



murderous business of *Amboyna* in 1624, with the later expulsion of the English from *Macassar* in 1670, and now from BANTAM, with the inevitable fall of their distant factories under this agency, gave the DUTCH, who likewise held the coasts of CEYLON, the exclusive possession of the four rich spices, with the greatest share of the pepper, produced in the East Indies; and this monopoly had been so evidently the object of their policy, from the first outset of their trade to India*, that the revolution of Bantam was imputed, even before examination, by all except themselves, to the prosecution of the same design. The discussion soon followed. Mr. Chidlie, the English envoy, delivered a memorial to the States General in April 1683, and was assisted by Sir John Chardin, the traveller, deputed by the East India company. But at the end of the year the company prepared twenty-two ships, and avowed their intention of reinstating themselves in Bantam by force of arms: on which the STATES broke off the negotiation; and in March 1684 the king, CHARLES the 2d, stopped the armament, ready to sail, and ordered the negotiation to be resumed by his ministers; when, after many delays, it was agreed that four commissioners should be named

SECT.

I.

* See especially *Memoire dressé par l'admiral C. Matclief au sujet de l'Etat et du commerce des Indes*, vol. 6 of the *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et au progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pays Bas*. 8vo. A Rouen MDCCXXV.

And indeed the narratives in this whole collection prove their earnest pursuit to acquire this monopoly to themselves.

by



SECT. 1. by each of the companies, who were to prefer their demands and objections to a board of decisors, consisting of eight members, four appointed by the king, and four by the states. The English decisors were the Lords Sunderland, Clarendon, Rochester, and Middleton. The Dutch were likewise of high rank*; and four directors of their company† were opposed to Sir Joseph Ashie, the governor, Sir Josiah Child the deputy-governor, Sir John Bathurst and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, directors of the English company. The process was held in London, to which the Dutch directors and decisors repaired. The allegations and testimonies were all preferred in writing; and the first was delivered by the Dutch directors on the 27th of May 1685; but after sixteen answers and replies, besides much more in proofs and arguments, nothing was decided in January 1686; when, from the cessation of the pleas, we suppose the Dutch representatives returned to Holland, where we find the negotiation renewed by the Marquis D'Abbeville, in August 1687, with additional complaints of new violences committed at *Gombroon*, *Metchlepatam*, and on the Malabar coast. But still no reparation was made, and probably no

* Lord Anth. Heinsius, councillor and pensionary of the city of Delf; John Goes, lord of Abamade, consul of the city of Leyden; Isaac Vanden Heuvel, councillor; Adrigan de Borstle Vander Hoge, senator of the supreme court of Holland.

† The Heer Gerrard Hooft of the council of Amsterdam; Jacob Van Hoorn of the council of Flushing; Solomon Van de Blocquiere, and Adrian Paets, of the council of Rotterdam.

longer



longer urged by the councils of England, agitating with the Dutch a REVOLUTION of very different import.*

SECT.

I.

The pleas of the two companies appear in two publications. The one intitled, "A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands company, as delivered to the States General the 22nd of July 1686, touching the affair of *Bantam*, and other controversies at *Macassar*, and on the coast of *Malabar*, and at *Gamron*; with a justification in answer to several memorials lately given to the States General by the Marquis of Albeville, touching *Maslipatam* and other parts of *India*." The whole factum is dated the 4th of October 1687, and was translated into French, and miserable English. It is a dull and conceited performance, and was answered by "An impartial VINDICATION of the English East India company from the unjust and slanderous imputations cast upon them in a treatise, intitled, A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands East India company, &c." London, 1678. The Dutch treatise was annexed to the English vindication†, in which are several positions which, without his name, sufficiently indicate the knowledge and good sense of Sir Josiah Child, whose opinions‡ concerning the commerce of India, although continually cla-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE concerning the expulsion of the English from *Macassar* in 1670, and from *Bantam* in 1682, page 277.

† Both were printed together, London, 1678, octavo.

‡ Published in a treatise, intitled, The East India trade a most profitable trade to the nation. London, 1677, quarto.



SECT.

I.

moured against, have not been confuted by the experience of a century.

The Dutch company denied the accusation of having instigated the young king to expel the English from BANTAM, and insisted that it proceeded naturally from his resentment of the assistance which the English had given his father when besieging him, until routed by the Dutch forces from Batavia. It was impossible at that time to prove the instigation by positive witnesses or documents; but the consequences left no doubt; for they got both kings into their power, confined the father, and kept the young king in subjection under their own guards, allowing him indeed a maintenance, with some representation, but obliging him to authenticate whatsoever regulations they thought proper to make in the government. The whole kingdom of Bantam was sensible of this condition, even whilst the commissaries were disputing in London, as appears by the relation which father TACHARD the jesuit has published, of the embassy sent by LOUIS the XIVth to the king of SIAM. The two ships which escorted Monsieur de Chaumont*, put into Bantam in August 1685, and were denied all communication with the shore; but acquired sufficient knowledge to ascribe the revolution to the same arts and motives as were alledged at this very time by the directors of the English company in

* The ambassador.

London.



London. The Chevalier FORBIN, in his ingenuous memoirs of his own life, agrees with father Tachard on this subject, although on no other concerning the splendid and non-sensical embassy in which they were employed. SECT:
I.

Nothing is said of the military operations of the revolution, either by Forbin or Tachard; and very little by either of the two companies: but they are amply, although not distinctly, related by FRYKE* the surgeon, who served through the war, and continued at Bantam eighteen months after it ended. An army of three thousand Europeans and five thousand natives marched by land from Batavia, fighting their way, and opposed by fortresses; whilst twenty-two ships, with many small vessels, co-operated from the sea: but the credit of FRYKE's relation is much impaired by his exaggerations of the slaughter; for, according to his account, not less than forty thousand Javans were slain in the different fights and engagements; of the Europeans with the Dutch, only five hundred.

Fryke has expressed his opinion of this revolution with much simplicity. After the war, "the Javans," he says, could "hardly bear the Hollanders for a great while; and truly

* FRYKE sailed for Batavia in May 1680, and returned to Holland in August 1685. His voyage is translated, and published in London, 1700 (octavo) together with SCHEWITZER's, who went from Holland in the beginning of 1675, and returned in August 1682. We particularize the terms which the different writers we mention continued abroad, that such of our readers who wish to investigate any portions of the history of India, may know where to seek cotemporary authorities.



CSL

SECT.

1.

“ their antipathy against us was not wholly without some
“ grounds; seeing that we, being foreigners, had invaded their
“ territories, and taken possession of all they had, and then
“ lorded it over them. They being a very silly sort of people,
“ had no other way to shew their spite and resentment, than
“ by making mouths at the Dutch as they passed by, and
“ sometimes spitting upon them—of which they were cured
“ by a good box on the ear.

