

to be master of the kingdom of Cashmere, which bordered on the confines of both empires.

The kingdom of Cashmere, of which Bernier, a diligent and accurate reporter, who travelled thither in the retinue of the emperor Aurengzeb, has given so particular and entertaining an account, is for the most part a valley, enclosed on all sides with mountains rising one above another to a vast height, whose summits are covered with eternal snow, but whose lower regions are fertile and luxuriant in the highest degree, while the fine champaign itself exhibits the appearance of a terrestrial paradise, abounding with stately trees and beautiful gardens, full of rich pastures, and watered with a thousand streams that descend from those mountains, and diffuse plenty and verdure through the whole district. The only entrance into this country is by the straits of the mountain Bember, which rising black, bold, and steep, seem intended by nature as an everlasting barrier against invasion. Well acquainted with the difficulties that would attend the forcing of those straits, Akber endeavoured by the most alluring promises to gain over the prince of that country to a voluntary surrender of his rights, but took care, withal, to have an army at hand adequate to the accomplishment of whatever could be effected by force of arms. Yusof Khan, its monarch, not to be behind hand in policy, in order to divert the enemy from entering and desolating his dominions, immediately repaired to Lahore with proffers of submission, while his son Yakub and his brave Cashmerians unanimously determined not tamely to yield to the invader, prepared in case of necessity to make a vigorous defence, doubly fortified every strong post, and barricaded every known passage into their little kingdom. There were, however, some omrahs of Cashmere, who, not possessing such patriotic firmness, had been prevailed on by the enormous bribes of Akber to attend the Mogul army, and being well acquainted with all the avenues of those straits, made use of that

knowledge to betray their country. The officers on duty, likewise seduced by their example, and corrupted by the same influence, deserted their posts, and thus every obstacle being removed, the imperial army without bloodshed penetrated into the heart of the country, seized the capital, and made the gallant Yakub their prisoner, to whom and his father the victor, according to his usual liberality, allowed a princely stipend. *

Whether the distractions that shortly after took place in the Mogul's family, in consequence of the rebellion of one son, and the death of another, or whether some latent apprehension concerning the success of the enterprise were the means of preventing the meditated conquest of Uzbek Tartary, it is not easy to discover; but soon after Akber turned his arms against the neighbouring kingdom of Sindi, † so called from the river Sind or Indus, which taking its rise in mount Caucasus, runs a southwest course for many hundred leagues, and after watering by its various branches several extensive kingdoms, falls into the ocean near Diu in this province. Akber, with more ease to accomplish this undertaking, embarked a numerous army on the Ravi, one of those five branches of the Indus, from which the province of Lahore is often denominated Panjab, a word signifying The five rivers. The command of this force he gave to Khan Khanna, who had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Guzzurat, and that general, sailing down the main stream of the Indus, soon arrived before Tatta, its capital, a place ‡ of great

* De Laet, p. 199. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 284; and Bernier's Indian Travels, Vol. IV. letter 9, entirely descriptive of this Indian Paradise, edit. London, 1698.

† Sindi, the most western province of Hindostan, is almost divided by the Indus; and we may here observe that it is "usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries, which lie on both sides of any considerable river. Thus Kharazm is divided by the Oxus; Palestine by the Arden or Jordan; Egypt by the Nile; and the Eastern provinces of India by the Ganges." See Jones's Description of Asia.

‡ Captain Hamilton says it has a large citadel at the west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horse, with barracks and stables convenient for them.

strength as well as commerce, situated on an island formed by that river, which, after a long siege, surrendered, and its native prince being taken prisoner, was sent to Lahore, while his kingdom was reduced into a province of the empire.

The latter part of Akber's reign was almost totally employed upon the completion of a darling project which he seems to have formed immediately on relinquishing the meditated conquest of Mawaranahar; a project which under every difficulty and repeated repulses, he persevered in with unabated ardour, but which he lived only to accomplish in part. This grand project was the subjugation of the whole peninsula of India within the Ganges to his authority; comprising many great and populous kingdoms, principal and subordinate, of which those since subjected to the Mogul arms are, from their situation, comprehended under one general denomination—Deccan, or the *South*. The kingdom of Deccan, properly so called, and known to the ancient Greeks by the name of DACHANABADES, formed but a small part of this extensive territory which includes, when understood in its large sense, and in the Mogul acceptation of the word, the kingdoms of Balagate, Visiapore, Golconda, the Carnatic, anciently Bisnagar, with all their other conquests in this southern extremity of India, amounting to nearly a third part of the empire. *

* Of these kingdoms, that is, since their reduction by the Mosleam arms, and their sovereigns, the regular history has been recently presented to the public, in a faithful version from Ferishta, who wrote it, by Captain Jonathan Scott, a gentleman to whose labours oriental literature is deeply indebted, and to his book I refer the reader for minute particulars; meaning by no means to intrude upon the path of a fellow labourer in this vast field of historical research. I shall occasionally, indeed, cite his publication as collateral authority, but in so doing I hope to be of no disservice to the work. His division of Deccan, at the period in question, is as follows, 1. Beejapore; 2. Golconda; 3. Berar; 4. Ahmednagar; 5. Ahmedabad; but as both the boundaries and the names of the Deccan sovereignties have been perpetually varying, I adhere to my own more general division.

The king, in contemplation of this projected conquest, had, with his usual policy, in the year 1590, dispatched four heralds to the courts of the four kings reigning in Deccan, proposing terms of alliance with them, but principally with a view of obtaining accurate and decisive intelligence concerning the state of those countries, previously to the intended attack. He had also given orders to the viceroys of all the provinces bordering on Deccan, to keep a vigilant eye on the transactions of its princes, and to seize every opportunity of extending the limits of his dominion on that side. Many of the neighbouring forts in Deccan were, in consequence, assaulted and taken, and the divisions ever existing among the rival rajahs were fomented by their emissaries to secure an opening for the stronger Mogul. The Deccan sovereigns were by no means inattentive either to the covert or the open attacks of Akber, and rejecting his insidious proffers of alliance, dismissed his heralds with indignation and contempt. Akber therefore resolved upon direct hostilities; and the death of Nizam Shah, king of Deccan proper, happening about this period, afforded an inviting opportunity of immediately commencing them. Intending in a short time to follow himself, with the whole force of the empire, the king dispatched on this expedition the brave and fortunate Khan Khanna, at the head of an army more formidable for its skill than its numbers, and attended by the most celebrated generals of his kingdom; heroes that had fought from their youth under his banners, and reaped unfading laurels in the service of their beloved master. On their arrival at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, the most southern province of his dominions, they were joined by the forces of Ali Khan the governor; yet though thus considerably reinforced, the prudent general did not immediately precipitate his troops into action, but advanced on the frontiers with that deliberation necessary in an undertaking, whose success or failure would be equally attended with the most important consequences to the empire. The

death of Nizam had not involved his kingdom in confusion, for his daughter BIBI,* assisted by able and faithful ministers, held the reigns of government with a steady hand, while Soheil Khan, a eunuch, but a general of great skill and intrepidity, had the command of her armies. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda, considering hers as a common cause, had likewise each contributed a proportion of troops towards the defence of her kingdom; and at the head of their united forces, amounting to forty thousand horse, the valiant Soheil advanced to give battle to the invading army, which hardly amounted to half that number. This great disparity by no means dismayed Khan Khanna, and the other Mogul commanders, who knowing the high and sanguine expectations entertained by Akber, from the exertions of their bravery, charged the enemy with inconceivable fury; for four-and-twenty hours (such was the duration of this obstinate contest) struggled against a warlike and exasperated enemy, double their numbers, and at length, after the slaughter of their general, and half his army, drove them from the field. †

This signal success did not however secure the conquest of the southern provinces. Armies after armies were sent into the field on both sides, and were alternately triumphant and defeated. In one

* In Scott's History of Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 399, she is called CHAUND BEBEE, great aunt to Sultan Bahadur; and her heroic acts are detailed with a trifling variety in respect to the incidents.

† De Laet, India Vera, p. 202. In a former attack the Mogul army, under Sultan Morad, were far from being thus decisively successful. For thus we read in the History of Dekkan. "Disputes rising to a great height in the government of Ahmednagur, Sultan Morad, son of the emperor Akber, was invited into Deccan by one of the parties, and that prince eager to take advantage of dissension, to spread the authority of the Moguls in that country, marched from Guzzurat to Ahmednagur with an army of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to that city, which he was after many months obliged to raise, as Ibrahim Adil Shah, (of Beejapore) dispatched Soheil Khan with a great army to the relief of the besieged, and before his arrival the Moguls retired." Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 338.

of those expeditions Sultan Morad, the second son of Akber, indulging in great licentiousness, brought much disgrace upon the army, and destruction upon himself at Brampour, where a violent fit of intoxication carried him off, to the great grief of his father, who had dispatched his principal secretary, the valiant and learned Abul Fazil, author of the Akber Nama, that prince's former tutor, to reclaim the youthful sultan, and regulate the disorders in his army. On his decease Abul Fazil succeeded to the supreme command, and acted with vigour against the enemy. To pave the way to the complete subjection of the peninsula, he reduced beneath the emperor's authority those portions, which were very considerable, of the provinces of Berar and Candeish, which before had only partially submitted to the Mogul power, and firmly united them to the empire.

At length Akber himself, in the year 1598, having removed his court from Lahore to Agra again, departed from that capital with a vast army for the south. A few miles north of Brampour lay Hassera, a fortress by far the strongest in that part of India. It consisted of three castles situated one above the other, the highest visible at twelve miles distant, on the summit of a mountain, exceedingly lofty, steep, and craggy. It was likewise surrounded with three walls, so contrived that the superior formed a complete protection and defence for the inferior, and it was furnished with ordnance, troops, and provision, proportionate to its importance, and sufficient to resist the most violent and prolonged attack. * The emperor, who was there joined by Abul Fazil with the troops under his command, in vain invested that fortress with an army of two hundred thousand men, and pointed against it the whole force of his numerous artillery. Bahadur, the resolute rajah who governed it, defied their utmost efforts; but what he denied to the arms he yielded to the consummate policy of Akber, who, by presents to an

* See a more full account of Hassera by Finch, apud Harris. Vol. I. p. 85.

immense amount, and the most flattering offers of preferment at his court, prevailed with him; at last, not only to surrender the fortress, but to enter with all his relations and dependents into his immediate service. Having obtained possession of this most important post, without which no conquest in that region could be durable, the way seemed open to the completion of the magnificent project, the entire subjection of Deccan, which he ever contemplated with new delight. But a dark cloud soon overshadowed the prospect that appeared so splendid, and involved the declining life of this great man in the deepest gloom of misery and domestic affliction.

Previous to his departure from Agra, his son Selim had been sent into the province of Ajmere with a considerable force to curb the insolence of Rajah Ranna, by far the most powerful of all the Indian rajahs; but that prince finding himself at the head of a potent army, had taken advantage of the absence of his father, marched back to Agra, and having by the plunder of the royal treasuries amassed an enormous sum, openly avowed his intention of dethroning him. The castle of Agra was too strong, and the governor too faithful, to submit; but in a short space many castles and cities less strongly fortified, and many governors less faithful, had yielded to his authority. Among those was Allahabad, which he now made his head quarters, and thus that very spot which Akber expended such immense sums in fortifying against the Patan power, now became an impregnable barrier against himself. The news of his revolt overwhelmed the unhappy monarch with the most oppressive anguish, but he saw that not a moment was to be lost, and therefore leaving his third son Shah Daniel, to prosecute the Deccan war under the direction of Abul Fazil, and Khan Khanna, his most experienced generals, he set off without delay, attended by some chosen troops, for the capital. Willing, if possible, to reclaim his rebellious son by gentle methods, on his arrival at Agra he sent to him expostulatory letters, full of kindness, and fraught with

many promises of future aggrandizement, if he would lay down his arms and submit; but the prince, flushed with recent success, returned an answer that breathed sentiments of insolence and defiance, and on a repetition of the former affectionate message, sent to his father, in token of his obstinate perseverance in his former seditious measures, some of the coin which he had caused to be struck in his own name at Allahabad. Incensed by this additional insult to the last degree of indignant fury, Akber determined by force of arms to reduce to obedience the refractory prince, and to this end applied once more to the venerable and brave Abul Fazil to come and assist him in bringing to reason and submission his rebellious progeny. That faithful minister immediately left the army, but on his way to Agra was set upon and slain by a detachment sent by the inveterate Selim, who by his emissaries was well acquainted with whatever passed at the court of his father, and besides bore that minister a deep and ancient grudge. The intelligence of his death filled Akber with extreme affliction, as he had long experienced the wisdom and fidelity of Abul Fazil in the administration of government; and the grateful courtier had been for some time engaged in an attempt to return the kindness of his sovereign, by recording the principal events of his reign. * Fraser says his name signifies *the father of excellence*, and that he was the most learned and elegant writer at that time flourishing in Asia. In the mean time Akber relaxed not in the vigour of his preparations to punish his degenerate son, to which he was not a little incited by the flattering accounts he about this time received of the success of his army in the Deccan.

In pursuance of the plan pointed out by his father, Shah Daniel, with Khan Khanna his head general, had soon after his departure advanced to Ahmednagur, the capital of Deccan Proper, in the lofty and strong castle of which city the heroic queen, BIBI, had

* See Fraser's *Mogul Emperors*, p. 11.

shut herself up with her chief commanders, in the firm resolution of defending the place to the last extremity. The siege was long, and the assault violent ; the defence was equally resolute ; nor was the fortress at last taken but by the united efforts of an army * whose numbers far exceeded any that had ever appeared before in that part of India. Considerable treasures were the reward of the victors ; but the indignant Bibi herself, resolved not to survive the freedom of her country, had previously rushed upon voluntary destruction. The triumphant generals, after completely subjugating the kingdom of Deccan, returned to Brampour, where ambassadors from the kings of Visiapore and Golconda soon after arrived, with presents of great magnificence, and letters couched in the most humble and submissive terms. †

Thus was the grand scheme of Akber for the reduction of the peninsula in part completed ; and however suspicious might be the advances of the kings of Visiapore and Golconda, a most extensive territory was added to his empire, and a vast annual tribute to its revenue ; a tribute fully adequate to the support of that formidable army which was necessary to be maintained for the future security of the new conquests. Happy in the contemplation of this and other events equally successful and splendid, that had attended his efforts in war, and his deliberations in peace, during a long and illustrious reign, nothing seemed wanting to substantiate his felicity but the return of his eldest son to duty and loyalty. Convinced that nothing but force could reclaim him, and determined to exert that force, he was on the point of setting out on an expedition for that purpose, when he received the melancholy tidings of his third son

* According to Mr. Finch's authorities, Ahmednagur was taken by the Moguls when they had an army of five hundred thousand men in the field.

† De Laet, p. 205 ; and Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 400. According to this latter authentic history, Chaund Bebee, or Bibi, was put to death by the Dekkanees ; and Sultan Bahadur eventually imprisoned for life in the fort of Gualior.

Shah Daniel's death at Brampour, who, involved in the same delusive pleasures that had proved fatal to his brother, fell the victim of the grossest intemperance. By this afflicting stroke, which left a lasting wound in the breast of Akber, the resentment of the father and the monarch was at once disarmed, and he again sent letters which, though not destitute of severe rebukes for his accumulated offences, held forth the peaceful olive to an only surviving son, the prop of his hopes, and the heir of his empire. Those letters, and the warm remonstrances of a wise and aged omrah who accompanied the embassy, at length so wrought upon the mind of Selim, that he hastened to Agra, and threw himself at the feet of his injured father. Akber at first, transported with rage at the recollection of his baseness, not only loaded him with the bitterest invectives, but struck him several times with great violence, till the astonished and repentant prince, drawing his sword, offered himself to plunge it in the bosom contaminated by filial ingratitude. This apparent contrition melted into tenderness the relenting king; he forgave him the multiplied offences he had committed against his paternal and sovereign authority, and completely restored him to favour; but at the same time took the wisest precautions to prevent the possibility of his engaging in any similar designs during the remainder of his reign.

That reign now hastened swiftly to its close, for not long after, according to my author, in compliance with the detestable policy often adopted in arbitrary governments to remove by poison, and often under the roof of apparent hospitality, those whom it would be dangerous to attack with open force; having invited a very distinguished and powerful lord of his court who had given him just cause of offence, to a regale of opium after an entertainment, he contrived that a part, which he intended for his guest, should be poisoned. It is generally taken throughout the East in form of pills, whose size is proportioned to the habits and option of the consumer;

and two pills being accordingly prepared, he gave the sound one by mistake to the omrah, and swallowed the infectious one himself. The violence with which it was meant to act upon another soon operated with too fatal certainty upon himself, and resisting all the force of medicine, in a few days carried him out of "that world through which he had moved with so much lustre," on the 13th of October, 1605, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign.* Before his senses entirely failed him he sent for his son Selim, and finding his dissolution not far distant, put his own rich turban on the prince's head, and girded him with the victorious sword of his grandfather Humaioon.

Akber may be justly ranked in fame with the greatest legislators and heroes of antiquity. His personal valour and presence of mind, upon all occasions, were astonishing.† With one vigorous arm he repelled the barbarians of the north, and with the other, conquered the war-trained mountaineers of the south. The Khan of Uzbek Tartary trembled on his throne at the name of Akber; the determined race of Rajapouts bowed before him; and the sovereigns of Visiapore and Golconda exhausted their treasures to appease his resentment. His generosity and clemency were alike unbounded. To him may be attributed the glory of establishing on the firm basis of united wisdom and equity, that mighty empire, of which Baber

* De Laet, p. 213. This is the account of my author, but it is a mode of death so unworthy of the great Akber, that I am much more inclined to adopt, as true, that of Mr. Gladwin, prefixed to his History of Jehanguiire, that he died a *natural death*, being seized on the 13th of August with a violent fever, under which he languished till the 13th of October, 1605, when he expired.

† As Akber was hunting once near Narvar, a great royal tygress, with five young ones, took the road before him. Akber advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king, having meditated his blow, spurred on his horse towards the fierce tygress, whose eyes flamed with rage, and with one stroke of his sabre cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead at his feet. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 221.

laid the foundation in Hindostan ; which Humaioon extended, but which it was left to himself to perfect.

In civil and domestic concerns he was a bright exemplar to all the potentates of the earth. The Ayeen Akbery contains the noblest institutes ever promulged for the government of an Asiatic empire, and at the same time abounds with the most enlarged and liberal sentiments in religion and morals, at a period, and in a country, in which the former was polluted by the basest superstition, and the latter had become almost an empty name. The professor of Mohammedism, while he shuddered at the consequence of an omitted ablution, scrupled not to commit acts of the most sanguinary atrocity ; and wallowed in all the turpitude of incestuous and unnatural lust. Instead of exterminating, with the remorseless fury of his bigotted predecessors, the race of patient and timid Hindoos, trampling to the earth their beloved idols, the symbols of the attributes of God, and plundering and burning their august and venerable shrines, Akber nobly and wisely extended to them the tolerating system of their own benevolent creed ; gave inviolable security to their persons, and unshaken stability to their property. He was also, in a high degree, the friend and patron of letters and genius, of which Abul Fazil and many other learned men, caressed and pensioned at his court, are illustrious proofs. He ardently encouraged commerce both domestic and foreign ; and, if we may believe the Portugueze historians, he not only allowed the merchants of their nation, settled at Agra, most extensive immunities, but built them a church in that city. In Fraser's more authentic publication may be seen the translation of a very curious letter from this monarch to the king of Portugal, dated A. H. 990, or A. D. 1582, in which he requests of him to send him an Arabic or Persian translation of the scriptures, and with it proper persons to explain its genuine principles. That this letter, as Fraser hints, never went farther than Goa, is a circumstance, on many accounts, greatly to

be lamented. * In short, the history of Asia scarcely exhibits a parallel to Akber, either in the extent and grandeur of his designs, the vigour and wisdom of his counsels, his moderation in peace, or his success and glory in war. The verdure of the double laurel which he obtained in the field of science and arms still blooms with unfading lustre; a lustre that illumines, though it can no longer animate, the fallen descendants of the great Timur.

JEHANGUIRE, FOURTH MOGUL EMPEROR.

Selim Shah who now, according to the practice usual with the Mogul monarchs of assuming some distinguished title when they ascend the throne, took the name of Jehanguire, or Conqueror of the World, was born at Fettiapore on the 29th of August, 1569, and was crowned emperor of Hindostan on the 21st of October, 1605, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. † Though so decidedly pointed out by the last act of his father's life as his immediate successor, there were at that time about the court, certain factious omrahs, who, dreading his vengeance for their former opposition, used every effort to exalt to the imperial dignity Sultan Khosro, his son, to the exclusion of the father. The prince himself, young, inconsiderate, and intoxicated with ambition, eagerly grasped at the flattering offer; and when, at length, after considerable delays, the ceremony of inauguration had taken place, and through the fidelity of Akber's chief ministers, Jehanguire seemed firmly seated on the throne, Khosro, with a chosen train of young nobles warmly attached to his cause, made his escape by night from Agra, and retired towards Lahore.

* See Fraser's *Mogul Emperors*, p. 11.

† See Fraser's *Mogul Emperors*, p. 24; and the *History of Jehanguir*, translated from a Persian manuscript, (the *TOOZEK JEHANGERY*), by Francis Gladwin, Esq. quarto, Calcutta printed, 1788.

In the mean time the most splendid embassies daily arrived from all the neighbouring kingdoms to congratulate the new emperor on his accession to a throne, which, by Akber's vast conquests, surpassed all the thrones of Asia in its unlimited extent, in the power annexed to it, and in the almost exhaustless treasures that formed its revenue. The former was acknowledged without a murmur through fifteen large provinces, formerly as many flourishing kingdoms, able to send into the field for the defence of the empire three hundred thousand horse, and an equal number of foot; while the latter amounted to above fifty millions of pounds sterling. The presents brought on this occasion were of an enormous amount, equal to the high rank of the donors, and worthy of the potent sovereign for whom they were intended. Those from the tributary kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, were distinguished by their transcendant value. *

Jehanguire had reigned only six months, when this rebellion of his eldest son broke out. During Akber's last illness, Rajah Mansing, Khosro's maternal uncle, and Azem Khan his father-in-law, in conjunction with others of the omrahs, who, from having always opposed the interest of Sultan Selim, dreaded that when he came to the throne, they should become the victims of his resentment, had instilled ambitious notions into the mind of young Khosro, which led him to form the resolution of disputing the crown with his father, when a favourable opportunity should offer; and which they persuaded him was not then far distant, as the nobility in general were caballing, in order to be ready to take advantage of the confusion that might naturally be looked for at the death of Akber. But the unexpected reconciliation which fortunately took place between the Emperor and Sultan Selim, dissolved the conspiracy, and put him in quiet possession of the empire. The rebellious designs of Khosro, and his party, being thereby frustrated, he was

* De Laet, p. 215.

observed to be uncommonly melancholy, and thoughtful, as if meditating some desperate enterprize; and all his father's endeavours to gain his confidence and affection, by every act of royal favour and paternal indulgence, had no effect upon him. He continued in this state till April 8th, 1606; when, at night, under pretence of visiting the tomb of his grandfather, Akber, he departed as before stated, from the fort of Agra, with about an hundred and fifty horsemen.

Equal to the daring spirit that prompted them to rebel, were the outrages which he and his followers committed, and the devastations they spread in their progress from the capital to the walls of Lahore. The country houses of the merchants were plundered, and themselves compelled to bear arms; the peaceful peasants were likewise forced to exchange the implements of agriculture for the target and the sabre; the royal stables were every where broken open, and the finest horses made subservient to the uses of the army; while the public magazines were rifled for its support, and the whole country bore the aspect of desolation. Providence seemed to exert itself on this occasion, that he, whose unprovoked rebellion embittered the last days of an affectionate father, should now feel in the early revolt of his own posterity, the pangs he had occasioned. Indeed the curse denounced against disobedience seemed entailed on himself and his posterity; for till the death of Aurengzeb, who waded through the blood of his murdered family to the throne of Hindostan, nothing but jealousy and distraction prevailed among the several branches of the royal line. The future pages of this history will prove the justice of this assertion. But he who could justify rebellion to his own mind, wanted not either will or resolution to punish it in others with implacable severity. Ibrahim Khan, the newly appointed governor, having previously arrived at Lahore, closed the gates of the fortress against the prince, whose army by this time increased to twenty thousand

men, encamped without, and vigorously besieged it. Successive bodies of horse and foot were sent from Agra to reduce the rebels, and some amicable proposals were made by the emperor, rather to gain time than to effect a reconciliation, for as he knew the fomenters of this mischief, he was determined to make a severe example of them in the beginning of his reign, that the terror of their punishment might deter others from similar attempts. These being rejected by the high-minded Khosro, Jehanguire began his march at the head of an army too powerful to be contended with by troops so hastily collected and so inexperienced in war. The very dread of their approach unnerved the sinews of those rash insurgents, who being attacked by Mortiza Khan, with only about three hundred of the advanced guard of the imperial army, began to give way on every side, and on the near approach of the king the very standard-bearer threw down the prince's standard to the ground, and the rout became universal. The prince himself, in his flight towards Lahore, was taken prisoner by his pursuers, and being placed on an elephant with Mohabet Khan, was conducted safely to the royal camp.

The next morning Khosro was brought before his father, with a chain of gold fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Jengis. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg, and on his left Abdulrahim. Khosro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and Abdulrahim in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, under the scorching sun, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated: but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water, by the friends of Abdulrahim, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor's pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahore two rows of stakes were fixed in

the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khosro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers. At the dreadful sight of three hundred of his faithful friends, and principal adherents, thus writhing on stakes, or suspended on gibbets, the generous, but ill-fated prince was filled with horror, and declared to his father that he alone deserved death, and that life would become an intolerable burthen to him after being the cause of the execution of so many brave men. In compassion to his age, that life indeed was spared, but he was doomed to perpetual confinement; and the omrahs in constant attendance at court, were alternately appointed to guard him. *

This determination in Jehanguire to act in the spirit of severe justice to offending criminals, was rendered evidently conspicuous at an early period of his reign, for according to the native historian † the first public order which he issued, on his accession to the throne, was for the construction of the golden chain of justice. It was made of pure gold, and measured thirty yards, consisting of sixty links, weighing four maunds of Hindostan. One end of the chain was suspended from the royal bastion of the fortress of Agra, and the other fastened in the ground near the side of the river. The intention of this extraordinary invention was, that if the officers of the courts of law were partial in their decisions, or dilatory in the administration of justice, the injured parties might come themselves to this chain, and making a noise, by shaking the links of it, give notice that they were waiting to represent their grievances to his majesty.

In order to protect Agra, and prevent further insurrections, the Emperor, at the time he marched against Sultan Khosro, had sent orders for Sultan Parvez, his second son, and Asoph Khan, to repair

* De Laet, *India Vera*, p. 217 ; and Gladwin's *Hist. of Jehanguir*, p. 9.

† Gladwin's *Jehangery*, p. 96.

to that quarter with part of the army; leaving the rest employed against the Ranna. Fortunately, before Parvez received these orders, he had concluded a peace with the Ranna; who had sent to the Prince one of his relations, named Nagh, to tender his submission to the Emperor. Khosro's rebellion was so suddenly quashed, that Parvez had not time to reach Agra, before he received fresh orders from his father to repair to Lahore.

The Emperor, in 1607, marched with his army to Cabul, in order to reduce to obedience the refractory Afghans in that neighbourhood; and about this time Asoph Khan was promoted to the high office of Vizier, on which occasion he presented to his Majesty a ruby, valued at forty thousand rupees. A few days after the Emperor's arrival at Cabul, he visited the tomb of Baber, and gave directions for laying out an extensive garden adjoining to that of Shere Ara, to which he gave the name of Jehan Ara, or, the ornament of the world, and ordered that the river of Cabul should be brought, by a canal, through this new garden.

The Emperor, whilst he was at Cabul, sent for Sultan Khosro, and ordering his fetters to be taken off, permitted him to walk in the garden of Shere Ara, and seemed every way disposed to receive him again into favour; but on his return to Lahore, when he arrived at Soorkhab, it was discovered that Khosro had kept up a correspondence with some conspirators, who had resolved to assassinate the Emperor when he was hunting. In this conspiracy were concerned the *Etemadowlet*, or high treasurer of the empire, and many other grantees in great esteem at court, whose business being occasionally to guard the captive prince, were so won upon by his affability, and affected by his change of fortune, that they combined to make this daring effort for his release; but they were discovered and all beheaded except the former, who purchased his pardon at the price of eleven lacs of rupees. To put a final end to these cabals, Jehanguire ordered the prince to be deprived of sight; a barbarous

practice in Eastern countries, by which the miserable victim of despotic jealousy is for ever rendered incapable of reigning. Terry and Sir Thomas Roe, however, who were at the court of this king, and often saw Khosro, unite in saying, that he was not entirely blinded by the cruel operation, and add that his person and manners were very engaging.

Satiated with the toils of the chase at Cabul, and wearied with seditious contests, the king returned to Agra to solace himself in the softer toils of love. Inflamed with the irresistible charms of the fair Nourmahal, wife of Shere Afkun, a brave and gallant officer, who had fled from Persia into Hindostan, and whom he basely sacrificed to obtain possession of her, this infatuated monarch resigned into her hands, during the greatest part of his remaining reign, both the sceptre of government, and the dominion over his faculties. This celebrated lady, the fame of whose beauty has resounded through Europe as well as Asia, was the daughter of the pardoned traitor above mentioned, whom he afterwards raised to the highest pitch of grandeur and affluence a subject could enjoy. He likewise, to gratify this fair sultana, whose ambition was at least as great as her beauty, promoted all her kindred to posts of the highest trust and honour, to the great disgust of the ancient omrahs, who beheld with rage and envy the aggrandizement of this new family of foreign original and mean descent. The ardent passion which Jehanguire early entertained for her, had led him to solicit her of her father in the life time of Akber, but she was already betrothed to Shere Afkun, and Akber could not be induced by any considerations, however flattering, to violate the faith mutually and solemnly plighted. With his power the passion of the emperor increased, and at last so far got the ascendant over him, as to make him determined on its gratification at whatever hazard and whatever price.

After the violent act above related, he persevered in the most extravagant measures to secure her affection, and leaving his palace

with unprecedented condescension for an emperor of Hindostan, would loiter whole nights in her company at the house of the *Etemadawlet*, or high-treasurer, her father. Nourmahal herself, after her marriage with the emperor, convinced of her influence over the enslaved prince, as well as of their dislike, by no means endeavoured to conciliate her numerous and powerful enemies by manners engaging and condescending; but carried herself with a haughty air towards the courtiers, and made the authority she had usurped solely subservient to her selfish and arbitrary purposes. Her father possessed the most distinguished post for honour and profit in the empire; her brother, Asoph Khan, being vizier, was absolute at court, no step however trifling or important being taken without his concurrence; Hassem Khan, who had married her sister, was governor of Agra, while the numerous tribe of her relatives monopolized the most valuable places in the government. Surrounded with these, she managed every thing by her sole despotic will; and the emperor was almost a cypher in his own dominions.

On the solar anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, in A. D. 1610, when he entered into the forty-second year of his age, he was weighed in the royal apartments, with peculiar splendour, eleven times; the first time against gold, and the other ten against silver, and other metals, perfumes, exhilarating drugs, &c. This ceremony of weighing the Emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice in every year, on the solar, and on the lunar anniversary of his birth; and the gold and other articles are bestowed in charity.*

At one of these ceremonies of weighing the Mogul (the reigning monarch, Jehanguire,) the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was present, and has thus described it.

“ The second of September was the king's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the king is weighed against jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and many other rich and

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguir, p. 12.

rare articles, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Brahmins. He was so splendid in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, with many gilt banners and flags, carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by, most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest shew of beasts I ever saw. The Mogul himself was sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. On a sudden the king rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs, all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of Health to the King! as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword, and hung on his buckler, set

all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw; above his elbows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine *semain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of England, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold, set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture of some garnished with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palankins, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes

a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankins were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Nourmahal, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger sons. Then followed about twenty elephants-royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun. Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of silver, gilt satin, and taffety."

It has been before observed, that Raja Ranna was the most powerful of the native princes of Hindostan. His dominions bordered on Malva, were full of mountains, inhabited by rajapouts, or warlike tribes of native Indians, who secure in their strong holds, generally situated on the summit of inaccessible rocks, from time immemorial had defied all the power both of Patans and Moguls entirely to subdue them. Akber penetrated far into their desolate domain, and by the conquest of Chitore spread a general terror among them ; but as he had other objects to engage his attention, more important than the persecution of those mountainous marauders, for they lived principally by plundering the caravans, he was contented with the submission of their chief, and left them in their former state. Jehanguire had himself, indeed, been sent against them near the close of his reign, but his own revolt prevented their subjugation. Having begun to renew their depredations, the generals Mohabet Khan, Abdol Khan, and finally Sultan Khorum, his youngest son, (afterwards Shah Jehan) were successively sent with great armies for the reduction of that territory, in which, after the most resolute and prolonged resistance on the part of the rajahs ; after levelling many lofty forests, cutting through many steep rocks, and blowing up many castles deemed impregnable, they at last succeeded. Raja Ranna himself, by the mediation of Sultan Khorum, obtained his pardon of the emperor ; but it was not

granted without presents of inestimable value, and the detention of his son Kurren at court, as a perpetual hostage for his future obedience.*

These three illustrious personages were shortly after sent into Deccan, to assist Khan Khanna in the prosecution of a war conducted on the enemy's part by Malek Amber, general and vizier of the Nizam. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda having neglected for some time to remit to court their annual tribute, were now likewise called upon by those commanders for that mark of homage to the emperor. But instead of remitting it they joined the Nizam's forces, and prepared to oppose the march of the Mogul army into his territories. Sultan Khorum, who on this expedition, for the first time, by permission of the emperor, assumed the name of Shah Jehan, and the other commanders, not at all dismayed at so formidable a combination, made those immediate arrangements that were necessary in this emergency, and first retaking all those strong posts in Deccan, and the neighbouring provinces of Candeish and Berar, which Malek in his first rapid incursions had conquered from the Moguls, moved forward in excellent order to meet the enemy. The prudent general for some time declined a general engagement, and retreated towards the capital; but being closely pressed was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost; he again rallied his forces, and was still unfortunate; at length his troops meeting a complete overthrow, the triumphant army entered the metropolis of Deccan, plundered it of immense riches, and in revenge for the Nizam's perfidy, levelled his sumptuous palace with the ground. The rebellious kings of Visiapore and Golconda, after paying the indebted tribute, were for the present no further molested: the time for the reduction of those wealthy and populous kingdoms into provinces of the empire was not yet arrived. The immortal Aurengzebe was not yet born.

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguire, p. 31.

