

give the Reader some Idea of the melancholy and mortifying Situation of Mr. *Watts*, who resided on the Part of the Company at the Suba's Court, whose Perplexities daily increased, and whose Anxieties hourly multiplied, though they had not yet reached to those Circumstances of Disgust and Distress that they afterwards did. He saw himself almost constantly on bad Terms with that Prince, and of course upon no good ones with his Ministers and Favourites. The Suba never forgave him extracting that important, and, as he conceived it, fatal Letter of Permission to Admiral *Watson*; to which, without much Injustice, he ascribed solely the attacking and taking *Chandénagore*. It was from Mr. *Watts* he received, from Day to Day, those grating Remonstrances that so much displeased him, and those admonitory Letters that made still a deeper Impression. He ought, in Strictness, to have considered him, on these Occasions, as the Instrument only of the Company; but his Warmth and Assiduity in all these frequent Applications, made the Suba look no farther than himself. He was obliged to confer with him daily, and, if he was absent, called for him,

as being uneasy if he missed him, whence of course he beheld him often, and yet but very seldom with a gracious Eye. Mr. *Watts* saw, felt, and understood these numberless Inconveniencies, to which he was exposed, and which, as we have observed, heightened upon him every Hour. But the Consolation he derived from the kind Letters of Admiral *Watson* and Colonel *Clive*, who had a true and lively Sense of his Services and Sufferings, kept up his Spirits, and enabled him to pursue his Business with a Vivacity that entirely concealed, though it could not remove, but rather augmented, his interior Chagrin. Besides this, he had another Satisfaction, which was getting most Part of the Treaty executed, tho' with infinite Trouble; and this procured him the hearty Approbation of the Select Committee, who were now convinced, that he not only did all that could be done, but more than most Men could have done in his Station. As ill as he was treated by him, he continued to render the Suba many good Offices; giving the Committee to understand, that, in all human Probability, they should gradually obtain all that they desired, and that therefore they should not be impatient.

He prevailed also upon Colonel *Clive* to promise the Suba from time to time his Assistance; and he laboured more incessantly to convince that Prince, that, if he would confide in the *English*, he had no Reason to fear either foreign or domestic Enemies, with which, when he thought himself in Danger, he was well enough pleased; but when that was in any Degree over, he shewed a visible Uneasiness at his having confessed that he stood in need of such Assistance.

The Storm, that had been gathering from the Beginning of *March*, began to burst about the latter End of *April*, and in the Opening of the Month of *May*; when the Suba, in sudden Starts of Passion, shewed the Rancour of his Heart, and testified sufficiently, that he waited only for an Opportunity to make the *English* feel a second Time the heavy Weight of his Resentment. As he never assigned any Causes himself, but on the contrary, even in this Interval, and in the midst of Actions inconsistent with those Declarations, asserted his Intention to fulfil his Treaty, and appealed to God and his Prophet for the Truth of it; we must own it is extremely

extremely difficult to guess at his Reasons. They appear, however, to have been chiefly Three; First, the perpetual Insinuations of the *French*, that Mr. *Buffy* might be brought to his Assistance; and that, by a Junction with his Troops, he would be greatly superior to the *English*; and to this Measure he was so much inclined, that he actually wrote a Letter to that Officer, in which he promised him Twenty Lack of Rupees, if he would march directly into his Dominions, of which Mr. *Watts* also gave the Intelligence. The next Thing was, the Compliances that had been made with a View of gaining him, the recalling most of the Troops from *Chandagore*, the permitting him to keep the Cannon, to search the Factory of *Cassimbuzar*, and the warm and tender Expressions of Friendship in Colonel *Clive's* Letters, with the high Testimonies of Reverence and Respect paid him, whenever he was pleased to be in a good Temper, or to profess his Disposition of adhering to his Engagements. The last was, the Retreat of the *Patans*, who had shewn an Intention to invade his Territories, and the putting an End to the Troubles occasioned by the *My Rajah*, by which



he thought himself in a Condition to employ all his Forces, and was likewise secure in having the *French* to manage his Artillery, with which they made him believe they could perform Wonders. In these Circumstances he was so very elate, as not to make any scruple (though a direct Breach of his Faith) of interrupting the *English* Commerce, keeping his Army in the Field, though he had most solemnly promised the contrary, and sometimes expressing a formal Design of sending back the Treaty that had been signed with him, and demanding his own. In such a State of Things it was evident, that the Company could not rely upon him, or consider themselves in any Degree of Security, farther than as they were supported by the King's Squadron and Forces; and as their present Condition was very precarious, so their future Prospect was still more gloomy and alarming; and though as yet they were not in a state of War, they could not, however, with any Propriety, be said to be in Peace.

The Vice-Admiral and Colonel *Clive* were exceedingly embarrassed, and found it very difficult to judge what Measures they were

were to take. If they advanced their Forces, or resumed their military Preparations, it might, in Appearance, justify the Suba's Behaviour; and besides, Mr. *Watts* and the Select Committee both dissuaded any Steps of this kind, as inconsistent with the Company's Concerns, at least till they had secured the Money and Effects of the several Subordinates. On the other hand, they saw that Compliances did more Harm than Good, and that their Professions of adhering inviolably to the Peace, and their repeated Promises of Friendship and Assistance, only flattered the Suba's Pride, heightened his Notions of his own Power, and encouraged him to act with greater Violence and Insolence, of which they had but too many, and those flagrant Instances. Colonel *Clive*, however, took on one Side every Method that was necessary to demonstrate his pacific Inclination, and how sincere his Intentions were to restore and preserve the Tranquility of the Province, desisting from his Demands that the *French* should be delivered up, from the repairing the Fortification at *Cassimbuzar*, or reinforcing the Gar-  
At the same time, he wrote in  
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very plain Terms to the Suba, told him his Thoughts of his Proceedings, the Concern they gave him, and the Determination he had taken, to recur to open Force, whenever he found, from his Manner of acting, that no other Remedy was left, and that it was entirely in his Power to have him for a Friend or an Enemy. In the very Height of these Disputes, the Suba demanded an ample Acquittance, under the Seal of the Governor and Select Committee, and those also of the Vice-Admiral and Colonel. To this the latter wrote him for Answer, that it was strange he should demand, or expect such an Acquittance, when he very well knew, that several of the Articles were still unperformed; that many Lacks of Rupees were due to the Company, in Satisfaction of their Losses; that the Restitution of Thirty-eight Villages, which they claimed, had not yet been made, and that the Commerce in general was still interrupted. But as his Demand might imply a Resolution to settle all these Points, and as it was hoped this was really the Case, such an Acquittance should immediately prepared, and transmitt

*Mr. Watts*, with express Orders to deliver it, as soon as the Articles hitherto unadjusted were once thoroughly settled.

This, however reasonable in itself, was by no means acceptable to the Suba, who, in Proportion as he lost all seeming Regard, though really he never had any for the Vice-Admiral and the Colonel, towards both of whom he had once professed so much Esteem, kept no longer any Measures towards Mr. *Watts*, whom he looked upon as a Man he could not deceive, as a Man whom he hated for that Reason; and which was an additional Motive to his Resentment, though it should, if his Mind had corresponded with his Rank, have restrained it, as a Man absolutely in his Powers. In order to execute the various Commissions which he was charged more particularly *Mr. Watts*, according to the Custom of *Benares*, had employed a Person to act as Interpreter in the Language of the Country. He sent Him, in the first Fit of his Rage, to forbid his Court. An Affront, which, in *India*, though in Appearance only, was unacquainted with their Customs, was a great Thing, but it was quickly

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ly followed by personal Insults, and those of the most serious Nature. At last, forgetting the Respect due to the *British* Crown, to Mr. *Watts's* Character as Resident from the *East India* Company, and his own Dignity, he told several of his principal Ministers, with a View that they should, as they really did, tell it Mr. *Watts* again, that, upon the first Intelligence he had of the Motion of the *English* Troops, he would cut off that Gentleman's Head, or cause him to be impaled. This was such an Outrage on the Law of Nations as was inconsistent with the Rank of a Prince, and must, by the Rules of common Sense, leave any Man in his Circumstances at Liberty to take the Methods that appeared to him safest for his own Preservation. Upon this Occasion Mr. *Watts* acted with a Degree of Temper and Calmness that must surprize the Reader. He wrote an Account of the Facts to the Governor, without any Exaggeration, adding, that he despised the Suba's Threatenings, and desired the Select Committee would proceed as the Company's Interest directed, and without putting themselves in Pain for his Safety. A Circumstance that would not have been inserted in these Memoirs.

noirs, if the Person was not alive to whom that Letter was addressed.