“ Admiral TACK was all this while lodged in the apart-
“ ment which before belonged to the ENGLISH, where the
“ young king used to come and visit him almost every day,
“ and maintained a faithful friendship with him. In a little
“ time, things being settled, a proposal was made to the
“ young king by the Dutch, that if he would resign intirely
“ all claim of power and jurisdiction over his people, custom,
“ &c. they would allow him such a sum as would enable him
“ to keep up his grandeur, and live like a king, (a titular one,
“ that is) and would be obliged to pay him some thousands
“ of gilders every month. To this he condescended, whether
“ through fear or indifference I cannot well say; and a
“ certain pension was likewise settled upon his two young
“ princes; all which was paid according to agreement. The
“ rest of the nobility and chief of the land remained in pos-
“ session of their goods and lands as before, only that they
“ were now subject to the Dutch government. Thus the
“ Dutch compassed their whole design by force and policy,
“ and



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“ and by fair means became masters of that kingdom, which
“ was and had been so long flourishing, and famous for its
“ vast trade and traffic; and that in so little time as from
“ 1682 to 1685. That I believe history will hardly afford
“ an instance of a more sudden change of affairs in so great
“ a kingdom.”

SECT.

I.

Fryke, although a German, had no prejudices against the Dutch company, but frequently admires the policy and regularity of their government.

The armament which the English company prepared to recover Bantam, enabled them afterwards to engage in other wars.

Factors were left at Bantam by Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage made on the company's account to the East Indies. He failed from Bantam, on his return to England, in February 1603*; but the regular factory, which continued until the expulsion under notice, was established by captain Keeling, in 1609†.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

AUTHORITIES for the date of the expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670, are,

1. The treaty between Matzuyher, general of Batavia, with the king of Macassar, dated in November 1667; in which treaty the king engageth to expel the Portuguese, and the English with them.

* Purchas, in his PILGRIMS, vol. i. page 162.

† Idem, page 204.

2. In



SECT.

I.

2. In the Justification of the Dutch East India company, printed London 1688, in octavo, p. 46, 47, which Justification is dated October the 4th, 1687, they wonder the English dare to publish, that the English were secluded from the commerce of Macassar, by a *contract* with those people, as printed at Batavia in November 1667—because all former subjects of complaint were given to oblivion by the treaty or agreement of 1674, and two treaties before this agreement;—because the Dutch can justify to the world their right of making such contracts;—because the contract in question was made during the war with England, or at least before the peace concluded in 1667 was or could be known in the Indies, or at Macassar.

And now, says the Dutch writer, the English make complaints (on this subject of Macassar) eighteen years after.

Eighteen years back from the 4th of October 1687, carries us up to October 1669: allow eighteen to be meant as a general number, we may conclude for the year 1670, as we have said.

BURNET, under the year 1684, mentions the business of Bantam as follows:—"A quarrel was depending between the English and the Dutch East India company. The Dutch had a mind to drive us out of Bantam; for they did not love to see the English settle so near Batavia. So they engaged the old king of Bantam into a war with his son, who was in possession of Bantam: and the son was supported by the English. But the



the old king drove out his son, by the help that the Dutch gave him; and he drove out the English likewise, as having espoused his son's rebellion against him; though we understood that he had resigned the kingdom to his son, but that by the instigation of the Dutch he had now invaded him. It is certain, our court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the states, as soon as we should be in a condition to undertake it. The East India company saw this, and that the court pressed them to make public remonstrances upon it, which gave a jealousy of an ill design under it. So they resolved to proceed, rather in a very flow negotiation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture."

SECT.

I.

Farther on, under the year 1688, Burnet says, "I begin the year with Albeville's negotiation after his coming to the Hague. He had, before his going over, given in a threatening memorial upon the business of Bantam, that looked like a prelude to a declaration of war; for he demanded a present answer, since the king could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at Amsterdam, before he had communicated it to the states. The chief effect that this had, was, that the actions of the company did sink for some days; but they rose soon again: and by this, it was said, that Albeville himself made the greatest



SECT. I. greatest gain. The East India fleet was then expected home every day; so the merchants, who remembered well the business of the Smirna fleet in the year seventy-two, did apprehend that the king had sent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it should happen: but nothing of that sort followed upon it. The states did answer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expressed. By their last treaty with England it was provided, that in case any disputes should arise between the merchants of either side, commissioners should be named on both sides, to hear and judge the matter. The king had not yet named any of his side; so that the delay lay at his door: they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. Albeville after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over commissioners for ending that dispute. But though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the Dutch had reason to believe that the king's ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: for, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the king was obliged to send over commissioners to the Hague, to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall."

NOTE



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SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXIII.

Page 129, line 6. *Chaeft Khan.*]—We find, in a Bengal record of the year 1687, that he came into the province as nabob, in the year 1666; he kept his court at Dacca, and by other injustices provoked the war of Job Chanock.*

Some account of Job Chanock from Mr. Orme's manuscript collection.

JOB CHANOCK was appointed by the English East India Company, governor of their factory at Golgot near Hughley, where a quarrel arose with the king's people, upon a soldier's going to buy mutton. As the dispute ran very high, Job Chanock wrote to Madrafs for a strong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly sent him. These troops were quartered at a little distance in the day-time, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garrison. Thus strengthened, Job Chanock meditated revenge, and commenced hostilities against the king's people, by attacking Abdul Gunnee, the phoufdar of Hughley, who being discomfited in the first day's fight, fled a considerable way, and sent an account of his proceedings to the king. On receipt of this letter, the king detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. ii. page 12.

O o

great



SECT. I. great body of horse and musketeers, to his assistance. Upon this junction the phoufdar held a council of war; in consequence of which the army was divided into two equal parts, one of which was stationed at Hughley, and the other sent to Tillianpurrah near Ghiretty garden, and Tannah fort near Surman's. These parties were furnished with iron chains, which they stretched across the river, to obstruct the passage of vessels. Job Chanock, on advice of this step, abandoned the fort, and embarked all the troops, stores, and baggage, on board his shipping: he himself went in a budgerow, ordering his people to fire the villages on both sides the river. When he came to Tillianpurrah, he broke the chain; and being fired upon by the king's people, from both shores, returned it from his fleet, and landed a small body to keep them in play. In this manner he fought his way down to Tannahs fort, where he forced the second chain. Here the king's people halted; and Job Chanock dropt down to Ingelee. A few days after, the Bengal king marched down against the southern king. When he reached the southern country, Job Chanock went, attended by Benjah Gungaroo, Beyah Boseman, and Dr. Chunderseeker, to prefer a petition to his majesty, which was delivered by a vacqueel, who had instructions to be very loud in his complaints the moment the fleet began to fire, which he was to tell the king was a salute in compliment to his majesty. The king then required what was the purport of his business; to which he replied, that the English company



I.



SECT.