That very moment in which Sultan Khorum assumed the title of Shah Jehan, or king of the world, he seems to have discarded from his mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an unjust and boundless ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning; and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour of a king.

But nothing less than a real crown would fully content his grasping ambition. The emperor had for some time removed his court to Lahore, with a design to make that city the metropolis of his empire. The imperial treasures, for better security, were left in the stronger castle of Agra. Having, however, strongly fortified, as well as greatly beautified that city, he sent Asoph Khan, brother of Nourmahal, with a strong guard to escort them thither. Well knowing the only channel in which honours and distinction flowed, Shah Jehan had condescended to marry the daughter of Asoph, and by this politic measure had secured to his interest the power he despised. There was hardly an omrah likewise about his father's court who did not receive a pension from himself. A few only remained faithful to their sovereign. To support the vast efflux of wealth necessary towards preserving this corrupt influence, to which even the accumulated income of his rich governments was by no means adequate, he now resolved to avow his treasonable intentions, by seizing on the treasures of the empire during their transportation from Agra to Lahore. Asoph, between whom and the Prince an intimate correspondence was kept up, anxious to aggrandize a person so nearly allied, coincided in the measure; and both the time and place for the seizure were mutually agreed upon. To accomplish this bold design, Shah Jehan summoned Bickermajeet, governor under himself of Guzzurat, his most faithful commander, and set out from Brampoor with seventy thousand horse, under the pretence of hunting, and made such great expedition that he arrived at Fetti pore in fifteen days; but intelligence of this event arriving at Agra, Ethabar Khan governor of Agra, justly suspicious of his intentions, refused to deliver the treasure to the king's order, and prepared against the consequences by getting ready the cannon, and walling up the gates of the castle. The Prince immediately detached Bickermajeet, his head general, and the greater part of his army to Agra, to effect that by open force which he meant to

have accomplished by surprize. The object, however, was not obtained; for the castle was fortified to hold out against a long siege, and the crisis was too big with important events to admit of such delay; yet, by the plunder of the palaces of some great omrahs in the king's interest, a very considerable sum was carried back to Fetti-pore. This sum the prudent prince distributed among the soldiers, to animate them to pursue with unabated vigour that greater object to which his hopes aspired. He had gone too far to recede, and success or failure depended on the exertions of the moment.

In the mean time couriers had been dispatched in haste to Jehanguire to acquaint him with these transactions, which threw the whole court into the utmost consternation, as there was but a small force at Lahore; and the Prince, having left Fetti-pore, was rapidly advancing to give his father battle. Summonses were immediately issued, for all the neighbouring governors to hasten with their troops to the assistance of the emperor; and Mohabet Khan from Cabul, and Khan Jehan from Multan, soon joined the royal army, and made it considerable. The two armies met near Delhi, and a battle was fought, in which Abdollah Khan, and many of the corrupted omrahs deserted to the Prince; but still, by the firmness of Mohabet Khan, and the exertions of Sultan Shehriar, the king's youngest son, victory declared in favour of the imperial army. At one time Shah Jehan's forces had manifestly the advantage, which Bickermajeet observing, rushed forward with a few chosen troops to the very tent of the king, whom they seized; but the guards making an united and desperate effort for his release, rescued him, and the heroic general, with his comrades, was in an instant cut to pieces. The fate of the general being known, contributed greatly to the dispersion of the army he commanded.*

The Prince, undiscouraged by this defeat, resolved to persevere in the course he had begun; and though by the mediation of Khan

* De Laet, p. 248. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 69; and Herbert, p. 82.

Khanna, an interview soon after took place between father and son at Ajmere, when they were apparently reconciled; yet, on finding his governments were not to be continued to him, he again retired southward to recruit his army, and renew the war. By that authority which he had before exerted, and was now resolved not tamely to surrender, he appointed Abdollah Khan, who had continued faithfully to adhere to his interests, to the government of Guzzurat, vacant by the death of Bickermajeet, and sent him with the new raised army into that province to oppose Azim Khan and Sultan Bolaki, the young and only son of the unfortunate Khosro, who, at the head of the royal forces, were in full march towards Ahmedabad. So secure had Shah Jehan imagined himself of the crown for which he contended, that he had caused a sumptuous throne to be built by the most skilful artificers at that city, on whose erection he had lavished immense sums; adorning it with the choicest jewels, and with a profusion of gold in decorations. On this occasion he exhibited his early taste for that splendour and magnificence which afterwards marked his reign, and chiefly displayed itself in that wonderful production, in which all the riches of the world seemed to be concentrated, the famous Peacock Throne. What was meant for the ornament of a triumph, was now converted into the means of his discomfiture, for Shaffi Khan, the king's new appointed governor, broke to pieces that pageant of grandeur, and, with the sum it produced, procured an army of such force as enabled him to defeat Abdollah Khan, without the assistance of the king, and compelled him to retreat to Brampour. *

Jehanguire, after his victory over Shah Jehan, had marched to Ajmere first, and thence to Agra, where Sultan Parvez, his eldest son, greatly incensed at the presumption of his brother, met him with a powerful army, which he was eager to employ for his reduction. The king equally incensed, or rather wrought up to a

* De Laet, p. 254.

pitch of frantic rage at this second revolt, not only permitted, but charged him and the omrahs to go in pursuit of his rebellious son, and bring him bound before him. The Sultan lost no time in executing the commission he so earnestly requested of humbling a haughty brother. The rival sultans came to an engagement at Mando, seventy-five miles to the north of Brampour, and the shock was equal to the implacable hatred they bore each other. Both accomplished wonders in the field, and the event was long doubtful: but in the end Shah Jehan's troops, that were originally much smaller in number than his antagonists, being thinned by great desertions, both of men and commanders, and wearied with the violence of ineffectual exertions, were compelled to retreat. Shah Jehan attempted to make a second stand at the river Nerbudda; but here Khan Khanna himself proved treacherous to this cause, which indeed he never espoused with ardour; while Parvez crossing the stream, pursued him with indefatigable activity, drove his scanty and routed forces before him, and at last fixed his victorious standards on the ramparts of Brampour. Many attempts were afterwards made, both by force and artifice, to secure the person of the prince, but he fortunately escaped; while fugitive and desponding, he wandered far into the territories of Deccan, and found in Malek Amber a more generous enemy than he had himself proved to that monarch in his distress. The emperor, though in that respect disappointed, was filled with joy at the downfall of an enemy who could only rise by the depression of himself, and heaped honours and riches on his son and deliverer.

During these intestine commotions, two formidable foes of a foreign kind, allured by the indolent character of Jehanguire, so contrary to that of his predecessor, appeared in force on the northern frontiers of the empire; for in the first place, the Emperor having suffered himself to be lulled into security by the warm professions of inviolable friendship, so repeatedly tendered to him by Shah

Abbas, had lately kept but a small garrison in the important fortress of Candahar, which offered such a temptation to the Persian monarch, as he was not able to resist. He therefore suddenly brought a large army against it, and Abdalezeez Khan, the governor, having no force capable of making resistance against such a mighty attack, surrendered the fort. In the second place; those numerous tribes of Uzbeks that wandered over the plains of Great Tartary, had long viewed with an envious eye the rich and fertile vales of Hindostan, but the terror of Akber's all-conquering arms deterred them from rushing on the inviting prey. That dreaded object being removed, the khan of that country, once so renowned in history, poured his hardy and rapacious legions over the province of Cabul, and was directing his course towards its capital, when he was met by the son of the valiant and loyal Mohabet Khan the viceroy, who, inheriting the undaunted spirit of his father, with twenty thousand horse attacked an enemy nearly double that number, compelled them to quit the field in irrecoverable disorder, and made a dreadful havock of their choicest troops. The destruction which they meditated for others was thus retaliated on themselves; and the Indian governor returned to Cabul, oppressed with a vast booty, and attended by innumerable captives.

The coolness, the verdure, the beauty of Cashmere, made it ever a desirable retreat for the sultans of Hindostan, and thither this luxurious monarch, dissolved in the soft languor of love, delighted to retire. He used to declare that he would rather part with all his dominions than that single province, and caused the ancient history of its kings to be abridged in Persian; a work which Bernier tells us he was about translating. On the borders of a beautiful and spacious lake, situated to the north of the city of Cashmere, he about this time raised a palace of most elegant construction, adorned with every rarity of art and nature; rich cabinets, splendid vases; whatsoever could charm the eye and delight the fancy.

In one of these distant excursions Shah Jehan, who had been collecting forces in Deccan, crossing those dreary and barbarous regions that border eastward on the mountains of Ballagate and Golconda, made an irruption into Bengal, which he over-run with astonishing speed and success. Ibrahim, the viceroy, a man more influenced by avarice than animated by fortitude, made few exertions to oppose the victorious invader, but flying before him, left the richest cities and the strongest castles at his mercy. His own accumulated wealth was enormous, which Shah Jehan seized, and having by that means greatly increased his army, entered without resistance the capital of Patna. Fortune seemed in this instance to favour him as conspicuously as she had before oppressed him, and he resolved to improve to the utmost the advantages which she threw in his way. After plundering Patna of immense treasures he marched towards Dacca, whence Ibrahim Khan, brother-in-law to the former, but still more wealthy and avaricious, and far more courageous, had issued with a considerable body of horse to check his career. The armies met at Rajamal, and the attack of Ibrahim was so furious and well-conducted, that the prince's forces were on the point of flying, when Abdollah Khan, who lay in ambuscade, seasonably rushing forth from his place of retreat, inspired their drooping courage and sustained their broken ranks. The battle was now renewed with tenfold fury. Ibrahim fought for fame, treasure, and life; each was alike dear to him. Shah Jehan had a stake equally important depending on that day's success. At length the greater part of Ibrahim's troops being slain, and the others not having the same motives with their leader to continue the obstinate contest, left him with about five hundred firm adherents to fight the battle out by themselves. These rushed in a body on the enemy, and after selling their lives as dear as possible, were, to a man, cut to pieces. A detachment was then sent under Darab Shah to take possession of Dacca, where, in the public treasury, as well as in the private

coffers of the governor, an amazing heap of gold and silver coin was found ; while Shah Jehan, joined by many neighbouring rajahs, with considerable forces, returned to Patna in triumph. Other detachments were now sent to extort tribute from Benares, Jionpore, and the several cities on or near the Ganges, and Abdollah Khan marching to Allahabad, laid siege to that strong fortress, which was courageously and perseveringly defended by Rustam Khan, the governor.

Tidings of these successes arriving at Cashmere, considerably abated the unrestrained gaiety that reigned in that delightful recess ; but the court were shortly after relieved from their apprehension by the intelligence that Sultan Parvez and Mohabet Khan were advancing with fifty thousand horse to the relief of Allahabad, in addition to whose forces the emperor sent Khan Jehan, governor of Multan, with the northern army. These uniting, formed a force that swept every thing before it. Allahabad was recovered, Patna was retaken, and Shah Jehan, being once more defeated in a general engagement, lost the immense spoil he had collected in even a shorter interval than he had acquired it. He then fled to the frontiers of Golconda, and by the assistance of his steady friend Malek Amber, soon after invested Brampore, which Rostan, whom Parvez had left governor, had newly fortified. As this was his last and only stake, he attacked it with desperate fury, and the place was taken, but lost almost immediately by an unfortunate disagreement between his generals ; while Sultan Parvez, approaching with as much speed as an army of such magnitude would permit him to use, compelled him to raise the siege, and think of bending his stubborn mind to obedience. With this view he sent the keys of those important fortresses, Hassera and Rhotas, which had lately submitted to his brother ; and to appease the wrath of Jehanguire, on the breaking up of his camp, sent to court a hundred of his finest elephants, with his two sons, Sultan Dara and Sultan Sujah,

then very young, as pledges of his future fidelity. The present was accepted; and the two princes, with their governor Roja Jehan, remained at Agra, where they were treated with respect and affection.

This storm had scarcely blown over when another, raised by the turbulent spirit of the empress Nour Jehan, darkened the political hemisphere. Mohabet Khan, a faithful and active servant of the crown, observing in how imperious a manner that high-spirited woman conducted herself towards the king, and the principal omrahs, had remonstrated with his majesty on the subject, with a boldness justified by his eminent services and distinguished rank. The enraged queen, in revenge, procured his dismissal from the army, and his expulsion from the government he enjoyed. Thus undeservedly treated, the disgusted chief leaving Brampour, with his small but faithful army of Rajapouts, retired to Rantimpore, his hereditary domain, (for he was by birth a rajah,) and without meditating any plans of tumult or rebellion, quietly acquiesced in the unjust sentence of his sovereign. But his degradation alone by no means satisfied the arbitrary princess: her sanguinary vengeance demanded the life of the aged veteran. To accomplish his destruction more readily, he was ordered to resign the keys of his castle into the hands of a certain governor, appointed to receive them, and repair himself, attended only by his domestics, to the king at Lahore. The sequel shall be given in the very words of an author of great respectability, often cited by me, and who flourished about the same period. "But Mohabet Khan was no baby, nor would hee suffer such indignities: and thereupon gathers an army of twenty thousand horsemen with which hee set upon them (that is, the Imperial army advancing from Lahore to attack him,) all upon a sudden, as they were passing over a river, and so amazed their army that hee tooke the Mogull prisoner, and conveyed him to a tent, (not, for all the world, purposing any hurt unto him), whom he

“knew to be good, and only abused by Nourmahal, his queene.
“Shee in the interim had passed safely over the river, with most
“part of the Lescar, or army, which shee immediately put into
“battalia, and stood in her owne defence, to expect her mortall
“enemy Mohabet Khan, that straight way gave her battaile, slue
“most of her men, tooke her prisoner, and commanded her head
“off, to satisfie his fury, with her brother’s Asoph Khan, who
“being wiser of the two, in the skirmish fled amayne to a strong
“castle, where he intrenched himselfe till hee had petitioned the
“Mogull for his liberty and reconcilment with Mohabet Khan.
“Who so soone as the battaile was ended, gave orders to his army
“to pursue Asoph Khan, and to behead him; and brought forth
“Queene Nourmahal to receive her judgment, but shee got so
“much favour from Jehangheer, the olde Mogull her doting hus-
“band, that with tears hee beg’d her life, from this his champion,
“who though hee knew she would be destruction to him or his,
“yet to shew his loyaltie to his master, he released her, and became
“friends.”* However this friendship was not of long duration.
The king shortly after, under a pretence of a hunting match, made
his escape from his captor; and Nourmahal, as soon as she was
restored to liberty and her former authority, which by her con-
summate policy she speedily effected, raised an army of fifteen
thousand horse which she sent in pursuit of the Khan, who, resent-
ing the black ingratitude of the king, and still determined to oppose
the ambitious projects of the empress in favour of her son Sultan
Shahriar, † retired to Shah Jehan, who had strongly pressed him to
drop animosity and join his party. Thus these inveterate enemies,
who had for many years entertained the most implacable hatred
against each other, were at length reconciled; and the reconciliation

* Herbert, p. 9; this writer, together with Sir Thomas Roe, and Terry, visited India in this reign, and therefore obtained their information on the spot.

† Sultan Shahriar was the youngest son of Jehanguire, and was married to the daughter of Nourmahal by her former husband.

was more important to the prince, because in the late exigency of his affairs he had been deserted by the former firm supporter of all his measures, Abdol Khan, who, in the belief that his cause was become altogether hopeless, joined the victorious army of Sultan Parvez.

Shah Jehan had temporized ; but at the idea of absolute unqualified obedience, the pride of his soul revolted. During the distractions at court he issued with a new raised army from his retreat in Deccan, and began his depredations in a quarter of the empire that had not yet experienced his ravages. With a fixed design to take immediate advantage of any favourable circumstance which those distractions might afford to his ambition, he hurried northward, to be nearer the scene of action, and besieged Tatta. Though unsuccessful in this enterprize, he still kept hovering about that region, impatiently waiting the event of Mohabet Khan's rebellion, till receiving intelligence of the death of Sultan Parvez and Malek Amber about the same time, he hastened back into Deccan, where Jehan Khan had succeeded to the supreme command in Brampoor, while Mirza Alladin, son of Malek Amber, had ascended the throne of his father. The new monarch continued to him the protection and friendship which he had before experienced in Deccan, and they united their forces to desolate the frontiers of their enemies. Rouzed at this insult to his newly acquired authority, Khan Jehan, with a great army of horse and a proud train of elephants, marched into Deccan, where the politic foe retreated before him, till he had advanced into the heart of the kingdom, when surrounding the incautious general, they put many of his troops to the sword, compelled him to submit to the most dishonourable terms, and return covered with confusion and disgrace to the capital of his government.

The death of Sultan Parvez made the deepest impression on the mind of the afflicted emperor ; his affection as a son had ever been

alike conspicuous with his loyalty as a subject. He was in all points the exact reverse of the haughty, disobedient, aspiring Shah Jehan, and the distinguished virtues which his early life displayed afforded a happy presage of future glory ; but his untimely death for ever destroyed those flattering hopes which the delighted father had indulged, and left him overwhelmed with anguish and despair. The gloom and sadness with which these considerations oppressed him, and the daily intelligence he received of Shah Jehan's open attempts to rend the crown from his aged brow, had such an effect upon him as to shorten his days ; nor could all the delights which his favourite recess of Cashmere (whither he now retired), nor the tender assiduities of Nourmahal, dissipate that profound melancholy which soon took the sole possession of his mind. His peculiar malady, an asthma, and the other infirmities incident to age daily increasing, he fell at length the victim of their united violence ; and having on his death bed, in the most solemn manner, appointed Sultan Shahriar his successor, to the exclusion of Shah Jehan, and obliged the omrahs of his court to swear fidelity to that prince, this unfortunate monarch expired at Bember, in his way to Lahore, on the 27th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.*

The character of Jehanguire exhibits a striking contrast to that of Akber. His former name of Selim, which signifies *peaceful*, was much better suited to this monarch than his latter assumed name of Jehanguire, or the *conqueror of the world*. Indolent, luxurious, effeminate, he possessed no quality that adds splendour to high station, and wasted in his haram those moments which his predecessor devoted to the pursuit of glory and the interests of the empire. By nature not tyrannical or cruel, yet, by the instigation of those about him, and the influence of wine, to which he was immoderately addicted,

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 101. Gladwin's Hist. of Jehanguire, p. 91.

he was often hurried into the most despotic and barbarous proceedings, of which Sir Thomas Roe * gives more than one striking instance. His conduct proved him to be governed by wild caprice alone; without wisdom to judge, or spirit to act, but through the medium of others. The consequence was, that his reign was a

* From the latter author, who resided at the court of Jehanguire nearly a year, I had collected a variety of curious facts relating to this monarch, which want of room and more important events compel me to omit; although in his political character, as ambassador from James the First, he must again be mentioned. They will be found in his own Journal, inserted at the end of the first volume of Churchill's Collection. The following anecdote of him, from a publication less generally known, cannot fail of gratifying the reader. It is from those Memoirs written by himself, which form the basis of Mr. Gladwin's History of his Life, p. 93. "In proof of the honesty with which (in those Memoirs), he confesses his foibles, we shall shew in what manner he speaks of his addiction to drunkenness.—He says, that at the age of fifteen, he went along with his father to Attock, against the tribe of Yousef Zai; when, one day, having separated from him on a hunting party, and being exceedingly thirsty and fatigued, Shah Kuly, the commandant of the artillery, told him, that if he would drink a cup of wine, it would completely refresh him. He followed this man's advice, and drank a cup of sweet white wine, which he found so delicious, that from that time he became fond of liquor, and daily increased his dose, till at length the expressed juice of the grape had no effect upon him. Constantly, for nine years, he drank of double distilled spirits, fourteen cups in the day, and six cups at night, which, he says, were altogether equal to six Hindostan seers, or English quarts. At this time he had hardly any appetite, his daily food being a chicken, with a little bread and some radishes. By a continuance in this course, his nerves became so affected, that he was obliged to get somebody to lift the cup to his mouth. He then discovered his case to Hakeem Hemam, one of his father's physicians and intimate companions, who freely told him, that if he persisted in this way six months longer, his disorder would be absolutely incurable. Having a great affection for this friend, and confiding in his medical skill, he gradually lessened the daily quantity, and reduced the strength of the liquor, by diluting it with two parts of wine; and with the help of a small dose of philonium, at the end of seven years, brought himself to be satisfied with six cups daily. For fifteen years he drank at this rate, taking the whole at night: excepting on Thursday, the day of his accession; and Friday, the most holy night in the week with the Mohammedans, when he totally abstained from strong drink."

perpetual scene of anarchy and discord, from domestic dissention and civil commotion ;—it is most probable that had he been a wiser prince, or more prudent ruler, Shah Jehan would not have disturbed his quiet ; and it is evident Mohabet Khan would not have rebelled. Without piety, or even morality, he wished to be esteemed a prophet ; and without knowledge of its principles, affected to revere the religion of Christ ; for he not only continued the protection which his father had afforded to the Franks settled at Agra, and the other places of his dominion, but caused the sons of Shah Daniel to be baptized, and educated by the Jesuits. This act, however, is imputed by those who relate it, to political motives. On the whole, he was a singular compound of very opposite qualities ; and it is to be imputed to the courage of his generals, rather than to the vigour of his counsels, that the vast dominions which he inherited descended in their original extent to his son.

BOOK V.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF ASIA IS RESUMED,
AND THE CONQUESTS AND SETTLEMENTS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS
ON THE SHORES OF INDIA ARE DETAILED.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of Asiatic Commerce in the middle Ages.—The Genius of Mobammedism, at first unfriendly to its Interest, in a short Period adopts, and vigorously pursues, the Line of Traffic which it fastidiously rejected.—Character of the Abasside Caliphs.—Its chief Marts, Bassora — Aleppo — Cairo — Alexandria.—The Venetian Merchants establish themselves at Alexandria.—The Genoese engross the Trade of Constantinople.—Inveterate Jealousy, and furious Conflicts at Sea, between those rival States.—Caffa, on the Euxine, seized and fortified by the Genoese.—Florence and Pisa become Rivals, in Opulence and Power to the former.—Rise and Establishment of the celebrated Hanseatic League.—The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, pass the Cape of Good Hope, and establish themselves at Calicut, on the Coast of Malabar.—Wars with the Samorin.—Alfonso Albuquerque.—Assault and Capture of Goa.—Conquest of Malacca, and the Moluccos,—of Ceylon,—of Ormuz. Death of Albuquerque.—They establish themselves at Macao and Japan.—Degeneracy of the Portuguese, and consequent Decline of their Power in India.

HAVING in the Sixth Volume of the Indian Antiquities,* in a general way, considered the origin and progress of navigation and

* Part II. on the Phœnician and Ancient Greek Commerce.

commerce in the Eastern world, and in a more particular manner as connected with India, one of its most important empires ; having also, in the early pages of this History, traced the latter as carried on by the Alexandrian Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines, * down nearly to the period of the Emperor Justinian and the birth of Mohammed, I intend to devote this chapter to the further investigation of that important subject, and the history of the EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS on the coasts and Islands of the Indian continent. On so vast a theme, though the limits of my work compel me to be rather concise, yet I trust it will be found to contain the substance of all that is necessary to be recorded in a history *professedly general*. For the gratification of those who require more particular and minute details, many respectable and authentic publications on these subjects have already been given to the world, and may with ease be consulted.

Equally hostile to letters and to commerce was the first dreadful eruption of the superstitious zeal and impetuous valour of the Mohammedan chieftains. The unsocial spirit of that religion for a time disdained all intercourse with the enemies of the Prophet ; the gates of their cities were shut against the Christian merchants, and their harbours against their vessels. But when their arms had acquired to them the undisturbed possession of the finest provinces of Asia, and the fury of their zeal had in a great degree subsided ; and, in particular, when the immense sources of wealth opened to them by an enlarged commerce with the other kingdoms of Asia and Europe, were gradually and clearly perceived, they became as strenuous advocates as they had previously been opponents to the cause of both. In respect to literature, some of the best Greek authors, translated into Arabic, were studied and admired. Colleges and observatories were every where erected ; the genius and erudition of the Christians became respected ; and, if all the freedom

* See of this History Vol. I. Chapter ii. p. 46.

and commercial privileges enjoyed by the *faithful* were, from motives of policy, denied them, the dreadful penalties denounced against them by former despots were greatly mitigated, and the chains of their oppression broken. An indiscriminating and sanguinary tyrant, indeed, might occasionally arise, and cause them to feel his iron scourge, but the illustrious dynasty of the Abassides were, in general, distinguished by their candid and liberal conduct to the virtuous, the learned, and the industrious of every faith and nation. In the glorious reign of AL MAMOON particularly, at an early period of the ninth century, a variety of valuable Greek authors, on the subject of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, appeared in elegant Arabic versions, * their works having been purchased for this express purpose by that liberal and magnificent monarch; and the interests of literature continued for the most part to be holden sacred by his successors in that line, till its extinction.

With respect to the gradual and increasing attention of the Arabians to the promotion of commerce, we have already seen BASSORA, one of the proudest marts of Asia, situated on the great stream, formed by the conflux of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, erected by the sagacious policy of the Caliph Omar, so early as the year of our Lord 636, with a view to monopolize the entire Indian trade, that entered Persia by its celebrated gulf, and was intended to be dispersed partly by those rivers, and partly by the caravans that traded to Aleppo, over that empire, Syria, and the most distant regions of Asia. Of this vast, this lucrative commerce, carried on by the way of that gulf, with India, the Mohammedan traders, first Arabian then Persian, continued the jealous and uninterrupted possessors, till the unexpected appearance in those seas of the Portuguese in the year 1498. The footing gained in the succeeding periods by the Arabian generals in Cambay, Guzzurat, and along

* Vide Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 40. Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 165, et D'Herbelot, article Almamoun.

the banks of the Indus by those generals, who, on national grounds, excluded the navigators of other countries as much as possible from the shores of India, was the cause of their enjoying the traffic so long without a rival. The importation into Persia of the rich produce of Gangetic Hindostan, and China, by the route of Lahore and Candahar, was for a time also wholly engrossed by them; while the Greek and Armenian merchants, who trafficked in that part of India, exiled from the accustomed marts of the south, were compelled, at great increased expence, to procure Indian commodities in far more northern latitudes, and for security, to transport them to Europe by the old circuitous route of the Oxus and the Caspian sea. I have already mentioned this famous route before, and shall repeat it here, as it possibly may not be long before it is revived. Up the Indus, to the country of the Bactrians and the river Icarus, according to Pliny, was a voyage of *seven* days only; the goods were then embarked on the Oxus, which falls into the Caspian; they were then transported across that stormy sea to the mouth of the great river Cyrus (now the *Kur*), whence, in four or five days, they were conveyed by land-carriage to the river Phasis (still called the *Faz*), that falls into the Black Sea in Mingrelia, the ancient COLCHUS. *

As the sentiments and conduct of the Mohammedans towards the Christians grew less rigid, the latter were, in time, again permitted to partake of the advantages of the great inland trade from Agra, by Candahar, to Ispahan; but Bassora and the Persian Gulf still remained in the entire possession of the Arabians. At a far later period than the foundation of Bassora, viz. 968, with equal policy we see the chief of another celebrated Mohammedan dynasty erect in Egypt the great city of CAIRO, or AL KAHIRA, *the victorious*, by which they effectually commanded the whole trade of that empire, consisting also, for the most part, of the rich productions of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 17.

exhaustless India. That trade, thus again flourishing in full vigour, and flowing in its ancient channel, marked out by the Ptolemies, must necessarily have passed Cairo to Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of an ingenious and adventurous race, who must presently become the objects of our consideration.

In this manner, partly impelled by the ardour of religious zeal to make converts, and partly by the persevering and undaunted spirit of ambition and avarice, they pursued with unabated activity the projects to which both gave birth in all the neighbouring countries and islands on the Indian seas. They early obtained possession of the important harbour of Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay; on the distant coast of Malacca, and at Sumatra, they were known as merchants, and feared as conquerors; their triumphant fleets had sailed round the Moluccos, with whose princes, especially those of Tidor and Ternate, they entered into a treaty of strict amity and commerce; and, by the Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century, are even said to have secured a settlement in Canton; and to have been dispersed in vast numbers throughout the great empire of China.*

By the adventurous race just mentioned, the Oriental reader will immediately perceive that I mean the VENETIANS, who, on the utter subversion of the Roman power in the west, by the irresistible swarms of barbarians that inundated Italy, by gradual and indefatigable exertions had raised a great state, as it were, from the bosom of the ocean, and whom we find actively engaged, so early as the seventh century, in an extensive traffic with the Eastern world for all its most valuable commodities; nor did their connection and commerce with it entirely cease during the most turbulent periods of the Saracen invasions of Egypt, Persia, and Syria, though the course in which it flowed often varied with the fluctuating

* Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 167, 168, et seq.

circumstances of the times, and the rapid vicissitude of events. By unremitting perseverance, by alternate fortitude and prudence, but, above all, by incessant efforts to become potent as a naval power, the Venetians gradually became at once useful and formidable to their Mohammedan rivals. Mutual interest and similar maritime pursuits gradually led to the mitigation, at least, if not to the extinction of mutual prejudice. The overflowing warehouses of Alexandria, and the increasing demands for the delicacies and luxuries of India, of the great and voluptuous capitals of Europe, conjointly operated towards the establishment of a firm commercial connection between the jarring sects upon as just and liberal principles as, in their relative situations, could well be expected. In this manner, then, was the commerce with India, under the early Saracen and Mohammedan sovereigns, through Egypt, carried on for a long series of years. The Arabian monopolizers bringing from the Malabar coast to the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea, the silk and cotton manufactures, the precious gems, drugs, and spices of India, where they were purchased by Egyptian factors, who transported them down the Nile to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants again purchased them at high rates, and became the enriched carriers of them throughout the whole western world. The happy consequences of these vigorous exertions to all the parties concerned should never be forgotten to be impressed by an historian on the minds of a great commercial people: the Alexandrian merchants became the most renowned for wealth upon earth; the Venetians lived with the pomp and splendour of princes; and the annual revenue of the Sultans of Egypt, who encouraged and established this commerce, are stated by Al Makin to have been no less than three hundred millions of crowns of gold! Its present indolent sovereigns, with all their multiplied oppression, can only extort from its toiling sons about three millions.

The holy and ensanguined fury that in the succeeding period of

the crusades armed all Europe against Asia, and in which the State of Venice, then its first maritime power, was compelled to take a principal share, for a time obstructed the channel of this lucrative traffic, and proved the occasion of once more excluding the Christian vessels from the port of Alexandria. No more direct proof of my former assertion, that the Mohammedans *bad*, in fact, from interested or other motives, softened the rigour of their despotism towards the Christians can be given, than that, long previous to this period, they had connived at the residence of numerous families of that sect at Jerusalem, and permitted pilgrims journeying thither either for devotion or traffic, in security to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Heavy imposts were undoubtedly levied upon those pilgrims, but still their avarice of Christian gold allowed them not to close the gates of its most venerated sanctuary against the enraptured adorers of a crucified Saviour. About this period, however, A. D. 1096, as we have before intimated, Syria was conquered from the Arabs by the Seljukian Turks, and Sultan Solyman, of that warlike dynasty, having fixed his capital at Nice, in the Lesser Asia, behaved to the Christians settled in Palestine, and especially those resident in Jerusalem, with extreme cruelty. This conduct, so different from that of his predecessors on the Syrian throne, excited the pity and indignation of the pious pilgrims who resorted thither from Europe, and particularly of PETER surnamed the HERMIT, who, on his return to the West, armed with the reigning Pope's authority, fired with revenge, and roused to war, all the princes of Christendom, in that frantic expedition which deprived Europe of a million of souls, and drained it of immense treasures. Into the history of this war it is not necessary for us to enter farther than just to state, that the Venetians amply repaid themselves for the temporary loss of the trade of Alexandria, by the monopoly, for a time, of that of Constantinople, which, by the assistance of their powerful navy, under pretensions not the most just, nor by means the most honourable,

was conquered by the princes of the crusades from the Greek emperor, and remained in their possession for nearly sixty years, that prudent nation having, in the partition of the enormous plunder of the Western Empire, secured to themselves Candia, and other islands in the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities of the Hellespont. On these shores the Venetian merchants, during that period, reigned with the pomp and despotism of sovereign princes. Their numerous and triumphant fleets covered the ocean, and its ports alternately displayed the peaceful flag of commerce and the terrific ensigns of war.

When Constantinople, in 1260, was re-conquered from the Latins by Alexius, the general of Palæologus, vigorously assisted by the Genoese, the jealous rivals and sworn foes of the Venetians, the glory of the latter rapidly declined in that region of Asia, nor could they, by all their exertions ever after recover it to the extent in which they had formerly enjoyed it. By the munificent gratitude of the restored Greek emperor, PERA, the chief suburb of Constantinople, was bestowed upon the Genoese, with appendages of almost princely power; their ships lorded it in the Bay of Constantinople, and they absolutely engrossed the commerce of the Ægean and Ionian seas. Thus circumstanced, in the rapid revolutions of eastern empire, the Venetians, again induced by interest to overcome the strong prejudices of habit and religion, resorted to the ancient channels in which commerce had flowed, and to its principal and still most abundant mart for Indian commodities, Alexandria. There guided by reciprocal interest, from a thorough knowledge of what the Alexandrian commerce had, in preceding ages, produced to the Ptolemies, the Roman, and the Caliphate government of Egypt, the sultans of the military Mamaluc dynasty, as powerful to defend as politic to encourage the revived commerce, gave it all the protection which their absolute authority enabled them to give it; and the re-established traffic between the two nations,

though, on the part of the Venetians, loaded with heavy imposts, even to a third of the value of every article of barter, soon rose to a higher point of profit and celebrity than ever it had before reached. Of this assertion no greater proof can be adduced, than that to be found in Al Makin, that the predecessor of Thomam Bey, the last sultan of that dynasty, was able, on his accession, at once to bestow by way of largess on his soldiers, no less a sum than *ten millions of ducats*. * In consequence, the long-fermenting rancour of both religious and political enmity gradually subsided, and public recorded treaties at length gave their solemn sanction to the forbidden intercourse between the disciples of Christ and of Mohammed.