The Gentlemen entrusted with the Direction of Affairs, saw plainly the Tendency of the Suba's Proceedings. Indeed they were so evident, as to fill all the Inhabitants of *Calcutta* with Alarms, that were but too well founded. Experience had already taught them, how far the Caprice of the Suba might go; and it was no way improbable, that if they were so unhappy as to fall again under his Power, they might, if possible, meet with still worse Treatment, which induced them to make the best Provision they could for their Defence; and to put the Troops into such Condition, as that, whenever Necessity required, they might be able to repel Force by Force. At the same time, however, it was resolved, not to precipitate any thing, to act with the utmost Caution, and to ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~hold~~ <sup>seize</sup> hold of any favourable Opportunity that might offer, towards furnishing Means to extricate them from these Perplexities.

*Calcutta* was not the only Place where Doubts and Apprehensions reigned. They  
were



were to the full as strong in *Muxadarad*, with this additional and distinguishing Circumstance, that Discord spread itself through the Suba's Court, where the only Oracle that every Man consulted was his own Interest. Reverses of Fortune were equally sudden and frequent. The Courtiers that were in the highest Favour To-day, were To-morrow in the very Depth of Disgrace. No Man was secure, and therefore no Man was contented; and which is, and will be always the Case in corrupt Courts, the worst Men had the best Chance. Those who had nothing to lose, had all Things to expect; and by flattering their Prince's Humour, and complying blindly with all his Commands, the meanest and basest People about him grew quickly the most considerable. Those who had been in the Old Suba's Councils and Confidence, who were Men of Rank and Family, and who had both Estates and Reputations to risque, were, from those very Circumstances, Malcontents. They saw that this System could not last long; that a general Confusion must ensue; and that a Man, governed entirely by his Passions, could never carry on public Affairs with any Degree of Success. But these  
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Reflections, which their own good Sense and long Experience suggested to them, served only to disturb and to distract, without affording them the least Glance of extricating either him or themselves from that impending Ruin, which his rash and raw Measures rendered inevitable. They perceived plainly enough each other's Sentiments, from that Tincture which they naturally gave to every One's Language and Behaviour; but they had no Confidence at all amongst themselves, and every Man was afraid of hastening his own particular Fall, by disclosing or lamenting the Approach of that common Destruction, which, however visible to their Understandings, was by no means a fit Subject for their Conversation.

But in the midst of these Perplexities a Ray of Hope very unexpectedly appeared. The Suba had shewn the ~~Seriousness~~ <sup>Seriousness</sup> of his Nature, in so many Instances, as to strike a universal Terror; more especially as the Fickleness of his Disposition suffered no Man who was near him, and in his Power, to think himself safe. In such a State of general Danger, there occurred to every One, capable

pable of thinking freely (the only Species of Liberty that even Tyrants Favourites retain) but one single Mode of Security, which consisted in depriving him of his Power, who so constantly, as well as egregiously abused it. The Conception of this availed little, since the Attempt was equally difficult and dangerous; and the failing in it sure to be attended with sudden and certain Destruction. There was also but one way to move, or rather to lessen the Risk; and this also was very easily discovered. It was procuring the Countenance and the Assistance of the *English*. Such as were in the Suba's Confidence, and from that very Circumstance most afraid of him, were persuaded they could merit very much from the Company's Servants, by laying open his Secrets, and thereby shewing them, what these People thought they did not in the least suspect, the Danger to which they were exposed. Amongst several who reasoned thus in their own Breasts, there was one who had a considerable share of Interest and Authority. His Name was *Godar Ya Cawn Laitty*, who, when he had for some time meditated, and in his own Mind thoroughly digested his Scheme, thought it wore

so fair an Appearance, that he sent several Messages to Mr. *Watts*, signifying that he had something to communicate to him of great Importance: But the Suba kept so many Spies upon that Gentleman, and those Spies watched him so very closely, that it was simply impossible to comply with *Godar Yar Cawn Laitty's* Request of having an Interview with him, because it was evidently risking the utter Ruin of both. Some Days, therefore, elapsed, before an Expedient could be found to remove this troublesome Obstacle, and to give Mr. *Watts* the necessary Information of what were this Person's real Intentions, and what the Means by which he proposed to carry them into Execution.

He at length thought proper to send to him *Omichund*, who has been mentioned before, in order to draw what Lights he could from this discontented Confident of the Suba who, after he had conferred with him, reported, that he knew with Certainty his Master's settled Intentions were to break with and to attack the *English*, as soon as he had a favourable Opportunity; that he likewise knew, the Suba had retained the *French*, who had

had escaped from *Chandénagore*, and in the subordinate Factories, in his Service, who were to remain at *Patna* in his Pay, till an Occasion could be found for employing them; that the *English* had no Method of preventing this threatening Tempest from breaking upon their Establishments, but by providing in Time a Force sufficient to resist it; that he was willing, whenever the Suba should recur to open Hostilities, to join Us, and act against him, provided we would assist him in assuming the Government of the Province; that in return for this, he would, as soon as he was fixed in that Office, grant, by way of Recompence, a large Extent of Lands to the Company, and would likewise pay down a Sum in ready Money, sufficient to indemnify the People of *Calcutta* for all the Losses they had sustained. These were Communications of so dangerous as well as so delicate a Nature, that they would infallibly have turned a weak Head, or distracted a timid Mind. They were received calmly and coolly, as Points of Information, in regard to which Mr. *Watts* could take no Step of himself, but from which the Persons who had communicated them had nothing to fear; and with these

these Affurances, such was their Opinion of this Secrecy, Sagacity, and Steadiness, that they remained perfectly satisfied and easy, leaving him sufficient Leisure to consider and reflect upon these very extraordinary Overtures, and to review and digest the Thoughts that must naturally arise upon so important a Subject. But, however, restrained him within the Compass of Six Days, to procure for this *Moorish* Officer an Answer, from those who were entrusted with the Management of the Company's Affairs at *Calcutta*.

The Situation of Mr. *Watts* in this Con-  
juncture, is much more easy to conceive than  
to describe. He was oppressed with Cares,  
environed with Perils, and had not so much  
as a single Person with whom to communi-  
cate or to consult. His own Safety, the Wel-  
fare, and even the Being of the *British* Set-  
tlements, and indeed the future Fate of ~~these~~  
Provinces, depended, at least in the first In-  
stance, on his Capacity, Pénération, and Dis-  
cretion. It was a very arduous Task to form  
any clear Opinion upon this Offer; it de-  
manded much Skill to set the Motives upon  
which such an Opinion must be founded in  
their



their proper Light; and, when all this was done; it appeared infinitely hazardous to transmit Propositions of this Nature, together with his Thoughts upon them, to *Calcutta*, while a jealous Prince, in a Country where the Character of a Spy is not dishonourable, had Multitudes of such State Implements about him, all filled with the Hopes of rising upon his Ruin. But though perfectly sensible of all this, as he must have been to counteract their Vigilance, he boldly undertook, and as happily performed, all that the Confidence reposed in him, or his Duty to the Company could demand. He stated fully the Nature of these Overtures, the Suba's Disposition at the Time, the Characters and Credit of the principal Officers about him, their Tempers, Circumstances, and Connections, the Probability that such a Design might be carried into Execution, the Hazards to which it must be exposed, and the Methods most proper to avoid them. But when he had done all this, he added no direct Judgment of his own. He contented himself with giving Lights, without venturing to pronounce what Measure ought to be taken. He had frequent Experience of the Regard paid by them

them to his Sentiments, from his having commonly sent them the Draughts of the Letters to the Suba, which being transmitted back to him, he presented to that Prince; but he held this to be a Matter too difficult, as well as too delicate for him to determine. He knew very well there was no small Danger in Delay; but he likewise knew, that there was still more Danger in a rash Decision, and therefore he gave none. The Select Committee concurred with him in this; they entertained the Motion, commended his Caution, suggested that he should continue to keep Things in Suspense, but directed him by all Means to avoid concluding any Thing, till he should receive their future Directions in a Thing of so great Weight.

