran so high. This very Michelborne had been recommended by the lord-treasurer for employment to the company; but although then petitioning for a charter, the directors rejected the application, and requested that they might "be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions."—(Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 128.) The same determined spirit was evinced on the present occasion; and they succeeded in obtaining another charter in 1609, in which, departing from the cautious policy of his predecessor, the king confirmed the exclusive privileges of the company, not for a limited term of years, but *for ever*, provided however that the trade should prove beneficial to the realm, otherwise the charter was to be annulled, on giving three years' notice.—(*Idem*, p. 157.)

fixed for the term of only four years; during which time, the stipulated capital of £429,000 was to be paid up in equal annual proportions. This union was generally beneficial in its effects, by preventing the international competition resulting from the clashing interests of parties concerned in the different voyages, whether in the Indian market or in England, where the imports were either sold by public auction, or divided among the adventurers in kind, as was best suited to the interests of the leading persons in the separate concerns; and it often happened that private accommodation was studied at the expense of the general good. Besides these inconveniences, it was necessary that some specific line of policy should be adopted, for the general direction of the trade and the control and guidance of individual commanders; since it was evident that the interested and impolitic conduct of one expedition might seriously impede the success of subsequent voyages.

The proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton will illustrate this. Up to 1609, the intercourse of the English had been exclusively with Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna; an attempt was then made to open a trade with woollens, metals, and other British commodities, in barter for spices and drugs, in the ports of the Red Sea, Cambay, and Surat. At Aden and Mocha, they were opposed by the Turks, and Middleton with seventy men made prisoners. They succeeded in effecting their escape, and proceeded to Surat, where a forcible landing was effected, in defiance of the Portuguese, who, however, induced the Moguls to prevent their attempts at commerce. About this time, the envoy (Hawkins) dispatched by the company to seek the imperial confirmation of the trading privileges promised to Mildenhall, threw up his suit in despair, and quitted Agra, after a residence of more than two years. Middleton returned to the Red Sea, and there seized upon several Mogul ships (including one of 1,500 tons, fitted out by the mother of Jehangeer for the use of pilgrims), and obliged them to pay a ransom equivalent to his estimate of the loss occasioned by the frustration of his voyage. After lading two of his vessels with pepper at Bantam, he prepared to return homewards; but his chief ship, the newly-built *Trade's Increase*,* overset in Bantam roads, and was totally destroyed; which so affected her commander, that he soon after died of vexation: the voyage, nevertheless, afforded £121 per cent. profit on the capital employed. The unwarrantable aggression committed in the Red Sea had roused the indignation and alarm of the emperor; but the discretion of Captain Best† was successfully exerted in obtaining permission to trade, through the intervention of the governor of Ahmedabad, whose concessions were ratified by an imperial firman, which arrived in January, 1613, authorising the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Goga, with protection for life and property, on condition of the payment of a custom duty of three-and-a-half per cent. The Portuguese did not quietly witness the progress of this arrangement, but attacked the two vessels of Cap-

* The company, finding themselves unable to charter vessels of sufficient burden either in England or elsewhere, formed a dockyard at Deptford; and in 1609 launched, in the words of Sir William Monson, "the goodliest and greatest ship [1,100 tons] that was ever framed in this kingdom." King James, with his son (afterwards Charles I.), presided at the launch, named the vessel the *Trade's Increase*, and partook of a sumptuous banquet served on China-ware, then considered a rare mark of eastern magnificence. From this period may be dated the increase of large ships; for the king about this time caused a man-of-war to be constructed of 1,400 tons burden, carrying sixty-four guns, called the *Prince*. From 1609 to 1640 the company continued to exercise the now separate vocations of ship-builders, purveyors, &c. In their yards at Deptford and Blackwall, not only were vessels constructed of 700, 800, 900, and in one instance (the *Royal James*) of 1,200 tons burden, but their masts, yards, anchors, sails, cordage, and entire outfit were prepared; the bread was baked, the meat salted and casked, and the various departments which, by the present improved system, are subdivided into many distinct branches of labour, were then brought to a considerable degree of perfection by the combined efforts of skill and capital possessed by the East India Company. As trade increased, ship-building became a distinct and profitable business; and in 1640 and subsequent years, the company were enabled to hire vessels at £20 to £25 per ton freight, whereas their own cost £31 per ton: thenceforth the commerce was carried on partly by their own and partly by hired ships; and eventually the dockyards were sold for private enterprise.

† Captain Best visited Acheen in 1615, and as the bearer of a royal letter, formed a new treaty with its ruler, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Tikoo or Ticoo (in Sumatra), on condition of paying seven per cent. import and export duty. The monarch, who is represented as very fierce and sanguinary, replied to the communication of the English sovereign with a request, that he would send him one of his countrywomen for a wife, promising to make her eldest son "king of all the pepper countries." No English lady appears to have taken advantage of this offer; and whether from disappointment or avarice, the king of Acheen

tain Best, at Swally, near Surat, with a squadron of four galleons, and a number of smaller vessels without cannon, intended to assist in boarding, for which, however, they found no opportunity, being driven off with considerable loss, after a struggle of more than a month's duration.*

The chief events which marked the four years' existence of the first joint-stock company, was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,† who succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer liberty of trade for his countrymen throughout the empire;‡ the formation of a treaty with the zamorin for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin, which when conquered was to be ceded to the English; and lastly, hostilities with the Dutch, which entailed losses and expense, whereby the total profits of the four voyages were reduced to eighty-seven per cent. This decreased dividend did not, however, prevent a new subscription being favourably received by the public: dukes, earls, and knights, judges and privy counsellors, countesses and ladies, "widows and virgins," doctors of divinity and physic, merchants and tradesmen, are all classified in the list of the 954 individuals, by whom a sum of no less than £1,629,040 (averaging £1,700 for each person) was furnished in 1616 for a new series of ventures, comprising three distinct voyages, to be undertaken in the four following years. Surat and Bantam were to be the chief seats of trade, with factories at Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Maccassar, and Banda. A proposition had previously been made by the Dutch for a union of trade with the English, that common cause might be made against the Spanish-Portuguese, and a monopoly secured to the combined companies. This offer was repeated in 1617, on the plea of the rivalry about to arise from the formation of an East India association in France§, and likewise in Denmark;‖ but

impeded the trade of the Europeans by exactions; and at length, in 1621, expelled both the Dutch and English factors; but the intercourse was subsequently resumed and carried on at intervals.

* From 22nd of October to the 27th November, 1812.—(Wilson's note on Mill's *India*, vol. i., p. 29.)

† The mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Jehangeer has been already narrated (p. 123.) The incidents of his journey from Surat to Ajmeer evidence a comparative state of order in the country traversed: whereas, the adventures which befel Withington, one of the company's agents, who set out from Ahmedabad to Laribunda, the port of Sinde, where three English ships had arrived, afford a far less favourable picture of the condition of the portion of India through which his route of about 500 miles lay. The caravan with which he travelled was attacked in the night of the third stage, and "the next day he met the Mogul's officer returning with 250 heads of the Coolies," whom Mr. Orme sweepingly terms, "a nation of robbers;" and who in the opinion of Jehangeer seem to have merited nothing less than extermination. Many days were spent in crossing the desert, but no molestation occurred until the peopled country was reached, and the caravan separated; after which, Withington and his sixteen companions (four servants, two merchants with five servants, and five drivers to their ten camels) hired an escort for the march to Gundaiwa, which saved them from a band of robbers. Twice afterwards they were attacked, and compelled to purchase immunity from plunder by a small present. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot chief, who had recently escaped from the hands of the Moguls, by whom he had been blinded. His son agreed to escort Withington to Tatta, a distance of only thirty miles, but fraught with danger; and it would appear, from mere covetousness, acted in a manner quite contrary to the usual fidelity of a Hindoo, and especially of a Rajpoot guide, by treacherously delivering over the travellers to a party of marauders, who strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five servants; and binding Withington and his attendants, marched them forty miles to a mountain stronghold, whence they were sent to Parker, and thence on to Radenpore: their clothes were stolen from them on the way, and they subsisted by begging, until their wants were relieved by the charity of a Banian, whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, which place he reached, "after a distressful absence of 111 days."—(Orme's *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's trade at Surat and Broach*, p. 334.)

‡ *Vide* pp. 123–4.

§ The French are said to have made an unsuccessful endeavour to double the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1503: in 1601 a small commercial association was formed in Bretagne. Two vessels were fitted out and dispatched to the East Indies: both were wrecked amid the Maldive Archipelago near Ceylon; and the commander, Pyrard de Laval, did not return home for ten years. In 1615, "The Molucca Company" was formed, with exclusive privileges to trade for twelve years. This new source of competition alarmed the Dutch, and their constant hostility, together with the alleged exactions of the king of Acheen, obliged the French company to relinquish their enterprise. In 1619-'20, a French ship was burnt at Bantam with a cargo valued at 500,000 crowns, "apparently by the Dutch."—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 256.) Merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe sent vessels to India at various times in 1622, and the former had an agent settled at Bantam.

‖ A Danish company was formed at Copenhagen in 1612, and six vessels (three belonging to the king, Christian IV., and three to the company) were sent out under a commander named Boschower, who had formerly been in the service of the Dutch in Ceylon, and had come to Europe with an appeal from the natives against the cruelties of the Spanish-Portuguese. Boschower first applied to the Dutch, and conceiving himself neglected, proceeded to Denmark, where he obtained the desired assistance, and sailed for Ceylon, but died on the voyage. His second in command became involved in disputes with the rajah he came to befriend, and sailed for Tanjore, where, by means of presents and the promise of a yearly tribute of £700, he obtained from

again rejected.* To guard against the antagonism of the Dutch, and likewise to defeat the attempts of English interlopers, who had taken both to trading and privateering on their own account, it was deemed necessary to send out a fleet of nine ships, of which six were of considerable size, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, who was commissioned by the king, and empowered to seize the ships of illicit traders, and to declare martial law in case of necessity. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted: even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subjects in the Indies were more or less openly at strife, unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese, whose powers of aggression and even defence were now, however, almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

The Lisbon company to whom the exclusive claims of the Spanish crown had been made over, was unable to furnish the stipulated payments; and the king, finding himself impoverished instead of enriched by his Indian possessions, sent an order to Azevedo, the viceroy, to make the government support itself, by selling every office to the highest bidder. This had already been done to a great extent; but the royal order for so disgraceful a proceeding annihilated the few remaining relics of a better system; and the Moors and Hindoos, instead of humbly suing these former lords of the Indian seas for a passport (which, even when obtained, often failed to secure their vessels against the rapacity of Portuguese cruisers), now in turn became the assailants, thus materially aiding the aggressive policy of the Dutch.

The English did not often come in contact with the Portuguese, their head-quarters being at Surat; but about the time of their establishment in that place, the Dutch attempted to trade with the Malabar coasts, and in 1603, made an ineffectual endeavour to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa; opened a communication with Ceylon; succeeded in expelling them from the islands of Amboyna and Tidore, and by degrees engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands; their large equipments and considerable proportion of military force, under able commanders, enabling them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.† The reinforcements of the Portuguese grew scanty and insufficient; their Spanish ruler finding full employment for his forces in maintaining the struggle in the Low Countries, and, at the same time, guarding his dominions in the West Indies and South America; the Dutch were therefore enabled by degrees to fix factories at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast; in Ceylon; at Cranganore, Cananore, and Cochin, in Malabar; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Amsterdam company also formed establishments in Sumatra and Java.

The twelve years' truce, entered upon between Spain and Holland in 1609, checked open hostility in the Indies; but the Dutch covertly continued their opposition; and in 1611, succeeded in opening a trade with the islands of Japan, despite the exclusive pretensions of the Spanish-Portuguese. The growing naval strength of England justly gave them more uneasiness than the decaying power of a nation whose yoke they had thrown off; and they already found the English, competitors for the spice trade, of

the rajah a cession of territory, on which the settlement of Tranquebar and the fortress of Dansburg were established. By justice and kindness the Danes acquired the goodwill of the natives: their trade extended to the Moluccas and China; they had factories at Bantam and on the Malabar coast; gained possession of the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal (of which they could make nothing); and built a neat town called Serampore, fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the Hooghly river. All these stations were under the direction of Tanjore; and matters went on favourably until the rajah became involved in a long and sanguinary war, which prevented the Danes from procuring cargoes with any certainty, and proved an obstacle to their commerce which all their economy and perseverance never enabled them to surmount.—(Anderson's *Commerce.*)

* An attempt was likewise made for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company, and a royal patent granted in 1618 to Sir James Cunningham, but withdrawn in consequence of the interference of the London company, who made compensation for the expenses incurred. The king, in return for this concession, and with a view of sustaining the Russian company, which had long been in a precarious state, prevailed on the East India Company to unite with them in carrying on a joint trade, each party advancing £30,000 per annum during the continuance of their respective charters; but the experiment failing after a trial of two seasons, the connexion was dissolved at the termination of the year 1619; the loss of the East India Company being estimated at £40,000—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 16.)

† Their traffic seems from the first to have been always lucrative, though fluctuating. The dividends to the shareholders *in each year*, from 1604 to 1613 inclusive, were at the rate of 125, 55, 75, 40, 20, 25, 50, and 37 per cent. Numerous strong squadrons were equipped: in 1613–'14, no less than twenty-seven ships were dispatched to India.—(*Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*: published in London, 1703.)

which a complete monopoly was their especial desire. The islands of Polaroon and Rosengin* were fortified by the English, with the permission of the natives, about the year 1617. This the Dutch resented, on the ground that they were already possessed of authority over the whole of the Bandas by reason of their occupation of the more important islands in the group. They attacked Polaroon and were driven off, but seized two English ships, and declared their intention of retaining them until the English should consent to surrender all rights and claims on Polaroon and the Spice Islands. Considering the general, though unjust, ideas then entertained regarding the rights obtained in newly-discovered countries by priority of occupancy, without regard to the will of the natives, the Dutch had some plausible pretext for maintaining their claims to the exclusive advantage of trade with the Moluccas, as obtained by conquest from the Spanish-Portuguese; but with regard to the settlement in Java, they could not urge that plea, since they had at first welcomed the arrival and alliance of the English, and made no opposition to their establishment in that island, now sanctioned by time. Their own notions of the case are set forth in a memorial addressed to King James in 1618, complaining of the encroachments of his subjects, and praying him to restrain their further aggressions: the London company, on their part, vindicated their conduct, and enumerated a long series of losses and injuries entailed upon them by the jealous enmity of the Dutch. The governments of the respective companies resolved to make an arrangement for the regulation of the East India trade; and after repeated conferences, a treaty was signed in London, in 1619, by which amnesty for all past excesses was decreed, and a mutual restitution of ships and property. The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided. The English were to have a free trade at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and one-third of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, bearing an equal proportion of the garrison expenses; joint exertions to be made for the reduction of the customs and duties claimed by the native governments at different ports; the trade of both the contracting parties to be free to the extent of the specified funds respectively employed; each company to furnish ten ships, not to be used in the European trade, but only for mutual defence, and in carrying goods from one port of India to another. Finally, a Council of Defence, composed of four members on either side, who were to preside each alternate month, was established for the local superintendence of the treaty, which was to remain in force twenty years.

Some months before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet under Sir Thomas Dale combined with the king of Bantam† for the expulsion of the Dutch from Jaccatra; which being accomplished, the place was left in the possession of its native owners; but shortly afterwards again seized from the Javanese by their former conquerors, who thereupon laid the foundation of a regular fortified city, on which was bestowed the ancient name of Holland, "Batavia," and which became, and still remains, the seat of their government and the centre of their trade.

The scheme of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon found to be impracticable; and before the *Council of Defence* had been well established in Jaccatra, the domineering conduct of the Dutch clearly proved their determination to take an unjust advantage of their superior capital and fleet. Considerable exertions were, however, made by the English company, and ten large ships sent out, with £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods. Nine of these vessels were detained in the East Indies; but one returned home freighted with a cargo which realised £108,887; and had the Dutch acted up to the spirit or letter of their agreement, the returns would have been immense. Instead of this, they gradually laid aside the flimsy veil which they had at first cast over their intentions, and at length ceased to attempt disguising their continued determination to monopolise the spice-trade. In framing the treaty, no distinction had been made between past and future expenses: the English intended only to bind themselves for the future; the Dutch demanded from them a

* Two small islands in the Banda archipelago, chiefly producing nutmegs and other spices.

† *Bantam*, which attracted so much attention in the early periods of European intercourse with the East, is situated near the north-west point of Java (lat. 5° 52′; long. 106° 2′), at the bottom of a large bay, between the branches of a shallow river. A factory, it will be remembered, had been formed there by the English, under Captain Lancaster, in 1602, and this had been burned by the Dutch, who had also attacked the palace of the king of Bantam, with whom they were constantly at variance.

share of the past, and carried themselves in so overbearing a manner, that the English commissioners soon reported the worse than uselessness of maintaining a connexion which involved the company in a heavy outlay, without adequate remuneration. In the circle of which the ancient city of Surat* was the centre, affairs were proceeding more prosperously. A treaty of trade and friendship had been concluded with Persia, in 1620, on very advantageous terms for the English, to whom permission had been accorded to build a fort at Jask; but an expedition sent there in the following year found the port blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five large and fifteen small vessels. The English having but two ships, did not attempt to cope with so disproportionate a force, but sailed back to Surat, where, being joined by two other vessels, they returned to Jask, and succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour. The Portuguese retired to Ormuz,† and after refitting, made a desperate attack upon the English, who gained a decisive victory over a much superior force. This event produced a deep impression on the minds of the Persians, who urged the victors to unite with them for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island of Ormuz; and, although it was against the royal instructions to attack the subjects of the king of Spain, the previous provocation and the urgent solicitation of the Shah was supposed to justify a further breach of the peace. A joint assault was made, and the town and castle captured in 1622, the English having the chief conduct of affairs, and receiving in return a proportion of the plunder, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon,‡ which was regularly paid till about 1680, when the company, being unable to keep the gulf free from pirates, the Persian monarch withheld their dues. Notwithstanding the favourable result of this enterprise, the four representatives of the English East India Company at Jaccatra, who bore the title of "President and Council," blamed the co-operation with the Persians as a rash and ill-advised measure, because the pepper§ investment had been lost, from the company's vessels not arriving at Acheen as expected; beside which the general interest had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade being detained by the factors at Sumatra.‖ Probably the English members of the Council of Defence felt the necessity for the concentration of their force as a guard against the Dutch; but for this the whole was far too little. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave the signal for the

* *Surat*, already repeatedly mentioned in connection with the Moguls, Portuguese, and Mahrattas, is the present capital of Guzerat, situated on the bank of the Taptee river, about twenty miles above its junction with the sea, in 21° 11′ N. lat., 73° 7′ E. long. On the establishment of European intercourse with India, different nations resorted thither, as it had long been a commercial emporium, and was deemed "one of the gates of Mecca," from the number of pilgrims who embarked there on their way to visit the tomb of Mohammed. The Dutch did not visit Surat until 1617, and then only by accident, being shipwrecked off the coast, and kindly treated by the English, who aided them in disposing of their cargoes at Surat, by which means they learned the importance of this ancient emporium, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

† *Ormuz*, six miles long by four miles broad, is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, in 27° 12′ N., within seven miles of the main land. When first visited by the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, in 1508, it was a place of considerable trade; there were then 30,000 men on the island, and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and having 2,500 men on board. The place was captured by the Portuguese in 1514, and it remained in their possession for 120 years, during which time the fortifications were increased, noble mansions built, and the town advanced in wealth and splendour, until it grew to be regarded as the richest spot in the world. The share of the customs granted to the English at Gombroon, soon resulted in the transfer of the trade to that port; and in the hands of the Persians, Ormuz degenerated into a heap of ruins.

‡ *Gombroon* lies nearly opposite to Ormuz, in 27° 10′ N. lat., 54° 45′ E. long., on the mainland of Persia. The English were permitted to establish a factory here in 1613, and the Dutch in 1620. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, many Persian merchants removed to Gombroon, which was then strongly fortified, and adorned with fine structures. When the interests of the E. I. Cy. became concentrated on the continent of India, their distant factories were neglected. The French seized Gombroon in 1759: it was reoccupied by the English, but eventually abandoned from its unhealthiness.

§ The stress laid on pepper and other spices, as primary articles in the East India trade, can only be explained by remembering, that in those days (while homœopathy was unknown) both cordials and viands were flavoured to a degree which, when the cost of spices diminished, proved itself a fashion rather than a want, by falling into comparative disuse.

‖ A share of the prize-money taken at Ormuz and elsewhere was demanded by the king, in right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. The company admitted the former, but denied the latter claim, upon which the duke stopped at Tilbury the seven out-going ships for the season, 1823-'4, and obtained £10,000 as a compromise. The same sum was required by the king, but there is no direct evidence that he ever received it. The total prize-money was stated at 240,000 rials, or £100,000.—(Bruce's *Annals* vol. i., p. 242.)

renewal of undisguised hostility on the part of the Dutch towards the settlements of the Spanish-Portuguese; and the large armaments their lucrative trade enabled them to equip, rendered them strong enough to brave the vengeance both of their ancient foes and of their allies the English. Upon the plea that there had been a prior agreement with the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States-General, the Dutch governor, Van Coens, proceeded to the islands of Polaroon, Rosengin, and Lantore, and took possession of the factories, treating the few Englishmen he found there with the most barbarous cruelty, and executing great numbers of the natives on pretence of a conspiracy. The successor of Van Coens, Peter Carpentier, openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and declared that the English had only a title by the treaty as subordinate traders. The English factory at Bantam had been removed to Batavia on the faith of the Dutch performance of their treaty; but they soon found their mistake, and desired to return to Bantam, where, by favour of the king, their old ally, they doubted not that ten ships of 800 tons might be annually filled with pepper, provided the Javanese were allowed to bring it in without obstruction;* but to this measure the Dutch would not consent, lest the progress of their newly-erected and neighbouring sovereignty at Batavia should be thereby impeded. The English had no force wherewith to oppose the tyranny of their pretended coadjutors, but real foes; and at length tired of remonstrance, urged the company to use every exertion to procure from the king the annulment of a treaty, whose ambiguity enabled the stronger party at will to oppress the weaker. The commercial efforts of the factors stationed at Amboyna† had proved equally unsatisfactory; they were therefore ordered by the English president and council to leave the station with their property and come to Batavia.‡ It was at this crisis that those barbarous proceedings were instituted which rendered the conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna a synonyme for cruelty.

The local government, on the plea of the formation of a plot for its expulsion, seized ten Javanese about the middle of February, 1623, and by subjecting them to excessive and repeated torture, extorted a declaration that they had been parties in a conspiracy which the English agent (Captain Towerson), with thirteen of his countrymen and one Portuguese sailor, had formed to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and exterminate the Dutch. That such a conspiracy should have been formed against an overpowering force, by a few trading agents who had no ambitious motives to prompt so daring an attempt, is highly improbable;§ but the savage persecution of the Dutch governor can hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that he and his associates were hurried on by a desire to revenge a supposed wrong; or else, that having resolved to be rid of their troublesome competitors, they first brought forward an accusation invented for the purpose, and then wrung from them,

* A frequent complaint urged against the Dutch, in the *Annals of the E. I. Cy.* is, that they sought "to bear down the merchants of every other country by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations."—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 231.) But if the Dutch company, by good management of their funds, could afford to purchase pepper from the natives at so high a price as to "bear down" all competition, the means employed would seem perfectly legitimate.

† Amboyna, to the south of Ceram, is the largest of the Clove Islands: Fort Victoria, the capital, lies in 3° 42′ S. lat., 128° 11′ E. long. The Portuguese discovered this island in 1511, and occupied it in 1564, in consequence of its valuable spices; but were driven out by the Dutch in 1607, who, as also the English, formed factories here; and by the treaty of 1619, both nations were to occupy Amboyna in common.

‡ The factories at Siam and Potania were withdrawn about the same time, also those in Japan, upon which island the Dutch had been driven during a storm in 1600: and through the influence subsequently acquired by their English pilot, "old William Adams," over the mind of the emperor, had obtained, in 1609, permission to send two ships annually to the port of Firando. Adams, on learning the establishment of his countrymen at Bantam (which the Dutch strove to conceal from him), sent a letter to advise their opening intercourse with Japan. In June, 1613, the *Clove*, Captain Saris, with a letter from King James I., and presents in charge of a superintendent or factor, arrived. The king or governor of Firando sent Captain Saris to Jedo, the capital, where he was well received; a friendly answer returned to the royal letter, and a very liberal charter of privileges granted to the E. I. Cy. The Dutch soon instituted hostilities against the factory; plundered the ships, wounded and killed several of the English, and compelled the rest to flee for their lives, which would probably have been sacrificed as at Amboyna, but for the interference of the Japanese, who, for several years after their departure, guarded the deserted factories from plunder, in constant expectation of their return.

§ There were four strong forts, garrisoned by about 200 Dutchmen, with some 300 or 400 native troops; the English, in all, numbered about twenty men, including a surgeon and tailor, who were among the sufferers.

by intolerable anguish, a confession of guilt, the falsity of which none knew better than those who extorted it. The motives remain a mystery—as those of great public crimes often do; the cause assigned being insufficient to account for the fiend-like cruelty with which Captain Towerson and his miserable companions were by turn subjected (as the natives had previously been) to the agonies which, by the aid of those two powerful agents, fire and water, the wicked invention and pitiless will of man can inflict upon his fellow.* By the Dutch code, as by the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe, evidence obtained by torture afforded sufficient ground for legal condemnation: the English, it was alleged, were living under Dutch sovereignty, established before their arrival in the island; and on these grounds, the whole of the accused were condemned to death, and with four exceptions, beheaded on the 27th of the same month in which they were first seized—all of them protesting, with their latest breath, their entire innocence of the crime with which they were charged.† Besides the above-named persons who were reprieved, four others remained in Amboyna, whose absence at the time of the alleged conspiracy had procured their safety. The survivors were sent for by the English president and council to Batavia, so soon as the terrible end of their companions was known there, and gladly made their escape, leaving their oppressors to seize the factories and stores, and to commit all manner of cruelties on the wretched Javanese, who were shipped off in large numbers, as slaves, to different islands. The English sufferers were dispatched to London, where they arrived in August, 1624. Their representations of the horrible outrage committed in Amboyna, seconded by the protestations of innocence, written in a Bible and other books belonging to their unhappy countrymen, were sedulously circulated, and the effect heightened by the exhibition of a picture, in which the victims were represented upon the rack, writhing in agony. The press teemed with publications, enlarging upon the same subject; and the tide of popular feeling rose so high, that in default of ability to reach the true criminals, it had well nigh found vent on the heads of the unoffending Dutch residents in London, who urgently appealed to the Privy Council for protection, and complained of the conduct of the East India directors, whose proceedings, though probably not uninfluenced by views of miscalled policy, would yet be very excusable, when viewed on the ground of indignation at the unjust and cruel sufferings inflicted on their servants.

A commission of inquiry was instituted by the king; application made to the Dutch government for signal reparation; and an order issued for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till an accommodation should be arranged. The evasive answer of the States was evidently framed with a view of gaining time to let the fierce but short-lived tumult of popular rage pass away, before coming to any definite arrangement. The only concession offered, deemed worth accepting, was permission for the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; and even this was accompanied by an unqualified assumption of the sovereign and exclusive rights of the Dutch over the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna,—the very point so long contested.

King James manifested considerable energy on this occasion; but his foreign and domestic policy had acquired a reputation for weakness and vacillation, which probably militated against the success of the measures instituted in the last few months of his reign, which terminated in March, 1625. His ill-fated son succeeded to a regal inheritance heavily burdened with debt, war, and faction; which required, at least humanly speaking, the governance of one gifted with a powerful and unprejudiced intellect, and judgment wherewith to guide the helm of state—by that best rudder, the power of distinguishing the cry of faction from the desire of a nation. Had Charles I. been thus endowed, even a turbulent parliament could not have driven him to alienate the affections of his subjects by the expedients (irregular loans and ship-money) to which he had recourse. As it was, the failing power of the Crown diminished the hope of redress entertained by the company, and subjected them to danger from the

* These proceedings are narrated at length in Hall's *Cruelties of the Dutch in the East Indies*, 8vo., London, 1712: they were continued during several days, including a Sunday, and are too horrible for quotation: it must, therefore, suffice to say, that each victim was placed on the rack, and compelled to inhale water at every attempt to draw breath, until his body became inflated and he swooned, was recovered, and the same horrible process repeated. The fire was applied by means of lighted candles, held to the elbows and other sensitive parts of the body, and relit when extinguished by the heavy sweat of agony.—(Pp. 18 to 32.)

† This fact rests on Dutch authority.

feeling against monopolies, which was evidently gaining ground in the House of Commons, stimulated by the complaints of the private traders, or interlopers, who pleaded the severities exercised against them in the Indian seas. The charter of the company was the gift of the Crown, from which they had recently received a new and important prerogative; namely—authority to punish their subjects abroad by common and martial law:* nor does the sanction of parliament appear to have been deemed necessary for the delegation of so important a trust. But a change was rapidly taking place; and the company, alarmed for the continuance of their monopoly, paid homage to the rising sun, by presenting a memorial to the Commons, in which they represented the national importance of a traffic employing shipping of 10,000 tons burden, and 2,500 men; and urged that the Dutch should be pressed to make compensation for past injuries, and discontinue their oppressive conduct in monopolising the spice-trade, which was felt the more sensibly by the English from the difficulty they experienced in opening a trade for woven goods on the coast of Coromandel. The precise condition of their finances at this period is not recorded; but it was certainly far from being a prosperous one:† nor could they foresee the issue of the efforts which their expulsion from the Indian islands compelled them to direct to the formation of settlements on the great peninsula itself. In the interim, many difficulties were to be encountered. The company's Persian trade languished under the caprice and extortions of local magistrates. Their agents, soon after the catastrophe at Amboyna, had quitted Java and retired to Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda. In less than a year, the extreme unhealthiness of the island rendered them anxious to abandon it; but of 250 men, 130 were sick, and they had not a crew sufficient to navigate a ship to any of the English factories. In this emergency the Dutch assisted them, by aiding their return to Batavia; and through the steady friendship of the *Pangran*, or king of Bantam, they obtained the re-establishment of their factory there, in 1629, without opposition on the part of the Dutch, who were then actively employed in defending Batavia against the *Materam*, or emperor of Java, who unsuccessfully besieged it with 80,000 men.

In 1628–'9, the station at Armegaun, on the Coromandel coast (established on a piece of ground purchased from the *Naig*, or local chief, shortly before) was fortified; twelve pieces of cannon being mounted round the factory, with a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The centre of the company's trade was the presidency of Surat, where, however, they had to sustain the commercial rivalry of the Dutch, whose larger capital, and, according to Mill, more economical management,‡ enabled them to outbid the English, both in purchase and sale. The Spanish-Portuguese made an effort to retain their vanishing power; and in 1630, the viceroy of Goa having received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, projected the recovery of Ormuz, and made unsuccessful overtures to the Mogul governor of Surat to obtain the exclusive trade. He then attacked five English vessels as they entered the port of Swally; but after a short, though indecisive

* Captain Hamilton asserts, that before this time (1624), the servants of the company, having no power to inflict capital punishment by the legal mode of hanging, except for piracy, had recourse to whipping or starvation for the same end. It is very possible, that in the general license and disorder attendant on the formation, whether of factories or colonies, by men suddenly removed beyond the pale of conventional propriety, and unguided by a deeply-rooted principle of duty, that many violent deeds were committed in the profaned name of justice. Nevertheless, so serious and sweeping a charge as the above, requires some stronger confirmation than any adduced by Mr. Hamilton, who did not enter India until sixty years after the period of which he writes so freely, and who, by his own admission, has recorded much hearsay information, through the medium of what he describes as "a weak and treacherous memory." The date of the facts are in some measure a criterion how far they may be relied on. His description of scenes, in which he had been an actor, bear the stamp of truthfulness: though, so far as the company is concerned, they are often tinctured with prejudice; for the writer was himself an "interloper."—(Vide *New Account of the East Indies*, or "Observations and Remarks of Captain Hamilton, made from the year 1688 to 1723.")

† In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, before mentioned as Persian ambassador, and one of the two brothers who so strangely ingratiated themselves with Shah Abbas, applied to the king and council to order the E. I. Cy. to pay him £2,000 as compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The directors denied the alleged service, and moreover stated, that having "been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 272.)

‡ Mill's *History of British India*, edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i., p. 64.

action, followed by several minor skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, the English gained the victory, and succeeded in landing their cargoes.

In 1631–'2, a subscription, amounting to £420,700, was opened for a third joint-stock fund. Its results have not been very accurately chronicled;* neither if they had would they afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy space already so limited, that the author is frequently compelled to crowd into a note that which he would otherwise have gladly woven into the text.

The Dutch were now the paramount maritime power in India: they annually sent from Holland thirty-four to forty-one ships, receiving in return from twenty-five to thirty-four rich cargoes;† and the occasional squadrons still dispatched by the Spanish-Portuguese, opposed their formidable enemy with even less success than did the brave sailors who manned the "ventures" of English, French, and Danish companies.

The revolution in Portugal, in 1640, by which, in less than a week, that kingdom regained its independence, had not its expected effect in restoring the national influence in India. The Dutch continued their conquering course; and having previously expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and Formosa in the China Seas, drove them from Malacca in 1640, Japan in 1641, and terminated a long and severe struggle by expelling them from Ceylon in 1656. The fortified stations on the Malabar coast—Cochin, Cananore, Cranganore, Coulan, and others of minor importance, likewise changed hands;‡ but the Portuguese, on their side, had wherewith to balance, at least in part, the success of their opponents in the East Indies, by their own acquisitions in South America (the Brazils); and in 1661, a treaty was formed between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti possiditis*—each party agreeing to be content with their reciprocal losses and advantages.

The English company, meanwhile, found it difficult to maintain even a feeble and interrupted trade; and the more so from the unfaithful conduct of their own agents at Surat.§ In 1634, permission was granted by the emperor for trade with the province of Bengal, with the restriction that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Piplee, in Orissa; and in the following year, a friendly convention was entered into with the Portuguese. This latter arrangement becoming known in England, excited hopes of extraordinary profit, and induced a number of gentlemen, headed by Sir William Courten, to form a new association for trade with India. By the intervention of Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Charles I. was prevailed upon to sanction, and even to

* The effect of the company's proceedings had been for several years a subject of parliamentary discussion; and some valuable statistics regarding their early condition have come down to us in the form of documents laid before the House. It appears that from 1600 to 1621 inclusive, 86 ships were sent to India, of which 36 returned with cargoes, 9 were lost, 3 worn out in trading from port to port, 11 captured by the Dutch, and 25 accounted for as engaged in India or on their voyage home. During this time, the exports had amounted to £613,681 in bullion, and £319,211 in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other wares, making a total of £932,892, or about £45,000 per annum: the imports realised £2,004,600, the cost of lading having been £375,288. Another paper, drawn up by order of the Commons in 1625, states, that between March, 1620, and March, 1623, 26 ships were equipped, and furnished with bullion to the amount of £205,710, and goods worth £58,806; total, £264,516. The imports during the same time, including raw silk from China and Persia, and a sum of £80,000 paid by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty of 1619, realised £1,255,444, or on an average, £313,861 per annum, and would have been much greater but for the hostilities with the Dutch. The principal objections urged on public grounds against the company were, that the exportation of specie impoverished the realm, and that the navigation of the southern seas was destructive both to the mariners and vessels employed. In reply to these charges it was urged, that the company exported not English, but foreign coin; and that the quantity had always fallen far short of the sum authorised by the charter, and was expected to decrease yearly: with regard to the injurious results alleged to be produced on the English marine by the East India trade, the best answer was its greatly increased inefficiency.—(Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*—Bruce and Macpherson.) The *pro's* and *con's* of the question as urged by the political economists of that day are very curious. What would have been their surprise, could they have been forewarned of the wealth England was to receive from India; or been told that the country whose currency could, they considered, ill bear a yearly drain of specie to the amount of £30,000, would, in 1853, be found capable of exporting £30,000,000.

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 49.

‡ "When will you return to India?" said a Dutch to a Portuguese officer, who was embarking for Europe after the surrender of a fortress to his antagonist.—"*When your crimes are greater than ours*," was the instructive reply.—(*Memoirs of India*, by R. G. Wallace: London, 1824, p. 198.)

§ Instead of attending to the company's affairs, the president and council carried on a private trade, until, quarrelling among themselves, they betrayed one another, and were obliged to solicit the leniency of their far-distant employers.—(Bruce, i., 325.)

accept a share in the proposed adventure. The preamble to the license, which was granted for a term of five years, alleges that the East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the king's subjects could resort with safety; that they had broken the conditions on which their charter had been granted; and had generally accomplished nothing for the good of the nation, in proportion to the great privileges they had enjoyed, or even to the funds of which they had disposed. These allegations, were they true, could not justify the breach of faith now committed: had the monopoly been clearly proved injurious to the nation, nothing beyond the stipulated three years' notice was necessary to its legal abrogation. The company remonstrated and petitioned without success: and one Captain Weddel, who had been previously engaged in their service, proceeded to the East Indies with six ships, and there occasioned the agents of his former employers great inconvenience, both by interfering with their trade, and by drawing upon them the hostility of the natives, who naturally suspected actual collusion, hid beneath the apparent rivalry of men of the same nation. In 1637–'8, several of Courten's ships returned with cargoes, which produced an ample profit to the association; and a new license was conceded, continuing their privileges for five years. The old company, who had never ceased complaining and petitioning against the Dutch, had now a second source of anxiety, to which a third was soon added; for the king, in his distress for funds wherewith to carry on the Scottish war, compelled them to make over to him, on credit, the whole of the pepper they had in store, and then disposed of it at a reduced price for ready money.* Lord Cottington and others became sureties for the king, who, when they were pressed for its repayment, exerted himself for their relief and the liquidation of the debt; but his power soon ceased; and what (if any) portion of their claim the company eventually recovered, is not known. It was while matters were in their worst state of distress and embarrassment at home, that the first English stations destined to prove of permanent importance in India were formed.† The position of Armegaun had been found inconvenient for providing the "piece-goods"‡ which constituted the principal item of exportation from the Coromandel coast; the permission of Sree Ranga Raya, the rajah of Chandragiri,§ granted in 1640, for the establishment of a settlement at Madras (sixty-six miles south of Armegaun) was therefore eagerly embraced, and the erection of *Fort St. George* immediately commenced by the chief local agent, Mr. Day. The court, or executive committee in London, deemed the enterprise hazardous, and inclined to its abandonment; but by the advice of the president and council of Surat, the defences were continued, though on a very limited scale. Madras remained subordinate to the distant station of Bantam until 1653; but was then raised to a presidency. Lest its importance should be over-rated, it may be well to add, that the garrison of the fort at this latter period amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers, and, in 1654–'5, was ordered to be diminished to a guard of ten, and the civil establishment to two factors.

The settlement of a trading post at Hooghly forms another early and important link in the chain of circumstances, that from slender beginnings, under a policy of the most irregular and uncertain character, has terminated in the formation of that extraordinary power, called by some

* The king bought 607,522 bags of pepper, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.=£63,283 11*s.* 6*d.*: and sold it at 1*s.* 8*d.* = £50,626 17*s.* 1*d.*—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 371.)

† The affairs of the third joint-stock were wound up in 1640, and the original capital divided, with a profit, in eleven years, of only thirty-five per cent—little more than three per cent. per annum. In the following year, £67,500 were subscribed for a single voyage; and in 1645, about £105,000 were raised for a fourth joint-stock. The attempts made, with this small sum, were very unfortunate: one ship, valued at £35,000, was wrecked; and another, with a cargo worth £20,000, was carried into Bristol by her commander (Captain Macknel), and delivered over for the king's use, during the civil war in which the nation was then involved. The company borrowed money both at home and abroad; and, in 1646, their debts, in England, amounted to £122,000. Their effects are stated as follows:—"Quick stock at Surat, £83,600; at Bantam, £60,731; in shipping and stores, £31,180; and customs at Gombroon, estimated at £5,000: forming a total of £180,511."—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 27.)

‡ The general term applied to the muslins and wove-goods of India and China.

§ A descendant of Venkatadri, brother of the famous Rama Rajah, the last sovereign of Beejanuggur (*see* p. 97.) In compliment to the naik, or local governor, who first invited the English to change their settlement, the new station was named after his father, Chenna-patam, and is still so called by the natives, though Europeans use an abbreviation of its previous designation—Madras-patam. The territory granted extended five miles along-shore and one mile inland.—(Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, and Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 229.)

an empire of chance, but really an empire of Providence. Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartments, set her dress on fire in passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor, and fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, rushed into the harem all on fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire, and the surgeons of the English East-Indiamen having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to Surat for one of them. Mr. Gabriel Boughton was selected for the important office, and having been instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by Shah Jehan to name his reward. With rare disinterestedness, Boughton asked exclusively for benefits to the company he served; and in return for this and subsequent attendance on the household of the emperor and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom-dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was availed of by their establishment at several places, especially Hooghly, from whence the Portuguese had been expelled in 1633.* Authorities agree with regard to the leading facts of the above occurrences, with one important exception—the date, which is variously stated as 1636,† 1640,‡ and 1651–'2. Bruce, the careful annalist of the E. I. Cy., fixes the latter period for the formation of the Hooghly factory, but his notice of Boughton is scanty and unsatisfactory, probably from the character of the data on which it was founded; for the "cautious mercantile silence"§ observed by the company extended to their records; and while striving to make the most of their claims upon the country at large, and to represent at its highest value the "dead stock" acquired in India, in the shape of trading licences, forts, factories, &c., they were naturally by no means anxious to set forth the easy terms on which some of their most important privileges had been obtained. During the concluding years of the reign of Charles I., they maintained a struggling and fitful commerce. In 1647–'8, when the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the parliament supreme, a new subscription was set on foot, and strenuous endeavours made to induce members of the legislature to subscribe, in the hope that the English, like the Dutch company, might ensure the protection of the state, through the influence of its chief counsellors. This project seems to have failed; and in 1649–'50, attempts to form another joint-stock were renewed, and carried out by means of a junction with Courten's association, now designated the "Assada Merchants," in consequence of their having formed a settlement on an island called by that name, near Madagascar.