1.

immediately against, and routed the enemy, and then paid his koornis to the king again, who loaded him with presents, and granted him a perwannah for Calcutta. After this victory the king returned to Delhi, and Job Chanock took possession of Calcutta, which, after clearing of the jungles, he fortified. That, or the succeeding year, some gentlemen came out with a recruit of fires and soldiers. Job Chanock, upon the arrival of this fleet, sent the king a very handsome present of European things, under charge of his vacqueel, Dr. Chunderseker his physician, and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi, they learnt that the king lay so dangerously ill, that none but his physicians were admitted into his presence. The ambassadors, considering what could, under this dilemma, be done in execution of their commission, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them, his majesty was sorely tormented with caruncles, which his physicians could not cure, and that all access had been denied to him on that account. One of the English gentlemen, who was a physician, undertook the task, and was conducted by the vizier to the king, whom he made a perfect cure of, to the inexpressible joy of the whole court. He was honoured with a genteel gratification, and received a present for the company, accompanied with a phirmaund excusing them from all duties. The ambassadors, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to some succeeding Shah, preferred a petition, desiring they might pay a quit-



quit-rent, or small annual consideration, which being agreed to by the king, they returned to Calcutta.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXIV.

Page 138, line 1. *Charles the second.*—This ship was the admiral of the fleet intended against Bantam.

NOTE LXXV.

Page 143, line 8. *To make their ablutions at Nassir Turmeck.*—Read Nassick Tirmeck. According to our MSS. of the DECAN, TIRMECK is a *purgunnah* or district of SANGAMNER, which is one of the CIRCARS or governments of the SUBAH or province of AURENGABAD. “The river GUNGAIH comes from the mountains of Concan, on which Tirmeck is built, and passeth through the middle of the circar of Sangamner, to Goulchonabad, commonly called Nassick; the distance twenty cofs; below which the bed of the river becomes much broader. Numbers of Hindoos resort every year from the most distant parts, to wash at Tirmeck on the day that the sun enters the Scorpion. Every twelfth year the multitude is much greater, and some come on every day in every year. The tax levied on these pilgrims amounts to a great sum, and belongs to the kellidar, or governor, of the fort of Tirmeck. The Hindoos prefer
“ this



SECT. " this place for their purifications, because the Gungah has its
I. " source here. In the rock out of which it springs has been
" fashioned the head of a cow." The fame has been said by
Tamerlane's historian, of the rock of Toglipoor, where the
great Ganges enters Indostan.

NOTE LXXVI.

Page 144, line 14. *Gocuck, Hubely, and several other towns of note, surrendered without resistance; and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he (Sultan Mauzum) advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is sixty from Viziapore.*—We speak from the letters of the time, written by the English factory at Carwar to the presidency of Surat. Hubely is ascertained in note xxvii, page 208; and we find GOCUCK, DARWAR, and GUDUCK, in our MSS. of the Decan, under the kingdom of Viziapore, in which Bancapour is rated as a circar or government. It faith,

" CIRCAR OF BANKAPOUR

" Contains sixteen purgunnahs: the adjacencies of *Bankapour*,
" *Karoli, Lakmir, Kamiran, Goundkoul, Raimouli, Nerengal*,
" *Ramali, Angal, Nasurabad or DARVAR, Aribara, Mahapour*,
" *Basserikankona, GUDUCK, Tatimal, Mareli.*

" To the east, the woods which the *Tombadra* separates
" from the country of *Sera*; to the north, the *purgunnahs* of
" *Moudgal, and Nourgal*; to the west, *Azamnagar*; to the
" south,



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OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

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“ fourth, the circar of Mahammadnagar, through which
“ passeth the river Vardah.”

SECT.

I.

We do not find *Moudgal* either as a purgunnah, or circar of Viziapore, and suppose the word an error of the copyist; but *Nourgal* is a circar of Viziapore, and, as well as part of Azamnagar, stretcheth to the north of Bancapore, dividing this from the circar of Raibaug; and under Azamnagar we find *GOCHUCK* as a circar, of which the town in question is the head place.

NOTE LXXVII.

Page 145, line 22. *In October (1685) he sent off a body of six thousand horse from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and assaulted the city of Broach, within a few hours after their approach was known.*]—We have this from the English factors in the town, writing in the hour of alarm to the presidency of Surat.

The territory of BROACH was well able to have maintained the ward of the city, producing at this time, as it had for a century before, more manufactures, and of the finest fabricks, than the same extent of country in any other part of the empire, not excepting Bengal. Accordingly we find the English agents resorting to Broach, as soon as they were permitted to have a factory in Surat.

The



SECT.

I.

The importance of the company's establishment at Surat, having induced us to trace the events by which it was obtained and confirmed, we shall give the account apart at the end of this section of our Notes.*

The investment for England, provided at Broach, in the year 1683, consisted of

17,000 pieces broad baftaes; viz.

9,000 white, } of the usual lengths and breadths.
4,000 blue, }

4,000 black, such as the Dutch provided for the
Europe markets.

4,000 pieces fevaguzzies, white.

9,000 pieces baftaes, narrow, white.

4,000 pieces tapfeils, broad.

6,000 pieces niccannees, 13 yards long.

15,000 pieces of Guinea stuffs.

55,000 pieces.

NOTE LXXVIII.

Page 147, line 15. *Malquer*]—is not mentioned in any map; but MANOUCHI, from whom alone CATROU can have

* This curious Tract was not finished by the author: what was printed off in his life time, in octavo, but never published, is reprinted and inserted at the end of these Notes.

taken



taken it, is right. For we find in our MSS. of the Decan, SECT
MALKAR as the head place of a circar or government in the I.
province of BEDER, and extending between CALBERGA and
GOLCONDAH. We translate

“ CIRCAR OF MOUZAVERNAGAR.

“ This circar, which is more commonly called MALKAR,
“ has fourteen purgunnahs.

“ The adjacencies of *Mouzafernagar*, *Karimour*, *Nergounda*,
“ *Mangalguin*, *Kaukourni*, *Sindam Konki*, *Sanour*, *Koudouni*,
“ *Adjouli*, *Ountkour*, *Mankael*, *Doumer*, *Amerdjena*.

“ These purgunnahs have one hundred and nine villages,
“ which give to the treasury 1,091,196 rupees, 2 annas 4.

“ To the east of this circar, that of GOLCONDAH; to the
“ north, BEDER (meaning the city); to the west, *Kanjouni*, of
“ the circar of *Naldourouck*, and the circar of KALBERGA; to
“ the south, the foubah of Viziapore*.

“ The *Bimra* cometh from the circar of *Naldourouck* into
“ this circar of MALKAR, and from hence into the foubah
“ of *Viziapore*. The river of *Kakna*, which cometh from
“ BERAR, and passeth near *Kahani*, enters this circar;
“ from whence it flows to join the *Bimra*, which afterwards
“ passeth below *Ferouzeabad*, and from thence to the fort
“ of Bidnour..”

* By which it should seem, that both Malkar and Calberga lie to the north of Viziapore.