It was not long after this, that *Meer Jaffer Aly Cawn*, a Person of great Distinction, who had married the Sister of *Aliverdy Cawn*, the Suba's Grandfather and Predecessor, sent one in whom he could perfectly confide to *Mr. Watts*, to disclose what were his real Opinions, and how very short a Space he thought was like to intervene, before the Suba took the Field once more,

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against

against the *English*. This Person had it farther in Commission to represent, that the Disaffection of the principal Officers, Civil and Military, was in a manner general; that *Meer Jasseir* never appeared in the Suba's Presence, without Fear of being assassinated; and that for this Reason, whenever he was constrained to go, he always caused his Forces to be drawn out, under Arms, with his Son at their Head. In the Close of his Discourse, he added, that a Determination was already taken, to depose, for their own Sakes, *Suraja Dowlat*; and that if the *English* would engage with, and promise to support, another Person, in assuming the Dignity of Suba, *Rahim Cawn*, *Roydoolub*, and *Bahadar Aly Cawn*, were ready to join *Meer Jasseir*, in removing *Suraja Dowlat*, whose Affairs would be then in a very desperate Situation. Mr. *Watts* transmitted the Detail of this Conversation and to Colonel *Clive*, and gave it as his own Opinion, that *Meer Jasseir* was by far the properest Person to be elevated to that Rank, as his Abilities were greater, his Reputation better, and his Connections more extensive than those of *Laitty*. He at the same time acquainted the Colonel, that if this Change

was

was to be accomplished by their Forces, as he much doubted, whether, after all, the *Moors* had Spirit enough to attempt so extraordinary an Enterprize themselves, it would be right to form the Outlines of a new Agreement, of which the old one ought to be the Basis; and to frame such additional Articles, as might effectually indemnify the Company for the Risk they ran, and procure an ample Satisfaction for the Losses private Persons had sustained, in the Devastation of *Calcutta*, of which no Care had been taken in the former Treaty; and that, in short, nothing should now be omitted, that might put their Affairs for the future upon a firm and stable Establishment; so that, in case of Disturbances in the Country, the Servants of the Company, and those who depended on it, might be in a Condition to protect themselves.

As these Transactions were of a very delicate Nature, and were to be conducted with much Discretion, and of course with some Delay, the Suba had a Season of Recess, in which, by a Change of Measures, he might have recovered his Authority, have resettled his

distracted Government, and repaired all his past Errors. He not only neglected this entirely, but continued acting, in every respect, as if he had aimed at his own Destruction. He endeavoured to negotiate Succours from some of his Neighbours, who, though they knew not the Weakness of his Condition, and therefore civilly entertained his Proposals, had however such an Opinion of the Weakness of his Conduct, that nothing could induce them to enter into his Measures. He continued corresponding with Mr. *Buffy*, from whom he received Letters, which served to support and increase his Delusion, and to flatter him with the Hopes of seeing an Army of Twenty thousand Men in his Dominions, which, could he have brought them, would have tended only to have impoverished his Subjects, and to have given him new Masters, under the Title of old Allies. He was courted all this time by Colonel *Clive* to lay down his Arms, to settle the few remaining unaccomplished Articles in the Treaty, and, above all, to put the Trade of his Territories into its usual Channel, for the common Benefit of the *Europeans* and the Natives. To these Sollicitations he gave

no Answers, or such as afforded no sort of Satisfaction; but, on the contrary, indicated very plainly, by every Step he took, that he meditated new Disturbances, and waited for what should appear to him a favourable Occasion for renewing the War. In reference, on the other hand, to his own People, he grew every Day more and more intolerable, removing, disgracing, insulting, those whom he had formerly treated with the greatest Marks of Favour and Respect, and of whom several fled privately and in Disguise to seek Shelter in the *English* Territories, and particularly in that of *Cassimbuzar*. By this Behaviour he not only augmented the Disaffection that had already spread so far amongst his Servants, but likewise furnished so many and such authentic Proofs of his having still the same Points in View, that he had at his Entrance on the Administration, and of the Obstinacy of his Aversion to the *English*, so contrary to the Mutability of his Temper in every thing else, that it contributed exceedingly to fortify the Sentiments of those, who maintained, that the Peace of that Part of *India* could never be effectually restored, so long as he held the Supreme Power.



After the Propositions made by Mr. *Watts* had been duly canvassed, and their Importance maturely considered, by the Select Committee, who upon this Occasion framed and took an Oath of Secrecy, they were unanimously approved, and the Project or Draught of a new Treaty was transmitted to him. But at the same time there was great Latitude left, in case of Objections; and he was requested to procure as many and as large Concessions as might be, in case he found it impracticable to obtain every one of the Conditions in the full Extent that they desired. Indeed they relied so entirely upon him, that a Blank was left for the Company's Demand in their Draught of the Treaty for him to fill up; and how it was filled up, will appear from the Treaty itself. This was not only expedient but necessary, as he was upon the Spot, knew the Persons with whom he was treating, their Connections and Circumstances, and the Motives which might render any of these Demands agreeable or disagreeable. The use Mr. *Watts* made of this Confidence was such as it deserved, and turned not a little to the Advantage of those who gave it. He was himself perfectly

fectly sensible, and took all imaginable Pains to make those he dealt with no less sensible, that, notwithstanding this Change was for their mutual Benefit, yet the Weight, the Hazard, and the Expence, would fall principally at least, very probably wholly, upon the *English*. He represented, therefore, effectually, that for such extraordinary Assistance, which alone could put the Means of making it into their Power, a proper Satisfaction ought in Justice to be made, and that this suitable Satisfaction should be made likewise in a proper Manner. He was apprehensive also, upon this Head, that a false Delicacy might produce future Disputes, and therefore very prudently provided, that the unliquidated Demands in the Sketch should be reduced to a Certainty. He also enlarged the Sums stipulated for the Losses of private Persons, and distinguished them under National Heads; that, if possible, no Jealousies or Heart-burnings might arise in the Colony, when they came to be actually paid.

The surest as well as the shortest Method of setting this Matter in a true Light, and

that will at once place it in the strongest, is to insert the original Plan of the new Alliance, as transmitted to Mr. *Watts*, and then the Project settled by that Gentleman, which the Reader will hereafter have an Opportunity of comparing with the Alliance concluded.

Copy of the ARTICLES of Agreement  
sent by Colonel *Clive* to *William  
Watts*, Esq; May 2, 1757.

**A**N Alliance offensive and defensive against all Enemies: The *French* Fugitives to be taken and delivered up to us; all their Factories to be delivered up to us, in order to be destroyed; the *French* never to be permitted to re-settle in this Subaship; in Consideration of which, the *English* Company will annually pay the Amount of Duties usually paid into the King's Treasury on the *French* Trade, or a Sum not exceeding Fifty thousand Rupees annually.

Restitution of the Company's Loss, by the taking of *Calcutta*, and their Out Settlements; also Restitution for the Losses of all *Europeans*

by *Ditto*, as may be stated fairly by Admiral *Watson*, the Governor, Colonel *Clive*, *William Watty*, Esq; Major *Kilpatrick*, and Mr. *Becker*.

*Blocks and Armenians* are not included.

That the whole of our Phirmaund be complied with, and all other Grants made to us, particularly in the Treaty with *Suraja Dowlat*.

That the Bounds of *Calcutta* are to extend the whole Circle of *Ditchdug*, upon the Invasion of the *Marattes*; also Six hundred Yards without it, for an Esplanade.

The Inhabitants within our Bounds to be entirely subject to the *English* Laws and Government.

That we have Liberty to fortify and gar-  
rison our Factories of *Cassimbuzar* and *Dacca*,  
as we think proper, and a sufficient Esplanade  
be granted us round each. •

That Convoys to and from one of our  
Settlements to another, be permitted to pass  
without Interruption or Molestation.