In the mean time, neither the vast revenue produced by the monopoly of the trade of Constantinople, nor the treasures wafted into her coffers from her lucrative settlements at Smyrna, Chios, and other Greek isles ceded to them by Palæologus, could satisfy the boundless avarice and ambition of the sons of Genoa. That rival republic, which, from an equally humble origin with Venice, had about this time arisen, both as a naval and military power, to an astonishing height of pre-eminence amidst the states of Europe, burned with envy at the unexpected success of their Venetian rivals. Though devoted themselves to an insatiable thirst of gain, yet they affected to despise the temporizing maxims, the base servility of the sordid Venetians, so unworthy the character of Christians, and so degrading to the dignity of an independent nation. Inspired with no less assiduity and zeal than themselves to become a great naval power, their arduous exertions were alike fortunate, and they directed the whole thunder of that navy against their haughty rivals and the determined foes of Christianity. The citizens of Genoa, indeed, seemed to have glowed with as much rancour and vengeance against those of Venice, as against the Saracens. During the progressive advance of each to their present period of power

* Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 218, ubi Supra.

and aggrandisement, dreadful were the conflicts maintained on the ocean, during nearly a century, between these potent republics, and terrible the massacres that often took place between them on land. Of these, two remarkable instances may be adduced from history; the one, the dreadful massacre made of the Genoese by the Venetians in the year 1257, at Ptolemais, or Acre, a city taken by the crusaders from the Saracens, where they both had peaceably established their respective factories in different quarters of that great city; but where, from a slight cause, their ancient and smothered animosity broke forth into acts of the most sanguinary ferocity. Victory on this occasion attended the Venetians; a victory recorded on copper-plates fixed into the two columns erected to commemorate it in the square of St. Mark.* The other, that obstinate and bloody contest between the fleets of the two nations that took place in the Adriatic sea in 1298, in which the Venetians lost *eighty-five* out of *ninety-seven* gallies, and beheld with rage and anguish the admiral of Venice and seven thousand seamen taken prisoners. This victory is also commemorated on the part of the Genoese by a great annual festival instituted for that purpose.†

Towards the close of the thirteenth, and through all the fourteenth century, we find the Genoese increasing in wealth and in renown. Not satisfied with the trade of Constantinople, and the Greek dependent islands, they arrogated to themselves an exclusive right to the commerce of the Black Sea. With this view, among other Eastern plunder, they seized upon Caffa, the ancient Theodosia, situated in the country anciently called Chersonesus Taurica, but by the moderns the CRIMEA, a city, for those times, very respectably built and fortified, but which they in a manner re-constructed, adorning it with many sumptuous palaces, surrounding it on the land side with lofty walls, strengthened at intervals with bastions

* See Muratori Rerum Ital. Script. Tom. xxiii, p. 998, et seq.

† Blond Hist. Lib. viii. dec. 2. et Sabellicus, Hist. Rer. Venet. Lib. x. dec. 1.

and towers, stretching far into the sea, enlarging and deepening its capacious port, and erecting on the south side of it a castle impregnable against all the attacks which the rude engineers of that age and of that region could bring against it. Asoph, also, situated at the mouth of the Tanais or Don, the present barrier between the Russian and Turkish empires, was founded by the Genoese, with many others of inferior note. Caffa, however, was, as we may say, their metropolitan city, and long remained in their hands, the most famous emporium on the Euxine for Indian and Tartar commodities, brought thither by way of the Oxus and the Caspian ; but, with their other settlements, was finally conquered from them by the Turks in the year 1474; and by Sir John Chardin is stated still to retain many noble vestiges of its ancient grandeur, and no contemptible remains of its ancient commerce. This respectable traveller says, that during a residence of forty days at Caffa, he saw enter and depart that port above four hundred sail of ships, besides innumerable small-craft. *

On the great theatre of Eastern commerce followed the wealthy republic of FLORENCE, whose illustrious princes of the House of Medici are supposed, from that source, to have derived those exhaustless treasures that enabled them to rival kings in state and splendour, and become in an eminent degree the encouragers of rising arts, and the munificent patrons of dawning science. In the mean time her private citizens, by that active zeal and that unwearyed industry in every branch of trade and manufacture, especially those of silk and wool, which mark the genuine spirit of commercial enterprize, amassed such amazing fortunes as to become the general factors and bankers of Europe. At every court of it the Venetians and Florentines had their agents; and if great and expensive projects, either connected with war or peace, were engaged in by its ambitious sovereigns, *they* advanced the money for carrying it on,

* Chardin's Travels, p. 69 ; English folio, edit. 1686.

the national revenues being pledged for their security, and often at exorbitant rates of interest, which rendered them universally detested by their oppressed subjects, who considered these merchants of Lombardy, by which name the Italian states were then generally known, as the worst of usurers. PISA too, the jealous, and often the successful rival of Genoa on the ocean, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was constantly drawing from its connection with the Eastern world, with whose princes in Syria her valiant sons maintained many fierce and bloody conflicts, enormous wealth of every species, which her fleets distributed over the northern parts of Europe, and especially the British isles, with whom she entered into divers commercial treaties still extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and in 1485 was, in return, honoured with the residence of the first consul that ever was sent out of Britain, on mere commercial concerns, to any foreign state.

Next to these, as promoting and diffusing the commerce of the East, should be mentioned that celebrated confederacy known by the name of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, composed of above seventy of the most considerable trading cities in Europe, united together for mutual security, and the protection of the branches of commerce respectively carried on by them, against piratical and other aggressions. By this politic measure, the north and the south of Europe became bound by one common bond of commercial interest; and a line of rapid communication and defence, was extended from the coast of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine. Awed by their power, or bribed by their wealth, the great potentates of Europe granted to these favoured cities unprecedented immunities, and they enjoyed almost a freedom from control in the several governments to which they respectively belonged. They for a time held, in a manner, the sovereignty of the ocean, and more than once took so severe a revenge on Denmark, for its opposition, as almost to annihilate her fleet and commerce. In the vast storehouses of Lubeck,

of Bruges, Antwerp, and other great marts, all the curious and costly productions of the Eastern world were treasured up, together with the more substantial and useful articles of merchandize peculiar to the west and the north. Under the same roof were collected the rarities at once of the tropical and polar regions, the ivory of Ethiopia, and the amber of the Baltic; the ore of Britain, and the gems of Golconda; the furs of Siberia, and the muslins of Bengal.

Such, considered in a general point of view, was the commerce carried on by Europe with India, and such the channel in which it flowed previous to that memorable æra, in which the undaunted fortitude of a Gama, impelled by the daring genius and the consummate policy of an Emanuel, opened to her adventurous sons, through the vast Atlantic, a new path to her wealthy shore. This important event, which fills the astonished soul with sublime delight, which enlarged to man the sphere of science, and expanded to his view the limits of nature, took place in A. H. 904, or A. D. 1498. The passage of that stupendous promontory first called the *Cape of Storms*, and afterwards, under more auspicious omens, the *Cape of Good Hope*, having been the theme of many enraptured poets,* historians, and philosophers, need not, any more than the preceding well-known history of events that led to it, in this place be dwelt upon. Suffice it, that taking the most authentic known, and principally native, authors for our guides, we endeavour to present the reader with as correct and ample a detail of their proceedings on its shores, as may be consistent with the plan of this undertaking. In Ferishta's general history, very little notice is taken of the settlements made by Europeans upon the Malabar coast, nor of their battles, however numerous, obstinate, and bloody, with its princes.

* Among these the first in excellence must doubtless be ranked the description of the passage, with the bold allegory of the genius of the Stormy Cape, by the sublime Camoens, so correctly and spiritedly translated by our countryman. See Mickle's *Lusiad*, Book V. p. 199.

The sound of their cannon was too feeble to reach the distant courts of Delhi and Agra; and while the monarch of Portugal vauntingly styled himself SOVEREIGN OF THE INDIES, his name and his claims were for a long time equally unknown in the capital of that mighty empire.

The voyage from Lisbon to India by Gama was completed in ten months; and the main object of that voyage being to open a commercial intercourse with the natives, he immediately directed his course, with the four ships he commanded, to CALICUT, a city at that time of great commercial celebrity on the coast of Malabar, and situated in the latitude of $11^{\circ} 18'$ north of the equator. At that period Sultan Secunder, the son of Beloli, sate on the throne of Delhi; the inferior sovereign of Calicut bore the name of Samorin, and was one of the race of the Nairs, princes formerly tributary to the king of Bisnagur, who seems to have enjoyed the extensive peninsular empire known to the ancients by the name of the *kingdom of Pandion*. To this sovereign the Portuguese sent a pompous account of the splendour and magnificence of their sovereign; reciting the dangers they had struggled with, and the vast distance they had come to solicit his friendship, and trade with his subjects. At once astonished and flattered, the Samorin received them with kindness and distinction, entered into treaty with them, and permitted them to establish a factory for the purposes of commerce. But stung by disappointed avarice, and urged by religious aversion, the Moham-medans settled in his territories, in a short time set every engine at work to crush the hopes and counteract the designs of their rivals. By repeated suggestions to their prejudice, both the monarch and his subjects became violently incensed, and a project was formed not only for their expulsion but their extermination. By the firm fidelity of a Tunisian Moor, named Monzaida, Gama obtained timely intelligence of this to avoid the meditated blow, and retreating on board the ships, boldly remonstrated by letter with the

Samorin on the cruel impolicy of his conduct, as well as displayed the base falsehood of his calumniators. He proceeded, however, to no acts of hostility, though he could have laid Calicut in ashes; and by this temperate and dignified conduct at once vindicated the honour of his nation, appeased the offended prince, and saved a useful ally. He had, eventually, the additional satisfaction of carrying back to King Emanuel, an amicable and respectful letter from the Samorin, in which he promised his subjects as free and as favoured a commerce in the ports of his kingdom as he could grant, consistently with prior engagements entered into with his Mohammedan allies. Although complete success, in mercantile concerns, had by no means attended this first European voyage to the shores of India, yet the vessels of Gama returned loaded, not only with the choicest productions of Malabar, but also with many of the rarer commodities of the provinces bordering on the Ganges; and these, while they highly gratified the luxurious nobles of the court of Portugal, inflamed the ambition of its youthful monarch, and goaded him on to new schemes of conquest and glory.*

A much stronger force was in consequence prepared with all possible expedition, and dispatched under Capral, the fortunate discoverer in this voyage of the great American continent, and of BRAZIL, that other rich gem in the crown of Portugal. Though this second fleet suffered severely during its passage from a dreadful tempest, yet so respectable was its appearance when arrived on the coast of India, that the Samorin immediately sent messengers to invite the admiral on shore, permitted him to erect the Imperial standard of his sovereign, and assigned him a commodious house for the establishment of a factory, and the deposition of stores. Incidents afterwards arose that rendered the sincerity of the Prince doubtful; and Capral, perhaps on too slight grounds, seized on the shipping in the harbour, in hopes, by that vigorous measure, of intimidating

* De Faria, Portuguezé Asia, Tom. I. p. 52.

the Samorin, and preventing the prosecution of those schemes which, he was informed, were secretly forming for his destruction. The consequence however was, that the enraged citizens of Calicut surrounded the factory, burnt the house, plundered the magazines, and massacred all the persons of that nation who were not fortunate enough to effect their retreat on board the ships. Capral, in revenge, after plundering, set fire to the rich ships which he had seized, and pointing his cannon against the town, severely battered the walls and adjacent buildings; he then set sail for the more friendly port of Cochin, situated in latitude $9^{\circ} 58'$, about thirty leagues distant from Calicut. Between the sovereign, or rather rajah, of this kingdom, and the Samorin, considerable causes of dissention had recently sprung up, and a defensive league was formed, in which the neighbouring kings of Coulan and Cananor, who had likewise been injuriously treated by the Samorin, desired to be associated with them. Nothing of immediate consequence resulted from the junction of these princes. Their respective countries, however, producing the richest spices of Malabar, he was enabled to return to Europe with a most valuable cargo; and the three ambassadors of the sovereigns in question, sent with him to solicit the protection of Emanuel, gave unusual splendour to the procession that bore to Lisbon the second tribute from the shores of India. In the voyage homeward the valuable island of Saint Helena was first discovered and taken possession of by the Portuguese. *

A small squadron of four ships prudently sent out by Emanuel, under Don Juan Calleca, before the return of Capral, arrived there in proper time to support the new alliance entered into with the kings of Cochin, Coulan, and Cananor, and to chastise the insolence of the Samorin, who had prepared forty great ships to attack the Portuguese

* Lafitau *Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais*, Tom. I. p. 167, 4to. edit. Paris. 1733. De Faria, Tom. I. p. 62; and Maffei *Hist. Indica*, Lib. ii. p. 35, edit. folio, 1589.

fleet on its reaching India, but against which Don Juan immediately directed the whole of his little force, as it lay at anchor in the road of Calicut, and burning some, and sinking others, almost extinguished hope in the mind of that prince. This fleet, however, was immediately followed by one of twenty sail, the largest yet sent out, with a proportionable number of troops under the command of the great Vasco de Gama, who, though advanced in years, at his sovereign's call nobly left the shade of retirement to renew his career of glory on the Indian seas. It was brilliant and decisive ; the Samorin was again beaten, new confidence was inspired by it into the friendly princes of Cochin and Cananor, and he returned laden with greater wealth than ever India had yet poured into the harbours of Portugal.

Despairing of success against his enemies by sea, the Samorin, on the departure of Gama for Europe, immediately marched an army of fifty thousand men into the territory of Cochin, demanding of its king the instant surrender of all the Portuguese in his dominions ; and threatening, in case of refusal, to burn the city, and desolate the country. Trimumpara, in this exigency, acted with the utmost firmness, and with unshaken fidelity to his new allies ; and peremptorily refused to accede to the insolent demand. At the same time he fully expected from the Portuguese admiral, Sodrez, whom Gama had left with six of his stoutest ships to guard the coast, every possible assistance to repel the determined enemy of his nation, in the protection of whom he was hazarding his crown and his life ; but that avaricious commander, intent on indulging his favourite passion by making prizes of the rich Mohammedan vessels that navigated those seas, positively refused to land a man from the ships, alledging, that his commission required him to act against the enemy at sea, and not on shore. The rajah was not less astonished than were the deserted Portuguese, at this base and cowardly reply, this utter dereliction of character in a man of his exalted station ; but

still he remained resolute in the discharge of a duty prescribed by conscience and by honour ; and when the enemy had by treachery gained possession of the immediate pass that led into the town, he retired with them to the more tenable island of Vaipi, determined to share the fate of his friends and allies. The town was burnt by the enraged Samorin, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. Sodrez, pursuing his projects of avarice, was engulfed, as he merited, in the Red Sea ; but the Albuquerque and Soldanna, with a powerful fleet, shortly after arriving at Cochin, liberated the besieged prince, and their countrymen, drove the Samorin's troops from the invaded territories, and re-instated him in pristine splendour. A new city was soon constructed, a nobler palace, and a stronger castle ; but the restorers acted not with the disinterested magnanimity of the Indian chief, soliciting as their reward, permission to erect a fortress in Cochin, which they easily obtained, and in erecting, took especial care to build it in such an elevated situation, and of such superior strength, that it not only commanded the royal palace, the castle, and the town, but was absolutely impregnable to any attack that could be made upon it by the military tactics of Indian princes. *

The firm footing and the decided consequence which these events gave the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar, rendered them so truly formidable to its princes, that they were all anxious to share their friendship, or enjoy their protection. Of the petty contests which they waged among each other, they were generally the umpires ; though oftener their policy inflamed those contests till the one or the other party, debilitated and exhausted, bowed down to their jurisdiction. The Samorin himself sought peace by negociation, and obtained it on terms highly favourable to the court of Portugal. But between two such mighty powers with such opposite interests, perfect tranquillity could not long be maintained ;

* De Faria, Portuguese Asia, Tom. I. p. 72. Maffei Hist. Indica, p. 41.

the vigilance of Trimumpara again detected the secret projects that menaced the downfall of their power in Cochin, and justly fearful of the consequences, he entreated the Albuquerque to delay the season of their departure for Europe. This, however they refused ; but left a very valiant and skilful officer, Edward Pacheco, with three ships and a number of men, so very small, that his defence of Cochin, against the great army almost immediately brought against it by the Samorin, appears like a romance, for by a proper disposition of a few hundred men, according to De Faria, he put fifty thousand of the enemy to flight. * The baffled Samorin had now recourse to a project deeper laid, and of more extensive mischief. By the advice of the sagacious Brahmins, his counsellors, who in their hearts equally detested the Moors and the Christians, as alike invaders of their native country, he determined no longer to waste his own strength by ruinous and ineffectual war, but to set these hostile sects in arms against each other. With this view he sent an ambassador to the Sultan of the Mamelukes, who then governed Egypt, and who already felt a considerable diminution in the public revenue, occasioned by the diversion in a great degree, of the Indian trade from its ancient channel, to implore his powerful assistance in expelling the Portuguese from the Indian seas. By terrible denunciations of his sanguinary vengeance against the whole race of Christians settled in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, by threatening to burn all the churches in those districts, and to raze the foundations of the holy sepulchre itself, that Sultan endeavoured to awe the Pope and king Emanuel into compliance with his demand, that the new course of navigation to India by the Cape, or at least the trade carried on by that route, should be abandoned. Finding those potentates unintimidated by his menaces, he proceeded, with the vigorous assistance of the Venetians, who, sacrificing their religious prejudices at the shrine of avarice and revenge, permitted him to

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 75.

cut down timber in their forests of Dalmatia, to build a fleet in the Red Sea of twelve large ships, on board of which a formidable body of Mamelukes embarked. This fleet being considerably increased by vessels of war from all the Arabian ports on that sea, the admiral, Mir Hazem, immediately sailed for the coast of Malabar in perfect confidence of victory. *

But a man of elevated rank, of dauntless bravery, of consummate practical skill in arms, and invested with power in India, little inferior to that which the prince who sent him enjoyed in Europe, the celebrated ALMEYDA had reached that coast before him, with an army and fleet proportionably powerful. The hostile fleets came to an action before Diu ; and the Portuguese history of this period records no contest more obstinate or bloody, from the military habits of the Mamelukes, and the determined bravery of the Portuguese, who knew that their ALL was at stake in this desperate rencounter, and fought with consonant heroism. Victory of the most complete and brilliant kind crowned their exertions, and left them in future undisputed masters of those seas, from which their rivals would have for ever expelled them. In addition to this victory another signal one was about the same time gained, at the forfeit of his life, by his son Don Lorenzo, over the collected naval force of the Samorin ; and thus was a solid basis laid for that towering superstructure of glory and dominion which, in the next vicerealty, was erected upon it by the immortal ALPHONSO ALBUQUERQUE.†

That most renowned of the Portuguese commanders arrived in India in A. D. 1507, accompanied by Tristram d'Acugna, the marshal of Portugal, with a fleet of seventeen ships, and not less than three thousand troops at his command, to accomplish all those grand projects which had so long occupied the mind of Emanuel,

* Osorius, Lib. IV. p. 110.

† De Faria, Portuguese Asia, Vol. I. p. 140, and Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portugais, Vol. II, p. 58.

and which were now deemed ripe for completion. It was not sufficient that the subject ocean bowed to the triumphant flag of Portugal; that flag must fly on the continent; and some more important place than Cochin and Cananor, with an ample and safe port, be secured as a grand depot of arms, and as the capital of a mighty empire. The port of Calicut possessed neither depth nor security, and consequently was not an object to Portugal; but as no permanent empire could be established in Malabar, while that capital and its sovereign retained their present proud pre-eminence on its coast, it was determined, by one decisive blow, to annihilate both. The design was no sooner formed than the attack was made; the city of Calicut being attacked by Albuquerque with impetuous fury by sea and land, was taken and burnt; the fortress, after a vigorous resistance by the garrison, shared the same fate. The attack of the royal palace was assigned to the marshal; and as the palaces of India are built after the manner of castles, that is, with a view to defence as well as grandeur, it cost him much expence of blood, labour, and time, to become master of it. When, at length, it fell into his hands, so immense was the booty found in it, so various and so valuable the species of wealth which it contained, that the impatient soldiers, regardless of order and discipline, rushed forward to ransack and plunder it. While they were thus dispersed through the numerous apartments, and every individual was encumbered with the costly articles of spoil that best pleased his fancy, the discomfited but wary Indians returned in great force to the palace, and in this condition, the conquerors fell their easy prey. In short, they were surrounded, and being utterly unable to defend themselves, were to a man cut to pieces, the brave marshal himself perishing in the undistinguished slaughter. Albuquerque, the instant he received intelligence of their perilous situation, intrepidly advanced at the head of a large body of troops to their assistance; but the increasing and frantic throng severely pressing

upon him, after receiving two dangerous wounds, and a dreadful contusion on the head from the fall of a large stone from an adjacent building, he was compelled to retreat, being with the utmost difficulty, and in a state of insensibility, conveyed on board his ship. The loss of the Portugueze on this fatal occasion consisted of eighty men killed, and three hundred wounded; that of the Samorin of a capital and a fort which never after rose again, the former in equal strength, the latter in rival splendour. *

Albuquerque lingered for some time of his wounds, but at length recovering, formed the important project of an attack on GOA, situated in the centre of the Malabar coast, in the latitude of $15^{\circ} 28' 20''$, strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by art; with one of the safest, deepest, and most capacious ports in all India. By the seizure of Goa, he knew he should not only obtain possession of one of the finest cities in that part of India, and capable of being made a noble depot of arms, and other military stores; but by that daring act he meant to strike terror into the Mogul governments of the south, who, instigated by the representation of their Indian allies and dependants on the coast, had begun to manifest symptoms of hostility against the new settlers, and particularly the king of Deccan, whose domain bordered nearest upon the frontiers. At that period Bahadur was Sultan of Guzzurat, having, as we have seen in the preceding history, during the distractions of the empire under the Afghan dynasty of Lodi, shaken off the yoke of the Delhi emperors; and the king of Deccan, in whose immediate dominions Goa was situated, according to the Deccan history of Ferishta, † was Mahmud Shah of the Bahmenee dynasty: Mahmud was a weak and debauched prince, and the greatest part of his dominions in Deccan was usurped by his general Adil Shah, called

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 157. Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portugais, Vol. II. p. 15.

† See Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 198, sub. A. H. 916, or A. D. 1510.

by Tavernier and other European travellers Idalcan, a brave and accomplished warrior, worthy to cope with the renowned Albuquerque. Adil Shah was at a distance pursuing his projects of ambition on the continent when Albuquerque commenced his attack upon Goa, which he at length carried after a considerable resistance from the Mohammedan and Indian garrison. When intelligence of this important capture was brought to Adil Shah, sensible of the magnitude of his loss, that chieftain returned at the head of a great army, * and so totally and vigorously invested the place, that the Portuguese governor appointed by Albuquerque, and many others, having been slain in the action, the latter were compelled to retire on board the fleet that blockaded the harbour. Adil Shah having strengthened the fortifications, and greatly increased the garrison, hastened back to oppose the incursions on his frontier, of the king of Narsinga, considering Goa as secure from future impression. But this prince knew not the enemy he had to deal with. Repulse only inflamed the ambition of Albuquerque, who collecting the whole naval and military force of his nation in India, commenced a new and terrible assault on the works that defended the city and port; drove in or cut to pieces the Mussulman guard; and by storm made himself master of the finest city and port of Malabar. The utmost efforts of European skill in mechanics and architecture were now employed to render Goa impregnable. Lofty walls of great thickness, flanked with bastions of the most durable masonry, on every quarter surrounded it. A castle was constructed of immense extent and strength, and innumerable palaces and churches gradually arose to adorn the future metropolis of Portuguese India. †

* An army, according to De Faria, consisting of no less than 60,000 men, of which 5000 were horse. Tom. I. p. 168.

† Du Barros, dec. 2. Lib. x. p. 89. De Faria's Portuguese Asia. Vol. I. p. 172, edit. 8vo. London, 1695. Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 225. Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 384. edit. 4to. Paris, 1733.

As nearly all the difficulties and disasters with which the Portuguese had to contend in India arose from the perfidy of their Moorish rivals, Albuquerque, now at rest from continental war, from the assailed resolved to become the assailant, and attempt the utter subversion of at least their *commercial* consequence in India.

The three most frequented and celebrated ports which the Mohammedan merchants at that time possessed in the East were, ADEN on the coast of Arabia, ORMUS in the Persian Gulf, and MALACCA, the capital of Malay. From these great emporia he had long since, in compliance with king Emanuel's wishes, formed the bold design of driving them, and immediately proceeded to put that design in execution. Particular motives of friendship led him to commence the meditated attack upon the last of those places.

Malacca is situated in latitude $2^{\circ} 12'$ north, and the long tract of country, forming a vast peninsula nearly 560 miles in length, and from 60 to 150 in breadth, of which it is the capital, is joined towards its northern extremity to the southern confines of the kingdom of Siam. On every other side it is surrounded by the sea, and gives its name to the celebrated straits that divide it from Sumatra, to whose shores in all probability it was anciently united. Though situated so near the scorching line, Malacca is represented by travellers as a country almost paradisaical; refreshed with perpetual breezes from the sea, that allay the tropical fervor; the soil watered by innumerable streams, covered with odoriferous woods, and at the same time producing the loveliest flowers, blooming in succession the whole year round. From its central situation between India and China, as well as from the spice isles being in its immediate neighbourhood, Malacca had about this time become one of the most renowned cities of the East, and merchants from all the neighbouring coasts, the richest in the world, resorted in crowds to its splendid and overflowing mart. The Portuguese had two years before appeared there in the humbler capacity of merchants;

but Mahmud, the reigning prince of the country, and, from his name, a Mohammedan, having been inflamed against them by the calumnies of the Moorish traders, who dreaded the progress making in Asia by their European rivals, had acted perfidiously towards them, imprisoning some, and putting others to a cruel death, while **SaQUEIRA**, the Admiral, could with great difficulty, and by burning one out of five vessels which he commanded in the harbour, secure a safe retreat for himself and the remaining Portuguese. It was under colour of revenging this insult, and of rescuing the prisoners still retained in bondage in Malacca, that Albuquerque commenced this expedition against its sovereign.

The force which he now brought against it consisted of nineteen ships of war, and fourteen hundred troops, of which only eight hundred were Portuguese, a force apparently very disproportionate to the object, if what De Faria asserts may be credited, that, recently, the king of Siam had ineffectually sent against its sovereign an army of no less than 40,000 men. * To his demand of the immediate release of the prisoners, some of whom were of rank, and in the number of his friends, an evasive answer being returned, he immediately made a furious attack upon the city by sea and land, and the Malays having expected that attack, and being previously prepared, for some time with great resolution and vigour repelled it. But in vain did Eastern valour, though urged by despair, contend against European fortitude and science united; the city being set on fire, and the palace stormed, victory declared for the assailants, and the enormous spoil of that wealthy city fell into their hands. Of this wealth some estimate may be formed from the portion, a clear fifth, reserved for the king, which amounted to two hundred thousand pieces of gold. Albuquerque, having massacred or driven out all the Moorish inhabitants, repopled the city with native Malays, and erected a fort of great strength, as well as

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 176.

singular beauty, from which latter circumstance he gave it the name of FORMOSA. *

The subjugation of Malacca alone, without the additional conquest of the celebrated adjoining islands, called the MOLUCCAS, could by no means satisfy the expanding ambition of Albuquerque. These islands, supposed to be of volcanic origin and greatly varying in their dimensions, verge upon the equinoctial, are about ten in number, are included within the compass of twenty-five leagues, and governed by their particular native princes, but are *all* subject to the more potent sovereigns of TERNATE and TIDORE. Their principal productions are, the cocoa-nut, sago, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, and these precious commodities have, from early ages, allured to their dangerous coasts, abounding with sands and shoals, the great commercial nations that lie near them ; the Chinese, the Javans, the Malayans, and the Moors, having successively erected on them their victorious standards. Some of the bravest and most skilful captains of the fleet were immediately dispatched on an expedition of such high national consequence, and were completely successful in respect to the more important of those islands ; having obtained permission to build a fort in Ternate, the principal, which they as usual, constructed of such strength as enabled them to keep in awe and subjection both the native government and the Mohammedan settlers. †

During the period of Albuquerque's prosecuting these schemes of ambition and glory at Malacca, Goa was assaulted by a formidable army sent by Adil Khan (or Idalcan,) to recover that capital of Portuguese India from its new masters. De Faria states ‡ the

* Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 420 ; and De Faria, Vol. I. p. 181.

† De Faria, Tom. I. p. 182. Lafitau Histoire, Tom. II. p. 179.

‡ De Faria, Portuguese Asia, Vol. I. p. 188.

number of the besieging army at this time as 20,000 men, and the besieged Portuguese as only 1000. On this intelligence he immediately embarked, and leaving his lieutenants to extend and consolidate the conquests in the Archipelago, with all the force that could be spared sailed for the continent. The vessel, on board of which he was, striking on a rock, he very nearly escaped being cast away, but, at length, with the loss of all the vast treasures of Malacca, he arrived safe at Cochin, whence he dispatched eight ships, laden with troops and provisions, to the relief of Goa, and shortly after followed himself, with a fleet of thirteen more newly arrived from Europe, and bearing eighteen hundred fresh troops. Having by drafts from the other settlements increased this number to four thousand strong, he commenced a furious attack on the city by sea and land, exposing his person to the hottest fire of the enemy; and so irresistible proved that attack, the Moorish commander was quickly compelled to surrender, on conditions dictated by the conqueror. The fame of this gallant exploit spread rapidly over the whole Indian coast, and struck its princes with such terror that the most powerful of them, but the Samorin, and Adil Khan in particular, sent ambassadors to solicit his friendship and alliance.

Even the distant sovereign of Ethiopia hearing of his renown, is said to have sent ambassadors to Goa to congratulate him on his victories; and by their means, in his rage against the soldan of Egypt, he endeavoured to persuade their master to undertake the boldest enterprize ever conceived by the mind of man, that of turning the course of the great river Nile, by cutting a passage for its waters into the Arabian Gulf, before its entrance into Egypt, an enterprize which, if accomplished, would have effectually prevented the dreaded revival of the old trade so long carried on by the Moors, by the route of Alexandria, but which, at the same time, would have

depopulated that fine country, and rendered the greatest part of it a desert. *

An interval of peace now allowed him to prosecute another of his favourite objects hinted at above, an attack upon the city of **ADEN** at the entrance of the Red Sea. Against that celebrated city, then under the government of an Arabian Prince, without mentioning the object in view, he fitted out twenty strong ships, containing seventeen hundred Portuguese, and eight hundred Malabars. On their arrival before Aden, they found the place far more strongly fortified both by nature and art than had been represented to them. Nevertheless the scaling ladders were instantly applied to the lofty walls, and, eager of glory, the valiant Portuguese in multitudes ascended them. A considerable party quickly gained the summit, but others crowding after them with too much ardour, and in too great numbers, the ladders broke, and in consequence, those on the top were left exposed to the full fury of an enraged enemy. A retreat was therefore ordered, and of the broken ladders one ampler and more solid was constructed for their descent, which after an engagement of four hours, and suffering very material loss in slain and wounded, they at length effected. Albuquerque, yielding to the advice of his captains, for the present relinquished the attempt, and having taken a fortress that guarded the entrance of the port, in which were found ninety-seven pieces of cannon of large calibre, having also first plundered, and then burnt all the shipping in the harbour, they sailed out of it on the fourth day from their arrival towards the mouth of the Red Sea, on which they spread their sails with great delight and triumph, being the first Portuguese vessels that ever ventured upon that dangerous navigation. Their joy was considerably increased by the capture in that

* It is Lafitau to whom I am indebted for this anecdote of the daring genius of Albuquerque (Tom. II. p. 81); but he adds: "*Mais on assure que ce projet est absolument impossible dans son execution.*"

sea, of several rich ships belonging to the Sultan of Cairo; but being compelled to winter at Comaran, an island near its entrance,* they suffered severely from famine, and were gradually reduced in their numbers. When the season permitted, Albuquerque put to sea, and again appeared before Aden; but he found the fortifications of that city had been repaired, and that a successful attack could not be made without a more powerful force than he now commanded. After some discharges of artillery, and seizing and burning such Mohammedan ships as were in the harbour, he sailed for India, the more proper field of his glory. †

If, however, complete success did not crown this expedition to Aden, and the Arabian Gulf, the Portuguese enjoyed in MASKAT, on the shore of the Happy Arabia, and in the territory of Omman, a very excellent port, and a very thriving emporium, gained some years before, after a very desperate conflict by this very general. The ample protection which their decided superiority in arms enabled them to give to the Asiatic and European merchants established at Maskat, together with the advantages derived from its situation in the Persian Gulf, that caused the wealth of the three Arabias, of Persia, and of India, to flow into it in one collective stream, rendered Maskat at that time the grand rendezvous of all who were anxious to obtain wealth, or who wished to enjoy it in safety when obtained. It continued to maintain this envied pre-eminence till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, when,

* Comaran, called Camaran by De Faria and Maffæus, now become so barren and obscure a place, as scarcely to be known to navigators, yet according to the latter author was then a flourishing island, abounding with springs and flocks of cattle. *Ad Camaranam insulam intra fauces Erythræas cum universa classe provehitur. Locus haud inamoenus est, perennibus aquis et pecorum armentis abundat: ad hæc, ingentes ædificiorum ruinæ, celebrem olim tectis et opibus fuisse testantur.* Lib. V. p. 101. B.

† De Faria, *Portugueze Asia*, Vol. I. p. 193; and Maffæi *Hist. Ind.* Lib. V. p. 181, edit. fol. 1589.

in consequence of their tyranny, the Portugueze were, in a general insurrection of the inhabitants incited by a Banyan, expelled, never more to return.

There remained but one more decisive blow to be struck by the Portugueze, to annihilate in a manner the trade of their Moham-medan rivals in the East, and concentrate it in themselves. The island of Ormus, situated at the entrance of the gulph of Persia, in latitude $20^{\circ} 30'$, had long been governed by a dynasty of princes of Arabian original, rich, powerful, and respected. As the island itself was a mere rock of salt, and derived its wealth and splendour entirely from the commerce, which, from its central situation, it was enabled to carry on in such an extensive degree with India, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, its kings wisely encouraged a general ardour for trade among their subjects, and solicited a commercial intercourse with all nations. The port of Ormus was consequently crouded with ships from every quarter of the world ; merchants from the most distant climates flocked to its exchange, as to the general rendezvous of all traffic ; and thus by degrees it rose to a point of eminence in fame and opulence unrivalled by the capitals of the greatest empires.