SECT.

I.

We likewise find in the account of the next circar of Ferrouzgur, which is a fort on a mountain, that MALKAR stands twelve cofs to the northward of Ferrouzgur.

None of these subordinate places are in any of the maps hitherto published; nor can their situations be ascertained with any degree of justness, from the documents concerning them in the mss. of the Decan. Mr. D'Anville has not even ventured to give CALBERGA.

NOTE LXXIX.

Page 147, line 19. *Ibrahim Khan.*]—The defection of Ibrahim Khan, related by Manouchi, is confirmed by the letters of the agents at Madrafs; whom he corresponded with, and befriended, when in power at Golcondah; and afterwards endeavoured to do them service with Aurengzebe.

NOTE LXXX.

Page 148, line 16. *The city of Viziapore was extensive, and capable of some defence, and had a citadel of greater strength.*]—The descriptions given of Viziapore differ.

Tavernier, who was there in 1648, says, "Viziapore is a kind of great village, which has nothing remarkable either in the public edifices or in regard to trade. The palace of the king



king is sufficiently extensive, but ill built; nevertheless the approach to it is difficult, because the ditches which surround it are full of water, and stored with crocodiles." SECT.
I.

Bernier says, "That Viziapore is very strong; but situated in a bad dry country, which has scarcely any good water, excepting what is within the city."

Baldæus, speaking of the kingdom of Viziapore, says, "Its capital city, which bears the same name, lies seventy leagues beyond Goa, eighty from Dabul, and is said to be five leagues in compass, with very strong walls, and five noble gates, on which are mounted above a thousand brass and iron pieces of great cannon. They tell us, among these there is one carrying no less than five hundred and forty pounds weight of gunpowder, cast by a certain Italian, a native of Rome; who, being questioned by one of the king's commissioners concerning the money he had disbursed on this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before*."

Mr. Thevenot says, "The city of Viziapore is more than four or five leagues in circumference; it is inclosed by a double wall, provided with a quantity of cannon; and by a ditch, a *fond de cuve*. The palace of the king is in the middle of the city; and it is likewise surrounded by a ditch full of water, in which are some crocodiles. This city has

* Baldæus, in Churchill's collection, vol. iii. p. 540.



SECT. "several large suburbs, filled with shops of goldsmiths and
I. "jewellers; besides which there is little other trade, and little
"else to remark."

Neither Bernier, Baldæus, nor Thévenot, had ever been at Viziapore; nor do we know of any person now living who has: for the marches of Mr. Buffy*, when serving in the Decan, never came much nearer to it than Calberga: but there may be some Portuguese priests who have seen it, in their missionary journeys to and from Goa.

NOTE LXXXI.

Page 150, line 7. *The king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth and fallen estate.*—Kæmpfer, in his *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, says, That Ecbar arrived in that part of Arabia bordering on Persia, in the beginning of the year 1687; and that the governor of Lar had like to have lost his head, for neglecting to give early intelligence to the king, of Ecbar's arrival; and that Ecbar arrived at Ispahan on the 24th of January 1688; and that the king went out to meet him near the city, in a style of magnificence usual at the reception of sovereigns.

Gentil says, that on the 2nd of April 1686, Aurengzebe received an envoy from his son Acbar, who had retired into

* See the map of his marches in the Decan; given to us, and inserted at page 3 of the Fragments.



Perfia. The envoy offered to Aurengzebe two Perfian horses, and asked pardon for his son.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXXII.

Page 152, line 2. *Calberga*.]—In our mss. which is a later arrangement of the Decan, *Calberga* is rated as a government under *Viziapore*, with the following account of it, according to our own translation; for the text is not very clear:

“ CIRCAR OF ASSENABAD.

“ This circar, which is also named KALBERGA, has only
“ one purgunnah; of the same name, KALBERGA; which
“ contains two hundred and eighty-eight villages: they give
“ 737, 117 rupees, 13 annas and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the treasury.

“ The fortress of KALBERGA is in a plain; it is surrounded
“ with good ditches, which may be filled from a neighbouring tank.

“ Before the introduction of Mahomedanism, the HINDOOS
“ had within the fortress a great temple; which the Mussulmen have destroyed, and with the materials built a magnificent mosque, which exists at this day: it is one of the
“ largest and best constructed in the Decan. There was
“ formerly, between the fortress and Sultanpour, at two coss
“ distance, a market, where every thing that could be required, was sold: it exists no longer, since the continual
“ troubles



SECT.

I.

“ troubles which have reigned in the Decan. Without the
“ fortrefs is the tomb of Shekferadje, where are fome houfes.
“ To the west is the quarter of the Bramins, where one
“ named Kongoy first began to build ; and in courfe of time,
“ the Hindoos, by degrees, have fixed their abode here.
“ Between the fort, and the tomb of a celebrated muffulman,
“ has been raifed a town, to which he has given his name,
“ Mogdounabad. This pir (or faint) was called Mogdoun
“ Sayed Mahomed Guefouderage. Towards the end of the
“ reign of the Sultan Togoul Schah, all the lords of the
“ Decan, whom he had fubdued, unable to fupport or refift
“ his tyranny, retired to the frontiers, where, having made
“ fome eftablifhments, they raifed troops. The moft confi-
“ derable amongft them was Affen Kongoy Bamani, fur-
“ named Moufafir Khan, who first got poffeffion, not without
“ good fortune, of Raibague and Maitché*. These fuccesses
“ having increafed his forces, he advanced againft KAL-
“ BERGA; and having killed the governor (who held it
“ for Togoul Schah) in a skirmish, the place furrendered to
“ him. On which all the fugitive lords united their forces,
“ recovered the Decan, and acknowledged Affen Kongoy
“ Bamani their fovereign, with the title of Sultan Alaoudin.
“ And this prince, the first of the Bamanis, gave the
“ name of ASSENABAD to KALBERGA, which he rendered
“ flourishing, and made his capital in the year 748 of the

* Perhaps Mirdsjé. See the map.

“ Hegira,



“ Hegira, A. C. 1347. Magdoun Sayed Mahomed Guefou-
“ derage, the famous faint, came from the Indus to Kalberga,
“ in the year 915 of the Hegira, A. C. 1544, in the time of
“ Firouz Schah Bamani, and had the address to engage the bro-
“ ther of this prince to become his disciple, and build him a
“ fine house. The Sultan Firouz Schah, from affection to his
“ son, was desirous of resigning the crown to him, and con-
“ sulted Mogdoun, who advised him to give it to his bro-
“ ther, Ahmed Schah, as much more capable of governing
“ the kingdom; to which the Sultan replied, that this counsel
“ was the price of the house, and the effect of his desire to
“ have a king devoted to himself. Mogdoun, stung by the
“ reproach, quitted the house, and came to dwell where his
“ tomb now stands. After the death of Firouz Schah, his
“ brother Ahmed Schah succeeded to the throne, when the
“ house of Mogdoun became so much resorted to, that by
“ degrees a town was built about it; which is the Mogdou-
“ nabad above mentioned. The credit of Mogdoun became
“ so great under Ahmed Schah, who had been, and conti-
“ nued to profess himself his disciple, that from the lord to
“ the artificer, all made it their glory to inlist themselves
“ under his instruction. Nothing was done without him.
“ After his death, Ahmed Schah came to *Beder*, and made
“ this city his capital. The *Bimra* passeth within six coss
“ of *Kalberga*.