That

That the *Moors* shall erect no Fortifications within Twenty Miles of the River Side, from *Hugbley* to *Ingelee*.

That a Tract of Land be made over to the *English* Company, whose Revenues shall be sufficient to maintain a proper Force of *Europeans* and *Seapoys*, to keep out the *French*, and assist the Government against all Enemies.

That whenever the *English* Troops are called to the assistance of the Government, that the extraordinary Expences of the Campaign be made good by the Government.

That an *English* Gentleman, in Quality of Envoy, be permitted to reside at Court, and be treated with due Respect.

Minutes of the Treaty, by Mr. *Watts*,  
May 14, 1757.

I. That he will confirm all the Grants the former Nabob made us.

II. He will make an Alliance with the *English*, offensive and defensive, against all Enemies, either Natives or *Europeans*.

III. What-

III. Whatever *French* are in his Provinces of *Bengal, Babar, or Orix*a, to be delivered up with all their Houses and Factories, and they never permitted to settle more in either of those Provinces.

IV. On Account of the Company's } 1 Crore.  
Loss \* ————

\* The Rupee is a Silver Coin, struck in the *Moghol's* Mints, with an Inscription of his Name and Titles, the Year of his Reign, and the Place at which it was struck. It weighs from 7 dw. 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr. to 7 dw. 11 gr. and the Proportion of Alloy to fine Silver, is as 1 or 2 to 100. One hundred thousand Rupees make a Lack, One hundred Lacks a Coroe or Crore, One hundred Crores an Arrib.

# TABLE of RUPEES.

Lack of Rupers.	£. Sterling.
1	12,500
10	125,000
20	250,000
30	375,000
40	500,000
50	625,000
60	750,000
70	875,000
80	1,000,000
90	1,125,000
1 Crore	1,250,000
	V. On



Nation, and having a Revenue from these Lands, the Mint at *Calcutta*, and the Lease of the Salt-petre at *Patna*, which amounts in the whole to One hundred thousand Pounds a Year, there is a Provision against future Dangers upon the Spot, and without farther Expence. These Benefits have clearly arisen from that Revolution, of which we have given an Account, and are due to those who conducted it. May the future Emoluments do the like Honour to those who shall hereafter have the Care of the Company's and the Nation's Concerns in the *Indies* !

F I N I S.

राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय, कोलकाता  
National Library, Kolkata



ance of our Troops, the extraordinary Expence to be paid by him.

His Plan of the Treaty was returned, with Alterations: Some of the Articles were modified, and a Blank left for the Company's Demand, that in case *Meer Jaffer* should think it too extravagant, Mr. *Watts* might have Liberty to moderate it, and he was desired to get it carried into Execution; but it will appear in the Treaty itself, which will be hereafter given, that Mr. *Watts* got the Treaty executed, without any Deduction or Modification. This was a Work equally arduous and hazardous, as Things then stood, when every Look, every Word, every Motion of his was suspected; and which at the same time rendered the procuring its Conclusion expeditiously a Circumstance of the utmost Consequence. In all this, the Risk might be truly said to fall entirely upon himself, so that it is not easy to imagine, how any Man's Circumstances could be more critical than his actually were in this Conjunction. We shall however see, that they really became so afterwards, and th<sup>t</sup> in a very high Degree, and in very many Respects, from Causes that could

not

not be avoided, and which produced a Train of unforeseen Events.

It was pretty early known, that *Mir Jaffer* had entertained no very favourable Notion of *Omirchand*, but there was a Necessity of employing and trusting him notwithstanding, of which though the former did not complain, yet he did not dislike him the less. In the midst of these arduous Transactions, and when every one else had their Hands and their Hearts full, it came into *Omirchand's* Head to practise a little upon *Suraja Dowlat*, probably that he might be sure of somewhat, however Things went. He mentioned to Mr. *Watts* this very fine-spun Project, to which, that it appeared wild and strange, was by no means the strongest Objection. It was, however, in vain to make any: there was Money he thought to be got, and, if it was possible, he was resolved to get it. On the Sixteenth of *May* he went to the Palace, where, exerting his admirable Faculty of magnifying the Utility and exalting the Credit of the Advice he had to give, and having first alarmed the Suba's timid Mind, by touching many Subjects he knew were

were disagreeable, and in the Close, when he saw him sufficiently amazed, condescended to hint, that he had found means, with great Difficulty, to come at a Secret of the last Consequence, and for the revealing of which he was sure to lose his Life, if it was so much as suspected that he had penetrated and disclosed it. Promises of every kind were made, and at length out it came, that the *English* had discovered all his Negotiations with Mr. *Duffy*, some Circumstances of which he mentioned; that, upon this, they had sent two Gentlemen to confer with, and to convince him, how much more it would be for his Interest to concur with them; and that they had made, or were upon the Point of making, a Peace; which, without doubt, must be at his Expence. As strange as it may seem, *Omichund* prevailed over a Man's Foibles, which he had studied, and deluded him into a firm Belief of all he said, and, in consequence of this, he procured a Perwannah, that is, an Order from the Suba to the Burdwan Rajah, one of his Officers, for the Payment of Four Lack of Rupees which he owed him, and the full Restitution of the remaining Part of the Money; and all the Goods,

Goods, of which he had been despoiled at Calcutta. This he took wonderful Care to have immediately executed, for fear of Accidents, that very Night; neither did he remain within the Suba's Reach long after. He left Traces, however, behind him, that sufficiently justified Meer Jassir's Suspicions, and exerted that Power of perplexing, which he possessed in full as eminent a Degree as that of persuading. This was one principal Cause of those new Difficulties, to which Mr. Watts found himself exposed, when he thought the whole Stock of his Abilities small enough to deal with the old ones.

When the Agreement came to be offered to *Roydolub*, one of the Suba's principal Ministers, but, notwithstanding that, one of the Parties to this Treaty, he made a Doubt as to the Possibility of complying with it. He said, the Treasury, since the Death of the Old Suba, *Aliverdy Canon*, had been much drained, and that though *Suraja Dowlat* was indeed very rapacious, yet he managed his Affairs so ill, by keeping his Forces so long in the Field, as to have impoverished himself by a vast, and at the same time useless Expence. He also suggested,

gested, that possibly in the Confusion that commonly attends every Revolution, the Suba's Treasury might be plundered, and then they should remain bound, without having it in their Power to pay. But to remove these Difficulties, he proposed it as an Expedient, to divide whatever was found in the Treasury with the *English*. Mr. *Watts*, who understood these People perfectly, consented to sign the Treaty with such a Clause, subject to the Approbation of the Select Committee at *Calcutta*. But when *Roydoolub* reflected, that upon such a Division he could pretend to no Commission, as he might on Money issued in virtue of the Treaty, of which he had Hopes given him; when Things came to a Crisis, he relinquished his own Proposal; and resolved to sign the Treaty as it stood. It appeared, that the Apprehensions which occasioned these Disputes, and this Delay, were infused into *Roydoolub* by *Omicbund*, who gave him to understand, that if once the *English* Army took Possession of *Muxadavad*, they would not leave it again in three Years. This old crafty Man was not satisfied with giving this Proof of his Skill in embarrassing; he went much farther;



and as soon as he was himself out of Danger, divulged the Secret, which brought Mr. *Watts*, as well as *Meer Jasseir* and the rest to the very Brink of Destruction; while at *Calcutta* he represented the whole Design as become desperate and impracticable, because it was discovered. It was, indeed, wonderful, all Things, and more especially his Behaviour, considered, that it was not so. However, this Effect these Rumours had, that Confusion increased, Discontent spread more and more in the Suba's Camp, and the Divisions between him and his principal Officers grew daily wider and wider. *Meer Jasseir* was fallen into open Disgrace, removed from his Office of Buxy, or Paymaster; upon which he withdrew, and continued in his Quarters with his Troops, and came no more near the Suba. A Circumstance that rendered it next to impossible for Mr. *Watts*, who was sensible that he had many Spies upon his Conduct, to have an Interview with him, whose House was entirely surrounded by the Nabob's Forces, without its being known; and this had given the Suba an Opportunity of executing his Threats, and if that had been a Thing he regarded,

regarded, without much injuring his Reputation. The Matter, though so much embarrassed, being still absolutely necessary, and the time pressing, Mr. *Watts* went to him, in a covered Dooley, the Manner in which Women are conveyed in that Country, by which means he escaped Notice, and saw the Treaty which had been signed, sealed, and sworn to on the Koran, and upon his Ser's Head, by *Meer Juffair*, with all the Solemnity imaginable, in the Evening of the Fifth of *June*. When this was once done, and authentic Advice received of its being done at *Calcutta*, it removed all Surmises, silenced every Suspicion, and by giving entire Satisfaction, made way for the taking those Measures which were requisite for carrying it into Execution.