We read with astonishment in the Portugueze historians to what a pitch luxury of every species had arrived in this wealthy Asiatic mart, while that commerce flourished, especially at the trading seasons of the year, when the wealth of East and West was profusely poured out into her bosom, and the whole city exhibited one immense fair. The scorching rays of a vertical sun were excluded by vast awnings of canvas suspended above the lofty roofs of the houses ; the hot and arid soil was covered with rich carpets ; and the fronts of the houses and balconies were hung with tapestry of the finest texture and the loveliest dyes. Rich Indian cabinets, filled with the choicest productions of that envied country, the growth of her mines and the labour of her looms ; the finest porcelain of

China, the pearls of Omman, the gems of Pegu; in short, whatever magnificent or beautiful nature had formed, or art had fabricated, met the astonished eye in every direction; odours from the sweetest shrubs, disposed in gilded vases, cheered the exhausted sense; concerts of the most delicious music charmed the delighted ear; and the wines of Shiraz flowing in profusion, smoothed the austere brow, and expanded the exulting heart of the relaxing Mussulman. *

Ever watchful over the interests of his master, and determined, if possible, to exterminate every source of Mohammedan consequence in those seas, Albuquerque had long resolved to reduce the happy kingdom of Ormus, and its dependencies, to the condition of a province of the vast empire which he had been the principal means of raising and consolidating in India. Previously to his own appointment of General of the Indies, and when acting only in a subordinate capacity, in A. D. 1507, under the viceroy Tristrán D'Acugna, he had made some vigorous efforts to subdue that island; had undauntedly cast anchor in its very haven with only *seven* ships, in the midst of *four hundred* of the enemy; and on the refusal of the government to acknowledge king Emanuel for their lord, and to pay an annual tribute, had battered the city with his cannon, and fired the ships in the harbour and arsenal. The Prince then reigning was an infant only twelve years old, and entirely under the direction of his guardian and minister, Coja Atar, a man of deep cunning, but small experience, who at last consented both to pay tribute, and to permit the Portugueze to build a citadel on the island. When the citadel, however, was half built, Atar found means to corrupt the officers superintending the work by presents of very considerable value, and to excite mutiny among the soldiers employed in it. Under these circumstances an attack was successfully made by the army of the prince, and the half-built fort, as well as the island

* Maffei Hist. Indica, p. 212. Du Barros Decad. 3. lib. 10.

itself, was obliged to be abandoned, while Albuquerque himself, being basely deserted by three of his captains, was deprived, for the present, of an opportunity of completing the conquest. *

Albuquerque having been foiled in his first efforts to become master of Ormus, took the wisest precautions against the possibility of a second failure. The whole disposeable force of his nation in India attended him on this important expedition. In haughty terms he demanded of its sovereign, TURAN SHAH, a weak and effeminate prince, solely guided by the artful counsels of the ministers that surrounded him, immediate possession of the citadel, the establishment of Portuguese factories on the island, and the acknowledgment in future of the absolute dependence of his kingdom on the crown of Portugal. If these conditions were not immediately complied with, he threatened to lay the capital in ruins, and make that flourishing island one scene of desolation. Terrified at the dreadful menace, and at the formidable force ready to carry it into immediate execution, Turan Shah hesitated not to obey the peremptory mandate. In vain did those ministers who at the time enjoyed that unlimited sway in Ormus to which Albuquerque aspired, in vain did they remonstrate against this unqualified surrender to a foreign foe of his rights as a sovereign, and his liberty as a man. His terrors prevailed over every other consideration; the keys both of the castle and the palace were tamely yielded up to the invader, and the flag of Portugal was soon perceived flying on the citadel of Ormus. Its palaces were converted into factories for the new settlers, and all the warlike stores and artillery of the place not necessary for its immediate defence, were for security deposited on board the fleet, and conveyed to Goa. His relation, Pedro d'Albuquerque, was appointed governor; and shortly after, on the discovery of a conspiracy, imagined or real, the offending ministers were put to

* De Faria's Portuguese Asia, Vol. I. p. 132.

death, and fifteen princes of the blood were seized, and condemned to pass their lives in dungeons on a foreign shore. *

The preceding is a concise but authentic sketch of the feats of the great Alphonso Albuquerque, the history of whose viceroyalty may be truly called the history of Portuguese glory in India. His vigorous counsels and daring genius laid the firm foundation of that mighty fabric of empire which for so many ages filled Asia with awe, and Europe with astonishment. There is no necessity for our pursuing in regular series the history of his successors; the leading events that distinguished their often very transient reigns must suffice, that we may be able to be more diffuse when we come to record the actions on its shores of our brave countrymen.

A settlement first attempted in 1506 by LAWRENCE D'ALMEYDA, was about this time firmly established at Columbo, on the fertile and beautiful island of Ceylon, the sovereign of which was induced by the terror of a formidable fleet and army, commanded by the new viceroy Lopez Saurez in person, to compound for his kingdom by acknowledging himself a subject of Portugul, and by paying an annual tribute, which, according to De Faria, consisted of "twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve superb rings set with rubies and sapphires, and six elephants." † At a later period, Diu, situated in latitude 22° 30', on an island of the same name, at the entrance of the gulf of Cambay, and, not improperly, by some writers, denominated the Key of India, at that period a large, beautiful, and strongly fortified city, subject to Bahadur, the sovereign of Guzurat, with one of the finest and most frequented ports in India, was subjected to the control of the Portuguese, by the usual mode practised by their commander, when open hostilities were not declared, of assisting the prince against his enemies, and in return

* Lafitau, *Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais*, Tom. I. p. 514.

† Portuguese Asia, Vol. I. p. 219.

demanding permission to establish a factory and erect a fortress in his capital. This assistance, we have seen in a former page, * was afforded to Bahadur by the Portuguese in his war with the Emperor Humaioo ; but Bahadur soon repenting of his generosity towards his allies, attacked them in that fort, and failing in his attack, called in to his aid the forces of the Samorin, and other Malabar princes. Before that aid however arrived, he was betrayed by a stratagem into the hands of his enemies, and endeavouring to escape, perished in the ocean in the manner described in a plate of Lafitau, that gives a view of the fort and city of Diu. † It was soon afterwards besieged by Solyman, Basha of Egypt, who came against it with twenty thousand men, to revenge the death of Sultan Bahadur ; but this great army, together with a fleet of proportionate force, was utterly defeated by the persevering bravery of the garrison, under the celebrated Silveira ; and this victory, obtained by a handful of men over so mighty a host, is among the proudest recorded feats of Portuguese glory in India. Bassain, in the district of Baglana, was taken by D'Acugna in A. D. 1555, and by that viceroy formed into a place of great strength. In time it became a considerable city, and was one of the latest in possession of the Portuguese. Daman too, in latitude 21° , and Chaul in that of $18^{\circ} 30'$, under their auspices, rose to great eminence ; and the former could boast a citadel absolutely impregnable, as Aurengzeb afterwards experienced, to the tactics of Asiatic warfare. In Bombay they enjoyed another excellent harbour, in which since the year 1661, the flag of England has securely and triumphantly waved. In Onor they enjoyed the monopoly of the finest pepper produced in India. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the places in this part of India whose capture contributed to gratify their pride as conquerors, or glut their avarice as merchants. The land and the sea alike

* See of this Volume, p. 152.

† See Lafitau, Tom. II. p. 264 ; with the engraving annexed.

obeyed them; they reigned undisputed masters of the whole coast from the Indus to Ceylon.

Sailing round the extremity of that island, they soon began to form settlements on the coasts of Coromandel; at Negapatam, in latitude $10^{\circ} 46'$, then an indifferent, ill-constructed town, but which they soon transformed into a city of great extent and magnificence, they fixed their first station. Their second was at Meliapour, in latitude $13^{\circ} 5'$, that famed city of the great Apostle of the Indies, St. Thomas, who, their writers affirm, was buried here, and whose sepulchre its inhabitants affect to shew on the summit of a neighbouring mountain. Both the influence of religion, and motives of commerce, combined to make them exhaust their Indian treasury, in the construction at this place of a city intended for their future capital in Coromandel, and which, for the sumptuousness and grandeur of its public buildings, its churches, its colleges, and its castle, had in fact no rival except their metropolis in Malabar. Of this vast city, indeed, as well as of many others above enumerated, scarce any vestiges now remain; our greater capital of Fort Saint George, or Madras, from which it is distant only ten miles, having been chiefly built, it is said, out of its magnificent ruins; but history has recorded the fact, and the pencil and the graver have consecrated the monuments of their glory to the latest posterity. Masulipatam, situated in latitude $16^{\circ} 8' 30''$, near the mouth of the Kistna river, was the third and last of their settlements on this coast; it was inferior in magnitude and importance to the two others, and the climate and water are said to be unwholesome; the former from its great heats, and the latter from its brackishness; yet it is spoken of by travellers of the seventeenth century as being populous, and as driving a great trade in chintzes, dyed calicoes, and diamonds from the neighbouring mines of Golconda. *

* Thevenot's Travels, Part III. p. 105; edit. folio 1688; and Fryer's Travels, p. 35; edit. folio, 1698.

From their settlements on this coast to their still greater capital of Malacca, the voyage was short, and the intercourse between them was consequently vigorously kept up. To the latter emporium ships from China had frequently resorted, from the captains of which, the first authentic intelligence was obtained concerning the extent, the riches, and grandeur of that vast empire. This was faithfully transmitted to the court of Portugal; and it was immediately determined to send an ambassador to solicit the alliance of the Chinese emperor, and permission to trade in the ports of his kingdom. A squadron of eight ships was fitted out, laden with articles of the most costly European merchandize, and the command of it bestowed on Ferdinand Andrada, who arrived safely at Canton, and both himself and Perez, the envoy, were received with kindness and distinction. Disputes, however, unhappily arising between the Portuguese and Chinese merchants, and the former behaving with extreme insolence and outrage to the latter, the ambassador was thrown into chains, and hurried away to a dungeon, while Andrada was obliged to fly disgracefully back for safety to Malacca. Thus matters remained for many years, when accident accomplished what design was unable to effect. A certain pirate having become very formidable on the sea that washes China, had committed great ravages on its coasts, had laid siege to Canton, and seized upon the island of Macao, which he fortified. Unable by all their exertions to crush the daring marauder, they called in the more powerful fleet of Portugal to their aid: the Portuguese readily obeyed the summons, raised the siege, retook Macao, and drove the piratical adventurer to such extremities, that in despair he slew himself. The essential service which they had thus rendered the empire, being faithfully reported to the Chinese monarch, he in gratitude bestowed Macao upon them, with permission to form a settlement upon that island, and carry on trade with his subjects upon the most favoured terms. The little island of Macao was immediately fortified by

them in the strongest manner, and became in a short time one of the most celebrated marts of Asia; as from hence they were enabled to establish a vast and lucrative commerce with the rich islands that form the extensive empire of Japan, islands fortunately first discovered by some navigators of that nation about the year 1540, but from which they were as unfortunately and for ever expelled, for interfering with the politics of its government about a century after.*

I might have enlarged upon the extensive commercial intercourse kept up from their settlements in those islands of the Indian Archipelago, in which their valour had procured them a firm establishment and almost imperial sway, with those in which they were not so fortunate, as the great isles of Sumatra, of Java, of Borneo, of Celebes, with whose costly productions their annual fleets were loaded. I may also be condemned for not having entered into historical details concerning their numerous and important settlements, gained at the expence of so much blood on the African coast, as Sofala, Mombaza, Mozambique, and others; but as they had no territorial possession in the former, and as the latter did not properly constitute a part of their Indian empire, I conceived it unnecessary to swell these pages with matter not immediately relevant, nor particularly illustrative of the subject before us.

And now having conducted the reader thus far in the history of the mercantile concerns of the Portuguese with Asia, I conceive it important to bring before his view the following passage from De Faria, which will serve as a rapid but tolerably correct summary of what has been submitted to him in the preceding pages, on the subject. "Previous to these discoveries," says the Portuguese author, "spices were brought to Europe with vast trouble and cost. The clove of Molucca, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia,

* Maffei Hist. Indica, Lib. 6. cap. 5.

and all the other species of wealth, drugs, spices, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Java, Siam, and other eastern kingdoms were carried to the market of the city of Malacca, seated in the Golden Chersonese, whence the inhabitants of all the western countries as far as the Red Sea brought them, carrying on this traffic by way of barter, money being of less value than the commodities imported. It was this trade that enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormus, and Aden; the merchants adding to the articles brought from Malacca, the rubies of Pegu, the stuffs of Bengal, the pearls of Kilkare, the diamonds of Narsinga, the cinnamon and richer rubies of Ceylon, and the pepper, ginger, and other spices produced on the coast of Malabar. From Ormus they were conveyed to Europe up the Persian Gulf, by the way of Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in caravans through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus; and then at the port of Baruth upon the Mediterranean, the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, loaded their vessels with them to their respective countries. Those that came up the Red Sea were landed at Toro and Suez, towns at the bottom of that gulf, thence they were transported in caravans to Grand Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, whence they were shipped off to Europe." *

Such was the vast empire established by this bold and enterprising nation in the course of little more than fifty years, on the coasts and islands of the two great continents of Africa and Asia; an empire which, by its very magnitude, and the distance and number of the settlements of which it was composed, had the latent seeds of dissolution deeply implanted in its own bosom. Every settlement had its governor, whose interests were not always in perfect unison with those of the state; and though all were nominally subject to the supreme head, THE VICEROY AT GOA, yet it cannot be supposed, from the many leagues that separated most of

* De Faria's *Portugueze Asia*, Vol. I. p. 82.

them, that justice was always impartially administered, or abuses rigidly restrained. The misfortune was, that the viceroys themselves, whose term of government was limited to three years, but who were often recalled in a much shorter period, were in general too busily employed in those peculations which were to enrich and aggrandize their families at home, minutely to attend to the complaints made against the venality and rapacity of the inferior governors. Many of them, doubtless, like the great Albuquerque, and the virtuous De Castro, passed uncontaminated in fame through the fiery ordeal; but in most of their successors, the passions of avarice and ambition were too powerfully at work to allow of their being celebrated for rectitude of principle, integrity of conduct, or generosity of character. The ardent and active valour of their forefathers, by which one hundred princes of India and its appendages were rendered the tributary vassals of the crown of Portugal, became gradually exchanged for the inglorious indolence and effeminate softness of Asia. No longer able, by energy of counsel, or vigour of conduct, to inspire the conquered nations with esteem, to command respect from the virtuous, or excite terror in the criminal, they had recourse for the support of their power, to the arts of the robber and the assassin, and the dagger and the bowl were alternately employed in the destruction of their enemies. There was also another secret and dreadful engine which they frequently employed to awe the refractory, the fangs of a bloody inquisition, for a time more severe and terrible in its proceedings, than perhaps in any other city of the papal world. Its dungeons were crowded with the miserable victims of despotism, who there pined away their existence in darkness and sorrow, while their pampered tyrants were banqueting on their plundered property, or gratifying at their expence their insatiable lusts; and revelling in the charms of all they held dear or sacred on earth.

While, indeed, the illustrious Emanuel lived, no efforts were

wanting to sustain in its full vigour that mighty scheme of empire which his policy had planned, and which all his wisdom and all his power were united to consolidate. He enjoyed the uncommon felicity to have his life prolonged to that period, (though little beyond its prime, for he deceased at 53,) as to see whatever he had so boldly projected concerning India arrive at its full maturity, under the series of distinguished admirals and generals whom he had selected, equally for their talents and their bravery, to preside at the helm of affairs in Asia. The strenuous exertions which he made to carry into effect his vast designs, had in their prosecution often occasioned him considerable difficulties, since, to so small a kingdom as Portugal, the annual expence both of men and money was very great, and frequently, in the more early periods of the conquests in Asia, after the sailing of a new fleet for India, the national treasury was left in a very exhausted state; but the penetrating eye of Emanuel pierced through the dark impending cloud of the moment, and saw in the distant eastern horizon, a sky serene and cloudless. He had sown cautiously and wisely the seeds of future glory and advantage, and he ultimately saw them ripen into a plentiful harvest.

On the death of Emanuel, which occurred in 1521, no relaxation of vigour or discipline took place; his successor, John the Third, anxious to fulfil all the maxims of his wise progenitor, regularly dispatched to India, at the proper season, fleets not only adequate to all the purposes of necessary hostility, but also of the most enlarged commerce, on the coasts and islands of Asia. Many of the commanders also sent by him were men of inflexible virtue and the most shining abilities, who maintained the ancient renown of their country, and added new trophies to those acquired by preceding heroes. During the following reign of that infuriate bigot Sebastian, the Portuguese empire in India fell under the worst of all tyrannies, that of superstition; its palaces were filled with monks;

in every city the Jesuits erected the bloody banner of their order ; the honours and rewards of the state were lavished solely at the capricious smile of those artful fanatics ; and that system of religious terror and coercion was established, which for so many ages rendered their name the abhorrence and execration of the Indians. A cardinal and archbishop, in Don Henry, uncle to the last prince, succeeding to the crown, no alteration in the system of governing could well be expected to take place ; and venality and superstition, seated aloft on the same gorgeous and guilty throne, still continued jointly to sway the sceptre of the Indies.

The same causes operated, with nearly as fatal effects, in Europe as in Asia, and contributed materially to the subjection of Portugal to the Spanish yoke, which took place after the short and inglorious reign of Henry in A. D. 1580. During this disastrous period of nearly sixty years, while Philip and his four successors of the royal line of Spain, anxious to reduce Portugal to the abject condition of one of its provinces, did all they could to break the haughty spirit of her nobles, and quench the fire of that valour and enterprize which had made her sons at once so formidable and so affluent ; while in that hope they daily plundered her overflowing treasury, neglected to protect her commerce, the great source of her wealth and independence, and left her coasts and harbours exposed to the outrage of the Barbary corsairs, and the more fatal depredations of their English and Dutch rivals : during all this interval their power and influence in India kept gradually declining ; Ormus was seized upon by the Persians ; and they lost their valuable settlements in Ceylon, which, together with the great capital of Malacca, and most of the Molucca islands, were wrested from them by their jealous and insidious foes, the Dutch. Instead of eighteen or twenty ships that were accustomed annually to be sent to India, for the purposes of sustaining their military and commercial establishments, only five or six were now dispatched thither, and those often in no

condition either to defend the one or support the other. * On the reduced produce of that trade also, the most burthensome taxes were laid ; and while a proud and pampered nobility and priesthood revelled in more than Asiatic luxury, the inferior classes in both governments struggled under the severest pressures of abject poverty and misery.

When at length, under the brave and virtuous Duke of Braganza, that insulted nation rose as one man, and broke from the yoke of their proud oppressors, although some vigorous efforts were occasionally made by himself and his descendants on the re-erected throne of Portugal, to recover their consequence in the East, and revive their declining commerce, yet the perpetual war in which they were engaged with Spain, and the other powers of Europe, rendered those efforts wholly ineffectual. Neither ships nor men were to be procured in numbers proportionate to resist the encroachments of their Dutch and English rivals, who, as in the ensuing chapter will be amply set forth, were pouring their victorious legions over the coasts and islands of Asia, and every where erecting their standards over the humbled flag of Portugal. ~~Buffed~~ and degraded in India, her sons, in whom the spirit of mercantile adventure was not yet wholly extinguished, now directed their views and their speculations towards the less distant shores of Southern America, and in the rich territory of Brazil, in the gold and diamonds, and other costly produce of that country, found no mean compensation for the losses they sustained in the East ; and even on that coast boasted a richer India. † There the sun of their glory was for ever

* The average number latterly was about five ships ; see a regular list of all that successively sailed to India, at the end of the *Portuguese Asia*, Vol. III. p 432.

† Brazil might justly be called to Portugal *a richer India* ; for whereas she never, in the most flourishing period of her Indian empire, received from thence a clear annual revenue of above £300,000. her receipts from the tributary *fifth* of the gold mines alone amounted annually to a million sterling, independent of her other immense revenue in diamonds, Brazil wood, balsams, indigo, sugar, tobacco, which may well be calculated at half a million more.

gone down ; one settlement gradually fell after another ; the factories of the merchants and the palaces of her viceroys were alike rapidly sinking in irretrievable ruin ; her dismantled forts crumbling into dust, and her unrepared ships rotting in the harbours. At length, towards the close of the seventeenth century, of all their vast domains, Goa, Diu, and a few other cities on the Malabar coast, alone, remained to testify, by the magnificent monuments still standing within their walls, how splendid and how potent had once been the PORTUGUEZE EMPIRE IN INDIA.

END OF PART I.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF
HINDOSTAN.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF
HINDOSTAN:
VOLUME SECOND; PART FINAL.
CONTAINING
THE HISTORY OF INDIA,
AND OF THE
EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1809.

PREFACE TO THE FINAL PART.

THE Author has, at length, the honour to present the public with the concluding portion of his second volume of the History of MODERN INDIA. That so considerable a period has elapsed since the first part appeared has not arisen from neglect, but from that necessary prudence which restrains a man, *printing at his sole cost and hazard*, from engaging in voluminous publication at a period when all the materials of printing are at so extravagant a price. The present volume having exceeded the number of five hundred pages, to which few quartos are at this day permitted to extend, it is thought proper to submit it to the public eye.

Owing to the vast mass and press of matter, accumulated during the two last centuries, and to the variety and importance of the subjects yet remaining to be discussed, he has found it utterly impossible to

conclude the History of India, and the India Company, which he also engaged to detail, in the present volume. It might indeed have been practicable, had he not gone so much at length into that of the Company ; but as that portion of the work to an English reader must ever be the most interesting, and as many publications have of late appeared, particularly the improved edition of Mr. Orme's Historical Fragments, highly elucidatory of their early Asiatic concerns, it was thought that a more extended account of their affairs in that quarter of the world than was originally intended, could not fail of being acceptable both at home and in Asia.

In consequence, that account, commencing with their very existence as a Commercial Body in A. D. 1600, and brought down to the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson in 1757, in a regular series of historical events, engrosses nearly half of this final section of the second volume, and left only room for the insertion of two complete reigns of Mogul emperors. They are, however, next to that of the great Akber, by far the most important of any of the reigns of those princes, full of great and surprising incidents, such as the records of no other nation on earth can exhibit. In every thing splendid and magnificent

no monarch ever rivalled Shah Jehan ; in sanguinary atrocity and dark intrigue none ever surpassed Aurungzeb. The author has endeavoured to do full justice to their respective characters.

The black details of blood and perfidy, that mark the closing day of this great empire and that renowned dynasty, together with what remains to be recorded of British transactions in India down to the year 1800, will in a few months be presented to the public in the form of an APPENDIX, of which, whatever may be the magnitude, the price shall on no account exceed a GUINEA. The author is full as anxious as the reader to consult *economy*, but could not consent, by unnecessary brevity, to render his pages defective in interest and perspicuity. When the reader shall have considered how vast a period this history embraces, commencing at the death of Alexander, and terminating with the triumphs of a British army on the very spot where an Alexander had fought ; that, in fact, it is not the history merely of a province, or kingdom, but that of a mighty empire, and its astonishing and varied revolutions, for above two thousand years ;—when he, also, shall have considered of how many rare and *costly* books, (as the author, has too well experienced) these volumes contain

the substance, independently of an elegant coloured Map of India, according to its latest divisions, by Arrowsmith, he is convinced that the sum of five guineas, the whole amount of the subscription, of which a very small portion can be appropriated to remunerate *his* labours, will not appear extravagant. To those who may think otherwise, it may be satisfactory to know, that of the Company's History, the most interesting part terminates with the re-conquest of Calcutta; and that the glory of the Indian empire expired with Aurungzeb.

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IN the preceding chapter we have seen how fatally the tyranny of Philip of Spain, and his immediate successors, over the humbled nation of Portugal, operated towards the destruction of the power and commerce of the latter in India. The **DUTCH**, recently emancipated from the same inglorious yoke, and wholly excluded from the port of Lisbon, where they had formerly been employed as the principal carriers, to the different marts of Europe, of its overflowing Indian treasures, now determined to explore the source of that wealth of which they were forbidden to trace the channel, and boldly passed the Cape in quest of seas and countries unknown. This memorable event took place in A. D. 1595, with a fleet of four ships commanded by Cornelius Houtman, a man of the deepest political sagacity, joined with an undaunted fortitude to execute the greatest enterprises. Houtman, while a prisoner for debt in Portugal, had been indefatigable in gaining all necessary information with respect to the course of the voyage, and the kind of commerce carried on by that people with the East. As this was a voyage rather of discovery than of actual traffic, no great riches were the result of it; but the correct account which he gave to the associated merchants, who employed him, of the coasts and islands he had visited, particularly of Java, with whose sovereign, in spite of the intriguing Portuguese, he had formed an alliance that augured the most beneficial consequences, determined them immediately to fit out double the

former number of ships, which, in 1597, sailed under the command of the Admiral James Van Neck, whose prudence and valour, in spite of all the hostile efforts of the united Portuguese and Spaniards to prevent it, secured them a settlement in Java and the Moluccas, and he returned to Europe loaded with their richest productions. *

The success of Van Neck inspired the merchants of Amsterdam with the most sanguine confidence. They already exulted as masters of the commerce of India, and saw its treasures pouring into the Texel in an unbounded torrent. Far more vigorous exertions, and worthy of the great object in view, now began to be made; and in a short time thirteen stout ships, under able commanders, sailed for the same favourite islands. From Amsterdam the ardour for Indian wealth spread through all the capital cities of the United Provinces. Immense sums were subscribed, and ships every where constructed to secure the advantages already so happily obtained. It was in vain that the Spaniards, exasperated and indignant at seeing the glittering spoil which they had obtained at the price of so much blood and treasure, snatched from their grasp by the contemptible merchants of Holland, as they affected to consider them, sent out their fleets to intercept them; they were either eluded, or beaten, and the cargoes of their richest carracks were often doomed to swell the coffers of their enemies. †

The Portuguese had entered India as conquerors, as well as merchants. The Dutch artfully concealed from the natives their ambitious views, and professed to come as mere mercantile adventurers. Their success was proportionate, and their cause generally favoured by them in their contests with their insolent rivals. But while they were gradually advancing in wealth and

* *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 91. † *Ibid.*

influence, there existed, in their own country, a fatal obstacle to their ever arriving at permanent opulence and prosperity on the shores of India, and that was the numerous companies that every where started up to divide the spoil, and, by underselling each other at the different Indian marts, greatly diminished their respective profits. The sagacious rulers of the new republic saw the evil, and instantly applied the remedy. A general meeting of the directors of both the Holland and Zealand companies was convened at the Hague in A. D. 1602, and they were exhorted, or rather compelled, to unite their stock, to form themselves into a body corporate, and to act under one common seal, to which the sovereign power gave the stamp of its authority. Henceforward, being now become a CHARTERED COMPANY, every thing went on with rapid and unvarying success ; the number of adventurers, and the amount of the capital, astonishingly increased ; and a formidable fleet of fourteen ships was soon seen on the ocean sailing for India, provided at once with all the apparatus of war, and all the various articles of commerce. Every successive year added to the number and the strength of their fleets in Asia, while occasional defeats only gave new vigour to the spirit of national enterprize !

It was in vain that the Spaniards, by fulminating their anathemas in Europe, and by the more substantial thunder of their artillery in the East, aided at the same time by all that remained in Asia, of the power and military resources of Portugal, threw perpetual obstructions in the way of a people fired equally with the thirst of gain, and the ardour of ambition. A series of triumphs over their potent and combined rivals, which it is not my province minutely to record, gradually, and firmly, planted their standard in the Indian Archipelago, and at length opened the way to their final settlement in imperial splendour at Batavia, a city

that in a few ages became the rival, in grandeur, in wealth, in population, of the proudest capitals of Asia.

A far more formidable enemy than any the Dutch had to encounter in the arrogant Spaniard, and the humbled Portugeze, were the daring mariners of that country to whose powerful assistance, during their contest with Spain, they in a great measure owed their emancipation from her yoke, the ENGLISH, who about this time began to display their victorious flags in the Eastern ocean, and whose earliest approach and gradual progress in regions where they are now become so irresistible, it is therefore necessary to investigate. On this interesting subject I shall be easily pardoned by the reader, for going into a more than usual length of detail.

In the preceding chapter, while tracing through the middle ages the progress of Asiatic commerce, I had occasion to observe that its principal channel, particularly of that rich portion which was produced by India, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, was by the way of the Arabian gulph, and down the Nile to Cairo and Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of the Venetians. To them was Britain, at that early period of her maritime power, chiefly indebted for such Indian luxuries as she enjoyed; a large ship of that country, called a CARRACK, being annually dispatched to her shores with an abundant cargo of all the incentives to voluptuous enjoyment; with those fragrant spices that exalted the banquets of her kings, and those costly silks that adorned the nobles of their court. As that power increased, and as her policy became enlarged, she resolved no longer to be thus served, at second hand, with those precious eastern commodities which so highly enriched every nation that trafficked in them, and which she knew her own valour

and industry were so well able to procure. It was not, however, for the remote region of India, but for the shores and islands of the Levant, that the merchant adventurers of London fitted out their first fleet, for the security of which they obtained of Elizabeth public letters of recommendation to the Grand Signior, which terminated in a treaty between the two nations, highly favourable to the interests of the British trader. These vessels for some time carried on a lucrative commerce with Candia, Chios, Cyprus, Tripoli, and other cities on the coast of Syria. Their imports were silks, camblets, rhubarb and other drugs, malmesies, muskadels, and various sorts of Greek wines, sweet oil, cotton, carpets, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. The exported goods, in that infancy of our commerce, were not numerous, consisting chiefly of woollen cloths, calves skins, leather, the staple commodity, TIN, lead, &c. The brave Sir Francis, Drake, and, after him, the celebrated Cavendish, having returned from a voyage round the world, by their reports roused the curiosity of the public, and animated the merchants to attempt the establishment of a direct trade to India. In consequence of their application to that public-spirited Princess, who then wielded the British sceptre, a charter was granted them, bearing date the 31st December, 1600, being the forty-third year of her reign, conferring on them exclusively the right of trading to the East Indies, and allowing them for a certain limited time to export goods free of duty, with many other valuable privileges and immunities. Sir Thomas Smith, an alderman of London, was appointed their first Governor, assisted by a Court of twenty-four Directors to be chosen annually on the first of July, and this Charter to remain in force for the space of fifteen years, to be then renewed, or to terminate, as might appear most conducive to the public good.

The original subscriptions or shares were only fifty pounds, and their total amount of capital only £72,000. Of this sum forty-five thousand pounds were immediately expended in fitting out a fleet of five able ships, whose names (curiosity may be gratified to know) were the Dragon, the Hector, the Swan, the Ascension, the Guest, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, and the remaining twenty-seven thousand pounds were consumed on the cargo. Such was the commencement of that renowned Company whose revenues now amount to millions, and which can boast such a vast extent of empire in Asia. This squadron, manned with 480 able mariners, sailed from Torbay in the spring of the following year, and with as few accidents as the nature and distance of a voyage so new to an English fleet would admit, on the 5th of June 1602, safely arrived in the road of Acheen, in Sumatra, by the sovereign of which place, after the delivery of the Queen's letters and presents, they were honourably received, and had considerable privileges granted them, sanctioned by a treaty. They afterwards touched at the Moluccas, where they were received with equal distinction. After a prosperous voyage, and loaded with the richest produce of those spice-bearing regions, they joyfully re-entered the Downs in September 1603.

The second commercial voyage to India was undertaken in A. D. 1604, with a fleet of only three ships, Sir Henry Middleton commander, which traded to the same marts with similar success; but the kings of Ternate and Tidore being then at open war, and the Dutch taking the part of one sovereign, and the Portuguese of another, it was scarcely possible for an English commander to be wholly unconcerned in the midst of those disputes. Middleton was accused by the Dutch of favouring the cause of their enemy, the King of Tidore, which is not impossible, if he thought his cause a just one, though possibly, on the other hand, it might

have only been a mere pretext for their malignant and interested efforts to crush the British trade in embryo ; and exterminate a successful rival. Whatever was the cause, a deep rooted and rancorous spirit of hostility to the English, ever after distinguished in Asia that ungrateful race, who owed their very existence, as a nation, to their protecting arm. In the present instance, however, their rage was unavailing ; for the English Captain, though unfortunate in the loss of one of his ships, which foundered at sea, returned not only with one of the richest cargoes that had yet arrived on the shore of Britain, but with letters and presents of considerable value to its sovereign, James I. from the Kings of Bantam and Tidore.

Captain William Keeling was appointed to command the third English fleet, and with him was dispatched Captain Hawkins in quality of ambassadour to the Mogul Court, where he was received with respect, conducted himself with prudence, and procured for his countrymen those commercial privileges which industrious foreigners of all nations never failed to obtain from the sovereigns of the illustrious house of Timur. The fourth expedition, deviating from the regular channel of trade, visited the shores of the Arabian Gulph with indifferent success ; but the fifth, with Captain Middleton a second time for its commander, was eminently fortunate ; for after triumphing over all the machinations of the Dutch at the Moluccas, he is said to have brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, and the same quantity of mace, besides pepper, and various other valuable articles of traffic. *

With the enlargement of their commerce, the minds and views of the managers of this lucrative national concern also expanded. Although the time of their charter was far from being expired,

* Harris's Collection of Voyages. Vol. I. p. 227. and Purchase, p. 143.

their success encouraged them to apply, in A. D. 1609, to his Majesty, for a renovation of it, which was readily granted with new immunities. They now proceeded to build ships, instead of purchasing them already built, of the Hanseatic towns, and in particular one was constructed of twelve hundred tons burthen, the largest trading vessel ever launched at that time in England, on board of which the King and his courtiers dined, and to which his Majesty himself gave the appropriate name of the *Trade's Increase*. This large ship, with two others, was fitted out for India early in the succeeding year, at the great expense, as it was then thought, of eighty thousand pounds, and produced an adequate remuneration for their liberality.

It has already been intimated that the Tartar family on the throne of Delhi had ever been great encouragers of commerce ; and the Company, by their envoy at that capital, had obtained permission from Jehanguire, the reigning monarch, to form settlements and establish factories on the shores of Cambay, yet the envy and jealousy of their Dutch and Portuguese rivals, had hitherto rendered all their efforts nearly abortive. The Dutch, in particular, having now become complete masters of the spice-islands, and using both fraud and force to obstruct our progress in that quarter, it was resolved to attempt gaining a settlement on the continent, and Surat, on the province of Cambay, was the place fixed upon for the first display of our united military and commercial exertions. In 1611, four large ships, in equipping which more than usual pains and expense were bestowed, with a view to offensive measures, were therefore dispatched, under the command of Captain Best, a commander fitted by his bravery and naval skill for any enterprize, however daring. The Portuguese had been long settled on that coast, guarded it with jealous vigilance, and were resolved resolutely to oppose the

entrance into their harbours of the ships of all other European nations. Captain Best, however, with his small force, boldly entered the road of Surat, and, with the consent of the Mogul governor, established a factory in that city. A powerful fleet being afterwards sent to destroy him by the Viceroy of Goa, a fleet, said to have consisted of four great galleons, and twenty-six galleys, in which were five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance; the intrepid Briton manifested no symptoms of dismay; but, on the contrary, when he beheld this formidable force approaching, undauntedly sailed to meet them, and rushing into the midst of them, poured his broadsides around him with such effect, that the astonished Portuguese admiral for the present declined the engagement. The day, in fact, was drawing near its close, and he hoped to commence the attack the next morning, under circumstances of less hazard and danger. With the earliest dawn the impetuous attack upon his fleet was renewed, and three of the large galleons were soon driven upon the sands, volleys of shot sweeping their decks, so that not a gun could be fired in return. In the afternoon, when the galleons were again afloat with the tide of flood, the Portuguese renewed the action, but were again discomfited with the loss of twelve hundred men; the numbers of soldiers on board, and their unwieldy ordnance only adding to their confusion. A third attempt was afterwards made by the enraged enemy to sink their ships, and raze the factory, but disgrace to themselves, and glory to the new settlers, were the only result. The natives, to whom the Portuguese were odious for their cruelty and avarice, exulted in their success; and the fame of their heroic valour soon reached the Court of Delhi itself.* After having thus triumphantly settled matters at Surat;

* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 133. Harleian Collection of Voyages, Vol. i. p. 157.

the gallant Captain sailed with the fleet for Acheen and Java, where the report of his exploits had arrived before him, and so awed the Dutch, that no obstruction was given to his commercial intercourse at either place, and he returned to his native country in July 1614, loaded with glory and riches.