“ To



SECT.

I.

“ To the EAST of KALBERGA; *Ferouxegara*; to the NORTH,
“ *Kandjoli*, a purgunnah of *Naldourouck*; to the WEST, the
“ fort of *Naldourouck*; to the SOUTH, the fort of *Sakkar*,
“ upon a mountain dependant on *Naldourouck*, where
“ passeth the *Bimra*.”

FROM KALBERGA,

To the fort of *Sakkar* twenty cofs.To *Naldourouck*, s. w. twenty-four cofs.To *Angousteri*, E. twenty cofs.To *Pesgouri Metkal*, E. thirty cofs.To the purgunnah of *Balgui*; N. E. twenty-four cofs.To *Valemgarah*, thirty cofs.To *BEDER*, thirty cofs.To *KALIANI*, twenty cofs.To the purgunnah of *Kandjoli*, twenty cofs.To the purgunnah of *Tchit Koka*, twenty cofs.

NOTE LXXXIII.

Page 153, line 22. *It was on the 27th of September.*—
No account has hitherto ascertained the time when Golcondah was taken by the Mogul's army; there have been doubts even of the year. But it is ascertained by a letter to Mr. Yale, the governor of Madras, from Ahadaed Caun, and Walledaed Caun, two officers of Golcondah in the Conjeveram country. This letter is dated the 15th of October 1687,

and



and says, "*We are informed this day, that the Mogul took* SECT.
"*Golcondah eighteen days since, and that the Mogul has* I.
"*given the Carnatic country government to Mahomed*
"*Ebrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it.*"
This Mahomed Ebrahim is the Ibrahim Khan mentioned
before in Note LXXIX, page 290.

NOTE LXXXIV.

Page 154, line 21. *We formerly placed this Revolution in*
1680.]—In the history of the military transactions, first pub-
lished in the year 1763, we have said,

" In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well
" nigh overpowered by the king of Trichinopoly, called the
" Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Sevagee, who at
" that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his
" brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of
" Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing
" from these free-booters; for they made out so large an
" account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom
" would have been insufficient to discharge what they de-
" manded. Under pretence therefore of collecting this mo-
" ney, they took possession of the government; and shortly
" after, the brother of Sevagee declared himself king of Tan-
" jore. He reigned *six years*, and left three sons."*

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. i. page 108. of the fourth
edition, 1803.



SECT.

I.

We received this information from a person who was concerned in the expedition undertaken in favour of a pretender, by Fort St. David, against the king of Tanjore, in 1749. But our later researches leave us no right to think that Eccogi entered Tanjore in 1680. And at whatsoever time he made the conquest, it appears doubtful whether he was acting as a member or officer of the Morattoo government.

The objection, which first and immediately occurs to the date of 1680, is the death of Sevagi, which happened in the early part of this very year*; and the perplexity which ensued, and continued for a while, in the Morattoo government, in consequence of this event, seems sufficient to have stopped the prosecution of an expedition of such importance as Eccogi's, whatsoever arrangements might have been made to promote it before Sevagi died. Nevertheless, this objection, if unsupported by others, would not alone confute the date in question.

We have no cotemporary records during the period, in which even their silence on the revolution of Eccogi would have been presumptive evidence that he was not acting in the Tanjore country during the year 1680: for although the company's agents at this time troubled themselves very little with enquiries which did not immediately concern the interests of their commerce and settlements, yet these attentions were sometimes affected by the general events of the country, which accordingly received mention in their corre-

* See page 90, and note LIX.



spondence with the natives, their own servants, and other Europeans. * When Mr. Elihu Yale was sent, in December 1681, to treat with Hargee Rajah for a settlement at Cuddalore, he went first to Porto Novo, in order to settle the terms of his reception, and the presents he was to make at Gingee; and the council of Madrafs write to him, December the 28th, complaining that the presents expected were intolerable; and permit him, in consequence of a suggestion from himself, to treat with the agent of THE NAIGUE OF TANJORE (who seems to have been at Porto Novo) for a settlement at Trimliwash, which is in the Tanjore country.

SECT.

I.

This single expression of "THE NAIGUE," is almost sufficient to determine us, that ECCOGI was not at this time the ruler of the country.

The three great Naigues of Coromandel, under the ancient Gentoo sovereignty, whether of Bifnagar or Chandergherri, were Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura. After the conquest of Gingee by Viziapore, about 1655, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura retained their titles of Naigue; which, although meaning a lieutenant, will not decide the degree of their dependance on Viziapore, because they had long retained it with very little, on the Gentoo sovereignty of Chandergherri, and Bifnagar.

The Viziapore governor of Gingee was styled the CAWN. Harji Rajah, appointed by Sevagi; after he conquered Gingee in 1677, is styled, when spoken of, the GREAT SUBADAR, and

* See Fragments, page 115.



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SECT. I. assumes the eminent title of MAHA RAJAH, to which he had no right, nor could use to his superior Sevagi, or his successor Sambagi. We see the ruler of Tanjore, in 1681, called THE NAIGUE. It is not probable that ECCOGI, the brother of Sevagi, should, after he had obtained the government or sovereignty of Tanjore, have admitted, or have been designated by, a title so inferior in phrase to that which had been assumed by an officer of his brother Sevagi. However, admitting the contrary, December 1681 presseth so close upon the conquest of 1680, that we must suppose he would at that time have been distinguished by some epithet, significant of the lateness of his accession to the government, instead of being simply called *The Naigue*, as if he were the ruler of the ancient line, whom he had just dispossessed.

We have likewise said, as in the extract above cited, that he reigned *six years*; but his reign must have extended longer, if he were the NAIGUE OF TANJORE, with whom Mr. Yale wished to treat for Trimiliwash, in December 1681: for we find him alive, from an authentic record, in September 1688.

We therefore relinquish our position of 1680, but are yet to seek the time of his death, as well as of his accession to the government of Tanjore, and the nature of his tenure.

A late publication*, supplied with documents out of our reach, faith,

* The History and Management of the East India company. London, 1779, quarto.