But before we proceed farther, it will be proper to look upon this Treaty, which with such indefatigable Diligence Mr. *Watts* planned, prosecuted, and brought to bear, in despite of the Suspicions, spies, and insidious Contrivances, of all his Enemies; by which the Company's Commerce, and all their Establishments in this Part of *India*, were secured,

the Losses which the Inhabitants of these Places had sustained, repaired, and the Honour of the Nation vindicated.

Translation of the TREATY made  
with *Jeer Jaffeir*.

Wrote with his own Hand.

I Swear by God, and by the Prophet of God, to abide by the Terms of this Treaty, as long as I have Life.

*Mr. JAFFEIR KHAN BAHADAR,*  
Son of King ALLUMGEER.

TREATY made with the Admiral,  
Colonel *Clive*, and the other Coun-  
sellors, Mr. *Drake* and Mr. *Watts*.

WHATEVER Articles were agreed upon in the time of Peace with the Nabob, *Suraja Dowlat*, *Munsirah Mimalek*, *Stirk Keuti Khan Bahadar*, and *Hyat Jung*, I agree to comply with.

The

I. The Enemies of the *English* are my Enemies, whether they be *Indians* or *Europeans*.

III. All the Effects and Factories belonging to the *French*, in the Provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orissa*, shall remain in the Possession of the *English*; nor will I ever allow them to settle any more in the Three Provinces.

IV. In Consideration of the Losses which the *English* Company have sustained, by the Capture and Plunder of *Calcutta*, by the Nabob, and the Charges occasioned by the Maintenance of their Forces, I give them One Coroe of Rupees.

V. For the Effects plundered from the *English* Inhabitants of *Calcutta*, I agree to give them Fifty Lack of Rupees.

VI. For the Effects plundered from the *Gentlemen*, *Mussulmen*, and other Subjects of *Calcutta*, Twenty Lack of Rupees shall be given.

VII. For the Effects plundered from the *Armenian* Inhabitants of *Calcutta*, I will give the Sum of Seven Lack of Rupees. The Distribution to be made of the Sums allotted the *Natives*, *English* Inhabitants, *Gentlemen*, and *Mussulmans*, shall be left to the Admiral, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becker, Esqrs. to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the Ditch, which surrounds the Borders of *Calcutta*, are Tracts of Lands belonging to several *Zemindars*, besides which, I will grant to the *English* Company Six hundred Yards without the Ditch.

IX. All the Lands lying to the South of *Calcutta*, as far as *Clapes*, shall be under the *Zemindary* of the *English* Company, and all the Officers of those Parts shall be under their Jurisdiction; the Revenues to be paid by them in the

the same Manner with other Zemindars.

Whenever I demand the Assistance of the English, I will be at the Charge of the Maintenance of their Troops.

XI. I will not erect any new Fortifications near the River *Ganges*, below *Hugley*.

XII. As soon as I am established in the three Provinces, the Sums as aforesaid shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th *Ramzan*, in the Fourth Year of the present Reign.

The perfect Harmony that subsisted between Vice-Admiral *Watson* and Colonel *Circe*, and the intire Confidence reposed in them by the Select Committee, was upon this Occasion, as it had been often before, the principal Source of that Alacrity, with which every thing was undertaken. A Train was immediately provided, a Detachment of Fifty Sailors, with a full Complement of Officers, appointed to assist those who had the Direction of it; and Instructions were given for



stationing a Twenty Gun Ship above *Hagble*, to keep the Communication with the Army open. These Steps were absolutely requisite, and others of a like Nature were prudently contrived, and cheerfully performed, by the Officers in the King's and in the Company's Service; the Secret Committee did their Business in Silence; and though there was a warm Spirit of Emulation, yet the least Spark of Envy or Jealousy never appeared, though so many Corps of different Kinds were serving conjunctly in the Expedition. This, as it was truly singular, was also remarkably happy; for no Exploit of this Consequence was ever begun or prosecuted in a more critical Situation, or where any untoward Accident might have more easily occasioned a Disappointment. The Forces that were to be employed, tho' more numerous than in the preceding Operations, yet were but a Handful, in comparison of the Suba's Army. *Meer Jaffer*, who had separated his Corps of Troops, was again joined with the Suba, but without any real Reconciliation on either Part: Yet this, however, was sufficient to raise a Doubt, how far any Dependance could be formed upon his assistings; and what followed, plainly shewed that

that Suspicion was not ill founded. There was no small Danger of being surrounded by these superior Troops, and if the Communication with the River had been intercepted, the greatest Difficulties might have ensued. Besides these, the rainy Season was just coming on; so that, all Things taken together, and the Hazard that was to be run being maturely weighed, the *Moors* embarked in this Design had not the smallest Reason to repine at the Price they paid for our Assistance; as on the other hand, their own Safety, and the large Stake for which they fought, being considered, the *English* had great Encouragement to exert themselves with that steady Intrepidity which they did. Mr. *Watts*, from what he knew of the Suba's natural Disposition, and what he had observed with respect to his Forces, and those who commanded them, formed so true a Judgment of all that might happen, and had previously acquainted the Select Committee with these Sentiments, that there scarce fell out any Thing in the Progress of this Expedition which was not foreseen, and in regard to which therefore the proper Precautions had not been taken.

After

After finishing his Negotiations with Mr. Jaffier, and taking all the Measures requisite for executing his intended declining from the Suba in time of Action, and, in a favourable Opportunity offered, seizing his Person, there seemed to be no farther Necessity for Mr. Watts to continue under the Eye of a provoked and capricious Prince. But this very Circumstance rendered it expedient; to distract his Thoughts, to give him a Disfidence of the Informations he received, and to afford Leisure for the Preparations making at Calcutta. His House was surrounded with Spies, who watched not only his Motions, but his Words and Looks. It may be, the strong Assurances they gave, that he could take no Method to withdraw, but they must have previous Intelligence, contributed to his Safety. However, his Condition was most unhappy, a sudden Start of Passion in the Subahdar in a Moment brought him to a violent Death, at least; perhaps, to Tortures. At Calcutta they had so true a Sense of his Danger, that it was more than once reported, Sir J. Dowlat had cut off his Head, and set it upon a Pole. There was likewise Doubts as to the Means of his escaping. He chose

to do it with the rest of the Gentlemen on Horseback, the Manner least suspected, because of the Length of the Journey, and the extreme Heat of the Season, which rendered it excessively fatiguing, and not a little dangerous. But when he understood from Colonel Clive, that every thing respecting the Expedition was completed, he happily deceived the Spies of the Suba, and on the Eleventh of June made his Escape, though not unpursued. It was not to *Calcutta* he directed his Course, but to the Army, in which he continued, and was present at the decisive Action which brought on the Completion of his Treaty, and thereby restored Peace to *Bengal*. Let us now resume the Operations of the *British* Forces.