The successful mission of Captain Hawkins at the Court of the Mogul Jehanguire, who had recently succeeded the great Akber, has been already mentioned. A long and not uninteresting relation of his transactions at Agra will be found in Purchase,* together with an account of the immense wealth possessed by that monarch, in gems, in gold, and costly articles of furniture of every species. This account, as it exhibits in a striking point of view the unrivalled opulence and grandeur of that great empire with which Britain was now peculiarly anxious to connect herself, and of a third part of which she is now the mistress, shall be presented to the reader with only the antiquated language of that author a little altered. There can be no doubt of its being an authentic document obtained by Hawkins at the Court of Agra, and its truth is confirmed by the statements in the Ayeen Akbery. It will be remembered that the empire under Akber, only lately dead, and from whom this treasure must have descended to Jehanguire, was at that period in the meridian of its glory; and that the Indian custom of conferring on favoured omrahs presents of horses, with costly caparisons, of swords set with jewels, and rich dresses, rendered the accumulation of such splendid articles in the royal treasury in some degree necessary.

“ Of jewels composed solely of diamonds, one batman and an half; a batman is five and fifty pounds weight English: these are rough, and of all sorts and sizes, but none of less than two carats and an half. Of balass rubies, two thousand. Of pearls,

* Vol. i. p. 591. edit. 1617.

twelve batmans. Of rubies of all sorts, two batmans. Of emeralds of all sorts, five batmans. Of eshime, which stone comes from Cataga, one batman. Of stones of Emen, a kind of red stone, five thousand. Of all other sorts, as coral, topazes, &c. the amount is innumerable."

"Of jewels wrought in gold, two thousand and two hundred swords, the hilts and scabbards set with rich stones: two thousand poniards in like manner ornamented. Of saddle drums of gold, used in hawking, set with stones, five hundred. Of rich broaches for the head, in which their feathers are set, two thousand. Of saddles of gold and silver, set with stones, one thousand. Of tuikes, five and twenty. This is a great lance covered with gold, the fluke set with precious stones; they are carried before him when the king goeth to the wars. Of gold parasols of state, richly set with diamonds, one hundred. Of gold chairs of state, one hundred and five. Of large agate chrystal vases for wine, adorned with gold and jewels, one hundred. Of drinking cups of gold, five hundred; of which are fifty exceedingly rich, all of one stone, as beryl, sapphire, &c. Of gold chairs, strung with pearl, and rings set with jewels, the number is infinite. Of gold plate of all kinds, exquisitely wrought, as dishes, goblets, basons, three thousand batmans."* This account, the author adds, concerns his palace of Agra alone; but every one of his palaces, Delhi, Cabul, and Lahore, has each its respective proportion of similar treasures.

Hawkins's success at the Mogul Court encouraged Sir Thomas Smith, still the able manager of the Company's affairs in Europe, to represent to his Majesty the great national as well as individual advantage that would result from sending a person of distinction, as a public ambassador, to the Mogul Court, with ample

* Purchase, vol. i. p. 593.

powers to conclude a treaty, and arrange other matters of commerce and policy with the reigning monarch. The King readily complied with the request of the Company, and Sir Thomas Roe,* an accomplished gentleman and scholar of the Court, was shortly after appointed to that high station. A squadron, fitted out with more than usual expense and magnificence, under Captain Keeling, safely conveyed the new ambassador to the shores of India, and he fulfilling the duties of that station with uncommon ability, and by his insinuating manners, becoming a great favorite with the Mogul, raised the English name and character at that Court, and procured for the Company many very important privileges.

Their commerce, aided by fleets rapidly succeeding each other, built equally for war as traffic, began now to extend widely over the coasts and continent of India. Notwithstanding the infuriate opposition of their rivals of Portugal and Holland, and all the machinations of the active Jesuits, at the Courts of the native princes, they had established settlements and factories, of greater or less consequence, at Bantam, Jacatra, (since named Batavia) Surat, Amadavat, Agra, Ajmere, Brampore, Calicut, Masulipatam, Patan, Siam, Banda, Amboyna, and at many other great eastern marts, now unknown or deserted. The principal imports were, from those famous islands, cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper; and from other parts, precious stones, cinnamon, valuable drugs, indigo, silks, callicoes, &c. : the chief exports, woollen manufactures of various kinds, iron, tin, lead, copper, brass, bullion, &c. The Dutch, however, eventually so firmly established themselves in their newly erected city and castle of Batavia, and fortified its port in a manner so impregnable, that after many severe battles fought both with the Portuguese and English fleets, its commerce in

* See his curious and interesting Journal, in Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 647.

future remained wholly under their controul, ~~and almost to this~~ day they have continued the envied monopolists of its valuable produce.

Perpetual and fruitless hostility, sound morality, and sound policy must ever alike condemn. For nations, that had equally struggled and bled for freedom, to become tyrannical and blood-thirsty themselves, appeared a dreadful solecism, at least to one of the contending parties, and a treaty was in consequence entered into between them, by which it was stipulated that from that date (7th July, 1619) a general amnesty and oblivion of all past offences and excesses committed in the East Indies, by either party, should take place; that commerce, throughout the East Indies, should be thenceforth uninterruptedly carried on, by both parties, and that to prevent all unfair practices, the price of the different commodities should be fixed by commissioners appointed for the purpose; but that in consequence of prior right, and incalculable expenses incurred in erecting forts and magazines, in the Molucca isles, Banda, and Amboyna, the English should enjoy one-third part of the commerce, and the Dutch the other two-thirds; with many other very equitable and salutary regulations;* which it is unnecessary to recite, because almost as soon as ratified, the treaty was violated in its most essential points, by the perfidy of the Dutch, settled in Asia. Into the details of the horrible cruelties, and massacres, said to have been subsequently committed by that nation on our countrymen at Banda and Amboyna, I have neither room nor inclination to enter. In the pamphlets of the day, the accusations were mutual and violent; for the honour of human nature let us hope that by the passions of the writers the recitals are greatly aggravated. Those details are amply given in the Harleian Collection of

* See *Fœdera*, vol. xvii. p. 170.

Voyages; where, also, may be seen the respective charges and recriminations of the accusers, and advocates on either side. Whoever were the aggressors, and to all appearance the evil was fomented, if it did not originate, in the dark and insidious policy of the Dutch wholly to expel the English from the spice islands, such was the final result. The dread of assassination and ruin from those Batavian tyrants, and the want of powerful maritime support, from a court influenced by pacific rather than warlike maxims, compelled the English to seek an asylum in other parts, where their persons might be secure, and their property inviolable. All the forts and factories were gradually evacuated; the Dutch driving away with fire and sword those who were reluctant to depart, and their grand object was thus obtained in not having a rival flag flying through their usurped empire in those seas.

Although it by no means accorded with the political principles of the imbecile James to take vengeance for these insults, by a public declaration of war, yet strong remonstrances were made to the States-General, and reparation for at least the plundered property demanded. The guilt of murder and robbery however being followed by the meanness of falsehood and evasion, nothing was at that time effected; and the impoverished monarch soon after receiving from the Dutch a considerable sum as the consideration for the cautionary towns, the matter was for the present dropt, to the injury of the suffering Company.

The genius of the English, however, disdained despondence. Neglected by the government, the spirit of the Directors, aided by the active exertions of individuals, still preserved their affairs from ruin. Though they must, hereafter, procure their spices at second hand, India produced other luxuries, and had other marts. Having by the skilful management of Captain Saris

obtained a footing in Japan, they now attempted to open a trade from that island to China. Instigated and assisted by Shah Abbas, the Persian monarch, they drove the Portugueze from Ormus on the Persian gulph, by which conquest their commerce found a new channel, and their revenue became greatly improved. They were also engaged in a somewhat hazardous but lucrative traffic to the shores of the Red Sea. About this time too, they obtained permission from the King of Golconda to lay the first foundation of their famous settlement at Madraspatan, on the coast of Coromandel, whence they supplied a great part of the peninsula with European goods, and received in return diamonds, muslins, chintz, and other rich commodities of that region of India.

During the remainder of the reign of King James no public act took place in aid of a Company that had so greatly contributed to extend the wealth and celebrity of the nation ; and during the distractions of the following reign, although Charles was well disposed to avenge their wrongs, no effectual relief was obtained. The vigorous measures that marked the administration of Cromwell was in no instance more conspicuous than in the prompt declaration of war against the Dutch, whose aim seemed to be entirely to crush us as a naval power, but who, by a series of the most severe engagements that ever were fought at sea, were soon taught a different lesson. That haughty nation being compelled at length to sue for peace, it was granted, and in the articles of the subsequent treaty of 1654, the affair of Amboyna, and the plunder of the English at Bantam and Java, were not forgotten. Though the demand of the Company amounted to above two millions and an half, yet the Dutch having brought in counter-demands to a vast amount, the business was finally settled by the latter paying the inadequate sum of 85,000*l.* and making a provision for the surviving relatives of those unhappy wretches that perished at

Amboyna. After this decided patronage of the government, the affairs of the Company became in a high degree prosperous ; and, under the powerful protection of Cromwell, a subscription was raised for the more vigorous execution of their commercial projects, to the amount of 800,000*l.* sterling.*

In A. D. 1655, the Dutch made themselves masters of Calicut, where the Portuguese standard had triumphantly waved from the year 1500 ; soon after, they conquered from them, Columbo, their principal settlement in Ceylon, and to their monopoly of nutmegs, mace, and cloves, they now added that of cinnamon. With the great empires of Japan and China they had negotiated treaties, and carried on an extensive commerce ; they had established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, which was in a very flourishing condition ; and though humbled in their naval pride in Europe, were every where rising, in India, to the highest point of power and splendor on the ruin of the Portuguese.

The protection that had been so decisively afforded the English company by Cromwell, was continued to them by Charles the Second, who, in 1661, renovated their charter with the addition of many new and great privileges. But, in this King's reign, a still more important benefit was obtained, by the acquisition of the port, town, and island, of BOMBAY, on the Guzzurat coast, ceded to his Majesty by Portugal, as part of his consort's, the Infanta's portion, and afterwards by royal mandate consigned in full property to the Company for ever. The situation being eminently convenient for their trade in this quarter, though the soil was barren, and the air far from salutary, no expense was spared in the improvement and defence of the island. A fort of great magnitude, and rendered as strong as the skill of that age in architecture could make it, was constructed without delay ; and though

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 331.

its situation was objectionable from having no springs of fresh water within its limits, and from its being overlooked by an eminence not eight hundred yards distant from it, called Dungaree Hill ; it was on the whole no despicable specimen of that skill. On the island were also erected several inferior forts to check the progress of an invading enemy, particularly Mazagon, on which were mounted fourteen large guns. Bombay had also the advantage of a spacious harbour, in which a numerous navy could at all times ride secure.

At this new emporium, notwithstanding some opposition from the jealousy and superstition of its late possessors, the affairs of the Company went on very prosperously under the management of various wise and prudent governors, till the appointment, to their great detriment, in 1682, of the imperious Sir John Child. The tyranny of this man over the merchants and factors was insupportable, and only to be equalled by the arrogance with which he treated the officers of the Mogul himself, the mighty Aurengzebe. In fancied security, and urged on by the spirit of plunder, for it is impossible to suppose with Captain Hamilton,* that such a respectable body as the Company could have issued these predatory mandates, on the ground of pretended injuries received from the governor of Surat, he gave orders for seizing, wherever met with, the vessels and cargoes of the subjects of the Mogul empire, that now, in great numbers, navigated the Indian seas, and the Arabian and Persian gulphs. At length, he proceeded to the more daring outrage of seizing and carrying into Bombay harbour a fleet of vessels loaded with corn for the imperial army, then encamped about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bombay. In vain did the Seddee, or Mogul General, by two messengers, in mild terms solicit the liberation of this fleet ;

* See Hamilton's *Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 200. et seq.

a flat denial, with an insolent answer, was returned, nor did he awake from his dream of folly, till information was brought him that the Mogul had, at midnight, effected a landing on the island with twenty thousand men, and had secured a post about four miles distant from the principal fortress. With little opposition, the Seddee the next morning got possession of Mazagon; a fort of fourteen guns, about a cannon-shot distant from the castle; afterwards he erected batteries on Dungaree Hill, which, we before observed, overlooked, and, in some degree commanded, the castle; and it was to the want of skill rather than of vigour in the enemy that it was not taken, and the whole garrison sacrificed. In this distressing situation no alternative remained but to send a submissive embassy to Delhi, soliciting forgiveness for the unprovoked aggression, and promising full restitution for the plundered property. To this the Emperor, who was no stranger to the naval consequence of the English nation, after a severe reprimand, consented, and the firmaun was conditionally renewed. The Seddee shortly after removed his army, which, had increased to 40,000 men, and Child, who it was stipulated should in nine months quit India for ever, before the termination of that period expired on the shore where he had caused so much blood to be spilled. Thus terminated a most unpleasant affair, which cost the Company above 400,000*l.* and what was still more deeply to be deplored, materially injured their credit with the Mogul and his subjects.

From this gloomy picture of affairs on the western side of India let us now direct our attention to its eastern shore, where brighter prospects were beginning to dawn. Their new settlement at MADRAS, notwithstanding its wanting the convenience of a port for shipping, and other local disadvantages, under which, indeed, all their infant settlements laboured, continued in a progressive state to commercial distinction, not a little aided by the

King of Golconda's consenting about this period (1691) to accept a certain sum annually and for ever of the Company, instead of the customs hitherto paid to him. Although in 1640, according to Mr. Orme,* the town consisted of only a few fishermen's huts, it had by this time risen, upon the ruins of the neighbouring city of St. Thomas, situate about three miles distant, to an high degree of wealth and population, so as to have become an emporium of their trade, on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam. In the rich province of Bengal too, under the agency of Mr. Job Charnock, the first foundation of that vast empire, which by their power was in after ages established there, was now laid a few miles below the town of Hoogly, situated on the arm of the Ganges, to which it gives name, and the ancient *bunder* or *port*, where the Mogul duties were immemorially collected. He is said, by Hamilton, to have fixed on that spot for an emporium, on account of a large over-spreading tree that stood there, though an unhealthier one, he adds, could not have been chosen, on account of its neighbourhood to a vast lake of stagnant water, the exhalations from which at times rendered the air very insalubrious.† Fort William was strongly constructed, a large irregular tetragon, of brick, and a peculiar kind of mortar used in India, that, by time, becomes harder than stone. The town itself was built in a stragghing manner, and with the gardens, indispensable to Eastern dwellings, covered a large tract of ground. At Hoogly, and in its vicinity, the Dutch and several other European nations, allured by the great profits of the Bengal trade, had forts and factories, but they were all in a short period surpassed in wealth and splendour by the English settlement of Fort William, or, as it is now called, CALCUTTA. That trade (the export

* See Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 230, quarto edit. 1805.

† Hamilton's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 47.

trade.) consisted principally in raw silks, muslins, cottons, salt-petre, and opium, for which they had in return the ores, and the woollen manufactures of Britain, with the various productions of Europe, imported by our Company.

Into the disgusting details of the domestic squabbles, that about the period of the revolution distracted the Company, and of its consequent division into two distinct bodies, acting in opposition to each other, and to their own interests, the general historian need not enter. Passing by, therefore, alike the interested clamours of grasping avarice, and the boisterous declamation of disappointed faction, of which the publications of that day are full, let us adhere to recorded fact alone. Let it suffice, on that substantial evidence, to report that these two Societies, or, as they were called, *the old, and the new Company*, after many violent proceedings, in which the nation, and even its parliament, took no small interest, were at length firmly and happily incorporated A. D. 1702. into one, under the style and title of "THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND, TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES," with a capital greatly enlarged, with immunities far more extended, and established not by regal charter only, the validity of which now began to be questioned, but with the addition of the solemn sanction of Parliament. With these vastly increased funds, and under the national support, new advantages crowned their commercial, and new glory their military, efforts. The Dutch had for the most part retained possession of the islands, and the English of the continent of India. To the Portuguese, of all their vast empire, nothing remained but Goa, Diu, and a few inconsiderable appendages on that coast. A fourth power, that of France, was however, now by great and rapid strides, advancing to eminence, with whose proceedings we shall hereafter have much concern, and to the history of which we must therefore advert.

The genius of the French nation was ever more of a military than a commercial nature. Ambition, rather than avarice, is the ruling passion of that volatile people. Happy also in a rich and abundant country, but too often distracted by civil feuds, they had not the same spur of necessity, by which the Dutch were goaded, to explore distant regions under a burning sun ; or to engage with vigour in maritime adventures. The example and splendid success of surrounding nations, had, however, early in the 17th century, excited some efforts of the kind in France, to which the great and politic Cardinal Richlieu gave all the assistance in his power, but they produced no permanent effect, and terminated wholly in some trifling advances towards a settlement in the island of Madagascar.*

It was to the vigorous genius, and comprehensive views of the great Colbert, that the French are indebted for the establishment in 1664, of an East India Company on a solid basis. Sufficient time and experience had been allowed for discovering those fatal errors, on which, both in France and in other countries, preceding establishments had been wrecked. They were, therefore, sedulously avoided, and not only the term of the charter was at once fixed for fifty years, that their efforts and interests might have time to consolidate ; but the new society had the benefit of the whole weight and influence of the government, with as ample a pecuniary aid as the finances of the court of Lewis XIV. would admit of. Now, though it be an undoubted fact, that commerce always flourishes best in countries where liberty is most cherished, and in general grows torpid under the chilling grasp of arbitrary power, yet when genius and wisdom preside in arbitrary states, and sincerely lend their patronage to commerce,

* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 87. and *Thevenot's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 128.

the boldest efforts may be successfully made, and the government and the merchant will be proportionably remunerated. Thus both king and minister being alike sincere and hearty in this business, the project commenced under the happiest auspices. The most alluring offers were holden out both to natives and foreigners to embark their property in the lucrative scheme; unprecedented privileges, both of the import and export kind, were conferred upon the adventurers; and whereas, in general, the idea of engaging in commercial concerns was considered by the proud nobility of France as degrading to their blood, the national vanity was flattered by an express law, conferring new honours on such of the nobles as might choose to enter into it. Upon this judicious plan, fifteen millions of livres, about £656,000. sterling, were in a short time raised, and, in the spring of the following year, four large ships, equipped not less for commercial than military operations, if necessary, with a competent number of men, sailed from Brest, and safely arrived in the road of Madagascar in July following.

After having previously experienced so many disasters at Madagascar, it is rather surprising that the French should have again assiduously laboured to establish themselves in that grave of their commerce and their countrymen. They were soon however convinced of their error, and, in 1668, through the united influence and exertions of two enterprising foreigners, one the *Sieur Caron*, a disappointed Dutchman, and the other the *Sieur Marcara*, a native of Ispahan, but engaged in their service, we find them settled in Surat, and other places on the Malabar coast, erecting forts, and participating at least with other Europeans, in its trade. By the active exertions of the same Persian, who is said to have been related to some persons of rank at the court of Golconda, they shortly after got a footing at Masulipatam, on

the Coromandel coast ; they also obtained a settlement at Bantam, in Java, which they retained till they were expelled by the Dutch, together with the English in 1682 ; at Balasore, and at Hoogly in Bengal, as well as at St. Thomas, they had inferior factories : and finally, after several severe conflicts with the Dutch, into which it is unnecessary to enter, they established themselves in great force and splendour at Pondicherry, their future Indian capital.

Had a Colbert been always at the helm of government in France, the spirit of zeal and enterprize that certainly distinguished the Company's early Governors in India, would have probably been crowned with more distinguished success ; but with all their advantages at setting out, above enumerated, the period at which their fleets arrived in India, so long after their European rivals had formed settlements on its shores, and treaties with its sovereigns, was a powerful obstacle to their success. Whatever could be performed by persevering assiduity, united with great political abilities, was effected by those who presided over the Indian establishments ; but they had neither the ample revenues, nor, the navy of France being as yet in its infant state, the formidable fleets of their more fortunate competitors. In consequence, after having attained to no small elevation as a commercial body, long before the expiration of their charter, their affairs rapidly declined. On the Malabar coast their power was extinguished ; and Pondicherry, with some minor factories, alone remained to them on the opposite shore of the Peninsula. Both the framer of their charter, and the king who sanctioned it, were now no more, (1715) ; their funds were nearly exhausted, and the French people groaned under a load of taxes accumulated during that reign of boundless expense and ambition. **No new fund could, therefore, be raised for the**

support of their Indian trade ; and during this dark period, it was principally through their insinuating manners and address, by which they ever in a peouliar manner attached to themselves the princes and people of India, that they retained their power and consequence on its shores. At the same time they were continually enlarging the limits, and adding to the strength of the fortifications of Pondicherry, whence they carried on a lucrative trade with the other great marts of India, and, from the near neighbourhood of the diamond mines, in its very richest commodities.

After the lapse of a few years, fresh efforts were made to renovate the affairs of the expiring Company, and, by a singular stroke of policy, an union in 1719, was formed between the French East and West India Companies, under the general title of the "COMPANY OF THE INDIES ;" with a new and vast capital, not less than fifty millions of livres, and with the full confirmation and wide extension of all grants and former privileges.* Although political rather than commercial considerations formed the origin and basis of this grand project, still for the present it operated highly towards their emancipation from the difficulties under which the Company laboured in Asia, and they saw, with astonishment and rapture, three ships richly freighted with European commodities, and having, likewise, on board a large quantity of silver, in specie and bullion, arrive to their relief near the close of the following year. As the Company's embarrassments in India were considerable, no very ample returns could immediately be made ; but what was thus liberally given being wisely used, and these well judged supplies being, with some occasional interruptions, continued from the parent country, they in a few years were enabled to send back such valuable cargoes

* Abbé de Guyon's History of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 96. ubi supra.

in return for the munificence of the ministers, who were in fact the principal; though concealed managers, as excited at once the wonder and envy of all the maritime powers of Europe.

Under these fortunate auspices they began to display their victorious banners once more on the Indian continent, and retook and fortified many of their ancient castles and factories. At a more advanced period, we find them driving a brisk trade with China for teas; with Mocha for coffee and Arabian drugs; and with Bassora for pearls, and the rich articles of the Persian loom. The great isles of Bourbon and Mauritius were also by the same vigour of enterprize added to their acquisitions in the East, and at Chandernagore, two miles below Hoogley, in Bengal, they had exhausted their whole military skill, in erecting a fort and bastions fully adequate to resist any force that could be sent against it, at least by the native Powers. This very rapid sketch of the general situation of the French in India, and of their various settlements, about the year 1740, is intended as introductory to those more important historical details which must presently occupy the reader's attention. Those details fill many volumes of the European writers who have attempted minutely to record them. We can only give the substance of these great and complicated events, which shall be done with impartiality, and with as much perspicuity as the intricacy of the subject will permit.

CHAPTER III.

POWER necessary to uphold COMMERCE in Despotic Eastern Countries.—The English at CALCUTTA oppressed by the Mogul Viceroy.—They send Ambassadors to Delhi, and obtain a FIRMAUN, or Royal Mandate in their favour.—The consequent Prosperity of that Settlement.—View of Affairs at MADRAS.—Summary of the Mogul History, and that of Nizam-al-Muluck, necessary to a right Comprehension of the Transactions in the Carnatic.—In the violent Contests for the Nabobship the English and French take different sides—Auxiliaries first, but afterwards Principals—To restore order Nizam-al-Muluck marches into the Carnatic at the head of a vast Army.—Supersedes the reigning Dynasty of Princes, and appoints his General, Abdallah, Nabob.—His sudden death.—Anwar-odean appointed to succeed him.—M. DUPLEIX sent out Governor General to India.—His daring and ambitious Character. Madras besieged and taken by the French.—Pondicherry besieged by Admiral Boscawen.—Madras restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Anwar-odean slain in Battle.—The Cause of Chanda-saheb supported by the French; that of Mahommed Ali by the English.—Death of Nazir, and Murzafa, Jing.—Salabatjing made Soubah of the Deccan.

IN the two preceding chapters, a rapid survey has been taken of the gradual progress of the principal European settlers on the continent and islands of India; I say the *principal*, because the transactions in those regions of the Danes, the Ostend, and other companies, are not of importance enough in this very general retrospect to merit any particular notice. We have seen

the Portugueze, the Dutch, the English, and the French, successively, and strenuously contending for that commerce which has in all ages so highly enriched the nations that have shared in it. The genius of the Mogul government, friendly to commerce, had for the most part permitted and sanctioned these establishments ; but, remote as they were from the capital, could not prevent their being occasionally plundered by a tyrannical or avaricious Nabob, the provincial governor.

A certain degree of POWER is absolutely necessary to protect COMMERCE in arbitrary eastern countries ; and the truth of this maxim was no where more deeply felt than at Calcutta, now risen to proud distinction, as the emporium of the Company's traffic in Bengal, but subject to perpetual extortions from the unprincipled rapacity of the reigning Viceroy, and his officers. To obtain an enlargement of their juridical power in certain cases, within the limits of their own territory, as well as an extension of their privileges in a country, so highly benefited by their trade, seemed no unreasonable expectation, and, after due deliberation, an embassy for that purpose to the Mogul Court was, in 1715, resolved upon, together with a memorial, humbly stating their claims upon it for protection, enumerating the hardships under which they laboured, and praying immediate relief. Edward Stephenson, Esq. and John Surman, Esq. two of the ablest factors at that Presidency, were appointed the ambassadors, and as no Eastern potentate is ever approached without a NEZR, or present, a valuable present was prepared, consisting of the rarest and most exquisite articles of the rich traffic in which they dealt. Innumerable obstacles, too tedious to be recapitulated, retarded the progress and completion of this mission ; but at length, after the lapse of nearly two years, its objects were fully attained. The ambassadors were favourably received by the reigning emperor,

FURRUKSEER, and they obtained a firmaun, or imperial mandate, conferring on them the desired enlargement of their juridical authority within their own domain. That firmaun not only confirmed all former grants, but allowed them the liberty to trade, free of customs, to construct new fortifications, to coin money, and many other highly important immunities. In their memorial, the grievances by which the other two settlements were oppressed, were not forgotten; and they too obtained redress and ampler privileges. From this period Calcutta, which had, till now, looked to Madras for directions and advice in difficulties, began to act as an independent Presidency, only accountable to the Direction in England. To the consideration of the affairs of that government, where a dark storm was brooding, it is now necessary to direct the attention of the reader.

A short anticipation of the Mogul history, which will be detailed more at large in the succeeding book, is here absolutely necessary to understand that portion of the narrative of our affairs in India, on which we are about to enter. Aurungzeb, who died in the year 1707, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring. India had not for ages seen two such immense armies assembled on her plains, as those which accompanied to the field his sons Azem Shah and Mahommed Mauzim, the rival competitors for his vacant throne. Mauzim was the successful combatant. His son Jehander Shah, weak in intellect but violent in his passions, succeeded him. Two powerful Omrahs, brothers, called the SEYDS, disgusted at his effeminacy, united to dethrone him, and raised Furrukseer to the imperial musnud. The reign of Furrukseer was a reign of more vigour, but aiming to make himself independent of these assuming brothers who had secured for

themselves and their friends all the great offices of state, after seven years they deprived him both of his throne and his life. To the same high dignity, and the same deplorable fate they devoted Rafeih-al-Derjat. They then proclaimed his brother Rafeih-al-Dowlat, who, a few days after his succession, died a natural death. Lastly they exalted to the throne Mohammed Shah, who exerted his whole power to accomplish their destruction, and effected it. This vigorous and successful enterprize, at the commencement of his reign, afforded great hopes that it would prove a glorious one. It, however, turned out to be not only a very inglorious reign, but during its continuance, there occurred that dreadful calamity which eventually subverted the Mogul empire, or at least so convulsed it to its centre, that it has never since recovered from the blow; I mean the invasion of Hindostan by Nadir Shah.

The principal instigator of this memorable irruption was a great and ambitious but slighted Omrah, named Nizam-al-Muluck, in shorter terms, the NIZAM, who, after the plunder of Delhi by the Persian troops, retired to the province of which he had long been governor, the Deccan, and erected a standard little inferior to the imperial in power and splendor. By the Deccan must here be understood, that word in its most extensive signification, as including all the southern provinces, the vast regions recently conquered by Aurungzeb, amounting to nearly a fourth of the empire. The transactions of this important personage and his descendants in the peninsula, as Soubahs of the Deccan, will occupy no small portion of the subsequent pages.*

* The reader will please to observe that in the names of persons and places throughout the narrative I shall usually follow the orthography of the author who will be our surest guide, Mr. ORME.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships of that Deccan over which his usurped sway extended. From its capital of Arcot, it is also named the province, and the prince the Nabob, of Arcot. The title is indiscriminately given. Sadatalla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, who governed it from 1710 to 1732, having no male issue, adopted the two sons of his brother, appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed him in the Nabobship. The old Nabob died in 1732, much regretted. The Nizam, however, not having been consulted in the appointment, is said to have beheld the succession of Doast-ally with aversion, and to have prevented his obtaining authentic patents from Delhi, confirming the appointment. Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the elder, Subder-ally, had already arrived at man's estate, the other was a minor. He had also several daughters, one married to his nephew, Mortiz-ally, and another to a more distant relation, Chunda-saheb. In the Peninsula, as well as in many other parts of the empire, many inferior rajahs were left by the conquerors in possession of their territories, on condition of annually paying a certain stipulated tribute to the Viceroy of the province. They were allowed to live in splendor little less than royal, and to maintain an army adequate at least to all the purposes of effective government. Of this class were the kingdoms (if they may be so called) of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, and some others towards the southern extremity of India. They paid tribute to the great Mogul, and that tribute was collected, sometimes not without an army to enforce its payment, by the Nabob of the Carnatic. At Trichinopoly the king dying in 1736, and there being a dispute relative to the succession, an army was sent by the Nabob into that quarter, under the command of his son, Subder-ally, and his relation Chunda-saheb, to

settle the disputed points. They lay for some time encamped near the city, whose gates were closed ; but Chunda-saheb, by stratagem, and, it is said, by the connivance of the queen-regent, who had fallen in love with him, soon contrived to introduce himself and a large body of troops within the walls, the consequence of which was its speedy subjugation, and her dethronement. The dependencies very soon after submitted, and Chunda-saheb remained to govern the new conquest, while Subder-ally returned to his father at Arcot.

The resentment, however, of the Nizam still continuing, he determined that neither the Nabob nor his relation should peaceably enjoy their dominions. Remote at Delhi, embarked in vast schemes of ambition, and anxious to enrich and aggrandize his family at the expense of the empire, he was unable personally to interfere, but instigated the Mahrattas, ever the tools of his ambitious projects, to invade the Carnatic, who, prompt to obey the summons, in 1740, poured their predatory myriads over its fertile regions. In the very first engagement at Damal-cherri, Doast-ally, and his son Hassan, after fighting gloriously for several hours, fell dead from their elephants on the field of battle. The Mahrattas, formed for engagements in the open plain, are but little skilled in the attack of fortified cities, and when Subder-ally, who was approaching with an army to the assistance of his father heard of his fate, he immediately altered his course, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Vellore, while Chunda-saheb remained secure at Trichinopoly. In the mean time the Mahrattas inexorably ravaged all the open country. A treaty was at length set on foot, and their retreat was purchased at the high price of ten millions of rupees. The impoverished Subder-ally immediately ascended the musnud, as Nabob of the Carnatic. But on

this, as on a former occasion, the Nizam not having been consulted, his pride was again severely wounded, and his resentment highly inflamed.*

In this treaty with the Mahrattas there was a secret article highly disgraceful to Subder-ally, but very consistent with the known perfidy of Asiatic despots, even though connected by the ties of blood. Bearing concealed in his heart a jealous hatred of Chunda-saheb, it was agreed that the Mahrattas, as if unknown to the Nabob, should return at the close of the year, and that Trichinopoly and Chunda-saheb should be given up to them. This they failed not to do, at the appointed time; Chunda-saheb, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to submit, and was carried prisoner to their capital of Sattarah, where he was detained in close confinement till the year 1748, when by M. Dupleix's intercession he was released. Morari Row, one of their generals, was left with 14,000 of their best troops in the command of the newly acquired kingdom, which was pillaged and devastated through all its bounds in the manner usual with those barbarians.

The two great rival settlements of Madras and Pondicherry being situate on the coast of Coromandel, at the distance of only 100 miles, could scarcely avoid being in some degree involved in the everlasting conflicts that occurred, within its limits, between the native princes. The great superiority of the Europeans in military science, and above all, the infinite advantage which their well-conducted artillery gave them in Indian warfare, made the native powers at all times extremely solicitous to have their assistance in their contests with each other. They were at first, indeed, auxiliaries only in those conflicts, but mutual irritations

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 46. ubi supra.

and reproaches taking place between them, they soon became animated with all the fury and vengeance of principals.

The fortifications at Pondicherry were of such magnitude and extent as to astonish the natives of India, a people who had made little progress in that art ; they appeared to them impregnable. In fact, the utmost efforts of late governors had been exerted to render the place exceedingly formidable. To that city, therefore, as to an inviolable asylum, a few days after the battle, the widow and relatives of Doast-ally had fled for refuge with all their jewels and treasures to an immense amount. They were received with great kindness and hospitality ; and when the Mahrattas had left the country, both Subder-ally and his brother Chunda-saheb repaired thither in great pomp and splendor, and expressed eternal gratitude to the French for the protection thus generously afforded to the royal fugitives. Presents of great value and high honours were accumulated on M. Dumas, the governor ; and whatever privileges he thought proper to claim for his nation were readily granted. This was the basis of that intimate connection formed by the French with the native powers, which afterwards proved the baleful source of so many wars ; for, at a future period, the English at Madras finding it necessary to espouse the interests of a contrary party, the merchant was compelled to turn soldier, and amidst the perpetual struggles for power of the contending parties, the desolated Carnatic in time became an ACELDAMA ; a very field of blood.