The establishment of the Commonwealth changed the direction, but not the character of the solicitations of the company. They now appealed to Cromwell and his Council for redress from the Dutch, and the renewal of their charter. The first claim met with immediate attention, and formed a leading feature in the national grievances urged against Holland. The famous Navigation Act, prohibiting the importation of any foreign commodities, except in English vessels, or those of the countries wherein they were produced, though, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, absolutely requisite for the encouragement of the British navy, was felt by the Dutch as a measure peculiarly levelled against the carrying trade, so important to their national prosperity; and ambassadors were sent to Cromwell to solicit its repeal. The war which followed his refusal, involved the feeble settlements of the English in India in great danger, and almost suspended their coasting-trade; but the success of their countrymen in Europe, soon delivered them from this peril. Cromwell reduced the Dutch to the necessity of accepting peace on terms of his dictation; and a treaty was concluded at Westminster, in 1654, in which a clause was inserted for the appointment of a commission, composed

* They had settled there subsequent to the termination of Faria y Sousa's history, in 1640: for an account of their expulsion by Shah Jehan, see p. 131.

† Malcolm's *Political India*, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Stewart states that Boughton was sent to the imperial camp, in the Deccan, in 1636; and that factories were established at Balasore and Hooghly, in 1640.—(*History of Bengal*, p. 252.) Dow mentions the accident of the princess as occurring in 1643, but does not name Boughton.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 190.) It appears that no firman was issued, but only a "nishan," or order from Prince Shuja, with warrants from the local governors; but, in 1680, Aurungzebe confirmed the grant of Shah Jehan.

§ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy., from 1600 to Union of London and English Cos., in* 1707-'8, i., 426.

of four Dutch and four English members, to examine into and decide upon the claims of their respective nations, and to award punishment to all survivors concerned in the perpetration of the cruelties at Amboyna, in 1623.* In the event of the commissioners being unable to come to a decision, within a specified time, their differences of opinion were to be submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.

The claims of both parties, as might be expected from the circumstances of the case, bear evident marks of exaggeration, though to what degree it would be difficult to judge. The English company estimated their damages, as ascertained by a series of accounts from 1611 to 1652, at £2,695,999 15*s.*; the Dutch, at £2,919,861 13*s.* 6*d.* The award of the commissioners set aside the balance claimed by the latter, and allotted to the English the sum of £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna. Polaroon was likewise to be ceded by the Dutch; but they long endeavoured to evade compliance with this stipulation; and when, after the lapse of many years, the island was at length surrendered,† the nutmeg plantations, which had constituted its chief value, were found to have been all purposely destroyed.

The English company were not well pleased with the amount adjudged to them, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by Cromwell's proposition to borrow the £85,000 in question, until its distribution should be arranged. The directors asserted that the different stocks were £50,000 in debt, and many of the proprietors in difficult circumstances;‡ but that they would consent to spare £50,000, to be repaid by instalments in eighteen months, provided the remaining £35,000 were immediately assigned them to relieve their more pressing liabilities, and make a dividend to the shareholders.

The application of the company for a confirmation, under the republic, of the exclusive privileges granted under the monarchy, was not equally successful. It is not necessary to enter into the question of whether the well-grounded aversion entertained by the public towards the monopolies of soap, wine, leather, salt, &c., bestowed by the Crown on individuals, extended to the charters granted for special purposes to large associated bodies; the fact remains, that so far from obtaining a confirmation of their privileges, the E. I. Cy., in 1654, beheld with dismay their virtual abrogation in the licences granted by Cromwell to separate undertakings. The rivalry of disconnected traders was unimportant in comparison with that of the so-called Merchant Adventurers, who were proprietors of the united stock formed in 1649, and who now took their chance, in common with other speculators. By their exertions, four ships were equipped for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee. The news of these events created great excitement in Holland; and instead of rejoicing over the downfall of an old rival, the Dutch company appear to have been filled with consternation, either fearing that the example might lead to the destruction of their monopoly, or else that it would open the door to more dangerous competition from the English at large. The experiment of open trade with India was, however, of too brief continuance to afford conclusive evidence regarding the permanent effects it was calculated to produce on British commerce;§ for in 1657, the Protector and Council of State decided upon the management of a corporate body vested with exclusive privileges, as the most efficacious method of carrying on the Indian traffic. A new charter was accorded, and a coalition effected

* It does not appear that this latter part of the agreement was ever fulfilled.

† In 1665: Damm, an island near Banda, was occupied by the English in the same year; but they were driven out by a Dutch force, on the plea of a prior right. The war between England and Holland gave the Dutch an opportunity for regaining Polaroon; and by the pacification of Breda in 1667, the British government tacitly surrendered both Polaroon and Damm, in consideration of more important objects gained by that treaty.

‡ "At the same time," says Mill, "it is matter of curious uncertainty who these directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible."—(Vol. i., p. 861.)

§ Numerous pamphlets, published during the paper war which raged towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, are still extant. On one side, it was argued, that the cheapness and abundance of Indian products (especially indigo and calico), which resulted from the open trade, attested its beneficial influence on the nation; but the advocates of the company, in reply, asserted that this was merely a temporary excitement, sure to produce a reaction. With regard to the adventurers themselves, it has been alleged, that they were eminently successful; but Anderson remarks, "it is generally said that even the interlopers, or separate traders, were losers in the end;" and he adds, "so difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides."—(Vol. ii., p. 444.)

between the E. I. Cy. and the Merchant Adventurers. By their united efforts a subscription was raised, amounting to £786,000, and arrangements, already too long delayed, entered into with the owners of the preceding funds; all the forts, privileges, and immunities obtained in India and Persia being made over to the new association, in full right, for the sum of £20,000, and the ships or merchandise similarly transferred at a valuation. Thus the directors had henceforth a single fund to manage, and a single interest to pursue; but, unfortunately for them, the joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum placed beyond the power of resumption, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. On the contrary, their capital was variable and fluctuating,—formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the company chose to pay into their hands, receiving credit for the amount in the company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock, £500 entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable even to such as were not free of the company, on payment of an admission-fee of £5. A defective system, and inadequate resources, together with the hostility of the Dutch, and the disturbed state of the Deccan during the long reign of Aurungzebe, combined to render the operations of the company in India languid and inconsiderable. Yet, during this period of depression, several events occurred which had an important bearing on their after-history: in the words of Robert Grant, "amidst the storms under which it was bending,—if we may not rather say from the very effects of them,—the British authority silently struck some deep roots into the eastern continent."*

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy under Charles II., proved fortunate events to the corporation; for the Protector, notwithstanding his decision in their favour, had shown a continued inclination to sanction private adventure, at least in exceptional cases;† while the king evinced no desire to question or infringe their exclusive claims, but confirmed them in the fullest manner in April, 1661, and empowered them to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England. These two privileges, added to the administration of justice, consigned almost the whole powers of government over "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies" already or hereafter to be acquired by the company, to the discretion of the directors and their servants—not for a stated term, but in perpetuity, with, however, the usual condition of termination after three years' notice, if found injurious to the sovereign or the public.‡ Two months after the renewal of the charter, Charles married the Infanta Catherine, and received, as a portion of her dowry, a grant of the island of Bombay from the crown of Portugal. The Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were dispatched to India on the king's behalf, to demand possession of the island and its dependencies (Salsette and Tanna.)§ The Portuguese governor took advantage of the indefinite wording of the treaty, and refused to deliver over any territory beyond Bombay itself; and even that he delayed to surrender till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent produced did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The troops were dying day by day, in consequence of long confinement on board ship, and their commander requested the president of Surat (Sir George Oxenden), to make arrangements for their reception, but was refused, on the ground that such a proceeding might excite the anger of the Mogul government. In this emergency, the Earl of Marlborough returned to England, and Sir Abraham Shipman proceeded to the little island of Anjediva, twelve leagues distant from Goa, where, being cooped up in an

* *Sketch of the History of the E. I. Cy.*, page 20.

† Shortly before his death, Cromwell licensed a Mr. Rolt to export three mortars and 20,000 shells, to be disposed of to Aurungzebe, then engaged in rebellion against his father. The company directed the Surat presidency to seize on these articles as illicit; and the more effectually to frustrate the speculation, sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., desiring the different presidencies to dispose of them at the best price to either of the four rival princes who should first apply for them, preserving meanwhile a strict neutrality.—(Bruce, i., 39.)

‡ A clause in this charter confirmed to the company the possession of St. Helena, which they had taken possession of in 1651, as a convenient station for the refreshment of homeward-bound vessels, the Dutch having previously abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. Here, as in Bombay, they were empowered to frame and execute laws "as near as might be" conformable to the constitution of England; a direction not sufficiently observed.

§ He urged that the cession of these isles could not have been intended, since it would lay the important station of Bassein open to the English.

unhealthy position, and distressed for provisions, he offered to cede the rights of the English Crown to the representatives of the company at Surat. The proposition was rejected, for the two-fold reason that it was unauthorised, and that the presidency had not a sufficient force to occupy and maintain the island. At length, after Sir Abraham and the majority of the soldiers had perished, the survivors, about 100 in number, were suffered to take possession of Bombay, in December, 1664,* on terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The governmental expenses being found to exceed the revenue of the island, it was transferred to the E. I. Cy. in 1668;† "to be held of the king in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold," and with the place itself was conveyed authority to exercise all political powers necessary to its defence and government.‡

Bombay, from its insular position, proved a very important acquisition, especially to the presidency of Surat, from which it was situated within a sail of 200 miles,—a very practicable distance considered with respect to the extensive range of the Indo-British establishments. The fortifications were diligently enlarged and strengthened; and in about six years the ordnance of the garrison, which, at the time of the cession, consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, was augmented to 100. Every encouragement was held out, both to European and native settlers. A remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses built, and a system of administration framed with especial regard to the opinions and customs of the motley population, comprising English and Germans,§ Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees. In 1675–'6, the revenues were nearly doubled, having increased from £6,490 (75,000 xeraphins) to £12,037 sterling.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 87.) Letters-patent were granted by Charles II., in 1676, for the establishment of a mint at Bombay for the coinage of rupees and pice,‖ to pass current in all the dependencies of the company. A system was adopted, about the same time, for the general regulation of the service on the principle of seniority ever after maintained; the gradations of apprentices, writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants being then established.

The position of the company at this period was a very critical one: in England, notwithstanding the decided patronage of the Crown, their severe treatment of interlopers produced fierce altercations between the two houses of parliament,¶ and their pecuniary involvements induced them to direct their

* This date is memorable for the first importation of tea into England by the E. I. Cy., a small quantity being brought as a present for the king. No public order was given for its purchase until 1667; when the agent at Bantam was desired "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tey that you can gett."—(Bruce, ii., 211.) This article became the chief item in the trade with China, to be described under the head of *Hong-Kong*.

† Probably it was intended thereby to recompense the company for the annulment of their claims to Polaroon and Damm, mentioned in a previous note; and also for the cession of their possessions on the coast of Africa (obtained through their junction with the Assada merchants), to the company formed by the Duke of York, for the hateful slave-trade.

‡ The question of the proprietorship of the land at Bombay is nowhere very definitely stated as regards the native owners. The Jesuits claimed considerable portions, as appertaining to their college at Bundera, and vainly strove to establish their pretensions by force.—(*Annals*, ii., 214.) Authority was subsequently given for the purchase of lands in the vicinity of the fort to the extent of £1,500. A subsequent record states that the inhabitants had paid the King of Portugal one-fourth of the profit of their lands as a quit-rent, which President Aungier commuted for an annual sum of 20,000 xeraphins, reserving to the company the right of military service.—(iii., 105.)

§ The sobriety and regularity of the German recruits are particularly praised in the communications of 1676-'7, and a request made, that a proportion should be annually embarked to supply the frequent vacancies caused by the climate. A militia was formed, and in 1672-'3, on an alarm from the Dutch, the assistance of 500 Rajpoots was requested.

‖ The rupee was then valued at about three shillings: a pice, at a halfpenny.—(Bruce's *Annals*.)

¶ A memorable instance of this strife occurred in the case of a merchant, named Skinner, who applied to government for redress against the E. I. Cy., for having seized his ship and merchandise in India, in 1658. His complaint was referred by the king to the Privy Council, and thence to the House of Peers, by whom the directors were ordered to answer at the bar the charge brought against them. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, and appealed to the Commons against this infraction of their chartered privileges. The Lords decreed judgment, by awarding £5,000 damages to Skinner, upon which the Commons passed some condemnatory resolutions regarding the Upper House, and seizing the successful petitioner, sent him to the Tower. The Lords, in reprisal for Skinner's incarceration, ordered Sir Samuel Barnadiston and three other leading members of the contumacious company into confinement, and declared their memorial false and scandalous: while the Lower House in turn, resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords in favour of Skinner, would prove himself a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the king prorogued parliament seven times on this account; and at length, in 1670, when, after some intermission, the controversy again revived, he sent for the members of both

servants in India to borrow the money necessary for procuring investments or cargoes for Europe, "without being limited either in the amount, or the rate of interest."* In the year 1673–'4, the president of Surat stated that the Indian debts amounted to £100,000, exclusive of the rapid accumulation of them by the payment of high interest;† and for the liquidation of these sums, the only source as yet available was the balance of trade. Nor was it always practicable to raise loans on any terms; for the native bankers and dealers, called Shroffs and Banians, who took off the imports of European traders in large quantities, and advanced money when the supply sent out was insufficient to provide cargoes for the expected shipping, were themselves constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of their own government, which they strove to escape by calling in their capital, and burying it till better times enabled them to employ it with impunity. These difficulties induced the president and council to urge that money should be borrowed in England at four per cent., rather than taken up in India at double the cost, or, as frequently happened, no funds being available to provide investments, the ships kept waiting for return cargoes until the arrival of a fresh supply of bullion. Territorial revenue began to be looked to as the remedy for these evils, and political influence courted as a means of commercial prosperity. There was no established power under whose protection foreign traders could place themselves, and to whose legitimate authority they could offer, in return, hearty and undivided allegiance. Their earliest territorial suzerain, the rajah of Chandragiri, had been overpowered by Meer Jumla, the general of the King of Golconda, about the year 1656, and Mohammedan rule extended over the territory in which Madras was situated. The English suffered no inconvenience from the change; but were, on the contrary, especially favoured by the usurping sovereign, who suffered their money to pass current, and conferred upon them several valuable privileges. They continued to pay him an annual quit-rent of 1,200 pagodas, until about 1687–'8, when his power being considerably weakened by the aggressions of Aurungzebe, they appear to have taken advantage of some flimsy pretext to withhold their tribute. By the Great Mogul the English were likewise well treated; and had he possessed unquestioned supremacy over the places in which their trade was situated, their policy would have been comparatively plain and easy, and their difficulties would have consisted almost exclusively in the rivalry of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, to which list the French‡ had been recently added. But the rise of

houses to Whitehall, and by personal persuasion, induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. The company came off victors; for Skinner, it would appear, never got any portion of the compensation adjudged to him.—(Anderson, ii., 461.)

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 202. † *Idem*, 342.

‡ The ministers of Louis XIV., Cardinal Richelieu and the great Colbert, had directed their attention to the commercial and naval interests of France. Colbert, especially, laboured in this cause with extraordinary zeal and success. In 1642, a settlement was made in Madagascar, preparatory to the extension of French power in the Eastern seas; but the adventurers, through their wanton cruelty, became involved in contests with the brave natives (Malagash), and notwithstanding repeated attempts, were unable to secure a footing in this rich island. In 1664, Colbert formed an E. I. Cy. on the model of that of Holland, with a very privileged charter for fifty years, and a stock of £625,000, partly raised by loan. Four ships were sent to Madagascar; and in 1668 a factory was commenced at Surat, then the general resort of European nations. But the French soon looked to political rather than to commercial prospects; and under the direction of an experienced man, named Caron (who, disgusted with the ill-treatment received from the Dutch after long and valuable service, had quitted their employ), surveyed the coasts of India for an eligible site whereon to lay the foundation of French power. The fine harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was judiciously selected, and taken possession of by a French squadron, under La Haye: hostilities ensued between the French and Dutch E. I. Companies; but the former losing many men by sickness, were soon expelled, and proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where they captured St. Thomas, or Meliapoor. The Dutch co-operated with the King of Golconda, and the French garrison being reduced to the extremity of famine, were compelled to surrender. The survivors, under the guidance of a Mr. Martin, who, like Caron, had previously been in the service of the Dutch company, purchased from the King of Beejapoor, a village upon the coast called Pondicherry, with a small adjacent territory, and there formed the settlement eventually of so much importance. By his prudent measures the place became rapidly populous, and being desirous to put it in a state of defence during the disturbed state of the country, he obtained permission for the erection of fortifications, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who endeavoured to bribe the King of Beejapoor to withdraw his protection, and permit them to expel the new settlers; but the firm reply was, "The French have fairly purchased the place; I shall not be so unjust as to take it from them."—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 260.) The Beejapoor monarchy was overthrown by Aurungzebe in 1686. The Dutch overpowered the French garrison, and drove them out in 1693; then, desirous to secure their conquest, immediately improved and strengthened the

the Mahrattas, under Sevajee—a native power under a native leader—greatly changed the state of affairs. At first, the English were disposed to follow the example of their imperial patron, and treat the new leader as a mere marauder—a captain of banditti—whose attempts at friendly communication were to be evaded, without however, unnecessarily provoking a foe whose anger and alliance were both to be avoided.

When Sevajee advanced against Surat in 1664, the terror of his name had already taken such deep root, that the governor shut himself up in the castle, and the inhabitants fled from the city. The Dutch and English remained in their factories; and the latter, calling in the ships' crews to their aid, by courage and determination succeeded in preserving their own property, and that of their immediate neighbours, from pillage. Aurungzebe rewarded this service by a firmaun, conceding one per cent. out of his three per cent. custom duties, and a total exemption from all transit charges. In 1670, the place was again approached by Sevajee. The French, who had established a factory there, preserved it by paying a contribution:* the Dutch station being without the town, was not attacked: the English, having transported the greater part of their goods on board ship to Swally, prepared to guard the remainder at all hazards. The factory was assailed, but successfully defended by the English, though several lives were lost, as well as some property in detached warehouses. The Mahrattas then threatened to set the factory on fire; but Sevajee was unwilling to proceed to extremities, being desirous to induce them to return as traders to Rajapoor, which they had quitted on account of his exactions. A complimentary present offered to Sevajee, was very gratifying to him. He extended his hand to the English deputies, with an assurance that he would do them no wrong; and on several subsequent occasions negotiations were set on foot, which, however, the English endeavoured to evade bringing to any definite conclusion, by demanding compensation for the injuries received from the Mahrattas at Surat and elsewhere. This stipulation was conceded in 1674, and a treaty formed, by which 10,000 pagodas were promised to the aggrieved party, and the long-maintained right deemed inherent in the sovereign over all wrecks on the shores of his territory, relinquished in favour of English vessels. The enthronement of Sevajee took place at this time, and the envoy beheld with amazement a portion of the magnificent ceremonial, with its costly and characteristic feature,—the weighing of the person of the new sovereign against gold coin to be distributed among the Brahmins, as an act of reverence to their order, accompanied by the performance of many munificent acts of charity.† The Mogul government watched with jealous distrust this growing intercourse, and the English found great difficulty in maintaining a neutral position. In 1677–'8, the directors of the E. I. Cy., or, as they were then termed, the Court of Committees, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants as the rule of their proceedings with the Mogul, with Sevajee, and with the petty rajahs," as the means of obtaining compliance with the various firmauns and grants already acquired; and desired them to endeavour, by their conduct, to impress the natives with an opinion of their commercial probity. "At the same time," says Bruce, "they gave to President Aungier and his council [at Surat] discretionary powers to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants: in this way the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the king and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."‡ This writer is too intimately acquainted with the company's proceedings, and too decidedly their champion, to be accused of putting an unfair construction on any of their directions. It was evidently necessary that considerable latitude should be given by masters so far removed from the scene of action; but subsequent events indicate that plans of terri-

works: but their labour proved ill-bestowed; for the place was restored to its rightful owners by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.—(Raynal's *E. and W. Indies.*)

* Wilson's note on Mill, vol. i., p. 99. Grant Duff says, "the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property [including a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed and other rich furniture], became part of Sevajee's boasted spoils on this occasion."—(*History of Mahrattas*, i., 247.)

† Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, equal to about ten stone. The titles assumed by Sevajee were,—*the head ornament of the Cshatriya race, his majesty, the rajah Seva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.*

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 406-'7.

torial aggrandisement, to be carried out by force of arms, were already entertained.

The governmental expenses of Bombay (civil and military) were found to be very heavy; and as a means of meeting them, taxes were raised and salaries diminished; that of the deputy-governor, the second in rank in the service, being reduced to £120 per annum. Great dissatisfaction was created by these changes, especially by the diminution of the garrison; soon after which the trade of the place was menaced by two sterile isles in the neighbourhood (Henery and Kenery) being taken possession of respectively by Sevajee and his opponent, the Siddee, or Abyssinian leader, who held the position of admiral of the Mogul fleet.* The English were obliged to conclude a humiliating truce with both parties, and thus purchase freedom from interruption to their trade, until the abandonment of these barren rocks relieved them from alarm on that score.

The death of Sevajee, in 1680; the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child as president of Surat, with a council of eight members, in 1681; the erection of an independent agency in Bengal, in 1682; and the expulsion, in the same year, of the English from Bantam,† were rapidly followed by other important events. The system of injudicious retrenchment attempted at Madras and Surat, and persevered in at Bombay,‡ ended in producing a revolt in that island. Captain Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, which comprised 150 English soldiers and 200 topasses (natives), seized the deputy-governor, with such of the council as adhered to him, assembled the militia and inhabitants, and being by them appointed governor of the island, issued a proclamation declaring the authority of the company to be annulled in Bombay, and that of the Crown substituted in its place. President Child had no force wherewith to compel the submission of the insurgents; and his attempts at negotiation were decidedly rejected, on the plea that the measures which had led to the rebellion, had originated solely in the selfish policy of himself and his brother, Sir Josiah Child, the chairman of the Court of Committees.

The king was appealed to by both parties; and in November, 1684, the island was delivered up by Keigwin to Sir Thomas Grantham, as the representative of the Crown, on condition of a free pardon for himself and all concerned. To prevent the recurrence of a similar disturbance, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay; and for the suppression of the interlopers, who were believed to have been intimately concerned in the late revolt, admiralty jurisdiction was established in India, by virtue of letters-patent granted by James II., in 1686. Sir John Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the forces of the E. I. Cy., both by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia, and he was likewise entrusted with supreme authority over all the settlements. The weapons thus furnished were used with an unhesitating determination, which has rendered the conduct of the plenary representative of the powers delegated to the company a subject of unqualified panegyric, and of equally exaggerated blame. The truth probably lies between these extremes. The brothers Child were men of considerable ability, and deeply interested in the fortunes of the company, whose affairs devolved chiefly on their management. They were led, by a very natural process, to contrast the flourishing state of the Dutch trade with their own depressed condition, and to seek for the cause of the comparative, if not complete exemption of the rival company from the unlicensed competition of their countrymen,

* Siddee, or Seedee, is a corruption of an Arabic term, signifying a lord; but in the common language of the Deccan, it came to be applied indiscriminately to all natives of Africa. The Siddees of Jinjeera took their name from a small fortified island in the Concan, where a colony had been formed on a jaghire, granted, it appears, in the first instance, to an Abyssinian officer, by the king of Ahmednuggur, on condition of the maintenance of a marine for the protection of trade, and the conveyance of pilgrims to the Red Sea. The hostility of Sevajee induced the Siddee, or chief, to seek favour with Aurungzebe, by whom he was made admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an annual salary of four lacs of rupees (£40,000) for convoying pilgrims to Judda and Mocha. The emperor himself sent an annual donation to Mecca of three lacs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, Bruce, and Orme.)

† In 1677, the principal agents at Bantam were assassinated by some of the natives, on what ground, or by what (if any) instigation, does not appear. The company persevered, nevertheless, in endeavouring to maintain commercial intercourse; and friendly embassies, accompanied by presents of tea on the part of the King of Bantam, and of gunpowder on the part of the English sovereign, were continually dispatched, until a civil war, instigated by the Dutch, terminated in the deposal of the old king by his son, who, in obedience to his domineering allies, expelled the English from their factory in 1682, and never permitted their re-establishment in his territories.

‡ In 1682-'3, the European garrison, reduced to at least 100 men, "were daily murmuring at the price of provisions, which their pay could not afford."—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 489.)

and from the delinquency of their servants. Whether they examined and compared the commercial details of the two associations does not appear, nor whether they made due allowance for the heavy drain occasioned by the large subsidies, or, as the anti-monopolists called them, bribes, furnished to Charles II. and James II., not, however, for the private use of these monarchs, since the monies in question are said to have been paid into the exchequer for the public service.* Be this as it may, the remedy for existing evils constantly put forth by the company during the administration of Sir Josiah Child, was a close imitation of the policy of the successful and unscrupulous Dutch, whose aggressive conduct towards the natives had its counterpart in the sanguinary decree for the infliction of capital punishment on all interlopers and deserters. Sir Josiah Child certainly understood the mind of the English public at the close of the seventeenth century far too well to press the adoption of such a law, whatever his own wishes on the subject might have been. He contented himself with urging the suppression of private trade by more gentle means, at the same time advocating the attainment of independent power in India, by the enlargement and strenuous assertion of the authority of the company over British subjects within the limits of their charter; and, secondly, of retaliative, if not aggressive hostilities against the Indian princes. The administration of Shaista Khan, as "Nabob,"† or governor of Bengal, was alleged to have been vexatious and oppressive in the extreme; and amicable negotiations having failed in procuring redress, it was thought practicable to obtain better terms by force of arms. Accordingly, the largest military armament‡ ever yet assembled by the company, was dispatched to India, with orders to gain possession of the city and territory of Chittagong as a place of future security, and thence retaliate upon the Nabob, and even upon the Mogul himself, the injuries and losses which had already been sustained. Bombay was elevated to the rank of a regency, after the example of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo; and orders were given to increase the fortifications, and render the island "as strong as art and money could make it."§ Madras was formed into a corporation, to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (of whom three were to be the company's servants and seven natives), with 120 burgesses.‖ An offer was made by the garrison of Fort St. George (Madras), to aid the King of Golconda against the Dutch, with whom he was then at war; and in return, a firmaun was to be solicited to coin rupees, together with the grant of St. Thomas as an English possession. Thus the company were desirous of attaining political influence in all directions; and their views were seconded with much energy by Sir John Child, who, following the spirit of the instructions cited in a previous page, resolved to commence hostilities against Aurungzebe, as if on his own responsibility; so that in the event of an unfavourable issue to the expedition, an opportunity might be provided of negotiating for the restoration of former privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they had stood previously to his apparently unsanctioned proceedings.

By some casualty the whole force did not arrive in the Ganges at the same time; and an insignificant quarrel between three English soldiers and the "peons," or native police of the Nabob, brought on the contest in an unexpected manner, in October, 1686. Hooghly was cannonaded by the fleet under Captain Nicholson, and 500 houses were burnt, upon which the foujdar, or military governor, made overtures for peace; but the demands of the English were so exces-

* Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 105-'6.

† An English corruption of the Arabic word *Naib* or the Persian *Nawab* (meaning deputy), applied to the imperial soubahdars or governors.

‡ Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the members of council, in Bengal. In addition to this force, application was made to the king for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers.

§ Bruce, vol. ii., p. 586. It was stated in 1691-'2, that £400,000 had been spent in fortifying and improving Bombay, including the harbour, docks, &c.

‖ The aldermen were to be justices of the peace, and to wear thin scarlet gowns, and the burgesses black silk gowns: a town-clerk and recorder were to be appointed; a sword and mace to be carried before the mayor, and a silver oar before the judge-advocates—ceremonies which must have been very puzzling to the native aldermen. Some difficulty occurred in carrying this project into execution; for although the inhabitants soon recognised the beneficial effect of the new measure, the mixed description of persons considered proper for the court of aldermen could not be obtained. No Armenian could be induced to act; the Jews left the place; the Portuguese feared their countrymen and the Inquisition too much to accept office; and the local authorities considered it unsafe to "confide in the Moors or Mussulmen."—(Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, ii., 593; 659: iii., 111; 156.) With regard to the Hindoos, no objection appears to have been raised either by or against them.

sive, amounting to above sixty-six lacs of rupees, or nearly £700,000, that they could scarcely have expected compliance. On the side of Surat considerable advantage was at first gained by the capture of a number of Moorish vessels, richly freighted;* and also in Bengal, through the determined conduct of Job Charnock, the company's agent, by whom the Nabob's forces were repulsed in repeated assaults, the fort of Tanna stormed, the island of Injellee seized and fortified, and the town of Balasore partially burned, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet: the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered by the enemy, and the agents placed in irons. At this period, Muchtar Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and with him a sort of provisional convention was entered into, which was to be the basis of a treaty with the Mogul. The court in London, overjoyed at the prospect of such favourable terms, voted Sir John Child a present of 1,000 guineas,—a very large sum in proportion to the moderate salaries then apportioned to Anglo-Indian functionaries.†

The negotiation fell to the ground. According to the account given in the official records, Muchtar Khan never intended to carry it out, and only affected to entertain the proposition as a means of gaining time until the results of the contest of Aurungzebe with Beejapoor and Golconda, and also with Sumbajee, should be fully manifest. This seems contradicted by the fact, that after these two kingdoms fell into the power of the Mogul, the English authorities of Madras solicited and received from the conqueror a confirmation of the privileges accorded to them by the deposed monarch. In fact, they followed the example of a neighbouring Hindoo governor, who quietly remarked, that "as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums and fired his guns, for the victory of the mighty Aurungzebe over his old master."‡ Sir John Child severely reprimanded the Madras agency for their conduct, as implying a doubt of the ultimate issue of the struggle of their countrymen with the Mogul; but since he had himself evinced pretty clearly a similar feeling, by affecting to act on his private authority, without the knowledge of his employers, it is hard to censure the Madras agents for taking measures against their otherwise certain destruction or captivity. The annals of this period are very confused: even Bruce, more than once, alludes to their defectiveness; but it appears, that in October, 1688, Sir John Child, suspecting duplicity on the part of the Mogul governor, embarked at Bombay, and appeared off Surat with a fleet of seven ships, his intention being to deter Muchtar Khan from any breach of the provisional agreement. In this same month, Captain Heath reached Bengal, in command of a large armed ship, the *Defence*, attended by a frigate, and bearing instructions from the Court of Committees for the active prosecution of hostilities. His proceedings are thus related by Bruce:—"Captain Heath, on the 29th of November (contrary to the opinion of the agent and council, and notwithstanding a perwannah [*order*] for peace with the English had been received by the governor from the Nabob), attacked and took a battery of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the governor; and the company's agents, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing." Under these circumstances, it would seem unjust to accuse the Moguls of breaking the armistice, since it was not till the 26th of December that Muchtar Khan seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, ordered the company's goods in Surat to be sold, demanded a contribution of five lacks of rupees, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child—alive or dead. The island of Bombay was attacked by the Siddee, the greater part of it occupied by the enemy, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurungzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as also that at Vizagapatam, where the agent and four factors were slain.

The unequal contest could not, it was evident, be prolonged without occasioning the destruction of those by whose ambition and imprudence it had been provoked. Solicitations for peace were presented, in December, 1688, and received with a show of indifference—rather affected than real; for the imperial treasury, drained by constant warfare, could ill bear the sub-

* According to the writers of that day in the interloping interest, the advantage in question was purchased at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith; but this allegation the company denied.

† Harris, the successor of Child as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had only £300 a-year. The regency scheme was abandoned.

‡ Orme's *Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire.*

traction of any source of income. The application of the English for the restoration of commercial privileges, was doubtless the more welcome, for being presented under circumstances which enabled Aurungzebe to carry out the policy evidenced in his dealings with the Portuguese, of reducing the pretensions of European maritime powers trading to the Indies to a complete dependence on his authority; thus keeping down attempts at political influence while desirous of promoting mercantile intercourse. In February, 1689, a new firmaun was issued, which declared that "the English having made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they have done may be pardoned;" and having promised "to restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners thereof, and walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his daily favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them." Out of his princely condescension, the Great Mogul further agreed to permit a present of 150,000 rupees to be placed in the treasury of Surat. The firmaun concludes with an express stipulation "that Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The translation of this document is apparently faulty; but it suffices to convey an idea of its tone and tenor, and fully bears out the declaration of Bruce, that the result of all the projects of the company to become an independent power in India, was to reduce their agents to a more abject position than any in which they had been placed since the first establishment of an English factory in India.*

Sir John Child, who had provided in his own person a scape-goat for the wrath of the emperor, died at Bombay during the progress of the negotiation, and the office of president devolved on Mr. Harris, then a prisoner at Surat. On payment of the fine and restoration of goods decreed in the firmaun, Mr. Harris and other English prisoners were immediately released from their long confinement in irons; but it was not until the 22nd of June, 1690, that the Siddee, by order of Aurungzebe, vacated his different posts at Bombay (Mazagon, Mahim, and Sion), after about a twelvemonth's occupation. On the same day, the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England was proclaimed in this island, as it had been at Madras eight months before. Ignorant of the disasters attending their ambitious projects, the court, in the instructions addressed to their servants in 1689, declare —"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of our revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."† Being chiefly concerned in monopolising the spice-islands, the Dutch appear to have followed their policy of territorial aggrandisement far less strenuously on the continent of India than at Ceylon, Java, and throughout the Eastern Archipelago, at Formosa (China), at the Cape of Good Hope, at New York, Guyana, and other widely-spread localities.

The disastrous issue of the recent expedition, compelled the English to adopt a more deferential manner towards the native powers, but made no change in their ultimate intentions. Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the town and harbour of Tegnapatam,‡ on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase from Rajah Ram,

* Bruce, ii., 639-'40; 646—653. The firmaun contains no reference to the privilege of coining money, which had long been a point in dispute.

† "Dispatch from the Court of Committees in Ann. Comp., 1689-'90: written, there seems good reason for believing, by Child."—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 101.)

‡ In the instructions for the establishment of this new settlement, special encouragement is directed to be given to Armenians, as also in Vizagapatam and Madras. In the latter place, one quarter of the town was to be allotted to them, with permission "to build a church at their own cost," a duty sadly neglected by the company. These Armenians were a Christian sect formed during the power of the successors of Constantine. When the countries they inhabited were over-run by the Mohammedan arms, they were forcibly transplanted by Shah Abbas, and other belligerent monarchs, into Persia, and dispersed among the surrounding countries, where they earned a livelihood as merchants and brokers. Some of them made their way into India, and obtained a character for successful trading, which rendered the company desirous to employ them in vending English woollens, and procuring fine muslins and other goods. The project seems to have failed, the Armenians being pre-engaged in the service of the Levant company.

the Mahratta sovereign, and the sanction of the Mogul authorities of the Carnatic obtained for its occupation. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.*

About the same time a more important acquisition was made in Bengal. During the late hostilities, the agent and council at Hooghly, fearing to continue in so exposed a position, removed to Chuttanuttee, a village about twenty-four miles lower down the river, where they hoped to remain in security under the protection of their ships. The Nabob ordered them to return to Hooghly, and forbade their building, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanuttee; but, on the pacification with the court of Delhi, permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory there. Repeated attempts were made to obtain leave to fortify the new position, and for a grant of jurisdiction over its inhabitants, as also over those of the adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpoor. Similar applications were made by the Dutch at Chinsura (about a mile southward of Hooghly), and by the French at Chandernagore (two miles lower down the river), but without success; for Aurungzebe never permitted any foreigner to erect a single bastion on Mogul territory, though he tolerated the continuance (at Madras for instance) of such European fortresses as his conquests over Mohammedan or Hindoo princes drew within the borders of the empire. At length, one of those intestine divisions which have so often placed India at the feet of strangers, procured for the agencies before-named the privilege long vainly solicited. Soobah Sing, a petty Hindoo chief, being dissatisfied with Rajah Kishen Rama, of Burdwan (who must have been either tributary to, or in the service of, Aurungzebe), united with Rehim Khan, an Afghan, then considered the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, in an attempt to overturn the government, in 1695-'6. The three European settlements hired a number of native soldiery to guard their property: the Dutch and French professed themselves staunch allies of the Mogul: the English endeavoured to preserve a semblance of neutrality, but united in requesting permission to fortify their factories against the attacks of the insurrectionists. The Nabob directed them, in general terms, to defend themselves, and they, taking for granted what was not absolutely forbidden, laboured day and night in raising walls with bastions round their stations. A pitched battle between the insurgents and Kishen Rama, terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and the capture of his family. His beautiful daughter was among the prisoners: Soobah Sing strove to dishonour her; but the attempt cost him his life; for the hapless girl, aware of his intention, had concealed a sharp knife in the folds of her dress; and when he strove to seize her, she inflicted upon him a mortal wound, and then, with mistaken heroism, stabbed herself to the heart. By this catastrophe, the rebel army fell under the sole control of the Afghan chief, who became master of Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Rajmahal: the Dutch and English factories, at the latter place, were pillaged of considerable property. Chuttanuttee and the fort of Tanna† were unsuccessfully attacked. But the general progress of the rebels was almost unchecked; and in December, 1696, their force comprised 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry: the revenue of the country in their possession was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and Rehim Shah assumed the style and dignity of a prince. The remissness of the Nabob being deemed the chief cause of the rapid spread of the insurrection, Prince Azim (second son of Prince Mauzim)‡ was sent at the head of the Mogul army for its suppression, and was at the same time appointed to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The death of Rehim Shah in battle, in 1698, and the submission of the Afghans, was followed by a general amnesty. The Europeans were suffered to continue their fortifications; and in 1698, the English, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, obtained per-

* The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch into Bengal is not recorded; but the French established themselves about 1676, and the Danes in the same year at Serampore.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 346.)

† Tanna, ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, was defended by an English frigate, sent at the request of the foujdar of Hooghly to support the fort against the rebels. Calcutta, according to Stewart (properly called Calicotta), takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of Time. The territory purchased from the zemindars in 1698, extended about three miles along the *Hooghly* (or *Bhagaruttee*), and one mile inland.

‡ It was a part of the policy of the wily Aurungzebe, to bring forward his grandsons and place them in positions of honour and emolument; so that they might be disposed, in any emergency, to side with him rather than with their own fathers.

mission to purchase Chuttanuttee and the adjoining villages, with authority to exercise justiciary power over the inhabitants. The designation of Calcutta came to be applied to the whole, and the name of Fort William was given to the defences in honour of the English monarch.

Notwithstanding these cheering indications of progress in Bengal, the general condition of the E. I. Cy. at this period was one of extreme political and financial depression; their difficulties from private trade and piracy being aggravated by the national hostility of the French, and the domestic rivalry of a new association. The death of Sir John Child made no change in the policy pursued by his brother in England: at his instigation, the Court of Committees continued to wield, to the fullest extent, the somewhat questionable authority conveyed by their charters, which, although intended to confer the privilege of exclusive trade, left loopholes sufficient to encourage unauthorised ventures on the part of speculators inclined to balance ultimate risk, against the present safety and prospect of gain afforded by the want of any power on the part of the company to seize vessels at the outset or on the voyage, however evident the intention of the equipment. The consequence was, that although the court might occasionally bring offenders before the King's Bench, and did, at one time (1685–'6), threaten to prosecute as many as forty-seven of the principal interlopers, yet the brunt of the battle fell to the share of their servants in India; and they, if the evidence of Captain Hamilton* may be trusted, shrank from the responsibility of carrying out the stringent orders forwarded on this head, declaring that the laws of England were contrary to the measures proposed. Apart from the testimony of any unfavourable witness, there are indications, in the selected Annals of the E. I. Cy., of a tendency to confound private and unlicensed trade with piracy,† which probably conduced to the increase of the latter disgraceful crime, while it aggravated the hostility of the interlopers, who must have possessed considerable influence if they were, as described in an official despatch, "malcontents, quondam committee-men, and adventurers, who have sold their stocks at high rates, and want to buy in again at low."‡ The change in the government of England paved the way for discussions regarding the validity of rights proceeding from a grant of the Crown simply, or rights proceeding from a grant founded on an act of the legislature. The strong desire of the nation for extended commerce with India was manifested in the eagerness with which one large class of persons recommended an open trade; while another united for the formation of a new joint-stock association. Petitions and remonstrances were on all sides presented both to parliament and the king; and while parliament passed repeated resolutions in favour of the new company, the king as often granted charters to the old. The letters-patent of 1693 confirmed the monopoly of the latter, but only for a period of twenty-one years; terminated the "permission trade," by prohibiting the grant of licences to private ships; decreed the annual exportation of British manu-

* According to this writer, Mr. Vaux, the governor of Bombay, who had obtained that position by favour of Sir Josiah Child, in answering a communication on the subject of interlopers, took occasion, while thanking his patron for past benefits, to assert his resolution to abide by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah, in reply, "wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. I am the more particular," adds Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in anno, 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's [Avery] robbing the Mogul's great ship, the *Gunsway*" [Guj Suwaee]—*East Indies*, i., 233.) Considering the preponderance of country gentlemen in parliament at this period, the satire is not without point; and Hamilton's assertion regarding the letter is so clear and positive, that it can hardly be set aside without unwarrantable disparagement to the character of an intelligent though prejudiced writer. Such vague statements as the following may be reasonably viewed with more suspicion:—"The power of executing pirates is so strangely sketched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate."—p. 362.

† An illustration of this tendency may be found in the records of 1691-'2. "The court continued to act towards their opponents (the interlopers) in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns, and granted commissions to all their captains proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and bring them to trial before the admiralty court of Bombay, explaining that as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed, but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known."—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, vol. iii., p. 103.)