All things being in Readiness, the Army, which consisted of One thousand *Europeans*, Two thousand *Seapoys*, Fifty *Seamen*, under the Command of a Lieutenant, with Seven *Midshipmen*, and Eight Pieces of Cannon, began their March from *Chandenagore* towards *Cassimbuzar* on the 13th of June. The very same Day Mr. *Watts* joined the Colonel, to whom he imparted all the Lights,

Lights, and gave the best Intelligence in every Respect that was in his Power. On the Nineteenth the Town and Fort of *Cutwa* situated on the same Side with *Chandnagore*, of that River which forms the Island of *Cassimbuzar*, was attacked and taken. This was an Event of some Importance, as it opened a free Passage, which could not have been easily forced, if it had been properly defended. The Army halted there for two Days, in order to receive some Accounts of the Enemies Strength, as well as to gain certain Advice of what might be expected from those who were entered into the Party with, and engaged to support, *Meer Jassir*, which, when it arrived, was far enough from being satisfactory or explicit. The Colonel, however, was so well informed by *Mr. Watts*, as to the real Causes of this seeming Backwardness, and had from his own Experience and Penetration so just a Notion of the *Moors* Mode of acting, which, without such previous Acquaintance with their Temper and Manners, might probably have confounded any other Officer in his Station, that on the Twenty-second of the same Month, he passed the River, and continued his March directly to-  
wards

wards *Plaffy*, where the Army arrived, and took up their Ground about One the next Morning, without meeting with any Disturbance or Molestation on their March.

This Post was extremely well chosen for that Country, and for the Method in which those People make War. It was a Grove, covered on every Side by Mud Banks, in the midst of a Plain. At Day-break, on the Twenty-third, the Suba's Army advanced within a very small Distance, and with a manifest Design to attack the *English* Forces. He had about Fifteen thousand Horse, and between Twenty and Thirty thousand Foot, with upwards of Forty Pieces of heavy Cannon, which were managed by *Frenchmen*, upon whose Skill and Courage he greatly depended. The Van was commanded by *Roydoolub*, and the left Wing by *Meer Jasseir*. About Six they began to cannonade pretty smartly on every Side, and this Distribution of their Cannon gave them two great Advantages; First, as they were much larger, and carried a heavier Weight of Metal, they did Execution where the *English* Artillery was of no Use, and in the next Place, being thus separated



rated to a considerable Distance from each other, it was impossible to make any Attempt to seize them, and therefore all the Colonel could do was to take the Benefit of his intrenched Posts, and leave his Troops as little exposed as possible. If the Suba, or any of his Officers, had understood well what they were about, they might certainly have prosecuted their Scheme, and have completely invested the *English* Army, and then the Colonel must have waited the Approach of Night, in order to have forced a Passage through the Camp, which he in reality had designed. But the Enemy, on the contrary, upon the falling of a smart Shower about Noon, withdrew their Artillery within their Camp. Upon this, a Detachment marched with Two Field Pieces, and took Possession of a Tank, covered with high Banks, from whence the *Moors* had fired with Success. They then would have brought out their Artillery again, but were prevented; and this encouraged the sending Detachments to possess two other Eminences, very near an Angle of their Camp, covered by a double Breast-work; and from thence, as well as from another Eminence, which still remained in  
their

their Possession, they kept up a pretty smart Fire with their Small Arms. They several times endeavoured to bring up Cannon to those Posts, but our Field Pieces were so happily posted, and so well served, that they could never effect it. At length the *English* stormed that Angle and Eminence at the same Instant of time, though the former was defended by Forty *French*, and a very numerous Body of the Suba's Troops, who had likewise in that Post Two Pieces of Cannon, and the latter by a considerable Corps of Foot and Horse. Some Persons of Distinction being killed immediately before, or at the Beginning of the Attack, the Enemy being dispirited by that, quickly gave way, and both the Posts were forced with a very trifling Expence to us, though they suffered severely. On this the right Wing and Center fled, abandoning their Camp and Artillery. Their Loss in this Action fell little, if at all, short of Five hundred Men, and between Forty and Fifty Pieces of Cannon. Of the *English* Forces, there were Twenty killed and Fifty wounded, the greatest Part of which were Seapoys. The Flight of the Enemy was so precipitate, that the Suba, mounted on a Camel, with the  
better

better Part of the Army, arrived at *Muxadavd*, which was Twenty Miles distant, by Twelve at Night. The Colonel, after pursuing them Five or Six Miles, halted his Troops, and disposed of them in the best Manner he could. Such was the Battle, such the decisive Victory of *Plaissey*!

It was observed during the Action, that a great Body of Horse, in the Enemy's left Wing, kept mostly hovering at a Distance. But as they made no Signals, though they sometimes advanced within Cannon-shot, they were more than once taught by our Artillery to retire. However, after the Victory was declared, the Colonel was informed that these were *Meer Jasseir's* Troops, which remained on the Field in a Body, and the next Day, in the Morning, he had an Interview with Mr. *Clive*, in which, after congratulating him upon his Victory, and applauding his Conduct, he signified his Willingness to ratify the Treaty, and to perform all the Articles of it punctually, as soon as it was in his Power. Colonel *Clive* advised him to march without Delay, and make himself Master of the Capital of the Provinces, before *Suraja Dowlat* could

could have Time to recollect himself, or draw together any considerable Part of his dispersed Army. *Meer Jasseir* saw the Utility of this Advice, which he carried into Execution with the utmost Expedition. At his Entrance into *Muxadavad*, he found the City in the utmost Consternation. The Suba was in Possession of his Palace, on the other Side of the River, with some Troops about him, amongst whom he distributed several Lack of Rupees; but the rest, as had been foreseen, dispersed. A few Hours after, in a Fit of Despair, he withdrew, accompanied only by Five Persons, and took with him a large Sum in Gold, and Jewels to an immense Value. Upon the News of this, *Meer Jasseir* immediately passed the River, entered the Palace, and assumed the Title of Suba, without any Opposition. At the same time, he seized the Treasures of his Predecessor; and Things being in this Situation, he dispatched Advice instantly to Colonel *Clive*. As there was still a great Fermentation amongst the People, and no Certainty of what was become of *Suraja Dowlat*, it was judged expedient, upon the Arrival of this News, to send Mr. *Watts* and Mr. *Walsh* thither, that they might use their best Endeavours

I

deavours to quiet the Metropolis, to fortify the new Suba, in his Disposition to fulfil the Agreement, and to put an End to the present Confusions, as soon as it was possible. They were fortunate enough to succeed in this important Commission; and all things being reduced to a greater Degree of Order and Tranquility than could well be expected, Colonel *Clive* was invited to pay a Visit to the Nabob. On the Twenty-ninth of *June* he made his public Entry into *Muxadavad*, attended by a Guard of Two hundred *Europeans*, and Three hundred *Seapoys*. He was received there with the utmost Expressions of Joy, and the loudest Acclamations of the People, as well as with the most profound Marks of Respect, and the warmest Testimonies of Gratitude, by *Meer Jasseir*, with whom he went to the Palace, and saw him seated in Form, upon the *MUSNUD*, or Carpet of State, where he was unanimously saluted Suba, and thereby invested with the supreme Authority over the Provinces, with general Applause. Thus, in a Fortnight's Time, this amazing Revolution was begun and ended, and that happy Change effected, from which such numerous Benefits have

have since flowed to the *East India Company*, and the *British Subjects in Bengal*.

About the same time the unfortunate *Suraja Dowlat* was seized, near *Rajamaal*: It is certain that he was in a very low and distressed Condition, with hardly any Cloaths upon his Back, and the Report went, that he sought Shelter in the House of a Man, whose Ears he had caused to be cut off in one of his Transports of Passion, and by whom he was discovered, and given up to his Pursuers. Be that as it will, the making him Prisoner was regarded as an Event of great Consequence to the new Suba. He was no sooner informed of it, than he committed that Prince to the Custody of his Son, recommending to him earnestly in public, to take the surest Methods to prevent his Escape; but at all Events to preserve his Life. The young Man, instead of paying that Respect which was due to his Father's Commands, no sooner had him in his Hands, than he caused him to be privately put to Death. At this, when the Suba appeared to be displeased, his Son alleged, that the captive Suba had found means to write and convey Letters upon the Road to several



*Jemidars*, in order excite a Revolt in the Army; to prevent which, he knew no other certain Remedy than that of depriving him of Life, which he thought was likewise better done, without expecting any farther Orders. It has been surmised, and very probably not altogether without Grounds, that there was something of Collusion in this Matter between the Father and the Son; a thing indeed not at all unfrequent in this Part of the World; and what made it pass for a kind of Justice, was the Remembrance that People had, that this unhappy young Man, *Suraja Dowlat*, had been often employed in the very same Acts, by the old Suba, *Aliverdy Cawn*, who availing himself of the sanguinary Disposition of his Grandson, made use of him to remove such as through Avarice, Suspicion, or Resentment, he inclined to have taken away, and then, to save Appearances, disavowed the Fact.