“ Some



“ *Some time after the reduction of Bijapour* (commonly called
“ Viziapore) ONE Ecko-ji, and other Marrattas, servants to
“ the dethroned king, fled, with a few troops, from the per-
“ secution of the Moguls, and *established* themselves at Gingee,
“ in the Carnatic. Some differences subsisting at that time
“ between Wagira, the Naig of Tanjore, and Trimul, Naig
“ of Madura and Tritchinopoly, the former applied to
“ Ecko-ji for assistance; but the treacherous Maratta seized
“ the government he had been called to defend. The
“ unfortunate Wagira was forced to fly, and take refuge in
“ Seringapatam, the capital of *Myfore**. This revolution
“ in the government of Tanjore, happened about the year
“ 1696†.

“ Ecko-ji, not content with his acquisition of Tanjore,
“ began to extend his territories, and to give assistance to
“ *rebels*, though he owed himself its subject. His death,
“ which happened about the year 1702, transferred the ven-
“ geance prepared for him by the Moguls, to his son, and
“ successor, Shaw-ji, or Suhu-ji,” &c.

The notes which accompany the portion we have ex-
tracted, are,

* to *Myfore*.]—“Wagira had a son, Chingul Muldafs, whose son, the grand-
son of Wagira, the expelled Naig, is still living in or near Seringapatam.”

† to 1696.]—“Authentic MSS. account of Tanjore, taken on the spot, and now
in the hands of the author of this disquisition, &c. Culnamma of Zulfacar
Caun. Nabob's papers, vol. i. page 41.”

The



SECT. I. The date of 1696, ascribed to the revolution, must be an oversight.

Shah-Gi* was the father of Sambagi, ECCOGI, and the famous SEVAGI: all had employment under the government of Viziapore, in which Sambagi and Eccogi continued after the revolt of their brother. What became of Sambagi, we have not learnt; but admit, that ECCOGI remained in the service of Viziapore, if not until the fall, at least until he despaired of the kingdom.

The city of Viziapore was taken, at the earliest, in June 1686; the king, perhaps, a month or two after. We have a letter from Madras to Cuddalore, which shews that Eccogi was considered as the ruler of Tanjore, in September 1687. It is the first and only mention we find of him in this year; for, although we have not the letters received before July, we have the letters written by Madras from the beginning of the year. Hence it follows, that if ECCOGI came to Gingee *some time after the reduction of Viziapore*, the revolution by which he acquired Tanjore must have been accomplished in the space of six or seven months at most; which however might be, if there were much treachery, and little resistance.

That Eccogi should have brought with him a body of Morattoo troops, is not improbable; for being a Hindoo, the troops of his command in the service of Viziapore, were, in all likelihood, of the same distinction; and no where nearer

* Saow, according to M. Gentil's ms. in French. See pp. 170 & 171.



to make his levies, than in the countries which spoke the Morattoe language; not that we suppose they were of the same hardiness and activity as the cavalry of the Morattoe government, established by Sevagi.

SECT.

I.

That Eccogi, with his Morattoes, should have established themselves (in the strict sense of the word) at Gingee, is impossible; for we find Hargi Rajah, Sambagi's vicegerent, governing there with as full authority, in the beginning of 1687, as when Mr. Yale was sent to treat with him for a factory at Cuddalore, at the end of 1681.

We have little of Madrafs during the interval between 1681 and the beginning of 1687, or might otherwise have discovered this dubious date of Eccogi's expedition into Tanjore; but if conjecture might be substituted to the defect of record, it would be no improbable account to suppose, that

“SAMBAGI, the son of SEVAGI, and his successor in the
“sovereignty of the Morattoe state, was in correspondence
“with his uncle ECCOGI; who, instead of waiting, as is said,
“until *some time after the reduction of Viziapore*, went off, as
“several other commanders did, before the city was invested,
“and came with recommendations from his nephew, to
“Hargi Rajah, at Gingee; who accordingly permitted him
“to advance, and encamp near the fortrefs, and accommo-
“dated him in other respects. This reception, at the dif-
“tance



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I.

“ tance of a century, may have been mistaken, by cursory
“ enquiry, for an establishment made by ECCOGI at Gingee.
“ The rest naturally follows. The war existing on the other
“ side of the Coleroon, found employment for ECCOGI; who,
“ successful against Trichinopoly, seized the government of
“ Tanjore.” All this might have happened in the latter half
of 1685, and the first of 1686.

By the *rebels* whom Eccogi assisted after *his acquisition of Tanjore*, we suppose are meant the Morattoes of Gingee; and we were surprized not to find this confederacy as soon as the Mogul troops began to approach the Carnatic; but, until the end of 1688, neither Eccogi nor any officer seeming to belong to him, appears taking any part in the hostilities we have mentioned. They may afterwards; and should we find them so acting, will give some light to two or three years of obscurity.

The death of Eccogi, imputed to 1702, is another oversight. For in the same publication, his successor, Suhaji, appears reigning in 1695. We remark, that the two mistaken dates of 1696 and 1702, ascribed to the accession and death of Eccogi, give the *six years* which we formerly allotted to the extent of his reign.

We admire, that in a dispute of such importance as that which has been lately agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, no regular history has been pro-



duced of this country, from the accession of ECCOGI, who is the ancestor of the present RAJAH; not even the dates of death in the succession, nor of the hostilities, whether in the family or with their neighbours; their acknowledgments or resistance of the Mogul government. All that is necessary to know in Europe, if dates are given, might be composed in a few pages. The public acts, agreements, and treaties, would be mere translations; and, for obvious reasons, ought not to be presented in any other form.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXXV.

Page 162, line 11. *Cablis Cawn.*—His name occurs variously spelt. In the letter which SAMBAGI wrote to Keigwin, on concluding the treaty which adjusted the terms of trade and intercourse between his western country and Bombay, and confirmed the company's trade and factories in the Gingee country, he says, "You shall also take notice what shall be written to you by *my loving and faithful Cavy Callas*;" unusual terms in the stile either of the Mahomedan or Hindoo princes, unless when speaking of their sons or brothers: the epithets which they give to their officers are generally expressive of the superiority of their dignity over others, and subservience to themselves.

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NOTE



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I.

NOTE LXXXVI.

Page 162, line 22. *In the month of June.*—An abstract is preserved of the letter written by the government of Madras to the company, on the 20th of July 1689, in which no mention is made of Sambagi's death. The next letter is dated August 27th; and the abstract says, "Have news from the "Moors camp (in the Carnatic); their forces had surprized "SAMBAGEE, brought him prisoner to the MOGUL: was "mounted on a camel, his eyes put out, and beheaded; his "quarters disperfed as a traitor." Allowing more than twenty days for the coming of the news, Sambagi might have been taken at the end of June; if less, in the beginning of July. The letter of the 27th of August gives no intimation how long the news had been received at Madras; so that the event might have happened in the end of July.* The circumscription to the interval of a month or six weeks, may assist inquiry to ascertain the real date, which we hope will be done.