‡ *Idem*, p. 112.

factures, to the value of £100,000; and directed the dividends to be paid, for the future, exclusively in money. In defiance of this charter, a vote of the House of Commons declared it to be "the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament."* This state of strife and confusion reached its climax in 1695, when it became known that a system of direct bribery had been pursued towards men in power. The Lower House, though some of its leading members were deeply implicated, came forward actively in the matter, and ordered the books of the company to be examined, from whence it appeared, that previous to the Revolution the annual expenditure in "secret services" had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; but that since that epoch it had gradually increased, and in the year 1693, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, had amounted to upwards of £80,000. Many persons of eminence were involved in these nefarious transactions with the most unprincipled schemers: the Duke of Leeds, then lord president of the council, vehemently defended the company, and was himself impeached by the Commons, on the charge of having received a bribe of £5,000; but the principal witness against him was sent out of the way; and it was not till nine days' after it had been demanded by the Lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop the fugitive. The inquiry, at first urged on with all the violence of party-spirit, soon languished; the rank and influence of a large number of the persons directly or indirectly concerned, opposed an insurmountable barrier to its prosecution, and by the prorogation of parliament, though nominally only suspended, it was actually abandoned. Sir Thomas Cooke had been committed to the Tower for refusing to disclose the names of the individuals who had received bribes: his temporary confinement was compensated by a present of £12,000, bestowed upon him by the Court of Committees "some years after the bustle was over."†

The result of these proceedings was greatly to degrade the company; nor could it be otherwise, while any sense of honesty existed in the public mind. Yet the weight of blame rests unquestionably less heavily on those who offered the bribes than on the sworn guardians of the national interests, who, by accepting them, showed themselves tainted by that unholy covetousness which, under a despotism, is the chief source of the perversion of justice; and, among a free people, must tend to destroy the very basis of all sound principle and impartial legislation.

In a pecuniary sense, these disbursements were unwarrantable, being made at a time when the funds of the association barely sufficed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenditure called for by the occupation of new settlements, and the heavy losses entailed by the hostility of the French, after the declaration of war against that people by England and Holland, in 1689. For the next eight years sharp conflicts occurred between the fleets of the rival nations, which were happily terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697. In a commercial point of view, the French inflicted more injury upon themselves by their lavish and ill-directed expenditure, than upon their old-established opponents;‡ but the improvement in the condition of their marine, through the exertions of the ministers of Louis XIV., rendered their enmity peculiarly disastrous to the mercantile shipping of their foes. During the war, no less than 4,200 British merchant-vessels were captured, including many East-Indiamen, which were intercepted

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., p. 142.

† Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., 608. Tyssen, the deputy-governor, and other persons shared the imprisonment of the governor, and probably also received proportionate gratuities. Among them was the notorious Sir Basil Firebrass, or Firebrace, who had been recently bought off from the interloping interest, and who played a leading part in 1701 in the arrangements for the union of the two E. I. Companies, and demanded in return a per centage equal in value to £30,000, on a portion of the joint stock.

‡ The French East India trade appears to have been from the first a losing concern. Notwithstanding the pecuniary and political support of the government, Colbert's company (according to the Abbé Raynal), had often to subscribe for the payment of losses, while their European rivals were dividing thirty per cent. on mercantile ventures; and in 1684, their accounts being examined by commissioners appointed by the king, it appeared that their sales, in twenty years, amounted to no more than 9,100,000 livres, and that three-quarters of their capital-stock were totally lost. Assistance from the state again propped up the association, and a slight gleam of prosperity followed; for in the years 1687 and 1691, two dividends, each of fifteen per cent., were for the first time paid from profits. The war with England and Holland was not beneficial in its general results; for although the French Cy. made extensive captures, their very success helped to encourage the swarms of privateers, which covered the seas and carried into the ports of France a great number of English and Dutch prizes with rich cargoes, to be sold at any price they would fetch. This proceeding caused a glut in the market, and obliged the company to sell their goods at unremunerative prices, or not at all.

both on the Indian seas and on the middle passage; and, off the coast of Galway, in 1695, all the four homeward-bound vessels of the company were taken by a French fleet.*

In India, the wrath of the emperor had been excited by the frequent piracies committed on the shipping of Mogul merchants,† and especially by the plunder of his own vessel the *Guj-Suwaee*, while engaged in conveying pilgrims to Mecca, in 1695. Aurungzebe himself could not detest these sacrilegious sea-robbers more heartily than did the whole body of European traders; but they being at war with one another, could make no united effort for the suppression of the common foe. The tide of popular feeling among the Mohammedans rose against the English agencies at Surat and Swally with so much violence, that the Mogul governor placed the factors and others, to the number of sixty-three persons, in irons—not from any voluntary harshness on his part, but as a necessary measure to preserve their lives amid the tumult. Large rewards were held out, both by the government of England and by the E. I. Cy., for the apprehension of the leading offenders. A sum of £1,000 was offered for the person of Captain Avery; but he escaped, having proceeded to the Bahamas, where his ship was sold and the crew dispersed; several of them were, however, seized and executed. The English found means of extricating themselves from their difficulties, and prevailed upon Aurungzebe to confide to them the task of convoying pilgrim vessels to Mocha,‡ at a charge of 40,000 rupees for a large, and 30,000 for a small vessel. The good understanding thus restored was soon destroyed by the daring piracies committed by a Captain Kidd and others off Surat.§ The emperor could no longer be appeased with assurances that such and such culprits had been executed in different British colonies, or hung in chains at Tilbury; and he declared, that since all other means had failed to check these disgraceful proceedings, he would put an end to European commerce with his subjects, unless the English, French, and Dutch would consent to sign a bond, engaging to make good any future depredations committed by pirates on the Indian Seas—an arrangement to which the European agents were most reluctantly compelled to assent.

The list of difficulties which environed the E. I. Cy., at this period, is still incomplete. While weighed down by pecuniary involvements, and unable, for years together, to pay a dividend, the project for a new Scottish company was again brought forward, and a very advantageous charter

* Although the merchantmen of the E. I. Cy., at this period, proved unable to cope with French ships-of-the-line, and were even captured by the desperate hardihood of privateering adventure, they were, nevertheless, by no means ill-provided with the appliances of war. To encourage the building of ships of above 550 tons burden, and capable of defence against the pirates of Algiers, then termed the "Turkish Rovers," it was enacted by parliament, soon after the restoration of Charles II., that for a certain number of years, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks and a-half, and a forecastle, with a space of five feet between each deck, and mounted with at least thirty cannon, should for the first two voyages receive one-tenth part of all the customs that were payable on their export and import lading. —(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., Introduction, xxxv.) A *Vindication of the E. I. Cy.*, generally attributed to Sir Josiah Child, and published in 1677, states that they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships of from 300 to 600 tons burden, carrying from forty to seventy guns, which must of course have been very light.—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, 133.) In an official statement of their affairs, published in 1689, the company assert, that in seven years they had built sixteen ships of from 900 to 1,300 tons, and had in India or on the homeward voyage eleven of their own, and four "permision ships" (*i. e.*, licensed by them) with cargoes worth above £360,000, besides a fleet comprising fourteen of their own and six permission ships bound for India, China, &c., with cargoes worth £670,000.

† One of the negotiations between Aurungzebe and the English factors, regarding piratical seizures, is recorded by Khafi Khan, an author frequently quoted in the previous section on the Mohammedan portion of Indian history. He makes no mention of the war which had previously taken place; but says, that in the year 1693, a ship bound to Mecca, carrying eighty guns and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English vessel of small size. A gun having burst in the Mogul ship, the enemy boarded, and "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken." Khafi Khan was sent by the viceroy of Guzerat to demand redress at Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes; and although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their sense and intelligence. The English alleged that the king's ships had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable, and explained their coining money in the name of their own sovereign (which was another complaint against them), by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the money of the emperor would not pass. No definite result appears to have attended this interview.—(Elphinstone, ii., 556.)

‡ Mocha and Judda are the seaports of Mecca.

§ Captain Kidd and several of his associates, being eventually captured, were executed at Tilbury Fort.

granted to these adventurers, in 1698, with authority to trade to the East as well as West Indies, Africa, and America. This enterprise—which issued in the formation of the ill-fated Darien settlement—was soon succeeded by another more directly hostile to the E. I. Cy., and which was, in fact, a complete triumph on the part of the interloping interest. On the termination of the French war, the government of England looked around eagerly for means to liquidate the heavy expenses thereby incurred. The E. I. Cy. offered a loan of £700,000, at four per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of the Indian trade secured to them by act of parliament. Their opponents tried a similar expedient, with more success, by proposing to raise a sum of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., on condition of being invested with exclusive privileges, and unfettered by any obligation to trade on a joint-stock, except as they themselves might afterwards desire. After much discussion, a bill was passed by the legislature, by which it was enacted that a loan of £2,000,000 should be raised, by subscription, for the service of government. Natives and foreigners, bodies politic and corporate, were alike at liberty to contribute their quota towards the total sum, which was to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum. In return for this accommodation, letters-patent were issued, incorporating an association, called the *General Society trading to the East Indies.** The members were authorised to adventure severally, to the amount of their subscriptions: or, if they so desired, might be formed into a joint-stock company. This new monopoly was to last until 1711; after that time, it was to terminate whenever the government chose, upon three years' notice, the original capital of two million having been first refunded to the subscribers. The old company were treated very summarily; the proviso of three years' notice† was, in their case, just so far regarded as to ensure them leave to trade with India till 1701. With regard to both associations, it was decreed that the private fortunes of the adventurers should be responsible for the liquidation of liabilities incurred in their public capacity; and if further dividends were made by the old company before the payment of their debts, the members who accepted them were to be held responsible for the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, like all others based on injustice, produced much evil and little good to any party. The conduct of the government, in expecting a trading body to traffic largely and profitably, after the abstraction of its entire capital, under the name of a loan, was in itself as glaring an absurdity as to have opened the veins of a man in full health, and then, after leaving him just blood enough to prolong a feeble existence, to expect from his emaciated frame vigorous and healthy action. As for the old company, they determined to persevere under all circumstances. The trade was too long-established, and too valuable, to be relinquished easily; and they wrote out to their servants in India, that they had resolved to bear up against ill-fortune with "a true Roman courage." Taking advantage of the clause which permitted corporations to hold stock in the new company, they resolved to trade separately and in their own name, after their three years of chartered privileges should have expired, and devoted the sum of £315,000 to this purpose; at the same time avowing their belief "that a civil battle was to be fought" between them and their adversaries; for that "two E. I. Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom;" adding, that "being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter."

The world—at least the Indian portion of it

* Mill, i., 141. Bruce says, the old association were obliged to assume the name of the *London company*, in contradistinction to the new corporation, which bore the more popular because national name of the *English company* (iii. 250); but these terms, used only for a few years, would but confuse the reader if interwoven in the text.

† Bruce, iii. 257. The old company declared their rivals "invaders of their rights, and authorised interlopers only." The new association were yet more violent in their invectives; and "the charge of piracy," says Mill, "became a general calumny with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors" (i. 136.) Sir Nicholas Waite openly denounced the London company to the Mogul as "thieves and confederates with pirates" (Bruce, iii. 337); and even applied to the governor of Surat to have their servants put in irons for an insult which, he asserted, had been offered to the ambassador of the King of England. Unfortunately, a great deal of personal ill-feeling existed between the representatives of the two societies, to which much of the impolitic harshness of their measures must be attributed.

did not laugh, but was simply amazed by the hostilities of two powerful trading bodies, each professing to act under the direct patronage of their mutual sovereign. Aurungzebe listened incredulously to the representations of Sir William Norris, who was dispatched to the Mogul court at the cost of the new company, but in the character of royal ambassador. Norris is accused of having conducted himself with unjustifiable violence towards the rival officials; and the same complaint is urged still more strongly against Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly acted as agent to the old company, but had been dismissed their employ. The new corporation in this, as in several other cases, were glad to avail themselves of the local knowledge possessed by the discarded servants of their opponents; and Waite was appointed their representative at Surat, with the title of president; to which that of consul was superadded by the king, as also to the chief of the three projected presidencies at Hooghly in Bengal, Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, and in the island of Borneo. Each party maligned the other to the Mogul government, and lavished large sums of money for the purpose of gaining exclusive privileges. Prince Azim, the governor of Bengal, received presents from both sides—16,000 rupees from the old company, and 14,000 from the new;* but without understanding their ground of difference. The emperor, equally puzzled by these proceedings, wrote privately to Seyed Sedula, "an holy priest at Surat,"† desiring him to search out which of the two parties was really authorised by the English nation. The reply of the Seyed is not recorded; probably it was indefinite and unimportant: but had the same question been addressed to a European versed in the politics of the day, the answer might have involved a revelation of quite a new order of things to the mind of the despotic but philosophical monarch.‡ What a text full of strange doctrines would have been contained in the fact plainly stated, that both companies represented the will of different sections of a free though monarchical nation;—that, indeed, "the whole of this contest was only one division of the great battle that agitated the state between the tories and the whigs, of whom the former favoured the old company, and the latter the new."§

The fierce contention and excessive competition of the rival associations, proved almost equally injurious to both. The new company, upon the first depression of their stock in the market, had manifested an inclination to unite with the old body; but the latter held off, hoping to drive the enemy out of the field; and they succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament continuing them as a distinct corporation. The struggle, however, cost them dearly; and their stock, in these times of fluctuation and anxiety, varied in value between 300 and 37 per cent.‖ The market was overladen, there being at one time as many as sixty ships abroad in India and returning. Great quantities of Indian-wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoe were imported, and from their low price, worn by all classes. The silk-weavers of London became extremely tumultuous; and in 1697, attempted to seize the treasure at the East India-house.¶ Order was restored

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 342.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 466.

‡ Bernier, while serving Danechmund Khan in the capacity of physician, heard from the lips of this nobleman the particulars of a singular interview which he had just returned from witnessing between Aurungzebe and his former tutor. The latter had enjoyed for many years a jaghire, bestowed upon him by Shah Jehan. Upon the triumph of the schemes of his ambitious pupil, the old man presented himself as a candidate for office. Aurungzebe, wearied by his importunity, dismissed him, declaring that he owed him no gratitude for his ill-directed labours and erroneous instruction. "You taught me," he exclaimed, "that the whole of Frangistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then the King of Holland, and afterwards the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan (such as the King of France, and the King of Andalusia), you told me they resembled our petty rajahs; and that the potentates of Hindoostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings." A profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind; familiarity with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected;—these were subjects which Aurungzebe pronounced to be of more importance to a prince than the possession "of great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of the law," or even proficiency in the difficult Arabic language, which no one could hope to attain without "ten or twelve years of close application." This mighty prince is certainly not the first who has lamented the waste of the precious hours of youth "in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words:" yet, considering the importance attached by Mussulmans to the power of reading the Koran in the original tongue, it seems strange that so zealous a believer should have expressed himself thus forcibly on that point.—(Brock's *Bernier*, ii., 165-'6-'7.)

§ Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, 119.

‖ Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., p. 43.

¶ *Idem*, 633.

for the time; but the discontents were renewed by the augmented imports of the years 1688–'9; and the loud complaints from Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c., of the detrimental effect on the nation, occasioned by the numerous manufacturers thrown out of employ, and likewise of the largely increased exportation of silver,* succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting the use in England or sale, except for re-exportation, of silks wrought, or calicoes printed in Persia, China, or the East Indies, either for apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200, after Michaelmas, 1701; and a duty of fifteen per cent. was soon afterwards imposed upon muslins. These regulations materially reduced the value of the Eastern trade; and probably helped to accelerate the union of the two associations,—a measure strenuously urged by King William, but not carried out till after the accession of Anne. An indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the rival companies in 1702, by which it was agreed that a full and complete union should take place at the termination of the ensuing seven years, the intermediate time to be occupied in winding up the separate concerns of each party. The coalition took place before the lapse of the stated interval, being hastened by the alarm occasioned by the demand of government for the subscription of a new loan of £1,200,000, without interest. The companies, knowing from the experience of the past, the danger of the present crisis, dreaded the formation of a fresh body of adventurers, or renewed discussions on the subject of open trade with India. They forthwith laid aside all separate views, and agreed to furnish jointly the amount required. Their differences were submitted to the arbitration of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then lord high treasurer of England; and an act was passed, in 1708, constituting them one corporate body, under the name of *the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, with continuance only until the year 1726, and then "to cease and determine, on three years' notice and repayment by government of their capital stock of £3,200,000."†

While this matter was in progress of arrangement, the long-expected death of the aged emperor took place, and was immediately followed by the fierce war of succession, with equal anxiety anticipated by the native and European inhabitants of Hindoostan. When the news reached Surat, the English president (Sir John Gayer), anxious to transmit the intelligence to the company, yet fearful of plainly stating circumstances which, in a political crisis, might either by their truth or falsehood expose the promulgator to danger, took a middle course, by stating in an allegory easy to be understood, "that the sun of this hemisphere had set, and that the star of the second magnitude being under his meridian, had taken his place; but that it was feared the star of the first magnitude, though under a remoter meridian, would struggle to exalt itself."‡

The victory of Prince Mauzim (the star of the first magnitude) over his brothers, Azim and Kaumbuksh, and his elevation to the throne, have been already related (*see* p. 154); as also the rapid decay of the once

* From 1698 to 1703 inclusive, the silver exported from England to the East Indies amounted to £3,171,405; the gold to £128,229: total, £3,299,634, or, on an average, £549,939 per ann. The East India goods re-exported from England from 1698 to 1702 inclusive, were estimated at the value of £2.538,934, or, on an average, £507,787 per ann.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, i., Introduction, p. xii.)

† To equalise the shares of the two companies, it was agreed that the old, or London company, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the new or English company lent to government, as, added to the £315,000 which they had already subscribed, should equalise their respective portions. The dead stock of the London company was estimated at £330,000; that of the English company at £70,000: therefore, the latter paid the former £130,000 to place the shares of this part of the common estate on the same basis. The assets or effects of the London company, in India, fell short of their debts; and Lord Godolphin decreed that they should pay by instalments to the United company the sum of £96,615: the English company, having their balance on the right side of the account, were to receive from the same fund the sum of £66,005. The debts of both companies in Britain were ordained to be discharged before March, 1709; and as those of the London body amounted to nearly £400,000, the directors were empowered to call upon their proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation. The £1,200,000 now advanced to government, without interest, being added to the previous sum of £2,000,000, constituted a loan of £3,200,000, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent. on the whole.—(Bruce, iii., 635—639; 667—679.) To assist them in raising the required loan, the company were empowered to borrow, on bonds, to the extent of £1,500,000 on their common seal, over and above what they were legally authorised to do before, and also to make calls of money from their proprietors.—(*Charters of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 243—367; Anderson, iii., 29.)—The company continued to bear the title now assumed until the year 1833.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 616.

mighty fabric of Mogul power, which had made perceptible progress even before the death of Aurungzebe.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of English ascendancy, it may be needful, for the sake of readers not conversant with the sources from which the narrative of European intercourse with India has been derived, to notice the grievous dearth of native history, which has largely contributed to render many ponderous tomes published on Anglo-Indian affairs, almost as unreadable as a Blue-Book, or the ledger of a commercial firm. The valuable work of Bruce is professedly compiled from the records of the E. I. Cy.; but as he has very judiciously thought fit to give an able, though brief sketch of the general state of European politics in successive reigns, it would have been no less pertinent to the subject to have selected from the voluminous despatches of the Indian presidencies, various interesting illustrations of the condition and character both of the Hindoo and Mohammedan population. Such knowledge is useful even in a purely commercial point of view; and there is the greater cause for surprise that it should have been neglected by this writer, because in almost the only instance in which he deviates from his general rule by relating an affray with the Hindoos, occasioned by an act of wanton aggression on the part of the crews of two of the company's vessels, he introduces it as "one of those untoward events which strongly mark the necessity of attention to the rights, as well as to the prejudices of the natives."* Nearly at the close of his third and last quarto volume, he quotes the humiliating observation of President Pitt (the grandfather of Lord Chatham), that "when the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since, by their example, they are grown very crafty and cautious; and no people better understand their own interest: so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you sha'nt do now in a century; and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you."†

This evidence of the effect of communication between nominally Christian nations and a people still unenlightened by the teaching of the Gospel, is unhappily confirmed by the common testimony borne by impartial witnesses regarding the state of various native populations after their intercourse with Europeans. The bigotry of Romish communities, and the indifference (masked under the name of toleration) of Protestants, had rendered the profession of Christianity in the mouth of the former a pretext for cruel persecution, and in that of the latter little better than an unmeaning sound; the shameless immorality of Europeans in general, giving cause for the Indians to doubt whether they had really any religion at all.‡

* These vessels had gone from Surat to Carwar to bring off the pepper, &c. The crew of one of them stole a cow and killed it, thus offending both the rights and prejudices of the Hindoos; being resisted, they fired at and killed two native children of rank. The factory was in danger of destruction, and the agents of imprisonment; but proceedings were suspended by reason of the impending battle between the Mahratta rajah Sumbajee, and Aurungzebe. Bruce adds, that the Malabar trade received a severe check; which would be the natural result of such an aggression, as the produce was chiefly procured through native merchants.—(ii., 545.)

† *Annals*, iii., 658-'9. Hamilton asserts, that a terrible catastrophe occurred at Batecala about the year 1670, in consequence of a bull-dog belonging to the English factory having killed a cow consecrated to a pagoda or temple. The enraged priests, believing the injury to have been intentional, raised a mob and killed the whole of the English (eighteen in number) while engaged in a hunting party.—(i. 280.) The same writer describes the neighbouring kingdom of Canara as being generally governed by a female sovereign; and he adds, "the subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them; and a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has."—(*New Account of East Indies*, i. 279.)

‡ The Dutch, from the first commencement of their intercourse with the East Indies, made strenuous efforts for the conversion of the natives of Java, Formosa, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands generally, by the establishment of missions and schools, and the translation of the Scriptures; but on the continent of India their stations were small and temporary, and their spiritual labours partook of the same character. The good and zealous minister, Baldæus, visited the Dutch possessions of Tuticorin and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, in 1660, and extended his visitation along the southern coast of the continent as far as Coulan (Quilon.) He describes the state of the Parawar, or cast of fishermen converted by Francis Xavier and other Romish missionaries, as little else than a peculiar phase of idolatry, their religion consisting in the mere outward acts of worshipping images, counting beads, and crossing themselves. The Danes, afterwards so justly celebrated for their earnest and well-directed labours in the missionary field, made no efforts of this description until they had been eighty years in India—that is, until 1706-'7. Before that time the impression they had endeavoured to make upon the natives by the scrupulous integrity of their commercial dealings, was greatly impaired by their irreligion and immorality.—(Hough, iii., 181.) With regard to the English, the description given by Ferishta, at the commencement of the 17th century, was pro-

The E. I. Cy. followed the example too generally shown by the government of England throughout the seventeenth century, excepting, perhaps, during the Protectorate. They contented themselves with sending out a few chaplains, not always well selected; and made no provision for the establishment of places of worship, consecrated to the decent celebration of the observances of their common faith. The first English church in India was erected in 1680, in Fort St. George, Madras, for the use of the factory, by the governor, Streynsham Masters. This good and earnest man completed the building "without any aid or countenance of the company in order thereto."* In fact, the missionary spirit intimately connected with the earliest colonial and commercial enterprises of the nation had been swallowed up (at least for a time) in the thirst for gain; and this circumstance is in itself a sufficient reason for the disastrous condition to which the E. I. Cy. found themselves reduced. No body of men, either in a private or public capacity, ever yet (in popular phraseology) "made their ledger their Bible" with impunity; and the punishment of an erring community is usually more perceptible than that of an individual, for the evident reason that the one has only a present existence, while for the other there is a judgment to come. We are all inclined to pass too lightly over such facts as these: we do not care to trace the workings of a superintending Providence, checking by adversity, or encouraging by prosperity, the every-day concerns of a mercantile company; nevertheless, the pith of the matter—the true philosophy of history—is in all cases the same. The flagrant blunders made by men noted for shrewdness and intrigue—the total failure of their most cunningly-devised schemes, bear daily witness amongst us of the fallibility of human judgment:—would that they taught us also the wisdom of implicit reliance on revealed truth, and of constant obedience to its pure and consistent dictates!

The century did not, however, close without some promise of better things, at least on the part of the English government; for the letters-patent of 1698 contain a special proviso, binding the general company to provide a chaplain on board every ship, and for every garrison and superior factory, in each of which a decent and convenient place was to be set apart for divine service only. These ministers were to learn Portuguese, and likewise the native language of the country where they should reside, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents in the Protestant religion."† These provisions were, it is evident, intended for the exclusive benefit of British subjects. The duty of spreading the Gospel among Indian populations was one which England was slow to recognise. Portugal, Spain, and France, Holland and Denmark, all took precedence of her in this great field; and it was not until after a long and arduous struggle, that the advocates of missionary exertion in our land succeeded in obtaining the sanction of government for their attempts to place before the people of India those divinely-revealed truths, which must be either entirely disbelieved, or else accepted as the only solid basis whereon to establish that "public virtue" which is as necessary to the true greatness of a nation, as integrity to the character of an individual. The progress of Christianity in India belongs, however, to a distinct section of this work; and its history, so far as England is concerned, is far subsequent to the present period, of which the chief interest lies in the succession of events immediately preceding the struggle between the French and English for political ascendancy in Hindoostan.

bably regarded by his countrymen as a correct account of the protestant creed at its close; so little effort had been made to set forth, in its truth and purity, the doctrines of the reformed faith. The Portuguese Jesuits, who were long in attendance on the court of Akber, were very likely to have accused their rivals of participation in the Nestorian heresy (which they had made the pretext for persecuting the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast); otherwise it would be difficult to account for some of the assertions of Ferishta. "The persuasion of this nation," he writes, "is different from that of other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, with whom they are in a state of constant warfare. They assert that Jesus was a mortal, and the prophet of God; that there is only one God, and that he is without equal, and has no wife nor child,—according to the belief of the Portuguese. The English have a separate king, independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owe no allegiance; but, on the contrary, these two people put each other to death wheresoever they meet. At present, in consequence of the interference of Jehangeer Padshah, they are at peace with one another, though God only knows how long they will consent to have factories in the same town, and to live on terms of amity and friendship with one another."—(Brigg's *Ferishta*, iv., 541.)

* Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii., 377.

† *Charters, Treaties, and Grants of E. I. Cy.* (English and Indian), from 1601 to 1772.

INDO-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—The death of Aurungzebe and the junction of the two companies, mark the commencement of a new epoch; before entering upon which it may be useful to sketch the position of the various European nations whose settlements and factories dotted the coast-line of the continent of India. On the western side of the great peninsula, the Portuguese still retained possession of the city of Goa; the fortresses of Damaun, Bassein, and Choul; and of Diu in Guzerat;* but the prestige of their power was gone for ever: by land, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahrattas, and their old foe the zamorin of Calicut, plundered them without mercy; and from the seaward they were harassed by the restless and vengeful hostility of the Muscat Arabs,† until the once haughty invaders were so completely humbled, that the English president and council at Surat, during their worst season of depression, could find no stronger terms in which to describe their own degradation, than by declaring that they had become "as despicable as the Portuguese in India, or the Jews in Spain."‡

The possessions of THE DUTCH were, for the most part, conquests from the Portuguese. On the *Coromandel coast* their chief settlement was that of Negapatam: in *Bengal*, they had posts or factories at Chinsura, Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and other places: in *Guzerat*, a station at Surat of considerable importance in a commercial point of view; and dependent posts at Ahmedabad,§ Agra,‖ and Baroach. Cochin, Cranganore, Coulan (Quilon), and Cananore, on the *Malabar coast*, were clogged with heavy military expenses, which greatly outweighed the profits of the trade connected with them. As many as a thousand soldiers were, for some years, maintained here,¶ chiefly with the object of overawing the Hindoo princes, who, though frequently conquered, had never been completely subjugated either by the Portuguese or the Dutch; but on the contrary, were always ready to take advantage of any symptom of weakness on the part of their oppressors, to put forth an unexpected amount of armed hostility. The Malabar pepper is considered the finest in India; and the Dutch, although obliged to pay double the price for which they could obtain abundant supplies in Bantam and Jambee, made strong efforts to monopolise the market, but without effect. They stigmatised the sale of pepper to other nations as a contraband trade, and endeavoured to blockade the ports of Malabar; but with so little effect, that they could not even prevent the natives from maintaining an open

* Gemelli, quoted by Anderson, ii., 644.—He adds, that they had "the islands of Timor, Solor, and Macao subject to China; and in Africa, Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombas—many in number, but of no great value."

† The Arabs expelled the Portuguese from Muscat about the middle of the 17th century, and maintained almost incessant warfare against them for the next fifty years, but did not molest other European traders till nearly the expiration of that period. In 1697, the Portuguese joined the King of Persia against the Arabs, whereupon these latter divided their fleet into two squadrons; sent one of them to burn the Portuguese settlement at Mombas, and employed the other in destroying the factory at Mangalore. The Persian monarch offered the English the same privileges conceded to them at Gombroon for co-operation in the capture of Ormuz, if they would now assist him in attacking Muscat. The company's troops and shipping were not in a condition to comply with this request, as they were otherwise inclined to do, and an evasive answer was returned. The suspicions of the Arabs were probably aroused by the negotiation; for they shortly afterwards commenced hostilities against the English, which their improvement in naval tactics rendered increasingly disastrous; until, in the year 1704–'5, we find the court of the London company expressing their determination, so soon as the war in Europe should terminate, "to equip armed vessels to clear the seas and to root out that nest of pirates, the Muscat Arabs."—*Annals*, iii., 557.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 307.

§ Founded in 1620, and abandoned in 1716.

‖ Founded in 1618, and abandoned in 1744.

¶ A great trade was at this period carried on at Surat by Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with Persia, Mocha, Acheen, and elsewhere. The English, Dutch, and French had establishments here, under the protection of the Mohammedan government. Excellent ships, costly but extremely durable, were built of teak; and one of the resident merchants (a wealthy and enterprising Moor) is said to have possessed as many as fifteen or sixteen sail, of from 100 to 500 tons burthen.—(*Account of Trade of India*; by Charles Lockyer: London, 1711.) The Dutch factory here proved the most advantageous of any formed by them in India, and continued extremely lucrative until Bombay usurped the place of Surat, and the dominancy of the English became established. Admiral Stavorinus writes from official documents, that the Dutch company, in the ten years ending 1698, gained, upon an average, a sum of about £46,315 sterling, or about 850 per cent. upon the finer spices; and on their other goods a profit of £23,266, although only in the proportion of about 59 per cent. on the prime cost. Valentyn, an excellent authority, states the gain of the Dutch at Surat, on various articles, as follows:—Upon cloves, 665; nutmegs, 1,453; mace, 718; copper in bars, 128; ditto in plates, 31; benzoin, 40; gumlac, 34; quicksilver, 27; and vermillion, 19: and he adds, that the clear profit of the head factory amounted yearly to between six and seven tons of gold, or from £55,000 to £64,000 sterling. (Quoted in Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 112—114.)

traffic with the notorious pirate Kidd. The Dutch governor, writing in 1698, remarks "that it is to be regretted the company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."* The Dutch committed the common error of putting forth pretensions unjust in themselves, and maintainable only by force. The attempt failed, and the means employed produced disastrous consequences. The reduction of the land establishments, and the breaking up of the fleet heretofore stationed on the coast, accompanied by the avowed determination of no longer obstructing the navigation, were tokens of weakness which the native princes were not likely to view in the light of voluntary concessions. In 1701, war broke out with the zamorin, or Tamuri rajah, the existing representative of a dynasty which had for two centuries formed a bulwark to India against the inroads of European powers in this direction; and hostilities were carried on at the epoch at which we are now arrived.†

The efforts of THE DANES, based on a very slender commercial capital, had not prospered. In 1689, Tranquebar, their only settlement of importance, was nearly wrested from them by their territorial sovereign, the rajah of Tanjore, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch; and was preserved to its rightful owners solely by the armed interference of an English detachment sent to their relief from Madras, after the siege had lasted six months.

THE FRENCH, as traders, were equally unfortunate with the Danes. The home manufacturers had become discontented on perceiving the increasing use of gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons. Like their fellow-traders in England, they succeeded in procuring an edict (in 1687) for the immediate prohibition of this branch of commerce; and it was with considerable difficulty that the company obtained permission to dispose of their imports on hand, or expected by the next ships. The sale of piece-goods even to foreigners was forbidden, on the supposition that those of France would be purchased instead; and a high duty was laid on raw silk, then imported in considerable quantities. Under these discouraging circumstances the trade languished; and in 1693, received a fresh blow from the capture of Pondicherry (the chief French settlement) by the Dutch. New walls were raised, and the fortifications strengthened by the victors; but their labours proved ill-directed; for, upon the conclusion of the peace in 1697, the place was decreed to be restored to its former owners, with all its additional defences, on payment of £5,000 to the Dutch government, for the expenditure thus incurred. The French company received orders from the king to take measures to prevent the recapture of Pondicherry, and frequent reinforcements were sent there. The national treasury must have furnished the funds; for the finances of the association were exhausted, and in 1708 they became absolutely bankrupt; but Louis XIV., fearing that the trade to India might otherwise entirely cease, staid all prosecutions at law against them for debt, and granted them permission to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private person who should be able to adventure the necessary capital. Arrangements were actually formed on this basis with a M. Croizat, and afterwards with some merchants of St. Malo.‡

The possessions of THE ENGLISH are clearly set forth in the enumeration of "dead stock," made by the two companies at the time of their union.§ The central points

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 238.

† The Dutch had governments or factories in Ceylon, in Java (where stood the fine city of Batavia, called by its owners the *Queen of the East*), in Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Bantam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, Japan, Gombroon (in the Persian Gulf), with chiefships at Ispahan and Bussora. At Arracan, they purchased rice and slaves; and they had also many temporary stations in different parts of Asia, which it would be needless to enumerate.

‡ Milburn's *Commerce*, i., 384.

§ The PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY held command over the factories of Surat, Swally, and Baroach, of Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow (from which three last places the factors had been temporarily withdrawn): on the *Malabar coast*, they had the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry (established by permission of the Hindoo rajah, about 1695), Anjengo (with the sanction of the ranee or queen of Attinga, accorded at the same time, probably in both cases with a view of procuring the aid of the English against the aggressions of the Dutch), and the factory of Calicut. On the *Coromandel coast*, the company had establishments at Jinjee and Orissa; the factories depending on the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the city, and Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. The factories dependent on the PRESIDENCY OF CALCUTTA, or FORT WILLIAM, were—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna. The above forts and factories, with their stores and ammunition, together with the rents and customs arising therefrom, and the firmauns by right of which they were enjoyed, constituted the "dead stock" of the old or London company on the Indian continent. Some

were then, as now, formed by the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which was created in 1707. They had at this time no dependence upon one another; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the company in England. The presidents were respectively commanders-in-chief of the military force maintained within the limits of their jurisdiction. The numbers comprised in the several garrisons is not stated: but they were composed partly of recruits sent out from England; partly of deserters from other European settlements in India; and also (at least at Bombay and Surat) of Topasses—a name applied to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents, and also given, though with little reason, to Hindoo converts to the Romish church. Natives of purely Indian descent — Rajpoots for instance—were already, as has been noticed, employed by the company in military service, under the name of *Sepoys*, a corruption of *Sipahi* (soldier.) As yet little desire had been shown to discipline them after the European custom. They used the musket, but in other respects remained armed and clothed according to the country usage, with sword and target, turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers. Officers of their own people held command over them, but were eventually superseded by Englishmen.

Fort St. George (Madras), is described by a contemporary writer as "a port of the greatest consequence to the E. I. Cy., for its strength, wealth, and great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins."* The citadel or inner fort had four large bastions with curtains, on which were mounted fifty-six guns and a mortar; the western, or main guard, was kept by about thirty soldiers; the east by a corporal's guard of six. The English town, or outer fort, was furnished with "batteries, half-moons, and flankers, at proper distances, whereon are about 150 guns and three mortars, mounted for defence, besides thirty-two guns more on the outworks, with eight field-pieces." The garrison comprised 250 Europeans, each paid at the rate of ninety-one fanams, or £1 2*s.* 9*d.* per month; and 200 topasses, at fifty or fifty-two fanams a-month; with some twenty experienced European gunners, at 100 fanams a-month. The captains received fourteen, ensigns ten, serjeants five pagodas† monthly; and corporals received the same salary as the artillerymen. The chief gunner of the inner fort had fourteen, and of the outer works twelve pagodas. About 200 peons, or native police, were constantly retained; and the Portuguese portion of the population were obliged to furnish a company or two of trained bands at their own charge, on any disturbance. The *Black City* —that is, the native town, situated outside the fort to the northward—was encompassed with a thick, high brick wall, and fortified after the modern fashion. Maqua Town, where the Mussulah‡ boatmen live, lay to the southward. The sway of the company extended beyond these limits; for they owned several villages two or three miles further in the country, such as Egmore, New Town, and Old Garden, which they rented out to merchants or farmers for 1,100 pagodas per annum. The "singular decorum observed by the free merchants, factors, servants, and other inhabitants," is especially noticed by Lockyer, who adds, that the excellent arrangements of Madras, together with "good fortifications, plenty of guns, and much ammunition, render it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it."§

By this account, it is evident that a blessing had attended the Christian labours of Streynsham Masters. His church, as yet the only building in India consecrated by Englishmen to divine worship, is described as a large and stately pile, adorned with

of these posts had probably proved sources of expenditure rather than gain; Masulipatam, Pettipolee, and Madapollam, for instance, are stated by Bruce, in 1695-'6, to have involved a dead loss of above £100,000.—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 184.) The London company's further possessions were—the island of St. Helena: in Persia, a factory at Gombroon, with the yearly rent of about £3,333, still paid by the Persian monarch (*see* p. 208); and trading posts at Shiraz and Ispahan. On the island of Sumatra they had the settlements at York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, Sillebar, Bencoolen with dependent stations; and also a factory at Tonquin. The dead stock of the new, or English company, for which they were to be allowed £70,000 in the united funds, consisted of factories at Surat, in the Bay of Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the island of Borneo, and on the island of Pulo Condore, (coast of Cochin China), with the stores and ammunition belonging to each.—*Vide* the "*Quinque Partite Indenture*," in charters of *E. I. Cy.*, pp. 316—344.

* *Account of the Trade of India*, by Charles Lockyer, pp. 3-'4; London, 1711.

† A gold coin varying in value at different times from about nine to ten shillings.

‡ The planks of the large and flat-bottomed Massulah boats are sewn together with twine, which prevents their starting even under the most violent shocks. Their hire was then eighteen-pence a trip.

§ *Account of Trade*, p. 15.

curious carved work, with very large windows, and furnished with a fine altar, organ, and other appurtenances usual to the most complete edifices of its kind, with the exception of bells, which had perhaps been purposely omitted, on account of their intimate connexion with the superstitions of the Brahminical creed. Two ministers were attached to the church, in which services were performed twice a-day. On Sunday, the customary rites were "most strictly observed," and "country Protestants were examined in the catechism." A school, "held in a large room under the library," was open to all children free of charge. According to Lockyer, the ecclesiastical establishment was altogether well conducted, and deserved the high character it bore among the people. Pious persons gave or bequeathed considerable sums to "the church," for charitable purposes; and dying parents chose its representatives as trustees for their children,* a course of proceeding calculated, it is true, to place dangerous weapons of oppression in the hands of a dominant priesthood; but which, in the isolated and unpatronised condition of the religious establishments at Madras, can hardly be viewed in any other light than as evidence of the respect inspired by devout and upright conduct. The project for the formation of a municipal body had been carried out, and a mayor and six aldermen held a court twice a-week.

The total amount of revenue derived from Madras does not appear:† the scale of salaries was extremely moderate,‡ and probably affords a fair specimen of that laid down for the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta, to which Lockyer's interesting sketches unfortunately do not extend.§ Disappointment and reverses had by this time greatly modified the ambitious views entertained by the managers of the East India trade. The belligerent and costly policy introduced by Sir Josiah Child and his brother, was succeeded by a directly opposite system—to conciliate rather than to defy and overawe the native princes, was the order of the day; and to this end the Indian officials were directed to carry on their business "without the affectation of pomp and grandeur, as merchants ought to do."‖ The large sums spent by the rival companies in outvying and thwarting each other, constituted a departure from the general rule—at least in the case of the older body; but upon their union, this unsatisfactory expenditure ceased, and the leading members of the new concern, who now, under the name of the Court of Directors, took the place of the Court of Committees,¶ enjoined upon their agents the most rigid frugality, which they continued to enforce

* The church stock of unemployed money was lent out at seven per cent. per ann.—(Lockyer, p. 18.)

† Lockyer mentions a seagate custom of £5 per cent., yielding 30,000 pagodas per ann.; and a choultry, or land custom of two-and-a-half per cent. on cloth, provisions, and other goods brought in from the country, yielding 4,000 pagodas. Anchorage and permit dues, licences for fishing, arrack and wine, tobacco and beetle-nut farms, mintage, &c., furnished various sums; but the total must have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by the company in 1691-'2 of drawing as much from Madras as the Dutch did from Batavia; namely, a yearly income of £260,000.—(Bruce, iii., 110.)

‡ The governor had £200 a-year, with a gratuity of £100: of the six councillors, the chief had £100 per ann.; the others in proportion,—£70, £50, and £40 per ann.: six senior merchants had annual salaries of £40; two junior merchants, £30: five factors, £15: ten writers, £5: two chaplains, £100: one surgeon, £36: two "essay masters," £120: one judge, £100: and the attorney-general, fifty pagodas. Married men received from five to ten pagodas per month, as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants, dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing, and oil for lamps.—(Lockyer's *Trade of India*, p. 14.) The highest appointment at Bombay did not exceed £300 per ann.

§ The condition of several of the minor English settlements at this period is well sketched by Lockyer:—*Tegnapatam*, or *Fort St. David*, he describes as "a port of great profit, as well for the rents and income arising immediately thereon, as for the great quantities of calicoes and muslins that are brought thence for Europe. *Metchlepatam* [*Masulipatam*], *Vizigapatam*, and *Madapollam*, are factories continued for the sake of red-wood and the cotton-manufactures, which are here in the greatest perfection."—(p. 13.) The factory at Carwar, on the Malabar coast, was provided with eight or nine guns and twenty-six topasses, "to defend it against the insults of the country people."—(p. 269.) The native chief, or rajah, received custom dues of one and-a-half per cent. on all goods imported by the English. At *Tellicherry*, a small fort with a slight guard was maintained to protect the trade in pepper and cardamums, coir, cowries, and chanks from the Maldives. At *Anjengo*, the company possessed a small fort with guns, and a garrison of forty "mongrel Portuguese," to protect the traffic (chiefly pepper), and the "go-downs," or warehouses. Business was carried on by a chief agent, assisted by three or four counsellors, and a surgeon was included in the establishment. At *Calicut*, where there was considerable trade, the English factory was a large old house without fortifications or guns, which the zamorin, like the Mogul, would probably not have suffered any foreigners to maintain within his dominions.