Such was the End of *Suraja Dowlat*, in the Prime of his Youth, being at the Hour of his Death scarce Twenty-five Years of Age. An End! suitable to his Life, which had been spent in Violence and Blood. He was naturally



morally rash and headstrong, conceived the strongest Resentment on the slightest Occasions, often without any Occasion at all; and notwithstanding the Variableness of his Nature, and the continual Fluctuation of his Mind, either executed suddenly the Dictates of his Passion, or, where that was impracticable, persisted in his bad Intentions, though he never shewed any Steadiness in the Performance of his Promises, or any Regard to his Oaths, which he made and broke with the very same Facility. The only Excuse that can be offered for him, is, that he had a View of Sovereignty from his Infancy; little, and that but bad, Education in his Youth; and, after all, lived not long enough to attain any great Experience, which possibly might have made him better, and possibly also might have made him worse. His Reign was but of Fourteen Months, and in that Space he had little Quiet himself, allowed none to his Subjects; and with boundless Authority, and immense Riches, never excited Duty, or so much as acquired a single Friend, whose sage Advices might have prevented his sad Catastrophe. How insignificant then is Power! How destructive is Wealth! when they fall into the

Hands of him, who only possesses that he may abuse them!

There was a Circumstance attending the Fate of *Suraja Dowlat*, that perhaps contributed to make even the Manner of it less regretted. Mr. *Law*, who had been formerly the *French* Chief at *Cassimbuzar*, a Gentleman, to do him Justice, of Honour and Abilities, had collected Two hundred of his Nation for the Service of the Suba, and was within a few Hours March of him when he was taken; upon hearing of which he stopped. This is a conclusive Proof that he was in his Pay, and a Circumstance that very fully justifies the *English* in their Conduct. If he had reached, and preserved *Suraja Dowlat*, the War would not have been so easily and so speedily finished. He who was without Friends in his Distress, might have again found Troops for Pay, or perhaps for Promises; so that his Death in this Respect had a stronger Air of Policy, and contributed to add Credit to the Report, that his Successor was not so entire a Stranger to it as he seemed. This Event likewise made it evident, that the Article which provided against the Return

Return of the *French* into *Bengal*, was not either improper or imprudent. Colonel *Clive*, who sees Things and their Consequences in an Instant, detached Captain *Coote*, then of Colonel *Aldercron's* Regiment, with Two hundred *Europeans*, and Five hundred *Seapoys*, in Pursuit of Mr. *Law*; and though that Force was fully sufficient, yet he engaged the Suba to send also Two thousand of his Horse, that his own Subjects and all *India* might know, that the *French* were equally his Enemies and Our's, and that being accustomed, from his first Entrance on Government, to fulfil his Engagements, he might learn to place his own Grandeur in adhering to his Word, and expect the Safety of his Dominions from the punctual Performance of his Promises. A Lesson that could not be taught at a more convenient Time.

The setting up the new, or rather restoring the old Form of Rule, was entirely due to the *English*, and the Suba and his Subjects were alike sensible of it; which was a Point of equal Honour and Advantage to the Nation. It afforded a strong and glorious Proof, that we, who in so long a Course of

Years had never given the least Trouble or Uneasiness to the Government, were yet able to do ourselves Justice, when there was no other way left to remain in Quiet. On the other Hand, all the Advantages gained were by the fair and open Method of a Treaty, in which the first and most difficult Part was performed by us, and not taken violently or by force of Arms; though at the same time it was evidently in our Power to have done it, if it had been at all in our Will. When, therefore, Colonel *Clive* and Mr. *Watts* applied themselves to the Suba, for the specific Performance of that Agreement, which he had made previous to his Accession, the Justice of their Demand was without Hesitation acknowledged. The State of the Treasury was laid before them in the most candid Manner, so as to leave them not the least Reason to doubt, that what *Roydoolub* mentioned as an Objection at the concluding of the Treaty, was a real matter of Fact; and from the Dissipation that had happened since, the Suba was not in a Condition to fulfil his Promises, and discharge all his Obligations at once. Besides, it was for the Interest of the *English*, as well as for the Reputation of the

Com-

Company, to support the Government which had been the Work of their own Hands, and not leave a Prince whom they had raised to the Subaship, with a Treasury absolutely empty, since supposing this in their Power, it must have exceedingly distressed him, and no less disgraced them.

In this State of Things, the Proposition he made seemed too equitable to be rejected. He offered to pay down a third of the whole Sum, to make it up one Moiety in a very short Space of Time, and to discharge the Remainder by equal Payments, in the Space of Three Years. This, therefore, was accepted, from a moral Persuasion that he, who parted with one Half in Consideration of what had been done for him, would likewise pay the other Half in the limited Time, to secure Assistance, in case any thing more was to be done. These then were the real Motives to the Agreement, which indeed took its Rise from Necessity, a Law that maintains its Rights under every Government, and in all Climates. There is a known Custom throughout *India*, and in that Country more than in any other Custom has the Force of a Law, that

that Ten *per Cent.* is paid as Treasury Fees upon all Sums received, which those Gentlemen had Weight enough with *Roydoolub* to reduce to Five; and by the Help of this Concession, every thing was very soon adjusted, and the complete Moiety came into the Company's Possession. The candid Reader will probably think that Colonel *Clive* and Mr. *Watts* did, upon this very momentous Occasion, all that it was in their Power to do, and this was also their Sentiment; for as soon as more was in their Power, they took care to improve the Opportunity for the common Benefit of all concerned. A conclusive Testimony of the Uprightness of their Intention, in the whole of this Transaction.

This wonderful Sunshine of Prosperity at *Calcutta* was suddenly overcast, by the Death of a Great Man, to whose Virtues and Abilities the Inhabitants were indebted, in a very high Degree, for all the Happiness they possessed. This was *Charles Watson*, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, whose amiable Qualities in private Life added Lustre to his public Character. His Sentiments were noble, generous, and humane, his Manners graceful, easy,



easy, and polite; no Gentleman was ever more capable of gaining the Esteem of those with whom he conversed, and no Officer ever understood better how to exercise the Benevolence and Sweetness of his own Disposition, without impairing his Authority. In his Station he was Active without Hurry; Vigilant, without seeming to be Busy; and, with an open Countenance, ever attentive to his Duty. His Orders were obeyed with Pleasure, because they were enforced by his Example; and he was himself ready to do more than he ever expected from others. His having the Command in that critical Conjunction, was, from the Beginning, looked upon as a singular and signal Blessing to the *English* settled in the *Indies*; and every Action of his afterwards confirmed that Notion. No Wonder, then, that his Death was considered as a common Calamity, and his Loss regretted as a public Misfortune. He was interred on the Seventeenth of *August*, when an unfeigned Sorrow was plainly visible in the Face of every Inhabitant, and a voluntary universal Mourning expressed, in some Degree, the true Sense the People had of his Merit, and the Effects that had been derived



to them from thence. Indeed, they had been inconsolable, but for the Hopes they had still left in Admiral *Pocock*. Hopes! that did not deceive them, and which have been productive of new Honours to the *British* Flag.

It was to the Attention of the Administration at Home, that the Company and the Subjects of *Great Britain* in *India* owed these potent and timely Succours; and, which was of no less Consequence, the prudent and happy Choice of the Officers who commanded them. The *French*, though deficient elsewhere, had a considerable Naval Force in the *Indies*, and were for this Reason very confident of their Success in that Part of the World; in which, perhaps, they had not been deceived, if, upon the Demise of Vice-Admiral *Watson*, the Command had devolved upon an Officer of less Merit, or even upon an Officer whose Merit had been less known or less established than that of Mr. *Pocock*. As it was, the Spirits of *British* Subjects were not depressed, or those of the Enemy raised. They had already known and felt his Courage, and he made them very quickly sensible of the Extent of his Capacity. They saw him

him equally active and vigilant: Their Squadrons no sooner appeared, than they had him in View. He was the Guardian of all our Settlements, and the Bane of all their Armaments and Expeditions. His Sagacity defeated many of their Designs, his Dexterity and Dispatch disconcerted others, till, by his Victories, he ruined, not their Reputation only, but their Strength in *Asia*, as completely as other Admirals had done in *Europe* and *America*. These are Facts indisputable; and, as they are connected with our Subject, we may take the Liberty of mentioning them, without giving Offence to that Gentleman, whose Modesty renders him as amiable, as his other Virtues have made him conspicuous. But to return to our Subject.