Death of Aurengzebe.—In February 1707, Aurengzebe died at Ahmednagar, in the Decan, three hundred and forty miles from Delhi. His will, which was made publick, seemed

* Mr. Gentil makes it January 11th, 1690.



to signify, although equivocally, that his son Mahomed Mauzum, who was at Cabul, should have Delhi, and the northern provinces; and his son Azim, who was with himself in the Decan, Agra, and the countries to the south. Both asserted the whole empire; the contest was decided a few months after, by a pitched battle fought near Agra with prodigious numbers on both sides.

The two armies met at the river Chumbul, which Mauzum had placed in his rear; and never did two such mighty hosts appear in fight of each other. A list of Mauzum's has been published: it consisted of one hundred and seventy thousand horse, and one hundred and seventy thousand foot, three thousand elephants, and two thousand pieces of cannon. The army of Azim is said to have been little inferior. Such numbers appear improbable; but the two princes shared between them the collected force of the whole empire, as far as it extended at the time when Aurengzebe entered the Decan; and with the followers and attendants the multitude must have exceeded a million.

The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest; for as the two princes fought for the empire, so did their followers for their own fortunes. All the great Omrahs who had served under Aurengzebe, displayed their standards in the line of Mahomed Azim. Many of them fell. The com-

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I.

mander of the artillery, and Buxey, or paymaster-general, and the names of seven others, are mentioned. The two elder sons of Mahomed Azim were likewise slain, and the two others were taken prisoners. Nevertheless Azim stood his ground, until he was left with only six thousand horse, which were surrounded by ten times their number; when, to avoid the inflictions of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the heart with his poignard.

No victory could be more decisive. Mahomed Mauzum immediately sat on the throne, and was proclaimed with the name of Bahadar Shah, or the Victorious King, which he had taken before he left Cabul. He does not seem to have disgraced his success by any subsequent acts of cruelty or revenge.

END OF THE NOTES.



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O R I G I N
OF THE
ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT,
AND OF THE
COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT
BROACH, AND AT SURAT.



ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

THE first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, commanded by captain William Hawkins; who brought a letter from the company, and another from the king, James the first, to the great Mogul Jehangire, requesting the intercourse of trade.

The Hector arrived at Surat in August 1608, but as in a voyage of experiment; the contingency of ill success at this port was provided for, by a farther destination of the ship to Bantam; to which several voyages had already been made, with sufficient encouragement to continue the resort. 1608.
Aug.

At this time the Portuguese marine predominated on the western seas of India, in so much that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pass; and the fear of their resentment on the ships which traded from Surat to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wish, to the English strangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with some treasure; but obliged him

to



1608. *Sept.* to buy and sell with much delay and disadvantage. In September the northern armada of the Portuguese, consisting of forty sail of galleons and gallivats, came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its vessels, if the English ship, and all that belonged to her, were not sent away. Hawkins hastened her dispatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his longboat, with goods to a considerable amount, and twenty-seven men, whom they kept prisoners; but did not venture to attack the ship, which sailed a few days after, on the 5th of October, for Bantam.

- Octob.* Notwithstanding the menaces of the Portuguese, the government of Surat dared not disobey the Mogul's order, that Hawkins should repair to his court. He set out for Agra on the 1st of February 1609, travelling in continual fear of poison or assassination from his attendants, at the instigation of the Portuguese, whose jealousy followed all his steps. He left behind him William Finch, with three or four English domestics, to sell the remainder of what goods had been landed; whom the favourable reception of Hawkins at the Mogul's court preserved from open, but not from secret vexations; for Mocrib Caun, the governor, retained his terrors, and perhaps the bribes of the Portuguese.

- Sept.* In September*, the Ascension, coming to Surat, was wrecked at Gundavie. This ship had left England in

* The 5th.

March



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March 1608, a month before the *Hector*, which had brought captain Hawkins; but came last from Mocha, and was the first English ship which had ever entered the gulph of Arabia. Her crew, seventy-five men, travelled to Surat, where they were not permitted to enter the city, but Finch to maintain them in a neighbouring village. In January 1610, Finch went to Agra, on the summons of Hawkins, and from thence came over land, by Lahore and Persia, to England.

1610.
Jan.

Sir Henry Middleton, after his captivity, escape, and reprisals at Mocha, arrived with his three ships at Surat, on the 26th of September 1611. The northern armada of the Portuguese were ready stationed at the bar, and within the river, to prevent the intercourse of his boats with the city, in which no Englishmen, excepting Bangham, a joiner, who had lately returned from captain Hawkins, was remaining, all who had been saved from the *Ascension* having dispersed, most to get livelihood as soldiers in the country; but the few of better condition, with the captain, Sharpeigh, had repaired to Hawkins, at Agra, who seems to have been much fitter to fight the Portuguese at sea, than to counteract their intrigues at the Mogul's court, where they had jesuits of great subtlety. He accepted a wife, who however was a christian and a maiden, out of the Mogul's seraglio, and his service, with a pension, which was very ill paid; still retaining his pretension to the character he had assumed of an ambassador from the king of England. He received frequent assurances of the

1611.
Sept.

T T

privileges



1611. privileges he solicited for the company's trade; which were constantly retracted without apology. Even Mocrib Caun had been summoned to court, to be punished, on his complaint; but returned to Surat with greater power. At length Hawkins lost hope, and began to think of nothing else but his return to England; when the relations of his wife, set on by the jesuits, forbade her departure off the shore of India; and Hawkins agreed with the same jesuits to procure a passage for them both at Goa. Fortunately, at this time news came to Agra of the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat; when Hawkins formally demanded his dismissal from the Mogul, and requested an answer to the letter he had brought from the king, which was denied; but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on the 11th of Decem. December 1611, accompanied by the brothers of his wife, to prevent him from carrying her farther. Captain Sharpeigh, and what other Englishmen had joined him at Agra, had gone before, and came to Cambay soon after Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Surat.

In the mean time Sir Henry Middleton, apprized by Bangham of the evil intentions of the government of Surat, either from their own inclination, or dread of the Portuguese, seized three ships which belonged to the town, and were riding in the road, and refused to release them until he had received all the Englishmen he expected. This exertion produced compliments, provisions, and promises of trade:



but, as his communication was on the open beach, the Portuguese landed the soldiers of their armada, who several times attempted to surprize his people, but never risked themselves sufficiently to hurt a single man. Bangham escaped from Surat, and all the others from Cambay, excepting Hawkins, who was not yet arrived there. Mocrib Caun, and other officers, came to the shore, visited the ships, made bargains, and cheated at the scales; which Middleton endured, still fearing harm to Hawkins, who, procuring two jesuits on mission at Cambay, to be sureties for the surrender of his wife, prevailed on her brothers to return to Agra; and then, by some scheme not explained, but suggested by Middleton, escaped with her, met escort, and arrived safely at the ships on the 26th of January 1612.

1611.

1612.
Jan.

The accounts of dealing, which were to no great amount, had already been settled with the chapmen of Surat; and whilst Sir Henry was preparing to depart, Mocrib Caun, contrary to his former promises of a factory, peremptorily ordered the agent in the town to be gone, pretending the Mogul's order, that the English should have neither trade nor factory there.