‖ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 452.

¶ *Committees*;—in the sense of persons to whom something is committed.

so strictly, that in 1724, the outlay of about £100 in the purchase of a chaise and pair of horses for the president at Calcutta, was reprehended as an unwarrantable proceeding. The directors ordered the amount to be refunded, remarking, that if their servants desired "such superfluities" they must pay for them.* It is certain that the regular salaries given even to the highest functionaries could have barely covered the necessary expenses of Europeans living in a tropical climate. But they had other sources of emolument more or less legitimate. Each *employé* was suffered to prosecute an independent traffic, which he had the best opportunity of doing, as the coasting-trade and likewise the intercourse with all eastern ports north of the equator, except Tonquin and Formosa, had recently† been relinquished by the company to their servants, or to Englishmen licensed to reside in India as free merchants, by which latter arrangement an independent community was gradually formed.

The plan of allowing officials to prosecute business in two distinct capacities, was fraught with evils for which the attendant saving in the item of salaries could make but poor amends. Convenience of situation for the affairs of each individual was the first object to be desired, and as all power of appointment (saving where the rule of seniority applied) was lodged in the president and council jointly, they naturally distributed among their own body the most advantageous offices. The employment and consequent absence of a member of council as chief of an important factory, did not disqualify him for retaining his position in the government; but it could scarcely fail to detract from his efficiency, since few men have sufficient energy, and fewer still sufficient integrity, to perform at one time the arduous duties of a judge, legislator, and politician, and of the head of an extensive commercial establishment in conjunction with the business of a private merchant. No doubt, in most cases, the last-named interest would absorb the others, and neglect of the affairs of government would necessarily follow: to this single cause many of the defects observable in the management of affairs in India, may probably be attributed.

Upon the union of the two companies, a manifest preference was evinced to the agents of the elder body, and especially to Mr. Thomas Pitt,‡ the president of Madras before mentioned, whose ability and discre-

* Thornton's *British Empire in India*, i., 75.

† The commerce had formerly been circuitous: the E. I. Cy's ships went first to Surat and other northern ports, and disposed of part of their English cargoes in exchange for piece-goods and other commodities, with which they sailed for the southern ports, where these articles were in demand; and procured instead pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and various articles for the European market. This tedious and expensive mode of traffic was abandoned towards the close of the 17th century; direct intercourse was established between London and the Indian ports, and the "country," or coasting-trade, disposed of as above related. The mode of conducting the inland traffic had likewise undergone considerable change. "The sale of the commodities imported from Europe," says Mill, "was transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction—the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this traffic, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the inferior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries [cars] of the country; and established factories and warehouses where the goods were exposed to sale."—(iii., p. 12.) During the confusion, however, which prevailed while the empire of the Moguls was in progress of dissolution, an order was issued forbidding persons in the E. I. Cy.'s service, or under their jurisdiction, to proceed far into the country without special permission; and the care of distributing the goods inland, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to native and other independent dealers. The collection and custody of the goods which constituted a European "investment," was a more complicated business, especially the purchase of the produce of the loom. The extreme indigence of the weaving class, and the consequent necessity of at all times furnishing them with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them, involved considerable advances of capital and a large amount of superintendence, compelling the employment of several distinct sets of agents (banyans, gomashtahs dallâls, and pycârs), who made their profit at the expense both of the company and the weaver; the latter, as the weaker party, being naturally the most open to oppression. When the piece of calico or muslin was finished, the *gomashtah*, or broker, holds a "kattah,"—examined the work, fixed its price, and paid the workman, who, it is said, was often obliged to accept fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent. less than the result of his labour would have fetched in the market.—(Mill, iii., 15.)

‡ Another individual of the same family figures in the history of East Indian affairs: first, as "Pitt the interloper", then as "president and consul Pitt" in the service of the new or English association; and lastly, as one of the highest officials in the employ of the united company, in which position he died in 1703, leaving behind him heavy personal debts and a very questionable reputation as regarded his public dealings. The only doubtful point which I have met with regarding the character of his cousin, Mr. Thomas Pitt, relates to the manner in which the famous diamond, bearing his name, came into his possession. Captain Hamilton avers, that the gem was procured through the intervention of a person named Glover, who, seeing it at Arcot, prevailed upon the proprietor to offer it for sale to the English at Fort St. George, and he placed in his hands

tion had been evinced in the late season of disaster and embarrassment. When the coalition of their employers in England rendered it of the first consequence that their representatives in India should lay aside their contentions, and, if possible, subdue the ill-feeling raised by systematic hostility, Mr. Pitt set a good example, by addressing a communication to the English company, in which he applied to himself "the great saying of King William of blessed memory, to the French king's plenipotentiary at Ryswick, on concluding the peace,—*'twas my fate, and not my choice, that made me your enemy*; and since you and my masters are united, it shall be my utmost endeavour to purchase your good opinion, and deserve your friendship."*

The treaty of Utrecht happily terminated the long war with France, and England enjoyed a season of commercial prosperity, of which the rapid growth of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham afford remarkable evidence.† The company likewise prospered, and their imports rose in value from £493,257 in 1708, to £1,059,759 in 1730. The export branch of their trade was far from exhibiting so favourable a result;‡ but the rate of profit steadily increased up to 1723; the dividends augmenting from five per cent. per annum to the proprietors, upon £3,163,200 of capital, until they reached ten per cent.; they then declined to eight per cent., at which annual rate they continued until 1732, when they were reduced to seven per cent., and remained there until 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent. The interval between 1708 and 1745 is marked by but few important events. In England the company were employed at various times in procuring decrees against interlopers,§ and obtaining extensions of their exclusive privileges. The opposition of the free trade party was very violent in 1730; and the East India association obtained a renewal of their charter only on condition of the payment of a premium of £200,000, and the reduction of the interest of their capital lent to government from five to four per cent. The term now fixed was to terminate upon three years' notice from March, 1766.

In India the servants of the company watched with alarm the successive contests for the throne, which took place between the death of Aurungzebe and the accession of his great-grandson, Feroksheer, in 1713. Moorshed Kooli Khan (sometimes called Jaffier Khan), who had previously filled the office of dewan, or comptroller of the revenues in Bengal, was appointed subahdar, or viceroy of that province, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. The English found his rule arbitrary and extortionate; and, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor a decree for especial protection and concessions, persuaded the directors at home to allow them to send an embassy to the Mogul court. Two factors, selected for their intelligence, were dispatched from Calcutta to Delhi, with an Armenian merchant for their interpreter; and the report of the costly presents of which they were the bearers having preceded them, the governors of the provinces through which their road lay were ordered to show them every respect.‖ They

3,000 pagodas of his own as a guarantee that no compulsion should be used to oblige him to sell unless he were so inclined. The pledge was broken by Mr. Pitt, and the money forfeited by Glover.—(*New Account of East Indies*, i., 366.) The tale is not very clearly told; the seller, if a native, was probably not the legitimate possessor of the diamond, because all stones, above a certain weight, found in the mines, were claimed by the emperor. This, however, is no excuse for the conduct of Mr. Pitt, if Hamilton's accusation be correct. The traffic in jewels was, it should be stated, considered of much importance, and had been alternately monopolised by the company, and conceded to their servants as an especial privilege.

* *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, year 1702–'3.

† Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, increased so rapidly, that in 1715, a new parish with a church was erected; and its extent was doubled between 1690 and 1726. Manchester grew with equal rapidity, and was computed, in 1727, to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants; and at the same period, the metal manufactories of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are represented as giving maintenance to upwards of 30,000 individuals.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, iii., 143–'4.) To London several new parishes had been added in a short period. And from the year 1708 to 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had risen from £4,698,663 to £7,780,019; and the exports from £6,969,089, to £11,974,135.—(Sir Charles Whitworth's *Tables*, part i., p. 78.—Mill, iii., 25.)

‡ The exportation of 1708 was exceedingly small compared with years immediately following: that of 1709, was £168,357; that of 1730, only £135,484.

§ In 1718, the company were authorised, by act of parliament, to seize all British subjects found trading within their limits, under the commission of a foreign government, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of £500 for each offence.

‖ They seem to have especially dreaded passing through the country of the Jats, near Agra: in communicating their progress to the authorities at Calcutta, the deputation relate having accomplished this part of their journey,—"not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came

reached the capital after journeying three months: but the influence of Moorshed Kooli Khan, through his party, in the divided counsels of the state, prevailed; and, notwithstanding their offerings of gold coin, a table-clock set with precious stones, a *unicorn's horn*, a gold escrutoire, a map of the world, japan, lacquered, earthen and cutlery ware, with looking-glasses and red and yellow broad cloth in abundance, the negotiation languished;* and Feroksheer, engaged in preparing for his nuptials with the daughter of the Marwar rajah, Ajeet Sing, would probably have paid no attention to their solicitations, had not the medical skill of one of the party (a surgeon in the company's service) been offered at an opportune moment for the cure of a malady from which he had been long suffering.

Under the treatment of Mr. Hamilton the emperor recovered; and the marriage, which had been delayed on account of his illness, was forthwith consummated. Feroksheer, of whom it has been said that "his only quality was an ill-placed liberality,"† presented his physician with a magnificent *khillut* (*see* p. 168), 5,000 rupees in coin, and models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold; at the same time assuring him that any favour he might solicit should be granted. Again, the disinterestedness of a medical officer of the company proved equal to his skill,‡ and Hamilton requested the emperor to concede to the embassy the important privileges they had come to ask; namely:—1st. "That a 'dustuck,' or passport, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the Mogul government, under any pretence: 2ndly. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the East India Company's money: 3rdly. That all persons, *whether Europeans or natives*,§ who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: 4thly. That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as Prince Azim Ooshan had permitted them to buy with Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpoor."

The petition was granted, notwithstanding the representations of the friends of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the viceroy of Bengal,‖ who

on our camp, but being repulsed three times, they left us."—(Auber's *Rise and Progress of British Power in India*, i., 16.)

* The value of the presents was about £30,000, but Khojeh Serhaud, the Armenian employed, had given out their value at more than three times that amount—a deception which could not fail to produce disappointment.

† Scott's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 135.

‡ The case of Broughton has been related. According to Orme, the medical skill engaged in the service of the company was likewise instrumental in gaining favour with Aurungzebe, about the time of the first occupation of Calcutta—an English physician being serviceable in administering relief to the emperor, when "sorely tormented with carbuncles," which his own medical attendants could not cure.—(*Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*, p. 284.)

§ The company lost no opportunity of strengthening and enforcing their authority over their countrymen in India. Independent traders, licensed or unlicensed, were alike on sufferance; and in addressing their presidencies, the directors expressly desire that care should be taken to let even the uncovenanted merchants know "that by the laws, no subject of his majesty can stay in India without our leave; and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it."—*Letter to Bengal*, 1722.

‖ According to European and Hindoo writers, the sway of Moorshed Kooli Khan was marked by a degree of barbarous and fiend-like cruelty, which certainly formed no part of the character of Aurungzebe, who, though he never scrupled to make away with the life of a human being if it suited his policy, was nevertheless, as a ruler, decidedly opposed to capital punishment or the infliction of tortures. The viceroy of Bengal, on the contrary, seems to have used by preference such means of enforcing his authority as were best calculated to strike terror into the minds of all beneath his sway. He never placed confidence in any man, but examined the state of his exchequer daily. Any zemindar found remiss in payment, was put under arrest, guards were placed to prevent his eating and drinking till the deficiency was supplied, and spies watched over the guards to inform if they were bribed, or negligent in their duty. When a district was in arrear, the delinquent zemindar was tormented by every species of cruelty, such as hanging up by the feet, bastinadoing, exposure to the sun in summer, and in winter frequent sprinklings of the bare flesh with cold water. The deputy dewan of the province, Seyed Rezah Khan, who had married the grand-daughter of the Nabob, "in order to enforce payment of the revenues, ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with everything disgusting, and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it"—to this place the dewan, in derision of the Hindoos, gave the designation of *Bickoont* (a term which signifies their Paradise)—"and after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn by a rope tied under the arms through this infernal pond. By such cruel and horrid methods, he extorted from the unhappy zemindars everything they possessed, and made them weary of their lives." Wherever a robbery was committed, the foujedar was compelled to find out the thief, or to recover the property; and the robber, when caught, was impaled alive, or the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road. The Mussulman writers speak of

seems to have been constantly on the watch to repress every indication of increasing power on the part of either Europeans or Hindoos. This lesson he had doubtless learned from his early patron, Aurungzebe; and in practising it, together with other maxims derived from the same school, he earned the cordial detestation of the classes whose views he steadily opposed, and the unbounded admiration of Moguls and Mussulmans as the champion of their political supremacy and religious creed. The firmaun (comprising thirty-four patents),* issued at the intercession of Hamilton,† was imperative, but the viceroy contrived to impede the operation of its most important clauses. The thirty-eight villages which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hooghly, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. This arrangement Moorshed Kooli Khan circumvented by using his influence to deter the holders of the land from consenting to its sale. The privilege of granting dustucks or passports, was at first exercised by the president of Calcutta unchallenged, but the extension of immunity from duties from the goods of the company to those of their servants, soon had the effect of exempting not only articles of foreign commerce, but also the produce of the province itself, in its passage by land from one district to another. This the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent, as a practice equally destructive to his revenue and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed; and he commanded that the English dustucks should be respected solely in the case of goods imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The company remonstrated, but in vain; and their servants, checked in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindoos, to freight most of their exports in English vessels. Within ten years from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The non-acquirement of the thirty-eight villages apparently occasioned no great disappointment to the company, who had already adopted the wary and reluctant tone they ever afterwards maintained regarding the increase of their territory. When aware of the sanction obtained by their representatives, they bade them purchase only so much of the lands in question as were immediately contiguous to Calcutta, remarking, that "when Jaffier Khan [Moorshed Kooli Khan] or any other governor, finds you desire only half of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory." In a subsequent paragraph, the directors speak of the benefit derivable from the possession of a good dock; and add, "if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government." Again, in the same month (Feb., 1721), they write to Bengal, "remember we are not fond of much territory, especially

Moorshed Kooli Khan as severe in the extreme, but equally impartial, showing favour to no one, and always rewarding merit wherever he found it. His jurisdiction certainly afforded room for praise as well as censure, were it only for his earnest efforts to ward off the terrible calamity of famine, and prevent the monopoly of grain. In private life, he was learned, temperate, and self-denying; refrained wholly from spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs; despised all the refinements of luxury, whether in dress or food; always kept constant to one lawful wife, and would not suffer any strange women or eunuchs to enter the apartments of his seraglio. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places; and during the period of twelve days, which include the anniversaries of the birth and death of Mohammed, he feasted people of all conditions, and caused a road three miles in length to be illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. He also kept, with great state, another favourite Moslem festival, in which the chief feature is the setting afloat of boats made of bamboo and paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c., as a religious offering.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 378—411; and *Sketches of Bengal*—anonymous.) As a climax to his oppressions in the eyes of the Hindoos, and laudable zeal in those of his fellow-believers, the viceroy, in his old age, caused all the Brahminical temples in Moorshedabad to be pulled down to furnish materials for his tomb.

* Other privileges of less importance than those cited in the previous page, were comprised in these patents, which long constituted the great charter of the English in India. Among them was a decree that the annual payment of a fixed sum to the government of Surat should free the English trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that three villages contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the company; and the island of Diu, or Divi, near Masulipatam, conceded to them on payment of a fixed rent.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 128.)

† Mr. Hamilton died in Calcutta, in 1717. His tombstone was discovered about sixty years after, in digging for the foundations of a new church.

if it lies at a distance from you, or is not near the water-side; nor, indeed, of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute directly or in consequence to our benefit."*

In Indian affairs, as in the ordinary course of all collective or individual enterprise, successes and reverses† came at the same period from different but equally unexpected quarters. About the date of the successful embassy, a new and powerful rival appeared on the stage. In the year 1716, the governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, announced to the British at Fort St. David, that there were off the Malabar coast two 40-gun vessels under the imperial colours. These ships belonged to the Ostend East India Company, who were just commencing their operations, but did not gain a regular charter from their sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, till four years afterwards. Dutch, French, and English, immediately made common cause against the intruders, who had now to combat the opposition every nation had encountered from its predecessors in the field of Indian commerce since the Portuguese first interrupted the navigation of the Arabs and Moors. In the present case it was argued, that the concession of a charter by the emperor to the Ostend company, was a breach of faith towards the English and Dutch, inasmuch as it was by their united prowess that the ten provinces of the Netherlands, which remained in allegiance to Spain during the war of independence, were transferred from that kingdom to the crown of Austria. The Dutch insisted upon the continuance of the restriction forcibly imposed by them on the trade of these provinces while they constituted a portion of the Spanish dominions; and asserted that this prohibition was implied in the very terms of the barrier-treaty from which the emperor derived his authority. They seconded their arguments by active hostile measures: seized the vessels of the Ostend company, with their cargoes; and forbade the subjects of the states from all concern in the undertaking on the severest penalties,—even, it is said, on pain of death. France and England adopted the same selfish policy, though they did not carry it out with equal asperity. Louis XV. published a declaration denouncing various forfeitures, and in some cases, imprisonment and exile on any of his people who should enter into the service of the Ostend association, or hold shares in their stock. Similar punishments were held forth by George I. and his parliament, to deter British subjects from taking part in the new adventure; and one instance, at least, occurred of an Ostend ship, homeward-bound and richly freighted, being captured by a British privateer. All this persecution did not deter the Netherlanders from their object: it was to them as a breathing time from oppression; and they struggled with determination, and in a commercial point of view, with success, against their foes. Their charter was granted in 1723; in less than twenty-four hours their subscription-books were filled up; and within a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. At a meeting of proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. Thus far, the emperor had persevered in upholding the company, and in granting them commissions of reprisal, in which course he had been confirmed by an article in the treaty of Vienna in 1725, by which Spain guaranteed the continuance of the association. But this alliance was of brief duration, and only served to rouse the jealousy of, other European powers. It was followed by a combination which resulted in the treaty of Hanover, between France, England, Holland, and Denmark, by which among other provisions, the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their respective commercial claims to the exclusion of the Ostend company.‡ The emperor, deserted by his only ally the King of Spain, could not oppose this formidable confederacy with-

* Auber's *Rise and Progress*, vol. i., 25.

† During the first half of the 18th century the English East India trade experienced some severe checks in China and the eastern islands. It seemed as if, *nolens-volens*, they were to be driven to expend all their energies on the Indian peninsula. Their factors were compelled, with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, where they had commenced a settlement, and a worse result attended their endeavours to establish themselves on Pulo Condore, an island subject to the Cochin Chinese, and at Banjar Massin, in Borneo. The British at Pulo Condore were barbarously massacred by the soldiery, in 1705, and nearly two years afterwards the same fate overtook those at Banjar Massin, only a few escaping with life. In Sumatra (at Bencoolen), a severe and prolonged struggle took place: the natives compelled the British to evacuate Fort Marlborough, in 1718; but fearing to fall into the hands of the Dutch, suffered the English to return and resettle their factories, in 1721.—(Grant's *Sketch.*)

‡ The Ostend company, though not expressly named, are plainly alluded to in this treaty, to which Prussia and Sweden were likewise parties.

out endangering the object he had most at heart—namely, to secure the transmission of his crown to his daughter and only child, Maria Theresa; and he was reluctantly compelled to sign a treaty, in 1727, by which the Ostend company was suspended for seven years; and before the expiration of that term, he, by the treaty of Seville, pledged himself to its complete dissolution.

The whole of these transactions, while affording strong evidence of the value attached to the Asiatic trade, certainly exhibit the exclusive companies of the most powerful European states of the period in a very unpleasing light, as concurring, in the open face of day, to crush the attempt of a persecuted people to regain their lost prosperity, and draw from the deep fountain of foreign commerce their portion of the invigorating streams by which other countries had been long fertilised.*

At this time the commerce of Sweden had recovered from the depression caused by the wars of Charles XII. Brilliant victories cannot neutralise the disastrous and exhausting effect of war on the energies of a people; and many Swedish citizens forsook their native land for countries in which they could hope to sow the seed and reap the harvest of their labours unmolested. The restoration of tranquillity gave the signal for the return of those wanderers, who brought with them in some cases comparative wealth, and for the most part a spirit of enterprise yet more beneficial to the state.

An opulent merchant of Stockholm, named Koning, observed the temper of his countrymen, and connecting with it the number of men possessed of capital and of commercial and nautical knowledge turned adrift by the destruction of the Ostend company, considered that a favourable opportunity had arrived for the establishment of an East India trade in Sweden. A company was formed, and a royal charter granted in 1731, empowering them to trade to all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, provided they refrained from entering havens occupied by any European power without permission. Gottenberg was to be the sole port of outfit and arrival, and for the disposal of the imports, which might be done only by public sale. In all points regarding duties the regulations were extremely liberal. The direction was to be entrusted to native or naturalised subjects of Sweden, and to Protestants only. The Dutch opposed the new association at the onset; and the chief of their two first vessels,† the *Frederick*, was seized in the Straits of Sunda, and carried into Batavia; but the representations of the Swedish minister procured its liberation, and both the States-General and the company disavowed having given any order for its interception. The poverty and low commercial reputation of Sweden, probably yet more than the total absence of any pretext for questioning her right of intercourse with other independent kingdoms, prevented any systematic opposition being set up by the leading European powers to this new candidate for eastern trade. The Swedes, from

* The ten provinces, it will be remembered, which remained under the possession of Spain, were bestowed by Philip on his daughter and her husband, the Archduke of Austria, with a stipulation in the deed of conveyance prohibiting their subjects from sailing to America or the East Indies. Vainly the Netherlanders presented petition after petition to the court of Madrid: they could obtain no redress. The wealth and industry of the country took refuge in Protestant lands,—in the congenial atmosphere of civil and religious freedom. Cities, once the hives of industry, were deserted; and even Antwerp, lately the commercial capital and emporium of Europe, was reduced almost to a solitude;—its harbour abandoned by shipping—its exchange by merchants. Upon the death of Isabella, in 1698, the sovereignty reverted to Spain; and the king was persuaded to grant to the Netherlands the liberty of trading to those parts of the Indies settled by Portugal, then under his sway. The revolt of the Portuguese in 1640 was attended with the resumption of such of their Indian possessions as had not fallen into the power of the Dutch; and the hopes of the Netherlanders were again disappointed. In 1698, Carlos II., the last of the Austrian kings of Spain, granted them permission to trade with such parts of India and the coast of Guinea as were not preoccupied by Europeans; but before they could take advantage of this charter, the death of their royal patron occurred, A.D. 1700, and was followed by the long and sanguinary war of succession which convulsed Europe for thirteen years. At the conclusion of peace they fell under the dominion of the house of Austria; and the emperor, desirous of encouraging the commerce of his new subjects, but fearful of provoking the enmity of the maritime powers (as England and Holland were then termed), he at first, as has been shown, could only be prevailed on to sanction separate voyages, the success of which incited the formation of a temporary association, which was soon followed by that of the chartered company, whose efforts were brought to an untimely termination in 1727. Among the accusations made against the Ostend company was that of being most determined smugglers, especially of tea, which they imported largely into Great Britain. However, as one wrong, though it cannot justify, is usually held to palliate another (at least in the sight of human tribunals), the Ostenders might well plead that excuse for their adoption of the sole means of retaliation in their power.

† The *Frederick* and *Ulrica*; named after the king and queen of Sweden.

the beginning, traded almost entirely with China,* and tea formed at least four-fifths of their exports, of which a very small part was consumed in Sweden, the remainder being sold for ready-money to foreigners, chiefly for the purpose of being smuggled into Great Britain—a practice which the heavy duties levied upon this article greatly encouraged.

To return to the business of the three presidencies. The death of the aged viceroy of Bengal, in 1725, seems to have occasioned fear and regret, and the English, after so long complaining of his cruelty and extortion, now openly lamented his loss. The truth was, that Moorshed Kooli Khan, in common with the Nizam Asuf Jah, and other statesmen of Aurungzebe's stamp, had imbibed from their imperial master habits of unflagging and methodical application to the whole duties of their position, whether civil or military, which raised them in a remarkable manner above the sensual and sluggish condition into which the Moguls had sunk under the enfeebling influence of an eastern climate and unchecked luxury.† Moreover, the English had other reasons for viewing any change of this kind with anxiety; for the weakness of the present representative of the house of Timur, rendered it doubtful whether the succession to the viceroyalty might not prove a question to be decided by force of arms. This fear was removed by the uncontested appointment of Shuja Khan, the son-in-law of the deceased; but upon his death, in 1739, a struggle ensued between his son, Serferaz Khan, and his ungrateful but able dependent, the famous Ali Verdi Khan, who, after slaying the heir of his patron in battle, usurped the government, in which he contrived to establish himself. The piracies of the sons of Kanhojee Angria,‡ a Malabar chieftain, about this period, sensibly affected the advancement of the English trade, and injured yet more deeply the failing strength of the Portuguese. The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739, was a shock which was felt through the length and breadth of the Indian continent: it announced in language not to be misunderstood the downfall of a once mighty empire, and was as the tocsin of war in the ears of the governors of the various provinces, who, though still maintaining a semblance of respect to their nominal master, were really anxious only about one another's intrigues, and the increasing power of the Mahrattas. The incursions of this nation into Bengal, and their demand of *chout*, or a fourth of the total revenues, was resolutely opposed by Ali Verdi Khan; and, while strengthening his own defences, he granted permission to the English at Calcutta to form a trench round the city to the extent of seven miles (the company's bounds), still known as the *Mahratta ditch*.

Meanwhile events were occurring in Europe destined to produce very important consequences in India. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., in the year 1740, a violent war, kindled by competition for the imperial dignity, and for a share in the spoils of Austria, commenced in Germany. In this contest France and England (the latter through her Hanoverian connexions) had both engaged, and, in the end, had become nearly, or rather altogether, principals. In 1744, the two governments exchanged declarations of war, and before long their most distant settlements experienced the devastating consequences of international strife.

No material changes had taken place in the position of the European settlements since the commencement of the century. A single deviation from the exclusive policy pursued by the sovereigns of PORTUGAL occurred in 1731, when the king granted permission for a single ship to make a single voyage to Surat and the coast of Coromandel, and back to Portugal. A company was formed for the purpose, but the experiment being attended with little success, was not repeated.

The DUTCH continued to exercise a profitable, though (as far as India was concerned) a diminishing trade. The war with the zamorin commenced in 1701,—was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1710; but again renewed in 1715, when the zamorin surprised the fort of Chittua, which had been constructed in order to keep him in check. This event was followed by the invasion of

* The supercargo of the *Frederick*, a Mr. Colin Campbell, was invested with the character of ambassador to the emperor of China, and some other eastern princes.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 308.)

† The directors of the E. I. Cy. continued extremely desirous to prevent their servants from acquiring habits of indulgence which might impair their usefulness; and in 1731 they addressed a serious remonstrance to their Bengal agents, in the style of one already quoted, on their extravagant way of living, desiring them especially to eschew the "foppery of having a set of music at table, and a coach-and-six, with guards and running footmen, as we are informed is now practised, not only by the president, but by some of inferior rank."

‡ *See* page 168.

his country by an army of fully 4,000 men (Europeans and natives); and, in 1717, a new treaty was concluded on terms, according to Stavorinus, by no means advantageous to the Dutch, "in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on."* The same authority states, that during the continuance of hostilities "the English, or rather their commandant at Tellicherry, had assisted the zamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners." The evidence on which this assertion is made does not appear. Without any such auxiliary, the neighbouring rajahs were probably quite strong enough to compete with the Dutch, whose military proceedings increased in cost as they decreased in efficiency. The "supreme government," as it was termed, at Batavia, addressing the local authorities at Malabar, in 1721, express astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by them, and also at their extravagant expenditure. They added, that "in case the zamorin thought fit to attack the rajah of Cochin, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel." This direction was nothing less than the ungrateful abandonment of a dynasty which, from the time of the hostilities provoked by the aggressions of the Portuguese under Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, had sided with the Europeans. The Cochin rajahs had, it would seem, been little more than tools in the hands of the Dutch, who now so ungenerously abandoned them to their incensed countrymen. The impolicy of this proceeding, in a worldly sense, equalled its injustice as a question of principle. The zamorin and the rajah of Travancore extended their dominions by the diminution of those of the chiefs dependent on the Dutch; until the Travancore prince, in 1739, by his repeated successes acquired a reputation which rendered him respected and feared throughout the Malabar coast. His attachment to the English was another argument against him with the Dutch officials; and one of them, Van Imhoff, who came over from Ceylon, in 1739, to examine into the state of affairs, represented that a total reformation was absolutely necessary, and could be effected only in two ways. The first was, to follow the market price for pepper; the second, to enforce the contracts into which the natives were said to have entered, of traffic with the Dutch only, by forcibly exacting penalties in case of their non-performance, "or by surprising and carrying off to Batavia one or other of those princes, who showed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time." This latter method M. Van Imhoff concluded would be the best; nor does it appear that any exception was taken at the cruelty and injustice of the plan thus suggested.† Happily for the Malabar rajahs, and possibly still more happily for the Dutch, no opportunity occurred for carrying it into execution, and the Malabar officials were compelled to adopt a more open mode of warfare, which they did without even asking orders from Batavia on the subject, though they were soon obliged to send there for assistance, against the consequences of an unprovoked attack made by them on the

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 239.

† Other officials in the service of the Dutch E. I. Cy. appear to have possessed and acted upon principles of the same character displayed by M. Van Imhoff. A terrible catastrophe occurred in Batavia, in 1740. The identical accusation brought forward against the English at Amboyna, was here urged against the Chinese inhabitants, who, it was alleged, had conspired to extirpate the Dutch, and were able to muster 90,000 men. On this pretext a pitiless massacre of the Chinese commenced, and the quarter of the town occupied by them was burnt to ashes, being set on fire, as was said, by themselves in despair. The number of the Chinese slaughtered on this occasion is estimated at from 12,000 to 30,000; and the amount of plunder taken from them was enormous. No clear account of the origin of the business ever appeared, to refute the statement of the suffering party,—that the conspiracy had been on the side of the Dutch, who were heavily indebted to the persons they accused. The governor himself shipped property for Holland to an amount stated at half a million sterling. No public trial took place; but the reason is evident from the fact, that two members of the council, and the fiscal, were deprived of their offices and put in prison, together with the governor, who remained there till the day of his death. Although most anxious to hush up the matter, it was deemed necessary to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, and explain away, as far as possible, or at least palliate the fearful crimes committed, by representing it as an act of justice, much fear being excited that, on the persons of the Dutch at Canton, the emperor might find vent for the wrathful feelings likely to be roused by the slaughter of his people. The answer proved the needlessness of such anxiety; the ambassador being informed that this paternal sovereign "took no concern in the fate of unworthy subjects, who had abandoned their native country, and the tombs of their ancestors, to live under the dominion of foreigners for the greed of gain;" a very impolitic as well as unfeeling sentiment to proceed from the mouth of the ruler of so densely populous an empire.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*.)

rajah of Travancore. The Dutch company could ill bear this addition to the burthen already imposed by the war in Macassar,—a locality which, as it had been the arena of some of their most cruel aggressions, in devastating the land, and carrying off the inhabitants in large numbers as slaves, so it became the scene of many of their greatest calamities and embarrassments.*

The DANISH East India Company had endeavoured to take advantage of the suppression of the Ostend society; and their king, Frederick IV., lent a willing ear to arguments similar to those which had been successfully urged by Koning upon the Swedish monarch, regarding the advantage of enlisting in the service of Denmark the capital and ability of the Netherland merchants, prohibited from trading under their own flag. A charter was granted, in 1728, authorising the opening of an additional subscription-list for new members, and an India House was established at Altona, a Danish town adjacent to Hamburgh. The English and Dutch companies remonstrated warmly against this measure, as little less than the reproduction of the Ostend association under a fresh name. Their jealous opposition succeeded in procuring the abandonment of the Hamburgh establishment; but it raised, in the minds of the Danes, a strong feeling of the importance of the commerce so sharply watched by rival societies, and induced a large number of persons to take part in it. A new and very favourable charter, granted to the company in 1732, for a term of forty years, contains among its clauses two which are interesting, even after the lapse of more than a century. One was a proviso, "that the strictest attention should be paid to the morals of the people sent out to India in the company's service"—a point which had been heretofore sadly disregarded; the other threw a shield round the individual interests of the proprietors, by enacting that "no money should be lent or borrowed without the consent of a general meeting of the proprietors."† The trade carried on after this period, though never very extensive, became decidedly prosperous, and continued so during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

FRANCE had advanced far more perceptibly towards the close of the epoch now under consideration. In 1714, the E. I. Cy. again applied for and obtained a renewal of their charter. Exhausted funds, and a debt amounting to 10,000,000 livres, seemed to afford little prospect of remunerative trade during the ten years for which their exclusive privileges were continued; but before the expiration of that period, their separate existence was merged in the extraordinary association formed by the famous schemer, John Law.‡ In the year 1720, England and France exhibited to the world at large the disgraceful spectacle of the governments of two great nations struggling to shake off

* Their general trade continued, notwithstanding these drawbacks, steadily lucrative. During the first twenty-one years of their existence—that is, from 1602 to 1622—the company divided thirty million florins; being more than quadruple the original stock. From the year 1605 to 1728 the dividends amounted to about twenty-two per cent. per annum, sometimes paid in bank money, sometimes in cloves. Thus, on the original capital of £650,000, eighteen million sterling were paid as dividends, besides the necessary accumulation of property in territory, forts, and ships. The price of the stock, between 1723 and 1760, bore a premium varying from 320 to 650 per cent. The annual fleet dispatched from Holland was very large. From the year 1720 to 1729, inclusive, the number amounted to 372 vessels (giving an annual average of thirty-seven), with crews comprising nearly 70,000 men. The dividends, during the same period, averaged twenty-three per cent. Various renewals of their charter had been obtained, at different times, from the States-General, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of the public, which was silenced, in the ears of government, by the payment of large sums of money on various occasions. In 1740, unusual difficulties appear to have been met with, and the company could only obtain a prolongation of their privileges for a single year; nor was it until 1748 that they succeeded in procuring the desired grant, which was then conceded for a term of twenty-seven years.—(Milburn, Macpherson, and Stavorinus.)

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 239.

‡ This remarkable man (the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith), persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1716, to adopt his plans of finance and commerce as a means of honourably relieving the government and nation from a debt of about £90,000,000 sterling, (mainly caused by the lavish expenditure of Louis XIV.,) in preference to the disgraceful alternative actually propounded of disavowing the large quantity of depreciated paper-money, which had been issued from the Parisian treasury. The first step taken by Law was the formation of a public Bank, with a capital of six million livres, divided into 1,200 shares; its business to be confined to receiving money on deposit, and lending it at a moderate rate of interest on personal or proprietory security. The project became immediately popular; hoarded coin found its way to the coffers of the Bank, the notes of which became current throughout Europe: the West India Company furnished £3,937,500; and the increased circulating medium gave new energy to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. During the excitement which ensued, Law wielded unlimited power, and his personal health became a matter of intense anxiety and eager speculation. In 1617, he founded the *Mississippi company*, with which was subse-

the involvements caused by war and lavish expenditure, and to lessen their public debts by sanctioning schemes which, being manifestly unjust in principle, could not fail to prove injurious to the multitudes who, unaccustomed, under any circumstances, to examine into the truth of plausible statements, would accept them without hesitation when made current by the approbation of the legislature, and thus cruelly misled, rush headlong into ruin. The conduct of the ministry and parliament of England, though deeply blamable in regard to the South Sea bubble, was far surpassed in dishonesty and infatuation by the proceedings of the rulers of the French nation, in carrying out the complication of incongruous projects called "Law's system." The "Royal Bank" constituted the leading and absorbing feature of the whole; and of the numerous societies whom their own credulity or the manœuvring of stock-jobbers had impelled within the vortex, the East India body alone appear to have survived the general wreck.

This company arose strong in the "perpetual and irrevocable"* privileges inherited from its defunct associates, and secured in its pecuniary welfare by the arbitrary measures enacted in 1721 for the diminution of its shares, which benefited the corporation by a method peculiar to despotic governments—of annihilating the property of their own subjects by a few strokes of the pen, without so much as a pretence of compensation. At the same time, the nomination of directors was claimed for the Crown, and likewise the right of appointing one, two, or even three commissioners, with considerable controlling powers over the directors, with whom they were constantly at variance. Notwithstanding this great drawback, the company pursued their eastern trade with much energy. Their Indian debts—the accumulation of a long series of years—were paid off; and, on the appointment of the able and upright Orry as minister of finance, measures were adopted for the improvement and defence of the Indo-French settlements. Pondicherry, after its surrender by the Dutch, in 1697, had been restored to the superintendence of M. Martin. By his prudence and integrity the basis of its prosperity was laid in the confidence of the natives, who gladly settled under his protection; and in course of time the village grew into a large and regular city, containing 70,000 inhabitants, of whom the European proportion continued, of course, extremely small. The French had also factories or *comptoirs* at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, in Bengal. Dumas, the governor-general appointed by Orry, increased the revenues of the company by obtaining permission from the Mogul, in 1734, to coin money in the fort of Pondicherry; and the rupees struck there yielded a profit of nearly £20,000 per annum for several years. In

quently incorporated the *Canada, China, Senegal, St. Domingo, Guinea, and East India* associations. The united body became generally known as the *Company of the West*—or sometimes *of the Indies*—and had a capital stock of one hundred million livres, it being the scheme of Mr. Law to pay the holders of government paper with the stock (or shares) of this company. All the nations of Europe became infected with the mania of suddenly growing rich by the issue of paper-money, and capitalists flocked by thousands to Paris from every metropolis: the shares bore a premium of 1,200 per cent., and the government granted to the company various privileges,—such as the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, and general farming of all the revenues, in consideration of a loan to the king of fifty million sterling towards the liquidation of the public debt. Capital was nominally added by several expedients: gold was forbidden in trade; and the coin successively diminished in value, until the people of France gladly brought their specie to the Bank, and converted their stock in the public funds into shares of the company, by which proceeding the national debt would, it was supposed, be paid off. The mania lasted about a twelvemonth, and then the bubble burst, in spite of every endeavour to continue its inflation. A terrible panic ensued, and was followed by a long season of individual misery and general depression. Multitudes of all classes awoke from their dream of wealth to the realities of want, and the government reeled under the shock which attended the downfall of its splendid projects for re-establishing the public credit. The "Sieur Law," comptroller-general of the finances and inspector-general of the Royal Bank, and all its associate societies, disappeared from France, and died in obscurity, without having acquired any thing very considerable for himself, although he had it once in his power (so far as human judgment can decide) to have become the richest subject in Christendom.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, years 1716 to 1720. Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, pp. 264 to 276. Justamond's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 61 to 68.)

* Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 269. It is a trite remark, but singularly apposite to the present case, that governments are never so ready to concede unlimited privileges as when their own authority stands on a tottering and precarious footing. In examining into all questions regarding the grant of exclusive privileges, and their bearing in a national point of view, it is always important to understand clearly the condition of the acting prince or government at the time of making such concessions.

1739 the French took forcible possession of Karical, on the Coromandel coast, which was confirmed to them by a grant from the rajah of Tanjore. Meanwhile, war was being carried on between Dost Ali, the governor or nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas under Ragojee Bhonslay, which terminated in the defeat of the former. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry, whither Ragojee pursued them, and threatened to besiege the place, unless they were surrendered. This Dumas positively refused; and at length, after plundering far and near, the Mahrattas accepted a small subsidy, and retired from the field in April, 1741. Sufder Ali, the son of the deceased nabob, is alleged to have made a princely return for the protection bestowed upon his relatives, by ceding to Dumas personally three districts, in value amounting to nearly £100,000 sterling per annum. The emperor Mohammed is stated, by the same authority, to have confirmed this grant, and further to have sent Dumas a dress of honour, bestowed on him the title of nabob (a dignity never before conferred on a European), and made him a *Munsubdar* of 4,500—that is, a commander entitled to the rank and salary associated with the control of that (often almost nominal) number of cavalry. These distinctions were, it is added, transferred to his successor, the afterwards famous Dupleix.*

Another justly celebrated man was then at the head of the presidency established by the French in the Indian seas, which comprised the two islands of Mauritius and Mascarenhas, otherwise called Isles of France or Cerné, and of Bourbon. M. de la Bourdonnais was a native of St. Malo, and had been at sea since the age of ten years. In the course of his voyages he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of the coasting trade of India, in which he was the first of his nation to embark. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune, and by sheer force of character, acquired much influence over those with whom he associated. A violent quarrel between the crews of some Arabian and Portuguese ships, in the harbour of Mocha, was amicably adjusted through his intervention; and the viceroy of Goa, greatly relieved by this termination of an affair which threatened fatal consequences, invited the successful mediator to enter the service of Portugal, gave him the title of agent for that power on the coast of Coromandel, together with the command of a royal ship, the rank of Fidalgo, and enrolled him as a member of the order of knighthood profanely termed "of Christ." In this honourable position he remained for two years, and then, in 1733, returned to France, where his reputation for ability and uprightness procured him the appointment of governor-general of the Mauritius and Mascarenhas, where he arrived in 1735. His conduct here was truly admirable. He found the people poor, indolent, and ignorant; but by dint of unwearied application, and a capacity for taking the initiative in everything connected with the material welfare of the settlements over which he had been chosen to preside, he effected improvements which seemed, says Raynal, "owing to enchantment."† The functions of governor, judge, surveyor, engineer, architect, agriculturist, were alternately performed by this one man, who could build a ship from the keel, construct vehicles, and make roads; break in bulls to the yoke, or teach the method of cultivating wheat, rice, cassava, indigo, and the sugar-cane. He established an hospital for the sick, and notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, visited it regularly every morning for a whole twelvemonth. Neither his unwearied labours, nor the extraordinary success with which they were attended, sufficed to shield him from the shafts of calumny. Some ship-captains and other visitants of the island, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, laid unfounded charges against him before the directors, and the high-spirited governor was consequently exposed to treatment which induced him to return to France, in 1740, with the intention of resigning his harassing and thankless office.‡ This Orry would not permit, but induced him to return to the Isles, and encouraged his plans for the extension of French power in the East, and of hostility

* See Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., 389. This usually correct writer possibly attributes to Dumas honours conferred on or assumed by Dupleix a few years later. Dost Ali was himself an interloper, unconfirmed by the emperor or the viceroy of the Deccan; and it is strange that the extravagant grant made by his son should have received the imperial sanction, even though bestowed in reward of opposition to the common foe of Mohammedans, the Mahrattas.