The history of these turbulent chieftains is indeed but a black detail of murders. Subder-ally, the self-created Nabob of the Carnatic, enjoyed his authority but for a short period. While on an expedition to collect the tribute due to him as Nabob from Mortiz-ally, at Vellore, that ruffian, whom no ties of consanguinity could bind, after in vain attempting to poison him, pro-

cured a Patan to dispatch him with several stabs of a poniard. He immediately caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob ; but his execrable character and tyrannical conduct occasioned an universal insurrection among both the civil and military officers of the province: they in a body surrounded the palace, with loud invectives, and the cruel being always cowardly, he was intimidated, and fled by night in the habit of a woman in a covered palankin. The widow and infant son of Subder-ally had fled for refuge to the English at Madras: and Mortiz-ally in vain demanded them and the treasures they carried with them into that city. The English knew the distracted state of the province, and resolutely refused to give them up. The revolted chiefs declared the Nabobship vacant, and proclaimed Subder-ally's infant, named Seid Mahommed, Nabob ; who with his mother was immediately removed to Vandiwash, a strong fort, governed by a near relation of Subder-ally.

Indignant at these atrocities and innovations, and having succeeded in getting his son, Ghazi-odeen Khan, made Captain General of the Mogul's armies, the Nizam, at the head of a vast army that spread dismay and terror as it past, in 1743, marched from Golconda to settle the disorders of the Carnatic. When arrived at Arcot, he was struck with astonishment at the anarchy that pervaded every department of the government. Every petty chieftain had assumed the title and parade of a Nabob, and one day, after eighteen persons thus distinguished had been presented to him, he was so irritated, as to order any person to be scourged, who in his presence should again dare to assume that title. The young son of Subder-ally, the only one who had any shadow of a claim to it, was also presented to him, and graciously received ; but instead of being returned to the guardian care of his uncle at Vandiwash, the young prince was committed to the custody of some lords of his court ; at the same

time he commanded them to treat him with all possible respect and tenderness.

Having made the reformatations in the government, which his political wisdom, and his uncontrolled authority enabled him to make, the Soubah appointed Abdallah, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies. After reducing Morari Row, the Mahratta governor of Trichinopoly, rather, it is said, by presents and promises, than by arms, the Soubah returned to his capital of Golconda, Abdallah still continuing in the command of the troops, and governing Arcot by a deputy. Early in the following year he prepared to assume in person the reins of government, and, on taking leave of the Soubah, for that purpose, was distinguished by particular honours. The next morning, however, he was found dead in his bed, with evident marks of having been poisoned, but by whom was never discovered. A successor was immediately nominated in the famous Anwar-odean. This promotion, in exclusion of the rightful heir, gave great disgust in the province, and was the occasion of many convulsions that afterwards distracted it. The inhabitants indeed fondly hoped that to Seid Mahommed, the son of Subderally, above mentioned, the throne might ultimately revert; but that hope suddenly expired, for on a public festival, in a conspiracy of Patan chiefs, to which Anwar-odean and Mortiz-ally were supposed to be not unconscious, the unsuspecting youth was basely assassinated. Whatever suspicions however might attach to his character, Anwar-odean had the address to clear himself with the Nizam from the guilt of this foul murder, and soon after the event, he sent him regular patents, signed by the Mogul, with full powers to administer affairs, as Nabob of the Carnatic.

The above summary of transactions that about this period took place in the southern part of the Peninsula, may be thought rather to belong to the Imperial, than to the Company's history;

but it is introduced to show by what means the affairs of the latter became gradually so implicated in those of the former, that towards the close of the century the history of the one is nearly the history of the other.

It has been observed that *a dark cloud brooded over Madras*. In 1744, war was declared between Great Britain and France, and as it was not doubted but that a decisive blow would be aimed at her Indian commerce, preparations, but not such as were adequate to the impending danger, were early made to ward off that blow. Commodore Barnet, with three ships of the line and a frigate, appeared in July, 1745, on the coast of Coromandel, which in the then situation of Pondicherry, destitute of a ship at anchor in its road, alarmed even the daring mind of M. Dupleix, the new governor, and he prevailed on the Nabob Anwar-odean to interpose his authority with the Madras government that no hostilities should be attempted against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot. Anwar-odean consented, but insisted at the same time that the French, if ever they became superior, should observe the same law of neutrality. From respect and deference to the Nabob's authority, no hostile acts were attempted this year. A reinforcement of two fifty gun ships and a frigate enabled the English in the following year to present a bold aspect at Pondicherry, but the unexpected arrival of nine ships of war under the famous Bourdonnais disconcerted their projects, though it damped not their spirits. They gave him battle, and fought undauntedly till the darkness of the night separated them. In a council of war, holden the next morning on board the English Admiral's ship, it was not thought prudent, from the shattered state of their ships, and especially of one, a sixty gun ship, that had received the greatest injury, to renew the engagement, until the damages they had sustained had been

repaired. The fleet therefore sailed for Trincomalee, in Ceylon, to refit; and though, afterwards, the two fleets came in sight of each other, and continued so for several days, no second engagement took place.

The French admiral imputing to timidity what was solely the effect of prudence in the English commander from the great disparity of their respective force, instantly determined on the bold measure of laying siege to Madras. The English, alarmed at their situation now, in their turn, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of preventing any hostile attack of the French by land, but having no costly presents made him to stimulate exertion, he is supposed to have been not very ardent in their cause, and if he did not absolutely *provoke*, he certainly made no efforts to *repress* the violence of the invading foe. Madras, built with a view to commerce, rather than defence, was but indifferently fortified to resist an enemy; especially an enemy so well skilled in military tactics as Bourdonnais, the Commander of the French. It consisted of three divisions, of which the first contained the fort, the houses of the factors, and the public warehouses. It was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries of very defective construction. This quarter was inhabited solely by Europeans, was for distinction called the White Town, and is properly FORT ST. GEORGE. The second division is far larger, but worse fortified, inhabited by the richest Arminian and Indian merchants: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this, northward, stretched a vast suburb, filled with the habitations of Indian natives of all ranks, promiscuously scattered. There were scarcely three hundred Europeans in the whole colony, and 200 of these composed the garrison; the total number of inhabitants in the Company's territory was not less than 250,000.

On the 18th of August, 1746, the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but retired without doing much damage. In the mean time the terrified inhabitants anxiously expected the appearance of that fleet, which was principally sent out for their defence. Most unfortunately, however, the sixty gun-ship, the only one of that magnitude in the fleet, was found to be so leaky, that it was feared, if again brought into action, the very shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, and the squadron was compelled to proceed to Bengal. On the 3d of September, the French fleet again appeared on the coast, and four leagues to the south of Madras landed a considerable part of the large force which they had brought for its reduction. It consisted of 1100 Europeans, and 800 natives, while on board the fleet there remained 1800 mariners; an immense disparity! compared with the handful of men, which, by the most criminal negligence, were alone left to defend the first settlement of the Company on the shores of India. The remainder of the force, with all the engines of assault, with which the ships were so amply stored, were debarked the next day within cannon shot of the fort, and the White Town, in which the English resided, was first attacked. The bombardment and cannonade were extremely severe, not only from the batteries erected on shore, but from all those ships that could be brought near enough to fire upon it with effect. The conduct of Mr. Morse, the governor, on this occasion was highly praiseworthy, and he resisted as long as his inefficient garrison, and his ill-conditioned works could hold out against so formidable a foe. On the 10th he sent deputies to capitulate, and the terms dictated by the victor were, that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that the town should immediately be delivered up; but that it should afterwards be ransomed. On the same day, Bourdonnois, at the

head of a large body of troops, took possession of the place, and the keys of the fort and the public magazines were delivered to him. An Indiaman, then lying in the road, was taken possession of; and the lilies of France were seen triumphantly to wave on the ramparts of St. George.

The ransom afterwards agreed upon was 1,100,000 pagodas, or about 440,000l. sterling. This ransom was for the town; all the money, merchandize, military and naval stores were sent on board the French ships. The amount of these was calculated at about 200,000l. more. M. Dupleix, however, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to ratify the treaty. He and the council of that presidency were decidedly of opinion that Madras, its rival, should be razed to the ground; and nothing but the honourable firmness of M. de la Bourdonnais in adhering to his engagements prevented that catastrophe. The disputes which on this and other accounts arose between these two high-spirited chiefs were of essential service to the Company's affairs; for they detained the latter with his fleet on the dangerous coast of Coromandel till the monsoon set in, when it was dispersed in a dreadful storm, and received irreparable damage. Matters however were at length brought to a crisis, and it was determined that the French, who were by the first treaty to have quitted the town on the 4th of October, should remain in the possession of it for three months, or at least for such a period as might be necessary to adjust all the discussions arising from the treaty. In consequence, Bourdonnais shortly after invested one of the council of Pondicherry, sent by M. Dupleix for the purpose, with the government, and to the regret of those whom he had vanquished, sailed with his shattered fleet under jury masts, for the Mauritius.

The Nabob, Anwar-odean, in the mean time had not been wholly inattentive to the proceedings of the French; and before

the capitulation had sent a menacing letter to M. Dupleix, at Pondicherry, for having violated the peace of the province. He was pacified however by the promise that Madras, if taken, should be given up to himself, and that he would be certain of receiving a large sum from the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. In this expectation finding himself deceived, he soon after sent an army of 10,000 men to Madras under the command of his son Maphuze Khan, who invested the town. The French sent deputies to treat, but these he detained: still they delayed coming to extremities with a person of his high distinction, and committing themselves with the delegated viceroy of the great Nizam. Being at length compelled to come to an engagement with him, his army was in several successive actions utterly routed, and his camp and baggage plundered, to the great emolument of the victors. The charm being thus broken, and the terror of warring against the supposed invincible Mogul effaced from the minds of Europeans, the reader will not wonder after this to find their standards frequently opposed in the field to those which may be called imperial. In fact, as ambition or avarice swayed their minds, the Moguls fought alternately on the side of the English or French, and alternately became the plunder of those whom they themselves meant to pillage.

After these transactions, the French proceeded to one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced the page of history. They refused to relinquish Madras; they declared the ransom null and void; they sent the governor and principal inhabitants prisoners to Pondicherry; their valuable property was seized upon; and all who would not take the oath of allegiance to the French king were ordered to quit Madras, and its territory, in the short space of five days. A great addition was made to the garrison for its

better security, and the fortifications repaired and strengthened. Determined, if possible, to extirpate the English from Coromandel, they next led a formidable force against Fort St. David, situate near the sea, twelve miles south of Pondicherry. This town was a sort of dependency on Madras, small, but better fortified for its size than any in India. About a mile from it stood Cuddalore, where many rich Indian merchants, and others dependent on the Company, resided. The English of Fort St. David, in this extremity, applied to the Nabob, who now breathed nothing but vengeance against the French, for his assistance, and it was readily granted. At a moment when all seemed lost, a body of 6000 horse and 3000 foot made their appearance, and these, mixed with, and in some degree guided by the English troops, attacked the invaders with success, and compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. In proof, however, of what has been just observed concerning the fickleness and venality of these Mogul chiefs, M. Dupleix, by a bribe of 50,000 rupees, and a present of European trinkets of the value of 100,000 more, was able to purchase peace of them, and the recal of their troops from Fort St. David.*

Of the fleet whose unfortunate, I will not say disreputable, absence thus contributed to the loss of the first English settlement, Commodore Peyton had the command, having succeeded that valiant officer (Barnet) who had the year before perished on that shore which he had so well defended against the enemies of his country. Something more in the then perilous situation of the settlement should certainly have been attempted by Peyton, and in that opinion, doubtless, government coincided, by sending Admiral Griffin to supersede him. Griffin arrived in India about the middle of December, 1746, but found his collective force too small either

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 85, ubi supra.

to reduce Pondicherry, or retake Madras ; however he stationed his force with such admirable skill in Fort St. David's road, about five leagues to windward of Pondicherry, as for nearly two years, the period of his continuing on those seas, to intercept all the trade, and cut off all the supplies of that city. To him Admiral Boscawen succeeded, and with nine sail of the line, two frigates, and a larger body of troops than the English had ever yet sent out to India, began the regular siege of Pondicherry. It is revolting to the feelings of an historian to be perpetually recording disasters. The attack was not ultimately successful, owing to the great strength of the fort, constructed with uncommon skill, defended by two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, with magazines and arsenals amply provided, and a well-disciplined garrison, consisting of above 4000 men. Exertions worthy of a British army were made by the besiegers ; but Admiral Boscawen, invincibly brave and skilled in the conduct of marine engagements, is said to have wanted the qualities necessary to success in carrying on war on shore. Sickness, too, prevailed to a great extent in the British lines ; and the stormy monsoon setting in earlier by three weeks than usual, compelled them rather ingloriously to raise the siege. But that transient disgrace was not long after amply retrieved. The hour of dreadful retribution for all the injuries committed by the French was not yet arrived. The finest European city in India was not razed to the ground till a few years later in the annals of Asiatic warfare.

In 1748, Peace auspiciously arose to dissipate the sanguine cloud that had so long veiled the horizon of India. By the conditions stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was restored to the Company, and the nation, in return for Cape Breton ; and Boscawen with a part of his squadron sailed to take possession of

it in August of the same year. The English received it in a very improved state from that in which they had yielded it up ; many new bastions and batteries having been constructed, and an excellent glacis had been formed that covered the north and south sides of the town. Re-established in its ancient abode, the genius of British Industry again began to rear its head ; and wise from past misfortune, with their commercial speculations, the new presidency neglected not to blend that prudent attention to military concerns which their hazardous situation amidst a host of ambitious and contending foes seemed to require. During all this dreadful calamity the seat of supreme power on the Coromandel coast had been transferred by the Company's orders to Fort St. David, which had now become a place of great strength, and highly increased in its population and commerce. Nor was Madras again restored to its ancient honours as the seat of the presidency till May, 1752. A stronger garrison, however, was in future maintained within the walls of Madras, and the fortifications were constantly kept in the most respectable state of defence. This indeed was now become imperiously necessary, for M. Dupleix still pursuing the high game of conquest rather than of commerce, for which his genius was better qualified, was perpetually urging on the native powers to mutual attacks, that his ambition might be gratified by the elevation of himself and his nation on their downfall and ruin. The imperial standards of England and France were no longer opposed in the field, or on the ocean ; but, as allies to the princes of India, the banner of hostility was still kept unfurled, reluctantly enough by the cautious English, but by their more daring rivals with the avowed principles of subjugation and triumph.

The death of Mohammed Shah, the enervate, the humiliated monarch of the millions of Hindostan, took place about this

period ; and shortly after, at the advanced age of 104, expired the greatest of his subjects, if indeed the man who arrogated almost imperial honours could be called a subject, the NIZAM. He left five sons, two of whom only it is of immediate importance to notice. The eldest of these, Ghazi-odean, still continued at Delhi, in his post of captain-general of the forces. The second succeeded him as soubah of the Deccan, though a grandson of the Nizam, born of a favourite daughter, and cherished by the old man with the greatest affection, on the ground of a will asserted to be made in his favour, laid claim to that distinction and to the greatest part of the treasures of his grandfather. His assumed name was Murzafa-jing, and a disputed succession offering a glorious opportunity for the intrigues of M. Dupleix, he resolved not to lose it ; presuming that by vigorously promoting the objects of his ambition, he might afterwards make him an easy tool for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had himself in view, he gave the young prince his decided and zealous support. Convinced of the abilities and great military talents of Chunda-saheb, still languishing in fetters among the Marhattas at Sattarah, he extended all his influence to get him released, and by bribes and promises he at length succeeded. He then contrived to get him appointed general of the forces of Murzafa, and by a lavish expenditure of the Company's treasures, greatly increased their numbers and importance. Anwar-odean still continued acting viceroy of the Carnatic, but Chunda-saheb, related to the old line of Nabobs descended from Sadatullah, that anciently governed the province, so forcibly urged his own pretensions to that distinguished situation, that he soon prevailed upon his new-acknowledged lord to issue letters patent appointing him Nabob in the place of Anwar-odean. As opposition would doubtless be made to this assumption of viceregal honours, he

had the further art to persuade the young prince to try his strength first in this minor expedition, which, if successful, would secure to him the wealth and resources of that vast tract of country, which extended from Arcot to Cape Comorin, including many rich and powerful states. The scheme appeared so plausible, and at the same so highly flattering to the ambition of a brave young soldier, ardent to distinguish himself in the field, that it was immediately adopted.

Anwar-odean knowing the great military talents, as well as the pretensions of Chunda-saheb, had always regarded him with a jealous eye, and is thought to have used his influence in protracting the period of his confinement at Sattarah. When intelligence was brought him of the hostile intention of the combined princes, he lost not a moment in preparing to defend his rights by the sword. He levied an army of 12000 horse, and 8000 infantry, and with these he hastened to defend the passes of the mountains that led into the Carnatic. M. Dupleix had previously dispatched a body of 400 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, to join the forces of the invaders, and in fact, to their skill and valour the success of the day must principally be ascribed. Independent of the stimulus of national pride, they were inflamed with a desire of plundering the camp of the Nabob, which was said to contain immense treasures. Fortunately the English were not engaged in this contest; either from an ill-judged parsimony, or thinking his force sufficiently strong without them, the Nabob had not applied to them for assistance. At Amboor, fifty miles to the west of Arcot, a decisive engagement took place; and so vigorous was the resistance of the Nabob's army, that even the French veterans, in their attempts to storm the entrenchments, with which he had fortified the front of his camp, were twice repulsed. In the third

attack they were successful, and the whole army pouring in impetuously through the breach, the battle became as general as the nature of the place, the defiles of a mountain, would permit. At a distance on an eminence was seen the Nabob, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry, in which lay the strength of his army. The stateliness of the elephant on which he was borne, and the blaze of the great standard of the Carnatic, attracted every eye. His voice was heard animating his troops with the fortitude with which his own bosom burned, and his heroic actions were in unison with his address; nor was his ardour damped when tidings were brought him that this son Maphuze Khan, who commanded one of his wings, was slain with a cannon shot. Amidst the slaughter that raged around him he happened to espy the elephant of Chunda-saheb, with the usurped insignia of the nabobship. A torrent of contending passions now agitating his breast, and eager to crush at once the author of so many calamities, he commanded the conductor of his elephant to drive furiously against the elephant of his rival; but before he reached the object of his indignation a ball from the musquet of a Caffre shot him through the heart, and he fell headlong on the plain. The death of the chieftain, in the battles of India, is always the signal for the immediate flight of his army; this was the case of the fallen Nabob's, and a very considerable booty was the reward of the victors.

Murzafa-jing, the next day, marched unopposed to Arcot, where he appeared in all the pomp and splendor of a soubah of the Deccan, and he there confirmed the appointment of his friend Chunda-saheb to the nabobship. Some time was occupied in receiving the submission of the great lords of the province, and, what was still more acceptable, their contributions; among whom Mortiz-ally, the governor of Vellore, alone paid

700,000 rupees. The confederate princes, accompanied by the French battalion, then proceeded to Pondicherry, which city they entered in great pomp. They were exultingly received by the gratified Dupleix, and entertained during their stay with oriental magnificence. Here were laid those deep concerted projects of ambition and conquest, in the attempt to accomplish which the whole Carnatic was convulsed, and which finally compelled Nazir-jing to take the field at the head of an army of 300,000 men. As in the transactions that rapidly followed are involved the interests of all the southern provinces, comprising nearly a fourth part of the empire, and as they must again come in review in the course of the general history, a cursory account can alone be given of them in this place.

Mahommed Ali, the second son of Anwar-odean, on the defeat and death of his father, had fled for safety to Trichinopoly, where, expecting to be besieged by the conquerors, he eagerly solicited the assistance of the English. He represented to them that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were to be regarded as rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real soubah of the southern provinces, and that he himself was now the real nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion of that post from the Nizam, and that he was in daily expectation of having his appointment confirmed by Nazir-jing. This statement had so much the air of truth, and was so conformable to all they had witnessed, that fearing to commit themselves with the court of Delhi, the Presidency complied with his request, but, in a cautious manner, and dispatched about 120 Europeans to his relief. Instead, however, of attacking Trichinopoly, much against M. Dupleix's decided advice, who wished to extirpate the family of Anwar-odean, and make himself master of that strong fort, whither its representative had retreated, the thirst of greater

plunder induced the allied princes to invest Tanjore, where they obtained their object, the king of that place saving his capital at the price of 700,000 rupees, a large sum, paid immediately down to the French troops, and the cession of 81 villages to the government of Pondicherry. The approach of the Soubah at the head of such a mighty force saved Trichinopoly. Every effort was made by Murzafa-jing to present a formidable front to the enemy, and with that view Dupleix increased the European force in his army to 2000 men. Nazir-jing summoned Mohammed Ali, as his feudatory, from Trichinopoly; and requested the English at Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans. In consequence, a few days after Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans arrived at the Nabob's camp at Valdore, about 15 miles from Pondicherry, which was now in sight of that of the enemy. An immediate engagement between the hostile armies seemed inevitable; but in the dreadful interval, events took place that materially affected its hopes for success.

Glutted with the wealth which they had divided at the siege of Tanjore, as well as exhausted with their fatigues, many of the officers on that service had obtained leave to retire from the camp to momentary repose, while others supplied their places. These latter, thus immediately exposed without *their* reward to the dangers of a severe service, the burthen of which, they knew must lay principally on them, loudly remonstrated, and demanded a sum of money that might render their fortunes adequate to those to whose posts they had succeeded. The high mind of M. Dupleix revolted at this demand, and proceeding to put one of this refractory band under arrest, the others insisted on receiving the same treatment. The moment was critical, and their services were deemed essential to the expected success of the day; and consequently no severities were resorted to. They

continued in the camp, but turbulent and factious ; and the soldiers also caught the flame of discontent. The event was that the commanding officer, M. D'Auteuil, fearful of the consequences in a general engagement, withdrew the whole detachment from the field, and marched back to Pondicherry. Thus deserted by his principal support, Murzafa-jing was overwhelmed with astonishment and terror. He, therefore, listened to overtures of accommodation made him by his uncle, who had sworn on the Koran that his person should be safe, if he surrendered. On this solemn pledge he entered the camp of his enemy, but was instantly thrown into fetters. The prince secured, with the same shameless perfidy his army was attacked, treated as rebels to the empire, and for the most part cut in pieces, as the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. Chundah-saheb not choosing to trust the Soubah, had retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Some of the Patan chiefs who had attended the Soubah in confident hope of high rewards, being disappointed in those hopes, and treated insolently by him, began to be extremely dissatisfied. Dupleix heard of their discontent, and by his emissaries blew up the flame. He entered into close correspondence with them ; and to pass over minuter circumstances, in which all the art, policy, and valour of Dupleix were exerted, the death of the Soubah, and the exaltation of Murzafa-jing to the nabobship were ultimately resolved upon. Major Lawrence, still in the Soubah's camp, but unstained by his treachery, obtaining information of what was going on, took the resolution at an audience to make it known to him ; but the interpreter, either from fear, or induced by bribes, misrepresented his words ; and shortly after, unable to obtain the confirmation of a grant of territory adjoining Madras, made to the Company by their friend Mahommed Ali, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, left the camp in disgust. In the mean time the

conspiracy entered into against the life of the Soubah, by Dupleix, with the Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, all Patans by birth, and the most potent of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic, went on cautiously and securely. Nor was the sanguinary project at all impeded by his suddenly breaking up his camp at Valdore, and retiring to Arcot. There devoting himself to the pleasures of his seraglio and of hunting, he lived in utter disregard of the storm which was just ready to burst upon him : but the capital and the palace afforded no opportunity for assassination like the field of war. The artful Dupleix, therefore, contrived by new irritations, by insulting embassies, and a vigorous attack on the fort of Gingee, one of the strongest in the Carnatic, to rouse Nazir-jing from his dream of indolence, and drive him to that field on which he was doomed to fall. The indignant Soubah soon appeared in arms, though at the head of far less numerous forces than before. When arrived at the distance of only sixteen miles from Gingee, the autumnal rains set in, and in two or three days he found his army inclosed between two rivers, rendered almost impassable by the inundations, with the probable prospect of not being released till the return of fair weather in December. The Soubah saw the danger of his situation, and immediately commenced a negotiation with the governor of Pondicherry. He promised to ratify the treaty desired, and in fact had ratified it, when the quarter of the camp, in which his tents were fixed, was suddenly attacked before day-break by a strong division of the French army, and carried, while the greater part of his army, drawn up at a distance in battle array, remained inactive. These were the rebel chiefs, at the head of their respective legions, waiting the result of this premeditated attack of the French. It was a long time before the Soubah could be persuaded to believe that the aggressors were

really French. When convinced of this, he ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be instantly struck off, and brought to him : but the officer who had him in custody was leagued with the conspirators to crush his captor, and did not obey. Equally astonished and enraged at the continued inactivity of his troops, he mounted his elephant, and, accompanied by his body guard, rode up to the nearest of the rebel battalions, commanded by the Nabob of Cudapa, and called him aloud a dastardly coward, for not daring to defend the imperial standard, against the most contemptible of enemies. The indignant Nabob answered him by the discharge of a carabine that lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Soubah, who fell dead on the plain. He then ordered his head to be severed from the body ; bore it himself on the point of a javelin to Murzafa-jing, already liberated from the fetters which he had worn seven tedious months, and exultingly hailed him Soubah of the Deccan.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were estimated at two millions sterling, and the jewels at half a million. Of these it is supposed M. Dupleix received for his share 200,000*l.* besides some very valuable jewels. The Patan chiefs had a million sterling allowed them, with large additions to their respective territories : but though they professed to be satisfied and swore allegiance to the new Soubah, on the Koran, discontent and rancour reigned in their hearts, and they wanted only a fair opportunity to dispatch this new puppet of their power, as they had dispatched his predecessor. That opportunity soon occurred. The Soubah's presence being necessary at his capital, he in a short time commenced his march for Golconda, attended, for his better security, in such turbulent times, by a considerable body of French troops, under the command of M. Bussy. When arrived in the territory of Cudapa, about sixty miles from Pondicherry, apparently by

accident, but doubtless by design, some straggling Mogul horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and the injury being resented, the incensed soldiers set fire to that and several other villages in the vicinity. The Nabob of Cudapa, pretending to be highly exasperated at the insult, attacked the rear guard of Murzafa-jing's division. The astonished Soubah commanded the whole army to halt, and would have immediately led on a large portion of it against the refractory Nabob. He was, however, restrained by the prudence of M. Bussy, and only a messenger was dispatched to enquire into the causes of so daring an outrage. An answer, breathing defiance, being returned, the Soubah rushed forward to the attack of the Nabob, who, with those of Canoul, and Savanore, had taken a strong station near a defile through which the army must pass, and which was strongly fortified with a number of cannon, *previously planted* there. So impetuous was the attack, and so powerful the fire of the French artillery, that the Patans were compelled to retreat, and the Nabob of Cudapa fled out of the field desperately wounded. Elated by this triumph, and anxious to exterminate the Patan rebels, the Soubah pushed on with the cavalry, regardless of the intreaties of M. Bussy, whose battalion, encumbered by the artillery, could not keep pace with him ; and in the pursuit came up with a body of his own troops, who were, at that instant, cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore, dead on the ground. Shortly after he came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding escape was impossible, resolutely turned back his elephant, and urged him on towards the elephant of the Soubah. The latter accepted the challenge of single combat, and made a signal to his troops to retire. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing with his uplifted sabre was just going to strike, when the wary Nabob thrusting

forth his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into his brain, and he fell back dead. A thousand javelins were immediately aimed at the Nabob ; and himself and all his troops were cut to pieces on the spot. Such, in a very limited period, was the unfortunate end of three successive Soubahs of the Deccan, an awful lesson to human grandeur ! but too frequent in that country to be much regarded ; though the death of the three conspirators in one day, in addition to that of Murzafa-jing, who by their atrocious murder obtained the throne of his uncle, was even there considered as a signal retribution of the divine justice.

It has been already mentioned that the Nizam left five sons, of these the three younger were, for security, kept near him in strict confinement in the camp, by Nazir-jing, and for the same powerful reason were retained, in similar restraint, by Murzafa-jing. To prevent the confusion beginning to take place in the camp, on account of the death of the Soubah, M. Bussy, who was not wholly without suspicion of being conscious to the conspiracy that destroyed him, after consultation with the ministers and generals, immediately raised to the vacant throne Salabat-jing, the eldest of them. M. Dupleix, on being made acquainted with the event, consented to the appointment, and the new Soubah, in consequence, confirmed all the vast cessions made to the French by his uncle, with the addition of many others. The imperial army, restored to order and discipline, continued its march without interruption to Golconda.

CHAPTER IV.

The English, astonished and alarmed at the success of the French in the Carnatic, endeavour to counteract their ambitious projects.—They send assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ali, besieged at Tritchinopoly.—Captain Clive volunteers his services, and, by surprise, takes ARCOT, the Capital.—Maintains himself in it against very superior Forces, and displays the dawn of his great military Genius.—Mahommed joined, in his distress, by the Regent of Mysore, the Rajah of Tanjore, and a body of Mahrattas.—Chunda-saheb driven to extremities, surrenders himself to the Tanjorine General, and is by him perfidiously put to death.—The Mysorean and the Mahrattas lay claim to Tritchinopoly, as the stipulated price of their services, and besiege it.—Great length of the Siege and sufferings of the Garrison.—At length the Regent abruptly breaks up his Camp, and retires to Mysore; while Mahommed, under the Protection of his firm Allies, the English, establishes himself in security at Arcot.—Transactions in BENGAL; prefaced by an Account of the Rise and Progress of the MAHRATTAS.—Their vast Empire founded by SEVAJEE, a Soldier of Fortune, of the Tribe of RAJPOUTS, or native Hindoos.—SAMBAJEE.—SAHOOJEE.—Astonishing extent of that Empire at the Death of SAHOOJEE.—The RAM RAJAH—finally divided into two distinct Governments, that of POONAH, and that of BERAR.—Account of the respective Sovereigns of those Governments.—Reflections on the Character and Manners of the MAHRATTAS.

THE English government at Fort St. David, still the presidency on the coast of Coromandel, on receiving intelligence of these

important transactions, and of the high predominant influence of the French at the court of Golconda, were overwhelmed with astonishment, mingled with terror. They now saw the error of their too great caution, and regretted the abrupt departure of Major Lawrence from the Nabob's camp, by which the field was left open to their rivals. That able officer too had sailed for Europe on his private concerns, and had been succeeded in the command of the troops by Captain Cope. They now resolved to take a more active part, and faithful in their attachment to the family of Anwar-odean, dispatched a body of troops to assist his son Mahommed Ali, invested by the French at Trichinopoly; and while Chunda-sahib had marched to Arcot, and was receiving the renewed homage of the province, as Nabob. In a short time, however, he returned at the head of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoy, and first invested Volcondah, a very strong fortress, near which the English were encamped, situated on the great road between Arcot and Trichinopoly; which, after some negotiation, was surrendered to him by the perfidious governor, and the English retreated to Trichinopoly. He then advanced to the siege of the latter place, where his troops, which outnumbered the English, ten to one, took a position on the southern, while the English encamped on the western side of the city. Trichinopoly, situated about 90 miles from the coast, is one of the best fortified cities in the Carnatic. It is inclosed by a double range of walls, flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another: the outward wall is eighteen feet high, and about five feet thick: the inward wall is of much greater strength, being thirty feet in height, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground quite to the summit, where it is ten feet broad, with a parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop-holes to fire through. The outer wall is

surrounded with a ditch thirty feet wide and twelve deep. The Presidency of Fort St. David made the greatest exertions to increase the number of their troops and artillery before Tritchinopoly, but the army of the Nabob and the French was still so much stronger, that the event of a battle seemed very doubtful ; and it was now that the great military genius of young Clive, at this period only a lieutenant in the service, began to display *itself*. This intrepid officer proposed to the Presidency, as the only resource in this extremity, the daring measure of attacking Arcot itself, and offered to head himself the expedition, which, he urged, would infallibly cause a diversion of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madras were exhausted of troops to furnish men for this important enterprize, which was as fortunately conducted as it was judiciously planned ; for the city of Arcot having no walls or ramparts, and the fort being defended by only a slender garrison, they entered the place with little opposition ; and 100,000 astonished spectators beheld a handful of English take possession of the capital of the Carnatic, its military stores and accumulated treasures. The generous victors, however, seized only the public property ; all property of a private nature was considered as sacred, and punctually restored to the owners. When the panic, into which the garrison and inhabitants were thrown by the boldness of this manœuvre was over, troops were collected from all quarters, and Clive soon found he had an army of 3000 men to contend with ; but by a series of bold and skilful attacks made upon the enemy, when opportunity most favoured, he contrived to remain in full possession of all the advantages which he had so gallantly obtained.

This spirited undertaking, which so early marked the character of the young commander, was attended with all the success that

could be desired. Chunda-saheb found himself compelled to detach 4000 of his best troops from Trichinopoly to attempt the recovery of his capital, in which attempt, however, they completely failed, being routed in all their attacks by the superior skill and bravery of the garrison and their intrepid chief. At the same time, by this draught from the main body of the troops before Trichinopoly, the besieging army was proportionably weakened, and time was afforded to Mahommed to strengthen himself with new allies. Among these was the Regent of Mysore, a country of considerable extent, but at that time of little note, compared with its subsequent state of power and aggrandizement. The king was a minor; but his uncle enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, and governed it with unlimited authority. A body of Mahrattas, also, under Morari Row, were taken into his pay; and even the Rajah of Tanjore, with whom he had been so long at variance, seeing his cause so generally befriended, now joined with the other allies, to effect his deliverance from those evils which had been partly occasioned by his own hostility. It is impossible, in a summary history like this, to enter into the details of sieges, and minutely to record events of inferior importance. Suffice it to observe, that on the return of Major Lawrence to India, early in 1752, that experienced soldier, assisted by the victorious captor of Arcot, resumed the command of the English troops, and that by vigorous exertion on the part of the confederate army, Chunda-saheb was at length driven to such extremities, and his resources became so utterly exhausted, while his army was so completely inclosed and blocked up in the island of Seringham, near Trichinopoly, that he was compelled to fly for succour to his most determined enemy, Mona-ji, the general of the Tanjorine army. Presuming that by the gratification of his avarice, his resentment might be appeased, he proffered the poor

remains of his treasury to secure his personal safety, and Mona-ji confirmed his promise of protection by the most solemn oath that binds an Indian soldier. He swore, on his sabre and poniard, that he should be safe, devoting himself to death by those instruments if he failed in his engagement. It was then agreed that Chunda-saheb, with a few attendants, should come to his quarters at midnight, where he promised an escort of horse should be in readiness to convey him to the nearest French settlement. As by perpetual fatigue and vigils, the Nabob's health was greatly on the decline, a splendid pallankin, as for an infirm person, had been artfully got ready, which, with the other preparations for his escape, was shewn to the officer who conducted the negotiation, and who returned without suspicion. At the dead of night the Nabob, with his slender band cautiously advanced towards the Tanjorine camp, but with the perfidy usual among Asiatic princes, the instant he entered the lines, the perjured villain ordered him to be arrested, and thrown into irons.