The ships sailed from the road of Swally on the 9th of February, and coasted down to Dabul, which at this time belonged to the king of Viziapore, and was governed by a Siddee, whose ship they had stopped the year before in the Red Sea; which, with the report of their late conduct at Surat, procured them a respectful reception, and some trade; during

Feb.



1612. which, they stopped and examined two merchant ships belonging to the Portuguese, and dismissed them without injury.

On his departure from Dabul, Sir Henry Middleton summoned his council, to deliberate on what he had long before determined, but kept secret in his own mind. On leaving Mocha, he had agreed not to revive any claim for the injuries he had sustained from this government, if his confiscated goods, or their value, were restored, and the sum of 18,000 dollars paid as a compensation for damages. The governor restored the goods, but obliged the merchants of the Indian ships, which Sir Henry had stopped on his escape, to pay the money; which Sir Henry seems to have regarded as a breach of the treaty, but ought therefore to have refused the benefit. He now proposed to return to the Red sea, and seize all the ships coming from the coasts of India to Mocha. The ransom of the ships from the Mogul's country, was to compensate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. The withholding of the customs on the others, would oblige the government of Mocha to make full restitution for their iniquities in the preceding year. Few schemes have been formed with greater probability of success. The ships sailed from Dabul

March. on the 5th of March, and arrived at Socatra on the 26th, where they received information that three ships from England had passed into the gulph, under the command of captain Saris*. Middleton, however, kept at the entrance,

* Afterwards famous for the voyage to Japan, on which he proceeded after he left the Red sea.

and



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and in thirty-seven days, from the 3d of April to the 10th of May, stopped and detained fifteen ships coming from the coasts of India, besides smaller vessels of the Arabian shores, not subject to the Turks, which they dismissed. Of the ships, nine were from the Mogul's ports of Sindry; Diul, and Surat, three from each; from Dabul, two; one from Barcelore; two from Callicut; and one from Cananore. Besides these, two other ships of value, one from Chaul, the other from Cananore, got into the freights before Middleton, and unloaded at Mocha whilst Saris was there. The *Rehemy** of Surat was of 1500 tons, had on board, it is said, 1500 souls, and belonged to the Mogul's mother, whose devotion had built and maintained this ship for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca; most of whom, as in all the other ships, carried adventures of trade. The *Mahmoodie* of Dabul was of 1200 tons burthen.

1612.
April.
May.

The offensive governor of Mocha had been removed, and his successor, in obedience to orders from the Basha of Senaar,

* Saris, in his journal, says, "The ninth of May 1612, I caused the *Indian* ships to be measured, which were found to be of the scantlings following; viz. the *Rehemy* was long, from stern (*stem, perhaps*) to stern post, an hundred three and fiftie foot; for rake from the post aft, seventeene foot; from the top of her sides in breadth, two and fortie; her depth, one and thirtie. The *Mahomedee* in length, an hundred six and thirtie foot; her rake aft, twentie. In bredth one and fortie; in depth nine and twentie and an halfe. Her main mast in length was six and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight; her main yard four and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie. The other were not much lesse." In this is some mistake, for none of the other ships are described as above five hundred tons.

May.

had



1612. had treated captain Saris with courtesy, although not unsuspected of treachery, before the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton; who, releasing three, kept the other twelve ships of India at Affab on the opposite shore, and demanded 100,000 dollars of the government of Mocha, as a compensation for the injuries of the preceding year. A negotiation ensued, and was continued by various inventions of delay; during which the English ships bartered commodities to a considerable amount with their prizes, and took no advantage of their constraint in the bargains. At length Middleton, finding that he had nothing to expect from Mocha, signified to his prizes that they must accompany him out of the gulph; by which they would lose a year in the sale of their cargoes; and this impending detriment induced them to satisfy him by an assessment, of which neither the amount, nor the ships which contributed to it, are distinctly ascertained*; but the share of the Rehemy was 15,000 dollars. All reckonings and payments were finished by the 12th of August; and by the 17th,

Aug.

* Captain Nicholas Downton, who commanded the Pepper-corn, one of Sir Henry Middleton's ships, says in his journal, as published in Purchas, Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 309.—“*May the 26th*—And to begin withal, composition was this day made with Meere Mahumet Tuckey, Nohuda (supra cargo) of the “*Rehemy*, for fiftene thousand rials of eight, she being in value near equal to “the other foure ships;” which four ships are not enumerated either in this or the other journals. It is from hence, we suppose, that Purchas in his RELATIONS, which is a distinct work from his Pilgrims, says (page 525) “they “had money of these ships some 32,000 rials of eight, whereof the Reheme “paid 15,000.” Nevertheless Purchas had other opportunities of knowing, being personally acquainted with officers who served in the voyage.

all



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all the English ships were out of the gulph, bound to Bantam; 1612.
from whence, some to Europe, others on farther voyages to
the eastward.

The news of these proceedings at Mocha had not reached
Surat, when two of the company's ships, directly from
England, arrived there on the 5th of September, under the *Sept.*
conduct of captain Best. The Dragon, which he com-
manded, was large, but the Ofiander very small. The fac-
tors who went up to the town, were well received by the
officers of the government; and no reason is assigned for
this change of their behaviour. A few days after*, sixteen
Portuguese frigates put into the river, in order to stop the
communication, and took a purser, with another Englishman,
either coming or going to the town, and it should seem with
goods; on which captain Best, on the 30th of September,
seized a large Guzerat ship, probably one of those just re-
turned from the same durance at Mocha, and declared that
he should not release her until he had received his men on
shore, and the value of the goods, which he had landed on
invitation; for which he allowed five days. On the 6th of *Octob.*
October, the governor Medi Jaffeir, accompanied by four
principal men, and many others, came on board the Dragon,
and brought a great present, intreating the release of the
Guzerat ship, and the continuance of trade; on which captain
Best removed from the bar of Surat to the road of Swally, as

* The 13th of September.

having



1612. having a better beach, and with safer communication to the town by land; for the Portuguese frigates infested the banks of the river. The principal merchant said, that Surat must burn all its ships, if friendship were not maintained with the English: and on such representation, Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th, and gave pledges; on which captain Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty; of which the first article is thus expressed: "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; that they shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods, wares, and merchandizes, to satisfie for the same." By the 2d, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to, was to be obtained under the seal of the great MOGUL within forty days. By the 3d, an ambassador for the king of England to reside at the Mogul's court. The 4th, That on the arrival of the company's ships at Swally, proclamation be made in Surat, three several days successively, that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the English at the water side.—5th, All English commodities to pay a duty of three and a half *per cent.* 6th, But petty wares, above ten dollars, to be free of custom. The 7th settles the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city. The 8th releases the effects of English subjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim. And by the 9th, it is provided, that if all the English left on shore should die