† *European Settlements in E. & W. Indies*, ii., 75.

‡ Raynal states, that La Bourdonnais, being asked how he had conducted his private affairs with more ability than those of his employers, replied: "I managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to their directions."

against the English. La Bourdonnais could not, however, procure adequate means for the execution of his extensive projects; but the force entrusted to him was usefully employed in raising the siege of Mahé, invested by the Mahrattas in 1741, after which he again occupied himself with the same energy as before in the details of his own government.

Dupleix, the French governor-general in India, was perhaps equal to his colleague in a certain description of ability, and probably superior to him in education and social position (his father having been a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the East India Company); but in manliness and integrity he was incomparably the inferior. In 1720, Dupleix was appointed first member of the council at Pondicherry; and here he continued for ten years, carefully studying the politics of the epoch, and accumulating property by engaging in the commerce of the country, from which the poverty of the servants of the French company for the most part debarred them. In 1730 he was sent to superintend the settlement at Chandernagore, which he found in a very neglected condition. Under his rule a great change took place, and the increase of wealth and population was marked by the erection of no less than 2,000 brick houses. A new trading establishment was formed at Patna through his exertions, and the French commerce in Bengal became an object of envy to all other Europeans. These indubitable proofs of legislative ability, aided probably by the influence of family connexion at home, procured for Dupleix the position of governor-general. It would seem as if the peculiar vices of his character had lain dormant while he remained in a subordinate position, but were called into action by the possession of supreme authority over his countrymen in India, checked only by responsibility to a distant and ill-informed body of directors. Ambitious in the extreme, inordinately vain, and no less restless and intriguing, Dupleix, from this period, constantly manifested a degree of littleness which made his really remarkable talents a matter of doubt in the sight of many who deemed such opposite qualities incompatible.

It may be imagined that a man of this character would neglect no opportunity of distinguishing himself and extending the power of his nation at the expense of the English; but his appointment at Pondicherry had been accompanied by such stringent commands for a general diminution of outlay, that he dared not commence hostilities, but was compelled to content himself by taking measures (in contravention to his instructions) for placing Pondicherry in a strongly defensible condition.

The state of the English Company at this period has been sufficiently shown in preceding pages. They do not appear to have numbered among their servants any leader fitted by experience and ability to oppose with success the generalship of La Bourdonnais, or the wiles of Dupleix. Happily for England, want of union in the councils of the enemy, tended to diminish the danger of their hostile attempts.

Before proceeding to narrate the struggle between the two nations, it is necessary to pause and briefly notice the leading territorial divisions of India at the epoch when the Mogul yoke changed from an iron chain to a rope of sand, and imperial viceroys or subahdars, nabobs or deputy governors, rajahs and ranas, naiks, wadeyars, polygars, zemindars, and innumerable chiefs of lesser note and differing titles, strove each one for the aggrandisement and independence of himself or his own family. A similar summary has been given previous to the invasion of India by the followers of Mohammed (pp. 39 to 43); as also at the epoch formed by the accession of Akber in 1556 (pp. 93 to 107): it is now important to note the origin and condition of several newly-created principalities, and also the changes which had taken place in the older states, in the course of the intervening period of nearly two centuries, for the sake of affording a means of reference, the value of which will be apparent when the narrative of European progress brings into prominent notice nabobs and rajahs taking their titles from places as yet unheard of.

Indian States—1740 to 1745.—The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739 (as has been shown in previous pages), left the Great Mogul in the dismantled palace of his ancestors, with an exhausted treasury and an empire diminished by the severance of Caboul, Sinde, and Moultan. A few years later, and another jewel was snatched from the imperial crown. The lovely valley of Cashmere, ever since its acquisition by Akber, had been the favourite retreat of successive monarchs from the intense summer-heats of Delhi or Agra. Here Jehangeer had held many a Bacchanalian revel, and spent long hours in dalliance with the gifted but unprincipled Nour Mahal, watch-

ing her distilling the far-famed essence of the rose, or listening to her magnificent projects for the erection of public edifices, mingled, too often, with unworthy schemes of ambition or revenge. Here Shah Jehan passed many bright summers before death took away Taj Mahal, the wife whom he truly loved, and before the quarrels and rebellion of the children she had borne, brought to him, in retribution for the unsparing cruelty which had attended his accession to the throne, an old age of sorrowful captivity. Here Aurungzebe, proof alike against the enervating influences of climate, the charms of the seraglio, the seductions of wine, or the intoxicating drugs which had been the bane of his race, pondered in austere seclusion over the complicated web he spent a life in weaving, with the bitter result of finding himself at last entangled in his own toils. Here, lastly, Mohammed Shah came, in the first flush of regal grandeur, to forget, amid a crowd of giddy courtiers, the heavy responsibilities of the inheritance of despotic power which his indolent, easy nature rendered peculiarly burdensome; and here, too, he came in age, and beholding the vessel of the state, committed by Providence to his guidance, reduced almost to a wreck, by calamities brought on by internal corruption, rather than by external strife, he probably learnt the causes of evils it was too late to remedy, but which he encountered with a quiet dignity and forbearance that served to keep together some of the shattered remains of imperial power. Cashmere was, however, seized by Ahmed Shah Abdulli, and incorporated in the new kingdom of Candahar; and the conqueror proceeded to invade the PUNJAUB, and had even crossed the Sutlej, when he was met by the Mogul army (under his namesake the heir-apparent), completely defeated, and driven back. This victory was followed almost immediately by the death of Mohammed Shah, and the accession of Prince Ahmed. The period, however, of which we are treating commences with the departure of the Persian invaders (1739.) The intrigues of viceroys and governors were speedily resumed when the first stunning effect of the late calamity had passed away. In OUDE, Sadut Khan had been succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sufder Jung. In the PUNJAUB, the rebellion of the Mogul viceroy soon produced renewed incursions from the Afghan border, and the province of GUZERAT fell completely into the hands of the Mahrattas. The three chief Rajpoot states of JEYPOOR (Amber), JOUDPOOR (Marwar), and OODIPOOR (Mewar), were still, to some extent, tributary to the emperor. The two last-named had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connexion subsisting between Rajah Jey Sing and Bajee Rao, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor, at the cost to the empire of the province of MALWA. The JATS, established in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor, were rapidly gaining ground; and after the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, they, for the most part, maintained a friendly intercourse with their fellow-marauders.* The principality afterwards known by the name of ROHILLA, was in progress of establishment in THE DOAB, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of Delhi.† BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA were under the sway of Ali Verdi Khan, but subject to the exactions of the Mahrattas, to whom the whole of India was rapidly becoming more or less tributary. When one pretext failed, another could easily be found by those who had the power of enforcing their most unreasonable demands. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst chout and surdeshmookı were extorted from the others by virtue of letters patent.‡ Thus, on various pretences the Mahrattas, says Duff, "went plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi;" while the Europeans, in their profound ignorance of native history, watched with amazement the progress of a people whom they still called

* The rise of the Mahrattas materially aided the Jats, by withdrawing Aurungzebe from the neighbourhood of Agra; but the statement of Grant Duff, that the plunder of the imperial army enabled them to fortify Bhurtpoor, is contradicted by Elphinstone. —(*India*, ii., 511. *See* also Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, in four vols., London, 1854—article, Bhurtpore.)

† *See* p. 171.—The founder of the Rohillas is described by Duff as the son of a Hindoo *Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the *Dhungurs* of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him when a boy, and gave him the name of Ali Mohammed Rohilla. His followers assumed the same designation; and from being the commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry, in the service of the deputy-governors of Moradabad, he gradually obtained possession of lands, and encroached by degrees, until the force sent for his expulsion by the imperial viceroy, proved insufficient for the purpose.

‡ It does not appear that any deed for collecting general *chout* over the empire was ever granted by Mohammed Shah: sums of money and convenient assignments were the modes of payment.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i., 457.)

"the Sevajees," after their great leader, instead of by their own distinctive appellation.

The centre of the diffusive power of the Mahrattas was MAHARASHTRA, the region where their peculiar language was spoken. The whole of this territory had, in 1573, during the reign of Akber, been subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, with the exception of a part of Candeish (which was held as an independent principality by the sultan of Boorhanpoor), of the northern Concan belonging to Guzerat, and the possessions of the Portuguese.* At that period Golconda was the third important Mohammedan state in the Deccan, Beder (the seat of the Bahmani dynasty) and Berar having been annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbouring states, which, as we have seen, were themselves in turn extinguished by the encroachments of Sevajee on the one side, and the levelling policy of Aurungzebe on the other. The six Mogul subahs or provinces of THE DECCAN† were, in 1741, in so far as the Delhi emperor was concerned, an independent government, under the irresponsible rule of the old nizam, Asuf Jah, who divided the revenues with the Mahrattas; the advantage being, as has been shown, increasingly on their side. The fixed possessions of the Mohammedans, for many centuries after their first invasion of the peninsula, did not extend south of the Kistna; and, indeed, the term of "the Deccan," by writers of this religion, and even by Wilks and other English authorities, is commonly used to denote the countries lying between the Nerbudda and Kistna; the territory below the latter river being distinguished as THE SOUTH OF INDIA. It is with this portion of the continent that we are more particularly concerned, from its having been the scene of the first struggle for supremacy between European powers. Previous to the battle of Talicot, in 1565, the whole of this territory was, more or less, under the sway of the government of Beejanuggur, or Vijeyanuggur; but many districts were held by families who ruled as tributaries or feudatories, with hereditary power. The defeat and slaughter of the brave old Rama Rajah, and the destruction of his capital by the conjoined exertions of the four Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan, were not followed by any systematic attempts for the annexation of Beejanuggur by the conquerors to their own dominions, private jealousies and international disputes preventing any permanent arrangement between them regarding the division of the spoil. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, established himself at Penconda, about 140 miles south-east of the former capital, and from thence the seat of government was shortly afterwards transferred to Chandragiri. About the year 1597, a descendant of the ancient *Rayeels* (as the rajahs of this dynasty were called) ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandragiri and Vellore, where he still held at least nominal sway over the governors or naiks of Jinjee, Tanjore, Madura, Chennapatam, Seringapatam (Mysoor), and Penconda; and in 1640, the last representative of this ancient house, Sree Ranga Raya, sanctioned the establishment of the English at Chennapatam, or Madras. About six years afterwards, he was driven by the forces of Golconda from his occasional places of residence and nominal capitals at Chandragiri and Chingleput, and compelled to take refuge with the chief

* *See* pp. 43 and 140. Hindoo writers differ materially as to the extent of Maharashtra, which they designate one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa* (one of the books of the *Jotush Shastra* or *Hindoo Astronomy*), Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundaries; and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*. Duff adds, "that the tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [? Vindhya] mountains, and extends from Naundode, on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor."—(i., 3.) A waving line from Mahoor to Goa, with the ocean on the westward, form the chief remaining limits. Wilks states, that the Mahratta language spreads from Beder to the north-west of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit. In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra—and by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or *country*)—seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar, and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan.—(*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, or *History of Mysoor*, i., 5-6.)

† 1st. Candeish, capital Burhanpoor. 2nd. Aurungabad, which comprised the territory formerly called the state of Ahmednuggur, governed by the Nizam Shahi dynasty. 3rd. Beejapoor or Viziapoor, the capital of the Adil Shahi dynasty. 4th. Beder. 5th. Berar. 6th. Hyderabad, capital of the Golconda or Kootb Shahi dynasty.

of Bednore or Nuggur (now included in Mysoor.) Sera, Bangalore, and Colar, with the important fortresses of Vellore and Jinjee, were seized by Beejapoor, the ambitious and short-sighted rulers of that kingdom continuing, to their last gasp of power, to endeavour to increase a superstructure already too extensive for its slender and tottering base. Aurungzebe's great political error, in destroying states it was his interest to uphold in dependence upon him, brought both them and him a fitting reward for the ungovernable lust of conquest. It levelled the only barrier to the rapid spread of Hindoo power; and in a short period of years, the supremacy of the Mahratta state was acknowledged, more or less decidedly, over all the south of India; and this, notwithstanding the incongruities of its internal constitution with its capitals of Sattara, where the rajahs lived (kings in name, captives or pageants in reality); and of Poona, where the peishwas (ministers in name, sovereigns in reality) held their now sumptuous courts and exercised sway, checked however materially by the private designs and unsleeping watchfulness of the Dhabaray family, Rugojee Bhonslay, and other noted leaders. With these turbulent chieftains, the peishwas were glad to compromise matters, by suffering them to invade Guzerat, Bengal, and other Mogul provinces on their own account; the authority of the rajah being a convenient pretence, occasionally resorted to in confirmation of such arrangements, and which, strange to say, still carried considerable weight in the minds of the people, it being quite inconsistent with the character of the Brahminical cast to govern, except after the fashion of an English "lord-protector" or a French cardinal.

The death of Bajee Rao, the famous antagonist of the nizam, in 1740, has been narrated (p. 169), as also the events which attended the accession to the peishwaship of his son Ballajee Bajee Rao. It is not necessary to enter further into the Mahratta history of this period, save in so far as it is connected with that of the various distinct principalities now fast rising into importance beneath the sway of native rulers or usurping governors. Under the latter head may be classed Toolava, the region (formerly part of Dravida) distinguished in European maps as the Carnatic—a tract, says Colonel Wilks, which "by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India."* The misnomer originated in the conquest of Toolava by the government of Canara Proper,† not long before the partition of the dominions of that state between the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor. These sovereigns, in dividing a country of whose condition and history they were wholly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut (above and below the Ghauts)‡—appellations which were transferred with the dominion over the region thus arbitrarily renamed—when all other Mohammedan governments were swallowed up in Mogul supremacy. In 1706, a chief named Sadut Oollah Khan (through the influence of Daud Khan Panni,§ then viceroy of the Deccan), was appointed by the emperor nabob of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut,‖ and he continued to fill that position after the death of his patron and the accession of the nizam. Sadut Oollah is supposed to have fixed the seat of his government at Arcot about the year 1716, no inscription or authority (says Colonel Wilks) having been discovered to prove the previous existence of a capital on that site. He died in 1732, leaving no issue male; but through the precautions taken in behalf of his nephews and adopted sons, Dost Ali and Bâkir Ali, the latter continued to be governor of Vellore, while the former succeeded in establishing himself as nabob of the Carnatic, despite the opposition of the nizam, whose jealous interference prevented his procuring an authentic commission from Delhi. At the period of his accession, the new nabob had two sons; the elder, Sufder Ali, had reached manhood: he had also several daughters, one of whom was married to a distant relative, the afterwards famous Chunda Sahib, who first acquired notoriety by his treacherous acquisition of Trichinopoly. This little

* *History of Mysoor*, i. 8.

† Situated on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, between the Concan and Malabar (formerly named Kerala.)

‡ The great geographical feature of the south of India is a central eminence of 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, above the level of the sea, separated by abrupt declivities from the low flat countries to the east and west, which form a belt of small and unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala Ghaut; and the lower belt, the Payeen Ghaut—*Ghaut* signifying a mountain pass or break.

§ *See* page 156.

‖ Called also the Carnatic Beejapoor Bala Ghaut, and the Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut.

state, like the neighbouring principality of Tanjore, although at times subject to the exactions of the Mohammedan rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, had maintained its independence from a remote date. The death of the rajah, in 1736, gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, upheld the cause of her adopted son against a rival claimant, and was actively supported by Chunda Sahib. Grateful for his assistance, and unsuspicious of any sinister motive, the queen was induced to give her ally free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by taking possession of the government in his own right, and imprisoning the ill-fated lady, who soon died of grief. This unworthy conduct excited strong dissatisfaction throughout the neighbouring states. The nabob viewed with alarm the ambitious and unscrupulous temper of his son-in-law, and the nizam was exceedingly annoyed by the growing power of a family, whose members, though disunited among themselves, would, he well knew, at any time coalesce against him as their common foe. The Hindoo princes participated in the jealous feelings of the nizam, and were likewise, it may be supposed, moved with honest indignation at the cruel treatment sustained by their fellow-sovereign. The result was, the invasion of the Carnatic by a Mahratta army under Rugojee Bhonslay, in 1740, and the defeat and death of Dost Ali; followed, in 1741, by the siege of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, who was carried prisoner to Sattara. Sufder Ali, the new nabob, was assassinated at the instigation of his cousin, Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore;* and the murderer, after vainly endeavouring to take advantage of his crime, by establishing himself as ruler of the province, shut himself up in his own citadel.

The nizam having determined on quitting Delhi, arrived at Arcot in 1743. He found that the infant son of Sufder Ali had been proclaimed nabob; and the popular feeling on the subject was so decided, that not caring openly to dispute the hereditary succession tacitly established in the family of Sadut Oollah, the wily politician affected to intend confirming the boy in office so soon as he should arrive at years of discretion. In the interim, he placed two of his own followers in the government. The first of these, Khojeh Abdulla, died in a very short space of time—it was supposed from the effects of poison administered by his successor, Anwar-oo-deen: shortly afterwards, the youthful expectant of the nabobship, who had been very improperly committed by the nizam to the care of this same person, so notoriously unfit for such a charge, was mortally stabbed at a public festival, by a guard of Patan soldiers, under pretence of revenging the non-payment of arrears due to them by the father of their victim. Anwar-oo-deen and Murtezza Ali were suspected of having conspired for the commission of this new crime—an opinion which gained strength by the efforts each of them made to cast the odium wholly on the other. The nizam would not listen to the accusations brought against Anwar-oo-deen by the friends of the unfortunate family of Sadut Oollah, but caused him to be formally installed as nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding the opposition of the people of the province, who found in the arbitrary and parsimonious administration of the new governor additional cause to remember the lenient and liberal conduct of their former rulers. It has been necessary to enter thus far into the domestic history of the Carnatic, in elucidation of its condition at the period when this very Anwar-oo-deen became an important personage in Indo-European history. For the same reason, a few words must be said regarding the native state of TANJORE—a relic of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Madura—which, owing to domestic dissensions, had fallen into the hands of a Mahratta ruler. The sovereignty became an object of contest to the grandsons of Venkajee, the half-brother of Sevajee. One of these, named Pertab Sing, the son of a concubine, succeeded in gaining possession of it, in 1741, to the exclusion of Syajee, the legitimate heir of the late rajah. Syajee, some years after, sought help from the English.

The MYSOOR state, long a dependency of the kingdom of Beejanuggur, was founded under romantic circumstances,† by a youth

* Murtezza Ali is described by Orme as the model of a cruel and suspicious tyrant: he "never moved, not even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste anything that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal." He is stated to have procured the assassination of his unsuspicious relative, by the hand of a Patan officer whom Sufder Ali had deeply injured by the seduction of his wife, and who availed himself of the opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge by entering the tent of the nabob at midnight, and stabbing him while attempting to escape.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 46—48.)

† Two brothers left the court of Beejanuggur to

of the famous tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters, Crishna (the celebrated Indian Apollo), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The first chieftain or rajah of this family whose date is established, succeeded to power in 1507, and was surnamed Arbiral, or the six-fingered, from the personal trait thus described. A fort was constructed or repaired in 1524, at Mahesh Asoor,* contracted to Mysoor; but it was not till after the battle of Talicot (forty years later), that its petty chieftains began to assume any importance among the princes of the south. In 1610 they acquired possession of Seringapatam, which thenceforth became the seat of government; and from this period their territories increased rapidly, and continued to do so, even after becoming avowedly tributary both to the Mogul emperor and to the Mahratta rajah Shao.

South Canara, Malabar, and Travancore remain to be noticed, having as yet escaped Mohammedan invasion. In the first of these was situated the country of Bednore, under the sway of a family, who from a small establishment at Caladee, in 1499, had gradually extended their limits to the sea-coast of Onore, and southward to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former ranee of Garsopa, the "pepper queen" of Portuguese authors; while, on the north, they successfully opposed the further advance of the forces of Beejapoor along the sea-coast. Sree Ranga Raya, when expelled from his last fortress, Chandragiri, took refuge here; and the Bednore rajah, formerly a servant of his family, availed himself of the pretence of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord, as a cloak for his own ambitious designs. The district belonging to Sumbajee, the Mahratta chief of Kolapoor, formed the limits of Bednore on one side; and to the southwards, lay the mountainous principality of Coorg, between the coast of Malabar and Mysoor. Malabar itself brings us to the familiar territory of Calicut, governed by the zamorin or Tamuri rajah, bounded to the southward by Cochin, on the opposite side of which, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, was the state of Tanjore, once an integral part of Malabar, known in the records of the E. I. Cy. as the country of the queen of Attinga,† by whose permission an English factory was formed at Anjengo, in 1694. Since then Tanjore had become famous in the annals of the Dutch, through the determined opposition of its rajah to their encroachments and oppression.

Besides the states enumerated in the above sketch, there were many others of less note; such for instance as those formed by the rajah of Soonda and the dessaye of Carwar, (who had taken part with the Portuguese in their late conflict with the Mahrattas); also by the Patan chiefs of Kurnoul, Kurpa, and Savanoor, descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golconda. The three last-named were closely connected with some of the leading Mahratta chieftains, and had been for some time nearly independent.

Struggle for supremacy between England and France.—Allusion has been made to the commercial crisis which convulsed these nations in 1720, brought on by imprudence and the absence of sound principle on the part of their respective governments. A quarter of a century later we find them exchanging declarations of war; and after being, in the first instance, drawn into the vortex as auxiliaries in the disputed Austrian

seek their fortunes, and having in the course of their wanderings alighted near the border of a tank, beside the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the site of the present town of Mysoor, they overheard some women, who had come to fetch water, bewailing the fate of the only daughter of their *wadeyar* (*i.e.*, lord of thirty-three villages), who was about to be given in marriage to a neighbouring chief of inferior cast, as the only means of preserving her family from immediate hostilities, which, owing to the mental derangement of the wadeyar, they were quite unprepared to resist. The young knights-errant offered their services to rescue the afflicted damsel from the impending disgrace; and after slaying the bridegroom and his companions at the marriage feast, marched, at the head of the men of Hadana, upon his territory of Caragully, which having captured, the conquerors returned in triumph to Hadana; and one of them, Vijeya, married the lady, nothing loth, and by the general voice of her people was elected wadeyar, first changing his creed from that of a disciple of Vishnu to a *jungum* or *lingwunt* —Hindoo terms, which will be hereafter explained.

* Mahesh Asoor, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess is still worshipped under the name of Chamoondee (the discomfiter of enemies) on the hill of Mysoor, in a temple famed at one period for human sacrifices. (Wilks' *Mysoor*, i. 34.)

† Hamilton states, that from remote antiquity the male offspring of the *tamburetties*, or princesses of Attinga, had inherited the sovereignty of Travancore, and continued to do so until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the reigning "tamburetty" was prevailed upon to transfer the authority to the male line. The conquests made by the Tanjore ruler, between 1740 and 1755, are attributed to the efficiency of a body of troops disciplined after the European manner by Eustachius de Lanoy, a Flemish officer.—(*East India Gazetteer*, ii., 674.)

succession, becoming themselves fired with the fierce excitement, they continued the contest as principals, on one pretext or another; the actual end desired by either party being the attainment of complete mastery in all points, whether as regarded political ascendancy in Europe, transatlantic dominion, trading monopolies, or maritime power. In this unhallowed rivalry both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. With the exception, perhaps, of the brothers Child, none of the officers of the old-established English company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French company, enabled La Bourdonnais and Dupleix to obtain, through the influence of Orry the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; and the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, fearing that the place would be taken before La Bourdonnais could answer his appeal for succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its prestige: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius; and when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras. The hearty co-operation of Dupleix and his council was, at this moment, of the highest importance; but jealousy of the renown which would attend the success of the enterprise, induced them to receive the solicitations of their

colleague with haughty and insulting indifference. La Bourdonnais, already severely tried by the miserable unfitness of the greater portion of his crews, consisting of sailors for the first time at sea, and soldiers who needed instruction how to fire a musket—their inefficiency increased by sickness, by which he was himself almost prostrated—had now to struggle against the aggravating tone adopted towards him by those to whom he looked for aid and sympathy. Under these circumstances, he behaved with singular discretion and forbearance, and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.*

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the E. I. Cy. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. This arrangement was in strict accordance with the instructions laid down by the French directors, who expressly forbade the extension of territory until their existing settlements should be more firmly established, and ordered their servants, in the event of capturing the possessions of any foreign foe, to abide by the alternative of destruction or a ransom. The very day of the surrender of Madras, a messenger, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry with a letter from Anwar-oo-deen, expressing his great surprise at the conduct of the French in attacking Madras, and threatening to send an army there if the siege were not immediately raised. Dupleix returned a deceitful answer, promising that the town, if taken, should be surrendered to the nabob, with liberty to make favourable terms with the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, proceeded to arrange the treaty of surrender without regard to the remonstrances or threats of Dupleix, who, notwithstanding the recent assurance given by him to the nabob, now insisted that Madras should be either retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. Three men-of-war arrived at this period at Pondicherry; and, thus increased, says Orme, the French force "was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the British settlements in Hindoostan."† La Bourdonnais had resolved on making the attempt, but his plans were contravened by Dupleix; and after much time having been wasted in disputes regarding the evacuation of Madras, a storm came on which materially injured the fleet, and compelled its brave commander to return in haste, before the change of the monsoon, to his own government at the Mauritius,‡ without staying to complete the shipment of the seized goods, which was to be followed by the restoration of the town. The machinations of Dupleix had thus succeeded in thwarting the views he ought to have promoted, and at the same time in acquiring an important addition of 1,200 trained men, left behind in consequence of the damage done to the squadron by the late tempest: accessions of strength were also received from other quarters, which raised the number of European troops at Pondicherry, in all, to about 3,000 men.

* The forces destined for the siege comprised about 1,100 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and 400 Madagascar blacks; 1,700 or 1,800 European mariners remained to guard the ships.—(Orme, i., 67.)

† *Military Transactions*, i., 73.

‡ Fron thence La Bourdonnais returned to France to vindicate himself from the complaints preferred by the family of Dupleix, some of whom being intimately connected with the E. I. Cy., had warmly espoused the quarrel of their relative against his more worthy adversary. He took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland, which, in consequence of the declaration of war, was forced into an English harbour. The distinguished passenger was recognised; but his conduct at Madras procured him an honourable reception; and the proposition of an East India director to become surety for him in person and property, was declined by government, on the ground that the word of La Bourdonnais was alone sufficient. This circumstance may have served to soothe the bitter trials which awaited his arrival in France. He was thrown into the Bastile, and remained in that terrible state prison for three years; at the expiration of which time his published vindication, supported by authentic documents, manifested not only the injustice of the charges brought against him, but also the ardour and ability of his services. Though liberated, he appears to have obtained no redress, and did not long survive his acquittal, which took place when he was about fifty-three years of age.

These additions were needed to combat the force dispatched by Anwar-oo-deen for the recapture of Madras, so soon as he perceived the hollowness of the professions by which he had been induced to violate his pledge to the English, of compelling the French to abstain from hostile proceedings throughout the Carnatic.

An army, commanded by the son of the nabob, invested Madras, and made some clumsy attempts to imitate the proceedings which had proved successful in the previous instance. The French encountered them with a greatly inferior numerical force; but the skilful and rapid management of their artillery, abundantly compensated for this disproportion, and enabled them to acquire a decisive victory. The event is memorable, as marking the commencement of a new phase of Indian history. The triumphs of the Portuguese were, for the most part, two centuries old: of late years Europeans had bowed submissively before the footstool of Mogul arrogance; and the single attempt of the English (in 1686) to obtain independent power, had only reduced them to a yet more humiliating position. The utter inability of unwieldy and ill-disciplined masses to contend with compact bodies of well-trained troops, was a fact which the French had again brought to light, together with another of equal importance—namely, the facility with which natives might be enrolled among the regular troops, and the reliance to be placed upon them. Already there were four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry; but the English had not yet adopted a similar procedure. Dupleix followed up the defeat of the nabob's force, by declaring the treaty with the English annulled, and giving orders for the seizure of every article of property belonging to the unfortunate inhabitants, excepting their personal clothes, the movables of their houses, and the jewels of the women—commands which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and leading persons were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and there exhibited before the native public in a species of triumph.

Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, next became an object of ambition, and a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, was dispatched for the attack of its garrison, which, including refugees from Madras, comprehended no more than 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The unexpected advance of a large force, sent by Anwar-oo-deen to the relief of the fort, took the French by surprise while resting from a fatiguing march, and exulting in the prospect of an easy prey. They retreated at once, with the loss of twelve Europeans killed and 120 wounded. An attempt was next made upon the native town of Cuddalore, which was situated about a mile from Fort St. David, and inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, and by many natives in the employment of the company. Five hundred men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But on this, as in the case of the fleet of La Bourdonnais, the turbulence of the elements preserved the English from the assault of their foes: the wind rose, and the raging surf forbade the prosecution of the hostile enterprise.

Dupleix, finding that he could not expect to cope successfully with the united strength of the nabob and the English, directed all his powers of intrigue and cajolery to break off their alliance; and at length succeeded, by exaggerated representations of the accessions of force received and expected by the French, in inducing the vacillating nabob to forsake the garrison of Fort St. David, who were described as a contemptible handful of men, abandoned even by their own countrymen to destruction. The falsity of this last assertion was proved at a critical moment; for just as a French force had succeeded in overcoming the resistance offered to their crossing the river, and were marching on the apparently devoted town, an English fleet was seen approaching the roadstead, upon which the assailants hastily recrossed the river and returned to Pondicherry.

In January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived in India with authority over the whole of the company's forces. In the following year, the addition of a squadron dispatched under the command of Admiral Boscawen,* rendered their fleet more formidable than any previously assembled by a single European power in India. Dupleix trembled; the nabob would, he feared, again change sides, so soon as the superior strength of the enemy should be manifest, and the French settlements be cut off from supplies both by sea and land. The English, on their part, hurried on the operations of

* Consisting of ten ships of the royal navy, and eleven belonging to the company, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1,400 men.

Boscawen, nothing doubting by the capture of Pondicherry, to retaliate the heavy sacrifice attendant on the loss of Madras.* Their expectations were disappointed. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner during the assault of the little fort of Ariancopang, two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry; and when, after much valuable time spent in acquiring and occupying this position, the admiral advanced upon the city, ignorance of the locality, disease in the camp, and probably also the unfitness of the brave and active sea-captain to direct the complicated proceedings of a land attack, resulted in the raising of the siege by the fiat of a council of war, assembled thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches. The rejoicings of Dupleix at this unlooked-for triumph, were, as might be expected, boastful in the extreme. He sent letters to the different neighbouring rulers, and even to the Great Mogul himself, informing them of the formidable assault which he had repulsed, and received in return high compliments on his prowess and on the military genius of his nation, which was now generally regarded as far superior to that of the English. His schemes were, however, contravened by a clause in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French government agreed to restore Madras; and this stipulation was enforced, notwithstanding the expense incurred by him in strengthening a possession obtained by a glaring breach of faith. On reoccupying their ancient settlement, the English likewise established themselves at St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town mostly inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Christians, whom the imperious Portuguese archbishop and viceroy Menezes had, with the aid of "the Holy Inquisition," brought into compulsory submission to the Romish pontiff. Since then it had sunk into obscurity, and would hardly have excited the notice of any European power, had not its position with regard to Madras, from which it was but four miles distant, enabled the ever-intriguing Dupleix to gain from the Romish priests much important information regarding the state of that settlement. St. Thomas was therefore occupied by the English, and the obnoxious portion of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.

While these events were taking place in the Madras presidency, that of Bombay, and the inferior but independent one of Calcutta, enjoyed tranquillity. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, had consistently maintained the determination at first expressed by Anwar-oo-deen, in the Carnatic, of compelling the hostile nations to keep the peace in his dominions. At the same time he exacted from both parties contributions, in return for the protection which he bestowed. The sums demanded from the English are stated† as not exceeding £100,000, which, considering the heavy expenses incurred in repelling Mahratta inroads, cannot be deemed immoderate.

The restoration of peace between their respective governments left the servants of the rival companies in India no pretence for continuing hostilities on any national ground. But extensive military preparations had been made: nothing but a *casus belli* was wanting; and it was not to be supposed that the commanders of considerable bodies of troops, who, having been levied, must be paid and fed, would willingly keep them in idleness for so slight a reason. The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmauns.‡ Neither party showed much anxiety about the character or claims of the candidates under whose banners they took post, the scarcely disguised motive being—how best to serve themselves and weaken their rivals. Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice. But this admission cannot exculpate the English from the heavy charge of indiscretion and venality—in first unsheathing the sword against a sovereign with whom they had long carried on a friendly correspondence, and then suffer-

* That event entailed a loss of £180,000 on the company.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 48.)

† Mill's *British India*, iii., 83, (edited by Wilson.)

‡ At Surat, for instance, in addition to the fixed custom dues of 3½ per cent., no less a sum than 1,365,450 rupees are stated, in the records of the E. I. Company, as having been paid from 1661 to 1683, simply to facilitate business.

ing themselves to be bought off from the cause they had unsuccessfully advocated. The case was simply this: Syajee, the ex-rajah of Tanjore (*see* p. 252), craved their assistance to regain the throne from which he had been driven by his half-brother, Pertab Sing. He declared that the people were well-affected towards him, and promised, in the event of success, to bestow upon the English the territory of Devicotta—a position rendered valuable by its proximity to the mouth of the river Coleroon, which was considered to offer advantages, as a harbour, beyond any other situation between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. His solicitations produced two attempts for the invasion of Tanjore. The first by Captain Cope, undertaken with a view to the re-establishment of Syajee, proved a complete failure. The second, led by Major Lawrence, succeeded in the object for which it was expressly designed—the capture of Devicotta—owing, under Providence, to the ingenuity and dauntless bravery of a common ship's carpenter* and—Lieutenant Robert Clive. This name, destined to stand first in a long line of Anglo-Indian conquerors, was then borne by a young man whose previous career afforded small promise of usefulness, though fraught with evidences of misdirected energy.

Some twelve years before the siege of Devicotta, the inhabitants of Market-Drayton, Shropshire, had viewed with terror the exploits of the audacious son of a neighbouring squire.† On one occasion they beheld the daring boy climb the lofty church steeple, and quietly take his seat on a projecting stone spout near the summit, fashioned in the form of a dragon's head, from whence he desired to obtain a smooth stone, for the pleasure of flinging it to the ground. At home the youth was noted for an immoderate love of fighting, and for a fierce and imperious temper; out of doors he displayed the same propensities by forming the idle lads of the town into a predatory army, and extorting a tribute of pence and trifling articles from the shopkeepers, guaranteeing them, in return, from broken windows and the effects of other mischievous tricks. The character of an exceedingly naughty boy accompanied Bob Clive from school to school, including the celebrated London seminary of the Merchant Taylor's Company. One of his early masters, it is said, had the sagacity to prophesy that the self-willed, iron-nerved child would, if he lived to be a man, and had opportunity to exert his talents, make a great figure in the world; but this was an exception to the general opinion formed of his slender parts and headstrong temper; and his family, seeing no good prospect for him at home, procured for the lad, when in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the E. I. Company, and "shipped him off, to make a fortune or to die of a fever."‡

For some time after the arrival of Clive at Madras, the former alternative appeared highly improbable. The ship in which he sailed was detained for nine months at the Brazils, and the young writer expended all his ready-money, but picked up, in return, a knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved useful to him in after-life. The salaries of the junior servants were then barely sufficient for their maintenance. Clive, who it may be readily imagined was no economist, soon became involved in debt; and this circumstance, combined with his isolated position and uncongenial employment (in superintending the taking of stock, making advances to weavers, shipping cargoes, and guarding the monopoly of his employers against the encroachments of private traders), aggravated by the depressing influence of a tropical climate, so affected a mind unsupported by religious principle, that the rash youth, in one of the wayward, moody fits to which he was all his life subject, made an ineffectual attempt at self-destruction. A fellow-clerk entered his room (in Writers'-buildings) immediately after, and was requested to take up a pistol which lay at hand, and fire it out of the window. He did so; and Clive sprang up, exclaiming—"Well, I am reserved for something; that pistol I have

* The fort of Devicotta was situated on a marshy shore covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. The English batteries were erected on the opposite side of the river, and after three days' firing a breach was effected; but before advantage could be taken of it, a broad and rapid stream had to be crossed in the face of the enemy. This was done by means of a raft, sufficient to contain 400 men, constructed by the carpenter, John Moore. The last difficulty—how to get the raft across—he removed by swimming the stream by night and fastening a rope to a tree, unperceived by the foe, whose attention was diverted from the spot by the well-directed manœuvres of the artillery. The troops were disembarked on the opposite bank.

† A landed proprietor, who practised the law, and resided on a small estate which had been enjoyed by his family since the twelfth century.

‡ T. B. Macaulay's brilliant critique on Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*.—(*Critical and Historical Essays.*)

twice snapped at my own head." * He was reserved for many things which the world calls great and glorious, and even (by a strange perversion of the term) heroic; but his earthly career was not the less destined to terminate by the very act which he had once been specially held back from accomplishing. That act even worldlings brand with the name of moral cowardice; while believers in revealed religion view it as the last and deepest offence man can commit against his Maker. In the case of Clive, such a termination of life was rendered peculiarly remarkable by his previous frequent and extraordinary escapes from perishing by violence.

On the capture of Madras, in 1746, he, with others, gave his parole on becoming a prisoner of war, not to attempt escape; but the breach of faith committed by Dupleix was considered by many of the captives to justify their infraction of the pledge given to M. de la Bourdonnais; and Clive fled by night to Fort St. David, disguised in dress and complexion as a Mussulman. Continued hostilities afforded him an opportunity of quitting the store-room for the camp; and Major Lawrence, perceiving the military ability of the young aspirant, gave him an ensign's commission, which, after the unsuccessful attack of Pondicherry, in 1748, was exchanged for that of a lieutenant. At Devicotta he was, at his own solicitation, suffered to lead a storming party, consisting of a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and a body of sepoys. Of the Europeans only four survived; but the determination of their leader, and the orderly advance of the sepoys, checked the opposition of the Tanjore horse, and gave the signal for the advance of Major Lawrence with his whole strength, which was speedily followed by the capture of the fort.

A treaty of peace was soon entered into with the rajah, Pertab Sing, by which the English were guaranteed in the possession of Devicotta, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas, on condition of their renouncing the cause of Syajee, and guaranteeing to secure his person so as to prevent any further attempts on the throne of his brother—a service for which 4,000 rupees, or about £400, were to be paid annually. The English had been completely misled by the statements of Syajee respecting his prospects of success; but still, this treatment of a person whom they had been endeavouring to re-establish as a legitimate ruler, was highly discreditable. It is even said, that the unfortunate prince would have been delivered into the hands of his enemies, but for the lively remonstrances of Admiral Boscawen. As it was, he found means to make his escape, though not to recover his throne.

In the meantime the French were engaged in transactions of more importance. They had far higher objects in view than any yet aimed at by the English, and their plans were more deeply laid. Dupleix, by means of his wife,† had obtained considerable acquaintance with the intrigues of various Mussulman and Hindoo princes; and this knowledge had afforded him material assistance on more than one occasion. The disturbed state of the Carnatic now offered a favourable opening for his ambition. The protracted life of the old nizam was fast approaching its termination; and the nominal viceroyalty, but actual sovereignty, of the Mogul provinces in the Deccan would, it was easy to forsee, speedily become an object of contest to his five sons. The cause of Anwar-oo-deen, himself almost a centenarian, would not therefore be likely to meet with efficient support from his legitimate superiors; while among the people a very strong desire existed for the restoration of the family of Sadut Oollah. The natural heir was the remaining son of Sufder Ali, but his tender age forbade the idea of placing him at the head of a confederacy which needed a skilful and determined leader. Murtezza Ali (governor of Vellore), though wealthy and powerful, was deemed too treacherous and too cowardly to be trusted. The only relative possessed of sufficient reputation, as a general, to direct an attempt for the subversion of the power of Anwar-oo-deen, was Chunda Sahib. The utter absence of principle manifested

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in 1749, three years after this event, Clive had a severe attack of nervous fever, which rendered necessary "the constant presence of an attendant;" and he adds, that even after his recovery, "the oppression on his spirits frequently returned."—(*Memoirs*, i., pp. 69-70.)