On this intelligence being communicated to the other chiefs, they immediately assembled with a view to determine in what manner the unfortunate prince should be disposed of. The English, the Mahratta, and the Mysorean generals were all equally anxious to have the charge of so important a personage; but the Tanjorine firmly refused to part with his prisoner; and, the assembly breaking up abruptly, his savage soul, delighting in blood, resolved to end the contest by his destruction. A Patan, trained to deeds of horror, was dispatched to execute the barbarous resolution. He found the wretched prince, in chains, stretched on the floor of his apartment, from which, debilitated by age, by anxiety, and by disease, he was unable to rise. The monster's purpose was evident in his features; and it was in vain that his victim solicited a short conference with Mona-ji, to reveal a

secret of importance. The ruthless assassin stabbed him to the heart, and then severing the head from the body, carried it in savage triumph to his employer, who instantly sent it reeking with blood into Tritchinopoly, to be viewed by the Nabob and his courtiers. The army of the murdered prince immediately dispersed, and the French, who had fortified themselves in the great pagoda of Jambakistna, shortly after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, at length, Mahommed obtained in reality that distinction to which he had so long laid claim, and for which so much blood and treasure had been expended. The English, to whom he had exhibited his patents of investiture, from Nazir-jing, and Gazi-odean Khan, confirmed by the great Mogul, were satisfied of the justice of his claim, and on that basis, they had, through innumerable difficulties, adhered faithfully to his interests, and still continued his friends and protectors.

Of the continuance of that protection he was, indeed, deplorably in want, for although the nominal lord of the whole country from the river Penner to Tinivelly, in all that extent there was scarcely a single fortress, besides Tritchinopoly, in which he could repose his head with security. What rendered his fate still harder was, the Regent of Mysore and the rapacious Mahrattas were hovering near to rend even that solitary possession from him. To that chief he had made a secret promise, evidently extorted from him by the necessity of his circumstances, that if, through his assistance and that of the allies, successful, he would surrender to him that city and fort, which the Regent now claimed, as the stipulated price of his services, and those of his subsidiary Mahrattas. Remonstrances were in vain; the mercenary chief insisted upon the due performance of the contract, and the rival Mahrattas supported him in it. A compromise at length took place between the contending parties, and the Mysorean was, or

at least appeared to be, satisfied with having made over to him a grant of the revenues of the island of Seringham, and several other neighbouring districts, with full power to collect them himself; and a renewed promise, that, within a fixed period Trichinopoly should be delivered up to him. Matters being thus accommodated, and a strong corps of Europeans and sepoy being left in the city, to guard against possible outrage, Mahomed Ali, at the head of a large body of horse, with 500 English and 2500 sepoy, trained after the European manner, began their march for the recovery of the Carnatic. The first place of strength at which they arrived was Volconda; where the chief bought his peace by taking the oath of allegiance, by the payment of 80,000 rupees, and by giving security for the perpetual payment of future arrears. From this place the Nabob dispatched a body of 1000 horse to strengthen the garrison at Arcot, and then marched on to Trivadi, in the pagoda of which place they found a body of French troops, who surrendered at the first summons. They were unsuccessful in their attack upon Ginjee; they were gloriously triumphant at Bahooor. Vandiwash was ransomed by its governor for 300,000 rupees; and every thing was giving way before them, when by the perfidy of the Mysorean who had invested Trichinopoly, and driven the garrison to the utmost distress by cutting off all their supplies of provision, the army was suddenly recalled to that important fortress.

M. Dupleix stung with anguish at the discomfiture of his troops, and jealous for the honour of his nation, had been exerting all the energies of his mind, and all the resources of his situation, to re-establish its fame, and its power. He encouraged the Regent, and the Mahrattas, who still adhered to him, to persevere in their claims on Trichinopoly, and he supplied them

with arms, with men, and with money. He employed both promises and threats with the Rajah of Tanjore, to prevent his sending succours or provisions to the exhausted garrison; and the Mahrattas cut off the noses of the country people whom they found engaged in that benevolent occupation. He proceeded at length to the bold measure of applying to be made himself Nabob of the Carnatic, and by means of M. Bussy, who still continued and was omnipotent with Salabat-jing, obtained a firman to that intent, from the new Subah, although his own title to the viceroyalty had not been confirmed by the Mogul. By virtue of this pretended commission he appointed Mortiz-ally of Vellore, to act as his lieutenant, and received of him 50,000 as the price of this delegated authority. He assumed all the pomp and dignity of a real Nabob; and the ample revenues which the French now obtained, in addition to former grants, for their assistance in placing and upholding Salabat on the vice-regal throne, were devoted to support his usurped authority. Among these may be enumerated what are called the Northern Circars, thus denominated from their position in respect to Madras, procured also, by M. Bussy's intrigues at the court of the Deccan, and amounting to above half a million annually. The return of the Nabob and Major Lawrence to Trichinopoly saved the garrison from the disaster that immediately impended over it; but the great length of the siege, and the number of the besiegers, had rendered the country for miles round a desert, and supplies were obtained from a great distance with the utmost difficulty; nearly half the army being engaged as an escort, and the troops being perpetually harassed during their march by large bodies of Mahratta cavalry. Several desperate battles were fought, but nothing decisive took place, till at length an

Office, vol. i. p. 335.

event occurred of the greatest importance of any that could, at that time, have happened, and by its consequence put a period, for a time, at least, to those unceasing wars which, at a period when the parent countries were at peace, had so long desolated the Carnatic.

A strong remonstrance, occasioned by the complaints of our East India Company, who found their commerce greatly impeded by those wars, had been made by the British to the French ministry, concerning the ambitious projects of the French on the Coromandel coast, and the recall of M. Dupleix, the soul and source of them all, insisted upon. The additional menace that if the measure were not complied with, a national rupture must ensue; and an order of an immediate equipment for the shores of India, of a squadron of men of war, with a body of troops, induced the French court, at that time not at all inclined or prepared for a general war, to check the ambitious career of their servants in India. Early in the spring of 1764, M. Godehen was sent out to supersede M. Dupleix, and with powers to conclude a conditional treaty with Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and the able opponent in the cabinet of M. Dupleix, to be approved or rejected, as they might think most proper, by the Court of Directors at home. M. Dupleix, totally unacquainted with what had taken place, received his order of recall with astonishment, but with dignity. He was convinced that in all he had done he had the secret approbation of his government, and submitted to be the victim of political convenience without repining. In the pursuit of this great object of national aggrandizement, if he had squandered the public wealth, he had not been sparing of his own; and he returned to an ungrateful country with a fortune much impaired, instead of being improved in its service.

By the appointed commissaries a suspension of arms was

immediately agreed upon between the French and English, which was to include their allies, followed by a conditional treaty, to which, however, the barbarous Mysorean would not submit, declaring that he was under no obligation to regard any treaty that was not made by himself. On receiving intelligence, shortly after, that Salabat-jing was advancing from Golcondah, at the head of a vast army, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, due for many years from Mysore, he abruptly broke up his camp, and after having waited three years with patient perseverance, as well as with great waste of men and treasure, at the head of 20,000 men, to accomplish a favourite project, he retired to his country, in 1755, without having accomplished it. Such was the commencement of our transactions with the kingdom of Mysore; the renowned Hyder served in that camp under his uncle, and learned from his failure, on this occasion, a more wise and politic lesson for his future conduct in war.

With a view to enforce, if necessary, their demands relative to a change of measures in the councils of Pondicherry, the British government had early in 1754, dispatched to India Admiral Watson, with a squadron of three ships, having the 49th regiment on board, and towards the close of the year, Commodore Pocock arrived with two more ships of the line, which, added to those already on the coast, composed a formidable fleet. Of Europeans, too, the number at Madras and Fort St. David's amounted to full 2000 men; yet the terms of the treaty were lenient and favourable, leaving in the hands of the French very large districts, and revenues far exceeding their own. Absolute peace, however, amidst so many armed claimants, and through so wide a circuit as the field of the late war, could not immediately be obtained. Inferior contests for some time agitated the south of the peninsula; but, before the close of the year 1755,

the rightful claims of Mahommed Ali, as Nabob, were generally acknowledged throughout the Carnatic, and, invited by the Presidency at Madras to Arcot, under their support and protection, he thenceforth securely fixed his residence in that ancient capital of the province.*

Having now brought the complicated history of affairs in the Carnatic to some kind of termination, we must direct our attention to the transactions of the Company in Bengal, whose Soubah already had followed the example of the Nizam in assuming independence, or at least in paying only a nominal obedience to the Mogul, without remitting a rupee for his support.

The frequent appearance of the MAHRATTAS, however, about this time, on the theatre of war, renders it necessary for us previously, and rather prematurely, for it properly belongs to the general history, to present the reader with a detailed account of the origin and progress of that singular race.

The term Mahratta is very properly derived by Major Rennell† from **MAHAR**, the name of a province in the Deccan, comprehending Baglana, and other districts, which at present form a large portion of the dominions of that people. The founder of the tribe was **SARAJE**, descended from the Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. His mother was not of such high origin, she is said to have been an obscure person of the

* My authorities for the above extensive detail of affairs on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, independent of Mr. Orme's more elaborate work, are the authentic "Narrative of Colonel Lawrence" himself, published in 1762, in refutation of M. Dupleix's disingenuous *Memoire*; Cambridg's "War in India;" Dug's "Decline of the Mogul Empire," important, in what concerns the history of Nizam-ul-Muluck and his descendants in the Deccan; the India Papers, and the Gazette accounts, published by authority.

† *Memoir*, p. 79, last edition.

tribe of *Bonsola*, or *Boonsla*, retained to this day as the family name by his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Berar. His immediate father bore a high command in the armies of the king of Visiapour. Sevajee was born in 1628, and spurning at subordination, early aspired to independent sovereignty. The distractions which about that period prevailed in Visiapour, from the irruption of the Mogul monarch into the peninsula, were highly favourable to his views. Among the mountains of the western coast, and the strong fortresses in which they abound, he first raised his banners, which were resorted to with eagerness by many bold chieftains, of his own tribe of Rajpouts, all animated by the same turbulent disposition. From those mountains they descended in formidable bodies, chiefly cavalry, into the widespread champaign country below, plundering the inhabitants of their treasures, driving away their flocks, and carrying off their grain to their strong-holds.

Living entirely in this predatory manner, on the labour and industry of his subjects, the sovereign of Visiapour, who was at that time also engaged in a destructive war with the Dethian emperor, sent armies upon armies against them, but by open resistance, or by treachery, chiefly by the latter, every effort to crush the rising foe was defeated. Aurungzeb himself, then on the throne, who had in the first instance employed this body of banditti to promote his ambitious project of subjugating Visiapour, soon found them to be the more determined enemy of the two, and exerted against them the forces of the empire with very inadequate success. The King of Visiapour dying in 1661, left his son a minor, and dissensions arising among the nobles, relative to the regency, Sevajee took advantage of these distractions, and sent detachments to obtain possession of the towns and sea-ports

lying along the shore of the CONCAN,* which was effected with little opposition. Pirates had abounded on this coast from the time of Alexander, whose historians mention the Sangarians of those days as famous in that line, and Sevajee, to whom no species of plunder was unwelcome, encouraged rather than repressed their predatory disposition. By this means he gradually became formidable on the ocean, and to the Europeans settled on that coast: the interruptions given to their trade by his ships, though not hitherto of magnitude or importance enough to be recorded here, are frequently mentioned. In the event, however, we shall find the English navy occupied in utterly destroying the piratical empire in these seas by the defeat of Angria, and the destruction of GHERIA.

While his generals were ravaging the shore of the Concan, Sevajee himself descended from the northern hills in great force into the plains that stretch between Ahmednagar and Aurengabad, every where laying waste the country, and despoiling the Moguls. In another campaign which took place in 1664, he made an irruption into Guzzurat, and plundered Surat of a million sterling, but molested not the English and Dutch factories. Highly exasperated at this new insult, Aurungzeb now commanded the whole army of the Deccan to march against the

* "The region," says Mr. Orme, "called the CONCAN, extends along the western coast of India, from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length 240 miles. The vast range of hills which accompanys the sea-coast, and always in sight of it, from Comorin to Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which signifies *passages*. This chain, never more than 50, or less than 30 miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passages which open into the inland country by windings among the mountains. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan, the whole chain seems one connected wall, to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man; and, nevertheless, is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller, without the fatigue of hours." Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 22, last quarto edition.

marauder, but at the same time ordered the general of that army, Rajah Jysing, to use every effort to decoy him to Delhi. What artifices were used it is impossible to say, but by superior cunning, of which he was a consummate master, Sevajee not only went to Delhi, but returned in safety, after an ineffectual attempt to assassinate him, and with a spirit of highly inflamed hostility, to commit new ravages in Guzzurat. We find him again, in 1669, before the gates of Surat, levying heavy exactions, and retiring with an immense booty, in safety, to the almost impregnable fort of RAIREE ; situated, like many others of his strong holds in the mountains, on the summit of a lofty rock. Aurungzeb, about this time engaged in an obstinate war with the Patans, not being able to send troops in sufficient numbers to check his incursions, ordered vessels to be constructed in the ports of Surat and Cambay, for the purpose of invading the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the Seddees ; but Sevajee, at all points prepared, with his superior navy captured some, and burned others in the harbours. At length, having become in every respect an independent prince, he caused himself to be publicly enthroned with all the pomp of an Hindoo monarch of the war tribe, and on that day laid the foundation of one of the most powerful sovereignties of India. His life and his victories terminated in 1680.

He was succeeded, on his self-erected throne, by his son Sambajee, who began his reign with great apparent vigour, and for some years, upheld its glory, both in the cabinet and in the field, against Aurungzeb, personally opposed to him in the latter. His three principal forts of Sattarah, Pannela, and Rairee, having been separately invested, he descended with all his forces from the mountains, and defeated the assailants. He for a long time protected Sultan Akber, the rebel son of Aurungzeb, at his

court, against the menaced vengeance of his father, and at length he so deeply incensed the Mogul by the unprecedented barbarity with which he carried on the war against his troops, poisoning the tanks of pure water near which they might be tempted to encamp, and committing other wanton outrages, that he swore, before his return to Delhi, he would see at his feet the head of Sambajee weltering in its blood. With this determination he fixed, in 1688, his head quarters at the city of Visiapour. With his innumerable army he soon reconquered all the towns and castles in the open champaign country ; while along the foot of the mountains, which contained his strong and scarcely accessible fortresses, he so judiciously stationed bodies of troops as prevented any descent of the enemy into the plain. The number of these posts in the high ridge of the gauts, is said to have amounted to no less than 350.*

By open hostility, however, Aurungzeb soon found it impossible to conquer Sambajee, or obtain possession of his person. He therefore sought to effect it by secret ambush. Sambajee had an unbounded propensity to women. He who rose invincible from the toils of war, was still to be caught in the toils of love and beauty. The Mogul bribed the pander of his lust, and secured his prey. He appeared before his captor with an undaunted countenance. Being proffered life if he would turn Mahomedan, he poured forth a bitter invective against the Prophet, and lauded the gods of Hindostan. The fury of the bigotted Mogul rose to its highest pitch ; he was instantly ordered to a cruel death. After suffering a thousand indignities, his tongue was torn out. He was again insultingly offered life, if he would abjure the Hindoo faith, and adopt Mahomedism. He wrote, " Not, tyrant, if you would give me your daughter in marriage."

* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 93.

His heart was then cut out in the presence of Aurungzeb, and his mangled limbs were given to the dogs.*

This nefarious execution, intended to awe a race not to be intimidated, had no other effect on the Mahratta nation at large than to exasperate them to keener vengeance, and to excite them to deeds of bolder enterprize. To Sambajee, at a very early age, succeeded his son Sahoojee, who possessing all the courage and political wisdom of his father and grandfather, during a long reign of fifty years, not only very widely extended the bounds of the empire, but matured and consolidated what their genius had planned and their exertions had secured. The dissensions that raged among the sons and descendants of Aurungzeb, whom his ancestors had braved in the field, were extremely favourable to the exaltation of a race, inured to war and discipline, animated by the same religion, governed by the same laws, and doomed, as it should seem, to rise upon the ruins of a mighty empire. During this long period of distraction, the armies of the Mahrattas over-run and plundered almost every part of Hindostan, excepting Bengal. We have seen them, during the absence of Nizam-ul-Muluck, their greatest check, at Delhi, and indeed by his express permission, taking a decided part in the wars that desolated the Carnatic; they had conquered the greatest part of the fine province of Malwa; and, on the return of the Nizam to the south, they had carried their devastations even to the gates of the capital itself, and extorted a vast sum, by way of tribute, from the enervate Mahommed. Finally, in 1735, they obtained from that weak monarch authority to collect the *chout*, or fourth part of the net revenues of the other provinces of the empire, though Bengal for some time longer remained unviolated by their daring irruptions. In short, at the death of Sahoojee, which took place

* Orme's *Historic Fragments*, p. 164, ubi supra.

in 1740, their territories extended from the western ocean to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of nearly 1000 miles long, by 700 wide, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the Indian peninsula. The capital of this great empire was established at Sattarah, a fortress situated about 50 miles south-east of Poonah, and near the 18th degree of north latitude.*

During the latter period of Sahoojee's reign, being oppressed with age and infirmities, he had almost wholly confided the reins of government to a very able minister, named Ballajee, who under the official denomination of the PAISHWAH, or vice-gerent, skilfully conducted all the affairs of the vast empire of his master. Sahoojee, indeed, lived so wholly secluded from public business in his palace and fortress of Sattarah, that the Paishwah was considered in the light of a sovereign, and acted as such without the name. From him immediately issued all the orders of government, and peace and war depended on himself alone. Sahoojee having no children, was succeeded by his nephew, Ram Rajah, a prince of weak intellects, over whom the Paishwah continued to exert the same powerful influence; or rather in consequence of his defective understanding, a still greater than he had exerted over his uncle, and kept him constantly confined in his splendid prison of Sattarah. He had the power to render the office of Paishwah hereditary in his family, and at his death his son Bajerow succeeded to his high office and his honours.

There was another officer of distinguished eminence in the court of Sattarah, termed BUKSHI, or commander in chief. His name was Ragojee Boonsla, and he was nearly related to the reigning dynasty, as his name indicates. Uncontrolled in their respective situations, and equally ambitious of vice-regal sway,

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 124.

these two great officers agreed to divide between them the empire of their master ; the one, the Paishwah, assuming to himself the government of the eastern provinces, fixed his capital at Poonah ; the other, the Bukshi, who held the province of Berar in Jaghire, fixed his residence at Nagpour in that province. Though distinct and independent governments, still the chief of Berar acknowledged the supremacy of the Rajah of Sattarah, as the head of the empire, and regarded the Paishwah as the principal executive authority of the state, invested with the exclusive right of concluding treaties, and regulating other great national concerns. The descendants of Seyajee, in their splendid confinement continue to be treated with the greatest respect. " No Paishwah," says Lord Wellesley, who had the best opportunity of knowing, " can enter upon his office without receiving a *kelaut*, or dress of honour from the Rajah.* On taking the field he must previously have a formal audience of leave from the Rajah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds ; and whensoever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of power and command are laid aside ; and the nagara, or great drum of the empire ceases to beat.†"

Although it may be considered as an anticipation of events, yet, for the sake of connection, I shall carry somewhat lower down in the century the history of their descendants, and the usurpers of their thrones.

The reign of Bajerow was a reign of activity and vigour ; he greatly increased the limits of the Mahratta empire, and wrested from the Portuguese the important fortress of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay. He died in 1759 ; and was

* A KELAUT is a dress of honour, conferred by a superior on an inferior, on occasion of accession to office, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.

† Lord Wellesley on the Mahratta war, Appendix, p. 8.

succeeded in the Paishwahship, that is to say, on the Poonah throne, by his son Ballajee. His real sovereign, the RAM RAJAH, fourth Rajah of Sattarah, dying without issue, that dignity *ought*, by the ties of blood, to have descended to Ragojee Boonsla, sovereign of Berar; but his dread of the superior power of the Paishwah prevented him from putting in his claim, and it passed into some other branch of the family, who are *supposed* still to reside closely shut up in their ancient but splendid prison; I say supposed, because it is a matter of just doubt whether any of that family at present actually exist at Sattarah.* This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the Rajah of Berar, on occasions of meeting between himself and the Paishwah, is always treated, in consequence of his rank, as his superior; and, in the capacity of first constituent member of the empire, claims the right of sending to the Paishwah a dress of honour on his accession to the office. The name, however, of RAM RAJAH still remains, though his person be unknown; and is stamped on the seal and coin of the empire.

Ballajee died in 1761, leaving three sons, of whom Maderow ascended the musnud. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Narrain Row, a youth of 19, whose *unfortunate* end excites the sigh of compassion. He was assassinated by the base contrivance of his uncle Ragonaut, better known by the name of Ragobah, son of Bajerow, the first Paishwah. Ragonaut had been for some time in confinement at Poonah; for what offence is unknown. On Narrain's accession he solicited his liberty, which it was not thought proper to grant him. Two officers, high in his nephew's service, were suborned by him to perpetrate the bloody deed. On a certain day all the avenues leading to the palace were secured, and the whole building

* See Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 432.

surrounded with the troops under their command. On the first alarm, suspecting the treason, and well aware of the author, the distracted youth rushed into his uncle's apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with tears implored his protection. "You are my uncle," said he, "take my throne; but spare my life; bathe not your sword in the blood of so near a relative." At this instant the two assassins entered the apartment. Ragonaut, affecting anger which he did not feel, ordered them to depart. The hardened ruffians, convinced of his insincerity, rushed forward with their poniards and stabbed him in the arms of his uncle, treacherously extended to protect him. A deed of such black atrocity could not fail to render the author the object of universal hatred and detestation. Though for a short time he enjoyed the throne in defect of other male relatives, yet his crown was a crown of thorns; and the widow of the young and unfortunate Narrain proving with child, and that child a boy, the vote of the chiefs that raised him to that musnud was rescinded, and he was hurled from it with merited indignation. To that favoured child was given the name of Sevajee Maderow, and in due time he mounted the throne, and reigned on it till 1795, when he was killed by a fall from the terrace of his palace.

Of the sovereigns of the eastern Mahrattas, on account of our having less political intercourse with them than with the western, fewer particulars are known. The first Rajah of Berar, Ragojee Boonsla, whom we shall soon see performing a part of very active hostility in Bengal, finished his career of glory and depredation in 1749. He left four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Moodhajee, and Bemhajee, of whom the eldest, Janojee, succeeded to the musnud. Janojee dying without issue in 1772, appointed as his successor, the son of his younger brother Moodhajee, whom he had adopted. This appointment occasioned a contention between

the brothers, Sabajee and Moodhajee. The former claiming the government in right of priority of birth, and the latter, as father and guardian of the adopted child. They were accordingly engaged in perpetual war until the death of Sabajee, who was killed in an engagement with that brother on the 27th of January, 1775. From that period the government of Berar was holden by Moodhajee Boonsla, who died at an advanced age in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ragojée, the adopted child of Janojee, the present Rajah of Berar.*

To this summary abridgment of Mahratta history, it may be proper to add a short account, from the same respectable author, of certain celebrated chiefs among them, who amidst the perpetual contests for dominion, usual in all feudal states, have risen to power and eminence on the declining authority of the early usurpers.

The first of these in rank and extent of domain is the family of SCINDIAH. Ranojée Scindia, the founder of this family, rose to notice in the service of Bajerow, the first Paishwah, whom having attended in a successful invasion of the province of Malwa, he was rewarded with a considerable portion of the districts conquered in that province. The grant thus made to him was confirmed in Jaghire to his descendants, by the Rajah of Sattarah. On the death of Ranojée Scindia, Madhajee, his fifth son succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, of which Oujein was the capital ; but by these limits he was not to be confined. Extending his conquests every way, he gradually made himself master of the greatest part of Malwa, of the Rajpout states, and of Agra and Delhi, by which he became possessed of the person and nominal authority of the Mogul, of whom he was the ostensible minister. This ambitious and turbulent chief died in 1794, and

* Marquis Wellesley's Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 22, ubi supra.

was succeeded by his nephew and adopted son, Dowlet Rao Scindia, of whom much will occur hereafter.

The second feudatory chief of consequence, among the Mah-rattas, is Holkar. The founder of this family, also, rose to eminence under the first Paishwah, and obtained the reward of his services, like Scindiah, in a large division of the province of Malwa, in Jaghire.* The capital of Holkar is Indore, a city situate about 30 miles south east of Oujein. His income is supposed to be about 80 lacs of rupees, or one million sterling per annum. Holkar has also a considerable part of Candeish, which province is, like Malwa, divided between himself, the Paishwah, and Scindia. He was succeeded by his nephew Tukojee Holkar, who not being an ambitious man, and having ever shewn great attachment to the reigning Brahmin family at Poonah, was considered as a proper check on the ambition of the other great chiefs of Nagpour and Oujein. He died in 1797, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Jeswunt, a man of a widely different stamp, politic in the cabinet, and enterprising in the field, the determined opponent of Scindiah, but not unsuspected of designs on the musnud of Poonah itself, though prevented from carrying those designs into execution by the vigour and vigilance of the British government.†

The third considerable chieftain, or Jaghiredar, is Futtey Sing, known by the family name of Gwickar, who divides with the Paishwah the largest and finest part of Guzzurat; his particular share chiefly lies in its northern districts. The fourth is, on rather was, for he was killed in 1799, fighting against his old enemy, the Rajah of Colapore, Purseram Bhow, who to the dignity of

* Jaghire, or Jagheer, means a grant of land from a sovereign to a subject, revocable at pleasure; but generally, or almost always, for a life rent.

† Lord Wellesley, Appendix, p. 18.

belonging to the Brahmin class, added the advantage of great riches and military authority. His son, Appah Saheb, inherits his estate, and his hatred of the aforesaid Rajah, with whom he wages continual war. The fifth is the Rastia family, also Brahmins, long settled in the Concan; and possessed of great power and distinction in the state of Poonah. The present chief is named Maderow Rastia, has a revenue of about 20 lacs of rupees, and commands a force of about 4000 horse, and as many peons.* These are among the principal feudatories of the Mahratta state, which, in the course of a century and an half, from a few wandering bands of robbers, has arisen to the proud distinction of being the first native power of India. As their names, which may sound not a little uncouth to an English ear, will frequently occur in the subsequent pages of this work, the above concise account of them may be useful towards understanding their relative situation hereafter in that empire, which their ambitious projects convulsed.

In concluding our account of this singular race of men, a few reflections present themselves, to which a view of their extraordinary character and manners naturally give birth in the mind of every intelligent reader.

The Mahrattas, whether considered as a nation or as individuals, constitute a peculiar phenomenon in the history of human society. Superstitiously addicted to the mild rites of the Brahmin religion; never eating of any thing that has life, and by their belief in the metempsychosis, restrained from killing even the most noxious reptile that molests them, yet barbarously mutilating, and in their sanguinary warfare, putting to death thousands of their fellow-creatures, and that often with aggravated tortures, they exhibit a contrast of character wholly unparalleled.

* Ibid, p. 28.

The engines of that torture which they are said to carry with them to force confession of concealed treasure, are of a terrible description. The iron chair in which, heated red hot, the offender is placed, and the envelope of the same metal also heated red hot to encircle his head, are among a few of them. These are particularly mentioned by the missionaries who resided in the Carnatic at the time of their grand irruption there in 1740, and, in fact, for one of them, Pere Madeira, after having been first severely flogged, and exposed several days naked to a vertical sun, to make him discover hidden treasure, the chair and that envelope were heated red hot ; but by the interposition of one of the generals he was respited.* Their more lenient punishments are slitting the nose, and cutting off the ears ; but Bernier, who was an eye witness of their cruelties during the plunder of Surat in 1664, says, that to make the rich inhabitants discover their wealth, they were guilty of more horrid cruelties, cutting off the legs and arms of those who were suspected of secreting it.†

If it were only against the Moors, the ferocious invaders of their country, the despoilers of the Hindoo temples, and the remorseless murderers of the priests of Brahma, that these cruelties were directed, it would be less a subject of wonder, since Sevajee publicly announced himself the avenger of the Gods of Hindostan against the sanguinary violators of their shrines, meaning Aurungzeb and the Moguls ; but their rage is indiscriminating, and Hindoos and Mahommedans are alike the victims of their unrelenting barbarities. How astonishing must this conduct appear to every reflecting mind ! Scrupulous minutely to observe all the prescribed duties of their cast, with respect to diet and ablutions, even amidst the tumult of war, and often to the

* See *Lettres édifiantes*, tom. xvi. p. 264.

† See his *Memoir of the Mogul Empire*, part 2d, p. 151.

obstruction of the business of a campaign, yet practising every species of brutal inhumanity: how strange the transition from the meekness of prayer to the rage of plunder, from ablution in the purifying wave that washes away sin, to bathe in torrents of human blood. From all this pollution, however, the Brahmins, who share in the plunder, have the effrontery to tell them they are purified by the sacrifice of a buffalo, accompanied with many mysterious ceremonies, and with this wretched ~~salvo~~ their consciences are appeased.

This whole account will render less incredible what on good authority I had long ago intimated in the *Indian Antiquities*, when detailing the ancient sanguinary rites of Hindostan, that, even at this day, certain tribes of the ferocious race of Mahrattas are more than suspected of secretly cherishing a number of human victims, the most remarkable for personal beauty that can possibly be obtained, and generally in the full vigour and bloom of youth, for the rites of the ALTAR; of fattening them like the stall-fed oxen for slaughter; and on grand solemnities of festivity or grief, of actually offering up those unhappy victims to their gloomy goddess CALI, in all the pomp of that tremendous sacrifice.*

Making war their sole profession, and letting themselves out to the best bidder, they are to be found in all quarters, and are alternately engaged by all parties. It is dangerous, however, to employ them, for the offer of better terms generally induces them to change sides, and, plunder being their grand object, they often devastate the very country which they were hired to defend. Their principal strength lies in their numerous cavalry, which they cherish with the greatest care, and their horses, like themselves, being inured to privations and

* *Indian Antiquities*, vol. v. p. 79.

perpetually in exercise, are of a hardier nature, and more capable of bearing fatigue, than any brought into the field by the princes of India. Rapid in their movements, and unincumbered with baggage, they render themselves formidable to the Mogul armies, by harassing their rear, by ravaging the country, and by cutting off their supplies. They avoid as much as possible a general engagement, but when it takes place they combat with resolution ; and in the use of the sabre are dreadfully dexterous. If however their arms are crowned with victory, their principal attention is instantly directed to plundering the camp of the vanquished, instead of pursuing them to extermination. Were they firmly united under one able commanding chief, as under Sevajee, they would be formidable indeed, and must soon be the sovereigns of Hindostan ; but their government being feudal, divided among many chiefs, mostly at variance with each other, their power is weakened in proportion, and it is only from their devastations that Hindostan has to fear.*

* Besides the authors above referred to, Fryer and Thevenot, who were both in India when Sevajee flourished, may be consulted ; and in Mr. Cambridge's " War in India " will be found, dispersed, many interesting particulars respecting this singular nation, their manners and habits. Mr. C. justly observes " that it is owing to their arms alone, that the Mahommedans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula of India," p. 157, second oct. edit.

CHAPTER V.

Transactions in Bengal.—Jaffier Khan made Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; oppresses the English at Calcutta.—Succeeded in 1735 by Sujah Khan.—Promotion of ALLAVERDY, and his Tartar Brother, to the first Authority in the Government—they intrigue against the Nabob, who dies in 1739.—Succeeded by his son Suffraze Khan, a Monster of Depravity—invaded and killed by Allaverdy, who usurps the Supreme Power.—The MAHRATTAS, in 1742, in two vast bodies make an Irruption into Bengal, and commit horrible Devastations.—Allaverdy contrives to sow jealousy between the two Commanders.—The Poonah Chief, bribed by two millions of Rupees, retires.—The Chief of Nagpour defeated and driven beyond the western Limits.—The Court of Delhi confirms Allaverdy in the Soubahship, and he finally makes Peace with the Mahrattas.—Appoints his Successor, and dies.—The situation of the English under Allaverdy's Government.—SURAJAH DOWLAH.—His character, and bitter hatred of the English.—Makes War upon them.—Besieges and takes Calcutta.—The BLACK HOLE Disaster.—Arrival in Bengal of Clive and Watson.—Calcutta retaken.—Battle of Plassey, 1757.—Meer Jaffier ascends the Musnud.—Death of Surajah Dowlah.

AT the period when the English, settled at Calcutta, sent an embassy to the emperor Furrukseer at Delhi, as hath been already related, Bengal was governed by a viceroy from the court of Delhi, named Jaffier Khan, a rapacious and sanguinary tyrant, whose repeated exactions, as before intimated, had compelled them to make that appeal to the justice and liberality of

the emperor. He was himself, at the time, by his envoy, a suppliant at the court of Delhi, soliciting that the large provinces of Bahar and Orissa might be annexed to his government of Bengal, which request was granted, together with the reversion of the whole to Sujah Khan, an Omrah of distinction, who had married his daughter, and who he intended should be his successor. With the increase of his power his tyranny and extortions kept pace ; but the Company's agents thought it more prudent to soothe him with presents than provoke him to open hostility, by opposition ; especially as there appeared little probability of redress from any application to the court, at that period distracted by rival factions. In 1725, death released them from his oppressive yoke ; and he was succeeded in the government of the three provinces by that Sujah Khan, whose appointment, we before observed, had been confirmed by the Mogul.

Sujah acted at that time as viceroy for his father-in-law, in the province of Orissa. On receiving intelligence of his death he removed to Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, where he was invested with the insignia of the authority of Nabob, or rather Soubahdar. He was accompanied thither by two Omrahs, brothers, whose history, as being of considerable importance in the transactions of this period, must be summarily related. These Omrahs were of Tartar origin, and had come to his court at Cattack, the capital of Orissa, with strong recommendations from Delhi. The elder, Hodgee Hamed, was cool, cautious, and cunning, but not endowed with any great portion of natural courage ; the younger, Allaverdy, possessed a brave, active, vigorous, independent, mind. Brothers by blood, they were also bound to each other by the ties of inviolable friendship. Steadily pursuing one object, aggrandizement, these favoured foreigners gradually rose to the highest employments in the court and the camp. Hodgee became his prime minister, and

Allaverdy commander in chief of his army. With their master's elevation they also ascended, and continued to occupy the same high stations in the Soubahship, as those which they had filled in the inferior government of Orissa.