All Infant Governments are in their very Nature subject to Disorders. The new Suba, soon after the Departure of Colonel *Clive*, felt sufficiently, that, contrary to the first flattering Appearances, his Administration was not thoroughly established. Some of the Nabobs in his Province, dubious of his Intentions towards them, made no great haste to acknowledge an Authority that might be prejudicial

judicial to their own; and in the *Indies*, this kind of Delay is ever considered as Disobedience. Besides, *Meer Jasseir* remembered the Advice which the Colonel had given him at Parting, which was, to acquire a Reputation for Firmness from his earliest Actions, if he meant to taste Quiet in the remaining Part of his Reign. He resolved, therefore, to employ his Forces against those, who, though they did not presume to question his Title, shewed, notwithstanding, a Reluctancy to acknowledge it. He found, however, a sudden Stop put to his Operations. At the Beginning, some of his Officers were intractable, and his Troops in general were unwilling to move. He was entitled by the Treaty to Assistance from the *English*, and, upon his making the Demand, Colonel *Clive* marched instantly to his Relief. His Forces were not numerous; but he brought with him a Reputation that carried with it a Persuasion that he was ever irresistible, and his very Presence in the Suba's Camp restored Obedience to that Prince. Colonel *Clive*, and Mr. *Watts* who attended him, took this Opportunity to solicit the assigning Funds for the Money that was still due, and obtained from

from the Suba, though not without some Difficulty, all that they desired,

They likewise desired, and obtained, that the Company's Grant of Lands might be extended Northward from *Culpee* to *Rangasullee*, which, besides the Augmentation of Territory, was in other Respects a Matter of Importance.

The Nabob of *Patna*, whose Name was *Ramnarain*, against whom this Expedition was made, upon the Approach of the Suba's Army, offered to submit, and to pay his Tribute regularly, if he was continued in his Government; and the Suba's Promise was guaranteed by Colonel *Clive*. The Suba requested this as a Favour of the Colonel, and desired that he would write a Letter to the Nabob, which he accordingly did; and upon the Faith of that Letter, he came and made his Submission. The great Product of *Patna* is Salt-petre, about which there had been formerly continual Disputes between us and the *Dutch*. At present, it was in the Hands of neither, but was still a Monopoly under a Lease. Colonel *Clive* and Mr. *Watts*, who

who knew the Consequences of such an Acquisition to the *English*, proposed the giving it in Lease to them, at the same Rate, which would be no Prejudice to the Suba; and the Legislature being favourable, this Proposition was complied with likewise, by which the Company are annually Gainers of about Two Lack and a half of Rupees, or something more than Thirty thousand Pounds Sterling. It is evident, therefore, from these Instances, that no favourable Opportunity was let slip, no single Occasion lost, that could be turned to the Company's Advantage.

This Expedition, as it effectually fixed the new Suba in that Dignity, necessarily brings the Memoirs of this Revolution to their Period. We cannot, however, conclude without observing, that as there could not be any thing more melancholy than the Situation of the Company's Affairs, when the Settlement of *Calcutta* was overwhelmed and destroyed, so nothing can be more satisfactory than to contemplate the Advantages that have resulted from this Alteration to the *East India Company*, the private and particular Sufferers, and the *British* Subjects who either

reside

reside in, or may hereafter go and reside in, *Bengal*. In reference to the Company, the Treaty with the present Suba procured them an ample Indemnity, without tying them down to a Specification of Losses, which would have been not more impossible than improper. The Sum was such as became the Rank and Grandeur of him who gave, and was admirably suited to the Situation and Services of those who received. The Point of Security is likewise fully provided for; the Settlement may be fortified in such a Manner as to remove all Apprehensions; at the same time that these mighty Concessions are made, they are made in a Method that renders them doubly valuable, not through Fear or Compulsion, but with all possible Marks of Confidence and Esteem. The Interests of the Company, and the Country Government, are declared to be the same; and to prevent any Suspicion of Alteration, they are allowed an unrivalled Supremacy, and the Enemies of the one are to be of Course the Enemies of the other. There is a Provision, as far as such a Provision can be made, that this Conjunction of Interests shall not be temporary, but perpetual; since the

Company is at Liberty to take whatever Measures shall seem most expedient for the Safety of her Settlements, which is as much as could be either expected or desired.

The Regard shewn, and the Provision made, for all Degrees of Persons, who suffered by the Subversion of the Colony, was equally equitable and honourable. The Company, and those who depended upon it, shared the good as well as the ill Fortune that attended the different Administrations in *Bengal*. There were many of the *European* Sufferers, who were absolutely ruined and undone; reduced from Opulence and Ease, to Misery and Want, by a sudden, unforeseen, and inevitable Misfortune. These were restored to the whole of what they had lost, which was a Benefit to themselves, and to their Creditors in other parts of *India* and in *Europe*. Besides, as many of them had acquired their Fortunes by their Industry, and had spent almost their whole Lives in this Climate, it was not only a Piece of Justice to recover for them what they had lost, but a Point of true Policy to prevent the Terror of their Fate from having a mischievous Operation



tion in succeeding Times, which otherwise it might have had; and this too in many Respects. The extending this Restitution to the *Jentowes* and *Armenians*, was not only a very exemplary but a very generous Act of benevolence, founded in Principle. At the same time that it attached the particular Persons who were relieved, it raised the Reputation of the Company. It revived the Spirits of those useful Inhabitants, and gave a new Spring to their Activity and Industry, which were not only salutary Consequences at the Time, but will be found more so in their Effects, and facilitate the Execution of those Designs, that will be hereafter mentioned. This Tenderness for other Nations, this laudable Desire that they should share in the Prosperity, who had been hurt by the Adversity of the *English*, might be set in a far stronger Light, if placed in Comparison with the Conduct of others, without stirring out of *India*; but as that would be invidious, it is better omit.

This stupendous Revolution may be also considered as equally glorious and advantageous to the *British* Nation. We may be al-

lowed to say, because the Fact cannot be disputed, that it is a signal Proof of the Utility of Maritime Empire. As Commerce carries the Subjects of *Britain* every where, *British* Subjects every where experience *British* Protection: There are no Limits to our Naval Power, but those by which the Creator has confined the Globe. The *East India Company* was saved, and her Affairs restored, by the Attention and Arms of that Government by which she was erected. Many of those, who would have totally lost the Fruits of long Labour and various Hardships, and who must have been Beggars if subject to any other Power, are again easy in their Fortunes, and some of them have already transported their Effects to their native Country, the proper Return for the Assistance they derived from her maternal Affection; and as these Events have distinguished the present Age and the present Administration, so their Effects will probably be felt in succeeding Times. The Company, by an Accession of Territory, has an Opportunity of making an ample Settlement; which, under proper Management may be not only extremely serviceable to her, but also to the Nation.

V. On Account of the Losses of  
*Europeans* — — — 30 Lack.

VI. Ditto *Jentoows* — — — 30 D°.

VII. Ditto *Armenians* — — — 10 D°.

VIII. Ditto for *Omicbund* — — — 30 D° ✓

IX. Whatever Ground there is within the *Calcutta* Ditch, belonging to the *Zemin-dars*, to be given to the *English*, and Six hundred Yards without the Ditch all round.

X. A Tract of Land, whose Rents in the King's Books amounts to 100,000 Rupees Yearly, to be bought at a reasonable Value, from the *Zemindary*, and the Nabob to assist us in the Purchase, we paying the annual *Piscash* or Revenue, as usual, to the Nabob. Whatever Profit may arise from this *Zemindary*, is to go towards paying our Military.

XI. Whenever the Nabob wants the Assist-

ance