† Madame Dupleix is described in the *Life of Clive* as a creole, born and educated in Bengal; but her parentage is not stated. The Christian name Jeanne, she converted into the Persian appellation of Jân Begum (the *princess Jeanne*.) Her intimate acquaintance with the native languages, joined to a talent for intrigue little inferior to that of Dupleix himself, enabled her to establish a very efficient system of "espionage." At the time of the French capture of Madras, and the attempts on Fort St. David by the English, the Indian interpreter was found to have carried on a regular correspondence

in his seizure of Trichinopoly,* did not prevent him from being "esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic,"† uniting in every military enterprise, "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince."‡ On him Dupleix had early fixed his eyes as a fit coadjutor; and throughout his protracted imprisonment at Sattara, had contrived to keep up an intimate connexion with him, through the medium of his wife and family, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry—Madame Dupleix acting as interpreter; and at the same time corresponding, in the name of her husband, with various chiefs likely to prove useful in the coming struggle. At length all things seemed ripe for the enterprise. Through the intervention of Dupleix, the release of Chunda Sahib was effected in the early part of the year 1748, by means of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000.) The nizam died shortly after; and notwithstanding the prior claims of his numerous sons, another competitor for the succession arose in the person of a grandson, the child of a favourite daughter. With the young adventurer (generally known by his title of Moozuffer Jung),§ Chunda Sahib hastened to form an alliance, and induced him to commence operations in the Carnatic. Dupleix assisted the confederates with a body of 400 Europeans, 100 Kafirs, and 1,800 sepoys; and French valour and discipline mainly contributed to bring the storming of Amboor (a fort fifty miles west of Arcot) to a successful issue. Anwar-oo-deen was slain at the extraordinary age of 107 lunar years; his eldest son taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victorious leaders marched in triumph to Arcot, and then to Pondicherry, from whence (after increasing the limits and revenues of that settlement by the grant of eighty-one villages) they proceeded against Tanjore. It would have been unquestionably better policy to have advanced at once upon Trichinopoly; but supplies of money were urgently needed, and the known wealth of the rajah of Tanjore would, it was believed, compensate for the delay. The Tanjorine proved more than a match for his enemies in cunning, though inferior to them in force. Although at length compelled to pay a certain sum, claimed as arrears of tribute to the Mogul empire, and likewise in compensation for the expenses incurred in attacking him, the rajah continued to procrastinate in every possible manner,—one day sending, as part of the stipulated contribution, old and obsolete coins, such as he knew required long and tedious examination; another time, jewels and precious stones, the value of which it was still more difficult to determine. Chunda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices; but the want of funds induced him to bear with them until the end of the year (1749) arrived, and with it intelligence of the approach of a considerable army under the command of Nazir Jung,‖ the second son of the late nizam.

The allies, struck with consternation, precipitately retreated to Pondicherry, harassed by a body of Mahrattas. Dupleix exerted all his energies to reanimate their spirits; lent them £50,000, and increased the French contingent to 2,000 Europeans; but, doubting greatly the ultimate success of the cause which he had so sedulously promoted, he sought to be prepared for any turn of circumstances, by opening a secret communication with Nazir Jung. In this treacherous attempt he failed, the prince having previously formed an alliance with the English.¶

On hearing of the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-deen, Nazir Jung had marched towards the Carnatic, where he was speedily joined by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob, and at the same time he sent to ask assistance from the English at Fort St. David. They were already filled with alarm at the part taken by the French in the recent hostilities, but possessed no authority from the Court of Directors to engage anew in the perils and expenses of any military undertaking. The result of

with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. He and a Hindoo accomplice were tried, found guilty, and hanged.—(Malcolm's *Clive*, i., 21; Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 88.)

* *See* p. 252. In addition to the facts already stated, it may be noticed, as enhancing the perfidy of Chunda Sahib, that one means adopted by him to set aside any misgivings on the part of the ranee of Trichinopoly, was by swearing that his troops, if secretly admitted within the citadel, should be employed solely for the confirmation of her authority. This false oath he took on a false Koran—that is, on a brick enveloped in one of the splendid coverings used by Mohammedans to wrap round the volume they revere as divinely inspired.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.)

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 119.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.

§ *Victorious in War.* ‖ *Triumphant in War.*

¶ *Vide* "Vindication," entitled *Mémoire pour Dupleix*; also *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, published by the directory of the Fr. E. I. Cy.; quoted by Mill, iii., 105.

the Tanjore enterprise was not encouraging; the attempt to reinstate Syajee had proved a complete failure; and Pertab Sing, by the cession of Devicotta, had bought them off, as he might have done a body of Mahrattas, —not so much from fear of their power, as because he expected a more dangerous assault on the side of Chunda Sahib and the French. It was evidently no honest desire for peace which dictated the miserable half measures adopted by the Madras presidency. Although Admiral Boscawen offered to remain if his presence should be formally demanded, he was suffered to depart with the fleet and troops. A force of 120 Europeans was sent to Mohammed Ali; and the report of the powerful army and extensive resources* of Nazir Jung induced them to send Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans, to fight under so promising a standard. The rival armies, with their respective European allies, approached within skirmishing distance of one another, and an engagement seemed close at hand, when thirteen French officers, discontented with the remuneration they had received for the attack on Tanjore, threw up their commissions; and M. d'Auteuil, panic-struck by this mutinous conduct, retreated, with the remainder of the troops under his command, to Pondicherry, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, while Moozuffer Jung,† having received the most solemn assurances of good treatment, threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, by whom he was immediately placed in irons.

Nazir Jung, relieved from immediate peril, took no thought for the future; but at once resigned his whole time to the pleasures of the harem and the chase. The only rival he feared (Ghazi-oo-deen) was fully employed in the intrigues of the Delhi court; the other three brothers were held in close confinement at Arcot; and the indolent prince, in the haughtiness of imaginary security, treated with disdain the claims of those who had joined him in the hour of danger. The experience of past time might have borne witness that Mogul rulers had seldom offended their turbulent Patan followers with impunity; yet Nazir Jung now behaved towards his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor) as if they had been mere feudatories, who as a matter of course had rallied around his standard, instead of what they undoubtedly were—adventurers who had hazarded their lives for the chance of bettering their fortunes. The expectations of the English were equally disappointed by the refusal of a tract of territory near Madras, the promised reward of their assistance; and Major Lawrence quitted the camp in disgust. Dupleix and Chunda Sahib soon learned the state of affairs, and hastened to take advantage of it both by force and stratagem. Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles west of Fort St. David) were captured; the fort of Jinjee, deemed almost inaccessible, was attacked by the famous French commander Bussy, and the huge insulated rock on which it stands, stormed to the very summit. The boldness of the attempt, and especially its being commenced at midnight, seems to have paralysed the energies of its superstitious defenders; and even the victors, in contemplating the natural strength of the place, were astonished at their success. Nazir Jung alarmed, entered

* Nazir Jung was at Boorhanpoor, in command of the army, at the time of the death of his father: this circumstance favoured his attempt at becoming subahdar of the Deccan, to the exclusion of his eldest brother, Ghazi-oo-deen, who, he asserted, had freely resigned his pretensions, being satisfied with the important position he held in the court of Delhi—a statement which was wholly false. Ghazi-oo-deen was by no means inclined to make any such renunciation, and had in justice nothing to renounce, the government of the southern provinces being still, at least in form, an appointment in the gift of the emperor. Mohammed Ali's claim to the government of the Carnatic (urged, in the first instance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the only legitimate son of Anwar-oo-deen) was based on the bare grounds that Nizam-ool-Moolk had promised, and Nazir Jung would confirm to him the possession of a patrimony which had been in his family just five years. This was the "rightful cause" maintained by English valour in the field, and contended for, in many volumes of political controversy, during a prolonged paper warfare. The French, on their part, upheld with all the zeal of self-interest, both with the sword and the pen, the claims of the rival candidates. The pretensions of Moozuffer Jung rested on the will of his grandfather, which his adversaries declared to be a forgery; but if a veritable document, it was unlawful as regarded the emperor, and unjust in setting aside the natural heirs. The sole plea urged by Chunda Sahib, was the will of Moozuffer Jung that he should be nabob. The fact was, neither English nor French had any justification for interference in hostilities which were mere trials of strength among bands of Mohammedan usurpers; and the subsequent conduct of both parties in setting up pageants, because it was inexpedient for them to appear as principals, is nothing more than an additional proof that politicians, as a class, agree everywhere in receiving diplomacy and duplicity as convertible terms, maintaining, however, as much as possible, the semblance of honesty in deference to the feeling which our Creator seems to have implanted in the mind of almost every community—that the public safety is intimately connected with the integrity of those who bear rule.

† This name is sometimes mis-spelt Mirzapha.

into negotiations with Dupleix. The French deputies used their admission to his camp as a means of treacherously intriguing with the disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence heard of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to convey a warning to the subahdar at a public audience; but the interpreter employed dared not venture a declaration which might cost him his life, and the important information was withheld from fear of the vizier, who was falsely reported to be involved in the plot. The etiquette which prevented any direct communication with the subahdar, either verbally or by writing, is given as a sufficient reason for no determined effort to that effect having been made.* Nazir Jung continued, to the last moment, utterly unsuspicious of danger. He ratified the treaty with the French, and sent it to Pondicherry. They advanced against him from Jinjee the very next day; and the prince, while manfully striving to animate his troops to repel what he termed "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,"† was shot through the heart by the nabob of Kudapa. The army learned the fate of their late ruler by the sight of his head fixed on a pole, and were with little difficulty induced to transfer their services to his nephew Moozuffer Jung, who now, released from captivity, became the gaoler of his three uncles. Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin,‡ and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot. The installation of the subahdar was performed at Pondicherry with much pomp. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. Dupleix, dressed in the garb of a Mussulman of the highest rank, entered the city in the same palanquin with Moozuffer Jung; and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of every other noble. The rank of a munsubdar of 7,000 horse was conferred upon him, with permission to bear on his banners the insignia of "the fish"§—a distinction among the Moguls equivalent to the coveted "blue ribbon" of the English court. Honours and emoluments could be obtained only by his intervention: the new ruler would not even peruse a petition, unless indorsed by the hand of Dupleix.

The triumph of the ambitious Frenchman, though brilliant, was soon disturbed. The chiefs, by whose perfidy the revolution had been accomplished, demanded the fulfilment of the extravagant promises made to them while the prince, now on the throne, lay bound in fetters. Dupleix endeavoured to bring about an arrangement; and, as an incitement to moderation, affected to relinquish all claim to share in the treasure seized upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, notwithstanding which he received no less than £200,000 in money, besides many valuable jewels.‖ The offers made to the turbulent nobles were, however, so very large, that if (as would appear) really accepted and carried out, it is difficult to account for the rapidity with which they again broke forth into open revolt.¶ After lulling all suspicions by a semblance of contentment, accompanied by oaths of allegiance sworn on the Koran, the chiefs watched their opportunity; and, during the march of the army to Golconda, suddenly took possession of an important pass, and, supported by their numerous followers, opposed the advancing force. The steady fire of the French artillery soon cleared the way; but Moozuffer Jung, furious at finding himself menaced with the fate of his uncle, by the same double-dyed traitors, rushed upon the peril he had nearly escaped, by distancing his attendants in a reckless pursuit of the fugitive nabob of Kurnoul, whom he overtook and challenged to single combat. The elephants were driven close to each other; and the sword of Moozuffer Jung was uplifted to strike, when the javelin of his opponent pierced his brain. A moment later, and the victor was surrounded and cut to pieces: one of his fellow-conspirators had already perished in a similar manner; the third quitted the field mortally wounded.

What were the French to do now for a puppet adapted by circumstances for the part of subahdar? No time could be spared for deliberation: a few hours, and the heterogeneous multitudes of which Indian armies consist, would, under their respective leaders,

* Major Lawrence perhaps disbelieved the report, otherwise his conduct was supine and neglectful.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 156.

‡ Masulipatam and its dependencies were ceded to the French E. I. Cy., with other territories, valued by them at £38,000 per ann., but, according to Orme, the revenues were considerably overstated.

§ The *Mahi*, or figure of a fish four feet long, in copper-gilt, carried on the point of a spear.

‖ Moozuffer Jung distributed £50,000 among the officers and men engaged at Jinjee, and paid an equal sum into the treasury of the French company, in compensation for the expenses of the war.

¶ Orme asserts, that besides various minor concessions, the Patan nobles were promised by Dupleix one-half the money found in the treasury of Nazir Jung, which, in a subsequent page, is stated at two million sterling.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 160-'2.)

after dividing the spoil of their late master, disperse in search of a new paymaster; and, with them, would vanish the advantages gained by the murder of Nazir Jung. Bussy, the commander-in-chief, was no less bold and ready-witted than the absent Dupleix, and his unhesitating decision exactly met the circumstances of the case. The three uncles of the newly-deceased subahdar were in the camp, having been carried about as prisoners in the train of their nephew, lest some conspiracy should be formed in their favour if separated from his immediate superintendence. In other words, it was convenient to keep within reach all persons whose dangerous consanguinity to the reigning prince might incite an attempt for the transfer of the crown; such an endeavour being best frustrated by cutting off the head for which the perilous distinction was designed. Moozuffer Jung left an infant son, whose claims on the gratitude of the French were afterwards recognised by Bussy,* though he set aside the title of the boy to sovereignty, and releasing the captive princes, proclaimed the eldest, Salabut Jung, viceroy of the Deccan. The army acquiesced in the arrangement, and proceeded quietly on the road to Golconda. Dupleix, on learning the late events, addressed the warmest congratulations to Salabut Jung, who, besides confirming the cessions of his predecessor, bestowed additional advantages on his new friends.

The English watched with amazement the progress of the French, but without any efforts at counteraction. From some unexplained cause, Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose character and experience the strongest reliance was placed in all military affairs, returned to England at the very time his services were most likely to be needed. The Madras presidency desired peace at almost any sacrifice, and united with Mohammed Ali in offering to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French, borne on the tide of victory, rejected these overtures; and the English, stung by the contemptuous tone adopted towards them, combined with Mohammed Ali to oppose their united foes. The opening of the campaign was not merely unfortunate, it was (in the words of Major Lawrence) disgraceful: "a fatal spirit of division" prevailed among the officers, and the Europeans fled before the force of Chunda Sahib, near the fort of Volconda, while the native troops maintained the conflict. Driven from one position to another, the English and their allies at length sought shelter beneath the walls of Trichinopoly. The enemy followed them without delay, and took post on the opposite side of the town, from whence they made some ineffectual attempts for the reduction of the place.

The French had now reached the culminating point of their power in India: the English, their lowest state of depression; yet the latter were soon to ascend an eminence, to which the position attained by their rivals seemed but as a stepping-stone. The young adventurer already noticed, was selected by Providence as one of the chief instruments in the commencement of this mighty change. In the interval of peace just ended, Clive had been appointed by his steady friend, Major Lawrence, commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. He was now five-and-twenty, in the full strength and vigour of early manhood. The present emergency called forth all his powers; and, by earnestly representing the necessity of some daring attempt to relieve Trichinopoly, he succeeded in gaining the consent of the Madras presidency to attack Arcot, as a probable means of recalling Chunda Sahib to his own capital. A little force, consisting of eight officers (four of whom were factors turned soldiers, like "special constables" for the occasion), 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, sallied forth under the leadership of Clive. The issue of this daring enterprise was awaited by the English with intense anxiety. It was no ordinary detachment, sent forth at slight hazard to effect a diversion: the men by whom it was undertaken were (at least in a military point of view) the life-blood of Fort St. David and Madras: in the event of their being cut off, these settlements would be left, the one with only 100, the other with less than fifty defenders, against the overwhelming strength of the Indo-French potentate Dupleix, and his satellites. On two previous occasions a fierce and sudden tempest had been the destined means of preserving the English from the hands of their foes. The fleet, assembled by the unflagging zeal of La Bourdonnais, shattered and dispersed when bearing down, in the pride of power, on the Coromandel coast; the stealthy, midnight assault of Dupleix on Cuddalore arrested by the rising surf;—these dis-

* The stronghold of Adoni, with its dependencies, which had been the original jaghire of the father, were given to the son, with the addition of the territories formerly possessed by the treacherous nabobs of Kurnoul and Kudapa.—(Orme, i., 249.)

pensations were now to be crowned by a third, yet more remarkable in its consequences.

When Clive and his companions had advanced within about ten miles of Arcot, a violent storm came on, through which they continued their march with the habitual bravery of European troops. The native garrison, accustomed to regard with superstitious terror the turmoil of the elements, learned with astonishment the continued advance of their assailants; and, on beholding them approach the gates of Arcot amid pealing thunder, vivid flashes of lightning, and fast-falling rain, panic spread from breast to breast: the fort was abandoned, and the English, strong in the supposed possession of supernatural courage, entered it without a blow. The city had neither walls nor defences, and no obstruction was offered to the few hundred men who passed on as conquerors, gazed upon with fear, admiration, and respect, through streets crowded by 100,000 spectators. They took possession of the citadel, in which was found a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, with eight pieces of cannon of small calibre. The merchants had, for security, deposited there effects to the value of £50,000; but these were punctually restored to the owners: and "this judicious abstemiousness," adds Orme, "conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."

There could be little doubt that vigorous attempts would be made by Chunda Sahib to recover the city which had thus strangely slid from his grasp. Clive instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. It was a discouraging task, even to a man whose genius ever shone most brightly amid danger and difficulty. The walls of the fort were ruinous; the ditches dry; the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns; the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The fugitive garrison, ashamed of the manner in which they had abandoned the place, assembled together, and encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive sallied out with almost his entire force, attacked the camp, slew great numbers, and returned to his quarters, without having lost a single man.* A more dangerous enemy soon appeared, consisting of about 10,000 men, including 150 French from Pondicherry, under the command of Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.† The garrison had but a slight prospect of maintaining its ground against so formidable an armament; and certainly the retention of Arcot was little less marvellous than its conquest, though accomplished by wholly different means. In the first instance, a scanty force took possession, without effort, of a prize unexpectedly placed within their reach; in the latter case, although reduced by casualties to 324 in number, they showed themselves determined to sacrifice even life in its defence. For fifty days the assault continued; but the courage of the besieged never faltered: they held together as one man; and at length, when food began to fail, and was doled out in diminishing portions, the sepoys, in their exceeding devotion to their suffering comrades, came in a body to Clive, and entreated that all the grain in store might be given to the Europeans who required a nourishing diet,—they could subsist on the water in which the rice was boiled.‡ The reputation of the gallant defence of Arcot proved the immediate cause of its success. An ineffectual attempt at succour, on the part of the Madras government, was followed by the approach of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the famous leader Morari Rao. These troops had been enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but, deeming his cause hopeless, had remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. As a last resource, Clive managed to convey to them an earnest appeal for succour, and received an immediate reply from the chief, that, being at length convinced the English could fight, he would not lose a moment in attempting their relief. This circumstance coming to the ears of Reza Sahib, he forthwith dispatched a flag of truce to the garrison, with offers of honourable terms of capitulation, and a large sum of money to their commander, as the alternative of the instant storming of the fort and the slaughter of all its defenders. Clive, in rejecting the whole proposition, gave vent to his characteristic haughtiness, by taunting Reza Sahib with the badness of his cause, and the inefficiency of his "rabble

* Fifteen Europeans perished in a subsequent sally against the force of Reza Sahib: amongst these was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, perceiving a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him aside and was himself shot through the body.

† Orme calls this leader *Rajah* Sahib; Wilks (a much better authority in a question of orthography), *Reza*.

‡ This water, called Cunjee, resembles very thin gruel.

force." Then, having taken all possible measures to resist the expected attack, he lay down exhausted with fatigue, but was soon aroused by the loud uproar of oriental warfare in its most imposing form.

It was the 14th of November—the period allotted to the commemoration of the fearful massacre on the plains of Kerbela, in which the imaum Hussyn, the grandchild of "the prophet," with his whole family and followers, suffered a cruel death at the hands of his inveterate foes. The recurrence of this solemn festival is usually the signal for the renewal of fierce strife, either by words or blows, between the Sheiahs and the Sonnites, or followers of the caliphs, by whom Ali and his children were superseded. The Mohammedans engaged in the siege seem to have been Sheiahs; and in the absence of any sectarian quarrels, they directed the full force of the fanaticism roused by the recollection of the tragic catastrophe of Kerbela, against the infidel contemners of both imaums and caliphs, and even of their founder himself. Besides the well-known dictum of the Koran—that all who fall fighting against unbelievers offer thereby a sacrifice (accepted, because completed) for the sins of a whole life, and are at once received into the highest heaven, escaping all intermediate purgatories—a peculiar blessing is supposed to rest on those who perish in "holy" warfare during the period consecrated to the memory of the venerated imaums.* Stimulating drugs were called in to heighten the excitement of the discourses addressed by the priests; and in a paroxysm of mental and physical intoxication, the unwieldy host rushed furiously against the gates of Arcot, driving before them elephants with massive iron plates on thir foreheads. The first shock of these living battering-rams was a moment of imminent peril; but the gates stood firm; and then, as in many previous instances, the huge animals, maddened by the musket-balls of the foe, became utterly ungovernable, and turning round, trampled down hundreds of those who had brought forward such dangerous auxiliaries, causing confusion throughout their whole ranks. About an hour elapsed, during which time three desperate onsets were made, and determinedly resisted; the steady fire of the garrison telling fearfully on the shrieking, yelling mass beneath. The assailants then retired beyond the partially dry moat, with the loss of about 400 men,† and requested a short truce, that they might bury their dead. The English gladly complied: they must have needed rest; for many of them being previously disabled by wounds and sickness, the labour of repulsing the foe had fallen upon eighty Europeans (officers included) and 120 sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, had expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack, the front ranks being kept constantly supplied with loaded guns by those behind them.‡ The stipulated interval passed away; the firing recommenced, and continued from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, when it entirely ceased. The besieged passed some anxious hours; even the four or five men they had lost could be ill spared, for they expected to find the foe in full force at daybreak; instead of which they beheld the town abandoned, and joyfully took possession of several guns and a large quantity of ammunition left behind in the retreat.

The news of this extraordinary triumph was received at Madras with the utmost enthusiasm. Mohammed Ali, who now assumed the privilege once exclusively confined to the reigning emperor, of bestowing titles, called Clive—Sabut Jung (the daring in war), a well-earned designation which the young soldier bore ever after on his Persian seal, and by which he became known throughout India.

A reinforcement of 200 English soldiers and 700 sepoys joined Clive a few hours after the raising of the siege. Leaving a small garrison at Arcot, he set forth in pursuit of Reza Sahib; and having succeeded in effecting a junction with a Mahratta division, overtook the enemy by forced marches, and, after a sharp action, gained a complete victory.§ The military chest of the defeated general fell into the hands of the con-

* The other imaum (Hassan) likewise fell a victim to the machinations of the caliph Mauwiyah.—(*See* previous pages, 58—62.)

† Orme states, that but few of these were Europeans; for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance.—(i., 195.)

‡ The personal exertions of Clive were very great. Perceiving the gunners taking ineffectual aim at a body of the enemy, who were striving to cross on a raft the water which filled a portion of the ditch, he took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and, by three or four vigorous discharges, compelled the abandonment of this attempt.

§ A gallant exploit was performed on the part of the enemy by a sepoy, who, beholding a beloved commander fall in the breach, crossed the ditch and carried off the body, passing unscathed through the fire of at least forty muskets.—(Orme, i., 194.)

querors, 600 of his sepoys joined their ranks, and the governor of the neighbouring fort of Arnee consented to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise the title of Mohammed Ali. The great pagoda of Conjeveram, which had been seized and occupied by the French during the siege of Arcot, was regained after a slight struggle.* Towards the close of the campaign of 1752, Clive was recalled to Fort St. David. On the march he arrived at the scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung, the chosen site of a new town, projected to commemorate the successes of the French in the East. Dupleix Futtehabad (the city of the victory of Dupleix) was the name given to the place; and a stately quadrangular pillar, with inscriptions in various eastern languages, recounted the short-lived triumph of the ambitious builder. Clive and his followers destroyed the newly-raised foundations, levelled the column to the ground and went their way in triumph, amid the wondering natives, who had lately deemed the French invincible.

Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of his allies, the position of Mohammed Ali continued extremely precarious: many of the strongholds of the province were in hostile keeping; and the want of funds wherewith to pay the army, daily threatened to produce mutiny or desertion. Under these circumstances he appealed to the government of Mysoor, and, by extravagant promises in the event of success, prevailed upon the regent to send supplies of money and soldiers to Trichinopoly. The Mysoorean troops were 14,000 strong; the Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, numbered 6,000 more; and the Tanjore rajah, who had previously remained neutral, now sent 5,000 men to join the allies. These accessions of strength were soon followed by the arrival of Major Lawrence (then newly returned from Europe), with Clive at his right hand, accompanied by 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoys, eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Preparations were immediately made to take the field. Dupleix became alarmed at the altered state of affairs. As a military commander he had never attained celebrity.† Bussy was absent in the train of Salabut Jung; the remonstrances of Chunda Sahib were unheeded; and the entire force, although the Carnatic lay open before them, took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, on an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and Cavery. All parties suffered severely from the protracted duration of the war. The mercantile affairs of the English company were extremely distressed by the drain on their finances; and Major Lawrence, believing it to be an emergency which justified "risking the whole to gain the whole,"‡ sanctioned the daring proposal of his young subaltern—to divide their small force, and remaining himself at the head of one portion for the protection of Trichinopoly, dispatch the other, under the leadership of Clive,§ to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. Complete success attended the measure.‖ Chunda Sahib besought M. Law, the commander of the

* While reconnoitring the pagoda over a garden wall, the companion of Clive, Lieutenant Bulkley, was shot through the head close by his side.

† A memoir, drawn up by the French E. I. Cy., in answer to one published by Dupleix, accuses him of having more than once manifested a deficiency in personal courage, and states that he accounted for the care with which he kept beyond the range of a musket-ball, by declaring that, "le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenait à son génie."—(Mill's *British India*, iii., 83.)

‡ Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 220.

§ Some difficulty arose regarding the appointment of a junior captain to so important a command; but this obstacle was removed by the express declaration of Morari Rao and the Mysooreans—that they would take no part in the expedition if dispatched under any other leader than the defender of Arcot.—(*Id.*)

‖ M. d'Auteuil was dispatched by Dupleix with supplies from Pondicherry. Owing to a double mistake on the part of Clive and d'Auteuil, the former was led to believe that the information conveyed to him regarding the French detachment was incorrect; the latter, being informed that the English commander was absent in pursuit of him, thought to take advantage of the slightly-defended British post. With this view he sent eighty Europeans and 700 sepoys. The party included—to the sad disgrace of our countrymen—forty English deserters, whose familiar speech nearly procured the success of the treacherous undertaking. The strangers, on pretence of being a reinforcement come from Major Lawrence, were suffered to pass the outworks without giving the pass-word. They proceeded quietly until they reached an adjacent pagoda and choultry (place of entertainment), where Clive lay sleeping, and there answered the challenge of the sentinels by a discharge of musketry. A ball shattered a box near the couch of Clive, and killed a servant close beside him. Springing to his feet he rushed out, and was twice wounded without being recognised. A desperate struggle ensued; the English deserters fought like wild beasts at bay. The pagoda was in possession of the French, and the attempt to regain it was broken off until cannon could be obtained. Clive advanced to the porch to offer terms: faint with loss of blood, in a stooping posture he leant on two serjeants. The leader of the deserters (an Irishman) came forward, addressed Clive in opprobrious language (apparently infuriated by some private

French forces, to make a determined effort to shake off the toils fast closing round them; but all in vain. Provisions began to fail, and men to desert; at length the personal safety of the nabob becoming in evident danger, and his constitution rapidly giving way under the combined effects of age and anxiety, attempts were made to secure his escape by intriguing with his foes. Negotiations were opened with Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore force, and a large sum of money paid to him, in return for which he swore "on his sword and dagger" to protect the unhappy noble, and convey him unharmed to the French settlement of Karical. This adjuration a Mahratta rarely violates; but Monajee did so in the present instance. His motives are variously stated. One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the instrument of Mohammed Ali:* Orme, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysooreans, or the Mahrattas for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing the object of it to be put to death. The event is still regarded by Mohammedans as a remarkable manifestation of divine vengeance; for, in the very choultry where, sixteen years before, Chunda Sahib, by a false oath, deceived the ranee of Trichinopoly, he was now cruelly murdered while lying prostrate on the ground, broken down by sickness and disappointment.† The head was sent to Trichinopoly; and Mohammed Ali, after gazing for the first time on the face of his rival, caused it to be exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of the city. The French at Seringham ‡ capitulated immediately after the above occurrence; and the English, desirous of continuing their successful career, urged the nabob to proceed at once to Jinjee. He hesitated, procrastinated, and at length confessed that the aid of the Mysoor government had been obtained by no less a bribe than a signed and sealed agreement for the cession of Trichinipoly and its dependencies. Major Lawrence was bitterly mortified at finding that the city to which, at this period, an importance far above its intrinsic value was attached, could not after all be retained by the person with whose interests those of his countrymen had become identified, except by a flagrant breach of faith which he honestly pronounced quite unjustifiable.§ The nabob would not see the matter in this light; the Mysooreans, he argued, never could expect the fulfilment of such an unreasonable stipulation, especially while the chief portion of the dominions claimed by him as governor of the Carnatic still remained to be subdued: abundant remuneration should be made for their valuable services; but, as to surrendering Trichinopoly that was out of the question; for, after all, it was not his to give, but only to hold in trust for the Great Mogul. This very convenient after-thought did not satisfy the Mysooreans. Both parties appealed to the Madras presidency, and received in return assurances of extreme good-will, and recommendations to settle the matter amicably with one another.‖ Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, took a leading part in the discussion which followed, and received gifts on both sides; but it soon became evident that his impartial arbitration, if accepted, was likely to terminate after the fashion of that of the monkey in the fable,—the shells for his clients, the oyster for himself;¶ and at length, after much time spent in altercation, the

quarrel), and taking a deliberate aim, fired his musket. Clive asserts that the ball killed both his supporters, while he remained untouched. The Frenchmen disowned any share in the outrage, and surrendered; the enemy's sepoys were cut to pieces by the Mahratta allies of the English.—(*Life*, 116.)

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 284. † *Idem*, 285.

‡ Under M. Law, a nephew of the Scottish schemer.

§ Yet, from fear of the designs of Nunjeraj and Morari Rao, Major Lawrence afterwards suggested to the presidency the seizure of their persons.

‖ "We wrote to the King of Mysoor that we were merchants, allies to the circar (government), not principals."—(Letter from Madras, Nov., 1752.) The Presidency found it as convenient to disavow the semblance, while grasping the reality, of power, as did the nabob to profess fealty to the emperor: at the same time it must be remembered, they were wholly ignorant of the pledge given by their ally.

¶ After the capture of Trichinopoly, in 1741, by the Mahrattas, it remained under the charge of Morari Rao, until its surrender to the nizam, in 1743. Morari Rao, a few years later, managed to establish himself in the Bala Ghaut district of Gooty, and became the leader of a band of mercenaries. By careful training and scrupulous exactitude in the stated division of plunder, these men were maintained in perfect order; and from having frequently encountered European troops, could be relied on even to withstand the steady fire of artillery. Morari Rao and his Mahrattas were, consequently, very important auxiliaries, for whose services the English and French outbid one another. Wilks remarks, they were best characterised by the Persian compound, *Muft-Khoor* (eating at other people's expense): in the present case they were acting as subsidiaries to the Mysoor force, in the immediate pay of Nunjeraj.—(*Mysoor*, i., 252.)

nabob, glad of any pretext for gaining time, promised to deliver up the fort in two months. Nunjeraj (the Mysoor general) seemingly assented to this arrangement; but so soon as Mohammed Ali and Major Lawrence had marched off towards Jinjee, he commenced intriguing with the English garrison for the surrender of the place. The attempt afforded the nabob a flimsy pretext for avowing his determination to retain possession. The result was an open breach with the Mysooreans and Mahrattas. Dupleix, aided as before by the knowledge and influence of his wife, entered into communication with the offended leaders, and exerted every effort to form a powerful confederacy against Mohammed Ali and his supporters. The chief obstacle to his scheme arose from a deficiency of funds and European troops. The French company were much poorer than the English body; and their territorial revenues formed the only available resource for the support of the force at Pondicherry, and that maintained by Bussy at Hyderabad: little surplus remained for the costly operations planned by Dupleix; but he supplied all deficiencies by expending his own princely fortune in the cause. The want of trustworthy soldiers was a more irremediable defect. The officers sent to India were, for the most part, mere boys, whose bravery could not compensate for their utter ignorance of their profession; the men were the very refuse of the population.*

The attempt made by Major Lawrence upon Jinjee failed; but the English campaign of 1752 terminated favourably, with a victory gained near Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, and the capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput.† These last exploits were performed by Clive, who then returned to England for his health, carrying with him a young bride, an independent fortune, and a brilliant military reputation.‡

Early in January, 1753, the rival armies again took the field. No decisive action occurred; but in May, Trichinopoly was again attacked, and continued, for more than a twelvemonth, the scene of active hostility. The assailants had not sufficient superiority to overpower or starve out the garrison, nor could the English compel them to raise the siege. The introduction or interception of supplies engaged the unwearied attention of both parties, and many severe conflicts occurred, without any decisive advantage being gained by either.

Meantime the mercantile associations in Europe, and especially in France, grew beyond measure impatient at the prolongation of hostilities. Dupleix, foreseeing the unbounded concessions into which the desire for peace would hurry his employers, himself opened a negotiation with the Madras government, where Mr. Saunders, an able and cautious man, presided. The deputies met at the neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras.§ The question at issue—whether Mohammed Ali should or should not be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, after being for four years contested with the sword—was now to be weighed in the balance

* Addressing the French minister, in 1753, Dupleix described the recruits sent him as "enfans, décroteurs et bandits" * * * "un ramassis de la plus vile canaille;" and he complained bitterly that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.—(Mill, edited by Wilson, iii., 130.)

† The English forces, under Lawrence, were for the most part of a very efficient description; but the only detachment which could be spared on this occasion consisted of 200 recruits, styled by Macaulay "the worst and lowest wretches that the company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London," together with 500 sepoys just levied. So utterly undisciplined were the new-made soldiers, that on attacking Covelong, the death of one of them by a shot from the fort was followed by the immediate flight of his companions. On another occasion a sentinel was found, some hours after an engagement, out of harm's way at the bottom of a well. Clive, nevertheless, succeeded in inspiring these unpromising auxiliaries with something of his own spirit; the sepoys seconded him to the utmost. Covelong fell; a detachment sent to its relief was surprised by an ambuscade, 100 of the enemy were killed by one fire, 300 taken prisoners, and the remainder pursued to the gates of Chingleput. The fortress was besieged and a breach made, upon which the French commandant capitulated and retired with the garrison.

‡ Clive married the sister of Maskelyne, the eminent mathematician, who long held the office of Astronomer Royal. The amount of the fortune, acquired as prize-money, during the few years which had elapsed since he arrived in Madras a penniless youth, does not appear; but it is certain that he had sufficient to reclaim, in his own name, the family estate, and to extricate his father from pecuniary embarrassment, beside what he lavished in an extravagant mode of life. Dress, equipages, and more than all, a contested election, followed by a petition, left Clive, at the expiration of two years, the choice between a very limited income or a return to India. He took the latter course. The E. I. Cy., on his arrival in England, had shown their sense of his brilliant exploits by the gift of a sword set with diamonds—a mark of honour which, through his interference, was extended to his early patron and stanch friend, Major Lawrence; and when Clive's brief holiday was over, they gladly welcomed him back to their service, and procured for him the rank of lieut.-col. in the British army.—(*Life*, i., 131.)

§ Forty-two miles south of Madras.

of justice. Dupleix, as the delegate of the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, claimed the right of appointment, which he had at different times attempted to bestow upon Reza Sahib and Murtezza Ali (of Vellore); the English continued to plead the cause of the candidate they had from the first steadily supported: and both the one and the other, in the absence of any more plausible pretext, reverted to the stale plea of imperial authority. Patents and grants were produced or talked of, which were respectively declared by the opposing parties forgeries and mere pretences. After eleven days' discussion, the proceedings broke off with mutual crimination. Dupleix was censured (doubtless, with sufficient cause) as haughty and overbearing: no arrangement, it was asserted, would ever result from discussions in which he was allowed to take part. The French ministry were glad to free themselves of any portion of the blame attached to the ill success which had attended the arms of the nation in the late contest, and to hold the company and its servants responsible for all failures. The bold and warlike policy of Dupleix had been deemed meritorious while successful: his brilliant and gainful exploits were, at one time, the theme of popular applause; but now, while struggling with unflagging energy against the tide of misfortune, his unbounded ambition and overweening self-conceit overlooked in prosperity, outweighed the remembrance of zeal, experience, and fidelity in the minds of the French Directory, and in August, 1754, a new governor-general, M. Godheu, arrived at Pondicherry, with authority to conclude a peace.* The English were permitted to retain the services of Mr. Saunders and others, well versed in local affairs, instead of being compelled to trust to commissioners newly arrived from Europe. The decision arrived at, though apparently equally fair for both sides, involved, on the part of the French, the sacrifice of all they had been fighting for. One clause of the treaty enacted, that all interference in the quarrels of native princes should be relinquished; and thus tacitly recognised Mohammed Ali as nabob of the Carnatic; another proviso† based the territorial arrangements of the two nations on the principle of equality, and if fulfilled, would entail the resignation of the valuable provinces called the Northern Circars,‡ lately bestowed on Bussy by Salabut Jung. This prince, it is true, was left subahdar of the Deccan, but the English had never attempted to oppose him. Indeed, the sudden death (attributed to poison),§ of Ghazi-oodeen, the eldest son of the old nizam, when approaching at the head of a large army to dispute the pretensions of his brother, had left Salabut Jung in the position of lineal heir, now that the Deccani viceroyalty, like that of Bengal, had come to be looked upon as an hereditary principality.

The treaty was infringed as soon as made. The English proceeded to reduce to obedience to their nabob the districts of Madura and Tinnivelly. The French, under Bussy, retained the circars, and continued to support Salabut Jung. In so doing, they unwillingly contributed to relieve Mohammed Ali from one of his great difficulties—the blockade of Trichinopoly by the Mysooreans.

Nunjeraj, justly repudiating the right of the French to make peace on his behalf, persisted in endeavouring to get possession of the fort, until the rumoured approach of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on the Mysoor frontier, and the simultaneous advance of Salabut Jung to demand tribute in the name of the Mogul, induced him suddenly to march homewards, to the infi-

* Dupleix immediately returned to France. His accounts with the French company showed a disbursement of nearly £400,000 beyond what he had received during the war. This claim was wholly set aside, upon the plea that expenses had been incurred without sufficient authority. He commenced a law-suit against the company for the recovery of monies spent in its behalf; but the royal authority was exercised to put a summary stop to these proceedings; and all the concession made to Dupleix was the grant of letters of protection against the prosecution of his creditors—which was nothing better than atoning for one injustice by committing another. The career of the proud governor—who had compelled his own countrymen to kneel before him, had threatened to reduce Madras to a mere fishing village, and of whom it had been boasted that his name was mentioned with fear even in the palace of ancient Delhi—terminated sadly enough in disputing over the wreck of his fortune, and soliciting audiences in the ante-chamber of his judges. Such at least is the account given by Voltaire, who adds emphatically, "Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin."—(*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.)

† "The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country."—(First article of Treaty, signed December, 1754.)

‡ Namely, Mustaphabad, Ellore, Rajahmundri, and Chicacole (anciently Calinga): these additions made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles.

§ Prepared by the mother of Nizam Ali.

Before quitting the intricate proceedings on the Coromandel coast, narrated in the foregoing pages, the reader may wish to glance over the annexed summary of the leading events in the south of India. Though chiefly a chronological recapitulation of facts already stated, it likewise anticipates some yet to be described. Having felt the want of "a chart" to illustrate the several territories and dynasties, I subjoin it as an assistance to others in the same position:—

STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA CONNECTED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH CONTESTS IN THE CARNATIC IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

Name . . .	DECCAN.	MAHRATTA.	CARNATIC.	MYSOOR.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Capital . .	HYDERABAD.	SATTARA AND POONA.	ARCOT.	SERINGAPATAM.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Dynasty . .	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo.*	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*
Origin of state; founders or usurpers; successive rulers; and present political authority.	Nizam-ool-Moolk, or *Asuf Jah*, vizier of the emperor Mohammed, and subahdar, or viceroy of the Deccan. In 1717 he assumed sovereignty over the remnant of the Mogul conquests in the south of India; died in 1748. Succession disputed: eldest son, *Ghazi-oo-deen*, supported by Mahrattas; poisoned by mother of his half-brother. *Nazir Jung*, second son, supported by English. *MoozufferJung* a grandson, supported by French; assassinated by Patans. *Salabut Jung*, another brother, substituted, but dethroned in turn by *Nizam Ali*, in 1761; who, in 1766, became by treaty an ally of, and had his territories protected by, the E. I. Cy., in return for the cession of the Northern Circars. In 1798, the French force at Hyderabad was entirely removed, in compliance with a treaty arranged by Lord Wellesley.	*Sevajee*, son of Shahjee, grandson of Maloojee, who had a jaghire at Poona, consolidated the Mahrattas by conquests from Aurungzebe, kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, and others: died in 1680. *Sumbajee*, his son and successor, put to death by Aurungzebe: grandson, *Shao*, became a puppet in the hands of his minister the Peishwa, *Bajee Rao*, whose eldest son and successor, *Ballajee Bajee Rao*, obtained from Shao a transfer of real power, and became, in 1749, head of the Mahratta confederacy. Ballajee Bajee died in 1761. *Madhoo*, second son, a minor, succeeded with his uncle *Ragoba* as regent. Madhoo died in 1772: brother, Narrain, succeeded; murdered; Ragoba (Rugonath Rao) proclaimed peishwa. Territory now British.	*Saadut Oollah*, in 1706, appointed by the Mogul nabob or governor; died 1732—no male issue: nephew, *Dost Ali*, succeeded; defeated and slain by Mahrattas, 1740. *Sufder Ali*, his son and successor, assassinated: infant heir proclaimed nabob; stabbed by Patan soldiers. *Anwar-oo-deen*, proclaimed nabob by the nizam, in 1743; was slain in battle, in 1749; his son, *Mohammed Ali*, after various contests with Chunda Sahib and the French, remained in possession of that portion of the Carnatic recovered by British arms. In 1783, the English had to reconquer the Carnatic from Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysoor. Before the close of the century, the whole authority passed into the hands of the E. I. Cy., and the nabob became a state pensioner.	*Arbiral*, the first recorded rajah, in 1507; in 1610, Seringapatam acquired, and other territories subsequently added. In 1714, *Nunjeraj* and another minister became the depositories of power, and the rajah a mere cipher. They were put down, and the throne usurped, in 1769, by a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, *Hyder Ali*, who ravaged the Carnatic by the aid of the French to the gates of Madras: died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who carried on three wars against the British, and was slain at the capture of Seringapatam by the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, when the Hindoo rajah was restored as a stipendiary of the E. I. Cy. The Mysoor territory has since been governed by British officers in the name of the rajah.	Occupied by *Vencajee*, a Mahratta chief, half-brother to Sevajee, in 1678. This state formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Madura. There was a lineal descent from Vencajee continued till the reign of *Tooljajee*, son and successor of *Pertab Sing*, in 1772; the fort was then captured by the British on behalf of Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, who claimed tribute, —restored to the rajah in 1781, he becoming a subsidiary to the E. I. Cy. In 1799, Rajah Serfojee surrendered the country to the British, on whom he became a pensioner, with an income of £35,000 *per. an.* Serfojee died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son, Sevajee, the present stipendiary. Tranquebar, in Tanjore, purchased by English from Danes in 1845.	Part of ancient Malabar, and a gynecocracy for many ages; until Martanden Wurmah persuaded the princesses to resign the future sovereignty to the male line. Between 1740 and 1755, Martanden subdued many petty neighbouring states. In 1784, it was included in a treaty between the E. I. Cy. and Mysoor. In 1789 the state was devastated by Tippoo Sultan, and in 1799 the rajah agreed by treaty to pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a British force in his dominions; in 1305 another and more stringent treaty was formed; in 1808 and in 1812, insurrections against British authority were suppressed; in 1832 rajah entrusted with the maintenance of internal peace; political control retained by the British government.	A Hindoo principality. In 1732 the rajah died without issue; one of his wives continued to reign until 1736, when *Chunda Sahib*, the ally of the French in the Carnatic, obtained possession by treachery; seized from him by the Mahrattas in 1741. The nizam gained possession in 1743, and delegated the government to Anwar-oo-deen; on his death, in 1749, the territory devolved on his second son, Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. The fort was besieged by the French and their allies from 1751 to 1755, and defended by the English. Upon the transfer of the dominion of the Carnatic to the English E. I. Cy., Trichinopoly was incorporated with the Anglo-Indian empire.

nite relief of the nabob. While the treaty was pending, a British squadron with reinforcements had been sent to India, under Admiral Watson, and the decided superiority thus given to the English probably accelerated the arrangement of affairs. Their services were now employed in the suppression of the systematic piracy carried on by the Angria family for nearly fifty years on the Malabar coast. The peishwa, or chief minister of the Mahratta state, viewed them in the light of rebellious subjects, and united with the English for their suppression. Early in 1755, the fort of Severndroog, and the island of Bancoot, were taken by Commodore James; and in the following year, Watson, in co-operation with Clive (then just returned from England with the appointment of governor of Fort St. David), captured Gheria, the principal harbour and stronghold of the pirates. The English and Mahrattas both coveted this position: the tactics of the former proved successful. Booty to the amount of £150,000 sterling was obtained, and its distribution occasioned disputes of a very discreditable character between the sea and land services. The partial biographer of Clive endeavours to set forth his hero on this, as on other occasions, as generous and disinterested; but few unprejudiced readers will be inclined to acquit him of fully sharing, what Sir John Malcolm himself describes as "that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth, which actuated all ranks."—(i. 135.)