In 1729, Allaverdy was appointed to govern Bahar, a province which being perpetually harassed by the contentions of petty chiefs, not yet wholly subjugated by the Mogul arms, demanded a viceroy of his vigorous and military character, to restore and sustain order within its limits. This desirable event, after a considerable period and several severe conflicts with the chiefs in arms, he happily accomplished, and in 1736, forgetting his innumerable obligations to Sultan Sujah, under whom he then acted, solicited as his reward from Delhi, the government of Bahar, free from any dependence on that of Bengal. To his own well-founded claims for this boon, immense bribes were added by his brother Hodgee, the probable plunder of the Bengal treasury, and the grant was obtained; though the public promulgation of it was prudently delayed till that minister could be placed in safety beyond the justly-apprehended vengeance of Sultan Sujah. It was impossible, however, that a public grant of this nature should long remain concealed from the knowledge of the Soubah. He heard of it, and meditated a deep revenge on the perfidious brothers. Before, however, any measure of vengeance could be resorted to, the invasion of India by Nadir Shah took place, and the thunder of the storm that rolled over Delhi was heard in the distant provinces; it appalled the terrified governors, and paralyzed alike the arm raised to inflict vengeance, or to extend conquest. While however revenge only slept in his breast, he was assailed by a more dreadful foe, incurable disease! and before the departure of Nadir Shah from India, Sujah expired.

His only surviving son, Suffraze Khan, ascended the vacant throne, inheriting with it his father's inveterate hatred against the two brothers, which the dictates of prudence alone restrained from bursting forth into some act of decisive vengeance. But revenge in the soul of Suffraze was only *one* of many dreadful passions that agitated it; he was from his youth the victim of unbounded lust, and was sunk in perpetual inebriety. With the increase of his power his rage for women, intoxication, and every other criminal indulgence kept pace. His intellects, never very strong, at length became impaired by this long course of debauchery, which afforded an opportunity to his disaffected minister to join with other Omrahs of the court, equally disaffected, to attempt his removal from a throne which he had disgraced by his folly, and polluted by his crimes. By deep dissimulation and intrigue, after long solicitation, Hodgee obtained permission to resign his high employ, and depart the realm. When he appeared at the Durbar, at the usual audience of leave, instead of being treated with the respect due to a minister who had so long held the reins of government, he was the object of insult and mockery to the infatuated Sultan; and an honourable retirement was converted into a disgraceful banishment.

Affecting indignation at this treatment of his brother, Allaverdy immediately commenced his march for Bengal. Nothing could obstruct his impetuous career; and he was in the heart of the province before the Soubah had raised a man to oppose him. By exertions, however, of which from his voluptuous and indolent life he could scarcely have been deemed capable, he raised an army of 30,000 men, horse and foot, and met his enemy on the plain of Gheria, about five miles from Muxadavad. The army of his antagonist was not superior in numbers, but it was far superior in spirit. It consisted of a hardier class of soldiers than those

which Bengal produced, many of them being Patans, the most warlike race of Hindostan, nurtured in the mountains of the north, amid the storms and snows of Caucasus. With troops, like these, and which in the recent wars of Bahar had seen much service, it was impossible for Suffraze successfully to contend. Treachery too had deeply infected every part of his army; and large bodies of troops deserting to the enemy left their master wholly unsupported, except by a few squadrons of horse. In this extremity his elephant driver, at the forfeit of his head, offered to conduct him safely back to his capital. He spurned at the cowardly proposal, and ordering him to push forward amidst the thickest of the foe that crowded around the standard of Allaverdy, at the head of his few remaining troops renewed the fight with desperate valour, and died more gloriously than he had lived.

Allaverdy after the battle immediately marched to Muxadavad, and, with loud acclamations of the delighted populace, was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. His high military character, together with the moderation which he used in this great change of fortune, endeared him to all, but rendered him formidable to Nizam-al-Muluck at the court of Delhi, who could bear no rival in arms, or power. By his incitement, therefore, the Mahratta bands again visited the districts round Delhi, and demanding the chout or tribute for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were desired by the emperor to go and collect it themselves. Armed with this authority from the supreme power, and animated by the prospect of the immense booty to be obtained in those rich provinces hitherto sacred from their ravages, this mighty nation of marauders immediately began the preparations for the long-meditated irruption. They were proportionate to the magnitude of the *object*, and the extent of the *field* to be explored. After

harassing the frontiers with inferior detachments, the generals of that nation in its two divisions of Poonah and Berar, in 1743, each at the head of a body of not less than 80,000 horse, with their usual celerity, but in different directions, burst in upon that devoted region. The army of Poonah, commanded by Bajerow; that of Berar, by Ragojee Boonsla; the same, who, in 1740, invaded the Carnatic. The two armies, sweeping every thing before them, met at Burdwan, where it was agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided.

Sensible of the dangers that surrounded him, but still undismayed, Allaverdy encamped near his capital, determined, while there existed such vast disparity of numbers, neither to give nor to accept battle. He permitted them, for a time, without opposition, to ravage the country, and glut themselves with plunder. Well skilled, though a foreigner, in Indian warfare, and all the wiles of Indian politics, he relied for eventual success on the more certain measures of intrigue and bribery. By emissaries retained at an high price in their respective camps, and of 400 distinguished a rank to create suspicion, he sowed between the generals the seeds of distrust and jealousy, insinuating to each that undue advantage had been taken, and a fair distribution had not been made of the provincial plunder. In discussing this subject a coolness was produced between them, and at length Allaverdy so far gained over the Poonah general as to induce him to agree that, on the consideration of two millions of rupees to be instantly paid, and three millions more, when they should have arrived in their own country, their troops should be immediately withdrawn. At a meeting holden for the purpose between the three commanders, these terms were ratified; but Bajerow alone kept firm to the compact, for having received the money he marched

off with the treasure and his men, while Ragojee, with the usual faith of a Mahratta, continued plundering and devastating, where-soever plunder was to be obtained.

Allaverdy having now accomplished one of the two objects which he had in view, their separation or expulsion, began the most vigorous preparations to attack Ragojee, but that wily chieftain avoided a general battle, and spreading desolation in his progress, retired into Orissa, which he wholly subjugated in the space of three months. In the following year, 1744, the indefatigable Allaverdy marched into that province at the head of all his forces, by various stratagems brought the enemy still reluctant, to engage him, totally discomfited him, and finally compelled him to retreat beyond its western boundary. Thus terminated an irruption, one of the most dreadful in the Indian annals, an irruption, still remembered with horror by the terrified Bengallers; "and I myself," says Major Rennell, writing in 1788, "have beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity, mutilated and defaced."*

Although during this invasion the European factories remained unmolested, and the English, in particular, received no other detriment than the loss of about 300 bales of raw silk which, in its passage down the river from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, were seized upon by the Mahrattas, yet the great obstruction given to commerce throughout the provinces by these disasters, greatly impaired their profits, and retarded their payments. At the same time it had this pernicious effect, that while it enhanced the price it debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures. The affrighted inhabitants, in dread of personal insult and mutilation, fled from their looms and their fields, to the woods, where they perished with hunger, or were the food of tigers; and not a few sought

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 85, of the Introduction.

refuge among their countrymen at Calcutta, to whom they imparted their terrors. Under these impressions, and dreading a visit from those unprincipled robbers, the Indian inhabitants of the colony solicited and obtained permission at their own expence to dig a ditch round the Company's bounds, an extent of seven miles, and in six months nearly one half of that extent was finished; but those terrors at length subsiding, they discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Mabratta ditch*. Allaverdy by no means opposed this act of self defence, nor, though guilty of some exactions on the ground that they who enjoyed the protection, should contribute to the expence of his arms, had the English any particular reason for complaint under his long and turbulent government.*

That reign was indeed embittered by various and successive calamities; for not long after, in a successful irruption of the Patans into Bahar, his brother Hodgee, then governor there, and who had been instrumental to the destruction of Mustapha Khan, the Patan general, was seized, publicly scourged like a criminal, and then cruelly put to death. Great bodies of Mahrattas too, chiefly from Berar, lured by the vast plunder which their countrymen in their former excursion had brought away, and incited by the court of Delhi, year after year poured in upon the more exposed parts of the province, ravaging and slaughtering without mercy, and kept his harassed armies continually in the field. At length, having contrived to make his peace with the emperor, a firmaun was issued confirming him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his annually remitting the ancient tribute of *six millions* of rupees. Of the Mahrattas, also, he finally purchased peace, by ceding to them, in perpetuity, all Orissa, south of Cattack; and having thus settled the affairs of

* Orme, vol. ii. p. 45. Holwell's Indian Tracts, p. 86.

that government of which he was originally an usurper, but was now the legal sovereign, he hoped to pass the few remaining years of his life in repose and felicity. An injudicious choice of a successor, however, destroyed that pleasing hope, and involved it in the deepest gloom and misery.

Having no male issue, he adopted from the surviving remains of his brother Hodgee's family Mirza Mahmud, the eldest son of the brave but unfortunate Zaindee Hamed, his nephew, whom in the first instance he had designed for his successor, and whose virtues and abilities justified the choice. Neither those virtues nor those abilities descended to his son, now only seventeen years of age, but old in every species of depravity; by habit and nature inflexibly cruel, sullen, obstinate, and vindictive. Flattered by minions from his infancy his insolence was unbounded, and, indulged by the over-weening fondness of Allaverdy in every gratification, his passions were headstrong and ungovernable. To this monster of vice the Soubahship of Bengal descended in 1756, and among the earliest acts of his reign was one of avowed hostility to the English, whom he had long beheld with rancour and suspicion, and whom he had basely calumniated to the dying Allaverdy. The occasion of his rooted aversion to them is stated to have been, summarily, as follows.

Among the Hindoo merchants, resident at Calcutta, and employed in providing the investments of the Company, there was one named OMICHUND, a man reported to be worth four millions of rupees, and the splendour of whose establishment was adequate to his princely fortune. To this man's protection had fled another Hindoo of eminence, by name Kissidas, whose family had been hostilely engaged in designs against his succession, and whose person the Soubah was anxious to secure. A letter was therefore addressed by him to the President, demanding that

Kissidas and his treasures should be given up ; but from some doubts respecting the genuineness of the letter, in a country where forgery is practised without limit, for political as well as other purposes, no satisfactory answer having been returned, and the Nabob also being given to understand by his spies in Calcutta, that the English were busied in strengthening their fortifications in that city, a second letter was sent, ordering them immediately to desist, and threatening them with his vengeance if they did not destroy all the additional works already erected. It was in vain the Presidency now urged that those works were solely intended to resist the possible attacks of the French, with whom a war was immediately expected to break out, their persevering in constructing them was considered as an act of rebellion against his authority, and he immediately marched with his army to Cossimbuzar, where the English fort was invested, taken, and plundered. The army, said to have consisted of 50,000 men, then moved on towards Calcutta, and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the rich merchants and bankers of the province interested in its trade, and the frequent arrival of letters of submission and humiliation, dispatched from Calcutta in hopes of mitigating his wrath, continued its course to Hoogley. This was done with such rapidity, that many of the troops died through excessive fatigue, and many by the intense heat of the sun darting its beams perpendicularly on their heads at the hottest season of the year, about the middle of June. The reason of this rapid progress was the tyrant's fear of losing by removal the immense plunder which he had been informed by his courtiers was to be found in the magazines of Calcutta, which they represented to him as one of the richest cities in the world, overflowing with the choicest productions of either hemisphere.

When, at length, the Presidency became convinced that they

must owe their safety to resistance alone, the most vigorous measures possible, in their situation, were resorted to. What works of defence in that short space could be added to the existing ones, were added: and every preparation practicable was made by the garrison to repel the threatened assault. The regular garrison, however, consisted of only 264 men; the inhabitants serving as militia, amounted to 250, in all 514 men; one half of whom had never seen any service whatever. What, however, they wanted in number they made amends for in spirit and resolution; and therefore having previously sent the ladies and children belonging to the garrison, together with such as were infirm or otherwise unfit for active exertion, on board the vessels, of which there were several lying in the river, they awaited the dreadful contest with the intrepidity of Britons.

The town and fort were invested by this vast army on the 15th of June; but before the Nabob commenced the attack, he is said to have proposed an accommodation with the Governor, provided he would pay him the duties due upon the trade of Calcutta for 15 years, defray the expenses of his army, and deliver up the Indian merchants, the avowed objects of his indignation and vengeance, who, on suspicion of treachery, had been secured in the fort. This, however, being considered only as the insidious proposal of a tyrant, equally avaricious and sanguinary, was not assented to, the attack immediately commenced on a strong redoubt at the entrance of the town, called *Perrings*, whence his troops were repulsed with considerable loss. On the next day the assault was vigorously renewed in many different quarters, but with no more success, the garrison, though reduced by desertion and slaughter, to one half their original number, undauntedly persevering in all the arduous duties assigned them. On the third day the enemy was more successful,

and their overwhelming battalions pouring into the city, on fire in many places, filled it with death and desolation. The barbarous rage of plunder was let loose upon the habitations and warehouses of unoffending merchants. What could not be plundered the devouring flames consumed ; and the miserable remainder of the inhabitants, who had not already fled before the stern destroyer, now sought refuge on board a vessel that still lingered in the road. From the crowded deck with agonizing hearts they beheld the flames, and the yet more cruel foe, ravaging their property, while sorrowing, dejected, impoverished, they slowly descended that river which had so often witnessed their exultation and triumphs.

The garrison now found it necessary to retreat within the walls of the fort, weakened, but not dismayed ; overpowered, but not vanquished. Unfortunately, at this critical juncture, Mr. Drake, together with the commanding officer on duty, forgetting the character of men and Britons, in the face of the astonished and indignant garrison, meanly fled from their posts, and escaped in a boat that accidentally lay at hand, leaving to Mr. Holwell the honour and the danger, at the head of about 190 brave men, to combat to the last extremity against a foe of such immense superiority. That extremity, it may be supposed, under such circumstances could not be far distant ; and, in consequence, after opposing the advances of the enemy step by step with heroic bravery for three days longer, till a third even of this small band were either killed or dangerously wounded, on the morning of the 20th of June, a flag of truce was displayed on the ramparts, answered at noon, and in the evening the fort surrendered.

At five, the Nabob, inflated with his success, entered the fort, attended by his general, Meer Jaffier, and other great officers. There, seated in the principal apartment of the factory, he held

his durbar in state, and received the adulatory compliments of his courtiers on the success of his arms, who compared him for valour and wisdom to Timur and Akber. His first order was to explore the treasury, which, from a variety of causes, proved to be exceedingly deficient, scarcely containing 50,000 rupees. On receiving this intelligence he expressed extreme surprise and indignation, and sent in a rage for Mr. Holwell to know where the vast treasures of the factory were buried. He reproached him for his presumption in attempting to defend the fort against so valiant a hero as himself, at the head of such a powerful army, and insisted upon his discovering the hidden treasure ; but, mingling promises with threats, assured him on the word of a soldier, that no harm should befall him. He then commanded Omichund and Kissidas to be brought before him, to whom he behaved with more moderation than was expected ; but in Omichund's treasury were found 400,000 rupees, which operated forcibly on his avarice, and probably disarmed his vengeance. Before seven o'clock that evening Mr. Holwell was again, twice, sent for on the subject of the treasure, but as no violent measures were resorted to, it was evident he meant to obtain by artifice what it was presumed would, by English firmness, be refused to severity. He was remanded to his companions in affliction, and the tyrant, after refreshment, retired to his repose.

The night approached ; a night of woe and horror indescribable ! The miserable remainder of the garrison, amounting in all to 146 persons, including Mr. Holwell, were assembled together under a varanda, or open gallery, surrounded by a strong guard. The night was intensely sultry, such as may be supposed in Bengal at the hottest season of the year, but increased considerably beyond its usual fervour. A place

sufficiently large and secure for their confinement till the ensuing morning was sought for, or pretended to be sought for in vain. They were then ordered by the commanding officer to go into an apartment adjoining, whose dimensions were not 20 feet square, the common dungeon of the fort, and from its darkness and noisomeness, denominated by the garrison the BLACK HOLE. To the greater part of the prisoners the dimensions of this room were unknown ; but some, to whom they were known, beginning to expostulate, the brutal chief ordered the first that hesitated to be cut down : the murmur ceased, and they were all with difficulty thrust in. The door, which opened inwards, was then locked upon them : upon far the greater part of them for ever. " Figure to yourself," says Mr. Holwell, one of the few who lived to tell the affecting tale, " figure to yourself, if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal ; shut up to the eastward and southward, *the only quarters whence air could come to us*, by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred within, through which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air."* It is impossible for imagination to *figure* any thing half so tremendous as this untimely interment in a gloomy and foetid cavern ; this awful anticipation of the horrors of sepulchral darkness !

They had not been many minutes incarcerated in this terrible dungeon before it became evident to all, who were capable of serious reflection, that death by suffocation must inevitably be the doom of by far the greater part of them, unless immediate relief could be obtained. Violent efforts were therefore instantly made

* See Holwell's Narrative, in his Indian Tracts, p. 392.

to force open the door of their prison ; but that door being very strong, and, as before observed, opening inward, all their exertions were ineffectual. In fact, those efforts only increased the rage of the fever that now began its dreadful work of devastation among them. In this state of awful suspense and perturbation, Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself near one of the windows, exhorted them, as the only means of preservation, to keep both body and mind as composed as possible. His remonstrances produced only a short interval of quiet, during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore on his countenance some marks of humanity, promising him in the morning 1000 rupees, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. Apparently affected with their melancholy situation he went and used his efforts to accommodate them ; but soon returned, and said it was impossible. A larger bribe was offered. He retired once more, and returned with the deathful intelligence that no relief could be afforded, for the *Nabob was asleep, and nobody dared to awake him*. Despair sate on the faces of all who heard it, and now crowding to the windows for *air*, distinction being forgot, and even friendship obliterated, each combated with ferocity against the other to obtain that invaluable blessing. In this tumultuous struggle, and closely wedged together in one compact mass, some, less robust of body, expired under the insupportable pressure ; some fainting with the intolerable heat, sunk to rise no more ! while others, parched with the ardors of a thirst never to be extinguished, filled the apartment with loud outcries for water. Indeed, *water ! water !* soon became the universal cry, which when obtained by the kind offices of the good Jemautdar, only increased the fever which it was intended to assuage. The very sight of it threw them into convulsions, and occasioned a renewal of their dreadful conflicts, while in their eagerness to procure it,

half of the precious boon was lost. The inhuman guards were all this time making themselves merry with their sufferings, and held up lights to the bars to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing their deplorable contentions.

The air of the dungeon now became in a high degree vitiated, being saturated with the effluvia of putrifying bodies, of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the window, were either seized with a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to fire into the dungeon, and put an end to their miseries. Some frantic with their torments, were blaspheming their creator, and others imploring heaven with wild and incoherent prayers. Sometimes a dreadful silence ensued; and then again were renewed the shrieks of woe and the outcries of horror. At two o'clock only 50 remained alive, but even this number were too many to partake of the saving air; the contest for which and life continued until the morning, long implored, began to break, and with the hope of relief gave the few survivors a view of the dead. Agonizing at the sight of their deceased comrades, most of whom, a few days before, were in the bloom and vigour of life, those at the windows again renewed their earnest solicitations with the guard to open the door, but in vain. Thinking that Mr. Holwell, who, entirely overcome with the heat and pressure, had retired from the window to die amid the ghastly throng expiring around him, might, if yet alive, have more influence than themselves, a search that doubtless saved his life, was instantly made for him, and he was again placed in his painful state of pre-eminence, the window. Before, however, he was sufficiently recovered to become their orator, an officer sent by the Nabob came and enquired if the English chief yet

survived, and shortly after the same man returned with the thrice welcome mandate to open the prison. The dead were heaped in such piles against the door, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed nearly half an hour in removing them before they could clear a passage sufficiently wide to go out, one at a time; when, horrible to relate! out of 146 who went in, no more than 23 came out alive! The Nabob's troops beheld the dreadful havock of death, and the deplorable state of the survivors, without commiseration, although the intolerable stench that issued from the dungeon caused them to remove to some distance. At length, from fear of infection, they were compelled to clear the dungeon, and afterwards dug a deep trench on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown. Such is the statement of this dreadful affair, unequalled in the annals of human misery! given for the most part in the words of the respectable chief himself, (*quæque ipse miserrima vidit*) who notwithstanding the shock which his constitution suffered on this occasion, returned to England, and lived till the advanced age of 90.

Although the guilt of this dreadful massacre is not wholly imputed by the writer to the Soubah, who had only issued general orders for the secure confinement of the prisoners during the night, but to the enraged soldiers on duty, in revenge for so many of their comrades slain in the siege; yet his subsequent conduct evinced the callous obduracy of his heart. When shortly after Mr. Holwell, unable from weakness to stand, was, at his command, carried before him, he shewed no symptoms of compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, but sternly demanded the *treasurés*, and threatened him with still farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them.

He was then, in that weak state, put into fetters, and with two other gentlemen of the council, supposed also to be conscious to the concealment of the treasure, sent in an open boat, under accumulated indignities, to Muxadavad. The rest of the prisoners were permitted to go where they pleased, and a few of them, by the utmost exertion of their remaining strength, were happy enough to reach the vessels that still lay in sight at Govindpore. The remainder having removed to the farthest distance possible from the scene of woe, crawled into some deserted huts in the vicinity, where the compassionate natives administered to their wants, and as far as they could, assuaged their maladies.*

Having fulfilled, as he thought, his menace of exterminating the English, and having collected together the plunder, (which, altogether, did not exceed the sum of 200,000l.) on the 2d of July the Nabob quitted Calcutta to return to his capital, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monick-chund, one of his generals, in the command of the place. In passing by the French and Dutch settlements, he also threatened *them* with extirpation unless they paid him a large sum of money. In their dread of a similar catastrophe, the Dutch bought their peace with 450,000 rupees; the French, who are said to have supplied him, in his march to Calcutta, with 200 chests of gunpowder, paid the fine of only 100,000 rupees. In the mean time those who had honourably, as well as those who had ignominiously, taken refuge on board the ships had passed down the river, under the fire of several pieces of cannon, mounted to obstruct their progress, till at length they reached Fulta, the station of all the Dutch shipping, where, on account of the southerly monsoon, it being impossible to quit the river, they resolved to remain; though inconveniently crowded together, exposed to all varieties of weather, without

* Mr Holwell's Letter, in his "Indian Tracts," p. 387.

change of raiment, and often without provision, they suffered hardships little inferior to those who had experienced the horrors of the infernal dungeon. Mutual altercations, and severe reproaches for what now could not be remedied, greatly added to the distress of their situation; till, at length, wearied out with ineffectual wrangling, they agreed to dispatch messengers to Madras to make known their deplorable situation, and to solicit those immediate and effectual succours which could alone save them from utter ruin.

The deputation arrived at Madras on the 5th of August, and nothing could exceed the horror and consternation into which the presidency was plunged by the fatal intelligence of which they were the bearers. Although occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans, solicited by Salabad-jing to assist him in getting rid of the French army under M. Bussy, an object under any other circumstances of the highest possible importance, the destination of that force was immediately altered to Bengal, to which 600 more European regulars were added, together with 1500 sepoy. Admiral Watson was fortunately at that time in the road with a squadron consisting of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fireship; to which were added, as transports, three of the Company's ships, and two smaller vessels. Colonel Clive was requested to take the command of the forces, and embarked in the Kent, the flag-ship of Admiral Watson; while Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag in the Cumberland. This formidable force sailed for the Ganges on the 10th of October, and after encountering much bad weather, from the violence of the northern monsoon, during which the Cumberland, the largest ship, and having on board 250 men, and the Marlborough, one of the Company's ships, loaded with the greatest part of the

field-artillery, were separated from the fleet, arrived at Fulta on the 15th of December. This misfortune proved a very considerable diminution of the force. The absence of the troops, however, the more fatal disaster of the two, was in part repaired by the recovering men of Captain Kilpatrick's detachment, which had previously arrived in the Ganges, but by encampment on its swampy shores had suffered severely, and by volunteers who enrolled themselves at Fulta.

At length, every thing being prepared for this important expedition, on the 27th of December all the ships and vessels of whatever denomination that had assembled at Fulta were put in motion, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia, which Admiral Watson determined to attack on the following day. As there could be little doubt of success, and it was probable that the vanquished garrison would endeavour to make good their retreat to Calcutta, an ambuscade was planned to intercept that retreat. It was directed by Colonel Clive in person, and was the prelude to a more serious action than was expected; for Monick-chund, who has been mentioned as the general left in command at Calcutta, having marched down to Buz-buzia the day before, at the head of 1500 horse and 2000 foot, a general engagement took place, and was continued by the Moguls for some time with resolution, till a cannon ball passing very near the turban of Monick-chund checked his ardour for combat, and induced him to turn his elephant, the usual signal of retreat to an eastern army. That signal was obeyed with no reluctance by his troops, who immediately marched away to the north-east, and with their chief expeditiously returned to Calcutta. The success of his master in taking that fort had filled this hero with a vain confidence of superiority; and he made no doubt but that a similar triumph

would attend the march of his own army to Buz-buzia. The vigorous exertions of a Clive, though extremely cramped in the late engagement, had taught this presumptuous chief a very different lesson. So deep indeed was the impression, that he remained in Calcutta only a few hours, when, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, he hurried away with his fugitive bands to Hoogly, and thence to the terrified Nabob at Muxadavad. In the mean time, the Kent, which had outsailed the other ships, anchoring before Buz-buzia, with her guns alone silenced the cannon of that fort, but the troops having been extremely fatigued, it was resolved to delay the assault till the next morning. The garrison however saved them the trouble, for taking advantage of the darkness that concealed their motions, they decamped in the course of the night. The two intermediate forts of Tannah and Aligur were also, on the approach of the fleet deserted, and at 9 o'clock on the 2d of January, 1757, the Kent and Tiger anchored before the gates of Fort William, but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides, during which disadvantage the Mogul garrison with an unexpected vigour cannonaded them briskly from the line of guns fronting the river, and killed several men. The encreasing fire from the ships, however, soon silenced them, and by 11 o'clock the fort was evacuated. A detachment under the command of Captain Coote (the troops with Colonel Clive having not yet arrived) immediately landed, retook possession of the fort, and with loud acclamations, once more, hoisted on the ramparts the colours of Britain.

The next day Admiral Watson solemnly re-instated Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council in the government. Their sensations, when again entering that fort from which some had been driven, and others had dishonourably fled, in the dark hour of peril, may be more easily conceived than

expressed. To their surprise they found the greatest part of the merchandize belonging to the Company remaining in the warehouses without detriment. It was the Nabob's portion of the plunder, and had not been removed. All other species of moveable property had been seized upon, and carried away. Many of the best houses in the settlement had been demolished, and a still greater number had suffered by the conflagration. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monick-chund, but these were mostly of inferior rank: the superior classes knew and dreaded his insatiable rapacity.

The positive orders of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were, to obtain full reparation of all injuries, and, if necessary, to attack the tyrant in his capital. The national honour had received a deadly wound in his triumph over Calcutta, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance. Impelled by these orders, and animated with these sentiments, on hearing that the town of Hoogly was in great consternation, they resolved to attack it while that impression remained. The fort was garrisoned with 2000 men, and 3000 more had been dispatched from Muxadavad for the defence of the town; but these latter retreated on receiving intelligence of the advance of the English. A portion of the fleet, and a competent number of military without difficulty soon effected the capture of a place, incapable of making any vigorous defence. Here they retaliated on the Nabob some of the evils inflicted on Calcutta, setting fire to the buildings and storehouses, and greatly distressed the enemy by destroying the large granaries of rice collected in the neighbourhood. Having done this service, and without any intention of keeping possession of the place, the expedition returned to Calcutta.

The Nabob, highly exasperated at this new insult, immediately

left his capital at the head of all his forces. The English were prevented by the want of their field artillery, and of bullocks to draw it, from immediately marching to meet him, but were not negligent in making the necessary preparations to receive him, should he a second time pay a visit to Calcutta. The army encamped about a mile northward of the town, in a situation extremely well chosen, where they waited his approach, and the arrival of their artillery. That approach was not long delayed; and, soon after, a partial action took place, in which he lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 men, and 500 horses. This somewhat damped the ardour of his courage, and he retired to some distance. In the mean time intelligence was brought to Calcutta that war had been declared between France and England. As the French were strong at Chandernagore, where they had a large body of Europeans and a train of field artillery, Colonel Clive apprehended that if they should join the Nabob, the English force, strong as it was, would scarcely be able to cope with them, and therefore, mingling prudence with valour, was willing to try the effect of negotiation. A correspondence with the Nabob was, in consequence, opened by means of Omichund, who attended that prince, and was high in his favour. The Nabob, not without his apprehensions of the final result of the contest, consented, and among the terms demanded by the English were the full restitution of all plundered effects; a permission to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they might think proper; liberty to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exemption of their merchandize from all taxes; and in general a renewal of all the immunities granted the Company by the emperor FURRUKEER. To these terms he assented, swore to abide by them, and re-commenced his march to the capital; but, evasion being suspected, and it being afterwards proved that he secretly abetted

the French, and had even sent the government of Chandernagore a present of 100,000 rupees, all confidence in him was lost, and revenge only slumbered to be poured upon his head in a tenfold proportion.

The Marlborough having at length arrived with the field artillery, and a fleet from Bombay having brought a large additional force, the English troops were thought powerful enough to attack the French and Moguls united. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, the camp formed near Calcutta broke up, and, as the French had acted a very perfidious part both on the present and on the former occasion, the march against Chandernagore was instantly commenced. The Nabob, by expostulation and direct menaces, endeavoured to retard the fate of that settlement, but in vain. It was too near, too formidable, and too malignant a rival to be longer endured. The French, pre-eminent in military tactics, had fortified Chandernagore in the strongest manner. The works were of the best masonry, and the cannon were of an unusual magnitude. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 sepoys. I must again, however, repeat the impossibility of going, in this work, into the details of battles and sieges, except on occasions of the highest interest and importance. Let it suffice to say, that the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, being so stationed as to batter the fort, in front, with irresistible effect, the batteries erected on the land side, exerted their fire in other quarters with proportionate success; and, though the place was gallantly defended during the time of the assault, in a very few hours this fine settlement was completely in the possession of the English, never to be restored. The amount of the plunder, of various kinds, however, did not exceed 100,000l. sterling, with which the ships being loaded they returned in triumph to Calcutta.

The account of the surrender of Chandernagore reached the Nabob at the same juncture with intelligence of a still more disagreeable nature, that a vast army of Patans were in full march to invade Bahar, and that they had engaged Balajee Row, the general of the Mahrattas, to invade Bengal. Although a part of his army, intended to raise the siege of Chandernagore, had already advanced within 20 miles of Hoogley, the artful despot now changed his tone, and not only sent letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, but offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those by which the French Company had held it. Shortly afterwards, the intelligence of the invasion of the Patans proving untrue, he repented of his proffered generosity, and openly protected and patronized the French, furnishing Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, who had raised a body of men to act offensively, with money, arms, and ammunition. On hearing that Colonel Clive had sent a detachment in pursuit of this Mr. Law, he grew enraged, and declared publicly he would put Mr. Watts, the chief of the English factory at the same place, to death : at the same time he gave orders to the general of his army that had advanced towards Chandernagore, to remain at Plassey, in the island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the south of Muxadavad, and consequently so far on its way to Calcutta. Clive, at length, finding that with a prince so perfidious no measures were to be kept, that the articles of the treaty remained still unfulfilled, that in short no restitution was made or ever intended to be made ; having moreover been informed that it was the Nabob's avowed purpose, declared to his courtiers in some vain-glorious moment, that after having vanquished the Patans, he would return, and exterminate all the English in his

dominions, and that, to accomplish this purpose, he had actually invited M. Bussy to join him with all his army from Deccan.—Clive, I say, fully acquainted with these particulars, resolved on WAR. It was a war deeply interesting in its conduct and results both to Asia and Europe; it taught the inutility of myriads in the embattled field without a soul to animate, and a head to direct them; it tore an empire from the house of Timur, and gave it to the “merchant princes” of a remote island in the western ocean.

A variety of circumstances led to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the immense army and resources of the Nabob, the contest would be favourable to the English. His tyranny and cruelties had arrived at an intolerable height. He had imprisoned Moniek-chund, and fined him a million of rupees on account of the effects which that officer had plundered at Calcutta. Every man at his court that had wealth trembled at his rapacity. Two brothers, named the SEATS, the richest men in the province, were in such a constant state of alarm that they found it necessary secretly to engage a large body of troops for the defence of themselves and their property; if necessary, even against the Nabob himself. Assassination by poison or the dagger were in such frequent use since his ascension of the musnud, that no omrah, who attended his durbar, went without apprehension that he should never return. The spirit of rebellion had long lurked among his courtiers, and now a conspiracy deeply laid, but cautiously conducted, was verging on maturity, at the head of which were Roydoolub, his Duan, or treasurer, and his principal general, Meer Jaffier, who, as himself declared to Mr. Watts, the resident at Cossimbuzar, was in perpetual danger of his life from the sanguinary bias and dreadful caprices of his master. Mr. Watts was instructed to fan this flame of general discontent, and to stipulate those conditions with Jaffier, upon which Colonel

Clive promised to raise him to the musnud in case of success. The principal conditions stipulated were, "A full restitution in money for the losses sustained by the Company and individuals; a re-imbursement of the charges of the military and naval force in the expedition; the total expulsion of the French from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and a large additional grant of territory round Calcutta." A treaty to this effect having been mutually agreed to, and signed, and all the necessary preparations previously made, the troops intended for the attack on the tyrant's capital were put in motion. Into the particulars of this expedition, and the consequent battle of Plassey, on account of its great importance, I shall enter with more than usual detail. I must here remark that my business is faithfully to record historical facts; but neither on this, nor on any other occasion of our interference with the princes of Hindostan, have I room, or inclination, to engage in political discussion.

On the 19th of June, 1757, the whole army moved forward from Chandernagore, to which place they had previously advanced; the Europeans, with the artillery, stores, and ammunition, in 200 boats, towed by the Indian rowers; the sepoy's, in sight, along the high road, made by the Mogul government from Hoogley to Patna. At Hoogley the new governor threatened to oppose the passage of the boats, but a twenty-gun ship that attended them, coming up and anchoring before the fort, together with a menacing letter from Clive, prevented his putting that threat in execution. The commander had already dispatched letters to the Nabob, upbraiding him with his multiplied perfidies, and announcing his approach. A rumour of the conspiracy to dethrone him, with Jaffier at its head, had reached his ears, and after some angry messages had passed between them, he was preparing to attack the latter in his palace. The sudden