The scene of Anglo-Indian politics is about to change; the hostilities on the Coromandel coast serving but as the prelude to the more important political transactions of which the Calcutta presidency became the centre.

War of Bengal.—Ali Verdi Khan, subahdar or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, died in 1756. Though in name a delegate of the Mogul emperor, he had long been virtually independent, and his power recognised as hereditary. In the absence of any nearer relative, this important government devolved on his grandson, Mirza Mahmood, a prince better known by his title of Surajah Dowlah. Ali Verdi had no sons: his three daughters married their cousins; and this youth, the offspring of one of these alliances, from his cradle remarkable for extraordinary beauty, became the object of excessive fondness on the part of his grandfather. Unrestrained indulgence took the place of careful training, and deepened the defects of a feeble intellect and a capricious disposition. To the vices incident to the enervating atmosphere of a seraglio, he is said to have added a tendency for society of the most degrading character; and as few of the courtiers chose to risk the displeasure of their future lord, with little chance of any effectual interference on the part of their present ruler, Surajah Dowlah was suffered to carry on a career of which even the annals of eastern despotism afford few examples. A Mohammedan writer emphatically declares, that "he carried defilement wherever he went,"* and became so generally detested, that people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "God save us from him!"† The accession to irresponsible power of a youth of this character, could not fail to inspire a general feeling of apprehension. The English had special cause for alarm, inasmuch as the new ruler entertained strong prejudices in their disfavour. Some authorities state that Ali Verdi Khan, shortly before his death, had advised his destined successor to put down the growing military power of this nation; more probably he had urged the pursuance of his own gainful and conciliatory policy of exacting, at different times and occasions, certain contributions from all European settlements under his sway, taking care, at the same time, not to drive them into a coalition against his authority, or by any exorbitant demand to injure his permanent revenues by rendering their commerce unremunerative. Policy of this character was far beyond the comprehension of Surajah Dowlah. The plodding traders of Calcutta were, in his eyes, not as in reality agents and factors of a far distant association, but men of enormous private wealth, like the Hindoo soucars or bankers, whom one of his countrymen declared resembled sponges, which gathered all that came in their way, but returned all at the first pressure.‡ This pressure the English were now to receive: a pretext was easily found. The impending outbreak of European war would, it was evident, lead

* *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 646.

† The son of Mohammed Ali made this remark as a reason for employing Hindoo officials in preference to his fellow-believers, whom, he asserted, were like sieves—"much of what was poured in, went through."—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 222.)

‡ The *one* wife of Ali Verdi Khan steadily befriended the English.—(Holwell's *Historical Events*, p. 176.)

to hostilities in India: they had, therefore, begun to take measures for the defence of the presidency. Surajah Dowlah, with whom a previous misunderstanding had occurred,* sent them an imperative order to desist, and received in return a deprecatory message, urging the necessity of taking measures against French invasion. The subahdar, remembering the neutrality enforced by his grandfather, deemed the excuse worse than the fault; and, although actually on the march against a rebellious relative, he abandoned this object, and advanced immediately to the factory at Cossimbazar, which at once surrendered, the few Europeans there having no means of offering any resistance. The tidings were received at Calcutta with dismay. The defensive proceedings, which had attracted the attention of the subahdar, must have been very partial; for the works, stores of ammunition, and artillery were all utterly insufficient to sustain a protracted siege. The garrison comprised 264 men, and the militia, formed of European and native inhabitants, 250;† but their training had been so little attended to, that when called out, scarcely any among them "knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets."‡ Assistance was entreated from the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsura, but positively refused; and, in the urgent necessity of the case, the probability of impending warfare with the French did not deter the presidency from appealing to them for aid. The reply was an insolent intimation that it should be granted if the English would quit Calcutta, and remove their garrison and effects to Chandernagore; that is, put themselves completely into the power of their patronising protectors. The last resource —an endeavour to purchase immunity from Surajah Dowlah—failed, and an attempt at resistance followed. The military officers on the spot, of whom none ranked higher than a captain, were notoriously incompetent to direct a difficult defence; the civil authorities had neither energy nor presence of mind to counterbalance the deficiencies of their colleagues. To abandon the fort and retreat to shipboard was the common opinion; and, under the circumstances, no dishonour would have attended such a course, if judiciously carried out. But the thunder of the enemy without the walls, was less inimical to the safety of the inhabitants than the confusion, riot, and insubordination within, which, in the words of a modern historian, "made the closing scene of the siege one of the most disgraceful in which Englishmen were ever engaged."§ The intention of a general escape was frustrated by the miserable selfishness of those on whom it devolved to make arrangements for the safety of the whole. The men sent off with the women and children refused to return; and soon after the governor and commandant, with a select body of cowards, seized the last boats which remained at the wharf, and joined the ships which, partaking of the general panic, had dropped down the river. The inhabitants, thus abandoned to the power of a despot whose naturally cruel temper they believed to be inflamed by a peculiar hatred towards themselves, elected Mr. Holwell (a member of council) as their leader, and for two days continued the defence of the place, in the hope that some of the ships would return to their stations and answer the repeated calls for aid made by means of fiery signals thrown up from all parts of the town. These were indeed little needed, for the continued firing of the enemy proclaimed aloud their increasing danger. Orme, who has minutely examined the details of this discreditable business, declares, that "a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all" those who remained to suffer a strange and terrible doom. No stronger illustration can be found of the manner in which selfishness and the greed of gain corrupt and extinguish the gentler instincts of humanity, and deprive men even of physical courage, than this affair.

Mr. Holwell strove, by throwing letters over the wall, to obtain terms of capitulation; but in vain. An assault, in which ninety-five of the garrison were killed or

* An uncle of Surajah Dowlah died governor of Dacca. His hopeful nephew at once resolved on plundering the widowed begum, or princess his aunt, with whom he had long been at open variance, of the enormous fortune she was supposed to have inherited, and sent orders for the imprisonment of the receivers and treasurers of the province: one of these—a Hindoo, named Kishendass, supposed to have accumulated great wealth—escaped to Calcutta. The subahdar sent to demand the fugitive; but the messenger entering the town in a sort of disguise, was treated by the president as an impostor, and dismissed with insult from the company's territory.

† Making 540 men, 174 being Europeans.

‡ Holwell's *India Tracts*, 302.

§ Thornton's *British India*, i., 190.

wounded, was followed by direct insubordination on the part of the remainder of the common soldiers. They broke open the stores, and, all sense of duty lost in intoxication, rushed out of one gate of the fort, intending to escape to the river, just as the enemy entered by another. The inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the grandiloquent addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory thus absurdly overrated. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) was a great disappointment; but when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with fettered hands, they were immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, he declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening. Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity, and the question arose how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups, conversing together, utterly unsuspicious of their impending doom. The chief officer returned and announced that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison. At this time (before the philanthropic labours of Howard) gaols, even in England, were loathsome dens; that of Calcutta was a chamber, eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows, secured by iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European malefactors this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow. The prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, including many English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in this the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. They derided the idea of being shut up in the "Black Hole," as manifestly impossible. But the guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-cast woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guards, to procure their separation into two places. He made some attempts, but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the permission, without which no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits of but one comparison in horror—that one is the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most appalling description, rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator and Redeemer, satisfied (we may hope), even under so trying a dispensation, that the dealings of Providence, though often inscrutable, are ever wise and merciful. Man, alas! often evinces little of either quality to his fellow-beings; and in this instance, while the captives, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of the one compassionate soldier, the other guards held lights to the iron bars, and shouted with fiendish laughter at the death-struggles of their victims.* Towards daybreak the tumult began to diminish; shrieks and groans gave place to a low fitful moaning; a sickly, pestilential vapour told the reason—the majority had perished: corruption had commenced; the few who remained were sinking fast. The fatal sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased; the door was opened by his orders; the dead were piled up in heaps; and twenty-three ghastly figures (including the now widowed woman before mentioned) staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was immediately dug, into which the bodies of the murdered men, 123 in number, were promiscuously flung.

No shadow of regret seems to have been evinced by the subahdar for this horrible catastrophe.† The first flush of exultation had passed away, and feelings of pecuniary

* The detachment on guard had lost many men in the siege, and the survivors were merciless.

† Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke, another of the sufferers, gave a painfully interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Papers*, E. I. Cy., 1772.)

disappointment were now uppermost. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, with some companions, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasures of the company. No satisfactory answer being obtained, they were all lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to pass as they might the crisis of the fever, in which several who lived through the night of the 20th June, 1756, perished. The release of the survivors was eventually procured by the intercession of the grandmother of the prince,* and a merchant named Omichund.

A Moorish garrison of 3,000 men was placed in Fort William, and with reckless impiety the name of Calcutta changed to that of Alinagore (the port of God.) Surajah Dowlah then exacted from the Dutch a tribute of £45,000, and £35,000 from the French; better terms being accorded to the latter, in consideration of their having furnished 200 chests of gunpowder to the army while on their march to Calcutta.

Tidings of the fall of the settlement and the catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August, and were received with a general cry for vengeance. Even at such a time the old jealousies between the land and sea forces interposed to prevent immediate action, and two months were spent in discussing how the command was to be divided, and in what manner prizes were to be distributed. At the expiration of that time, Clive and Watson sailed from Madras with ten ships, having on board 900 European troops and 1,500 sepoys. The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town some distance down the Ganges, and offensive operations were commenced by the attack of a fort called Budge-Budge, situated on the river banks between the places above named. An unaccountable piece of carelessness on the part of Clive nearly occasioned the failure of the enterprise. While the ships cannonaded the fort, a number of the troops were to lay wait for the garrison, who it was expected, would abandon the place; instead of which the ambuscade was itself surprised by a body of the enemy while resting on the march, having neglected even the common precaution of stationing sentinels to keep guard in the broad daylight. The presence of mind of Clive, aided probably by his reputation for good fortune, enabled him to rally the soldiers with rapidity, and advance with steadiness and success against the irregular ranks of two or three thousand horse and foot who had stealthily approached amid the thick jungle. Monichund, governor of Calcutta, led the attack, and on receiving a ball in his turban, this commander, having "no courage, but much circumspection,"† turned his elephant, and decamped with his entire force. The fort was cannonaded by the ship (the *Kent*) which first reached the spot, and a general attack projected for the next morning, but prevented by the silent evacuation of the place.‡ The other posts on the Ganges were abandoned at the approach of the English, and Calcutta itself recaptured, after a siege of two hours. The merchandise belonging to the company remained, for the most part, untouched, having been reserved for Surajah Dowlah; but the houses of individuals had been totally plundered. Hooghly was next attacked, and a breach easily effected; the troops mounted the rampart, and the garrison took to flight, leaving in the place a large amount of property.

Intelligence of the renewal of hostilities between England and France, reached the armament at this period. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans and a train of field-artillery. Their union with Surajah Dowlah would give him an overpowering degree of superiority; it was therefore manifestly politic to take immediate advantage of the desire for an accommodation with which the issue of the contest had inspired him.

In February, 1757, a treaty was formed, by which the subahdar—or, as he is commonly called, the nabob—consented to restore to the English their former privileges; to make compensation for the plunder of

* The widow of Ali Verdi Khan, before mentioned.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 123. The total loss of the English in this affair does not appear. Orme mentions thirteen men killed. Clive, in a private letter to Mr. Pigot, remarks, that "our loss in the skirmish near Budge-Budge was greater than could well be spared if such skirmishes were to be often repeated."—(*Life*, i., 153.)

‡ The attack was deferred on account of the fatigue of the troops. A body of 250 sailors were landed in the evening, and refreshed themselves by becoming extremely drunk. One of them, about dusk, straggled across the moat, scrambled up the rampart, and, meeting with no opposition in the deserted citadel, hallooed loudly to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the place. Sepoys were stationed round the walls. Others of the intoxicated sailors coming up to share the triumph of their comrade, mistook the sentinels for foes, and fired their pistols. In the confusion an officer was killed. The seamen, on returning to their ships, were flogged for misconduct: the man who had discovered the flight of the garrison did not escape; upon which he swore in great wrath never to take a fort again.

Calcutta; and to permit the erection of fortifications. This arrangement was speedily followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, eagerly ratified by both parties. The peace which followed was of short duration. The English impatiently desired to retaliate on the French their late conduct; and demanded the consent, if not the co-operation of their new ally, which he long refused, declaring with truth, that having no cause of enmity to either party, it was alike a point of duty and interest to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Beneath this ostensible reason, another existed in his desire to preserve terms with the French in the event of a rupture with the English. The invasion and capture of Delhi by Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fear of an advance upon Bengal, for a time banished all other schemes. The nabob clung to his European allies as an efficient defence; but a restless inquietude nevertheless possessed him; for the ability to protect was accompanied by an equal power of destruction. At length, the peremptory demand and threats of Watson and Clive, backed by the arrival of reinforcements, with well-directed bribes to underlings, extorted from him a reluctant permission to "act according to the time and occasion."* This oracular phrase was considered to imply consent to the attack of Chandernagore, which was immediately proceeded with, notwithstanding subsequent direct and repeated prohibitions.

The French conducted the defence with gallantry; but the combined force of the land and sea divisions proved irresistible. Admiral Watson evinced extraordinary seamanship in bringing two of his vessels (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast the fort; and after three hours' firing the besieged capitulated. Chandernagore, like Calcutta, comprised a European and native town with a fort, and stretched over territory which, commencing at the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, extended two miles along the banks of the river, and about one-and-a-half inland. Clive was delighted at the conquest, considering it of more consequence than would have been that of Pondicherry itself,† which he hoped would follow. To "induce the nabob to give up all the French factories," and "drive them out, root and branch,"‡—this and nothing less was now attempted. But Surajah Dowlah was never less inclined to so impolitic a procedure, than after the taking of Chandernagore. The exploits of the ships of war had filled him with consternation: it is even asserted that he had been made to believe they could be brought up the Ganges close to his own capital—an operation which he immediately took measures to prevent, by causing the mouth of the Cossimbazar river to be dammed up.§ The idea of counterbalancing the power of the English by that of the French, was a natural and judicious one; but he had neither judgment nor self-reliance for its execution. Old in dissipation, he was young in years and in all useful experience. Vicious habits,‖ and an ungovernable tongue, had alienated from him the affections of the chosen friends and servants of his grandfather; and they viewed with disgust the contrast afforded to the provident habits and courteous bearing of their late ruler by his profligate successor. Scarcely one voice appears to have been raised up to warn the unhappy youth of the growing disaffection of his subjects. The haughty Mussulman nobles were incensed by his insulting demeanour; and the Hindoos had still stronger grounds for estrangement. Under all Mohammedan governments, the financial departments were almost solely entrusted to this thrifty and calculating race. The Brahminical and mercantile classes were treated with that solid respect, which those who wield the sword usually pay to those who keep the purse. By unwearied application and extreme personal frugality, the seits or soucars frequently accumulated immense wealth, which they well knew how to employ, both for purposes of augmentation and for the establishment of political influence. Their rulers lavished enormous sums on wars and pageants; and though sometimes violent means were used to obtain stores of hidden wealth, the more frequent course adopted by princes to raise supplies was through orders on the revenue, in the negotiation of which the bankers contrived to make a double profit. Ali Verdi Khan had understood the value of these auxiliaries, and the importance of conciliating their confidence. Under his sway Hindoos filled

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 140.

† Clive describes Chandernagore as "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms: 360 are prisoners, and nearly 100 have been suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, military, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies are rendered miserable by the loss of this place."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 196.)

‡ *Idem.*, p. 196.

§ Parker's *Transactions in the East Indies*, 57.

‖ He threatened Juggut Seit with circumcision, the worst insult that could be offered to a Hindoo.

the highest offices of the state. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, and Rajah Ram of Midnapoor, were the chief of the managers and renters. Roydullub, the dewan or minister of finance, was likewise a person of great influence—the more so from his intimate connection with Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest soucar, or banking firm in India. This last, by means of his extended transactions, possessed equal influence at Lucknow,* Delhi, and at Moorshedabad. Most of these persons, with the addition of Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah had offended in different ways;† and he especially resented the sense evinced by the Hindoos generally of the rising power of the English. The result was a determination to subvert his government. The chief conspirator was the bukshee, or military commander of the army, Meer Jaffier Khan, a soldier of fortune, promoted by Ali Verdi to the highest military rank, and further exalted by a marriage with a member of the reigning family. Omichund, a wealthy Hindoo merchant, long resident in Calcutta, and intimately associated by commercial dealings with the E. I. Cy., became the medium of conveying to the English overtures to join the plot. Clive at once advocated compliance, on the ground that sufficient evidence existed of the intention of the nabob to join with the French for their destruction. It certainly appears that a correspondence was actually being carried on with Bussy, but to little effect, since the precarious state of politics at the court of Salabut Jung rendered his continuance there of the first importance. Still Clive argued that the conduct of the nabob sufficed to release his countrymen from their solemn pledge, and justified them in entering into a plot with the treacherous ministers; and his strong will weighed down the opposition offered in discussing the question by a committee of the Calcutta presidency. To oppose the vacillating, cowardly intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with fraud and perjury, was decided to be a more promising course than to remain in the narrow path of honest dealing. Meer Jaffier promised, in the event of success, large donations to the company, the army, navy, and committee. Clive declared Surajah Dowlah to be "a villain," and Meer Jaffier "a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 263.)

The conduct of the chief person on this occasion, strongly supports the much-criticised opinion of Mill—that deception never cost him a pang. Vague rumours of the plot reached the nabob; and Clive, to dispel his suspicions, wrote to him "in terms so affectionate, that they for a time lulled the weak prince into perfect security."‡ The courier conveyed a second missive of the same date, from the same hand, addressed to Mr. Watts, the British resident at Moorshedabad —in which, after referring to the "soothing letter"§ above alluded to, Clive adds, "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs; and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march night and day, as long as I have a man left."‖ The protestations of Clive gained force in the mind of the deluded nabob, through a circumstance which occurred at this period. The Mahrattas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt at its complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the E. I. Cy. Some doubt was entertained as to the authenticity of this communication. It was even surmised to have been a trick on the part of Surajah Dowlah; and as the assistance of the Mahrattas was by no means desirable

* The capital of the viceroy of Oude.

† The copy of a letter found at Moorshedabad, after the fatal battle of Plassey, addressed by the nabob to Bussy, contains allusions to the seizure of Chandernagore, and offered co-operation against "these disturbers of my country, Dileer Jung Bahadur, the *valiant in battle* (Watson), and Sabut Jung (Clive), whom bad fortune attend!"

‡ *Vide* Stewart's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 498; and the translation of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, published at Calcutta in 1789.—(i., 758-'9.)

§ The words of Macaulay, one of Mill's censurers.

‖ The following is an extract from one of Admiral Watson's letters to the nabob:—"Let us take Chandernagore," he writes, "and secure ourselves from any apprehensions in that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths?"—(Parker's *East Indies*, p. 78.)

in the scheme already set on foot, the letter was at once forwarded to the nabob as affording, in either case, evidence of the good faith of his allies. It proved to be authentic; and all the effect expected resulted from its transmission. But the execution of a plan in which many jarring interests were concerned, necessarily involved numerous dangers. At one moment a violent quarrel between the nabob and Meer Jaffier threatened to occasion a premature disclosure of the whole plot. This danger was averted by a reconciliation, in which that "estimable person," Meer Jaffier, swore upon the Koran fidelity to his master, after having a few days before, given a similar pledge to his English confederates in the projected usurpation. Clive had his full share of what Napoleon would have styled "dirty work" to do in the business. When all things were arranged, Omichund suddenly declared himself dissatisfied with the amount of compensation* allotted to him in the division of the spoil planned by the conspirators. His services at this crisis were invaluable, and his influence with the nabob had repeatedly been the means of concealing the plot. The demand of thirty lacs of rupees (£350,000), was accompanied by an intimation of the danger of refusal. Whether Omichund really intended to risk the reward already agreed on, together with his own life, by betraying a transaction in which he had from the first borne a leading part, may well be doubted; but Clive took an easy method of terminating the discussion by consenting to the exorbitant stipulation. Omichund likewise insisted on the agreement regarding himself being inserted in the treaty between the English and Meer Jaffier. Clive seemingly complied. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; in the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained the specified proviso. The honesty of Admiral Watson had nearly defeated this manœuvre. He positively refused to sign the false treaty. Omichund would at once suspect some reason for this omission. Clive removed the difficulty by causing a Mr. Lushington to forge the important name.

Hostility to the nabob was now openly professed. The English force marched against him, sending forward a letter equivalent to a declaration of war. Surajah Dowlah dispatched an appeal for aid to the French, assembled his troops, and prepared to encounter a foreign foe, unsuspicious of the treachery at work within his camp. The courage of Meer Jaffier failed; doubt and fear, in the hour of danger, overpowered ambition: he hesitated; and instead of immediately coming over to Clive, at Cossimbazar, with his division, as had been agreed upon, he advanced with the nabob to Plassy. The position of the English became extremely perilous: the strength of the enemy twenty times outnumbered theirs. The ford of the Hooghly lay before them, easily crossed; but over which not one man might ever be able to return. Clive called a council of war for the first and last time in his whole career, probably as a cloak for his own misgivings, since he voted first, and doubtless influenced the majority in deciding that it would be imprudent to risk an advance.† This

* The position of Omichund, with regard to the English, was peculiar. He had been connected with them in the affairs of commerce about forty years, and was looked upon as a person of great importance, both on account of his mercantile transactions, which extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and the magnitude of his private fortune. His habitation is described by Orme as having been on a splendid scale, and divided into various departments, resembling rather the abode of a prince than of a merchant. Besides numerous domestic servants, he maintained (as is frequent among eastern nobles) a retinue of armed men in constant pay. When news of the approach of Surajah Dowlah reached Calcutta, the local authorities, among other vague fears, suspecting Omichund of being in league with the enemy, seized and imprisoned him. An attempt was made to capture the person of his brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in the apartments of the women; but the whole of Omichund's peons, to the number of 300, rose in resistance, and the officer in command (a Hindoo of high cast), fearing that some indignity might be sustained by the females, set fire to the harem, and killed no less than thirteen with his own hand, after which he stabbed himself, though (contrary to his intention) not mortally. This melancholy catastrophe did not prevent Mr. Holwell from soliciting the intervention of Omichund to procure terms of capitulation from Surajah Dowlah; and his conduct at this time totally removed the suspicions previously entertained. On the capture of the place, 400,000 rupees were plundered from his treasury, and much valuable property of different descriptions seized; but his person was set at liberty, and a favourable disposition evinced towards him by the nabob, of which he took advantage to procure the restoration of his losses in money, and likewise in soliciting the release of the survivors of the massacre, who were fed by his charity, and in great measure restored to liberty through his entreaties.

† The following is a list of the officers of this council, and the way in which they voted:—*For delay*—Robt. Clive; James Kirkpatrick; Archd. Grant; Geo. Fred. Goupp; Andrew Armstrong; Thos. Rumbold; Christian Firkan; John Corneille; H. Popham. *For immediate attack*—Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant; G. Muir; Chas. Palmer; Robt. Campbell; Peter Carstairs; W. Jennings.—(*Life of Clive*, i., 258.)

was an unusual opinion for "Sabut Jung" the daring in war, to form, and it was not a permanent one. Passing away from the meeting, gloomy and dissatisfied, he paced about for an hour beneath the shade of some trees, and, convinced on reflection that the hesitation of Meer Jaffier would give place to reawakened ambition, he resolved to reverse the decision in which he had so lately concurred; and, returning to the camp, gave orders to make ready for the passage of the river.* The army crossed on the following morning, and, at a little past midnight, took up its position in a grove of mango trees† near Plassy, within a mile of the wide-spread camp of the enemy.

The sound of drums and cymbals kept Clive waking all night; and Surajah Dowlah, overpowered by vague fears and gloomy apprehensions, passed the remaining hours of darkness in upbraiding and complaint.‡ At sunrise his army, marshalled in battle array, commenced moving towards the grove in which the English were posted. The plain seemed alive with multitudes of infantry, supported by troops of cavalry, and bearing with them fifty pieces of ordnance of great size, drawn by long teams of white oxen, and propelled by elephants arrayed in scarlet cloth and embroidery. Beside these, were some smaller but more formidable guns, under the direction of Frenchmen.§ The force to oppose this mighty host numbered, in all, only 3,000 men, but of these nearly 1,000 were English. Conspicuous in the ranks were the men of the 39th regiment, who that day added to the inscriptions on their colours the name of Plassy, and the motto, *Primus in India*. Of hard fighting there was but little; treachery supplied its place. The action began by a distant cannonade, in which some of the few officers, still true to a falling cause, perished by the skilfully-directed fire of the "hat-wearers," who, says Hussein Gholam Khan, "have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."‖ Several hours were spent in this manner. At length Meer-meden, one of the two chief leaders of the adverse force, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. He was carried to the tent of the prince, and expired while explaining the arrangements he had made for the battle. Driven to desperation by witnessing the death of his faithful servant, Surajah Dowlah summoned Meer Jaffier to his presence, and bade him revenge the death of Meer-meden; at the same time, placing his own turban at the foot of his treacherous relative—the most humiliating supplication a Mohammedan prince could offer—he besought him to forget past differences, and to stand by the grandchild of his benefactor (Ali Verdi Khan), now that his life, his honour, and his throne, were all at stake. Meer Jaffier replied to this appeal by treacherously advising immediate retreat into the trenches; and the fatal order was issued, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Hindoo general, Mohun Lall, who predicted the utter confusion which would ensue. Meer Jaffier had unsuccessfully endeavoured to convey a letter to Clive, advising the immediate attack of the nabob's camp; now, perceiving the fortune of the day decided, he remained, as before, stationary with his division of the army, amid the general retreat. Surajah Dowlah, on witnessing the inaction of so large a part of the force, comprehended at once his betrayal; and on beholding the English advancing, mounted a camel and fled to Moorshedabad, accompanied by 2,000 horsemen. In fact, no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent had division spread throughout the Mohammedan troops, that no officer, even if willing to fight for his rightful master, could rely on the co-operation of any other commander. The little band of Frenchmen alone strove to confront the English, but were rapidly carried away by the tide of fugitives. Of the vanquished, 500 were slain. The conquerors lost but twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; they gained not merely the usual spoils of war in

* This is the account given by Orme, who probably heard the circumstances from Clive himself. Scrafton attributes the colonel's change of mind to a letter received from Meer Jaffier in the course of the day.—(*Reflections*, p. 85.)

† Regularly planted groves or woods of tall fruit trees are very common in India: that of Plassy was a square of about two miles in circuit; but it has been neglected, and is now much diminished.

‡ The despondency of the nabob, says Orme, increased as the hour of danger approached. His attendants, by some carelessness left his tent unguarded, and a common person, either through ignorance, or with a view to robbery, entered unperceived. The prince, at length recognising the intruder, started from the gloomy reflections in which he had been absorbed, and recalled his servants with the emphatic exclamation,—"Sure they see me dead!"—(*Military Transactions*, i., 172.)

§ Orme states the force of the enemy at 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Clive says 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and forty pieces of cannon.—(*Letter to Secret Committee of E. I. Cy.*)

‖ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 766.

abundance—baggage and artillery-waggons, elephants and oxen—but paramount authority over a conquered province, larger and more populous than their native country.

The conduct of Meer Jaffier had been by no means unexceptionable, even in the sight of his accomplices. He had played for a heavy stake with a faltering hand—a species of cowardice for which Clive had no sympathy; nevertheless, it was expedient to overlook all minor occasions of quarrel at this critical moment, and proclaim the traitor subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier marched to Moorshedabad. Surajah Dowlah learned his approach with a degree of terror that prevented him from forming any plan of defence: deserted on all sides, he strove to conciliate the alienated affections of the military commanders by lavish gifts; and at length, after balancing between the advice given by his counsellors—to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or again try the fortune of war—he renounced both attempts, and accompanied by his consort, his young daughter, and several other females, quitted the palace at dead of night, carrying with him a number of elephants laden with gold, jewels, and baggage of the most costly description.* Had he proceeded fearlessly by land in the broad daylight, it is possible that many of the local authorities would have rallied round his standard; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats for Plassy, hoping to be able to effect a junction with a party of the French under M. Law, who, at the time of the battle of Patna, was actually marching to his assistance. This proceeding removed all obstacles from the path of Meer Jaffier, and his installation was performed with as much pomp as circumstances would permit. At the last moment, either from affected humility or a misgiving as to the dangerous and troublesome nature of power treacherously usurped, he hesitated and refused to take possession of the sumptuously-adorned musnud, or pile of cushions, prepared for him. Clive, having vainly tried persuasion, took his hand, and placing him on the throne, kept him down by the arm while he presented the customary homage—a nuzzur, or offering of gold mohurs, on a salver. The act was sufficiently significative; thenceforth the subahdars of Bengal existed in a degree of dependence on the foreign rulers by whom they were nominated, with which that formerly paid to the most powerful of the Great Moguls bears no comparison.

This public ceremonial was followed by a private meeting among the confederates to divide the spoil. Whether the extravagance of Surajah Dowlah, during his fifteen months' sway, had exhausted a treasury previously drained by Mahratta wars and subsidies, or whether Meer Jaffier and his countrymen succeeded in outwitting their English associates, and secretly possessed themselves of the lion's share,† remains an open question; but it appears that the funds available, amounted only to 150 lacs of rupees—a sum far short of that which had been reckoned upon in the arrangement previously made. One large claim was repudiated in a very summary manner. When Meer Jaffier, and the few persons immediately concerned in the plot, adjourned to the house of Juggut Seit, to settle the manner of carrying out the treaty, Omichund followed as a matter of course. He had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him; for "Clive, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness."‡ Not being invited to take his seat on the carpet, Omichund, in some surprise, withdrew to the lower part of the hall, and waited till he should be summoned to join the conference.§

* Orme says that Surajah Dowlah escaped by night from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch; but Gholam Hussein, who, besides his usual accuracy, may be expected to be well informed on the subject, makes the statements given in the text, and confirms them by much incidental detail.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 7; *see* also Scott's *Bengal*, ii., 371.)

† The interpreter of Clive—a renegade Frenchman, called Mustapha, who translated the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*—states in a note (i., 773), that the English never suspected the existence of an inner treasury said to contain eight crores (eight million sterling), kept, in pursuance of a custom common in India, in the zenana or women's apartments. In corroboration, various circumstances are adduced in the history of the individuals whom he asserts to have been participants in the secret, to prove their having derived immense wealth from some hidden source. Among others Mini Begum, the favourite wife of Meer Jaffier Khan, who survived him, possessed an immense fortune, although her husband was constantly involved in disturbances with the soldiery from real or affected inability to discharge their arrears of pay.

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Life of Clive*, p. 50.

§ Admiral Watson was not of the party. He died in the course of the year of a malignant fever which prevailed on the coast. Captain Brereton, when questioned before parliament regarding the deception practised on Omichund, bore witness that the admiral had stigmatised the conduct of Clive as "dishonourable and iniquitous."—(Parl. Reports, iii., 151.)

The white treaty was produced and read; its various stipulations (including the utter expulsion of the French from Bengal) were confirmed, and the pecuniary claims of the English met by the immediate payment of one-half—two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate and jewels; the other portion to be discharged in three equal annual payments.*

At length Omichund became uneasy at the total disregard evinced of his presence. On coming forward, he caught sight of the document just read, and exclaimed—"There must be some mistake; the general treaty was on red paper!" Clive, who during his long residence in India never acquired a knowledge of any Indian language, turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the company, then acting as interpreter, and said—"It is time to undeceive Omichund." This was easily done; the few words in Hindostanee, "The red treaty was a trick, Omichund—you are to have nothing," were soon spoken; but the bystanders could scarcely have been prepared for the result. The Hindoo was avaricious to the heart's core; and this sudden disappointment, aimed at the tenderest point, and aggravated by feelings of anger and humiliation, came like the stroke of death. He swooned, and was carried to his stately home, where, after remaining many hours in a state of the deepest gloom, he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Some days after he visited Clive, who, probably unwilling to recognise the full extent of the ruin he had wrought, strove to soothe the old man by promises of procuring favourable terms with the company regarding certain contracts which he held from them; and even spoke of him, in an official despatch, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."† This statement is, however, quite incompatible with the description of Orme, who declares that Omichund, after being carried a senseless burthen from the house of Juggut Seit,‡ never rallied, but sank from insanity to idiocy. Contrary to the custom of the aged in Hindostan, and especially to his former habits and strong reason, Omichund, now an imbecile, went about decked in gaudy clothing and costly jewels, until his death, in the course of about eighteen months, terminated the melancholy history. Such a transaction can need no comment, at least to those who believe that in all cases, under all circumstances, a crime is of necessity a blunder.§ In the present instance there could be no second opinion on the point, except as regarded the private interests of the persons concerned in the division of spoil found in the treasury of the deposed prince. The commercial integrity of the English had laid the foundation of the confidence reposed in them by the natives, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo: the alliance of Juggut Seit and other wealthy bankers had been procured chiefly by this means. Omichund, in his endeavours to allay the suspicions of Surajah Dowlah, had declared that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith, inasmuch that a man in England, who, *on any occasion*, told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and ac-

* Clive, in a letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Moorshedabad, 26th July, after giving some details of the battle, says—"The substance of the treaty with the present nabob is as follows:—1st. Confirmation of the mint and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late nabob. 2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatsoever. 3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. 4thly. One hundred lacs (£1,000,000) to be paid to the company in consideration of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. 5thly. Fifty lacs (£500,000) to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 6thly. Twenty lacs (£200,000) to Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 7thly. Seven lacs (£70,000) to the Armenian sufferers: these three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the admiral and gentlemen of the council, including me. 8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the company: also 600 yards all round, without the said ditch. 9thly. The company to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government. 10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob. 11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards." Clive carefully avoided all mention of the separate treaties for the payment of monies in which he had the chief share.—(*See* Note in ensuing page.)

† *Life of Clive*, i., 289.

‡ The amount of the reward received by Juggut Seit does not appear. If at all in proportion to his previous wealth, it must have been very large. At the time of the plunder of Moorshedabad by the Mahrattas, in 1742, two million and a-half sterling in Arcot rupees were taken from the treasury of himself and his brother; notwithstanding which they continued to grant bills at sight, of one crore each.

§ "Using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia," remarks Macaulay, "Clive committed not merely a crime but a blunder."—(*Essay*, p. 51.)

quaintances.* This invaluable prestige of honest dealing was placed in imminent jeopardy by Clive; and years afterwards, rank and wealth failed to preserve him from learning, with anger and bitter humiliation, that forgery and lying were vices which, in the sight of his countrymen at large, could not be atoned for by the most brilliant successes. With regard to the enormous sums accepted, or, in other words, seized by English officials, both civil and military, from the treasury of Bengal, that also seems to resolve itself into a very simple question. If, like Morari Rao, they had been professed leaders of mercenary troops, selling their services to the highest bidder, there could have been no doubt that, after their own fashion of reasoning, they would have well earned the stipulated reward. But Clive and his compeers were not masters, but servants; the troops under their command were, like themselves, in the pay of the nation or the company; and it was unquestionably from the government or the Court of Directors (to the latter of whom Clive repeatedly affirmed that he "owed everything"),† and from them only, that rewards should have been received.

Years afterwards, when sternly questioned respecting the proceedings of this period, Clive declared that on recollecting the heaps of gold and silver coin piled up in masses, crowned with rubies and diamonds, through which he passed in the treasury of Moorshedabad, he could not but view with surprise his own moderation in only taking (as it appeared)‡ to the extent of twenty to thirty lacs of rupees—that is, between £200,000 and £300,000. This "moderation"§ was, however, of brief continuance; for, some time afterwards, on the plea of desiring means wherewith to maintain a Mogul dignity conferred on him, he intimated to Meer Jaffier the propriety of its being accompanied by a jaghire (or estate for the support of a military contingent.)‖ In their relative positions a hint was a command, and the quit-rent paid by the E. I. Cy. for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounting to nearly £30,000 sterling per annum, was forthwith ceded.

To return to the general narrative. Surajah Dowlah and his female companions reached Raj Mahal on the third night after leaving Moorshedabad. Exhausted with fatigue, and famishing with hunger, they landed, took refuge in a deserted garden, and began to prepare a mess of rice and pulse (called kichery), the common food of the country. While engaged in this unwonted task, the fugitives were discovered by a man of low condition, whose ears had been cut off by order of Surajah Dowlah a twelvemonth before. Dissembling his vengeful feelings, he affected compassion and respect for the prince, and assisted in the preparation of the meal, but secretly sent word to the soldiers engaged in pursuit where to find the object of their search. At this very time, Law and his detachment were within three hours' march of Raj Mahal; but they were driven from place to place by a party under Major Coote, and eventually expelled from Bengal; while Surajah Dowlah was seized by the emissaries of Meer Jaffier, laden with chains, treated with every species of cruelty compatible with the preservation of life, and dragged through Moorshedabad, to the presence of his successor. It was noon; but Meer Jaffier, though seated on the musnud, had taken his daily dose of bang,¶ and was incapable of giving instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoner. His son Meeran, a lad of about seventeen, took upon himself to decide the question. This mere boy, educated in the harem, and remarkably effeminate both in dress and speech, possessed a heart no less callous to the gentler feelings of humanity than that of an old and unprincipled politician, hardened in the world's ways. "Pity and compassion," he said, "spoilt business." It scarcely needed the murmuring and dissension which pervaded the army, when the capture and ignominious treatment of their late ruler became known, to decide his fate.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 137.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 182.

‡ Clive cautiously abstained from any explicit statement of the sums acquired by him on various pretences; and his fellow-officials, as far as possible, refrained from acknowledging the extent of his extortions or their own, even when sharply cross-examined before parliament.

§ In a letter addressed to Mr. Pigot, dated August, 1757, Clive speaks of his "genteel competence," and "a possible reverse of fortune," as reasons for desiring to leave Bengal. Mr. Pigot probably sympathised with him, for he himself accumulated a fortune of £400,000, chiefly (according to Mr. Watts) by lending money at high interest to the nabob, the chiefs, and managers of provinces—a practice, says Sir John Malcolm, then too common to be considered as in any way discreditable.—(ii., 251.)

‖ *Vide* his own evidence before the House of Commons. Such a solicitation was clearly opposed to the duty of a servant of the E. I. Cy. and a Lieutenant-colonel in the British army.—(Parl. Papers, vol. iii., p. 154.)

¶ An intoxicating beverage, made from hemp.

Meeran caused him to be confined in a small chamber near his own apartments, and then summoning his personal friends, asked which of them would serve the existing administration, by removing the only obstacle to its permanency. One after another peremptorily rejected the dastardly office; at length it was accepted by a man under peculiar obligations to the parents of the destined victim, in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran's. On beholding the entrance of the assassins, Surajah Dowlah at once guessed their purpose. "They will not suffer me even to live in obscurity!" he exclaimed; and then requested that water might be provided for the performance of the purification commanded by the Koran before death. A large vessel which stood at hand was emptied rudely over him, and he was hewn down by repeated sabre strokes; "several of which fell," says the Mohammedan historian, "on a face renowned all over Bengal for regularity of feature and sweetness of expression." The memory of a past deed of violence came over the prince in this terrible hour, and he died declaring, in allusion to an officer whom he had tyrannically caused to be executed in the streets of Moorshedabad, "Hussein Kooli, thou art avenged!" *

The morning after this event Meer Jaffier visited Clive, and, in the words of the former, "thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy." Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary; but the truth was, his own neglect had been unjustifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by a conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives † of the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Meer Jaffier and his son, and his consort and infant daughter were robbed of all the valuables about them, and sent into confinement in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mohammedan females of rank.

In Calcutta all was triumph and rejoicing. Few stopped to think, amid the excitement created by the tide of wealth fast pouring in, of past calamities or future cares. It was a momentous epoch; the step once taken was irrevocable; the company of traders had assumed a new position—henceforth to be rulers and lawgivers, with almost irresponsible sway over a territory far larger and more populous than their native land. It may be doubted if the directors at home gave much heed to these considerations; their representatives in India certainly did not, each one being fully occupied in gathering the largest possible share of the spoil. The monies stipulated for in restitution of the damage inflicted in Calcutta, with those demanded on behalf of the squadron, army, and committee, amounted to £2,750,000, besides donations to individuals.‡ The company received property to the amount of £1,500,000, and territorial revenues valued by Clive at £100,000 a-year. A fleet of 100 boats, with flags flying and music playing, bore to Fort William £800,000 in coined silver alone, besides plate and jewels, as the first instalment of the promised reward.

Leaving the Bengal functionaries in the enjoyment of wealth and influence, it is necessary to narrate the cotemporary proceedings of the Madras presidency.

Affairs in the Carnatic and Coromandel Coast.—Upon the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A powerful armament was fitted out, and entrusted to the charge of Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who had shared the exile of James II., and was no less noted for personal courage than for strong feelings against England.

* The above account is, as before stated, chiefly derived from the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. The author is strongly prejudiced against Surajah Dowlah, to whom he was distantly related. He had been taken prisoner in an engagement between this prince and Shaocat Jung, a rival pretender to the viceroyalty of Bengal, who was slain during a fit of intoxication. The conduct of Surajah Dowlah on this occasion, does not corroborate the statements made by Orme and Stewart of his cruelty and violence, and it is possible that these have been exaggerated; but unhappily, all the evidence comes from one side.

† Surajah Dowlah was five-and-twenty at the time of his assassination. His mother, on beholding the mangled remains dragged past her windows, rushed into the street, without veil or slippers, and clasped the body in her arms, but was forced back with blows.

‡ The army and navy had £500,000 for their share, Clive coming in, as commander-in-chief, for £20,000. As a member of the *Secret Committee*, he received to the amount of £28,000, the others having £24,000 each; besides which every one of them obtained a special gift from Meer Jaffier: that of Clive is variously stated at from £160,000 to £200,000. The *General Council* (not of the *committee*) received £60,000. Among the individuals who profited largely by what Clive termed the "generosity" of Meer Jaffier, was Mr. Drake, the runaway governor of Calcutta. Lushington (who forged the hand and seal of Admiral Watson) had, Clive stated in reply to parliamentary inquiry, "something very trifling,—about 50,000 rupees."—(Parl. Reports.) The division of the booty occasioned very serious disputes between the army and the navy.

He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish (1,080 strong), by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. The court of Versailles looked on the success of the expedition as a matter of certainty, and directed the commencement of operations by the siege of Fort St. David. Their anticipated conquests were marred by a remarkable series of disasters. The fleet quitted Brest in May, 1757, and carried with them the infection of a malignant fever then raging in the port. No less than 300 persons died before reaching Rio Janeiro; and from one cause or another delays arose, which hindered the ships from reaching Pondicherry until the end of April, 1758. There new difficulties occurred to obstruct the path of Lally. He had been especially directed to put down, at all hazards, the dissension and venality which prevailed among the French officials, and to compel them to make exertions for the benefit of their employers, instead of the accumulation of private fortunes. The task was at best an onerous one, and Lally set about it with an uncompromising zeal, which, under the circumstances, bordered on indiscretion. Perfectly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he was wilful and presumptuous: his daring plans, if heartily seconded, might have been crowned with brilliant success; as it was, they met the same fate as those of La Bourdonnais, while he was reserved for a doom more terrible, and equally unmerited. Some of his early measures were, however, attended with success. The English beheld with alarm the overpowering additions made to the force of the rival nation; and when, after a prolonged siege, Fort St. David capitulated, serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Madras. The want of funds alone prevented Lally from making an immediate attack. After vainly endeavouring to raise sufficient supplies on credit, he resolved to direct to their attainment the next operations of the war. The rajah of Tanjore, when hard pressed, in 1751, by the united force of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, had given a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which remained unredeemed at Pondicherry. To extort payment of this sum an expedition was now undertaken against Tanjore, and on the march thither, many cruel acts of violence were committed.* The rajah, after some resistance, offered to compromise the matter by the payment of a sum much inferior to that required. The French commander was willing to abate his pecuniary demand, provided he should be supplied with 600 cattle for draught and provisions, which were greatly needed for the troops. The rajah refused, on the plea that his religion did not sanction the surrender of kine for the unhallowed uses of Europeans. The impetuous Lally had before excited strong feelings of aversion in the minds of the natives by obliging them to carry burthens for the army, and other services which he enforced promiscuously, without regard to the laws of cast: he now treated the assertion of the rajah as a mere pretext to gain time, similar to those practised upon Chunda Sahib on a previous occasion; therefore, making little allowance for the invariable prolixities of eastern negotiation, he declared that unless an arrangement were forthwith agreed on, the rajah and all his family should be shipped as slaves to the Mauritius. The Hindoos rarely indulge in intemperate language; and the Tanjore prince, stung and astonished by the outrage offered him, resolved to perish sooner than succumb to his insulting foe. At his earnest request, an English detachment was sent from Trichinopoly to his assistance. Lally continued the assault on Tanjore, and had effected a breach, when news arrived that the English fleet, after an indecisive engagement with that of France,† had anchored before Karical, from whence alone the besieging force could derive supplies. Powder and provisions were both nearly exhausted, and Lally, by the almost unanimous opinion of a council of war, withdrew from Tanjore, and hastened to Pondicherry, with the intention of making a simultaneous attack by sea and land on Madras. This project fell to the ground, owing to the determination of the naval commander to quit India immediately, which, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the local government and the army, he persisted in doing, on the ground that the disablement of the ships, and the disease and diminution of the crews, rendered it imperatively necessary to refit at the Mauritius. Lally thus weakened, directed his next en-

* At Kivaloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, Lally, in the hope of finding hidden treasures, ransacked the houses, dug up the foundations, dragged the tanks, and carried away the brass idols; but to very little purpose as far as booty was concerned. Six Brahmins lingered about the violated shrines; and Lally, suspecting that they were spies, caused them all to be shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.—(Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 397.)

† The English suffered most in their shipping; the French in their men.—(*Vide* Owen Cambridge's *Account of the War in India, from* 1750 *to* 1760, p. 123.)

deavours against Arcot, and succeeded in gaining possession of that place through the artifices of Reza Sahib (now dignified by the French with the title of nabob), who opened a correspondence with the governor placed there by Mohammed Ali, and induced him to make a pretended capitulation, and come over with his troops to the service of the enemy. About the time of entering Arcot, Lally was joined by Bussy. This officer had, by the exercise of extraordinary ability, maintained his position in the court of Salabut Jung, and dexterously threading his way amid the intrigues of the Mohammedan courtiers, headed by the brothers of the subahdar (Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung), had contrived, with very slender means, to uphold the power of his countrymen in connexion with the ruler they had nominated.* Lally did not, or would not, see that the authority of the French at Hyderabad—that even the important possessions of the Northern Circars, rested almost wholly on the great personal influence of one man; and notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of Bussy and Salabut Jung, the troops were recalled to Pondicherry. It appears that Lally, having heard of the large sums raised by Dupleix on his private credit, hoped that Bussy might be able to do so likewise; and he listened with mingled surprise and disappointment to the averment of the generous and high-principled officer, that having never used his influence with the subahdar as a means of amassing wealth, he was altogether incapable of affording any material assistance in pecuniary affairs. The government of Pondicherry declared themselves devoid of the means of maintaining the army, upon which Count d'Estaigne and other leading officers agreed in council, that it was better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within the walls of Pondicherry, and determined to commence offensive operations by endeavouring to bombard the English settlement, shut up the troops in Fort St. George, pillage the Black Town, and lay waste the surrounding country. The sum of 94,000 rupees was raised for the purpose, of which 60,000 were contributed by Lally himself, and the remainder in smaller sums by members of council and private individuals. The force thus sparely provided with the sinews of war, consisted of 2,700 European, and 4,000 Indian troops. The English, apprised of the intended hostilities, made active preparations for defence under the veteran general, Lawrence, and their efforts were again favoured by climatorial influences; for the French expedition, though in readiness to leave Pondicherry at the beginning of November, 1758, was prevented by heavy rains from reaching Madras till the middle of December, and this at a crisis when Lally had not funds to secure the subsistence of the troops for a single week. The spoil of the Black Town† furnished means for the erection of batteries, and the subsequent arrival of a million livres from the Mauritius, led to the conversion of the blockade (which was at first alone intended) into a siege; but, either from prudential considerations or disaffection,‡ the officers refused to second the ardour of their commander; and after nine weeks' tarry (during the last fortnight of which the troops had subsisted almost entirely upon some rice and butter captured in two small vessels from Bengal), the approach of an English fleet of six sail, compelled the enemy to decamp by night with all haste. The state of feeling at Pondicherry may be easily conceived from the assertion of Lally, that the disastrous result of the expedition was celebrated by the citizens as a triumph over its unpopular commander. Their ill-founded rejoicings were of brief continuance; scoffing was soon merged in gloomy apprehensions, destined to find a speedy realisation. The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October, 1759, decided for the time the struggle between France and England for supremacy in India. Wandewash was speedily attacked and carried. Lally, while marching to attempt its recovery, was met and defeated. Bussy placed himself at the head of a regiment, to lead the men to the charge of the bayonet, as the only means of saving the battle; had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner.

* A detailed account of his proceedings occupies a considerable part of Orme's *Military Transactions*.

† No attempt was made to defend the Black Town; but after its seizure by the French, the English perceiving the intemperance and disorder of the hostile troops, strove to profit by the opportunity, and sallied out 600 strong. They were, however, driven back with the loss of 200 men and six officers.

‡ Orme says the former; Lally, in his *Memoirs*, the latter: at the same time he severely censures the plots and whole conduct of the Pondicherry government, declaring, in an intercepted letter, that he "would rather go and command the Kafirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of heaven should not."

Chittaput, Arcot, Devicotta, Karical, Valdore, Cuddalore, and other forts, were successively captured; and by the beginning of May, 1760, the French troops were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English, having received further reinforcements, encamped within four miles of the town. Lally shrank from no amount of danger or fatigue in his exertions to rally the troops and subdue the pervading spirit of mutiny and corruption. As the last chance of upholding the national interest, he resorted to the policy of Dupleix, and looked round for some native power as an auxiliary. The individual on whom he fixed was Hyder Ali,* a soldier of fortune, who had risen to the command of the Mysoor army. With him Lally concluded an agreement, by which Hyder undertook to furnish a certain quantity of bullocks for the supply of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3,000 picked horse and 5,000 sepoys. In return he was to receive immediate possession of the fort of Theagur—an important station, about fifty miles from Pondicherry, situate near two of the principal passes in the Carnatic, with, it is alleged, the promise even of Madura and Tinnivelly, in the event of the favourable termination of the war. A detachment of the English army, sent to interrupt the march of the Mysoor troops, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, Hyder decamped one night

* The great-grandfather of Hyder Ali was a religious person, named Bhelole, who migrated from the Punjab and settled with his two sons at the town of Alund, 110 miles from Hyderabad. Here he erected a small mosque by charitable contributions, and also what is termed a fakeer's *mokan*—that is a house for the fakeer, who attends at the mosque and procures provisions for the use of the worshippers. By this speculation, Bhelole raised some property, but not sufficient to support the families of his sons, who left him and obtained employment at Sera as revenue peons. One of these, named Mohammed Ali, left a son called Futteh, who having distinguished himself for bravery, was promoted to be a Naik or commander of twenty peons. From this position he gradually rose to eminence, and married a lady of a rank superior to his own. The circumstances attending this union were altogether of a romantic character. The father of the lady was robbed and murdered near the borders of Bednore while traversing the peninsula. His widow and two daughters begged their way to Colar, where they were relieved from further difficulty by Hyder Naik, who married both the sisters in succession—a practice not forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Two sons, of whom the younger was the famous Hyder Ali, were born to the second wife, and they had respectively attained the age of nine and seven years, when their father was slain in upholding the cause of the Mohammedan noble whom he served, against the pretensions of a rival candidate for one of the minor Deccani governments in 1728. The patron of Hyder Naik was defeated and slain; the family of the latter fell into the hands of the victor, and on pretence of a balance due from the deceased to the revenues of the province, a sum of money was extorted from his heirs by cruel and ignominious tortures, applied to both the lads, and even, Colonel Wilks supposes, to the widow herself. Hyder Ali waited thirty-two years for an opportunity of revenge; and then, as will be shown in a subsequent page, grasped it with the avidity of a man retaliating an injury of yesterday. Meanwhile his mother, being permitted to depart after having, in the words of her grandson, Tippoo Sultan, "lost everything but her children and her honour," sought refuge among her own kindred. Through the influence of a maternal uncle, the elder boy was received into the service of a Hindoo officer of rank, and gradually rose to a respectable position; but Hyder Ali attained the age of twenty-seven without entering on any profession, in utter ignorance of the first elements of reading and writing, absent from home for weeks together on some secret expedition of voluptuous riot, or passing, as was the custom of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of rigid abstinence and excessive exertion—wandering in the woods in pursuit of wild beasts, himself hardly less ferocious. At length he thought fit to join his brother's corps as a volunteer on a special occasion, and having attracted the attention of Nunjeraj by his singular bravery and self-possession, he was at once placed in command of some troops, and from that time acquired power by rapid steps. The authority of the Mysoor state then rested wholly in the hands of Nunjeraj and his brother Deoraj; but the death of the latter, and the incapacity of the former, induced an attempt on the part of the rajah to become a king in reality as well as name. Hyder at one time sided with, at another against, the rajah, his object in both cases being purely selfish. An invasion of Mysoor by the Mahrattas, in 1759, contributed to his aggrandisement, by giving scope for the exercise of his warlike abilities; but he played a desperate game; for the queen-mother, perceiving his daring temper, dreaded to find her son released from the hands of one usurper only to fall into worse custody, and laid a scheme, in conjunction with a Mahratta chief, for the destruction of Hyder Ali, who was then engaged at a distance from court. Hyder escaped with difficulty, and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours (the first seventy-five on the same horse), reached Bangalore, the fort and district of which had been given him shortly before as a personal jaghire, just in time to precede the orders sent by the rajah to close the gates against him. The strength of the Mahrattas was shattered by the disastrous battle of Paniput, in 1760; the exhausting strife of the European power in the Carnatic precluded their interference; and Hyder found means to reduce his nominal master to the condition of a state pensioner, and then looked round for further food for ambition. As an illustration of the cruelty of his nature, it is related that when after the successful termination of the rebellion, Kundee Rao, the brave and faithful general of the rajah, was surrendered to the conqueror with an earnest supplication for kind treatment, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a paroquet; and the miserable captive was accordingly confined in an iron cage, and fed on rice and milk.

with his whole force, on account of internal proceedings which threatened the downfall of his newly-usurped authority in Mysoor. The English, so soon as the rains had ceased, actively besieged Pondicherry. Insubordination, dissension, and privation of every description * seconded their efforts within the walls. Lally himself was sick and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The garrison surrendered at discretion in January, 1760,† and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling its fortifications with the ground.‡

The consequences predicted by Bussy, from his compulsory abandonment of Salabut Jung, had already ensued. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had wrested from the French these important possessions. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been likewise attacked, and reduced a few months before the fall of Pondicherry. Theagur capitulated after a feeble resistance; and the capture of the strong fort of Jinjee in April, 1761, completed the triumph of the English, and left the French without a single military post in India.

The storm of popular indignation at this disastrous state of affairs was artfully directed upon the devoted head of Lally. On his return to France the ministry, seconded by the parliament of Paris, threw him into the Bastille, and on various frivolous pretexts he was condemned to die the death of a traitor and a felon. Errors of judgment, arrogance, and undue severity might with justice have been ascribed to Lally; but on the opposite side of the scale ought to have been placed uncompromising fidelity to the nation and company he served, and perfect disinterestedness, together with the uninterrupted exercise of energy united to military talents. It is related that he confidently anticipated a triumphant issue to the proceedings instituted against him, and was seated in his dungeon sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, when tidings of the fatal sentence arrived. "Is this the reward of forty-five years of faithful service?" he exclaimed; and snatching up a pair of compasses, strove to drive them to his heart. The bystanders prevented the fulfilment of this criminal attempt, and left to the representatives of the French nation the disgrace of perpetrating what Voltaire boldly denounced as "a murder committed with the sword of justice." A few hours after his condemnation, Lally, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was dragged in a dirty dung-cart through the streets of Paris to the scaffold, a gag being thrust in his mouth to prevent any appeal to the sympathies of the populace.

La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, were successive victims to the ingratitude of the French company. Bussy was more fortunate. Upon his capture by the English he was immediately released on parole, greatly to the dismay and disappointment of Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. He subsequently returned to France, and, strengthened by an aristocratic marriage (with the niece of the Duc de Choiseuil), lived to enjoy a high reputation and a con-

* When famine prevailed to an increasing extent in Pondicherry, Lally strove to prolong the defence by sending away the few remaining cavalry, at the risk of capture by the English; by returning all prisoners under a promise not to serve again; and also by expelling the mass of the native inhabitants, to the number of 1,400, without distinction of sex or age. The wretched multitude wandered in families and companies to various points, and sometimes strove to force a path through the hosts of the enemy, or back within the gates from which they had been expelled, meeting on either side death from the sword or the bullet. For eight days the outcasts continued to traverse the circumscribed space between the fortifications and the English encampment, the scant-spread roots of grass affording their sole means of subsistence. At length the English commander suffered the survivors to pass; and though they had neither home nor friends in prospect, deliverance from sufferings more prolonged, if less intense, than those endured in the Black-Hole, was hailed with rapturous gratitude.—(Orme, ii., 699.) An episode like this speaks volumes on the unjustifiable character of a war, between civilised and Christian nations, which is liable to subject heathen populations to calamities so direful and unprovoked.

† The departure of Lally for Madras was marked by a scene of a most discreditable character. The French officers raised a shout of derision, as their late commander passed along the parade a worn and dejected prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence but for the interference of his English escort. The same reception awaited Dubois, the king's commissary. He stopped and offered to answer any accusation that might be brought forward, upon which a man came forth from among the crowd and drew his sword. Dubois did the same: he was of advanced age, with the additional infirmity of defective sight; and the second pass laid him dead at the feet of his antagonist. The catastrophe was received with applause by the bystanders, and not one of them would even assist the servant of the deceased in the removal of the body. The unpopularity of Dubois originated in his energetic protests against the disorder and venality of the local government.

‡ A sharp dispute took place between the officers of the crown and of the company. Colonel Coote claimed Pondicherry for the nation; Mr. Pigot on behalf of his employers; and the latter gentleman being able to enforce his arguments by refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, unless the point was conceded, gained the day.—(Orme, i., 724.)

siderable fortune. The company itself was soon extinguished,* and the power of the nation in India became quite inconsiderable.

Affairs of Bengal resumed from 1757. —The first important danger which menaced the duration of Meer Jaffier's usurped authority, was the approach of the Shah-zada or heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who having obtained from his father formal investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, now advanced to assert his claims by force of arms. The emperor (Alumgeer II.) was at this period completely in the power of his intriguing vizier, Shaab or Ghazi-oo-deen (the grandson of the famous nizam); and the prince had only escaped the toils of the imperious minister by cutting his way, sword in hand, with half-a-dozen followers, through the body of guards stationed to retain him a close prisoner within his own palace. The spirit manifested by this daring exploit did not characterise his after career, for he proved quite incapable of grappling with the many difficulties which beset his path. The governors or nabobs of Allahabad and Oude, both virtually independent powers, supported his cause at the onset; and the prince further endeavoured to obtain the support of the English by large promises. His offers were declined, and active co-operation with Meer Jaffier resolved on. The Shah-zada and his adherents advanced to Patna; but the treachery of the nabob of Oude, in taking advantage of the privilege accorded him of a safe place for his family, to seize the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the ruler of that province to march back for the protection or recovery of his own dominions.† The result of their disunion was to bereave the Shah-zada of friends and resources. In this position he solicited a sum of money from the English general in requital for the abandonment of his pretensions in Bengal, and £1,000 were forwarded to the impoverished descendant of a powerful dynasty. Through the influence of Shaab-oo-deen, the emperor was compelled to sign a *sunnud* (edict or commission), transferring the empty title of subahdar of Bengal to his second son, and confirming Meer Jaffier in all real power, under the name of his deputy. Upon this occasion Clive obtained the rank of a lord of the empire, which afforded him a pretext for extorting a jaghire amounting to £30,000 per annum; although, at the very time, the treasury of Bengal was almost exhausted, and the soldiers of the province clamorous for arrears of pay: and moreover, so doubtful a complexion had the alliance between the English and Meer Jaffier already assumed, that immediately after the departure of the Shah-zada, the nabob was suspected of intriguing with a foreign power for the expulsion of his well-beloved coadjutors. The Bengal presidency learned with alarm the approach of a great armament fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia. Seven ships ascended the Hooghly to within a few miles of Calcutta, where 700 European and 800 Malay soldiers disembarked, with the avowed intention of marching thence to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. England and Holland were at peace; but Clive, notwithstanding the absence of any hostile manifestation on the part of the newly-arrived force, obtained from the nabob a direct contradiction to the encouragement he had previously given, and a positive order for the Dutch to leave the river.‡ An English detachment was sent to intercept the march of the troops to Chinsura, but the officer in command (Colonel Forde) hesitated about proceeding to extremities, and sent to headquarters for explicit instructions. Clive was engaged at the card-table when the message arrived. Tearing off a slip from the letter just presented to him, he wrote in pencil: "Dear Forde,—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde obeyed, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, so that of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken pri-

* French trade with India was laid open in 1770; but in 1785 a new company was incorporated, and lasted until 1790, when its final abolishment, at the expiration of two years, was decreed by the National Assembly.—(Macpherson, pp. 275—284.)

† The Allahabad ruler, while marching homeward, was met by M. Law with a French detachment, and entreated to return to the Shah-zada and assist in besieging Patna, which, it was urged, would occasion but a very slight delay. The proposition was rejected; the nabob continued his march, but being eventually persuaded by the rival subahdar to trust to his generosity, was made prisoner and put to death.

‡ The dominant influence of Clive is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. A fray having taken place between the soldiers of Clive and those of one of the oldest and most attached adherents of Meer Jaffier, the nabob reproached his officer for what had occurred, exclaiming, "Have you yet to learn in what position heaven has placed this Colonel Clive?" The accused replied, that so far from seeking a pretext of quarrel with the colonel, he "never rose in the morning without making three profound bows to his jackass;"—a speech which Scott (*History of the Deccan*, ii., 376) explains as meant in allusion to the nabob himself.

soners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to save their settlements in Bengal from total destruction, made peace with their powerful opponents by paying the expenses of the war; while Clive, aware of the irregularity of his proceedings,* facilitated the termination of the dispute by the restoration of the captured vessels in December, 1759. Early in the following year he resigned the government of Bengal, and sailed for England.

It has been asserted that Clive never suffered his personal interests to interfere with those of his employers. Had this been the truth, he would certainly not have quitted India at so critical a period for the E. I. Cy. as the year 1760. It was not age (for he was yet but five-and-thirty) nor failing strength (for he declared himself "in excellent health") that necessitated his departure; neither is it easy to find any less selfish reasons than a desire to place and enjoy in safety his immense wealth, leaving those at whose expense it had been accumulated to bear alone the brunt of the impending storm. His opinion of Meer Jaffier was avowedly changed; for though he continued personally to address him as the most munificent of princes, yet in his semi-official correspondence with his own countrymen, the "generally esteemed" individual of two years ago, becomes an "old man, whose days of folly are without number." The English in general attributed to the ruler of their own nomination every vice previously alleged against Surajah Dowlah. It was urged, that whatever soldierly qualifications he might have possessed in the days of Ali Verdi Khan, had passed with the vigour of youth, leaving him indolent and incapable; but easily carried away by unfounded suspicions to perpetrate, or at least sanction, deeds of midnight assassination against innocent and defenceless persons of either sex.† A native authority‡ describes Meer Jaffier as taking a childish delight in sitting, decked with costly jewels, on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication, as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly description. The English he feared and hated, but lacked energy and ability to offer any systematic opposition to their encroachments. The leading Hindoos became objects of aversion to him on account of their intimate connexion with the powerful foreigners, and plots were laid for the destruction of several individuals, with varying success. The chief instigator of these intrigues was Meeran, the heir-apparent, who, in spite of the inexperience of youth and a merciless disposition, possessed a degree of energy and perseverance which, together with strong filial affection, rendered him the chief support of his father's throne.§ The "chuta" (little or young) nabob and the English regarded one another with scarcely disguised distrust. The Begum (or princess), the mother of Meeran, betrayed excessive anxiety for the safety of her only son; and although her affectionate intercessions were treated with contemptuous disdain by the servants of the company, they were far from being uncalled for; since it needed no extraordinary foresight to anticipate that the ill-defined claims, and especially the right of interference in every department of the native government asserted by the English, must end either in their assumption of all power, in name as in reality, or, it was just possible, in their total expulsion from the province.

Clive had quite made up his mind on the matter; and while receiving immense sums from the nabob on the one hand, and the wages of the E. I. Cy. on the other, he addressed a letter from Calcutta, as early as January, 1759, to Mr. Pitt, urging upon him the necessity of affairs in Bengal being viewed as a national question, and a sufficient force sent forthwith "to open a way for securing the subahship to ourselves." The Mogul would, he added, willingly agree to this arrangement in return for a pledge for the payment of fifty lacs annually—a sum which might be easily spared out of revenues amounting to £2,000,000 sterling; and as to Meer Jaffier, there need be no scruple on his account, since he, like all other Mussulmans, was so little influenced by gratitude,

* He remarked, with regard to these transactions, that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck."

† The infant brother or nephew of Surajah Dowlah, on the accession of Meer Jaffier, is stated to have been murdered by being pressed to death between pieces of wood used in packing bales of shawls.

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 19.

§ Clive calls him "a worthless young dog," and asserts his belief that he would one day attempt the overthrow of the nabob, blaming "the old fool" at the same time severely for "putting too much power in the hands of his nearest relations;" but there is no evidence to warrant his assertion: on the contrary, Gholam Hussein Khan, though strongly prejudiced against both father and son, gives repeated evidence of the unbroken confidence which subsisted between them.—(*Life*, ii., 104; *Siyar*, ii., 86.)

as to be ready to break with his best friends the moment it suited his interests, while Meeran was "so apparently the enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession."*

This communication was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Walsh, the secretary of Clive. In relating the discussion which followed its presentation, Mr. Walsh writes, that the able minister expressed his views a little darkly (or probably very cautiously) on the subject; mentioned that the company's charter would not expire for twenty years; and stated that it had been recently inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the company or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the company; but, he added, "the company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties;" therefore Clive showed "good sense by the suggested application of it to the public."

Here the question dropped for the time, and Clive returned to England, apparently before learning the result of his memorial, and at a time when events of the first importance were taking place.†

The Shah-zada, at the invitation of certain influential nobles of Patna, had already renewed hostilities, when Clive and Forde quitted the country in February, 1760. In the previous December an English detachment, under Colonel Calliaud, had been sent from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and this force, in conjunction with 15,000 horse and foot, under command of Meeran, marched in the following month to oppose the Mogul prince. Meanwhile the powerful king of the Doorani Afghans was again on his way to ravage Hindoostan. Shaab-oo-deen, the vizier of the pageant-emperor, Alumgeer II., aware of the strangely-assorted friendship which existed between his ill-used master and Ahmed Shah, caused the former to be assassinated, and seated another puppet on the throne. The Shah-zada had entered Bahar, when tidings of the tragical end of his father reached the camp. He assumed the title of Alum Shah, and secured the alliance of Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, by the promise of the vizierat; conferred on Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah (an able Rohilla chief, staunchly attached to the imperial family) the dignity of ameer-ool-omra;‡ and, with the assistance of these leaders, assembled a considerable force. An engagement took place near Patna, between his troops and those of Meeran and the English. The emperor was defeated, and fled to Bahar, where he continued to maintain a feeble contest until the campaign was abruptly concluded by the death of one of the parties chiefly concerned in its results. A heavy storm commenced on the night of the 2nd of July, and Meeran, the better to escape its violence, quitted his spacious tent for one of less size, lower, and of greater strength. According to eastern usage, a story-teller stationed himself beside the prince, striving to soothe the unquiet spirit to repose, while a domestic chafed his limbs, with the same view of inducing sleep. Fierce thunder-claps long continued to break over the encampment, alternating with vivid flashes of lightning. The fury of the elements at last abated, and some attendants, whose turn it was to keep guard, entered and beheld with dismay the lifeless bodies of Meeran and his companions, all three having perished by the same stroke. Colonel Calliaud considered it impolitic to publish the catastrophe, lest the consequence should be the immediate dispersion of the army of the deceased; he therefore, after certain necessary precautions, caused the body to be dressed, as if alive, and placed on an elephant; marched to Patna with all possible expedition, and distributed the troops in winter quarters. It is scarcely possible to avoid attributing the fate of Meeran to an act of Divine retribution, so cruel and bloodthirsty had been his brief career.§ The previous month had added to the list of victims sacrificed by his father and himself, two aged princesses, the surviving daughters of Ali

* *Life*, ii. 120—122. The succession of Meeran had, it should be borne in mind, been one of the primary conditions made by Meer Jaffier with Clive.

† Mr. Scrafton, in a letter to Clive, states that Meeran, on one occasion, became so excited by the partiality evinced towards a Hindoo governor (Roydullub) who was known to be disaffected to him, that he declared, unless an express guarantee of safety should be given, he would leave Moorshedabad with those who were faithful to him, and, if necessary, fight his way to the nabob, who was then at Patna. Scrafton adds, that the "old Begum sent for Petrus (the Armenian interpreter for the company), and fell a blubbering, saying that she had but that son, and could not spare him."—(Malcolm's *Life*, i., 349.)

‡ *See* previous section on Mogul empire, p. 177.

§ Upon examination, five or six holes were found on the back part of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on the pillow above his head had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tent pole appeared as if rotted. Yet, notwithstanding these indications, a rumour arose that the death of Meeran had been caused by the English; and to this unfounded accusation Burke alludes in his famous speech on opening the charges against Warren Hastings.

Verdi Khan; and among his papers was found a list of the names of persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign; determined, as he said, "to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends."

The death of Meeran was a terrible blow to his father. The slight barrier which had heretofore in some measure kept down the arrogance and extortion of the English functionaries, and likewise the clamours of the unpaid native troops being now removed, the nabob was left alone to bear, in the weakness of age and intellect, the results of his unhallowed ambition. Clive, with others who had largely benefited by sharing its first-fruits, had gone to enjoy the wealth thus acquired under the safeguard of a free constitution; and their successors would, it was probable, be inclined to look to the expedient of a new revolution as the best possible measure for their private interests, as well as those of their employers. The excitement attendant on the payment of the chief part of the stipulated sums to the Bengal treasury, had before this time given place to depression; that is, so far as the public affairs of the company were concerned. Individuals had accumulated, and were still accumulating large fortunes, to which, in a pecuniary sense, no drawback was attached; but the general trade was in a much less flourishing condition. On being first acquainted with the extent of money and territory ceded by Meer Jaffier, (of which, it may be remarked, Clive gave a very exaggerated account,) the directors sent out word that no supplies would be sent by them to India for several ensuing seasons, as the Bengal treasury would, it was expected, be well able to supply the civil and military exigences of the three presidencies, to provide European investments, and even to make provision for the China trade. This was so far from being the case, that in less than two years after the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors."* The distress created in England by these drafts was very great; and even in the year 1758, the holders were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant further time for their liquidation.

The payment of the English troops engaged in repelling the attempts of the Shahzada, presented an additional difficulty. It had been thought that the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees (£10,000) per month, would amply cover their expenditure; but experience proved that amount insufficient to provide for the exigences of the augmented establishment thereby necessitated, even had the money been regularly paid; instead of which, the nabob was greatly in arrears at the time of Clive's departure.

In fact, his own forces were so costly and extensive, that it is alleged they were alone sufficient to absorb the entire revenue. The death of Meeran was quickly followed by an alarming mutiny. The palace was surrounded, the walls scaled, and Meer Jaffier threatened with instant death unless the claims of the really distressed troops were liquidated. Meer Cossim, who had married the only surviving legitimate child of the nabob, interfered for his protection, and brought about an arrangement by the advance of three lacs from his own treasury, and a promise of the balance due in a stated period.

Mr. Vansittart arrived to fill the position of governor of Bengal in July, 1760. An empty treasury; a quarrelsome and dictatorial council; unpaid and disorderly troops; the provision of an investment actually suspended;—these were some of the difficulties which awaited him.† Mr. Holwell, while in the position of temporary governor, had suggested to his fellow-officials, that the cruelty and incapacity of Meer Jaffier justified his abandonment, and proposed that they should change sides—accept the reiterated offers of the emperor, and make common cause with him. This project was rejected; but the necessity for some decisive measure being pretty generally agreed upon, it was at length resolved to offer Meer Cossim Ali the limited degree of real power still residing in the person of the nabob, on condition of the title and a fixed income being left with Meer Jaffier, and certain additional concessions made to the English.

Mr. Vansittart acquiesced in the scheme formed by Mr. Holwell and the select committee. One or two members of the general council, when the intended change was first hinted at, dissented on the ground that the incapacity of Meer Jaffier was itself favourable to the interests of the company; but the urgent need of fresh supplies of funds to meet increased expenditure, combined per-

* Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, i., 22. The same authority states, that in 1760 the military and other charges in Bengal amounted to upwards of £200,000 per ann.; while the net revenue did not exceed £80,000—(p. 97.)

† Vansittart's *Letter to E. I. Proprietors*, p. 13.

haps with less easily avowed motives on the part of certain influential persons overpowered this reasoning, and a treaty was entered into by the governor and select committee with Meer Cossim, by which he agreed to assign to the English the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in discharge of the balance due from his father-in-law. On the night on which the articles were signed, Meer Cossim tendered to Mr. Vansittart a note for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the five members of the select committee. Considering the large sums extorted from Meer Jaffier on a previous occasion, it was only natural to expect some similar instance of "munificence" in the present case; though, from the impoverished state of the revenues, the amount must of necessity be greatly inferior. The note was, however, returned, and the governor and committee, if they had not the self-denial wholly to reject the tempting offer, displayed at least a sufficient regard to decorum to refuse accepting any portion of it, until Meer Cossim should be seated in security on the musnud, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. In the meantime they appear to have made no private agreement whatever; but, in lieu of it, to have asked a contribution of five lacs for the company, which was immediately paid and employed in aid of the operations then in progress against the French at Pondicherry.

The deposition of Meer Jaffier was effected with so much ease, that on the evening of the day on which it took place, a stranger entering Moorshedabad would scarcely have suspected the revolution that had so recently occurred. When first informed of his intended supercession, the nabob manifested an unexpected degree of energy—declared that his son, Meeran, had warned him what would happen, and even threatened to oppose force by force, and abide his fate. But this was the mere effervescence of impotent rage. The palace was surrounded by English troops, and he possessed few, if any, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed; besides which, so "general a disaffection against his government, and detestation of his person and principles, prevailed in the country amongst all ranks and classes of people," that Mr. Vansittart declared, "it would have been scarcely possible for the old nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."*

Scarcity alike of money and provisions began to be painfully felt throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Moorshedabad, once the seat of unparalleled abundance, had become the abode of poverty-stricken multitudes; while Patna, exposed for two years to the ravages of the imperial forces, and threatened with renewed invasion, instead of furnishing, as in times of peace, vast stores of rice, was now almost a wildernesss. Amid this wide-spread misery, the man from whom aid was expected continued to lavish sums extorted by oppression on favourites of the most unworthy character; and pleasures (if they deserve that name) of the most disreputable description. The measure of his iniquities was filled by the sanction or direction given by him, in conjunction with Meeran, for the midnight assassination of Gassitee Begum and Amina Begum,† which, in the case of the former princess, was an act of peculiar ingratitude as well as cruelty, since she had been extremely useful to him during the fifteen months' sway of her nephew, Surajah Dowlah. It must be remembered, that Colonel Clive had viewed the assassination of that prince with utter indifference; and it is the less to be wondered at that so sanguinary a commencement having passed uncensured, Meer Jaffier should have allowed his son to follow out the same course until he was cut off as one who, though unscathed by human laws, yet "vengeance suffereth not to live." The

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 100—138.

† Among the reasons stated by the governor and committee for the deposition of Meer Jaffier, was a massacre committed by his orders at Dacca in June, 1760, in which the mother of Surajah Dowlah, his aunt, his widow and daughter, and a boy adopted into the family, were taken from prison at midnight and drowned, together with seventy persons of inferior note. Such wholesale slaughter as this, if actually perpetrated, would have cast into the shade even the enormities which formed the steps to the Mogul throne; yet it does not seem that any official inquiry was instituted in the matter. So hardened do the minds of Europeans become by familiarity to the worst features of despotism, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, the three dissenting members of council, in their minute complaining of not having been duly consulted regarding the recent measures adopted by the select committee, positively palliate the charges brought against Meer Jaffier as cruelties which would appear shocking to a civilised government, but which were common to all despotic ones. In fact, the transaction, infamous as it really was, had been greatly magnified; for in October, 1765, it was officially stated by the government of Bengal, that of the five principal victims named above, only two had perished; the rest had been kept in confinement, and were subsequently set at liberty. (Thornton's

death of Meeran formed a new feature in the complicated question upon which Mr. Vansittart was called upon to decide. The prince was well known to have been the chief counsellor and abettor of his father's actions; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Holwell's proposition (of abandoning Meer Jaffier and surrendering the government to the emperor) being wholly set aside, it would not have been wiser to have avoided the questionable expedient of a supercession, by suffering the present nabob to continue to occupy the musnud, but with a very limited degree of authority. It was evident things could not remain as they were; the power of the English was too great and too little—altogether too undefined to be stationary; and though there is much reason to believe that the course pursued in this difficult crisis was really prompted by an honest desire for the good of all parties, yet, like most temporising measures, the result was total and disastrous failure.

The resignation forced upon Meer Jaffier appears, under the circumstances, rather a boon than a punishment. The first outburst of rage having subsided, he listened calmly to the proposals made to him—prudently rejected the offer of continuing to enjoy the empty semblance of power, while the reality was to be vested in another person; and simply stipulated that he should be suffered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, and reside there under British protection. It has been alleged that his ambitious son-in-law objected strongly to such a procedure, and would have preferred disposing of his predecessor after a more summary fashion:* but be this as it may, Meer Jaffier quitted Moorshedabad the very evening of his deposition, bearing away, to solace his retirement, about seventy of the ladies of the harem, and "a reasonable quantity of jewels." His only lawful wife (the mother of Meeran) refused to accompany him, and remained with her daughter and Meer Cossim. Thus ends one important though not very creditable page of Anglo-Indian history in Bengal.

Administration of Meer Cossim Ali.—The question uppermost in the mind of every member of the Bengal presidency, whether friendly or adverse to the new nabob, was—how he would manage to fulfil the treaty with the English, pay the sums claimed by them, and liquidate the enormous arrears due to his own clamorous troops? Being an able financier, a rigid economist in personal expenditure, and a man of unwearying energy, Meer Cossim set about the Herculean task of freeing himself from pecuniary involvements, and restoring the prosperity of the country by measures which soon inspired the English officials with the notion that, so far as their personal interests were concerned, the recent revolution might prove as the exchange of King Log for King Stork. Strict accounts of income and expenditure were demanded from the local governors, from the highest to the lowest; the retrospect was carried back even to the time of Ali Verdi Khan; and many who had long since retired to enjoy, in comparative obscurity, wealth gotten by more or less questionable means, while basking in the short-lived sunshine of court favour, were now compelled to refund at least a portion of their accumulations. In short, according to Gholam Hussein, the advice of Sadi the poet—"Why collectest thou not from every

British India, i., 387.) This does not free the English authorities from blame regarding the fate of those who really perished, and the hazard incurred by the survivors, who were left at the caprice of an apathetic old man and a merciless youth. But so little concern was manifested when human lives and not trading monopolies were concerned, that Meeran, being reproached by Scrafton (then British resident at Moorshedabad) for the murder of one of the female relatives of Ali Verdi Khan, did not take the trouble of replying, as he truly might, that she was alive, but asked, in the tone of a petulant boy who thought he "might do what he willed with his own," "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooly (litter) to stir up the jematdars (military commanders) against my father?" The perceptions of the Bengal public were, happily, not quite so obtuse as those of their Mohammedan or European rulers; and the murder of the princesses (with or without their alleged companions of inferior rank) was held to be so foul a crime, that the fire of heaven, which smote the perpetrator, was popularly believed to have been called down by Amina Begum (the mother of Surajah Dowlah), who in dying uttered the vengeful wish, that the lightning might fall on the murderer of herself, her child, and her sister. The imprecation is of fearful meaning in Bengal, where loss of life during thunder-storms is of frequent occurrence; and the tale ran, that the deaths of Meeran and his victims were not, as stated in the text, a month apart, but simultaneous, the fatal orders being executed at Dacca on the same night and hour that Meeran perished, several hundred miles away. (*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 133.) The translator adds, in a note, that the imprecation of Amina Begum was mentioned in Moorshedabad full thirty days before intelligence became public of the death of Meeran.

* This charge will be found in Holwell's *Indian Tracts*, 90—91; but in a subsequent page it is denied by Mr. Holwell, the person to whom the proposition is stated to have been made.—(*Idem*, p. 114.)